

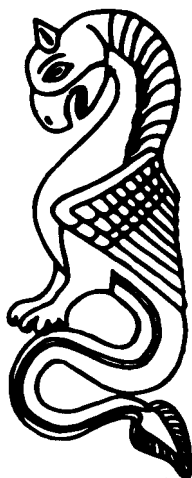
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The South English Legendary 'St Patrick' as translation

Robert Easting

Introduction

A reader of the South English Legendary (SEL) might initially feel some surprise on encountering the item for 'St Patrick' (*pa*),¹ for it contains no account of the saint's life. Whereas one might anticipate a translation of, say, the *Vita Patricii* of Jocelin of Furness, *pa* instead recounts the story of the knight Owein's visit to the otherworld at St Patrick's Purgatory. This substitution is less surprising, however, when it is realized that the account of Owein's visit was by far the most well-known of the Patrician stories circulating in England in the thirteenth century.

Despite the popularity and innate interest of the story of Owein's otherworld journey, apart from Görlach's analysis, *pa* has received next to no attention. The SEL 'St Patrick' (*Manual*, vol. 2, chapter V, section 321, item a)² is the earliest of three Middle English verse translations of 'St Patrick's Purgatory'; Foster erroneously speaks of six versions.³ The second, known as *Owayne Miles*⁴ (hereafter *OM1*), survives in a unique copy in the Auchinleck manuscript.⁵ The third translation, also known as *Owayne Miles* (hereafter *OM2*), probably early fifteenth-century, is the couplet version found in two incomplete copies, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A II, and Yale University Library, MS 365, the 'Book of Brome'. Though there is much variation between these two manuscripts, they are clearly divergent copies of the same couplet translation, not two different versions as listed in *Manual* (2) V. 321c and d. Foster counts as two further verse versions the 'Harley Fragment' and the 'Hearne fragment' (*Manual* (2) V. 321e and f, respectively). In fact, the 'Harley fragment' is not a separate translation but a reworking of *pa*, and the 'Hearne fragment' is an extract from Harley.⁶ We should properly speak of three translations (*pa*, *OM1*, and *OM2*)⁷ but four versions (adding Harley, a fragment of a stanzaic adaptation of *pa*).

In addition to these three verse translations of Owein's story, St Patrick's

Purgatory is also known in Middle English from the fifteenth-century prose account, *The Vision of William of Stranton*.⁸ This is an independent work. Though ultimately modelled on Owein's story, it is not concerned with him at all, but recounts William's own pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory in the early fifteenth century; it therefore has no bearing on the present discussion.

No-one since Kölbing⁹ has attempted to establish the relationships between the Middle English and French verse and Latin prose versions of 'St Patrick's Purgatory'. Kölbing's discussion is confusing and 'suffers from the attempt to compare too many versions with each other at the same time'.¹⁰ The proposed edition of *pa* by Temple¹¹ appears to have been abandoned. I deal with *OM1* and *OM2* in my forthcoming edition of those texts.¹² In the present article I make use of editions that post-date Kölbing to establish more precisely the source for *pa* and to consider the ways in which the Middle English translator of *pa* has adapted the material, for significant choices and considerable changes have been made.

Source

The source for the story in *pa* is the Latin prose *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* of H[enry] of Sawtry (Saltrey), composed c. 1180 or 1184.¹³ It tells of Owein's sojourn in the 'cave', his 'physical' journey through the fields of torment in purgatory, his passage across the perilous narrow bridge above the fiery river beneath which lies hell, and his tour of the Earthly Paradise, culminating in his glimpse of the gates of heaven and his (fore)taste of the food of the blessed. Owein subsequently returns to earth via the 'cave', and after visiting the Holy Land settles back in Ireland.¹⁴ At least 150 manuscripts survive, as well as an equivalent number of manuscripts of vernacular translations. The popular appeal of the *Tractatus* (hereafter *T*) partly stemmed from the way it linked a long tradition of vision literature with a real geographical location. Thanks to the widespread transmission of Owein's narrative, the pilgrimage site of St Patrick's Purgatory on Station Island, Lough Derg, in what is now County Donegal, Ireland, achieved a European-wide fame from the thirteenth century onward.¹⁵

As indicated above, *pa* is the earliest of three mutually independent Middle English verse translations of the story derived from *T*. There also survive five independent Anglo-Norman verse versions, four Old French prose versions and two in Old French verse, one of which is based on one of the prose texts.¹⁶ There are in addition translations into Spanish,¹⁷ Catalan,¹⁸ Italian,¹⁹ Dutch, German,²⁰

Swedish,²¹ Welsh,²² Irish,²³ Glagolitic,²⁴ Polish, and Hungarian.²⁵ The popularity of the story in England is indicated by the five Anglo-Norman and three Middle English translations. By comparison there is only one Anglo-Norman and one Middle English version of *T*'s closest companion, the *Visio Tnugdali*, but then that text reached England from an Irish community in southern Germany,²⁶ whereas *T*, for all its Irish associations, is an Anglo-Latin work, in a line of descent from Bede's account of the Vision of Drihthelm (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.12) to its immediate successors, the *Visio monachi de Eynsham* (1196) and the *Visio Thvrkilli* (1206). Of these two, the former was translated into French verse and retranslated into Latin,²⁷ and also translated twice into German prose,²⁸ and once into English prose in the fifteenth century;²⁹ the latter was not translated into English at all.

Like other Irish visions of heaven and hell, such as the visions of St Fursa and the *Fis Adamnáin*, 'St Patrick's Purgatory' can be called hagiographical only in so far as it is associated with the name of a saint.³⁰ But given the popularity of Owein's story it is little wonder that it found its way into SEL, for it was testimony to the single most widely-known exploit of St Patrick, his attributed founding of a physical entrance to Purgatory.

Careful comparison of *pa* with the Anglo-Norman and French versions shows that it does not derive from any of them. Like the SEL 'St Brandan' (which follows *pa* in Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 108 (hereafter L)),³¹ *pa* translates directly from Latin.³² Görlach, the most recent writer on *pa*, said that 'the author used the best known, accepted text with slight condensation' (p. 18), though he did not elaborate on which form of *T* was in question. It is, however, possible to be more precise than he allowed in 1974.

Görlach accepted Mall's claim³³ that the fourteenth-century text of *T* in Bamberg MS E.VII.59 'represented the original with great fidelity' (p. 269, note 70). This claim had already been implicitly dismissed by Warnke;³⁴ it is unsubstantiated and, I believe, quite false, for the Bamberg text is idiosyncratically rewritten in many places. Moreover, Görlach ignored Warnke's own (1938) edition of *T*, and although he acknowledged Ward's identification of *T* as the source for *pa*, Görlach also ignored the division of *T* manuscripts into two main groups that was first made by Ward.³⁵ This basic division has not yet been adequately superseded.³⁶ On the basis of verbal differences more or less marked throughout the text and the inclusion or exclusion of various sections, Ward distinguished two groups represented by British Library MSS Arundel 292 and Royal 13.B.VIII.

Texts of these two groups, the shorter α and the longer β , were printed in parallel by Warnke, facing his edition of the Anglo-Norman verse translation attributed to Marie de France. I cite Warnke's texts hereafter as W.³⁷ Warnke supposed that the α version of *T* is closer to the original than the β version, an opinion I question, for it seems to me arguable that the shorter α and many shortened β texts both derive from a longer original, to which the long β manuscripts may give us the closest access.³⁸ The influential chronicle version of *T* in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, transmitted by Matthew Paris in the *Chronica Majora* (under 1153), is similarly reduced and itself dependent on an α text.³⁹ Warnke's edition of β is incomplete, for he omits those passages missing from the Marie de France version; a complete β text is incorporated in my forthcoming edition of the later Middle English versions. The first full critical edition of *T* based on all the manuscript evidence is now in preparation by Jean-Michel Picard and Yolande de Pontfarcy.

Of the three Middle English translations, *pa* is the most faithful to those parts of *T* that it adapts. Comparison of *pa* with passages which differ from each other in the α and β texts of *T* demonstrates which group the translator used:

1 : 1 Ase þe sonne a-rist in somer : *zwane þe dai lengest is* (L188)

α quo sol oritur *longioribus diebus* in estate (W66.18-20)

β ubi sol oritur in media estate.

1 : 2 For *Anguische* þe eorþe heo freten (L206)

α pre dolore *angustia* terram comedebant (W68. 51-52)

β pre dolore uidebantur terram comedere.

1 : 3 Ake þare *nas non þat him touchi miȝte* (L448)

α sed illesum *tangere non potuerunt* (W100.80-81)

β sed illesus ab eis preterit.

There are further examples where *pa* translates α this closely⁴⁰ and others which show the English author following α , though with less precision.⁴¹

This relationship is clinched by the way *pa* translates passages in α for which there is no equivalent in β at all:

2 : 1 *ake sat him euere stille* (L166) follows *sedendo omnino tacuit* (α W62.87).

2 : 2 One of a number of expanded narrative details in α is found in L289, describing the souls tormented on the wheel: *Ake deofullliche heo criden and zollen : euer-ech in is ende*. This follows: *Planxerunt miserrime et fleuerunt omnes qui rote infixi fuerunt* (α W82.30-32). This sentence is not found in β

and is marked as an addition in α by Warnke.

2 : 3 *bote þov wolle an-öpur speke* : and to us twayne a-non (L322) follows *nisi reuerti uolueris* (α W86.49-50).

2 : 4 *Of (his C⁴²) wrechhede we beoth i-kened* : and of (is C) *sunfol blode i-come* (L532 (C577)) follows *Ex cuius carne nos omnes nati sumus in miserie* (α W122.22-23).

Other passages in *pa* and α introduce direct speech where β has third person narration.⁴³

The fidelity of *pa* as a translation shows clearly that it derives from an α text of *T*.

Omissions

Though the translator worked closely with the Latin, as these examples illustrate, he was also selective and made many changes. His omissions may, of course, be due to lacunae in his source text(s), though they may also indicate particular choices.

The major reductions in *pa* are also common to *OM1* and *OM2*: all three poems preserve only the main narrative of *T*, that is, the founding of the purgatorial entrance by St Patrick and the visit of Owein to this site, his experiences in purgatory and the Earthly Paradise, and the brief mention of his subsequent pilgrimage to the Holy Land before his return to Ireland.⁴⁴ Such a concentration on the central issues of the fame of St Patrick and the otherworld adventures of Owein is achieved by the translators' avoidance, or the omission in their source texts, of two other kinds of material also found in *T*. Firstly, *pa*, like *OM1* and *OM2*, omits digressive narratives: the tale of the bestial Irishman who did not know that homicide is a sin; the tale of the aged prior whose single tooth is blessed by singing angels; the tale of the monk badly beaten by demons; and the appendix of 'hermit' tales recounted to Henry of Sawtry by Bishop Florentianus and his chaplain. Secondly, passages are omitted which are directly suited to *T*'s original Cistercian audience, namely the prologue, in which Henry of Sawtry addresses the abbot of his mother house, H[ugh] of Wardon; the two so-called homilies, with their meditative and hortatory emphases; and the epilogue, in which the author takes his farewell. The Prologue, drawing on Hugh of St Victor's *Summa de sacramentis christianae fidei*, contains theoretical discussions of visions and the divisions of the

otherworld, of how incorporeal spirits can be tormented by corporeal pains, and the way in which the spiritual world is spoken of in the form of bodily images. The first homily follows Owein's leaving purgatory for the Earthly Paradise, and the second follows his leaving the Earthly Paradise to return to the 'cave' entrance. These homilies draw on the *Meditations* and *Proslogion* of Anselm and the *Meditations* of Jean of Fécamp,⁴⁵ and are arguably part of the earliest version of the *Tractatus* or of a very early revision by Henry of Sawtry, though many writers who have not recognised these sources have taken them to be later additions.

Thus *pa* and the later Middle English versions all eschew eschatological theory and meditative reflection. They also omit digressive narratives, however entertaining or instructive these might be in themselves, in favour of a concentration on the establishment of the Purgatory and Owein's experiences. In these respects they differ from two of the Anglo-Norman versions: (1) that of Marie de France, which faithfully transmits nearly everything in α , apart from the homilies (lines 9-2056), and also contains the final tales from β (lines 2063-2296), and (2) the anonymous fourteenth-century text in British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A. IV,⁴⁶ which, following β , again omits only the two homilies. The Middle English texts are similar to the remaining Anglo-Norman versions which severally omit various sections.⁴⁷

Apart from these major omissions, which seem to constitute something more than the 'slight condensation' noted by Görlach (p. 18), the translation of *pa* involves the further reduction of moments of spiritual or theological import. For instance, *pa* ignores two passages based on Ephesians 6. 11-17 of Owein donning the armour of God – Faith, Hope and Justice – in order to combat the fiends (W46. 113-17 and 56.10-15); it simplifies the account of the Fall given to Owein by the quasi-archbishops in the Earthly Paradise (cf. L527ff. and W122.201ff.); and it reduces the description of the Earthly Paradise (W120.171-85 omitted). The narrative is also streamlined by various further omissions. Surprise is increased by the omission (after L92) of the speech by the prior (W44.88-104) warning Owein (and the reader) of the hall, messengers and fiends he will encounter after entering St Patrick's Purgatory. Some of the fiends' repetitive threats and blandishments are cut. Owein's options are reduced by the omission on two occasions of the fiends' offer to return him to the gate of the Purgatory if he submits to their will.⁴⁸ Similarly, on two further occasions *pa* omits the demons' threat to punish Owein unless he agrees to turn back.⁴⁹ Also omitted are two kinds of inexpressibility *topos*, one concerning the cries of those in purgatory, which is full of tormented souls and tormenting demons,⁵⁰ and the other noting the sheer size of the second

field of purgatory.⁵¹

All these omissions suggest that the author of *pa* pruned spiritual matters in the interests of romantic adventure; aimed to avoid undue repetition of incident; increased the drama of Owein's lonely and dangerous quest; and strove for a rapid succession of action and dialogue. Such intentions can also be traced in the additions made to the text.

Additions

As well as condensing those parts of the α text of *T* chosen or available for translation, the author of *pa* also expanded much of the material and added a significant amount of new matter: speeches, narrative detail and narratorial comment. Of L's 673 lines some 155 full lines and over 50 half-lines, or altogether over a quarter of the poem, have no verbal equivalent in *T*.

Much of *pa*'s new material seems designed to enhance the appeal of the tale as a pious adventure story aimed at inducing penance. As the new ending (L666-73) reminds us, St Patrick founded the Purgatory with the same intention:

For-to warni men a-boute : heore sunnes here to bete. (L668)

The author of *pa* concludes with an addition in like fashion:

For þe loue of Iesu crist : and of is moder swete
Alle ower sunnes betez here : as god ov wole grace sende,
þat ze mouwen with-oute pine : to parays hennes wende.
god leue us ovre sunnes here so biete : for is holie wounde,
þat we ne þoruē in purgatorie : bi-leue bote luyte stounde.
(L669-73)

The same note is sounded during the tale when the narrator twice intrudes to lament man's unawareness of the need for repentance. The first such exhortation occurs during the description of the first field of torment in purgatory:

Allas, 3wy nellez men beon i-war : and heore sunnes here bete,
Are heo comen to purgatorie : and with þe luþere gostes mete!

For as wel beth þe schrewes in purgatorie : and ouer-al, ase in
helle,
And schullen, for-to þe daize of dome come : telle ʒwat men
telle. (L209-12)⁵²

This is an interesting addition for two reasons: firstly, it immediately proclaims that the torments *are* part of purgatory; *T* does not state this so directly until Owein reaches the Earthly Paradise and is there instructed by the guides he encounters. The audience for *pa* is thus given early and clear directions which prevent any possible misapprehension that the torments depicted may be in hell. Secondly, the narrator here reinforces the idea that devils are the agents of punishment in purgatory as well as in hell,⁵³ even though this opinion was contrary to much learned teaching – 'telle ʒwat men telle'.⁵⁴

Owein's own penitence is stressed by new material concerning his confession⁵⁵ and penance,⁵⁶ and he is instructed to live well on his return to earth:

loke, ʒwane þov comest to eorþe a-ʒen : þat þov clene lif lede,
So þat þov neuer-eft in pine ne come : for sunne ne for mis-
dede! (L638-9)

Many of the new passages stress the suffering of the souls. For example, in describing the souls in the fetid, icy river, *pa* adds:

þis gostes swymden op and doun : in muche sorewe and wo
(L350)⁵⁷

and

þare was wo and sorewe i-nouʒ : a-mong heom euerechon
(L354)⁵⁸

and when Owein is dragged to the river of hell we learn:

. . . þat wo was him to-drawe,
þat him were leouere þane ani-þing : þat he hadde i-beo of lif-
dawe. (L403b-404)⁵⁹

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Emphasis on the extremity of the pains is recurrent, including variations on the idea:

So muche pine nas neuere i-seize – : him þouzte ase þei he felde
þat he was neiz ope þe point : þene gost op to zelde.
(L381-82)⁶⁰

In addition there are new exclamations of piety,⁶¹ and of woe and affective distress.⁶²

The addition of telling narrative details also contributes much to the imaginative realization of the bitterness of purgatory and the joys of the Earthly Paradise. For example, the souls who eat the earth in the first field of torment 'hore tongene gnoven al-so' (L206b), and the souls roasted on iron spits are likened to geese (L270a). In *T* Owein's escape from the false pit of hell is described thus: 'uis flamme eum cum reliquis sursum in aera eleuauit' (W94.44-46); in *pa* this is expanded:

A smoke þare cam smite up a-non : mid one wel stronge blaste
þene kniȝt an heiz a-boue þe putte : and manie oþere gostes,
caste.
þe kniȝt ȝwirlede op in þis blast : ase speldene doth, wel
wide (L385-87)

L387b picks up the 'speldene' from 361b, where it follows *T* 'scintillas ignis' (W90.10-11). When Owein is thus rescued from the pit, he stands 'ase man þat witles were' (L389b), a detail which strengthens *T*'s 'ignorans quo se uerteret' (W94.50-51), and which is paralleled in *pa* by Owein's reaction to the joy of the Earthly Paradise (L515).⁶³ When he partakes of the 'riche metes of heuene' (L571), which comes like 'A manere brez fram heouene adoun' (L575), Owein stands 'ase þei he were i-nomen' (L581), 'ase he in metingue were' (L582).⁶⁴ At the end of the story we are given added details about Owein's going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, taking the holy cross 'on his bare flesch' (L658a); he becomes a 'suyþe holi man':

he ne tolde neuere-eft nouȝt of þe world : bote ase he were
euere in þouzte,
Ake wende euere forth wel stilleliche : as he of no-þing ne
rouȝte. (L660-1)

An important shift in emphasis in *pa* is that the fiends are frequently portrayed more vividly than in *T*. This tendency is also found in *OM1* and *OM2* and is doubtless attributable to a popularizing urge. For example, when Owein is released by his prayer from the fiery wheel, we are told of the resentment and anguish of the fiends:

þe feondes stoden and bi-heolden : with dreori mod ech-on.
Eft heo nomen him bitterliche : and ferre zuyt him ladde,
And harleden him forth wel revfulliche : and loude zollen and
gradde. (L296-8)

When Owein leaves the Earthly Paradise and is told not to fear the fiends, it is because:

heo beoth a-dradde wel sore of þe : and a-schamede in eche
side. (L608)⁶⁵

These moments of demonic defeat are the more notable because it is the fiends' physical power and energy that are more frequently emphasised. The devils are particularly athletic: they run upon the water 'so men doth on þe londe' (L351b), and in the first field of torment they run upon the souls and 'treden heom to þe grounde' (L207b). They are also fearsome mockers (L395), addressing Owein now with forceful directness, 'þov most come into ovre rovte' (L396b), now with affected politeness, 'Saunt faille we ne beoth nouzt so onkuynde' (L156a [cf. C206]).⁶⁶ This 'frenkish fare' is nicely used: elsewhere the fiends address Owein as 'bel ami'⁶⁷ (L149), as if in parody of the expression 'bev frere', used to Owein by ecclesiastics.⁶⁸ Irony is their *forte*. For example, when Owein stands by the pit of the 'false' hell, stunned by the 'sori stunch', fiends ask him:

"3wy stanst þov so?"⁶⁹ þe fendes seiden : "þinchþ þe þarof
wonder,
Of þis *swete* smoke þat here bloweth : and zwat put beo þare-
onder?" (L365-66)

Their ironies and false assurances⁷⁰ are, of course, fully in keeping with their lying nature, which they openly acknowledge: 'we with lesingues bi-traieth men' (L400).

Some slight counterbalance to this emphasis on the demonic is found in the

longest single addition to the 'Z' redaction of *pa*, an eleven-line section on the Earthly Paradise (L550-60). This expands upon part of the 'archbishops' explanatory speech to Owein, and makes absolutely plain that 'ech man þat in-to heuene schal : þoruȝ purgatorie mot, / And sethþe into eorþeliche parays' (L550-51). The text here takes a clear stand, based on *T*, on what was a contentious issue, namely whether or not souls passed directly from purgatory to heaven or were delayed a while in the Earthly Paradise. Again, the view propagated by *pa* was, strictly speaking, heterodox.⁷¹

The dramatic immediacy of the narrative is enhanced not only by the introduction of telling details and livelier demons, but also by increasing the amount of direct speech. This is a tendency found already in the α texts of *T*, a version which, like the Middle English translations generally, emphasises the clarity of the narrative detail and the physical actuality of the events portrayed.⁷² In *pa*, for example, when the bishop first tries to dissuade Owein from visiting St Patrick's Purgatory and Owein asserts his firm intention of completing his penance there, *pa* renders indirect speech as direct, complete with French address, exclamations and questions.⁷³ Later, when Owein is first tortured by the fiends, *pa* gives him a new exclamation:

"Ihesus, Ihesus, help me nouþe : and do a-wei mine fon!"

(L172)

and when he leaves the Earthly Paradise two new speeches are introduced (L614-21). The explanatory speech at L544-74 is considerably rearranged as well as substantially expanded by the addition of the eleven-line section L550-60, noted above.

'A' redaction

I opened this article by noting that the reader of *pa* might be surprised to discover so little in it about St Patrick. It was presumably this shortage of information that prompted one of the redactors of the 'A' version⁷⁴ to add to the beginning of the poem some fifty-two lines derived from the opening of the 'St Patrick' entry in the *Legenda Aurea* (hereafter *LgA*).⁷⁵ This passage relates short miracles, selected at random by Jacobus de Varagine to preface his much reduced version of *T* (in which Owein is replaced by Nicholas).⁷⁶

The 'A' redactor's translation work here (cited from C) is much slacker than the original 'Z' redaction.

C omits the first story in *LgA*, that of St Patrick accidentally piercing the foot of the king of the Scots (i.e. Irish) with his staff. Instead, the 'A' redactor starts with a free expansion (C3-14) of the brief mention of St Patrick's banishing venomous creatures from Ireland ('ac toti provinciae obtinuit, quod nullum venenosum animal ibidem possit vivere').⁷⁷ This passage incorporates mention of the repulsion of venom by the trees and earth of Ireland:

Ech tre[o] þat in þe londe group . & eorþe of þe lond also
Ne þoleþ no venim in none stude . ney him be[o] ido.
(C9-10)

'Eorþe' here appears to derive from a misreading or exemplar which substitutes 'terra' for *coria* 'bark'.⁷⁸

C15-24 then follow *LgA* with the tale of St Patrick's discovery of a sheep thief. The saint commands any remaining morsel of the sheep to bleat; it does so from the stomach of the thief, who is suitably shamed and reformed.⁷⁹

C25-40 elaborate slightly on St Patrick's failure to see a cross on the burial of a saracen ('paganus'), but omit the conclusion, in which the saint has the cross removed.

In C41-44 the 'A' redactor appears to misinterpret the metaphor in the Latin 'praedicaret et fructum ibi permodicum faceret'. Because his preaching bore little fruit, St Patrick prayed to the Lord for a sign which would terrify the Irish into repentance. In C the saint comes across a 'wild stude . . . þat no frut vorþ ne brozte / þei me sewe & sette'⁸⁰ 'þer al þing . þer ne com noþing forþ þere' (C42-43). This may appear to extend rather than reduce the metaphor of sowing the seed of God's word by preaching. But it seems that the translator has misconceived the material and interpreted the fruitlessness literally. This is suggested not only by the 'wild stude' but also by the lame connection that follows: Patrick prays to the Lord 'to wite wi it were'. The succeeding revelation of the Purgatory is thus rendered hopelessly illogical; it is no longer a sign 'per quod territi poenitent'.

In C45-54 St Patrick describes a circle on the ground with his staff and a very deep pit is revealed. This is de Varagine's own idea about the founding of the Purgatory; it is not in *T*.⁸¹ The Middle English elaborates, saying that St Patrick did not know what the hole was until he was told by an angel (C47-8).

The 'A' translator also changes the account given here of St Patrick's

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Purgatory. *LgA* concentrates on the effect of entry into the pit: those who enter can expiate their sins and be spared purgatory after death, but most who enter never return, and those who come back do so after being there from one morning to the next. In 'A' the pit is more immediately assimilated to purgatory:

Somme soules were þer inne ido . hor sunnes forto bete
þat hy ne bette nozt an eorþe . ar hy þis lif lete
And were a man quik oþer ded . þat þer inne come
He ne ssolde habbe oþer pultatorie . ar þe day of dome
Ac after he ssolde to heuene . 3if he were god & hende
And as god 3if [he] here luþer were . to helle wiþoute ende.
(C49-54)

Lines 49-51 are a clumsy way of confirming that the pit of St Patrick's Purgatory was an entrance to purgatory proper; after all, one could only enter the former while alive.⁸² Moreover the eschatology of this passage is garbled. Lines 52-53 miss two points: firstly, a person would not be in purgatory at all unless repentant and hence a candidate for salvation, and secondly, the rest of the story plainly shows that souls pass from purgatory to the Earthly Paradise and heaven before Doomsday (see above, p. 129). Furthermore, line 54 reveals a misunderstanding: souls that go to hell do not first spend time in purgatory. Again, the rest of the story indicates that souls are in hell already following the judgement *post mortem*.

Altogether, the additions in the 'A' redaction may furnish extra material about St Patrick, but at some cost in narrative and even in eschatological coherence.

Authorship and audience

The original 'Z' redactor was much more careful about the eschatological implications of the story, and his additions are more successfully integrated. His translation is also generally tighter and more accurate than the 'A' redactor's contribution: though there is repetition in the 'Z' redactor's work,⁸³ there is little redundancy or padding in the verse;⁸⁴ most of it is not as loose and wordy as, say, L393-4, and there are few places which look like bungled translations.⁸⁵

Apart from this competency and resourcefulness, there is little to indicate the background or social status of the translator of *pa*. The question of the (probably multifarious) authorship and audience of SEL is still unresolved: Görlach (pp. 46-

50) canvassed the cases for monastic (Benedictine, Cistercian, Augustinian) and mendicant provenance, and the proposed audience has been variously suggested as nuns, clerics or lay folk.⁸⁶ Käsmann noted two places in SEL which suggest Cistercian influence: Cuthbert is made a 'grei monk' at Jervaulx,⁸⁷ and in *pa* there are four lines (L662-65) praising the order:

Ofte he tolde of alle þe men : þat in parays were;
As him þouȝte, greiȝe Monekes : mest Ioye hadden þere,
None-manere men in so gret Ioye : ne in so grete honour he ne
seiz –
hit nis no wonder sikerliche : for þe ordre is noble and heiz –⁸⁸

Käsmann claimed that these lines require explanation, if mendicant provenance is to be maintained, as it is quite improbable that a friar would have taken over such a passage from a source text when he could easily have omitted it. Käsmann suggested it is more likely that the whole of *pa* has been taken from elsewhere and copied mechanically into SEL. I would add just two points. These lines are based directly on *T*, itself a Cistercian product; they do not necessarily, therefore, indicate a Cistercian translator.⁸⁹ Neither do they necessarily preclude mendicant authorship: though it might go against the grain to praise the Cistercians, even a friar might feel obliged to incorporate the testimony of purgatorial revelation. Against this, however, it could be argued that the lines have a fulsomeness unwarranted by the Latin. In the absence of further evidence, however, I believe these lines alone are insufficient to indicate a Cistercian translator for *pa*.⁹⁰ If evidence were sought for a friar as author then it could be suggested by the new inclusion of friars in the procession of religious Owein sees in the *Earthly Paradise* (L478, 507),⁹¹ but then again, friars are similarly mentioned in the catalogues of the saved in *OM1* and *OM2* and there is no evidence for those texts being produced by friars; mention of them is more indicative of the authors' urge to comprehensiveness than of their origins. Augustinian canons might well be expected to show interest in St Patrick's Purgatory for the order held the priory on Saints' Island, Lough Derg, and were overseers of the Purgatory on Station Island. The mention of canons at L11 is taken directly from *T*, however. All told, no firm evidence for authorship is provided by *pa*.

The intended audience would seem to be non-monastic judging by the omission of extended sections of meditative reflection and eschatological and visionary theory. The other modifications the translator has made suggest adaptation

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of a monastic text for a lay, or at least non-learned, audience, debarred from access to the Latin of the *Tractatus*. The narrative has been concentrated by the omission of digressive exempla and repetitious incidents. The clarification of the existence of demons in purgatory, of the delay in the Earthly Paradise, and the separation of 'parays' from 'þe riȝte heuene' (L593-94), all address a popular need for specific information on the shape of the afterlife. The physical reality of Owein's experiences in the otherworld has also been emphasised by the inclusion of new and pointed details. A lay audience might be expected to take interest in the fortunes of a knight rather than a cleric as the protagonist. The dramatic conflict between Owein and the fiends has been enhanced by the expansion of direct speech, the animated depiction of the demons, and the stress laid on the severity of the torments and suffering of the souls and Owein himself. 'Þis guode kniȝt' (L95a), 'þis seli kniȝt' (L192, 255, 277, 355, 421, 428) is at first fearless (L97a) in the face of spiritual battle (L136, 139), though his subsequent fears are amply justified. In the first field of torment, for example, he is actually nailed to the ground by the fiends (L216); in *T* they attempt to do this but are thwarted by his talismanic prayer (W70.76). The need for repentance in order to minimize one's future experience of these pains is emphasised by the repetition of such sentiments in the mouths of Owein, his guides and the poem's narrator. There may also be a frisson of pleasure for a non-aristocratic audience on hearing the devils claim as their own the rich 'in halle and eke in boure' (L161-62, 373-74).

Annie Samson has recently cast doubt on the public, liturgical function of the Legendary, and points out manuscript 'Laud's selection of those saints who are so marginal to the liturgy', Patrick, Brendan, Mary of Egypt and Dominic. The first three of these 'are present to gratify appetites other than the purely devotional. This is hagiography rubbing shoulders with romance for most of the time . . .'.⁹² Samson concludes with the assumption of monastic provenance, and says: 'If we posit the same kind of audience for the legendary as [has been] done for the romances, then we have a work written initially for regional gentry and perhaps secular clergy, and designed either for individual reading or for reading in the chamber, rather than as entertainment of the hall or public instruction in church.'⁹³

The evidence of *pa* would certainly lend support to this interpretation. Though the poem may have little to say about St Patrick, it enters SEL as a fitting companion to the Irish 'St Brendan' legend, for it presents a real-life romance, a pious adventure story, 'a swiȝe wonder cas' (L40b).

NOTES

¹ This designation follows Manfred Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series, 6 (1974), pp. 149-51.

² *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, edited by J. Burke Severs, Volume 2 (New Haven, 1970).

³ See the discussion by Frances A. Foster, 'Legends of the After-Life', in *Manual*, 2, 453-54 and bibliography, p. 647.

⁴ See e.g. Carlton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), p. 690, no. *11.

⁵ *Manual* (2) V. 321b. For discussion see Robert Easting, 'Some Antedatings and Early Usages from the Auchinleck *Owayne Miles*', in *Sentences for Alan Ward*, edited by D. M. Reeks (Southampton, 1988), pp. 167-74, and Easting, 'The English Tradition', Chapter III in *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory: Lough Derg and the European Tradition*, edited by Michael Haren and Yolande de Pontfarcy, Clogher Historical Society (Enniskillen, 1988), especially pp. 62-66. (This book is hereafter cited as Haren and Pontfarcy.)

⁶ See Robert Easting, 'The Middle English "Hearne fragment" of St Patrick's Purgatory', *Notes and Queries*, n.s., 35 (1988), 436-37.

⁷ For a brief comparative study, see Robert Easting, 'Middle English Translations of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', forthcoming in *The Medieval Translator*, edited by Roger Ellis, Westfield Publications in Medieval English (London).

⁸ *Manual* (2) V. 321h. British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XLIII is printed by G. P. Krapp, *The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: its later literary history* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 58-77. For further discussion see Easting, 'The English Tradition', especially pp. 67-79, and see note 12 below.

⁹ See E. Kölbing, 'Zwei mittelenglische Bearbeitungen der Sage von St. Patrick's Purgatorium', *Englische Studien*, 1 (1877), 57-98.

¹⁰ Görlach, p. 269, note 69.

¹¹ Noted by Görlach, p. 269, note 65.

¹² *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of 'Owayne Miles' and 'The Vision of William of Stranton' together with the long text of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*. This volume is scheduled for publication by EETS in 1991; it is a revision of parts of my unpublished D. Phil. thesis, 'An Edition of *Owayne Miles* and other Middle English texts concerning St. Patrick's Purgatory' (University of Oxford, 1976). The book also contains editions of *The Vision of William of Stranton* and the long version of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*.

¹³ See Robert Easting, 'The Date and Dedication of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 778-83. Yolande de Pontfarcy, 'Le *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*

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de H. de Saltrey, sa date et ses sources', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 460-80, dates the earliest version of *T* to 1184 (p. 464) or 'vers 1184' (p. 480), saying 'Il n'est pas possible que cette date soit avancée, sinon Jocelin et Giraldus auraient pu avoir eu facilement connaissance du *Tractatus*' (p. 464), though the word 'facilement' assumes a knowledge of the early rate of the text's transmission that we do not possess.

¹⁴ See Robert Easting, 'Owein at St Patrick's Purgatory', *Medium Ævum*, 55 (1986), 159-75.

¹⁵ See further Haren and Pontfarcy, *passim*.

¹⁶ For surveys of the Anglo-Norman and French translations of *T*, see H. E. Shields, 'An Old French Book of Legends and its Apocalyptic Background' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1967), pp. 346-62, who shows that there are four not five Old French prose versions; D. D. R. Owen, *The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature* (Edinburgh and London, 1970), pp. 64-75, 125-31; Uda Ebel, 'Le purgatoire de S. Patrice' in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, VI. ii (Heidelberg, 1970), 246-49; Kurt Ringger, 'Die altfranzösische Verspurgatorien', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 88 (1972), 389-402; and Shields, 'The French Accounts', in Haren and Pontfarcy, especially p. 85.

¹⁷ See Ebel, no. 4462.

¹⁸ 'Viatge del Cavaller Owein al Purgatori de Sant Patrici traduït del llatí per Frare Ramon Ros de Tarrega' in R. Miguel Y Planas, *Llegendes de l'altra vida* (Barcelona, 1914), pp. 1-32.

¹⁹ See Ebel, nos 4482, 4494, and also Lucia Bertolini, 'Per una delle leggende "che illustrano la *Divina Commedia*". Una redazione del *Purgatorio di San Patrizio*', *Studi Danteschi*, 53 (1981), 69-128; Mario Degli Innocenti, 'Redazioni italiane del "Purgatorio di S. Patrizio"', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 27 (1984), 81-120; and Lucia Bertolini, 'Una redazione lombarda del *Purgatorio di S. Patrizio*', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 31 (1985), 8-49.

²⁰ On Dutch and German versions see Nigel F. Palmer, '*Visio Tnugdali*: The German and Dutch Translations and their Circulation in the Later Middle Ages', *Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 76 (Munich, 1982), pp. 410-12, and in Wolfgang Stammer, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, second edition, edited by Kurt Ruh *et al.*, II (Berlin and New York, 1980), cols 716-17.

²¹ *S. Patriks-Sagan, innehållende S. Patrik och Hans Järtecken, Nicholaus i S. Patriks Skärseld och Tungulus*, edited by G. Stephens and J. A. Ahlstrand, *Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet*, 2 (Stockholm, 1844), pp. 3-23; pp. 9-11 are based on *T*, pp. 15-23 involve Nicholaus and are based on the *Legenda Aurea* reduction of *T*; *Själens Tröst*, edited by G. E. Klemming, *Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet*, 19 (Stockholm, 1871-73), pp. 78-82, again involves Nicholaus.

²² See J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions of *Purgatorium S. Patricii*', *Studia Celtica*, 8-9 (1973-74), 153-81.

²³ See C. Plummer, *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica* (Brussels, 1925), p. 122, no. 172.

²⁴ See S. Ivšić, ' "Čistilište sv. Patricija" u hrvatskom glagolskom tekstu 15 stoljeća', *Starine*, 41 (1948), 111-18. Ivšić prints a text from Bodleian Library, MS. Can. Lit. 414, a *Legenda Aurea* version.

²⁵ Ebel, probably following Karl Warnke on p. XXXIX of *Das Buch vom Espurgatoire S. Patrice der Marie de France und seine Quelle*, Bibliotheca Normannica, 9 (Halle/Saale, 1938), mentions translations into Polish, Czech and Hungarian, but gives no references. The source for this must be R. Verdeyen and J. Endepols, *Tondalus' Visioen en St Patricius' Vagevuur*, 2 vols, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde (Ghent and 's Gravenhage, 1914, 1917), I, 297, which lists an eighteenth-century print in Polish and reports a seventeenth-century translation in Hungarian extant in a single copy in the National Museum of Budapest. The Czech translation is a ghost, being a translation of the Latin *Visiones Georgii* (1353), seen by the Hungarian George Grissaphan; this is reported by L. Lager, 'Une version tchèque du purgatoire de Saint-Patrice', *Revue celtique*, 4 (1879-80), 105-06. The other reference in Verdeyen and Endepols for the Czech version is in fact a report by H. Gaidoz, in *Revue celtique*, 2 (1873-1875), 482-84, of two Latin manuscripts and a German translation of the *Visiones Georgii*.

²⁶ On the transmission of this text, see Palmer 'Visio Tnugdali'.

²⁷ See H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II (London, 1893), p. 503.

²⁸ See Palmer, 'Visio Tnugdali', pp. 415-16.

²⁹ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, first compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, second edition, revised and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katherine F. Pantzer, 2 vols (London, 1976-1986), no. 20917; and R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, A. S. G. Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York and London, 1985), no. 695.

³⁰ See Ludwig Bieler, 'Hagiography and Romance in Medieval Ireland', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series, 6 (1975), 13-24 (p. 21).

³¹ Printed by Carl Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden* (Paderborn, 1875), pp. 177-211 and also *The Early South-English Legendary*, EETS OS 87 (London, 1887), pp. 199-220, whence cited here.

³² Simon Lavery, 'The Source of the St Brandan Story in the *South English Legendary*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 15 (1984), 21-32, argues that 'St Brandan' is translated from the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, not Benedeit's Anglo-Norman version.

³³ See E. Mall, 'Zur Geschichte der Legende vom Purgatorium des heil. Patricius', *Romanische Forschungen*, 6 (1889), 139-97.

³⁴ See 'Die Vorlage des Espurgatoire St Patriz der Marie de France', *Philologische Studien aus dem romanisch-germanischen Kulturkreise. Karl Voretzsch zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by B. Schädel and W. Mulertt (Haale/Saale, 1927), pp. 148-49.

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³⁵ See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, especially pp. 444-54.

³⁶ Unsatisfactory attempts at modified forms of categorisation have been made by L. Foulet, 'Marie de France et la Légende du Purgatoire de Saint Patrice', *Romanische Forschungen*, 22 (1908), 599-627 (p. 607 note 3), and C. M. van der Zanden, *Etude sur le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice, accompagnée du texte latin d'Utrecht et du texte anglo-normand de Cambridge* (Amsterdam, 1927), pp. 76-86.

³⁷ See note 25 above. Care must be taken when referring to the manuscript groups: Warnke's α (Arundel version) and β (Royal version) invert the designation used by Foulet, 'Marie de France et la Légende du Purgatoire de Saint Patrice', p. 599, note 3; M. Mörner in *Le purgatoire de saint Patrice par Berol* (Lund, 1917), pp. xxii-xxxiv and *Le purgatoire de saint Patrice du manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale fonds français 25545* (Lund, 1920), p. VII note 1; and Antonio G. Solalinde, 'La primera versión española de "El Purgatorio de San Patricio" y la difusión de esta leyenda en España' in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal: miscélanea de estudios lingüísticos literarios e históricos*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1925), II, 219-57 (especially pp. 236-38).

³⁸ Compare Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 452-54. See Easting, 'An Edition of *Owayne Miles*', pp. lxix-xc. For other recent discussions see H. E. Shields, 'An Old French Book of Legends', pp. 341-45 (unfortunately, on p. 337, note 5, Shields again inverts Warnke's α and β designations), and Yolande de Pontfarcy, 'Le *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', pp. 464-65 and 470-72.

³⁹ The connection between α and the chronicle version was first demonstrated by Ward.

⁴⁰ See L216 and α W70.76; L303-4 and α W84.17-18; L422-23 and α W96.36 - 98.38 (cf. β W98.38-41); L435-39 and α W98.53-62.

⁴¹ Compare L9 and W24.128-30; L103 and W48.15-17; L142-43 and W58.31-33; L218 and W70.76-79; L367 and W92.18-19; L372 and W92.28-29; L564-65 and W130.10-12.

⁴² C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 145, edited by Charlotte d'Evelyn and Anna J. Mills, *The South English Legendary*, EETS, os 235 (London, 1956), pp. 85-110.

⁴³ L84-88 follow α W42.72 - 44.82, and L611-13 follow α W134.21-26.

⁴⁴ In 'Owein at St Patrick's Purgatory' (see note 14 above) I preferred the idea that Owein visited the Holy Land as a pilgrim (pp. 166-67). The counter-claim that he went as a crusader (p. 167) might find support in the terminology discussed by Michael Markowski, '*Crucesignatus*: its origins and early usage', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 157-65, and see also Nigel F. Palmer, *Tondolus der Ritter: Die von J. und C. Hist gedruckte Fassung* (Munich, 1980), p. 102, note to line 1320.

⁴⁵ These sources were not recognised by Warnke. Full details will appear in my edition of *T* (see note 12 above).

⁴⁶ An edition is in preparation by Judith Wright, Department of Romance Languages, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

47 *OM1* is in fact based on the Anglo-Norman version found in Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.6.11, itself based on β ; *OM2* is also based on β : see my edition for further details.

48 W70.66-69 omitted after L214, and W98.42-46 omitted after L427.

49 W74.41-44 omitted after L234, and W82.15-18 omitted after L284.

50 W80.30-37 omitted after L274.

51 W72.35 - 74.40 omitted after L234.

52 For the second such complaint, see L290-92:

Alas, 3wi nellez men beon i-war : are heo heonnes wende,
3wane he mi3ten here with a luytel pine : bete heore mis-dede
And þare heo schullen so bitere a-bugge : alas, þe wrechede!

53 Hell is not seen directly by Owein; it lies beneath the river which Owein crosses via the narrow bridge leading to the Earthly Paradise. Note L412 'onder þis deope watere: þe put of helle so is'.

54 For a fuller discussion of these two issues, see Robert Easting, 'Purgatory and the Earthly Paradise in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 37 (1986), 23-48, especially pp. 36-37 and 40-41.

55 L44-45, 47, 49.

56 L517-19, 523.

57 Compare C400 'þis gostes swomme up & doun . hor wo nas neuere ido'.

58 Compare also L326b, 335b.

59 Compare L192, 333b, 359a, 363-64.

60 See also L310, 378 (cf. 329), 407b-8, 432 (cf. the marvelous elements about the glory of the Earthly Paradise 460, 461b, 463b, 473) and 186, 308, 356. See also the following additions which heighten the sense of pain: L179, 260b, 272, 344b, 427-31.

61 See L51, 82, 89-92, 'a godes name' 107, 136-37a, 455.

62 See L46, 134-35, 203-4, 235-36, 253-54, 268 (cf. 186 and 404), 316b, 318b, 454b, 625, 648.

63 Compare L146: 'Elles he hadde wod bi-come : and i-lore is wit for fere', which expands 'amentaretur' (W58. 38).

64 Lines 585-89 expand on Owein's reaction to this epiphany.

65 Compare also L442-43, 450-53.

66 See also L160b, 161b-64.

67 *MED* notes of *bel-ami* that in direct address it is often used 'to enemies or inferiors as an expression of contempt'.

68 See L53, 114, 614, 636. The occurrence at L520 follows *T* 'Ecce, frater' (W120.189). Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 30-31, points out that such French expressions are found with some frequency in SEL and do not give evidence of a French source, a point corroborated here.

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⁶⁹ This question is either brought forward from the end of the pit episode ('Et tu ibi stas?' (W94.55)), cf. L396a, or recalled from the query before the *balnearium*: 'Quid subsistendo tardas?' (W84.15), omitted by *pa* after L301.

⁷⁰ E.g. L373-74.

⁷¹ See further Easting, 'Purgatory and the Earthly Paradise', pp. 43-46, and add Walter L. Wakefield, 'Some Unorthodox Popular Ideas of the Thirteenth Century', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series, 4 (1973), 25-35 (pp. 30-31).

⁷² See, for example, the sentence added in α , quoted above, p. 122 under 2:2. Warnke marks a number of such additions.

⁷³ Compare L53-62 and W40.27-40.

⁷⁴ O. S. Pickering argues that there were probably two distinct redactors responsible for the 'A' version; see 'The Expository *Temporale* Poems of the *South English Legendary*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 10 (1978), 1-17, and see further, Thomas R. Liszka, 'The First "A" Redaction of the *South English Legendary*: Information from the "Prologue"', *Modern Philology*, 82 (1984-85), 407-13.

⁷⁵ C3-54 follow *LgA* (edited by T. Graesse, second edition, Leipzig, 1850), p. 213 line 8 - p. 214 line 7.

⁷⁶ Görlach, p. 151.

⁷⁷ See also Tom Peete Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature* (Bloomington, 1952), A531.2, D2176.1, V229.3, and see the recent discussion of such legends by Robert Wildhaber, 'Beda Venerabilis and the snakes', in *Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson*, edited by Linda Degh, Henry Glassie and Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington, 1976), pp. 497-506, and Patrick K. Ford, 'Aspects of the Patrician Legend', in *Celtic Folklore and Christianity. Studies in Memory of William W. Heist*, edited by Patrick K. Ford (Santa Barbara, 1983), pp. 29-49.

⁷⁸ 'imo etiam ligna et coria illius regionis contraria, ut dicitur, sunt veneno', *LgA*, lines 9-10.

⁷⁹ See also F. C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Tales*, FF Communications, No. 24 (Helsinki, 1969), 4317; C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I (Oxford, 1910), p. cxliii; and C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend*, The Mediæval Academy of America, Publication No. 52 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 98.

⁸⁰ The phrase 'sewe & sette', 'plant', appears to antedate the references in *MED s.v. setten v. 3(a)*.

⁸¹ For a wood-cut illustration of this scene, see Shane Leslie, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature* (London, 1932), opposite p. xvii. This is taken from Petrus de Natalibus (not, as in Leslie, *Navalibus*), *Catalogus Sanctorum* (Venice, 1506), Lib. III, cap. ccciiii, p. 65, col. 1. Leslie, p. 42, translates a short excerpt from the Latin, which is itself a rewritten and shortened copy of *LgA*, cap. 1.

⁸² Referring to *pa* line 51, Kölbinger rightly noted, 'Uebrigens bekundet engl.¹ v. 51 ein mangelhaftes verständniss des zusammenhanges, denn nicht auf todte, nur auf lebende kann sich der ganze ausspruch beziehen' ('Zwei mittelenglische Bearbeitungen', p. 66).

⁸³ For example, 'quakeden' (L330b and 335) is based on the single occurrence of 'cum tremore' (W88.10), and reinforced by 'chyuereden faste' (335); 94a is new and repeats 79a; 318b is a new pre-echo of 320, and 517-19 of 520-21.

⁸⁴ For example, L193 and 196.

⁸⁵ For example, L464 and 602.

⁸⁶ See further the discussion by O. S. Pickering, *The South English Ministry and Passion*, Middle English Texts, 16 (Heidelberg, 1984), pp. 50-53.

⁸⁷ Görlach comments, 'an error most likely due to a misreading of "Jervaulx" for "Jarrow" ', p. 236, note 169.

⁸⁸ Hans Käsmann, Review of *The South English Legendary*, edited by Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, Volume III, EETS, os 244 (London, 1959), in *Anglia*, 78 (1960), 232-38, pp. 235-36. I quote from L; Käsmann cites C705-8.

⁸⁹ L662-65 derive from Owein's speech commending his king's proposal to receive Cistercian monks into his territory:

. . . gaudenter debetis monachos Cisterciensis ordinis in terra uestra
suscipere, quoniam, ut uerum fatear, in alio seculo in tanta gloria non uidi
alios homines in quanta uidi eos esse. (W142.35-41)

⁹⁰ Theodor Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters*, Buchreihe der Anglia, 10 (Tübingen, 1964), p. 242, refers to Käsmann's discussion without pressing the case. Görlach says, 'There are some SEL passages in which the Cistercians are prominent, but the interest in the order is not consistent throughout' (p. 48), and notes these lines (p. 236, note 169).

⁹¹ *T*, of course, predates the founding of the mendicant orders.

⁹² Annie Samson, 'The South English Legendary: Constructing a Context', in *Thirteenth Century England, I: Proceedings of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference, 1985*, edited by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), 185-95 (p. 192, and see p. 190).

⁹³ Samson, p. 194.