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The Appeal and Reception of the *Legend of Saint Eustace* in Early
Medieval England and Medieval Scandinavia

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DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the English Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

THE APPEAL AND RECEPTION OF THE *LEGEND OF SAINT EUSTACE* IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA

James McIntosh

The *Legend of Saint Eustace* (BHL 2760) is an unusual saint's life which was widely circulated in medieval Europe, but has received relatively little scholarly attention beyond its roots in folklore and the sources used in vernacular translations. This is especially the case for its reflexes that can be linked to tenth-century England and medieval Scandinavia.

This thesis will examine the transmission and reception of the *Legend* in early medieval England, focusing on the tenth century, and in medieval Scandinavia, where the West Norse tradition in Norway and Iceland is active between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries. Several relevant reflexes of the tradition will undergo close textual analysis – the Latin base *Legend* (as extant in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9), an Old English translation, a putatively English Latin versification, a Norse skaldic versification and four Norse prose translations. A second, less popular Eustace tradition (represented by BHL 2761 and its versification) will also be examined to provide further context. This analysis will utilise a combination of polysystem theory and *skopos* theory to ascertain the intended audiences for the various reflexes and the intentions of the redactors in transmitting the *Legend*. In so doing, this thesis will examine the development of the Eustace tradition and its reception across chronological and geographic areas which, while in some ways distinct, are culturally linked. It will also explore the ways in which the *Legend* challenged the boundaries of sanctity and genre and interacted with other traditions, especially that of the study of Boethius, and how these aspects affected its reception and popularity in England and Scandinavia.

The thesis will be accompanied by an edition and translation of the Latin base text as extant in CCC 9 and an edition and translation of the potentially English Latin versification, which has no official translation and was last edited in 1881. These will provide valuable material for future researchers of the early medieval Eustace tradition.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- C9 – the Legend of St Eustace as preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, fols. 117v–22r. Edited below, Appendix I
- CCL – the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, an eleventh-century collection of hagiography now extant in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 and London, BL MS Cotton Nero E. I but which originally formed a single manuscript
- DCP – Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Ed. and trans. S. J. Tester, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, in *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; Translation by H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester and The Consolation of Philosophy; Translation by S. J. Tester*, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart et. al., Loeb Classical Library 74 (Cambridge, MA and London, 1918; new edition 1973), pp. 130–435
- EP – an untitled ‘Eustace Poem’ based on the less widely circulated BHL 2761 tradition. Ed. E. Dümmler, ‘Rythmen aus der carolingischen zeit’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 23 (1879), 261–80
- LSE – the Legend of St Eustace
- LoS – Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Lives of Saints* collection, found in London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. vii. Ed. W. W. Skeat, *Aelfric’s Lives of Saints: being A Set of Sermons on Saints’ Days formerly observed by the English Church*, 2. vols (London, 1881), pp. 190–219
- OEB – *The Old English Boethius*. Two Old English translations of *De Consolatione de Philosophiae* (B and C). Ed. M. Godden and S. Irvine, *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius’s De Consolatione Philosophiae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2009)
- OEE – *The Passio Sancti Eustachii Martyris Sociorumque Eius*, an Old English translation of the Legend of St Eustace extant in London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. vii.. Ed. W. W. Skeat, *Aelfric’s Lives of Saints: being A Set of Sermons on Saints’ Days formerly observed by the English Church*, 2. vols (London, 1881), pp. 190–219

- PID – *Plácitusdrápa*, ed. J. Louis-Jensen and T. Wills, ‘Anonymous, *Plácitusdrápa*’ in *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages: Part I: The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* ed. M. Clunies-Ross (Brepolis, 2007), 179–220
- PIS – *Plácitus saga*. Four recensions (A, B, C, D), ed. J. Tucker, *Plácitus saga: With an Edition of Plácitusdrápa by Jonna Louis-Jensen* (Copenhagen, 1998)
- VBE – *Vita Beati Eustachii*, ed. H. Varnhagen, ‘Zwei lateinische metrische versionen der legend von Placidus–Eustachius II: Eine version in hexametern’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 25 (1881), 1–25

1 - INTRODUCTION

The Legend of Saint Eustace (LSE) was a Latin saint's life that was known across Western Europe in the medieval period. LSE was also adapted into various prose and poetic versions, and was translated and versified in several vernaculars, including German, French, Italian and Spanish. The bulk of these reflexes date from the thirteenth century onwards.¹ In exploring the reasons behind the popularity of LSE, it is pertinent to examine how it developed and how it was treated when translated and adapted into different genres in different areas at different times. While Heffernan was of the firm opinion that LSE was circulated widely because its entertainment value gave it popular appeal,² it is worth examining both the nature of that popular appeal and other aspects that may account for its transmission and reception.

Early medieval England and medieval Western Scandinavia provide useful case-studies for comparison, since both areas produced vernacular and poetic adaptations of LSE. Both traditions also contain some of the earliest vernacular reflexes of LSE, since the Old English translation was made in the 990s and *Plácitusdrápa* was composed in the late twelfth century.

Close religious cultural ties between England and Scandinavia also make a comparative treatment of their respective Eustace traditions worthwhile. Early links between English and Scandinavian Churches have been noted by scholars, and these were a consequence of missionaries sent to Scandinavia from England.³ The number of English saints who came to be venerated in Scandinavia likewise resulted from this missionary activity.⁴ It is plausible therefore that a potential route for LSE entering the Scandinavian literary tradition was via English missionaries. Such a relationship may be indicated by any textual links. The closeness of the Norse saga tradition to the version of LSE in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, a relative of the likely source of the Old English translation, is one potential indicator of this relationship.⁵

There are, however, differences between the English and Norse traditions that must be considered. Firstly, the Norse versions are all vernacular, while one of the reflexes linked to tenth-century England belongs firmly to the Latin poetic tradition (although its composition has not been conclusively located to England⁶). It should likewise be noted that the English

¹ See Monteverdi, 'I testi della leggenda'.

² Heffernan, 'Narrative Motifs', pp. 66–7.

³ See Sawyer and Sawyer, 'Scandinavia enters Christian Europe', pp. 150–3 and Brink, 'Christianisation', pp. 623, 626.

⁴ For example, Toy found some seventy-four English saints in Scandinavian liturgical manuscript fragments (*English Saints*).

⁵ See §1.1.

⁶ There are strong arguments in favour of an English provenance, however; see §3.3.1.

and Norse traditions considered here do not overlap chronologically – two centuries separate the English versions from the earliest Norse witnesses.

Significantly, the Norse recensions keep the core Eustace tradition intact for much longer than in England. There are some early Middle English versifications of LSE that keep the tradition largely unchanged,⁷ as well as a shortened, but intact, prose version circulated in the *Legenda Aurea*.⁸ By the later Middle Ages, however, the tradition is generally so heavily adapted and influenced by Continental Romance traditions that, while the texts clearly have their roots in the Eustace tradition, they cannot be said to be LSE, and these texts outnumber the reflexes of the ‘intact’ tradition. Examples include *Sir Isumbras*⁹ and the *Gesta Romanorum*,¹⁰ which was popular both in England and on the Continent. In Scandinavia, however, the narrative material of LSE remains largely unchanged in vernacular adaptations, excepting some alterations for aesthetic and emphatic reasons, up until the nineteenth century. While the D-Recension of *Plácitus saga* alters the LSE narrative considerably, this is an outlier in the Norse tradition, and so will be considered as an outlier in comparison to the more widespread Norse variants. As such, LSE clearly had appeal in Scandinavia, especially Iceland, across the medieval and Early Modern period.

⁷ These include a poem preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86 (ed. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden* pp. 211–19), and another in MS Vernon (ed. Horstmann, ‘Die Evangelien Geschichten’, pp. 262–72). Neither poem significantly alters the plot. The Digby 86 poem is a shortened version which shows a greater interest in narrative aesthetics, while the Vernon poem contains several homiletic asides and emphasises patient endurance in pursuit of a reward. Neither poem departs markedly from LSE, and a full analysis of the texts falls outside the constraints of this thesis.

⁸ See Jacobus de Voraigne, *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 712–18 and William Caxton’s English translation in *Legende, named in Latyn Legenda auera*, fols. 290–2.

⁹ Manion, for example, regarded *Sir Isumbras* as an ‘analogue’ of LSE rather than a variant (Manion, *Narrating the Crusades*, p. 75) and stated that ‘[w]hile I acknowledge [the] parallels to [LSE], the poem’s reworking of this material is only comprehensible in light of the social and political changes wrought by the crusade’ (*Ibid.* p. 244 n.33). Purdie likewise described *Sir Isumbras* as a successful experimental synthesis of hagiographic and romance genres (Purdie, ‘Generic Identity’, p. 124). Both note that *Sir Isumbras* dates from the period after which LSE began to decline in popularity (Manion, *Narrating the Crusade* p. 75; Purdie, ‘Generic Identity’ p. 117; see also Braswell, “‘Sir Isumbras’”, p. 150), suggesting an attempt to repurpose a waning tradition rather than continue it per se. The synthesis of the base narrative of LSE with fantastical material, a more overtly Crusade-oriented narrative and the replacement of his martyrdom with a happy ending is particularly striking.

¹⁰ The tale of *Wife and Two Children Lost* in the *Gesta Romanorum* is clearly based on central episodes of LSE in terms of structure, although much of the content is altered. The Placidus-Eustace conversion narrative and martyrdom are removed, and several fantastical and courtly elements are added. These include a framing device of a tournament, a nightingale being the messenger informing the protagonist of his coming tribulation, and a magical stone becomes the agent of their reunion. This version of the story is preserved in twenty-six of the forty-four extant manuscripts of the fifteenth-century Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Bright, *Anglo-Latin Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 174–87; see pp. xxix, lxxxix–cvii). A Middle English version entitled *Averyos the Emperoure* (ed. Herbage, *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 87–93) is also extant in London, British Library, MS Harley 7333, which is contemporaneous with the Anglo-Latin, being dated to the second or third quarter of the fifteenth century (Detailed Record for Harley 7333, *The British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6337>> [accessed 22/8/19]).

In light of the issues outlined above, this thesis will consider the transmission of LSE in both cultures with an eye to their similarities and differences. It will identify the intended audiences of the Eustace variants, and how differences in the targeted social and cultural milieu affected the treatment of the source material in different reflexes.

1.1 – THE TEXTS

The reflexes of LSE that will be examined in this thesis are:

- The *Passio Sancti Eustachii Martyris Sociorumque Eius* (OEE), an anonymous Old English translation, dated to the late tenth century.¹¹
- BHL 2767, entitled the *Vita et Passio Beati Eustachii et uxoris filiorumque eius* (VBE),¹² which Lapidge has argued was composed in England.¹³
- *Plácíusdrápa* (PID),¹⁴ a vernacular poetic translation of LSE in *dróttkvætt*, dated to late twelfth-century Norway.
- *Plácíus saga* (PIS), of which there are four versions (A, B, C, D). Witnesses of PIS(ABD) are extant from medieval Western Scandinavia; witnesses of PIS(C) are extant only from nineteenth-century Iceland.¹⁵

The textual and manuscript traditions of these reflexes will be discussed more thoroughly in their relevant sections.

While the standard edition of the Latin LSE is BHL 2760,¹⁶ as edited by the Bollandists in *Acta Sanctorum*,¹⁷ this thesis will use the version extant in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (fol. 117v–22r), the earliest representation of the so-called Cotton-Corpus Legendary (CCL), as a base-text (C9) for comparison with vernacular and poetic versions of LSE.

John Tucker identified two main groupings of manuscripts of LSE, which he largely divided based on the spellings of proper names, although beyond this diagnostic feature each

¹¹ All OEE quotes are taken from Skeat, ed. *Lives of Saints* II, pp. 190–219. Translations are my own, based on Skeat.

¹² See Appendix II for an updated edition based on that of Varnhagen, ‘Zwei lateinische metrische versionen’ (1881). Translations are my own.

¹³ Lapidge, ‘Æthelwold’; see §3.3.1.

¹⁴ Edited and translated by Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’. I largely follow their translation, unless otherwise noted, as the translation occasionally misses important theological aspects.

¹⁵ All are edited by Tucker in *Plácíus saga*. Translations of the A recension are based on Tucker’s translation, translations of BCD are my own.

¹⁶ It should be noted that LSE was originally translated from a Greek *vita* (Monteverdi, ‘La leggenda’, p. 174); this thesis will focus on the Latin Eustace tradition and its influence.

¹⁷ *Acta Sanctorum, Septembris Tomus Sextus*, ed. J. Carnand et al., pp. 106–37.

group also had distinctive variations in the text.¹⁸ The first group, which Tucker designated ‘P’, rendered the names of Eustace’s wife and youngest son as ‘Theospita’ and ‘Theospitus’ respectively, which the ‘Q’ grouping renders the names as ‘Theop(h)ista’ and ‘Theop(h)istus’. C9 is a member of the latter grouping, which Tucker stated was ‘slightly inferior to the P (group), though (the Q group) occasionally preserves better readings.’¹⁹

Despite this caveat, C9 is the more relevant recension to a thesis focused on the reception and transmission of LSE in English and Scandinavian contexts. This is because Hugh Magennis convincingly showed that OEE is closer to C9 than to BHL 2760,²⁰ while my own analysis of VBE suggests that it is similar to C9 and to BHL 2760 in roughly equal measure. Additionally, the provenance of C9 makes it worth consideration in its own right as a version of LSE known to have been in tenth-century England. Although the manuscript post-dates both OEE and VBE, being dated to between the years 1050 and 1075,²¹ Patrick Zettel discovered close correspondences between CCL and the *vitae* recorded in Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Lives of Saints* (London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii), indicating that Ælfric used a form of CCL as a source.²² A version of LSE similar, if not identical to, C9 is therefore likely to have existed in tenth-century England, contemporaneously with OEE and VBE. C9 is also relevant to the Scandinavian tradition, as Tucker used C9 to supplement the Latin base text for his edition of PIS, which included Louis-Jensen’s edition of PID. For the sake of consistency, therefore, C9 will be used as the base-text of LSE except in rare cases in VBE where the material is substantially closer to BHL 2760.

1.2 – METHODOLOGY

This dissertation will first discuss the general themes and history of LSE, along with its reception on the Continent in the early medieval period. Other relevant variants will be considered to provide context for the reception of the Legend in England and Scandinavia. The reception of LSE in tenth-century England will then be examined, with detailed discussion of

¹⁸ See Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. xlii. See *Plácidus saga*, pp. xxxix–xlii for a list of relevant manuscripts and the textual variants.

¹⁹ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. xlii. This should not be confused with the P/Q Celtic linguistic distinction.

²⁰ Magennis, ‘Sources’.

²¹ Jackson and Lapidge date the composition of CCL to the third quarter of the eleventh century (‘Cotton-Corpus Legendary’, p. 132), while Zettel suggests a more precise date of c. 1060 (‘Saints’ Lives, p. 19).

²² Zettel, ‘Saints’ Lives’. His findings are followed by Hill, ‘Dissemination’; Lapidge, ‘Sainly Life’ and ‘Æthelwold’; Jackson and Lapidge, ‘Cotton-Corpus Legendary’; Whatley, ‘Introduction’. Olsen agrees but mistakenly dates CCL to s. ix-x^m (‘Beggar’s Saint’, p. 461). Magennis summarises the arguments in ‘Eustachius, passio’ and attempts to apply the same principles to the anonymous interpolations in Cotton Julius E. vii. in ‘Sources’. In his edition of the Life of Mary of Egypt Magennis stated that CCL ‘served as Ælfric’s main source for his saints’ lives’ (*Mary of Egypt*, p. 13); this is perhaps overstating the case.

influences on OEE and VBE, along with some consideration of the arguments for identifying where VBE was composed. This will be followed by an exploration of the reception of LSE in Western Scandinavia, specifically Norway and Iceland, and textual examination of the various recensions of PIS and the early poetic manifestation, PID. The close literary analysis that forms the basis of this dissertation will be performed within a framework proposed by Lynne Long; a combination of polysystem theory and *skopos* theory.²³

1.2.1 – SKOPOS THEORY

Skopos theory was formulated by Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer.²⁴ It conceives of translation as an action which has a specific communication goal, described as the *skopos* ('intent, goal, function').²⁵ Vermeer defined the *skopos* rule thus:

translate/interpret/speak/write in a way which enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function.²⁶

As Long stated, '[i]t was perfectly possible for each translation to have a different *skopos*, while the translator's motive remained constant.'²⁷ In terms of this thesis, the motive of the translator was to transmit LSE, where the *skopos* varies from text to text depending on the socio-cultural background of the intended audience. The question that must be addressed is how these anonymous translators altered LSE to appeal best to different audiences.

Although VBE and PID are not technically translations, but intralingual versifications, *skopos* theory can still be applied.²⁸ The act of versification itself must have had an intention, and an intended audience, and in this way examining the treatment of the text as a means of discovering this *skopos* is a useful and valid approach.

1.2.2 – POLYSYSTEM THEORY

Polysystem theory, developed by Itamar Even-Zohar, conceives literatures as a 'heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate of systems which interact to bring about an

²³ See Long, 'Medieval literature'.

²⁴ Reiss and Vermeer, *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie*.

²⁵ Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 70.

²⁶ Vermeer, *Skopos und Translationsauftrag*, p. 20; quoted and translated by Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity*, p. 29.

²⁷ Long, 'Medieval literature', p. 64.

²⁸ VBE is a versification of the Latin prose, while Tucker states that PID is likelier to be based on a Norse, rather than a Latin, recension, although no extant recension of PIS is conclusively related to PID barring PIS(C), which appears to have been influenced by PID (Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, pp. ciii–cxvii).

ongoing, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole.²⁹ Within each polysystem, elements (which can be genres or specific texts) compete for dominance, moving to the centre where they become part of the canonized repertoire (i.e. those elements of literature accepted as canon by the dominant intellectual elite of the culture in question). As a result of such interactions, both between literary elements and other cultural conditions such as religious or political regimes, under certain circumstances elements of a system can move from the periphery of one polysystem to the peripheries of another;³⁰ in other words, texts originally perceived as belonging to one genre could be received by audiences as belonging to another, or both, or neither. Polysystem theory also states that there are certain circumstances under which translated literature (such as hagiography) becomes central: when a literary system is young, when it is weak or peripheral (i.e. holds a lower cultural status, as with vernacular against Latin literatures in much of medieval Europe), or during cultural crisis points that create literary vacuums.³¹ This theory has recently been applied to Norse literary studies; Bampi used it to contextualise the development of *fornaldarsögur*³² while Siân Grønlie used it to examine the impact of translated hagiography on the development of Icelandic literature.³³ Polysystem theory has also proved useful in examining the generic hybridity in some ‘borderline sagas’, as observed by Massimiliano Bampi, Marianne Kalinke, Elizabeth Ashman Rowe and others.³⁴

Polysystem theory is useful to consider in light of the socio-cultural milieu through which the Eustace tradition was transmitted. Not only will the texts undergo changes in form and in detail, but these changes may also lead to the texts being treated as belonging to a different genre from their original source texts. As LSE began as a folk tale that was adapted to a Christian milieu and entered the hagiographic polysystem, so the demands of audience or form may have led to it being received and transmitted in a way that made it peripheral between polysystems or caused it to occupy a new polysystem entirely.

The advantages to using these theories when considering the transmission histories and development of historical texts are clear, and were summarised by Long thus:

As both *skopos* theory and polysystems theory are characterized by prioritization of the target text, these ideas can support research into medieval translation, where source

²⁹ Shuttleworth, ‘Polysystem Theory’, p. 176.

³⁰ See Even-Zohar, ‘Polysystem Theory’ for a complete layout of the theoretical structure.

³¹ Even-Zohar, ‘Translated Literature’, p. 47.

³² Bampi, ‘Development of the *Fornaldarsögur*’.

³³ Grønlie, *Saint and the Saga Hero*.

³⁴ Kalinke, ‘Textual Instability’; Bampi, ‘Development of the *Fornaldarsögur*’; Ashman Rowe, ‘Generic Hybrids’.

texts are indistinct and difficult to pinpoint. By using both approaches we can cover both large- and small-scale events: polysystems theory provides a framework for examining translation in a broad context of the canonical literature of a particular language system; while *skopos* theory focuses on the function of one particular translational act. Both theories are concerned with the effect of the translated text: the former on the literary system and the latter on the intended audience. Both allow for the development of the source text through translation, since the translated text generates literary development by feeding into the host literature and contesting the allocation of central positions to domestic production. Finally, the *skopos* approach allows for further translations of the same text to meet the criteria of a different target audience.³⁵

The transmission and the reception of LSE are both of interest. Developments in transmission can be most clearly seen in alterations made to LSE, both on a macro- and micro-textual level. Developments in reception can be seen in the transmission context of the respective reflexes, as the genres of texts with which LSE-reflexes were circulated indicates how the redactor or compiler conceived of them. This thesis will utilise *skopos* theory in examining the texts in relation to their sources, and, where relevant, to each other, to explore whether alterations made in transmission indicate the *skopoi* of the texts. In circumstances where there are enough differences in the text and transmission context that the reflex of LSE appears to have been reworked or transmitted with a different audience in mind to that of other, earlier versions of LSE, then this generic development will be considered using polysystem theory. This two-pronged approach will enable consideration of each reflex of LSE on an individual level and as part of wider literary systems. This will make it easier to contextualise the reflexes of LSE with each other and other texts on both macro- and micro-levels. Through these approaches, this dissertation will ascertain whether the reception of LSE in tenth-century England and medieval Scandinavia was based on more than simply its entertainment value as a quasi-romantic tale.

³⁵ Long, 'Medieval literature', p. 65.

As LSE has rarely been studied in its own right,¹ it will be instructive to analyse it before discussing the vernacular and poetic reflexes of LSE that can be linked to medieval England and Scandinavia. Accordingly, this chapter will explore themes in the narrative, followed by an examination of structural aspects of LSE that have previously gone unnoticed. Other relevant versions of LSE known in Continental Europe in the early medieval period, contemporary with the original Latin LSE, will also be considered to contextualise LSE in the wider tradition.

First, the plot of LSE should be summarised:

Placidus,² a rich and influential officer³ in the Roman army who, though pagan, is known for performing good deeds, sees a vision of Christ between the antlers of a stag he is hunting. Christ praises his good deeds and exhorts him to convert. Placidus and his wife, who has seen a similar vision, are baptised along with their two sons. Placidus takes the name Eustace and his wife, Theophista. In a second vision, Christ informs Eustace that he must be tested in a similar way to Job due to the Devil's anger at losing him. Eustace accepts the trial. First his material wealth is lost, and the family flee to Egypt. While sailing there, the heathen captain of the ship kidnaps Theophista in lieu of a fare. Soon afterwards, while crossing a large river, Eustace's sons are carried off by a lion and a wolf respectively. Eustace despairs and contemplates suicide. Once this impulse is overcome, he laments and complains to God, comparing his former life and current position with that of Job and claiming that he has been treated worse. He subsequently reconciles himself with his loss, puts his trust in God, and takes up residence in the town of Dadissus.⁴

¹ Most scholarly interest in LSE has concerned its roots in folklore. See Gerould, 'Forerunners', Krappe, 'La leggenda', Monteverdi, 'La leggenda', and Petersen, 'Les origines' for summaries. LSE is generally agreed to have an Eastern origin as a reflex of the "Man Tried by Fate" story-type. Indeed, Placidus-Eustace is the example given for Type 938 in the Aarne-Thompson motif index (Aarne and Thompson, *Types of Folktale*, pp. 331–2), although here we must be careful to avoid circular arguments of classification. Links have been suggested with the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, but Delehayé observed that though the analogue is interesting it doesn't appear to be linked to the origins of LSE (see Delehayé, 'La légende de saint Eustache', pp. 184–5). While the separation takes place at sea in both cases (a shipwreck in the *Recognitiones*), the framing of the separation and the circumstances of the reunion are substantially different.

² Some versions read *Placidus*. For clarity, the name will be normalised to Placidus. In later analysis, Placidus will be used to refer to the saint before his baptism, and Eustace to refer to him after his baptism.

³ Placidus is described as a *magister militum*. This was a position at the head of the Roman army instituted by Constantine (see Ioannes Lyndus, *De Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae*, II.10 and III.40, ed. and trans. Bandy, *On Powers*, pp. 166–9, 274–9). Such an exalted position emphasises Placidus-Eustace's later degradation and return to his former status. It is possible, however, that these nuances were less well known in the medieval period.

⁴ As central structural aspects of the *vita*, the Trial and the Lament will be capitalised when they are specifically referred to.

Fifteen years later, the Roman Empire is invaded. Emperor Trajan remembers Placidus' prowess before his mysterious disappearance and sends soldiers to find him. Two of Eustace's former soldiers, Antiochus and Acaius, encounter him and see through his attempts to hide his identity. He is taken back to Rome in triumph and reinstalled as head of the army. His sons, who have been miraculously spared and raised in the same town as one another, are recruited into the army. Eustace places them foremost in his service but fails to recognise them. During their campaign, the Romans camp in the same garden in which Theophista now lives. She overhears her sons reminiscing and realising that they are brothers, before recognising that they are her sons in turn. When she then recognises Eustace, the family is reunited. After the war is won, they return to Rome in splendour, bearing many treasures and captives.

By the time they arrive, Trajan has died and been succeeded by the more heathen Hadrian. When Eustace refuses to sacrifice to idols in thanks for his victory and the return of his family, he and his family are first interrogated, then thrown to lions. The lions refuse to harm them, and the saints are instead martyred by being roasted alive in a bronze bull, after making a final prayer to God. When their incorrupt bodies are found three days later, Hadrian is horrified but the people of Rome rejoice.

The structure of LSE does not fit that of a standard *vita*.⁵ Furthermore, Eustace's lack of trust in God, and his despair that tempts him to the mortal sin of suicide, are atypical of hagiographic protagonists. Saints generally display perfect faith and behaviour in the face of torments, where Eustace is sorely tested, comes close to failure, and overcomes. He is a more flawed and human figure than a typical saint.

His imperfection also visibly affects his level of understanding. When discovered by his former companions, he hides his identity, despite God's promise that he is to be restored to his former status, inadvertently resisting God's plan.⁶ Likewise, when Theophista recognises him and asks where her sons are, he insists that beasts have killed them,⁷ though God has told

⁵ Only three of the nine points of Boyer's 'immutable' nine-point schema for an 'ideal' *vita* are fulfilled by LSE (Boyer, 'typology', p. 32). Additionally, no miracles are attributed to Eustace. Furthermore, Eustace's life does not fit the typology set out by Goulet (*Écriture et réécriture*, p. 213). This can be attributed to the atypical nature of LSE; since it is a folk-tale of the 'Man Tried By Fate' group with additional conversion and martyrdom episodes taken from Daniel and other Greek and folkloric sources (Gerould, 'Forerunners'), we can view LSE as more of a 'Christianised folktale' and as such not bound by Boyer's rather rigid typological framework.

⁶ C9 194–214.

⁷ C9 290–3.

him that they will be reunited soon.⁸ Though Eustace serves God well in deeds, he sometimes lacks the understanding of God displayed by more traditional saints.

2.1 – RELIGIOUS THEMES

2.1.1 – SALVATION

Salvation is a central theme in LSE, as Placidus provides a classic example of the ‘virtuous pagan’ or ‘noble heathen’, i.e. a non-Christian who nevertheless performs good deeds. A central concern in LSE is what Marenbon termed ‘The Problem of Paganism’: if non-Christians are bound for eternal hell, then God has damned countless people because of where and when they were born, if they were not exposed to the Gospel by geography or temporality.⁹ According to the Augustinian model of Original Sin, pagans such as Placidus who performed charitable deeds would be ‘condemned to eternal punishment, and yet it is hard to see how such a judgement [...] could be made by a just God.’¹⁰ Augustine taught that without baptismal grace no human could hope to do good. While pagans could perform virtuous deeds, without grace such deeds were false and born of sinful motives such as pride rather than a desire for God, and so could not secure salvation.¹¹ This model would render the enumeration of Placidus’ good deeds at the beginning of LSE void, undercut by the interjection, ‘sed et demone captus’.¹² Yet the comparison of Placidus to Cornelius, a God-fearing centurion who is also told in a vision to seek baptism in response to his good deeds,¹³ suggests that the composer of LSE believed that, despite a lack of knowledge of God, good deeds could earn a reward, even if God were unknown to the enactor. This idea of reward is explicit in that God ‘bona non d(e)spexit eius opera nec uoluit benignam et deo dignam mentem sine mercede deseri’¹⁴. While there is still a risk of desertion by God, God nevertheless gives Placidus the opportunity to achieve the grace required for salvation. Likewise, Placidus’ deeds later appear to constitute a form of faith when Christ introduces himself as ‘christus quem ignorans colis’;¹⁵ although this

⁸ C9 190–3.

⁹ Marenbon, ‘Boethius and the Problem of Paganism’, pp. 331–2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, pp. 33, 35.

¹² C9 5, ‘but he was also captured by demons’.

¹³ C9 8–9 ‘sicut in actibus apostolorum legitur, etiam in his temporibus cornelius uideretur’ (‘just as is read in the Acts of the Apostles, he seemed also in these times like Cornelius’). The account in Acts 10 of Cornelius – a god-fearing man who gives alms and prays to God who is told to receive Christianity from Paul – is similar to that of Placidus, albeit Placidus does not pray. LSE later emphasises similarities to Paul rather than Cornelius in C9 28–9, presumably to highlight the visionary aspects.

¹⁴ C9 13–14, ‘did not despise his works, nor did he want a mind that was good and worthy to God to be deserted without a reward’.

¹⁵ C9 36, ‘Christ, whom you unknowingly worship’.

is tempered by Christ's statement that it is not fitting 'dilectum meum propter bona opera seruire doemoniis immundis'.¹⁶ There is a sense here that deeds can merit grace, but that deeds alone are insufficient. Placidus may have earned Christ's favour through his works, but he nevertheless serves the Devil as he is unbaptised.¹⁷ As C9 states, it is God who 'cunctas uias ad salutem hominum prouidet'.¹⁸ Furthermore, the image of the righteous soul striving after God can be seen in LSE in the stag by which Christ calls Placidus. It has been noted by Petersen that in the early church the stag was considered an appropriate symbol to depict on baptismal fonts,¹⁹ perhaps due to the image of the deer panting for water (i.e. the Spirit) in Psalm 41:2. Alain Boureau also noted the associations of the deer with Psalm 41 and baptism, and also suggested that through these associations the stag in LSE represents both Christ the Saviour and Placidus the Saved.²⁰ The joint images of hunting and the stag, associated with seeking God, in Placidus' conversion episode serve to emphasise the moment of Placidus' conversion and salvation.

Significantly, the statement of Placidus' heathenism (being *demone captus* ('captured by demons'))²¹ divides the list of his virtues roughly in two. The first part (C9 4–5) states his secular virtues of birth, wealth and power, while the second (C9 5–9) enumerates the more Christian virtues of charity and concern for the poor and oppressed, while his military virtues are separated from the others by a description of his family (C9 9–11). By following an account of Placidus' secular worth with an admission of his heathenism, the composer underscores that these values cannot redeem Placidus from his heathenism. The following description of Placidus' pseudo-Christian charity then separates this aspect of his character from his worldly status and hints at his potential for redemption. The separation of his military prowess from this juxtaposition of good and bad is probably because as a secular value it was not considered inherently bad, in that it could be turned to the good of the community, and would later be used in a positive light in LSE.²²

¹⁶ C9 38–39, 'that one who is delightful to me on account of his good works should serve unclean demons'.

¹⁷ LSE is emphatic on this point: in this first vision, Christ describes baptism as both *baptismum gratie* ('the baptism of grace' (C9 52)) and instructs him: 'accipientes signum baptismi mundamini a pollutione idolorum' ('receiving the sign of baptism, be cleansed from the pollution of idols' (C9 54–5)). Though the works are given more worth than in an Augustinian model of grace, baptism is nevertheless necessary for salvation. The importance of baptism is further emphasised at C9 63–5, 69, and 84.

¹⁸ C9 27–8, 'provides all men the paths towards their salvation'.

¹⁹ Petersen, 'Les origines', p. 73.

²⁰ Boureau, 'Placido Tramite', p. 685.

²¹ C9 5.

²² See §2.2 for the positive depiction of secular vocations and militarism in LSE.

Marenbon noted that, while modern Christians are generally comfortable with the idea that a non-Christian can do good, ‘most late and medieval Christians, even thinkers and writers, were either unconcerned with non-Christians or hostile to them.’²³ That LSE explores this aspect of salvation makes it a text worthy of analysis.

2.1.2 – GRACE

When discussing grace theology and the interplay between free will and divine foreknowledge in achieving salvation, the opposing stances of Augustine and Pelagius must be mentioned. Based on his readings of Romans 9 and 1 Cor 4:7 (‘quid autem habes quod non accepisti’²⁴), Augustine came to argue that because all humanity bore Original Sin, man was incapable of doing good without grace being granted to him by God:

In Augustine’s understanding, sin’s inheritance is more insidious and correspondingly more mysterious. We are born not only with bodies destined to die, but with hearts disposed to sin. The eruption of sin into human conduct is [...] a symptom, not a source, of a disease fatal to the soul. Unlike physical diseases, we are morally accountable for soul-sickness, and thus to the doctrine of original sin Augustine appends transmissible guilt.²⁵

By this model, some souls were predestinately elected to salvation in heaven, while others had no hope of avoiding damnation. In *Ad Simplicianum* Augustine drew on Matthew 22:14 (‘Multi uocanti, pauci electi’)²⁶ and Romans 9:16 (‘igitur non uolentis neque currentis sed miserentis Dei’)²⁷ to argue that ‘[i]lli enim electi qui congruenter uocati, illi autem qui non congruebant neque contemperabantur uocationi non electi, qui non secuti quamuis uocati.’²⁸ Augustine also makes the argument that God calls those chosen for salvation in a manner suited to their character: ‘[c]uius autem miseretur, sic eum uocat, quomodo scit ei congruere, ut uocantem non respuat.’²⁹ The calling of Placidus, a keen hunter, while chasing a stag clearly fits this

²³ Marenbon, ‘Boethius and the Problem of Paganism’, p. 332.

²⁴ ‘Or what do you have that you have not received?’

²⁵ Wetzel, ‘Snares of Truth’, p. 126.

²⁶ ‘Many are called, few are chosen’.

²⁷ ‘So it is not of him that wills, nor of him who hastens, but of God who shows mercy’.

²⁸ *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, I.ii.13, ll. 369–71 (ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 38), ‘For the chosen are those who have been called in an appropriate way, whereas those who did not consent and were not obedient to the call are not chosen, because they did not follow even though they were called’. Translated by Ramsey, *Response*, p. 195.

²⁹ *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, I.ii.13, ll. 377–8 (ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 38), ‘But the person on whom he has mercy he calls in such a way as he knows is appropriate for him, so that he may not reject him who calls’. Translated by Ramsey, *Responses*, p. 195.

model. This is acknowledged by Theophista, who observes that Christ chose such a form ‘ut eius mirari possis potentiam credens in eum’.³⁰

Augustine argued that this predestination to punishment was not cruel of God, but merely God’s foreknowledge of sin that merited punishment;³¹ it was more pre-emptive than pre-chosen. Likewise, Augustine never argued that humans lacked free will. He rather suggested that humans had wills that were *liberi* (‘free’), but not *liberati* (‘freed’) to do good.³² To Augustine, this model ensured humility; if one could perform good without the aid of God – which he stated was impossible – then one might risk taking pride in one’s goodness. The only way for a Christian to remain humble was to acknowledge that all their good came from God alone; if this seemed unfair, then one had to remember that God’s purpose was inscrutable to mortals.

The position of Pelagius is normally represented as opposing this austere model of grace.³³ Where Augustine championed humility in the face of God’s ineffable mercy, Pelagius favoured God’s justice. Pelagius argued against the idea of transmittable Original Sin; his reading of Romans 5:12 differed from that of Augustine in his ‘limiting the inheritance of sin to physical death [...] Spiritual death, referring to the soul, is not hereditary and, therefore, we can avoid it if circumstances are favourable to our efforts.’³⁴ Kleist summarised this position thus:

God [...] does not command people to do what is beyond their ability; human beings’ free will must thus be sufficient for them to fulfil God’s commands. Pelagius acknowledges the need for grace, but defines grace as the gift of human capacity for moral choice and the subsequent instruction of the Law and of Christ. Through such gifts [...] individuals have both the knowledge of God’s requirements and the ability to carry them out. Adam’s disobedience does not hamper his descendants; people’s minds may become clouded [...] through the yoke of habitual sins, but such impediments may be overcome by the illumination provided by scripture. Faith, then, is a meritorious

³⁰ C9 63, ‘that you might wonder more at his power and believe in him’.

³¹ Rist, ‘Augustine on Free Will’, p. 429.

³² *Ibid.* p. 424.

³³ Assumptions about Pelagius’ position are strongly influenced by the presentation of it in Augustine’s writings against him, for example: *De Bono viduitatis*, *De Gratia Christi* and *De gestis Pelagii*. See also Kleist, *Striving with Grace* p. 6; Wetzel, ‘Snares of Truth’.

³⁴ Wetzel, ‘Snares of Truth’, p 126.

human decision to which God responds by providing the grace of further understanding.³⁵

Augustine and Pelagius only truly differed concerning humanity's level of autonomy. Both believed that God's grace was necessary for salvation; the point of contention was the extent to which this grace could be earned.

Most medieval Christian thinkers trod a middle ground, an example of which is the view that 'people required God's help to accomplish good, but [...] could desire good and seek God's aid in bringing good to pass'.³⁶ Gregory the Great took up a similar position between Augustine and so-called Semi-Pelagianism,³⁷ arguing that corruption came through individual, rather than original, sin, and that grace frees human will to cooperate with or reject God, where Augustine held that God-given grace inevitably causes people to choose good.³⁸

LSE certainly implies that the unconverted Placidus could do good to some extent, and so follows a model of grace allowing for greater autonomy of human free will than that of Augustine; the enumeration of his virtuous acts at the beginning of the *vita* is evidence of this. Yet the statement that he has served devils up until his conversion³⁹ suggests that good deeds alone were insufficient, while the emphasis on their need of *baptismum gratie* ('the baptism of grace')⁴⁰ shows the necessity for salvation of God's intervention through grace. While the model is not Augustinian, it cannot be accused of bordering on Pelagianism.

Placidus could also be an example of what Marenbon described as someone receiving grace *de congruo*, 'which according to some thinkers attached to good actions performed out of a state of grace and provided a reason for God to infuse grace and so enable the agent to merit in the strict sense.'⁴¹ This would accord with a model of grace that emphasised God's mercy and justice, rather than Augustine's rigid championing of humility. Another interesting example is when Theophista attributes her enduring chastity through the years of their

³⁵ Kleist, *Striving with Grace*, p. 6.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 7.

³⁷ The term 'Semi-Pelagian' should be used with extreme caution, as it implies an inclination towards Pelagius. Most thinkers regarded as 'Semi-Pelagian' disagreed with Pelagius' rejection of Original Sin but agreed that limited good could originate within human beings. Their primary concern about Augustine's model was that it could be interpreted as stating that ascetic, godly, and evangelical behaviour (arguably the *raison d'être* of the Church) was pointless; if God preordained the conversion and salvation of individuals then human efforts were void. See Wetzel, 'Snares of Truth', for a discussion of the controversy.

³⁸ Kleist, *Striving with Grace*, p. 57.

³⁹ C9 38–9.

⁴⁰ C9 52.

⁴¹ Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, p. 12, footnote 11.

separation to God: ‘usque hodie seruauit Dominus castitatem meam.’⁴² While this may seem to imply that she has no hope of remaining chaste without divine help, it is stated earlier in LSE that ‘postulabat a deo ut custodieretur ab alienigenae communione.’⁴³ While God protects her chastity, it is in response to a request from her; Theophista recognises the necessity of grace and the correct source of it, while God responds in kind. In these ways, LSE explores the nature of salvation, and of what is necessary for it.

2.1.3 – PROVIDENCE AND AGENCY

The issue of divine foreknowledge as against human free will caused some difficulty to medieval theologians. According to Lars Lönnroth, medieval theologians generally solved the apparent paradox thus:

God could predict a person’s life (providence) and also determine its general course (predestination) without “determining” individual moral decisions. God would, for example, determine what kind of character a person would have, how long his life would last, and what kind of worldly success or misfortune he would have. Within these limits, the person could still choose between good and evil actions.⁴⁴

Lönnroth used *Plácitus saga* (a Norse prose variant of LSE) as an illustrative example of this framework: ‘although Placidus was fated for much suffering, it was by his own free will that he endured this suffering like a saint.’⁴⁵ Providence explicitly provides the narrative framework. It is due to God’s [*p*]rouidentia (‘providence’)⁴⁶ that Placidus’ horse does not tire, so that he is able to receive his first vision; likewise it is this providence that prevents his suicide and keeps his sons safe among beasts,⁴⁷ and which leads him and his army to the land where his kidnapped wife now lives, that they may be reunited.⁴⁸ While the saints themselves attribute their reunion and the end of their tribulation to God’s *pietas*,⁴⁹ LSE gives a clear sense that the events are part of a divine plan.

⁴² C9 283–4, ‘until today the Lord preserved my chastity’.

⁴³ C9 171, ‘she had asked God that he should guard her from communion with a foreigner’.

⁴⁴ Lönnroth, *Critical Introduction*, p. 125.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ C9 23.

⁴⁷ C9 143–5.

⁴⁸ C9 246–7.

⁴⁹ C9 296, 304. *Pietas* can be translated as ‘love’, ‘compassion’ or ‘mercy’. As no single English word can quite convey the nuances of this word, a judgement call will be made in each instance as to the most appropriate translation.

Yet LSE also presents Eustace as having control within his divinely-mandated circumstances. The most telling is the choice that Christ gives Eustace – whether to receive his Trial immediately or in the future.⁵⁰ While the Trial is inevitable, Eustace is given some agency in choosing when to receive it. Eustace chooses immediate strife, with the caveat that ‘si non est possibile euadere quae a te nobis sunt decreta’.⁵¹ This apparent reticence could be a vestige of the folkloric roots of LSE, although there are echoes of Christ’s despair in Gethsemane.⁵² Nevertheless, God is emphasised as the only means for his success: God tells him ‘gratia enim mea uobiscum est custodiens animas uestras’,⁵³ while at the end of his Lament Eustace requests ‘[p]one domine custodiam ori meo’⁵⁴. Both instances show the importance of grace in protecting against sin, and the prime agency of God in bestowing said grace.

Grace, however, does not automatically bring about success; Eustace must respond to it. It may be a product of both God’s providence and *pietas*, yet it is insufficient to ensure Eustace’s salvation. This is shown in his despairing, an emotion rarely depicted in hagiography. While it is through providence that Eustace avoids suicide, it is only his acknowledgement of his wrongdoing and reconciliation with God that leads to the reversal of his bad fortune. LSE, therefore, contains complex attitudes to the ideas of grace, salvation and free will, and the ways that the various reflexes discussed below treat these themes can tell us much about the beliefs, attitudes and fears of their respective translators and adaptors, and their *skopoi* in the messages they intended to transmit to their intended audiences.

2.2 – LAY PIETY

Several of the more unusual aspects of LSE, especially Eustace’s open and willing participation in secular activity after his conversion and rediscovery, suggest that a *skopos* of the tradition was to provide a model for lay piety. It is also apparent that LSE was received as such in England and Scandinavia (see §§3 and 4). The following section will examine the aspects of LSE which could provide such a model.

⁵⁰ C9 97–8.

⁵¹ C9 99, ‘if it is not possible to avoid those things that are decreed for us by you’.

⁵² For example, Matt 26:39 ‘mi Pater, si possibile est transeat a me calix’ (‘My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me’); <www.latinvulgate.com> [accessed 26/5/17].

⁵³ C9 102–3, ‘for my grace is with you and is guarding your minds’; this could also relate to Eustace’s later request for a guard over his mouth during his Lament.

⁵⁴ C9 161, ‘Lord, place a guard over my mouth’.

2.2.1 – MILITARISM

Though Eustace is regarded as a military saint, he is an atypical example. While what one might call ‘classic’ examples of the soldier saint, such as SS Martin and Guthlac, openly forsake their military careers and are not depicted actively engaging in earthly warfare, Eustace never explicitly gives up his worldly role. Once rediscovered, he is restored as leader of the army and wages war against invaders, not only defending Roman lands but performing a counter-invasion. This counter-invasion includes ravaging enemy lands,⁵⁵ and he is later described as having plundered and taken captives.⁵⁶ He is esteemed as a military commander, both before and after his conversion,⁵⁷ and has certainly seen combat, as Antiochus, Acaius and Theophista all recognise him by a battle-scar. Furthermore, though Eustace does not show pride in his military accomplishments, neither does he show humility by attributing them to God, while he attributes his restoration to his former status and the reunion of his family to divine agency.⁵⁸ Eustace acts as a secular authority figure, albeit a pious one.

This unusual militarism could shed light on the composer of LSE’s opinions concerning the notion of *iustum bellum* (‘just war’) and what constituted one. The theory of *iustum bellum* arose from a need to justify military activity on legal, moral and religious grounds; as a general rule ‘the just war is usually fought on public authority for more mundane goals such as defen[c]e of territory, persons and rights.’ This is distinct from a holy war, as ‘[i]n the holy war Christian participation is a positive duty, while in just wars participation is licit but restricted.’⁵⁹ The idea of *iustum bellum* originated with Aristotle and was adopted by the Romans. According to Frederick Russell, ‘Roman just war countenanced capture of civilians, devastation of land and plundering of cities’;⁶⁰ precisely the behaviour displayed by Eustace.

There was no general agreement on the boundaries of *iustum bellum* in the early medieval period, not least because of apparent contradictions within the Bible itself.⁶¹ Eusebius

⁵⁵ C9 243–5 ‘Ipsis uero subiectis [...] ulterius procedens in interior terra barbarorum et illos deuincens depopulatus est terram eorum’ (‘and when he had subjected them he proceeded further into the interior of the land of the heathens and when he had conquered them he laid waste to their land’).

⁵⁶ C9 305–6 ‘reuersi sunt cum uictoria magna et spolia multa portantes et captiuos plurimos ducentes’ (‘they returned with a great victory and they were carrying many spoils and leading many captives’).

⁵⁷ C9 11, 175–6, 231–2.

⁵⁸ C9 317–18.

⁵⁹ Russell, *Just War*, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁶¹ Compare the secular pragmatism in Paul’s exhortation to submit to government authorities (Romans 13:1–4) and Christ’s injunction to ‘render unto Caesar what is Caesar’s’ (Mark 12:17), which could be interpreted as referring to secular service, with the pacifism of Christ instructing Peter to sheathe his sword (Matt 26:52) and the injunction to ‘turn the other cheek’ (Matt 5:38–40); see Russell, *Just War*, pp. 10–11.

of Caesarea argued that the role of the laity was to carry out secular functions such as waging wars so that the clergy could dedicate themselves to God.⁶² Eustace arguably fits this model as a lay saint. Augustine likewise argued for a mutually supportive dual model of lay and religious figures: ‘alii ergo pro uobis orando pugnant contra inuisibiles inimicos, nos pro eis pugnando laboratis contra uisibiles barbaros.’⁶³ Augustine also influentially synthesised Christian and Roman elements to argue that war, being a cause and consequence of sin, could be ‘just’ so long as the intentions behind it were born of love, not greed or violence.⁶⁴ Eustace’s desire to invade further after defeating his enemies, and his plundering and taking of captives, could be read as going beyond these bounds.⁶⁵ In fact, Eustace’s actions are more in line with the model of Isidore which ‘contrasted in more purely Roman fashion a just war waged upon formal declaration to recover lost goods or to repel and punish enemies with the unjust war waged out of madness and without legitimate cause.’⁶⁶ Gregory the Great also provided a more militaristic attitude to the *iustum bellum*, seeing the conversion of heretics as a just cause⁶⁷ – there is no indication of this being a consideration of LSE. It appears, therefore, that if the idea of *iustum bellum* was in the composer’s mind, the model adopted was more traditionally Roman or Isidorian.

LSE arguably also reflects concerns about the role of warriors in Christian society, in that Eustace, unusually, performs a secular military role while also being an exemplary Christian. Such a military role, however, necessarily contravened Christian injunctions not to kill. This paradox remained an issue for Christians across the medieval period.⁶⁸ The idea that war could be holy if in the service of the Church or the weak began to appear towards the end of the tenth century,⁶⁹ but eventually, crusade ideology provided the most pervasive solution,

⁶² Russell, *Just War*, p. 12.

⁶³ Epistle 189 to Boniface, ed. A. Goldbacher, *S. Aureli Augustini Operum Sectio II, S. Augustini Epistulae*, p. 134, ‘others [monks] fight for you [soldiers] against invisible enemies by praying; you work for them against visible barbarians by fighting’.

⁶⁴ Russell, *Just War*, pp. 16–17.

⁶⁵ The sense of Eustace’s volition is more acute in C9 compared to the standard BHL 2760. The phrase *interius desiderans ingredi* (‘desiring to go in further’) at C9 246 appears to be an addition in this version. BHL 2760 as edited by the Bollandists makes no reference to Eustace’s desire (see BHL 2760 §16). There is, however, a greater sense of Eustace inflicting destruction in BHL 2760, which refers to Eustace *late vastata* (‘having widely laid waste’) to enemy lands.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 27.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 27–8.

⁶⁸ As Laura Ashe noted: ‘There is no shortage of evidence for aristocratic fears of damnation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; any number of pious gifts are recorded with the urgent prayer that they might deflect the wrath of God for the sins of the benefactor and his ancestors’ (‘Ideal of Knighthood’, p. 155; see also Harper-Bill, ‘Piety’, pp. 63–77).

⁶⁹ Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 57.

legitimising military service in the service of the Church as a form of pilgrimage or worship.⁷⁰ LSE, however, does not appear to have been a part of this process.⁷¹ This may be because Eustace performs his military actions on behalf of a secular power rather than on religious grounds.⁷² It is also perhaps a product of the development of crusade ideology coinciding with the decline in the popularity of the *Legend*.⁷³ Nonetheless, LSE can be seen as an early manifestation of anxieties concerning pious laymen whose secular roles had military aspects, and one that scholars have previously overlooked.⁷⁴

2.2.2 – WEALTH AND STATUS

It is also significant that Eustace is restored to his former wealth and status while continuing to be considered a good Christian and a saint. While the Christian ideal is to store up treasures in Heaven, LSE contains a strong sense that earthly wealth need not be problematic. Nor does Eustace's saintly identity preclude him from secular success; for example, Eustace's labours in Dadissus are sufficient to secure a promotion: '[c]ommodans uero in eum plurimum tempus, postulauit eiusdem uici habitatores et posuerunt eum custodire agros suos.'⁷⁵ Even in impecunious exile for the sake of his faith, Eustace is able to rise in the social hierarchy. It is interesting to note two subtle aspects of this, however. Firstly, Eustace requests this promotion when he 'postulauit eiusdem uici habitatores', which is hardly the display of humility we would normally expect of a saint. Secondly, the role he is given is not merely that of a labourer. Rather, he becomes a guard of the fields, and this role is perhaps more reflective of his former life as a *bellator*. Though Eustace appears to seek furtherance in the world, and perhaps to see

⁷⁰ See, for example, Ashe, 'Ideal of Knighthood', Bull, *Knightly Piety*, Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 303–5, Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, Hamilton, 'Ideals of Holiness'.

⁷¹ He was, however, named as an ancient model for a knight by Orderic Vitalis. One Gerold of Avranches tells the story of Eustace among other warrior saints as good examples for the faithful: 'Luculenter enim ennarabat conflictus Demetrii et Georgii, Teodori et Sebastiani; Mauricii ducis et Thebeæ legionis, et Eustachii precelsi magistri militum cum sociis suis; qui per martyrium coronary meruerunt in cælis' ('He told them vivid stories of the conflicts of Demetrius and George, of Theodore and Sebastian, of the Theban legion and Maurice its leader, and of Eustace, supreme commander of the army and his companions, who won the crown of martyrdom in heaven') (Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* VI.ii, iii.4–5, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall pp. 216–17).

⁷² See Erdmann, *Origin*, for a discussion of the development of crusade ideology in the light of the relationship between the papacy and secular powers.

⁷³ Interestingly, *Sir Isumbras*, a later analogue of LSE, was influenced by crusade ideology, as the protagonist carves a cross into his flesh in extreme imitation of the crusader custom of bearing the sign of the Cross (cf. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Enemies*, pp. 29–30).

⁷⁴ It has been stated that the First Crusade provided 'a fundamental transition, such that the warrior can be saved within the exercise of his own profession.' (Ashe, 'Ideal of Knighthood', p. 158; see also Hamilton, 'Ideals of Holiness', p. 693) LSE, however, explores these anxieties far earlier, albeit separately from later strands of thought that developed crusade ideology. Erdmann noted that 'the cult of military saints developed comparatively early in the Greek church' (*Origin*, p. 6), citing Eustace as one such originally Greek saint who was adopted in the Latin West (*Origin*, p. 277 note 33); this could contribute to an explanation for the militarism in LSE.

⁷⁵ C9 165–6, 'When he had stayed there for a long time, he made a request of the inhabitants of the town, and they made him the guardian of their fields'.

menial work as beneath him, this does not appear to be thought of as problematic by the redactors.

Additionally, the saints request that those who invoke them in prayer should receive both a part in the heavenly kingdom and *super terram habundantiam* ('abundance on the earth')⁷⁶. This hope of worldly intercession in exchange for veneration makes up one part of the appeal of the cult of saints:

At one end of the range, the saint was a pattern for virtuous Christian life, a hero to be emulated, a patron to be embraced through affective piety. At the other, his or her wonder-working might be conceived in terms of more mercenary human interactions.⁷⁷

As a saint, Eustace provides both an exemplary figure and a route of access to God's favour. Because there are no miracles associated with him, Eustace is presented more as an example to be emulated; however, the end of LSE makes it clear that those who invoke him in prayer can rely on his intercession with God.⁷⁸ Given Eustace's return to his secular role and utilisation of the wealth and power it brought while acting as an ideal Christian, it is plausible LSE had special appeal for figures of secular authority and wealth.

While wealth is never explicitly rejected, however, it is not emphasised as inherently good, and is represented as inferior to family ties. Eustace accepts the loss of his wealth and livestock *gratifice* ('gratefully'),⁷⁹ whereas the kidnap of Theophista is the first part of the Trial to affect him emotionally, while the loss of his sons results in his despair. Likewise, LSE emphasises the familial reunion over the return to wealth, and Eustace's return to secular authority could be read as a plot device to engineer their reunion. The importance of Eustace's family is emphasised above the 'wealth' of gold, livestock and power.

The attitude to wealth in LSE is ambivalent. It is seen as a potential stumbling-block to salvation, in that its loss may lead to rejection of the true path due to despair. Eustace regains his wealth, power and status but remains a true Christian, refusing to sacrifice to idols and acknowledging that God provides everything; nor does he allow his wealth to obstruct his relationship with God. This attitude evokes Philippians 4:11–12: 'ego enim dedici in quibus sum sufficiens esse scio et humiliari scio et abundare [...] et satiari et esurire et abundare et

⁷⁶ C9 334.

⁷⁷ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p. 121.

⁷⁸ C9 333–5.

⁷⁹ C9 108.

penuriam pati'.⁸⁰ This scriptural passage summarises a central message of LSE: wealth need not be problematic, so long as faith in God remains strong. By placing his wealth in a correct, Christian context, Eustace utilises it without risking spiritual harm.

In reading LSE as an exemplary text concerning lay piety, however, we can take this reading further. Eustace's reward for enduring his Trial comprises his return to his *priorem statum* ('previous state')⁸¹ rather than specifically the wealth attached to it. His wealth is provided by secular figures – his former servants providing him with clothes for the journey and Trajan providing him with wealth when welcoming him back to Rome. Such wealth and status are necessary for his fulfilment of his role as *magister militum*. Eustace has his wealth and status restored to him as a tool for carrying out his secular vocation. Through his Trial, he recontextualises the world in relation to spiritual wealth and his role in the world, and by treating his wealth as a tool he can act both as a pious Christian and a lay military official.

Boureau has touched on this theme of lay piety in LSE. He suggested that Eustace embodies all three roles of the ideal Christian society⁸² – *bellatores*, *laboratores* and *oratores*. He is a *bellator* when a military leader, a *laborator* when a menial labourer in Dadissus, and becomes an *orator* as a martyr who confesses the faith and becomes able to intercede for others.⁸³ This is an attractive reading of Eustace, and indeed it can be taken further than a mere embodiment of the three orders of society. The way that Eustace embodies the three orders implies a hierarchy. He begins as a *bellator*, but as a heathen. He must convert, and his subsequent Trial places him at the bottom of the hierarchy. Now a Christian, he occupies the role of *laborator* in Dadissus. When he is discovered and is returned to Rome, he becomes a *bellator* under Trajan once more. His return to wealth and authority is not, therefore, a subversion of his new Christian identity, but rather a necessity for his new secular role as part of this schema. Furthermore, it is only after Eustace's cathartic Lament in which he recontextualises his worldly wealth in spiritual terms that he is permitted to re-enter the secular hierarchy in this way. Finally, in martyrdom he ascends to the top of the hierarchy and becomes an *orator* during and after his death, in that he can now intercede for Christian souls in Heaven.

⁸⁰ 'For I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, to be content therewith. I both know how to be brought low, and I know how to abound: both to be full and to be hungry: both to abound and to suffer need'; <www.latinvulgate.com> [accessed 25/5/17]. C9 334 *super terram habundantiam* could conceivably be referring to this quotation.

⁸¹ C9 191.

⁸² This model has its origins in the writings of Haymo of Auxerre, before taking shape across the early medieval period (see Ortigues, 'la theorie des trois ordres', especially pp. 33–4, 41). The earliest extant reference to the model as it became most widely known is found in the Old English *Boethius*; see §3.2.3.

⁸³ Boureau, 'Placido Tramite', pp. 688–9.

Arguably, Eustace occupies the two more secular aspects of this tripartite model to a greater extent than the explicitly spiritual *orator*, providing a model of lay piety. Furthermore, an examination of the structure of LSE shows a pervasive use of tripartite structures, suggesting that Eustace's threefold embodiment of Christian society is not an accident on the part of the composer.

2.3 – THREEFOLD STRUCTURES IN THE *LEGEND OF ST EUSTACE*

The structure of LSE is inherently threefold. Although Grant Loomis noted that saints' legends generally follow a three-part structure,⁸⁴ in LSE it is especially noticeable. Early twentieth-century folklorists such as Gerould and Krappe convincingly argued that LSE originated as a folk-tale of the 'Man Tried By Fate' type. This formed the Trial Episode, to which the Conversion Episode involving Placidus' visions and the Martyrdom Episode, which draws heavily on Daniel 3, were added to Christianise the tale as a useful moral exemplar. Delehayé went so far as to observe: 'Le lien qui rassemble ces trois parties n'est pas très étroit. Ce sont en réalité trois récits juxtaposés, mis sur le compte d'un seul homme.'⁸⁵ Yet tripartite structures are more deeply interwoven into LSE than first appears, and it is apparent that this was an active choice on the part of the composer. This can be seen both in the narrative structure and the deeper themes of LSE.

As noted above, Eustace embodies the three orders of an ideal Christian society; yet this is not the only three-part schema that Eustace occupies. Boureau suggested that across LSE Eustace enacts the three Christian sexual relations, as set out in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* I.xx.⁸⁶ At the beginning of LSE, Eustace is akin to Job in Gregory's scheme, in that he is in a continent marriage (i.e. one that has produced offspring). When separated from his wife, he is like Daniel, the abstinent, while at the end of the life he becomes like Noah, the priest or pastor who leads his people towards the heavenly Jerusalem.⁸⁷ These relations are strengthened by LSE linking Eustace with both Job and Daniel; Eustace's Trial is Job-like, he compares himself to Job, and his martyrdom mimics Daniel 3.

Threefold structures also permeate the narrative of LSE, as the three episodes that form LSE are themselves structured around clusters of three. In the Conversion episode, for example,

⁸⁴ Loomis, 'Legend and Folklore', p. 293.

⁸⁵ Delehayé, 'La légende de saint Eustache', pp. 182–3; 'The link between these three parts is not very close. These are actually three stories juxtaposed, imposed on the account of one man'.

⁸⁶ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, ed. M. Adriaen, vol. 1 p. 34.

⁸⁷ Boureau, 'Placido Tramite', p. 688.

Placidus becomes Christian in three steps. First, he performs charitable deeds. This charity leads God to deem him worthy of salvation and appear to him in a vision to exhort him to convert. Placidus, now aware of the true path of righteousness, is then baptised. This three-step process can be summarised thus:

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Action	Perception	Conversion
His good pseudo-Christian deeds	His first vision of Christ	His baptism and subsequent acceptance of a trial in a second vision

The Conversion Episode is likewise structured loosely around three visions – the first vision of Christ to Placidus on his hunting expedition (C9 32–56), the reported vision Theophista has of Christ giving the same message (C9 59–65), and the post-baptismal vision of Christ to Eustace (C9 81–105) in which the Trial which constitutes the second Episode is accepted.

The Trial Episode is then split into three stages of material loss and a corresponding escalation of Eustace’s response:

Loss 1	Loss 2	Loss 3
Material wealth	His wife	His sons
Accepts loss with gratitude	Bewails loss	Despairs and is tempted to commit suicide

These losses are mirrored by the three recognitions that form Eustace’s temporal reward, which result in three reunions. The first of this is when Antiochus and Acaius, his former servants, recognise him, which leads to his return to his secular status; the second is

when his sons are reunited through shared reminiscence, and the third is when Theophista recognises him and reunites the family.

Eustace's losses and his overcoming of the resultant despair and temptation to suicide are followed by his cathartic Lament, in which he comes to terms with his loss and learns to trust in God. This Lament is divided into three sections – his enumeration of his sorrows, his comparison of his Trial with that of Job's (and his argument that Job's suffering was lesser than his), and his requests of God when he comes to realise that his despair is sinful, and he must trust in God. The three-part structure of the Lament is itself divided into three:

ll. 149–50 **Heu michi**, quondam pollenti ut arbor modo uero **nudatus sum!**

Woe to me, who was once powerful; now I am laid bare like a tree!

Complaints ll. 150–1 **Heu me**, qui in habundantia mea nimia fueram, modo captiuitatis more **desolatus sum!**

Woe to me, who once had great wealth; now I am made desolate like a captive!

ll. 151–3 **Heu me**, quia magister militum et multitudine exercituum circumdatus fueram, modo solus **relictus sum** nec filios **concessus sum** habere!

Woe to me, because I was a master of soldiers surrounded by a great host of armies; now I am left alone without even my sons left to me to have!

ll. 155–6 **Ille** enim etsi possessionibus caruerit, sed stercus habuit supra quod sedere concessum est illi; **ego** uero peregre eadem patior tormenta.

For he was deprived of his possessions, but he had a dung-heap left to him to sit upon; I suffer the same torment abroad.

Comparison with Job ll. 156–7 **Ille** amicos habuit compatiētes ei; **ego** uero in deserto inmites ferās habeo in consolationem qui filios meos rapuerunt.

He had friends to comfort him; in the desert I have the beasts that carried off my sons as a consolation.

ll. 157–60 **Ille** etsi ramis caruit, sed radicem uxoris respiciens secum consolabatur; **ego** uero infelix undique sine radice factus sum, nec scintillam facis generis mei respiciens, sed sum similis ramis in deserto qui undique per procellas conquassantur.

He was deprived of his children (lit. tree), but looking at the root of his wife, he was consoled; unlucky, I am made completely without a root, seeing not even a spark of my family, but I am like branches in the desert that are struck by winds on all sides.

ll. 160–1 Ne execratus fueris domine tui serui multiloquia, doleo enim dum dico quod non oportet.

Lord, do not detest the many things your servant says, for I despair so that I say that which is not fitting.

Requests

ll. 161–2 Pone domine custodiam ori meo, ut non declinet cor meum in uerba mala et eiciar a facie tua

Lord, place a guard over my mouth, so that my heart does not decline towards evil speech and I am not cast from your presence.

ll. 162–3 Da uero iam requiem de multis tribulationibus meis.

Grant me a rest from my many tribulations.

This model is most apparent in the Complaint and Comparison sections, in which we see grammatical links between the three stages (in the Complaint section, a variation on the exclamation, ‘Heu me,’ followed by a participle + *sum* construction, in the Comparison section, an antithesis between *Ille* and *ego*). Despite being less developed, the three-part structure is nonetheless present in the Request section. The saints’ martyrdom follows a similar tripartite

structure, which also contains escalation. The saints are first humiliated, then thrown to lions, then burned alive in a bronze bull.

Further interesting aspects of the structures can be seen in light of the work of the anthropologist, Arnold van Gennep, who argued that rites of passage could be organised into three phases: *separation* ('separation'), *marge* ('transition'), and *aggregation* ('incorporation').⁸⁸ Arguably Eustace undergoes all three across LSE, and notably these operate on both secular and spiritual levels (see Fig. 1 below). Eustace's baptism and martyrdom constitute both incorporation and separation rites; baptism spiritually incorporates Eustace into the Christian community, and in secular terms separates him from his former pagan society. Likewise his martyrdom spiritually incorporates him into a new, metaphysical community - the Communion of Saints – while separating him from mortal society.

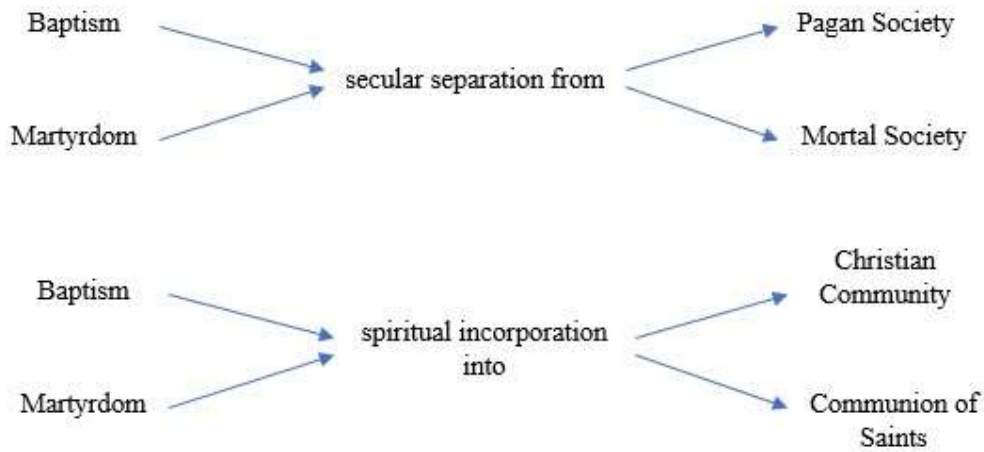


Figure 1: Eustace's Separation and Incorporation Rites of Passage

Especially interesting in light of Eustace's hierarchical movement between the three orders is that each change in role can be seen as part of a rite of transition (see Fig. 2 below). Eustace's conversion and agreement to lose his wealth constitutes a rite of passage which allows his transition from the role of pagan *bellator* to Christian *laborator*. The emotional crisis of his Trial forms a second transitional rite, when he moves from *laborator* to *bellator*, as signified by his sadness when remembering his former life when sighting his former servants, to which he responds properly in praying to God, rather than railing against him as in his

⁸⁸ Kimball, 'Introduction' in *Rites of Passage*, van Gennep, trans. Vizedom and Caffee, p. vii.

Lament. This is especially interesting, as this centres around Eustace’s move from attachment to worldly things to trust in God’s spiritual goods. The rite Eustace must undergo to become a *bellator* revolves around his recontextualising his wealth and authority (which allow him to fulfil his secular role) in Christian terms. Finally, his rejection of idols and martyrdom forms another rite of passage that marks his transition from *bellator* to *orator*.⁸⁹

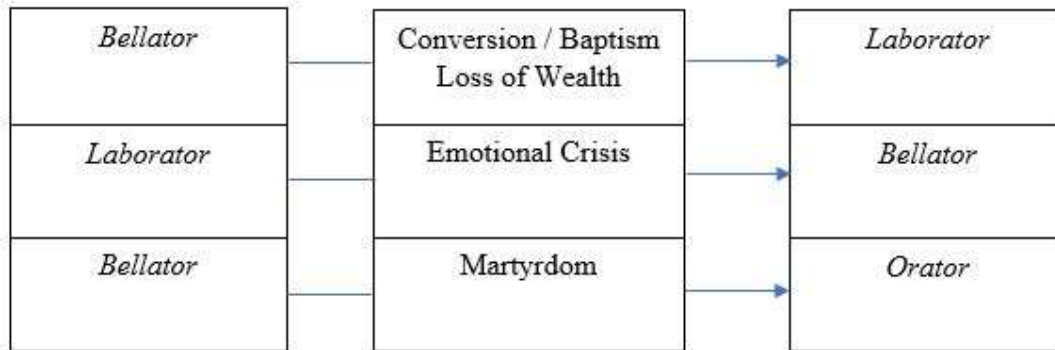


Figure 2: Eustace's Rites of Transition

We see, therefore, that Eustace’s movement through this hierarchy is tied to the structure of LSE, and that his movements between social roles can be read in both worldly and spiritual terms. This strengthens the sense that the composer of LSE sought to recontextualise secular wealth and authority as positive Christian forces.

LSE also contains events in groups of three that fall outside the basic tripartite structure. For example, Eustace’s fluctuating status is marked by feasting on three occasions. His loss of status is signalled to his fellow Roman aristocrats by his conspicuous absence at a feast thrown in celebration of a victory in Persia. His rediscovery by Antiochus and Acaius is marked by a meal which Eustace hosts which arguably has overtones of the meal the resurrected Christ

⁸⁹ It is notable that it is only after this point that the protagonists are referred to in the saintly terms of *beatus* and *sanctus*. Eustace is described as *beatum eustachium* (‘blessed Eustace’) while in the lion’s den (C9 323), while the whole family are *beatissimi* (‘most blessed’) when addressed by God (C9 342) and the conclusion of the *vita* states ‘[i]sta est uita beatorum’ (‘this is the life of the blessed ones’) (C9 356). Likewise, during their martyrdom the protagonists are referred to as saints. Hadrian orders *sanctos* (‘the saints’) to be placed in the bronze bull (C9 326); the crowd comes ‘spectare sanctis, quomodo introducebantur in aereum bouem’ (‘to see how the saints were put in the bronze bull’) (C9 327–8); Hadrian returns ‘ut uideret quid factum esset reliquis sanctorum’ (‘to see what had happened to the remains of the saints’) (C9 347); the discovered remains are described as *corpora sanctorum* (‘the bodies of the saints’) (C9 354); the narrator describes the feast as *memoriam reliquiarum sanctorum* (‘the memory of the relics of the saints’) (C9 356); finally, the rewards possible for invoking the memory of Eustace and his Companions are described as *promissa sunt sanctis* (‘those things promised to the saints’). Eustace’s transition from *bellator* to *orator* (and by extension, that of his family) is thus marked in his representation in the text.

shared with two of his disciples at Emmaus; though this is hardly a feast, it is relative to Eustace's lower position in society at that time, as he has to request the necessary food and wine from his landlord (C9 202–4). The final feasting comes with the culmination of Eustace's emergence from his Trial – Eustace throws a celebration in gratitude for his reunion with his family, while immediately afterwards in the text Hadrian throws a lavish feast in gratitude for the victory that Eustace has won. While this is technically two feasts, they follow so quickly after one another that they can be seen as a period of feasting, containing two feasts which juxtapose the intentions of Eustace and Hadrian. Where Eustace celebrates the mercy of God, Hadrian simply celebrates the earthly events. Eustace, as a Christian, directs his thanks correctly to his success' divine source, where the heathen Hadrian is shown to be overly focused on the earthly. This juxtaposition lays the groundwork for their imminent conflict over sacrificing that culminates in Eustace's martyrdom. Other more minor examples include Eustace resting his army next to Theophista's garden for three days and nights, and the saints being recovered from the bull after three days, mirroring the time Christ spent in the sepulchre.

Threefold structures appear, therefore, to be inherent in the composition of LSE, to an extent that it is unlikely to be a mere accident during the synthesis of folklore and Christian tradition (as can be seen in Fig. 3 below).

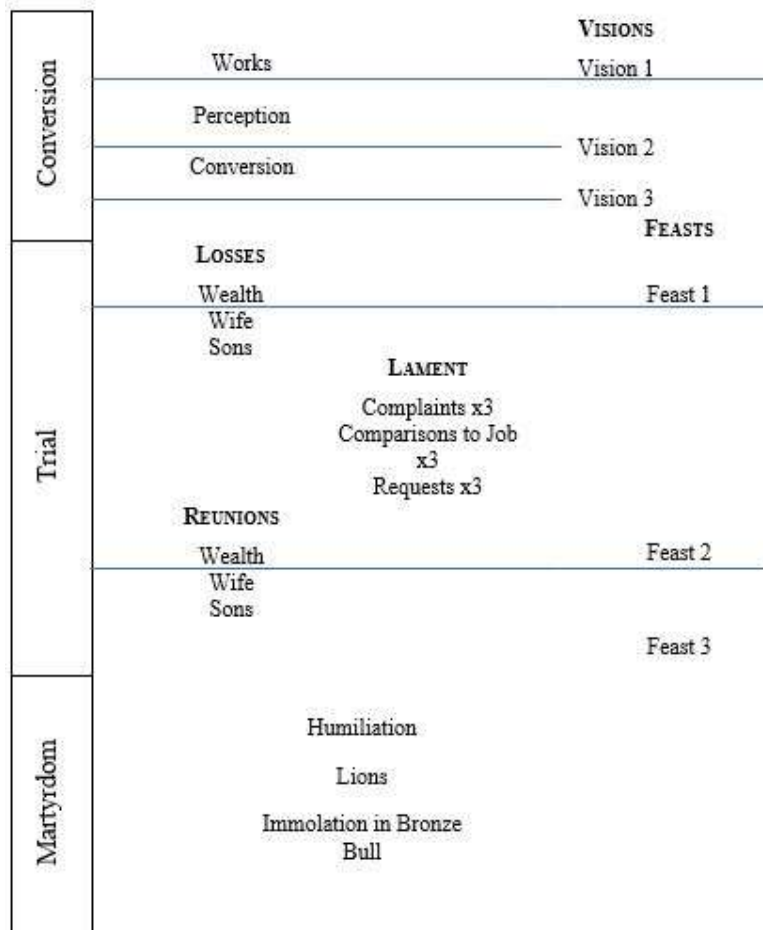


Figure 3: Tripartite Structures in LSE

Given the importance of the number three in Christianity (especially in terms of the Trinity), it is plausible that the composer of LSE was responding to and playing on thematic tripartite structures and the basic three-episode structure in their composition on a micro-episodic level.

2.4 – OTHER RELEVANT REFLEXES OF THE *LEGEND OF EUSTACE*

Other versions of LSE known in Western Europe in the tenth century should be considered in comparison to the most popular form. Relevant to this thesis is the treatment of Eustace in Flodoard of Rheims' hexametrical hagiographic epic *De Triumphis Christi*.⁹⁰ It is the only other Eustace variant besides OEE and C9 that was unequivocally known in tenth-century England; Gneuss and Lapidge noted that a manuscript containing it was in Canterbury, possibly

⁹⁰ Henceforth DTC. The 17-line section concerning Eustace constitutes Chapter VIII of Book III of *De Christi Triumphis apud Italiam Libri Quatuordecim*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 135, pp. 643–4.

St Augustine's, at the end of the tenth century.⁹¹ Though the treatment of LSE is brief, it is worth noting the aspects of LSE that Flodoard chose to emphasise, especially as Peter Jacobsen observed that in DTC Flodoard was at times free and independent of his sources in both language and substance.⁹² Being a section of only seventeen lines, the summary is brief and plot points are necessarily cut. Flodoard excises Eustace's pre-Conversion identity as Placidus, and the Lament, focusing on Eustace's good Christian merits of endurance rather than as a noble heathen. The loss of Eustace's family, which he finds hardest to endure in LSE, occupies only half a line, while his God-given wealth and status is emphasised. This seems to be Flodoard's chief interest, rather than Eustace's military career and despair, which are excised. Furthermore, the brief summary in DTC does not seem to have been closely related to the wider Eustace tradition.⁹³

2.4.1 – BHL 2761

More significant is a second prose version of LSE: BHL 2761, which Monteverdi termed the *libera* ('free') version,⁹⁴ as it translated the Greek original of LSE more loosely than the *littera* ('literal') version represented by C9 and BHL 2760.⁹⁵ BHL 2761,⁹⁶ according to Monteverdi, was extant in the tenth century, yet apparently didn't circulate outside Italy⁹⁷ and appears to have been unknown to the Bollandists who edited the *Acta Sanctorum* version of LSE.⁹⁸ Yet the alterations in BHL 2761 create different emphases, and it is important to consider this differing reaction to the source material when examining the more popular LSE. While LSE seems to have appealed more to the religious and intellectual milieu of early medieval Western Europe, it cannot be assumed that attitudes were universal. As there is some evidence to suggest

⁹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2409 (with Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal 933, fols. 128–334), s. x/xi; Item 902.9 in Helmet Gneuss and Michael Lapidge's *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 652.

⁹² Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, p. 92.

⁹³ The description of Eustace's Trial as being [*t*]urbine ('in a whirlwind') is potentially significant. The metaphor of wind representing worldly cares is attested in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and this could indicate that Flodoard was reading LSE in light of Boethian philosophy (see §3.2.3 and §3.3.2.3). Also notable is *Placidus cognomine dictus* ('called Placidus by another name'). VBE uses a similar phrase twice in the same metrical position ('Placidus de nomine dictus' (VBE 7, 422)), which may either indicate that Flodoard had read VBE, or that the author of VBE was familiar with DTC; though it could feasibly also be a convenient metrical unit used independently by the poets.

⁹⁴ Designated BHL 2761 by the Bollandists.

⁹⁵ Monteverdi, 'I testi della leggenda' pp. 398–400. As the most widespread form of the *Legend*, LSE refers to BHL 2760.

⁹⁶ Edited by the monks of Monte Cassino in *Bibliotheca Casinensis* vol. 3, pp. 351–4. The manuscript from which BHL 2761 is taken is dated to the tenth century (*Bibliotheca Casinensis* vol. 1, p. lxiii). Quotations are taken from this edition; translations are my own.

⁹⁷ Monteverdi, 'I testi della leggenda', p. 405.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 398.

that BHL 2761 may have had some influence on the C-recension of *Plácitus saga*,⁹⁹ this version of the Legend (and its subsequent versification) will be examined in greater detail.

The spelling of the names of Eustace's wife and younger son (here Theopista and Theopistus) indicates that the translator was working from a member of the P-recension of LSE, as opposed to the Q-recension to which C9 belongs, which distinctively spells the names of Eustace's wife and younger son as Theophista and Theophistus.¹⁰⁰ BHL 2761 is much shorter: the author omits all Biblical allusions except those to Job, extraneous names of people and places, Eustace's choice about the timing of his Trial, his prayer on seeing Antiochus and Acaius (and God's answer to it), his secret weeping while serving them, and references to miracles in the saints' final prayer.¹⁰¹ There is a good deal of *brevitas* in the descriptions of events, especially in the second half of the *vita*. Other alterations include Eustace's sons camping next to, rather than in, their mother's garden, and the saints' souls being borne to heaven by angels.¹⁰² There are also general clarifications as to who recognises whom,¹⁰³ while the Lament itself loses its tripartite structure.

The constraints of this thesis mean that a full analysis of BHL 2761 cannot be undertaken. However, certain broad thematic changes are apparent. There is a greater focus on salvation,¹⁰⁴ while heathens are depicted in a more negative manner.¹⁰⁵ In the Trial, there is a greater emphasis on Eustace's endurance,¹⁰⁶ accentuated by an increased depiction of Eustace's

⁹⁹ See §4.3.6.2.

¹⁰⁰ See Tucker, *Plácitus saga* p. xxxix. Though he argues that P is the older and 'better' recension, he states that the spelling in Q makes more etymological sense (Tucker, *Plácitus saga* p. xlii).

¹⁰¹ Monteverdi, 'I testi della leggenda', pp. 398–9.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ BHL 2781, pp. 353–4.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Christ introduces himself as saviour rather than creator as in LSE, replacing a description of Creation with a statement emphasising *vitam aeternam* ('eternal life'), and Placidus recognises Christ as saviour rather than creator (BHL 2761 p. 351). The notion of *vitam aeternam* is repeated three more times in BHL 2761 in places where it is not mentioned in LSE. Furthermore, baptism is referred to in terms of rebirth three times (BHL 2761 pp. 351–2).

¹⁰⁵ The introduction of the heathen captain and his men as *irrationabilis* ('irrational') conveys a sense that they lack reasoning, human souls (BHL 2761 p. 352). This also echoes 2 Pet 2:12 which describes ungodly men in similar terms as *velut irrationabilia pecora* ('like irrational beasts') and links this state to damnation (<www.latinvulgate.com> [accessed 30/4/19]). Hadrian is also more distant from Christian truth, mistaking the miracle of the saints' incorrupt bodies as *magicis artibus* ('by magical arts') (BHL 2761 p. 354).

¹⁰⁶ For example, during his Lament Eustace recalls that 'oportet me velut iob sustinere tribulationes et temptationes multas' ('I ought to endure many tribulations and temptations, like Job'), rather than his being tempted as Job in LSE (C9 156). Furthermore, his request for a guard over his mouth to prevent blasphemy (C9 161–2) is replaced by a request for *tolerantiam et sufferentiam* ('patience and a respite') (BHL 2761 p. 352).

despair.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, Eustace appears marginally more attached to worldly things,¹⁰⁸ and depictions of his good deeds focus on charity.¹⁰⁹ There is also a decrease in depictions of God's *providentia*.¹¹⁰

Especially striking, and most relevant to this thesis, is the reduction of Eustace's militarism in BHL 2761. Monteverdi noted that the action around Eustace's military campaign is drastically altered;¹¹¹ the action is transposed to the Danube and the enemy simply flees at the knowledge that Placidus (i.e. Eustace) approaches:

Et audita est inter barbaros opinio quod Placidus preliator exisset in bellum contra eos. et nocte recesserunt barbari in solum proprium. At ipse profectus cum exercitu transivit danuvium. et occupavit provincias multas.

(‘And the rumour was heard among the heathens that Placidus the warrior was making war against them, and at night the heathens departed their own region. And when he (Eustace) came with his army he crossed the Danube and occupied many provinces.’)¹¹²

In BHL 2761, Eustace fulfils his military role without violence. This is more in line with soldier-saints such as Martin, who is protected from the need for fighting by divine intervention.¹¹³ While it is his secular reputation rather than divine influence that precludes the need for fighting, Eustace's militarism is nonetheless reduced. This general lessening of Eustace's militarism is present before his conversion; the author of BHL 2761 states that Placidus was a ‘strenuous bellator et in praeliis triumphator ita ut audito nomine eius contremiscerent et effugarentur saepius adversarii cuius’.¹¹⁴ Although this reputation may have been earned through military actions, Placidus-Eustace is less associated with violence in BHL

¹⁰⁷ The depiction of Eustace's grief when Theophista is kidnapped is expanded to ‘fugiebat, plorans et gemens’ (‘he fled, weeping and groaning’) and ‘euntes cum lacrymis et tristitia multa’ (‘he went with tears and much despair’). Furthermore, when he loses his first son, Eustace's hope for his other child (C9 139) is replaced by a description of him ‘cum gemitu et fletu et gravi dolore’ (‘with groaning and weeping and great sorrow’) (BHL 2761 p. 352).

¹⁰⁸ Eustace shares Theophista's concern for their reputation that leads to them fleeing to Egypt (BHL 2761, p. 352). Additionally, his attempts to conceal his identity are omitted and he makes no attempt to resist his return to his former position (BHL 2761 pp. 353–4).

¹⁰⁹ BHL 2761, p. 351.

¹¹⁰ References to *providentia* preventing Eustace's horse from tiring (C9 23), preventing Eustace's suicide (C9 142) and preventing wild beasts from harming Eustace's sons (C9 143) are omitted in BHL 2761.

¹¹¹ Monteverdi, ‘I testa della leggenda’ p. 399.

¹¹² BHL 2761 p. 353. While *barbarus* was used in Classical Latin to refer to non-Romans, by the early medieval period it was generally used to refer to non-Christians (Murray, ‘Unchosen Race’, pp. 64–5).

¹¹³ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, Ch. 4; ed. Halm, *Sulphichii Severi*, pp. 114–15.

¹¹⁴ BHL 2761 p. 351, ‘skilled soldier and victor in battles so that most often his enemies became fearful and fled at the sound of his name’. This alteration may have been made to foreshadow his future bloodless victory.

2761. This provides a useful diagnostic feature for identifying the influence of BHL 2761 on the wider Eustace tradition.¹¹⁵

Despite the increased emphasis on baptism and salvation, and the reduction of his militarism, the Eustace of BHL 2761 remains an unorthodox saint, in his near-suicide and continued participation in the world, but nonetheless the author apparently attempts to bring him in line with more traditional saintly models, especially concerning his military career.

Like LSE, BHL 2761 was also versified. The resultant poem is found in *Bibliotheca Capitolare di Verona MS XC (85)*, fol. 70v–75v, edited without a title by Ernst Dümmler.¹¹⁶ This Eustace poem (EP) was dated to the eighth or ninth century by Dümmler¹¹⁷ and to c. 900 by Monteverdi.¹¹⁸ Monteverdi located the composition of EP to Italy, in accordance with his assertion that BHL 2761 had limited, if any, circulation outside Italy.¹¹⁹

At only 220 lines, EP shortens the story considerably, but the details of the heathen threatening Rome coming from Pannonia¹²⁰ and their fleeing at the name of Placidus¹²¹ make it clear that it is based on BHL 2761. While a full examination of EP falls outside the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting some salient features. The truncation of the visions and Lament, and the omission of all events after the saints' immediate martyrdom drastically reduces the theological interest, while the lack of any direct divine agency in his resistance of suicide is highly significant. Events also undergo some reordering, with the description of how Eustace's sons survive coming before his Lament (creating dramatic irony). The reunion of the family also takes place before the military victory rather than afterwards. This separates the secular success from the divine plan; where in other versions Eustace's military campaign is the catalyst for the reunion, here they are consecutive events. Militarism is also played down; while EP follows BHL 2761 in the bloodless flight of his enemies, its omission of the LSE and BHL 2761 description of Eustace's plundering and taking captives is telling. The main interest of EP is Eustace's endurance rather than secular or overtly theological concerns.

¹¹⁵ See §4.3.6.2.

¹¹⁶ Dümmler, 'Rythmen aus der carolingisches zeit', pp. 273–80.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 261.

¹¹⁸ Monteverdi, 'I testi la leggenda', p. 405.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 407. The possibility that BHL 2761 influenced the C-recension of *Plácitús saga* suggests that there may have been wider (albeit limited) circulation in the later period. See §4.3.6.2.

¹²⁰ EP 92.

¹²¹ EP 181–3.

Although there is no evidence that EP had any influence on the English or Scandinavian traditions, it is important not to view the traditions in isolation. We must be aware of other contemporary traditions when contextualising reflexes of LSE.

2.5 – CONCLUSIONS

Through a pervasive tripartite structure developed out of the synthesis of folklore tradition and Christian teaching, LSE explores areas of lay piety, through the unusual acceptance of Eustace's secular position, militarism and restored wealth, and salvation through considerations of noble heathenism, the interplay of providence, *pietas*, and grace. Such themes suggest a *skopos* aimed at a lay pious audience, or monastics who had come to holy orders after a secular, perhaps military, career, with a mind to reassuring them that their secular and religious vocations were valid. With these aspects of LSE established, we can move on to considering how these themes were explored and developed in medieval England and Scandinavia, and whether the *skopoi* of these recensions differed from those of the wider LSE tradition, and from those of one another.

3 – EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

3.1 – THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

Two reflexes of LSE can be linked to early medieval England. The first, and most directly linked, is OEE, the Old English vernacular prose reflex of LSE. OEE is extant in two places: in burnt fragments in Cotton Vitellius D. 17, and completely as an interpolation in the earliest full copy of Ælfric of Eynsham's *Lives of Saints* (LoS), Cotton Julius E. vii, which dates from the late tenth century. The work of Hugh Magennis has also suggested that there was at least one earlier Old English exemplar from which OEE was transmitted.¹ Although, insofar as we can tell from the extant corpus, OEE did not enjoy as wide a circulation as some Old English *vitae*,² it was nevertheless transmitted on more than one occasion, as well as being judged suitable to interpolate among the Ælfrician *vitae* in LoS. There are also two known extant recensions of LSE in Latin prose that can be connected to tenth-century England: these are C9 and some fifteen burnt fragments that survive as London, BL Cotton Otho A. xiii.³ This, along with Zettel's work to demonstrate the importance of CCL in the compilation of LoS,⁴ shows that during the tenth century LSE was known in England in both Latin and vernacular forms.

The second text of interest is VBE. This hexametrical Latin reworking of LSE is extant in Oxford, Bodleian Laud. Misc. 410, a manuscript written in south-western Germany at the beginning of the eleventh century.⁵ VBE is the first text in a collection of vision literature,⁶ suggesting that the compiler found this aspect of LSE particularly appealing. While the manuscript is not of English provenance, Lapidge has found internal evidence that suggests that the author was educated or working in England, with possible links to Abingdon. He supports this hypothesis with the information that Æthelwold of Winchester, abbot of Abingdon until 963, granted a poetic version of LSE to Peterborough in 970 which, according

¹ His suggestion that the imperfect grammar in the opening of OEE is due to a scribal error rendering *biggenge* as *biggenga* implies a lost earlier copy of OEE; Magennis, 'Note'. Donald Scragg also agrees that a *vita* of Eustace probably existed when LoS was being compiled ('Corpus', p. 224).

² There are 4 extant witnesses to the Eustace tradition that are adjacent to early medieval England. This number is not uncommonly low, but certain *vitae* (such as those of SS Agnes, Guthlac, Nicholas and Wilfrid) have twice that number or more (eight, twelve, ten and nine respectively). Information taken from *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* ed. Biggs et. al.

³ fol. 1–20 (new foliation 1–15); s.xi^{1/2}; Magennis, 'Eustachius, *passio*', p. 206.

⁴ See §1.1.

⁵ Lapidge, 'Æthelwold'.

⁶ The texts following VBE are Bede's *Visio Dryhtelmi*, Walafrið's *Visio Wettini*, the *Visio Saluii episcopi*, and the *Navigatio Brendani* (Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', pp. 216–17). The latter, though not strictly a vision, certainly has visionary qualities.

to a later booklist, was written in heroic verse, i.e. hexameters.⁷ Nevertheless, as the evidence for locating the composition of VBE to England is inconclusive, VBE will be examined separately from OEE in this chapter. Before this, however, the context in which the English recensions were developed will be examined.

3.1.1 – EVIDENCE FOR A CULT OF EUSTACE

Eustace was not widely venerated in England prior to the millennium. Of the extant liturgical calendars, only one from before 1000 records the feast of Eustace, while OEE and VBE both predate his apparent increase in popularity in the eleventh century.⁸ It is possible that his cult centred around Abingdon; besides the versified life mentioned above, a titulus believed to have been written at Abingdon (extant in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum M 16.2)⁹ states that the house had an altar part-dedicated to Eustace, while a litany recorded in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 411 (purportedly from eleventh-century Abingdon) suggests that Abingdon also held a relic of Eustace.¹⁰

Therefore, although veneration of Eustace in tenth-century England was limited, he was not unknown, and he seems to have been esteemed by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, a leading figure of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform movement and the teacher of Ælfric of Eynsham. It appears that in the tenth century the appeal of St Eustace was principally literary, with LSE being circulated among the intelligentsia, rather than a subject of popular veneration. Furthermore, Ælfric, being a pupil of Æthelwold, was almost certainly aware of LSE but chose not to translate it, where others did. With this in mind, it would be instructive to consider what aspects of LSE English translators might have found favourable, and what the adaptations they made to the story can tell us about the *skopoi* of those translating and adapting the text.

⁷ *Ibid.* See §3.3.1 for a more complete analysis of the composition of VBE and a discussion of its potential provenance.

⁸ See Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*. Of the 27 calendars Rushforth tabulated, seventeen list the feast of Eustace on November 2. Eustace is also listed in the Leofric Missal on July 16, but this is likely to be an error as the Missal also lists Eustace under November 2. Furthermore, the Leofric Missal is the only calendar from England prior to the eleventh century to record the feast of Eustace. The majority of the calendars are located to Winchester and Worcester (with three attributions each). Of the remaining manuscripts, five can be located to the areas around Worcester and Winchester, three to East Anglia (Bury St Edmunds, Ramsey and Crowland), while three are attributable to either Glastonbury or Canterbury Christ Church. The earliest, the Leofric Missal, can be attributed to either Canterbury or Glastonbury. The manuscript evidence suggests that the cult of Eustace was concentrated in Wessex; significantly, both Abingdon and Winchester, houses which can be linked to the veneration of Eustace more specifically, are located in that area.

⁹ Printed in Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', pp. 217–18.

¹⁰ Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', p. 218. Abingdon was reportedly in possession of a relic of Eustace in the early twelfth century (Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* vol. 2 p. 157).

3.1.2 – SECULAR APPEAL

Although transmitted as hagiography, LSE can be seen more as a Christianised folk tale, with a protagonist who acts more as a romantic hero than a traditional saint. It is therefore probable that there are atypical aspects of the legend that would appeal to pious laymen as well as a monastic audience; LoS, into which OEE was interpolated, was intended both for Ælfric's lay patrons and for dissemination among the literate aristocracy.¹¹ In contrast, the poetic form of VBE, which contains several Classical allusions suggests an audience with greater Latin learning; presumably a monastic one. Furthermore, its transmission in a context that suggests it was valued for its depiction of visions indicates that VBE was perhaps intended for more meditative purposes than OEE.

Other aspects that may have appealed to pious lay figures are the presentation of Eustace's wealth, status and military position as valid in the correct spiritual and social contexts.¹² The reading of Eustace as a pious layman fulfilling his worldly role with God's sanction, living his Christian faith in tandem with his military position, would arguably appeal to God-fearing ealdormen and other secular officials, whose duties included military action against the Scandinavian incursions of the late tenth century. It is possible, therefore, that one *skopos* of LSE in tenth-century England was to reassure such men that their actions, social standing and wealth were compatible with their Christian faith.¹³ In the context of the Scandinavian incursions of the late tenth century, one could see why a devout Christian waging a successful war against invaders would be an appealing model to give to the aristocracy.¹⁴

When considering Eustace as a saint who provides a model for lay piety, the Abingdon *titulus* mentioned above is of further interest. The other two saints to whom the altar at Abingdon was part-dedicated were Edward the Martyr and Kenelm – both royal child

¹¹ In his Latin Preface to LoS ll.1–4, Ælfric stated: 'Hunc quoque codicem transtulimus de latinitate ad uistatam Anglicam sermocinationem, studentes aliis prodesse edificando ad fidem lectione huius narrationis quibuscumque placuerit huic operi operam dare, siue legend, siue audiendo; quia estimo non esse ingratum fidelibus' ('I have also translated this book from the Latin into the usual English speech, desiring to profit others by edifying them in the faith whenever they read this work, whether reading it or hearing it, for I think it is not displeasing to the faithful'). In his Old English Preface to LoS ll. 4–5, addressed to his patron Æthelweard, Ælfric further states that he produced LoS 'for þan þe ðu leof swiðost and æðelmær swylcera gewrita me bædon' ('because you, sir, and Æðelmær earnestly asked me for such writings'). See Skeat, *Lives of Saints* vol. 1.

¹² See §2.2.

¹³ This is likely to have been one of Ælfric's intended messages in his compilation of LoS, which could explain why OEE was deemed suitable to be added to the collection by a later compiler; see Damon, *Soldiers*, p. 194.

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that variants of LSE display a similar *skopos* in the later medieval period: see Manion, 'Sir Isumbras' for an argument that *Sir Isumbras* (an analogue to LSE dated to c.1330) reflected changing attitudes to nobility and crusade-discourse in the fourteenth century. *Sir Isumbras* is, however, highly unlikely to be related to the earlier English Eustace tradition.

martyrs.¹⁵ Though the choice of dedication is perhaps attributable to the possession of relics, it clearly felt natural to the monks of Abingdon to group Eustace with royal, non-clerical saints.

3.1.3 – GRACE THEOLOGY

The topics of free will and agency in relation to grace and salvation, which LSE explores, also appear to have been of interest to writers in tenth-century England. The tenth-century *Carmen de libero arbitrio* provides evidence of this.¹⁶ This poem draws heavily on Book V of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (DCP), and Kleist argued that it inadvertently raised 'a [so-called] Semi-Pelagian heresy at a leading centre of the Benedictine Reform.'¹⁷ Ælfric (a contemporary of Lantfred of Winchester to whom Lapidge speculatively attributed the *Carmen*¹⁸), however, adopted a position that combined elements of Augustine and Gregory and reiterated both the necessity of grace and the importance of earning heavenly rewards through good deeds.¹⁹ Lynne Grundy described Ælfric as seeing grace as providing one with the right weapons for the battle against sin²⁰ and as having a compassionate and flexible view of grace,²¹ which was in effect 'a mysterious symbiosis' between grace and human merit.²² Furthermore, both OEE and VBE can be linked to the intellectual milieu of Ælfric and Lantfred. OEE is preserved complete only as an interpolation into Ælfric's LoS, while there are plausible links between VBE and Æthelwold, teacher of Ælfric, abbot of Abingdon, and later bishop of Winchester where Lantfred was active. Given these links, it is important to consider these opinions concerning salvation when examining the message of the early medieval English redactions of LSE.

Discussions of the level of agency one had in one's own salvation would also have ramifications for those in holy orders, especially those who entered monasteries later in life. For example, coenobitic monasticism emphasises obedience to the church hierarchy and the adoption of poverty and chastity. While the vow of obedience necessitates a certain loss of agency, this vow is itself an agentive act; one willingly forgoes individual agency in the interests of salvation. However, the suggestion under Augustine's model of grace, that certain

¹⁵ Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', p. 218. See Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 140 and 253.

¹⁶ Edited and translated by Lapidge, 'Three Poems'.

¹⁷ Kleist, *Striving with Grace*, p. 144.

¹⁸ Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems', p. 246; Emily Thornbury, however, describes it as a 'student effort' (Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, p. 33).

¹⁹ Kleist, *Striving with Grace*, pp. 176, 212.

²⁰ Grundy, *Books and Grace*, p. 102.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 270.

²² *Ibid.* p. 142.

elect are pre-chosen for salvation, could lead to doubt as to the point in adopting a godly lifestyle or entering holy orders if one's salvation or damnation is preordained. This was not a new concern; in 427 the monks of Hadrumentum expressed dismay at Augustine's denial of human agency in salvation as they 'were unclear how to reconcile their commitment to the ascetic life with Augustine's conviction that human effort in the here and now had no discernible bearing on a person's eschatological destiny.'²³ The representation of agency and free will in OEE and VBE reflect this concern, and the adaptors' attempts to reconcile providence and free will.

Perhaps the most significant text in relation to medieval discussion of free will, grace and providence is Boethius' DCP, which was widely transmitted in medieval Europe and spawned a prolific tradition of glossing.²⁴ It was well known and respected in early medieval England, as attested by the prose and prosimetric vernacular translations (known collectively as the Old English Boethius (OEB))²⁵ produced as part of the Alfredian education project. Diane Bolton wrote that DCP had a 'unique place' in early medieval England, as evidenced by the survival of a group of exceptionally fine manuscripts that probably survived due to their beauty.²⁶ Other scholars have suggested that the text influenced the elegiac tradition in extant Old English poetry, especially in the case of *Deor*,²⁷ as well as wisdom poetry.²⁸ As DCP and OEB explore many of the same ideas as LSE (free will, fate and providence, transience, the relative importance of temporal power and wealth, and the dangers of despair), it is plausible that the reception, translation and circulation of LSE in tenth-century England was part of a wider intellectual interest in free will and man's eschatological agency that the study of Boethius seems to have reflected. If DCP influenced the extant elegiac tradition, there is no reason to discount a similar influence on the hagiographic tradition, or polysystem.

²³ Leyser, 'Semi-Pelagianism', p. 762.

²⁴ See Bolton, 'Study'; Nauta, 'commentary tradition'; Papahagi, 'Reception'; Love, 'Latin Commentaries' for discussions of the commentary tradition.

²⁵ Quotes and translations from OEB are taken from Godden and Irvine, *The Old English Boethius*, 2 vols. As the poetic sections of the prosimetric C-version often provide more material of interest than their counterparts in the prose B-version, quotations are taken from OEB(C) unless the reading in OEB(B) differs significantly.

²⁶ Bolton, 'Study', p. 33.

²⁷ See Bolton, 'Boethius, Alfred and Deor: Again', Kiernan, 'Deor', Markland, 'Boethius, Alfred and Deor', and Whitbread, 'Pattern'. Frakes also supports this theory (*Fate of Fortune* p. 89). Bloomfield, 'Deor Revisited' argues against any influence of DCP on *Deor* but provides no strong arguments against the theory. Lumiansky ('dramatic structure', pp. 109–11) and Cross ('Genre') both argued that *The Wanderer* was also influenced by DCP, if only indirectly.

²⁸ For example, Robert DiNapoli noted potential Boethian influence on *The Order of the World* ('visionary experience' pp. 102–3, 107).

3.2 – THE OLD ENGLISH EUSTACE

Past scholarship concerning OEE has largely involved contextualising it against the Ælfrician canon.²⁹ Magennis has shown the most interest in OEE, albeit as one of the four anonymous interpolations into LoS,³⁰ as his focus was on establishing the sources of those texts.³¹ He found that OEE is largely a ‘lightly abbreviated paraphrase of its Latin source’,³² yet a literary examination of OEE can be fruitful. By considering the alterations made in translation and the aspects that led to it being deemed suitable to translate and circulate, especially with the works of Ælfric,³³ the question of the *skopoi* of the authors, and what religious and cultural attitudes may have shaped them, can be addressed.

This question has been briefly examined by Robin Norris. She argued that the author of OEE intended to offer ‘a model for how to respond to sorrow without succumbing to the excesses of *tristitia*’,³⁴ and linked this treatment to a commonplace across tenth-century English writings regarding heavenly rewards for avoiding sorrow when undergoing strife.³⁵ She observed that the author of OEE consciously edited the story to shield Eustace from despair by reducing Latin doublets regarding sorrow and omitting references to tears and weeping.³⁶ This reading is valid, given the themes of endurance of loss inherent in Eustace’s Job-like Trial, but

²⁹ Several earlier editors of OEE assumed that Ælfric was the author (Gerould, ‘Forerunners’; Skeat, *Lives of Saints* (2 vols); Ker, *Catalogue*; Sisam, *Studies*, Loomis, ‘Further Sources’). Other scholars have discounted this on linguistic grounds (Jost, ‘Unechte Ælfricexte’, Hofstetter, *Winchester*, Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut*). More recent scholarship has concluded that OEE was not the work of Ælfric (Magennis, ‘Sources’; Clemons, ‘Chronology’; Pope, *Homilies*). Lapidge suggested that Ælfric may have written OEE in collaboration with another author, but provides no evidence and does not pursue this line of enquiry (‘Æthelwold’, p. 221).

³⁰ The other three being *Lives* of SS Mary of Egypt, Euphrosyne and the Seven Sleepers.

³¹ Magennis, ‘Contrasting Features’ and ‘Sources’ analyse the sources and style of the anonymous interpolations to place them outside the Ælfrician canon, while ‘Eustachius, passio’ focuses solely on the closeness of OEE to C9. ‘Note’ examines the defective grammar at the beginning of OEE to argue that the *vita* has greater literary merit than it first appears. It should be noted that Magennis was comparing OEE to the edition of Mombritius, although OEE remains such a paraphrase when compared to C9 and BHL 2760.

³² Magennis, ‘Contrasting Features’, p. 336.

³³ It should be noted that the translator and the transmitter are not necessarily the same individual.

³⁴ Norris, ‘Reversal’, p. 114; *tristitia* is the sin of despair, i.e. sorrowing for worldly losses and not trusting God. Ælfric of Eynsham summarised it thus: ‘Se fifta is tristitia, þæt is ðissere worulde unrotnyss þæt is þonne se man geunrotsod ealles to swyðe for his æhta lyre þe he lufode to swyðe, and cid þonne wið god, and his synna geeacnað. Twa unrot-nyss synd: an is þeos yfele, and oðer is halwende þæt is þæt se man for his synnum geunrotsige’ (‘The fifth [sin] is *tristitia*, that is this world’s sorrow; this is when a man sorrows all too much for the loss of his goods, which he loved too much, and then complains to God, and increases his sins. There are two sorrows: one is this evil [sorrow], and the other is salutary, which is that a man sorrow for his sins’) (*Memory of the Saints*, ed. Skeat, *Lives of Saints* vol. I, ll. 289–94, pp. 356–7. Translation my own.). See also Norris, ‘Introduction’, pp. 8–9.

³⁵ Norris, ‘Reversal’, p. 99.

³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 102, 107, 109, 111. It is also significant that OEE omits a direct reference to despair in C9 113–14: ‘Cumque essent ergo in eiusmodi tristitia reliqua eorum possessio’ (‘And so they were in the same despair at the loss of their possessions’).

reducing the appeal of a *vita* to a single facet would be unwise. It is important to consider other aspects of LSE that may have appealed to English thinkers in the tenth century.

3.2.1 – SECULAR APPEAL AND LAY PIETY

As discussed in the previous chapter, a distinctive aspect of LSE is the generally positive depiction of secular roles and goods if placed in the correct Christian context. Since much of this discussion is pertinent to relationships between the Old English Boethian tradition and OEE, this will be further discussed below in §3.2.3.3. There are, however, other examples that are worth consideration outside those inter-traditional relationships.

Several alterations in OEE are suggestive of the translator's opinion concerning secular worth. The bulk of these revolve around status. From the outset, Placidus' worldly status appears to be sanitised; where in C9 he is described as distinguished *secundum carnem* ('according to the flesh'),³⁷ in OEE he is 'æfter worulde swiðe æþelboren'.³⁸ While the phrasing implies the inferiority of worldly, as against spiritual, worth, the connotations of 'the world' could be considered less negative than those of 'the flesh'. According to Bosworth-Toller, *weorold* generally translated concepts such as *saecula* ('world' or 'age') or *mundus* ('world'),³⁹ where *caro* (even in a religious sense) was most commonly translated as *flæsc* ('flesh').⁴⁰ This suggests that the translator is drawing a distinction. Where 'the flesh' connotes inherently evil temptations such as lust and gluttony, 'the world' has more of a sense of temptation by things that can be misused or become distractions – but which by the same token can be used for good if treated and contextualised correctly. In this way, the author of OEE strengthens the representation of worldly wealth in LSE as not inherently evil.

Additionally, when Eustace's sons are conscripted, OEE adds that they were chosen by the townspeople because 'hi wæron cafllice and cyrtene'⁴¹ to the C9 statement that it was because they were foreign.⁴² Here the youths' noble heritage is emphasised physically, and the translator is perhaps keen to emphasise their good qualities for being chosen rather than the implication that they were considered expendable outsiders. Their familial importance to Eustace is also emphasised just before his Lament, when OEE reiterates that he is *heora fæder*

³⁷ C9 4.

³⁸ OEE 3, 'very well born according to the world'.

³⁹ Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 'weorold-', especially II(i) 'the present state (of the world)'.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 'flæsc'.

⁴¹ OEE 299–300, 'because they were bold and handsome'.

⁴² C9 236.

(‘their father’).⁴³ Eustace is unaware that they are safe, and the loss of his family is emphasised as the wellspring of his despair, reiterating the theme in LSE of family being of more worth than wealth and power, as well as the importance of lineage to the secular nobility.

Interestingly, OEE also shows some greater concern for reputation. For example, Theophista suggests that, having lost all their wealth, they go abroad, ‘[i]n obprobiis enim facti sumus omnibus cognoscentibus nos.’⁴⁴ The emphasis subtly changes in OEE, where her concern is ‘elles we beoð to hospe and edwite eallum þe us cunnon.’⁴⁵ In C9, they already suffer opprobrium, where in OEE she is afraid that they may do so. This suggests that the author of OEE (and his intended, potentially aristocratic, audience) considered loss of reputation too great a detriment to Eustace. Rolf Bremmer Jr suggested that the pre-Conquest English had a positive shame culture in which the opinion of others guided the individual, as opposed to a guilt culture where the conscience of the individual guides their actions (which is the more traditional Christian route). This would mean that early medieval English, especially the nobility, would consider public contempt a terrible fate.⁴⁶ This concern for reputation can also be seen in God’s promise to Eustace that, should he succeed in his Trial, ‘nomen tuum magnificabitur in generationem’.⁴⁷ A spiritual reputation for godliness, therefore, could be seen as a sanitised replacement for a heroic reputation, and part of their heavenly reward.

OEE also emphasises the fulfilment of secular roles. One interesting example of this is found in the enumeration of Placidus’ virtues. C9 states that ‘patrocinabatur grauatim iniudicio. Plures etiam a iudicibus iniuste damnatos opibus releuabat’.⁴⁸ In OEE, however, this doublet concerning corrupt justices is weakened to ‘gemundbyrde þa ðe forðemde wæron and eac swilce he for wel manega þe unrihtlice fram yflum demum genyþrode wæron alyhte’.⁴⁹ While the evil of unjust judgement is emphasised, the first half of the doublet does not state that the condemnations are unjust. This is interesting in two ways. Firstly, it emphasises the compassion of the quasi-Christian Placidus who extends his mercy to sinners and oppressed innocents alike. Secondly, while OEE does not deny the existence of unjust judges, by reducing the emphasis on injustice it removes the possible implication that all judges are untrustworthy. This

⁴³ OEE 188.

⁴⁴ C9 122–3, ‘[f]or we have been made an object of scorn to everyone we know’.

⁴⁵ OEE 161, ‘else we shall be a reproach and taunting to all that know us’.

⁴⁶ Bremmer Jr, ‘Shame and Honour’, pp. 98, 102.

⁴⁷ C9 193, ‘your name will be glorified throughout all generations’.

⁴⁸ C9 6–7, ‘he was a defender of those who were under grave travesties of justice. He also saved many who were unjustly condemned by judges with his wealth’.

⁴⁹ OEE 6–8, ‘he protected those who were condemned; and likewise he assisted very many who were unjustly sentenced by evil judges’.

correlates with the theme in LSE that power is not inherently bad, provided it is used appropriately in the context of a godly life. This exploration of correct secular roles in a Christian context is especially visible in the case of military roles.

3.2.1.1 – MILITARISM

The English were clearly not averse to hagiography that concerned military figures. For example, the *vitae* of both Martin, the archetypal soldier-saint, and Guthlac, a Mercian warrior-noble who rejected the world in favour of the eremitic life, were popular in England during the early Middle Ages, both in Latin and the vernacular.⁵⁰ Furthermore, earlier poetic hagiographies, including the *Guthlac* poems, *Judith* and *Andreas*, were suffused with poetic language that had its roots in heroic imagery from the Germanic past. John Damon wrote that

[i]n representing the lives of saints, Anglo-Saxon poets used martial language to investigate the nature of violence, as enacted upon unresisting martyrs, employed by apostolic heroes or abandoned by those seeking union with the divine. Warfare captivated the attention of these early English poets as they composed works in hono[u]r of the holy saints they revered.⁵¹

It should also be noted that ‘the earliest Anglo-Saxon saints were either warriors themselves or the products of a warrior culture.’⁵²

The greater part of the extant corpus of prose hagiography from the later Old English period is Ælfrician. As the only complete copy of OEE was transmitted in the Ælfrician context of LoS, a consideration of military themes in Old English prose hagiography inevitably centres on this collection. Damon estimated that stories about warrior martyrs made up roughly a third of the collection,⁵³ while Whatley concluded that some ten of the twenty-six *vitae* focused on male saints who occupied secular positions as royals and soldiers, not including additional characters in other *vitae*.⁵⁴ As LoS was originally compiled for Ælfric’s lay patrons, Ealdorman Æthelweard and his son Æthelmær, it is unsurprising that LoS emphasized secular kings, monk-bishops and saints from the upper echelons of society.⁵⁵ Indeed, it has been convincingly argued that one of Ælfric’s main aims in compiling LoS was to reassure his patrons that their

⁵⁰ Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 9, 63, 146.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 147.

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 9.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 200.

⁵⁴ Whatley, ‘Hagiography and Violence’, p. 217.

⁵⁵ Whatley, ‘*Pearls Before Swine*’, p. 182.

role as military leaders defending England against the late tenth-century Viking incursions was not disapproved of by God.⁵⁶ Though Ælfric heavily reduced the military themes in his translations of the *Vita S. Martini*,⁵⁷ it is noteworthy that Martin is the only saint treated by Ælfric in the collection who explicitly rejects warfare from the outset, refusing his soldiers' pay and abandoning his weapons.⁵⁸ Ælfric cultivates a general idea of *iustum bellum* across the *vitae* of soldier saints in LoS,⁵⁹ but nonetheless provides various models: Edmund takes on a pacifist role, albeit after attempts to repel the heathen invasion have failed. This openly pacifist response to warfare in Abbo of Fleury's original *vita* of Edmund is unaltered by Ælfric, suggesting that in LoS Ælfric intended to offer different models of resistance to the Vikings – both military and pacifist – which he considered equally valid. The Theban Legion continue to serve as soldiers, only defying their non-Christian Emperor when instructed to sacrifice,⁶⁰ whereas Oswald dies in battle against the heathen. This nuanced approach to military saints suggests that each Christian can respond to the tension between their faith and their military duties in different ways, according to their vocation. While Eustace is not martyred in battle, his military activity in defence of his homeland places him closer to the models of the Theban Legion and Oswald; especially in the case of the former, as it is a refusal to sacrifice to idols that leads to martyrdom in both *vitae*.

Ælfric's homily on the Maccabees,⁶¹ which appears to have been especially popular,⁶² also explores *iustum bellum*, which suggests that the idea had a reasonably wide dissemination. The Maccabees homily also describes the division of society into *bellatores*, *oratores* and *laboratores*, which may have provided further justification for his patrons' military careers. It is plausible that Ælfric inherited this model from the Old English Boethius.⁶³ That both these themes appear in LSE⁶⁴ is significant; there was clearly interest in these ideas in tenth-century England, which has implications for the reception, transmission and translation of LSE.

⁵⁶ Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 194.

⁵⁷ Magennis, 'Warrior Saints'.

⁵⁸ Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', p. 229.

⁵⁹ Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 222; Lazzari, 'Kingship and Sainthood', p. 40; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', p. 42; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', p. 220.

⁶⁰ *Passio Sancti Mauricii et Sociorum* ll. 49–50: 'We synd gearwe to gefeohte forð mid ðam casere, ac we nellap gecyrran to his onsægednyssum' ('We are ready to go forth to battle with the Emperor, but we will not be turned to his sacrifices') (Skeat, *Lives of Saints*, vol. II, pp. 160–1). As with Eustace, it is not their military service, but the requirement of idolatry, that is problematic.

⁶¹ *Passio Machabeorum*, ll. 705–14, Skeat, *Lives of Saints*, II, pp. 114–17. Ælfric specifically links the idea of *iustum bellum* with war against *ða reðan flot-menn* ('the cruel seamen', i.e. the Vikings).

⁶² The homily is extant in eight manuscripts; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', p. 219.

⁶³ Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 219.

⁶⁴ See §2.2.1–2.2.2.

While James Earl argued that Ælfric's homilies envision a world in which violence is peacefully resisted by non-violence,⁶⁵ Damon makes the equally valid suggestion that Ælfric 'came to believe [...] that although most saints achieved their sainthood by renouncing the sword, others achieved it by wielding one.'⁶⁶ The issue for Ælfric was not violence itself, but the correct use of force; lawful violence in defence of Christendom and unlawful violence against which Christians must defend.⁶⁷ In such situations, that defence was carried out by secular military aristocrats, such as Ælfric's patrons. Damon also identified a trend in tenth-century England for the sanctification of lay heroes, as in the case of Byrhtnoð in *The Battle of Maldon*, and of literate noblemen emphasising their own lay piety textually.⁶⁸

Eustace also displays attributes that are incompatible with the traditional warrior-saint paradigm. For example, unlike the idealised Martin, whose military career is heavily sanitised both by Sulpicius Severus, his biographer, and later Old English translators,⁶⁹ Eustace has certainly seen combat, as he is recognised by his former servants and his wife by an old battle scar.⁷⁰ The composer of OEE shows no qualms about retaining this reference, nor references to Eustace's counter-invasion, laying waste enemy lands and taking plunder and captives,⁷¹ despite their incongruity in a hagiographic narrative.

Indeed, given the presence of saints such as the Theban Legion in LoS, it is possible that OEE was deemed suitable material to interpolate into LoS because of, rather than despite, its military subthemes. Though overlooked by Ælfric, possibly because of the worldly exaltation that Eustace receives from his military exploits (which are not shared by saints such as the Theban Legion), this does not preclude another writer appreciating Eustace as an alternative model of sanctity for pious laymen with secular vocations, being a warrior saint allowed to carry out military actions.

The parallels drawn in LSE between his secular military service to the emperor and his forthcoming Trial also merit discussion. These are best preserved in BHL 2760: 'sed quemadmodum repugnans hominibus cupiebas victor ostendi, mortali imperatori festinans placere, sic & contra diabolum strenue agere festina, et mihi, immortalis imperatori, fidem

⁶⁵ Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence', p. 141.

⁶⁶ Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 218.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Damon, 'Sanctifying Anglo-Saxon Ealdormen'.

⁶⁹ Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 26; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', p. 37.

⁷⁰ OEE 268–71, 346–7.

⁷¹ C9 242–5 and 304–6. Translated as OEE 308–10 and OEE 388–91.

servare.’⁷² This parallel construction places neither service above the other, suggesting that God can be pleased by a good Christian’s just military actions. OEE, however, reads ‘swa þu gewilnodest þæt þu mannum gelicost þurh þin sigefæst gefeoht and þam deadlican cynincge swa þe eac gedafenað to efestenne þæt þu me þam undeadlican cyncinge þine trwya gehealde.’⁷³ Though this reading retains an apparent parity between earthly and spiritual military service, Magennis argued that OEE loses some of the sharpness of the distinction between earthly warfare and fighting the Devil, and that the translation is weakened by the translator’s misunderstanding; instead of Eustace pleasing the Emperor by fighting men, he pleases men and the Emperor by fighting.⁷⁴ While possibly a mistake, if we consider that this is how OEE was received by at least one section of the audience, this reading strengthens the sense of Eustace’s reputation among his contemporaries. By placing this reputation on a par with Eustace serving him in spiritual warfare, in OEE God appears more approving of Eustace’s secular militarism.

3.2.2 – THEOLOGICAL APPEAL

While there seems to be much in LSE and OEE that might appeal to the secular figures in tenth-century England, there is also much to say concerning the theological themes of grace and free will.

3.2.2.1 – GRACE AND SALVATION

The theme of noble heathenism could be seen to be downplayed in OEE. For example, references to Cornelius, the Biblical precedent for the salvation of a well-intentioned non-Christian, are omitted. However, as this is the case with references to other Biblical figures, such as Balaam and Paul, this may simply have been in the interest of streamlining the narrative. Furthermore, God is shown as describing Placidus as *se leofa þeow* (‘the dear servant’),⁷⁵ where in C9 Placidus is simply *dilectum meum* (‘one who is delightful to me’).⁷⁶ In C9, Placidus pleases God, but cannot yet serve him, but in OEE he is a servant of God despite his lack of belief. While Augustine would argue that a non-Christian could never hope to serve

⁷² BHL 2760 §7, ‘but just as you have desired to be shown as victor by fighting against men, hastening to please the mortal emperor, thus you swiftly ought to struggle against the Devil with strength, and serve me, the immortal emperor, faithfully.’ C9 omits ‘festinans placere, sic et contra diabolium strenue agere festina, et mihi, immortalī imperatori’, probably due to eyeskip between the two *imperatorī*.

⁷³ OEE 122–4, ‘even as you have desired to please men and the mortal king by your victorious fighting, so likewise it is fitting for you to keep your troth with me, the immortal king’.

⁷⁴ Magennis, ‘Contrasting Features’, p. 340, footnote 49.

⁷⁵ OEE 51.

⁷⁶ C9 38.

God by doing good, this reading allows for non-Christians to do so. As an unwitting servant of God, Placidus' noble heathenism is retained, albeit with less emphasis due to the omitted Biblical parallel of Cornelius. This servant imagery is also included in God's charge to him concerning his Trial, in which he is compared to 'min se leofa ðeow iob',⁷⁷ providing a direct semantic link between Eustace and the archetypical holy sufferer.

The vocabulary of salvation in OEE is significant. God's desire to save Placidus in C9⁷⁸ becomes 'he mid þyllicum gemete gehælde',⁷⁹ adding an implication that Placidus requires healing or saving, while Christ later states that he came to earth 'þæt ic mancynn gehælde'.⁸⁰ There is also an additional reference to salvation during the baptism scene. C9 77 *Dominus iesus christus* ('Lord Jesus Christ') is rendered as *Drihten hælende crist* ('Lord Christ the Saviour').⁸¹ It can be no coincidence that Christ's saving nature is invoked during their baptism. Pope John's description of God's role in their salvation is also altered. In C9 he states that *manus domini* ('the hand of the Lord')⁸² is upon them, where in OEE it is *godes bletsung* ('God's blessing').⁸³ This demonstrates that their salvation results from divine intervention, but suggests that this is grace giving them agency, rather than a guiding or controlling of the 'hand of God'. It should also be noted that, in addition to the baptism necessary for their salvation, OEE adds a reference to the Eucharist, indicating another Sacrament they must partake in to be fully saved.⁸⁴

OEE contains another pertinent alteration at the beginning of the life, when the reference to Placidus being *demone captus* ('captured by demons')⁸⁵ is replaced by a statement that Placidus and his wife 'þa git hæðene wæron'.⁸⁶ This can be interpreted in two different ways, depending on how one reads 'yet'. The first interpretation is that Placidus and his wife remain heathen despite their good deeds, which has implications for the representation of noble heathenism in OEE, and fits with the depiction of Placidus as an unwitting *þeow* as discussed above. The second interpretation is that 'yet' is used in a temporal sense, indicating that they

⁷⁷ OEE 126, 'my dear servant Job'. It is possible, however, that the author excised other Biblical parallels in order to emphasise the parallels between Eustace and Job.

⁷⁸ C9 15–16 'peruenit ad istum benigna misericordia et eum tali saluari uoluit modo' ('he came to him with kindly mercy and wished for him to be saved in such a way').

⁷⁹ OEE 24, 'he healed him with a like measure of (his mercy)'.

⁸⁰ OEE 53, 'that I might heal mankind'.

⁸¹ OEE 98–9.

⁸² C9 76.

⁸³ OEE 100.

⁸⁴ OEE 98.

⁸⁵ C9 5.

⁸⁶ OEE 11, 'were as yet heathen'.

will be baptised and thus mitigating the negativity of their heathenism in that it is a stage of their lives that is ending. In either case, the depiction of Placidus' heathenism, and that of his wife, is softened in OEE compared to C9, in which he is a passive captive of idolatry rather than a potential servant of God who is misdirecting his efforts.

Two other alterations to the depiction of salvation involve Theophista alone. OEE reiterates that her chastity was maintained *purh godes gescyldnsse* ('through God's protection'),⁸⁷ emphasising the importance of divine grace, and also states that this was 'ealswa heo to gode gewilnode'.⁸⁸ There is an implied level of agency in the desire for the grace for protection, but significantly Theophista does not explicitly ask for this grace as she does in other versions.

3.2.2.2 – PROVIDENCE AND AGENCY

In terms of the examination in LSE of human agency in salvation, OEE appears to emphasise agency over divine preordination. For example, when Christ grants him a choice over the timing of his temptations (itself a form of human agency), Eustace's response in OEE is subtly changed; while he agrees to take on the Trial straightaway, the idea of avoidance ('si non est possibile euadere quae a te nobis sunt decreta'⁸⁹) and the request for *uirtutem* ('strength or courage') to endure⁹⁰ are replaced by his concern that the Trial 'unaræfnedlic sy to ofer-cumenne',⁹¹ and rather than strength Eustace asks for *geðyld* ('patience')⁹². While *decreta* ('decreed') suggests a fixed providential framework, including the outcome of the Trial as much as the events that constitute it, this is lost in OEE. Instead of Eustace asking to avoid a predetermined fate, a request which echoes Christ in Gethsemane, Eustace accepts the Trial but expresses concern over his ability to endure it. He acts appropriately in asking for God's support, but his request for patience in OEE implies that the translator felt that Eustace already had the 'right weapons' for his spiritual battle, whether through grace or his own good deeds, and so did not need to request it; it is rather his endurance than his ability that is tested.

Perhaps the most striking alteration to the representation of free will and salvation in OEE occurs when Eustace overcomes the temptation to commit suicide after losing his sons.

⁸⁷ OEE 352.

⁸⁸ OEE 221, 'even as she desired of God'.

⁸⁹ C9 99, 'if it is not possible to evade those things which are decreed for us by you'.

⁹⁰ C9 100.

⁹¹ OEE 133, 'might be difficult to bear to overcome this'. Skeat translates *unaræfnedlic* as 'unallowable'.

⁹² OEE 135.

In C9, ‘iterum constantem eum reddidit prouidentia dei, que futura prouidebat’.⁹³ This explains Eustace’s success in terms of a preordained outcome that protects Eustace’s sanctity; providentially, Eustace was always going to overcome his despair, whether due to prevenient grace or an ultimate lack of free will. OEE, however, states that ‘seo uplice arfæstnyss gestapelode mid gepylde, þæt he þæt ne dyde’.⁹⁴ OEE focuses on the utilisation of grace granted by God rather than divine preordination. Whether this grace is prevenient or granted for the task at hand, the agency nevertheless rests with Eustace using his ‘right weapons’ to overcome a spiritual obstacle. This is not to say that OEE contains no references to providence; immediately afterwards, as in C9, the lion bearing his son carries the child away unharmed through God’s providence; though in this case there is a possible distinction between man, who has free will, and the beast, which does not. It may be that irrational beasts were inherently controlled by providence. The treatment of Eustace’s temptation to suicide suggests that the author of OEE favoured a less rigid model of grace than Augustine, closer to that of Gregory or Ælfric, which allowed for a modicum of human agency in the reception of necessary grace. Eustace arguably becomes a more exemplary figure in terms of right living, in that he makes use of God-given gifts to overcome his troubles, rather than being a mere puppet of divine will.

3.2.3 – OEE AND BOETHIUS

DCP is an important text regarding this interplay of providence and agency. It is especially worth considering in light of alterations in OEE which suggest a concern for free will within the sphere of salvation. An examination of OEE against the Old English translation of DCP reveals several similarities that indicate that an interest in themes of human agency, salvation and the dichotomy of spiritual and worldly wealth as explored in DCP and OEB may have contributed to interest in LSE in tenth-century England, and influenced alterations made in OEE.

3.2.3.1 – FREE WILL

Like DCP, OEB draws no firm conclusions in reconciling free will and divine providence.⁹⁵ Meter 13 of OEB(C) refers to God binding all created things,⁹⁶ and expands the reading of DCP to include the idea that all creation strives towards God’s nature as the greatest good:

⁹³ C9 142–3, ‘the providence of God, which foresaw the things to come, returned him to constancy again’.

⁹⁴ OEE 181–2, ‘heavenly virtue (or mercy) fortified him with patience, so that he did not do it’.

⁹⁵ Payne, *King Alfred*, p. 20.

⁹⁶ OEB(C) M13:6–9.

buton sumum englum

and moncynne, þara micles to feola

woroldwuniendra winð wið gecynde.

(‘except for certain angels and mankind, of whom far too many world-dwellers contend with their nature.’)⁹⁷

This reiterates the idea that people use the potential of their free will to turn against God, as does Meter 20:

Þu þe unstillā agna gesceafta

to ðinum willan wislice astyrest.

(‘You who wisely rouse your own unmoving creatures according to your will’)⁹⁸

The metaphor of God controlling creation ‘mid ðæm stiorroðre his goodnesse’⁹⁹ is also added. To some extent LSE contains this sense of rigidity: for example, God tells Placidus that when he returns after his conversion, *demonstrabo tibi futura* (‘I will show you the things to come’),¹⁰⁰ although it is unclear whether this refers to a fixed future allowing little or no room for human agency, or to an event God will bring about within a framework in which Eustace has agency.

This emphasis on God’s control over human affairs does not leave mankind entirely without agency, however. DCP states that there is freedom ‘neque enim fuerit ulla rationalis natura quin eidem libertas adsit arbitrii’,¹⁰¹ but OEB makes the significant distinction that:

Pa men habbað simle freedom þy maran þe hi heora mod near godcundum ðingum lætað, and habbað þæs þy læssan friodom þe hi hiora modes willan near þisse weoruldare lætað. Nabbað hi nænne freedom þonne hi heora agenum willum hi selfe unðeawum underðiodað, ac sona swa hi hiora mod onwendað from gode, swa weorðað hi ablende mid unwise dome.

⁹⁷ OEB(C) M13:10–17; quotation M13:15b–17. It is perhaps significant that this addition is not in the prose B-version of OEB.

⁹⁸ OEB(C) M20:14–15; also OEB(B) Ch. 33 ll. 146–7.

⁹⁹ OEB(C) P22:137–8, ‘with the rudder of his goodness’.

¹⁰⁰ C9 55.

¹⁰¹ DCP V.p.II:5–6, ‘for there could not be any rational nature, did not that same nature possess freedom of the will’. OEB(C) reiterates this in P31. Text and translation taken from Tester, ed. and trans. *Consolation of Philosophy*.

(‘Men always have freedom the more that they set their minds nearer divine things, and have the less freedom in that they place their mind’s desire nearer this world’s favour. They have no freedom at all when they subject themselves by their own will to vices, but as soon as they turn their minds from good they become blinded with folly.’)¹⁰²

This is highly relevant to LSE. While there is no specific textual link or addition in the text, the journey of Eustace nonetheless parallels this structure. As he does good deeds that are pleasing to God, he gains awareness of the true faith through a vision. Likewise, as he succumbs to despair his prayers cease to be answered verbally and immediately. He only regains agency after reconciling himself to his lot, and so moves closer to God once more. This culminates in a final prayer which receives a direct answer, signalling Eustace’s spiritual closeness to God.

The model of agency in LSE follows that of OEB more closely than that of DCP. Payne argued that in OEB there is no ‘inescapable determinism’ imposed on man as in Boethius. Rather, in OEB ‘men are subjected to the right judgement of predestination and forethought, whether they understand it or not’, but without the sense of ‘inevitable order’ as in DCP.¹⁰³

The idea of freedom of the will shifting in relation to closeness to God is also visible in one of the most noteworthy changes in OEB: the metaphor of fate and providence as a series of concentric circles in DCP IV.p.VI becoming that of a wagon wheel.¹⁰⁴ According to this metaphor, the more someone considers God the closer they move up the spokes towards the hub where the divine centre resides, and become less disturbed by the motions of *wyrd*¹⁰⁵ that affect those seeking the highest goods among worldly things, thus drawing themselves towards the rim. Milton McC. Gatch suggested that the Old English translator was treating the material

¹⁰² OEB(C) P31:42–7.

¹⁰³ Payne, *King Alfred*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁴ OEB(B) Ch. 39, OEB(C) P.29.

¹⁰⁵ The meaning of *wyrd* in OEB is much debated, especially regarding its possible heathen connotations. Some scholars see God and *wyrd* as ethical contrasts, others as practically identical (Timmer, ‘Wyrd’, p. 25). Papahagi (*‘Res paene iustitia’*, pp. 196–7) noted that *wyrd* often has negative connotations in Old English poetry, and suggested that the word in OEB is used more hesitantly, closer to the *wyrd* of the Old English elegiac tradition rather than Classical *fatum*. Payne (*King Alfred*, pp. 31, 33, 90) argued that *wyrd*, as the only force other than God encountered in OEB, was limited to the function of ‘God’s work’ in space and time. Gatch (*Loyalties*, p. 114) suggested a definition of ‘God’s work of adjusting the world to embrace the contingencies that arise as men choose their particular course of action’, omitting fate and leaving man’s fortune in the hands of divine forethought. Timmer (‘Wyrd’, pp. 27–30) asserted that *wyrd* in OEB had shed its heathen connotations and suggested that by OEB it had adopted a neutral meaning of ‘lot (in life)’, with a secondary meaning of chance. Frakes (*Fate of Fortune*, p. 95), however, argued that it is impossible to tell if *wyrd* ever had pagan connotations to lose, and suggested that it may have gained fatalistic connotations through contact with late Antique ideas. All these potential readings of *wyrd* have ramifications for the representation of free will in OEB, but it is reasonably certain that the author did not link *wyrd* to the idea of a ‘blind and hostile power’, but rather placed it within the framework of a divine plan.

from a more eschatological perspective than Boethius' teleological view, resulting in a shift in emphasis away from Boethius' opinion that freedom was born of a proper understanding of the cosmos, towards an emphasis on the correct orientation of human will.¹⁰⁶ This has clear parallels with the structure of grace in LSE.

Another pertinent passage reiterates an allowance for freedom of will: 'Ðearf hit no eall geweorðan unanwendendlice; ac sum hit sceal geweorðan unandwendlice, þæt bið þætte ure nedþearf bið and his willa bið.'¹⁰⁷ This model of some events being preordained and others mutable is relevant to LSE as there is an element of uncertainty concerning the events and outcome of Eustace's Trial, such as the choice given by God as to when it takes place. There is also the alteration in OEE noted above where the agency for Eustace's resisting the temptation of suicide is taken from God's providence and given to Eustace, albeit aided by God's grace. The Trial that Eustace undergoes is preordained, but the outcome is not. It is up to Eustace to succeed or fail; an unusual representation of a saint in a genre where saints generally face suffering with placid certainty of success rather than having to overcome a tearful impulse to self-destruction before reconciling themselves with their place in God's providential scheme.

Importantly, LSE contains a sense that in some ways the outcome is preordained, and that the Trial is rather an exercise in Job-like patience. God informs Eustace, on two occasions, that he will be restored to his former state, and on the second occasion is explicit that he will be reunited with his family.¹⁰⁸ Eustace manages to maintain this patience until the loss of his wife, and it is only at the loss of his second son that he finally succumbs to despair.¹⁰⁹

Another relevant comparison to make is that of adverse fate being good for the individual. Wisdom states that 'sio wiðerwearde wyrd bið ælcum men nytwyrðre þonne sio orsorge'¹¹⁰ and 'sio wiðerwearde gebet and gelæreð ælcne þara þe hio hi to gepiet.'¹¹¹ The notion that undergoing temporal strife is good for the soul, with worldly prosperity providing an adverse distraction, is discernible in LSE, especially when God reminds Eustace that

¹⁰⁶ Gatch, *Loyalties*, pp. 108–9.

¹⁰⁷ OEB(C) P32:79–81, 'it (Providence) does not all have to happen without change, but some of it must happen without change, that is, that which is necessary for us and is his will'.

¹⁰⁸ C9 95–6, 191.

¹⁰⁹ C9 139–42; he returns for his sole remaining son *in patientia* ('with patience'), before that son is also seized.

¹¹⁰ OEB(C) P10:10–11, 'adverse fate is for everyone more useful than the favourable'.

¹¹¹ OEB(C) P10:16–17, 'the adverse (fate) improves and teaches everyone that it associates itself with'.

‘[o]portet ergo te humiliari de alta tua uanitate et rursus exaltare te in spiritualibus diuitiis.’¹¹² This promise of earthly loss leading to spiritual gain (repeated at the end of the *vita*¹¹³) is central to the message of LSE, which downplays the importance of transient earthly wealth, which is useful for what it can be used for rather than by its own merit, in favour of eternal spiritual gain. Significantly, the Trial of Eustace is directly linked to that of Job shortly afterwards in LSE.¹¹⁴ This makes Eustace an implied spiritual equal of Job, the archetypal sufferer who reconciles himself to God, both of whose torments are said to be instigated by the Devil through jealousy of their relationship with, and trust in, God.¹¹⁵ This is another example of autonomy within providence; the Trial is preordained by God, whether instigated by devilish artifices or not, yet the outcome is not fixed; rather, it is a temporal arena within which Eustace can wage his spiritual battle. The ultimate aim is to help Eustace fully trust in God, despite his circumstances, and to see that the true goods are not those of the world but of the spirit. Strife and despair act as a catalyst for this process.

3.2.3.2 – DESPAIR AND AFFLICTION

Similarities in the treatment of the theme of despair in OEE and OEB are worth consideration. As noted above, Norris discussed the importance of the theme in OEE. OEB treated its source material in a similar fashion; Book I of DCP opens with a tearful Boethius self-indulgently despairing until Philosophy casts out the Muses feeding his sorrow. While OEB largely retains the protagonist’s tearfulness, it is noteworthy that several such references to Boethius (*Mod* in OEB) being tearful are removed, as with similar passages in OEE.¹¹⁶

Both texts also share the image of strife as concussive winds striking the victim. As Norris noted,¹¹⁷ OEE envelopes Eustace’s Lament between two tree metaphors that are not found in LSE: ‘eom nu swa þæt twig þæt bið acorfen of þam treowe and aworpen on micclum ystum and eg-hwanon gecnissed’¹¹⁸ and ‘eom gelic þam bogum þe on westene æghwanene mid ystum slægene [synt].’¹¹⁹ This echoes three images in OEB(C):

¹¹² C9 90–1, ‘Therefore it is fitting for you to be humbled from your high vanity and exalted again in spiritual riches’; translated in OEE 119–20.

¹¹³ C9 341–2 ‘et pro temporalibus malis [...] fruimini preparatis bonis’ (‘and in exchange for temporary evils enjoy the goods that have been laid up’).

¹¹⁴ C9 93–4; OEE 126.

¹¹⁵ C9 87–8; OEE 115–16.

¹¹⁶ Norris, ‘Reversal’, p. 109.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹¹⁸ OEE 191–92, ‘I am now like the twig that is cut from the tree and cast away in a great storm and is buffeted on all sides’.

¹¹⁹ OEE 206–7, ‘I am like the boughs which are beaten on all sides by storms in the desert’.

1) Eala, on hu grimmum and hu grundleasum

seaðe swinceð þæt sweorcende mod

þonne hit þa strongan stormas beatað

weoruldbisgunga.

(‘Alas, what a terrible and bottomless pit the gloomy mind struggles in when the fierce storms of worldly cares pound it.’)¹²⁰

2) Swa bioð anra gehwæs

monna modsefan miclum awegede,

of hiora stede styrede, þonne hi strong dreceð

wind under wolcnum woruldearfoða,

oþþe hit eft se reða ren onhrereð

sumes ymbhogan, ungemet gemen.

(‘So the mind of each man is greatly swayed, shifted from its place, when beneath the clouds the strong wind of worldly troubles afflicts it or the fierce rain of anxiety, immeasurable worry, disturbs it.’)¹²¹

3) Hine þonne æghwonan ælmihtig God

singallice simle gehealdeð

anwunigendene his agenum

modes gesælðum þurh metodes gife,

þeah hine se wind woruldearfoða

swiðe swence, and hine singale

gemen gæle, þonne hime grimme on

woruldsælða wind wraðe blaweð,

¹²⁰ OEB(C) M3:1–4a.

¹²¹ OEB(C) M7:23b–28.

þeah þe hine ealneg se ymbhoga

ðyssa woruldsælða wraðe drecce.

(‘The almighty God keeps him in every way perpetually continuing in his mind’s own blessings through the grace of the Creator, though the wind of worldly troubles may greatly afflict him and care may constantly hinder him when the wind of worldly fortunes blows cruelly and fiercely on him, and though the distraction of these worldly fortunes may always terribly afflict him.’)¹²²

While there is no direct borrowing of phrasing, the image of being struck on all sides by winds representing earthly sorrows is pertinent to Eustace’s depths of despair at the nadir of his suffering. Such imagery is also prevalent in DCP, with many examples of the image of worldly sorrows as a storm across the first two books.¹²³ Though the author of OEE did not stray far from the confines of his source text, it seems possible that familiarity with DCP, OEB or both coloured the work that he produced.

OEB retains the idea from DCP that God does not inflict more suffering on anyone than they can endure: ‘Forðæm hit gebyreð oft þæt God nylle for his mildheortnesse nan unabereðlice broc him an settan, þy læs hi forlæten hiora unsceðfulnesse and weorðan wyrstan, gif hi asterede bioð and geswencte.’¹²⁴ This corresponds to the model of grace as the ‘right weapons’ to combat sin, and also parallels Eustace’s response to his choice regarding his Trial in OEE.¹²⁵ Again, it is possible that the translator of OEE was influenced by the study of Boethius.

Another theme shared between DCP and LSE is that of the mind clouded by sin obstructing awareness of what is needed for salvation. In LSE, God enjoins Eustace: ‘Uide ergo ne forte in corde tuo cogitatio blasphemie ascendat.’¹²⁶ This can be related to the frequent references by Philosophy (and Wisdom) in DCP and OEB to their interlocutor’s mind being clouded and unable to grasp their meaning.¹²⁷ It is after Eustace works through his despair and

¹²² OEB(C) M7:45–54.

¹²³ DCP I.p.III:37–8, I.v.V:45, I.p.V:38–9, II.p.IV:31–2.

¹²⁴ OEB(C) P29:180–3, ‘And so it often happens that God in his mercy does not want to impose any intolerable affliction on them, lest they abandon their guiltlessness and become worse, if they are troubled and afflicted’.

¹²⁵ Noted above, expressing the idea that the trial may be ‘unaræfnedlic [...] to ofer-cummene’ (‘unendurable (Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ‘intolerable’) to overcome’); OEE 133.

¹²⁶ C9 94–5, ‘Therefore see that no thought of blasphemy should by any chance arise in your heart’; translated in OEE 127–8.

¹²⁷ DCP I.p.II:11–13, 15–16; I.p.VI:26–7; III.v.XI:7; cf. OEB(C) P4.8, M5:21–4.

acknowledges the wrongfulness of his lamentation ('dico quod non oportet'¹²⁸), that he begins to trust in God. This process coincides with his change in fortunes. It is this implicit unclouding of his mind that forms the turning point of the narrative.

The Boethian depiction of despair distancing mankind from the truth is sometimes combined with the language of exile. Such language has relevance to LSE, OEE and the Old English elegiac tradition in general. DCP equates the idea of the right state of mind being a homeland. In response to Boethius' despair, Philosophy describes him as *miserum exsulem* ('miserably banished'),¹²⁹ exclaiming '[s]ed tu quam procul a patria non quidem pulsus es sed aberrasti; ac si te pulsum existimari mavis, te potius ipse pepulisti',¹³⁰ and Philosophy later directly describes the right state of mind as Boethius' *patria* ('homeland').¹³¹ This image also appears in Eustace's Lament: Eustace describes himself as suffering *on ælþeodignesse* ('in foreign parts, on a pilgrimage').¹³² While this is less explicitly an exile of banishment, it emphasises the separation from one's familiar homeland that is prevalent in the Old English elegiac tradition.¹³³ There are differences, however. DCP implies that Boethius is driving himself away from the truth, while OEB depicts external influences as the driving force: the Old English translation of DCP I.p.V:4–8 reads '[i]c ongeat þæt þu wære ut adrifen of þines fæder eðele.'¹³⁴ This subtly changes the message of the text; where in DCP Boethius' own attitudes to his circumstances effectively exile him from contact with the Highest Good, OEB emphasises external forces as the root of distress. This emphasis is visible in the further development of the idea of exile in OEB: the narrator is described as a *wreccæ giomor* ('sad outcast'),¹³⁵ while there are also additional references to *gnornunge fremdre worulde* ('the misery of a strange world')¹³⁶ and *epel* ('homeland')¹³⁷ that accentuate a more geographic

¹²⁸ C9 161, 'I say that which is not fitting'.

¹²⁹ DCP I.p.V:4.

¹³⁰ DCP I.p.V:4–8, 'But how far from your homeland you have strayed! Strayed, not been driven, I say; or if you prefer to be thought of as driven, then how far you have driven yourself!'

¹³¹ DCP IV.v.1:25.

¹³² OEE 201, rendering C9 160 *peregre* ('abroad, away from home').

¹³³ *The Wanderer* refers to paths of exile twice (l. 5 *wræclastas*, l. 31 *wræclast*) and describes the Wanderer as *eðle bidæled* (l. 20). *The Seafarer* also refers to being *wræccan lastum* ('on the paths of exile', l. 15). The *Wife's Lament* likewise refers to exile as *wræcsipa* (l. 5) and *wræcsipas* (l. 48), and the narrator refers to herself as a *wineleas wræcca* ('a friendless exile', l. 10).

¹³⁴ OEB(C) P4:4–5, 'I realised that you had been driven out of your father's country.' OEB(B) Ch. 5 l. 5 reads *afaren* ('gone away from') for *adrifen* but introduces the idea of *adrifen* later in the same passage.

¹³⁵ OEB(C) M2:3.

¹³⁶ OEB(C) M3:10b–11a.

¹³⁷ OEB(C) P6:101.

metaphor for the separation from the Highest Good that is God in OEB. Likewise, Eustace is arguably under a more external set of compulsions.

3.2.3.3 – POWER AND WEALTH

OEE and OEB also share attitudes to temporal power and wealth. Both differ from DCP, which emphasises the emptiness and ultimate worthlessness of worldly goods, fame and authority.¹³⁸ Nicole Discenza wrote that OEB ‘displays the ambivalence towards earthly goods of its source text without partaking in the ultimate rejection of worldly things’, sometimes rejecting them, as DCP does, but often ascribing them genuine value. This creates a hierarchy in which worldly goods have some value though being subordinated to the spiritual.¹³⁹ Power and wealth are not themselves problematic, a view shared by LSE.¹⁴⁰ The issue is rather how wealth is acquired and used, and whether power and fame are either deserved or excessive; one must make wealth serve rather than become its servant.¹⁴¹ It has been suggested that this was because the author of OEB was especially concerned with royal power, for a ruler must engage with the world rather than reject it completely, and use worldly goods for the betterment of his kingdom.¹⁴² Furthermore, as the OEB was intended for distribution among secular officials, Discenza suggested that a message of austerity may have been off-putting to a society to which the exchange of wealth and honour were integral.¹⁴³ The replacement of Fortuna with Wisdom as the distributor of worldly goods is also indicative of a fundamentally and more positive attitude to temporal wealth in OEB.¹⁴⁴

The following passage attests to the significance of the use of wealth in OEB:

Ac þeah hit nu god sie and diore, ðeah bið hliseadigra and leofwendra se ðe hit selð þonne se ðe hit gaderað and on oðrum reafað. Ge eac þa welan bioð hliseadrigan and leoftælran þonne þonne hi mon selð þonne hi bion ðonne hi mon gadrað and hilt.

(‘But though it may be good and precious, one who gives it is more renowned and popular than one who gathers it and plunders it from others. And also riches are more

¹³⁸ A stance which may have influenced the structure and content of *Deor*; see §3.1.3 footnote 27.

¹³⁹ Discenza, ‘Old English *Boethius*’, pp. 212–13.

¹⁴⁰ See §2.2.2.

¹⁴¹ Discenza, ‘Old English *Boethius*’, pp. 214–16.

¹⁴² Discenza, *King’s English*, pp. 96–7. Godden and Irvine have suggested that OEB was not originally intended for a general readership but that it had a wide-ranging audience nonetheless (*Old English Boethius* vol. 1, pp. 69–70).

¹⁴³ Discenza, *King’s English*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁴ Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, p. 65.

renowned and pleasing when they are given than they are when they are gathered and kept.’)¹⁴⁵

This is an expansion of the DCP reading: ‘Atqui haec effundendo magis quam coacervando melius nitent, si quidem avaritia semper odiosos, claros largitas facit.’¹⁴⁶ OEB builds on this warning against greed and emphasises wealth as a tool, continuing with an additional passage:

Hwæt, sio gitsung geded̥ heore gitseras laðe ægþer ge Gode ge monnum, and þa cysta gedod̥ þa simle leoftæle and hliseadige and weorðe ægþer ge Gode ge monnum ðe hie lufiað.

(‘Indeed, avarice makes its coveters hateful to God and to men, and generosity makes those who love it always popular and renowned and honoured by both God and by men.’)¹⁴⁷

There are clear parallels between this attitude to wealth and the depiction of Placidus’ charity in LSE. This could also explain why it was deemed acceptable for Eustace to be temporally exalted again, in that he was receiving goods and fame that were deserved and using them in an acceptable manner. Likewise, the omission in OEE of Eustace and his family’s despair at losing their wealth in C9 117–18 is significant; where the saints are saddened by their loss here, in OEE they simply abandon what is left and leave their home. It is also noteworthy that one of the things the saints ask of God in their final prayer is that those who pray to them should have *super terram habundantiam* (‘abundance upon the earth’)¹⁴⁸ as well as a heavenly reward.

OEB explores the utility of wealth and the acceptability of secular vocations in a Christian context, as can be seen in the added discussion of the three orders of society which observes that a king ‘sceal habban gebedmen and ferdmen and weorcmen. [...] Þæt is eac his ondweorc þæt he habban sceal to ðæm tolum þæm þrim geferscipum bewiste.’¹⁴⁹ When we consider this in the light of Boreau’s argument that Eustace’s embodiment of these three social

¹⁴⁵ OEB(C) P7:14–17.

¹⁴⁶ DCP II.p.V:8–10, ‘But riches are more splendid in the spending than in the getting, since avarice makes men hated, but liberality makes them famous’.

¹⁴⁷ OEB(C) P7:18–20.

¹⁴⁸ C9 334.

¹⁴⁹ OEB(C) P9:12–15, ‘must have prayer-men and army-men and work-men [...] His material is also that he must also have for these tools sustenance for the three communities.’ This is the earliest extant example of this model of the “three orders” (Powell, ‘Three Orders’, p. 103); see §§2.2.2 and 2.3.

orders led to his popularity in the Carolingian court,¹⁵⁰ we can see another context in which Eustace was likely to have been read and interpreted in tenth-century England.

The idea of wealth as a necessary tool is also relevant. Wisdom describes moderation as ‘þæt mete and drync and claðas and tol to swelcum cræfte swelce þu cunne þæt is gecynde, and þæt þe is riht to habbenne.’¹⁵¹ Arguably Eustace has this when he is reduced to being a labourer in Dadissus, which would support the reading of Eustace’s returned wealth being necessary for his secular duties; he is being given worldly tools just as grace gives him the right spiritual ones.

Eustace is also restored to power and status. His returned wealth is an aspect of that power. Power and fame do not seem to be unworthy goods in OEB, and even in DCP the limitations of fame and the abuses of power are considered to be greater issues, as exemplified in the two meters devoted to the excesses of Nero.¹⁵² Szarmach noted a subtle difference between the OEB(B) and OEB(C) translations of the first Nero meter; the passage in OEB(B) constitutes a straightforward meditation on the dangers of unbridled royal power, while the OEB(C) moves the discussion to the level of a ‘psychological analysis of a ruler out of control.’¹⁵³ The emphasis concerning power throughout OEB is very much on power being only as good as the one who wields it. OEB(C) states, for example: ‘[f]orðæm, þe se anweald næfre ne bið good buton se good sie þe hine hæbbe’¹⁵⁴ and ‘[h]wæþer þu mæge ongitan hu micelne unweorðscipe se anwald brengð ðam unmedeman gif he hine underfehð? Forðæm ælces monnes yfel bið þy openre gif he anwald hæfð.’¹⁵⁵ If power is not considered bad in and of itself, then some theologians may have felt more comfortable with the idea of Eustace regaining high social status, as he is using it rightfully in service of his ruler and not exploitatively for personal gain. Eustace, being a saint, is good, ergo the power he wields is also good.

Though Eustace is a righteous man and a saint, he never abandons the secular world by taking up a religious life. His restoration is therefore a return to an appropriate state of being

¹⁵⁰ Boureau, ‘Placido Tramite’, p. 686.

¹⁵¹ OEB(C) P7:76–8, ‘the food and drink and clothes and tools for whatever craft you know which is natural to you and which is right for you to possess’.

¹⁵² DCP II.v.VI and III.v.IV.

¹⁵³ Szarmach, ‘Alfred’s Nero’, pp. 151–2.

¹⁵⁴ OEB(C) P8:26–7, ‘For power is never good unless the person who has it is good’.

¹⁵⁵ OEB(C) P14:24–6, ‘Can you now see what great dishonour power brings to the unworthy if he receives it? For every man’s wickedness is the more visible if he has power’.

rather than to a past phase of his life that most military saints left behind. If read in the light of OEB, the goods and power that Eustace wields are unproblematic as they are being used properly in charity and service of the state rather than for selfish and exploitative reasons.

3.2.4 – CONCLUSION

While Norris is correct in identifying OEE as ‘a model for how to respond to sorrow without succumbing to the excesses of *tristitia*’,¹⁵⁶ several other aspects of OEE are significant. Eustace appears to have had appeal for an aristocratic audience, either fulfilling a secular role or in monastic orders at the end of a secular career. He can be regarded as a ‘lay saint’ who does not reject the world, but rather contextualises the relative importance of temporal and spiritual wealth. In doing so, he uses earthly power and wealth to perform his secular duties while maintaining a healthy relationship with God; surely a good example for pious ealdormen who were obliged to take up arms against Scandinavian raiders, and as such it is likely that the *skopos* of OEE was aimed at an audience who were expected to combine a secular role with a Christian faith, or were concerned that their secular actions invalidated any later monastic oaths they might take. Likewise, LSE clearly had an appeal to the monastic intelligentsia; the exploration of the relation between Eustace’s agency, providence and his salvation can be clearly related to tenth-century interest in this subject, and especially to the study and translation of DCP. Furthermore, the more accepting treatment of worldly goods in OEB compared to DCP provides context for the acceptability of the more unusual ‘lay’ aspects of Eustace’s Christianity.

3.3 – THE *VITA ET PASSIO BEATI EUSTACHI*

VBE is another reflex of LSE that has received little scholarly attention. Aside from a cursory introduction by Varnhagen in his 1881 edition of the poem, until recently the only other scholar to examine VBE was Monteverdi.¹⁵⁷ He dismissed VBE as having no literary merit: ‘Dai pochi versi citati appaiono anche i caratteri formali di tutto il poema; il metro fiacco, lo stile incolore, la lingua povera. Perfin la grammatica è malconcia.’¹⁵⁸ To Monteverdi, the poet was a *meschino versificatore* (‘petty versifier’)¹⁵⁹ who was *pedestramente umilmente fedele* (‘slavishly and

¹⁵⁶ Norris, ‘Reversal’, p. 114.

¹⁵⁷ Monteverdi, ‘I testi la leggenda’.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 408; ‘From the few verses quoted the formal character of the whole poem also appears; the weak meter, the colourless style, the impoverished language. Yes, the grammar is battered’.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

humbly faithful')¹⁶⁰ to the Latin prose. Lapidge, the only recent scholar to take real interest in VBE, followed Monteverdi in stating that 'at no point does the poet depart from the prose text or introduce any extraneous material.'¹⁶¹ Lapidge focused on stylistic analysis to ascertain whether VBE belongs to the Anglo-Latin corpus. However, a literary examination of VBE reveals that although the story is not substantially changed, the addition of Classical and Biblical allusions embellishes and enhances aspects of the Legend.

3.3.1 – THE PROVENANCE OF VBE

Before examining VBE in detail, Lapidge's work in considering its provenance will be continued. First, the form, metrical composition and style of VBE will be examined. Following this, comparisons will be drawn between DTC and reflexes of LSE known in early medieval England, and the wider poetic hagiographic tradition.

3.3.1.1 - FORM

Poetic form could be used as a diagnostic feature for the provenance of VBE. Emily Thornbury noted that for a time the *opus geminatum* (twinned works in prose and verse) was 'a distinctively English mode of hagiography'.¹⁶² It is possible, therefore, that VBE formed a pairing with a version of C9 or another lost Latin variant that is no longer extant. Because the witness of VBE did not circulate with prose, however, we can but speculate as to whether VBE formed part of this *opus geminatum* tradition and was adapted from Latin prose for this purpose. It should be remembered, however, that versifications of hagiographies existed outside of *opera geminata*. If the versification of saints' *vitae* was especially popular in any particular place in Europe, then it is possible that VBE could be traced to such a milieu.

Roughly sixty extant poems from the Latin West (excluding VBE) that could be considered hagiographic are datable to the period from the eighth century to the turn of the millennium.¹⁶³ Some fifty of these can be considered pure hagiography,¹⁶⁴ five of which have

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 407.

¹⁶¹ Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', p. 220.

¹⁶² Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, p. 51.

¹⁶³ Data taken from Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, Taylor, *Epic Lives* p. 46 fig. 6 and Lapidge, 'Tenth-century Anglo-Latin'.

¹⁶⁴ Excluded are Aedilulf's *De abbatibus* and Alcuin's *Versus de sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, being personal histories of multiple figures; the royal poems *In honorem Hludowici*, *Vita Karoli*, *Vita Apollinii*, *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris* and *Waltherius*; the *Breviloquium de omnibus sanctis*, being a rendering (putatively attributed to Wulfstan Cantor) of an anonymous Carolingian homily on All Saints (Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin' p. 254); and Walafriid Strabo's *Visio Wettini*, being a vision. It is noteworthy, however, that the *Visio Wettini* is one of the texts with which VBE was circulated in Laud Misc. 410.

an English provenance.¹⁶⁵ Statistically speaking, given the number of continental monastic centres, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the geographic spread; indeed, significant increases in production of Lives in particular areas seem to be driven more by individual personalities such as Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim.

Versification of *vitae* also seems to have been closely tied to patronage and possession of relics.¹⁶⁶ It was on this basis that Lapidge argued for an Anglo-Latin provenance for the anonymous *Vita S. Iudoci*.¹⁶⁷ Abingdon was the only house in England, and possibly Europe, known to possess relics of Eustace in this period (evidenced by their joint-dedication of an altar to him, and a litany that was probably composed there that refers to him¹⁶⁸). Lapidge further argues that possession of relics of a saint was a reasonable motivation for a versification of their *vita* in support of his argument that VBE may have been composed at Abingdon.¹⁶⁹

It should also be noted that the versification of saints' Lives was apparently viewed as prestigious in tenth-century England.¹⁷⁰ Lapidge has suggested that the versification of a prose *vita* could have been seen as a form of final examination for monastic students to prove their mastery of poetic composition, and that the driving force behind this may have been Æthelwold himself. The *Vita S. Iudoci* and (possibly) VBE can be linked to him, while Frithegod's *Breviloquium* was probably known at his school at Winchester.¹⁷¹ There were two 'models' that a versifier could follow – the literal (as practised by Juvenius and later, Alcuin and Aldhelm), which followed the wording of a prose text as closely as possible, and the figural (as practised by Arator and Bede), which used the prose as a springboard for contemplative composition. It is noteworthy that all Latin versifications that have been linked to tenth-century England (including VBE) follow the literal model.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ These are: Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, Alcuin, *Vita S. Willibrordi*, Frithegod's *Breviloquium Vitae Wilfridi*, Wulfstan Cantor's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, and an anonymous *Vita S. Iudocii*. The latter three are all datable to the tenth century.

¹⁶⁶ For example, versifications of lives of patron saints were produced at St Quentin, St Denis, Tours, St Gall, St Bertin and St Amand between the sixth and the twelfth centuries, with the majority being produced between the ninth and eleventh centuries. See Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 46 fig. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century', p. 255–6. S. Iudoc was culted in England from the tenth century, with Winchester claiming his relics. Lapidge suggested that a dispute over relic ownership may have provided the impetus behind the versification as a show of prestige.

¹⁶⁸ See the above-mentioned Abingdon *titulus* and litany in CCC 41; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', p. 218.

¹⁶⁹ Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin' p. 253.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 257.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* pp. 259–60. Lapidge here further supports this hypothesis by noting the limited circulation of such texts, which suggests that they were not intended for devotional purpose.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 258–9.

Nothing about the model of VBE precludes an English authorship. Indeed, the intellectual culture of tenth-century England, especially that surrounding Æthelwold (who is known to have been in possession of a hexametrical *vita* of Eustace and had links to the only house where Eustace was culted), provides tantalising evidence for such an authorship. Though the evidence cannot be conclusive, it is certainly suggestive. We must therefore consider other aspects of VBE to build a more concrete picture.

3.3.1.2 – METRICAL ANALYSIS

A difficulty with establishing a geographical location for the composition of VBE is that there are no firm criteria for defining Anglo-Latin as distinct from continental Latin. Andrew Orchard seems to suggest that Aldhelm's great influence over the early curriculum cast a shadow over Anglo-Latin authors. According to Orchard's model, similarities to Aldhelm's metrical style could be a criterion for Anglo-Latinity.¹⁷³ This methodology is problematic, since Orchard himself acknowledges that by the time of Wulfstan Cantor in the late tenth century Aldhelm's influence on the poetic tradition was diminishing, albeit still important.¹⁷⁴ A survey of the metrical characteristics of VBE in relation to contemporary poetry may still, however, prove useful in identifying the models for its composition.

One way in which Orchard and others¹⁷⁵ have examined the influence of different metrical models is the distribution of metrical patterns in the first four feet of hexameters. A comparison of VBE with a number of poems and poets yields the following results:¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Orchard, *Poetic Art*. Lapidge also observed the prominent place of Aldhelm in the tenth-century English curriculum and his influence on the flourishing ornate style in England in that period in 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 112, 114; he has, however, moved from this position in more recent publications; for example, in 'Poeticism' (2005), he does not mention the term 'hermeneutic' at all.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 271.

¹⁷⁵ For example, by Lapidge in his recent edition of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*.

¹⁷⁶ Data in this table is taken from Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 85, 296–8, and Lapidge, *Passio S. Dionysii*, p. 158. Information on the metrical make-up of Vergil's *Aeneid* from Lapidge, *Passio S. Dionysii*, p. 159. Metrical analysis of VBE and the *Altercatio* across all the tables is my own. Bold indicates a direct correspondence to VBE, italics an indirect.

Title	Most Popular Pattern in First Four Feet			
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
VBE	DSSS	DDSS	SDSS	DSDS
Aldhelm	DSSS	DDSS	SDSS	SSSS
<i>Altercatio</i> ¹⁷⁷	<i>SDSS</i>	DDSD	<i>DSSS</i>	DSDS
Hilduin, <i>Passio</i> <i>S. Dionysii</i>	DSSS	DDSS	SDSS	DSDS
Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>	DSSS	DDSS	SDSS	DSDS
Boniface	DSSS	DDSS	SSSS	<i>SDSS</i>
Tatwine	DSSS	SSSS	DSS	<i>SDSS</i>
Eusebius	<i>DDSS</i>	<i>DSSS</i>	DDSD	<i>DSDS</i>
Bede	<i>DDSS</i>	<i>DSSS</i>	<i>DSDS</i>	DDSD
Alcuin	DSSS	DDSS	SDSS	DSDS
Aediluuf	<i>DDSS</i>	<i>DSSS</i>	DDDS	DSDS
Wulfstan	<i>DSDS</i>	DDSS	<i>DSSS</i>	DSSD

The closest matches to VBE are Hilduin, Alcuin and Vergil's *Aeneid*, sharing the four most popular metrical patterns, followed by Aldhelm, sharing the first three most popular metrical patterns in the same order. When the correspondence with the *Aeneid* is considered in conjunction with the numerous allusions to the *Aeneid* in VBE, it becomes clear that the *Aeneid* had a profound influence on VBE.¹⁷⁸ The first, third and fourth most popular are also shared with the *Altercatio*, although the first and third have swapped places and the second most popular does not correspond to any of the other poems. There are close correspondences with Aldhelm, though the poem that is most certain to be from tenth-century Winchester (the *Altercatio*) in fact corresponds least to Aldhelm, which could suggest that Orchard's model of poetic similarity to Aldhelm indicating Anglo-Latinity is less helpful than we might hope.

¹⁷⁷ A poem which Lapidge has plausibly suggested originated from late tenth century Winchester; see Lapidge, 'Three Poems'.

¹⁷⁸ See Varnhagen, 'Zwei lateinische metrische versionen', pp. 2–3. The quotations have a greater literary effect than merely displaying learnedness; see §3.3.1.5.

The metrical homogeneity of poems can also indicate the model, especially since Orchard noted that Aldhelm's hexameters are unusually homogenous.¹⁷⁹ Comparing VBE to other contemporary metrical models yields the following data:¹⁸⁰

Poem/Poet	% 4 most popular metrical patterns	% 8 most popular metrical patterns	Metrical patterns per 16-line unit	% units with more than 8 patterns
VBE	44.74	74.01	9.41	97.96
Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>	46.95	72.78	9.4	92.46
Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	48.37	81.62	8.9	86.39
Statius, <i>Thebaid</i>	48.9	74.26	8.9	87.43
Corripius	58.5	81.53	8.5	77.63
Juvenecus	48.89	76.85	9	84.69
Sedulius	48.07	75.37	9	88.06
Arator	49.77	76.56	8.9	83.58
Paulinus of Nola	43.05	69.96	9.4	88.71
Aldhelm, <i>CE</i>	74.55	91.12	N/A	N/A
Aldhelm, <i>Enigmata</i>	63.55	85.27	N/A	N/A
Aldhelm, <i>CdV</i>	76.81	90.75	6.8	29.51
<i>Altercatio</i>	38.4	79.2	9.25	100

VBE and the *Aeneid* show a near-identical level of metrical homogeneity. Furthermore, the model of VBE once again differs from that of Aldhelm. There are, however, no clear-cut correspondences between any of the other authors, except that, interestingly, VBE also has a similar level of homogeneity to the *Altercatio*.

¹⁷⁹ Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 86–7.

¹⁸⁰ Information in table besides VBE taken from Orchard, *Poetic Art*, p. 87.

The composer of VBE does not follow an entirely Vergillian model, however, as can be seen in his placement of his central caesurae:¹⁸¹

Poet	% lines with strong caesura	% lines with weak caesura
VBE	63.1 (28.8–76.6) ¹⁸²	7.6
<i>Altercatio</i>	83.2	6.4
Vergil	85	12.5
Juvenecus	95	5
Prudentius	85	15
Paulinus of Nola	82.5	17.5
Sedulius	70	30
Arator	57.5	42.5
Fortunatus	92.5	7.5
Aldhelm	97.5	2.5

In this case, VBE does not correspond to any model, with a noticeably lower instance of both types of caesura than most other examples. Usage of strong caesurae appears closest to that of Arator, while the frequency of weak caesurae is closest to Fortunatus and possibly the *Altercatio*. The poet's imperfect command of his form must be taken into account, but nonetheless this indicates that the caesurae of VBE are not a useful diagnostic factor.

Another criterion for establishing a poetic model is the use of elision. In the 789 lines of VBE there are seventy-five examples of ecthipsis and 194 examples of synaloepha; in total 250 lines contain some form of elision (roughly 32%), with eighteen lines containing more than

¹⁸¹ Information aside from that on the *Altercatio* and VBE taken from Table 6, Orchard, *Poetic Art*, p. 93. Strong caesura corresponds to Orchard's B1 type, and the weak to his B2 type. Data on the *Altercatio* and VBE is from my own analysis.

¹⁸² It should be noted that, due to the idiosyncratic nature of the Latin of VBE as it is preserved, in several instances (some 377 lines), the main caesura can plausibly fall in more than one position (Colleen Curran, personal correspondence, 26/4/19). This has been reflected in the margin of error in the recorded data; the lower end of the range being if none of the ambiguous caesurae correspond to Orchard's B1 type and the upper end being if all of them do. The main figure is based on my own judgment, taking into account the grammatical units of the lines in question.

one instance of elision. As the following table indicates, VBE contains an unusually high amount of elision:¹⁸³

Poem/Poet	% of Lines containing at least one elision
Vergil	52
Dunstan	45.8
Tatwine	44.13
VBE	31.68
Boniface	22.68
Bede	21.35
Eusebius	16.31
Wulfstan	15.3
Aediluulf	13.94
Alcuin	13.45
Aldhelm	3.84
<i>Altercatio</i>	3.2

Although the level of elision in VBE is higher than that used by most poets considered here, once again VBE does not correspond to any particular model.

Another feature of interest identified in VBE by Lapidge was the use of pentasyllables to fill the cadence (fifth and sixth feet) of the hexameter. Of these, the word *c(h)risticolarum* is especially distinctive. It is used twice in VBE¹⁸⁴ and also appears in the same metrical position in a *titulus* that has been linked to Abingdon;¹⁸⁵ yet as *christicolarum* appears as a pentasyllabic cadence in the work of several other poets,¹⁸⁶ we must be wary of taking this as

¹⁸³ Based on Orchard, *Poetic Art*, Table A4, p. 295. Data on VBE and *Altercatio* my own. Vergil and Dunstan data taken from Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Dunstan*, p. liv.

¹⁸⁴ VBE 150 and 766. See also the use of another inflection of the same word (*christicolae*) at VBE 688, 768 and 775.

¹⁸⁵ Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', p. 222. *Christicolarum* also appears in an anonymous letter to Æthelgar, Archbishop of Canterbury (988–90), which Lapidge identified as the work of B., the composer of the *Vita S. Dunstani*, based on similarities of language in the letter and the *Vita S. Dunstani* (he first suggested the authorship in 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 120–1; he confirmed it in *Dunstan*, Appendix II, p. 151).

¹⁸⁶ For example: Brun Candidus, Ermold Nigellus, Walafrid Strabo and the *Carmina Cenomanensia*, *Inventio S. Quintini altera*, *Poeta Saxo*, *Annales de Gesta Caroli*, the *Vita metrici S. Galli* and *Vita S. Landelini* from the ninth century, Hrotsvitha and the *Vita Landelini Crispiensis* from the tenth century, and several times in the eleventh-century *Passio SS. Thebeorum, Mauricii, Exuperii et soc.* of Sigebertus of Gembloux and the *Vita S. Erasmi*. *Christicola* also appears three times in the writings of Paulinus of Nola, whose poetic style was similar to that of VBE (see above). Information from CETEDOC, *Library of Latin Texts Series A* <<http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/Default.aspx>> [accessed 16/12/2017 and 15/7/2019].

evidence of an Abingdon provenance for VBE. Lapidge also noted that pentasyllabic cadences were rarely used by classical poets, but began to appear in the work of Juvencus and Venantius Fortunatus, becoming a standard Carolingian practise by the time of Hilduin of St-Denis, who used ten such cadences in the 2195 sound hexameters of his metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*.¹⁸⁷ The distribution of pentasyllabic cadences in VBE compared to other poetry, however, is interesting.

Poet/Poem ¹⁸⁸	Number of Pentasyllabic Cadences	%
VBE	17	2.15
Hilduin of St-Denis, <i>Passio S. Dionysii</i>	10	0.46
Juvencus	45	1.41
Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Vita S. Martini</i>	34	1.52
Prudentius	52	1.09
Alcuin, <i>York Poem</i>	3	0.18
Walahfrid Strabo's 4 longest hexameters	13	0.57
Candidus of Fulda, <i>Vita Aeigili</i> Book II	9	1.13
Anon. <i>Vita S. Galli</i>	6	0.33
Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>	18	0.002

The frequency of pentasyllabic cadences in VBE is roughly double that of the other given examples of Latin hexameter, exceeding even that of Juvencus and Venantius Fortunatus. Clearly, in this case, the composer of VBE was going against the grain.

It is apparent, therefore, that the poet was metrically influenced by Vergil, but did not adhere rigidly to the model. This would accord with the argument that VBE was composed as part of the monastic curriculum, within which Vergil was considered the 'ultimate model' for

¹⁸⁷ Lapidge, *Passio S. Dionysii*, pp. 170–2.

¹⁸⁸ Information in this table (except that concerning VBE and the *Aeneid*) is taken from Lapidge, *Passio S. Dionysii* pp. 170–3. Information on Vergil's *Aeneid* is taken from Nougaret, *Métrie latine*, p. 45.

poetic *vitae*.¹⁸⁹ Besides this, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions concerning its provenance based on metrical analysis alone.

3.3.1.3 – POETIC VOCABULARY

It has been observed that unusual and arcane vocabulary (i.e. grecisms, neologisms and loan-words) were wide-spread in Latin compositions attributed to tenth-century England, due in part to the prominence of Aldhelm in the curriculum.¹⁹⁰ It is striking, therefore, that VBE contains little, if any, vocabulary that could be considered unusual or especially poetic.

This is not to say that VBE contains no poetic language. Lapidge noted several examples, such as archaic forms like *olli* for *illi*¹⁹¹ and *quis* for *quibus*¹⁹² and the passive infinitive ending *-ier* before a vowel;¹⁹³ occasional delight in alliteration¹⁹⁴ and the use of *-amen* nouns in the fourth and fifth feet of the hexameters, which he notes was characteristic of other tenth-century Anglo-Latin poets such as Wulfstan, Frithegod and B.¹⁹⁵ The relevant words are *firmamina*,¹⁹⁶ *mundamine*,¹⁹⁷ *peccamina*,¹⁹⁸ *purgamina*,¹⁹⁹ *temptamina*,²⁰⁰ and *temptamine*.²⁰¹ *Firmamina* is of particular interest, appearing only once (in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X.410)) and in the form *firmamen* only three other times: once in the works of Virgilius Grammaticus, once in Seneca's *Hercules furens* and once in the ninth-century *Pactus legis Salicae*. It is therefore likely that *firmamina* is either a borrowing from Ovid or a coinage on the part of the poet. Similarly, there are no extant forms of *mundamen* in the Latin corpus, suggesting a neologism on the part of the poet. The other examples appear to have been reasonably popular. *Peccamina* appears in the same metrical position in the works of Aldhelm, Boniface, Ermold the Black, Odo of Cluny, Prudentius and Sedulius Scottus, among others. There are twelve examples of *purgamina* in the extant corpus, nine of which occupy the correct metrical position; of these, four can be found in the works of Ovid (along with two other

¹⁸⁹ Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 10.

¹⁹⁰ Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 111–12.

¹⁹¹ VBE 64, 233, 242, 468.

¹⁹² VBE 5, 52, 257 etc.

¹⁹³ Lapidge, 'Poeticism', p. 323. The example in VBE is l. 749, *dominarius ignis*. The poet uses the passive infinitive to complete the fifth foot of the hexameter; such passive infinitives were used extensively by Bede and Aldhelm in exaggeration of an established tendency among earlier hexameter poets such as Prudentius (Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, p. 193).

¹⁹⁴ For example, VBE 164 and 704.

¹⁹⁵ Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', pp. 221–2; 'Three Poems' pp. 227–8. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Dunstan*, p. xcix.

¹⁹⁶ VBE 93, 704, 724.

¹⁹⁷ VBE 127.

¹⁹⁸ VBE 720.

¹⁹⁹ VBE 123.

²⁰⁰ VBE 579. *Temptamina* also appears in feet three and four of VBE 737.

²⁰¹ VBE 217.

examples in different parts of the line). The root form, *pergamem*, is attested seven times; only one of these examples (found in Prudentius' *Liber Apotheosis*) is in the same metrical position. *Temptamina* appears some thirty times in the corpus; in eleven of these it appears in the same metrical position as in VBE, including one in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, two in Milo's *De sobrietate* (not including another instance in a different metrical foot), one in Milo's *Vita S Amandi*, as well as two in *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*, one in the *Vita Bavonis Gandensis* and one in the *Vita S Bavonis*. *Temptamine* appears three times; twice in the same metrical position (both times in the *Fecunda ratis* of Egbertus Leodiensis) and once in the *Vita Autberti*. This data suggests the possibility that the composer of VBE was familiar with the works of Ovid, but also capable of occasional coinages.²⁰²

Another notable piece of vocabulary in VBE is *altithronum*.²⁰³ While relatively rare in Latin poetry, it appears twice in the same position in Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*.²⁰⁴ This suggests that the composer of VBE was also familiar with this work.

Other vocabulary in VBE that could be considered poetic is the use of 'adjectives of substance' in *-eus* that came to be seen as aspects of Vergilian diction,²⁰⁵ as well as inceptive verbs in *-esco*.²⁰⁶ There is only one example of a compound adjective in *-ferus*.²⁰⁷ There are, however, five instances in which compound nouns and adjectives are utilised as choriambic (*- ~ -*),²⁰⁸ which became characteristic of Latin hexameter due to the ease with which they could be inserted into hexametrical lines.²⁰⁹ Lapidge also noted that the use of the adverb *gratanter* ('gratefully')²¹⁰ was rare and also appears in the works of Byrthferth of Ramsey; although the word seems more common in the extant corpus than Lapidge suggested, albeit much less common in poetry.²¹¹ While most of VBE contains relatively simple vocabulary, the

²⁰² Data taken from Cross Database Search Tool, <<http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/Default.aspx>> [accessed 25/5/18].

²⁰³ VBE 694.

²⁰⁴ Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica* (ed. Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*), Ch. 4, l. 131 and Ch. 34, l. 723.

²⁰⁵ Lapidge, 'Poeticism', p. 323; VBE 65 *aurea*; 692 *Aereus*.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 325; VBE 205 *clarescat*; 566 *miserescito*; 762 [*h*]orrescit.

²⁰⁷ VBE 191 *salutiferi*.

²⁰⁸ VBE 284 *ueliuolum*, 627 *altisonis*; 647 [*m*]ultimoda; 694 *altithronum*; 747 [*h*]ymnisonis.

²⁰⁹ Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Dunstan*, p. cxxii.

²¹⁰ VBE 491 and 743.

²¹¹ Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', p. 132. The CETEDOC database suggests some 228 instances of *gratanter* between the third and twelfth centuries. As only two of these (discounting VBE) are poetic uses, *gratanter* appears to have been a more prosaic word (CETEDOC, *Library of Latin Texts Series A*, <<http://clt.brepolis.net/llta>> [accessed 6/5/19]). The citations for *gratanter* in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources Online*, <<http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs>> [accessed 16/9/19]) also suggests that the use of *gratanter* was entirely prosaic.

poet appears aware of poetic diction, especially that of Vergil and Ovid,²¹² but does not use it extensively.

In a ground-breaking article in 1975, Lapidge argued that a more ornate style that he initially termed ‘hermeneutic’ flourished in England in the tenth century as part of a desire to demonstrate the learnedness and cultural acumen of the English.²¹³ If we take this as read, a lack of such ornate vocabulary in VBE could indicate a Continental origin; however, it appears that English versifiers in Latin were primarily interested in literal adaptations of their source material. It would appear that the composer of VBE was less aesthetically interested in florid language. The closeness to poets such as Vergil is more significant and goes beyond the use of metrical models. This can be seen in direct quotations of and allusions to the *Aeneid*, which will be discussed below.²¹⁴

3.3.1.4 – CORRESPONDENCES TO OEE

The treatments of LSE by the redactors of OEE and VBE show similarities that cannot be ignored. For example, in both versions references to God’s *providentia* are consistently altered to the idea of *pietas*, while both versions of the Legend show direct and indirect influence from the study of Boethius’ DCP.²¹⁵ The former could indicate a shared source (which would imply another Eustace tradition circulating in England separate to the Cotton-Corpus-type Legendary introduced in the tenth century), but the latter suggests a conscious decision being made by a single or two different authors, either independently or as part of the same intellectual climate.

Several alterations to the source text are shared by OEE and VBE. These include the additional eagerness with which Placidus chases the miraculous stag;²¹⁶ the greater attention drawn in OEE and VBE to the beauty of the location when Eustace rests his army, where C9

²¹² Several polysyllabic words in VBE appear in the same position in Vergil’s *Aeneid* and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Examples include: *Poplite* (VBE 238), which appears in the same position three times in the *Aeneid* and five times in the *Metamorphoses*; *coloni* (VBE 465), which is used in the same position once in the *Aeneid*, five times across the works of Vergil and fifteen times in the works of Ovid; *hostia* (VBE 664), which is used in the same position twice in the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses* respectively; *harena* (VBE 682), which appears in the same position fourteen times in the *Aeneid*; *aerea* (VBE 685, 745), which appears in the same position as in VBE 745 three times in the *Aeneid*. (Data taken from CETEDOC [accessed 23–26/9/2019]). While familiarity with these works and imitations of their respective styles were not uncommon in the medieval period, this is further indication of the poetic models the composer of VBE was using.

²¹³ Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic’, p. 111. He has since moved away from the term ‘hermeneutic’; see §3 footnote 173.

²¹⁴ See §3.3.1.5.

²¹⁵ See §3.2.3 and §3.3.2.3.

²¹⁶ OEE 32 *geornlice æfter ferde* (‘he eagerly chased after it’); VBE 40 ‘placidus zelo nimio comprehendere anhelat’ (‘Placidus longed to capture this deer with very great zeal’).

simply states that ‘[o]portuna erat possessio ad omnem delectationem’;²¹⁷ both VBE and OEE add God’s creative nature to Eustace’s description of God to Hadrian,²¹⁸ and expand Hadrian’s failure to frighten the saints out of their faith.²¹⁹ These examples provide another indication that OEE and VBE shared either a source or a variant tradition as a source, which arguably strengthens Lapidge’s arguments for an English origin for VBE, as this is likelier than two writers independently making the same alterations in different parts of Europe.²²⁰

Lapidge felt that nothing precludes an English authorship for VBE, and the case for a composition linked to Æthelwold and Abingdon as both a part of the monastic curriculum and a manifestation of that house’s veneration of Eustace is plausible enough. Nevertheless, there is insufficient evidence to prove such a provenance conclusively. The similarities to both English and continental Latin authors and poems rather suggests that VBE was part of a western European nexus of Latin learning and poetry.²²¹ If, therefore, VBE was not composed in England, it is nonetheless reflective of an intellectual milieu in which early medieval England participated, as suggested by the correspondences in the alterations made to both OEE and VBE. As such, the treatment of LSE in VBE is instructive to the study of Eustace in England in at least a comparative sense, and as context for the intellectual atmosphere surrounding the transmission and reception of LSE.

3.3.1.5 – USE OF EXTRANEOUS MATERIAL

Before examining the more structural and thematic alterations made to LSE in VBE, the inclusion of extraneous material will be addressed. While Lapidge claims that the poet introduced no extraneous material, Varnhagen noted twelve instances in which the poet appears

²¹⁷ C9 250, ‘there was opportunity for possession of every enjoyment’. Compare to VBE 524 ‘Ille locus quoniam speciosus ualde uidetur’ (‘since that place seemed very beautiful’); OEE 315 ‘[w]æs seo wunung þær swyþe wynsum on to wicenne’ (‘The dwelling there was very pleasant to encamp in’).

²¹⁸ VBE 668 ‘qui factor erat caeli, quique arua peregit’ (‘he who was the Creator of Heaven, and who completed the dry lands’); OEE 407–8 ‘se ðe ealle gesceafta gesceop. ge þa heofonlican ge þa eorðlican’ (‘he who created all creation, both the heavenly things and the earthly things’).

²¹⁹ Compare VBE 675–6, ‘Sed nec terror eos nec blandimenta ualebant / Vlla, fide ex uera summi diuellere christi’ (‘But neither terror nor flattery could estrange any of them from the true faith of Christ the Most High’), and OEE 412–13, ‘he ne mihte þurh nan ðing awendan ne mihte fram cristes geleafan’ (‘he could not turn them from the faith of Christ by any means’), with C9 321–2, ‘Considerans igitur imperator inmutibilem eius in christo fidem’ (‘the Emperor saw that he was immovable in the faith of Christ’).

²²⁰ See also Appendix I.

²²¹ This could be taken as evidence against the separation of Anglo-Latin from medieval Latin in general. As ecclesiasts and writers moved and worked between England and the Continent (e.g. Alcuin and Lantfred), it is perhaps unwise to insist too greatly on a distinctive ‘Anglo-Latin’ tradition.

to deliberately quote from Vergil's *Aeneid*.²²² Orchard has noted that it was 'the habit in Latin verse of all ages to quote constantly from the works of previous poets',²²³ and it is entirely likely that the quotations are an example of what Orchard termed 'remembered reading'.²²⁴ This would also account for the metrical similarities to Vergil in VBE noted above.

It should be observed that the poet of VBE was also similar in style to Sedulius presbyter and Paulinus of Nola, although as both were also imitators of Vergil this is not entirely surprising. Nonetheless, VBE contains some phrases which could conceivably echo these writers as an example of remembered reading. This is especially the case with Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*.²²⁵ For example, the phrase *meritorum dote refulgens*²²⁶ has some similarities with Sedulius' line, '[p]uraque simplicitas numero merito que refulgens'.²²⁷ Likewise, the phrase 'alacri de corde manebat'²²⁸ occupies the same position in the line and rough wording as Sedulius' 'alacri sub corde reportant'.²²⁹ Similarly, the counting of fifteen as [t]er quinos²³⁰ appears in the *Carmen Paschale* 1:189. A final example of potential correspondence is between the phrase [s]ordibus ablutus²³¹ and 'quae fontibus abluta sacris'.²³² Though not direct, the vocabulary is similar.

The influence of Vergil is unsurprising; as Jack Ogilvy observed, 'practically every Englishman of whose work we have more than a page or two – and some who have left us only a few lines – shows some acquaintance with the *Aeneid*'.²³³ Nonetheless, in the case of VBE some of the quotations act as more than embellishment. This may have been an attempt on the part of the poet to show his learnedness.²³⁴ What is more interesting, however, is that several of these quotes emphasise central themes in the poem. The examples that appear to be used as embellishment (albeit not without consideration on the part of the poet) will be discussed here, while others will be examined in the sections relevant to the themes they highlight.

²²² Varnhagen, 'Zwei lateinische metrische versionen', pp. 2–3; he also notes that VBE 95 has the feel of a borrowing, and Lapidge ('Æthelwold' p. 221, footnote 53) identified the line as being borrowed from Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*. There may also be a thirteenth instance which was undetected by Varnhagen; see below.

²²³ Orchard, *Poetic Art*, p. 111.

²²⁴ See Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 126–238 for his work on such echoes in the work of Aldhelm.

²²⁵ Quotations taken from Huemer, ed., *Sedulii, Opera Omnia*, pp. 16–146.

²²⁶ VBE 11.

²²⁷ *Carmen Paschale* 4:153.

²²⁸ VBE 153.

²²⁹ *Carmen Paschale* 5:432.

²³⁰ VBE 361. VBE 477 reads [t]er quinis.

²³¹ VBE 117.

²³² *Carmen Paschale* 4:269.

²³³ Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 258.

²³⁴ If this is the case, then the Boethian correspondences discussed in §3.3.2.3 may also have been intended to be a display of learnedness in the incorporation of diverse aspects of the monastic curriculum.

One example of artful quotation of Vergil emphasises Eustace’s heroic and militaristic aspects. When seeking Placidus in response to an invasion, Trajan gathers his men and asks them *si uescitur aura* (‘if he breathed the air’).²³⁵ This is an exact quotation of *Aeneid* i.546,²³⁶ when Aeneas’ men ask Dido of his whereabouts. Here Eustace is directly related to Aeneas; both are military leaders who have undergone hardships (especially at sea) who are being desperately sought. VBE subverts this image slightly, with the ruler questioning his men, rather than vice versa. It should also be noted that Aeneas’ men state that if Aeneas still lives then they will not fear. In the context of Trajan’s terror at the invasion, this echo highlights Eustace’s military prowess, because if Trajan can find Placidus he will not fear his enemies.

Other general examples serve to highlight plot points, most of which directly involve Eustace. The exception to this is when the captain who kidnaps Theophista is described as being *morte peremptus* (‘destroyed by death’),²³⁷ which Varnhagen suggested echoes the phrase *morte peremptum*,²³⁸ which describes the drowned Trojan Misenus. It is possible that the maritime nature of both deaths, one by drowning and one after a life at sea, led the composer of VBE to draw a mental link between the two. Variations on *morte peremptus*, possibly also allusions to Vergil, were not common but not unknown, so it is possible that this is a second-hand example of ‘remembered reading’.²³⁹

Three other examples directly relating to Eustace cluster around the beginning of his improving fortunes. Firstly, when men are sent to seek Placidus, they are described as doing so through the lands and *maris arua* (‘the fields of the sea’).²⁴⁰ Varnhagen suggested that this was an echo of *Aeneid* viii.695²⁴¹ (‘arua nova Neptunia caede rubescunt’²⁴²), referring to a sea-battle depicted on a shield given to Aeneas that foretells Rome’s future glory. While the reference to Neptune has been excised, the ‘field of the sea’ image is present. If this allusion was deliberate, then it is plausible that its preceding Eustace’s return to worldly honour is reflected in the shield’s promises of Roman glory.

²³⁵ VBE 380.

²³⁶ *Aeneid* quotations are taken from Fairclough, rev. Goold, in *Eclogues and Aeneid 1–6* and *Aeneid 7–12*.

²³⁷ VBE 369.

²³⁸ *Aeneid* vi.163

²³⁹ The CETEDOC search tool lists 18 instances of phrases containing the element *morte perempt-* in the period from antiquity to the end of the eleventh century (CETEDOC, *Library of Latin Texts Series A* <<http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/>> [accessed 9/7/19]).

²⁴⁰ VBE 387.

²⁴¹ Varnhagen, ‘Zwei lateinische metrische versionen’, p. 3.

²⁴² ‘Neptune’s fields redden with strange slaughter’.

The second quotation occurs when Eustace attempts to conceal his identity from Antiochus and Acaius, responding to their recognition of him as a master of soldiers with ‘*nec tali me dignor honore*’.²⁴³ Venus says the similar phrase ‘[h]aud equidem tali me dignor honore’²⁴⁴ when she disguises herself from Aeneas, her son, who has identified her as a goddess. This divine echo highlights Eustace’s own deception.

The third quotation describes Eustace departing from his neighbours in Dadissus: as he left *omnibus oscula libat* (‘he poured kisses on them all’).²⁴⁵ Varnhagen suggests that this echoes *Aeneid* i.256, when Jupiter kisses Venus to assure her that he will no longer obstruct the Trojans (*oscula libavit natae* (‘he poured kisses on his daughter’)). This could be intended to illustrate the lack of divine obstruction to Eustace’s earthly prosperity, since his Trial is nearing its end. The image is arguably weakened by Eustace being the consoled as well as the consoler, but nonetheless it is significant that three such quotations cluster around a pivotal point in LSE; the poet clearly attempted to emphasise Eustace’s improving fortunes with a literary flourish.

VBE also contains Classical allusions that are not Vergilian. For instance, the wine which Eustace procures for Antiochus and Acaius is referred to as gifts of Lynaeus and Bacchus.²⁴⁶ Other gods mentioned are Vulcan, as the saints’ martyrdom in the bronze bull is described as being in *[a]erea uulcani [...] incendia* (‘the burning bronze of Vulcan’),²⁴⁷ and Apollo (also called Phoebus), being invoked in one instance as a poetic image for the sun in a temporal description,²⁴⁸ and twice to identify the god to whom Eustace refuses to sacrifice;²⁴⁹ the second identification, referring to *oracula phoebi* (‘the oracles of Phoebus’), is an addition.²⁵⁰ It is also possible that the poet’s use of the phrase *oracula phoebi* in this metrical position (filling the cadence, with the first syllable completing the fourth foot) is another previously-undetected Vergilian echo. The phrase is used in the same position in *Aeneid* ii.114 in the context of ill omens driving the Greeks from Troy. The composer of VBE may have intended to associate a feeling of doom with the oracles Hadrian demands Eustace sacrifice to.

²⁴³ VBE 452, ‘nor am I worthy of such an honour’.

²⁴⁴ *Aeneid* i.335, ‘I do not claim such an honour’.

²⁴⁵ VBE 471.

²⁴⁶ VBE 431, 435.

²⁴⁷ VBE 745. Note the use of the poetic adjective *aerea* in conjunction with the Classical allusion.

²⁴⁸ VBE 628 ‘Vsque poli medium phoebus dum currit in axem’ (‘until Phoebus rushes towards the mid-point of the heavens’).

²⁴⁹ VBE 655–6.

²⁵⁰ VBE 656. This could indicate that the poet was familiar with Apollo as a god associated with oracles, although by this time *phoebus* had also become a popular synonym for the sun.

This would make it a two-fold echo, as in the *Aeneid* the speaker is a Greek planted to convince the Trojans that the Greek army has fled to ensure the acceptance of the Trojan Horse. This would add a secondary association of deception, betrayal and destruction with the oracles that Eustace rejects. It is likely that the poet was well-versed in Classical literature and expected his intended audience to be.

The incorporation of Biblical and doctrinal material into VBE is also worth examining. While some Biblical allusions made in C9 are omitted in VBE,²⁵¹ overall there appears to be an increase in Biblical references, some subtler than others.

LSE draws a clear comparison between Placidus and Paul on the road to Damascus,²⁵² but when VBE makes this comparison there is a significant addition:

Quemque suo fecit monstratu ex hoste superbo

Ipse sibi fidum famulum, dignumque ministrum.

Ipse modo clemens placidum conuertit eodem.

(‘and by a vision he made a faithful servant and worthy minister for him out of an arrogant enemy. Thus, the Merciful One converted Placidus in the same way.’)²⁵³

Although ‘the same way’ mentioned by the poet simply refers to the vision as a tool of conversion, Placidus is linked to other aspects of Paul by association. *Ipse modo* could be read as referring to the respective situations of Saul/Paul and Placidus/Eustace. The heathen Placidus can be read as an ‘arrogant enemy’ – despite his good deeds that nevertheless serve Christ superficially – who must be made into a ‘faithful servant’ through God’s intervention, as with Paul. Arguably, Saul was a more ‘arrogant enemy’ than Placidus before his conversion, being a persecutor of the early Church, but the parallel between Saul and Placidus is nonetheless drawn.

²⁵¹ VBE 18 retains a reference to Cornelius but the quotation of Acts 10:35 (C9 15–16) is omitted, along with a reference to God going to Placidus with mercy and a desire for his salvation. It is probable that these alterations were made due to the restraints of hexameters. VBE 63 retains a reference to Balaam, linking the prophet’s talking ass to Christ addressing Placidus through the stag, but omits a reference to Balaam’s *insipientiam* (‘foolishness’) (C9 32), perhaps out of respect for a prophet of God.

²⁵² C9 28–9 ‘sicut paulum insequentem per suam ostensionem’ (‘but like he (hunted) Paul, as he was persecuting him, through his vision’); also, C9 35, ‘O placida qui me insequeris?’ (‘O Placidus, why are you chasing me?’) (Acts 9:4).

²⁵³ VBE 56–8.

A second example is Placidus' response to Christ's first speech to him, when he falls to the ground *ceu mortuus esset* ('as if he were dead').²⁵⁴ This appears to allude to Revelations 1:17, in which St. John reacts to a vision of Christ by falling down *tamquam mortuus* ('as if dead').²⁵⁵ In this case, then the awe of revelation and the urgency of salvation through echoes of Judgement Day accentuate the events of VBE.

One of the more significant expansions of Biblical material occurs when Christ introduces himself to Placidus. C9 reads:

ego sum iesus christus, qui caelum et terram ex nichilo feci, qui indiscretam maceriam
distinxi, qui lucem oriri feci et tenebras diuisi. Ego sum qui tempora et dies et annos
constitui. Ego sum qui hominem formaui de terra, qui propter salutem generis humani
in terris apparui in carne, qui crucifixus et sepultus et tertia die surrexi.

('I am Jesus Christ, who made heaven and earth from nothing, who separated mingled
matter, who caused light to rise and divided shadows. I am he who set down the times
and days and years. I am he who formed man from the earth, who appeared on earth in
the flesh for the salvation of the human race, who was crucified and buried and rose
again on the third day.')

This is considerably expanded in VBE:

Ast ego sum dominus terrae qui machina feci
Et coeli solus firmamina tota peregi.
Lucem de tenebris, lymphas terrisque remoui,
Vtque diem tytan, et noctem cynthia comet
Iussi, necnon et coelis ego sydera pinxi,
Alta maris firmans, et quicquid uiuit in orbe.
Postremum formaui hominem de cespite ruris,
Illius inque manus donabam cuncta creata,

²⁵⁴ VBE 80.

²⁵⁵ <<http://www.latinvulgate.com>> [accessed 9/6/17].

²⁵⁶ C9 45–9.

Qui ruit in mortem mox suasus ab hoste ueterno.

Exin stirps sua sub serpentis erat dominatu,

Donec terrenum decreui sumere corpus,

Cum quo celsa crucis conscendi robora promptus,

Et quod concessi tumuli sub iure teneri.

Deinde die terna surrexi demone uicto,

Ac genus humanum inferni de fauce reduxi.

(‘I am the Lord, who made the earth according to a plan, and alone completed all the firmaments of the sky. I separated light from shadow, and the earth from the waters, and ordered that Titan should adorn the day and Cynthia the night; likewise I also embellished the sky with stars; I was strengthening whatever lives in the depths of the sea and on earth (lit. the sphere). Last of all I formed man from the sod of the countryside, and into the hands of that man who soon rushed into death, persuaded by the ancient enemy, I gave all created things. Thence his stock was under the dominion of the serpent, until I decided to take on an earthly body, with which I climbed, eager, the high hard oak of the cross, and which I granted to be held under the law of the grave. Then on the third day, when I had conquered the Devil, I rose, and I have led the human race from the jaws of the Infernal One.’)²⁵⁷

In VBE Christ provides Placidus with a fuller sense of salvation history. While the overall pattern remains the same, the description of Creation is extended so that it better fits the days of Creation in Genesis, including the creation of animals and the granting of stewardship over Creation to mankind.²⁵⁸ The poet also adds allusions to the Fall of Man, the dominion of Satan over mankind and the Harrowing of Hell.

VBE also makes the crucifixion scene more victorious: where C9 simply states that Christ was *crucifixus* (‘crucified’), in VBE he actively, and eagerly, ascends the cross and willingly gives himself over to death. A similar depiction of Christ’s eagerness for crucifixion

²⁵⁷ VBE 92–106.

²⁵⁸ This expanded depiction of Christ as Creator is later repeated by Theophista, who makes an additional statement that Placidus saw Christ *qui cuncta creauit* (‘who created all things’ (VBE 135)). It is also noteworthy that both OEE and VBE include an additional depiction of God as Creator in Eustace’s interactions with Hadrian (OEE 407–8, VBE 668); see §3.3.1.4 note 218.

is found in the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood*, which recounts a vision of a heroic Christ in the narration of the Passion by the Cross. Here Christ is seen *efstan elne micle* ('to hasten with much fortitude'),²⁵⁹ and the Cross states:

Ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð (þæt wæs God ælmihtig),

strang and stiðmod; gestah he on gealgan heanne,

modig on manigra gesyhðe, þa he wolde mancyn lysan.

('The young man stripped himself – that was God almighty! – strong and resolute; he climbed up the high gallows, brave in the sight of many, when he wanted to save mankind.')²⁶⁰

Although it would be a stretch to suggest a direct textual link, it is plausible that VBE reflects a culture that emphasised a heroic, defiant Christ rather than the meeker image of the sacrificial lamb that became popular in ensuing centuries.

VBE also makes several additional references to the Trinity. There are two references to his baptismal invoking of the Trinity²⁶¹ and two acknowledgements of the unity of the Trinity by Eustace himself. The first of these takes place at the beginning of Eustace's second vision of Christ, when he exclaims:

Credo equidem nunc quod pater est et filius hoc est

Spiritus inde etenim quod numquam discrepat almus;

Has tres personas unum esse deum bene nosco.

('Now, indeed, I believe that this is the true Father and the Son, and indeed this is the Holy Spirit which never errs; I know full well that these three persons are one God.')²⁶²

This expands the C9 reading 'credo in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum'.²⁶³ While the image of the Trinity has not been added in VBE, the unity of the triune God is more heavily

²⁵⁹ *Dream of the Rood* 34; text taken from Swanton, *The Dream of the Rood* pp. 89–97.

²⁶⁰ *Dream of the Rood* 39–41.

²⁶¹ VBE 159, 474. Only VBE 474 is an additional reference. The reference at VBE 159 is also present in BHL 2760 §6 *in nomine sanctissimae Trinitatis* ('in the name of the most holy Trinity'). This does not necessarily mean that the poet was following an exemplar closer to BHL 2760, as the C9 reading 'in nomine patris et filii et spiritu sancti' ('in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit') would be understood as the Trinity and reduced to *nomine trino* for metrical purposes.

²⁶² VBE 184–6.

²⁶³ C9 82, 'I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit'.

emphasised. The second example is when Eustace reiterates his faith to Emperor Hadrian, stating that

Oro meum dominum christum, qui regnat olympis

Omnipotens cum patre deus spiritu simul almo

(‘I pray to my Lord, Christ, who rules Olympus, together with the omnipotent God the Father and the Holy Spirit.’)²⁶⁴

In contrast, in C9 Eustace simply states ‘[e]go supplico christum dominum meum’.²⁶⁵ It is perhaps significant that both Trinitarian reiterations appear at points when Eustace is proving the strength of his faith; first to God after being baptised, second to the pagan Emperor who would turn him from his faith. In this context, it is notable that the final lines of VBE emphasise the unity of the Trinity, adding that God rules *trinus et unus* (‘three and one’)²⁶⁶ over Heaven. It is also possible that the poet was reacting to the tripartite structures inherent in LSE²⁶⁷ by emphasising the Trinity as underpinning the structure of the legend.

Having established that the composer of VBE introduced extraneous material to his source and adapted both artfully to suit his needs, the way in which important themes in LSE are adapted and explored in VBE will now be examined.

3.3.2 – THEOLOGICAL APPEAL

As with other variants of LSE, a central focus of VBE is the scope of human agency within salvation. An analysis of VBE suggests that the poet did not subscribe to the rigid views of Augustine; there is certainly a sense that God desires salvation for all, in contradiction to the Augustinian idea of the set number of elect. This is especially expressed in the saints’ final prayer when they address God as ‘uoluiti ad tantum nos reuocare triumphum’;²⁶⁸ but this is also more generally seen in LSE.²⁶⁹ Rather, it appears that the poet saw grace as something that ultimately came from God, but that it could be earned in a manner that was influenced by models of agency in Boethius’ DCP.

²⁶⁴ VBE 662–3.

²⁶⁵ C9 316, ‘I pray to Christ my Lord’.

²⁶⁶ VBE 788.

²⁶⁷ See §2.3.

²⁶⁸ VBE 697, ‘you who wants to call us back to so great a triumph’.

²⁶⁹ See §2.1.3

3.3.2.1 – AGENCY AND GRACE

As with other reflexes of LSE, VBE explores the relationship between human autonomy and divine influence via grace and providence in the gaining of salvation. VBE differs from the other reflexes discussed in this thesis, however, in the depth and intricacy of its treatment of this theme.

One way in which VBE adapts the theme of salvation is increased emphasis on the necessity of baptism.²⁷⁰ For example, when describing God's reward to Placidus for his good deeds, VBE adds that '[i]llius et mentem uero de fonte rigauit.'²⁷¹ Here *uerus fons* ('the true spring') refers to the springs of living water used to metaphorically represent baptism.²⁷² There is also an additional allusion to baptism as a cure for Original Sin when God tells Placidus that his family should also take up *purgamina uitae* ('atonements of life'),²⁷³ while Theophista adds that *nesesse manet* ('it remains necessary')²⁷⁴ that they should be baptised.

The imagery of cleansing is especially emphasised relating to baptism, as when Theophista describes the sacrament as the one '*quo gens mundata micat christo numerata.*'²⁷⁵ This differs from the C9 reading '[p]er hoc enim eius proprii fiunt qui in illum credunt.'²⁷⁶ While both emphasise the importance of baptism, in VBE the idea of a relationship with God is replaced with the image of cleansing. Similar cleansing imagery is added on two other occasions. Firstly, God instructs Placidus to receive baptism

Sordibus ablutus de cunctis ut merearis

Regna uidere dei, quo gaudent agmina coeli.

('so that, cleansed from all squalor, you may be worthy to seek the realms of God, whom all the multitudes of Heaven praise.')

The second instance is also uttered by God, when he addresses the newly-baptised Eustace as one '[p]urgatusque salutiferi baptismatis unda'.²⁷⁸ It cannot be ignored that the two most

²⁷⁰ BHL 2761 also shows some increased emphasis on baptism, but there are no other indications of links between BHL 2761 and VBE.

²⁷¹ VBE 28, 'and he also watered his mind from the true spring'.

²⁷² John 4:14. Jeremiah 2:13 also refers to *fontem aquae vivae* ('the spring of living water'); <<http://www.latinvulgate.com>> [accessed 12/3/19].

²⁷³ VBE 123.

²⁷⁴ VBE 143.

²⁷⁵ VBE 144, 'by which the esteemed race cleansed by Christ sparkles'.

²⁷⁶ C9 64–5, 'For those who believe in him (Christ) become his own ones through this'.

²⁷⁷ VBE 117–18.

²⁷⁸ VBE 191, 'cleansed and purged by the waters of saving baptism'.

explicit references to baptism cleansing sin are attributed to God, the arbiter of salvation. Cleansing imagery can also be linked to Placidus' identification of God granting salvation *per lumina uitae* ('through the light of life');²⁷⁹ the imagery of salvation pervades throughout. The final explicit additional mention of baptism in VBE is when Eustace relates his story to Antiochus and Acaius, including '[q]uoque modo baptizatus sit nomine trino'.²⁸⁰ Once again, baptism looms large in Eustace's experience of salvation. It is entirely possible that the poet saw the stag imagery in LSE as reflective of baptism²⁸¹ and chose to highlight this in his rendering of LSE.

While the emphasis on baptism suggests that sacramental reception of grace is vital for salvation, aspects of VBE suggest that a form of grace can be earned through works. Compared to reflexes of LSE discussed in this thesis, VBE contains a greater sense of Placidus serving God unwittingly. In his first vision, for example, Christ introduces himself as 'cui seruis tu nescius ipse',²⁸² where in C9 it is as *quem ignorans colis* ('whom you unknowingly worship').²⁸³ The distinction between worship and service is theologically important and could be seen to contradict Augustine's idea that non-Christians can never do good as their deeds are directed incorrectly;²⁸⁴ here we see a heathen misdirecting his worship but nonetheless serving God.

This idea is developed after Eustace's baptism. In Christ's address to Eustace concerning his coming Trial, VBE adds the image that *te parta [...] certamina* ('struggles are acquired')²⁸⁵ by him against the Devil. The idea of acquisition suggests that Eustace's actions have led to the situation, rather than it being imposed on him by outside influences, as in C9 'inuidia commouebitur coram te diaboli'.²⁸⁶ This also carries connotations of cumulative grace, as Eustace has secured the Trial through his own actions (his baptism, which he was able to come to due to his pseudo-Christian good deeds), and it is prevailing in this Trial that will secure Eustace's salvation.

This potential for earning grace is also expanded in the saints' final prayer. Their requests in C9 for their relics to grant gifts of grace and for sinners who call upon them to be

²⁷⁹ VBE 110.

²⁸⁰ VBE 474, 'how he was baptized in the name of the Trinity'.

²⁸¹ See §2.1.1.

²⁸² VBE 71, 'he whom you yourself serve unknowingly'.

²⁸³ C9 36.

²⁸⁴ Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, pp. 35, 39.

²⁸⁵ VBE 195, 'struggles have been acquired by you'.

²⁸⁶ C9 87–8, 'hatred of the Devil will be stirred up against you'.

absolved are present,²⁸⁷ but the poet chooses to make the intercessory role of the saints more explicit. Where in C9 they simply ask that the one who *memor nostri fuerit* ('remembers us')²⁸⁸ should be rewarded with heavenly and earthly riches, in VBE this stipulation is expanded to '[q]uique petunt ueniam ex te per suffragia nostra'.²⁸⁹ This has several effects. Firstly, it reminds the audience that the source of the answered prayer is God at the behest of the saints, not the saints themselves. This prevents the risk of idolatry. Secondly, it emphasises God's role as forgiver, and furthermore its suggestion that grace and rewards are there for those who ask implies that penitents have some agency over their salvation.

Agency is an important theme in other LSE reflexes, but its treatment in VBE is significant. As a general rule, the poet appears more interested in mortals having more agency in their salvation. For example, VBE contains a reference to God showing mercy on those '[q]ui fuerint in te credentes'.²⁹⁰ While this reiterates the necessity of belief for salvation, the subjunctive verb suggests a level of agency as to whether one believes, contradicting Augustine's stance on *prevenient* grace. The VBE reading grants the believer greater agency than C9, which reads 'qui de omni tribulatione eruis sperantes in te'.²⁹¹ Though this shares the necessity for belief, the actions are performed by God rather than the believers. The omission of Pope John's statement that '[c]ognoui [...] quod manus domini uobiscum sit'²⁹² could also be granting the saints more agency; God's hand upon them could imply either control or protection. Either way, this loss of a sense that God watches over them results in more autonomy for the saints; although the sense is stronger if the C9 reading was meant to be read as control. This ambiguity is also seen in God's promise of protection during the saints' Trial. In C9 God states 'gratia enim mea uobiscum est custodiens animas uestras.'²⁹³ The VBE equivalent of this is

'Vobiscum semper maneo, uestrasque gubernans

Mentes.'

('I remain with you always and am governing your minds.')

²⁸⁷ VBE 707, C9 333–4; VBE 718–20, C9 335–6.

²⁸⁸ C9 333.

²⁸⁹ VBE 709, 'those who seek forgiveness from you through our intercessions'.

²⁹⁰ VBE 399, 'those who have been believing in you'.

²⁹¹ C9 186, 'who plucks out those who believe in you from all tribulation'.

²⁹² C9 75–6, 'I know that the hand of the Lord is with you'.

²⁹³ C9 102–3, 'for my grace is with you and is guarding your souls'.

²⁹⁴ VBE 234–5.

Both the ideas of governing and guarding are ambiguous. God could either be preventing danger to their souls or overseeing their actions. The alteration from *animas* ('souls') to [*m*]entes ('minds'), though potentially for metrical purposes,²⁹⁵ is also worth considering. God guarding their souls emphasises that a failure in the Trial could lead to damage to Eustace's soul, as is narrowly avoided immediately before his Lament. The emphasis in VBE, however, is on watching over their minds, the part of the saints which makes the decisions which can damage the soul. In both cases the soul has independent agency outside God's control, and ultimately it is the soul that is at stake. It is therefore also interesting that the reference to grace is omitted in VBE, as it is more pertinent to the safety of the soul than to the actions of the mind.

The greater interest in agency, however, does not appear to extend to Theophista, either because of her gender or because the poet chose to focus on Eustace as the primary protagonist. VBE removes agency from Theophista, omitting the C9 statement that 'postulabat a deo ut custodieretur ab alienigenae communione.'²⁹⁶ While both texts leave her chastity firmly in God's hands, in C9 her agency is nevertheless greater, as she requests help rather than simply passively receiving it. This could be regarded as a form of cumulative grace she has earned giving her the agency to request more, as discussed above. VBE also alters the sense in C9 of Christ preventing Theophista committing adultery, emending it to Christ ensuring that

'Ille quod illam non potuisset tangere amore

Inlicito'

('he [the heathen captain] was unable to touch her with forbidden love').²⁹⁷

The VBE reading moves the potential for sin away from Theophista; the captain becomes the sole threat and source of wrongdoing.

The representation of free will and agency in VBE is ambiguous at times, but an examination of the poet's treatment of the theme reveals interesting links between agency and faith in God.

²⁹⁵ However, if [*a*]nimas appeared in place of [*m*]entes the line would scan acceptably as DSSS; the poet's favoured line-type.

²⁹⁶ C9 171, 'she had asked God that he should guard her from communion with a foreigner'.

²⁹⁷ VBE 366–7.

3.3.2.2 – DECEPTION AND SELF-DECEPTION

One interesting aspect of the treatment of agency in LSE is the extent to which internal and external influences hinder Eustace's faith-journey. For example, the opening sections of VBE contain a greater sense of conflict with the Devil, with two additional images of the path of true faith in Eustace's post-baptismal vision of Christ. The first reads:

Est opus ut uerae fidei callem teneas nunc,

Et zabuli insidias contra quo praelia misces.

('It is necessary that you now hold to the path of the true faith, and by this you take part in battles against the snares of the Devil.')²⁹⁸

The second is an alteration of Eustace's request for grace ('ne aliquod malignum uerbum adinueniens aduersarius commoueat sensum nostrum de tua fide'²⁹⁹) to

Fraudibus ullis ne faciat nos ille malignus

Acceptam uerae fidei dimittere callem.

('lest the malign one should cause us to lose the accepted path of the true faith with any deceits.')³⁰⁰

This path imagery can be linked to similar imagery in DCP.³⁰¹ While the sense of the Devil trying to tempt them away from God is kept in the second example, it is interesting that the imagery of deceits (*[f]raudibus*) replaces that of evil speech; while in C9 this foreshadows Eustace's later lament, VBE appears to be removing this in favour of a vaguer term that lays more blame on Satan than Eustace. The imagery of devilish snares (*insidias* and *fraus*) appears in both examples, and there are two further instances of each in the pre-Trial 'conversion episode'.³⁰² This threat of deception reminds the audience that Eustace, though now baptised and hence able to be saved, still has the capability to regress.

This capacity for regression is explored most extensively in Eustace's despair during his Lament. It is this despair that clouds his mind and prevents him understanding his place,

²⁹⁸ VBE 219–20.

²⁹⁹ C9 100–1, 'that no evil word coming from the inventive adversary should turn our senses from faith in you'.

³⁰⁰ VBE 231–2.

³⁰¹ DCP III.v.viii:1–2, p.viii:1–3 and xi:1–2 contain references to being led astray by worldly delights onto false or devious paths; V.p.i:9–13 contains the image of the 'correct path'.

³⁰² VBE 34 and 52 refer to *insidiis*, while VBE 207 refers to *fraus hostis* ('deceit of the enemy') and VBE 6 describes the world *antiquo fallente dracone* ('when the ancient dragon was deceiving').

and that of his wealth, in God's plan. When questioned about his sons, for example, Eustace insists that his sons are dead. VBE adds that he tells his discoverers '[q]ualiter a beluis pueri et capti periere',³⁰³ while his explanation of their fate to Theophista is emotively expanded to '[s]unt etenim consumpti ex beluis morte cruenta',³⁰⁴ closely followed by an expansion of his reiteration to her into a question:

De beluis illos sumptos fieri tibi dixi.

Tu ad praesens illos te posse uidere fateris?

('I told you they were carried off by beasts. Tell me, how is it possible for you to see them?')³⁰⁵

His certainty of their death is emphasised in his graphic description, despite God's promise to him in Dadissus that he would have his family restored to him soon. Indeed, God's promise is made more explicit in VBE; where in C9 God merely promises that 'accipies uxorem tuam et filios',³⁰⁶ in VBE he explicitly states '[c]um natis sanis citius tibi redditur uxor'.³⁰⁷ While Eustace is never castigated for this lack of faith in God's promise, perhaps to heighten the emotive power of the miracle, he is far from perfect, and his lack of understanding is more apparent in VBE.

The main expression of Eustace's near-failure is his despair, which is mostly focused around his Lament and temptation to suicide. In the Lament, he states that in comparison with Job 'mihi maiora incumbunt certamina mentis'.³⁰⁸ This image of *certamina mentis* can be related to the mind imagery in DCP of despair weakening reason and clouding the mind, drawing men away from God.³⁰⁹ The danger of this clouding is made more explicit in VBE by linking it with heresy. When Eustace eventually comes to terms with God, he expresses regret for his sinful words and asks: 'pone meo ori claustra loquelae' because he is speaking [*i*]nfande ('unspeakably'),³¹⁰ whereas in C9 he asks for a guard over his mouth 'ut non declinet cor meum in uerba mala'.³¹¹ In C9 Eustace seeks to avoid the sin of *tristitia* through God's help, but in VBE he has committed the sin and is asking forgiveness. In VBE Eustace also acknowledges

³⁰³ VBE 487, 'in what way his boys had perished, being captured by wild beasts'.

³⁰⁴ VBE 599, 'They were consumed by beasts in a bloody death'.

³⁰⁵ VBE 605–6.

³⁰⁶ C9 191, 'you will receive your wife and sons'.

³⁰⁷ VBE 407, 'Your wife will be returned to you very quickly, together with your unharmed sons'.

³⁰⁸ VBE 337, 'greater struggles of the mind press down on me'.

³⁰⁹ See DCP I.p.II:11–13, 15–16; I.p.VI:26–7; III.v.XI:7.

³¹⁰ VBE 350, 'place a lock on my mouth of speech'.

³¹¹ C9 161–2, 'so that my heart does not decline towards evil speech'.

that he risks offending God *uerbis [...] fictis* ('with false words'),³¹² suggestive of heresy, and harking back to his complaint that Job had friends as a comfort, where he does not. In C9 the only reference is to them *compatientes* ('comforting')³¹³ Job, where VBE adds that they did so *ficta loquentes* ('speaking false things').³¹⁴ This implies that Eustace would rather be comforted by heresy than not at all. He knows it is wrong, but his disconnect from God is such that he simply does not care. This enhances Eustace's sin, but arguably makes his redemption more striking.

The poet also uses two quotations from the *Aeneid* to explore Eustace's despair. The first follows the kidnap of Theophista, when

[...] inde recessit

Valde gemens, pueros lacrimis affatur abortis.

('He went away groaning greatly. He addressed the boys with tears welling up.')

³¹⁵

This echoes *Aeneid* xi.41, when Aeneas looks down at the body of Pallas 'lacrimis ita fatur obortis'. While the parallel tragedy heightens the general pathos of Eustace, it is also significant that, just as the death of Pallas brings Evander's lineage to an end, so too Eustace's family is beginning to fracture, which is the true source of his despair. The extent of his despair is strengthened by the second quotation. During his Lament, Eustace exclaims,

'Hei mihi, qualis eram, quantum mutatus ab illo

Milite'

('Woe to me, how great I was, how much I am changed from that soldier.')

³¹⁶

This is a nearly exact quote of *Aeneid* ii. 274–5,³¹⁷ in which the gore-streaked shade of Hector appears to Aeneas in a dream. Besides the more general sense of foreboding associated with the imminent fall of Troy, Aeneas' horror at the degradation of the once-great warrior elicits a stronger sense of Eustace's despair at his own degradation from a leading military commander to a kinless, penniless vagrant.

³¹² VBE 351.

³¹³ C9 156.

³¹⁴ VBE 341.

³¹⁵ VBE 293–4.

³¹⁶ VBE 328–9.

³¹⁷ 'ei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab / illo Hectore' ('alas, what aspect was his! how much he was changed from that Hector!').

VBE also emphasises Eustace’s despair by drawing attention to the point at which he turns away from it. The addition of a speech formula (VBE 348) breaks the Lament into two parts – the first being his bitter complaints, the second his return to godliness. However, while this structural alteration emphasises his rise from these depths, the threat lingers. Eustace’s aforementioned reference to his ‘false words’ is a reminder of the seriousness of his error, while in VBE he asks for *finem* (‘an end’) to the *malis* (‘evils’)³¹⁸ imposed on him; a much stronger sense than the request in C9 for ‘requiem de multis tribulationibus meis.’³¹⁹ In VBE the language is more negative; Eustace regarding his tribulations as ‘evils’ suggests that he has not entirely overcome his despair. His demand for an end to his Trial, rather than a respite, is also more emphatic, suggesting that Eustace is less accepting of his lot in God’s divine plan than in C9.

VBE does not always emphasise sorrow, however; at times, hope replaces despair. For example, when Eustace calls on God when he recognises the men sent to find him, his tone is more trusting and hopeful than it is in C9. This is achieved in three ways. First, Eustace states [*s]pero* (‘I hope’)³²⁰ when expressing a desire to see Theophista again, where in C9 at this point he says that he is *praeter spem* (‘beyond hope’)³²¹ that this will happen. Second, the description of his sons’ assumed death is described with less violent language; they are said to have been *sumpsisse* (‘seized’)³²² rather than *commesti* (‘devoured’).³²³ Finally, VBE omits the suggestion in C9 that his sons were lost *propter meam prauitatem* (‘because of my perversity’).³²⁴ It can be seen, therefore, that the poet heightens the gravity of despair when Eustace is suffering most from it, but suppresses reference to it at the turn of Eustace’s fortunes to show that these have coincided with the realignment of his relationship with God; a philosophical idea that can be linked, once again, to Boethius.

3.3.2.3 – THE INFLUENCE OF BOETHIUS

The composer of VBE treats the themes of despair and agency with nuance, editing his source material to increase and decrease Eustace’s agency according to his level of faith in God versus his despair. The result follows the model of grace and free will in DCP IV.p.vi of circles of spheres rotating around the divine principle (i.e. God), more affected by the vicissitudes of fate

³¹⁸ VBE 353.

³¹⁹ C9 162–3, ‘rest from my many tribulations’.

³²⁰ VBE 400.

³²¹ C9 186–7.

³²² VBE 402.

³²³ C9 188.

³²⁴ C9 188.

the further they are from the centre. The adaption of the image in OEB to a wagon wheel, with souls moving up and down the spokes in accordance to their closeness to God and reducing the effects of fate accordingly,³²⁵ is also pertinent to VBE; indeed, given the directness of the relationship between agency and closeness to God in VBE, it appears to be the closer model. The influence of this Boethian model is a particularly fascinating aspect of VBE, as the poet apparently edits the text to increase or lessen Eustace's agency depending on the nature of his relationship with God.

Before Placidus' conversion, there are two examples of his agency being reduced. The first of these is another example of quotation from the *Aeneid*. When Placidus is struck down a second time in awe at the sight of Christ, the active verb describing this in C9 (*cecidit* ('he fell'))³²⁶ is replaced by the passive phrase *rursum uoluitur aruis* ('he was cast down to the dry earth again').³²⁷ The same phrase describes Aeneas striking down Lucagus in *Aeneid* x.590; this violent image heightens the strength of the awe with which Placidus is cast down. The second instance is when Placidus tells Theophista about '[q]uaeque sibi christus monstrabat montibus altis.'³²⁸ The equivalent in C9 (*que uidit* ('the things which he saw'))³²⁹ is active; he sees them in C9, they are shown to him in VBE. The focus in VBE is on his dependence on Christ to learn of these things, not his agency in transmitting them.

Eustace gains greater agency after his baptism. At the beginning of his second vision, Eustace *terram petit* ('flung himself to the ground'),³³⁰ whereas in C9 he is described as *cadens* ('falling'),³³¹ one could argue that the VBE reading suggests something more of an active choice, as *petere* also has connotations of 'making for' or 'beseeching'.³³² The omission of his implied unwillingness to undergo the Trial ('si non est possibile euadere')³³³ also suggests that Eustace has more agency in VBE now that he has established a closer relationship with God. This continues into his material losses, which do not affect his relationship with God. Eustace's agency is emphasised by the description of the family's travelling to Egypt. C9 reads *pergebant ad egiptum* ('they went to Egypt'),³³⁴ while in VBE 'aegypti cupiunt inuadere regna'³³⁵ depicts

³²⁵ OEB(B) Ch. 39, OEB(C) P.29. See §3.2.3.1.

³²⁶ C9 50.

³²⁷ VBE 107.

³²⁸ VBE 130, 'those things that Christ showed to him on the high mountain'.

³²⁹ C9 57.

³³⁰ VBE 180.

³³¹ C9 81.

³³² Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, *peto*, 2b.

³³³ C9 99, 'but if it is not possible to avoid (it)'.

³³⁴ C9 124.

³³⁵ VBE 275, 'they wanted to go into the kingdom of Egypt'.

an active choice more explicitly.³³⁶ The final instance of increased agency during Eustace's initial closeness to God takes place during the kidnap of Theophista, where Eustace shows a good deal more proactivity:

Conspiciens hoc eustachius, tunc firmiter illam

Cum manibus retinens et secum ducere anhelat.

(‘Eustace saw this, then held her strongly with his hands and longed to take her with him.’)³³⁷

His response is more physical and proactive than in C9, in which he *nolebat eam dare* (‘did not want to give her to him’)³³⁸ and was ‘[d]iu uero contra dicente eo et supplicante’.³³⁹ It is possible that this passage depicts greater agency as the poet was using an exemplar that contained a reading closer to BHL 2760, which reads ‘noluit eam reddere. Cum vero multum contra moveret et obniteretur Eustathius [...]’,³⁴⁰ although this lacks the same sense of longing as in VBE. In either case, the composer of VBE increases Eustace's physical reaction to the events.

The loss of his wife and sons leads Eustace to despair, and so the poet reduces his agency accordingly during this section of LSE. There are two examples of this during the Lament. Eustace's use of the passive verbs *impellor* (‘I am driven’)³⁴¹ and [*c*]ogor (‘I am forced’)³⁴² displays his own sense of powerlessness that causes his despair through his lack of trust in God. Interestingly, the poet also increases Eustace's agency to highlight the despair that is taking it from him; when Eustace states that ‘ueris deberem exemplis iob imitari’.³⁴³ Where in C9 Eustace recalls God telling him ‘oportet te temptari sicut iob’,³⁴⁴ the poet changes the emphasis from what ought to happen to Eustace to what he ought to be doing. Here the implied additional agency granted to Eustace is a ‘false friend’, describing an active choice that Eustace is not making – one that he could make if he trusted in God, but which he either cannot or will not make due to his lack of faith. It is also interesting that in all LSE variants discussed here,

³³⁶ Theophista repeats this idea at their reunion, when she recalls that Eustace ‘in aegyptum descendere mallens’ (‘chose to go down into Egypt’ (VBE 583)) rather than *perrexit ad egyptum* (‘went to Egypt’ (C9 281–2)). Here, too, Eustace is implied to have more agency.

³³⁷ VBE 288–9.

³³⁸ C9 130.

³³⁹ C9 130, ‘was speaking against this and begging for a long time’.

³⁴⁰ BHL 2760 §9, ‘he did not want to hand her over. But when Eustace moved against it and resisted it very much’.

³⁴¹ VBE 327.

³⁴² VBE 332.

³⁴³ VBE 336, ‘I ought to imitate Job as a true example’.

³⁴⁴ C9 154, ‘you ought to be tested as Job was’.

the only prayer that is not verbally answered is the Lament. Arguably God answers Eustace's request for respite by bringing him to Dadissus and a livelihood, but there is no sense of a dialogue; it appears that Eustace's despair has become an obstacle in their relationship. A greater sense of passivity also marks the beginning of the end of his Trial; when God answers his prayer in Dadissus and announces his change in fortunes, 'ex arce poli uox illi missa locuta est',³⁴⁵ where in C9 Eustace actively 'audiuit uocem de celo dicentem sibi'.³⁴⁶

This marks the turning point for Eustace and his final reconciliation with God as after this he begins to regain agency. In response to God's promise of returning fortune, Eustace is *repletus* ('filled')³⁴⁷ with terror, unlike his reaction in C9: *terrore percussus sedebat* ('he was struck by terror and sat down').³⁴⁸ Eustace briefly displays passivity, however, when he is identified by Antiochus and Acaius; where in C9 he 'confessus est quod ipse esset'³⁴⁹ in response to questioning, in VBE '[c]um magna tandem pulsus ui, uera fatatur'.³⁵⁰ This could be explained as being a last example of Eustace's resistance to God, albeit accidental. Though Eustace is trying to avoid the temptation of his former life, ironically in doing so he goes against God's will; God has just ordained that he shall be returned to his former state, but Eustace is resisting the mechanism for this.

Eustace's agency then increases in the martyrdom episode, when his rejection of heathen gods is made more explicit, with an addition that he remained outside the temple *spernens oracula phoebi* ('rejecting the oracles of Phoebus').³⁵¹ The final act of the saints, their willing martyrdom, is also emphasised in VBE; the additions of the saints being *laeti* ('happy')³⁵² to enter the bronze bull to be martyred and giving up their souls *cum laude* ('with praise')³⁵³ (rather than *cum pace* ('in peace')³⁵⁴) reiterate their happiness to do God's will. This

³⁴⁵ VBE 405, 'a voice was sent from the height of Heaven, speaking to him'.

³⁴⁶ C9 190, 'heard a voice from heaven saying to him'.

³⁴⁷ VBE 412.

³⁴⁸ C9 193–4.

³⁴⁹ C9 217, 'he confessed that he was he'.

³⁵⁰ VBE 456, 'At last, driven by such great compulsion, he confessed the true facts'.

³⁵¹ VBE 656. Interestingly, EP also makes a similar addition, stating that Eustace 'spreuit cum suis idola' ('rejected (Hadrian) along with his idols') (EP 190). Both versifications of different Latin recensions of the *Legend* emphasise his rejection, but EP takes it further and extends it to a rejection of Hadrian. This perhaps reflects a more 'realistic' reason for Hadrian's anger, in that a major motivation behind Roman concern about Christian monotheism was that rejecting the divinity of the Emperor was tantamount to a rejection of his authority. See Moss, *Myth of Persecution*, pp. 145–51 for a discussion concerning the foundation of the Decian Persecutions in an imperial decree that the Emperor must be sacrificed to, partly as a test of loyalty.

³⁵² VBE 745.

³⁵³ VBE 748.

³⁵⁴ C9 344.

expresses agency in that it implies no sense of compulsion; they are sufficiently close to God to choose to perform this action willingly.

It is clear that the instances in which the poet grants and removes agency from the characters of VBE falls in line with the Boethian model of agency in relation to faith. It is therefore likely that the composition of VBE was influenced by DCP and the rich commentary tradition that often circulated alongside it.

3.3.2.4 – *PROVIDENTIA* AND *PIETAS*

The Boethian model discussed above has ramifications concerning the compatibility of free will (aided by grace) with *providentia* in the theology of salvation. VBE does not come down on either side, but it is interesting to note the ways that both providential foreknowledge and grace are treated by the poet.

There is certainly a sense that God's preordination lies behind the events of LSE, and quotations from the *Aeneid* appear to reinforce this. VBE quotes Vergil when Eustace recounts his first vision to Theophista, described by the poet as *ex ordine pandit* ('he unfolded these things in order').³⁵⁵ This phrase appears twice in the *Aeneid*. It appears directly in *Aeneid* vi.723, when the shade of Anchises in the Underworld explains the order of creation and the afterlife to Aeneas, and Aeneas uses the near-identical phrase *ex ordine pando* when he tells Anchises about his vision of the Trojan hearth-gods instructing him to seek a new homeland.³⁵⁶ This heightens the significance of the vision of Christ in two ways. Firstly, it resonates with learning about the true order of Creation and the afterlife, as the newly converted Eustace is now discovering. Secondly, the idea of seeking a new homeland has parallels with the Christian idea of moving towards the Kingdom of God.³⁵⁷ It is also perhaps significant that Aeneas's recounting of his vision in *Aeneid* iii is closely followed by Anchises' realisation that he had previously misinterpreted the vision – which the composer of VBE may have considered a reflection of the pseudo-Christian paganism Placidus had previously followed. This

³⁵⁵ VBE 129.

³⁵⁶ *Aeneid* iii.179. It should also be noted that the phrase *ex ordine* is also used at VBE 476 when Eustace relates his conversion and subsequent life to Antiochus and Acaius. While this is plausibly an example of remembered reading, it is still possible, given that this is a similar instance of revealing spiritual truths to those not yet converted, that similar echoes are being drawn in this instance as well. The phrase is also used at VBE 619, when Eustace asks his sons to relate their story, leading to their recognition and reunion. In this instance, this is also possibly an example of remembered reading, although it cannot be discounted that the parallel of sons addressing their fathers may have been in the mind of the poet.

³⁵⁷ The equation of the idea of *patria* ('homeland') to a good relationship with God also appearing in DCP (for example, DCP IV.v.i.25) may also provide further evidence for Boethian influence on VBE.

highlighting of visions may also be significant in the transmission of VBE; as mentioned above, VBE is the first of several texts related to divine visions in Laud Misc 410 Part I.³⁵⁸

The other use of quotation of the *Aeneid* to highlight the role of divine authority combines two quotations to provide a framework for the three stages of Eustace's Trial (material loss, familial loss, and martyrdom). The first is used when Eustace returns to receive his promised post-baptismal vision and addresses God as *regnator olympi* ('ruler of Olympus').³⁵⁹ This title appears twice in the *Aeneid*; at *Aeneid* ii.779, when the ghost of Creusa tells Aeneas that their separation is divinely willed, and at vii.558 when Jupiter compels Juno to make Allecto cease causing mortals strife. All these instances involve coercion – Aeneas does not wish to be separated from his wife, Juno and Allecto are grudging in their compliance, and Eustace is to undergo deprivations that will bring him to despair. The second Trial, familial loss, is preceded by their crossing to Egypt over *mare ueliuolum* ('the sail-flying sea').³⁶⁰ This echoes *Aeneid* i.224, when Venus asks Jupiter to stop obstructing the Trojans. This is used ironically – in the *Aeneid* it is a request for respite, where in VBE it precedes Theophista's kidnap and the beginning of Eustace's true emotional Trial: the loss of his family. Finally, the third Trial, the saints' martyrdom, is preceded by Eustace asserting that he worships only Christ, *qui regnat olympis* ('who rules Olympus').³⁶¹ This echoes the quotation framing the first Trial, bringing the tripartite structure full circle.³⁶²

Besides these quotations, a sense of divine authority behind the Trial is visible in the perspectives of Eustace and Theophista. When Eustace takes on the Trial, he requests that God *certamen dignare parare* ('deign to prepare a struggle')³⁶³ for them, while Theophista identifies Eustace thus: '[a] domino accepisti qui temptamina multa'.³⁶⁴ As far as the saints themselves are concerned, God is in control of the events ordained for them to live through.

The connotations of *dignari* ('to deem worthy of' or 'to deign') are interesting in this context, and the verb appears multiple times in VBE, from different perspectives. Several are requests from Eustace; besides VBE 229 noted above, he also asks that the as-yet-unknown

³⁵⁸ See §3.1.

³⁵⁹ VBE 187.

³⁶⁰ VBE 284.

³⁶¹ VBE 662.

³⁶² This is conceivably a reaction on the part of the poet to the threefold structures around which LSE is built; see §2.3.

³⁶³ VBE 229; replacing the C9 100 reading *iube* ('grant' or 'order').

³⁶⁴ VBE 579, 'You who accepted many trials from the Lord'.

God deign to speak to him.³⁶⁵ During his Lament he makes two requests (that God should deem him worthy that his tears be seen mercifully and his tribulations be ended).³⁶⁶ When read alongside the example of VBE 229 this is especially interesting, as Eustace uses the verb *dignari* to ask for both the beginning and the end of his Trial. Finally, Eustace and his family request that God deem to hear the prayers of those who invoke the saints worthy of hearing.³⁶⁷ Eustace also informs Hadrian that God deemed him worthy of being reunited with his family,³⁶⁸ while in their final prayer the saints recall that Christ deemed them worthy to show himself to them;³⁶⁹ both display a clear sense that the ultimate pattern of events rests in the hands of God. This is also expressed by Pope John at their baptism (when he reminds them that Christ deemed them worthy of being called to his kingdom).³⁷⁰ There is also one example of the narrator emphasising God's control in this manner, when he informs the audience that Eustace's post-baptismal vision shows that '*dignatus erat christus sua uerba replere.*'³⁷¹ We see, therefore, a consistent sense that the events of VBE are divinely controlled to an extent. The use of the verb *dignari* suggests that, although Eustace can earn his salvation through being shown to be worthy of it, the final decision to grant grace and salvation ultimately lies with God.

Though there is a palpable sense of divine authority lying behind events, the way VBE represents the Trial implies that it is fixed, but that its constituent events and outcome are flexible. Eustace's choice in the timing of his Trial is the same in LSE and its reflexes,³⁷² but VBE appears to build on this idea, although at times the relationship is ambiguous. For example, when God addresses Eustace as *qui [...] renitebis* ('you who will shine'),³⁷³ it is unclear whether the future active tense refers to a fixed outcome (i.e. no matter what, Eustace will shine after being cleansed by baptism), or as a potential consequence of his actions (i.e. should he succeed, Eustace will shine). Likewise, God's suggestion that if Eustace avoids blasphemy then '*citius te gloria pristina captat*'³⁷⁴ conveys this sense of mutability within a providential framework. As former glory returns 'more quickly', this suggests that Eustace will achieve it, although the speed at which he does so is up to him. This use of a comparative explicitly places the outcome of events in the hands of Eustace. This model of a mutable yet

³⁶⁵ VBE 87.

³⁶⁶ VBE 334, 353.

³⁶⁷ VBE 716.

³⁶⁸ VBE 665.

³⁶⁹ VBE 696.

³⁷⁰ VBE 167.

³⁷¹ VBE 178, 'Christ had deigned to make good his words'.

³⁷² C9 97–8.

³⁷³ VBE 190.

³⁷⁴ VBE 223, 'former glory grasps back at you more quickly'.

preordained framework relates to the discussion of divine foreknowledge versus free will in DCP V. The model set out in DCP V.p.vi, which argues that God, being eternal, exists outside of mortal perception of time and instead sees all things and all outcomes as a single, eternal present, is especially relevant, as it allows for the interplay of providence and agency that takes place in LSE, and especially in VBE. To an extent, all events are preordained, but the nature of those preordained events is determined by human agency.³⁷⁵ This is not to suggest that DCP necessarily influenced the composition of VBE; rather, this correspondence may have appealed to a versifier familiar with and interested in Boethian models of agency.

While divine providence has some control over events, the operation of the minutiae of these events in VBE appears to be controlled by grace granted by God's mercy. A sense of this has already been conveyed in the examination of the use of the verb *dignari* above, but there are other pertinent alterations in VBE that suggest an emphasis of free will, aided by grace, over divine providence.

For example, in VBE the fact that Placidus' horse does not tire, enabling him to receive the vision alone, is attributed to *pietate dei* ('the love of God'),³⁷⁶ where in C9 this is due to [*p*]rouidentia [...] *dei* ('the providence of God').³⁷⁷ This is followed by an addition stating that the vision was disclosed to Placidus *de pietate dei* ('by the love of God').³⁷⁸ Theophista reiterates this and identifies Christ's motivation of appearing through a stag as '[u]t magis illius mireris tu pietatem'.³⁷⁹ This alters the sense of C9, which reads 'ut eius mirari possis potentiam credens in eum.'³⁸⁰ Again, God's compassion is elevated above his power, and in VBE the reference to belief is omitted. Though this may have been omitted on metrical grounds, wonder is emphasised above belief. It would appear that understanding is prioritised less than awe.

Pietas as part of the Trial is also alluded to in VBE. For example, God instructs Eustace to avoid blasphemy, citing one result of this as being '[t]e tunc inueniet raptim pietas mea magna'.³⁸¹ However, the most significant instance of this takes place in the suicide episode.

³⁷⁵ This model of divine providence also appears in the *Carmen de libero arbitrio* 119–122: 'actus praeteritos, praesentes, necne futuros / auctor sic hominum prospicit intuit, / et quamis ualeat mentes peruertere sontes / ad meliora, tamen nil nocet arbitrio' ('Likewise the creator of men observes with his understanding our past, present and future deeds, and although he could turn our evil minds to better things yet he does not interfere with our will') (ed. and trans. Lapidge 'Three Latin Poems' pp. 266–77).

³⁷⁶ VBE 45.

³⁷⁷ C9 23.

³⁷⁸ VBE 83.

³⁷⁹ VBE 142, 'that you may marvel more at his mercy'.

³⁸⁰ C9 63, 'that you might wonder more at his power and believe in him'.

³⁸¹ VBE 222, 'then my great love will come back to you hastily'.

VBE, like OEE,³⁸² changes the cause of Eustace's overcoming a suicidal impulse from *providentia* to *pietas*. The relevant passage in VBE is

Sed pietas domini illum constantem fore fecit,

Illius et mentem fidei cum robore firmans.

(‘but the love of God made him be constant, and was strengthening his mind with the vigour of faith.’)³⁸³

This granting of greater agency to Eustace, with God giving him the means to overcome despair himself, is accentuated by the heightening in VBE of the danger he is in. This is achieved by drawing attention to the depth and danger of the river from the outset. Where C9 merely states that he comes to a river too deep to cross with both sons,³⁸⁴ VBE heightens the language:

Pergens cum gemitu, quandam peruenit ad undam

Horrifici fluuii, quam inuadere non fuit ausus

Cum natis ambobus, ob iram fluminis alti.

(‘As he went forth with tears he came to the waters of a certain terrifying river, which he did not dare to enter with both sons because of the fury of the deep river.’)³⁸⁵

The additions of *horrifici* and *iram* foreshadow the coming threat to Eustace, in terms of both body and soul. Also, where C9 merely states that ‘uoluit se proicere in aquam’,³⁸⁶ in VBE ‘uoluit se in gurgite mergi’.³⁸⁷ The more explicit reference to drowning combined with a more poetic and emotive word for water heightens the danger, and so the magnitude of his success with God's aid.³⁸⁸

The reference to mercy in Eustace's Lament is also worth noting:

³⁸² See §3.2.2.2.

³⁸³ VBE 311–12. VBE appears to grant Eustace slightly less autonomy than OEE; where in OEE his mind is strengthened by *pietas* to overcome, here *pietas* still ‘made him be constant’. There is more of a sense of God's intervention, albeit with an emphasis on a compassionate interest in Eustace's fate rather than a preordained schema to be carried out.

³⁸⁴ C9 134–5.

³⁸⁵ VBE 296–8.

³⁸⁶ C9 142, ‘he desired to throw himself into the water’.

³⁸⁷ VBE 310, ‘he wanted to drown himself in the flood’.

³⁸⁸ The use of this word may further indicate the influence of Sedulius presbyter and/or Paulinus of Nola (see §3.3.1.3). The word *gurgite* appears five times in Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* and four times in the poetry of Paulinus; once in his *Carmen ad Gestidium* and four times in his *Libri in laudem Sancti Felicis*. Data taken from CETEDOC, *Library of Latin Texts Series A*, <<http://clt.brepolis.net/llta>> [accessed 15/7/19].

Sed tu christe meos gressus comitare benigne,

Atque meas lacrimas clemens dignare uidere

(‘But you, Christ, attend my steps kindly, and deign to see my tears mercifully.’)³⁸⁹

This starkly contrasts with the C9 reading: ‘Sed tu domine, ne in finem derelinquas me, nec despicias lacrimas meas.’³⁹⁰ In VBE Eustace’s hope of mercy, even in the depths of sinful despair, replaces the possibilities of his being despised or abandoned by God, resulting in a depiction of a more merciful God.

Other characters also seem aware of God’s mercy affecting events. For example, when describing her continued chastity through her fifteen-year separation from Eustace, Theophista states that ‘*pietas domini castam seruauit adhuc me.*’³⁹¹ Attributing her chastity to Christ’s mercy reinforces an earlier comment by the narrator that ‘*pietate dei coniux sua casta manebat.*’³⁹² In C9 the narrator merely states that she had been guarded against pollution.³⁹³ The same is true of Theophista’s describing her chastity as being guarded by Christ;³⁹⁴ neither attribution mentions *pietas*. This is not to say that C9 is devoid of references to *pietas*; in both C9 and VBE Theophista describes their sons’ mutual recognition as granted by God’s compassion.³⁹⁵ In the same way, following the reunion of the family both C9 and VBE describe the army feasting and praising God because of his mercy;³⁹⁶ although VBE adds the idea of *pietas* to the family’s private thanksgiving.³⁹⁷

The final extension of the idea of *pietas* in VBE takes place during the saints’ final prayer. In two additions, the saints state that their wishes (i.e. for their reunion) were carried out *ex pietate tua* (‘from your love’),³⁹⁸ and make a further request for a heavenly reward for their martyrdom, which they hope to receive through *opem [...] divinae [...] pietatis* (‘the power of divine love’).³⁹⁹ The number of additional references to God’s *pietas* in VBE indicate

³⁸⁹ VBE 333–4.

³⁹⁰ C9 153, ‘But you, Lord, do not abandon me at the end, nor despise my tears’.

³⁹¹ VBE 588, ‘the love of the Lord kept me chaste until now’.

³⁹² VBE 520, ‘his wife remained chaste, by the mercy of God’.

³⁹³ C9 247.

³⁹⁴ C9 283–4.

³⁹⁵ VBE 614; C9 296.

³⁹⁶ VBE 634; C9 304.

³⁹⁷ VBE 626.

³⁹⁸ VBE 699.

³⁹⁹ VBE 705.

that the poet saw God's mercy as paramount, and this implies a model of saving grace that could be granted rather than being wholly predestinate.

One caveat to the use of *pietas* in place of *providentia* in VBE concerns the poem's metrics. The case could be made that the composer of VBE made this alteration simply because *pietas* was easier to fit into a hexameter than *providentia*. Yet it should be noted that the contemporary *Carmen de libero arbitrio* uses variations on *providentia* in its hexameters,⁴⁰⁰ so scanning *providentia* was possible, if difficult. Additionally, VBE 311, arguably the most important line concerning this change, since it involves Eustace's resistance of suicide, could be scanned with *providentia* in place of *pietas domini*. This would result in a DSSS line rather than DDSS. Given the poet's preference for DSSS lines, this could indicate that the choice of *pietas* was a conscious one that went beyond merely metrical considerations. The similar treatment of *pietas* in OEE suggests a milieu that was receptive to the idea of grace granting autonomy beyond mere predestination to salvation, and indeed could indicate that the translator of OEE was familiar with, and perhaps influenced by, VBE. If the choice was purely metrical, the resulting theological alteration was not considered a difficulty; indeed, it may have added to its appeal.

It is also important to note that EP (the versification of BHL 2761)⁴⁰¹ also makes a very similar change during the suicide episode; arguably, it goes even further than OEE and VBE. Strophe 14 reads:

Eustasius dum putaret perisse pueros,
cogitabat iactare se mox in flumine,
sed ad memoriam eius rediit subito,
quod ei dixerat ante saluator omnium,
quod post periculum magnum haberet gaudium.

⁴⁰⁰ Examples include *Carmen* 5, *porrouidentia* ('providence'); 7, 105, *praedestiuenatio* ('predestination'); 109, *antescientia* ('foreknowledge').

⁴⁰¹ See §2.4.1.

(‘When Eustace thought that the boys had died, he soon thought to throw himself into the river. But suddenly everything that the Saviour had said to him before returned to his memory – that he would have great joy after danger.’)⁴⁰²

Here the resistance of the suicidal impulse is made entirely by Eustace – aided by the memory of God’s promises, but without any sense of divine intervention. EP also attributes the preservation of his sons to God’s *pietas*,⁴⁰³ although besides this the poet of EP concentrates more on the narrative than its implications and references to *providentia* and *pietas* are sparse. In the case of EP, however, it is possible that metrical concerns did take precedence due to a greater concern for a concise narrative. Therefore, while the exploration of the interplay between *providentia* and *pietas* may not have been unique to England, we can nonetheless trace the most extensive considerations and reactions to the place of free will within salvation to the milieu that produced OEE and VBE.

Overall, the treatment of divine foreknowledge and grace in VBE follows the pattern in LSE in which God ordained the events of Eustace’s Trial while maintaining scope for agency within that framework. Providence provides the arena, grace provides the weapons, but it is up to Eustace to fight for his own salvation. The poet, however, shows greater interest in the relationship between grace and free will, as evidenced in the extensive influence of DCP in the representation of Eustace’s agency across VBE.

3.3.3 – SECULAR APPEAL

VBE shares the ambiguous depiction of wealth and secular status shared by other LSE reflexes, although there are subtle alterations to Eustace’s relationship with temporal wealth. For example, where in C9 Placidus being *demone captus* (‘captured by demons’)⁴⁰⁴ is juxtaposed with his honour, in VBE it is juxtaposed with his wealth,⁴⁰⁵ perhaps with the intention of emphasising his negative relationship with wealth (in that it is not yet contextualised in a Christian manner). Likewise, VBE contains an additional reiteration of the superiority of spiritual wealth when God informs Eustace that

Deliciis iterum ueris polles et amoenis,

⁴⁰² EP 66–70. ‘Joy after great danger’ would also be an acceptable reading, and this ambiguity may be deliberate.

⁴⁰³ EP 61.

⁴⁰⁴ C9 5.

⁴⁰⁵ VBE 10 ‘pollens opibus, captus sed demonis astu’ (‘he was mighty in wealth, but captured by the cunning of demons’).

Tollere quas tibi nulla ualet fraus hostis auari;

(‘You are rich in true and pleasant delights, which no deceit of the greedy enemy can take away from you.’)⁴⁰⁶

Here spiritual *deliciae* (‘delights’) are raised above those of the world as they are *amoenus*, but most importantly they are *uerus*; where in LSE worldly wealth can be useful in terms of the vocations they enable, VBE is clear that worldly wealth is inherently inferior to spiritual wealth. There are also ramifications for Eustace’s agency in the Trial; as spiritual riches come from a relationship with God, Satan cannot take them away as he can earthly wealth, but this is not to say that Eustace cannot lose them himself should he fail to endure the Trial. It is also important to note that, when referring to Eustace’s wealth and status, Christ observes that

adhuc nimium renitebis

Multis diuitiis uanis opibusue caducis

(‘until now you have shone too much with many empty riches and transitory wealth’)⁴⁰⁷

This criticism confirms that secular wealth can be too much of a good thing and that it is, ultimately, *uanus* (‘empty’) and *caducus* (‘transitory’). Though owning it is not in itself necessarily bad, it is possible to enjoy it *nimium* (‘too much’). Spiritual wealth is therefore superior, and Christ is careful to remind Eustace of this before the Trial.

Spiritual riches are further emphasised when God reassures Eustace in Dadissus. Here the heavenly reward is made more explicitly spiritual: *eternorum bonorum delectationem* (‘the delight of eternal goods’)⁴⁰⁸ becomes *caelestis gaudia regni* (‘the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven’)⁴⁰⁹ in VBE. Likewise, when comparing Eustace’s relationships with God and the Emperor, VBE draws a contrast between service [*t]erreno regi* (‘to the earthly ruler’)⁴¹⁰ and *regi [...] perenni* (‘the eternal ruler’)⁴¹¹, where in the prose the distinction is between the mortal and immortal Emperor.⁴¹² This alteration heightens the difference between the earthly and spiritual spheres.

⁴⁰⁶ VBE 206–7.

⁴⁰⁷ VBE 202–3.

⁴⁰⁸ C9 192.

⁴⁰⁹ VBE 410.

⁴¹⁰ VBE 212.

⁴¹¹ VBE 215.

⁴¹² BHL 2760 §7 ‘sed quemadmodum repugnans hominibus cupiebas victor ostendi, mortali imperatori festinans placere, sic & contra diabolum strenue agere festina, et mihi, immortalis imperatori, fidem servare’ (‘but just as

Theophista later complains that, besides their sons, ‘nil nobis superesse uidetur’,⁴¹³ in contrast to C9, where she says their sons ‘tantum relictis sunt nobis’.⁴¹⁴ The subtle distinction between seeming and being may be intended to suggest an awareness in Theophista that despite their losses they are left both with spiritual riches and family, which as has been noted is touted in LSE as the superior earthly wealth. Yet this is not to say that wealth is completely rejected in VBE. When Eustace loses his material wealth he does so *patienter* (‘patiently’),⁴¹⁵ rather than *gratifice* (‘gratefully’) as in C9.⁴¹⁶ Additionally, in VBE God’s comparison between the earthly and the heavenly emperors that Eustace must serve contains the additional image of Eustace desiring *sumere magna trophaea* (‘to take up great victory spoils’)⁴¹⁷ in the service of Trajan, followed by God’s reminder that ‘[t]ali [...] modo debes certare’⁴¹⁸ against Satan, suggesting that victory spoils, or at least the connotations of them, are not incompatible with service to God. This raising of spiritual over earthly wealth without explicitly rejecting the latter corresponds with the theme in LSE that wealth is unproblematic, and indeed potentially a useful tool for fulfilling secular functions, so long as it does not interfere with one’s relationship with God; VBE, for example, retains the hope that those who invoke the saints ‘[t]errenisque bonis hic sufficienter habundent.’⁴¹⁹

This may be pertinent to the potential links to Bishop Æthelwold. Though he had a reputation for austerity, Alan Thacker noted that he was willing to relax the standards of the Rule for aristocratic guests:

at Abingdon Æthelwold was remembered gratefully for mitigating the strict provisions of the Benedictine Rule, adherence to which, it was feared, would attract only the poor. In particular, it was claimed, the susceptibilities of the gentry were accommodated by the relaxation of the rule which prescribed that bedding should consist only of mattress, blanket, coverlet and pillow, to permit the monks of Abingdon to sleep under fur coverlets.⁴²⁰

you have desired to be shown as victor by fighting against men, hurrying to please the mortal emperor, thus you swiftly ought to struggle against the Devil with strength, and serve me, the immortal emperor, faithfully’); the distinction has been lost in C9 through apparent eyeskip.

⁴¹³ VBE 271, ‘nothing seems to be left to us’.

⁴¹⁴ C9 122, ‘are all that is left to us’.

⁴¹⁵ VBE 250.

⁴¹⁶ C9 108.

⁴¹⁷ VBE 211.

⁴¹⁸ VBE 213, ‘you ought to contend thus’.

⁴¹⁹ VBE 712, ‘might abound sufficiently in earthly goods’; compare to C9 334.

⁴²⁰ Thacker, ‘Æthelwold and Abingdon’, p. 56.

Eustace having wealth in an appropriate context, therefore, would accord with Æthelwold's own standards for pious aristocrats.

VBE not only retains the idea of family being more important than material wealth, but appears to emphasise it further. Following the loss of his first son, C9 describes Eustace going back to fetch his other son *in patientia* ('patiently').⁴²¹ This stoic patience is omitted in VBE. More significantly, family is emphasised in God's promise to Eustace of his return to his former state: in C9 God promises 'remeabis ad tuum priorem statum et accipies uxorem tuam et filios.'⁴²² In VBE, however, he promises:

Cum natis sanis citius tibi redditur uxor,

Inuenies statumque priorem tempore in isto.

('Your wife will be returned to you very quickly, together with your unharmed sons, and in this time you will attain your previous status.')⁴²³

While C9 is correct in terms of narrative chronology, VBE instead orders the reparations according to their importance, emphasising family over power.

The 'wealth' of family, then, is superior but wealth and power are not considered problematic in the hands of Eustace. The poet sees no problem with adding descriptions of Eustace rejoicing when his fortunes turn.⁴²⁴ Since his return to fortunes has been ordained by God, it is difficult to see this as problematic behaviour for the saint; indeed, whether or not Eustace is rejoicing in his restoration, he is ultimately celebrating God's mercy. The poet also expands Antiochus and Acaius' description of Eustace's former glory, expanding C9 '[t]unc ergo milites exponebant eis de uirtute uiri et de priori eius gloria'⁴²⁵ to

Ciuiibus illis promere tunc coepere uiri illi

Virtutem placidi, quam fortis et esset in armis,

Diuitiis cunctis quam clarus ante fuisset,

Extremoque ducem dicunt illum fore plebis.

⁴²¹ C9 139.

⁴²² C9 191, 'you will return to your previous state and will receive your wife and sons'.

⁴²³ VBE 407–8.

⁴²⁴ The first instance of this is VBE 430, when he is showing Antiochus and Acaius hospitality, and the second is VBE 478, when the three men are rejoicing as they begin their journey back to Rome.

⁴²⁵ C9 220, 'Then the soldiers unfolded to (the townsfolk) the virtue of the man and his former glory'.

(‘Then those men began to bring the virtue of Placidus to light to the citizens – how strong he was in arms, how distinguished he had once been in all wealth – and they said that in the past he was a leader of the people.’)⁴²⁶

It is significant that VBE adds Eustace’s military prowess and authority as well as a specific mention of his wealth to the exposition of Antiochus and Acaius; this increases the image of Eustace as a secular figure and serves as a reminder that Eustace’s saintly and secular vocations are compatible. Nevertheless, as non-Christians Antiochus and Acaius continue to perceive Eustace’s worth exclusively in temporal terms.

This disconnect between Christian and non-Christian attitudes to wealth is further accentuated in VBE. One example of this is when Antiochus and Acaius offer Eustace money for information about Placidus. Where in C9 their question and offer of a material reward is in direct speech, in VBE the questioning becomes reported speech while the offer of money remains direct speech, and is thus emphasised.⁴²⁷ The imagery of material reward is also present when Trajan offers wealth to his soldiers if they give him information about Placidus. In C9, Trajan promises ‘ampliores addam ei honores, et emolumentorum augebo solatia’⁴²⁸, where in VBE he is ‘promittens dare munera larga’.⁴²⁹ VBE removes the honour from the earthly reward, focusing solely on material wealth that is ultimately worthless. Also, in C9 Trajan offers to increase wages, that is, wealth that the soldiers are already owed, where in VBE he offers gifts. By placing the reward outside the normal bounds of the military salary, Trajan adds further honour to his reward (in that the soldiers are arguably treated less as paid soldiers and closer to equals). This again shows the value Trajan accords Placidus as a military commander.

A more significant example of this is that the general word denoting ‘victory’ in VBE is *trophaeum* (‘trophy, (sign of) victory’). This keeps the sense of LSE, but carries further connotations of victory being valued in terms of the physical wealth and glory that is won. For instance, Trajan enlarges his feasting because of the *trophaeum* won in Persia,⁴³⁰ while Hadrian especially is depicted as more earthly; he rushes to meet Eustace after hearing that he and his

⁴²⁶ VBE 461–4.

⁴²⁷ C9 197–8, VBE 419–23.

⁴²⁸ C9 180, ‘I will build him up with greater honours and I will increase their wages’.

⁴²⁹ VBE 384, ‘promising to give bountiful gifts’.

⁴³⁰ VBE 260.

men were *portantes magna trophaea* ('carrying great trophies'),⁴³¹ and celebrates a feast *ob tale tropheum* ('because of such a victory').⁴³²

It is also significant that, when Placidus is first missed by Trajan, the emperor feels *magis [...] terror* ('greater fear')⁴³³ at the deprivations and disappearance of Placidus, rather than being *merore percussus* ('struck by sorrow')⁴³⁴ along with the senate as in C9. The quotation of *Aeneid* i.546 noted above could also be intended to highlight Trajan's need for Placidus to combat his terror at the invasion. Where the prevailing emotion in C9 appears to be concern for Placidus, in VBE Trajan appears more afraid that the same reversal of fortunes could befall him.

Some secular values, however, appear in a positive light. Reputation is particularly emphasised in VBE, visible in the esteem in which Placidus was clearly held. When Eustace returns to Rome, VBE adds that Trajan rejoices and rushes to meet him,⁴³⁵ while his response to the enemy incursion further reiterates Trajan's reliance on Placidus and his perception of his worth in secular terms:

Tunc regem retinens angustia magna timoris

Ex tam terrifico concursu gentis amarae;

Nescius ipse manens animo, qua ui potuisset

Pellere barbaricam gentem de finibus illis;

Tunc illi in mentem uenit placidi bona uirtus,

Praefatos hostes qua sternit sepius ipse.

('Then great anguish of fear at such a terrifying incursion by a harsh race gripped the Emperor; he did not know with what strength he would be able to drive the barbarian race from his lands while his spirit remained. Then the good strength of Placidus, by which that man very often stilled the aforementioned enemies, came to his mind.')

⁴³⁶

This danger is also emphasised when Trajan

⁴³¹ VBE 645.

⁴³² VBE 648.

⁴³³ VBE 265.

⁴³⁴ C9 119.

⁴³⁵ VBE 481.

⁴³⁶ VBE 373–8.

[...] illi narrat hostem sua regna tenere,

Econtra et raptim bellum debere parari.

(‘told him [Eustace] about the enemy holding his empire, and that in reply he ought to prepare for war quickly.’)⁴³⁷

The urgency with which they need to combat the invasion highlights the importance of Eustace to this effort.

The focus of the invasion is also changed; C9 states that the barbarians invade ‘illa terra, ubi erat Eustachius’⁴³⁸ and mentions refugees fleeing to Roman lands,⁴³⁹ whereas in VBE they invade the Roman Empire.⁴⁴⁰ The threat to Trajan becomes more immediate, and the inconsistency in C9 of the legates who find Eustace searching the Roman Empire (which C9 178–9 suggests does not include Dadissus, though they find him there) is resolved.

Respect for Eustace is expressed by figures apart from the Emperor. VBE adds that ‘[o]mnis eum cum uoce salutatur deinde senatus’⁴⁴¹ and that

[...] rex atque sui proceres, omnis quoque uulgus,

Illius aduentum gratanter suscipiebant.

(‘the Emperor and his leaders, as well as all the common people, received his arrival with rejoicing.’)⁴⁴²

It is also notable that in VBE Antiochus and Acaius initially observe that Eustace ‘[m]ilitis ille fuit forsitan dux atque magister’,⁴⁴³ presumably from his bearing, before they recognise him fully. This alteration highlights Eustace’s innate nobility, while their recognition of him becomes direct speech which, along with the quotation of *Aeneid* i.335 discussed above, increases the emotive impact of their discovery, culminating in the trio joyously weeping together at VBE line 458. This idea of retained innate nobility is also visible when the leaders of Dadissus make him ‘[c]ustodem illorum frugum segetumque magistrum.’⁴⁴⁴ In C9 Eustace

⁴³⁷ VBE 494–5.

⁴³⁸ C9 173, ‘the land where Eustace was’.

⁴³⁹ C9 173–4.

⁴⁴⁰ VBE 371–2.

⁴⁴¹ VBE 483, ‘Then all the senate greeted him with a shout’.

⁴⁴² VBE 490–1.

⁴⁴³ VBE 443, ‘perhaps he was once a leader and master of soldiers’.

⁴⁴⁴ VBE 359, ‘a guardian of their produce and a master of their crops’.

requests this position,⁴⁴⁵ whereas in VBE his neighbours are impressed by him; and the pun of *segetumque magistrum* on his former position of *magister militum* highlights his social degradation, but also plays on the idea that he is able to rise in the social hierarchy to a limited extent in his current social context.⁴⁴⁶ This impression of the universal esteem in which Placidus is held is also visible when VBE adds that Eustace was asked to take up his former position [*a*] *cunctis* ('by everyone').⁴⁴⁷

Eustace's military prowess is also highlighted. VBE adds an image of his military professionalism when he orders his ranks for inspection,⁴⁴⁸ while the militarism of his campaign is expanded:

Agmen disposuit, bellum committere coepit.

Hostes exuperans de finibus expulit illis,

Illos trans fluuium sequitur qui dictus idaspis.

Necnon ulterius gradiens cum milite multo,

Hostes occidit, terram est populatus eorum.

('he arranged the troops, and began to commence war. He overcame the enemy and expelled them from those lands. He followed them across the river which is called Idaspis. And also, when he had advanced further beyond with the great army, he killed the enemy; he ravaged their land.')⁴⁴⁹

Notably, VBE omits the idea of liberation, where C9 makes it clear that 'terram quidem quam abstulerant barbari liberauit.'⁴⁵⁰ Eustace, therefore, comes across as a more martial figure. This martial aspect is co-opted by God himself in his final address to the saints, where VBE adds an image of the *miles Christi*: '[a]tque boni facti bellatores domini estis.'⁴⁵¹

If the principal appeal of LSE in early medieval England was to pious laymen and monastics who had formerly been active in the world, this esteem for a saint's secular vocation could be an aspect of it. Theophista's concern for their reputation may also relate to this,

⁴⁴⁵ C9 166.

⁴⁴⁶ See §2.2.2.

⁴⁴⁷ VBE 492.

⁴⁴⁸ VBE 507.

⁴⁴⁹ VBE 513–17.

⁴⁵⁰ C9 242–3, 'he liberated the land the heathens had taken'.

⁴⁵¹ VBE 734, 'and you have been made good warriors of the Lord'.

emphasised in VBE when she states that *nesesse manet* ('it remains necessary')⁴⁵² for the family to flee to Egypt to escape scorn. It is significant that she uses the same words to describe the importance of baptism, suggesting that she valued baptism and reputation equally. Likewise, when Eustace's sons are rescued, VBE adds that they are brought up *ualde decori* ('very fittingly').⁴⁵³ This possibly reflects Eustace's nobility in that the poet insists on their good upbringing as family associated with Eustace. Similarly, when his sons are conscripted, VBE states that the townsfolk volunteered them 'fuerant quia valde decori.'⁴⁵⁴ In C9, however, the reason is because they are *peregrinos* ('foreigners').⁴⁵⁵ Again, the inherent nobility of Eustace's sons increases his own stature by association, and the future saints are esteemed by their neighbours rather than seen as disposable foreigners to offer up to the imperial machine.⁴⁵⁶

Indeed, reputation, of sorts, is incorporated into Eustace's heavenly reward. When God first tells Eustace of his Trial, he states that he must undergo it '[u]t tua clarescat clare patientia cunctis.'⁴⁵⁷ This is both a reward as a reputation and an indication that LSE was intended to be an edificatory tale. Later, at the end of Eustace's Trial, God promises Eustace the joys of Heaven '[p]er gentesque tuum nomen uulgabitur omnes.'⁴⁵⁸ This idea of reputation seems more geographical than chronological, implying a less edificatory role and an earthlier sense of fame.

3.3.4 – CONCLUSIONS

Overall, it is unjust to dismiss VBE as a 'petty versification', especially since a close, though artful, versification may have been the intention of the poet if, as seems likely, he was operating within the English monastic curriculum. VBE makes intelligent use of Classical and Biblical material to highlight themes within LSE, and the subtlety with which this is done implies that the poet was composing for an educated audience. That this audience may also have been particularly learned and pious laymen (or former laymen who had taken holy orders) can be seen in the representation of wealth, in which spiritual riches are elevated but those of the world are not explicitly rejected, while of these worldly goods, family is emphasised as the most important, while wealth and power, in the correct contexts, are not depicted as distractions from God, but as unproblematic. In the final third of the story, Eustace lives out an aristocratic military vocation while maintaining a strong and healthy relationship with God. It is likely,

⁴⁵² VBE 272.

⁴⁵³ VBE 362.

⁴⁵⁴ VBE 505, 'because they were very suitable'.

⁴⁵⁵ C9 236.

⁴⁵⁶ Note that this is also the case in OEE; see §3.2.1.

⁴⁵⁷ VBE 205, 'that your forbearance of everything may shine with distinction'.

⁴⁵⁸ VBE 411, 'and your name will be known among all the nations'.

therefore, that the *skopos* behind the transmission of VBE was to provide meditative material concerning human agency in salvation and the correct contextualisation of worldly wealth and power.

The theological themes are also interesting. While emphasising the necessity of baptism more than other adaptations, VBE nevertheless also highlights the role of good deeds and good service in earning grace, even before Eustace's baptism. This implies that baptism is a necessary enabler of salvation, rather than a predestined panacea for Original Sin. The depiction of Eustace's agency in his own salvation is also striking; the nuanced treatment of *tristitia* and agency create a sense of divine control with space for free will, in that Eustace undergoes a preordained Trial with events fixed by divine will, albeit with a mutable outcome. This artful alteration of agency also places VBE in the intellectual context of the early medieval study of Boethius in terms of free will and grace.

VBE was doubtless a product of a learned intelligentsia. Furthermore, in tenth-century England at least, the appeal of Eustace was more intellectual and aristocratic than popular. VBE would not be out of place as a product of a monastic school, and the certainty of relics at Abingdon and the English tradition of such versifications provides a plausible context for the composition of VBE. Even if more certain conclusions cannot currently be drawn, the combination of LSE with material from the *Aeneid* and DCP (two central educational texts in the monastic curriculum) strengthen Lapidge's theory of VBE as a test of poetic artistry in a monastic school; the poet's treatment of LSE would not only show his compositional ability but also his education, incorporating both classical and philosophical material in a manner that displayed his command of the texts and the issues they raised. His ability to respond to subtler aspects of LSE, such as the inherent tripartite structures, may have informed his addition of further Trinitarian material and his tripartite framing of the Trial with Vergilian allusions. If Lapidge's theory is correct, then it suggests that the original *skopos* of the composition of VBE was not only to provide meditative material for a learned, monastic and aristocratic audience, but also to demonstrate the poet's learning.

3.4 – CONCLUSIONS ABOUT EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLISH MATERIAL

It is apparent that interest in LSE in early medieval England was varied in form and audience, but ultimately lay in ideas of lay piety, correct attitudes to worldly wealth, and their relationship to salvation. The transmission context of OEE indicates that Eustace's embodiment of an ideal of lay piety and LSE's recontextualization of wealth and power were probable sources of

appeal for the compiler of Cotton Julius E. vii. VBE appears to be a more meditative piece, and was transmitted as such with other vision literature. Though its composition cannot be securely located to England, correspondences with OEE and aspects of its vocabulary and metre are suggestive of links with Abingdon, and the candidacy of an Abingdon origin should not be discounted. It is highly significant, however, that both texts can be linked to the study of DCP. Though VBE may not be a certain English product, at the very least it is indicative of a wider cultural reception of LSE in the light of DCP that England participated in during the early medieval period.

In terms of polysystem theory, we can observe in these findings how recensions of the Eustace tradition as it manifested in tenth-century England came to be in their current form through interaction with other texts and genres.

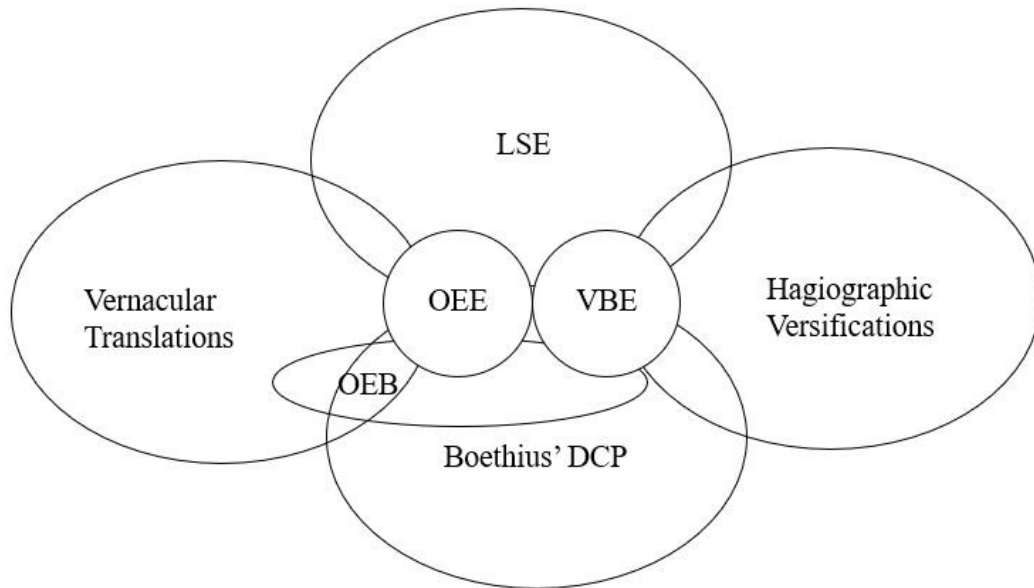


Figure 4 – A polysystemic representation of the traditions influencing early medieval English reflexes of LSE.

In both cases, the Eustace tradition interacted with the study of Boethius' DCP, and at least one other system – stemming either from a 'system' of vernacular translation or hagiographic versification. Thus, through an apparent shared interest in themes such as the proper use of worldly wealth and the issues of providence and agency within salvation, both the Boethian system and the Eustace system interacted with the 'vernacular translation' system to produce OEB and OEE respectively, while it is likely that an interaction with the Boethian system

(whether this involved OEB or DCP alone, or in combination) also influenced the production of OEE. Likewise, the Boethian and Eustace systems interacted with a system of 'hagiographic versification' to produce VBE, with correspondences between the models of free will in VBE and OEB suggesting that the composer of VBE may well have been familiar with both DCP and OEB.

4 – SCANDINAVIA

4.1 – EUSTACE IN MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA

While entertaining aspects of LSE may have contributed to its popularity in medieval western Scandinavia, this should not be assumed to be the only factor. As Jonas Wellendorf noted when considering the appeal of early translated hagiographies in Scandinavia:

It might initially be tempting to think of the blood and gore and the torments of the martyrs during their passions as something that would appeal to an audience of Vikings accustomed to plundering and raping. But at this point in time the Viking Age was a thing of the past, and the term *vikingr* itself had almost become a term of abuse.¹

While it is plausible, and even likely, that the entertainment value of LSE contributed to its circulation,² it is important to consider other factors that contributed to the tradition in Scandinavia.

4.1.1 – THE CULT OF EUSTACE

It is apparent that, as in early medieval England, the popularity of Eustace was primarily literary. Grønlie stated that ‘there is no evidence of [his] cult in Iceland other than his mention in the liturgy’,³ and Margaret Cormack omitted Eustace from her survey of saints venerated in Iceland until 1400, citing lack of evidence.⁴ A further sign that there was no widespread culting of Eustace is the lack of known examples of Scandinavians being baptised as Eustace.⁵ Despite the lack of a significant, if any, cult in medieval Scandinavia, Eustace is nonetheless of great literary interest to Scandinavian scholars. *Plácitusdrápa* (PID) ‘is the only twelfth-century poem in a near-contemporary manuscript and perhaps the first about a foreign saint’,⁶ while four separate recensions of *Plácitus saga* (PIS) circulated between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries. The relative popularity of LSE could be due to its unusually engaging narrative style

¹ Wellendorf, ‘Attraction’, p. 247.

² In Norway, for example, there is evidence that the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* were popular in the archdiocese of Nidaros (Wellendorf, ‘Attraction’, pp. 249–50). As the *Recognitiones* involves an episode in which Clemens’ family are separated and subsequently reunited, links have been suggested between LSE and the *Recognitiones* (Delehay, ‘La légende de saint Eustache’, pp. 184–5). At the very least, the shared themes could suggest a source of the popularity of LSE as an entertaining text.

³ Grønlie, *Saint and the Saga-Hero*, p. 12.

⁴ See Cormack, *Saints in Iceland*; according to Cormack, available evidence for saints’ cults in medieval Iceland is scanty. Of the saints known to have been venerated, all but the native saints and Eustace were universally culted in the Roman Church (p. 43).

⁵ Lange, *Christlichen Dichtung*, p. 109.

⁶ Grønlie, *Saint and the Saga Hero*, p. 12.

for hagiography, and Cormack described PIS as ‘suspenseful as well as didactic.’⁷ The treatment of the source material in the Scandinavian Eustace tradition is yet to be fully explored in scholarship, however, and so will be addressed in this thesis.

While this thesis has argued that interest in LSE in early medieval England was related to the study of Boethius’ DCP, there is limited evidence that Boethius was widely read in Scandinavia, though his works were known.⁸ The popularity of LSE in medieval Scandinavia is therefore likely to be unrelated to concern with DCP, although it is plausible that LSE was transmitted to Norway and Iceland by missionaries and clergy from the English Church.⁹ Its roots must be sought elsewhere.

4.1.2 – THE EUSTACE TRADITION IN WIDER NORSE LITERATURE

A text’s popularity can be gauged by its impact on wider literature. There are several allusions to Eustace in extant Scandinavian literature, some more direct than others.

It has been suggested that the death of Njáll and Bergthora in *Njáls saga* was influenced by the martyrdom of Eustace and his family. Njáll and Bergthora cover themselves in ox hides while being burned alive,¹⁰ which keeps their bodies incorrupt and, especially in Njáll’s case, radiant.¹¹ There are arguable parallels with LSE: Eustace and his family are burned in a brazen

⁷ Cormack, *Saints in Iceland*, p. 36.

⁸ There is little evidence of Boethian texts (especially DCP) being circulated in medieval Iceland and Norway. For example, no Old Norse translation of DCP is extant. Theodoricus Monachus, writing in the late twelfth century cited DCP II.p.7 and 13 in the prologue to his *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensum*: ‘ut ait Boetius, clarissimos suis temporibus viros scriptorium inops delevit opinio’ (*Monumenta historica Monumentae*, ed. G. Storm, p. 3) (‘as Boethius says, ‘reputation without authors has effaced those men who were very famous in their own times’ (trans. McDougall, D. and McDougall, I., *Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings*, pp. xi–xiii, 1; see also p. 56)). The *Fourth Grammatical Treatise* (composed between 1320 and 1340 (Clunies-Ross, M and Wellendorf, J., ed. *Fourth Grammatical Treatise*, p. xiii)) refers to poetry *i bók Boetii* (‘in the book of Boethius’). Clunies-Ross and Wellendorf stated that the exact text is difficult to identify, as the poetry cited does not appear to match the character of that in DCP (Clunies-Ross and Wellendorf, *Fourth Grammatical Treatise*, pp. 20–1, 94); however, DCP contains the only known poetry by Boethius. Finally, a charter from 1525 cites a copy of DCP as among the books belonging to the cathedral at Hólar in northern Iceland (*Diplomatarium Islandicum* vol. 9, p. 298). I am indebted to Drs Ryder Patzuk-Russell and Góttskálk Jensson for their advice.

⁹ The importance of the English Church to the conversion of Scandinavia has been noted by various scholars. See Sawyer and Sawyer, ‘Scandinavia enters Christian Europe’, pp. 150–3 and Stefan Brink, ‘Christianisation’, pp. 623, 626. Toy also identified seventy-four English saints venerated in Scandinavian liturgical manuscript fragments (*English Saints*), suggesting strong links between the English and Scandinavian churches.

¹⁰ *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ch. 129 (ed. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, pp. 330–1), ‘Uxa einum hafði slátrat verit, ok lá þa húðin. Njáll mælti við brytjann, at hann skyldi breiða húðina yfir þau; hét hann því. Þau leggjask niðr bæði í rúmit ok lögðu sveininn í millum sín. Þá signdu þau sik bæði ok sveininn ok fálu ǫnd sína guði á hendi’ (‘An ox had been slaughtered, and the hide lay there. Njáll told the steward to spread the hide over them; he promised to do this. Then [Njáll and Bergthora] lay down in the room and laid the boy between them. Then they made the sign of the cross over themselves and the boy and commended their souls to God’). This correspondence has been observed both by Tucker (‘St Eustace in Iceland’, pp. 335–6) and Lönnroth (*Critical Introduction*, p. 122).

¹¹ *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ch. 132 (ed. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, p. 342), ‘Þar fundu þeir [...] húðina, ok var sem hon væri skorpuð við eld. Þeir tóku hana upp, ok váru þau bæði óbrunnin undir. Allir lofuðu guð fyrir þat ok þótti

bull and are found *splendentia super niuem* ('shining brighter than snow').¹² While Tucker concedes that this may not be a direct influence of LSE, 'it certainly bears the impress of hagiographic literature.'¹³ Besides this, Tucker argues that LSE has much in common with later saga style:

Eustace's military prowess and stoical endurance are familiar, as is the intimate nature of his service of various human and divine lords. Family and retainer loyalty are assumed, as are the treacherous and persistent presence of evil men. Theopista [...] typically supplies a subsidiary but necessary understanding which precipitates action. Similarly the elegiac, heroic narrative curve of the legend anticipates the shape of many sagas in which [...] the conversion is the 'central pivot'.¹⁴

While some of these aspects are general to hagiographic literature, such as the presence of evil men and Eustace's stoical endurance, the secular and military themes particular to LSE find more parallels in saga style than traditional hagiography. However, it should be noted that some of Tucker's observations are tentative; for example, when he links the brightness of the corpses in *Njáls saga* to LSE, *Njáls saga* lacks the direct reference to snow. Furthermore, Njáll's bodily sanctity is greater than his wife's, unlike in LSE. Nonetheless, the hagiographic layer to the episode is clear: incorrupt bodies were a common hagiographic trope, and the additional detail of ox-hide means that an awareness of LSE in the composition is possible.

In contrast, a direct reference to Placidus is made in *Oláfs saga Tryggvasonar enn mesta*.¹⁵ Bishop Paul, in a speech concerning the evangelical impulse of SS Basil and Ambrose, states:

hann sendi sinn engil auð syniliga at visa heiðnum Cornelio hundradz höfðingia hialpar gotu til heilagrar truar. at hann mætti þar fyrir níota þeira goðgerninga er hann hafði aðr

stór jartegn í vera' ('They found the hide there, and it was as if shrivelled up by fire. They lifted it up, and [Njáll and Bergthora] were both under it, unburned. All praised God for that and thought that it was a great miracle'); 'Líkami Bergþóru þykki mér at líkendum ok þó vel. En Njáls ásjána ok líkami sýnisk mér svá bjartr, at ek hefí engan dauðs manns líkama sét jafnbjartan' ('To me, Bergthora's body seems well-preserved. But Njáll's appearance and body seem so bright to me, that I have never seen a dead man's body that was as bright.') (p. 343). The ox-hide being the cause of their preservation is made explicit, as the hand of the boy that was extended outside the hide had had a finger burned off ('var af honum brunninn fingrinn').

¹² C9 350.

¹³ Tucker, 'St Eustace in Iceland', p. 336. Lönnroth concurs that the author of *Njáls saga* may not have read the extant PIS, but was certainly influenced by hagiography of a similar type (*Critical Introduction*, p. 122).

¹⁴ Tucker, 'St Eustace in Iceland', p. 336; citing McCreesh, 'Structural Patterns', p. 275.

¹⁵ This saga was likely compiled in the second quarter of the fourteenth century (Ólafur Halldorson, *Text by Snorri*, p. v). It is notable that both sagas that explicitly mention Placidus-Eustace are about Óláfr Tryggvason.

lengi gert. Saa hinn sami varr herra Iesus Kristr birtiz opinberliga heiðnum Placido Riddara hófðingia ok kallaði til siNar miskunnar. þar sem hann uissi aðr ecki til guðligra hluta. þo at hann giorði marga goða luti.

(‘he sent his angel visibly to show the heathen centurion Cornelius the path of help to the holy faith, that he might receive a benefit from the good deeds which he had done for a long time. The same Jesus Christ Our Lord openly revealed himself to Placidus, the heathen master of knights, and called him to his grace, though he previously knew nothing about godly things, although he performed many good deeds.’)¹⁶

Eustace is almost certainly referred to by his pre-baptismal name, Placidus, due to the comparison with Cornelius, the archetypal Christian in all but name.¹⁷ This noble heathen aspect of Placidus-Eustace is appropriate to evoke in a passage concerning the evangelisation of the worthy. Lönnroth identified the importance of this theme of the noble heathen in certain sagas, and his analysis of the role played by noble heathens in saga literature bears some resemblances to that of Eustace. For example, Lönnroth regards it as

essential [...] that the hero should never have been in close contact with the Christian faith—it is primarily his natural nobility, in combination with his good sense, and a half-mystical insight into the workings of nature, that makes him act as if he were already on the verge of conversion.¹⁸

Placidus matches many of these criteria, barring the half-mystical insight into nature. Similarly, Rudolf Schomerus argued that Norse writers dealt with the issue of pagan ancestors in three ways: euhemerism, treating them as being duped by demons, or as pagans living an ‘imperfect Christianity’ born of natural human instincts and primitive observations of nature.¹⁹ Eustace matches the ‘imperfect Christianity’ model, albeit without the observations of nature. Indeed, Lönnroth argued that the theme of the noble heathen was known to Norse writers from an early point both through theological writings and foreign romantic literature and used PIS as evidence for this, since it was among the first extant hagiographic translations.²⁰ While aspects

¹⁶ *Oláfs saga Tryggvasonar enn mesta*, ch. 76 (ed. Ólafur Halldórsson, vol. 1, p. 158). Translations are my own.

¹⁷ Acts 10.

¹⁸ Lönnroth, ‘Noble Heathen’, p. 2.

¹⁹ Schomerus, *Die Religion der Nordgermanen*.

²⁰ Lönnroth, ‘Noble Heathen’, p. 11.

of LSE do not fully fit Lönnroth's model of the Norse manifestation of noble heathenism,²¹ arguably its early translation and versification in Scandinavia suggest that LSE may have been influential on interest in noble heathenism, and that this aspect may have contributed to the continued popularity of LSE in Iceland. At the very least, it responded to a need for a recently converted people to honour non-Christian ancestors. The theme of noble heathenism was not unique to Norse literature, but the potential importance of the theme to a Scandinavian audience, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries following the conversion to Christianity, may have been greater than to English or Continental Christian audiences.

Another example of close influence of LSE on wider Norse literature was observed by Ólafur Halldórsson and built upon by Grønlie.²² In chapter 13 of *Óláfs saga Odds*, a Norse translation of Oddr Snorrason's twelfth-century Latin biography of St Óláfr Tryggvason,²³ Óláfr is converted in a vision akin to St Paul's on the road to Damascus, much like Eustace. Both Óláfr and Placidus ask Christ to reveal himself that they might believe in him,²⁴ with tellingly close phrasing. In both cases Christ tells the convert what they must do next;²⁵ here the direct parallel is less clear, but supports the overall structure. Grønlie drew a weaker link between the injunctions to act to receive eternal life;²⁶ weaker in that the link is drawn with Eustace's second vision rather than the first, and that Óláfr is told to follow God's commands where Eustace is told he must suffer. Grønlie also suggested parallels with the conversion of Charlemagne in *Karlamagnús saga*.²⁷ Though Grønlie does not consider whether the influence

²¹ These aspects include the awareness of God through observations of nature (also seen in poems such as *Beowulf*; see Fulk, Bjork and Niles, *Klaeber's Beowulf*, p. lxix), and more specifically the image of God as 'creator of the Sun', which does not appear in PIS or PID (see Lönnroth. 'Noble Heathen' for further discussion of this trope).

²² Ólafur Halldórsson, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar eptir Odd Munk*, p. lxxxv; Grønlie, *Saint and the Saga Hero*, p. 51. For the following passage the more complete recension found in Stockh. perg 4to nr. 18 is cited. Quotes from *Óláfs saga Odds* taken from Ólafur Halldórsson's edition in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar eptir Odd Munk*. Translations are taken from Andersson, *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* pp. 96–7.

²³ Andersson, *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, p. vii.

²⁴ *Óláfs saga Odds* Ch. 13 (p. 163), 'Hverr ertu, Dróttin, at ek trúá á þik?' ('Who are you, Lord, that I might believe in you?'); PIS(A) 47, 'úitradu fyrir mier það er þu mæ(ilt)ir ad eg trui a þig' ('Reveal yourself, you who speak to me, that I might believe in you'); C9 43–4, 'Reuela michi, qui loqueris, ut sic credam in te' ('Reveal yourself to me, you who speaks to me, that I thus might believe in you').

²⁵ *Óláfs saga Odds* Ch. 13 (p. 163), 'Far þú til Grikklánds, ok mun þér þar kunnigt gert nafn Dróttins' ('Go to Greece, and the name of the Lord will be made known to you there'); PIS(A) 55–6, 'ef þu truir *þa far þu til borgarinar og tak skirn' ('if you believe, then go to the city and receive baptism'); C9 51–2, 'Si credis, perge ad ciuitatem [...] et quere [...] baptismum gratie' ('if you believe, go to the city and seek the baptism of grace').

²⁶ *Óláfs saga Odds* Ch. 13 (p. 163), 'Ok ef þú varðveitir hans boð muntu hafa eilíft líf' ('And if you keep his commands, you will have eternal life'); PIS(A) 'þier biriar ad stand(ast) marga freistnne, ad þú taker corunu og dyrd sygurz' ('you are required to withstand many trials, that you might take a crown and glory of victory'); C9 88–9 'Oportet enim te multa sustinere, ut accipias coronam uictorie' ('You ought to endure many things, so that you might receive a crown of victory').

²⁷ Grønlie, *Saint and the Saga Hero*, p. 51. Grønlie appears to suggest that the traditions of St Paul, Eustace and Charlemagne influenced *Óláfs saga Odds*; relative dating makes this unlikely, as Oddr Snorrason was active in the twelfth century, while *Karlamagnús saga* was produced in the late thirteenth. While it is possible that there

of LSE occurs at the stage of Latin composition or Norse translation, in either case the influence of the Eustace tradition can be seen in *Óláfs saga Odds* in the repetition of ‘at ek trúá á þik’, supported by tempting if less convincing examples.

Intriguingly, another episode in *Óláfs saga Odds* that could be related to the Eustace tradition concerns evil men rather than saintly exemplars. In the recension found in AM 310 4to,²⁸ we find this account:

Ok þegar er Þórir kom at landi, þá let hann skipin ok hljóp á land. Ok er þat sá einn maðr konungsins, þá skaut hann eptir honum or oc kom milli herða Þóri ok gekk þar á hol, ok fell hann. Ok í því hljóp fram af hans líkama einn mikill hjörtr með ákafri rás. Ok er þetta sá hundr konungs, Vígi, þá hljóp hann eptir hirtinum ok sækir hann grimmliga. [...] beit hundrinn hjörtinn en hjörttrinn stangaði hundinn, ok svá lauk at þeir fellu báðir. Kómr konungr þá at ok finnr hjörtinn dauðan með mǫrgum sárum; hundrinn var ok (sárr) mjök undir bæginum. Þá koma menn konungs at, ok sýndi hann þeim hræ hjartarins, ok var þat þá þurrt ok létt ákafliga, svá sem belgr blásinn.

(‘As soon as Þórir reached land, he abandoned his ships and ran ashore. When one of the king’s men saw that, he shot an arrow after him, and it struck between Þórir’s shoulders and penetrated deeply. He fell, and at that moment a great stag sprang from his body in full career. When the king’s dog Vígi saw this, he ran after the stag and pursued him fiercely. [...] The dog bit the stag, and the stag gored the dog. It ended with both their falling. The king arrived on the spot and found the stag dead from many wounds. The dog was also badly wounded under the shoulder. The king’s men came up, and he showed them the carcass of the stag, which was dry and preternaturally light, like an inflated skin.’)²⁹

were earlier oral legends concerning Charlemagne circulating in Scandinavia prior to this, we cannot be certain based on the extant textual record. The similarity of Charlemagne asking St James who he is, however, potentially parallels the Eustace tradition (‘Hver ertu, góði herra, er mig kveður svo kærlega?’ (‘Who are you, good lord, who speaks to me so lovingly?’); *Karlamagnus saga* Part VI Ch. 2). However, a similar phrase (*Quis es, Domine?* (‘Who are you, Lord?’; ed. Smyser, *Pseudo-Turpin*, l. 6, p. 57) that appears in the *Historia Caroli Magni* (also known as the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*), the twelfth-century Latin source of this part of *Karlamagnus saga*, shows that the tradition from which *Karlamagnus saga* sprang was influenced before it reached Norse-speaking areas. It is likelier that both are independent allusions to Acts 9:5, when Saul responds to his vision of Christ on the road to Damascus in the same terms.

²⁸ Dated to c. 1250–99, making it contemporary with the earliest witness of PIS(A); AM 310 4to, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/en/AM04-0310>> [accessed 26/9/18].

²⁹ *Óláfs saga Odds* Ch. 37.

The parallels with the Eustace tradition are clear, with the imagery of the hunt of a supernatural stag.³⁰ In this case, however, the stag is not the initial object of the hunt, nor is it salutary; rather, it is explicitly a devilish contrivance:

En fjándinn svíkr með allskonar vélum ok svikræðum ok vegr up sinn óhreinan anda með hinum verstum hlutum þeim í móti er Guði þjóna ok blindar sjónir þeira ok öll vit likamans, þá blekkir hann ok tælir með mörpum hlutum.

(‘The devil betrays us with all manner of deceits and faithlessness and, with the worst contrivances, sets his unclean spirit against those who serve God. He blinds their vision and fleshly understanding, and he tricks and deceives them in many ways.’)³¹

Where in LSE the stag leads to Placidus’ salvation, here it is an attempt of the devil to lead Óláfr astray. For Oddr this is the most important aspect of the episode and, as with hagiography, moral messages and belief that events could happen take precedence over historical ‘truth’; as Oddr states: ‘dæmum vér þat eigi sannleik at svá hafi verit, heldr hyggjum vér at svá hafi sýnz, því at fjándinn er fullr up flærðar ok illzku.’³² It is unclear whether either Oddr Snorrason or the translator took the stag imagery from LSE, subverting the image of the salvatory stag as a warning against the devil’s connivances, or simply drew on popular folklore or imagination. Nonetheless, it is important to consider that the Eustace tradition may not have been the only source of stag imagery in Scandinavian Christian writings.³³ For example, Kalinke noted that the addition of a wondrous stag hunt in *Ósvalds saga*, a sixteenth-century translation of a Low German *vita* of St Oswald, may have been inspired by LSE, although this image is likely to have been interpolated during the transmission of the *vita* in Germany.³⁴

A final example of known writings on Eustace in Scandinavia is a recently discovered homily fragment from Denmark. It is found in Royal Library, Copenhagen, KB 523, and has

³⁰ Tucker attempted to relate the stag imagery in PIS to a belief in animal guardians protecting hunters against bestial vengeance in a similar manner to such *fylgja* (‘St Eustace in Iceland’, pp. 333–4), though he does little to substantiate this suggestion.

³¹ *Ólafs saga Odds* Ch.37.

³² *Ólafs saga Odds* Ch. 37, ‘we do not judge to be true in the sense that they happened, but rather we believe that they appeared to happen because the devil is full of deceit and evil’.

³³ It should also be noted that this image is unique to Oddr Munk. The later *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar enn mesta* omits the supernatural and didactic elements from this event, with Óláfr’s instruction to his hound being *tak þu hiortiN* (‘chase the hart’) as a pun on the name of his quarry, Thorir Hart (ed. Ólafur Halldórsson, ch. 210, vol. 2, p. 128).

³⁴ Kalinke, *St Oswald*, p. 93.

been provisionally dated to c. 1180–1210.³⁵ As the fragment was used to bind a post-Reformation account book, only a small portion of text that can be definitively identified as relating to Eustace remains. It reads:

[...] ditaret honoribus et prout uenerabili Eustachio placuit, nimis dilataret undique terminos eius, omnique conamine studeret esse auxilio locum illum habitantibus, ad famam autem beati eustachii undique confluebant multi: quorum corda tangebatur ardor superne aspirationis. Qui monita eius intelligentes salubria [...]

(‘[...] he would enrich with honours, and, just as it pleased the venerable Eustace that he would greatly extend his boundaries everywhere and with every effort strive to be a support to those living in that place. Yet everywhere many flocked together to the fame of blessed Eustace. Love of divine inspiration touched their hearts. They, understanding that his warnings were wholesome [...]’)³⁶

This text, apparently referring to Eustace’s divine reward manifesting in part as secular wealth, provides evidence of Eustace being invoked as a salutary example in preaching. It is also important to note that apparently material divine rewards (honours and land) are explicitly referred to in the text, as is Eustace’s example bringing many to the faith. This provides further evidence that LSE enjoyed some of its popularity due to the exploration of the relationship between heavenly and material wealth and rewards; not least because Eustace is described both as extending the bounds of his wealth and being charitable. The theme in LSE of wealth being justified if used correctly is apparent in this brief passage.³⁷ Though from southern Scandinavia, rather than the West Norse milieu in which the other Norse texts considered here were produced, this fragment provides useful context for the popularity of St Eustace in medieval Scandinavia.

LSE clearly had some impact on wider Norse literature, especially in the case of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*. While the parallels are not always direct, there is enough to suggest that LSE was known to literate Scandinavians, and contained themes and imagery which, if not the sources of some imagery in other Norse texts, tapped into the same cultural tropes.

³⁵ I am indebted to Mr Sven Rossel for bringing this fragment, which will feature in his forthcoming doctoral thesis, to my attention. The homily possibly had an English source, potentially linked to Evesham Abbey (Rossel, personal correspondence, 21/9/2018).

³⁶ As the text is highly fragmentary, some assumptions must be made regarding subject and object.

³⁷ See §2.2.2.

Having surveyed the context of LSE in Scandinavia through its literary impact, the Scandinavian reflexes of LSE themselves will now be analysed. It has been argued that PID constituted an *opus geminatum* with PIS, probably an earlier version of the A recension,³⁸ while the C recension of PIS was composed by a scribe who was familiar with PID.³⁹ While the textual histories of PIS and PID are interwoven, however, the nature of their relationship has not been conclusively established. Therefore, PID will be treated separately, with relations to PIS being discussed in the relevant sections.⁴⁰

4.2 – PLÁCÍÚSDRÁPA

Besides its relevance to the Eustace corpus, being the earliest extant Scandinavian variant, PID has wider significance in the study of Christian skaldic poetry. It is the only Icelandic poem of the twelfth century (described by Katrina Attwood as the ‘Golden Age’ of Christian skaldic poetry⁴¹) that is preserved in a near-contemporary manuscript: AM 673 b4^o which is dated to c. 1200. Scribal errors suggest that PID was copied from an earlier manuscript, pushing the composition of PID back to 1150–1200. The manuscript is badly damaged, however; only 59 stanzas of PID are extant, some of which are largely illegible.⁴² It is estimated that PID was originally 78 stanzas long, with eleven stanzas lost from the opening *upphaf* and eight from the concluding *slæmr*.⁴³ Scholars generally agree that both scribe and composer were Icelanders,⁴⁴ and Tucker has shown that PID was based on an ancestor of the A and C recensions of PIS,⁴⁵

³⁸ Clunies-Ross, ‘Introduction’, p. xlvi. Clunies-Ross further argues that such poetic reworkings of prose saints’ lives would provide ‘sophisticated reworkings of vernacular legends for the education and entertainment of elite audiences’ (‘Introduction’, p. li).

³⁹ Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, pp. cxv–cxvii.

⁴⁰ For the purposes of clarity, the prose word-order of PID (as set out in Louis-Jensen and Wills ed. ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’, in *Poetry on Christian Subjects* ed. Clunies-Ross et al.) will be cited except where entire stanzas are being quoted, or where the specific metrical word-order is significant. As PID is fragmentary several readings are conjectural; for the purposes of this thesis, all emendations made in ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’ will be accepted unless there is cause for disagreement. Readings based on supplied readings, and disagreements with supplied readings, will be noted. Translations will largely follow ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’.

⁴¹ Attwood, ‘Christian Poetry’, p. 49.

⁴² Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’, pp. 179–80.

⁴³ Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’, p. 181, and Lange, *Christlichen Dichtung*, p. 101. Lange further suggested that the poem about Eustace edited by Dümmler (EP, see §2.4.1) could be used to reconstruct the lost sections of PID, partly because EP also introduced direct speech into the poetic form, since the use of direct speech in PID was unusual in *drápur* (*Christlichen Dichtung*, pp. 101, 108). There are two problems with this hypothesis. Firstly, EP is based on BHL 2761 (see §2.4.1) while PID is clearly based on BHL 2760. Secondly, VBE, another poem about Eustace roughly contemporaneous with EP, retains direct speech.

⁴⁴ Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácíusdrápa*’, p. 180.

⁴⁵ Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, p. cvii.

and that the C-recension was likely to have been composed by a scribe who was influenced by PID.⁴⁶

It has been suggested that AM 673 b4^o was originally part of a larger manuscript that also contained AM 673 a II 4^o.⁴⁷ If so, the texts in the latter manuscript are significant. These include an Icelandic translation of a passage from the Latin *Physiologus* concerning the stag,⁴⁸ in which the image of a deer trampling a serpent provided a type for Christ conquering Satan. The hart was understood to represent a soul saved by baptism, based on Psalm 42,⁴⁹ and such readings reflect a ‘medieval delight in intertextuality’⁵⁰ and are a manifestation of the interest of the compiler of the manuscript. It is likely that the themes of salvation through baptism, the overcoming of the devil and the stag imagery of PID led to the texts being paired. The other texts with which PID is likely to have circulated are two sermons, one on the symbolism of the rainbow and another on that of the parts of a ship.⁵¹ These are harder to link thematically to PID, although Tucker suggested that the ship sermon might have been linked to Eustace’s maritime losses by the compiler. In any case, Tucker is correct that such a collection ‘would indicate an awareness that the mysteries of the faith can be explored and communicated in [...] a number of different ways’.⁵²

The meter of PID is also important to consider. *Dróttkvætt*, in which *drápur* such as PID were composed, had its origins in an aristocratic warrior setting, being short for *dróttkvæðr háttr* (‘meter for talking about a king’s band of retainers’). Consequently, remembrance of a lord’s virtues – chiefly his generosity and military prowess – was central to its subject matter, whether through encomium or satire.⁵³ The greater part of the *dróttkvætt* corpus composed during the period roughly between 850–1300 involves commemoration and celebration, and the list of hundreds of Icelandic skalds composing at Scandinavian courts in *Skáldatal* indicates that this practice was widespread, although only a fraction of the original corpus remains.⁵⁴ PID should be considered in light of this corpus.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. cxvi; Tucker describes PIS(C) as ‘contaminated by the reviser’s knowledge of the *drápa*.’ For further discussion of this intertextuality in recension C, see §4.3.6.2.

⁴⁷ Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir and Stefán Karlsson suggested that the two manuscripts may have been written in the same hand, and at the very least came from the same centre and originally belonged together (cited by Tucker as private correspondence in *Plácitus saga*, p. xciii).

⁴⁸ Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácitusdrápa*’, p. 180; Tucker, *Plácitus saga*, p. xcii.

⁴⁹ Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácitusdrápa*’, p. 187.

⁵⁰ Tucker, *Plácitus saga*, p. xcvi.

⁵¹ Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácitusdrápa*’, p. 180.

⁵² Tucker, *Plácitus saga*, p. xcix.

⁵³ Frank, *Court Poetry*, p. 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120–21.

PID must also be contextualised in the Christian skaldic tradition. Of the twenty-eight extant Christian skaldic poems,⁵⁵ seven concern the Virgin Mary (six of which focus on her miracles); two are martyrologies, while there are six treating Apostles. Only two non-apostolic saints have extant *drápur* devoted to them – St Eustace in PID and St Catharine in the fourteenth-century *Kátrínardrápa*. Of the saints treated, there is only evidence for St John having *drápur* composed about him in the twelfth century.⁵⁶ It appears that versification of hagiography was uncommon, though not unknown, in medieval Scandinavia.⁵⁷ Also significant is that all of the saints represented in the vernacular hagiographic corpus were of major importance in Iceland and the universal Church, barring Eustace and the native saints.⁵⁸ The *skáld* of PID clearly deemed Eustace worthy of poetic treatment, even if his cult had no major significance. Furthermore, Attwood noted that the four major Christian skaldic poems of the twelfth century⁵⁹ show a level of lexical and structural similarity that suggests a direct connection, although establishing a relative chronology is not yet possible.⁶⁰

PID has been edited by numerous scholars, most recently by Louis-Jensen and Wills,⁶¹ and has featured widely in discussion of the Christian *drápur* in general, partly because of its early provenance. It has, however, largely only been discussed in the context of the wider Norse poetic tradition, and little interest has been shown in the poem on its own terms.⁶² Accordingly, the ensuing discussion will examine PID as a reflex of LSE in its own right, with reference to the wider poetic and Eustace traditions where relevant.

⁵⁵ As edited in Clunies-Ross et al., *Poetry on Christian Subjects*, 2 vols.

⁵⁶ This evidence being fragments quoted at the end of *Jóns saga postola* in AM 649a 4^o (See La Farge, ‘Níkulás Bergsson, *Jónsdrápa*, p. 66; ‘Gamli kanóki, *Jónsdrápa*’, p. 133; ‘*Jónsvisur*’, p. 223; all in Clunies-Ross et. al *Poetry on Christian Subjects*, vol. 1).

⁵⁷ For comparison, Unger edited the sagas of forty-one saints in *Heilagra manna sögur*, besides religious texts which are not pure hagiography.

⁵⁸ Cormack, *Saints in Iceland*, p. 43.

⁵⁹ PID, *Geisli*, *Harmsól* and *Leiðarvísan*.

⁶⁰ See Attwood, ‘Intertextual Aspects’, for a full discussion of the relationship between these poems.

⁶¹ Ed. and trans. Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácitusdrápa*’. Other editions include Louis-Jensen in Tucker, *Plácíðus saga* (also including a translation); Finnur Jónsson, ‘*Plácítusdrápa*’; Jón Helgason, ‘*Til skjadedigtingen*’; Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Brot af Plácíðus-drápu*. Also relevant are the transcriptions of Þorsteinn Helgason (used and printed by Egilsson) and of Halldór Einarson (used by Egilsson), and comments made on the poem by Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson in *Njála*. The emendations and variant readings of previous editors are included in Louis-Jensen and Wills’ edition and translation.

⁶² Clunies-Ross provides in-depth analysis of some kennings in *Poetry and Poetics* as part of a general discussion, while Chase examines the use of *concatenatio* in PID and other Christian *drápur* in ‘*Concatenatio*’. There were also attempts to contextualise the authorship and provenance of PID in terms of the other twelfth-century Christian *drápur* by Attwood (‘Intertextual Aspects’) and Lange (*Christliche Dichtung*). Besides this, Clunies-Ross discusses PID in her ‘Introduction’ to *Poetry on Christian Subjects*, and PID is discussed as part of the wider tradition by Attwood (‘Christian Poetry’), Nordal (*Tools of Literacy*) and Edwards (‘Christian and Pagan References’). Bernhard Kahle briefly examined PID as part of a discussion of Norse Christian poetry (‘Das christentum’).

4.2.1 – SECULAR THEMES

Given the courtly roots of the *drápa* form, a positive depiction of Eustace’s secular aspects is to be expected. It is likely that Eustace was chosen as the subject because his continued engagement with secular social roles was well-suited to a poetic form which celebrated military success and wealth.⁶³ But the positive treatment of secular aspects should not be explained away for so superficial a reason. An examination of them suggests that the *skáld* was aware that Eustace fitted the values of *dróttkvætt*, while treating secularity in a self-aware manner using techniques such as irony to re-contextualise them in terms of Eustace’s Christian faith.

4.2.1.1 – MILITARISM

Fittingly for a *drápa* about a military saint, warrior imagery pervades PID. Twenty-five kennings referring to Eustace can be resolved as [WARRIOR], and these are distributed through PID with relative uniformity, even in sections without military activity. Although the account of Placidus’ virtues is missing in the extant PID, his pre-conversion military reputation is made clear in Trajan’s memory of him as *gunndjarfr* (‘battle-bold’)⁶⁴ and that he ‘kenndi endr auka leik Yggjar’.⁶⁵ Here the use of a *heiti* for Óðinn⁶⁶ emphasises the importance of Placidus to Trajan. Later sections, especially Eustace’s activities after his return to Rome, show that this warlike depiction remains relevant to Eustace even after his conversion.

Only two stanzas describe Eustace’s military campaign, and these emphasise heroic, skilled warfare. In stanza 47, for instance:

Hermannanna fór hranna
hyrbrjótr liði at móti,
samr vas í sókn at fremja
sik Plácitus, miklu.
Ógn stóð angrs af hegni;
ulfgæðendr þá flœðu;

⁶³ Due to the pervasiveness of such imagery in *drápur*, a certain proportion of the epithets and kennings invoking the imagery of wealth, warriors and seafaring are simply an aspect of the form. In some cases, however, they are being used artfully, and it is such cases that will be discussed.

⁶⁴ PID 34:2.

⁶⁵ PID 34:3–4, ‘knew how to increase the game of Ygg [BATTLE]’.

⁶⁶ Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 632.

þegn hlaut goðs fyr gagni –

guðr háðisk vel – ráða.

(‘The destroyer of the fire of the waves [GOLD > GENEROUS MAN] went to meet a great host of warriors; Placidus was disposed to distinguish himself in battle. Menace issued from the suppressor of sin [HOLY MAN]; the wolf-feeders [WARRIORS] fled then; God’s retainer [HOLY MAN] was able to gain the victory; the battle was fought well.’)

Eustace’s bravery and prowess are emphasised – he goes to meet a great host and is inclined to distinguish himself⁶⁷ in a battle which is well fought. Eustace is implied to take part in the violence himself, as the *skáld* states that [ó]gn stoð (‘menace issued’) (47:5) from him. Significantly none of the three kennings referring to Eustace in these stanzas allude to warriors: he is *hranna hyrbrjótr* (‘destroyer of the fire of the waves [GOLD > GENEROUS MAN]’) (47:1–2), *hegni[r] angrs* (‘suppressor/punisher of sin [HOLY MAN]’) (47:5) and *þegn goðs* (‘God’s retainer [HOLY MAN]’) (47:7). His enemies, however, are referred to in the warrior kenning *ulfgæðendr* (‘wolf-feeders [WARRIORS]’) (47:6). While prosecuting a defensive war against heathen enemies, his militarism is aligned more with holy work. In stanza 48, however, he goes beyond these bounds into an expansionary counter-invasion:

Herferðar rak harðan

hyr-Þróttir í styr flóttu

odda þings ok eyddi

eirlaust heruð þeira,

áðr fyr rán, þats réðu

randlinns stafar vinna,

gjald, sem goðs þegn vildi,

gjalfrihests metendr festu.

(‘The Þróttir <=Óðinn> of the fire of the assembly of spears [BATTLE > SWORD > WARRIOR] vigorously pursued the retreat of the troops in battle and mercilessly harried their districts, until the appraisers of the sea-stallion [SHIP > SEAFARERS] fixed such

⁶⁷ [Í] *sókn* (‘in battle’) is an emended reading suggested by Louis-Jensen (in her edition in Tucker, *Placidus saga*).

compensation as God’s retainer [HOLY MAN] wished for the pillaging, which the staves of the shield-serpent [SWORD > WARRIORS] had committed.’)

In the only kenning that refers to Eustace in the stanzas treating his military career that can be interpreted as [WARRIOR] (*Odda þings hyr-Próttir*; (48:2–3)), Eustace goes beyond the bounds of a just war. His actions are emphasised with the adverbs *harðan* (‘vigorously’) and *eirlaust* (‘mercilessly’); the latter especially seems incongruous with his professed Christianity. Yet while this stanza glorifies a militarism that, though suitable to the *drápa* form, might be considered incompatible with Christianity, the *skáld* attempts to justify these actions. The references to compensation being fixed for the pillaging which the heathen have committed, for example, provides a justification for Eustace’s militarism, as it was all in the process of redressing an imbalance. It also translates the warfare into a feud structure.

It is also notable that in both stanzas treating the campaign Eustace is referred to with a *sannkenning*: *þegn goðs* (‘God’s retainer [HOLY MAN]’). This appears nowhere else in PID as we have it. The use of this kenning twice in quick succession is unlikely to be coincidental, and it is likely that the *skáld* was using it to reiterate his justification of Eustace’s military actions. By casting Eustace, the military leader, as God’s servant, his warlike behaviour receives divine approval.

4.2.1.2 – WEALTH

One striking aspect of PID is the increased emphasis on wealth. While the recontextualization of worldly wealth as acceptable in Christian contexts is an aspect of LSE, the synthesis of LSE with the courtly *drápa* form leads to an elevation of such wealth in PID, and a greater sense of worldly prosperity as a reward for faith and endurance.

One area where we encounter this increased emphasis on worldly riches is in kennings which refer to wealth. The densest cluster of such kennings appears in stanzas 2–4, in which seven kennings are used immediately before Placidus’ baptism in stanza 5.⁶⁸ As there is no further use of wealth kennings until Eustace’s Trial (apart from a narratorial aside at PID 8:3–4), this emphasises his pre-baptismal secular wealth as against his spiritual post-conversion wealth. During Eustace’s Trial, wealth kennings are used ironically to highlight aspects of his

⁶⁸ PID 2:1, 3, *lundr elds gjalfirs* (‘the tree of the fire of the sea [GOLD > MAN]’); 2:4, *ormstalls boði* (‘the messenger of the serpent lair [GOLD > MAN]’); 2:5, 7, *Vánar logstýfir* (‘the sniper of the fire of Vón <river> [GOLD > GENEROUS MAN]’); 3:1, 4, *[b]eiðir ormstalls* (‘demander of the serpent-lair [GOLD > MAN]’); 3:5–6, *hvalranns hyrslóngvir* (‘fire-flinger of the whale-house [SEA > GOLD > GENEROUS MAN]’); 4:1, *geymir hodda* (‘keeper of hoards [MAN]’); 4:5–6, *þorvi seims* (‘[to the] tree of gold [MAN]’).

tribulations,⁶⁹ while they come to be used more generally when the narrative moves on to Eustace's return to secular worth in a Christian context. Many of these wealth kennings are not mere stock phrases, since in some cases they are consciously used for rhetorical effect. For example, Eustace is twice described as a generous man in stanza 38 when showing hospitality to Antiochus and Acaius:

Bliktýnir vann beina

(**bauglestanda**) gestum

sunds (tóksk harmr af høndum)

hór), þeims komnir vóru.

(‘The **destroyer of the shine of the channel** [GOLD > GENEROUS MAN] gave hospitality to the guests who had arrived; deep sorrow lifted from the **ring-destroyer** [GENEROUS MAN].’) ⁷⁰

This is especially interesting, since it follows God's answer to Eustace's prayer in Dadissus, in which God explicitly promises Eustace ‘auð ok veg fyr nauðir’; ⁷¹ as wealth has just been promised by God, so Eustace's generosity is subsequently reinforced. It is significant that this promise focuses solely on material wealth, and furthermore suggests the idea of such wealth as a divine reward for endurance. The aspect of the return of his family in his reward is given less prominence; Eustace's request to see his wife again is omitted in his prayer to God to which this promise is a response.⁷² Accordingly, God's assurance that Eustace will be reunited with his family is completely omitted, as is the statement that he will see greater things at the Resurrection.⁷³ Eustace's reward solely concerns wealth and honour located in the temporal world. As in other versions, this material reward is endowed by Trajan at Eustace's return, although his eagerness to do so emphasises the esteem in which Eustace is held: ‘Vísi gerði fúss mestan veg hringlestanda [...] ok tók gæða fæði ulfs auði.’⁷⁴ Notably, at this point of the narrative in other versions of LSE Eustace's material restoration is not emphasised; in C9 he is

⁶⁹ The ironic use of kennings in PID will be discussed in §4.2.2.

⁷⁰ PID 38:1–4. Bold text is my own.

⁷¹ PID 37:8, ‘riches and honour instead of affliction’.

⁷² PID 36:5–8. Eustace is described only as seeking consolation in prayer; any requests are not elaborated on.

⁷³ C9 191–2.

⁷⁴ PID 43:1, 4, 7–8, ‘The ruler eagerly bestowed the greatest honour on the ring-destroyer [GENEROUS MAN (Eustace)] and began to endow the feeder of the wolf [WARRIOR (Eustace)] with riches’. It should be noted that *gæða* (‘riches’) is a plausible supplied reading postulated by Finnur Jónsson (‘Plácítúsdrápa’).

simply equipped for his role (‘cingitur ut pridem fuerat magister militum’).⁷⁵ Perhaps due to the courtly origins of *dróttkvætt*, the *skáld* of PID highlights this aspect of Eustace’s return to his former life above others.

The *skáld* also seems less interested in the dichotomy between temporal and spiritual wealth. The contrast between these two sources of value is discussed during Eustace’s post-baptismal vision, but in PID this vision is reduced to one stanza and this discussion is entirely omitted.⁷⁶ Stanza 5, however, contains interesting interplay between the two forms of wealth. When describing their baptism, the *skáld* interjects to comment: ‘hykk þrifnuð kómu þeim at mundum’.⁷⁷ While here *þrifnuð* (‘good fortune’) can be read as their salvation through baptism, it also connotes worldly prosperity.⁷⁸ This further implies that the good fortune that comes to them through baptism is worldly, reflecting a pragmatic attitude to Christianity and its benefits. Alternatively, the *skáld* could be deliberately subverting connotations of worldly prosperity to highlight the spiritual benefits of baptism. Nonetheless, the reward for Eustace’s Trial becomes explicitly secular *auð ok veg* (‘riches and honour’)⁷⁹ rather than their spiritual equivalents (‘eternorum bonorum delectationem reperies, et nomen tuum magnificabitur in generationem.’⁸⁰). Appropriately to the *drápa* form, Eustace’s reward is tangible and worldly.

It is also significant that PID juxtaposes *auð ok veg* with *fyr nauðir* (‘instead of afflictions’).⁸¹ This brings his worldly goods into apposition with detriment, implying that affliction leads to his reward. Again, the Trial and reward occupy a largely secular plane. The strife involved is also described as *skaði* (‘injury’)⁸² when Eustace flees to Egypt following his material losses. While LSE depicts these material losses as bearable, PID emphasises them as painful, thereby increasing the sense of their worth even in their absence.

This greater sense of material reward appears elsewhere in PID. For example, Trajan’s promise that whoever finds Placidus should have honour and an increased wage⁸³ becomes a more generous pledge of *gnótt góðs* (‘an abundance of riches’).⁸⁴ More importantly, there is a

⁷⁵ C9 232, ‘was girded as he had previously been the master of soldiers’.

⁷⁶ PID 9. The narrative was constrained by the metrical form, but the choice was nonetheless made to omit this aspect of the vision as opposed to others.

⁷⁷ PID 5:2–3, ‘I think good fortune came within their grasp’.

⁷⁸ Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*.

⁷⁹ PID 37:8.

⁸⁰ C9 192–3, ‘you will receive the delight of eternal goods, and your name will be glorified throughout all generations’.

⁸¹ PID 37:8.

⁸² PID 15:4.

⁸³ C9 180.

⁸⁴ PID 34:7.

stronger sense that Eustace receives temporal rewards for enduring his Trial as opposed to solely spiritual ones. While stanza 38 makes it explicit that the source of these rewards is God, they are nonetheless more clearly tangible. The reward does, however, have an explicitly spiritual aspect. The *skáld* observes that Eustace received ‘ástlaun af gram raunar’.⁸⁵ While this could refer to his return to wealth and honour as the ‘loving reward’ suggested as a translation by Louis-Jensen and Wills, it could equally refer to a gift of love or grace, which is explicitly tied to his salvation.⁸⁶ Given the overall increased focus on material wealth in PID, however, it is difficult to ignore the possible secular reading. It is also notable that this reference to *ástlaun* comes in the stanza before Eustace’s Lament; by reminding the audience that Eustace gains a reward, his complaints become less problematic as the audience knows he succeeds in the end. This reading is supported by the statement that Eustace ‘stóðsk vel mikla freistni’⁸⁷ in the same stanza; a further reiteration that, though he shows dangerous weakness in the Lament, he eventually prevails.

PID also elevates the abstract wealth of honour and esteem, which are also elevated in PIS, again perhaps due to the influence of the *drápa* form. Eustace’s noble rank is highlighted more than in other versions: he is described as an *ǫldurmaðr* (‘nobleman’),⁸⁸ while Antiochus and Acaius are referred to as *húskarla sína* (‘his retainers’).⁸⁹ Here Eustace and his relationships are contextualised in Scandinavian terms that emphasise nobility.

The *skáld* occasionally uses imagery of nobility to emphasise Christian goodness. Placidus’ description of his vision to his wife merits the observation that he *vel hagat* (‘behaved well’),⁹⁰ framing Christian evangelism in courtly terms. Similarly, God is described as *hirðvandan* (‘particular about his retainers’)⁹¹ when Eustace returns for his post-baptismal vision. Eustace’s Christian relationship with God is contextualised in courtly terms, in a sense that highlights his own worthiness in God’s eyes. The most striking example of this is found during their baptism, when the bishop ‘gaf hǫldum foldar hilmis hirðnǫfn.’⁹² This placing of baptismal names in a courtly context superficially ties their Christianity with the courtliness

⁸⁵ PID 25:2, ‘a loving reward (or ‘gift of love, or grace’) for his ordeal’.

⁸⁶ See §4.2.4 for a discussion of this overlooked aspect of *ást*.

⁸⁷ PID 25:3–4, ‘stood up well to the great trial’.

⁸⁸ PID 13:4 *ǫldurmanns* (‘of the nobleman’). This loan from OE *ealdorman* could be taken as further evidence for Anglophone transmission of LSE to Scandinavia (see Louis-Jensen and Wills, ‘*Plácitusdrápa*’, p. 190).

⁸⁹ PID 36:3–4.

⁹⁰ PID 4:2.

⁹¹ PID 7:8. Louis-Jensen translated this as ‘careful chooser of his retainers’; however, this adjective does not quite carry these connotations.

⁹² PID 5:6–8, ‘gave men names of the court of the ruler of the earth [=God > HEAVEN]’.

inherent in *dróttkvætt*. On a deeper level, however, it emphasises their rebirth in baptism. They are now part of the heavenly court – which one can read as both the Christian community and the Communion of Saints. The court culture to which Placidus belonged was imperfect, a pale imitation of the heavenly court which he and his family have now joined.

The values of honour and esteem associated with Eustace’s secular position lead to a significant alteration to the narrative in stanza 14. Where in LSE and its English reflexes Theophista’s concerns over being mocked lead to the family leaving for Egypt, in PID Eustace makes this decision:

Hvat hafim, Sjöfn, at sitja,
seims’ (mælti þat) ‘heima?’
(elda njótr við ítra
ulfvíns konu sína).
‘Eigum oss at lægja,
einn rétt þvíat goð beinir,
– reyndrs, sás stríð má standask
stór – farnaði órum.

(‘What do we gain, Sjöfn <goddess> of gold [WOMAN], by staying at home?’; the user of the fires of wolf-wine [BLOOD > SWORDS > WARRIOR] said that to his splendid wife. ‘We must humble ourselves because the one true God furthers our fortune; that one is well-proven who can endure great distress.’)⁹³

The alteration is significant. The motivation for travelling to Egypt becomes more positive; rather than a fear of secular shame, it is a desire to humble oneself.⁹⁴ Eustace’s behaviour both better befits a saint, and also corresponds to the heroic ethos of the praise-poem tradition – when faced with a challenge, Eustace chooses to rise to it and raise the stakes. His desire to appear *reyndr* (‘proven’) may be a form of seeking esteem, albeit in a Christian context. This sense of Eustace seeking a form of spiritual esteem and honour is reinforced in the following

⁹³ PID 14.

⁹⁴ Itself a response to God’s injunction that ‘nu munn þér lægjask’ (‘now you will be humbled’(PID 1:4)). It is also notable that Eustace also makes this decision in PIS(A) 131–3, but with different motives; in the saga he wishes to avoid the scorn of his neighbours as Theophista does in other versions.

stanzas; he is described as a *tilstýranda ttrar* ('pursuer of renown [NOBLEMAN]')⁹⁵ and any suggestion that he might be fleeing opprobrium is countered with the adjective *flugstygg[r]* ('flight-shy').⁹⁶ Secular esteem, however, remains important to Eustace even during his exile. When he sees Antiochus and Acaius in Dadissus he grows sad because 'tók at minnask ins fyrra vegs';⁹⁷ in other versions it is because he recalls his former life (with his family and wealth as incidental aspects of this).⁹⁸ This continued attachment to his honour (*vegr*) while separated from his former life may form part of the Trial, emphasising Eustace's stoicism. Nonetheless, he is arguably less humbled during his time in Dadissus. Where other reflexes of LSE generally depict Eustace as a menial labourer, in PID he 'vann sér til mætrar bjargar.'⁹⁹ Also, when he offers Antiochus and Acaius hospitality his landlord, whom he asks for supplies, is omitted.¹⁰⁰ While the omission of the landlord is probably due to the truncation of narrative enforced by the *dróttkvætt* form, it nonetheless presents Eustace as a man of more independent means. Furthermore, the statement in stanza 41 that Eustace, now returning in glory to Rome, 'skyldi koma til hildar ok eignask alla tign, þás lét endr af hendi'¹⁰¹ contains the notion that Eustace's return will earn him a secular reward, in the eyes of Antiochus and Acaius at least. No spiritual reward is invoked as being greater than this secular esteem by the *skáld*. While spiritual reward is emphasised elsewhere in PID, worldly recompense is not outright condemned.

From its outset, the Trial is implied as bringing spiritual reputation as a reward. In stanza 1, during his first vision, God exhorts Placidus: 'vestu framr í frægri freistni'.¹⁰² The suggestion that Eustace will gain fame from his Christian endurance could certainly constitute a reward, especially given the concern for reputation inherent in *dróttkvætt* court poetry.¹⁰³ That this fame is expressed through poetry, and PID itself, is further expressed by the *skáld* in stanza 11:

Fúss emk fremðar lýsi

⁹⁵ PID 15:7.

⁹⁶ PID 16:6.

⁹⁷ PID 36:1–2, 'he began to remember his former glory'.

⁹⁸ C9 185–9.

⁹⁹ PID 29:7–8, 'earned a good living'.

¹⁰⁰ PID 38; compare C9 203–6.

¹⁰¹ PID 41:5–8, 'should come to battle and regain all the honour which he had previously possessed'.

¹⁰² PID 1:7–8, 'be bold in a trial [which will be] famous'.

¹⁰³ Clunies-Ross, *History of Old Norse Poetics*, p. 75. A main function of *dróttkvætt* was to enhance the reputation of the subject (usually the patron) of the poem by recording their virtues – usually their generosity and prowess.

fritt, ef þat mál hitta,

[...]

hugblíðum stef smíða.

(‘I am eager to compose an attractive refrain for the gentle illuminator of honour [HONOURABLE MAN = Eustace], if I may come upon it’)¹⁰⁴

Here Eustace has demonstrably earned his spiritual reputation, as the *skáld* deems him worthy of a *fritt stef*, while the admittance that he must ‘come upon’ the refrain confirms that it is God, as provider of poetic inspiration, who ensures this. In this way, Eustace has completed his Trial before it has begun; the very fact of poetic commemoration proves his worth as a noble Christian and saintly example.¹⁰⁵

4.2.2 – IRONY

PID uses images traditional to the *drápa* form, such as the virtues of wealth and strength, but subverts them. The *skáld* at times uses these inherent traditional images and tropes ironically in order to emphasise aspects of LSE.

The ironic use of kennings during Eustace’s Trial is particularly striking. As Lange observed: ‘Die tragischironische Möglichkeit der preisenden Kenning in ihrer Anwendung auf einen im Elend Leidenden wird vom Dichter bis zum Widersinn überanstrengt’;¹⁰⁶ although he failed to expand on this observation. This is especially relevant to kennings involving wealth. Several kennings relating to generosity are used in the context of Eustace’s losses. The first is in stanza 10. When Eustace returns home after accepting his Trial, he is described as *hreyti[r] seima* (‘the flinger of gold [GENEROUS MAN]’).¹⁰⁷ This emphasises Eustace’s eagerness, in that he is dispensing his gold willingly rather than hoarding it. Secondly, when asking Christ for support, Eustace is described as *boði hringa* (‘the offerer of rings [GENEROUS MAN]’).¹⁰⁸ Here, he is a generous man while asking for something.

¹⁰⁴ PID 11:1–2, 4.

¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that verses expressing this desire for eloquence fitting to their subject are not unique to PID; similar verses are found in *Geisli* (18), *Hármsól* (20), *Leiðarvísan* (13, 25), and *Brúðkaupsvísur* (28). Nonetheless, this verse serves to remind the audience that Eustace is worthy of commemoration, and a reminder to the saint that he is being venerated; in this way PID can be seen as a form of prayer.

¹⁰⁶ ‘The tragic-ironic possibility of the praising kenning in its application to a person suffering from misery is overworked by the poet to the point of absurdity’; Lange, *Christlichen Dichtung*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁷ PID 10:1–2.

¹⁰⁸ PID 10:4.

Such irony becomes clearer when Eustace begins to lose his wealth, as in stanza 12:

Hjǫrð tok **hodda skerðis**

hyggjunsalls at falla

[...] en hjú deyja

(‘The herd of the brave-souled **diminisher of hoards** began to perish and [his] household to die’)¹⁰⁹

Describing Eustace as *skerðir hodda* (‘a diminisher of hoards’) portrays his loss of wealth through the prism of generosity, and the image of diminishing a hoard is entirely appropriate. The adjective *hyggjunsallr* (‘brave-souled’) also emphasises Eustace’s positive attitude to the Trial, as he is willing to lose his wealth. Likewise, the depiction of Eustace as an *ǫldurmað[r]* (‘nobleman’)¹¹⁰ while his house is ransacked highlights the degradation that he cheerfully welcomes.

There is a change of tack, however, when Eustace is deprived of his family. In stanza 17, which relates the loss of his wife, Eustace is described as *almíldr auðskipt[ir]* (‘the most generous wealth-distributor [GENEROUS MAN]’)¹¹¹ and the kidnap itself is rendered:

Hreins varð heggr við sína

hraustr, þás gekk af flausti,

auðar eiginbrúði

óviljandi at skiljask.

(‘The brave tree of shining wealth [MAN] had to part with his wife against his will, when he left the ship’)¹¹²

The clear irony intended in this depiction of the events underlines Eustace’s powerlessness. Both kennings invoke wealth, and hence the value of Theophista to him, and are attached to adjectives that can only be read as sarcastic: he is an *almíldr auðskiptir* when having something forcibly taken from him, and [*h*]raustr heggr hreins when he is unable to resist his calamity. Where the accompanying adjective *hyggjunsallr* in his first Trial clearly refers to his

¹⁰⁹ PID 12:5–6, 8.

¹¹⁰ PID 13:4.

¹¹¹ PID 17:1–2.

¹¹² PID 17:5–8.

perseverance, here the use of adjectives is inverted to an ironic judgement on Eustace's mental state and actions. Irony concerning Eustace's generosity is invoked again in stanza 24, which recalls the kidnap of Theophista and describes Eustace as *brigði[r] hrannelds* ('breaker of the wave-fire [GENEROUS MAN]'),¹¹³ and arguably in stanza 50, which refers to Theophista's life after the death of her kidnapper, when

[...] jarðar fjorr firrðisk,
fránbaugs, sás tók hána,
undins látrs, frá ítrum
endr Plácito, sendir.

('the distributor of the ground of the twisted shining ring of the earth [= Miðgarðsormr > GOLD > GENEROUS MAN], the one who had once taken her from the glorious Placidus, left this life.')

The depiction of Theophista's abductor as generous highlights Eustace's loss in ironic fashion.

Similarly, stanzas 20–22, in which Eustace's sons are abducted by beasts, contain three kennings invoking Eustace's generosity: *Seimtýnir* ('gold-destroyer [GENEROUS MAN]'),¹¹⁵ *auðgildir* ('wealth-payer [GENEROUS MAN]')¹¹⁶ and *baugfergir* ('ring-destroyer [GENEROUS MAN]').¹¹⁷ The close proximity of these generosity kennings suggests a conscious decision of the *skáld*. Stanza 20 also contains a kenning that alludes to wealth and casts ironic judgement on Eustace, as with the abduction of Theophista:

sökkmeiðr [...]
borðs ne báða þorði
bera senn yfir nenninn.

¹¹³ PID 24:2–3.

¹¹⁴ PID 50:5–8.

¹¹⁵ PID 20:5.

¹¹⁶ PID 21:6.

¹¹⁷ PID 22:5.

(‘the brave tree of the jewel of the gunwale [SHIELD > SEAFARER] did not dare to carry both [sons] over at once’)¹¹⁸

Adjectives are again being used ironically, as Eustace is described as *nenninn* (‘striving, doughty’) when not daring to act. Eustace is then *hristir skins Hlakkar* (‘the shaker of the gleam of Hlökk <valkyrie> [SWORD > WARRIOR]’), with the allusion to the valkyrie Hlökk¹¹⁹ drawing attention to his inability to protect his sons and to their presumed fate, since *valkyrjur* carried the slain from battlefields. Finally, Eustace is described as a *fleinrjóðr* (‘spear-reddener [WARRIOR]’)¹²⁰ while watching his sons being carried off; though he is depicted in terms of a proactive, successful warrior, presumably able to defend his family, Eustace is in fact powerless in this situation.

A final example of the ironic invocation of wealth in kennings in PID is not about Eustace, but is used by him. During his Lament, he refers to Job as *haukborðs hyrgeymi[r]* (‘the fire-keeper of the hawk-table’ [ARM > GOLD > MAN]).¹²¹ By describing Job in his afflictions as wealthy, Eustace accentuates the disparity he perceives between their situations, highlighting both the depths of his deprivations and his despair.

This use of irony could also be read as another layer of Trial. As the ideals of nobility celebrated in *dróttkvætt* centre around military prowess and generosity, both of which the irony refers to, by undermining them in this way the *skáld* is arguably testing and questioning Eustace’s noble virtues before he is allowed to resume his noble life after his Trial.¹²² He must be generous when he does not want to be, when Theophista is kidnapped and his sons taken, and he must endure manfully (as a warrior) when his sons are lost. Eustace’s success in the Trial relies on him being noble (i.e. stoic and generous) in unideal circumstances.

4.2.3 – NON-CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS

As skaldic verse is famous for its use of kennings and *heiti*, themselves synonymous with pre-Christian prestige society, the synthesis of Christian subject matter with a pre-Christian art form is one that must be addressed. An analysis of the use of non-Christian material, and the depiction of non-Christians in a saint’s *vita* adapted to a poetic form heavily associated with

¹¹⁸ PID 20:6–8.

¹¹⁹ PID 21:3–4. Hlökk is a known name for a valkyrie (Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 268).

¹²⁰ PID 22:2.

¹²¹ PID 27:1, 4.

¹²² I am indebted to Mx Kathryn Haley-Halinski for this observation.

the celebration of secular values, shows that the *skáld* of PID was aware of this juxtaposition of traditions and took steps to synthesise the material accordingly in a well-developed manner.

4.2.3.1 – MATERIAL FROM NORSE MYTH AND LEGEND

Just as VBE used Classical material to emphasise aspects of the narrative,¹²³ so PID draws on imagery from Norse mythology and legend. Kennings containing mythological and legendary base words and determinants are not unusual in Christian Norse poetry, especially works which were composed during the antiquarian renaissance of the twelfth century that re-established the use of pre-Christian material. The composition of PID can be placed in this context.¹²⁴ There is little indication that Icelanders saw couching Christian figures in such terms as problematic¹²⁵ and Snorri Sturluson's *Prologue to Snorra Edda* shows that a euhemeristic reading of the Norse gods was acceptable by the thirteenth century.¹²⁶ Attwood stated that the references to pagan gods are 'little more than formal' as they are not embedded in the alliterative structure, and were more reflective of antiquarian interest.¹²⁷ However, some kennings in PID appear to be supplying more than ornate references to the characters.¹²⁸ The mythological kennings in PID invoke *Æsir*, *valkyrjur* and other characters from Norse myth, while legendary kennings focus on sea-kings. Given the overt Christianity and expectation of the audience to link Eustace and Job, Attwood stated that it is 'highly unlikely that these mythological references actually carry any sacral connotations.'¹²⁹

Before examining the kennings on an individual level, their distribution in PID should be noted. Ten of the thirteen mythological and legendary kennings describing Eustace occur

¹²³ See §3.3.1.5.

¹²⁴ From the twelfth century, for example, *Geisli* contains nine kennings which refer to Norse myth and legend; *Harmsól* contains twelve, and *Leiðarvísan* three. There are fewer examples of such kennings in the later period, although some later skalds appear willing to incorporate the material to a greater or lesser extent. Of the thirteenth-century poems that contain kennings alluding to Norse myth and legend, *Liknarbraut* contains one and *Sólarljód* three, while of the relevant poems from the fourteenth century, *Máriudrápa* contains one, *Gyðingsvísur* five, *Brúðskaupvísur* thirteen, *Máriuvisur I* six, *Máriuvisur II* two, *Máriuvisur III* one, *Vitnisvísur af Máriu* one, *Heilagra meyja drápa* two, and *Kátrínadrápa* eighteen. See Clunies-Ross et al, *Poetry on Christian Subjects*, vols. 1 and 2.

¹²⁵ Clunies-Ross, 'Introduction', p. lvii.

¹²⁶ See Snorri Sturluson, *Prologue*, ed. Faulkes, *Edda*, pp. 3–6.

¹²⁷ Attwood, 'Christian Poetry', p. 53.

¹²⁸ Thirteen extant kennings refer to Eustace (one of which contains both legendary and mythological material [PID 30:2–3]), six to Theophista and three to the heathen captain. There is also one that refers to Eustace's sons (PID 52:3, *æski-Nirðir* ('wishing-Nirðir <gods> [?MEN]')), and a reference to war as *leik Yggjar* ('the game of Ygg' (PID 34:3)) which is linked to, but does not describe, Placidus. Louis-Jensen also suggested a possible goddess-kennings for Theophista at 54:6, albeit with reservations ('*Plácitusdrápa*', p. 216).

¹²⁹ Attwood, 'Christian Poetry', p. 53.

after his Lament (stanzas 26–8).¹³⁰ Eustace’s overcoming his emotional crisis of faith leads to him being referred to in more elevated language, as evidenced by the increased comparisons between Eustace and great figures from myth and legend. The events they are associated with in the post-Lament section are also significant. In stanza 30 one appears in the context of Eustace’s almsgiving; in stanza 31, the promise of his return to fortune; in stanzas 35 and 38, his being sought to be brought back to Rome; in stanzas 41, 43 and 48, Eustace’s return to his secular role; and finally, in stanza 56, two appear relating to his family’s reunion. This suggests that here the *skáld* was grouping them deliberately to link them to worldly joys and prosperity, when provided by God.

Also significant is that, after his baptism (stanzas 5–6), kennings which invoke deities begin to be used to refer to Eustace, including five that invoke legendary sea-kings. These sea-king kennings are only delivered from secular perspectives. The first instance described is before his baptism, when Eustace is described as a *Vinnils viggpollr* (‘tree of the horse of Vinnill <sea-king> [SHIP > SEAFARER]’)¹³¹ who *vel hagat* (‘behaved well’)¹³² in recounting his vision to Theophista. The second is in stanza 30, when Eustace is ‘Þvinnils víðrar foldar vigg-Baldr’;¹³³ as this is depicting Eustace’s life among non-Christians in Dadissus, arguably this can be seen as the townspeople’s perception of him in a secular light, as he ‘leyndi trú sinni (‘concealed his faith’)¹³⁴ from them. The final three are delivered from the perspective of Antiochus and Acaius. Two kennings in stanza 35 recount their search for Placidus:

Brœðr riðu Byrfils skíða

beitis tveir at leita

ár, þeirs ítrum vóru

endr Plácito á hendi.

Fundu Gylfa grundar

glaðríðanda umb síðir;

unnar furs né ærir

¹³⁰ PID 30:2–3; 31:3–4; 35:1–2; 35:5–6; 38:5, 7; 41:5; 43:5–6; 48:2–3; 56:1, 3; 56:5, 7. The kennings prior to the Lament are at PID 4:3–4; 7:1–2 and 21:3–4.

¹³¹ PID 4:3–4.

¹³² PID 4:2.

¹³³ PID 30:2–3, ‘Baldr of the horse of the wide land of Þvinnill [SEA > SHIP > SEAFARER]’.

¹³⁴ PID 30:5–6.

afrendan þor kenndu.

(‘Two brothers, who were formerly in the service of the glorious Placidus, rode out early to look for the steerer of the skis of Byrfill <sea-king> [SHIPS > SEAFARER]. At length they found the rider of the horse of the ground of Gylfi <sea-king> [SEA > SHIP > SEAFARER]; the messengers did not recognise the powerful tree of the fire of the wave [GOLD > MAN]’)¹³⁵

The skáld plays with perspectives. Antiochus and Acaius clearly have expectations concerning Placidus, for as the object of their search he is referred to in terms of figures of heroic legend, yet when they fail to recognise him he is instead described, in a more typical kenning, as *þor furs unnar*. Similarly, while receiving hospitality ‘bræðr undrask [ú]tbeiti skíðs Áta’.¹³⁶ Eustace is again described in terms of a legendary sea-king when Antiochus and Acaius are looking for him. This distinction implies that the eyes of the world see Eustace in a certain way.

Mythological kennings referring to Theophista have a similar distribution. Four kennings which allude to goddesses and have Theophista as the referent¹³⁷ appear in relation to Eustace’s Trial, especially her life during it. The first is in stanza 14, when Eustace insists on leaving to humble themselves further, while a second in stanza 17 describes her when the captain desires and abducts her. Both kennings invoke wealth (*seimr* (‘wealth’) and *hodd* (‘hoard’) being the determinants), which is appropriate to each kenning in different ways. In stanza 14 the image of wealth foreshadows Eustace’s loss of Theophista. In stanza 17, however, as noted by Clunies-Ross, it emphasises the lust of the captain¹³⁸ and her value to Eustace; she is the first loss he appears saddened by, and the other two references to Theophista in stanza 17 (*kon[a]* (‘wife’)¹³⁹ and *eiginbrúð[r]* (‘true wife’)¹⁴⁰) stress her relationship with Eustace when he is about to lose her.¹⁴¹ Clunies-Ross’ observation is reinforced by the goddess kenning referring to Theophista in stanza 24, describing her as *Jorð hørstrengs* (‘Jorð <goddess> of the linen-ribbon [WOMAN]’) when implied to be at risk from the heathens she lives among, as she is *ógntvist* (‘made quiet by terror’).¹⁴² The final goddess-kenning referring to Theophista

¹³⁵ PID 35.

¹³⁶ PID 38:5–7, ‘the brothers wondered at the steerer of the ski of Áti <sea-king> [SHIP > SEAFARER]’.

¹³⁷ PID 14:1–2, *Sjǫfn seims* (‘Sjǫfn <goddess> of gold [WOMAN]’); 17:3, *hodd-Gefn* (‘hoard-Gefn <= Freyja> [WOMAN]’); 24:6–7, *Jorð hørstrengs* (‘Jorð <goddess> of the linen-ribbon [WOMAN]’); 50:3, *Pungra strengjar* (‘Pungra <= Freyja> of the ribbon [WOMAN]’).

¹³⁸ As noted by Clunies-Ross, *Poetry and Poetics*, p. 138 footnote 27.

¹³⁹ PID 17:2.

¹⁴⁰ PID 17:7.

¹⁴¹ Clunies-Ross, *Poetry and Poetics*, p. 138 footnote 27.

¹⁴² PID 24:8.

(*Pungra strengjar* ('Pungra <= Freyja> of the ribbon [WOMAN]'))¹⁴³ also places her in apposition with a dangerous heathen; in the same stanza her kidnapper is described as 'sendir látrs undins fránbauks jarðar'.¹⁴⁴ Not only are they cast as characters on opposite sides in Norse mythology, but the captain is especially bestial and monstrous. This accentuates the risk he posed to her in life, with her divinity, hence worth, again highlighting his lust for her.

The gods chosen to refer to Eustace are also significant. For example, Eustace is denoted by a mythological kenning (*lypti-Móða farms leggjar* ('the bearing-Móði of the cargo of the arm [GOLD > MAN]'))¹⁴⁵ when God provides comfort, marking the beginning of his return to his fortunes. This mythological image may simply have been used to signal a significant moment, but many *heiti* for gods, especially Óðinn, carry other connotations, and were more broadly descriptive.¹⁴⁶ *Móði* can also mean 'brave' or 'the brave one',¹⁴⁷ which would be an appropriate way to describe Eustace who has now endured his Trial.

The divine base word most commonly used for Eustace is *Þróttir*, which occurs three times in PID.¹⁴⁸ This is generally accepted as a *heiti* for Óðinn, and can also mean 'strength, valour, fortitude'.¹⁴⁹ The connotations are especially appropriate to the two uses of this *heiti* in kennings for Eustace in military situations: he is *Þróttar þingbeiði* ('the demander of the assembly of Þróttir [BATTLE > WARRIOR]')¹⁵⁰ when Trajan places him at the head of the Roman army and [*o*]*dda þings hyr-Þróttir* ('the Þróttir of the fire of the assembly of spears [BATTLE > SWORD > WARRIOR]') when leading the victorious army in pursuit of their fleeing enemies.¹⁵¹ The earliest example, however, does not fit this warlike pattern. When Eustace returns to the mountain to receive his second vision as instructed by God he is described as *unnar elg-Þróttir* ('the Þróttir of the elk of the wave [SHIP > SEAFARER]').¹⁵² The solution to the kenning is not military as in the other cases, and neither is the context; nevertheless, the values of valour and fortitude are appropriate to the image of Eustace as a seafarer seeking a new life in God.

¹⁴³ PID 50:3.

¹⁴⁴ PID 50:5–8, 'distributor of the ground of the shining ring of the earth [= Miðgarðsormr > GOLD > GENEROUS MAN]'.
¹⁴⁵ PID 31:3–4.

¹⁴⁶ See Edwards, 'Christian and Pagan References', p. 47 and Roberta Frank, *Old Norse Court Poetry*, pp. 70–2.

¹⁴⁷ Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*. See also Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 411.

¹⁴⁸ As with *Móði*, Edwards has suggested that Odinnic *heiti* such as *Þróttir* were of a broadly descriptive character less bound to the person of Óðinn ('Christian and Pagan References', p. 47). Frank also suggested that such *heiti* were partly made acceptable by literary euphemism, in their also denoting abstract nouns, in this case 'strength' (*Court Poetry*, p. 71). If this is the case with PID, the connotations of the names stand nonetheless.

¹⁴⁹ Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 648.

¹⁵⁰ PID 43:5–6.

¹⁵¹ PID 48:2–3.

¹⁵² PID 7:1–2.

Eustace is linked to Baldr twice. Eustace is described as a *vigg-Baldr* ('horse-Baldr') while in exile in Dadissus,¹⁵³ and as *Baldr [h]odda* ('the Baldr of hoards [MAN]')¹⁵⁴ when summoned back to Rome. Baldr was seen by some Norse writers as a pseudo-Christ (in that he was slain but reborn after Ragnarök), and so can be seen as an appropriate way to refer to a Christian, who has recently undergone a rebirth through conversion.¹⁵⁵

The kenning linking Eustace and Baldr in stanza 30 is unique in PID as it contains both deity and sea-king referents:

Ok til aumra rekka

atvinnu gaf **Þvinnils**

vigg-Baldr víðrar foldar

verkkaup, þats sér merkði.

Fast helt lundr ok leynði

linnvegis trú sinni

hlunndýrs heiðna runna

hótt næfr við goð sóttum.

(‘And **the Baldr** <god> **of the horse of the wide land of Þvinnill** <sea-king> [SEA > SHIP > SEAFARER] gave the wages, which he had set aside for himself, for the support of poor men. The virtuous tree of the serpent-ground [GOLD > MAN] held fast to his agreements with God and concealed his faith among the heathen **trees of the animal of the launching-roller** [SHIP > SEAFARERS]’)¹⁵⁶

This stanza shows Eustace maintaining his faith in Dadissus through almsgiving (and a sense of secrecy not found in LSE), and brings him into apposition with his heathen neighbours. Both Eustace and his neighbours are described in kennings with the solution [SEAFARER(S)], but while the inhabitants of Dadissus are described with the basic, dehumanised *runna hlunndýrs*, Eustace is referred to with the more embellished ‘Þvinnils víðrar foldar vigg-Baldr’, with connotations of (pseudo-Christian) divinity and legendary heroism. Though both are described

¹⁵³ PID 30:3.

¹⁵⁴ PID 41:5.

¹⁵⁵ For example, see Hallvard Magerøy’s discussion of the Christ-Baldr figure in ‘Christ-Baldr Motif’.

¹⁵⁶ PID 30. Bold text my own.

as the same referent, the Christian Eustace is clearly elevated above his non-Christian neighbours.

kennings invoking the Æsir are also invoked at pivotal moments of recognition. When Eustace's former servants recognise Eustace, they are described as *hjaldrserks hyr-Þróttar* ('Þrottar of the fire of the war-shirt [MAIL-SHIRT > SWORD > WARRIORS]).¹⁵⁷ Likewise, when Eustace's sons recognise one another, they are *æski-Nirðir* ('wishing-Nirðir (the plural form of Njorðr)').¹⁵⁸ Finally, the pivotal stanza 56 contains two Æsir-kennings referring to Eustace at his family's reunion: Theophista explains the events *Nirði elda handa* ('to the Njorðr of the fire of hands [GOLD > MAN]'),¹⁵⁹ while Eustace is the *Beiði-Þror armlinns* ('bearing-Þror of the arm-snake [RING > MAN]')¹⁶⁰ when he acknowledges his sons. Njorðr is mentioned in both stanzas, while Þror is an attested *heiti* for Óðinn.¹⁶¹ The invocation of two major Æsir at pivotal moments of family reunion cannot be coincidental. The divine connotations of Æsir may simply be being used to elevate a critical scene in this case, and the three recognitions being marked in this way may be a reaction on the part of the *skáld* to the threefold structures inherent in LSE. Furthermore, Njorðr may have been a deliberate choice, since he was a sea deity and Eustace's familial losses occur solely around water. In any case, it is apparent that the *skáld* was using Æsir-related base words and determinants in a way that suggests that they were more than empty embellishment.

Two kennings describing the heathen captain also allude to Norse mythology with negative connotations. He is compared to Fenrir (*fetrjóðr Fenris jóða* ('the paw-reddener of the offspring of Fenrir [WOLVES > WARRIOR]')¹⁶²) and Miðgarðsormr ('sendir látrs undins fránbauks jarðar sendir'¹⁶³). In the latter example the captain is placed in apposition with Theophista (also the referent of a mythological kenning (PID 50:3, *Pungra strengjar* ('Pungra <=> Freyja> of the ribbon [WOMAN]')), highlighting the disparity between them. These kennings can be read on multiple levels, depending on how much knowledge of pre-Christian mythology was available to the *skáld* and his audience. On a superficial level, it is likely that the two creatures were known as evil beasts with connotations of heathenism, the captain's defining

¹⁵⁷ PID 40:5–6.

¹⁵⁸ PID 52:3.

¹⁵⁹ PID 56:1, 3.

¹⁶⁰ PID 56:5, 7.

¹⁶¹ *Óðins nafn* 8:2, ed. E. Gurevich in *Poetry from Treatises on Poetics* ed. K. Ellen Gade, vol. 2 p. 751.

¹⁶² PID 16:7.

¹⁶³ PID 50:5–8, 'the distributor of the ground of the shining ring of the earth [=Miðgarðsormr > GOLD > GENEROUS MAN]'. The plausible interpretation of the kenning referring to Miðgarðsormr was suggested by Louis-Jensen and Wills ('*Plácitusdrápa*', p. 212).

characteristic. Miðgarðsormr's serpentine nature possibly also had Satanic connotations. On a deeper level, both creatures slay Æsir at Ragnarök. Such connotations could serve to highlight the captain's inherent antipathy to God and his saints through his active heathenism.

There are two examples of valkyries being used as referents, both of which seem to refer obliquely to Theophista. The clearest example describes her kidnapper, the captain. Here, when mentioning his spiritually dangerous cohabitation with Theophista, he is *Hildar hauknistis* ('the hawk-feeder of Hildr' [RAVEN > WARRIOR]).¹⁶⁴ The warlike imagery increases the threat to Theophista, but this could also be referring obliquely to Theophista through a valkyrie referent; here the connotations of nobility and – if we accept the reading – of nourishing her, might further emphasise the risk of sexual pollution which her cohabitation with him implies, against which God's grace must protect her. While the allusions are subtle, it is nonetheless noteworthy that both kennings involving valkyries could be argued to allude to Theophista in this way. There is certainly a sense of risk to Theophista, as evidenced in the fear that she be *saurgask af samvistu* ('polluted by cohabitation')¹⁶⁵ with the captain. Clunies-Ross noted that the word *samvist* ('cohabitation' or 'conjugal intercourse') is not found elsewhere in poetry and is included 'without any apparent encouragement from a prose source'.¹⁶⁶ The reading of the valkyrie-kennings in this way reinforces this sense of threat, both through the violent connotations of *valkyrja* and the possible oblique allusion to the captain's lust to 'nourish' her sexually.

A second example occurs when Eustace transports his son over the river and is described as *hristir skins Hlakkar* ('the shaker of the gleam of Hlökk <valkyrie> [SWORD > WARRIOR]').¹⁶⁷ While an ironically elevated allusion to warriorhood when Eustace is incapable of defending his sons,¹⁶⁸ the valkyrie element could be read as an oblique reference to Theophista. In this case, the 'gleam' of the 'valkyrie' that Eustace bears could refer to Eustace's son, rather than the more immediately obvious interpretation of [SWORD].

A kenning describing Theophista in stanza 51 is similarly allusive, this time in relation to Eustace. When unknowingly receiving her sons, Theophista is described as 'hirðigótt elda ítrfoldar Endils'.¹⁶⁹ Since the other sea-king kennings in PID refer exclusively to Eustace, it is

¹⁶⁴ PID 19:7–8.

¹⁶⁵ PID 19:6–8.

¹⁶⁶ Clunies-Ross, *Poetry and Poetics*, p. 140.

¹⁶⁷ PID 21:3–4.

¹⁶⁸ See §4.2.2.

¹⁶⁹ PID 51:5–7, 'the nursing-tree of the fires of the glorious ground of Endill <sea-king> [SEA > GOLD > WOMAN]'; *Endill* is a conjectured reading suggested by Finnur Jónsson ('Plácítúsdrápa').

plausible that this is intended to evoke their shared paternity and maternity of their sons, highlighted in the base word *hirðigótt* ('nursing-tree'), as well as imbuing the sons, as well as herself, with nobility by association with a legendary figure.

The mythological and legendary kennings referring to characters in PID are consciously grouped in appropriate areas of the *drápa* and used for rhetorical and thematic effect. As such, they were acting as more than mere stock phrases.

4.2.3.2 – REPRESENTATION OF HEATHENS

Besides his use of heathen material, the *skáld*'s representation of heathen characters is significant, as it becomes more positive or negative depending on social status.

Lower-status heathens are depicted in a wholly negative light. One particularly intricate example of this is in stanza 30, discussed above, in which Eustace and the townsfolk are described with kennings solvable as [SEAFARERS], but with the language describing Eustace being considerably more elevated. Where he is associated with the pseudo-Christ Baldr and the legendary sea-king Þvinnil, he is described as hiding his faith from *hlunndýrs heiðna runna* ('the heathen trees of the animals of the launching-roller [SHIPS > SEAFARERS]'),¹⁷⁰ i.e. the townsfolk. His neighbours are explicitly referred to in terms of their non-Christian faith, while at the same time being dehumanised as *hlunndýr* ('launching-roller-animals').

The most prominent heathen character who is depicted negatively is the captain who kidnaps Theophista. He is introduced as being *heiðni kenndan* ('known for heathenism')¹⁷¹ and *þolgjarni* ('evil-eager').¹⁷² The first kennings referring to him connote violence – he is described as *stirðs herleiks hyrlund* ('the tree of the fire of army play' [SWORD > WARRIOR])¹⁷³ and *fetrjóðr jóða Fenris* ('the paw-reddener of the offspring of Fenrir [WOLVES > WARRIOR]).¹⁷⁴ In the same stanza as these violent kennings is the contrastive description of Eustace as *[s]töðva stríða* ('the calmer of distress').¹⁷⁵ The heathen captain is established from the outset as antagonistic to God and Christians.

PID also contains an additional sense that Eustace and Theophista are in danger while they dwell among the heathens. The *skáld* makes it explicit that Theophista maintains her

¹⁷⁰ PID 30:7.

¹⁷¹ PID 16:3.

¹⁷² PID 16:8.

¹⁷³ PID 16:2–4.

¹⁷⁴ PID 16:7.

¹⁷⁵ PID 16:1.

Christian faith, albeit with some trepidation: ‘ógntvist ok helt kristni’.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, while in exile among the heathen, Eustace *leyndi trú sinni* (‘concealed his faith’).¹⁷⁷ Although, unlike his wife, Eustace does not explicitly show fear, and though both continue in their faith (Eustace ‘helt fast sötum við goð’¹⁷⁸), they do so secretly. This suggests that it is unsafe to practise Christianity openly in a non-Christian society; nonetheless, they remain Christian. This possibly reflects the more recent conversion milieu of the Norwegian court compared to the environments in which other Eustace reflexes were composed.

The depiction of Trajan and Hadrian follows a very different pattern. This is especially visible in the case of Trajan, for PID becomes highly fragmentary around the time Hadrian is introduced; nonetheless, what depictions of Hadrian we can glean are overwhelmingly positive or, at least, not negative. For example, where in other versions Trajan appears terrified in response to the invasion of his lands,¹⁷⁹ in PID he appears bolder, being described as *vígteitr* (‘strife-glad’).¹⁸⁰ Where other reflexes of LSE suggest that Trajan is defenceless without Placidus, in PID the invasion happens ‘áðr tígin Trájánu mætti vel verjask ráni’,¹⁸¹ in response to which ‘þurfti gramr samna her trautt’.¹⁸² He is capable of defending himself, but is in need of more time and support, in contrast to being powerless in other versions. Likewise, when Eustace returns as commander, the capability of Trajan and his army is increased in PID, as

Enn bað ungra manna

ítr gramr fira samna

fljótt, ef fámeðr þættisk

ferð, Plácitus verða.

(‘The glorious king then asked the men to quickly gather a troop of young men, if Placidus found himself short of men’)¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ PID 24:8, ‘she kept her Christian faith, although made quiet by terror’.

¹⁷⁷ PID 30:5–6.

¹⁷⁸ PID 30:5, 8, ‘held fast to his agreements with God’.

¹⁷⁹ C9 174.

¹⁸⁰ PID 34:6.

¹⁸¹ PID 33:1, 3–4, ‘before the noble Trajan could protect himself properly against plundering’.

¹⁸² PID 33:2–3, ‘the prince had to gather an army with difficulty’.

¹⁸³ PID 44:1–4.

Trajan instigates the recruitment in case they lack men, where in LSE Eustace sends for more recruits because he identifies this lack.

All the references to Hadrian that can be gleaned from the fragmentary end of PID are also positive. If we accept the readings supplied to the texts by Jon Helgason,¹⁸⁴ we see that Hadrian is described as *ítrst[yrkr]* ('gloriously powerful')¹⁸⁵ and *[s]narfengr þengill* ('vigorous prince').¹⁸⁶ The only extant references to Hadrian's heathenism are his instructions that Trajan be remembered with an *[ó]þorfu erfi* ('harmful funeral-feast');¹⁸⁷ the only description of Hadrian that could possibly be interpreted as explicitly negative is his being *gramr inn grimmi* ('the fierce king')¹⁸⁸ when insisting that Eustace sacrifice to idols (the point at which Hadrian becomes antagonistic to his victorious commander). Even so, this does not necessarily have to be interpreted negatively, and the wording may have been chosen for metrical considerations.

The relation between the social status of heathens and their depiction in PID is telling. Aristocratic heathens are afforded positive attributes, or, at least, are not depicted entirely negatively. Heathens of lower status, such as the captain and the townsfolk, however, are dehumanised and, in the case of the captain, made explicitly evil and antagonistic. It is apparent that the courtly *drápa* form affected the material of LSE in this adaptation as much as the material influenced the choice of poetic form. It also suggests that the *skáld* was composing for an aristocratic audience who valued their pre-Christian ancestors.¹⁸⁹ This *skopos* would provide further evidence that PID was composed in the twelfth-century Norwegian court.

4.2.3.3 – NOBLE HEATHENISM

If the *skáld* composed with an awareness of and sensitivity to the heathenness of his patrons' aristocratic ancestors, then one might expect PID to treat the 'Problem of Paganism' more immediately than versions of LSE by the less recently-converted English. There is certainly a sense that Placidus is in spiritual danger and unable to achieve salvation as a heathen, despite his good deeds, for which Placidus is described as *mildi mætan* ('renowned for generosity or

¹⁸⁴ Jon Helgason ('Til skjaldedigtingen'), cited in Louis-Jensen and Wills, '*Plácitusdrápa*' p. 219.

¹⁸⁵ PID 58:6.

¹⁸⁶ PID 59:2. This emendation was proposed by Sveinbjörn Egilsson (*Brot af Plácitus-Drápu*, pp. 33, 65).

¹⁸⁷ PID 58:5; this is the translation in Louis-Jensen and Wills, '*Plácitusdrápa*', but it is possible that *óþorfu* could also mean 'unnecessary', which would soften the tone.

¹⁸⁸ PID 59:5. It should be noted that *inn grimmi* is an emendation proposed by Finnur Jónsson ('Plácítusdrápa'); though plausible, it should be treated with due caution.

¹⁸⁹ As Lönnroth observed, in Iceland 'it seems to have been quite permissible for a Christian to admire his pagan ancestors and their heroic way of life. But the formal faith of these ancestors presented [...] a problem, since paganism [...] was still considered very evil.' ('Noble Heathen', p. 4). Since the literary traditions were linked, we can extrapolate this to Norway.

piety’)¹⁹⁰ among his peers. As such, his overcoming this danger through conversion to Christianity is described as:

Snjallr gatt qrr frá illu

Evstákíus vaknat

(‘Brave Eustace was able to wake, prompt, from evil’).¹⁹¹

Here, waking and sleeping is used as a metaphor for conversion. Before converting, Eustace was ‘asleep’ and spiritually dead, but now he has awoken to the hope of eternal life. Other noble heathens may perform good deeds, but they are merely sleepwalking as they do so.

Stanza 7 explores Eustace’s worthiness for salvation in terms of nobility:

Sannhugguðr leit seggja

snildar framr á hamri

hauks í hjartar líki

hirðvandan gram standa.

(‘The true comforter of the hawk [WARRIOR], outstanding in prowess, beheld the ruler of men, particular about his retainers, standing on the cliff in the shape of a hart.’)¹⁹²

The idea of God being *hirðvandan* (‘particular about his retainers’; literally ‘court-choosy’) demonstrates Eustace’s worthiness for salvation. This is especially clear in conjunction with the kenning for Eustace invoking hawks (*hawk[r]*), with further connotations of nobility, and his being *snildar framr* (‘outstanding in prowess’). Eustace is worthy of salvation because of his virtues, reflected in his nobility, which is key to the representation of the noble heathen.

One especially interesting manifestation of the ‘noble heathen’ in PID is the apparent division of the protagonist’s identity in the *stef* that appears in stanzas 11, 18 and 25:

Hlaut, sás œztr es ýta,

íðn Plácitus fríða;

Evstákíus ævi

¹⁹⁰ PID 40:3.

¹⁹¹ PID 6:1–2.

¹⁹² PID 7:5–8.

albazta sér valði.

(‘Placidus, who is the highest of men, was allotted a glorious task; Eustace chose for himself the very best life.’)¹⁹³

Placidus, though heathen, is praised superlatively as *æztr ýta* (‘the highest of men’), although this is consistent with the glorification of the subject inherent in the *drápa* form. More significantly, the heathen Placidus is given the task, but the Christian Eustace chooses, and attains, the best life, i.e. the Christian life (and afterlife). His identity is clearly split; while his non-Christian persona can do good deeds and achieve glory, it cannot attain the same heights that his Christian persona can.

Nobility is also inextricably linked to noble heathenism; one cannot be a noble heathen without being noble. When Eustace’s sons meet Theophista, they are described as *siðfróðastir* (‘wisest in manners and customs’).¹⁹⁴ While they have been raised amongst heathens, their nobility is inherent, both because of their noble birth and also potentially through their baptism, which has placed them in the heavenly court, as stated in stanza 5.

4.2.4 – AGENCY AND SALVATION

Although despair and its effect on one’s relationship with God is a key theme in LSE, this theme is not developed in PID, quite probably because *dróttkvætt* was associated with praise for heroic deeds rather than sorrowing. Of particular note is the omission of Eustace’s temptation to suicide.¹⁹⁵ This is not to say that the theme is expunged in PID, however. After Theophista’s kidnap, Eustace’s life is described as *þungr* (‘heavy’),¹⁹⁶ and while Eustace is in Dadissus God desires to comfort him *í harmi* (‘in his sorrow’).¹⁹⁷ When he spots Antiochus and Acaius, Eustace ‘leitaði sér brátt huggunar af dróttni beima í bæn, þás tók hryggvask.’¹⁹⁸ Here Eustace responds in the correct manner to sorrow, seeking consolation in God rather than his former lamentation. A final interesting point relating to this is the ironic reference to

¹⁹³ PID 11, 18, 25:5–8.

¹⁹⁴ PID 51:2. Louis-Jensen and Wills translate this as ‘very well instructed in religion’, but I am unable to find another attestation of this meaning. Cleasby and Vigfusson imply that *sið* generally refers to secular customs rather than religious, and provide the definition ‘well-mannered’ for *siðprúðr*, of which *siðfróðr* is a variant form (*Icelandic-English Dictionary*).

¹⁹⁵ His sorrow at the loss of his sons is rendered only as ‘hann varð harða hryggr við þat’ (‘he became very distraught at that’) (PID 22:3–4).

¹⁹⁶ PID 20:4.

¹⁹⁷ PID 31:4.

¹⁹⁸ PID 36:5–8, ‘quickly sought consolation for himself from the lord of mankind [= God] in prayer, as he began to grow sad’.

Eustace's despair leading to his being *harmtvistr* ('sorrow-muted')¹⁹⁹ as he begins his Lament against God, in which he is anything but silent. Overall, however, the *skáld* is less concerned with this aspect of LSE.

The *skáld* shows more interest in agency, specifically the idea of God providing support to the saints rather than being a controlling factor. For example, when Placidus rises from the ground after his first vision, he is *skorðaðr orðum goðs* ('supported by the words of God').²⁰⁰ The action is his own, but the revelation of God helps him to raise himself, both literally and metaphorically through conversion.

Both Eustace and Theophista openly ask God for help during their Trial, itself a proactive gesture, and each instance of this is immediately followed by a response from God. Firstly, after accepting the Trial, Eustace 'bað Krist fultings við freistni',²⁰¹ for which he 'gat hug við háska'.²⁰² After Theophista's kidnap:

Dýrðhittir bað dróttin

dagbœjar sér tæja

('The acquirer of glory [HOLY MAN = Eustace] bade the lord of the daylight-home [SKY/HEAVEN = God] help him.')

This phrasing is interesting, as it is so close to prose word order ('Dýrðhittir bað dróttin dagbœjar tæja sér') that the *skáld* is arguably drawing attention to it by making it more immediately understandable; secondly, Clunies-Ross observed that the phrase *tæja sér* ('to help him') only appears in Christian writings.²⁰⁴ The response from God is that Eustace 'gat hæst hugborð við freistni'.²⁰⁵ Finally, after her kidnap, Theophista

[...] bað sér við syndum

saurlífis goð hlífa

('asked God to protect her against the sins of impure living')

¹⁹⁹ PID 26:2.

²⁰⁰ PID 2:2.

²⁰¹ PID 10:3–4, 'asked Christ for help in the face of his trial'.

²⁰² PID 10:7, 'received courage against danger'.

²⁰³ PID 18:1–2.

²⁰⁴ Clunies-Ross, *Poetry and Poetics*, p. 139; citing Lange, *Christlichen Dichtung*, p. 104.

²⁰⁵ PID 18:3–4, 'received the highest mind-board [COURAGE] in the face of trial'.

²⁰⁶ PID 19:3–4.

and in response

Blíðr dugði svá brúði

brátt, at saurgask máttit,

himna valdr

(‘The gentle ruler of the heavens [= God] quickly helped the woman so that she could not be corrupted’).²⁰⁷

The nature of God’s help is significant in each instance. There is certainly a gender distinction – in both instances involving Eustace, God provides courage, where with Theophista he provides help. Nonetheless, with neither character is there a sense that God is directly intervening in events. He helps them endure, rather than making them do so. The agency in endurance, and hence success in the Trial, lies with Eustace and Theophista. God provides support but does not ensure the outcome. The importance of God’s indirect aid is shown in Eustace’s acknowledgement at the end of his Lament: ‘þarfk allrar eirar ítrs stillis leiðar gagls’.²⁰⁸ As with the English reflexes, God must provide the necessary tools for salvation, but it is up to the saints to use them properly. As the *skáld* observed, through baptism ‘þrifnuð kómu þeim at mundum’,²⁰⁹ but it is for them to take hold of it and act accordingly.

An interesting aspect of these ‘tools’ is the vocabulary of grace in PID. Grace is never directly referred to; rather, *pietas* is rendered more in terms of mercy or love. A particularly interesting example is the word *ást*. *Ást* typically refers to romantic or affectionate love, especially between man and woman or husband and wife.²¹⁰ It appears three times in PID, always in compounds. After Eustace’s baptism, God informs him that he will be *ástskýrðr* (‘purified by *ást*’),²¹¹ when carrying his son over the river Eustace is described as an *ástvitjuðr* (‘seeker of *ást* [HOLY MAN]’);²¹² and finally, in a refrain Eustace is described as receiving an *ástlaun* (‘reward of *ást*’)²¹³ for withstanding his Trial. In all three cases, *ást* being defined as romantic or sexual love does not fit the sense of the passage. Rather, *ást* appears to be conceptualised as a quality that can be earned and which brings purification. As such, a

²⁰⁷ PID 19:5–7.

²⁰⁸ PID 28:2–4, ‘I need all the mercy of the glorious ruler of the path of the goose [SKY/HEAVEN = God]’.

²⁰⁹ PID 5:2–3, ‘good fortune came into their grasps’.

²¹⁰ Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*.

²¹¹ PID 9:8.

²¹² PID 21:2.

²¹³ PID 25:2.

translation of ‘grace’ can be considered appropriate in this case. The connotations of *ást* constituting close, affectionate love may have been used by the *skáld* to connote a close and loving relationship with God leading to gifts of grace.

The use of *ást* to translate the concept of grace is also interesting, as the general terms used to translate this in Norse literature are *gipta*, *gæfa*, *hamingja* and *auðna*, with more specific terms such as *líkn*, *fyrirætlan* and *miskunn* being used in more specifically hagiographic texts. *Gæfa* and *gipta* especially both derive from terms for gifts.²¹⁴ The fact that PID uses a notion of love (*ást*) over fortune or gifts could stem from the earlier nature of PID (as the sagas cited by Baetke, Lönnroth and Hallberg date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). It is also likely that *ást* is simply more poetic vocabulary, as it is used to render ideas concerning grace in several Christian *drápur*.²¹⁵ Equally, it could be an attempt on the part of the *skáld* to express the loving intentions behind God’s gifts of grace, and possibly to indicate Placidus-Eustace’s more aristocratic background, expressing a closer, more personal relationship between him and God.

The conceptualisation of grace as a tool accords with the idea of Eustace’s tribulations as a test. If he is to prove himself, he must have some agency. The sense of Eustace and his family proving themselves is heightened in PID. At the beginning of his Trial, Eustace observes:

‘Eigum oss at lægja,
einn réttur þvíat goð beinir,
– reyndrs, sás stríð má stadask
stór – farnaði órum.’

(‘We must humble ourselves because the one true God furthers our fortune; that one is well-proven who can endure great distress.’)²¹⁶

Likewise, the *skáld* states:

²¹⁴ Lönnroth, *Critical Introduction*, p. 126–7. See also Baetke, ‘Christliches Lehngut’ pp. 345–9, and Hallberg, ‘Concept of *gipta-gæfa-hamingja*’.

²¹⁵ *Allra postula minnisvisur* 4, 1:1; *Allra postula minnisvisur* 12, 1:6; *Andreasdrápa* 2:1; *Heilgas anda drápa*, 1:3, 10:2; *Hugsvinnmál* 19:3, 36:6; *Katarinadrápa* 4:5; *Liknarbraut* 4:3, 11:1, 34:3, 35:1, 45:7; *Mariudrápa* 10:1; *Drápa af Máriugrat* 34:4; *Máriuvisur* 1:6, 7; *Harmsól* 9:8, 18:1, 62:8; as edited in Clunies-Ross, *Poetry on Christian Subjects* 2 vols.

²¹⁶ PID 14:5–8.

Friðbeiðir gefr fríðan
fögnuð með sér brögnum
höppum glæstr, þeims hraustla
høð mein bera á jørðu.

(‘The peace-promoter, shining with victories [= God], gives men who bear hard suffering bravely on earth glorious joy with him.’)²¹⁷

Both *helmingar* link endurance of tribulation with a heavenly reward. The Trial is also framed in the first *stef* as a *fríða iðn* (‘glorious task’),²¹⁸ highlighting its importance. Likewise, both of Eustace’s major losses are followed by references to his endurance. The loss of his material wealth is described as Eustace coming *í mesti mannraun* (‘into the greatest ordeal’),²¹⁹ followed by the statement that ‘fleygarðs fúrleistir stóðsk freistni.’²²⁰ Similarly, the first *helming* of the refrain stanza following the loss of Eustace’s family reiterates that:

Órr hefr engla stýris
ástlaun af gram raunar
hraustr, sás hér stóðsk freistni
heimsiklings vel mikla.

(‘The strong messenger of the rudder [SEAFARER], who stood up well to the world-ruler’s [= God] great trial here, receives a loving reward for his ordeal from the prince of angels [= God].’)²²¹

The repetition of the phrase *stóðsk freistni* (‘he stood up to the trial’) in both instances reiterates the importance of Eustace’s endurance in PID. His success is not questioned; even when he is about to lament, his reward is invoked. The *drápa* records his triumphs, so naturally his endurance is emphasised above the question of his salvation.

²¹⁷ PID 39:1–4.

²¹⁸ PID 11, 18, 25:6.

²¹⁹ PID 12:3–4.

²²⁰ PID 12:7–8, ‘the wrecker of the fire of the ship-fence [SHIELD > SWORD > WARRIOR = Eustace] endured the trial’.

²²¹ PID 25:1–4.

Especially interesting, however, is the impetus behind the Trial in PID. During Eustace’s second vision, God tells him not to fear ‘þótt verðir í freistni af mér’.²²² Uniquely among the LSE reflexes discussed here, PID does not attribute the trial to the Devil’s anger at losing Placidus,²²³ but to God.²²⁴ This reframes the Trial from the Job-like model of God observing endurance against diabolical wiles to one of God actively testing Eustace. In this case, Eustace is proving himself worthy of God – and therefore salvation – rather than resisting a malicious enemy. Importantly, God can and does help him (for example, in the same stanza in which he imposes the Trial, God states, ‘[h]reinni huggun mun minka trega þinn’²²⁵), but the ultimate outcome is left to the saints, not divine providence.

Alterations to the saints’ behaviour while they live as Christians among pagans demonstrate this test of worth, as they emphasise their good Christian behaviour while also accentuating the danger and hardship they endure. The description of Eustace’s life in Dadissus contains some interesting aspects:

Ok til aumra rekka
 atvinnu gaf Þvinnils
 vigg-Baldr víðrar foldar
 verkkaup, þats sér merkði.
 Fast helt lundr ok leyndi
 linnvengis trú sinni
 hlunndýrs heiðna runna
 hóttnæfr við goð sóttum

²²² PID 9:1, 3–4, ‘though you come into a trial through me’.

²²³ Compare C9 87–8, ‘Modo fidei tuae demonstrabuntur opera, quoniam inuidia commouebitur coram te diaboli, eo quod illum reliquisti et festinat omnem adinventionem circa te mouere.’ (‘Now the deeds of your faith will be demonstrated, so the hatred of the Devil will be stirred up against you, because you have abandoned him, and he hastens to move every artifice against you.’); and PIS(A) 94–6, ‘Nu munn auglysast uerk truar þynnar, þui ad dyofulll üelur öfund j giegñ þier, þui þú huerfur fra honum, og setur hann allar uyelar j giegñ þier’ (‘Now your faith will show itself in works, for the devil awakens envy against you, since you have turned from him, and he sets all his wiles against you.’).

²²⁴ The reference to Satan was possibly removed due to the restrictions of *dróttkvætt* meter. Nonetheless, this alteration would affect the reception of PID and fits the increased emphasis on the trial.

²²⁵ PID 9:5–6, ‘With pure consolation I will lessen your sorrow.’ Note that God only lessens his sorrow, rather than removing it entirely. There is still a trial, but it is surmountable if Eustace wills it. This is in keeping with the argument of Pelagius that God does not test people beyond their endurance (see §2.1.2); this is not to say that the skald followed the teachings of Pelagius.

(‘And the Baldr <god> of the horse of the wide land of Þvinnill <sea-king> [SEA > SHIP > SEAFARER] gave the wages, which he had set aside for himself, for the support of poor men. The virtuous tree of the serpent-ground [GOLD > MAN] held fast to his agreements with God and concealed his faith from the heathen trees of the animal of the launching-roller [SHIP > SEAFARERS]’)²²⁶

This description of Eustace’s life in *Dadissus* contains details that are not found in other versions of LSE. These largely refer to his consistently good Christian behaviour; he spends his wages charitably for the upkeep of the poor (‘gaf verkkaup, þats merkði ser, til atvinnu aumra rekka’) and is true to his faith in God (‘helt fast sóttum við goð’). The *skáld* is clearly keen to emphasise Eustace’s good behaviour, especially given his recent Lament and the origins of *drápur* as praise poems. It is interesting, however, that both Eustace and Theophista are unwilling to reveal their faith to their neighbours (Eustace ‘leyndi trú sinni’²²⁷ and Theophista was ‘ógntvist ok helt kristni’²²⁸). While both continue to be Christians, they are not open about it. This may be intended to highlight the danger they are in and hence their Christian heroism.

4.2.5 – CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that the composer of PID chose Eustace as a subject because his secular and military attributes made him an ideal match to traditional *dróttkvætt* tropes. Accordingly, the *skáld* utilised traditional imagery and kennings to emphasise these aspects of Eustace, but also to challenge and undermine them in a Christian context through the artful use of irony. This artistry extends to the use of mythological material in kennings, which the *skáld* was clearly comfortable with and expected his audience to be able to interpret, as the evocation of pre-Christian mythology and legend is seldom mere ornamentation. In addition, the *skáld* is evidently conscious of the theme of noble heathenism in LSE, which may also explain why Eustace was chosen as a subject for a courtly style, with a presumed audience whose heathen ancestors were important to them; accordingly, there is a clear class divide in the depiction of heathens in PID. The depiction of the Trial is also influenced by the poetic form, focusing more on the testing of, and subsequent reward for, endurance, as well as emphasising the correct use of grace in earning salvation rather than a reliance on *providentia*. This is entirely appropriate to a poetic form that memorialised noteworthy deeds. PID is a fine example of the synthesis of

²²⁶ PID 30.

²²⁷ PID 30:5–6.

²²⁸ PID 24:8, ‘made quiet by terror and kept (her) Christian faith’.

hagiographic and *dróttkvætt* traditions, through both the choice of subject and the treatment of the material.

4.3 – PLÁCIDUS SAGA

Of all the reflexes of LSE discussed in this thesis, PIS has the most witnesses, being contained in eleven manuscripts in four different variants (designated A, B, C and D by Tucker). These span a period from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries.²²⁹ This testifies to the popularity of PIS in medieval and early modern Iceland. It is also significant that there is little substantial change to the saga in transmission, unlike the more extreme adaptations in England, for example, *Sir Isumbras*.²³⁰ There does, however, appear to be a shift in the genre which PIS(AC) were received as. PIS provides an opportunity to see how a tradition developed diachronically across several centuries, where the other reflexes provide only synchronic snapshots.

4.3.1 – TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND MANUSCRIPT CONTEXTS

THE A-RECENSION

The A-Recension of *Plácíðus saga* is the most complete and widely circulated. It is extant in seven manuscripts, of which only AM 655 4to X is medieval, being dated by Tucker to the third quarter of the thirteenth century.²³¹ The other manuscripts date from the mid-seventeenth to the late nineteenth century.²³² In Tucker's edition, the most comprehensive so far created, there are two main versions – A¹, the earliest, as in AM 655 4to X, which is unfortunately incomplete, and A², the earliest extant complete version of the A-recension, dated to the middle of the seventeenth century.²³³ As the only complete versions are later, PIS(A) will be assumed to be A² in Tucker's edition unless the earlier A¹ version has a significantly different reading, when it will be quoted specifically.

In AM 655 4to X, the earliest extant version of PIS(A) circulated alongside *Mauritius saga*.²³⁴ As St Maurice is another soldier saint, the texts may have been placed together because of an interest in soldier saints. It has been suggested that AM 655 4to XXXIII originally formed

²²⁹ See Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*.

²³⁰ See §1.

²³¹ Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, pp. xliii–xliv. Tucker designated this manuscript A¹.

²³² Three of these were used as primary manuscripts in Tucker's edition, designated A²³⁴. Sth. papp. 8vo nr. 8 (A²) is dated c. 1650–60; ÍB 634 8vo (A³) is dated to c. 1743–7; Lbs. 677 4to (A⁴) is dated to 1817. Tucker designated the remaining three manuscripts secondary. Sth. papp. 4to nr. 31 is dated to the seventeenth century (predating 1693); ÍB 161 8vo is dated to 1845; Lbs. 1137 8vo is dated to 1878. See Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, pp. xlv–xlvii.

²³³ Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, p. xlv.

²³⁴ It is worth noting that OEE also circulated with an Old English translation of a *vita* of St Maurice and his Companions in LoS (Skeat, *Lives of Saints*).

part of the same manuscript;²³⁵ if this is the case then PIS(A) also circulated with the *vitae* of the Forty Soldiers, who were also soldier saints, and Mary of Egypt.

Interestingly, later manuscripts appear to place PIS(A) with material that is either secular in nature, or a mixture of secular and religious material, and rarely in the contexts of other saints' lives. Lbs. 677 4to transmits PIS(A) with a number of prose romances and mythic-heroic sagas,²³⁶ as well as sagas with more learned subjects,²³⁷ while Lbs. 1137 8vo also places PIS(A) alongside a mix of secular and apocryphal religious material, with PIS(A) coming first, ahead of a Norse account of the Dream of Pilate's Wife.²³⁸ ÍB 634 8vo transmits PIS(A) with a wide-ranging array of material, the majority of which are secular, such as *rímur* and other poems.²³⁹ ÍB 161 8vo places PIS(A) among a set of exempla or *ævintýri*, after a selection of annals apparently containing religious material.²⁴⁰ Both seventeenth-century manuscripts also circulate PIS(A) in a more secular context: Sth papp. 4to nr. 31 contains PIS(A) after three *riddarasögur*,²⁴¹ and, more importantly, Sth papp. 8vo nr. 8, which contains the earliest complete recension of PIS(A) and provides the base of PIS(A²) in Tucker's edition, transmits PIS(A) in a similar context. PIS(A) comes at the end of a series of *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*, and before a series of *ævintýri*, some of which appear quasi-religious in nature;²⁴² PIS(A) plausibly acted as a thematic bridge between the two sets of text. It can therefore be argued that PIS(A) was being seen less explicitly as a *heilagramanna saga* in the post-medieval period. This has ramifications for the medieval reception of the saga and our editing of it today.

THE B-RECENSION

The B-Recension of PIS is preserved in AM 655 4to IX, composed between 1150 and 1200, either in Eastern Norway (possibly Trondheim), or at least by a Norwegian working in Iceland.²⁴³ The short fragment covers the first vision and baptism of Eustace, and was

²³⁵ See Tucker, 'Scribal Hands', pp. 110–11.

²³⁶ *Klarilius saga sterka*, *Úlfars saga sterka*, *Blómsturvalla saga*, *Ectors saga* and *Örvar-Odds saga* (Lbs 677 4to, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0677>>, [accessed 04/09/2018]).

²³⁷ *Potanus saga og Diocletianus* and *Salomons saga og Markólfs* (Lbs 677 4to, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-0677>> [accessed 04/09/2018]).

²³⁸ Lbs 1137 8vo, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs08-1137>> [accessed 25/10/18].

²³⁹ ÍB 634 8vo, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/IB08-0634>> [accessed 25/10/18].

²⁴⁰ ÍB 161 8vo, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/IB08-0161>> [accessed 25/10/18].

²⁴¹ *Niklaus saga leikara*, *Nitida saga frægn* and *Dinus saga drambláta*; Gödel, *Katalog*, pp. 302–3.

²⁴² The heroic sagas are: *Þorsteins saga bægjarmans*, *Sigrðar saga ok Valbrandar*, *Þjarlar-Jóns saga*, *Göngu-Hrólf's saga* and *Sigurðar saga þögla*. The five *ævintýri* cover less than one page; the first concerns Saints Vitus and Modestus; Gödel, *Katalog*, pp. 366–7.

²⁴³ See Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, pp. lix–lx; the possible Icelandic provenance for AM 655 4to IX was suggested by Ólafur Halldórsson, *Mattheus saga*, p.lxv.

transmitted with fragments of *Blasius saga* and *Matheus saga postola*. Although PIS(B) is the earliest extant version of PIS, the parchment is damaged and the text highly fragmentary.²⁴⁴ Although PIS(A) and PIS(B) appear to be close to the Latin, and even share vocabulary on occasion, Tucker showed that B can be considered independent from A as they apparently translate exemplars from slightly different Latin traditions (Tucker's P and Q versions). However, as B appears to be a relatively free translation, its source is difficult to identify or reconstruct.²⁴⁵

THE C-RECENSION

PIS(C) is preserved in two paper manuscripts. Lbs. 1217 4to, dated to 1817, contains PIS(C) as the last item following a number of mythic-heroic and romantic sagas,²⁴⁶ while ÍB 382 8vo, 'a miscellany of originally independent (manuscripts) from different dates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries',²⁴⁷ contains PIS(C) (under the title of an *ævintýr*) as the first of numerous folktales and exempla, dated by the scribe to 1845.²⁴⁸

Though the manuscripts of PIS(C) are relatively young, Tucker maintains that PIS(C) remains of interest to the study of medieval recensions of PIS, since

when it is carefully compared with the A and B texts, it becomes apparent that C preserves traces of a Latin translation belonging to the Q tradition which is [...] occasionally superior to and often independent of A (or at least of the A text as it can presently be reconstructed).²⁴⁹

Because there is also compelling evidence that PID also influenced the composition of PIS(C),²⁵⁰ which appears as much a hybrid of versions as an adaptation of LSE, an examination of PIS(C) is vital to our understanding of the reception of PIS in the medieval period and its post-Reformation afterlife. It is in the case of PIS(C) that polysystem theory can prove the most useful.

²⁴⁴ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. lix.

²⁴⁵ See *Ibid.*, pp. lxi–lxviii for discussion of the correspondences and differences between PIS(A) and PIS(B).

²⁴⁶ Lbs 1217 4to, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1217>> [accessed 13/11/18].

²⁴⁷ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. lxx.

²⁴⁸ ÍB 382 8vo, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/IB08-0382>> [accessed 13/11/18].

²⁴⁹ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. lxxiii. See pp. lxxi–lxxxiv for Tucker's comparison of PIS(C) with PIS(AB).

²⁵⁰ See Tucker and Louis-Jensen in Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, pp. ciii–cxxv.

THE D-RECENSION

The extant fragment of PIS(D), which relates the story from just before the loss of Eustace's second son to just before the saints' martyrdom, is preserved on the second leaf of AM 696 4to III, and is transmitted with the opening of the wisdom contest, *Melkólfs saga ok Salomons konungs*.²⁵¹ Tucker dated PIS(D) to the last quarter of the fourteenth century on palaeographic and orthographic grounds.²⁵²

4.3.2 – GENRE

While PIS has traditionally been edited as a *heilagramanna saga*, the treatment of the narrative and its manuscript context in later recensions suggests that, especially in the later medieval and early modern period, PIS was read and received as an entertaining romantic story as much as, if not more than, a didactic hagiography. PIS(C) and later copies of PIS(A) were circulated in manuscripts containing far more romantic and legendary sagas and other secular material than texts that could be considered hagiographic. Extant titles attributed to PIS (insofar as we have them) also suggest this shift,²⁵³ as they introduce PIS as an *ævintýr* ('adventure' or 'fable'). It should be borne in mind, however, that the earlier recensions, which appear to have inhabited a more religious generic context, lack titles. Additionally, churchmen such as Jon Halldorsson preached in fourteenth-century Iceland through exempla (that is, 'concrete, entertaining tales with a moral message'), which he termed *ævintýri*. Such tales may have influenced later Icelandic folk traditions,²⁵⁴ and LSE being an entertaining but exemplary narrative certainly fits such a model. It is possible that the secular themes inherent in LSE led to a shift in the Legend's reception in Scandinavia, away from it being hagiography and towards such exemplary secular stories.²⁵⁵ This avenue of investigation is best pursued through polysystem

²⁵¹ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. lxxxiv. PIS(A) also appears with *Salomons saga og Markólfs* in Lbs 677 4to; it is possible that the entertaining nature of both stories was the source of later interest in them.

²⁵² See *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxv–xc for Tucker's discussion of the palaeographic and orthographic features of PIS(D).

²⁵³ Eight copies of PIS preserve a title, all of which date from the later period, between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Significantly, seven of these eight refer to it as an *ævintýr*; the exception is Lbs 677 4to, which titles it with 'Sögu þattur af Plassedyö hans konu og tveimur sonum' ('The Saga of Placidus, his Wife and Two Sons'); see Tucker, *Plácidus saga* and handrit.is (accessed 6/9/18). Unfortunately, the three earlier fragments from more religious manuscript contexts (comprising the B and D recensions and the earliest witness of A) lack titles to use for comparative purposes; nonetheless, this indicates that in the later period PIS was being read more as an entertaining (and possibly edifying) tale than a saints' life.

²⁵⁴ Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief*, pp. 54–5.

²⁵⁵ This shift did not necessarily lead to the text materially altering. For example, the vocabulary of grace in PIS(AC) is telling. Lönnroth noted that grace was normally rendered in more neutral and secular texts as *gípta/gæfa/hamingja* (*Critical Introduction* p. 126–7). In PIS(AC), however, where grace, when mentioned (as it is often excised), is rendered as *miskunn* (PIS(A) ll. 13, 38–9, 112, 155, 364, 370; PIS(C) ll. 45, 304, 317) or *mildi* (PIS(A) ll. 13–14, 17). Both have a more explicit sense of grace or mercy in the Christian sense, and Lönnroth noted that *miskunn* especially is more explicitly hagiographic language (Lönnroth, *Critical Introduction*, p. 126).

theory. Shifts in reception may have been due to changing tastes, or alternatively the fact that most extant manuscripts of PIS(A) date from after the Reformation and largely contain secular narratives may indicate how the reception of PIS adapted against the evolving cultural backdrop of Iceland.²⁵⁶

The Eustace tradition especially underwent a romantic co-option in England during the medieval period, most especially in the case of *Sir Isumbras*,²⁵⁷ but in Scandinavia this did not occur. Nor is Eustace the only saint to undergo a similar romanticising transformation without the identity of the protagonist being lost. Kalinke has shown that *Ósvalds saga*, composed in Iceland between 1530 and 1540, translates a Low German version of the life of St Oswald. In this version, the historical details of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the later *Vita Oswaldi* were blended with romantic material, including a coronation miracle involving a talking raven and a bridal quest narrative. The Low German *Münchner Oswald*, a metrical version of the story dated by scholarly consensus to the late twelfth century, goes further, omitting Oswald's death in battle and representing him more as a virginal confessor.²⁵⁸ Chivalric tropes had a great impact on the transmission of this narrative.

In a similar vein, the highly popular *Eiriks saga vídförla* (extant in some 34 manuscripts²⁵⁹) can be seen as a mixture of *fornaldarsögur* and Christian theological texts in its central quest to seek the 'Land of the Living, a precursor to Heaven on earth through various adventures involving mythical creatures such as dragons. Eirik, being a heathen who receives instruction and converts, bears some similarities with Placidus-Eustace. Furthermore, he displays some aspects of noble heathenism, as his pre-conversion oath to find 'the Land of the

This could suggest that a text with a more hagiographic tone could still be accepted as literature for secular enjoyment; additionally, in the later period when the shift took place, the semantic division noted by Lönnroth, Baetke and Hallberg may have been less pronounced.

²⁵⁶ According to the handrit.is manuscript database [accessed 30/10/18], of the 119 entries that contain texts that can be considered prose hagiography, only some 34 are pre-Reformation. Most (c. 81) were produced as copies during the antiquarian resurgence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of these, seven are single texts, 54 are single hagiographies within collections of other material (only nine of which collections are wholly religious), while fifteen contain multiple hagiographies (of which only eight are wholly religious), with a marked increase in fantastical and pseudo-historical material circulating alongside hagiographies across the period. Only the Apostles are circulated together with any regularity. The popularity of St. Margaret arguably skews these numbers; her *vita* appears as the sole *vita* in 26 manuscripts (six of which are wholly religious, six of which contain otherwise secular material, and fourteen of which contain a mixture), and in four of the manuscripts containing multiple hagiographies. Two of these collections contain fantastical material and also include the *Seven Sleepers*, whose folkloric tale appears in nine manuscripts in this period, all of which contain largely fantastical material. It appears, therefore, that at the time of preservation many hagiographies were not being circulated in solely hagiographic corpora.

²⁵⁷ See §1.

²⁵⁸ Kalinke, *St Oswald*.

²⁵⁹ *Handrit*, <handrit.is/en> [accessed 27/11/18].

Living' (a precursor to the Christian paradise) in Ch. 1 shows. Like Placidus in his vision of Christ, Eirik also receives a lengthy exposition on the true nature of creation in Ch. 2. Finally, Ch. 5 draws comparisons between heathen and Christian notions of lasting fame and glory in a similar manner to LSE.²⁶⁰ *Eiriks saga víðförla* is also transmitted with PIS(A) in the eighteenth-century manuscript ÍB 634 8vo, among other secular narratives such as *rímur*.²⁶¹

One means by which we can better understand such generic shifts is through polysystem theory.²⁶² While polysystem theory is principally interested in the development of genre through the composition of new texts rather than changes within the transmission history of a single text, aspects of it can help contextualise some of the changes that PIS underwent. For example, the shift in the transmission of PIS by which it appears in more secular-heroic literary contexts is likely to be related to the cultural crisis point created by the Reformation, with PIS moving from the hagiographic polysystem to the periphery of the romantic polysystem, thus ensuring its survival as PIS(AC). While PIS(AC) is not a hybrid saga per se, the blending of folklore, hagiography and romance inherent in LSE plausibly allowed for PIS to be received as such. This is especially the case with PIS(C), which appears to be a hybrid of multiple Eustace variants.²⁶³

If we accept that extant witnesses of PIS(AC) were largely transmitted in a secular context, or at least a mixture of secular and religious, then there are implications for future editions. If the contemporary literary culture transmitted and received PIS among mythic-heroic and chivalric narratives, one must question whether it is appropriate for PIS to be edited exclusively as a *heilagramanna saga*, despite its saintly protagonist.

As the B and D recensions are fragmentary and have an overall more religious tone, these two recensions will be treated before PIS(A) and PIS(C). The analysis of the more complete sagas will then follow, with a discussion of their generic hybridity and whether it is appropriate to read and edit them as *heilagramanna sögur*.

²⁶⁰ *Eiriks saga Víðförla*, ed. H. Jensen.

²⁶¹ ÍB 634 8vo, *Handrit*, <<https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/IB08-0634>> [accessed 25/10/18].

²⁶² See §1.2.2.

²⁶³ See §4.3.6.2.

4.3.3 – THE B RECENSION

Perhaps due to its fragmentary nature, little of PIS(B) has been discussed, barring its age and provenance. Though only a glimpse of the entire picture is available, a flavour of the author's intentions and style can be gleaned from this fragment.

Immediately apparent in PIS(B) is the author's free hand in making the narrative more engaging.²⁶⁴ For example, when Placidus hears Christ's description of his might the author adds the detail that 'fell han tiL fota hanum',²⁶⁵ expressing Placidus' honour or subservience to God more emotively. Later, when Placidus confesses his burgeoning faith, Christ challenges him, telling him to be baptised '[e]f þu truir sva sem þu mælar nu'.²⁶⁶ Finally, a sense of urgency is injected into their baptism, as Placidus' wife insists that they go *þegar inot* ('this very night').²⁶⁷ Whether this is from fear of risking damnation the longer they delay, or an excitement to act on Christ's injunction, the narrative urgency is palpable.

This concern for a more engaging narrative also makes for an interesting treatment of minor details, which often have theological significance. The author extends the description of idols to demonstrate their emptiness further,²⁶⁸ and thus to emphasise the spiritual blindness of Placidus' former life. More significantly, Christ states that he came to earth 'i. Cross. licneskiu. At ec vilda hialpa allu follke'.²⁶⁹ Firstly, the idea of Christ being in the form of a cross is an unusual way of referring to the Incarnation; at no point in the Biblical narrative is Christ in such a form. It is possible that the author used this image due to the wide recognition of the Cross as symbolic of Christ's sacrifice. Secondly, the extension of salvation to *allu follke* may indicate the breadth of Christ's mercy, but also has interesting implications for the salvation of non-Christians besides noble heathens like Placidus. Later, Eustace's wife responds to Eustace's vision thus: 'Sat tu þan man er guð er. Oc gyðingar fæstu A cross'.²⁷⁰ Unlike in the

²⁶⁴ Tucker suggested that '[p]ossibly B translates a highly idiosyncratic Latin text, but it is as likely that the translator of B did not aim for the kind of exactness of rendering that is characteristic of A' (*Placidus Saga*, pp. lxiv–lxv).

²⁶⁵ PIS(B) 20, 'he fell at his (Christ's) feet'.

²⁶⁶ PIS(B) 22–3, 'if you believe as you now say'.

²⁶⁷ PIS(B) 36.

²⁶⁸ PIS(B) 5–6 'uret er þat [a]t vinr min [...] trui a stoca, oc a stæina, [e]r andar lausir ero' ('It is not right that my friend should believe in blocks of wood and stones, which are without spirit').

²⁶⁹ PIS(B) 6–7, 'in the likeness of a Cross, because I wanted to help all people'. Compare C9 39–40 '[o]b hoc ego ueni in terra in hac specie sicut nunc me uides saluare genus humanum' ('because of this, therefore, I came to earth in this form, as you now see me, to save the human race').

²⁷⁰ PIS(B) 31–2, 'You saw that man who is God, and who the Jews fastened to a cross'. Compare to C9 59 'crucifixum Deum uidisti, quem christiani colunt' ('you saw the Crucified God, whom the Christians worship').

Latin, Christianity is not explicitly mentioned; rather the attributes of Christ as God and man,²⁷¹ whose crucifixion was popularly blamed on Jews in the medieval period.

PIS(B) also contains a clear emphasis on faith as knowledge and wisdom. Placidus' statement of faith recognises Christ as one who 'snyr viltum mannum til vitz. oc vizdoms',²⁷² while Pope John '(k)ennde þeim vit oc visdom'²⁷³ before their baptism. There is an impression, however, that God is less concerned with this understanding. In C9 John, upon hearing of Eustace's intention to be baptised, 'alacri gaudio repletus et glorificans dominum deum, qui uult omnes saluos fieri et ad agnitionem ueritatis uenire'.²⁷⁴ In PIS(B), however, 'varð þvi male fægin Biscu[p] þaccaðe þat guði at hann villdi miscunna sina skæfnu.'²⁷⁵ While understanding is an important aspect of faith in PIS(B), God's mercy in providing the means of salvation is emphasised over any need for understanding on the part of Eustace and his family.

PIS(B) also appears more interested in straightforward expressions of power and divinity on a universal, rather than plot-specific, level. For example, when Placidus' wife expresses certainty that Christ is '[a]llz er valdande. Oc allz scapare',²⁷⁶ rather than that '[u]oluit ergo sub tali figura mirandi spectaculi per ceruum tibi apparere, ut eius mirari possis potentiam credens in eum'.²⁷⁷ Such expressions of power also appear to have a more earthly focus. When Christ promises to appear a second time once Placidus is baptised, he states: 'vill ec gera þer þa cunt. hvat vera scall um þin hag'.²⁷⁸ While arguably heavenly rewards would be to his advantage, the promise is couched in terms more appropriate to immediate worldly gain. Likewise, besides the rudiments of the faith, Pope John also teaches them 'hvassu þau skyldu sit lif lif[a]. Æftir skirninni'.²⁷⁹ Once again, practical advice for earthly behaviour supersedes spiritual teaching.

²⁷¹ Although the sense of his being a man who is God is not entirely in line with Catholic doctrine of Christ paradoxically being fully God and fully man.

²⁷² PIS(B) 21–2, 'turns erring men to knowledge and wisdom'; C9 51 reads *qui conuertis errantes* ('who converts those who are erring').

²⁷³ PIS(B) 43, 'taught them knowledge and wisdom'; C9 71 reads 'exponens eis misterium fidei' ('unfolded the mysteries of faith to them').

²⁷⁴ C9 70–1, 'was filled with eager joy and praised the Lord, who wants all to be saved and to come to a recognition of truth'.

²⁷⁵ PIS(B) 41–2, 'the bishop became happy at that speech [and] thanked God that he wanted to show mercy to his creation'.

²⁷⁶ PIS(B) 35–6, 'who rules everything and created everything'.

²⁷⁷ C9 62–3, 'he desired to appear in such a figure of a wonderful spectacle through the stag, that you might wonder at his power and believe in him'.

²⁷⁸ PIS(B) 27–8, 'I will make known to you what your condition will be'.

²⁷⁹ PIS(B) 43–4, 'how they should live after baptism'.

Overall, it is difficult to draw many conclusions regarding PIS(B) due to its fragmentary nature, although it can be ascertained that the author intended to produce a more engaging narrative. Furthermore, some of the phrasing implies that the spirituality of PIS(B) was more grounded in earthly actions and rewards than some other reflexes of LSE.

4.3.4 – THE D-RECENSION

PIS(D) is a distinctive reflex of LSE. Only a fragment covering the story from Eustace's loss of his sons to their prayer before their martyrdom is extant. The text is heavily abbreviated, reducing the story to roughly a fifth of its full length,²⁸⁰ and the events recounted indicate that it was based on a version of BHL 2760, rather than 2761.²⁸¹ It is difficult to tell whether the Norse redactor was working from an abbreviated Latin exemplar, or if the abbreviation was their own innovation;²⁸² either way, the choice was made to transmit an abbreviated form, which appears to have been an uncommon form of hagiography in medieval Scandinavia.²⁸³ Though narrative changes naturally result from heavy abbreviation, several alterations cannot be explained away as mere *brevitas*. These changes, and choices made concerning the omission and retention of material, can tell us much about the intentions of the redactor of PIS(D).

²⁸⁰ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xc.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. xci. Here Tucker also argued that the D-recension has a different source to that of PIS(AC) due to differences in events which 'cannot be traced to any currently identifiable source'. Tucker also noted the explicit retention of the suicide episode (which is garbled, if not omitted, in PIS(A)), although one could argue that Eustace's temptation to suicide would be material likely to be culled in a more overtly sanitised Christian version of LSE, which PIS(D) appears to be. Tucker further suggested that the phrase 'fæddu upp. en ecki uissi evstachius til þessa' (PIS(D) 8–9, 'they raised them, but Eustace knew nothing of this') being closer to the Q-tradition of the Latin (which C9 belongs to) rather than the P-tradition in which he placed *A (his hypothetical archetype of PIS(AC)).

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ According to Wolf's survey of Old Norse-Icelandic hagiographic material (*Legends of the Saints*), which covers some 130 figures and hagiographic subjects across 273 separate texts, only 9 other texts show a comparable level of abbreviation. The first example is an *Inventio Crucis*, which Wolf describes as '[a]n abbreviated translation of BHL 4169 with additional material' (p. 83) and appears in NRA 75 (c. 1250–75), AM 238 fol. XI (c. 1300–25), AM 233a fol. (c. 1350–60), and AM 667 4to V (c. 1525). The second is *Elisabetar leiðsla*, a 'condensed version' of the visions of Saint Elizabeth of Schönau (p. 102), which appears in AM 764 4to (c. 1376–86). The other comparable hagiographies are all epitome, or condensed abstracts of *vitae*. Two of these also appear in AM 764 4to: a second *Inventio Crucis*, and *Af Úrsúlu*, concerning St Ursula and her Companions. A second epitome version of *Af Úrsúlu* appears in several places as part of *Breta sögur* (a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*); the relevant manuscripts are AM 544 4to (*Hauksbók*) (c. 1302–10), Trinity L.3.23 (c. 1350), AM 573 4to (c. 1350–75), and Stock. Perg. fol. No. 58 (c. 1700–1800). Finally, four epitomes appear in AM 472 4to (c. 1400–1500): *Barþoru saga*, *Um Barthólómeus postola*, *Af Blasius*, and *Af Nikulás*. That these shortened versions are largely concentrated in three manuscripts, or as parts of other texts, indicates that the practice was not widespread. Furthermore, the chronological range of the manuscripts spans the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the centre of which period PIS(D) is ascribed to.

PIS(D) focuses on Eustace. Descriptions of his wife and sons' lives during their separation are omitted,²⁸⁴ and their reunions go unexplained:²⁸⁵ after Eustace prays that he might see them again²⁸⁶ it is merely explained that 'þetta allt ueittiz honum at til hans kom kona hans ok synir en þat er eigi sagt med huerium hætti eda atburd þat uard'.²⁸⁷ Though it is possible that the translator was working from a heavily abbreviated Latin source, it is likelier that these aspects were simply not of interest to the redactor, who omitted them from his focused narrative via an appeal to popular ignorance.

The sequence of events also appears to have been changed in the interests of a simplified narrative. For example, Trajan dies before Eustace returns and Hadrian leads the military campaign instead.²⁸⁸ There is also a loss of timescale; there is no sense of how long Eustace is separated from his former life, except that he was *lengi æ brottu* ('away for a long time'),²⁸⁹ and this is only mentioned after his return to Rome. In PIS(D) the fact of the Trial is more important than the details, and a simpler narrative is favoured.

These alterations are, however, sometimes imperfectly rendered. For example, Eustace is described as returning to Rome with his former companions, then praying for the reunions he subsequently receives. This prayer is then followed by his being recognized and a reference to him being away for a long time with his companions before coming to Rome, suggesting that he returns to Rome twice.²⁹⁰ While one could argue that his vague reunions with his kin before his recognition by the world, embodied by his former companions, places greater emphasis on the importance of family over temporal status, the discrepancy nonetheless remains.

PIS(D) was clearly intended to be a less problematic and more orthodoxly Christian version of LSE,²⁹¹ with Eustace acting in a more traditionally saintly manner. Eustace's secular

²⁸⁴ It is possible that in a complete version Theophista may have been mentioned if the story were reordered in a similar fashion to PID and PIS(C). This seems unlikely, however, as there are no parallels between these texts and PIS(D) as we have it.

²⁸⁵ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xci.

²⁸⁶ This incident is also moved within the narrative, as observed by Tucker. In LSE Eustace makes this prayer before encountering his former servants, while in PIS(D) he prays after leaving for Rome with them; notably their recognition of him also takes place after this prayer in PIS(D); Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xci.

²⁸⁷ PIS(D) 25–6, 'that was all granted to him, that his wife and sons came to him, but it is not said through what dangers and events this came about'.

²⁸⁸ PIS(D) 29–31, 35–7.

²⁸⁹ PIS(D) 28.

²⁹⁰ PIS(D) 19–30.

²⁹¹ One detail that might prove an exception to this rule is the description of the wolf who steals Eustace's son as *y/igr* (PIS(D) 2; 'a she-wolf'). Hui has observed that this word generally only appears in legendary or romance

exile in Dadissus as a menial labourer is omitted, and his exile is rendered as the life of a hermit: ‘hann hafði stadfest sik í helli einum.’²⁹² This implies that he has been living an eremitic, unworldly existence. The secular themes inherent in LSE are therefore reduced, and the tripartite structures discussed in §2.3 are disrupted. PIS(D) also alters events so that Hadrian, not Eustace, leads the military expedition; PIS(D) states that Eustace is held in high honour by Hadrian, ‘til einu sinne at keisarin fer í herfaur ok evstachius með honum ok uvnnu sigr hvar sem þeir komu.’²⁹³ Eustace acts only as his lieutenant, and there is no description of any counter-invasion, plundering or taking of captives. The military campaign is not a synthesis of Eustace’s religious and secular callings, as in other versions, but a catalyst for the conflict over sacrificing which results in Eustace’s martyrdom, as after winning his campaign Hadrian ‘uilldi [...] blota skurdgod sin ok þack[a] þeim s[i]g[r] sinn’.²⁹⁴ The military and secular aspects of Eustace are almost entirely removed in PIS(D), and this episode shows that this was not just *brevitas*, but a conscious effort to depict Eustace as a more traditional soldier-saint.

Significantly, however, PIS(D) retains Eustace’s compulsion towards suicide, albeit obliquely: ‘þa er sva fra sakt at hann uilldi fara ser sialfr þar í ænne.’²⁹⁵ This is one of only two extant West Norse variants that retain a direct reference to this incident.²⁹⁶ The passage in PIS(D) is arguably euphemistic, however, and Eustace is further distanced from this allusion to suicidal thoughts by the formula *sva fra sagt* (‘so it is said’). By suggesting that this is gleaned from second-hand information the redactor injects doubt into the problematic depiction of Eustace as suicidal.²⁹⁷

In PIS(D), Eustace does not resist the temptation to suicide through his own agency, but because ‘almattigr gud leit þa miskunnar augum til hans ok let þat eigi uerda.’²⁹⁸ It is God that does not allow this to come about, not Eustace’s decision. This divine intervention is, however, a result of God’s mercy as opposed to providence, implying that the control of

sagas, and that *ylgjar* are representative of battle some twenty-one times in skaldic verse (Hui, ‘Fornaldarsaga in a Dream’, pp. 68–9). This may indicate some minor secular influence on PIS(D).

²⁹² PIS(D) 15–16, ‘he had made himself a home in a cave.’ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xci.

²⁹³ PIS(D) 36–7, ‘until a time as the emperor went to war, and Eustace with him, and they won victory wherever they went.’ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xci.

²⁹⁴ PIS(D) 38, ‘wanted to sacrifice to idols and give thanks for victory’. Hadrian wishes only to sacrifice for the victory, not for Eustace’s return and reunion with his family as well, as in other versions. This may be a product of abbreviation, and also fits with the alteration that Hadrian, not Eustace, led the campaign.

²⁹⁵ PIS(D) 3–4, ‘it is said concerning this that he wanted to go into the river himself’.

²⁹⁶ The other being PIS(C). Tucker notes that the passage is ‘garbled’ in PIS(A) (Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xci), while PID omits it completely.

²⁹⁷ It should be noted that similar formulae are used throughout PIS(D); nonetheless, introducing the idea in this way could indicate a desire to equivocate about its veracity.

²⁹⁸ PIS(D) 4–5, ‘Almighty God looked on him with merciful eyes and did not let that happen’.

providence over Eustace's life is not all encompassing, and perhaps that God's intervention is earned rather than preordained.

While the suicidal thoughts are retained, it is important to note that Eustace's Lament – the cathartic crux of LSE – is omitted entirely. One might expect an abbreviation to allude to the Lament taking place, but PIS(D) contains not even the vaguest reference. This extreme *brevitas* removes the emotive impact of LSE and excises some troubling aspects of Eustace's character, placing him more in line with traditional, stoical saints.

Also noteworthy are the relationships between Christian and non-Christian characters in PIS(D). One example is the greater distinction drawn between Eustace and the two emperors. Hadrian's introduction is explicitly negative about his heathenism, intensified by the expanded statement that 'hann uar heid[inn] sem hundr ok allt romaborgar Riki i þann tíma.'²⁹⁹ It is not unusual for reflexes of LSE to depict Hadrian's heathenism negatively, but this example is especially damning in its dehumanisation of Hadrian.³⁰⁰

Also significant is the extension of the heathendom to the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. In many ways this heightens the threat to Eustace, as his Christianity comes into conflict not only with a secular figure of power, as is traditional in hagiography, but with the entire population. This is intensified by the alteration of his exile to an eremitic existence – rather than living as a Christian in a secular world, he rejects the secular world before re-entering it. Interestingly, Eustace is not open about his Christianity until his martyrdom, and PIS(D) makes special attempts to show the lack of understanding and awareness, adding, for example, that when Trajan sends men to seek Placidus, 'uissi eigi at placidus hefði uid trú tekít'.³⁰¹ This might imply that, if Trajan were aware of his conversion, he would be less keen to secure his military service – it is the heathen Placidus, not the Christian Eustace, that he seeks. There is also a suggestion in this statement that Christian and secular vocations are incompatible. This attitude is unusual in reflexes of LSE, suggesting that the author was co-opting the Eustace legend for his own purposes. This potential conflict between the secular and the spiritual is not developed further, however, as PIS(D) is altered so that Trajan dies before

²⁹⁹ PIS(D) 31–2, 'he was heathen, like a dog, along with all the Roman Empire at that time'.

³⁰⁰ Although there is no direct reference being made, a link between Hadrian's heathenism and the uncleanness of dogs in both the Old and New Testaments is implicit. In Deuteronomy 23:18 dogs are described as an abomination unto God; in the Psalms dogs represent both evil-doers and sinners (Psalm 21:17, 21 and 58:7, 15 respectively); Proverbs 26:11 likens sinners to dogs returning to their vomit; Matthew 7:6 represents those unworthy of Christian teaching as dogs; in Philippians 3:2 Paul enjoins his readers to beware of dogs; finally, in Revelations 22:15 dogs are included among those excluded from Paradise.

³⁰¹ PIS(D) 12–13, 'he didn't know that Placidus had taken the (Christian) faith'.

Eustace's first return to Rome. If there is a greater sense of Eustace being in danger for his faith in PIS(D), this may explain why the redactor included the caveat to his report to Hadrian that 'sagdi honum farleingd sina sem farit haf[di] nema þui leyndi hann af at hann hafdi truna tekít.'³⁰² This is not the only example of Eustace keeping his faith secret in Norse reflexes of LSE,³⁰³ but it is the only one which explicitly states that he made no mention of his conversion. This secrecy also intensifies the sacrificial conflict, as it is not until the moment Hadrian calls on Eustace to sacrifice that the religious conflict comes to the fore, as is traditional in hagiography and general to LSE. Nonetheless, it is unusual for saints to not be open about their faith in their *vitae*.

In conclusion, the redactor of the D-recension is not merely providing a shortened version, but rather a version with specific emphases that are not found in other reflexes of LSE. PIS(D) shows little interest in the specifics of Eustace's Trial, much less his family and their reunions. Instead, an attempt is made to make Eustace into a more traditional saint, more explicitly rejecting the world in an eremitic existence and not reengaging in the secular world to the same extent as in the wider Eustace tradition. It is Eustace's saintliness, not his recontextualised worldliness, that is prized.

4.3.5 – THE A-RECENSION

4.3.5.1 – RELIGIOUS THEMES

Despite its clear secular themes, PIS is generally edited as a *heilagramanna saga*, and PIS(A) certainly retains religious aspects. The majority of the Biblical allusions and quotations are retained, except the reference to Balaam's ass (Num 22:21–38).³⁰⁴ However, an analysis of PIS(A) reveals a less extensive treatment of religious themes; as the majority of sources for PIS(A) are later, this may indicate that the saga was being read in a more secular light in the later medieval and early modern period. Though PIS(A) lacks any major reworkings according to theological ideas as in some other reflexes of LSE, there are several noteworthy minor alterations. Where these are predicated on minor, if important, omissions they will only be

³⁰² PIS(D) 32–4, 'he told him (Hadrian) about his travels, as they had happened, except that he concealed that he had taken the Christian faith'.

³⁰³ Eustace holds to his faith in Dadissus secretly in PID 30 and PIS(C) 168. PIS(A) omits his telling Antiochus and Acaius about his baptism (C9 226–7), although this may be *brevitas*. At PID 24 it is stated that Theophista held to her faith although *ógnvist* ('made quiet by terror').

³⁰⁴ C9 31–2.

commented on if supported by another similar alteration that is not clearly due to eyeskip, faulty exemplars or *brevitas*.

While PIS(A) retains the theme of salvation, its representation is altered. For example, knowledge of God is emphasised as an aspect of salvation. Theophista makes an additional statement that Christ ‘kallar men þar med til sannrar iðranar ok Guds kynningar’,³⁰⁵ and the same idea is repeated later: ‘kallaði til riettrar truar, ok jdranar’.³⁰⁶

More significantly, the idea of grace in baptism is less emphasised. While the sacrament is not ignored, the omission of grace in the rendering of *baptismum gratie* (‘baptism of grace’)³⁰⁷ in PIS(A) as *skirn* (‘baptism’)³⁰⁸ in PIS(A) plays down its importance. Though, according to Arnved Nedkvitne, *skirn* has its roots in the Norse word for purification (an aspect that is emphasised in homiletic material),³⁰⁹ the means of this purification – grace – is omitted. While this may be due to eyeskip or *brevitas*, the conceptualisation of how baptism affects the soul also appears to be subtly changed. Where God informs Eustace that, thanks to his baptism, ‘spoliasti te corruptibilem hominem et induisti incorruptibilem permanentem in saecula saeculorum’,³¹⁰ in PIS(A) he says ‘forlyestu þann hinn forna mann, enn skryddyst hinum nyia, þeim er lyfer um alldir allda.’³¹¹ The image of cleansing (corruptibility becoming incorruptibility) becomes one of rebirth. While cleansing has stronger connotations of former evil that has been washed away, rebirth implies that Eustace has become a new person in baptism, which creates a clean break between the noble heathen Placidus and the Christian Eustace. It is possible that the translator was making the phrasing closer to Col. 3:9–10, to which C9 was alluding, but even so the distinction stands. Finally, a lessened concern for theological context for events is seen in the omission of Eustace’s explanation of his conversion and baptism to Antiochus and Acaius.

PIS(A) also presents Eustace as being in less spiritual danger than in other versions. PIS(A) omits Eustace’s belief that his sons are dead *propter meam prauitatem* (‘because of my perversity’),³¹² while during his Lament, his apology for his sinful despair becomes ‘eg harma

³⁰⁵ PIS(A) 66, ‘calls men to true repentance and knowledge of God’.

³⁰⁶ PIS(A) 304–5, ‘and called them to true faith and repentance’.

³⁰⁷ C9 52.

³⁰⁸ PIS(A) 56.

³⁰⁹ Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief*, pp. 80–2.

³¹⁰ C9 86–7, ‘you have shed the corruptible man and have taken on the incorruptible, world without end’.

³¹¹ PIS(A) 92–4, ‘you have set aside the old man and put on the new man, who lives for ever and ever’.

³¹² C9 188.

þad ef eg mæli þad mier biriar eige'.³¹³ This could be read as a back-handed apology, but also makes his 'evil speech' a possibility that he hopes to avoid, rather than an act that he is apologising for.

As with other LSE reflexes, PIS(A) also explores agency in the sphere of salvation and the saints' response to the Trial, and generally depicts the saints as taking a more active role in their conversion and Trial. An especially interesting addition in PIS(A) is that Eustace and his family 'jatudu [...] ad trua a Jhesum Christum'³¹⁴ when baptised, making their conversion a more explicitly active choice. Eustace is more usually the focus of these alterations, however. When Christ first appears to him, he *sa* [...] *krossmark* ('saw the Sign of the Cross'),³¹⁵ whereas in C9 Christ *demonstrauit* ('showed')³¹⁶ it to him. Similarly, PIS(A) replaces God's statement that '[o]portet [...] alterum iob in te demonstrari'³¹⁷ with an injunction that Eustace should *anar Jobb synest* ('show yourself to be another Job').³¹⁸ Likewise, in PIS(A) Eustace ought to 'beri sygur af dyofle'³¹⁹ rather than *uictorem diaboli ostendi* ('be shown victorious over the Devil').³²⁰ Eustace is also more proactive in his acceptance of the Trial; where in C9 he is shown as *gratifice suscipiens* ('gratefully receiving it'),³²¹ in PIS(A) he *giordi Gudi þakir* ('eagerly thanks God').³²² The direct mention of God gives the sense that Eustace views the Trial as a gift from God more than in other versions.

God's promise to watch over the saints also loses some of the implications of control. Where in C9 his grace *custodiens* ('is guarding')³²³ their spirits, PIS(A) suggests paternal protection rather than impassive guarding; PIS(A¹) reads *hirðer* ('minds, or cares for'),³²⁴ while PIS(A²) reads *uardueytir* ('keeps, or preserves').³²⁵ Both represent Eustace as an active participant in his conversion and salvation, albeit with a sense that his fate is in some ways in God's hands, whether controlled by *providentia* or *pietas*.

³¹³ PIS(A) 174, 'I bewail it if I say what is not fitting for me'; Tucker translates *harma* as 'regret' rather than 'bewail'.

³¹⁴ PIS(A) 73–4, 'agreed to believe in Jesus Christ'.

³¹⁵ PIS(A) 32.

³¹⁶ C9 32.

³¹⁷ C9 93–4, 'it is fitting that another Job is shown in you'.

³¹⁸ PIS(A) 101.

³¹⁹ PIS(A) 101, 'carry off victory from the Devil'.

³²⁰ C9 94.

³²¹ C9 108.

³²² PIS(A) 118.

³²³ C9 102.

³²⁴ PIS(A¹) 79.

³²⁵ PIS(A²) 112.

Unusually for a reflex of LSE, PIS(A) contains few references to either *providentia* or *pietas*. For example, there is no sense of either force acting either on Placidus' horse not tiring when pursuing his first vision, nor in the protection of his sons when they are captured by beasts. This may be related to the developing reading of the saga as an *ævintýr* rather than as pure hagiography.

PIS(A) does, however, represent God as more merciful. God calls Placidus *til synar mylldi* ('to/on account of his mercy'),³²⁶ and it is *Guðs mildi* ('the mercy of God')³²⁷ which calls him from falsehood. Likewise, during Eustace's crisis in the river, 'Gúdz myskunseme styrkte hann',³²⁸ where in C9 *providentia* provides this aid.³²⁹ The representation of God's mercy is also subtly altered in the first vision; where in C9 Christ refers to catching Placidus *retibus misericordiae meae* ('with nets of my mercy'),³³⁰ in PIS(A) it is 'med mætti myskunar mynar'.³³¹ While the hunting imagery of Christ coming *ueida* ('to hunt') Placidus remains, the sense of ensnarement is reduced. As imagery of ensnarement is often associated with devils entrapping human souls, this may have been an attempt to remove such associations from Christ's intervention. Rather, the efficacy of Christ's mercy is emphasised instead. Additionally, Placidus not being entangled gives more of a sense of agency; he might be under Christ's power, but this is a representation of Placidus with more *gravitas* than of him struggling in a net.

PIS(A) inserts a providential element with the additional statement that the Trials are *ætlud* ('intended')³³² for him. Yet other images of God's control over events are somewhat weakened; when Pope John observes that God's *kraptur* ('power'),³³³ rather than *manus domini* ('the hand of the Lord'),³³⁴ is upon them, PIS(A) provides a sense more of divine aid, less of control.

The saints' reaction to their reunion also indicates a reduced interest in theological questions of *providentia* and *pietas*. When they conduct festivities in praise of God, in C9 they

³²⁶ PIS(A) 13–14.

³²⁷ PIS(A) 17.

³²⁸ PIS(A) 155, 'God's mercy strengthened him'. As PIS(A) omits his suicidal temptation, however, the image of strengthening is less impactful than in other reflexes.

³²⁹ C9 142.

³³⁰ C9 37–8.

³³¹ PIS(A) 38–9, 'with the power of my mercy'.

³³² PIS(A) 106.

³³³ PIS(A) 81.

³³⁴ C9 76.

do so ‘propter magnam eius pietatem’,³³⁵ while in PIS(A) they celebrate *synar jartheyknir* (‘his miracles’).³³⁶ This suggests that, at least in the later period, there was more interest in the actions of God than in his motivations. This may indicate either simply a more narrative focus, indicative of a more secular reading as an *ævintýr*, or, if the alteration dates from the earlier recensions, a more pragmatic attitude to Christianity, interested in the benefits, rather than the mechanics, of grace.

4.3.5.2 – REPRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANS AND HEATHENS

Similarly to PID, PIS(A) represents non-Christian characters in a nuanced manner rather condemning them outright; although this seems a more general alteration than the status-based treatment of PID.³³⁷ There are several examples of lessened negativity concerning heathenism in the Norse recensions. When the heathen captain demands a fare, PIS(A) moves the description of his lust for Theophista until after the demand for a fare, making it seem more a business transaction and less an excuse to steal her away, and the demand itself becomes less violent. Where in C9 he ‘exigebat ab eis naulum’,³³⁸ PIS(A) reads ‘spurdi skypdrottinn, húad þau hefði að giallda j skipleygu.’³³⁹ His request (rather than demand) for a fare comes across as more reasonable and less violent than in other LSE reflexes.

It is also notable that Eustace’s war on behalf of Trajan loses any religious element. It is placed on a purely secular level, as in C9 the enemy are described as heathen or non-Roman, where in PIS(A) it is noted only that they are the king’s enemies.³⁴⁰ Any sense of Eustace’s fighting them as a Christian against non-Christians is replaced by Eustace performing a duty on behalf of his sovereign in a manner that remains compatible with his faith.

As in PID, the emperors are portrayed in a more positive manner. In the case of Trajan, PIS(A) omits that he ruled *doemonum preualente fallacia* (‘with the falsehoods of demons

³³⁵ C9 304, ‘on account of his great mercy’.

³³⁶ PIS(A) 334.

³³⁷ Although the treatment is not entirely the same, this indicates a shared tradition, or at least an attitude towards heathens of the past shared by both authors.

³³⁸ C9 128, ‘he demanded a ship’s toll from them’.

³³⁹ PIS(A) 137–8, ‘the ship’s captain asked what they had to pay as a fare’.

³⁴⁰ PIS(A) 262–4 ‘leyste undan herfangi jarðir þær er oúynir þeirra höfðu [...] tekid af borgarmonnum. enn að yfirstignum oúynum þeirra for Eustacius’ (‘he freed the lands which the enemies had taken from the citizens. And after the overpowering of their enemies, Eustace went’); rendering C9 242–5, ‘terram quidem quam abstulerant barbari liberauit. Ipsi uero subiectis [...] ulterius procedens in interiora terra barbarorum et illos deuincens depopulatus est terram eorum’ (‘he liberated the lands which the heathens had taken. And when he had subjected them (the heathen), he proceeded further into the interior of the land of the heathens and, when he had conquered them, he laid waste to their land’).

prevailing’).³⁴¹ Hadrian’s less negative depiction is more extensive, especially since he is generally the more negatively depicted of the two in other reflexes. The severity of his heathenism is initially played down; compare C9 ‘resurgere alterum [...] imperatorem [...] gentilem et ipsum peiorem in impietatibus’³⁴² with PIS(A) ‘tok anar grimari hofdinngi keysaradom’.³⁴³ PIS(A) does not explicitly mention his heathenism, and any negativity is associated with his severe leadership rather than his religion. Likewise, a later reference to him as *impiissimus* (‘most impious’)³⁴⁴ is omitted; this may, however, simply be a scribal error or fault of an exemplar, as Hadrian’s paganism is emphasised when religion becomes a point of conflict. His anger at Eustace, which results in his martyrdom, is more explicitly linked to the latter’s steadfast Christianity than in other reflexes. Hadrian being *ira repletus* (‘filled with anger’),³⁴⁵ is expanded in PIS(A) to ‘þa reyddist Adryanus, er hann hierdi ok sa ad hann uar fullkominn i tru Christz’.³⁴⁶ Irritation at disobedience becomes a specifically religious conflict. Similarly, when Hadrian sees the incorrupt bodies of the saints, his state of being *formidans*³⁴⁷ (‘growing afraid’) becomes *reyddist*³⁴⁸ (‘he grew angry’), again displaying his antipathy to Christianity on an emotional level.

The Christianisation of the crowd witnessing the martyrdom also shows a polarisation of heathens against Christians. In C9 ‘[c]onuenit uero uniuersa plebs, fidelium et paganorum, spectare sanctis, quomodo introducebantur in aereum bouem’;³⁴⁹ perhaps a more realistic depiction of pseudo-historical events, but also a narrative opportunity for conversion. In PIS(A), however, ‘mikill fioldi kristinna mana kom ad sia er Gudz pyslaruottar uoru settir j eiruxan, og hormúdu þeira pyslir’.³⁵⁰ Here the saints are explicitly referred to as martyrs, and the violence of their deaths is heightened through the crowd’s bewailing it. More significant is the complete omission of pagan witnesses, which may suggest a lesser interest in the conversion of pagans; possibly a product of the later date of the extant saga.

³⁴¹ C9 3.

³⁴² C9 308–9, ‘another rose to the rank of Emperor, a heathen and himself worse in his acts of impiety’.

³⁴³ PIS(A) 338, ‘another severer leader had taken over the empire’.

³⁴⁴ C9 346.

³⁴⁵ C9 320.

³⁴⁶ PIS(A) 349–50, ‘then Hadrian grew angry when he heard and saw that he was confirmed in the faith of Christ’.

³⁴⁷ C9 350.

³⁴⁸ PIS(A) 386.

³⁴⁹ C9 327–8, ‘all the common folk came, Christian and heathen, to see how the saints were placed inside the bronze bull’.

³⁵⁰ PIS(A) 356–8, ‘a great crowd of Christian people came to watch as God’s martyrs were placed in the copper ox, and they bewailed their torments’.

The presentation of the pagan Placidus before his conversion is also worth considering. Certainly the initial statement of his heathenism is lessened, reduced from the passive, emotive sense of being *demone captus* ('captured by demons')³⁵¹ to the balder statement that *var þo heyðinn* ('he was nevertheless a heathen').³⁵² However, while in C9 his heathenism is interjected into the list of his good qualities, in PIS(A) it comes at the end, before the account of his good deeds.³⁵³ This could be in aid of clarity, though it may also serve as emphasis; coming at the end of a list of good heroic qualities, the revelation of his impiety juxtaposed with his good deeds may have been shocking to a Christian audience. This also encapsulates the paradox of the noble heathen. Placidus' deeds are exemplary, but as a non-Christian his salvation is not assured. The risks of being unbaptised are intensified accordingly. Where in C9 God does not want 'dignam mentem sine mercede deseri',³⁵⁴ in PIS(A) the stakes are higher; God's concern is that his 'godgiarnan hug farast j þionustu skurgoda, ann uerdkaúps'.³⁵⁵ A sense of reward remains, but the potential destruction of Placidus' soul is brought to the fore. While PIS(A) does not depict non-Christian characters as inherently bad, they are certainly not excused for their lack of Christianity.

Placidus may be ignorant of Christianity, but in PIS(A) his relationship with God appears to precede his belief. Christ refers to Placidus as *úynur minn* ('my friend'),³⁵⁶ with a clear implication that, through good deeds, Placidus has made himself deserving of salvation.³⁵⁷ There is an interesting distinction, however, between the A¹ and A² recensions. When observing that Placidus has been called to God's mercy, A¹ states that God calls those who are *macliga* ('deserving'),³⁵⁸ while A² states that it is *jnnelega* ('beloved ones')³⁵⁹ who are called. The earlier recension focused more on merit, while the later version has more connotations of God's love. Although Placidus is God's *vinr*, however, his heathenism is not excused. PIS(A)

³⁵¹ C9 5.

³⁵² PIS(A) 5. Note the similarity to OEE 11, *ða git hæðene* ('though as yet heathen').

³⁵³ Compare C9 4–8 and PIS(A) 3–8.

³⁵⁴ C9 14, 'a worthy mind to be deserted without a reward'.

³⁵⁵ PIS(A) 15, 'kindly heart perish in the service of idols, without a reward'.

³⁵⁶ PIS(A) 39, see also PIS(B) 5; see §4.3.3.

³⁵⁷ 'Friend of God' was a standard way to refer to saints in the medieval period, while a form of friendship was one way of rationalising relationships of the living with the saints (see Zori ('Gift Exchange', p. 93, footnote 39) and Brown (*Cult of the Saints*, pp. 6, 50–68)). It is significant in that Placidus is being referred to this way before his conversion; the language used to describe saints is applied to a (noble) heathen. This may suggest a concept of predestination, in that Eustace, being a saint, was always going to be a saint (even if this is only in terms of narrative). Either way, the equation of the relationship between God, his saints and the living as being similar to the reciprocal lord-retainer relationship as was widespread in Scandinavia is applied to Placidus at an earlier stage of his spiritual journey, perhaps due to his being a more secular figure than most saints.

³⁵⁸ PIS(A¹) 11.

³⁵⁹ PIS(A²) 13. *Ynniligr* literally means 'lovely' or 'acceptable to God' (Cleasby and Vigfússon, *An Old Icelandic Dictionary*).

states that God calls him *fra willu* ('from falsehood');³⁶⁰ *villa* can be variously rendered as falsehood, heresy, or delusion.³⁶¹

Nevertheless, PIS(A) retains the C9 idea that Placidus worshipped Christ unknowingly³⁶², and God clearly states that Placidus 'er üynur mynn giorest, i godum verkum'.³⁶³ This image of friendship, perhaps retainer-like service, rather than worship, along with the lesser sense of the importance of baptism, suggests that the saga-redactors were more interested in works rather than faith. This may be due to a greater belief in the efficacy of good works, perhaps linked to the Norse anxiety about venerated, but heathen, ancestors.³⁶⁴ It may equally be a manifestation of the greater interest in the secular aspects of LSE, a potential product of the relative youth of many witnesses of PIS(A).

4.3.5.3 – SECULAR THEMES

Though generally regarded as a *heilagramanna saga*, PIS(A) places greater emphasis on the secular aspects of LSE from the outset. In the enumeration of Placidus' good qualities, for example, his being *nobilis in iustitia* ('noble in righteousness')³⁶⁵ is replaced by him being 'kyæn uidur veydar, algior i öllum hlutum'.³⁶⁶ Here his secular qualities take precedence over his moral righteousness, and notably his being a keen hunter is moved forward to this point in the text to be counted among his good qualities. This hunting prowess may also have been more his foremost quality, as the only one specifically described, in order to emphasise that God chose an appropriate context in which to appear to him as a nobleman. Furthermore, the translator clearly has no concerns about representing a pagan as being 'perfect in all things', since it is an ideal of noble perfection that he is portraying in Placidus, and it is this that contributes to his worthiness for salvation.

³⁶⁰ PIS(A) 17.

³⁶¹ Cleasby and Vigfússon, *An Old Icelandic Dictionary*.

³⁶² PIS(A) 36 *gofgar oüitanndi* ('you (Placidus) worshipped (Christ) unknowingly').

³⁶³ PIS(A) 39–40, 'has become my friend through good works'.

³⁶⁴ See Lönnroth, 'Noble Heathen', pp. 3–4. It appears that it was permissible in Iceland to admire pre-Christian ancestors, but the evil of their idolatry was problematic. The idea of the noble heathen, who lived righteously if under an incorrect theological framework, went some way towards mitigating this.

³⁶⁵ C9 11.

³⁶⁶ PIS(A) 12–13, 'skilful in hunting, perfect in all things'. Notably the only other close example of this phrase in Norse literature is from *Konungs Skuggsjá* (ed. L. Holm-Olsen), a Norwegian educational text for rulers from c. 1275, which states that retainers: 'eigu at væra vallder af ollum monnum æigi at æins af kyngofgum ættum eða festærkum hælldr æigu þeir sialfr er til þærs nafns værða kosnir at væra algorvir at ollum lutum ('have to be powerful among all men, not only from nobility of birth or wealth; rather, they themselves have been chosen for this name [of knight], to be perfect in all things') (p. 43, ll. 34–6). This text is dated to c. 1275, making it contemporary with PIS(A)¹. It is also notable that the majority of attestations of *algörr* ('perfect') appear in religious or didactic texts rather than secular contexts (*Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, <<http://onpweb.nfi.sc.ku.dk>> [accessed 25/9/18]).

This idea of noble perfection appears later in PIS(A) when Eustace observes the innate nobility of his sons without recognising them. This can be seen when the Latin is compared to the Norse:

Uidens uero illos duos adulescentes, quod essent super omnes decori specie et statu, constituit eos primos in ministerio suo, et uidens in eos generositatem morum naturalem, affectu impulsus in amore eorum, iussit inter conuiuas eos mense annumerari.

(‘He saw those two youths, that they were greater than all the others in beauty and stature, and he placed them foremost in his service. And he saw natural generosity of spirit in them, and was struck by affection in love for them, and he ordered them to be added to the number at feasts set out at his table.’)³⁶⁷

sa þessa ij menn fridare ad úænnleyk, og meire ad úexsti enn adra, ok sa hann ad þeir mundú kyngofugir uera, þui úallde hann þa sier til motúneytis, og elskadi þa fyrir sydseme ok úirtti þa øllum frammar i synne syslu.

(‘he saw these two men to be more handsome and taller than the others, and he realised that they must be of noble extraction. For this reason, he chose them for his table-companions and loved them for their moral conduct and honoured them above all in his command.’)³⁶⁸

While the trope of innately recognisable nobility has been carried over from the Latin, it is explicit in PIS(A) where it is implicit in C9. Good character and conduct are linked to their high birth (especially since, though baptised, his sons were presumably raised as heathens). In PIS(A) Eustace places them in esteemed positions because he recognises that they are of noble birth, and so suitable for such roles, where in C9 it is their inherent characteristics (with no explicit mention of their extraction) that leads to their favour from Eustace.

Further interest in secular nobility is seen at Eustace’s return to Rome, when the Roman court ‘sogdust skilldu fa honum þad besta konnfangng, er til uære.’³⁶⁹ There is a clear indication that the court is aware that certain things are appropriate to his station, such as a suitable marriage. Though Eustace does not remarry, whether due to loyalty to Theophista in her absence or because God reassured him in Dadissus that he would be reunited with his family,

³⁶⁷ C9 239–41.

³⁶⁸ PIS(A) 258–61.

³⁶⁹ PIS(A) 248–9, ‘they said that they would obtain the best possible marriage for him’.

there is no sense of Eustace explicitly finding this offer problematic. He may not accept it, but he does not appear to see it as inappropriate.

Eustace agrees to take up his former position³⁷⁰ with no apparent concern for its compatibility with his Christian faith; though this is the case in most reflexes, his agreement is not normally explicitly mentioned. Likewise, his attempts to conceal his identity from Antiochus and Acaius are played down. His protestations in C9 ('Ille uero profusis lacrimis dicebat: "Non sum ego"'³⁷¹) are rendered as reported speech ('enn hann duldyt fyrst fyrir þeim'³⁷²); this, alongside the omission of his tearfulness, removes significance from this moment. His admission of his identity is also couched in weaker language; where in C9 *confessus est* ('he confessed')³⁷³ that he is Placidus, in PIS(A) 'Þa duldyt hann ecki leyngur fyrir þeim'.³⁷⁴ In both cases any concerns Eustace has about being discovered are less emphasised.

A final significant aristocratic aspect of PIS(A) is the equation of Eustace's relationship with God with that of an aristocratic patron. God first addresses Placidus as *vinur minn* ('my friend')³⁷⁵, but more suggestive is that when the saints are placed in the bronze bull to be martyred, C9 *sanctos* ('the saints')³⁷⁶ is rendered *Gúdz astuýne* ('God's dear friends').³⁷⁷ This implies a more personal relationship with God which connotes patronage, arguably placing Eustace and his family in a less subservient position, in that they appear more as favoured retainers.³⁷⁸ The placement of Eustace in a less subservient position is reinforced elsewhere in PIS(A). For example, when Eustace prays following his baptism, he does not fall before God *in faciem* ('on his face').³⁷⁹ Likewise, PIS(A) omits [*s*] *upplico te domine* ('I beg you, Lord').³⁸⁰ Eustace is thus represented in a less lowly and humble way in relation to God.

³⁷⁰ PIS(A) 251 *jatar því* ('he agreed to that').

³⁷¹ C9 214, 'He very tearfully said, "I am not (him)"'.

³⁷² PIS(A) 232, 'but at first he concealed himself from them'.

³⁷³ C9 217.

³⁷⁴ PIS(A) 234–5, 'then he did not conceal himself from them any longer'.

³⁷⁵ PIS(A) 39. See above. This reading is also present in PIS(B) 5.

³⁷⁶ C9 326.

³⁷⁷ PIS(A) 356. There is no indication that *ástvinr* was used to specifically refer to saints (*Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, <<http://onpweb.nfi.sc.ku.dk>> [accessed 16/5/18]). The connotations of *ást* with both affectionate, potentially passionate, love, and with grace in PID (see §4.2.4) add potency to this depiction.

³⁷⁸ This may also be read as a cultural translation, with God seen as a religious lord who is more efficacious to serve than pagan deities. Nedkvitne noted that such an attitude was expressed by Oddr Munk in the twelfth century, who saw 'religious ethics [as] synonymous with obedience to one's proper lord', i.e. God (Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief*, p. 173). A further comparison can be drawn with PID 5:5–6, which equates baptismal names to courtly names; although the aristocratic connotations are greater in PID.

³⁷⁹ C9 81.

³⁸⁰ C9 81.

4.3.5.3.1 – WEALTH

PIS(A) follows LSE in implying that the misuse of wealth is dangerous, not wealth itself. This is clearest in Christ's injunction to Eustace regarding his coming Trial. C9 focuses on the interplay between the loss of worldly wealth to gain spiritual riches.³⁸¹ PIS(A) omits this image and replaces it with an injunction: 'enn uert eigi upphafdur j ueralldar aúðæfum'.³⁸² In acting as a pious secular figure who never fully rejects the world, while not over-valuing its goods, Eustace successfully follows this injunction. He exemplifies how to possess wealth without being possessed by it. This is similar to the treatment in OEE, although the theme is less developed in PIS(A).

Abstract forms of wealth, such as honour and esteem, are also explored in PIS(A), and operate on both spiritual and worldly levels. PIS(A) appears especially concerned with the means (both secular and religious) by which they were earned. There is little doubt that the heathen Placidus was esteemed by his peers, and this is emphasised in PIS(A). When Trajan recalls the good qualities of Placidus, the author adds an extra reference to his rank of *hofdinngia ryddara* ('commander of the cavalry').³⁸³ Both emperors meet him with greater pomp than in the Latin; rather than meeting him alone, Trajan comes 'med myklum fognudi, og allri syne ferd',³⁸⁴ suggesting greater worldly honour earned by Placidus before his conversion. Hadrian's reception of the victorious Eustace is also expanded; he goes to him 'med allri synne hird, ok ødru myklu fiolmenne'.³⁸⁵ This reflection of the esteem being won by Eustace through secular means is compounded by the addition that Hadrian offered sacrifices for the *apturkomú Eustaci(i)* ('the return of Eustace')³⁸⁶ as well as the victory. While this can be read as an ironic heathen ignorance of God's hand in Eustace's rediscovery, it also indicates his value as a military commander.

A sense of secular glory also imbues the rewards for his spiritual conquests. While the expansion of the promise of a crown of victory to contain glory ('corunu og dyrd sygurz'³⁸⁷) could be read spiritually as honour among the saints, other allusions to glory in the context of

³⁸¹ C9 89–91 'enim exaltatus es usque modo negotiis huius saeculi et temporalibus opibus. Oportet ergo te humiliari de alta tua uanitate et rursus exaltare te in spiritalibus diuitiis' ('Until now you were exalted in the riches of this world and in temporal goods. Therefore, it is fitting that you be humbled from your high vanity and exalted again in spiritual riches').

³⁸² PIS(A) 97–8, 'but do not become puffed up in the riches of the world'.

³⁸³ PIS(A) 189–90.

³⁸⁴ PIS(A) 243–4, 'with great joy and all his court'.

³⁸⁵ PIS(A) 340, 'with all his court and a large crowd besides'.

³⁸⁶ PIS(A) 342–3.

³⁸⁷ PIS(A) 97, 'the crown and glory of victory'.

spiritual reward suggest otherwise. God’s promise to restore Eustace to his former state (‘remeabis ad tuum priorem statum’³⁸⁸) is extended to ‘muntu koma til fyrra alytz, og dyrdar bynar’.³⁸⁹ The honour alluded to could either be the spiritual glory he has earned, or a former secular glory that he has been returned to, which implies divine approval for his former (and future) secular activities.

In a similar fashion, the promises made by God to Eustace in Dadissus concerning the Resurrection become more focused on honour. When one compares C9 ‘[i]n resurrectione uero maiora horum uidebis, et eternorum bonorum delectationem reperies, et nomen tuum magnificabitur in generationem’³⁹⁰ and PIS ‘enn a upprysutyd, muntu koma til fyrre dyrdar, og finna eylyfan fognudd, ok mun uegur þinn aukast um alldir’,³⁹¹ the imagery could seem confused. How, for example, can Eustace be returned to his former secular glory at the Resurrection, the end of Christian history? Yet the increased focus on reputation, honour and glory in a Christian context is clear. The removal of the promise of *maiore* (‘greater things’) and its replacement with former glory and increased honour³⁹² is further evidence of this, implying that there is nothing greater than the honour that Eustace is to regain.

The sense of glory is not universally increased, however. When Antiochus and Acaius inform the people of Dadissus of Eustace’s identity, rather than speaking ‘de priori eius gloria’,³⁹³ they talk ‘fra fyrre dogum hans’.³⁹⁴ It is also notable that, where in most versions of LSE Theophista shows concern for their diminishing reputation and being *in obprobriis* (‘an object of scorn’)³⁹⁵ to their acquaintances, in PIS(A) (as in PID) this is Eustace’s concern:

Þa mællti Eustacius uid konu syna: huors bydu uid hier, forum j búrtt med sonum ockar, þeim er eptir eru þui ad uid munum e verda fyrir lytenn af øllum monnum, þeim er oss kyenna.

³⁸⁸ C9 191, ‘you will come to your previous state’.

³⁸⁹ PIS(A) 207, ‘you will come to your previous state and your glory’.

³⁹⁰ C9 191–3, ‘on the Day of the Resurrection you will see greater things than these, and you will receive the delight of eternal goods, and your name will be glorified throughout all generations’.

³⁹¹ PIS(A) 208–9, ‘and at the Resurrection you will come to your former glory, and find eternal joy, and your honour will be increased for ever and ever’.

³⁹² Note that it is Eustace’s honour that is to be increased, not his name to be glorified. While the idea of a spiritual reputation is shared, the Latin reading has more connotations of the veneration of saints. It is possible that the later recensions of PIS(A²), being romantic, post-Reformation *æventyr*, were less inclined to allude to the Cult of Saints.

³⁹³ C9 220, ‘about his former glory’.

³⁹⁴ PIS(A) 239, ‘about his former days’.

³⁹⁵ C9 122.

(‘The Eustace said to his wife: “Why do we wait here? Let us go away with our sons, those that are left to us; for we will be despised by all those men who know us.”)³⁹⁶

Here the sense of loss and of the attendant disgrace are made manifest, in contrast to Eustace’s initial acceptance of the Trial. This may indicate a greater concern that Eustace’s honour be protected, suggesting perhaps a more secular milieu or an audience for whom a protagonist unconcerned with his own honour may have been less appealing.

Overall, wealth, both concrete and abstract, is treated more positively in PIS(A). This may be related to a more literary-romantic reading in later recensions, but elements of this are present in the earlier PID and PIS(A¹), as well as OEE. This depiction of wealth is not a product of more secular tastes, therefore, but secular tastes of the translator may have contributed both to his choice to translate LSE and to emphasise these themes that were already present in the source material.

4.3.5.3.2 – MILITARISM

PIS(A), like other reflexes of LSE, attempts to reconcile Eustace’s military and Christian vocations. The request that he return to his former role ([p]etierunt [...] ut pridem fuerat magister militum³⁹⁷) is expanded to ‘taka hinna fyrre tygn synna, og ryddara syslu ok fara til orústu, og giorast hofdinngi fyrir lydinnu þvi øllu er saman uar dreygit.’³⁹⁸ This expansion of his role – and the honour attached – suggests that this aspect of Eustace was of special narrative interest. Significantly, it is also the only version in which Eustace is actively shown to agree to take on his former role,³⁹⁹ where elsewhere he is simply shown being entreated, then being in the role.⁴⁰⁰

There is also a greater emphasis on Eustace’s proficiency in a military role. For example, the description of Eustace *discutiens milites* (‘scrutinising the soldiers’)⁴⁰¹ is expanded to ‘kanar skiotlega allan herinn bædi ad manfiolda, ok úopna búnadi’.⁴⁰² He does this *skiotlega* (‘quickly’), indicating both an eagerness to resume his position, and his

³⁹⁶ PIS(A) 130–33.

³⁹⁷ C9 231–2, ‘they entreated him and he was girded as he had previously been the master of soldiers’.

³⁹⁸ PIS(A) 249–51, ‘to resume his former honour and the leadership of the cavalry and go off to battle and be made commander of all the men who were recruited’.

³⁹⁹ PIS(A) 251 *Eustacius jatar þui* (‘Eustace agreed to that’).

⁴⁰⁰ The only version of LSE which portrays Eustace resisting his return to his secular role is BHL 2761; although there is no trace of it in the Norse tradition outside PIS(C) (see §4.3.6.2).

⁴⁰¹ C9 232.

⁴⁰² PIS(A) 251–2, ‘he quickly acquainted himself with all the army, both men and equipment’.

professionalism in his role. He also shows greater concern for the quality of recruits, sending tribunes to find ‘ungum monnum, þeim er uýglegir uære’.⁴⁰³

Also significant is Eustace’s increased personal interest in conquest. His desire to continue the invasion beyond defence of the borders (*interius desiderans ingredi* (‘desiring to go further into their lands’))⁴⁰⁴ is expanded to ‘enn ad yfirstignum oúynum þeirra for Eustacius jafnan leyngra og heriadi a land þeirra og lagdi undir syg nockur hierut, enn hann uildi undir syg leggja meira’.⁴⁰⁵ Eustace takes personal control of the land and desires to further this authority. The decision is placed outside the bounds of the original conflict, as it is explicitly made after Eustace has already defeated his enemies. Such a desire for personal gain through warfare is hardly compatible with the Christian ideal of *iustum bellum*. Eustace’s personal role is further reiterated when ‘[p]ostquam uero subiecerunt uniuersam terram barbarorum’⁴⁰⁶ is expanded to ‘er Eustacius hafdi undir syg lagt øll rike kongz anndskota, þess er hann uildi’.⁴⁰⁷ In C9, the plural verb *subiecerunt* implies a group effort by the army, where PIS(A) the singular verb *hafdi* attributes the entire success to Eustace. Likewise, Eustace takes what *hann villdi*; it is his desire, and his decision to fulfil it. The importance of military actions is further highlighted in the victory celebrations; in C9, following the family’s reunion, the army ‘exultabant inuentione eorum amplius etiam propter barbarorum expugnationem’,⁴⁰⁸ whereas in PIS(A) ‘fognúðú yfir fundinngú þeirra eigi sinum sygri’.⁴⁰⁹ Here their miraculous reunion is placed on the same level as Eustace’s military victory. In other versions delight in their discovery is the main focus, being intensified by the accompanying victory. Here, arguably, the military victory in PIS(A) is elevated and celebrated in its own right – more appropriate to a romantic *ævintýr*, perhaps, than a traditional hagiography.

4.3.5.3.3 – AGENCY

PIS(A) generally depicts Eustace as more active than in C9. For example, his response to the initial vision of Christ is considerably more thoughtful and insightful: ‘reys hann upp og hýgdi ad uandlega huor þessi syn uar, er honum uar uitrut.’⁴¹⁰ His increased engagement with the

⁴⁰³ PIS(A) 254, ‘young men who were in fighting trim’.

⁴⁰⁴ C9 246.

⁴⁰⁵ PIS(A) 265–6, ‘But after the defeat of their enemies Eustace wanted to go still further and he ravaged their land and took charge of certain districts. But he wished to extend his control further’.

⁴⁰⁶ C9 304–5, ‘after they subjugated all the land of the heathens’.

⁴⁰⁷ PIS(A) 335–6, ‘when Eustace had seized all that he wanted of the domain of the king’s enemies’.

⁴⁰⁸ C9 303, ‘gloried in their discovery even more because of the assault against the heathens’.

⁴⁰⁹ PIS(A) 333, ‘they celebrated their meeting no less than their own victory’.

⁴¹⁰ PIS(A) 44–5, ‘he rose and thought carefully about what the vision that had been revealed to him might mean’. A similar reading is recorded in PIS(B) 10: ‘Oc hugði þa at syn þærri er han hafðe þar set’ (‘And he thought about

vision portrays him as more in control of the situation, and thus a less passive figure. This sense of control is also expressed when PIS(A) renders his request to tell his family of the vision more as a statement of intent: ‘ef þu uillt drottinn, þa mun eg seiga konnu myni og sonum ad þau true a þik.’⁴¹¹ While God’s will is acknowledged as a deciding factor, Eustace nonetheless makes proactive decisions. During his defence of his faith to Hadrian, Eustace also implies greater agency for himself in his reunion with his family; where in C9 God ‘restituit mihi uxorem et filios’,⁴¹² in PIS(A) he ‘liet mig finna konu minna og sonu’.⁴¹³ This ties in with God’s earlier promises to Eustace in Dadissus; God’s promise to Eustace that he will receive his family,⁴¹⁴ in PIS this is rendered as *muntu finna* (‘you will find’ or ‘you will meet’).⁴¹⁵ Here God foretells an action of Eustace rather than promising to grant him his family, and so Eustace is granted more agency.

Significantly, in PIS(A) the suggestion that they leave Rome is made by Eustace, not Theophista.⁴¹⁶ This is interesting in two ways. Firstly, the fear of opprobrium is expressed by Eustace, rather than Theophista. Where in C9 the fear being expressed by Theophista separates Eustace from worldly, unsaintly concerns, here Eustace shows concern for worldly esteem; something he is meant to reject. Secondly, Eustace’s proactivity is increased at the expense of his wife’s. This could also be indicative of a general lessening of interest in Theophista, either through a concern to emphasise Eustace as the central character, or a lesser interest in active female characters.

There is a notable attempt to make Eustace appear less powerless. PIS(A) explains that Eustace could not protect his sons because he was in the middle of the river.⁴¹⁷ While these could be renderings of ‘cum esset in medio fluminis’,⁴¹⁸ the detrimental effect of his location on his ability to rescue them is made explicit in the saga. Eustace’s mad rush to wade ashore

the sight which he had seen there’). Note that in the B recension Eustace shows more agency, in that he has seen the sight, rather than been shown it.

⁴¹¹ PIS(A) 57–8, ‘if you will it, Lord, I will say this to my wife and sons so that they might believe in you’.

⁴¹² C9 318, ‘restored my wife and sons to me’.

⁴¹³ PIS(A) 348, ‘let me find my wife and sons’.

⁴¹⁴ C9 193 *accipies* (‘you will receive’).

⁴¹⁵ PIS(A) 207.

⁴¹⁶ PIS(A) 130–33. The same alteration occurs in PID 14, though it is debatable whether one text influenced the other, and in which direction.

⁴¹⁷ PIS(A) 153–4; although the A¹ version describes his movement with the verb *vaða* (‘to wade’) and described the loss of his sons as a *harmisON* (‘sorrowful sight’) (PIS(A¹) 118–19); it appears that the emotive power of his loss and the pathos of an explicit attempt to rescue his sons were lost in later recensions.

⁴¹⁸ C9 141, ‘when he was in the middle of the river’; also ‘[c]um uenisset [...] in medium fluminis (‘when he had come to the middle of the river’ (C9 137)).

that replaces his suicidal impulse in PIS(A)⁴¹⁹ likewise portrays Eustace as proactive, even if his actions are ineffectual.

At times PIS(A) also reduces the sense of agency, apparently for dramatic emphasis. For example, it follows the C9 reading of Eustace's actions in resisting Theophista's kidnap which is less agentive than the standard BHL 2760 in *Acta Sanctorum*.⁴²⁰ Furthermore, when Theophista describes her tribulations she adds the clarification that Eustace was *naudúgum* ('unwilling') to let her go;⁴²¹ here his unfulfilled desire to prevent her kidnap accentuates the pathos of his loss. Likewise, during their martyrdom it is made explicit that the saints were given permission to pray ('það uar þeim úeitt'⁴²²); whereas in LSE they ask to pray, and immediately begin doing so. The fact that they must ask permission highlights that they are beholden to a secular authority, even at the moment of their spiritual triumph.

4.3.5.3.4 – EMOTIONS

Eustace's emotions are played down across PIS(A). A prime example is the reduction of Placidus' fear during the first section of LSE; although he is not represented as unafraid. The narrator omits the reference to God showing him that he should not fear,⁴²³ passing over this possible reaction. [*T*]imore repletus [...] maximo ('filled with the greatest fear')⁴²⁴ is also reduced to the less emphatic *uard hann hræddur* ('he became afraid').⁴²⁵ Finally, when Placidus wakes from his first God-inspired faint PIS(A) adds that 'mannlegur otti leyð af honum'.⁴²⁶ This acknowledges that he was afraid, but only in the sense that fear is leaving him; the negativity of fear becomes a positive trait of bravery. The human nature of the fear that is leaving him may also indicate a spiritual awakening.

PIS(A), like OEE, generally reduces Eustace's despair. PIS(A) omits his sorrow after the looting of his house,⁴²⁷ his tears and groans after the kidnap of Theophista,⁴²⁸ his perturbation at remembering his former life when serving Antiochus and Acaius,⁴²⁹ his tears

⁴¹⁹ PIS(A) 154–5.

⁴²⁰ See Appendix I, footnote 46.

⁴²¹ PIS(A) 309.

⁴²² PIS(A) 359, 'that was granted to them'.

⁴²³ C9 30.

⁴²⁴ C9 41.

⁴²⁵ PIS(A) 42.

⁴²⁶ PIS(A) 44, 'the human fear had left him'.

⁴²⁷ C9 113–14.

⁴²⁸ C9 134.

⁴²⁹ C9 185.

upon his discovery,⁴³⁰ and the sense of his sorrows when recounting his adventures to Trajan.⁴³¹ Even positive emotions are occasionally lessened; PIS(A) omits his kissing Theophista ‘incontinenti letitia lacrimis effundens’ when he recognises her,⁴³² and the scene is reduced to ‘uad hann nu feiginn af ollu hiartta’.⁴³³ While the sense of joy is not diminished, the tearfulness has vanished and there is greater restraint; the emotion is not physically shown.⁴³⁴

A more significant example of reduced depiction of sorrow concerns Eustace’s reaction to losing his sons. As in other reflexes of LSE, the treatment of Eustace’s temptation to suicide is telling. When his sons are lost, PIS(A) omits his outward displays of violent despair (‘coepit euellere capillos capitis sui plangens et ululans’⁴³⁵) and, perhaps more significantly, drastically alters his actions. Where in C9 we find ‘uoluit se proicere in aquam’,⁴³⁶ in PIS(A²): ‘Ried hann þa tyl ad hlaupa þann hil i giegnum til landz en Gúdz myskunseme styrkte hann enn til þolinmædi.’⁴³⁷ As in PID,⁴³⁸ the danger of suicide is excised (or at least, to quote Tucker, ‘garbled’⁴³⁹), further suggestive of a shared tradition. While one could argue that the translator misunderstood the Latin *proicere*, the incidental evidence of the omission of his violent tearing at his hair beforehand suggests otherwise, as does the addition that he intends to go *til lands* (‘to land’). While PID omits the actions completely and moves directly into the Lament, in PIS(A) activity is retained, but represented more as ineffectual frustration than a sinful desire for self-destruction.

While the emotional aspects of Eustace’s Trial are generally decreased, there are some instances where the sense of tribulation is slightly increased. When Eustace weeps while serving his former servants, for example, more attention is drawn to his *miklum hrigdleyk*

⁴³⁰ C9 214.

⁴³¹ Compare PIS(A) 246–7 ‘fra öllum atburdi ferdar synar, og huorsu hann hafdi mist konu syna ok sonu’ (‘about all his journeys, and how he had lost his wife and sons’) with C9 229–31, ‘[q]ui causam suae discessionis [...] de uxore sua quomodo in mare relictæ esset, et quomodo filii sui a feris capti sunt, et totum merorem suum exposuit.’ (‘about the cause of his departure, and about how his wife was lost at sea and how his sons had been captured by wild beasts, and he unfolded all his sorrow’). While this is clear *brevitas*, it also reduces the sense of tribulation and his former sorrow at the moment of his return to glory.

⁴³² C9 287, ‘with unrestrained joy, filled with tears’.

⁴³³ PIS(A) 315, ‘he became glad with all his heart’.

⁴³⁴ This reduction of emotion could also be due to saga-style, as the inner emotional state of characters is rarely described except in broad terms. Jónas Kristjánsson described this as the ‘objectivity’ for which sagas are known (*Eddas and Sagas*, p. 207), and Lönnroth further defined this form of objectivity as ‘impassibilité’, or ‘emotional restraint in the narrator’s treatment of his subject matter’ (‘Rhetorical Persuasion’, p. 158).

⁴³⁵ C9 141, ‘he began to tear out the hair of his head, weeping and wailing’.

⁴³⁶ C9 142, ‘he desired to throw himself into the water’.

⁴³⁷ PIS(A²) 154–5, ‘He decided to run through the deep part of the river toward land; but the mercy of God, as always, gave him strength to be patient’. Unfortunately, PIS(A¹) ends at this point.

⁴³⁸ See §4.2.4.

⁴³⁹ Tucker, *Placidus saga* p. xci.

(‘great affliction’).⁴⁴⁰ This highlights the temptations of his former life, but may also have been intended to excuse his tearfulness. Tribulation is also increased when describing his filial losses. When his first son is taken, his despair for him is retained but his hope for the other is omitted,⁴⁴¹ deepening the sense of peril and loss. Eustace later describes his sons’ assumed deaths more violently; where in C9 Eustace baldly states ‘a feris commesti sunt’⁴⁴², in PIS(A) he believes that ‘dyr hafa sundur ryfid sonu myna’.⁴⁴³ This image of senseless violence (in that the boys are not explicitly eaten for sustenance, but are brutally torn apart) reflects Eustace’s sorrow for his sons, even after fifteen years. This accords with the wider Eustace tradition, as it is the loss of his family, especially his sons, rather than his wealth, that leads him to sorrow and then despair.

4.3.5.4 – LATER RECENSIONS

It is interesting to note that, while later recensions of PIS(A) largely follow their earlier exemplars, there are some variations in PIS(A³) (ÍB 634 8vo, dated to c. 1743–7⁴⁴⁴) and PIS(A⁴) (Lbs. 677 4to, dated to 1817⁴⁴⁵) which suggest a less hagiographic reception of later recensions of PIS(A), in accordance with its more secular manuscript contexts. Although most differences between the recensions are either minor or due to scribal error, there are some alterations that indicate a more secular reading of PIS in later years.⁴⁴⁶

Particularly significant are the omissions of religious material beyond those already excised in PIS(A) generally. For example, both PIS(A³) and PIS(A⁴) omit the reference to Cornelius being in Acts.⁴⁴⁷ Furthermore, PIS(A³) drastically shortens God’s promise at the beginning of the saints’ martyrdom,⁴⁴⁸ while PIS(A⁴) entirely omits both Pope John’s request that the saints pray for his soul,⁴⁴⁹ and the crowd of heathen and Christian witnesses at their martyrdom.⁴⁵⁰ In places the religious emphasis is also altered. PIS(A³⁴) extends the statement

⁴⁴⁰ PIS(A) 223.

⁴⁴¹ C9 139.

⁴⁴² C9 188, ‘they have been devoured by wild beasts’.

⁴⁴³ PIS(A) 204, ‘beasts have torn my sons apart’.

⁴⁴⁴ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. xlv.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Quotations from PIS(A³⁴) are taken from the critical apparatus of Tucker’s edition of PIS(A²) in *Plácitus saga*.

⁴⁴⁷ Corresponding to PIS(A²) 9.

⁴⁴⁸ Compare PIS(A²) 374–6 ‘so mun ueitast sem þier badút, og framar mun úeitast, þuiad þier stodust mikla freistni, og úrdut ey yfir styginn, og fiellut þar med godú lyfe’ (‘It will be granted as you have requested, and yet more will be granted, because you have withstood great trials and were not overcome and died after living a good life’) with PIS(A³) ‘so med því þier hefid vt tekit hörmungar i þessu lyfe’ (‘So, because you have received afflictions in this life’). The sense both of trial and reward is lessened.

⁴⁴⁹ Corresponding to PIS(A²) 81–3.

⁴⁵⁰ Corresponding to PIS(A²) 356–8.

that God called *so jnnelega* ('one so beloved')⁴⁵¹ to *menn* ('men') being those that God calls. An exploration of noble heathens as being deserving of salvation is lost in favour of a more general statement of God's universal mercy.

Beyond this, the younger recensions of PIS(A) show signs of interest in the saga as a secular narrative. PIS(A⁴) especially contains clarifications to the narrative concerning the loss of Eustace's sons⁴⁵² and their subsequent rescue.⁴⁵³ It is also significant that this rescue is framed slightly differently in PIS(A³): where PIS(A²) states that Eustace's sons *uoru úpp fæddir* ('were brought up')⁴⁵⁴ by locals, PIS(A³) renders this as *hanz upp fostrudust* ('they were fostered'). This normalises the upbringing of Eustace's sons as a known social phenomenon, and possibly places it in a higher social context, as fostering was a common pseudo-aristocratic way for politically powerful families to make connections in medieval Iceland.⁴⁵⁵ Another interesting example of aspects of LSE being made more explicitly secular is during the recounting of Placidus' good deeds; where in PIS(A) he is described as helping those *hormungum* ('in affliction'), in PIS(A³⁴) those to whom he brings succour are more specifically *fangelze* ('in prison'). Placidus' general charity is removed from the generally afflicted to those who have fallen foul of the law; it is especially significant that there is no sense that the judgement upon them is unjust, as in LSE.⁴⁵⁶

Although the changes in the early modern recensions of PIS(A) are relatively minor, there is a consistent impression that they are copies of a tradition that had begun to be read in a more secular context than the original Latin hagiography upon which it was based.

4.3.5.5 – CONCLUSIONS

Overall, it appears that the PIS(A) was treated less as hagiography than has been assumed; rather, its secular aspects are brought to the fore. There is less interest in *providentia* and *pietas*,

⁴⁵¹ PIS(A²) 13.

⁴⁵² Compare PIS(A²) 149 'for sydan eptir þeim' ('then he went back for him') with PIS(A⁴) 'sneri so aptur ad sækja þann sem eptir var' ('he turned back to fetch the one who was left behind'). Tucker noted this internal contradiction in relation to its removal in PIS(C) (*Plácitus saga*, p. lxxii).

⁴⁵³ Compare PIS(A²) 157–8, when the shepherds spotted 'þan sueinen sem uargurinn hafði gripid' ('the boy whom the wolf had seized') with the description in PIS(A⁴) that they 'näðu sveininn og leit það lausan sveininn' ('seized the boy and brought the boy away free').

⁴⁵⁴ PIS(A²) 255.

⁴⁵⁵ See Hansen, 'Fosterage and Dependency'. It should be noted that a saga-guided view of fosterage suggests that it referred to 'any person in a child-caring role who is not the biological parent' (p. 76). It is, however, a practice heavily associated with influential families in the sagas.

⁴⁵⁶ C9 6 *patrocinabatur grauatís iniudicio* ('he was a defender of those who were under grave travesties of justice'). This goes further than the alteration in OEE 6–8, which also implies that some of those Placidus succoured were justly condemned, but which retains a reference to unjust judges (see §3.2.1).

with more emphasis on Eustace's proactivity and God's mercy in the reception of salvation. Furthermore, non-Christian characters are generally depicted less negatively, except in the martyrdom episode, where the polarisation of Christian and heathen is instead emphasised as a point of conflict. In Eustace's Christian life after his Trial there is greater emphasis on the honour afforded to him, and his proficient involvement in a military campaign that is couched in secular, rather than religious, terms. As in OEE, descriptions of emotion are reduced, although here, in combination with a general increase in Eustace's agency and militarism, this appears to be part of heroizing Eustace's character.

This is in contrast with recension D especially, which paints Eustace as a more traditional saint through lack of militarism and explicit rejection of worldly things. On the other hand, its more earthly emphasis on Eustace's rewards for enduring his Trial also corresponds with PIS(B), insofar as we can tell given its fragmentary nature, since the redactor of PIS(B) seems to emphasise practical behaviour and gains in favour of the spiritual in the description of the saints' preparation for baptism. PIS(B) also appears to rework the text in favour of a more exciting narrative, which would accord also with the reading of PIS in Western Scandinavia as being more intended for entertainment; although the retention, and expansion, of religious information in PIS(B) exceeds that in PIS(A).

Given the more secular texts with which PIS(A) circulated in the later period, this treatment of LSE should not be surprising. But, along with the more secular tone of later recensions of PIS(A), it does raise questions concerning editing PIS(A) as a *heilagramanna saga*. A case could be made for editing it in the context of the romantic and semi-legendary sagas that became popular in the later period, with which it was often circulated. This question is also highly relevant to PIS(C).

4.3.6 – THE C RECENSION

As Tucker noted, PIS(C) '*appears to be a corrupt reworking of the earlier Old Norse-Icelandic text of the legend or perhaps the translation of a European vernacular version concerned less with saintliness than with *kurteislega* and *riddaralega* behaviour*'.⁴⁵⁷ Whether before or after transmission to Scandinavia, the text 'has been rewritten, or so it seems, to satisfy a taste for

⁴⁵⁷ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. lxxiii.

romance narrative.⁴⁵⁸ Given apparent influence of PID on the structure of PIS(C),⁴⁵⁹ it seems likeliest that this is a Scandinavian product.

As PIS(C) appears to retain traces of an earlier medieval textual tradition divergent from PIS as a whole, and also represents the afterlife of said tradition as preserved in the early modern period, it would be an oversight to omit analysis of PIS(C) while examining the Scandinavian Eustace tradition; not least because it provides evidence for the shifting reception of PIS as hagiography to reception as quasi-romantic literature, in accordance with polysystem theory.⁴⁶⁰

4.3.6.1 – INTEREST IN NARRATIVE

One aspect of PIS(C) that is immediately apparent is that the narrative has been adapted to focus more on Eustace as the central character. Several incidents reflect this. For example, during his first vision, Placidus does not ask whether he should inform his family as he does at C9 55–6; Christ simply tells him to tell them and receive baptism. By the same token, Placidus' wife does not suggest that they be baptised as in C9 66–9, while the bishop's request for their prayers at the baptism (C9 80) is also omitted. This pattern continues at the end of the Trial and at their martyrdom. While in most reflexes of LSE Theophista recognises Eustace, in the much shorter passage in PIS(C) Eustace recognises her.⁴⁶¹ Furthermore, during the Martyrdom Episode, only Eustace is thrown to the lions,⁴⁶² where in most versions the entire family is. In PIS(C) this aspect of the Trial is very much Eustace's to overcome alone. It is also plausible that the changing of the names of Eustace's former servants, Antiochus and Acaius, to Planocktus and Stadius, is an aspect of this. As these names are corruptions of Placidus and Eustace respectively,⁴⁶³ it is possible that this was intended to centre the narrative on Eustace,

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. lxxi.

⁴⁵⁹ See §4.3.6.2

⁴⁶⁰ See §1.2.2.

⁴⁶¹ C9 276–87 corresponds to PIS(C) 286–8: 'Hann svarar: hvor ertu edur hvad heitir þú. Hun segir honum nafn sitt og ætt, sòmuleidis alla atburdi sinnar þar komu. Þá kannast hann við konu sína' ('He asked: 'Who are you, and what are you called?' She told him her name and lineage, (and) likewise all the events that had happened to her. Then he recognised his wife.').

⁴⁶² PIS(C) 320–7: '[E]nn sem keisarinn heirdi þetta varð hann reidur, og lét ræna Evstasius öllum sýnum metordum aftók hans riddara nafn villdi neida hann til blota, konu hanz og sonu enn sem hann sá ad trúa hans til guds mátti ei skeika við hans fortólur, þá lét hann leida Evstasius út og leisa úr grindum þæg grimmu león ad þaug rifí hann til dauds, en kona hans og synir skilldi síá uppá þíslir hanz og dauda og hugdi keisarinn þæg mundu fordast þetta, en blóta goden' ('And when the emperor heard that he became angry, and had Eustace despoiled of all his wealth, he took the title of knight (from him and) he wanted the denier to sacrifice, along with his wife and sons. But when he saw that he could not swerve them from the faith with his persuasions, then he had Eustace led out and to have fierce lions loosed from the gates, that they should savage him to death, and his wife and sons should look upon his torment and death, and the emperor thought that they would save themselves and sacrifice to gods').

⁴⁶³ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. lxxiii.

with his former, pagan, servants providing shadowy reflections of his former and present selves.

There are also cases of details being added or reworked in the interests of a more flowing or interesting narrative. For example, shepherds inform Placidus of the large flock of deer that tempts him to the hunt.⁴⁶⁴ Eustace's post-baptismal vision is shortened.⁴⁶⁵ The Lament is also truncated,⁴⁶⁶ losing its artful three-fold structure and focusing solely on the fact of Eustace's despair.

Some of these narrative alterations are intended to create emotive emphasis. For example, in the kidnapping of Theophista the captain's desire for Theophista is increased ('Þá tók skipherran til konunnar og kvadst mundu hafa hana með sér hvað sem hann segi fyrst hann hafi ei annað til⁴⁶⁷'), while any sense of Eustace's resistance is omitted. Other alterations are less clear in their intentions, such as when Theophista unknowingly converses with her sons rather than eavesdropping on them. In this case it is possible that the author is clarifying certain plot points in the interests of a smoother narrative. Similarly, Tucker observed that PIS(C) also smooths out a contradiction in LSE, namely that the elder brother recounts his younger brother's abduction by a wolf, even though he had already been taken away by a lion.⁴⁶⁸

Eustace's interactions with his former servants are also altered.⁴⁶⁹ Their initial conversation is reduced to reported speech, except for the final promise of money in exchange for information about Placidus,⁴⁷⁰ placing emphasis on the temptations of worldly goods. A clarification is also added that they were sent by the emperor, granting a greater sense of gravity to the request. Eustace's claim that he cannot provide them with an answer because he is a

⁴⁶⁴ PIS(C) 10–12 'Það var eirn týma að hyrdmenn komu heim og sögdu Placidus að þeir hefðu séð eirn dýra flokk mikinn' ('On one occasion shepherds came home and told Placidus that they had seen a great flock of deer').

⁴⁶⁵ Compare PIS(C) 73–92 and C9 84–103. References to Eustace shedding corruptible humanity in favour of incorruptibility and the trial being the work of the Devil are omitted, and Christ's warning against blasphemy is drastically shortened.

⁴⁶⁶ The Lament (C9 149–64) covers only PIS(C) 151–62.

⁴⁶⁷ PIS(C) 116–18, 'Then the captain took the woman and said that he would have her with him, just as he first said that he would have nothing else'.

⁴⁶⁸ Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, p. lxxii.

⁴⁶⁹ PIS(C) 199 'Þeir kvádust sendir af þeim rómverska keisara' ('they said that they had been sent by the Emperor of Rome').

⁴⁷⁰ PIS(C) 194–201; the only direct speech is 200–1 'munum við gíefa þeim mikid fé se moss kann til hans að segia' ('they would give him much wealth, 'if you can tell us anything about him (Placidus)'). This structure of reported and direct speech is similar that of VBE 414–23; although as a poetic adaptation such a reduction of direct speech is to be expected, the similar model of grace in preventing Eustace's suicide (see §4.3.6.3) could be further evidence of such a textual influence.

foreigner is omitted, and he simply goes straight to his landlord. His former servants notice his increased anxiety as he serves them,⁴⁷¹ creating a tension that he might be discovered.

Further dramatic irony and narrative tension are added in the martyrdom episode. Firstly, before their final confrontation over sacrificing, Eustace dramatically ‘hafdi afftur fengid konu syna og sonu’.⁴⁷² Whether out of protectiveness because of their closeness to him or a danger they might succumb, narrative tension is introduced. Secondly, the author adds clarifications about how Hadrian expects Eustace and the saints to respond to their humiliation and the lions’ den: when he strips Eustace of his worldly wealth and title ‘villdi neida hann til blóta’⁴⁷³, while he has his wife and sons look on him in the lions’ den because ‘hugdi keisarinn þæg mundu fordast þetta, en blóta goden.’⁴⁷⁴ The discovery of Eustace is also made more confrontational:

Þá spyria þeir ef hann være nockud Placidus sá er verid hefde riddara höfdingi med Tróianus keisara. Hann þagdi vid. Þeir sögdu honumm, tíadi ei ad dyliast þræta því þeir kiendu hann vissulega. Hann svarar þá: sá sami madur er eg og heiti nú Evstasius.

(‘Then they asked if he might be that Placidus, who had been the leader of the knights with Emperor Trajan. He concealed this. They told him not to deny it or quarrel, because they certainly knew him. He answered them: ‘I am the same man and I am now called Eustace.’’)⁴⁷⁵

While the sense remains the same, the more vigorous questioning of Eustace injects drama into the scene.

Also notable are the descriptions of the village that Eustace and his sons live in for over a decade without recognising one another, although ‘[i] þessu sama þorpi voru synir hans og vissu hvorugir sáust þo daglega og tóludust vid.’⁴⁷⁶ As Tucker observes, ‘[t]he improbable raising of the two sons in the same village yet in ignorance of one another’s identity [...] is compounded’.⁴⁷⁷ While a clear attempt at dramatic irony, it also makes their extended failure to recognise one another less believable. Another example of dramatic irony pertaining to

⁴⁷¹ PIS(C) 206–7, ‘Þetta fundu riddararnir ad mikil áhiggia var med þessum manne en vissu ei hvad vallda mundi’ (‘The knights found that there was great distress with this man but didn’t know what the cause might be’).

⁴⁷² PIS(C) 314, ‘had held back his wife and sons’.

⁴⁷³ PIS(C) 322–3, ‘he wanted to force him to sacrifice’.

⁴⁷⁴ PIS(C) 326–7, ‘the emperor thought they would be afraid at that, and sacrifice to the gods’.

⁴⁷⁵ PIS(C) 211–15.

⁴⁷⁶ PIS(C) 164–6, ‘his sons were in the same village, and they knew and saw and spoke to each other daily’.

⁴⁷⁷ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. lxxii.

Eustace's sons is when he promotes them. The author invokes a proverb: 'elskudu þar hvorir adra svo að þar kom sem mællt er að saman sækir sífa blód.'⁴⁷⁸ The brothers are as yet unaware of their true relationship, yet the audience is and their eventual total reunion, guided by God, is shown to be inescapable.

Several of these changes add to the sense that PIS(C) was adapted with more of an eye to narrative enjoyment, although it must be considered that at least some of them are reflective of the source material, potentially including other variants of PIS that have since been lost. PIS(C) certainly shows evidence of being composed from various versions of LSE that have been blended together. Since some of these variants can be identified, then it is also reasonable to suppose that there were further sources that are no longer extant.

4.3.6.2 – THE C-RECENSION AS A CONFLATION OF TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

PIS(C) is a curious version of PIS, containing several aspects of the sources which differ from other reflexes. For example, the spelling of the names of Eustace's wife and younger son (*Teópista* and *Teopistus*⁴⁷⁹) indicates that PIS(C) is affiliated with the Q recension of LSE rather than the P recension to which most LSE reflexes in this dissertation are related.⁴⁸⁰ Besides this, PIS(C) appears to have been produced from a number of reflexes of LSE that were brought together into a composite whole. Tucker suggested that a coherent stemma for PIS(C) is 'irrecoverable',⁴⁸¹ and this conflation of multiple texts doubtless contributes to this. Though it is possible that there are lost reflexes of LSE (whether Scandinavian or otherwise),⁴⁸² identifying some of these sources can tell us about the circulation of material relating to Eustace and explain some of the peculiarities of PIS(C) through the application of polysystem theory.

There is substantial evidence that the composer of PIS was influenced by PID. The most convincing of these is the reordering of events within PIS(C). In PID, Theophista's fate is described immediately after her kidnapping rather than after Eustace's Lament. Tucker observed that this was likely to be due to a metrical need for thematically coherent collections of stanzas. PIS(C) contains the same reordering of events, and it is likelier that this narrative

⁴⁷⁸ PIS(C) 246–7, 'each loved the other so much that it came about as it is said, that the blood of relatives seeks [to be] together'.

⁴⁷⁹ PIS(C) 64 and 65.

⁴⁸⁰ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

⁴⁸¹ Tucker, *Plácidus saga*, p. cxvi.

⁴⁸² One could argue that some of the more poetic imagery in PIS(C) could derive from a lost *rimur* or versification of PIS or LSE, although such arguments must remain conjectural. Examples of this include reference to mankind needing saving 'af þeirri andlegu höggorms saurgan' ('from pollution of the spirit of the viper') (PIS(C) 32), a reference to Satan which has more than a flavour of kenning about it.

reordering originated in PID and influenced PIS(C), rather than vice versa or being an independent decision by the composer of PIS(C).⁴⁸³ Tucker also suggested that the PIS(C) reference to *Yób hinum gamla* ('Job the old')⁴⁸⁴ can only be explained by the composer of PIS(C) being familiar with PID, in which the epithet is used as a metrical filler.⁴⁸⁵ Further to these, it is also plausible that the additional information in PIS(C) about Eustace holding his faith in secret has parallels in PID.⁴⁸⁶ However, PIS(C) also states that Theophista held her faith steadfastly,⁴⁸⁷ with little indication of secrecy, where in PID she does so *ógnvist* ('made quiet by terror').⁴⁸⁸ This could be part of the general diminished interest in Theophista in PIS(C). There is much to suggest, therefore, that the composer of PIS(C) was familiar with PID, or a derivative thereof, which coloured the saga composition without necessitating direct quotation.

Another text that plausibly influenced PIS(C) is BHL 2761. The most marked indication of this is the representation of Eustace's military campaign against the heathen. Where in most versions of LSE, Eustace prosecutes a violent military campaign, in PIS(C):

[F]ór Evstasius med allan sinn her ut yfir haf enn sem hann kom að því landi sem hans mótstandarar fyrir voru sló þegar yfir þá ótta og hrædslu og flýdu burt með öllu sýnu lidi sem var þó miklu meira og fleira. Þannan leisti guð syna þienara orustulaust undan öllum þeim háska.

('Eustace went over the sea with all his army and when he came to the land which his enemies were defending, great terror and fear came upon them and they fled away with their whole company, even though it was bigger and more numerous. That way God freed his servants from all the danger without battle.')⁴⁸⁹

This clearly corresponds to the reading in BHL 2761, that 'audita est inter barbaros opinio quod Placidus preliator exisset in bellum contra eos et nocte recesserunt barbari in solum proprium,'⁴⁹⁰ albeit with some embellishment in the Norse version, both in terms of the belief in the size of Eustace's army and the additional sense of divine intervention.

⁴⁸³ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, pp. cxiv–cxvi.

⁴⁸⁴ PIS(C) 82.

⁴⁸⁵ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. cxii.

⁴⁸⁶ Compare PIS(C) 168 'Þó hiellt hann vel leinilega sýna trú' ('Nevertheless he secretly kept his faith well') to PID 30:5–6 *leyndi trú sinni* ('concealed his faith').

⁴⁸⁷ PIS(C) 125 'vel hiellt sin christinndom stadfastlega'.

⁴⁸⁸ PID 24:8.

⁴⁸⁹ PIS(C) 247–52.

⁴⁹⁰ BHL 2761 p. 353, 'the rumour was heard among the heathens that Placidus the warrior was against them in the battle, and at night the heathens retreated to their own land'.

There are, however, other correspondences to strengthen this relationship. For example, PIS(C) states that Eustace esteems his (unrecognised) sons so much that he makes them military leaders,⁴⁹¹ while in BHL 2761 he likewise makes them centurions.⁴⁹² Both texts also include a clarification that Theophista and her sons do not initially recognise one another,⁴⁹³ although independent clarifications on the part of authors need not be ruled out here, since in PIS(C) Theophista fails to recognise her sons, while in BHL 2761 her sons fail to recognise her.

It is clear that the composer of PIS(C) was making use of multiple sources in a composite text. Though difficult to represent in a stemma, polysystem theory can be of help. If we conceive of the sources of PIS(C) as overlapping systems, then the exact points at which influences occur become less relevant than in the stemmatic method.

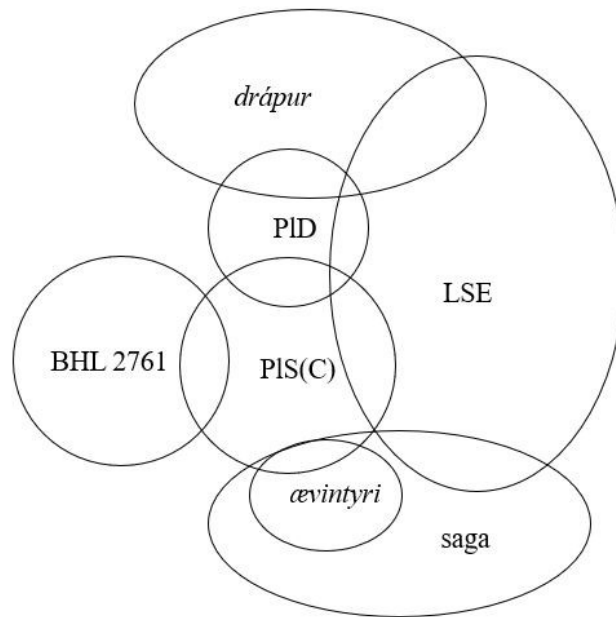


Figure 5 – A polysystemic visualisation of the sources influencing PIS(C)

⁴⁹¹ PIS(C) 239–42 ‘sem Evstasius sier þessa úngu menn fornemur hann þeirra yfirbragd tígulegt, þóktist því síá þeir mundu fræknir og hentugir til höfðingja setti þá þar fyrir til hershöfðingja yfir mikid lid’ (‘when Eustace saw these young men he perceived their noble demeanour, it seemed that they would be bold and suitable as leaders. Then he set them over many men as army-leaders’).

⁴⁹² BHL 2761 p. 353 ‘placuerunt eustasio in decore aspectus et in eloquentia oris sui et fecit eos centuriones’ (‘their fair aspect and eloquence of speech pleased Eustace and he made them centurions’).

⁴⁹³ PIS(C) 258–9 ‘kiendi hun ei sonu sýna og ei þeir hana’ (‘she did not recognise her sons, nor they her’); BHL 2761 p. 353 ‘ignorabant quod esset mater eorum. Sed et ipsi inter se nesciebant cognationem suam, vel quod essent fratres et filii eiusdem mulieris’ (‘they were unaware that she was their mother. But they were also unaware of their kinship, that they were brothers or sons of that same woman’).

Polysystem theory, therefore, can help us visualise the relation of the different component systems, rather than find an original ‘pure’ text. The intentions of this multi-source composition can be gleaned from a literary analysis of the resulting text.

4.3.6.3 – RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

If one is to argue for signs of a shift in genre in PIS(C), then the religious aspects must also be examined. A less religious tone is established from the outset, as noted by Tucker:

[PIS(C)] is marked, particularly in its opening, by a wholly new tone – at once more modern and secular than that to be felt in A and B. Thus references to Cornelius, Balaam and the conversion of St. Paul disappear, as does the pious acknowledgement of Placidus’s pre-conversion concern for the naked and the needy.⁴⁹⁴

The exposition on why God desires to save Placidus is also entirely excised; it is only at the vision itself that there is any sense of the divine. The theme of noble heathenism is almost entirely lost. The reference to his unknowing service or worship of God is omitted,⁴⁹⁵ although a reference to his good deeds impressing God is retained.⁴⁹⁶ Nonetheless, there is less of a sense of deeds leading to salvation directly; PIS(C) adds that Christ wants to lead Placidus to salvation,⁴⁹⁷ suggesting that he is less capable of achieving it himself.

In a similar fashion, PIS(C) also shortens Eustace’s post-baptismal confession of faith, omitting any sense of Eustace as a supplicant.⁴⁹⁸ There is also a reduction in God’s intervention in Placidus’ conversion. God plays no part in Placidus’ horse not tiring, allowing him to receive

⁴⁹⁴ Tucker, *Plácíðus saga*, p. lxxi.

⁴⁹⁵ PIS(C) 26 reads ‘Vita skalltu ad eg er Christur drottin’ (‘You shall know that I am Christ the Lord’); C9 36 reads ‘[e]go sum Christus quem ignorans colis’ (‘I am Christ, whom you unknowingly worship’).

⁴⁹⁶ PIS(C) 29–31 ‘ei er tilheirilegt ad þeir sem mier þjóna eiga skuli tilbyðia skúrgod tóm og vitlaus enn eg hefí mǫrg þýn godverk og ólmusur átlitid’ (‘it is proper that those who serve me should not adore graven images (that are) witless and empty; but I have looked more on your good works and alms’). Here Placidus’ good deeds and his idolatry are placed more in opposition; his idolatry becomes something that can be overlooked in the mitigating circumstances of his charity.

⁴⁹⁷ PIS(C) 28–9 ‘villdi eg leida þig med þessari sión til þess sanna lióss’ (‘I wanted to lead you to the light of salvation through this sign’).

⁴⁹⁸ PIS(C) 73 ‘yeg trúi nú á gud föður son og heilagan anda’ (‘I now believe in the God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit’); compare to C9 81–3: ‘Supplico te domine, cognoui quia tu es iesus christus filius dei uiui, et credo in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, et nunc ueni supplicans intemeratam tuam diuinitatem, ut manifestes que promiseras mihi’ (‘I beg you, Lord, I know that you are Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, and I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and now I come as a supplicant in fear of your immaculate divinity, that you might manifest those things you promised to me’).

the vision alone, and the detail of God speaking through the stag is lost; rather the stag speaks and addresses Placidus as Christ.⁴⁹⁹

One particularly striking alteration is Eustace's sorrow while serving his former servants being attributed to their reversal of roles: 'Þíónadi Evstasius þeim um kvöldid miðg hriggur því hann minntist sinnar firri áfi og nálæggra harma að hann irði nú með ervidsmunum öðrum að þíóna.'⁵⁰⁰ Far from being happy in his humility, as in other versions, Eustace sees being reduced to serving those who would have served him as an affliction. Here a pseudo-Christ-like act of serving servants, resonant of Christ's washing of feet at the Last Supper,⁵⁰¹ becomes an aspect of the Trial. The religious significance is lost in favour of a focus on Eustace's social degradation.

Also significant is the omission of Eustace's ability to intercede as a saint. During their final prayer to God, the saints' request that they be able to intercede on behalf of those who invoke God through them is excised.⁵⁰² Likewise, as in PIS(A), references to their power to intercede are omitted in the epilogues.⁵⁰³ In PIS(C) the author makes explicit reference to miracles:

Þínigar dagar þeirra var eirnni nóttu eptir allra heilagra messu, og hafa þar margskonar jarðteikner orðid allt ynn til þessa dags, og endar hjer svo þetta æfennýr. Lof sé gudi fyrir öll sín verk.

(‘The day of their torture was on the night after All Saints Day, and many kinds of signs have been worked there up until today, and here ends their adventure. Praise God for all His work.’)⁵⁰⁴

These instances may also be connected with the omission of the bishop's request that they pray for him (C9 76–7), although in this latter case it may equally be an aspect of the focussing of

⁴⁹⁹ PIS(C) 25 *Þá mællti hiórturinn* (‘then the stag said’); compare to C9 33–4 ‘*imaginem domini nostri saluatoris iesu christi, quia etiam humanam uocem imponens ceruo aduocat placidam dicens ei*’ (‘the image of our Lord, the Saviour, Jesus Christ, who, even placing human speech on the stag, called to Placidus, saying to him’). The reference to Balaam and the donkey whom God spoke through in Numbers 22:21–38 at C9 31–2 is also omitted.

⁵⁰⁰ PIS(C) 203–6, ‘Eustace served them and became very sad because he remembered his former life and his recent distress that he now was a servant, alongside other afflictions’.

⁵⁰¹ John 13:4–17.

⁵⁰² See C9 333–8.

⁵⁰³ In C9 357–9 it is stated that ‘[o]mnes ergo qui merentur celebrare memoriam eorum et inuocare eos in presidio impetrant que promissa sunt sanctis per gratiam domini nostri et saluatoris iesu christi’ (‘therefore all who are deserving to celebrate their memory and call on them as protection will secure the things that have been promised to the saints by the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’).

⁵⁰⁴ PIS(C) 361–4.

the narrative on Eustace; as the bishop is a peripheral character, details of his behaviour may have been excised.

It is plausible that these aspects of Eustace were excised due to changes in religious culture, given that the only witnesses to PIS(C) are post-Reformation. With this said, post-Reformation witnesses of PIS(A) do not omit the passage in which the saints request that they be able to intercede on behalf of others.⁵⁰⁵ If post-Reformation Protestant sensibilities affected the transmission of PIS, it was not universal.

Another notable aspect of the depiction of Christianity in PIS(C) is apparently increased interest in the earthly benefits of faith. For example, when Christ tells Placidus to return after his baptism, it is because God will ‘segja fyrir alla æfi hvornin yckur ganga skal’⁵⁰⁶ rather than because ‘demonstrabo tibi futura et patefaciam tibi salutis mysteria.’⁵⁰⁷ Likewise, when the bishop instructs them in the faith (interestingly, after they are baptised rather than before, as in other versions), he gives more practical advice on how to behave rather than the fundamentals of belief.⁵⁰⁸ It should be noted that both of these may be due to the influence of PID.

However, despite the generally more secular tone observed by Tucker, certain religious aspects of the narrative and other images are brought to the fore in PIS(C). Particularly interesting is the increased influence of God on events, especially in the sections of the narrative after Eustace’s overcoming of despair in his Lament. Rather than a fear of invasion, it is explicitly God who inspires Trajan to look for Placidus: ‘og sem nú gud villdi stitta harma Evstasius lina hans hörnung og lána hanns þolinmædi, þá ynnblies hann keisaranum Tróianus ad efftir leitast.’⁵⁰⁹ That this is clearly a reward for Eustace’s *þolinmædi* (‘patience’) also increases the didactic and pragmatic qualities of LSE; as Eustace has successfully proven himself a good Christian, he receives material benefits in lessened afflictions. It is also stated

⁵⁰⁵ PIS(A) 364–71.

⁵⁰⁶ PIS(C) 49–50, ‘tell you about everything that will happen in your life’.

⁵⁰⁷ C9 55–6, ‘I will show you the things to come and will unfold the mysteries of salvation to you’.

⁵⁰⁸ PIS(C) 65–9 ‘Sýdan uppfærddi hann þæg um hrid, kienndi þeim frædi og fieck þeim uppskrifadar þær sierlegustu trúarinnar höfudgreinir, áminnti þæg til gudhrædslu ynnbyrdiss elsku þolinmædi og gódverka og bad þeim ad liktum margfalldrar guds blessunar’ (‘Then he enlightened them for a time, he taught them wisdom and gave them instructions for the most particular head-branches (possibly ‘fundamental tenets’) of the faith, admonished them to fear of God, love of one another, patience and good works and he told them to rejoice in God’s manifold blessings’). In C9 71–2, however, the bishop unfolds the mysteries of faith, and then baptises them with no further instruction. It should also be noted that the image *höfudgreinir* (literally ‘head-branches’) could be construed as a kenning-like pun alluding to the antlers of the stag by which Eustace was called; whether this was intentional on the part of the author is uncertain.

⁵⁰⁹ PIS(C) 172–4, ‘and because God now wanted to shorten Eustace’s distress, to soften his affliction and to reward his patience, then he inspired the Emperor Trajan to look for him’.

that the heathen army fled for fear of Placidus because God wanted to protect his servants from fighting: '[þ]annen leisti gud syna þienara orustulaust undan öllum þeim háska.'⁵¹⁰ This is not stated in BHL 2761. Divine intervention is also added to the mutual recognition of Eustace's sons, when 'upplák gud hugskotum þeirra svo þeir kendust vera brædur.'⁵¹¹ Eustace also survives the lions' den explicitly *fyrir gudlega tilhlutan* ('because of God's providence').⁵¹²

Eustace is also implied to be in more need of God's aid than in other versions. He makes two additional requests for help. The first is before his Trial begins, as God ascends into Heaven: 'hvarf drottinn honum og til himins enn Evstasius bad gud sier til hiálpar fór heim'.⁵¹³ The second occurs after Theophista is kidnapped, when he 'bad gud miskunar ad han mátti vel standast syna freistne'.⁵¹⁴ This second example is possibly alluding to the statement mere lines earlier regarding Theophista in captivity, that 'bar goda þólinmædi í sinni freistni.'⁵¹⁵ If so, Eustace's response to his situation is less ideal than that of his wife's, highlighting the despair that God helps him to overcome. Eustace is criticised, but this goes some way to heightening the sense of his transformation after the Lament.

Perhaps the most significant example of treatment of divine intervention, however, is in the retention of the suicide episode, almost uniquely in Scandinavian recensions. This is highly suggestive that, despite the episode being at least 'garbled' in PIS(A), it nonetheless survived in the Scandinavian tradition, unless it was reintroduced at a later date from an external source. What is especially significant, however, is that Eustace's temptation is depicted as an external force acting upon him: 'ad honum lá vid ad farga sjálfum sjer'.⁵¹⁶ Eustace, here, is not in control of his emotional impulses because he is *svo freistadur* ('so afflicted');⁵¹⁷ he has let his guard down and is less able to resist temptation. As in other versions, God aids him, but in this way: 'hiálpadi gud svo það framkvæmdist ei.'⁵¹⁸ God gives Eustace the ability to resist, rather than ensuring his success for him. Notably, this is the same

⁵¹⁰ PIS(C) 251–2, 'that way God freed his servants from all the danger without battle'. This brings this battle into line with other more traditional soldier saints such as St Martin (for example, Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, Ch. 4); see §2.4.1.

⁵¹¹ PIS(C) 278–9, 'God unlocked their minds so that they recognised they were brothers'.

⁵¹² PIS(C) 329.

⁵¹³ PIS(C) 92–3, 'God returned to Heaven, and Eustace asked God to help him (and) returned home'.

⁵¹⁴ PIS(C) 129, 'asked God for grace that he might withstand his trial well'.

⁵¹⁵ PIS(C) 126, 'she bore good patience in her trial'.

⁵¹⁶ PIS(C) 139, 'the idea lay upon him to destroy himself'.

⁵¹⁷ PIS(C) 138–9.

⁵¹⁸ PIS(C) 139–40, 'God helped him so that he did not bring that about'.

model that is seen in OEE and VBE,⁵¹⁹ which is perhaps suggestive of an indirect influence of these texts on the composition of PIS(C), if not the wider Eustace tradition.

Also notable are the occasional increases in emphasis on the dangers of heathenism in the visions of Christ. The first vision contains an expansion of the evils from which mankind needs saving, with a focus on graven images: ‘af þeirri andlegu höggorms saurgan sem skúrgoda villu filgir og ódrum sindsamlegum sidum’.⁵²⁰ Likewise, in the second vision Christ makes extra mention of the *eýlýfar píslir* (‘eternal torment’)⁵²¹ that Eustace has avoided through baptism. To the author of PIS(C), the stakes of salvation were higher than in other versions of LSE.

Eustace also displays greater proficiency in his faith in PIS(C). For example, even before baptism Placidus is able to preach the faith to his family,⁵²² even though he has not been baptised nor received instruction. Likewise, when Eustace becomes sad upon seeing his former servants, he ‘sokti þó þangad huggun sem nóg var til fiell því til bænar’.⁵²³ He is afflicted, but knows better, after his Lament, how to overcome it through God’s help. Similarly, Eustace is described as a secret and charitable Christian: ‘klæda og fædu gaf hann fátækum enn fólk það sem hann var hiá var heidid. Þó hiellt hann vel leinilega sýna trú.’⁵²⁴ As this image is also present in PID,⁵²⁵ this is further evidence of the influence of PID on the composition of PIS(C), and it is significant that the composer chose this aspect to transmit. It is also interesting that his extension of charity to non-Christians is deemed noteworthy, perhaps as a sign of his great and pious generosity.

The sense of the saints’ stoicism is also increased across their Trial and martyrdom. There is, for example, no sense of Eustace trying to avoid his Trial; the caveat ‘si non est possibile euadere’⁵²⁶ is completely omitted. When they undergo their initial material losses, the saints become *fullhraust* (‘completely valiant’).⁵²⁷ This is continued into their martyrdom, as

⁵¹⁹ See §§3.2.2.2 and 3.3.2.1.

⁵²⁰ PIS(C) 32–3, ‘from pollution by the spirit of the viper, as followers of the will of graven images and other customs of sinfulness’. The kenning-like phrase *andlegu höggorms saurgan* could also suggest influence from a lost poetic source, possibly a rímur.

⁵²¹ PIS(C) 75.

⁵²² PIS(C) 50–1 ‘Placidus [...] segir konu sinni og sonum allan atburð þessarar vitrunar og talldi trú þeim’ (‘Placidus told his wife and sons all about the vision and preached the faith to them’).

⁵²³ PIS(C) 183–4, ‘nonetheless he sought sufficient comfort there and fell to prayer’.

⁵²⁴ PIS(C) 167–8, ‘he gave clothes and food to the poor, though the people that he was among were heathen. Nevertheless, he held well to his faith in secret’.

⁵²⁵ See PID 30.

⁵²⁶ C9 99, ‘if it is not possible to avoid these things’.

⁵²⁷ PIS(C) 101.

when they are immolated ‘þaug lofudu gud allsheriar hanz son Jesúm Kristum og heilagan anda æ medan þaug hófdu megn ad mæla’.⁵²⁸ Even their acceptance of death as a reward, in entering Heaven, becomes an act of defiance. Prior to this, they also appear more defiant of secular authority, as their request to be allowed time to pray is omitted,⁵²⁹ and they simply take the initiative and start praying.

4.3.6.4 – REPRESENTATION OF HEATHENS

Unlike in some other versions of LSE, heathen characters in PIS(C) are not characterised chiefly by their lack of Christian faith. This is visible in the case of the captain who kidnaps Theophista; where generally he is introduced as a heathen or idolator, in PIS(C) this aspect of his character is not mentioned until after he has returned her to his homeland.⁵³⁰ This is not to say that the heathenism of non-Christian characters is played down – indeed, sometimes it is emphasised – but their characters are less defined by their religion.

PIS(C) places greater emphasis on Trajan’s paganism than other versions of LSE. His idolatry is mentioned explicitly, as he erroneously believes that his military victories before the disappearance of Placidus are granted by heathen Gods; Placidus is missed at the feasting thrown because ‘hafdi unnid mikenn sigur sem hann sagði skúrgodin gefid hafa’.⁵³¹ Trajan is also depicted as less cowardly and more in control of his borders. Rather than have his lands invaded and laid waste, he *fór í hernad* (‘came to battle’),⁵³² and the sense of his fear at being invaded is omitted in favour of God inspiring him to find Placidus.⁵³³

Interestingly, Hadrian’s heathenism is not the first characteristic of his that is introduced, unlike in other reflexes of the Eustace tradition, although his heathenism is emphasised:

sá keisare vordinn er Adrianus hiet og sem sá keisari fréttir ad Evstasius er heim kominn og hafdi unnid svo mikinn sigur þá gieck hann siálfur móti hònumm og lét gióra dýrlega

⁵²⁸ PIS(C) 349–51, ‘they praised God, Lord of all, his son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit as long as they had the strength to speak’.

⁵²⁹ C9 328–9 ‘Inducto uero in machina, supplicauerunt carnifices ut darent eos orandi spatium’ (‘when they were led to the machine, they begged the executioners to give them a space of time to pray’).

⁵³⁰ PIS(C) 123–4 ‘Fór hun heim med stýrymanni. Var hann mikill blótmadur og lifdi litla stund’ (‘She went home with the captain. He was a great idolator and lived a short time’).

⁵³¹ PIS(C) 105, ‘he had won a great victory, which he said graven images had given to him’.

⁵³² PIS(C) 169.

⁵³³ PIS(C) 172–74 ‘og sem nú gud villdi stitta harma Evstasius lina hans hörmung og lána hanns þolinmædi, þá ynnblies hann keisaranum Tróianus ad efftir leitast’ (‘and because God wanted to shorten Eustace’s distress, soften his affliction and reward his patience, he inspired Emperor Trajan to look for him’).

veitslu og fagnadi honum forkunnar vel. Adrianus var blótmadur mikill og hugdi að þessari veitslu að efla blót til skúrgoda og þacka þeim fyrir þann mikla sigur er þeir fengid höfdu fyrir hönd Placidus.

(‘the one named Hadrian had become emperor, and when the emperor had heard that Eustace had come home and had won so great a victory then he came to meet him himself and had the worthiest feast thrown and greeted him exceedingly well. Hadrian was an idolator and thought that he would sacrifice to idols at this feast, to thank them for the great victory that they had wrought by the hand of Placidus’)⁵³⁴

Eustace’s secular welcome is emphasised over Hadrian’s heathenism, though this is generally the first thing associated with Hadrian. Eustace’s initial welcome, therefore, is less tainted by association with heathens. Also, like Trajan, Hadrian misattributes the victory granted by God through Placidus to idols. This is especially ironic, as Hadrian recognises a divine element in the victory, but completely misplaces the agency. With this said, his reaction to the incorrupt bodies of the saints is less visceral; where in other versions he becomes angry or afraid, in PIS(C) *undradist* (‘he wondered’)⁵³⁵ at them.

The author also places the conflict between Eustace’s Christianity and Hadrian’s heathenism on a more secular plane. When Eustace makes his grand confession of faith, he describes God as ‘kóngur alla konga og drottinn allra drottna’.⁵³⁶ While this is a common way to describe God, this explicit situation of secular power under divine authority could be seen as a challenge to Hadrian, and hence the source of his anger.

Also notable is that at the saints’ martyrdom only heathens are present to witness: ‘Þar var saman kominn mikill fjöldi heidingja að sjá uppá píslir þeirra og pinntingar.’⁵³⁷ By contrast, most other versions have a crowd of Christians and heathens as witnesses.⁵³⁸ This shifts the focus from the saints’ torment being didactic for Christians to an opportunity for the conversion of heathens. This conversion is described in the additional spontaneous praise of God when the lion fails to harm Eustace: ‘Vard þá margur upplýstur af þeim er nálægir voru,

⁵³⁴ PIS(C) 307–13.

⁵³⁵ PIS(C) 355.

⁵³⁶ PIS(C) 319–20, ‘king of all kings and lord of all lords’ (Revelations 19:16).

⁵³⁷ PIS(C) 333–4, ‘a great crowd of the heathen had come together there, so that they might look upon their torment and torture’.

⁵³⁸ It is interesting to note that the exception is PIS(A), in which the crowd is solely Christian (PIS(A) 356–8; see §4 footnote 353). The two most complete Norse recensions appear to be drawing different emphases. PIS(A) appears to be emphasising the saints’ merits as spiritual exemplars, while PIS(C) is arguably focusing on the nature of their torture and its graphic nature, being a form of entertainment to the enemies of God’s Church.

og sögdu, ad mikill og máttugr være sá gud kristinna manna.’⁵³⁹ The explicit mention of *upplýstur* (‘enlightenment’) emphasises Eustace’s evangelical example.

It is apparent, therefore, that heathenism in PIS(C) is played up in the interests of narrative tension, but that the characters themselves are less defined by their religious faith. Their actions are linked to, rather than because of, their paganism.

4.3.6.5 – SECULAR ASPECTS

There is a clear increase in Eustace’s nobility in PIS(C). He is not only an important military commander, but also Trajan’s *besta vin* (‘best friend’),⁵⁴⁰ and when Trajan misses him it is because he remembers ‘hvað mikla hreisti Placidus hafði sýnt honum því hann var enn mesti bardaga madur’.⁵⁴¹ Greater emphasis is also placed on his love of hunting as a knightly pursuit:

Placidus og hans sveinar ridu oft í jagt á skóga og merkur ad veida dýr og fugla. Hafði hann á slýku mikla list því hann var góður riddari og þókti það en mesta skiemtan ad veida dýrin.

(‘Placidus and his men often rode in hunts in the forests and woods to hunt deer and birds. He had so great a love (of hunting) because he was a good knight and it seemed to him that the best entertainment was hunting deer.’)⁵⁴²

Eustace’s nobility is extended to other characters as well. In an addition that Tucker describes as mentioned ‘inconsequentially’,⁵⁴³ it is stated of Eustace’s sons that ‘[s]á annar þeirra hafði mikil metord hiá keisaranum því hann hiellt af hans födur miðg mikid sakir hans hreisti og frábærilegs riddara skapar.’⁵⁴⁴

Also noteworthy are the extensions to nobility and secular gain in Eustace’s life after his Lament. For example, far from being a menial field labourer as generally in LSE, PIS(C) states that Eustace *eignadist* (‘became wealthy’)⁵⁴⁵ in the village he settles in. Likewise, when seeking hospitality for Planocktus and Statius, the landlord grants him this because the men

⁵³⁹ PIS(C) 329–31, ‘There was a great enlightenment of those who were nearby, and they said that great and mighty was that God of the Christian men’.

⁵⁴⁰ PIS(C) 107. It is possible that this indicates an awareness of the importance of *magister militum* in the Roman Empire (see §2, footnote 3).

⁵⁴¹ PIS(C)169–70, ‘how much doughtiness Placidus had had when he was the greatest warrior’.

⁵⁴² PIS(C) 8–10.

⁵⁴³ Tucker, *Placidus saga*, p. lxxi.

⁵⁴⁴ PIS(C) 5–8, ‘Each one of those (sons) had great honour from the emperor because he held a great deal from his father for the sake of his doughtiness and surpassing arts of knighthood’.

⁵⁴⁵ PIS(C) 166.

came from the emperor and because he liked Eustace, not because Eustace offers to pay out of his wages.⁵⁴⁶ Eustace operates on a more equal footing, and is not implied to be financially dependent on others.

Since Eustace's return to his former position is partly his reward for earthly stoicism, it should be observed that Planocetus and Statius inform him that it was proper 'ad [...] veita honum lid til orustu og ad hann skilldi sem firr alla vyrding af honum hafa nema ef meiri villdi'.⁵⁴⁷ That Eustace is being offered more than he formerly had may be an increased reward, or also a test from God to see if he will be tempted; though this is not explicit in the text and in any case Eustace makes no sign of refusing the offer.

Abstract status and honour also appear to be of greater importance in PIS(C). The conversation about why they remain in Rome in degradation and risk the scorn of their neighbours is entirely omitted,⁵⁴⁸ Eustace and his family simply leave for Egypt. When Eustace saddens at the sight of his former servants, it is specifically because '[h]onum kom þá í hug su vegsemd er hann firr hafdi með Tróianus keisara. Tók hann því miög að óglediastr'.⁵⁴⁹ Similarly, as noted above, Eustace considers his serving his former servants an affliction: as he does so, 'kvöldid miög hriggur því hann minntist sinnar firri æfi og nálægra harma að hann irði nú með ervidsmunum öðrum að þíóna'.⁵⁵⁰ His reduction in social status is seen as a continuing test to a greater extent than other versions of LSE. This is also addressed in God's promise to Eustace in response to his prayer while in exile. When God promises that Eustace's name will be remembered, the scope of it is altered to 'svo lengi sem heimurinn stendur og christinn lýður lönd biggir'.⁵⁵¹ The corresponding passage in C9 is *in generationem* ('throughout generations').⁵⁵² While a similar sense, it is expanded in PIS(C) and tied more explicitly to

⁵⁴⁶ Compare PIS(C) 201–3 'Gieck hann sýdan ynn til hússbónda syns og segir honum komu keisara manna. Enn sakir þess bónda lýkudu allir hlutir vel við hann þá bauð hann þeim þar ynn til sýn' ('He then went in to his landlord and told him that men of the Emperor had come. And because the man liked him in all ways, he then asked them to come in to him'); and C9 202–4, 'dixit ad dominum in qua hospitabatur: 'Noti michi sunt isti homines et propter hoc huc uenerunt. Prebe ergo michi cybos et uinum ut fruantur et reddam ea ibi in tempore de mercede mea.' Illo uero alacriter dabat ea quae fuerant necessaria' ('he said to his landlord: 'These men are known to me and have come here because of that. Therefore, give me food and wine for them to enjoy and I will repay you in time from my wages.' He willingly gave him what was needed').

⁵⁴⁷ PIS(C) 218–20, 'to be given an army for battle and that he should have as much honour from them as he had before, unless he wanted more'.

⁵⁴⁸ C9 121–3.

⁵⁴⁹ PIS(C) 182–3, 'then the honour that he had previously had with Emperor Trajan came into his mind. He took that very sadly'.

⁵⁵⁰ PIS(C) 204–6, 'became very sad because he remembered his former life and his recent distress that he now was a servant alongside other afflictions'.

⁵⁵¹ PIS(C) 192–3, 'as long as the world stands and Christian peoples inhabit the land'.

⁵⁵² C9 193.

earthly honour (in that it is for as long as Christians dwell in the land) rather than in a more general sense. Eustace's response to this promise is also telling. Where in most versions Eustace becomes afraid, in PIS(C) 'vard Evstasius bædi hræddur og gládur'.⁵⁵³ This happiness suggests that a return to status is a reward, although this does not sit well with his subsequent attempt to conceal his identity from Planocktus and Státius. His return to secular life is seen in some ways as a positive.

Also relevant are the perceptions of others. An interesting image is the Romans' special appreciation for the return of Placidus, when they consider it a *giættu einkis* ('special gift')⁵⁵⁴ as 'þeir þoktust hann úr helju heimtan hafa'.⁵⁵⁵ While there is possible wordplay, in the image of the Christian Eustace being saved from Hell by the very life the pagans deemed a dangerous hell, the appearance of the phrase as a secular idiom in *Egils saga* and a number of *fornaldarsögur* (according to Cleasby and Vigfusson)⁵⁵⁶ suggests that this is not the primary meaning. Nonetheless, Eustace's poverty is represented as a greater affliction in the eyes of others in PIS(C) than in other versions of LSE.

There is also a sense that knightly values are linked to the representation of Eustace's behaviour when tested. Christ enjoins Eustace to bear the Trial *riddaralega* ('in a knightly fashion').⁵⁵⁷ It is also potentially significant that when Christ first appears to Placidus, Christ does not focus on what is wrong with Placidus' behaviour, but rather on what is proper for him to do: 'er tilheirilegt að þeir sem mier þióna eiga skuli tilbydia skúrgod tóm og vitlaus enn eg hefí mörg þýn góðverk og ólmusur álitid.'⁵⁵⁸ Though the sense is largely the same, there is a reduced sense of improper behaviour being associated with Placidus. Also, Eustace's tearful address to his sons after Theophista is kidnapped is omitted,⁵⁵⁹ perhaps to make him appear a more appropriately stoical protagonist. Significantly, however, (as noted above) Eustace sorrows at the degradation of serving his former servants – his lack of nobility is a distress, not a corrective.

⁵⁵³ PIS(C) 194, 'Eustace became both afraid and glad'.

⁵⁵⁴ PIS(C) 227–8.

⁵⁵⁵ PIS(C) 228, 'it seemed to them that he had been regained from Hel (i.e. had been rescued from imminent danger)'.

⁵⁵⁶ Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*; see definition for 'hel'.

⁵⁵⁷ PIS(C) 84.

⁵⁵⁸ PIS(C) 29–31, 'it is proper that those who serve me should not adore empty and witless graven images, but I have looked more on your good works and alms'. C9 contains the same admonishment and praise of charitable behaviour but focuses more on his idolatry being *non [...] iustum* ('not proper') (C9 38).

⁵⁵⁹ C9 134.

As elsewhere, Eustace esteems his sons for their noble aspects, although this esteem is represented somewhat differently in PIS(C):

Enn sem Evstasius sier þessa úngu menn fornemur hann þeirra yfirbragd tígulegt, þóktist því síá þeir mundu fræknir og hentugir til höfðingja setti þá þar fyrir til hershöfðingja yfir mikid lid enn hvorugir þektu þar adra. Voru þessir úngu menn fræknir og sidsamir til hversvetna og því vyrddi Evstasius þá yfir hvorn mann framm í hernum. Þeir á móti voru hõnum hlídnir í öllu og þókti sem var ad þeir hefdu fengid eirn ágætán höfðingja til ad þjóna

(‘And when Eustace saw these young men he perceived their noble demeanour, it seemed that they would be bold and suitable as leaders. Then he set them over many men as army-leaders, and each was well-disposed to the other. These young men were bold and well-conducted in every way and so Eustace esteemed them above every man in the army. When they stood next to each other it also seemed that they had found bold leaders to serve’).⁵⁶⁰

Significantly, Eustace esteems them because of their *yfirbragd tígulegt* (‘noble demeanour’) and makes them military commanders, rather than cup-bearers, because of their suitability and because they were ‘fræknir og sidsamir til hversvetna’.⁵⁶¹ There is a greater focus on their behaviour and military proficiency at the expense of their physical attractiveness.

However, Eustace’s sons are not initially singled out as special, or because they are foreign, as they are in other recensions. When the village is asked for recruits, Eustace’s sons, described as ‘ungir and vænir ad ifirlitum’,⁵⁶² are sent by the landowner *med miklu herlidi* (‘with a great army’).⁵⁶³ On the other hand, Eustace’s esteem for them as the foremost men from a place renowned for its mighty men⁵⁶⁴ obliquely implies their inherent greatness and nobility in being related to Eustace.

4.3.6.6 – CONCLUSIONS

An examination of PIS(C) reveals a composite production with a greater interest in narrative compared to other LSE reflexes. There is an overall more secular tone, as indicated by the

⁵⁶⁰ PIS(C) 239–46.

⁵⁶¹ ‘Bold and well-conducted in every way’.

⁵⁶² PIS(C) 237, ‘young and fair in appearance’.

⁵⁶³ PIS(C) 237–8.

⁵⁶⁴ PIS(C) 235 ‘um því þessa stadar fyrir ráðandi var mjög ríkur madur’ (‘this place was said to have very mighty men’).

contents of the saga and the more heroic and romantic texts with which PIS(C) was circulated. Religious material, though still present, is generally omitted or played down. The endurance of degradation is emphasised over the cultivation of humility, and aspects of courtliness and knightly nobility are brought to the fore. Unexpectedly, in this context, Eustace's militarism is somewhat reduced, although this is plausibly due to influence from the variant BHL 2761 Eustace tradition. There is not, however, the same level of secularisation as seen in some of the Middle English analogues, such as *Sir Isumbras*. PIS(C) is a secularised version of LSE, but its hagiographic pedigree is somewhat more visible beneath the surface.

4.4 – GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON SCANDINAVIAN MATERIAL

While Eustace does not appear to have been widely venerated in western Scandinavia, LSE does appear to have had influence on literary traditions from the earliest period of literary production. This can be seen in the early date of PID, as well as the influence on saga traditions, especially the sagas concerning Óláfr Trygvasson and, plausibly, *Njals saga*. Furthermore, compared to the English reflexes of LSE, the Norse reflexes suggest a generally more secular treatment of the source material, albeit not exclusively so.

In PID, LSE was synthesised with the *dróttkvætt* praise-poem tradition, with both the form and the content being adapted to one another. While it is likely that the secular themes of LSE led to it being chosen for adaptation into a *drápa*, these secular themes are in turn emphasised, most likely due to the traditional *dróttkvætt* emphasis on power and prestige. There is a greater emphasis on tangible reward and honour and reputation, although the militarism is somewhat reduced. The *skáld* was also happy to consciously use traditional mythological imagery, and there is evidence of conscious engagement with these images and the subversion of traditional tropes through the use of irony. It is also notable that the representation of non-Christian characters appears to be linked to social status; again, this is further evidence of the influence of *dróttkvætt* tropes on the subject matter. The emphasis on worldly virtues such as honour and esteem also permeated the religious aspects of PID, specifically in the area of salvation. The saints have more agency in their salvation, which is depicted more as a test of endurance; again, this is appropriate to the *dróttkvætt*.

PIS was originally treated as hagiography and circulated accordingly, as can be seen in the manuscript contexts of PIS(B) and the earliest witness of PIS(A) in AM 655 4to X. However, by the later period PIS had largely undergone a generic shift and, while not being subject to any major narrative changes, was circulated and read in more secular contexts. An

exception to this is PIS(D), but given the relative popularity of PIS(AC) this can be treated more as an outlier. This secularity can also be linked to PID to an extent. In both PID and PIS(AC) there is a markedly more muted interest in the religious aspects of LSE (which is not to say that they are absent), and arguably the secularity in PIS(A) can be seen to be the beginning of the development of the more romanticised, and less religious, PIS(C), especially since the secularity appears to increase in later recensions of PIS(A). PID especially shows interest in Eustace's military role, while PIS(A) shows no discomfort in depicting Eustace's military activity (although it is significant that the composite PIS(C) reduces Eustace's militarism compared to other recensions). While it is possible that, because both texts were composed after the establishment of the Crusades, there was less discomfort concerning military saints acting as soldiers, this could equally suggest the source of the popularity of the Eustace tradition in Iceland. It is also significant that in both versions Eustace is a more agentative figure, which again indicates an interest in heroic narrative.

Had the Reformation not caused a cultural shift away from veneration of saints, however, it is plausible that two Eustace traditions may have coexisted, one overtly religious, the other more concerned with romantic entertainment. Such a situation would not be dissimilar to the situation in later medieval England, in which we can compare the romanticised *Sir Isumbras* and *Gesta Romanorum* traditions against the truncated *Legenda Aurea* version of LSE.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁵ See §1.

5 – CONCLUSION

The intention of this thesis was to examine the reflexes of LSE related to early medieval England and medieval western Scandinavia and consider the *skopoi* behind their transmission and circulation. Insofar as we can ascribe motive, given that all the authors considered in this thesis are anonymous, it was to transmit LSE. However, the individual reflexes, although all transmitting the same story relatively intact, display individual *skopoi* that indicate that LSE was being transmitted to different socio-cultural groups for different reasons.

LSE

The wider *skopoi* of LSE in general should be considered for the purposes of comparison. While often discussed in the light of its composition from folkloric and Christian material, or solely in its status as an analogue of the ‘Man Tried by Fate’ Job-figure, a detailed examination of LSE reveals a more complex literary work. It is apparent that the composer of LSE was wrestling with the contentious issue of salvation for the ‘noble heathen’ and the apparent incompatibility of a religious faith and secular vocation. In a carefully structured work, therefore, the composer expresses a *skopos* of providing a model for lay piety in the recontextualization of worldly wealth and power to be used as a tool to perform a God-mandated vocation as a secular leader, rather than something to be valued in and of themselves.

OEE

It seems apparent that the reception and transmission of LSE in early medieval England was related to the study of Boethius’ DCP and its Old English translation. In OEE this is reflected in additional imagery that echoes that of DCP and OEB, as well as a shared interest in the recontextualization of secular wealth and roles in a Christian life. In many ways, therefore, the *skopos* of OEE is not dissimilar to that of LSE. It seems likely that the intended audience of OEE was those who combined Christian and secular vocations, whether pious laymen, who may or may not be considering taking holy orders, or monastics who had lived a secular life before taking their vows and were concerned about the relationship between their two vocations.

VBE

While also clearly influenced by the study of Boethius, VBE appears to be intended for a more learned and monastic audience. This is apparent in the increased baptismal and Trinitarian imagery. It is especially visible in the Boethian influences, not least the editing of Placidus-

Eustace's agency in line with the model of agency in DCP. This is further evidence that LSE and its reflexes were being read in the light of Boethian philosophy in the medieval period, in England and possibly the Continent. Furthermore, the transmission of VBE with vision literature could be suggestive of a *skopos* that envisaged a more meditative text, or, at least, that VBE was received by audiences as such.

PID

In this case, we see an artful synthesis of LSE with the *dróttkvætt* form, complete with conscious use and subversion of traditional poetic tropes, including pre-Christian legendary material. As is appropriate to *drápur*, secular virtues such as wealth and nobility are emphasised with less interest in salvation theology and more focus on Eustace as a heroic figure endowed with personal agency. It is likely that the *skopos* of PID was to transmit the story to a noble, learned aristocratic audience, and the treatment of heathens according to their class strengthens this interpretation.

PIS

While PIS has often been treated as a single text (Tucker edited all four recensions under one title, for example), the differences between the four different versions suggests different *skopoi* for each text. As such, they cannot be considered as a single unit, and their *skopoi* must be identified separately.

PIS(A)

PIS(A) shows more interest in secular aspects of LSE, such as worldly wealth and militarism, with less emphasis on matters of salvation or human agency, *providentia* or *pietas*. Eustace becomes a figure with more agency and, similarly to OEE, is depicted as less emotional. As in PID, heathen characters are couched in less negative terms. This suggests a *skopos* aimed at more secular audiences with a view to providing an entertaining tale with exemplary aspects. In this way it arguably has a similar *skopos* to OEE, albeit less minded towards the aristocracy. Furthermore, the increasing secularity of later copies and their manuscript contexts suggests that this *skopos* developed across the medieval period and became more secularly minded over time.

PIS(B)

The fragmentary nature of PIS(B) unfortunately makes it difficult to ascertain a specific *skopos*. The transmission context certainly suggests a more didactic context. However, that there are clear attempts to make the narrative more engaging, and a greater emphasis on worldly reward suggests both that PIS(B) may have been intended as an exemplary text for a wider audience, and that secularisation in some ways was beginning to affect the transmission of prose reflexes of LSE from the early stages of the tradition in Scandinavia.

PIS(C)

This reflex of LSE is an especially interesting case. Being transmitted with *ævintýri* and titled as such, it appears to have been intended to be read as an exemplary, entertaining story. Its reduced religious tone and increased romanticism is further evidence for this. Nonetheless, it is significant that the militarism is in fact played down, although this may be due to its composite nature and the subsequent influence of BHL 2761. The combination of multiple sources in PIS(C) that a polysystemic examination discerns is distinctive, and suggests a composer with an interest in the wider Eustace tradition and its transmission, rather than the transmission of a single version.

PIS(D)

This is the most overtly traditionally religious reflex of LSE examined in this thesis. The heavy abbreviation of potentially problematic aspects of Eustace's story and character, especially the despair in his Lament and his militarism on behalf of a heathen emperor, implies a more religious *skopos* with a greater interest in didacticism that was less concerned with the idea of lay piety than other reflexes of LSE display.

While the Western Norse, like the English, tradition produced both poetic and prose versions of LSE, these literary products are shaped by the cultures that created them. In tenth-century England these *skopoi* are more influenced by the monastic milieu in which the texts were produced. It is also notable that there was an apparent coincidence of interest in the study of both Boethius' *Consolatio* and LSE. This is not to say that the interest in Eustace was solely conditioned by an interest in the *Consolatio*; rather, themes inherent in both texts complemented and illuminated one another. In Western Scandinavia, however, we see a shift. While the milieu in which versions of LSE were produced was Christian, it becomes less explicitly monastic across the medieval and early modern period. While PID and earlier

recensions of PIS were composed and circulated in a monastic context, later recensions of PIS are increasingly transmitted in secular contexts.

There can be little doubt that the entertaining nature of the narrative contributed to the popularity of LSE in the medieval period. But to see this as the only reason behind the tradition's development and survival would be short-sighted and ignores the interactions of the Eustace tradition with those of other texts, genres and cultures. When these are taken into account, a richer and infinitely more interesting picture of the development of the literary tradition surrounding LSE in England and Scandinavia becomes apparent. By applying the same combination of polysystem and *skopos* theory to other continental and later reflexes, this picture can only become richer. This theoretical framework is especially useful since it aids the articulation of textual influence outside of direct quotation, while allowing each text to be read on its own terms. A more synchronic approach is also advantageous because, as Long observed, 'diachronic study of translation often fails to take into account differences over time in attitudes and perceptions, in knowledge and scholarship, and in thought processes and cognitive skills.'¹ This approach, therefore, opens up new avenues for study and interpretation. While originally developed for translation studies, *skopos* theory and polysystem theory are equally applicable to versifications of prose texts, which can be seen as a legitimate form of translation across genre.

This framework can also have applications outside the LSE tradition, especially in the case of anonymous texts, as well as forms of literature that are more fluid or accrete material, such as hagiography in general. One more specific example of an area which might benefit from this framework is anonymous poetry. There has been much scholarly discussion of the influence of DCP on the poems of the Exeter Book.² While there are few, if any, direct Boethian quotations in these poems, the combination of polysystem and *skopos* theory is ideal for articulating the overlap between the elegiac and philosophical traditions in early medieval England.

The Legend of Saint Eustace delivered a number of different messages to different audiences and reflected the intellectual cultures of the milieu in which it was transmitted. The joint lens of *skopos* theory and polysystem theory can shed light on the richness of such traditions, even when they manifest in subtler ways.

¹ Long, 'Medieval literature', p. 63.

² See §3.1.3, footnotes 27 and 28.

APPENDIX I

EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF *UITA ET PASSIO SANCTI EUSTACHII* (AS SEEN IN CCCC9, FF. 117V–122R)

BHL 2760, the standard version of LSE as edited by the Bollandists, is based largely on four manuscripts. These were chosen as they were *satis antiqui omnes* ('all reasonably old') and one in particular was *egregius et pervetustus* ('excellent and very ancient').¹ It is also significant that all of the manuscripts used by the Bollandists were found in Continental monasteries.² While the CCL is likely to have been compiled on the Continent, it is preserved solely in English manuscripts,³ and so when considering recensions of Eustace in a non-Continental, and especially in an English, context, C9 can be viewed at the very least as another reflex of LSE known in tenth-century England that formed the basis of at least one vernacular translation. Additionally, Tucker used C9 as a supplement to his base-text for the Latin source of PIS in his edition, and Magennis has shown that C9 was the closest version to OEE, and as such is a likely descendant of the source of OEE.⁴

In terms of material differences, where C9 differs from BHL 2760, C9 tends to be less expansive.⁵ As the manuscripts used by the Bollandists were generally younger than C9, it is plausible that more material had accumulated by the time BHL 2760 was produced. It is perhaps significant that material in BHL 2760 not found in C9 is generally edited in square brackets, indicating that it is taken from several additional manuscripts taken from the library of Bertin.⁶

There are eight variations between BHL 2760 and C9 which are particularly telling with regards to their closeness to the reflexes studied in this thesis (although it should be noted that, due to the constraints of *dróttkvætt*, the source of PID is harder to ascertain). These variations, and the Anglo-Scandinavian reflexes they are closest to, are as follows:

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Septembris: Tomus Sextus* p. 107. See Tucker, *Plácitus saga*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii for discussion of how both BHL 2760 and the version of LSE edited by *Boninus Mombritius* 'are of considerable historical interest, but of limited textual use' (*Plácitus saga*, p. xxxviii).

² *Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandists*, ed. G. Phillipart, et al. <<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be>> [accessed 17/07/17].

³ Zettel, 'Saints' Lives', p. 18.

⁴ Magennis, 'Sources' and Tucker, *Plácitus saga*. See §1.1.

⁵ Examples of expanded readings can be found at C9 5, 12, 46, 51, 60, 110–12, 118–19, 142–4, 161, 182–3, 188–9, 200, 230, 233–4, 243–8, 270, 272, 287, 294–5 and 298.

⁶ 'MSS Ultrajectino S. Salvatoris, Trevirensi S. Maximini, codice Cardinalis Mazarini, Paduano anonymo, Osnatensi D. Schenckingk et alio Audomarensi, ut verticales notae indicant' ('Manuscripts from Utrecht (St Saviour's), Tries (St Maximin), a codex of Cardinal Mazarini, an anonymous one from Padua, and one from St Bertin at St Omer, as the vertical notations indicate') (*Acta Sanctorum Septembris: Tomus Sextus*, p. 107).

- i) C9 43 ‘Quae est ista uisio que apparuit michi?’ (OEE, VBE, PIS)
BHL 2760 §4 ‘Quae est ista [vox, quam audio?]
- ii) C9 69 ‘inscientibus famulis suis’ (OEE, VBE, PIS)
BHL 2760 §5 ‘clanculum assumptis duobus Liberis et paucis e famulis’ with said servants later ‘relictis ad fores’
- iii) C9 94–5 ‘quemammodum repugnans hominibus cupiebas uictor ostendi mortali imperatori fidem seruare’ (PIS)
BHL 2760 §7 ‘mortali imperatorem festinans placere, sic et contra diabolum strenue agere festina, et mihi, immortalis imperatori, fidem servare’ (OEE, VBE)
- iv) C9 134 ‘Diu uero contra dicente eo et supplicante’ (OEE, PIS)
BHL 2760 §9 ‘Cum uero multum contra moueret et obniteretur Eustathius’ (VBE)
- v) C9 148 ‘insecuti sunt eum cum omnibus’ (PID, PIS)
BHL 2760 §9 ‘insecuti sunt cum canibus’ (VBE)
OEE omits *canibus/omnibus*, so in this case the source is less clear.
- vi) When the shepherds follow the lion carrying Eustace’s son (C9 147–9), BHL 2760 §10 emphasises God’s agency in the child’s survival with an additional reference to providence: ‘divina providentia Puerum illum servatum incolumem’ (OEE) while C9 does not contain *providentia* (VBE, PID, PIS). BHL 2760 makes the same observation about the wolf, but none of the English or Norse reflexes do so.
- vii) C9 177 ‘factus est incursus hostium in illa terra, ubi erat Eustachius’ (OEE, VBE)
BHL 2760 §12 ‘[...] ubi erat Uxor Eustachii’ (PIS)
- viii) C9 237–8 ‘Petierunt uero eum et cingitur ut pridem fuerat magister militum’ (OEE, VBE, PIS)
BHL 2760 §15 ‘[imperator eum consolatus est] et cingitur ut ante magister militum’ (PID)

These examples show that, though no reflex exactly corresponds entirely to C9 rather than BHL 2760, in the majority of cases C9 is the closer version. OEE only corresponds to BHL 2760 on points iii and vi, PE iii–v, the most of any reflex, and PIS only on point vii. On account of its poetic form, it is harder to draw substantive parallels between PID and BHL 2760, but where they seem to be visible it corresponds to C9 in two instances out of three. Substantively,

therefore, one can argue that C9 is closer than BHL 2760 to the source of these reflexes, and thus it is the best Latin text to use for comparison, representing as it does another version of LSE familiar to a tenth-century English audience in its own right.

Alternative readings in BHL 2760 have been supplied in footnotes. Where the C9 reading appears defective and BHL 2760 provides a more satisfactory reading, C9 has been amended accordingly. Allusions to or quotations from the Bible and other external material are discussed in endnotes. I am indebted to Drs Rosalind Love and Ali Bonner for their correction of minor errors.

THE LEGEND OF ST EUSTACE – TEXT

INCIPIT VITA ET PASSIO SANCTI EUSTACHII MARTYRIS ET FILIORUM EIUS, DIE XX. MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS; HOC EST XII. KL OCTOBRIS.

IN DIEBUS TRAIANI IMPERATORIS, DOEMONUM preualente fallacia, erat quidam magister militum nomine placidas; genere secundum carnem insignis, opibus⁷ pollens et cunctos in honore precellens,⁸ sed et demone captus, operibus uero et iustitia cunctis uirtutibus (erat) 5 preditus et meritis. Subueniebat oppressis, patrocinebatur grauatis iniudicio. Plures etiam a iudicibus iniuste damnatos opibus⁹ releuabat, nudos uestiebat,¹⁰ et ut uere dicam cunctis indigentibus in uita dispensans, sicut in actibus apostolorum legitur, etiam in his temporibus cornelius uideretur.¹ Habebat uero et coniugem eandem sub doemonum cultura existentem, sed 10 similem moribus mariti sententiae. Procreantur ei filii duo quos educabant pares propria uoluntate. Erat uero nobilis in iustitia et potens in bello ut et ipsi barbari subiugarentur ab eo. Erat etiam uenatione industris per omnes dies.¹¹ Sed misericors et benignus deus, qui semper et ubique ad se sibi dignos uocat, bona non d(e)spexit eius opera nec uoluit benignam et deo dignam mentem sine mercede deseri, idolatrie contectam tenebris, (sed) secundum quod 15 scriptum est: Quod in omni gente qui operatur iustitiam acceptus est eiⁱⁱ peruenit ad istum benigna misericordia et eum tali saluari uoluit modo.

Exeunte una die consueto more ad montes uenare cum omni exercitu et gloria, apparuit ei grex ceruorum depascens, et disponens solito more exercitum eos conatur insequi.

Cunctis uero militibus circa captione ceruorum occupatis, apparuit unus ceruorum 20 pastus¹² ultra mensuram totius gregis et speciosus, qui resiliens¹³ a grege, impetum fecit in siluam in spissioribus locis. Quem uidens placid(a)s¹⁴ et desiderans eum capere, relinquens

⁷ There may be a faint erased ligature at the bottom of the p, which possibly indicates that an earlier reading of *operibus* was later corrected to *opibus*.

⁸ in honore precellens] BHL 2760 *in honore [tam in animalibus, quam in auro et argento et mancipiis ac universis rebus substantiae suae] praecellens.*

⁹ Another possible erased ligature correcting *operibus* to *opibus*.

¹⁰ nudos uestiebat] BHL 2760 *nudos vestiebat, esurientes satiabat.*

¹¹ Erat uero nobilis in iustitia et potens in bello ut et ipsi barbari subiugarentur ab eo. Erat etiam uenatione industris per omnis dies] BHL 2760 [*Erat autem Vir tam clarus et celebris ob egregia facinora et gestorum munerum dignitates, ut et ipsis barbaris solum nomen ejus terrori esset, atque bello fortissimi prosperaque in omnibus fortuna utentis aestimationem apud omnes haberet. Venationi etiam plurimam dabat operam, gaudebatque indies feras insequi.*

¹² pastus] BHL 2760 *vastus*. While the reading in BHL 2760 makes more sense, the reading in C9 is valid and so has been retained.

¹³ BHL 2760 *resiliens* is supplied to emend the defective C9 reading *resistens*, which would read ‘remaining’ or ‘continuing’.

¹⁴ The final vowel is defective, perhaps due to an abortive attempt to correct *placidus/placidas*, as the name varies across recensions.

omnes cum paucis militibus eum insequitur. Omnibus uero lassatis qui cum illo fuerant solus perseueravit ad insequendum. Prouidentia uero dei nec equo lassante, nec ipso propter difficultatem loci desistente, sed diu insequens longius remotus est a suo exercitu. Ceruus
25 autem ille rupis occupat altitudinem stetit desuper. Propius.¹⁵ uero magister militum, ueniens sine comite, stetit, circumspiciens undique et considerans quemammodum posset capere ceruum. Sed totius sapientie et misericordie¹⁶ deus, qui cunctas uias ad salutem hominum prouidet uenantem uenatus est, non sicut cornelium per petrum, sed sicut paulum insequentem per suam ostensionem.ⁱⁱⁱ Diu uero stante placida et aspiciente ceruum, et ammirante eo
30 uastitatem eius et deficiente circa captionem, demonstrat illi deus indicium tale non timere, neque supra sue uirtutis magnitudinem, sed sicut sub balaam tribuens uerbum asine arguit eius insipientiam.^{iv} Sed et huic demonstraui inter cornua cerui formam sacre crucis supra claritatem solis splendentem, et in medio cornuum imaginem domini nostri saluatoris iesu christi, quia etiam humanam uocem imponens ceruo aduocat placidam dicens ei:

35 ‘O placida qui me insequeris?’^v Ecce tui gratia ueni in animali¹⁷ isto ut appaream tibi.^{vi} Ego sum christus quem ignorans colis;^{vii} elemosine quas facis in indigentibus coram me steterunt et ueni me ostendere tibi per istum ceruum, et pro illo te uenari ut caperem te retribus misericordiae meae. Non enim iustum est dilectum meum propter bona opera seruire doemoniis immundis, et simulacris uita credentibus et uacuis insensatis. Ob hoc ego ueni in terra in hac
40 specie sicut nunc me uides saluare¹⁸ genus humanum.’

Haec audiens magister militum timore repletus est maximo, et cecidit de equo in terram. Hora uero transacta ad se rediit, et surrexit et cautius uolens uidere quod apparuerat ei spectaculum ait intra se: ‘Quae est ista uisio que apparuit michi? Reuela michi, qui¹⁹ loqueris, ut sic credam in te.’²⁰

45 Et dixit ad eum dicens: ‘Intende Placida: ego sum iesus christus, qui caelum et terram ex nichilo feci, qui indiscretam maceriam²¹ distinxit, qui lucem oriri feci et tenebras diuisi.²² Ego sum qui tempora et dies et annos constitui. Ego sum qui hominem formaui de terra,²³ qui propter salutem generis humani in terris apparui in carne, qui crucifixus et sepultus et tertia die

¹⁵ MS reads propi(t)us with an erased t.

¹⁶ MS reads miscordie, perhaps due to a missing macron.

¹⁷ MS reads animale.

¹⁸ Erasure; original reading may have been salutare.

¹⁹ Emended from C9 *quid*.

²⁰ Quae est ista uisio que apparuit michi? Reuela michi quid loqueris ut sic credam in te.] BHL 2760 *Quae est ista [vox, quam audio?] Revela te mihi, quid loqueris, ut sic credam in te.*

²¹ MS reads *maceriae*; this has been emended for sense.

²² BHL 2760 adds *Ego sum, qui [solem ad lucem diei creavi et lunam cum stellis ad lumen noctis formavi.]*

²³ de terra] BHL 2760 *de limo terrae.*

surrexi.’

50 Haec audiens magister militum cecidit iterum in terra dicens: ‘Credo deus²⁴ quia tu es
qui fecisti omnia, qui conuertis errantes²⁵ et uiuificas mortuos.’ Dicit ad eum dominus: ‘Si
credis, perge ad ciuitatem et audi pontificem christianorum et quere ab ipso baptismum gratie.’
Respondit Placidus: ‘Domine, si iubes me ut renuntiem ista coniugi me(ae)²⁶ et filiis meis ut et
ipsi credant in te?’ Dixit ad eum dominus: ‘Renuntia illis et accipientes signum baptismi
55 mundamini a pollutione idolorum et ueni huc et rursus tibi apparebo et demonstrabo tibi futura
et patefaciam tibi salutis mysteria.’

Descendens ergo de monte, nocte facta, coepit exponere coniugi sue omnia que uidit.
Postquam uero compleuit omnia exponens uisionem et que ei dicta sunt, exclamauit uxor eius
dicens: ‘Domine meus, crucifixum deum²⁷ uidisti, quem christiani colunt. Ille enim est solus
60 uerus deus qui per talia signa uocat ad se credentes²⁸.’ Tunc dicit uiro suo: ‘Transacta nocte et
ego uidi eum dicentem mihi: “Crastina tu et uir tuus et filii tui uenietis ad me.” Et nunc cognoui
quam ipse est iesus christus.^{viii} Uoluit ergo sub tali figura mirandi spectaculi per ceruum tibi
apparere, ut eius mirari possis potentiam credens in eum. Ueni ergo hac nocte et eamus, et
impetremus sanctum baptismum christianorum. Per hoc enim eius proprii fiunt qui in illum
65 credunt.’

Dicit ad illam placidas: ‘Hoc et mihi dixit, ille qui uisus est mihi.’

Medium uero noctis, inscientibus famulis suis,²⁹ abierunt ad sacerdotem christianorum
et renuntiauerunt³⁰ ei omnia que facta fuerant ut dicta ad eos et confestim credere se in
dominum iesum christum confessi sunt et supplicauerunt eum daret eis signaculum baptismatis.
70 Qui alacri gaudio repletus et glorificans dominum deum, qui uult omnes saluos fieri et ad
agnitionem ueritatis uenire,^{ix} accipiens catecizauit eos, et exponens eis misterium fidei
baptizauit eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.³¹ Et placidam quidem uocauit
EUSTACHIAM; uxorem uero eius theophistam et filios eorum primogenitum uocauit agapitum, et
alterum theophistum. Et contulit sanctum sacramentum domini nostri iesu christi, et dimisit eos
75 dicens: ‘Dominus iesus christus filius dei sit uobiscum et donet uobis aeterna regna. Cognoui

²⁴ Written only as the abbreviation d; I assume the vocative form *Deus*. BHL 2760 reads *Domine*.

²⁵ BHL 2760 adds [*qui lapsos erigis*].

²⁶ Erasure; original reading may have been *me(a)e*. This reading makes more sense and so has been restored.

²⁷ deum] BHL 2760 *Dominum*.

²⁸ BHL 2760 adds [*et altius clamens, dixit: Miserere mei, Domine Jesu Christe, et duorum Parvulorum meorum*].

²⁹ Medium uero noctis, inscientibus famulis suis] BHL 2760 *Medio uero noctis spatio [clanculum assumptis duobus Liberis et paucis e famulis]*.

³⁰ Et renuntiauerunt] BHL 2760 [*Et soli facti, relictis ad fores seruis*,] *narraverunt*.

³¹ in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti] BHL 2760 *in nomine sanctissimae Trinitatis*.

namque quod manus domini uobiscum sit, uos autem confuimini paradisum. Mementote³² animae meae iohannis postulo uos.’

Mane uero facto, accipiens EUSTachius paucos equites secum perrexit ad montem. Et prope locum ueniens ubi uisionem uiderat, misit milites suos quasi sub obtentu inuestigandae uenationis, et solus remanens appropiauit ad locum et uidit formam sibi ostensae uisionis
80 uenationis, et cadens in faciem clamauit dicens: ‘Supplico te domine, cognoui quia tu es iesus christus filius dei uiui, et credo in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, et nunc ueni supplicans intemeratam tuam diuinitatem, ut manifestes que promiseras mihi.’

Et dicit ad eum iesus³³: ‘Beatus es qui³⁴ accepisti lauacrum gratiae meae, et quia induisti
85 te immortalitem modo superasti diabolum, modo conculcasti eum qui te deceperat, modo spoliasti te corruptibilem hominem et induisti incorruptibilem^x permanentem in saecula saeculorum. Modo fidei tuae demonstrabuntur opera, quoniam inuidia commouebitur coram te³⁵ diaboli, eo quod illum reliquisti et festinat omnem adinventionem circa te mouere. Oportet enim te multa sustinere, ut accipias coronam uictorie. Ecce enim exaltatus es usque modo
90 negotiis huius saeculi et temporalibus opibus. Oportet ergo te humiliari de alta tua uanitate et rursus exaltare te in spiritualibus diuitiis. Non ergo tua uirtus deficiat,^{xi} nec respicias ad gloriam que tibi fuerat³⁶ prius, sed quemammodum repugnans hominibus cupiebas uictor ostendi mortali imperatori fidem seruare.³⁷ Oportet enim et his temporibus alterum iob in te demonstrari per temptationes, et uictorem diaboli ostendi per tolerantiam. Uide ergo ne forte
95 in corde tuo cogitatio blasphemie ascendat. Cum enim humiliatus fueris ueniam ad te,^{xii} et rursus restituam te in propriam gloriam.’

Et postquam haec dixit ascendit in caelos dicens EUSTachio: ‘Modo uis accipere imminentem³⁸ tibi temptationem an in extremis diebus?’ Dicit EUSTachius: ‘Supplico te domine iesu, si non est possibile euadere^{xiii} quae a te nobis sunt decreta modo nobis accipere
100 temptationem iube, sed da nobis uirtutem sustinere que promissa sunt, ne aliquod malignum uerbum adinueniens aduersarius commoueat sensum nostrum de tua fide.’ Et dominus: ‘Concertare’ inquit ‘Eustachi, gratia enim mea uobiscum est custodiens animas uestras.’^{xiv} Descendens uero de monte et ingressus in domum, renuntiauit uxori sue omnia que

³² May also read *Meum tote* but BHL 2760 reads *mementote* and it is a plausible reading for C9.

³³ Iesus] BHL 2760 *Dominus*.

³⁴ Beatus es qui] BHL 2760: *Beatus es Eustathi, qui*.

³⁵ Semi-erased p.

³⁶ Erased n; original reading probably *fuerant*.

³⁷ mortali imperatori fidem seruare] BHL 2760 *mortali imperatorem festinans placere, sic et contra diabolum strenue agere festina, et mihi, immortalis imperatori, fidem seruare*.

³⁸ BHL 2760 *imminentem* is supplied here; the defective C9 reading *in mentem* would give the sense ‘in your mind’, with very different implications for the nature of the trial.

105 ei fuerant dicta a domino, et simul flectentes genua supplicabant dominum dicentes: ‘Domine iesu christe, fiat uoluntas tua.’^{xv}

110 Paucis uero diebus transactis, contigit egritudine pestifera affligi domum eius, et mori omnis seruos eius et ancillas. Hoc facto, sentiens EUSTachius praedictam sibi temptationem adfuisse, et gratifice suscipiens poscebat uxorem suam ut non deficeret tribulans. Et post aliquod tempus occupauit equos eius et alia pecora aer quidam mortifer et mortua sunt omnia que fuerant illi. Et, excipiens istam temptationem, discessit³⁹ occulte de domo sua una cum uxore et filiis.⁴⁰ Uidentes autem quidam de malignis depredationem⁴¹ eorum, adgressi per noctem diripuerunt omnia quae possidebant: aurum et argentum et uestem,⁴² ita ut nichil relinqueretur de substantia eorum preterque amicti fuerant. Cumque essent ergo in eiusmodi tristitia reliqua eorum possessio et substantia ad nihilum peruenit per fraudes inimici.^{xvi}

115 Illis diebus omni populo celebrante festiuitatem cum Imperatore pro uictoria quae in persas facta fuerat. Oportebat etiam et placidam festiuitatem suam facere. In prandio, quippe ubi fuisset⁴³ magister militum et princeps senatus querebatur et inueniri non poterat. Dubitantibus ergo cunctis quod sic uno momento nullum de suis reliquisset, nec ipsum posse repperiri,⁴⁴ merore percussus est imperator et omnis senatus de eo et omnis stupebant de his que acciderant ei.

120 Tunc dicit ei uxor sua: ‘Quousque expectamus hic? Ueni accipiamus duos infantes nostros, ipsi enim tantum relictis sunt nobis, et recedamus hinc. In obprobiis enim facti sumus omnibus cognoscentibus nos.’^{xvii}

125 Et, nocte superueniente, accipientes duos infantes pergebant ad egiptum. Postquam uero duorum fecerunt dierum iter, appropinquantes mari et inuenientes nauem adplicitam uolebant ingredi in eam ut nauigarent. Contigit autem ut dominus nauis illius barbarus esset et inmitis, et ingressi (ergo)⁴⁵ cum eo nauigabant. Et uidens nauis dominus uxorem EUSTachii quod esset decora facie, ualde concupiuit eam. Et cum transfretassent exigebat ab eis nauulum, non habentibus illis unde redderent. Retinuit uxorem eius quasi pro nauulo uolens illam habere
130 secum. Ut autem uidit eustachius, nolebat eam dare. Diu uero contra dicente eo et supplicante,⁴⁶

³⁹ discessit] BHL 2760 [cum gratiarum actione] discessit.

⁴⁰ filiis] BHL 2760 *Filiis* [ad semitorem locum].

⁴¹ depredationem] BHL 2760 [discessum].

⁴² uestem] BHL 2760 [et mancipia] et vestes.

⁴³ in prandio, quippe ubi fuisset] BHL 2760 *in praesentia, quippe cum esset*.

⁴⁴ Dubitantibus ergo cunctis quod sic uno momento nullum de suis reliquisset, nec ipsum posse repperiri] BHL 2760 [Omnes itaque tenebat stupor, quod uno temporis momento ita res illorum dilapsae essent, ut nihil illis superesset eorum, quae possederant] nec ipse posset inueniri.

⁴⁵ Erased but still partially visible.

⁴⁶ uolens illam habere secum. Ut autem uidit Eustachius, nolebat eam dare. Diu uero contra dicente et supplicante]

innuit dominus nauis nautis suis ut in medio⁴⁷ mare illum proicerent. At ubi sensit EUSTACHIUS insidias eorum, reliquit uxorem suam et accipiens duos infantes suos ibat ingemiscens et dicens: ‘Uae michi et uobis, quia mater uestra tradita est alienigenae marito!’

135 Pergens uero cum gemitu et lacrimis peruenit ad quendam fluuium, et propter habundantiam aquarum non est ausus ingredi cum duobus filiis in aquam. Portans uero unum infantem super humeros suos, reliquit alterum circa ripam. Et transposuit infantem quem portauerat super terram et ibat ut reportaret alterum. Cum uenisset autem in medium fluminis (nimis autem fluuius dilatatus erat) intendens uidit, et ecce leo rapuit filium eius et abiit in siluis, et desperans de eo reuersus est in patientia, spem habens alterius. Et cum abiret uidit et 140 ecce similiter lupo rapuit alterum filium eius et abiit et non potuit eum insequi.

Et cum esset in medium fluminis coepit euellere capillos capitis sui, plangens et ululans, uoluit se proicere in aquam. Sed iterum constantem eum reddidit prouidentia dei, que futura prouidebat.⁴⁸ Leo uero rapiens puerum conseruauit illesum per prouidentiam dei.⁴⁹ Videntes autem pastores puerum portari a leone uiuum insecuti sunt eum cum canibus.⁵⁰ Per 145 dispensationem uero Dei rediens leo uero proiecit infantem incolumen et recessit. Alterum uero infantem qui raptus fuerat a lupo, uidentes quidam aratores insequentes lupum liberauerunt puerum illesum.⁵¹ Utrique ergo siue pastores siue aratores de uno fuerant uico, et accipientes pueros educauerunt apud se.

Haec uero EUSTACHIUS nesciebat, sed pergebat plangens pariter⁵² et haec dicens: ‘Heu 150 michi, quondam pollenti ut arbor, modo uero nudatus sum! Heu me, qui in habundantia mea nimia fueram, modo captiuitatis more desolatus sum! Heu me, quia magister militum et multitudine exercituum circumdatus fueram, modo solus relictus sum nec filios concessus sum habere! Sed tu domine, ne in finem derelinquas me, nec despicias lacrimas meas. Memini, domine, te dicente ‘quod oportet te temptari sicut iob.’ Sed ecce plus aliquid in me fieri uideo. 155 Ille enim etsi possessionibus caruerit, sed stercus habuit supra quod sedere concessum est

BHL 2760 [*hoc enim consilium coeperat, cum primum illam contemplatus esset, et noluit eam reddere. Cum uero multum contra moueret et obniteretur Eustathius*].

⁴⁷ Insertion above of *ū*; supplying an alternate reading of *medium*.

⁴⁸ BHL 2760 adds [*victoque eo doloris impetu, aquis exiuit*].

⁴⁹ BHL 2760 adds [*et transiens superius fluvium, abiit in desertum*].

⁵⁰ Videntes autem pastores puerum portari a leone uiuum insecuti sunt eum cum canibus.] BHL 2760 *Videntes autem pastores, Puerum portari a leone vivum, [nulloque malo affectum, et iudicantes, divina prouidentia Puerum illum servatum incolumen, eademque auxiliante, erepturos se illum bestiae,] insecuti sunt leonem cum canibus.* The defective C9 reading *omnibus* has been replaced by BHL 2760 *canibus*.

⁵¹ Alterum uero infantem qui raptus fuerat a lupo, uidentes quidam aratores insequentes lupum liberauerunt puerum illesum] BHL 2760 *Alterum uero Infantem, qui raptus fuerat a lupo, [illum quoque divina prouidentia servavit:] namque videntes quidam aratores et insequentes lupum, liberaverunt inlaesum.*

⁵² plangens pariter] BHL 2760 *plangens et lugens pariter*.

illi;^{xviii} ego uero peregre eadem patior tormenta. Ille amicos habuit compatientes ei;^{xix} ego uero in deserto inmites feras habeo in consolationem qui filios meos rapuerunt. Ille etsi ramis⁵³ caruit, sed radicem⁵⁴ uxoris respiciens secum consolabatur;^{xx} ego uero infelix undique sine radice factus sum, nec scintillam facis generis mei respiciens, sed sum similis ramis in deserto
160 qui undique per procellas conquassantur. Ne exsecratus fueris domine tui serui multiloquia, doleo enim dum dico quod non oportet. Pone domine custodiam ori meo,^{55xxi} ut non declinet cor meum in uerba mala et eiciat a facie tua.^{xxii} Da uero iam requiem⁵⁶ de multis tribulationibus meis.’

Et haec dicens cum lacrimis et gemitu animi, abiit ad quendam uicum qui dicebatur
165 Dadissus. Et ingrediens in eo operabatur et adquirebat uictum. Commorans uero in eum⁵⁷ plurimum tempus, postulauit eiusdem uici habitatores et posuerunt eum custodire agros suos et mercedem accipiens debebat annis quindecim. Filii autem eius educati sunt sicut supra diximus in altero uico, non cognoscentes alterutrum quod essent fratres. Dominus uero nauis ille alienigena accipiens uxorem eustachii perduxit ad suam patriam. Domini uero gratia
170 obumbravit mulierem ut non se ei commisceret alienigena in omni illo tempore, hoc enim postulabat a deo ut custodieretur ab alienigenae communione. Contigit uero illum alienigenam mori et ipsam suae esse potestatis.

Post hos autem dies factus est incursus hostium in illa terra, ubi erat EUSTACHIUS.⁵⁸ Qui exeuntes, plurimas inuaserunt terras romanorum. In nimio ergo tumultu consistebat imperator
175 de inuasionem et commemoratus est placidam, eo quod plerumque strenue egisset contra ipsos hostes, et tristabatur⁵⁹ de subita eius mutatione. Colligens autem exercitum et inspiciens omnes milites de placida exquirebat, qui cognouissent de eo uiuere an mori. Et dabat mandatum unicuique militum ut inquirerent eum. Et misit per unamquamque ciuitatem et terram que erat sub imperio suo ut requirerent eum dicens: ‘Si quis eum inuenerit et indicauerit michi,
180 ampliores addam ei honores et emolumentorum augebo solatia.’ Duo uero quidam milites, nomine antiochus et acaius, qui aliquando ministrauerunt placide, perrexerunt ad inquirendum eum. Et peragrantes omnem terram que sub romanorum esset imperio, uenerunt in uicum illum ubi debebat eustachius.⁶⁰

⁵³ BHL 2760 *ramis* is supplied to replace the defective C9 reading *n(u)mis*; the first vowel is erased and uncertain but the reading is defective regardless.

⁵⁴ BHL 2760 *radicem* is supplied to replace the defective C9 reading *uicem*.

⁵⁵ BHL 2760 adds [*et ostium munitiois circa labia mea*].

⁵⁶ iam requiem] BHL 2760 *iam, Domine, requiem*.

⁵⁷ Manuscript reads *in eu*, half-corrected to *in eo*. *In eum* is a more satisfactory reading.

⁵⁸ Eustachius] BHL 2760 *Uxor Eustachii*.

⁵⁹ tristabatur] BHL 2760 [*et renovata saepius de eo mentione*] *tristabatur*.

⁶⁰ BHL 2760 adds [*Praetereuntes autem locum illum, ubi custodis munus obibat Eustathius, dubitabant, an illum*

Eustachius uero a longe considerans ex consuetudine incessus eorum recognouit eos, et
185 ueniens in memoriam prioris suae conuersationis coepit perturbari et orans dicere: ‘Domine
deus noster, qui de omni tribulatione eruis sperantes in te,^{xxiii} quemadmodum istos pr(a)e(ter)
spe(m)⁶¹ uidi qui aliquando mecum fuerunt, iube ut uideam ancillam tuam coniugem meam.
Nam infantes mei scio quam⁶² propter meam prauitatem a feris commesti sunt. Da ergo
domine⁶³ ut uel in die resurrectionis uideam filios meos.’

190 Et haec dicente eo audiuit uocem de celo dicentem sibi: ‘Confide eustachi. In praesenti
enim tempore remeabis ad tuum priorem statum et accipies uxorem tuam et filios. In
resurrectione uero maiora horum^{xxiv} uidebis, et eternorum bonorum delectationem reperies, et
nomen tuum magnificabitur in generationem.’ Haec audiens Eustachius terrore percussus
sedebat. Uidens uero milites sibi uenientes per uiam contra ipsos. Uenientibus uero illis propius
195 amplius eos cognouit.⁶⁴ Illi autem eum non cognouerunt, qui dixerunt ad eum: ‘Aue frater.’ At
ille ait: ‘Pax uobiscum fratres.’ At illi rursus dicunt ei: ‘Dic nobis si nosti hic peregrinum
aliquem nomine placidam cum uxore et duobus filiis, et si demonstraeris eum nobis, dabimus
tibi pecunias.’ Quibus ille dixit: ‘Quapropter eum queritis?’ Qui dixerunt ei: ‘Amicus noster
fuerat, et uolumus eum uidere post multos annos.’

200 Dicit ad eos eustachius: ‘Talem hic uirum non cognoui,⁶⁵ nam et ego peregrinus sum.’
Et assumens eos duxit in hospitio suo et abiit emere uinum ut potaret eos propter aestum. Et
dixit ad dominum⁶⁶ in qua hospitabatur: ‘Noti michi sunt isti homines et propter hoc huc
uenerunt. Prebe ergo michi cybos et uinum ut fruantur et reddam ea ibi in tempore de mercede
mea.’ Illo uero alacriter dabat ea quae fuerant necessaria. Reficiens autem eos Eustachius non
205 poterat sustinere, recolens priorem uitam suam, et perfundebatur lacrimis. Plorabat autem foras
egrediens et lauans faciem suam, rursus ingrediebatur et ministrabat eis.^{xxv}

Illi uero considerantes eum coeperunt paulatim ad agnitionem uisionis eius uenire, ad
alterutrum dicentes: ‘Quam similis est iste homo illi quem querimus?’

210 Unus autem ait: ‘Scio quia⁶⁷ ualde similis est illi. Scio autem ego quod habet signum
aliquod cicatris in ceruice sua ex ictu belli. Consideremus ergo si habet signum in ceruice sua

interrogarent].

⁶¹ BHL 2760 *praeter spem*; C9 reading may be defective, perhaps due to uninserted macrons.

⁶² Could also read *quoniam*; BHL 2760 reads *quod*.

⁶³ domine] BHL 2760 *Domine [Deus misericors, qui solus uerus Deus et Jesus Christus,].*

⁶⁴ Videns uero milites sibi uenientes per uiam contra ipsos uenientibus, uero illis propius amplius eos cognouit] BHL 2760 [*Videns uero appropinquantes sibi milites, descendens e loco, ubi sedebat, in uia contra ipsos stetit, et propius illis factus] amplius cognouit eos.*

⁶⁵ BHL 2760 adds [*Attamen huc succedite, in domum, in qua hospitor;].*

⁶⁶ dominum] BHL 2760 *dominum domus.*

⁶⁷ Scio quia] BHL 2760 *socio suo.*

ipse est qui queritur a nobis.’

Considerantes uero cautius uidentes cicatricem in ceruice eius et confestim exilientes osculabantur eum, et cum lacrimis interrogabant eum, si ipse esset qui aliquando magister militum eorum fuerat.^{xxvi} Ille uero profusis lacrimis dicebat: ‘Non sum ego.’^{xxvii}

215 Demonstrantes uero illi signum in ceruice⁶⁸ eius et iurantes quod ipse esset magister militum placidas, et de uxore eius et filiis interrogabant eum quid esset factum et alia plura commemorabant eum. Tunc confessus est quod ipse esset, et de uxore et filiis quod mortui essent.

220 Et dum haec dicuntur, omnes illius uici homines quasi ad signum spectaculi ueniebant. Tunc ergo milites exponebant⁶⁹ eis de uirtute uiri et de priori eius gloria. Audientes autem flebant dicentes: ‘Quanta exaltatio uiri nobis sub mercede seruiuit?’

225 Tunc milites insinuauerunt ei preceptum Imperatoris et induentes illum uestibus optimis, accipientes illum pergebant in uiam suam. Omnes uero de uico producebant eum. Ille uero osculans dimisit illos. Ambulantibus uero illis exposuit eis quomodo uidit christum et omnia exposuit eis, quomodo nominatus sit eustachius et que contigerunt ei omnia exposuit eis.

230 Transacta uero .xu. dierum itinere uenerunt ad imperatorem. Et ingressi milites nuntiauerunt ei quemammodum inuenerunt placidam. Et egressus imperator in occursum eius, osculatus est eum. Qui causam suae discessionis⁷⁰ per singula exposuit Imperatori et cuncto senatui, et de uxore sua⁷¹ quomodo in mare relictas esset, et quomodo filii sui a feris capti sunt, et totum merorem suum exposuit. Facta est uero magna letitia in inuentione eius. Petierunt uero eum et cingitur ut pridem fuerat magister militum,⁷² qui discutiens milites⁷³ et cognoscens non sufficere ad conspiciendos hostium incursus, iussit tyrones colligere per omnes ciuitates et uicos.⁷⁴

235 Contigit autem in illa terra in qua educati sunt filii eius, describi ut darentur duo tyrones. Cuncti uero eiusdem uici cultores illos duos iuuenes, quippe ut peregrinos decernentes, tradunt expeditionem facientibus. Erant autem grandi statu et decora facie ualde. Congregatis uero

⁶⁸ Former reading probably *ceruicem*; the *m* has been erased.

⁶⁹ *exponebant*] BHL 2760 [*sedato tumultu*] *exponebant*.

⁷⁰ Qui causam suae discessionis] BHL 2760 [*et multum lacrymans*] *interrogavit eum suae discessionis causam: qui.*

⁷¹ BHL 2760 adds: [*et Filiis: illa*].

⁷² Petierunt uero eum et cingitur ut pridem fuerat magister militum] BHL 2760 [*Porro imperator eum consolatus est*] *et cingitur ut ante magister militum.*

⁷³ Emended from the C9 reading *militem*.

⁷⁴ per omnes ciuitates et uicos] BHL 2760 [*et missi sunt per omnes ciuitates et oppida Romani imperii, qui tyrones conscriberent.*].

cunctis tyronibus et adductis coram magistro militum omnis considerans taxauit in numeris. Uidens uero illos duos adulescentes, quod essent super omnes decori specie et statu, constituit
240 eos primos in ministerio suo, et uidens in eos generositatem morum naturalem, affectu impulsus
in amore eorum, iussit inter conuiuas eos mense annumerari.

Et post dispositam militiam, ut solitum est, profectus est ad bellum et terram quidem
quam abstulerant barbari liberauit. Ipsis uero subiectis transiit fluuium qui dicitur ydispis, et
ulterius⁷⁵ procedens in interiora terra barbarorum et illos deuincens depopulatus est terram
245 eorum.

Adhuc autem interius desiderans ingredi (prouidentia enim dei uocante) uenit ubi erat
uxor sua. Et ut predictum est custodita fuerat ab alienigenae pollutione. Discesserat enim (a)⁷⁶
sola et commanebat in ortulo cuiusdam, et fecit sibi tabernaculum.⁷⁷ Perueniens igitur in illo
uico magister militum exspectabat ibi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus repausans exercitum
250 suum.⁷⁸ Oportuna erat possessio ad omnem delectationem.

Contigit autem ut tentoria eius figerentur prope ortum illum, quem custodiebat mulier.
Illi ergo duo adulescentes hospitati sunt in tabernaculo matris suae, nescientes quod ipse esset
genitrix eorum. Et facto meridie sedentes exponebant sibi inuicem de infantia sua, habebant⁷⁹
in memoria ea que contigerant eis. Mater uero eorum sedens econtra intentius audiebat que illi
255 exponebant.

Dicebant ergo frater maior iuniori: ‘Ego dum infans eram nichil aliud in memoria
habeo, nisi hoc quia pater meus magister militum erat. Mater uero mea speciosa facie ualde.
Duos filios habebant, me et alterum minorem me, et ipse speciosus nimis.⁸⁰ Accipientes uero
nos utrosque egressi sunt de domo noctu et ingressi sunt in nauem nobiscum – nescio ubi
260 uolebant ire. Cum autem egrederemur de naue, mater nostra nobiscum non erat – nescio
quemammodum in mare relicta est. Pater uero noster portans nos duos flens pergebat.

⁷⁵ The original reading of *alterius* has been corrected by an addition of *ulterius* in superscript.

⁷⁶ Erased but just visible.

⁷⁷ et ulterius procedens in interiora terra barbarorum et illos de uincens, depopulatus est terram eorum. Adhuc autem interius desiderans ingredi, prouidentia enim dei uocante, uenit ubi erat uxor sua. Et ut predictum est, custodita fuerat ab alienigenae pollutione. Discesserat enim (a) sola, et commenebat in ortulo cuiusdam, et fecit sibi tabernaculum.] BHL 2760 *Et [recto itinere procedentes penetrarunt in interioram terram barbarorum, quos bello superatos, late vastata eorum regione, penitus delere decrevit. Et, prouidentia utique Dei illum evocante, eo peruenit, ubi erat Uxor ejus, quae, sicut diximus, Deo protegente, ab alienigenae illius tyrannide praeservata fuerat, atque, eo mortuo, discesserat, et sola habitabat in hortulo alicujus ex indigenis, cujus gerebat curam, ubique, structo tabernaculo, fructus custodiebat.]*

⁷⁸ Perueniens igitur in illo uico magister militum, exspectabat ibi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus repausans exercitum suum] BHL 2760 *Cum igitur peruenisset in illum vicum Magister militum, castra meatus est et habitavit ibi tribus diebus repausans exercitum.*

⁷⁹ BHL 2760 adds *enim [subobscure]*.

⁸⁰ minorem me, et ipse speciosus nimis] BHL 2760 *junioem [flauiis capillis] speciosum et ipsum nimis.*

Perueniens autem ad quendam fluuium, transmeauit cum fratre meo iuniore et me dereliquit supra ripam fluminis. Cum reuerteretur ut me acciperet lupus ueniens rapuit illum minorem infantem, et antequam ad me adpropiares,⁸¹ subito de silua exiliens leo rapuit me et duxit in
265 silua. Pastores uero eruerunt me de ore leonis et nutritus sum in possessione in qua et ipsi scis, et non potui scire de patre meo quid sit factum de eo neque infante.’ Haec audiens iunior maiore fratre dicente exiliens coepit flere et dicere: ‘Per deum christianorum, ut audio frater tuus sum ego,⁸² quoniam et qui me educauerunt haec dicebant quoniam⁸³ de lupo te eruimus.’

Et amplexi osculabatur se inuicem. Audiens uero haec mater eorum et considerans quae
270 exposuerant usque ad nauigium, perturbabatur⁸⁴ in uisceribus suis. Amplius etiam uidens adulescentes amplectentes se inuicem et osculantes et flentes et dum considerans ne forte⁸⁵ ipsi essent filii sui, preterea cum de patre dixerunt⁸⁶ quod magister militum fuerat, et quia in mare mater relicta est.

Altera die interpellauit magistro militum dicens: ‘Deprecor te domine, ego de terra
275 romanorum sum et captiua adducta hic. Perduc me ad patriam meam.’ Et haec dicens considerans uidit signa que erant in marito suo, et cognoscens formidabat eum.⁸⁷ Cum uero diutius se continere ne posset, procidens ante eum dicebat: ‘Precor te domine, ne indigneris contra ancillam tuam, sed propitius exaudi me expone mihi priorem uitam tuam. Ego enim puto te esse magistrum militum placidam qui cognominatur est EUSTACHIVS,⁸⁸ quem etiam dignatus
280 est saluator ipse per ceruum ad se uocare ut crederet in eum, et incidens in temptationibus accepit uxorem suam, quae sum ego, et duos filios agapitum et theophistum perrexit ad egiptum. Et cum nauigaremus, perdidit me propter quod dominus nauis barbarus esset qui me tenuit in ista patria, et testis est michi christus quia nec ille me polluit nec alter, sed usque hodie seruauit dominus castitatem meam. Et ecce ego dixi tibi signa, et tu cognoscens indica michi
285 per uirtutem tui christi saluatoris.’

Audiens autem haec eustachius et ipse similiter considerans speciem eius, recognouit eam, et incontinenti letitia lacrimis effundens osculabatur eam et dabant gloriam⁸⁹ Saluatori

⁸¹ Cum reuerteretur ut me acciperet lupus ueniens rapuit illum minorem infantem, et antequam ad me apropiaret] BHL 2760 *Cum autem reuerteretur, ut me acciperet, [lupus ueniens rapuit illum minorem fratrem meum, et antequam ad me appropinquasset].*

⁸² BHL 2760 adds [*Novi enim, quae narrasti mihi,*].

⁸³ Could also read *quam*; this is the BHL 2760 reading.

⁸⁴ perturbabatur] BHL 2760 [*conjectansque ita circa illos contigisse omnia, valde animo movebatur*] et perturbabatur.

⁸⁵ ne forte] BHL 2760 *diu tractare apud se coepit, si forte.*

⁸⁶ preterea cum de patre dixerunt] BHL 2760 *maxime propterea, quod de Patre dixerint.*

⁸⁷ BHL 2760 adds *interrogare.*

⁸⁸ BHL 2760 adds [*in baptismo*].

⁸⁹ et dabant gloriam] BHL 2760 *et incontinenti laetitia lacrimas effundens, [inquit: Ego ipse sum, quem dicis: et*

Christo, qui in om(n)i⁹⁰ parte prodest suis seruis, et reuocat et consolatur de multis tribulationibus. Tunc dicit ei uxor sua: ‘Domine, ubi sunt filii nostri?’

290 Qui dixit: ‘A feris capti sunt.’ Et exposuit ei quemammodum perdidit eos. Et dixit ad eum: ‘Gratias agamur christo, puto enim quemammodum nobis deus donauit ut inueniremus nos inuicem, donabit etiam recognoscere filios nostros.’ Dicit ad eum Eustachius: ‘Dixi tibi quia a feris capti sunt.’ Dicit ad eum uxor eius: ‘Haesterna die sedens in horto audiui quosdam duos iuuenes ad inuicem loquentes⁹¹ de infantia sua, et scio quam filii nostri sunt. Sed nec ipsi
295 inuicem sciebant quia fratres sunt, nisi per expositionem maioris fratris.⁹² Nunc ergo⁹³ cognosce quanta sit pietas christi, qui utrisque donauit agnitionem. Disce igitur ab eis et dicent tibi.’

Conuocans igitur magister militum adulescentes, sciscitatus est ab eis qui essent. Tunc⁹⁴ exposuerunt ei omnia que facta fuissent, sicut supra exposuimus. Et recognouit eos, quia ipsi
300 essent filii sui, et amplexus EUSTachius osculatus est eos et incuruantes supra filios cum fletibus gratias agebant christo ab hora ii usque ad sextam propter inuentionem eorum.

Discurrit igitur fama haec per omnem exercitum, et omnes congregati mirabantur et exultabant inuentione eorum amplius etiam propter barbarorum expugnationem. Altera die maximam celebritatem facientes, deo gratias egerunt propter magnam eius pietatem. Postquam
305 uero subiecerunt uniuersam terram barbarorum, reuersi sunt cum uictoria magna et spolia multa^{xxviii} portantes et captiuos plurimos ducentes.

Contigit igitur antequam reuerteretur EUSTachius de bello, obisse traianum Imperatorem et resurgere alterum pro eo imperatorem, nomine (h)adrianum,⁹⁵ gentilem et ipsum peiorem in impietatibus. Reuerso ergo eustachio occurrit ei imperator, et ut mos romanis
310 pro uictoria festiuitatem celebrauit et, interrogans⁹⁶ quomodo in praelio uiriliter egresserit et de agnitione uxoris et filiorum eius, prolixius extendit conuiuium.

Altera die perrexit in templo idolorum pro uictoria sacrificium idolorum oblaturus. Intrante uero imperatore in templo Apollinis, non cum illo ingressus est eustachius et retrocedens foris stetit. Imperator uero conuocans eum interrogabat quare non sacrificarit diis
315 propter uictoriam et uictimas detulerit eis maxime propter uxoris inuentionem et filiorum.

surgens ruit in amplexus, et osculati sunt se inuicem] et dabant gloriam.

⁹⁰ MS reading is *omi* due to an erased or abraded macron.

⁹¹ BHL 2760 adds [*et narrantes*].

⁹² BHL 2760 adds [*agnouissent se hesterna die.*].

⁹³ BHL 2760 adds [*cum hoc hactenus ignoras*].

⁹⁴ Tunc] BHL 2760 [*et quae illis accidissent?*] *Et.*

⁹⁵ *h* has been erased.

⁹⁶ C9 reading *interrogauit* has been corrected to *interrogans*.

Qui dixit ad imperatorem: ‘Ego supplico christum dominum meum, et offero incessanter ei preces, qui misertus est humilitatem meam et reuocauit me de captiuitate et restituit mihi uxorem et filios. Alium uero deum neque scio neque colo, nisi deum celestem qui fecit mirabilia.’

320 Tunc imperator, ira repletus, iussit ei solui cingulum et uelud transgressorem asstare pariter cum uxore et filiis et sic faciebat contra eum questionem. Considerans igitur imperator inmutabilem eius in christo fidem, iussit eum cum uxore et filiis introducere in harenam et dimitti eis leonem. Accurrens uero leo et stans prope beatum eustachium summitens caput atque adorans recessit, et coepit egredi de harena.^{xxix} Tunc ergo imperator uidens mirabile
325 spectaculum quod non tetigit eos fera, praecepit⁹⁷ incendi bouem aeneum et ibi introduci sanctos.

Conuenit uero uniuersa plebs, fidelium et paganorum, spectare sanctis, quomodo introducebantur in aereum bouem. Inducto uero in machina, supplicauerunt carnifices ut darent eos orandi spatium. Et extendentes manus suas orauerunt dicentes: ‘Domine deus uirtutum, qui
330 omnibus inuisibilis nobis uero uisus es ut uoluisti exaudi nos deprecantes te. Ecce enim uotum nostrum peractum est quia recipientes nos inuicem, et admeruimus sortem sanctorum tuorum recipere, sicut .iii. pueri qui per ignem probati sunt non te denegauerunt,^{xxx} sic et nos finire iube per ignem istum. Da uero, domine, reliquiis nostris gratiam ut omnis qui memor nostri fuerit, partem nostri habeat in regno celorum et super terram habundantiam,^{xxxi} uel si in mare aut in
335 fluuio periclitati fuerint et inuocauerint te per nomen nostrum, liberentur de periculo. Et si in peccatis inciderint,⁹⁸ per humilitatem nostram supplicantibus ueniam pr(a)e(sta)⁹⁹ et subueni. Da ergo domine et comminationem ignis in rorem transferri, et in hoc finiri nos iube et complace in corporibus nostris ut non separentur sed hic simul reponi ea iube.’

Et haec illis dicentibus, uox ad eos de caelo uenit dicens: ‘Ita erit uobis sicut supplicastis
340 et amplius ab his fiet, quia certatores per bonam uitam facti estis plures et magnas sustinentes temptationes et non uicti estis. Uenite in pace, recepturi coronas uictorie, et pro temporalibus malis in saecula saeculorum fruimini preparatis bonis.’ Et haec audientes beatissimi alacriter semet ipsos tradiderunt igni et statim comminatio ignis compressa est.^{xxxii} Et glorificantes intemeratam et laudabilem Trinitatem et cantantes ymnum reddunt¹⁰⁰ cum pace animas suas.
345 Et non tetigit eos ignis, neque capillis capitis eorum sensit odorem ignis.

⁹⁷ MS reading is *praece aepit*, and has been emended here.

⁹⁸ Erasure: MS reading is *in(ce)ciderint*.

⁹⁹ Scribal error: *prā*. BHL 2760 reads *praesta*. Presumably the *sta* has been lost.

¹⁰⁰ Contains an erasure: original reading was *redd(e)unt*.

Post tres autem dies aduenit impiissimus imperator in loco, et praecepit¹⁰¹ aperire
(a)ream¹⁰² machinam ut uideret quid factum esset reliquis sanctorum. Et uidentes corpora
eorum, putauerunt adhuc uiuere, et eicientes posuerunt eos super terram. Ammiratio autem
cunctos habuit circumstantes, quia neque usque ad capillum dominatus fuerat in eis ignis, sed
350 erant corpora splendentia super niuem, et formidans imperator abiit in palatium suum.
Multitudo uero que circumstabat exclamauerunt dicentes: ‘Magnus deus christianorum, unus
et solus deus uerus christus iesus, et non est alius, quia nec in capillis eorum dominatus est
ignis.’^{xxxiii}

355 Occulte uero christiani tollentes corpora sanctorum deposuerunt in celeberrimo loco, et
postquam sedata est persecutio ibidem oratorium construxerunt, et deposuerunt eos celebrantes
memoriam reliquiarum sanctorum .ii. NONIS nouembris. Ista est uita beatorum, et hic finis
gloriosi eorum certaminis. Omnes ergo qui merentur celebrare memoriam eorum et inuocare
eos in presidio impetrant que promissa sunt sanctis per gratiam domini nostri et saluatoris iesu
christi, cui gloria et potestas in saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

360 EXPLICIT PASSIO SANCTI EUSTACHII MARTYRIS

¹⁰¹ praecepit] MS *precaepit*.

¹⁰² Erasure of *a*.

Here begins the Life and Passion of St Eustace the Martyr and his sons, on the 20th Day of the month of September;^{xxxiv} that is 12 Kalends of October.

In the days of the Emperor Trajan, with the falsehoods of demons prevailing, there was a certain master of soldiers named Placidus; he was well born according to the flesh, and powerful in wealth¹⁰³ and excelling all others in honour, but he was also captured by demons. He was foremost in deeds and righteousness with all virtues and merits. He relieved the oppressed and was a defender of those who were under grave travesties of justice. He also saved many people who were unjustly condemned by judges with his wealth, he clothed the naked, and, as I may truly say, dispensing everything necessary for life to all who were in need, just as is read in the Acts of the Apostles, he seemed also in these times like Cornelius. He also had a wife who lived under the same worship of demons, but who was similar in habits to the opinions of her husband. Two sons were born to them who they brought up according to their desires. He was noble in righteousness and powerful in warfare, so that the very barbarians were subjugated by him. He was also skilled at hunting through all his days. But the merciful and good God, who always and everywhere calls those who are worthy to him, did not despise his works, nor did he want a mind that was good and worthy to God to be deserted without a reward, covered over by the darkness of idolatry, but, according to what is written: ‘That from among all peoples he accepts the one who does justice’. He came to him with kindly mercy and wished him to be saved in such a way.

When he went out to the mountains to hunt one day, according to his custom, with all his troop and glory, a herd of grazing deer appeared to him, and when he had distributed his men according to his custom he began to chase them.

When all of the men were occupied with capturing the deer, a deer appeared that was well-fed beyond the measure of all the herd¹⁰⁴ and more beautiful, which left¹⁰⁵ the herd and made a rush into a denser part of the wood. When Placidus saw this and desired to capture it, he left all but a few of his soldiers and followed it. When all of those who were with him were tired he alone persevered in the chase. By the providence of God the horse did not tire, nor was it slowed by the difficulty of the terrain, but he followed it for a long time and was further off

¹⁰³ Possibly ‘deeds’ due to an erased ligature on the p amending an earlier reading of ‘operibus’; though ‘wealth’ appears to be the superior reading.

¹⁰⁴ BHL 2760 *vastus* would result in the more usual reading of ‘bigger’.

¹⁰⁵ BHL 2760 *resiliens* is supplied in place of the defective *C9 resistens*.

from his troop. The stag took up a high position on a rock and stood high up above him. But the master of soldiers, coming closer without any companions, stood, looking all around and considering how he might be able to capture the stag. But the God of all wisdom and mercy, who provides all men the paths towards their salvation, hunted the hunter, not like Cornelius through Peter, but like he hunted Paul, as he was persecuting him, through his vision. When Placidus had been standing and looking at the stag for a long time, and wondering at its size and losing confidence in its capture, God showed to him that he ought not fear such a sign, not beyond the greatness of his virtue, but as, by bestowing words on the donkey beneath Balaam, he chided his foolishness. But also he showed him the form of the sacred Cross, shining with brightness beyond that of the sun, between the horns of the stag, and in the middle of the horns of the stag the image of our Lord, the Saviour, Jesus Christ, who, even placing human speech on the stag, called to Placidus, saying to him:

‘O Placidus, why are you chasing me? Look, for your sake I have come in this animal to appear to you. I am Christ, whom you unknowingly worship. The alms which you give to those in need have stood before me, and I have come to show myself to you through this stag, also to hunt you instead of it in order to capture you with the nets of my mercy. For it is not right that one who is delightful to me on account of his good works should serve unclean demons, and images with a semblance of life which are empty and insensible. Because of this, therefore, I came to earth in this form, as you now see me, to save the human race.’

When he had heard this the master of soldiers was filled with the greatest fear, and fell from his horse to the ground. When an hour had passed he came to himself and stood and, cautiously wanting to see what vision had appeared to him, said within himself: ‘What is this vision that appeared to me? Show yourself to me, you who spoke to me, that I might believe in you.’ And he spoke to him saying: ‘Listen, Placidus: I am Jesus Christ, who made heaven and earth from nothing, who separated mingled matter, who caused light to rise and divided shadows. I am he who set down the times and days and years. I am he who formed man from the earth, who appeared on earth in the flesh for the salvation of the human race, who was crucified and buried and rose again on the third day.’

When he heard this the master of soldiers fell to the earth again, saying: ‘God, I believe that you are he who created all things, who converts those who are erring and who resurrects the dead.’ The Lord said to him: ‘If you believe, then go to the city and listen to the priest of the Christians and ask for the baptism of grace from him.’

Placidus replied: ‘Lord, do you order me to repeat this to my wife and my sons that they might believe in you?’ The Lord said to him: ‘Repeat it to them and, receiving the sign of

baptism, be cleansed from the pollution of idols, and return here and I will appear to you again and I will show you the things to come and will unfold the mysteries of salvation to you.’

He went down from the mountain. When night had fallen he began to unfold to his wife all those things that he had seen. When he had finished unfolding everything – the vision and the things that had been said – his wife cried out, saying: ‘My lord, you saw the Crucified God, whom the Christians worship. For he is the one true God, who calls believers to him through such signs.’ Then she said to her husband: ‘Last night I also saw him, and he said to me: “Tomorrow you and your husband and your sons will come to me.” And now I know that he is Jesus Christ. Therefore, he desired to appear in such a figure of a wonderful spectacle through the stag, that you might wonder at his power and believe in him. Therefore come, let us go tonight and ask for the holy baptism of the Christians. For those who believe in him become his own ones through this.’ Placidus said to her: ‘The one who appeared to me on the mountain also said that to me.’

In the middle of the night, unknown to their servants, they went to the priest of the Christians and told him everything that had happened and had been said to them and they immediately confessed that they believed in Lord Jesus Christ and entreated him to give them the sign of baptism. He was filled with eager joy and praised the Lord, who wants all to be saved and to come to a recognition of truth. He received them and catechized them, and unfolded the mysteries of faith to them and baptised them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And then he called Placidus Eustace; his wife Theophista and of their sons the eldest he called Agapitus and the other Theophistus. And he gave them the holy sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ and dismissed them, saying: ‘May the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, be with you and grant you the Eternal Kingdom. For I know that the hand of the Lord is with you, and you will enjoy paradise together. I ask that you remember my spirit, that of John.’

When morning came, Eustace took a few knights with him and went to the mountain. And when he came close to the place where he had seen the vision he sent away his soldiers, pretending to look for something to hunt, and when he remained alone he approached the place and saw the form of the vision he previously saw, and he fell on his face and cried out: ‘I beg you, Lord, I know that you are Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, and I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and now I come as a supplicant in fear of your immaculate divinity, that you might manifest those things you promised to me.’

And Jesus said to him: ‘Happy are you, who has received the cleansing of my grace, and because you have taken on immortality you have now overcome the Devil, now you have

trampled underfoot the one who deceived you, now you have shed the corruptible man and have taken on the incorruptible man, world without end. Now the deeds of your faith will be demonstrated, so the hatred of the Devil will be stirred up against you, because you have abandoned him, and he hastens to move every artifice against you. For it is fitting that you endure many things, so that you might receive a crown of victory. For lo! until now you were exalted in the riches of this world and in temporal goods. Therefore, it is fitting that you be humbled from your high vanity and exalted again in spiritual riches. Nor should your virtue fail, nor should you look back to the glory which you previously had, but as you desired to keep faith with the mortal emperor by fighting men and being shown victorious.¹⁰⁶ For it is fitting that another Job should be shown in you in these times through your trials, and that you should be shown victorious against the Devil through patience. Therefore see that no thought of blasphemy should by any chance arise in your heart, for when you are humbled I will come to you and restore you once more to your former glory.’

And after he had said these things he rose into heaven, asking Eustace: ‘Do you prefer to receive the trial now or at the end of your life?’

Eustace said: ‘I beg you, Lord Jesus, if it is not possible to avoid those things that are decreed for us by you, order that we receive the trial now, but grant us the strength to endure those things that are promised, that no evil word coming from the inventive adversary should turn our senses from faith in you.’

And the Lord said: ‘Strive, Eustace, for my grace is with you and is guarding your souls.’

He went down from the mountain and went home and repeated everything that had been said by the Lord to his wife, and together they prayed to the Lord on bended knee, saying: ‘Lord Jesus Christ, may your will be upon us.’

When a few days had passed it befell that a terrible sickness afflicted his home, and all his servants and maids died. When this happened, Eustace realised that the aforementioned trial had come, and thankfully accepted it and asked of his wife that she should not fail in the trial. After a certain time, a certain deadly pestilence seized his horses and other herd animals, and all that he had were killed. And, when he had received these trials, he departed secretly from his home with his wife and sons. But when certain evil people saw their deprivations, they came in the night and stole everything that they owned: gold and silver and clothes, so that

¹⁰⁶ The reading is defective due to eyeskip; an allusion should be drawn between his service of the mortal emperor through military service and the immortal emperor (i.e. God) through his coming trial.

nothing was left of their wealth except that which they were wearing. And while they were in the same despair, the rest of their possessions and their wealth came to nothing through the artifices of the enemy.

In those days all the people were celebrating a festival with the Emperor because of the victory that he had won in Persia. It was fitting for Placidus to make his own feast. At the banquet where he had been the master of soldiers, and the chief of the senate, he was sought and could not be found. Everyone was concerned because in a single moment he had left nothing of his servants and he himself could not be found. The Emperor and all the senate were struck by sorrow concerning him, and everyone was astonished by what had happened to him.

Then his wife said to him: 'Why are we waiting here? Come, let us take our two sons, for they are all that is left to us, and let us leave this place. For we have been made an object of scorn to everyone we know.'

And, when night had fallen, they took their two sons and went to Egypt. And when they had been travelling for two days they came to the sea, and when they found a ship that had docked, they wanted to board it so as to sail. Yet it befell that the master of the ship was a heathen and cruel. And so they boarded and sailed with him. And when the master of the ship saw that Eustace's wife was very beautiful he greatly desired to have her. And when they had crossed the sea he demanded a ship's toll from them, but they had nothing to give him. He wanted to keep his (Eustace's) wife with him as if for a ship's toll. Yet when Eustace saw this he did not want to give her to him. When he had spoken against this and begged for a long time, the captain told his sailors to throw him in the middle of the sea. But when Eustace realised what their plan was, he relinquished his wife. And he took his two sons and went weeping and saying: 'Woe to me and to you, for your mother has been given over to a foreign man!'

He went on with moans and tears and came to a certain river, and because of the depth of the water he didn't dare to enter the water with both of his sons. He bore one child on his shoulders and left the other on the bank. And he placed the child which he carried on the ground and went back to collect the other. Yet when he had come to the middle of the river (the river was excessively deep), he looked ahead, and lo! a lion seized his son and went away into the woods, and despairing for that one he went back patiently, having hope for the other one. And when he went back he looked and lo! in the same way a wolf seized his other son and went away and he was unable to follow him.

And when he was in the middle of the river he began to tear out the hair of his head, weeping and wailing, and he desired to throw himself into the water. But the providence of

God, which foresaw the things to come, returned him to constancy again. The lion that had seized the boy kept it unharmed through the providence of God. When shepherds saw a live boy being carried by him they followed it with dogs.¹⁰⁷ Through the ordinance of God the lion went back, dropped the child unharmed and went away. Certain farmers saw the other child who had been seized by a wolf, followed the wolf and freed the child unharmed. Both the shepherds and the farmers were from the same town, and they received the children and raised them among themselves.

Eustace did not know any of this, and he went forth weeping and likewise saying: ‘Woe to me, who was once powerful; now I am laid bare like a tree! Woe to me, who once had great wealth; now I am made desolate like a captive! Woe to me, because I was a master of soldiers surrounded by a great host of armies; now I am left alone without even my sons left to me to have! But you, Lord, do not abandon me at the end, nor despise my tears. I remember, Lord, that you said that “you ought to be tempted as Job was.” But look, I see that there is something more for me. For he was deprived of his possessions, but he had a dung-heap left to him to sit upon; I suffer the same torment abroad. He had friends to comfort him; in the desert I have the beasts that carried off my sons as a consolation. He was deprived of his children (lit. tree), but looking at the root of his wife, he was consoled; unlucky, I am made completely without a root, seeing not even a spark of my family, but I am like branches in the desert that are struck by winds on all sides. Lord, do not detest the many things your servant says, for I despair so that I say that which is not fitting. Lord, place a guard over my mouth, so that my heart does not decline towards evil speech and I am not cast from your presence. Grant me a rest from my many tribulations.’

And when he had said these things with tears and a mourning mind, he came to the town that is called Dadissus. And he entered it and got work there and earned his food. When he had stayed there for a long time, he made a request of the inhabitants of the town, and they made him the guardian of their fields and he received his food and stayed there for fifteen years. But his sons were raised together, as we said before, in another town, and neither knew that the other was his brother. That foreign ship’s master who took the wife of Eustace took her to his homeland. The grace of God protected the woman so that she did not have congress with that foreigner in all that time, for she had asked God that he should guard her from communion with a foreigner. It befell that the foreign man died and she was under her own control.

Yet when these days had passed an enemy incursion was made into those lands where

¹⁰⁷ BHL 2760 *canibus* is supplied to replace the defective C9 reading *omnibus* ‘with everything’.

Eustace was. Many of those who escaped entered the lands of the Romans. Therefore, the Emperor was in a state of great perturbation about the invasion and he remembered Placidus, how he had acted strenuously against these same enemies, and he mourned his sudden change of circumstances. So he collected together the army and inspected it and asked all the soldiers about Placidus, who would know whether he might be alive or dead. And he gave an order to each of the soldiers to search for him. And he sent them through each city and land that was within his empire to seek him, saying: 'If one finds him and shows him to me, I will build him up with greater honours and I will increase their wages.' A certain two of the soldiers, named Antiochus and Acaius, who once served Placidus, went forth to search for him. And they travelled through all the lands what were under the Roman Empire, and came to the town where Eustace lived.

Eustace watched them from a long way off and recognised them by their accustomed gait, and calling to mind his previous way of life he began to be perturbed and he prayed and said: 'Lord our God, who plucks out those who believe in you from all tribulation, just as I see those who were once with me, beyond hope, grant that I might see your handmaiden, my wife. For I know that my children have been devoured by beasts because of my perversity. Grant, therefore, Lord, that I might see my sons even on the Day of the Resurrection.'

And when he had said these things he heard a voice from heaven saying to him: 'Have faith, Eustace, for in the present time you will return to your previous state and will receive your wife and sons. Truly on the Day of the Resurrection you will see greater things than these, and you will receive the delight of eternal goods, and your name will be glorified throughout all generations.'

When he heard these things Eustace was struck with terror and sat down. He saw the soldiers who were coming towards him through the street opposite them. As they were coming nearer, he recognised them even more. But they did not recognise him, who said to him: 'Hail, brother.'

And he said to them: 'Peace be with you, brothers.'

And they said back to him: 'Tell us if you know of a certain traveller here who is called Placidus, with his wife and two sons, and if you show him to us, we will give you money.'

To which he said: 'Why are you looking for him?'

They said to him: 'He was our friend, and we want to see him after many years.'

Eustace said to them: 'I don't know of such a man, for I am an exile.'

And he took them and led them to his lodgings and went to buy wine so that he could pour it out for them because of the heat. And he said to his landlord: 'These men are known to

me and have come here because of that. Therefore, give me food and wine for them to enjoy and I will repay you in time from my wages.' He willingly gave him what was needed. While giving them the meal, Eustace couldn't bear it when he recalled his past life, and he poured out tears. He wept and went outside and washed his face, and went back inside and served them.

They looked at him for a long time and gradually began to come to recognition of his appearance, and they said to each other: 'How similar is this man to the one we seek?'

One of them said: 'I know that he is very similar. But I know that he has a certain mark of a scar on his neck from a blow in war. Therefore let us see: if he has a mark, he is the very one sought by us.'

They considered him carefully and saw the scar on his neck and immediately leapt up and kissed him, and tearfully asked him if he were the one who had once been a master of their soldiers. He very tearfully said: 'I am not.' They showed him the scar on his neck and swore that he was Placidus, the master of soldiers, and they asked him what had happened to his wife and sons, and they reminded him of many other things. Then he confessed that he was he, and that his wife and sons were dead.

While these things were being said, all the men of the town came as if to a spectacular sign. Then the soldiers unfolded to them the virtue of the man and his former glory. When they heard this they wept and said: 'That so exalted a man should serve us under wages?'

Then the soldiers told him about the Emperor's order and dressed him in the finest clothes and took him and began their journey. Everyone from the town led him out. He kissed them and dismissed them. As they walked he told them all about how he saw Christ and he told them everything, how he was now called Eustace and he told them everything that had happened to him.

When fifteen days had passed on their journey they came to the Emperor. And the soldiers went in and announced to him how they had found Placidus. And the Emperor went to meet him and kissed him. He unfolded every single thing about the cause of his departure to the Emperor and to all the senate, and about how his wife was lost at sea and how his sons had been captured by wild beasts, and he unfolded all his sorrow. There was great joy at his discovery. And they entreated him and he was girded as he had previously been the master of soldiers. Scrutinising the soldiers and seeing that they were not sufficient to oppose an enemy invasion, he sent tribunes to recruit throughout the cities and towns.

It befell that in the land where the sons were raised, it was required that two recruits be provided. All the inhabitants of that town gave those two youths to the people making the campaign, because they knew that they were foreigners. They were great in stature and very

handsome.

When the recruits were all gathered and brought into the presence of the master of soldiers, he considered them all and estimated their numbers. He saw those two youths, that they were greater than all the others in beauty and stature, and he placed them foremost in his service. And he saw natural generosity of spirit in them, and was struck by affection in love for them, and he ordered them to be added to the number at feasts set out at his table.

And when he had arranged the army as he was accustomed he was prepared for warfare and he liberated the land the heathens had taken. And when he had subjected them (the heathen) he crossed the river that is called Idispis, and he proceeded further into the interior of the land of the heathens and when he had conquered them he laid waste to their land.

And when he wanted to go further into their lands (for he was called by the providence of God) he came to the land where his wife was. And as was previously mentioned she had been guarded against pollution from a stranger. For she had gone apart alone and was in the orchard of a certain man, and she made a tent for herself. Therefore, when the master of soldiers came into that town he waited for three days and three nights to rest his army. There was opportunity for possession of every enjoyment. It befell that his tents were fixed next to the garden which his wife guarded. Therefore, the two youths were lodged in the tent of their mother, neither knowing that she was their mother. And it happened that they were sitting in the middle of the day and talking between themselves about their childhood, they called to mind what happened to them. Their mother was sitting opposite them, listening intently to what they unfolded.

The elder brother said to the younger: 'I have nothing else in my memory from when I was an infant, except that my father was a master of soldiers. My mother was very beautiful. They had two sons, me and another younger than me, and he was very handsome. They took us both and left the house in the night and got on board a ship with us. I don't know where they wanted to go. But when we got off the ship, our mother was not with us. I don't know how she was left at sea. Our father carried us and went away weeping. But when we came to a certain river, he crossed with my younger brother and left me on the bank of the river. When he turned back to get me a wolf came and seized my younger brother, and before he could get to me a lion came and grabbed me and took me to the woods. Shepherds rescued me from the mouth of the lion and I was brought up, in the place you know too, and I don't know what happened to my father or the child.'

When the younger brother heard what the elder was saying he leapt up and began to cry and said: 'By the God of the Christians, as I hear, I am your brother, for those who raised me

told me that they had once rescued me from a wolf.’

And they hugged and kissed each other. Their mother heard these things and wondered at what they had told about up until the voyage, and was disturbed in her bowels. Even more so on seeing that the youths were hugging and kissing each other and weeping, and she considered whether by chance they might be her sons, especially because they said that their father had been a master of soldiers, and because the mother had been lost at sea. On the next day she went before the master of soldiers and said: ‘I beg you, lord, I am from the land of the Romans and was brought here as a captive. Take me back to my homeland.’

And while she said this she considered and saw the marks that were on her husband, and she recognised him and grew afraid. When after a long time she could not restrain herself, she threw herself before him, saying: ‘I beg you, lord, do not scorn your handmaiden, but be well-disposed and hear me and tell me of your past life. For I think that you are Placidus, the master of soldiers who is also called Eustace, whom the saviour deigned to call to himself through the stag, that he might believe in him, and, falling into tribulations, took his wife, who I am, and his two sons, Agapitus and Theopistus, and went to Egypt. And when we were sailing, he lost me because the master of the ship was a heathen who took me to this homeland, and Christ is a witness for me that neither he nor any other polluted me, but until today the Lord preserved my chastity. And lo! I tell you these signs, and, you understanding, show yourself to me through the power of Christ your saviour.’

When he heard this Eustace, who was also considering her appearance, recognised her, and with unrestrained joy, filled with tears, he kissed her and they gave glory to Christ the Saviour, who in every place benefits his servants, and recalls and consoles them after many tribulations. Then his wife said to him: ‘Lord, where are our sons?’

To which he said: ‘They were captured by beasts.’ And he told her how they were lost.

And she said to him: ‘Let us give thanks to Christ, for I think that just as God granted it to us that we might find each other, he will also grant that we will rediscover our sons.’

Eustace said to her: ‘I told you that they were captured by beasts.’

His wife said to him: ‘Yesterday, when I was sitting in my garden, I heard how two youths were discussing their childhoods, and I know that they are our sons. But neither of them knew that they were brothers, if it were not for the tale of the elder brother. Now, therefore, recognise how great the love of Christ is, who gave recognition to each of them. Therefore, learn it from them and they will tell you.’

Therefore, the master of soldiers called the youths and asked them who they were. The they told him everything which had happened to them, just as we told above. And he recognised

them, that they were his sons, and Eustace embraced and kissed them and bending over his sons with tears they gave thanks to Christ from the second hour until the sixth because of their discovery.

Therefore, the fame of this rushed through all the army, and all those who were gathered wondered and gloried in their discovery even more because of the assault against the heathens. On the next day a great celebration was made, and they gave thanks to God because of his great love. After they had subjugated all the land of the heathens they returned with a great victory and they were carrying many spoils and leading many captives.

It befell that before Eustace could return from war, Emperor Trajan died and another rose to the rank of Emperor, named Hadrian, a heathen and himself worse in his acts of impiety. When Eustace returned the Emperor hurried to him, and celebrated a festival for his victory, as is the custom of the Romans. And asking him how he had strongly waged the war and about the discovery of his wife and sons, he extended the feasting further.

On the next day he went to the temple of the idols to leave offerings to the idols for the victory. When the Emperor entered the Temple of Apollo Eustace did not go in with him and, turning back, stood outside the doors. The Emperor called him and asked him why he did not sacrifice to the gods for the victory, and leave sacrifices all the more for the finding of his wife and sons. He said to the Emperor: 'I pray to Christ my Lord, and I offer continual prayers to him, who had mercy on my humbleness and recalled me from captivity and restored my wife and sons to me. I neither know nor worship any other God, except the celestial God who works wonders.'

Then the Emperor, filled with wrath, ordered his belt to be loosed from him and for him to stand, together with his wife and sons, as if a transgressor, and thus he made an interrogation of him. When the Emperor saw that he was immovable in the faith of Christ, he ordered him to be thrown into an arena with his wife and sons, and sent a lion at them. The lion ran at them and stood next to the Blessed Eustace, submitted its head and went away as if adoring him, and began to leave the arena. Then therefore the Emperor, seeing the wonderful spectacle, that the beast did not touch them, ordered a bronze bull to be kindled and for the saints to be placed inside it.

All the common folk came, Christian and heathen, to see how the saints were placed inside the bronze bull. When they were led to the machine, they begged the executioners to give them a space of time to pray.

And they extended their hands and prayed, saying: 'Lord God of virtues, who is invisible to all but seen by us, as you desired, hear us, we beg you. For lo! our prayers are

accomplished because we have received one another, and we have deserved to receive the lot of your saints, just as the three youths who were tried by the fire did not reject you, thus grant that we may make our end through this fire. Grant, Lord, grace from our relics that all who remember us may have a part with us in the heavenly kingdom and abundance on the earth, whether he is in peril on the sea or in a river and invokes you in our name, let him be freed from danger. And if they fall into sin, praying through our humility grant them mercy and save them. Grant, therefore, Lord, also that the fierce threat of the fire be transformed into dew, and in this grant us an end and may it please you that our bodies are not separated, but grant that they might lie together.’

And when they had said these things, a voice came to them from heaven, saying: ‘Thus it will be, even as you have asked, and it will be greater, because you have made a struggle through a good life and have sustained more and great temptations and have not been overcome. Come in peace, receive crowns of victory, and in exchange for temporary evils enjoy the goods that have been laid up, world without end.’

And when they had heard these things the very blessed ones quickly gave themselves to the flames, and immediately the fierceness of the fire abated. And, glorifying the undivided and praiseworthy Trinity and singing a hymn, they gave up their souls in peace. And the fire did not touch them, nor did the hair of their heads feel the smell of fire.

After three days the most impious Emperor came to that place and ordered the bronze machine to be opened that he might see what had happened to the remains of the saints. And when he saw their bodies he thought that they were alive, and throwing them out they placed them upon the ground. Amazement overtook all of those standing around, because not even their hair had been overcome by the flames, but their bodies were shining brighter than snow, and the Emperor was afraid and went into his palace. All the crowd that was standing around shouted aloud, saying: ‘Great is the God of the Christians, the one and only True God, Jesus Christ, and there is no other, because not even their hair was overcome by the flames.’

Christians secretly took the holy bodies and buried them in a very famous place, and after the persecutions abated they built a chapel over them, and buried them and the memory of the relics of the saints is celebrated on the 2nd Nones of November. This is the life of the blessed ones, and this is the end of their glorious struggle. Therefore all who are deserving to celebrate their memory and call on them as protection will secure the things that have been promised to the saints by the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom is glory and power, world without end. AMEN.

Here ends the Passion of Saint Eustace the Martyr.

ⁱ Acts 10:1–48.

ⁱⁱ Acts 10:35 ‘sed in omni gente qui timet eum et operator iustitiam acceptus est illi’ (‘but in every nation he that fears him and works justice is acceptable to him’).

ⁱⁱⁱ Acts 9–10.

^{iv} Num 22:21–38.

^v Acts 9:4 ‘Saule Saule quid me persequeris?’ (Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?).

^{vi} Alain Boureau suggested that Christ’s appearing in the form of, or through, a stag and being hunted has parallels with Hab 3:19, ‘Dominus Deus [...] ponet pedes meos quasi cervorum’ (‘The Lord God will make my feet like the feet of harts’) and Psalm 21:17 (numbered 59 by Boureau), ‘circumdedederunt me venatores concilium pessimorum vallavit me’ (‘for many dogs have encompassed me: the council of the malignant hath besieged me’) (Boureau, ‘Tramite’, p. 685).

^{vii} Acts 17:23 ‘inveni et aram in qua scriptum erat ignoto deo quod ergo ignorantes colitis hoc ego adnuntio vobis’ (‘I found an altar also, on which was written: To the Unknown God. What therefore you worship without knowing it, that I preach to you’); the relevance to LSE of the idea of an “Unknown God” being unwittingly worshipped is clear.

^{viii} The phrase [*n*]unc cognovi is used in recognition of Elias as a man of God in I Kings 17:24, and in recognition of God and his greatness in Ex 18:11 and Ps 19:7. God also recognises Abraham’s piety with this formula in Gen 22:12.

^{ix} 1 Tim 2:4.

^x Col 3:9–10 ‘nolite mentiri invicem expoliantes vos veterem hominem cum actibus eius et induentes novum eum qui renovatur in agnitionem secundum imaginem eius qui creavit eum’ (‘Lie not to one another: stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds, and putting on the new, him who is renewed unto knowledge, according to the image of him that created him’).

^{xi} This may echo Luke 22:32, in which Christ assures Peter at the Last Supper that Satan will not tempt him away because Christ has prayed for him, ‘ut non deficiat fides tua’ (‘so that your faith will not fail’).

^{xii} Gen 18:10 and Ex 20:24 have the phrase *veniam ad te* when an angel tells Abraham he will return and Sarah will bear a son, and when the Lord tells Moses he will return and bless the Israelites in return for sacrifices. In 1 Sam 10:8 Samuel uses the phrase when stating he will return to tell his followers what to do. Finally, the phrase is used in Rev 3:3 when God informs John that none know the hour at which he will return.

^{xiii} Possibly an allusion to Matt 26:39 ‘mi Pater, si possibile est transeat a me calix’ (‘my Father, if it is possible for this cup to pass from me’); in this case Eustace’s reluctance to undergo the trial has something of a Biblical precedent in Christ’s reticence in the Garden of Gethsemane.

^{xiv} Several injunctions referring to the dangers of defiling one’s soul occur in Leviticus.

^{xv} *Fiat voluntas tua* appears in Matt 6:10, as part of the *Pater Noster*, and Matt 26:42, in which Christ accepts his fate in Gethsemane (‘si non potest hic calix transire nisi bibam illum fiat voluntas tua’ (‘if this chalice may not pass away, but I must drink it, thy will be done.’)); Luke 22:42 also relates this episode in similar words. The general sense of the phrase, though not the wording, may be seen to echo Luke 1:38 (‘fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum’ (*be it unto me according to thy word*)), which forms part of the *Magnificat*, a central part of Christian worship.

^{xvi} Though the events are not exact parallels, the loss of household, wealth and livestock is very similar to that of Job 1. Explicit links between Eustace and Job are made in the *vita*.

^{xvii} The image of *opprobrium* is common in the Psalms and prophetic books of the Old Testament. Psalm 30:12 and 108:25 contain the further idea of the Psalmist being made a disgrace (*factus sum opprobrium*). C9 here is closest to Psalm 78:4, ‘facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris’ (‘we are made a reproach to our neighbours’), and slightly less exactly to Daniel 3:33, ‘opprobrium facti sumus servis tuis’ (‘we are made a reproach to your servants’); though the reading is less exact the later borrowings from Daniel make this an equally plausible source.

^{xviii} Job 2:8.

^{xix} Job 4–27, 32–7.

^{xx} Job 2.

^{xxi} Ps 140:3; BHL 2760 has the full verse. This is also quoted by Augustine in *Confessio* V:10: ‘posueras custodiam ori meo’ (ed. Knöll, *Augustini Confessionum*, p. 105)

^{xxii} Gen 4:14, Cain acknowledging his being cast from God through his sin.

^{xxiii} This echoes Ps 53:9, ‘ex omni tribulatione eripuisti me’ (‘you have delivered me from every tribulation’).

^{xxiv} Possibly an allusion combining John 1:50 (*maius his uidebis* (‘you will see greater things than these’)) and John 14:14 (‘qui credit in me opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet’ (‘he that believeth in me, the works that I do, he also shall do: and greater than these shall he do’)).

^{xxv} It is possible that this image has Christological significance; as Christ served his disciples at the Last Supper

(John 13:1–17), so too Eustace is now serving his former servants.

^{xxvi} 189–222 could be seen as similar to the events of Luke 24:13–35, when Christ appears to two disciples on the Road to Emmaus and is recognised by them at a meal.

^{xxvii} This phrase is used twice by John the Baptist when he denies that he is the Christ: John 1:20 and 3:28.

^{xxviii} *spolia multa* are taken in 1 Macc 11:48, 51.

^{xxix} Dan 6.

^{xxx} Dan 3, esp. 3:23–90.

^{xxxi} Possibly referring to Phil 4:11–12.

^{xxxii} The bronze bull represents a combination of Dan 3 and the bronze bull of the Greek tyrant Phalaris.

^{xxxiii} Dan 3:94.

^{xxxiv} C9 displays some confusion regarding the correct date of the Feast of St Eustace. While the body of the text records it as November 4th, in the title it is September 20th. OEE and PIS(AC) (the only reflexes to contain a date in the body of the text) state that the Feast takes place on All Saints' Day, or November 1st. Intriguingly, September 20th is also the feast of St Agapitus I (Loughlin, 'Agapetus I', p. 203). It is possible that the confusion arose from the shared name between this saint and Eustace's eldest son.

APPENDIX II

EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE *VITA ET PASSIO BEATI EVSTACHII ET UXORIS FILIORUMQUE*

EJUS

Herman Varnhagen's 1881 edition of VBE¹ is a valuable, albeit flawed, resource. No translation is provided, and when the poem as extant in Laud Misc. 410 (fols. 1v–18r) is read alongside his edition his tendency to make minor unreported emendations becomes clear. This edition is intended to update Varnhagen's work in line with modern scholarly practice. The text of Laud Misc. 410 has not been emended except where it is clearly defective. Such cases are recorded in footnotes. Likewise, emendations made in Varnhagen's edition will not be referred to unless my edition differs in a substantial way. I am indebted to Dr Colleen Curran for providing the high-resolution images of Laud Misc. 410 upon which this edition is based.

¹ Varnhagen, 'Zwei lateinische metrische versionen'.

INCIPIT VITA ET PASSIO BEATI EVSTACHII ET
UXORIS FILIORUMQUE EJUS.²

REX AETERNE POLI, MVNDANI RECTOR ET ORBIS,

Exaudire tuum seruum dignare precantem,

Ingenium ut mihi concedas et uerba loquelaе,

Quo ualeam placidi depromere facta beati.

5 Temporibus romana quis traianus in urbe
Regnabat, mundum antiquo fallente dracone,
Miles erat quidam placidus de nomine dictus.
Militis ille fuit princeps, custosque catervae.
Insignis factis et nobilitate micabat,³

10 Et pollens opibus, captus sed demonis astu.
Iustitia comptus, meritorum dote refulgens.
Iudicio iniusto dampnatos eripit ille,
Pauperibus multo solamine subueniebat.
Nudis dat uestes, alimentis pauit egentes,

15 Omnes consolans angustia quos retinebat.
Quamuis gentilis, compleuit opus pietatis⁴
Nescius, et domini mandata secutus ubique,
Iustum cornelium exemplis fuit ille imitatus.

HERE BEGINS THE LIFE AND
PASSION OF BLESSED EUSTACE
AND HIS WIFE AND SONS

Eternal King of Heaven, Master of the earthly sphere, deign to hear your praying servant, that you may grant me intelligence and eloquent words, with which I may be able to bring forth the deeds of Blessed Placidus.

In the times in which Trajan was ruling in the city of Rome, while the ancient dragon was deceiving the world, there was a certain soldier who was known by the name of Placidus.

He was a leader of soldiers, and the protector of a company. He was distinguished in his deeds and glittered with nobility, and was mighty in wealth, but captured by the cunning of demons. He was adorned with justice and shining with a gift of merits.

He rescued the condemned from unjust judgement, he brought relief to the poor with great comfort. He gave clothes to the naked, he gave the needy food, he consoled all who difficulty repressed.

Although he was a heathen, he unknowingly performed deeds of love and followed the commands of the Lord everywhere. He imitated the example of just Cornelius.

² fol. 1^v.

³ fol. 2^r.

⁴ As *pietas* is a nuanced word, a judgement call has been made each time as to the most appropriate translation in each instance.

	Huic uiuens fuerat sub cultu demonis uxor,	He had a wife living under the worship of the Devil, and she
20	Aequalique uiro uita per cuncta manebat.	always lived in the same way as her husband. Two sons were born
	Ex illis etenim mares bini generantur,	to these people.
	Aspectu pulcher fuit hic et fortis in armis,	This man had a beautiful face and
	Vndique barbarica atque illi gens subdita stabat.	was capable in arms, and everywhere the race of the
	Ille primis industris erat uenator ab annis.	barbarians stood subject to him.
25	Sed dominus pius et clemens qui semper ubique	He was a hunter from his first
	Quos nouit dignos fieri sibi conuocat ad se,	industrious years. But the good
	Huius opus non spernit sed mercede rependit,	and merciful Lord, who always
	Illius et mentem uero de fonte rigauit.	and everywhere calls those whom
	Tuncque modo tali tulit ex cultu simulacri. ⁵	he knows are worthy to himself,
30	Contigit ut quadam de more die peragraret	did not reject his deeds but repaid
	Uenatum montes, turba comitante (u)asallum, ⁶	a reward, and he also watered his
	Ecce greges stantes ceruorum cernit ibidem.	mind from the true spring. Then in
	Quos ut doctus erat circumdabat agmine magno, ⁷	such a way he raised him from the
	Insidiis positis, illos canibus sequebatur.	worship of idols.
35	Militibus cunctis ceruorum indagine captis,	It happened that on a certain day,
	Apparebat ei subito speciosior unus.	according to his custom, he went
	Quique sua superans alios pinguedine cervos,	to the mountain and hunted,
	De grege qui fugitans alio silvam repetiuit,	accompanied by a crowd of
	Atque cito cursu loca per densissima uadit.	servants. Lo, in that very place he
		saw herds of deer standing. He
		surrounded these with a great
		force of men, as he had been
		taught; he set snares and followed
		them with dogs. When all the
		soldiers were caught up in
		encircling the deer, a more
		beautiful one suddenly appeared
		to him, which was greater than the
		other deer in its size. It fled from
		the flock and made for another
		part of the wood elsewhere and
		rushed through the densest places
		on a swift course.

⁵ MS *simulacra*.

⁶ MS *asallum*; a *u* that appears to have been erased is supplied.

⁷ fol. 2^v.

- 40 Quem placidus zelo nimio comprehendere anhelat,
 Atque suum linquens agmen paucos tulit ad se,
 Cum simul his illum grandi studio sequebatur.
 Omnibus his lassis, placidus tunc solus anhelat,
 Affectu nimio cupiens comprehendere ceruum.
- 45 Nam pietate dei quod non lassante caballo
 Spissus eum⁸ locus ullus non tardabat euntem,
 Quin alacri citius cursu ceruum sequeretur.
- Agmine de cuncto tunc ipse remotus abibat
 Ceruus, in altam conscendens rupemque ibi
 stabat.
- 50 Tunc placidus sine militibus properabat eodem.
 Undique prospiciens rupem, coepit cogitare,
 Insidiis potuisset quis acquirere ceruum.
 Sed dominus se uenantem captare malebat.
- Non ut cornelium per petrum ad se reuocauit,
 55 Sed ueluti paulum, qui se ipsum persequebatur,
 Quemque suo fecit monstratu ex hoste superbo
 Ipse sibi fidum famulum, dignumque
 ministrum.⁹
 Ipse modo clemens placidum conuertit eodem.
- Stante diu placido, pastum¹⁰ miranteque cerui,
 60 Hoc de uenatu sese uoluit retinere.
- Placidus longed to capture this deer with very great zeal, and he quit his troop and took a few of them with him. Together with these men he followed the stag with great eagerness. When all these men had tired, then Placidus longed to capture the stag alone, and he desired this with passion beyond measure.
 For by the love of God his horse did not tire, nor did any dense place delay him as he proceeded, that he might follow the stag more quickly with a brisk course.
- Then the stag went away from all his herd, climbed a tall rock and stood there. Placidus then hurried to the same place without his soldiers. Looking from all sides, he considered how he might be able to capture the stag by snares. But the Lord preferred to hunt the one hunting him.
- He did not call him back home to himself as Cornelius through Peter, but even as Paul, who was persecuting him himself, and by a vision he made a faithful servant and worthy minister for him out of an arrogant enemy. Thus, the Merciful One converted Placidus in the same way.
- When Placidus had been standing for a long time, and wondering at the stag's grazing, he wanted to hunt it and take it for himself.

⁸ MS *cum*.

⁹ fol 3^r.

¹⁰ It is possible that this should read *uastum*, given the reference to the size of the stag in l. 62.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Tunc illum dominus monuit quo fortis adesset,
 Illius et molem cerui non ipse timeret.
 Antea quique asinae balaam dedit ora loquelaе,
 Ipse hominis ceruo sermones addidit olli.</p> | <p>Then the Lord reminded him that he should be brave and that he should not fear the size of the stag. Even as he once gave a talkative mouth to the ass of Balaam, he gave the speech of man to that stag.</p> |
| <p>65 Cornibus in mediis et ei crux aurea fulsit,
 Quae splendore suo solis radios superabat.
 Atque suam formam monstrans ibi christus iesus,
 Quique per os cerui inscitiam¹¹ placidi increpat ultro:
 ‘O quid tu uenatu me placide insequere?’</p> | <p>And in the middle of the horns a golden cross, which overcame the rays of the sun with its splendour, shone to him. And Christ Jesus showed his form there, even as he freely rebuked the ignorance of Placidus through the mouth of the stag: ‘O Placidus, why do you pursue me in a hunt? Lo, I have presently come as an animal for your salvation. I am Christ, whom you yourself serve unknowingly. I see your gifts which you have given to the poor, and I want to capture you for myself through this stag and to lead you away from the malign enemy with my nets.</p> |
| <p>70 Ecce salute tui ad praesens animal ueniebam.
 Christus enim sum, cui seruis tu nescius ipse.
 Conspexi tua pauperibus quae dona dedisti,
 Et mihi te uolui ceruum captare per istum,
 Retibus atque meis te ducere ab hoste maligno.</p> | <p>It is in no way just that my servant, who lives by agreeable deeds, should be a servant of unclean images. By no means have I entered an earthly body for another reason, except that I might save the human race from the deceit of the malign one.’ When he had heard these things Placidus, filled with terror, fell from his horse and tumbled to the ground, as if he were dead.</p> |
| <p>75 Non modo fit iustum meum ut famulus simulacris
 Seruiat inmundis, qui factis uiuit amoenis.
 Haud aliam ob causam terrenum corpus iniui,
 Ni genus humanum ut saluarem ex fraude
 maligni.’
 Haec audisset cum placidus, terrore repletus,</p> | |
| <p>80 Lapsus equo ruit ad terram ceu mortuus esset.</p> | |

¹¹ MS *inscitiam*.

Una hora transacta in se rediens, cito surgit,¹²
 Cautius illa uolens spectacula cuncta uidere,
 Quae fuerant sibi de pietate dei patefacta.
 Tristis dum secum tacitus coepit cogitare,
 85 Visio quam uidit haec quid portendat amoena.
 Tunc studuit dominum sincera mente precari:
 ‘O bone rex coeli, dignare mihi tua uerba
 Pandere, quae stulto mihi per ceruum loquebare,
 Ut cognoscere quoque modo in te credere
 possim.’
 90 Tunc pius et clemens dominus, dicebat ad illum:
 ‘Auribus intentis, placide, auscultare memento.
 Ast ego sum dominus terrae qui machina feci
 Et coeli solus firmamina tota peregi.
 Lucem de tenebris, lymphas terrisque remoui,
 95 Vtque diem tytan, et noctem cynthia comet
 Iussi, necnon et coelis ego sydera pinxi,
 Alta maris firmans, et quicquid uiuit in orbe.
 Postremum formaui hominem de cespite ruris,¹³
 Illius inque manus donabam cuncta creata,
 100 Qui ruit in mortem mox suasus ab hoste ueterno.

When an hour had passed, he came to himself and rose quickly and warily, wanting to see all those wonders which were disclosed to him by the love of God. While sad and silent, he began to think to himself about the vision which he saw, and what the beautiful thing might portend. Then he directed his efforts to pray to the Lord with a sincere mind: ‘O good King of Heaven, deign to unfold your words, which you spoke to me, a stupid one, through the stag, that I might be able to understand and also believe in you now.’

Then the good and merciful Lord said to him: ‘Remember to listen with intent ears, Placidus. I am the Lord, who made the earth according to a plan, and alone completed all the firmaments of the sky. I separated light from shadow, and the earth from the waters, and ordered that Titan should adorn the day and Cynthia the night; likewise I also embellished the sky with stars; I was strengthening whatever lives in the depths of the sea and on earth (lit. the sphere). Last of all I formed man from the sod of the countryside, and into the hands of that man who soon rushed into death, persuaded by the ancient enemy, I gave all created things.

¹² fol. 3^v.

¹³ This is possibly quoting Aldhelm’s *Aenigma* XXXIV l. 2. See *Aldhelmi Opera* ed. R. Ehwold, p. 112.

Exin stirps sua sub serpentis erat dominatu,
 Donec terrenum decreui sumere corpus,
 Cum quo celsa crucis conscendi robora
 promptus,
 Et quod concessi tumuli sub iure teneri,
 105 Deinde die terna surrexi demone uicto,¹⁴
 Ac genus humanum inferni de fauce reduxi.’

 Auscultans placidus haec, rursum uoluitur aruis;
 Cordis ab affectu christum uocitabat et inquit:
 ‘Credo equidem mundi factorem te fore, christe,
 110 Errantes qui conuertis per lumina uitae,
 Optatam qui das et uitam morte sepultis.’
 Illius ut dominus uidit cor, dicit ad illum:
 ‘Si credis placide, at propera festinus ad urbem,
 Pontificem summum conquirere sit tibi cura,
 115 Christi qui populi dignus modo pastor habetur.
 Illum posce tibi quo det baptismatis undam,
 Sordibus ablutus de cunctis ut merearis
 Regna uidere dei, quo gaudent agmina caeli.’

 Respondens placidus domino, et dicebat ad
 illum:
 120 ‘Christe iubes haec ostenta ut mea femina
 noscat?
 Sique meis possim natis haec dicere dicta?’

Thence his stock was under the
 dominion of the serpent, until I
 decided to take on an earthly body,
 with which I climbed, eager, the
 high hard oak of the cross, and
 which I granted to be held under
 the law of the grave. Then on the
 third day, when I had conquered
 the Devil, I rose, and I have led the
 human race from the jaws of the
 Infernal One.’

When Placidus heard these things,
 he was cast down to the dry earth
 again. He called out to Christ with
 passion of the heart and began to
 speak: ‘I truly believe that you are
 the creator of the world, Christ,
 you who convert those who are
 erring through the light of life, you
 who also grant a pleasant life to
 those buried in death.’

When the Lord saw his heart, he
 said to him: ‘If you believe,
 Placidus, then quickly hasten to
 the city to seek the bishop, that the
 man the people of Christ have as a
 worthy shepherd may be a
 guardian to you. Ask him that he
 may give you the waters of
 baptism so that, cleansed from all
 squalor, you may be worthy to see
 the realms of God, whom all the
 multitudes of Heaven praise.’

Placidus replied to the Lord and
 said to him: ‘Christ, do you grant
 that my wife may know these
 things that I have been shown?
 And that I might be able to tell
 these words to my sons?’

¹⁴ fol. 4r.

Dicit ei dominus: ‘Has illis pande loquelas,
 Vt credant et suscipiant purgamina uitae,
 Quis dum uos eritis loti ab cultu simulacrum,
 125 Tu statim pedibus ne tardes huc repedare.
 Hic iterum apparebo tibi, dicamque futura
 Quae tibi prouenient cito pro mundamine
 mentis.’
 Credulus his placidus verbis, sua tecta reuisit,
 Uxorique suae cuncta haec ex ordine pandit,¹⁵
 130 Quaeque sibi christus monstrabat montibus altis.
 Illa haec auscultans, nimium se corde resultat
 Atque suum dominum uocitans dicebat ad illum:
 ‘Domne meus, christum si uidisti crucifixum
 Quem christi populi semper recolunt et adorant?
 135 Solus enim is uerus deus est qui cuncta creauit.
 Esternae noctis ego quem per somnia uidi,
 Necnon talibus et uerbis mecum fabulatur:
 “Mox ad me uenietis tu simul atque tuus uir,
 Necnon uobiscum uestros subducite natos.”
 140 Et nunc cognoui quoniam ipse est christus iesus,
 Qui tibi per cerui uoluit se ostendere formam,
 Vt magis illius mireris tu pietatem.
 Ecce necesse manet baptismum quaerere
 sanctum
 Nos, quo gens mundata micat christo numerata.’

The Lord said to him: ‘Unfold these things that have been spoken, so that they believe and take up atonements of life. When you have been cleansed from the worship of images by those atonements, do not hesitate to return here on foot at once. I will appear to you again here, and will tell you about the future, those things that will come to you soon for cleansing of the mind.’ Placidus believed these words, returned to his home and unfolded all these things to his wife in order, and also those things that Christ showed to him on the high mountain. When she had heard these things, she sang greatly in her heart and she called her lord and said to him:

‘My lord, did you see the crucified Christ whom the people of Christ always worship and adore? For he alone is the true God, who created all things. I saw him last night while I was asleep, and he also spoke to me with such words: “Soon you will come to me, and your husband together with you; bring your two sons with you also.” And now I understand that he himself is Christ Jesus, who wanted to show himself to you in the form of a stag, that you may marvel more at his mercy. Behold, it remains necessary for us to seek holy baptism, by which the esteemed race cleansed by Christ sparkles.’

¹⁵ fol. 4^v.

- 145 Respondens placidus tunc et dicebat ad illam:
 ‘Is mihi sic dicit montis quem in culmine uidi.’
 Ex stratis surgunt ambo mediantibus umbris,
 Omnibus illorum famulis somnoque sopitis,
 Binas atque suas secum soboles referebant,
 150 Adque sacerdotem pergebant cristicolarum;
 Cuncta et ei promunt miracula, quae sibi uisa
 De christo fuerant, se et baptizare rogabant.
 Ille haec auscultans, alacri de corde manebat,¹⁶
 Altithrono laudes, et magnis uocibus inquit:
 155 ‘Laus et gloria sit tibi mundi christe redemptor,
 Omnes qui saluare cupis, nec perdere quemquam
 Ex illis uis, qui dominum te credere quaerunt.’
 Illis tunc statim baptismi archana rexit,
 Et consignat eos baptizans nomine trino,
 160 Ac placido eustachium nomen donabat habere,
 Maioremque suum natum agapitum uocitabat,
 Atque aliud¹⁷ pulchrum notat nomen
 theophistum,
 Illius uxori nomen posuit theophistam.¹⁸
 Tunc illos una confirmans crismate christi,
 165 Dimittens illos domino commendat et inquit:

Placidus then said in response to her: ‘The man I saw at the top of the mountain also said so to me.’

They both rose from their beds in the middle of the night, when all of their servants were asleep and lulled to slumber, and they brought both of their children with them and they went to the priest of the Christians; and they unfolded to him (the bishop) all the miracles which were shown to him (Placidus) by Christ, and they asked him to baptise them.

When he had heard these things, he remained with a cheerful heart, praised the High-Throned One and began to speak with a great voice: ‘Praise and glory be to you, Christ, Redeemer of the World, who wants to save all and does not want to damn any one of those who seek to believe in you, Lord.’

Then at once he revealed the mysteries of baptism to them, and he baptised them and marked them in the name of the Trinity. And he gave Placidus the name Eustace, and he called the elder of his sons Agapitus, and he gave the other youth the fair name Theophistus, and he placed the name Theophista on his wife.

Then he confirmed them together with the chrism of Christ, and when he dismissed them, he commended them to the Lord, and said:

¹⁶ fol. 5^r.

¹⁷ MS *alio*.

¹⁸ MS *theophistim*.

‘Sit dominus semper uobiscum christus iesus,
 Qui dignatus erat uos ad sua regna uocare,
 Et sedem uobis dedit in caelestibus aulis.
 Vos precor ob iohannem quo dominum rogitetis,
 170 Consors ut uestri ualeam sine fine manere.’

 Tunc simul ad proprium tectum redeunt in
 eadem
 Nocte, et magnificas domino grates referebant.
 Cumque aurora polo radiis dimouerat umbram,
 Ilico et eustachius paucos homines tulit ad se,
 175 Ac siluam repetit, ceruos et quaerere iussit,
 Et montem notum solus sine milite adibat,
 Adque locum properat quo christus ei antea
 fulsit.¹⁹
 Ast dignatus erat christus sua uerba replere,
 Atque suam formam milli praesentabat
 amoenam.
 180 Aspiciens hoc eustachius terram petit imam,
 Uocibus altisonis christum dicens uocitabat:

 ‘Te solum uerumque deum modo christe fatebor,
 Qui cum patre deo regnas cum spiritu et almo.
 Credo equidem nunc quod pater est et filius hoc
 est
 185 Spiritus inde etenim quod numquam discrepant
 almus;
 Has tres personas unum esse deum bene nosco.
 Idcirco rogitans rogo te regnator olympi,
 Vt mihi digneris promissa exponere uerba.’

‘May the Lord Jesus Christ always
 be with you, who had deigned to
 call you to his kingdom, and gave
 you a seat in the heavenly palaces.
 I entreat you on behalf of John, for
 who you may pray to the Lord,
 that I may be fit to remain your
 companion without end.’

Then they returned to their own
 home together on the same night,
 and they gave great thanks to the
 Lord. And when Aurora had
 dispersed the night from the sky
 with her rays, then immediately
 Eustace took a few men with him,
 and went back to the wood and
 ordered them to hunt for stags; and
 he went alone to the known
 mountain without a troop, and
 hurried to the place where Christ
 previously shone before him.

Yet Christ had deigned to make
 good his words, and he showed his
 delightful form to him. When
 Eustace saw this he flung himself
 to the ground; speaking with a
 loud voice, he called on Christ:

‘Now, Christ, I will confess that
 you are the sole true God, who
 reigns with God the Father, and
 with the Holy Spirit. Now, indeed,
 I believe that this is the true Father
 and the Son, and indeed this is the
 Holy Spirit which never errs; I
 know full well that these three
 persons are one God. For that
 reason, I ask and beseech you,
 ruler of Olympus, that you may
 deign to unfold the promised
 words to me.’

¹⁹ fol. 5^v.

	Tunc illi christus clementer dixit iesus:	Then Christ Jesus said to him kindly: ‘O happy Eustace, you who will shine, cleansed and purged by the waters of saving baptism, lo, now you have overcome your thief, the Devil, and you will come from mortal humanity to immortality.
190	‘O felix eustachi qui lotus renitebis Purgatusque salutiferi baptismatis unda, Ecce tuum modo praedonem zabulum superasti, Ex mortali homine immortalis et efficieris.	
	Nuncque tuae fidei fuerit uirtus patefacta,	And now the goodness of your faith will be disclosed. And battles against the ancient enemy have been acquired by you, since great anger will be stirred up, him against you, because you have deserted him.
195	Et te parta ²⁰ manent hostem certamina contra Antiquum, magna quoniam turbabitur ira Ille aduersum te, quia tu illum deseruisti.	
	Idcirco erga te cupit exercere furorem Ille suum, fraudesque suas tibi pandet amaras.	For that reason, he wants to employ his anger against you, and he spreads his terrible deceits over you. It is seemly for you to suffer many hostile things for my name here, that you may receive the rewards of the heavenly kingdom.
200	Te decet hic sufferre meo pro nomine multa Adversa, accipias ut caeli praemia regni. ²¹	
	Et sicut exaltatus adhuc nimium renitebis Multis diuitiis uanis opibusue caducis, Sed pauper rebus debes fore tempore paruo,	And, just as you are exalted, up to now you have shone too much with many empty riches and transitory wealth; but you ought to be poor in goods for a short time, that your forbearance of everything might shine with distinction. You are rich in true and pleasant delights, which no deceit of the greedy enemy can take away from you; therefore, in no way will your delightful virtue fall short, nor may your sight turn itself to your former honour.
205	Vt tua clarescat clare patientia cunctis. Deliciis iterum ueris polles et amoenis, Tollere quas tibi nulla ualet fraus hostis auari; Non ergo tua deficiet modo uirtus amoena, Nec oculus tuus ad priscum se uertat honorem.	

²⁰ Varnhagen emends this to ‘Ecce, parata’, but the manuscript reading is sound in terms of grammar and scansion so is here retained.

²¹ fol. 6^r.

- 210 Et uelut inuictum cupiebas te fore semper,
 Exque tuis inimicis sumere magna trophaea,
 Terreno regi sicuti seruire studebas,
 Tali namque modo debes certare malignum
 Contra hostemque illum pedibus calcare studere,
- 215 Atque fidem ueram regi seruare perhenni.
 Temporibus monstratur in his in te alter et iob.
 Te mollire hostis cupit in temptamine multo,
 Viribus e cunctis sed eum superare memento.
 Est opus ut uerae fidei callem teneas nunc,
- 220 Et zabuli insidias contra quo praelia mices.
 Ad cor si tibi perueniet blasphemia nulla,
 Te tunc inueniet raptim pietas mea magna,
 Ac rursus citius te gloria pristina captat.
 Tunc iterum eustachio christus sic dixerat
 i[e]sus:
 225 ‘Uis tibi promissum cito nunc temptamen
 adesse,²²
 Extremo an hoc ferre tuae sub tempore uitae?’
- Eustachius domino respondens dicit ad illum:
 ‘Te rogo christe bone, ut sic eueniant tua dicta,
 Et nobis modo certamen dignare parare.
- 230 Quod fac nos et posse pati cum mente benigna,
 Fraudibus ullis ne faciat nos ille malignus
 Acceptam uerae fidei dimittere callem.’
- And just as you used to want to be always undefeated and to win great victory (spoils) from your enemies, just as you dedicated yourself to serve the earthly ruler, for now you ought to contend thus against that malign enemy and direct efforts to trample him down with your feet, and to maintain the true faith for the eternal ruler. And in these times another Job is shown in you.
- The enemy desires to soften you with great temptation, but remember to overcome him with all your strength. It is necessary that you now hold to the path of the true faith, and by this you take part in battles against the snares of the Devil. If no blasphemy will come to your heart, then my great love will come back to you hastily, and former glory seizes you more quickly.’
- Then Christ Jesus again spoke to Eustace thus: ‘Do you prefer the promised trial to arrive quickly now, or to endure this at the end of your life?’
- Eustace responded to the Lord and said to him: ‘I ask you, good Christ, that the things you speak should come about thus, and deign now to prepare a struggle for us.
- Make it possible for us to endure it with a glad mind, lest the malign one should cause us to lose the accepted path of the true faith with any deceits.’

²² fol. 6^v.

<p>Olli respondit dominus cum uoce serena: ‘Vobiscum semper maneo, uestrasque gubernans 235 Mentis.’ Haec dicens christus, conscendit ad astra. Eustachius de monte redit, sua tecta requirit, Vxorique suae promens sibi credita dicta. Tunc dominum poscunt pariter cum poplite curuo Dicentes: ‘In nobis fit tua christe uoluntas.’</p> <p>240 Postea transactis paucis nam deinde diebus, Accidit illius ut tectum morbus uacuasset. Olli nec ullus famulus nec serua remansit. Eustachius temptamen tunc sibi sensit inesse Promissum, dignas domino gratesque rependit.</p> <p>245 Vxoremque suam quo firma mente maneret Admonuit, nec illo deficeret laboratu. Tuncque mori illius raptim coepere caballi, Illius omne pecus pestis consumpsit amara; Quicquid ei uiuens fuerat, mors omnia sumpsit.²³</p> <p>250 Eustachius patienter tunc haec cuncta ferebat. Vxoremque suam tollens binas sobolesque, Deque suo templo discessit nocte latenter. Hoc fures aliqui peruersi conspicientes, Inuadunt tectumque hinc omnia diripientes,</p> <p>255 Aurum, gemmas, uestes, argentiue metalla.</p>	<p>The Lord replied to him with a serene voice: ‘I remain with you always and am governing your minds.’ When Christ had said these things, he rose up to the stars. Eustace went away from the mountain and went to his home, and he told his wife about words that had been confided in him. Then they called on the Lord together on bended knee, saying: ‘May your will be upon us, Christ.’</p> <p>Afterwards, when a few days had passed, it happened that a sickness had emptied their home. No servant or handmaid of his remained. Then Eustace sensed that the promised trial was upon him, and he repaid glory and thanks to the Lord. He also reminded his wife that she should remain firm in mind, nor should she fail in the struggle.</p> <p>And then quickly his horses began to die, a bitter pestilence consumed all his livestock; death consumed whatever living thing had been his.</p> <p>Eustace patiently bore all these things. He took his wife and both his children and departed from his temple (i.e. home) secretly in the night.</p> <p>Some corrupt thieves saw this and rushed in and stripped the house of all gold, gems, clothes and silver metal there.</p>
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²³ fol. 7^r.

	Rebus eis mundi de cunctis nilque remansit, Vestibus exceptis uelati quis fuerant tunc.	Because of all these events no worldly goods remained for them except for the clothes they wore.
	Contigit ut gens romana istis forte diebus Cum simul augusto celebraret gaudia magna	It happened that in those days the Roman people celebrated a great festival, together with the Emperor, because of the great victory which had been won in Persia. Then the Emperor and his leaders wondered that Placidus was absent from such rejoicing, because he had been a master and leader of soldiers for a long time.
260	Illo proque tropheo in persis quod fuit actum. Rex tunc illius et proceres mirantur abesse Tantis laetitiis ²⁴ placidum, quia militis ille Princeps atque magister erat per tempora multa.	
	Tunc illum caute iusserunt quaerere ubique.	Then they ordered for him to be sought everywhere. But he was found nowhere, and greater fear gripped them, because his possessions had quickly been destroyed to such a degree, and he himself was nowhere to be seen.
265	Sed nusquam inuentus, magis illos terror habebat, Quod tam consumata fuit cito cuncta facultas Illius, et nusquam praesens ipse apparuisset.	
	Eustachio coniunx sua tunc dicit theophista: ²⁵ 'O quid domne locis nos expectamus in istis?	His wife Theophista then said to Eustace: 'O why, lord, do we wait in this place? Let us take our two sons now; nothing seems to be left to us except for them. It remains necessary for us to depart far away from here, so we are not derided by those persons who know us well.'
270	Nunc nostros natos binos nos accipiamus; His exceptis nil nobis superesse uidetur. Ecce necesse manet nos hinc abscedere longe, Derisum ne simus eis qui nos bene noscunt. ²⁶	
	Nocte superueniente, ad se pueros reuocarunt,	When night had fallen they called the boys to them, and they wanted to go into the kingdom of Egypt. But when the course of two days had passed they came to the sea and wanted to board a ship. They found a ship and boarded it immediately.
275	Necnon aegypti cupiunt inuadere regna. Ast binis transactis cursibus inde dierum, Ad mare deueniunt, puppimque intrare uolebant. Inueniunt navim, statimque hanc ingrediuntur.	

²⁴ MS *laeticiis*.

²⁵ MS *theophistim*.

²⁶ fol. 7^v.

	Contigit ut princeps nautarum barbarus esset.	It happened that the captain of the sailors was a heathen. They boarded his ship and passed through the depths of the sea.
280	Illius in nauim ascendunt, maris alta secabant. Vxorem eustachii cymbae dum conspicit herus, ²⁷ Illius in magno fuerat deceptus amore, Illa fuit uultu quoniam nimium speciosa.	When the captain of the sailors saw the wife of Eustace he was beguiled into great love of her, since she had a very beautiful face.
285	Omnes dum mare ueliuolum sani superassent, Tunc classis dominus naulum deponcit ab illis. Illi nil tenere ob naulum quod dare possent, Vxorem eustachii tenuit pro pignore nauli.	When they had all passed over the sail-flying sea safely, then the captain of the fleet demanded a fare from them. They had nothing which they could give as a fare; he took the wife of Eustace as a hostage as the fare.
290	Conspiciens hoc eustachius, tunc firmiter illam Cum manibus retinens et secum ducere anhelat. ²⁸ Nautarum princeps sociis tunc innuit ipse, De prora eustachium ut mersarent in maris alta.	Eustace saw this, then held her strongly with his hands and longed to take her with him. Then the captain of the sailors himself ordered his companions to plunge Eustace from the prow into the depths of the sea.
295	Ille uidens hoc, uxorem dimisit et ibat Tristis, et infantes secum tulit, inde recessit Valde gemens, pueros lacrimis affatur obortis: 'Heu datur externo mater nunc uestra marito.'	When he (Eustace) saw this, he gave away his wife and left sadly, and took his children with him; he went away groaning greatly. He addressed the boys with tears welling up: 'Alas, now your mother is given to a foreign man.'
	Pergens cum gemitu, quandam peruenit ad undam Horridi fluuii, quam inuadere non fuit ausus ²⁹ Cum natis ambobus, ob iram fluminis alti. Vnum humero tollens, aliumque in littore linquens, 300 Illum quem collo tenuit trans aequora ponit, Ac statim repedans, alium ut puerum reuocaret	As he went forth with tears he came to the waters of a certain terrifying river, which he did not dare to enter with both sons because of the fury of the deep river. Bearing one on his shoulder and leaving the other one on the shore, he carried the one who clung to his neck across the waters, and he went back at once to call the other boy to him.

²⁷ MS *heros*.

²⁸ MS *hanelat*.

²⁹ fol. 8^r.

<p>Cumque teneret iter medii fluctus, leo statim Adueniens, rapuit natum quem quaerere uenit, Necnon et rapido cursu siluas repetiuit.</p> <p>305 Ille reuertens et prolem lacrimis queritabat. De illo desperans, alium seruare cupibat. Illum sed lupo arripiens, per deuia cursat.</p> <p>Eustachiusque uidens hoc stans in fluminis unda, Et lacrimans crines capitis diuellere coepit;</p> <p>310 Plangens atque ululans uoluit se in gurgite mergi. Sed pietas domini illum constantem fore fecit, Illius et mentem fidei cum robore firmans.</p> <p>Illum quem raptat puerum leo, seruat amoene. Pastoresque leonem cum portare uiderent</p> <p>315 Infantem uiuum, illum cum canibus sequebantur. Ille dei nutu puerum dimisit ab ore Inlesum, et silvas vacuus sine pondere adibat. Ast aliam prolem ingens quem lupo arripiebat, Agricolae sanum rapuere ex fauce lupina.</p> <p>320 Pastores et aratores nam contigit esse Ex uno uico. Pueros qui suscipientes,³⁰ Cara nutribant illos cura genitorum.</p>	<p>And when he reached to the middle of the river, a lion immediately arrived and seized the son whom he came to seek and returned to the woods on a swift course. He went back with tears and sought his offspring. He despaired for that one and wanted to save the other. But a wolf seized the boy and rushed through the trackless ways.</p> <p>When Eustace saw this he was standing in the waves of the river weeping, and began to rend his hair from his head; lamenting and wailing, he wanted to drown himself in the flood. But the love of God made him be constant and was strengthening his mind with the vigour of faith.</p> <p>The lion which seized the boy treated him delightfully. Shepherds, when they had seen it carrying that infant alive, followed the lion with dogs. That (lion) let the unharmed boy down from its mouth according to the will of God, and went away to the uninhabited woods without its burden. And farmers seized the other child, whom the great wolf had carried off, safe from the jaws of the wolf. It happened that the shepherds and the farmers were from the same place. They raised those boys whom they had received with the dear care of parents (i.e. as if they were their own children).</p>
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³⁰ fol. 8^v.

<p>Haec uero eustachius nescit, sed pergit et inquit:</p> <p>‘Hei mihi, qui quondam florebam ut fertilis arbos!</p> <p>325 Viuo modo orbatus natis, uxore perempta.</p> <p>Hei mihi, quam magnis opibus quondam fruitabar!</p> <p>More hominis peregrini impellor ducere uitam.</p> <p>Hei mihi, qualis eram, quantum mutatus ab illo</p> <p>Milite, qui quondam fueram dux agminis almi,</p> <p>330 Et qui septus eram magnis turbis populorum!</p> <p>Amissis natis nunc, et sine coniuge solus,</p> <p>Cogor in ignotis terris heu quaerere uictum.</p> <p>Sed tu christe meos gressus comitare benigne,</p> <p>Atque meas lacrimas clemens dignare uidere.</p> <p>335 Nam bene te memini quondam mihi christe loquentem, Quod ueris deberem exemplis iob imitari.</p> <p>Sed mihi maiora incumbunt certamina mentis.</p> <p>Omnis ei quamuis fuerit distracta facultas, At tamen illi concessum fit stercoris aula.³¹</p> <p>340 Ast ego de nota patria procul exul abibo.</p> <p>Ille tenebat amicos etsi ficta loquentes, Sed tamen illi solamen uerbi referebant.</p> <p>Heu mala quam solamina donabant mihi beluae Inmites, mihi quae natos caros rapuere!</p>	<p>Eustace did not know these things, but he went forth and began to speak: ‘Woe to me, who once flourished as a fertile tree! Now I live deprived of children, with my wife abducted. Woe to me, what great wealth I once enjoyed! I am driven by custom to lead the life of an exiled man. Woe to me, how great I was, how much I am changed from that soldier, who was once a leader of a propitious army, and who was surrounded by a great crowd of people!</p> <p>Now I have lost my sons and am alone without a wife. I am forced to seek nourishment, alas, in an unknown land. But you, Christ, attend my steps kindly, and deign to see my tears mercifully.</p> <p>For I remember well those things which you once said to me, Christ: that I ought to imitate Job as a true example. But greater struggles of the mind press down on me.</p> <p>Although all his possessions were taken from him, nevertheless he was granted a palace of dung. But I, an exile, will depart far away from a known land.</p> <p>Although that man had friends speaking false things, nevertheless their words brought consolation to him. Alas, what cruel consolations savage wild beasts, which took away my dear sons, have given to me!</p>
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³¹ Varnhagen read this as *stercus in aula* (‘dung as a palace’).

345 Ille etenim si ramos non in prole tenebat,³²
At tamen illum firma manens in coniuge radix;
His ego dimissis solus superesse uidebor.’

Haec dicens dominum sincera mente precatur:
‘Christe tuum famulum ne despice multa
querentem
350 Infande, sed pone meo ori claustra loquelae,
Ne uerbis ullis ualeam te offendere fictis,
Ex oculisque tuis non me facias procul ire,
Iamque meis dignare malis imponere finem.’

Haec dixit lacrimans. Quendam vicum repetivit,
355 Omnis cui populus nomen dedit esse dadyscus.

Ille suis manibus ibi uictum quaerere coepit.
Post aliquod tempus cumque ille maneret
ibidem,
Huius enim uici proceres illum posuere
Custodem illorum frugum, segetumque
magistrum.
360 Ille hinc accipiens mercedem, uixit ibidem
Ter quinos annos. Alio oppiduloque fuere
Illius enutriti infantes ualde decori.
Quod fratres fuerint nescibat neuter eorum.

For, if that man did not have
boughs of offspring, yet still a firm
root still remained for him in a
wife; with these lost, I will be seen
to be the only survivor.’

He said these things and prayed to
the Lord with a pure mind:
‘Christ, do not despise your
servant complaining of many
things unspeakably, but place a
lock on my mouth of speech. Nor
may I offend you with any false
words, and do not make me go far
from your eyes, and deign now to
place an end to the evils upon me.’

He wept as he said these things.
He came to a certain place, to
which all the people gave the
name Dadyscus. There he began
to seek sustenance by his own
hands.

When he had stayed there for
some time, the leaders of that
place set him up as the guardian of
their produce and master of their
crops. From then he lived there
and received wages for fifteen
years. And his children were
raised very fittingly in another
village. Neither of them knew that
they were brothers.

³² fol. 9r.

Nautis enim dominus secum tulit ad sua tecta
 365 Vxorem eustachii. Sed christus eam tuebatur,
 Ille quod illam non potuisset tangere amore
 Inlicito, sed casta manebat tempore in omni,
 Illo quo disiuncta suo fuit exque marito.
 Contigit ille ut nauta fuisset morte peremptus,³³
 370 Tunc theophista beata sui compos remanebat.
 Accidit his quoque temporibus quod gens
 inimica
 Imperium romanum inuaderet hoste superbo.
 Tunc regem retinens angustia magna timoris
 Ex tam terrifico concursu gentis amarae;
 375 Nescius ipse manens animo, qua ui potuisset
 Pellere barbaricam gentem de finibus illis;
 Tunc illi in mentem venit placidi bona uirtus,
 Praefatos hostes qua sternit sepius ipse.
 Tuncque sui regni rex omni gente uocata,
 380 Omnes explorat placidus si uescitur aura.
 Hoc omnes illi sese nescire fatentur.
 Nam rex militibus cunctis ad se reuocatis,
 Omnia terrarum regna explorare iubebat,
 Omnibus illis promittens dare munera larga,
 385 Si quis eum prius inuentum et sanum sibi ferret.

The captain of the ship took the wife of Eustace with him to his home. But Christ preserved her, that he was unable to touch her with forbidden love, but she remained chaste for all the time that she was disjoined from her husband.

It happened that the sailor was destroyed by death; then Blessed Theophista remained by herself and had control over his goods. It also came about that in these times an enemy race invaded the Roman Empire with a proud army. Then great anguish of fear at such a terrifying incursion by a harsh race gripped the Emperor; he did not know with what strength he would be able to drive the barbarian race from his lands while his spirit remained.

Then the good strength of Placidus, by which that man very often stilled the aforementioned enemies, came to his mind. And then the Emperor, when he had called together all the people of his kingdom, asked them all if Placidus breathed the air. They all confessed to him that they did not know. When the Emperor had called all his soldiers before him, he ordered them to search all the land of his empire, promising to all of them that he would give them bountiful gifts if he (Placidus) might be found by them first and brought to him safe.

³³ fol. 9^v.

Tunc regis raptim famuli de rege regressi,
 Per terras placidum quaerebant et maris arua.
 Tunc etenim regis serui duo ualde capaces,
 Antiochus quorum unus nomine fit uocitatus,
 390 Acatius miles nomen sed et alter habebat,
 Qui placido fidum famulatum sepe ferebant,
 Hi studiose illum quaerentes, forte uenere
 Ad uicum, segetum quo custos ipse manebat.³⁴
 Illos eustachiusque uidens pariter comitantes,
 395 Illorum ex incessu nam bene nouit eosdem,
 Tunc prior illi in mentem conuersatio uenit;
 Inde gemens dominum poscebat sic quoque
 dicens:
 ‘O caeli rex qui dignatus es omnibus illis
 Qui fuerint in te credentes ferre salutem,
 400 Spero equidem quod me uelut hos agnoscere
 dabas,³⁵
 Uxoremque meam facias ita christe uidere.
 Namque meos natos sumpsisse feras ego noui,
 Sed me fac illos caeli rex posse uidere
 Inque die illo, cum mundus de morte resurget.’

Then the servants of the Emperor
 went away from the Emperor
 hastily and sought Placidus
 through the lands and the fields of
 the sea. Then two very capable
 servants of the Emperor – one of
 whom was called Antiochus by
 name; the other soldier had the
 name Acatius – who often served
 as faithful servants to Placidus,
 carefully sought him and came by
 chance to the place where he
 himself lived as a guardian of the
 crops.

And Eustace saw those men
 accompanying one another and
 knew them well from their
 bearing. Then his former way of
 life came to his mind. Then,
 weeping, he prayed to the Lord
 thus, also saying:

‘O King of Heaven, you who are
 merciful to all who have been
 believing in you, bring salvation;
 indeed, I hope, Christ, that you
 should make it that, just as you
 grant it for me to recognise those
 men, I may thus see my wife. For
 I know that beasts have seized my
 sons, but, King of Heaven, make it
 possible for me to see them on that
 day when the world will rise again
 from the dead.’

³⁴ fol. 10^r.

³⁵ MS *habebas*. Although the word in the manuscript is written with apparent confidence, in terms of both sense and scansion the emendation *dabas* postulated by Varnhagen is adopted here as a more plausible original reading.

<p>405 Tunc ex arce poli uox illi missa locuta est: ‘O tantum eustachi confidens mente maneto; Cum natis sanis citius tibi redditur uxor, Inuenies statumque priorem tempore in isto. Horum iudicii die maiora uidebis,</p> <p>410 Ac ibi repperies caelestis gaudia regni, Per gentesque tuum nomen uulgabitur omnes.’ Auscultans hoc eustachius terrore repletus, Atque uidens illos homines ad se uenientes, Tunc demum coepit dinoscere clarius illos.</p> <p>415 Illi illum clare sed non agnoscere quibant, Illum adeuntes, et uerbis affantur amicis: ‘O frater uale!’ Et econtra responderat ille:³⁶ ‘Pax sit uobiscum cari fratres et amici!’ Idem rursus eum coepere uiri rogitare,</p> <p>420 Aduena si uicis aliquis mansisset in illis, Cum natis binis, comitante et coniuge cara, Qui placidus fuerit proprio de nomine dictus. ‘Si nobis illum ostendas, te dona manebunt.’ Eustachius rogat illos quid de illo uoluissent.</p> <p>425 Illorum dicunt quod et esset fidus amicus, Atque illum quaesissent non per tempora pauca.</p>	<p>Then a voice was sent from the height of Heaven, speaking to him: ‘O how much you endure in mind, Eustace, keeping faith. Your wife will be returned to you very quickly, together with your unharmed sons, and in this time you will attain your previous status. You will see greater things than these on the Day of Judgement, but there you will discover the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and your name will be known among all the nations.’ When he heard this, Eustace was filled with terror, and when he saw those men who were coming to him he began to discern them more clearly at last. But those men could not recognise him clearly, and when they arrived they spoke to him with friendly words: ‘Good health, o brother!’</p> <p>And in turn he replied: ‘Peace be with you, dear brothers and friends!’</p> <p>The men began to ask him again if any outsider had stayed in that place with two sons and a dear wife accompanying him, who might go by the name of Placidus: ‘If you show him to us, there will be gifts for you.’</p> <p>Eustace asked them what they wanted with that man. They said that he was a loyal friend of theirs, and they had sought him for no small amount of time.</p>
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³⁶ fol. 10^v.

<p>Eustachius rursus respondit eis quoque dicens: ‘Namque uirum talem non noui in finibus istis; Temporibus multis moror hoc uico peregrinus.’</p> <p>430 Inque suum hospicium gaudens induxerat illos. Et pergens illis conquirere munera bachi Vt potaret eos, quoniam grandis fuit aestus, Atque domus domino dixit, cum quo ipse manebat: ‘Hos homines notos mihi noueris esse et amicos;</p> <p>435 Idcirco mihi praesta escas³⁷ et dona lyaei.³⁸ Atque scies haec de mercede mea tibi reddi.’</p> <p>Is gaudens, illi dat quicquid poscit ab illo. Tunc illis uescentibus, eustachius lacrimare Coepit. Et egrediens tectum facieque lauata,</p> <p>440 Hospicium rursus rediens, illisque ministrat. Inter seque uiri praedicti uerba ferebant:³⁹ ‘Iste vir, illi quam par est quem quaerimus ipsi. Militis ille fuit forsitan dux atque magister.’</p> <p>Vnus enim aspiciens alium, sic dicit ad illum:</p> <p>445 ‘Illius in collo fuerit si forte cicatrix, Illi in bello quae quondam fuit ense peracta, Tunc illum placidum cum uera mente teneto.’</p>	<p>Eustace again replied to them, also saying: ‘I do not know of such a man in these parts; I have been dwelling here in this place for a long time as an exile.’</p> <p>And, rejoicing, he led them into his lodgings, and went to seek the gifts of Bacchus for them, that he might give them a drink because the heat was great. And he said to the master of the house with whom he was staying: ‘These men are known to me and are friends. Because of this, provide me with food and the gifts of Lyaeus – and know that these things will be paid back to you from my wages.’</p> <p>He (the landlord) rejoiced and gave him whatever he asked of him. Then when they were eating, Eustace began to weep. When he had gone out of the house and washed his face before returning to the lodgings, he served them.</p> <p>The aforementioned men spoke between themselves: ‘This man is like the very man whom we seek. Perhaps he was once a leader and a master of soldiers.’</p> <p>One of them looked at the other and said to him: ‘If it happens that there may be a scar on his neck, which was inflicted on him by a sword in war, then take that man to be Placidus without a doubt.’</p>
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³⁷ MS *aescas*.

³⁸ MS *ligei*. Here I follow Varnhagen’s emendation.

³⁹ fol. 11^r.

<p>Illius inspiciunt collum, uerum hoc fore discut. Tum flentes illum amplexantur, eique locuntur: 450 ‘Militis esne magister tu, placidusue uocaris?’ Econtra lacrimis respondens ille profusis: ‘Ille ego non sum, nec tali me dignor honore.’ Tunc illi in ceruice ostendunt uulnera ferri, Agminis atque ducem affirmant illum fore quondam, 455 Deque suis natis et coniuge multa rogabant. Cum magna tandem pulsus ui, uera fatetur. Vxorem dicit cum natis esse peremptam. Inter se flentes haec illi dum fabulantur, Huius enim uici ciues ueniunt simul illo, 460 Et uulgus uelut ad spectamen uenit ibidem. Ciuibus illis promere tunc coepere uiri illi Virtutem placidi, quam fortis et esset in armis, Diuitiis cunctis quam clarus ante fuisset, Extremoque ducem dicunt illum fore plebis. 465 Tunc illi mirari se coepere coloni,⁴⁰ Quod tam magnus eis uir sub mercede ministret. Hique uiri eustachio regis decreta ferebant. Olli inponentes uestes multum preciosas, Atque uiam pariter terni coeptam⁴¹ rapuere.</p>	<p>They inspected his neck and learned that this was the truth. Then they wept and embraced him and said to him: ‘Are you the master of soldiers called Placidus?’ He replied with profuse tears: ‘I am not that man, nor am I worthy of such an honour.’ Then they showed him the wound of the sword on his neck, affirmed that he was once the leader of an army, and asked him many things about his wife and sons. At last, driven by such great compulsion, he confessed the true facts. He said that his wife had been destroyed with his sons. These things were related as they wept together. Now the citizens of that town came together before him, and the common people came there just as to a spectacle. Then those men began to bring the virtue of Placidus to light to the citizens – how strong he was in arms, how distinguished he had once been in all wealth – and they said that in the past he was a leader of the people. Then those inhabitants began to wonder to themselves that so great a man had served them for wages. And those men told Eustace about the decree of the Emperor. They dressed him in very valuable clothes and the three took to (lit. seized) the road together.</p>
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⁴⁰ fol. 11^v.

⁴¹ MS *ceptam*.

470 Tunc illi ciues illum simul assequebantur.
 Ille illos omittens, omnibus oscula libat.

Dumque iter arriperent, illis edissere coepit,
 In quali forma christum conspexit iesum,
 Quoque modo baptizatus sit nomine trino,

475 Ille modo eustachius quali et fuerit uocitatus,
 Atque suos casus ex ordine cuncta ferebat.

Ter quinis etenim transactis deinde diebus,
 Perueniunt pariter gaudentes regis ad aulam.
 Praefati regis famuli ingrediuntur ad illum;

480 Inuentum placidum dicebant adfore ibidem.
 Tunc nimium gaudens graditur rex obuius illi,
 Et ruit illius in collum dans oscula et illi.
 Omnis eum cum uoce salutatur deinde senatus.

Tunc regi et cuncto populo depromere coepit

485 Ipsius ex discessu, casibus atque misellis,
 Ad mare quoque modo uxorem sibi nauta
 tulisset,
 Qualiter a beluis pueri et capti periere.

Atque suos casus rege auscultante canebat
 Omnes, et cunctis illos populis patefecit.⁴²

490 Tunc rex atque sui proceres, omnis quoque
 uulgus,
 Illius aduentum gratanter suscipiebant.

Then the citizens followed him together. He poured kisses on them all as he left them behind.

And while they were undertaking the journey he began to tell them in what form he saw Jesus Christ, and how he was baptized in the name of the Trinity, and how he was called Eustace, and he told them his disasters, all in order.

When fifteen days had passed they arrived, rejoicing together, at the palace of the Emperor. The aforementioned servants of the Emperor went in to him. They said that Placidus had been found and would be present at that very moment. Then, greatly rejoicing, the Emperor walked to meet him, and rushed to him and gave him kisses on his neck. Then all the senate greeted him with a shout.

Then he began to unfold to the Emperor and all the people wretched things that had befallen him since his departure – how a sailor had taken his wife at sea, and in what way his boys had perished, being captured by wild beasts. He also recounted his own fall to the listening Emperor, and he disclosed that to all the people.

Then the Emperor and his leaders, as well as all the common people, received his arrival with rejoicing.

⁴² fol. 12^r.

A cunctis rogitatus, priscum accepit honorem,
 Militis atque fuit factus princeps uelut ante.
 Rex illi narrat hostem sua regna tenere,
 495 Econtra et raptim bellum debere parare.⁴³
 Ille etenim totum regis superaspicit agmen;
 Ad bellum hoc sibi sufficiens non esse uidebat.
 Omnes per regni uicos misitque per urbes,
 Omnibus ex illis tyrones iussit adesse.
 500 Accidit ad uicum regis uenisse legatos,
 Eustachii quo nutriti fuerant duo nati,
 Ciuibus ex illis iuuenes binos repetentes.
 Tunc ciues illi donant illos peregrinos
 Infantes, rapuerunt quos de fauce ferarum,
 505 Regis ad obsequium fuerant quia ualde decori.
 Tyrones cuncti ante ducem pariter ueniebant,
 In numerum caute quos omnes sistere iussit.
 Aspiciens omnes uidit iuuenes ibi stantes
 Illos quos cuncti reputant fieri peregrinos.
 510 Illorum ut speciem⁴⁴ conspexit, eos sibi fecit
 Esse ministros, quo manibus sibi pocula ferrent.
 Deinde dies post paucos, militiam reuocauit,
 Agmen disposuit, bellum committere coepit.⁴⁵
 Hostes exuperans de finibus expulit illis.

Since he was asked by everyone, he received his former honour and was made a master of soldiers, just as before. Then the Emperor told him about the enemy holding his empire, and that in reply he ought to prepare for war quickly. In fact, he looked over the whole army of the empire; it did not seem to him to be sufficient for waging a war. He sent word through all the cities and towns of the empire and ordered there to be recruits from all of them.

It happened that the envoys came to the town of the empire in which the two sons of Eustace were raised, seeking two youths from these citizens. Then, in obedience to the Emperor, the citizens gave them those foreign infants, whom they had seized from the jaws of beasts because they were very handsome.

All the recruits came together before the leader. He carefully ordered them all to place themselves in ranks. He inspected them all and saw those youths who all reputed to be foreigners standing there. As he examined their appearances, he took them to himself as servants, that they might bear cups to him in their hands.

After a few days he recalled the army, arranged the troops, and began to commence war. He overcame the enemy and expelled them from those lands.

⁴³ Varnhagen read this as *parari* ('to be prepared').

⁴⁴ MS *specimen*.

⁴⁵ fol. 12^v.

515 Illos trans fluuium sequitur qui dictus idaspis.
 Necnon ulterius gradiens cum milite multo,
 Hostes occidit, terram est populatus eorum.
 Vltterius cupiens illorum inuadere regna,
 Ex nutu domini uicum peruenit ad ipsum,
 520 Quo pietate dei coniux sua casta manebat,
 In cuiusdam sola uiri quae mansitat horto.
 Eustachius peruenit ibi cum milite magno,
 Agmine cum toto pausans ibi tres quoque soles,
 Ille locus quoniam speciosus ualde uidetur.
 525 Iuxta hortum eustachii fuerant tentoria fixa
 Quo theophista beata suam casulam retinebat.
 Praedicti iuuenes matris tecto morabantur,
 Ignari quod et ipsa fuisset mater eorum.
 Dum mediante die hospitio pariter recubarent,
 530 Inter se coepere suos disponere casus,
 Quoque modo illis accidit in iuuenilibus annis.
 Auribus intentis genitrix haec uerba recepit.
 Tunc senior frater fratri dixit iuniori:
 ‘Nam memini mihi quid puerilibus accidit annis.
 535 Nempe meus princeps fuerat pater agminis ante,
 Mater enim mea ualde fuit facie speciosa;
 Pulcher erat iunior uultu nimium mihi frater.⁴⁶

He followed them across the river which is called Idaspis. And also, when he had advanced further beyond with a great army, he killed the enemy; he ravaged their land. He desired to invade deeper into their kingdom, and by the will of the Lord he came to that town in which his wife remained chaste, by the mercy of God. She lived alone in a certain garden of that man.

Eustace came there with a great army and he also stayed there with the whole force for three days, since that place seemed very beautiful. The tents of Eustace were fixed in the garden next to the one where Blessed Theophista had her cottage.

The aforementioned youths stayed in the home of their mother, unaware that she was their mother. When they were reclining together in the lodgings during the middle of the day, they began to discuss their fortune between themselves, and what had happened to them in their youthful years. The mother received those words with intent ears.

Then the elder brother said to the younger: ‘Now I remember what happened to me in my boyhood years. Indeed, my father was once the leader of an army, and my mother was very beautiful. I had a younger brother, who was very handsome in appearance.

⁴⁶ fol. 13^r.

<p>Nocte domo⁴⁷ digressi nos secum rapientes, Ad mare perueniunt, unam nauim ingrediuntur, 540 Ignarus cursum quo uellent tendere coeptum. Cumque maris cuncti inlesi superauimus alta, Mater non fuerat mea nobiscum comitata; Nescio, quae malefida illam fortuna tulisset. Nos noster pater arripiens, flens coepit abire. 545 Ad quendam fluuium nobiscum cumque ueniret, Ille meum fratrem collo imposuit iuniorem, Illum trans undas portat me in litore linquens. Cumque iterum flumen repedaret me reuocare, Ecce meum fratrem lupus arripit, inde recessit. 550 Ante meus pater ad me quamque uenire ualeret, De silua ueniens leo, me subito rapiebat. Pastores me diripere ex fauce ferina. Deinde fui hoc uico nutritus scis sicut ipse. Nescio quid de patre meo uel fratre sit actum.’ 555 Audiit haec frater iunior fratrem seniore Narrantem, coepit lacrimas effundere dicens: ‘Nosco tuis de uerbis me esse tuum quoque fratrem, Namque uiri qui me nutribant, hi mihi dicunt, Me quondam fore direptum de dente lupino.’</p>	<p>They left home one night, seized us with them, and went to the sea, and went aboard a ship. I don’t know where they wanted to go when they had started a journey. And when we passed over the depths of the sea, all unharmed, my mother was not accompanying us. I don’t know what faithless fortune had held her.</p> <p>Our father seized us and began to go forth, weeping. And when he came to a certain river with us, he placed my younger brother on his neck and he carried him across the waves, leaving me on the bank. And when he turned back again across the river to collect me, lo, a wolf seized my brother then went away.</p> <p>And before my father was able to come to me, a lion came from the woods and suddenly stole me. Shepherds rescued me from the jaws of the beast. Then I was raised in this town, as you know yourself. I don’t know what happened to my father or my brother.’</p> <p>The younger brother heard these things the older brother related. He began to shed tears, saying: ‘I know from your words to me that you are also my brother, for the men who raised me told me that I was once seized from the teeth of a wolf.’</p>
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⁴⁷ MS *domum*. I follow Varnhagen’s emendation to *domo* to allow for the ablative absolute.

560 Se tunc amplexantes inque uicem oscula donant.
 Illorum dum uerba audiret mater eorum,⁴⁸
 Atque uideret eos inter se fundere fletus,
 Illius intellexit eos ambos fore natos.
 Militis illa die ueniens alio ante magistrum,
 565 Illius implorans pietatem sic quoque dicens:
 ‘Romanae mulieris⁴⁹ tu miserescito domne,
 Vt me digneris patriae deponere priscae,
 Quae captiua fui uicis his tempore multo.’
 Haec inter uerba, aspiciebat cautius illum,
 570 Illius in collo uidit fore uulnera ferri.
 Inde suum uere cognoscens esse maritum,
 Illius ante pedes ruit, et flens dicit ad illum:
 ‘O bone domne tuam miseram ne spernito
 servam,
 Atque tuam clemens uitam mihi pande priorem.
 575 Credo equidem placidum te militis esse
 magistrum,
 Quem dominus christus per ceruum ad se
 reuocauit.
 Te praesul lotum christi baptisate summus
 Eustachium uocitans consignans crismate sacro;

Then they embraced each other
 and kissed one another in turn.
 When their mother heard their
 words and saw them weeping
 tears between themselves, she
 understood that they were both
 her sons.

She came before the master of
 soldiers on the next day and
 appealed to his *pietas* – she also
 thus spoke: ‘Lord, know pity for
 a Roman woman, that you might
 deign to return me to my former
 homeland, for I was a captive in
 this village for a long time.’

Between these words, she
 carefully examined him, and she
 saw that there was a wound of a
 sword on his neck. Then, truly
 recognising that he was her
 husband, she rushed before his
 feet and said to him, weeping:

‘O good lord, do not scorn your
 humble servant; be merciful and
 show me your former support. I
 truly believe that you are
 Placidus, the master of soldiers,
 whom the Lord Christ called to
 himself through a stag.

The bishop of Christ washed you
 with baptism, calling you
 Eustace and signing you with
 sacred chrism.

⁴⁸ fol. 13^v.

⁴⁹ MS *mulieri*.

<p>A domino accepisti qui temptamina multa, 580 Omnibus atque tuis amissis rebus opimis, Vxoremque tuam accepisti⁵⁰ ego quae fueram ipsa, Ad mare cum natis ueniebas denique binis;</p> <p>Nauim ingressus in aegyptum descendere mallens; Nauta ibi me retinebat eo, quod barbarus esset, 585 Et me captiuam secum duxit loca ad ista.⁵¹ Testor enim christum qui cuncta abscondita nouit, Quod non ille umquam nec uir me polluit alter, Sed pietas domini castam seruauit adhuc me. Signa tibi praedicta habeo. Sed dic mihi ueram 590 Rem, per uirtutem christi quem credimus ipsi.’ Audiit eustachius haec, necnon cautius illam Perspiciens, didicit quod et ipsa foret sua coniux. Letitiam ob nimiam lacrimas effundere coepit, Illam amplexans osculatur eam quoque dicens: 595 ‘Gloria laus et honor tibi sit bone christe redemptor, Omnes qui temet semper solaris amantes.’ Tunc dominoque suo dixit theophista beata: ‘Domne ubi sunt nostri nati?’ Cui dixerat ille: ‘Sunt etenim consumpti ex beluis morte cruenta.’ 600 Illorum interitum narrabat ei manifeste.</p>	<p>You are he who accepted many trials from the Lord, and when you had lost all your prosperity, you took your wife – I was her herself – and you came to the sea with two sons.</p> <p>Having boarded the ship, you chose to go down into Egypt. There a sailor kept me back for himself, because he was a heathen, and he led me with him to this place as a captive. I swear to Christ, who knows all concealed things, that he never polluted me, nor did any other man, but the love of the Lord kept me chaste until now. I have aforementioned signs for you. But tell me that this is a true thing, through the virtue of Christ, whom we ourselves believe in.’ Eustace heard these things, and when he had also carefully examined her, he also learned that she was his wife. He began to shed tears because of his very great joy; embracing her, he also kissed her, saying: ‘Glory, praise and honour be yours, Good Christ, Redeemer, who always consoles those who love you.’ Then Blessed Theophista said to her lord: ‘Lord, where are our sons?’ To which he said to her: ‘They were consumed by beasts in a bloody death.’ He plainly told the story of their death to her.</p>
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50 581 accepisti *hs*.
⁵¹ fol. 14^r.

Tunc iterum eustachio dixit theophista sacrata:
 'Laudemus christum qui nos conferre uolebat.
 Spero quod ipse facit nostros nos noscere natos.'

Tunc rursus eustachius respondit ei quoque
 dicens:
 605 'De beluis illos sumptos fieri tibi dixi.
 Tu ad praesens illos te posse uidere fateris?'

Illa iterum uerbis respondit ualde modestis:
 'Nempe die hesterna casula dum forte manerem,
 Audiui narrare duos quid contigit illis⁵²
 610 Inter se quosdam iuuenes iuuenilibus annis;
 Inde scio quoniam nostri sunt hi quoque nati.
 Illi ignorantes sed adhuc fratres fore sese,
 Ni deprompsisset sermo fratris senioris.
 Tu cognosce dei pietas, fit qualis in illis
 615 Ex propriis uerbis, se agnoscere qui dedit illos.
 Posce illos; illi tibi quae sunt uera fatentur.'
 Eustachius iussit pueros ad se reuocare,
 Atque rogans illos qui, uel nati unde fuissent,
 Illi et ei causam promunt ex ordine cunctam
 620 Erga illos quae facta fuit puerilibus annis.
 Inde suos cognouit eos fieri bene natos.
 Ambos amplexans illis dat basia cara.
 Atque modo simili illis mater et oscula libat.

Then again Holy Theophista said to Eustace: 'Let us praise Christ, who wanted to bring us together. I hope that he will make it possible for us to see our sons.'

Then Eustace replied to her again and said: 'I told you they were carried off by beasts. Tell me, how is it possible for you to see them?'

Again she replied with very modest words: 'Indeed, yesterday, when I happened to be sitting in my cottage, I heard two youths talk between themselves about what had happened to them in the years of their youth. Indeed, I know that they are our sons.

But until now they did not know that they are brothers, except that the speech of the elder brother showed it. Know you that the love of God, who granted them to know each other from special words, was such for these. Send for them; they will truly confess to you who they are.'

Eustace ordered the boys to come to him and asked them where they had been born. And they brought the entire situation to light to him regarding the events in their boyhood years.

From this he truly knew that they were his sons. He embraced them both and gave them dear kisses, and their mother also sprinkled kisses on them in a similar fashion.

⁵² fol. 14^v.

- Illorumque humeros retinentes fletibus almis,
625 Magnificas christo domino grates referebant
Pro magna pietate sua quam contulit illis.
Laudibus altisonis simul hora deque secunda
Vsque poli medium phoebus dum currit in axem.
Dum festina haec fama per agmen conuolat omne,
630 Illorum inuentu gaudebat militis omnis
Turba, magis quam barbaricae ex gentis superatu.
Atque sequente die, sollempnia magna celebrat
Pro ducis inuentu, uxoris, necnon puerorum,⁵³
Et christo laudes canit illius ob pietatem.
- 635 Barbaricam eustachius postquam gentem
superauit,
Ac multam uictor praedam subduxit ab illa,
Laetitia laetus nimia, ad romana reuertit
Imperia, et secum ducens sibi munera cara,
Captiuos multos retinens alia atque trophea.
- 640 Contigit eustachius romam prius inde ueniret,
Ad mortis portas caesar traianus ut isset,
Atque alius romana rex surrexit in arce,
Barbarus atque ferox, adrianus qui uocitatur.
- And they held each other's
shoulders and together they gave
magnificent thanks to Christ the
Lord with nourishing tears and
high-sounding praises from the
second hour until Phoebus
rushed towards the mid-point of
the heavens, for his great love
which he had bestowed on them.
- When this swift story flew
through all the army, a crowd of
all the soldiers rejoiced in their
discovery, all the more because
the barbarian race had been
overcome. And on the next day
the army celebrated great festive
rites for the discovery of the
leader, his wife and likewise of
his sons, and it sang praises to
Christ for his love.
- After Eustace had overcome the
barbarian race, and, triumphant,
he brought much plunder with
him, he returned to the Roman
Empire, rejoicing greatly, taking
many dear gifts for it with him
and bringing many captives and
other trophies.
- It happened that before Eustace
came to Rome Emperor Trajan
went to the gates of death, and
another emperor arose in the
Roman citadel, a heathen and
fierce, who was called Hadrian.

⁵³ fol. 15^r.

Ille uenire ducem eustachium dum sensit ab hoste,
 645 Illius et socios portantes magna trophea,
 Illorum surrexit in occursum, comitante
 Multimoda turba, ut romanis mos fuit ante
 Sollempnes celebrasse dies ob tale tropheum.
 Multa rogat rex eustachium, super actibus illis
 650 Qui bello fuerant ex illo fortiter acti;
 Multa rogans ex coniugis ac prolium agnitione.
 Tunc epulas alacres extendit laetus abunde.
 Inque sequente die pergens ad templa deorum,
 Munera pro tantis sollempnia ferre triumphis.
 655 Dona daturus rex intravit apollinis aedem.
 Substitit eustachius, spernens oracula phoebi.
 Ad se tunc reuocans illum rex, dicit ad illum:⁵⁴
 ‘Cur non sacra feres dis immortalibus alma
 Barbaricae pro magnifico gentis superatu,
 660 Coniugis ob carae inuentum necnon⁵⁵ puerorum?’
 Caesaris econtra uerbis respondit at ille:
 ‘Oro meum dominum christum, qui regnat
 olympis,
 Omnipotens cum patre deus spiritu simul almo,
 Illum ex ore meo semper manet hostia laudis,
 665 Ad patriam qui me dignatus erat reuocare,
 Vxoremque meam ac proprios reddit mihi natos.

When that man knew that Eustace the commander came from the enemy, and his companions were carrying great trophies, he rose to meet them with a manifold crowd accompanying him to celebrate a festive day because of such a victory, as was formerly the custom of Rome. The Emperor asked Eustace many things about his acts, what deeds were bravely performed in that war; and he asked many things about the discovery of his wife and children. Then, joyful, he enlarged the happy feasts.

And on the following day he was going into the temples of the gods to perform solemn ceremonies for such triumphs.

When he was about to give gifts, the Emperor entered the temple of Apollo. Eustace stopped, rejecting the oracles of Phoebus. Then the Emperor called to him and said to him: ‘Why don’t you bring sacred alms to the immortal gods for the great overcoming of the barbarian race, and likewise for the discovery of your dear wife and sons?’

He replied to the words of Caesar: ‘I pray to my Lord, Christ, who rules Olympus, together with the omnipotent God the Father and the Holy Spirit. An offering of praise always endures from my mouth for him who had deigned to recall me to my homeland and returned my wife and my own sons to me.

⁵⁴ fol. 15^v.

⁵⁵ MS *netnon*.

Non alium dominum colo necue deum scio
 quoquam,
 Ni qui factor erat⁵⁶ caeli, quique arua peregit.’
 Commotus nimiam tunc rex adrianus in iram,
 670 Iussit ei statim de lumbis soluere zonam,
 Ac illum ueluti dampnatum adstare iubebat.
 Illius uxorem et natos ibi fecit adesse,
 Et uerbis illos blandis terroribus atque
 De cultu uero uoluit subducere christi.
 675 Sed nec terror eos nec blandimenta ualebant
 Vlla, fide ex uera summi diuellere christi.
 Cognoscens mentes firmas fore caesar eorum,
 Tunc omnes illos inducere iussit arenam,
 Atque leoni illos immitti dat lacerandos.
 680 Ille sed accurrens, mitis peruenit ad illos,
 Summitens caput, orare illos ceu uoluisset,⁵⁷
 Ac statim citus ex illa discessit harena.
 Nam rex aspiciens illis quod belua fuisset
 Innocua, incendique bouem tunc iussit aenum.
 685 Machina forte bouis stetit illic aerea magna,
 Et sanctos illos huc introducere iussit.

I do not worship any other god,
 except he who was the Creator of
 Heaven, and who completed the
 dry lands.’

Then Emperor Hadrian was
 moved to excessive anger and
 ordered him to loose his belt
 from his loins at once, and
 commanded him to stand by as if
 damned. He made his wife and
 his sons be there, and he wanted
 to lead them away from the true
 faith of Christ with fawning
 words and blandishments. But
 neither terror nor flattery could
 estrange any of them from the
 true faith of Christ the Most
 High.

When Caesar knew that their
 minds were firm he ordered them
 all to be led to the arena and gave
 them to a savage lion to be
 lacerated.

But that lion that ran to them
 came to them mild, submitting
 its head as if it had wanted to
 pray to them, and at once, swift,
 it went away quickly from that
 arena. When the Emperor saw
 that the beast had been harmless
 to them, he then also ordered a
 bronze bull to be heated. It
 happened that a great bronze
 machine in the shape of a bull
 stood there, and he ordered them
 to lead the saints there.

⁵⁶ MS *erit*.

⁵⁷ fol. 16^r.

Vndique conueniunt populi spectacula ad ista
 – Christicolae, necnon incredula gens fuit illic –
 Sanctorum ut possint mortem et tormenta uidere.
 690 Horrendam inducti pecudis formam, rogitabant
 Sancti carnifices spacium dominum rogitandi.
 Aereus ille fuit bos magno accensus ab igne.
 Tuncque suas tendunt palmas, ac talibus orant
 Vocibus altithronum caeli qui conditor extat:
 695 ‘O bone christe poli qui orbem dicione gubernas,
 Qui nobis dignatus eras ostendere temet,
 Ac uoluisti ad tantum nos reuocare triumphum,
 Tu deus omnipotens audi nos te rogitantes.
 Nouimus ex pietate tua fore uota peracta
 700 Nostra, locis ex diuersis quod nos reuocati,
 Sortibus una sanctorum merebamus inesse.
 Te solum uerumque deum nos deinde precamur
 Qui tribus pueris solamen in igne dedisti,
 Illis et firmae firmans firmamina mentis,
 705 Confer opem nobis diuinae tu pietatis,⁵⁸
 Hosque⁵⁹ per ignes ut tua regna intrare queamus.

The people came from all sides to this spectacle that they might see the death and torments of the saints – the race of the Christians was there, and also the unbelieving people. As they were led to the horrible cow-shape, the saints asked the executioners for a space of time for praying to the Lord. That bronze bull was heated by a great fire, and then they stretched their palms out, and with such words they prayed to the high throne on which the Creator of Heaven exists: ‘O good Christ, who governs the orb of Heaven with authority, who has deigned to show yourself to us, and who wants to call us back to so great a triumph, hear us praying to you, omnipotent God.

We know that our wishes have been carried out from your love, that you recall us from various places; we deserve to be one with the saints in our fate.

Then we pray to you, the one and true God, who gave consolation and the framing supports of a steadfast mind to those three youths in the fire; grant us power of divine love, that we may also be able to enter your Kingdom through these flames.

⁵⁸ fol. 16^v.

⁵⁹ Varnhagen emended this to *Nosque*, but the MS reading clearly contains an initial *H*. The manuscript reading has been retained accordingly.

	Reliquiis ⁶⁰ nostris tribuas haec munera grata, Vt quicumque suis precibus nostri memorantur, Quique petunt ueniam ex te per suffragia nostra,	May you bestow these gifts of grace by our relics, that whoever is mindful of us in his prayers, and those who seek forgiveness from you through our intercessions, may also
710	Partem cum nobis in caelis se quoque gaudent Almam et cum sanctis aliis semper retinere, Terrenisque bonis hic sufficienter habundent.	rejoice with us in Heaven, and always hold a nourishing share with all the other saints, and that they might abound sufficiently in earthly goods here.
	In mare uel uenient illis si siqua pericla, Seu fluuiis aliis aliquod patiuntur amarum,	Or if any dangers should come to anyone at sea, or if they suffer some bitter thing in any rivers, and they ask you for help
715	Auxiliumque tuum poscunt per nomina nostra, Illorum exaudire preces dignare benigne, Deque suis illos tu diripe christe periclis.	through our names, deign to hear their prayers kindly; Christ, rescue them from their dangers.
	In maculas peccati si suadente maligno Inciderint, necnon nos in sua uota uocabunt,	If they might have fallen into the stains of sin by the persuasions of the malign one, and also call on us in their prayers, mercifully
720	Illorum clementer tu peccamina solue. Quique tibi laudes reboant nostri in memoratu, Illis auxilium largire tua ex pietate In quali fuerint depressi cumque labore.	absolve them of their sins. May all praises in our memory resound to you, to grant help through your mercy to those who might have been crushed by such labour.
	Et nobis concede deus firmamina cordis, 725 Huius ut ignis non nobis terror dominetur. Sed nostras animas caelo per tale tropheum Adfer, corporibus tribue et magnalia dona, Vnius illa simul capiat quo fossa sepulcri.’	And grant us, God, firmness of heart, that the terror of that fire might not have control over us. But bring our souls to Heaven through such a victory, and grant greater gifts for the bodies, that the pit of a single grave may hold them together.’

⁶⁰ MS *Reliquiis*.

Haec illis orantibus, alma uenibat ad illos⁶¹
 730 De caelis illos confortans uox ita dicens:
 ‘Sic uobis fuerit dominum sicuti rogistis.
 Necnon his donis cumulantur et altera dona
 Vobis, idcirco quoniam zabulum superastis,
 Atque boni facti bellatores domini estis,
 735 Illius et passi pro nomine multa fuistis
 Aduersa; in nullis estis quoniam superati.
 Sub pedibus sed quo temptamina cuncta teristis,
 Ecce uenite dei festine nunc benedicti,
 Cum sanctis caeli capturi praemia regni.
 740 Proque caducis aeternum munus retinentes,
 Quod uobis fuit ante paratum tempora mundi,
 In quo debetis gaudere per omnia saecula.’
 Auribus haec sancti gratanter suscipiebant,
 Ac laudes domino pro tali munere reddunt.
 745 Aerea uulcani intrarunt incendia laeti;
 Extinctus nimii statim fit feruor et ignis.
 Hymnisonis dominum resonant concentibus illi,
 Atque suas animas caelo cum laude remittunt.
 Corporibusque⁶² nihil potuit dominarier ignis,
 750 Nec saltim caput potuit perstringere crinem.

When they had said these things a kind voice came to them from Heaven, comforting them and speaking thus: ‘So it will be for you, just as you eagerly ask the Lord. And even other gifts besides these are gathered around you, since you have overcome the Devil, and have been made good warriors of the Lord, and you have suffered many adversities for his name; you were overcome by nothing; instead, you trampled all temptation underfoot.

Lo, come swiftly now, blessed ones of God; you have obtained a prize with all the saints of the Kingdom. And you retain an eternal gift from perishable things, which has been prepared for you before all the ages of the world, in which you will give praises for all time.’

The saints gratefully heard these things (lit. took these things to their ears), and they gave thanks to God for such a gift. The happy ones entered the burning bronze of Vulcan. At once the great heat and fires was extinguished.

They sang out to the Lord with harmonious hymnal voices, and they sent their souls to Heaven with praise. And the fire was unable to have control over their bodies, nor could it touch the least hair on their head.

⁶¹ fol. 17^r.

⁶² MS *Corporibusq*. The expansion to *-que* has been supplied.

Post tres deinde dies, uenit rex impius illo
 Quo fuerant illi passi cum corpore sancti.
 Atque bouis iussit molimina magna recludi,⁶³
 Reliquiis⁶⁴ ut conspiceret quid tunc foret actum
 755 De sanctis, quas credidit uistas esse per ignem,
 Non paruam secum ducens turbam populorum.
 Sanctorumque uidentes integra membra manere,
 Credebant et adhuc illos anima uegetari.
 Rex illos iussit coram producere sanctos.
 760 Omnes adstantes ibi nam mirantur ab igne
 Illorum quod caeseries non tacta fuisset.
 Horrescit rex tale uidens mirabile signum
 Impius, atque suam multum tristis petit aulam.
 Ast alius domino gaudens populus canit hymnum,
 765 Quique aderant omnes una sic uoce ferebant:
 'Est dominus deus unus et altus cristicolarum.
 Non alius deus est in caelis, sed neque in aruis,
 Ni is solus quem cristicolae recolunt et adorant,
 In se credentem ex membris qui depulit ignem,
 770 Vt nec ulla coma ex illis fuit igne cremata.'

Then, after three days, the
 impious Emperor came there
 where those saints suffered in the
 body. He ordered the great bulk
 of the bull to be opened, that he
 might see what may have
 happened to the remnants of the
 saints, whom he believed to be
 cremated by the fire; not a small
 crowd of people accompanied
 him.

And when they saw that the
 limbs of the saints remained
 intact, they therefore believed
 that they were alive in the spirit.
 The Emperor ordered those
 saints to be brought before him.
 All those standing there
 wondered that their long flowing
 hair had not been touched by the
 fire. When the impious Emperor
 saw such a wonderful sign, he
 trembled and went to his palace
 in great sorrow.

But the rest of the rejoicing
 people sang hymns to the Lord,
 and all those who were there
 sang to him in one voice: 'This is
 the High Lord and the One God
 of the Christians. There is no
 other God in Heaven or on Earth,
 except him alone whom the
 Christians worship and adore.
 He drove the fire from the limbs
 of those who believe in him, that
 no hair of their head should be
 burned from them by the fire.'

⁶³ fol. 17^v.

⁶⁴ MS *Reliquiis*.

Occulte uero ueniebat credula turba,
 Corpora sanctorum rapiebat noctis in umbra,
 Atque loco pariter posuit reuerenter amoeno.
 Asperitas postquam fuerat finita malorum,
 775 Basilicamque ibi christicolae sanctis fabricarunt.
 Laudibus inducunt dignis huc ossa beata,
 Magnificis et honoribus illa fouere sepulchro⁶⁵
 Illorum semper sollempnia deinde celebrant.
 Nempe die prima mense incipiente nouembre;
 780 Eustachii certamen hoc est, et uita beata
 Illius uxoris, necnon geminum puerorum.
 Quique tenent in mente illorum nomina semper,
 A dominoque petunt ueniam meritum per eorum,
 Auxilium citius domini accipiunt sibi gratum,
 785 Vt uox de caelo promisit eis prius alto
 Quae fuit a christo dimissa per aethera pura,
 Est cui gloria, laus, et honor, decus, atque
 potestas,
 Qui deus in summus caelorum, trinus et unus
 Regnat, et exstat cuncta per immortalia saecla.

The crowd of the believers came secretly and took the bodies of the saints in the darkness of night, and reverently placed them together in an agreeable place. After the persecutions by the evil ones had finished, Christians built a church of the saints there.

Here they interred the bones of the blessed ones with fitting praises. They cherished those saints with honour and glory in the tomb. Then they always celebrated their rites on the first day of the month of November.

This is the trial of Eustace, and the blessed life of his wife and also his two sons.

And those who always hold their names in mind and ask the Lord for forgiveness through their merit will quickly receive help from God as thanks to them, as the voice from high Heaven, which was sent through the pure air by Christ, promised to them formerly. To him is glory, praise and honour, distinction and power, the God who reigns, three and one, in the heights of Heaven and exists through all the immortal ages.

AMEN

AMEN

FINIT FELICITER.

IT FINISHES WITH JOY.

⁶⁵ fol. 18^r.

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