

Leeds Studies in English

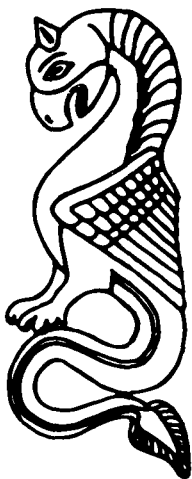
New Series XXXVII

2006

Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday

Edited by

Mary Swan



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School of English

University of Leeds

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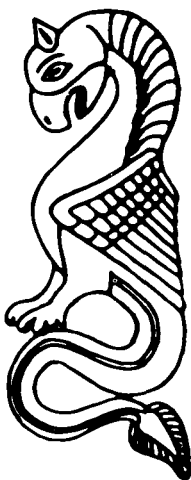
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Joyce Hill

Editorial Preface

This collection of essays marks Joyce Hill's sixtieth birthday on 3 January 2007. It is far from a marker of retirement since, as Roberta Frank's contribution makes clear, Joyce's level of research activity is still characteristically high, and none of her colleagues or friends can imagine Joyce even slowing down, never mind stopping, work.

The contributors to this volume represent the span of Joyce's academic career to date: from Oliver Pickering, a postgraduate student with Joyce at York in 1968 and subsequently a colleague at the University of Leeds, to Christine Thijs, the last PhD student to be supervised by Joyce at Leeds, via colleagues from Leeds (Catherine Batt, Rory McTurk, Peter Meredith, Andrew Wawn and Ian Wood), other former PhD students (Philip Shaw and Mary Swan), and a selection of Joyce's longstanding friends from the world of Anglo-Saxon Studies (Janet Bately, Roberta Frank, Mechthild Gretsch, David Johnson, Christopher Jones, Sarah Larratt Keefer, Tadao Kubouchi, Michael Lapidge, Patrizia Lendinara, Richard Marsden, Hugh Magennis, Christine Rauer, Mary Richards, Jane Roberts, Donald Scragg, Eric Stanley, Paul Szarmach, Loredana Teresi, Elaine Treharne and Jonathan Wilcox). Joyce is a stalwart member of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, and served as its Second Vice-President from 1997 to 2001. The list of contributors' affiliations in the Table of Contents demonstrates just how international are her links, and the range of topics addressed in the volume reflects her wide interests in research and teaching.

Joyce's career at the University of Leeds, which began in 1971, saw her foster things medieval both within the School of English and in interdisciplinary settings, and join with colleagues to take the lead in major developments including the establishment of the International Medieval Congress and the growth of the Centre – now Institute – for Medieval Studies, which she joined on arrival in Leeds, and which she served as Director from 1993 to 1998. The thriving of the IMS, and of Anglo-Saxon studies within it, means that we were able to draw on the services of Katie Neville, a current IMS PhD student, as Editorial Assistant for this volume; many thanks are due to her for her patient and accurate work.

Joyce's extensive involvement with *Leeds Studies in English* included a period chairing its Editorial Board and a stint as its Editor. It is particularly fitting, then, that it is a volume of *LSE* we offer her on her birthday, with gratitude, affection and our very best wishes for many happy returns.

Mary Swan, Editor

An Appreciation of Joyce Hill

Roberta Frank

A collection of writings by the humorist S. J. Perelman advertised on its jacket an introduction by Al Hirshfield, followed by an appreciation by George S. Kaufman. Hirshfield contributed a few paragraphs in praise of his friend. Then came the heading: 'An Appreciation of S. J. Perelman by George S. Kaufman'. The page was blank except for one sentence: 'I appreciate S. J. Perelman. Signed, George S. Kaufman'.¹ Would such reticence seem golden in this anthology? John Donne suggests not: that to reach Truth, we her Hill 'about must, and about must go'.² So I add here my own pebble to the *lofkøstr* 'praise-pile'³ towering high in honour of Joyce on her sixtieth birthday.

Joyce's output and activities are paralleled by few, if any, of her contemporaries. In important ways, she resembles one of the Reform figures she writes about, the (hyper)active Archbishop Wulfstan, homilist, statesman, legislator, tract-writer, and practical administrator. Wulfstan was God's servant and the king's too; Joyce has served both the academy and her nation with grace and distinction. If the boundaries between his literary and administrative achievements were porous, it is almost as difficult to separate her scholarly and community service. As I began this piece, I asked a few colleagues to list the adjectives that came first to mind when they thought of Joyce's work. The terms most frequently mentioned were 'incisive', 'authoritative', 'solid', 'formidable', 'sound', 'well-organized', 'thorough', 'reliable', 'useful', 'adroit', 'trustworthy', and 'intelligent'. One respondent supplied 'stalwart', fitting for, like 'trustworthy', the compound derives from an Old English word, *stælwierðe* 'serviceable' (<**staðolwierðe* 'worthy in its foundation, firm'). Published reviews of Joyce's articles stress again and again their pedagogical usefulness, clarity, accessibility, and profound learning: 'a characteristically readable piece'⁴; 'most

feliculously expressed⁵; she 'clears up something of a mystery'⁶. Andrew Galloway puts it elegantly in his recent *Speculum* review:⁷

Joyce Hill's authoritative opening essay on Ælfric's English *Grammar*, his Latin-English *Glossary*, and his (originally) wholly Latin *Colloquy* uncovers with great finesse Ælfric's pedagogical sequence of texts for teaching Latin in a non-Romance-language world, inspired in part by Carolingian, in part by local models. The essay does not directly engage arguments about medieval literacy, but, as perhaps the most authoritatively learned essay in the collection about its chosen topic, it contributes significantly to our understanding of modes of school-room literacy, English and Latin, about Ælfric's project, and about the social meanings of various kinds of Latin and vernacular adaptations of that project.

Hill's essay moreover allows appreciation of Ælfric's pedagogical works in terms of their genres and those genres' nuances of cultural meaning [...]

'Authoritative' (as adjective and adverb), 'learned', executed 'with great finesse': these are the very qualities Joyce has uncovered in the great figures of the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform, whose impact on tenth-century ecclesiastical and national life has been her concern in recent years.

Different aspects of this subject lie at the heart of the three named distinguished research lectures she has presented in the past decade: the Toller lecture (1996), the Jarrow lecture (1998), and the British Academy Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial lecture (2004).⁸ An overriding image emerges of a chain of authority running from the Fathers of the Church to Ælfric, with the latter relying on Carolingian homilies as his immediate, as opposed to ultimate, source. How Bede rose to prominence in this catena was the subject of her plenary address 'An Anglo-Saxon and the Continent: The Elevation of Bede's Authority', presented at the 2005 meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, and is examined in her recent article, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede'.⁹ In a recent overview, she summarizes in a single sentence some of her discoveries over the last twenty years. The purpose of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*

was to make accessible to secular clergy and thus to their lay congregations the Biblical and doctrinal teaching that had come into England with the Reform, which was encapsulated in the Carolingian Latin homiliaries that Ælfric must have known at Winchester and that he evidently had available at Cerne: the homiletic anthology of Paul the Deacon, and the homiliaries of Smaragdus and Haymo of Auxerre.¹⁰

Many of her essays and reviews raise questions about the way modern scholarship identifies and catalogs the 'sources' of Old English prose, and urge readers to repent their ways and to come to terms with the nature of the textual culture that shaped and was shaped by the Reformers. Joyce was a founding member of the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project (a database of all written sources used by authors in Anglo-Saxon England), serving first as General Secretary and now, at time of writing, as Chair of the Management Committee. In a kind of feedback-loop of influence, her interest in the multi-dimensional and complexly intertextual body of source materials available to Ælfric led to her participation in *Fontes*, whose broad vision has inspired some of her subsequent writings.

Joyce has written several studies concerning a central document of the tenth-century Reform, the monastic consuetudinary known as the *Regularis concordia*, especially its adaptation in transmission. Some are on the word choices made by different Old English versions of the rule, including the ways in which one was adapted for women, and assessed the special vocabulary of the reformers.¹¹ Here, too, a Frankish connection sometimes raises its head. In 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 211-46, for example, she demonstrates that nomenclature that can seem puzzling and inconsistent to scholars in reality follows the precedent of Gallican observance. Joyce is a specialist advisor/reader for the *Dictionary of Old English* in Toronto and a loyal friend of this project, as her recent essay in its honour, 'Dialogues with the Dictionary: Four Case Studies' testifies.¹² I see a link between her cultural and lexicographical studies on the Reform movement – from her *Regularis concordia* articles to those on Ælfric and Wulfstan, only a few of which have been mentioned here – in the ideal of uniformity of observance and expression that she traces in every aspect of the Reformers' thinking, a commitment to authority rather than originality or independence of mind, a conceptual framework radically different from our own.

But Joyce, as Anglo-Saxonists are well aware, is not only a 'prose person'. Her first published articles were on Old English poetry, and include a brave and forward-looking essay on *Widsith* and the tenth century.¹³ The same clarity demonstrated in her Ælfrician source criticism is visible in studies such as 'Confronting Germania Latina: Changing Responses to Old English Biblical Verse',¹⁴ in which she surveys the history of criticism of the Junius 11 poems in terms of the opposition between Germanic – native, vernacular, pagan, secular – and Latin approaches, the latter focusing on learned Christian backgrounds; she ends by urging a more balanced approach. Her 1983 edition (2nd edn 1994) of *Old English Minor Heroic Poems* is a standard resource in the field, reliable, informative, and glimmering with good sense; the glossary of proper names alone is invaluable, and the commentary – as one would expect – invariably helpful.¹⁵ Leofric of Exeter as book collector and the provenance of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry are discussed in several more articles.¹⁶ It says something about Joyce's range and reputation that not only was she asked to contribute a survey article on 'The Benedictine Reform and Beyond' to the Blackwells *Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (see n. 9) but also to write the entries on *The Battle of Finnsburh*, *Deor*, Heroic Poetry, *Waldere*, and *Widsith* for *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*.¹⁷ And when the editors of *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* needed articles on *Leiðarvísir* and *Tristrams saga ok Ísoddar*, they, too, turned to Joyce.¹⁸

For she is also a Nordacist. Her early (1977) translation of the probably fourteenth-century 'Icelandic Saga of Tristan and Isolte' (recently reprinted) is an accurate and lively rendition of a work once dismissed as a 'boorish account of Tristram's noble passion'.¹⁹ Another of her translations (1983) from Old Norse, the itinerary (*leiðarvísir* 'guide') of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land dictated by a certain Abbot Nikulás (probably Nikulás Bergsson), is a precious document describing his journey across Europe and to the Eastern Mediterranean coasts in the period following the capture of Jerusalem in the first crusade and during the establishment of the Crusade states.²⁰ Joyce's publications over three decades show an interest in travel narratives, from her first pilgrimage piece (1976) through a study of pilgrim routes in medieval Italy (1986, for 1984) and a review of seventeenth-century travels in France and Italy (1988), to an article on pilgrimage in Icelandic sagas (1993).²¹ Joyce herself is one of the great travellers of our profession. In recent times, her feet have touched the soil of almost fifty different countries, from the storied shores of the Nile, the Yangtze, and the Don to the mud-flats of Delaware and the flesh-studded sands of Wreck Beach in British Columbia.

An Appreciation of Joyce Hill

Joyce is – like her admired Ælfric and Wulfstan, Æthelwold and Dunstan – a builder and organizer, a legislator and regulator. At the University of Leeds, she served as Director of the Centre for Medieval Studies, as Head of the School of English and as Pro-Vice-Chancellor. She spent five years as Director of the Higher Education Equality Challenge Unit, based in London. At time of writing, she is chair of the Arts and Humanities Research Council research panel for English, a member of the AHRC's Research Committee and of numerous other local and national advisory groups, and in demand as a consultant from Slovenia to Belgium. She has acted as co-editor of the *Review of English Studies* (1999-2001) and editor of this journal (1988-91). Despite all these responsibilities and leadership posts, she is still younger than I am.

In the opening lines of the Icelandic Tristan saga translated by Joyce, there appears a great English queen of whom the saga-author says, with typical Norse understatement: *hún var vel at sér* 'she was OK' = 'a very distinguished woman'. Were we to follow saga-style, we would say that Joyce, too, is not entirely unappreciated.

NOTES

¹ Anecdote related by Woody Allen, *New York Times Book Review*, 24 October 2004, p. 1.

² Donne, Satire 3 'Kind pity chokes my spleen', line 81, in John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971; repr. 1996), pp. 161-64. Joyce has a demonstrated interest in onomastic play: see her 'Ælfric and the Name of Simon Peter', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 1 (1988), 4-9, and 'Ælfric's Use of Etymologies', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 17 (1988), 35-44 (repr. in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 311-25.)

³ In the mid-tenth century, Egill Skallagrímsson composed an *óbrotgjarn lofkqstr* 'not eager-to-be-broken (=long-lasting) praise-pile' for his friend Arinbjörn: see *Arinbjarnarkvæði* 25, in *Skjaldedigtning: Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1912-15; repr. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1967-73), BI, 41.

⁴ Mark Griffith reviewing 'Ælfric and Wulfstan: Two Views of the Millennium', in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 2000), pp. 213-35, in *Notes and Queries*, 49 (2002), 394-95.

⁵ Joseph Harris reviewing 'Ælfric, Authorial Identity and the Changing Text', in *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. by D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1994), pp. 177-89, in *Speculum*, 72/4 (1997), 1215.

⁶ David W. Porter, reviewing 'The *litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 211-46, in *Old English Newsletter*, 35/2 (2002), 110.

⁷ *Speculum*, 80/2 (2005), 659-61 (p. 660), reviewing 'Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. by Sarah Rees Jones, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 3-29. See also Hill, 'Winchester Pedagogy and the Colloquy of Ælfric', in *Essays in Honour of Peter Meredith*, *Leeds Studies in English*, 29 (1998), 137-52; 'Ælfric's Colloquy: The Antwerp/London Version', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II, 331-48.

⁸ See 'Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *The Toller Lecture* (Manchester, 1997). Also published in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 79 (1997), pp. 43-69 (revised text repr. in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 241-59).

Bede and the Benedictine Reform: The Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1998); *Authority and Intertextuality in the Works of Ælfric: The Gollancz Memorial Lecture* (2004), to be published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* and currently available as an audio lecture at <http://www.britac.ac.uk/events/2004/abstracts/2004-hill.htm>.

⁹ Joyce Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by Scott DeGregorio (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), pp. 227-49.

¹⁰ 'The Benedictine Reform and Beyond', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 151-69 (p. 158). Hill's articles on this subject include: 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 203-37; 'Ælfric's Sources Reconsidered: Some Case-studies from the *Catholic Homilies*', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely': Papers in Honour of Eric Stanley*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 362-86; 'Ælfric's Homily on the Holy Innocents: The Sources Reviewed', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 89-98; 'Ælfric, Gregory and the Carolingians', in *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis: Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), pp. 409-23; and 'Ælfric's Authorities', in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 51-65.

¹¹ 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Latin and Old English Reflexes', *Revue Bénédictine*, 101 (1991), 299-315; 'Lexical Choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary', in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. by Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 2001), pp. 117-28; 'Making Women Visible: An Adaptation of the *Regularis Concordia* in CCCC 201', TBP in a collection edited by Catherine Karkov and Nicholas Howe (Tempe: University of Arizona Press); 'Ælfric's "Silent Days"', *Leeds Studies in English*, 16 (1985), 118-31; 'Provost and Prior in the *Regularis Concordia*', *American Notes and Queries*, 15 (2002), 13-17; 'Rending the Garment and Reading by the Rood: *Regularis Concordia* Rituals for Men and Women', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London: Boydell, for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 2005), pp. 53-64.

¹² Forthcoming in *Making Sense: Constructing Meaning in Early English*, ed. by Antonette di Paolo Healey and Kevin Kiernan, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English series (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Press).

¹³ 'Figures of Evil in Old English Poetry', *Leeds Studies in English*, 8 (1975), 5-19; 'A Sequence of Associations in the Composition of Christ 275-347', *Review of English Studies*, 27

(1976), 96-99; "'Bis Deade Lif": A Note on *The Seafarer*, Lines 64-66', *English Language Notes*, 15 (1977), 95-97; "'The Soldier of Christ" in Old English Poetry and Prose', *Leeds Studies in English*, 12 (1981), 57-80; 'Widsith and the Tenth Century', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 85 (1984), 305-15 (repr. in *Old English Shorter Poems: Basic Readings*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 319-33); "'Pæt wæs Geomuru Ides!" A Female Stereotype Examined', in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 235-47.

¹⁴ In *Latin Culture and Medieval Germanic Europe*, ed. by Richard North and Tette Hofstra, *Medievalia Groningana* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1992), pp. 71-88.

¹⁵ Durham and St. Andrews Medieval Texts, 4 (Durham: Durham and St. Andrews Medieval Texts, 1983; repr. 1987); 2nd edn, Durham Medieval Texts, 4 (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994).

¹⁶ 'The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: A Reconsideration', *American Notes and Queries*, 24 (1986), 112-16; 'The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: The Monasterium of Sancta Maria', *American Notes and Queries*, n.s. 1 (1988), 4-9; 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 77-98.

¹⁷ Gen. ed. Michael Lapidge, assoc. eds John Blair, Simon Keynes, Don Scragg (Oxford, 1998), pp. 56, 139-40, 236-37, 464, 473-74.

¹⁸ Ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and others (New York and London: Garland, 1993), pp. 390-91, 657.

¹⁹ 'The Icelandic Saga of Tristan and Isolte', in *The Tristan Legend: Texts from Northern and Eastern Europe in Modern English Translation*, ed. by Joyce Hill, *Leeds Medieval Studies*, 2 (Leeds: University of Leeds, Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, 1977), pp. 6-28 (repr. in *Norse Romance: Volume I: The Tristan Legend*, ed. by Marianne Kalinke (Cambridge, Brewer, 1999), pp. 241-92). Dismissal of saga: Henry G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921).

²⁰ 'From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century', *Harvard Theological Review*, 76 (1983), 175-203, and maps (repr. in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. by John Wilkinson, with Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, The Hakluyt Society Second Series, 167 (London: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1988).

²¹ "'Thanne Longen Folk to Goon on Pilgrimages'", *Literature in North Queensland*, 5 (1976), 4-11; 'Pilgrim routes in Medieval Italy', *Bollettino del Centro Interuniversitario di Recherche sul Viaggio in Italia*, 9 (1986, for 1984), 3-22; review of *Travels through France and Italy 1647-1649*, ed. by Luigi Monga (Geneva: Slatkine, 1987), *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1988), 38-40.

Hagiographical Demon or Liturgical Devil? Demonology and Baptismal Imagery in Cynewulf's *Elene*

David F. Johnson

In the course of his exposition of the Book of Job, Gregory the Great delineates three periods in the 'mundane career' of the Devil. In the first, Satan had a rightful dominion over all men. At the outset of the second period, Christ binds Satan in Hell at the Harrowing. Henceforth his power on earth is curtailed, but he still holds the hearts of unbelievers. In the third period, at the end of the world, he will be loosed from his bonds to return as Antichrist.¹

When portraying demonic agency at the literal level in their narratives, early medieval poets and hagiographers – especially Anglo-Saxon ones – seem to have respected the narratological restrictions inherent in these divisions. Thus literal, literary demonic activity as portrayed in narratives situated in the second Gregorian period is almost exclusively attributed to subordinate demons, not the Ancient Adversary himself. Early medieval poets and hagiographers adhered to this 'rule' when they wrote their narratives, either because they had Gregory's periodic divisions in mind, or because they were conscious of the literal fact of Satan's state of bondage after the Harrowing. Another factor of some influence may have been the *Life of St. Anthony*; so many conflicts with demons in hagiography having been patterned to some extent on the Antonian model. On the literal level Anthony's combat in the desert is waged against Satan's subordinate demons, not the Devil himself. Demonic agency in early medieval hagiography, then, is most frequently represented by what we might call the 'hagiographical demon', by which we always mean a subordinate demon.²

In the light of this widespread tendency in early medieval hagiography, the appearance of Satan in the Old English *Elene* is clearly an anomaly. In this adaptation by Cynewulf of the *Acta Cyriaci*, it is the Devil himself who confronts both the Empress Helen and the Jew Judas in a narrative that is squarely and

unambiguously situated in the second Gregorian period.³ Satan's appearance in *Elene* remains a narratological problem, and it invites resolution.

The text closest to what must have been Cynewulf's main Latin source does not identify the devil appearing there as Satan. Judas has just revealed which of the crosses found in the earth is the True Cross when this devil makes his appearance:

Sed omnium
bonorum semper inuidus diabolus cum
furore uocis ferebatur in aera, dicens: 'Quis
iterum hic est qui non permittit me susci-
pere animas eorum? Ihesu Nazarene, omnes
traxisti ad te et lignum tuum manifestasti
aduersus meos. Iudas, quid hoc fecisti? Non-
ne prior per Iudam traditionem faci? et ecce
nunc per Iudam hinc eicior. Inueni et ego quid
faciam aduersus te: Suscitabo alium regem
qui derelinquat crucifixum et meis sequa-
tur consiliis et iniquis tormentis et nunc
crucifixum negauis.'⁴

(287-98)

While the Latin 'diabolus' is an ambiguous term that could refer equally well to Satan or to any one of his subordinate *dæmones*, the contents of the devil's speech suggest that we are dealing with Old Nick himself. Here he refers to the betrayal of Christ which 'he' had brought about through Judas Iscariot. Moreover, the devil mentions the souls that Jesus denies him, which suggests that indeed the 'he' alluded to here is the head of the impious, i.e. Satan himself. Finally, the demon's plot to raise up an apostate king against Judas as described by this devil may strike one as being of the magnitude one would expect only Satan could accomplish.

This identification is not, however, as straightforward as it may first seem. In another confrontation between saint and devil adapted by Cynewulf, the devil captured by St Juliana in the poem of that name appears as well to be none other than the Ancient Adversary himself. The list of fiendish accomplishments to which he confesses certainly points in this direction. These crimes include the wounding of Christ on the Cross, the instigation of various persecutions and the martyrdoms of Peter, Paul, and Andrew. A leaf is missing from the Exeter Book

at just the point where the devil begins his catalogue of evil deeds, so the text containing his earliest efforts is missing. From the Latin analogue, however, we learn that this devil had led Adam to fall, Cain to slay Abel, and had himself incited Judas to betray Christ.⁵ Just as in the *Acta Cyriaci*, then, we would seem to be dealing with none other than the Author of Sin. And yet this devil reveals, in both the Latin and Old English versions, that he is not the *hellwarena cyning* at all, but merely one of his 'sons'.⁶ Thus while the context and nature of his actions would seem to mark the devil in *Juliana* as Satan, the subsequent narrative reveals him to be nothing more than a subordinate demon.⁷ In the Latin analogues to *Elene* our identification could arguably go either way. We seem to be dealing with Satan himself, but a certain amount of ambiguity remains which only the epithet *Satanas* could dispel altogether.

Cynewulf, however, has done much to disambiguate this identification, as his adaptation of the scene illustrates. Judas has just identified the True Cross through a miracle of resurrection: having raised up the other two crosses in the presence of a dead youth with no visible effects, he does the same with the third, whereupon the boy springs immediately to life. Those witnessing the event offer suitable thanks and praise to the glory of God. This is the point at which the devil appears:

Ongan þa hleoðrian helledeofol,
eatol æclæca, yfela gemyndig:⁸
(898-99)

The absence of the definite article in Cynewulf's introduction of the devil leaves this reference, taken in isolation, open to ambiguous interpretation. 'Helledeofol' might equally designate *the* devil of hell, or *a* devil of hell. Thus far, then, the matter remains unresolved.

Hwæt is þis, la, manna, þe minne eft
þurh fyrngeflit folgaþ wyrdeð,
iceð ealdne nið, æhta strudeð?
þis is singal sacu. Sawla ne moton
manfremmende in minum leng

æhtum wunigan. Nu cwom elþeodig,
þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,
hafð mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,
feohgestrona. Nis ðæt fæger sið.⁹

(902-10; italics mine)

In typical fashion, Cynewulf has expanded one line of the Latin source ('Quis iterum hic est qui non permittit me suscipere animas eorum?') to nine in Old English. But his expansion embraces more than mere embellishment. It serves above all to clarify the identification of this devil as Satan. Note Cynewulf's amplification of 'iterum': this is not just another encounter between a saint and a hagiographical demon, but the renewal and perpetuation of an ancient strife, the *fyrngeflit*, the 'ealdne nið' between Christ and Satan. Moreover the 'possessions' (*æhta*) being denied here are laid claim to by the devil as his own in much more emphatic terms than is the case in the Latin analogues. In the devil's words, Judas is destroying his following ('minne [. . .] folgað'), and the souls he refers to are suddenly no longer in *his* possession ('in minum [. . .] æhtum').¹⁰

Moreover, ll. 907b-10a ('Nu cwom elþeodig [. . .] hafð mec bereafod rihta gehwylces') constitute a reference to the doctrine of the 'devil's rights', which holds that after the fall of man, but before Christ's sacrifice, Satan held sway over mankind as the Prince of the World. The loss of these 'rights', together with the binding of the Devil in hell, mark the transition from the first Gregorian period in Satan's mundane career to the second.¹¹

Cynewulf's addition of this material to the devil's speech establishes the unambiguous identification – on the literal level – of this devil as Satan himself. If this identification seems by now obvious, then we may well ask why Cynewulf chose to develop a potentially incongruous characterization in his poem. Normal hagiographical convention would have called for the appearance of the 'hagiographical demon', rather than the 'hellwarena cyning' himself. I shall argue that he recognized in his sources a framework for a reading of the events that stresses its symbolic and spiritual meaning, as opposed to its literal significance. The main thrust of my argument here is that with the appearance of Satan at this juncture in the narrative, the historically chronological framework of the literal account of the legend gives way to the 'timeless' aspect of the baptismal liturgy. It is the Old Adversary himself who appears in the Christian baptismal rites; consequently, instead of the 'hagiographical demon', Cynewulf has given us the 'liturgical Devil'.

Hagiographical Demon or Liturgical Devil?

I am not the first to argue that Cynewulf recognized in his sources the potential for a symbolic and spiritual treatment of the Finding of the True Cross legend, as opposed to a historically literal one. Many critics have read the poem in this way. Catherine Regan emphasizes Cynewulf's concern with the spiritual dimension of the poem, and concludes that *Elene* is a poem 'about the Church and its mission to lead men to salvation through acceptance of the Cross, the symbol of the redemptive act'.¹² Her study is also the most discerning discussion of baptismal allusions in the poem. She finds at the narrative level of the poem sufficient – and I think convincing – parallels for a thematic reading that allows for some fairly pervasive baptismal imagery, and it is this imagery that establishes the basis for our identification of the demon here as the 'Liturgical Devil'. For example, Regan reads the interrogation and disciplining of Judas by Elene – which leads to his acceptance of the faith and cooperation in her search for the True Cross – in terms of Catechesis:

Elene is preparing Judas for Baptism. Judas is at first an unwilling Catechumen, but Cynewulf's audience must have recognized in the instructional and ascetic pattern of the action that Elene's aim is to guide Judas to a profession of faith. When Judas' instruction is described as preparation for Baptism, it is important to recall that Baptism was the center of the sacramental system of the early Church and that the administration of the sacrament was merely the climax of the baptismal liturgy. That liturgy included the long process – the duration could be weeks, months, even years – by which the candidate was gradually liberated from the bonds of darkness and brought into the light of the Christian community. In terms of the liturgy of the early Church, the scene can be described more exactly as a representation of Judas' Catechumenate. There are meaningful correspondences between Elene's treatment of Judas and the early Church's role in forming the Catechumen.¹³

Regan makes a number of insightful observations concerning the associations between this scene and the baptismal liturgy, but I shall limit citation here to just a few of the most important ones. She notes, for example, how the first dialogue between Judas and Elene is thematically the most significant because it demonstrates that Cynewulf is thinking in symbolic terms: 'Elene offers Judas the moral instruction of the Catechesis in the form of the Two Ways'.¹⁴ Such instruction appears in the earliest catechetical treatise as preparation for Baptism.¹⁵ Commenting on the well-known 'bread and stone' passage (ll. 611-18),¹⁶ Regan points out how richly ironic and meaningful are the allusions here in the context of Baptism:

The candidate for Baptism was believed to share in the temptation of Christ. Because the early Church placed great emphasis on the soul's conflict with Satan, it held that the soul remained in the power of Satan until it was infused by the Holy Spirit. In fact the baptismal liturgy can be thought of as a continual struggle to free the soul from the bonds of Satan. Hence both Christ and the candidate struggle against the temptations of Satan. [. . .] When Judas replies to Elene, he alludes to a Biblical passage traditionally linked to Baptism (i.e. Matthew 4. 1-11, D.J.). The poet's audience must have made this connection and recognized in the response an ironic foreshadowing of Judas' Catechumenate.¹⁷

Likewise Judas' imprisonment in the dry pit (ll. 691-98) may be interpreted as preparation for Baptism: 'Judas prepares for Baptism by his fast and in the week-long period is purged of his sins'.¹⁸ Regan expounds more fully on Judas' ordeal and its relation to Baptism:

In terms of his potential sanctity and Elene's role in that spiritual growth, Judas' pain is specific preparation for his Baptism. It must be remembered that one did not simply 'join' the Church. The candidate underwent a traumatic change in his life. He was required to throw off old ways and reform his habits in keeping with his new ideals. He was obliged to die with Christ so that he might rise with him. Fasting was one of the principal means used by the

Church to free the Catechumen from the bonds of Satan—and by his defiance of Elene, Judas has shown how firmly those bonds enslave him. The hunger he suffers is the physical pain known to every Catechumen. Elene's prescribed fast is a necessary step in Judas' spiritual development and is in accordance with early Church teachings on how to prepare the Catechumen for Baptism.¹⁹

Judas' subsequent submission to Elene's wish (ll. 699-708) may seem at first sight to be crass capitulation under duress.²⁰ Regan demonstrates that in fact it constitutes his acceptance and confession of faith: he finally perceives the 'truth' about the Tree of Life, i.e. the truth of Christianity, not just the Cross's location. Such pre-baptismal instruction and acceptance of the truth of faith are of course essential elements in the process of joining the Church. Alcuin stresses both in a letter to Arn, archbishop of Salzburg:

Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.' Huius vero praecepti ordinem beatus Hieronimus in commentario suo, que in evangelium sancti Mathei scripsit, ita exposuit: 'Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas intingunt aqua. Non enim potest fieri, ut corpus baptismi accipiat sacramentum, nisi ante anima fidei susceperit veritatem'²¹

The actual raising of the Cross is another scene which illustrates Cynewulf's emphasis on the spiritual meaning of the legend. As Regan remarks, 'If *Elene* were to be read merely as a recounting of the finding of the Cross, we could reasonably expect that the poet would give special attention to the actual finding of the Cross'.²² This scene, however, receives none of the elaboration that characterizes other passages, and instead of focusing on the Cross itself, as one might have expected, Cynewulf concentrates on the *effect* that the miracle of the resurrection of the dead youth has on the Jews who witness it. Thus the finding of the true Cross is not the discovery of a mere relic, but more importantly the unveiling of a spiritual truth: 'Finding the true Cross is only important insofar as it is a symbol of the spiritual discovery of the Cross which each man must make for himself'.²³

That Cynewulf seems consciously to have avoided portraying the Cross merely as a powerful relic is borne out by a detail that Regan overlooks. In a subtle departure from his source text, Cynewulf further defuses any such associations. In the Latin analogues, each cross is tested by laying it upon the body of the dead youth ('posuit super eum singulas cruces,' and 'imposita autem tertia cruce dominica super mortuum'),²⁴ but in *Elene* the crosses are not placed on the body, but raised up over it (ll. 878-81 'ond [he] up ahof [. . .] þara roda twa'; ll. 883-83: 'þa sio þridde wæs ahafen halig'²⁵). This difference in action is paralleled by a difference in the nature of the miracle Cynewulf intends to convey. Traditionally the efficacy of a relic is made manifest through contact in one form or another (either directly, as in touching, or slightly more indirectly, as in washing with or ingesting pulverized bits of a given relic mixed with water). Here, however, the power of the Cross as spiritual symbol emanates outward and touches all those present, not just the dead youth, but Judas and (eventually) the Jews as well. Consequently, the 'raising' of the Cross brings about recognition of its spiritual significance among many of the Jews present.²⁶

Once the true Cross has been identified and the crowd has praised God, Satan himself appears before Judas and delivers the speech we have dealt with above. Regan recognizes this moment as an important one in terms of baptismal imagery, yet she underestimates the significance of Satan's advent: 'The Devil commonly appears in saints' lives when good deeds are being performed by the hero, and such an appearance thus becomes a common symbol for the triumph of good over evil'.²⁷ This statement is accurate only in a general sort of way, and it clouds the issue precisely because it is not Satan who commonly appears in the saints' lives, but rather the members of his corporate body, his subordinate demons. The devil appears in those narratives only in so far as the minions he sends forth to plague mankind are equated with him.²⁸ Rather, the appearance of the Devil (i.e. the liturgical Devil) is a virtually certain sign linking the episode to the liturgy of Baptism and foregrounding the figurative, symbolic dimension of the narrative's meaning.

Yet another passage in *Elene* exhibits baptismal associations in an oblique kind of way, and it, too, is without counterpart in the *Acta Cyriaci*. In ll. 918b-21a, Satan laments:

ic þa rode ne þearf
hleah tre herigean; hwæt, se hælend me
in þam engan ham oft getynde,
geomrum to sorge!²⁹

Now the binding of Satan in Hell by Christ is a ubiquitous motif, but Satan's remark on his binding by Christ in these lines is not without interpretive problems. How are we to reconcile the contradictory views of Satan's historical binding by Christ at the harrowing, and Satan's clear allusion here to Christ's 'repetition' of the same act? Some critics have sought to do so by positing – at a literal level – frequent and multiple appearances of Satan before the saints.³⁰ But this is a view that would be untenable to any who believed in the historicity of the harrowing of hell.³¹ The point is, of course, that taken literally the reference in these lines to a 'periodic' binding of Satan does not make sense, but read figuratively and interpreted in a different temporal context, it may. It is important to realize that the catechumenate and subsequent baptism of the convert was viewed as a symbolic re-enactment of Christ's Temptation, Passion, and Resurrection; thus each time a new Christian is baptised, the struggle between Christ and Satan is symbolically renewed, and Satan loses a soul over which he previously had control. Only in terms of the ritual and figurative catechumenate and baptism of Judas does the appearance of Satan and the allusion to his being 'often bound' by Christ make sense. The apparent narrative incongruity is dispelled once we realise that Satan appears here in a scene which parallels his only official role in the Christian liturgy: the Devil in Baptism.

One of the central themes in the baptismal liturgy is the catechumen's renunciation of the Devil, and at least two critics have justly compared Judas' response to Satan's speech in these terms.³² Cynewulf has again taken one line of text from his source, and expanded it greatly. 'Qui mortuos suscitavit, Christus ipse te damnet in abyssum ignis aeterni!'³³ becomes in the Old English:

Ne þearft ðu swa swiðe, synna gemyndig,
sar niwigan ond sæce ræran,
morðres manfrea, þæt þe se mihtiga cyning
in neolnesse nyðer bescufeð,
synwyrcente, in susla grund
domes leasne, se ðe deadra feala
worde awehte. Wite ðu þe gearwor

þæt ðu unsnyttrum anforlete
leohta beorhtost ond lufan dryhtnes,
þone fægran gefean, ond on fyrbæðe
suslum beþrunge syððan wunodest,
ade onæled, ond þær awa scealt,
wiðerhygcende, wegðu dreogan,
yrmðu butan ende.³⁴

(939-52)

Regan compares Judas' renunciation here with the early forms of the baptismal liturgy, such as that found in the third-century text, *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. These early versions of the renunciation took the form of a statement uttered directly at Satan, using first and second person verbs:³⁵

9. And when the presbyter takes hold of each one of those
who are to be baptized, let him bid him renounce saying:
I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy
works.³⁶

The later formulas typically take the form of dialogues between catechumen and presbyter:

Abrenuntias satanae.
Rx. Abrenuntio.
Et omnibus operibus eius.
Rx. Abrenuntio.
Et omnibus pompis eius.
Rx. Abrenuntio³⁷

But these renunciatory formulas do not closely resemble Judas' speech in either form or content. A survey of the liturgy for baptism in some early texts as well as the later Sacramentaries shows a closer affinity between Judas' speech and the formulas for *exorcism* spoken by the priest *after* the catechumen has been signed. The liturgy for Holy Saturday in the Gelasian Sacramentary, for example, has the following exorcism:

Be not deceived, Satan: punishment threatens thee, torment threatens thee, the day of judgement threatens thee, the day of punishment, the day which shall come as a burning furnace, when everlasting destruction shall come upon thee and all thine angels. And, therefore, accursed one, give honour to God, the living and the true, give honour to Jesus Christ his Son, and to the Holy Spirit, in whose Name and power I command thee. Come out and depart from this servant of God, whom this day our Lord Jesus Christ has deigned to call to the gift of his holy grace and of his blessing and the fount of baptism: that he may become his temple, through the water of regeneration unto the remission of sins, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall come to judge the quick and the dead and this world by fire.³⁸

The correlations between this and the passage in *Elene* are not, of course, exact, but it should be obvious that the above exorcism has more in common with Judas' retort than do the renunciation formulas current during his day. The exorcism is addressed directly to Satan; he is reminded of the torments and punishment that threaten him; he is adjured to honor the Lord, and finally there may be some parallel between Judas' statement that Christ will come to thrust him down into hell and the last sentiment in the exorcism: that Christ 'shall come to judge the quick and the dead and this world by fire'. I hasten to add that I claim no connection between this text and *Elene*; I offer it merely as a suggestion for the kind of liturgical formula that Cynewulf may have been familiar with.

The above parallels suggest a subtle shift in Judas' role from catechumen to 'priest'. In effect Judas combines aspects of two separate yet related symbolic roles. If Cynewulf derived inspiration from the baptismal liturgy, and if it is reasonable to infer from our analysis of his speech that he did indeed find a pattern for it in the exorcisms from that liturgy, then we may be justified in seeing an additional dimension to Judas' character emerging at this juncture. Judas, symbolically a catechumen, already imbued with the Holy Spirit and the 'higher wisdom of *sapientia*', foreshadows with this retort his later role of Bishop, a role that will demand of him that he guide other catechumens through the initiation rites of Christian baptism. Read in this way, Judas' speech is a form of exorcism not only of the boy just raised from the dead, but also of all of those witnessing

the event. In this capacity it forms one of the stages in the catechumenate of the Jews who later receive baptism: they are 'signed' by the raised Cross (ll. 883-89a), they confess their faith and offer praise to God (ll. 889b-98a); are exorcized by Judas (ll. 939-52), and finally they accept the truth of the faith in a subsequent symbolic declaration at the miracle of the finding of the nails (ll. 1120-25).

These parallels to the baptismal liturgy are, again, inexact and rather impressionistic ones, and I am by no means arguing that Cynewulf adhered in any kind of strict fashion to the liturgy for baptism set out by the Sacramentary with which he was familiar.³⁹ Cynewulf was, after all, following the narrative of the legend he used as his source, not providing a blow-by-blow account of the catechumenate and baptism of a new Christian. I do, however, believe that he capitalized on and expanded certain details, most of which I have touched on here, which his contemplation of the sources led him to associate with the baptismal liturgy. The multivalent and overlapping roles of Judas as catechumen and baptismal exorcist may be just one result of Cynewulf's awareness of the symbolism and liturgical overtones he perceived in the *Inventio Crucis* legend. By dispelling any doubt concerning Satan's presence and role in the confrontation with Judas, by bringing out in full relief all of the baptismal imagery present in his source text, Cynewulf "'marks", as it were, the meaning of this episode by significant allusion'.⁴⁰

I have by no means exhausted the baptismal imagery that the poem *Elene* might be shown to reveal, but it is time to move on to my final point. It has long been known that certain Old English religious poems were modelled in whole or part on the liturgy, and Kenneth Sisam's conclusion concerning Cynewulf's choice of subject matter for his poems is relevant: 'All that can safely be said is that his subjects are suggested by the calendar and the services of the Church'.⁴¹ But which day in the Christian calendar or which services influenced Cynewulf? The feast that naturally suggests itself in this context is that of the Invention of the Cross, which, as Sisam observes, derived from France and was established in England before the end of the eighth century. Both Sisam and Regan imply that it was this feast which exerted the main influence on Cynewulf's adaptation, though neither scholar comments explicitly on liturgical echoes.⁴² Indeed, the poem itself mentions this feast, following its source in reporting how Helen called upon all Christians to honour the day on which the Cross was found: 'Wæs þa lencten agan / butan vi nihtum ær sumeres cyme / on Maias Kl.' (1226b-28a: Spring had approached to within 6 days of Summer's arrival in the month of May). While the feast of May 3rd and *Elene* are obviously concerned with the same legendary

material, there is very little in the service of the feast of the Invention of the Cross to recommend it as any but the most casual dramatic 'source' of inspiration for Cynewulf's poem.

There are, however, indications in the poem that Cynewulf may have been influenced by the liturgy for Holy Saturday, not least of which is the baptismal imagery discussed so far, for certainly in the early Church Holy Saturday was (together with Pentecost) the day set aside for baptism. Another possible connection is the emphasis Cynewulf places in his poem on the imagery of light versus darkness.⁴³ Nowhere in the liturgy does this imagery seem so prevalent as in that for Holy Saturday, for it is there that the service for the Easter Vigil opens with the lighting of the new fire and the blessing of the paschal candle, a ritual omitted in the liturgy for the other great day of baptism, Whitsunday.

And then there is Cynewulf's pointed emphasis on the miracle of the resurrection of the youth taking place at the ninth hour. Whereas the *Acta Cyriaci* mentions this but once, Cynewulf includes it twice, the first instance (not present in his source) being much embellished. In the Latin, the crosses have been carried into the city, when the narrator simply reports: 'Et circa ora nona ferebatur mortuus quidam iuvenis in gravatum'.⁴⁴ Cynewulf again expands on the original, chiefly by means of repetition, but moreover stages the witnesses to this miracle in a way that is suggestive of a liturgical situation:

Gesæton sigerofo, sang ahofon,
rædþeahtende, ymb þa rode þreo
oð þa nigoðan tid, hæfdon neowne gefean
mærdum gemeted.⁴⁵

(867-70a)

A few lines later Cynewulf mentions this detail again, this time in the spot corresponding to the source. The possible connection of this detail with the liturgy for Holy Saturday pertains to the Easter Vigil service. As Kelly remarks, this service originally began after dark, but by the eighth century it was anticipated in the afternoon, and eventually moved back into the morning.⁴⁶ In at least one sacramentary, the *Ordo romanus*, this vigil was specified to begin a little after the ninth hour.⁴⁷ It deserves notice here that the *Regularis concordia* stipulates that the aforementioned lighting of the new fire and the blessing of the paschal candle was to commence on Holy Saturday at the ninth hour: 'Sabbato Sancto hora nona, ueniente abbate in ecclesiam cum fratribus, nous, ut

supradictum est, afferatur ignis. Posito uero cereo ante altare, ex illo accendatur igne'.⁴⁸ Finally, to these potential associations we might add the one suggested by Stepsis and Rand, who call attention to the ceremony re-enacting the burial (on Good Friday) and discovery (on Holy Saturday) of the Cross as described in the *Regularis concordia*. It is 'this association of the finding of the Cross with the symbolic illumination of the world' presented in the drama of the liturgy that may have prompted Cynewulf to develop these important themes in *Elene*.⁴⁹

The issue throughout this discussion has not necessarily been 'what did Cynewulf add to his sources that was not there before?' but rather 'what did he recognize in his sources, in terms of potential for thematic development?'. It is the answer to this question that takes us closer to a better understanding of his use of demonology in this poem. With the appearance of Satan immediately following the raising of the Cross, the narrative shifts as it were to spiritual, liturgical time. Cynewulf is likely to have recognized the anomaly of Satan's personal appearance before Judas in his source, but it seems similarly clear that he recognized as well the symbolic force of that appearance. In any other saint's life or legend the situation might have called for the appearance of the 'hagiographical demon'. But in Cynewulf's treatment of the legend, which he perceived as being concerned primarily with the power of the Cross to effect spiritual revelation and salvation, the poet goes to great lengths to demonstrate his concern 'with various aspects of the larger spiritual implications of this history of the discovery of the Cross'.⁵⁰ He does this by presenting the conversion of Judas in terms of figural narrative. It is in just such a narratological situation that the appearance of the liturgical Devil is both logical and effective.

NOTES

¹ See C. Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (New York: Wilson, 1903) p. 23. Abbetmeyer's analysis, with citations from Gregory's *Moralia* is as follows: 'Gregory distinguishes three periods of Satan's dominion. Before Christ he had a rightful claim upon all men, they all followed him freely, being bound in sin and guilt (*Mor.* II. c. 22). God from just cause gave this dominion to the wicked one. (*Mor.* II. c. 10). The second period begins with Christ. Through Him the devil loses his right in man and his power over him (*Mor.* I. c. 24, 26; III c. 15, 16). God curbs his power (*Mor.* XXXII. c. 15). He can no longer rule over saints as his possession, but can only persecute them outwardly (*Mor.* XVII. c. 32). But he still holds the hearts of unbelievers. To this extent he is bound. In the third period, at the end of the world, he will be loosed again and return as Antichrist to attack men with all his fury (*Mor.* IV. c. 9). Antichrist is a man of the tribe of Dan (*Mor.* XXXI. c. 24), in whom the devil fully dwells. He is thus the counterpart of the incarnate Logos. He is therefore "reprobis, perditus, damnatus homo, quem in fine mundi apostata angelus assumet" (*Mor.* XIII. c. 10). He is the greatest of sinners, the personification of sin, the vessel of perdition (*Mor.* XIV. c. 21)'.

² For a different interpretation of demonic agency in early medieval narrative, see Peter Dendle, *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), especially chapter 5, 'The Devil and the Demons', in which he argues that 'Writers exhibit no anxiety over identifying the devil with multiple demons or indwelling spirits; the texts reflect a complete integration of the two basic models for the expression of evil in the world (i.e. its embodiment as the devil vs. its manifestation as a horde of demons)'; p. 90. The plasticity and figurative valence of such references notwithstanding, an early medieval writer or reader, when pressed, would have distinguished between the ultimate source of evil (Satan) and demonic agency at the literal level of any given narrative (one demon, a horde of demons, Satan himself).

³ That is, after Christ's passion and Harrowing of hell, but before the advent of the Anti-Christ.

⁴ I cite the text from A. Holder, *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (Leipzig: In aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1889), p. 10; the punctuation is my own. 'But a/the devil, always envious of all good things, shouted with furious voice into the air, saying, "Who is this who again will not allow me to receive their souls? Jesus, Nazarene, you have drawn all men to you, and you have uncovered your tree against me. Judas, what have you done? Was it not through a Judas that I first brought about betrayal? Behold, now through a Judas I am cast out of here. I shall find some way to oppose you: I will raise up another king who will forsake [Christ] crucified and follow my counsels, and having suffered grievous torments you will forsake Christ crucified"'.

⁵ AA SS. XVI Februarii, 'Acta auctore anonymo,' vol. 2, p. 875.

⁶ *The Exeter Book*, ed. by George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, Anglo-Saxon Poetry Records, 3 (New York: New York Columbia Press; London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1936), pp. 122, ll.311b-44. The Latin *Vita* is even more explicit: 'B. Juliana dixit: Quis te misit ad me? Dæmon respondit: Satanās pater meus'. [Juliana said: 'Who sent you to me?' The demon responded: 'Satan, my father.'] Quoted after Rosemary Woolf, ed., *Juliana*, Methuen's Old English Library (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 35, note to l. 321. In the Latin this creature is referred to from the outset as *dæmon*, and he is even named: 'Ego sum Belial dæmon, quem aliqui Iopher Nigrum vocant' [I am the demon Belial, whom some call Iopher Nigrum] (*Acta Sanctorum*, XVI Februarii, p. 875).

⁷ This state of affairs becomes less confusing to the modern reader once we recall Tyconius' seventh rule, regarding the Devil and his Body: 'Sometimes things are said concerning the Devil which may be understood not with reference to himself, but rather to his body'. See my 'Old English Religious Poetry', in *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. by Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), pp. 159-75, and Dendle's discussion of this at pp. 87-92.

⁸ 'Then a false, flying fiend rose up into the air there. The hell-devil, a terrible monster intent upon evil [. . .].'

⁹ 'Then a false, flying fiend rose up into the air there. The hell-devil, a terrible monster intent upon evil, cried out: "Lo! What man is this who once again destroys my following through ancient strife, who increases old animosity and plunders my possessions? This is everlasting persecution. Evil-doing souls may no longer remain in my possession. Now a stranger has come, one whom previously I reckoned to be bound fast by sin, and he has robbed me of all my rights, my treasures. This is no fair undertaking."

¹⁰ Three of the five manuscripts collated by Holder have the reading *eorum* in this line, while the other two read *meorum* (Holder, p. 25). Naturally there is no way of knowing which Cynewulf saw, but the existence of this variant renders it at least possible that Cynewulf changed the line to give possession of the souls to Satan. Whether he saw *eorum* or *meorum* in his original, he certainly emphasized this telling detail in his Old English adaptation.

¹¹ In a chapter devoted to this theme in Cynewulf's *Elene*, Earl R. Anderson succinctly summarizes the two soteriological theories current in the early Middle Ages (Earl R. Anderson, *Cynewulf: Structure, Style and Theme in His Poetry* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983) pp. 141-42). On the one hand there was the 'satisfaction' theory of atonement (based on Hebrews 10. 1-25) in which the crucifixion was seen as a *sacrifice made* by Christ on behalf of man. This view stresses, as Anderson observes, the relationship between God and man. The devil's-rights theory, on the other hand, emphasizes the relationship between Christ and Satan, and allows for portrayal of the crucifixion as a conflict between the two, the

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Devil ultimately being tricked and stripped of his 'rights' by Christ's triumphant victory on the Cross. For more on the coexistence of these two seemingly contradictory theories, see Rosemary Woolf, 'Doctrinal Influences in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Medium Ævum*, 27 (1958), 137-53 (pp. 142-43). One example from a text with which the Anglo-Saxons were certainly familiar should suffice to illustrate the Devil's Rights theory: Gregory's *Mor.* II, ch. 22, ¶ 41 (on Job 1. 7):

Adam quippe, ante aduentum Domini, omnes post se gentium nationes traxit. Circuiuit et perambulauit quia per corda gentium iniquitatis suae uestigia impressit. Cadens enim a sublimibus humanas mentes iure possedit quia in culpae suae uinculo uolentes astrinxit; tantoque latius in mundo uagatus est quanto a reatu quisque illius liber per omnia inuentus non est. Cui quasi ex potestate mundum circuisse est, nullum hominem qui sibi plene resisteret inuenisse. Sed iam satan redeat, id est ab effectu suae malitiae uis illum diuina constringat, quia iam apparuit in carne qui in peccati contagione ex carnis nil habeat infirmitate. Venit humilis quem et superbus hostis admiretur; quatenus qui fortia diuinitatis eius despexerat etiam humanitatis eius infirma pertimescat. Vnde et mox significatione mirifica, contra eum ipsa humanitatis infirmitas obstupescenda proponitur, etc. (CCSL 143, pp. 84-85)

[For from the time of Adam till the coming of the Lord, he drew after him all the nations of the Gentiles; he went to and fro in the earth, and walked up and down in it, in that he stamped the foot-prints of his wickedness throughout the hearts of the Gentiles. For when he fell from on high he gained lawful possession of the minds of men, because he fastened them as willing captives in the chains of his iniquity; and he wandered the more at large in the world, in proportion as there was no one found who was in all things free from that of his guilt. And his having gone to and fro in the world as with power, is his having found no man who could thoroughly resist him. But now let Satan return back, i.e. let the Divine power withhold him from the execution of his wickedness, since he has now appeared in the flesh, Who had no part in the infection of sin from the infirmity of the flesh. He came in humility for the proud enemy himself to wonder at, that he who had set at nought all the mightiness of His Divinity, might stand in awe even of the very infirmities of His humanity. Wherefore also this very weakness of His human nature is immediately set forth

against him with wonderful significance as an object to confound him, etc.] (translation from *Morals on the Book of Job* by St. Gregory the Great, trans. by James Bliss, 2 vols (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1844), 1, 96)

¹² Catherine Regan, 'Evangelicalism as the Informing Principle of Cynewulf's *Elene*', *Traditio*, 29 (1973), 27-52. Somewhat earlier, Thomas D. Hill had noted in passing that Judas' confrontation seemed 'patterned on the renunciation of the devil in the baptismal liturgy'. See 'Sapiential Structure and Figural Narrative in the Old English "*Elene*"', *Traditio*, 27 (1971), 159-77 (p. 175).

¹³ Regan, p. 35.

¹⁴ þe synt tu gearu,
 swa lif swa deað, swa þe leofre bið
 to geceosanne. Cyð ricene nu
 hwæt ðu þæs to þinge þafian wille. (605b-608)
 [There are two fates open to you: either life or death, whichever is
 dearer to you to choose. Therefore make known right now which of
 the two you would choose as your lot.]

These 'two ways' are the Way of Life and the Way of Death. As Regan observes, when *Elene* offers Judas a choice between life or death, 'she is offering him the wide way of spiritual death or the narrow way – difficult and arduous – of spiritual life' (Regan, p. 37).

¹⁵ 'All Catechetical treatises before Augustine's *De catechezandis rudibus* used the theme of the Two ways as a basis for their moral teaching (Augustine preferred to use the Decalogue), and hence in the early Church pre-baptismal instruction was identified with the theme of the Two Ways' (Regan, pp. 37-38).

¹⁶ Hu mæg þæm geweorðan þe on westenne
 meðe ond metelean morland trydeð,
 hungre gehæfted, ond him hlaf ond stan
 on gesihðe bu samod geweorðað,
 streac ond hnesce, þæt he þone stan nime
 wið hungres hleo, hlafes ne gime,
 gewende to wædle, ond þa wiste wiðsæce,
 beteran wiðhyccge, þonne he bega beneah?

[How may it be for the man who treads the wastelands, tired and without food, gripped by hunger, and who spies both a loaf of bread and a stone, hard and soft, that he should take the stone to stay his hunger but pay no heed to the loaf, turns to deprivation and forsakes plenitude, despises the better of the two when he has the benefit of both?]

¹⁷ Regan, pp. 38-39.

¹⁸ Regan, p. 43.

¹⁹ Regan, p. 44.

²⁰ Ic eow healsie þurh heofona god
þæt ge me of ðyssum earfeðum up forlæten,
heanne fram hungres geniðlan. Ic þæt halige treo
lustum cyðe, nu ic hit leng ne mæg
helan for hungre. Is þes hæft to ðan strang,
þreanyd þæs þearl and þes þroht to ðæs heard
dogorrimum. Ic adreogan ne mæg,
ne leng helan be ðam lifes treo,
þeah ic ær mid dysige þurhdrifen wære
ond ðæt soð to late seolf gecneowe. (699-708)

[I implore you by the God of the heavens that you let me up out of these torments, laid low by the fierceness of hunger. I will eagerly reveal the holy tree now that I can no longer conceal it because of hunger. This imprisonment is so harsh, the affliction so severe and the suffering so hard with the passing of days. I cannot endure, nor any longer keep the secret of the tree of life, although I was earlier imbued with folly and myself recognized the truth too slowly.]

²¹ 'Go, teach all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'. The order of this precept is expounded by Blessed Jerome in his Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel: 'First, the disciples teach all nations, and then, when they have been taught, the nations are baptized. For it is impossible that the body receive the sacrament of baptism, unless the soul have previously received the truth of faith'. Text and translation adapted from Gerald Ellard, *Master Alcuin, Liturgist*, Jesuit Studies (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), p. 73.

²² Regan, p. 49.

²³ Regan, p. 52.

²⁴ 'and he raised up [. . .] the two crosses'; 'then the third one was raised up in holiness'. F. Holthausen, ed., *Cynnewulfs Elene* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1905), p. 35.

²⁵ 'he placed the crosses upon him one by one'; 'also the third, the cross of the Lord, was placed upon the dead man'.

²⁶ See especially ll. 889-898a.

²⁷ Regan, p. 50.

²⁸ See note 29, below.

²⁹ 'I need not praise the Cross in exultation. Lo, the Savior has often shut me up in the narrow home, to the sorrow of us wretched ones'.

³⁰ One such is Anderson, *Cynewulf*, p. 139.

³¹ In his study of the development of Christian baptismal rites and the Devil's role in them, Henry Ansgar Kelly comments on the tendency to see the Devil as capable of being in many places at once. Discussing an exorcism from the Byzantine liturgy for baptism contained in the eighth-century *Barberini euchologium*, Kelly says the following:

The nature of the devil's presence and mode of operation is variously stated. We can deduce from the injunction not to hide in the candidates that he is regarded as being able to dwell within many persons simultaneously. This trait illustrates a common tendency in Christian discussions of the devil, which can in fact be seen in the New Testament itself, namely to speak of Satan as if his power were virtually unlimited in carrying out his evil designs in various parts of the world at the same time. Sometimes, no doubt, the devil is simply taken as a collective term for all evil spirits. (Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 165)

This is also what I take Dendle to be arguing in the passage referred to in note 7, above. I think it is important to distinguish between 'discussions' of the devil, that is to say theoretical ones in which doctrine is formulated; liturgical ones, which by their very nature are highly symbolic; and narratives in which demonic agency is embodied as a literary character. In a literary narrative, then, a reference to the 'devil' may in fact be meant in the collective sense noted by Kelly.

³² Hill, 'Sapiential Structure', p. 175 and Regan, p. 50.

³³ 'May he who awakened the dead, Christ himself, damn you to the abyss of eternal fire!'

³⁴ 'You need not, mindful of sins, so forcefully renew the pain and raise up strife, crime-lord of death. The mighty King, who by his word has raised many of the dead, will thrust you, sin-working one, deprived of glory down into the gulf, into the abyss of torments. May you recognize more clearly that you have foolishly forsaken the brightest light and the love of God, the fair joy. Since then you have dwelt in a fiery bath, surrounded by torments, consumed by fire, and there forever in your hostility you shall suffer punishment, misery without end'.

³⁵ Regan p. 50.

³⁶ This is the translation of *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus offered by E.C. Whitaker, ed., *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 2nd edn (London: S.P.C.K., 1970), p. 5.

³⁷ Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 183.

Dost thou renounce Satan?

Rx. I renounce.

And all his works?

Rx. I renounce.

And all his pomps?

Rx. I renounce.

³⁸ Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 183. See also Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, pp. 220-23.

³⁹ Whichever one that may have been. Our knowledge of the exact forms of the liturgy used during this period (and indeed the period during which Cynewulf lived) is inexact and fragmentary. For the purposes of this discussion I have referred to the collection of baptismal documents cited by Regan (Whitaker, *Documents*). My comments on perceived parallels between the liturgy and *Elene* are based on the contents of the Gelasian Sacramentary, which is known to have been in use in England during the eighth and ninth centuries. For more on liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England, see Helmut Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 91-141. On the Gelasian Sacramentary, and its relationship to the Gregorian, in the England of Cynewulf's day, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Batsford, 1972), pp. 168-90 and Appendix II.

⁴⁰ Hill, 'Bread and Stone: Again *Elene* 611-18', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 81 (1980), 256.

⁴¹ Sisam, Kenneth, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 12-13, note 1.

⁴² Sisam, *Studies*, p. 14, and Regan, p. 28. Regan misquotes Sisam and transposes the modern day of the feast (May 4th) for that of the medieval feast (May 3rd) in her article.

⁴³ See Robert Stepsis and Richard Rand, 'Contrast and Conversion in Cynewulf's *Elene*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 70 (1969), 273-82.

⁴⁴ 'And at about the ninth hour a certain dead youth was carried in on a litter.'

⁴⁵ 'The judges, men of renown, sat there; they raised up their song around the three crosses until the ninth hour: they had in glory discovered a new happiness.'

⁴⁶ Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, p. 223.

⁴⁷ Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, p. 223, note 64.

⁴⁸ Thomas, Symons, ed., *Regularis Concordia* (London: Nelson and Sons, 1953), p. 47. 'On Holy Saturday at the hour of None, when the abbot enteres the church with the brethren, the new fire shall be brought in, as we said before, and the candle which has been placed before the altar shall be lit from that fire.'

⁴⁹ See p. 282, note 1; for the relevant passage in the *Concordia*, see Symons, p. 44-45.

⁵⁰ Hill, 'Sapiential Structure', p. 177.

Hypallage in the Old English *Exodus*

Michael Lapidge

The Old English *Exodus* is universally regarded as one of the most difficult – perhaps *the* most difficult – poetic texts which have come down to us.¹ Its difficulty lies not only in the desperate state in which the text has been transmitted, to the point where few lines can be read without the reader having to confront a textual crux or *locus desperandus*, but also in the poet's highly allusive and metaphorical diction.² The poem is, in effect, an extended meditation on the liturgical lections for Holy Saturday, which were taken from biblical Exodus 14. 24-15. 1a;³ accordingly, although these lections concern the episode of the Israelites' Crossing of the Red Sea, the poet's concern is not with the straightforward narration of that event, but with its typological significance for the Christian catachumen about to be baptized. In the early church, all baptisms took place at midnight on Holy Saturday, with the lighting of the Paschal Candle and the symbolic progression from darkness to light: hence the imagery of light and darkness is central both to the liturgical lections and to the Old English poem. The *Exodus* is distinctive among Old English poems for the highly figurative nature of its diction: the language is compressed and metaphorical throughout, so that its metaphors need to be carefully unpacked by the reader. The reader is instructed in this reading technique by the poet himself:

Gif onlucan wile lifes wealhstod,
beorht in breostum, banhuses weard,
ginfæsten god Gastes cægon,
run bið gerecenod, ræd forð gæð.⁴

This is itself a fitting metaphor for the act of interpreting *Exodus* (the poem as well as its biblical source) – unlocking the inner truth with the keys of the mind.

In order to understand a poet who construed the act of reading his verse in such terms, it is essential for the modern reader to be attentive to the various devices by which the poet encoded his metaphors. One such device is the use of hypallage, a device which the poet evidently learned from his reading of Latin verse.

Hypallage, or 'transferred epithet', is a feature of Latin poetic diction which invariably poses difficulties for inexperienced readers of Latin verse. Hypallage occurs when an adjective whose meaning relates primarily to one noun is transferred grammatically to another.⁵ One Roman poet who made extensive use of hypallage was Vergil.⁶ An unambiguous example of the device is found in book V of the *Aeneid*, where Vergil is describing the start of the boat race:

inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes
haud mora, prosiluire suis.⁷

Properly, however, it is not the trumpet (*tuba*) which is clear (*clara*), but the sound which it emits: 'tuba dedit clarum sonitum' [the trumpet gave out a clear sound]; the adjective *clarum* has been 'transferred' grammatically from *sonitum* to *tuba*. Or again, when in book IX Vergil is describing the armies of Rutulians who encircle the Trojans' encampment in order to prevent anyone escaping:

purpurei cristis iuuenes auroque corusci.⁸

Here, once again, it is not the young men who are purple, but their plumed helmets: 'iuuenes cristis purpureis', where the adjective *purpureus* has been transferred from the helmets to the young men.

Vergil was very fond of this device, and it recurs throughout his verse, never more memorably, perhaps, than in his description of Aeneas and the Sibyl setting out through the murk for the depths of the underworld in book VI of the *Aeneid*:

ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram.⁹

What we have here, in effect, is double hypallage: it is not the travellers, but the night, that is dark (*nocte obscura*), and it is not the night which is lonely, but the two solitary travellers (*solii*).

The device was used by many of Vergil's imitators, notably by Lucan as well as by the Christian-Latin poets who attempted to express the Christian

message in hexameter verse of the highest poetic register.¹⁰ It was these poets who, along with Vergil, were subsequently to form the staple of the Anglo-Saxon school curriculum.¹¹ A couple of examples will suffice. First, Juvenecus, who in book II of his *Euangelia* describes the young man with the withered hand (Matthew 12. 10) who was healed by Christ on the doorstep of the synagogue on the Sabbath itself (in defiance of the Pharisees):¹²

mox hic iuuenem pro limine cernit,
siccatum ex umero cui pondus inutile palmae
pendebat.¹³

But it is not properly the weight (*pondus*) which is withered (*siccatum*), but the man's hand ('palmae [. . .] siccatae'); the adjective *siccatum* has been transferred grammatically from the hand to the weight.

The Christian-Latin poet who used hypallage for the most striking metaphorical effect was Alcimus Avitus, as two examples will make clear. In book I of his poem on the events of Mosaic history (the *Carmina de spiritalis historiae gestis*),¹⁴ Avitus is describing the fountain of Paradise from which the four principal rivers of the world take their source:

talis in argento non fulget gratia, tantam
nec crystallae dabunt nitido de frigore lucem.¹⁵

In these lines it is not the cool (*frigus*) but the crystal that is gleaming (*crystallae nitida*); the adjective *nitidus* (gleaming) has been transferred from the *crystallae* to the *frigus*, creating thereby a brilliant metaphor (gleaming cool, cold glitter). The *Gesta* of Avitus are dense with metaphors of this sort. A final example: in book V Avitus describes the Israelites' Crossing of the Red Sea, and the Egyptians' subsequent destruction in the flood. As the Egyptians flail about in the water, they become impaled on (their own) floating spears, and the coloured water is mingled with red blood:

ast alii, lassata diu dum brachia iactant,
incurrunt enses iaculisque natantibus
concolor et rubro miscetur sanguine pontus.¹⁶

In one sense this is not properly hypallage: blood is red. But what Avitus is playing upon is the transference of the epithet for the Red Sea – the *pontus ruber* – to the red of the blood of the Egyptians which is mingled in it.

Anglo-Latin poets would have been familiar with the use of hypallage from their reading of Vergil and Christian-Latin poets such as Juvencus and Avitus,¹⁷ and it is not surprising that striking examples of hypallage are found in Anglo-Latin poetry, particularly in the two Anglo-Latin poets who learned most from the study of Vergil, namely Bede and Wulfstan of Winchester. Thus Bede in his *Vita metrica S. Cudberti* (composed c. 720) describes the departure of St Cuthbert for the seashore in order to pray through the night:¹⁸

interea iuuenis solitos nocturnus ad hymnos
digreditur.¹⁹

where we have what approaches Vergilian double hypallage: it is the hymns, not Cuthbert, that are nocturnal (*hymnos nocturnos*); and his is the habit, not the hymns' (*solitus*). By the same token, Wulfstan of Winchester, in his *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (composed 992-96), describes a young man who is taken to his own house in a state of paralysis, where his arrival is met with the weeping and wailing of his family:²⁰

duxere ad proprii lugentia culmina tecti.²¹

where it is obvious that it is the man's family, not the roofs of his house, that do the wailing.

Given that the Latin poetry of Avitus, Juvencus and Vergil was widely known in Anglo-Saxon England, and that the device of hypallage was practised by the two most skilful Anglo-Latin poets, Bede and Wulfstan, it should not, in principle, be surprising to find that the device was also employed by Anglo-Saxon poets writing in the vernacular. There are in fact several unambiguous examples of hypallage in the Old English *Exodus*. It is particularly interesting to find that the *Exodus*-poet employs the very instance of hypallage – the 'red waters' for the Red Sea – which we have already seen in Avitus. In the Old English poem, Moses is exhorting the Israelites to hasten across the sea now that the Lord has parted the waters:

Ofest is selost

þæt ge of feonda fæðme weorðen

nu se agend up arærde

reade streamas in randgebeorh.²²

Here, as in Avitus, the *reade streamas* represent a transference of 'the waters of the Red Sea'.

It would appear from this example that the Old English poet learned this use of hypallage directly from his reading of Avitus. It is therefore reasonable to suspect other instances of the device elsewhere in the poem. Two such passages deserve notice. In the first, a company of Israelites (the third such company), namely the sons of Simeon, advance across the sea:

þridde þeodmægen (þufas wundon

ofer garfare) guðcyste onþrang

deawig sceaftum.²³

The company is said to be 'dewy' (*deawig*) because they are advancing into the sea; but it is properly the spears which are dewy and moist (from the blood they have spilled, or in anticipation of the blood of the Israelites which they intend to spill).²⁴

During the narrative of the Crossing itself, the Egyptians could not restrain the onslaught of the waves:

Ne mihton forhabban helpendra wað

merestreames mod, ac he manegum gesceod

gyllende gryre.²⁵

Here again it is not properly the 'terror' (*gryre*) which is screaming, but the 'many' who scream in terror; the adjective 'shrieking' (*gyllende*) has been transferred from the army (the many) to the terror which they experience.

The language of the Old English *Exodus* is pervasively metaphorical. And insofar as metaphor in general involves the transference of a descriptive term to an object to which it is not properly applicable, so hypallage is a specific kind of metaphor, involving as it does the transference of an adjective from one noun to another. Old English poets could readily have learned the use of this device from their reading of Latin poetry. Certainly there is evidence to suggest that the *Exodus*-poet was familiar with Latin verse. I have argued on another occasion that

the *Exodus*-poet's account of the Red Sea crossing, and the drowning of the Egyptians, was informed by awareness of the figural interpretation of this event by Avitus and Arator, and that his imagery of water mixing with blood as a *figura* of baptism can only properly be understood in light of the Christian-Latin poetic tradition.²⁶ In the same vein Paul Remley has recently set out an impressive array of evidence linking the diction of *Exodus* with the Latin poetry of Aldhelm.²⁷ In a word, the metaphorical diction of the Old English *Exodus* can best be understood in the context of the Latin verse which literate Anglo-Saxons studied as part of their school curriculum.²⁸

NOTES

¹ Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), p. 212: 'in many ways the most difficult of the Caedmonian poems, and perhaps of all Old English poems'; and cf. Roberta Frank, 'What Kind of Poetry is *Exodus*?', in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. by Daniel G. Calder and T. Craig Christy (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988), pp. 191-205 (p. 191): 'The diction of *Exodus* has seemed to modern readers more allusive, more learned, the syntax more wrenched, the layering of meaning deeper than in other vernacular compositions'. In what follows, I generally quote from the edition of Peter J. Lucas, *Exodus*, rev. edn (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994); but I have also had recourse to other editions, notably that of J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Old English Exodus*, ed. by Joan Turville-Petre (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

² There is an incisive account of the *Exodus*-poet's diction by L. Schücking, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1915), esp. pp. 8-16.

³ The relationship of the poem to the Holy Saturday lections was first established by James W. Bright, 'The Relation of the Caedmonian *Exodus* to the Liturgy', *MLN*, 27 (1912), 97-103; it has recently been comprehensively illustrated by Paul G. Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 78-87, 168-230. On the symbolism of baptism in the patristic tradition as reflected in *Exodus*, see John F. Vickrey, 'Exodus and the Battle in the Sea', *Traditio*, 28 (1972), 119-40.

⁴ *Exodus* 523-26: 'If life's interpreter [*lifes wealhstod* = the intellect, mind], bright in the breast, the body's guardian, wishes to unlock ample bounties with the Keys of the Spirit, the secret will be explained, the counsel will go forth'.

⁵ On hypallage as a feature of Latin poetic diction, see Wilhelm Kroll, 'La lingua poetica romana', in *La lingua poetica latina*, ed. and trans. by Aldo Lunelli, 2nd edn (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1980), pp. 1-66 (pp. 27-30), and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, rev. by Anton Szantyr, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2. 2 (München: Beck, 1965), pp. 159-60 (with bibliography).

⁶ On hypallage in Vergil, see A. Wankenne, 'L'Hypallage dans l'oeuvre de Virgile', *Les études classiques*, 17 (1949), 335-42; E. Adelaide Hahn, 'A Source of Vergilian Hypallage', *TAPhA*, 87 (1956), 147-87; and (briefly), both W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (Harmondsworth: Peregrine Books, 1966), pp. 313-15, and W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 62.

⁷ *Aen.* v. 139-40: 'and then, when the clear trumpet gave out its sound, without delay all competitors burst forth from their starting-points'.

⁸ *Aen.* ix. 163: 'the young men, purple with their plumed helmets and gleaming with gold'.

⁹ *Aen.* vi. 268: 'they set off through the shadows, the dark ones, beneath the lonely night'.

¹⁰ See U. Hübner, 'Hypallage in Lucans Pharsalia', *Hermes*, 100 (1972), 577-600, and also Elaine Fantham, *Lucan: De Bello Civili, Book II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 37.

¹¹ See Michael Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England (1): The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 99-140 (repr. in Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature: 600-899* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 455-98).

¹² *Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuueni Evangeliorum Libri quattuor*, ed. by Iohannes Huemer, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 24 (Vindobonae [Wien]: Tempsky, 1891).

¹³ *Euang.* ii. 583-5: 'straightway he sees a young man on the doorstep from whose shoulder the withered useless weight of a hand was dangling'.

¹⁴ *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis Episcopi Opera quae supersunt*, ed. by Rudolfus Peiper, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, 6. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), pp. 199-294.

¹⁵ *Gesta* i. 252-53: 'such great beauty does not gleam in silver, nor will crystal exude such light from its gleaming cool'.

¹⁶ *Gesta* v. 691-93: 'but others, while they cast about their tired arms, run themselves in with their own swords, and the sea, coloured by the floating spears, is mingled with red blood'.

¹⁷ The evidence for the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of Avitus, Juvenius and Vergil is set out fully in Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 292, 319, and 335-36 respectively.

¹⁸ *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, ed. by Werner Jaager, *Palaestra*, 198 (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1935).

¹⁹ *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti*, 220: 'meanwhile the nocturnal young man sets off for his usual hymn-singing'.

²⁰ Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* is ed. by Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, *Winchester Studies*, 4.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 335-551.

²¹ *Narratio metrica* i. 588: 'they took him to the weeping roofs of his own house'.

²² *Exodus* 293-96: 'it is best to make haste to escape from the enemies' grasp, now that the Ruler has raised up the red streams in a rampart'.

²³ *Exodus* 342-44: 'the third company (their standards moved forward above the spear-assembly) pressed forward in a troop, dewy with their spears'.

Hypallage in the Old English Exodus

²⁴ Tolkien removed this instance of hypallage by emending MS *deawig sceafstum* (two words) to the – otherwise unattested – compound *deawigsceafstian*.

²⁵ *Exodus* 488-90: 'they could not restrain the helpers' onrush, the anger of the flood, but it destroyed many in shrieking terror'. Note that I read *wað* ('ranging abroad', hence 'onrush') with Tolkien, rather than the transmitted *pað* (printed by Lucas); see Tolkien's note, *The Old English Exodus*, p. 63.

²⁶ Michael Lapidge, 'Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages', in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers*, ed. by Jill Mann and Maura Nolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 11-40 (pp. 25-28).

²⁷ Paul G. Remley, 'Aldhelm as Old English Poet: *Exodus*, Asser, and the *Dicta Ælfredi*', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, 90-108 (pp. 92-94).

²⁸ I am very grateful to Andy Orchard for commenting on an earlier version of this article.

Feminine Heroism in the Old English *Judith*¹

Christine Thijs

Introduction

The *Judith*-poet went to some lengths in order to ensure acceptance of Judith's role as a killer, even though her victim is the army general besieging her people, for the text would miss its aim if the readers were to 'feel differently about a woman doing something consciously cruel because of society's expectations of the "gentle", nurturing sex'². Perhaps the perception that fatal violence is more monstrous when committed by a woman is the reason why many critics have found a literal interpretation of the story of Judith (considered apocryphal by Protestants,³ but belonging to the Old Testament canon for Catholics, including Anglo-Saxons, as attested by Ælfric⁴), less plausible than an allegorical reading; a female hero who seeks out and decapitates the enemy with his own sword is not compatible with the still wide-spread image of Anglo-Saxon peace-weaving and cup-bearing ladies.⁵ Some recent scholarship, including the work of Sklute, Enright and Eshleman, has interpreted the peace-weaver as an influential diplomat in military and political issues, as opposed to the woman being merely the 'deposit' in a marriage between rivalling clans.⁶ Queens, like Wealhtheow in *Beowulf*, can arguably be interpreted as central figures maintaining power and cohesion within a warband. The universality of this political role among Germanic chieftains' wives has been demonstrated by Enright.⁷ Nevertheless, representations of women themselves physically engaging in bloodshed are very exceptional in Anglo-Saxon literature. Indeed, the very words *wepman*, and *wæpnedman* for 'man', as opposed to *wifman* for 'woman', suggest that martial activity was really a male business.

Author and Audience

No one can ever wholly escape the Platonic cave of his/her contemporaneity and thus the reader approaches everything through the lenses provided by the prejudices, emotional and mental frameworks of the 'Great Narratives' with which he/she grew up. In the same way, the author's life experience, of which gender is a large component, has a significant impact on the content, form and agenda of the text. As Klinck concludes in her study of poetic markers in relation to the gender of an author, there is no evidence suggesting the anonymous works are female- rather than male-authored, because there are no reliable tests.⁸ However, there is no reason to exclude the possibility – as is in principle the case with all anonymous work – that the Old English *Judith*-poet was a woman.⁹

Male or female, the author would in all probability have envisaged a mixed audience; there is no justification for assuming that a text was written for a single sex audience unless the content explicitly indicates this. Shepherd suggests that the Old English *Judith* may have been intended as a 'mirror for Princesses', which supports the notion of an active rather than a merely passive role for female royalty.¹⁰ In this context it should be remembered that Hrabanus Maurus, Alcuin's Frankish student, dedicated his commentary on the biblical Book of Judith to the Frankish Empress Judith. In fact, four scholars have suggested that the Old English *Judith* was written specifically in honour of Æðelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, who, after the death of her husband Æthelred of Mercia, successfully led the Mercian army into battle against the Vikings between 915 and 918.¹¹ While female military leaders were certainly rather exceptional, female writers – albeit of Latin rather than Old English – such as Eadburg, Bucge, Leoba, Ælflæd, and Berhtgyd should not be considered exceptions in an otherwise male world of literary production, but rather as a few known names confirming the notion of a much larger group of female authors than is usually acknowledged.¹²

Against an Exclusively Allegorical Reading

How shall we interpret *Judith*: as an allegory of the Church, Ecclesia, in accordance with Hrabanus Maurus,¹³ as the exemplum of triumphant virginity, following Aldhelm's and Ælfric's interpretation,¹⁴ or as a literal or even historical narrative with a real woman as protagonist?

The fact that the unique texts of *Beowulf* and *Judith* survive in the Nowell codex (later bound together with the Southwick codex in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv), has led to the two texts often being studied in conjunction.¹⁵ Moreover, the hand that copied *Judith* is identical to the one which copied the second part of *Beowulf* (l. 1939 to the end). With regard to sword-wielding females, Chance suggests that the *Beowulf*-poet 'perhaps agrees that a female protagonist can avert horrible consequences for her warlike behavior only when she functions as a heroic emblem of the Church or like the warrior of Christ battling the Devil – like Judith, Juliana, and Elene in the religious epics'.¹⁶ However, the extent to which elements in *Beowulf* can be adduced in support of interpretations of *Judith* should not be overestimated. Indeed, doubts can be raised as to whether the two texts were connected in any way (other than the scribal overlap) during Anglo-Saxon times.¹⁷

Patristic and medieval commentators widely used allegorical readings, and these greatly influenced Anglo-Saxon poets, whose allegorical use of animals is illustrated amply by such texts as *The Phoenix*, *The Panther*, and *The Whale*. In narrative texts, such as *Beowulf* and *Judith*, there is, however, the danger that the more straightforward interpretation becomes neglected or even denied. The abstraction resulting from a purely allegorical interpretation reduces the characters to religious types to such an extent that they are no longer human. Shepherd entirely opposes an allegorical reading: '[O]f all the surviving [Old English poetic] treatments of the Bible, *Judith* is the one most empty of theological and typological implication'.¹⁸ Supportive of a literal narrative reading is the 'cinematographic' narrative technique used for the battle scene; this very Anglo-Saxon addition, in which the action is portrayed visually,¹⁹ is reminiscent of other heroic poetry such as the *Battle of Maldon* and the *Battle of Brunanburh*, neither of which can reasonably be viewed as religious allegories. This seems a strong indication that the poet intended to present a celebration of traditional epic qualities.

Griffith positively asserts that the characters are too real, too human to be reduced to types: 'Judith is wise, but not a typification of wisdom, and Holofernes is devilish, but not simply a mask of Satan', yet in his opinion the poet is sensitive to allegorical depiction in biblical commentaries but not writing in that tradition.²⁰ A considerable number of medieval discussions on the Old Testament book of Judith (including works by Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore, Hrabanus Maurus, Fulgentius, Prudentius, Dracontius, and Aldhelm) survive.²¹ Many contain a typological or allegorical reading. Griffith observes that the *Judith*-poet's

treatment of the source is similar to that of the *Exodus*-poet, yet that he/she 'avoids explicit reference to allegorical interpretations from patristic commentary' and instead creates a 'simple exemplum of the triumph of Christian faith over the power of evil'.²²

It has often been assumed that *Judith* is based solely on the Vulgate version, but Griffith's comparative analysis shows that the Old Latin Bible (*Vetus Latina*) offers, in many instances, a considerably fuller source for *Judith* than the Vulgate.²³ The poet may have had access to more than one Latin version. Until the Vulgate was firmly based on the recension which is best transmitted in the Codex Amiatinus, there was no standardisation. Irish Bibles exerted a great influence on some vernacular texts in Anglo-Saxon England. The liberties the poet took with his/her sources make it impossible to determine their precise identity. Furthermore he/she demonstrably incorporates images and symbolism occurring in Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon biblical commentaries,²⁴ and is generally considered to be a highly talented and individualistic poet making use of his/her sources in an integrated and discriminating way.

All this suggests a considerable level of formal learning, as well as intellectual sophistication, which makes it difficult to rule out an allegorical approach. The integration of the historical and the eternal, and the view that temporal conflicts are a participation in the spiritual battle between God and Satan, are in accordance with the Tyconian tradition of commentators (known in Anglo-Saxon England via Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* and which heavily influenced Bede and many others). This approach to exegesis and historical thinking would later also form the basis for the concepts of the *miles Christi* and the Holy War. Swanton discusses the evolution from the early heroic culture, where comitatus was not yet based on race, national identity or possession of land, towards the late Anglo-Saxon and feudal position, where those situated outside one's own realm, and certainly outside the realm of Christianity, were considered as foreign, enemies, and even evil and satanic,²⁵ as is indeed the case with the portrayal of the Vikings in the *Battle of Maldon*, and *Ælfric's Life of St Edmund*.²⁶ In this climate St Martin's pacifist concept of the spiritual *miles Christi* ('Christi miles sum, pugnare mihi non licet')²⁷ rapidly changed towards that of a physical soldier of Christ, defending his native land and later even conquering new land, all in the name of Christ. As Swanton points out, '[e]cclesiastical opposition to "justifiable" bloodshed was increasingly muted'.²⁸ Anglo-Saxon monks were not supposed to engage in military conflicts but penalties were trivial when the action consisted of defence against Viking, and therefore heathen, invaders.

In this light one can agree with Astell, who, contrary to many scholars, argues that the Christological allegory of the poem is perfectly compatible with a militaristic tropology, and this without requiring a deconstruction of the unity of the poem.²⁹ She points out that '[c]learly the English at the time of Bede and Ælfric had little difficulty in connecting the allegory of salvation, so often described as a battle against the foe, with actual defensive warfare against pagan invaders', and refers to the passage in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (I.20) where an army of Britons 'still wet with baptismal water and full of faith in the Easter triumph, advances under the leadership of Bishop Germanus against the vastly superior forces of the invading Picts and Saxons, and miraculously overcomes them'.³⁰ Furthermore, Ælfric recommends Judith as a role-model in the spiritual but also clearly in the literal and physical sense: 'eow mannun to bysne' – and again we should probably bear in mind that 'man' can apply to mixed groups of men and women – 'þæt ge eowerne eard mid wæpnum bewerian wið onwinnende here'.³¹ It does not change the case that Ælfric was referring to his own homily on the book Judith (with Judith as a model of chastity), rather than to the poem.

To reject entirely an allegorical reading of *Judith* would be to deprive the text of a depth that was certainly a plausible consideration for its author. Chance makes a strong case for allegorical readings of *Juliana*, *Elene*, and indeed also of *Judith*.³² Nelson suggests the reading of *Judith* as the 'story of a secular saint',³³ while Griffith also acknowledges the epic elements, referring to the poem as an 'amalgam of Christian saint's life and vernacular heroic form, exemplary in purpose, and perhaps for a secular audience'.³⁴ Along similar lines, Belanoff argues for Judith to be regarded at the same time as a sacred and as a secular heroine.³⁵ In my opinion, her sacred attributes allow the audience to associate her with allegorical representations, while her secular side roots her in the realm of convincing human characters. It is, however, impossible to state confidently that a poem with human and monstrous protagonists cannot, next to a literal narrative meaning, contain an allegorical level or 'allegorical moments'; the lack of consistency is not a conclusive counter-argument.

Feminine rather than Fe-male Heroism

Traditional heroes

Hill defines Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry as 'a tradition of narrative poetry [. . .] which celebrates the mighty deeds of heroes, whose socially determined code of

honour is tested in circumstances commonly involving physical risk'.³⁶ The poem clearly refers to the epic tradition in form, diction and content, and Judith certainly performed a mighty deed: returning home with the head of the enemy leader Holofernes, she encouraged her people to such an extent that the men, who had previously not dared to fight, stormed the Assyrians' camp and won an easy victory. Infiltrating the Assyrian camp, with only her maid for company, carried the obvious risks of being injured, killed, or, worse, violated. In order to kill Holofernes she even willingly agreed to his desire that she enter his private tent. Swanton argues that there was no real threat to her chastity, since Holofernes was utterly impotent in his drunken stupor,³⁷ but that is very much a comment with the advantage of hindsight; upon entering the camp Judith must have been fully aware that every Assyrian represented danger to her body, her honour and ultimately her soul.

The only problem with applying Hill's definition of a hero to Judith is the socially determined code of honour. Did an Anglo-Saxon audience find it acceptable that a lady of her social status should behave in such a way? Even though 'Germanic secular literature has normally afforded a dignified and often instrumental role for women in its (admittedly male-dominated) heroic depictions of society',³⁸ sword-wielding women in the surviving literature are rarely positive characters or of aristocratic status. In the description of Grendel's mother the *Beowulf*-poet briefly refers to women in a martial context.³⁹ While it has been convincingly argued, as discussed above, that some high-placed Anglo-Saxon women had considerable influence on political and therefore, if need be, martial affairs, as illustrated by *Æðelflæd*, it is very unusual to see a woman actually executing violence with her own hands. Even Modthryth, the young queen criticised in *Beowulf* for being overly aggressive, did not kill the men who dared gaze at her: she ordered them to be put to death (1933-40a).

Another essential attribute of a traditional hero is a comitatus of retainers, part of the socially determined code of honour in Hill's definition. Judith's lack of comitatus is one of Griffith's objections to viewing Judith as an epic heroine.⁴⁰ Admittedly she is not the official leader of the Bethulians, but upon her return she does exhort them to battle. As Magennis observes, she is able to give orders ('bebead', 144, and 'het', 171).⁴¹ Her exhortations, such as 'fyllan floctogan fagum sweordum' (194),⁴² and especially 'Berað linde forð / bord for breostum' (191b-192a),⁴³ are arguably reminiscent of Byrthnoth's instructions to his men, for example: 'and bæd þæt hyra randas rihte heoldon / fæste mid folman' (*Battle of Maldon* 20-21).⁴⁴ Yet at other times she employs gentle, polite, and therefore

more stereotypically feminine phrases of requesting, for example: 'hu ic gumena gehwæne [. . .] biddan wylle' (186-87),⁴⁵ which can, however, be no less compelling, as is also demonstrated by Wealhtheow in *Beowulf*: 'dryhtguman doð swa ic bidde' (1231).⁴⁶ The multitude that gather upon her return is reflected stylistically by a mixture of familiar epic features peppered with unusual elements. As Stanley observes: '[This is] a rare example of movement achieved less by verbs than by [. . .] an unusually dense massing of *nomina* [. . .] reflecting the tumultuous rushing of the joyful Israelites towards the victorious Judith'.⁴⁷

Þa wurdon bliðe burhsittende,
syððan hi gehyrdon hu seo halige spræc
ofer heanne weall. Here wæs on lustum;
wið þæs fæstengeates folc onette,
wears wif somod, wornum ond heapum,
ðreatum ond ðrymmum þrungon ond umron
ongean ða þeodnes mægð þusendmælum
ealde ge geonge. (159-66)⁴⁸

The welcome she receives here is more affectionate than in either of the biblical sources, and it must be a deliberate adaptation on the part of the poet. Ultimately, when Judith exhorts the Bethulians to go into battle against the Assyrians, they do as she bids, which makes them no less her retainers than the Mercian warriors were Æthelflæd's or indeed than Hrothgar's were also Wealhtheow's.

Wisdom

Kaske refers to Isidore of Seville's definition of a hero, which calls for a combination of the virtues *sapientia* and *fortitudo*:

Heroicum enim carmen dictum quod eo virorum fortium res
et facta narrantur. Nam heroes appellantur viri quasi aëri et
caelo digni propter sapientiam et fortitudinem.⁴⁹

While the Latin *vir* is the equivalent of the OE *wer* rather than of *man* (which would be *homo*),⁵⁰ the maleness of Isidore's heroes does not indicate the impossibility of female heroism, but reflects the reality that heroic deeds and

martial matters were typically the domain of men. Isidore's requirement of *sapientia* and strength is fulfilled by the *Judith*-poet. The Vetus Latina version contains more references to Judith's wisdom than the Vulgate.⁵¹ Kaske discusses the Old English Judith's wisdom,⁵² and notes that her strength is mainly a constancy of mind, rather than brawn (which would masculinise her). A large number of epithets refer to her wisdom and her determination: 'gleaw on geþonce' (prudent in mind, 13), 'ferhðgleawe' (prudent, 41), 'ða snoteran idese' (the wise lady, 55), 'þrymful' (glorious, 74), 'þa wearð hyre rume on mode' (then it became spacious in her mind, 97), 'searoðoncol mægð' (the shrewd woman, 145), 'seo gleawe' (the prudent one, 171), 'þurh ludiðe gleawe lare' (through Judith's prudent advice, 333), 'þære beorhtan idese [. . .] gearoþoncolre' (to the ready-witted bright lady, 340-41). In the latter phrase, the word *beorht* really seems to approximate the modern 'bright' in the sense of 'intelligent'.⁵³ Her wisdom, as Griffith remarks, is, however, not equal to that of traditional Germanic women: it is not prophetic,⁵⁴ which would involve magic or fortune-telling; on the contrary, her wisdom is miraculous, entirely based on her unconditional faith. The only prophetic streak Judith can possibly be credited with is her knowledge of Christ and the Trinity:

Ic ðe, frymða god, ond frofre gæst,
bearn alwaldan, biddan wylle (83-84)⁵⁵

This type of anachronism is not unusual, as the Church Fathers saw the Old Testament as a prefiguration of the New. Gregory the Great, who was very influential on the Anglo-Saxon Church, wrote in one of his Homilies on Ezekiel that the Old Testament saints were saved by their faith in the future passion and resurrection of Christ since they loved and believed in Christ before he came.

Gender

Conventional heroic features cause unconventional elements to conflict sharply. In this way, recognisably heroic battle scenes help to emphasise the most unusual nature of Judith's battle with Holofernes: (1) he is not an acceptable lord; he gets excessively drunk, mistrusts his retainers (as expressed by the 'two-way mirror' mosquito net⁵⁶), and inspires fear so that his men do not dare to disturb him at a time of crisis. (2) He is slain in his sleep, which is the antithesis of a heroic death in the heat of battle. (3) His heroic slayer is a woman whose femininity, rather

than the masculine aspects of her action, is emphasised. This seems, however, not unproblematic.

The Anglo-Saxon *Judith*-poet, makes no attempt to masculinise his heroine, but on the contrary emphasises her femininity: she acts as much as possible as a noble female and her heroic epithets are, as Magennis observes, always accompanied by a feminising noun, for example: 'ides ellenrof' ('the brave lady', 109 and 146), 'mægð modigre' ('a courageous woman' 334), 'collenferhðe eadhreðige mægð' ('bold triumphant ladies' 135).⁵⁷ The poet strives, as Magennis astutely put it, to avoid her becoming 'either monstrous or some kind of honorary male'.⁵⁸ The feminine representation includes female weakness when it comes to weapon-wielding.⁵⁹ She is presented as nervous and frightened, and it is only through her piety and prayer that she manages to gather the necessary resolve to perform the deed that to a man would have been too easy to be honourable. Here, as elsewhere, the language and style reflects the unconventional content: hypermetrical lines, no epic formulas, hardly any poetic diction, and the lack of oppositional phrases allow the scene to gather momentum.

In addition, the actual beheading could apparently not be performed by an ordinary woman. The crucial phrase is 'ides ælfscinu' ('noble lady of elven brightness'). Was the act of killing a man felt as such a transgression of the boundaries of femininity that Judith temporarily also needed to transgress the boundary of humanity and take on elvish qualities? This theory would be even more attractive if the word 'ælfscinu' were to occur at the crucial moment of the actual beheading, rather than in l. 14a where it is said that it has now been four days since she first sought him out in his own camp. Not Judith but Holofernes transgresses species boundaries: she beheads 'þone hæðenan hund' ('the heathen dog' 110). Or possibly the deceitful way in which she created the opportunity to kill him, rather than the decapitation, was felt to be transgressive. The Judeo-Christian tradition depicts a number of women as deceiving, tricking, and bringing down men by seduction and temptation, starting with Eve.⁶⁰ However, the otherwise intact image of the virtuous, pious and wise Judith perhaps did not allow for this incongruity without the insertion of some supernatural element. Swanton argues for the negative connotations of the 'ælf-' part of the compound, stating that it touches on the 'Gebiet des Unheimlichen' and contains 'magische und somit gefährliche Untertöne'.⁶¹ He refers to the *Beowulf*-poet's inclusion of the elves among the evil races descending from Cain. Jente discusses the element in other compounds, such as 'ælfadl' ('nightmare'), 'ælfside' ('nightmare'), 'ælfðone' ('nightshade'),⁶² all of which convey a sense of elves being connected

with fear, illness, madness, and death. A negative layer of meaning could also be attributed to *-sciene* by association with the word 'scinna' ('evil spirit'), which appears in *Beowulf* in the phrase 'scuccum and scinum' ('demons and evil spirits', 939).

Others, however, such as Stuart and Griffith, have argued for a positive interpretation of the word, along the lines of 'wonderfully beautiful', supported by the fact that *Ælf-* is a popular element in Anglo-Saxon names (e.g. *Ælfric*, *Ælflæd*, *Ælfwine*, *Ælfred*, etc).⁶³ The second element, *-sciene* ('shining brightness'), is also generally used in a positive light, which Griffith illustrates quoting 'sunsciene' ('radiant as the sun', *Juliana* 229), 'wlitesciene' ('shining with beauty', *Genesis B* 527), and the epithet 'mæg ælfscieno' for Sarah ('a woman beautiful as an elf', *Genesis A* 1827 and 2731) as descriptions of feminine beauty.⁶⁴ The phrase 'ða beorhtan idese' ('the bright lady', 58b, see also 254 and 340) equally attributes brightness to her, which could be in the sense of physical beauty, if taken as reported thought of Holofernes and the Assyrians. If, however, this is to be read as the voice of the narrator, the sense is probably referring to moral virtue rather than mere physical beauty. Swanton relates Judith's brightness here to that of Eve and her role as temptress (*Genesis B*, 626-27, 700-01, 821-22), taking her dress and jewellery (36b-37a), as well as the arrangement of her hair ('wundenlocc', 'with twisted hair', 77, 103) to be further features of seduction.⁶⁵ Yet the rings and bracelets form part of the description of a traditional Anglo-Saxon lady: 'Wealhþeow [. . .] cynna gemyndig, / grette goldhroden, guman' (612-14) and 'beaghroden cwen' (623).⁶⁶ The jewellery is equally applied to the virgin in lyric 9 of *Christ I*,⁶⁷ while the adjective 'wundenlocc' also refers to the Jews' hair in general (325).

Griffith highlights the Vulgate statement that Judith's beauty was miraculously increased by the virtue of her purpose (10.4). With the 'ælf-' compound the poet may have been substituting the original miraculous element with a native supernatural reference: the mythological race of elves and the magic associated with them. In any case, the governing noun 'ides', the normal Old English word for 'lady', seems to confine our heroine to the realm of respectable and positive humans.⁶⁸ In conclusion, one could not go further than acknowledge both the positive elements and the scope for uncomfortable 'elvish' layers of meaning. As Swanton says about women's role in general, Judith in the Assyrian camp is 'attraktiv und schrecklich zugleich'.⁶⁹

Feminism and Stereotypes

Of the biblical Book Judith it has been said, from a feminist viewpoint, that 'it is almost too good to be true',⁷⁰ but this is not the case for the Old English poem, or at least not in a straightforward way. I disagree with Swanton's assessment that Judith represents 'einen militanten Feminismus', but would be happy to emphasise the 'spezifisch weibliche Eigenschaften' which he also acknowledges.⁷¹ The Anglo-Saxon Judith is much less 'a threat to gender divisions' than her biblical counterpart:⁷² the element of sexual seduction is carefully edited out, and Holofernes' own lust and drunken stupor deliver him helpless into her hands. Magennis has demonstrated how the *Judith*-poet negotiates the stigma associated with a woman entering the male territory of heroic violence by portraying her as passive, vulnerable and frightened;⁷³ her success is due solely to God's help. Even the beheading itself is described as clumsy and inexperienced: with the sword in hand she takes twenty lines to prepare and pray for help in killing her sleeping opponent. She lacks the physical strength to be a warrior; to convey this the poet elaborated the biblical detail that she needs to hack at his neck twice:

Sloh ða wundenlocc
þone feondsceaðan [. . .]
[. . .] þæt heo healfne forcearf
þone sweoran [. . .]
[. . .] Næs ða dead þa gyt [. . .]
[. . .] Sloh ða eornoste
ides ellenrof oþre siðe
þone hæðenan hund, þæt him þæt heafod wand
forð on ða flore. (103-11)⁷⁴

In the Vulgate this passage reads simply: 'et percussit bis in cervicem eius et abscidit caput eius' (13.10); the Old Latin version contains essentially the same: 'et percussit in cervice ejus bis [or: semel et iterum] in virtute sua, et abstulit caput ejus ab illo'.⁷⁵ In addition, the Anglo-Saxon Judith has too much emotional sensitivity to be a warrior, as is expressed repeatedly in her prayers. The Old Testament Judith is emotionally much more robust, cool under pressure, using her beauty to manipulate her victim, and, though pious and grateful for God's help, much more in control of the situation.

The following passage from Bede's account of the peace of King Edwin implies that being a woman with a child was the most vulnerable situation in which one could find oneself:

Tanta autem eo tempore pax in Brittaniam [. . .] fuisse perhibetur ut, sicut usque hodie in proverbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum recens nato parvulo vellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente valeret.⁷⁶

Tacitus describes displays of female vulnerability as an encouragement to men facing their enemies in battle,⁷⁷ which also features in Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*. In the latter the urgent call to piety motivated by the approaching Doomsday contains a scarcely concealed Germanic call to valour through the image of a man forced to watch his kinswoman being raped.⁷⁸ Both examples are very effective at encouraging the warriors, be it through virtue or bravery in battle, to protect what they hold dear. Heroic poetry has a similar function: it presents men with heroes as role models and with images of respectable but vulnerable women for whom the heroes fight courageously, if necessary to the death, and from whom they receive important gifts and support in their ambitions. The epic poet celebrates male heroic behaviour and encourages women to encourage men. The Old English Judith, more than her counterpart, is lady-like; her character is developed from the notion that it has really come to something if a lady (not just any woman, but an, aristocratic and therefore respectable one) needs to go out into the enemy camp with all the risks that entails, in order to initiate military action; it is thus arguably meant to shock men into martial bravery.

Yet stereotypes are not an entirely rigid concept, but one that is to be broken – and, one might argue, therewith reinforced – in extreme circumstances. At Beowulf's funeral not only the women but the Geatish men too were crying and mourning openly: 'hæleð hiofende [. . .]' ('the men, lamenting, [. . .]' 3142); 'Higum unrote / modceare mændon' ('with a sad spirit they uttered their grief' 3148-49); extreme disaster, such as the death of the famous but heirless king and, linked with it, the seemingly unavoidable annihilation of the tribe by its enemies, calls for extreme reactions: the men abandon their stereotype of 'locking up emotions in their hearts' as is prescribed in the gnomic part of the *Wife's Lament*,⁷⁹ and for once surrender to feelings of despair. Similarly, Judith's excursion into the enemy camp is a-stereotypical. Her people have already spent

days under siege without water, and annihilation is rapidly approaching. Her transgression of the stereotype, however, differs from that of the Geatish men in an important aspect: since she is a pious Christian woman,⁸⁰ for all of her nervousness, she does not despair, yet instead trusts in God to the extreme. The physical risks to which she exposes herself are considerable. However, the poet allows us insight into her mind and faith; there is no doubt about God's protection: 'Heo ðær ða gearwe funde / myndbyr(d) æt ðam mæran þeodne' (2-3); 'Ne wolde þæt wuldres dema / geðafian [. . .] ac he him þæs ðinges gestyrde' (59-60).⁸¹ The reader knows that Judith's success is guaranteed, and so in fact does she, since her faith is so strong; one could claim, therefore, that she was not in any danger at all whilst in the Assyrian camp.

This duality occurs in other facets as well. Judith is brave and heroic in an active, almost masculine way, taking military action, carrying out an attack on the enemy, yet simultaneously the poet emphasises her fragility which she acknowledges in her prayer, her passivity (she is brought to Holofernes' tent at his command, not going there at her own initiative), her feminine waiting for an opportunity (it is already her fourth day in the Assyrian camp), and her manoeuvring the body to allow for an easy kill ('hu heo þone atolan eaðost mihte / ealdre benæman', 75 and 'swa heo þæs unlædan eaðost mihte / wel gewealdan' 102-03).⁸² The latter is distinctly unheroic in all aspects: it would have been considered most dishonourable for a hero to drag his opponent by the hair, to kill him in his sleep (as Grendel's mother does to Æschere), and to need two strikes to sever a sleeping man's head. Swanton applies the shame of the actual beheading, 'bysmerlice' ('shamefully', 100), to both Holofernes and Judith.⁸³ For a male hero this scenario would indeed be shameful. However, it is exactly by emphasising her feminine vulnerability and lack of skill at sword-wielding that the poet succeeds in re-creating his protagonist as a lady who, in spite of her gender, manages to perform an heroic act rather than confidently acting like a masculine heroine.

Humility and Christianity

The effectiveness of the poem as an exemplary and inspirational narrative is based on the Christian concept of total humility vis-à-vis God. Humility is assumed of the audience and repeatedly highlighted as one of Judith's features. Judith is the opposite of Beowulf in this respect: she does not promote herself as

qualified for the job of assassin of the enemy; she does not boast about her strength or about any previous achievements. Instead she openly admits in her prayer to weakness and nervousness: 'torne on mode' (grievously in mind, 93b) and 'hate on hreðre minum' (hotly in my heart, 94a). God rewards this humility by granting her strength 'þa wearþ hyre rume on mode' (then it became spacious in her mind, 97b).⁸⁴ Humility can also be discerned in Judith's speech: she is not boastful or self-important, yet is nevertheless authoritative, as can be gleaned from the verbs 'bebead' ('commanded', 144) and 'het' ('ordered', 147 and 171) and from the fact that the Bethulians obeyed her orders.⁸⁵ Judith's humility is also reflected stylistically. For example, in the first few lines of the poem (as it stands) God or epithets for God frequently occupy the a-verse, while Judith herself is referred to mainly by means of pronouns in the b-verse:

Heo ðær ða gearwe funde
myndbyr(d) æt ðam mæran beodne, þa heo ahte mæste þearfe
hyldo þæs hehstan deman, þæt he hie wið þæs hehstan brogan
gefriðode, frymða waldend. Hyre ðæs fæder on roderum
torhtmod tiðe gefremede, þe heo ahte trumne geleafan
a to ðam ælmihtigan. (2-7)⁸⁶

The main action is clearly divine; Judith the woman is instrumental. The emphasis on God's support and on her constant faith, expressed in her prayer for aid and mercy before and during the killing, and in her giving thanks after the event, clearly depicts her as a humble, pious person rather than as a more traditional Germanic type of epic heroine, proud of her own achievement.

Conclusion

For the Bethulian victory there was, as Swanton observes, no practical need to kill Holofernes: the Assyrians had already been put to flight before Holofernes' death was discovered.⁸⁷ Yet Judith's deed was essential to effect the metamorphosis of the Bethulian men from a dejected despairing crowd into a courageous band of warriors resolved to fight for their freedom. Christianising the figure of Judith is an important part of securing approval for her unusual features, both as a heroic figure and as a lady. Similar to her Old Testament model, she is depicted as pious and clearly bestowed with God's approval; who are we, as readers, to raise

eyebrows over her actions? Her piety and humility, expressed in prayer before she is summoned, her prayer with sword in hand (while the tension rises, and the risk of discovery increases), and an elaborate prayer of thanks, acknowledging that she could not have achieved her victory without God's help, repeatedly reinforce the principle that whatever she did was according to God's will. Her faith and piety also help to emphasise her femininity in the stereotypical sense: the whole event is a trial for her; she is not interested in personal glory and, above all, she is not bloodthirsty, which, while acceptable or even positive in a man, would be monstrous in a woman.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to Mary Swan, Eric Stanley, and Iain Kerr for useful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

² Helena Kennedy, *Eve was Framed: Women and British Justice* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1992), p. 245, fn. 2.

³ In Swanton's opinion Judith's behaviour makes it 'kein Wunder daß ["die Apokryphe Judith"] vom jüdischen wie vom christlichen Kanon ausgeschlossen wurde' [no wonder that [the apocryphal Judith] was excluded both from the Jewish and from the Christian canon]; Michael Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith: Weiblicher Held oder frauliche Heldin', in *Heldensage und Heldendichtung im Germanischen*, ed. by Heinrich Beck (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), pp. 289-304 (p. 296). The reason for the exclusion, however, rather than the content, appears to have been both Jerome's and the Protestants' objections to the text lacking a Hebrew version and having only the Septuagint transmission. See G. W. Anderson, 'Canonical and Non-Canonical' and S. R. Greenslade, 'Appendix I: The Apocrypha in the English Versions', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. by P. R. Ackroyd, C. F. Evans, and S. R. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963-70), respectively i, 113-59 (esp. pp. 155-59) and iii, 168-70. On the use made by the pious of the apocrypha, see Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 450-51.

⁴ *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. by Bruno Assmann (Kassel: Wigand, 1889), and Peter Clemoes' reprint (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964) offer the following reading at the end of Ælfric's 'Summary of the Book of Judith' (surviving only in the badly charred London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. x): 'Nis þis nan leas spel: hit stent on leden, nis on ðære bibliothecan' [This is no false story: it stands in Latin and is not part of the book treasury] (p. 114, ll. 404-05). The first assertion, 'this is no false story', seems curiously incongruous with the statement that the book is not part of the 'book treasury', that is the Holy Scriptures. Stanley established that the second 'nis' is an erroneous conjecture for letters which under ultraviolet light clearly read 'þus'; Eric G. Stanley, 'Ælfric on the Canonicity of the Book of Judith: *Hit stent on leden þus on ðære bibliothecan*', *Notes & Queries*, 230 (1985), 439.

⁵ This observation has been made by several scholars. See, for example, Hugh Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism in the Old English *Judith*', in *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature*, ed. by Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), pp. 5-18 (p. 5); and *Judith*, ed. by Mark Griffith (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1997), pp. 67-70.

⁶ L. John Sklute, 'Freoðuwebbe in Old English Poetry', in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 204-10; Michael Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup: Ritual, Prophecy and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tène to the Viking Age* (Blackrock: Four Courts, 1996); Lori Eshleman, 'Weavers of Peace, Weavers of War', in *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies of Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Diane Wolfthal (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 15-37.

⁷ Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup*, pp. 12-14.

⁸ Anne Klinck, 'Poetic Markers of Gender in Medieval "Woman's Song": Was Anonymous a Woman?', *Neophilologus*, 87 (2003), 339-59.

⁹ Coincidentally, Caponigro assumes a female author ('Auctrix') for the Septuagint version; Mark Stephen Caponigro, 'Judith, Holding the Tale of Herodotus', in *No One Spoke Ill of Her': Essays on Judith*, ed. by James C. VanderKam (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 47-59.

¹⁰ G. Shepherd, 'Scriptural Poetry', in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. by Eric G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 1-36 (p. 12).

¹¹ Thomas G. Foster, *Judith: Studies in Meter, Language and Style*, Quellen und Forschungen, 71 (Strassburg: Trübner, 1892), pp. 90-103; Edith E. Wardale, *Chapters on Old English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1965), pp. 215-17; Charles L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London: Harrap, 1967), p. 181; and Bernard F. Huppé, *The Web of Words: Structural Analyses of the Old English Poems: 'Vainglory', 'The Wonder of Creation', 'The Dream of the Rood', and 'Judith', with Texts and Translations* (Albany: State University of New York, 1970), p. 147. For a thorough discussion on Æthelflæd, see Frederick T. Wainwright, 'Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians', in *New Readings on Women*, pp. 44-55.

¹² Damico and Olsen, 'Introduction', in *New Readings on Women*, p. 15.

¹³ Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Librum Judith*, PL 109, col. 546, 558.

¹⁴ Aldhelm, *De virginitate*, in *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. by Rudolf Ehwald, MGH, AA XV (Berlin: Weidmanns, 1919), pp. 316-17. *Ælfric's Homilies on 'Judith', 'Esther', and the 'Maccabees'*, ed. by Stuart D. Lee (1999) <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~stuart/kings/main.htm>.

¹⁵ See Peter Lucas, 'The Place of *Judith* in the *Beowulf*-Manuscript', *Review of English Studies*, 41 (1990), 463-78 and *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, pp. 1-4 for a discussion of previous scholarship on the manuscript and for views on how much of the beginning of the text is missing.

¹⁶ Jane Chance, *Woman as Hero in Old English Literature* (Syracuse, NY: University Press, 1986), p. xvii.

¹⁷ Jack suggests that *Judith* was a later addition to the collection focusing on monsters and giant creatures; *Beowulf: A Student Edition*, ed. by George Jack (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 1.

¹⁸ Shepherd, 'Scriptural Poetry', p. 12.

¹⁹ See Alain Renoir, 'Judith and the Limits of Poetry', *English Studies*, 43 (1962), 146-55.

²⁰ *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, p. 79.

²¹ Griffith offers an exhaustive list (pp. 71-72, n. 240).

²² *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, p. 51.

²³ Griffith offers both Latin sources in Appendix III (pp. 177-85), indicating by means of italic typeface which parts were used or adapted by the poet. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae, seu Vetus Italica*, ed. by Petrus Sabatier, 3 vols (Rheims: [n. pub.] 1743), I, 744-90 [facsimile available]. The Paris edition (1751) is said to be less accurate. Griffith also offers a few readings from Bodleian MS Auct.E., infra 1-2, and Munich MS 6239 which differ from Sabatier's text, and yet appear to be closer to the poet's source. For the Vulgate (and variants in Vulgate manuscripts some of which dependent on the Vetus Latina) see: *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*, ed. by Francis Aidan Gasquet (Rome: Typis polyglottis vaticanis, 1950) VIII, 211-80. This full text is the one underlying Weber's edition: *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. by R. Weber (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

²⁴ Carl T. Berkhout and James F. Doubleday, 'The Net in *Judith* 46b-54a', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1973), 630-34 (esp. pp. 632-33).

²⁵ Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', pp. 289-91.

²⁶ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 212-17; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London: Trübner, 1881-1900), pp. 315-35

²⁷ 'I am a soldier of Christ; fighting is not permitted to me.' Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. by Jacques Fontaine, Sources Chrétiennes, 133-35 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969).

²⁸ Michael Swanton, *English Poetry before Chaucer* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), p. 166.

²⁹ Ann Astell, 'Holofernes's Head: Tacen and Teaching in the Old English *Judith*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 18 (1989), 117-33. Until Astell's work, Pringle was the only critic harmonizing the allegory with the patriotic motive, but he did so by dividing *Judith* into parts for *oratores* and *bellatores*, and interpreting the poem as emphasising the need for monastic reform and chastity if one was to secure God's assistance in driving back the Vikings; Ian Pringle, 'Judith: The Homily and the Poem', *Traditio*, 31 (1975), 83-97.

³⁰ Astell, 'Holofernes's Head', p. 131.

³¹ 'as an example for you, men' and 'that you protect your land with weapons against an attacking army'. Ælfric, 'Letter to Sigeward', in *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*,

ed. by Samuel J. Crawford, EETS, o.s. 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922; repr. with additional material by N. R. Ker, 1969), p. 48.

³² Chance, *Woman as Hero*, pp. 31-52.

³³ Marie Nelson, 'Judith: A Story of a Secular Saint', *Germanic Notes*, 21 (1990), 12-13.

³⁴ *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, p. 82. Other genre discussions have concluded that the text contains a mixture of the saint's life and other genres such as panegyric, epic, romance, and sermon: Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Ralph Mannheim (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 281-86 and Rosemary Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', in *Continuations and Beginnings*, pp. 37-66 (p.40). The earlier view of *Judith* as a Christian epic is discussed by Ivan Herbison, 'The Idea of the "Christian Epic": Towards a History of an Old English Poetic Genre', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt wisely', Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. Jane Toswell and Elizabeth M. Tyler (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 342-61 (pp. 348-54).

³⁵ Patricia A. Belanoff, 'Judith: Sacred and Secular Heroine', in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, ed. by Helen Damico and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), pp. 247-64.

³⁶ Joyce Hill, 'Heroic Poetry', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 236-37 (p. 236).

³⁷ Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 300.

³⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. and trans. by S.A.J. Bradley (London: Dent, 1982), p. 301.

³⁹ 'Wæs se gryre læssa / efne swa micle swa bið mægþa cræft, / wiggryre wifes be wæpnedman' (1282-84). [The terror (of Grendel's mother's onslaught) was less just by so much as the strength of women, and the war-terror of a woman (are less feared) by an armed man].

⁴⁰ *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, p. 67.

⁴¹ 'commanded' and 'ordered'. Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism', p. 8.

⁴² 'cut down the leaders with gleaming swords.'

⁴³ 'proceed carrying (lime wooden) shields, shields in front of your chests.'

⁴⁴ 'and he ordered that they hold their shields fast properly with their hands.'

⁴⁵ 'now I want to bid each of the men.'

⁴⁶ 'the men do as I bid' or indeed 'men, do as I bid.'

⁴⁷ Eric G. Stanley, *In the Foreground: 'Beowulf'* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 152-53.

⁴⁸ 'The citizens rejoiced as soon as they heard how the saint spoke over the high wall. The army was filled with joy; the people hastened towards the fortress-gate, both men and women, in multitudes and swarms, in throngs and troops they jostled and ran, old and young in their thousands, towards the handmaiden of the Lord.' Here I give Stanley's translation, as it best reflects the point he makes. Stanley, *In the Foreground: 'Beowulf'*, pp. 152-53.

⁴⁹ 'A poem is called heroic because in it the affairs and deeds of strong men are narrated. For men are called heroes when they are as it were worthy of heaven on account of their wisdom and strength'. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, ed. by Wallace M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), I.39.9; also note VIII.11.98 and X.2. Robert E. Kaske, "'Sapientia et fortitudo" in the Old English *Judith*', in *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature*, ed. by Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982), pp. 13-29, 264-68.

⁵⁰ For the early semantic development of the word, see Alfred Bammesberger, 'Urgermanisch *mann: Etymologie und Wortbildung', *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*, 5 (2000), 7-12.

⁵¹ *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, Appendix III (pp. 177-85) and see also p. 71, notes 237-39.

⁵² Kaske, "'Sapientia et fortitudo"', pp. 21-26.

⁵³ For 'beorht' the meanings of (literal) 'faculty of sight' as well as (metaphorical) 'intelligence' are listed in *A Thesaurus of Old English*, ed. by Jane Roberts, Christian Kay, and Lynne Grundy, 2 vols (Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000).

⁵⁴ *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, p. 73. On the Germanic ideal of prophetic women, see Fred C. Robinson, 'The Prescient Woman in Old English Literature', in *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays*, Fred C. Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 155-63 (pp. 159-60 on *Judith*); Patricia A. Belanoff, 'The Fall (?) of the Old English Female Poetic Image', *PMLA*, 104 (1989), 822-31 (mainly on *Genesis B*); and Thomas D. Hill, 'Sapiential Structure and Figural Narrative in the Old English *Elene*', *Traditio*, 27 (1971), 159-77.

⁵⁵ 'I want to pray to you, God of creation, and ghost of comfort, son of the almighty.'

⁵⁶ For a detailed discussion see Berkhout and Doubleday, pp. 630-34.

⁵⁷ Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism', p. 16.

⁵⁸ Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism', p. 6.

⁵⁹ The *Beowulf*-poet also remarks *en passant* that female warriors are less dangerous than male ones (ll. 1282-87).

⁶⁰ Although, strictly speaking, Satan was the seducer, while Eve acted with the best of intentions, the patristic tradition and later commentators have frequently portrayed her as the cause of Adam succumbing to evil.

⁶¹ 'the realm of the uncanny' and 'magical and therefore dangerous undertones'. Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 297.

⁶² Richard Jente, *Die mythologischen Ausdrücke im altenglischen Wortschatz*, Anglistische Forschungen, 56 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1921), pp. 172-73.

⁶³ H. Stuart, 'The Meaning of OE *ælfsciene', *Parergon*, 2 (1972), 22-26 (p. 22).

⁶⁴ *Judith*, ed. by Griffith, p. 110.

⁶⁵ Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 297.

⁶⁶ 'Wealhtheow [. . .] mindful of the traditional customs, laden with gold, greeted the men' and 'ring-adorned queen'.

⁶⁷ *The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book*, ed. by Jackson J. Campbell (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959).

⁶⁸ Or are there any grounds to assume that in Anglo-Saxon folklore elves already had a hierarchical society, such as, for example, can be found in the early fourteenth-century *Sir Orfeo*, where they have castles, courts, kings, and hunts?

⁶⁹ 'attractive and terrifying at the same time.' Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 297.

⁷⁰ James C. VanderKam, 'Introduction', in *No One Spoke Ill of Her*, p. 2.

⁷¹ 'a militant feminism' and 'specifically feminine features'. Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 300.

⁷² Amy-Jill Levine, 'Sacrifice and Salvation: Otherness and Domestication in the Book of Judith', in *No One Spoke Ill of Her*, pp. 17-30.

⁷³ Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism', pp. 5-18.

⁷⁴ 'The curly-locked one struck the foe so that she half cut his neck [. . .] At that point he was not dead yet [. . .] The brave zealous lady then struck the heathen dog on the other side, so that his head rolled onto the floor.'

⁷⁵ 'and she struck twice on his neck and cut his head off' and 'and she struck his neck twice (or: once and again) in her virtue, and took his head off from him'.

⁷⁶ 'It is related that there was so great a peace in Britain [. . .] that, as the proverb still runs, a woman with a newborn child could walk throughout the island from sea to sea and take no harm.' *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. 192.

⁷⁷ '[E]t in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant'. [Close by them, too, are those dearest to them, so that they hear the shrieks of their women, the cries of infants. They are to every man the most sacred witnesses of his bravery. They are his most generous applauders. The soldier brings his wounds to mother and wife, who do not shrink from counting or even demanding them and who administer food and encouragement to the combatants.] *Cornelii Taciti opera minora*, ed. by Michael Winterbottom and Robert M. Ogilvie, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), *Germania*, § 7.

⁷⁸ *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), ll. 87-90.

⁷⁹ 'geong mon [. . .] / [. . .] habban sceal / blipe gebæro, eac þon breostceare, / sinsorgna gedreag' (42-45).

⁸⁰ On the anachronism of her Christianity, see above.

⁸¹ 'She readily found protection from the glorious Lord' and 'The Judge of glory would not permit that [. . .] but He prevented him from that thing'.

⁸² 'how she might most easily deprive the terrible man of his life' and 'so that she might most easily manage the wicked one effectively.'

⁸³ Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 299.

⁸⁴ See Kaske, "'Sapientia et fortitudo'", pp. 23-24 on the use of 'spacious' in the sense of wisdom and courage.

⁸⁵ For further examples see Judith's speeches upon her return to the Bethulians, ll. 152b-58 and 177-98.

⁸⁶ 'There she then readily found protection at the hands of the glorious Lord, at a time when she had most need of the highest judge's grace, so that he, the ruler of creation, defended her against the most acute horror. In this the glorious father in heaven granted favour to her, who always had true faith in the almighty' (my emphasis).

⁸⁷ Swanton, 'Die altenglische Judith', p. 302.

The Balanced Parallel in *Beowulf*

Rory McTurk

Parallelism may be defined for present purposes as the use in poetry of two or more equivalent expressions, the second and any subsequent ones of which could be removed without detriment to the syntax or the essential meaning of the passage in which they occur. In 'the Old English epic style', according to Alistair Campbell in his article of that title in the Tolkien *Festschrift* of 1962, 'the simplest type of parallel is the balanced one, where an element generally double is repeated by one syntactically equivalent and of approximately equal bulk'.¹ I offer here what I would cautiously claim is a complete list of the balanced parallels in *Beowulf*, indicating as clearly as possible the kinds of syntactic context in which they occur. In preparing the list I have allowed myself the leeway that seems to be granted by Campbell's adverb 'generally' in including examples of paralleled elements that cannot easily be described as 'double', most notably ones consisting of simplex words. With Campbell's 'approximately' in mind, moreover, I have also included, particularly among the lengthier examples, parallels in which there is some difference in 'bulk', or word-length, between elements, but not so much as to affect the balance between them established by their syntactic equivalence. Examples are given by reference to the numbers of lines and half-lines in which they occur, and are quoted for the most part only in cases where they are not precisely coextensive with those lines or half-lines. All instances of parallels occurring in chiasmic form are noted. The examples were collected from the text of *Beowulf* in Fr. Klaeber's third edition² and have been checked in the editions of George Jack³ and Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson (M&R)⁴. Reference is made below to one or more of these editions as appropriate. Page references are given only in cases where doubt might otherwise arise.

(i) *Simplex noun or pronoun*

In nominative (as subject): 593b (*hige*), 594a (*sefa*); 880a (*hē*), 881a (*ēam*); 1783b (*worn fela*); 2210b (*ān*), 2211b (*draca*; provided that *ān* may be taken as substantival here, as Klaeber's Glossary would suggest).

In accusative (as object): 530a (*worn fela*); 1989a (*sæcce*), 1990a (*hilde*); 2925a (*Hæðcen Hrēþling*; Klaeber appears to treat each of these names as simplex rather than compound in his glossary of Proper Names); 3131b (*dracan*), 3132a (*wyrm*).

In partitive genitive: 36b (*mādma*), 37b (*frætwa*); 1829b (*þegna*), 1830a (*hælepa*).

In dative (as object): 1446b (*hrepre*), 1447b (*aldre*).

In dative (as adverb-equivalent): 235b (*brymmum*), 236a (*mundum*); 1097a (*elne*), 1097b (*āðum*) (a questionable example, because of the uncertain syntactical relationship of *elne* and *āðum* to the unexplained form *unflitme*, which occurs between them); 1674b (*him*), 1676a (*eorlum*); 2020a (*duguðe*), 2021a (*eorlum*; the first element in the parallel forms part of the adverb-equivalent for [*d*] *juguðe*).

(ii) *Compound noun*

In nominative (as subject): 476b (*fletwerod*), 477a (*wīghēap*); 484a (*medoheal*), 485a (*drihtsele*); 1666b (*hildebil*), 1667a (*brogdenmæþ*); 2893b (*eorlweorod*), 2895a (the first element is singular, and the second plural; a verb in the singular (*sæt*, 2894b), of which the first element in the parallel, at least, is clearly the subject, occurs between the two elements); 2961a (*Ongendīow*), 2962a *blondenfexa* (provided that the weak adjective *blondenfexa* may be taken as substantival).⁵

In nominative (vocatively): 254b (*feorbūend*), 255a.

In accusative (as object): 283b, 284a (*þrēanyrd*); 830a (*oncypðe*), 830b; 993b (*wīnreced*), 994a (*gestsele*); 1713b, 1714a; 2747b (*ærwelan*), 2748a (*goldæhh*).

As the subject accusative element in an accusative and infinitive construction: 1345a (*londbūend*), 1346a.

In possessive genitive: 1a (*Gār-Dena*), 2a (provided that, as Jack and M&R consider possible, the first noun is not dependent on the second); 463b (*Sūð-Dena*), 464b; 1004b, 1006a.

In partitive genitive: 1108b, 1109a (*beadorinca*); 1888b, 1889a (*hægstealdra*; provided that Klaeber's and Jack's punctuation – which implies a substantival use here of the adjective *felamōdigra* – may be accepted); 1946a

(*lēodbealewa*), 1947a; 2426b (*gūðræsa*), 2427a; 2623b, 2624a (*æghwæs*; compound pronoun in the second element. The parallel depends on *gūðgewæda* in 1.2623b being accepted as genitive plural (so Jack and cf. Klaeber), rather than accusative plural (so M&R), and as not being dependent on *æghwæs*).

In dative (as adverb-equivalent or as part of one): 774b, 775a (*searopuncum*); 827b (*nihtweorce*), 828a; 875a (*Sigemunde*), 876a (provided that the manuscript reading *Sigemunde* may be retained, as Jack admits is possible); 1480b (*magopegnum*), 1481a; 1787b, 1788a (provided that Klaeber's punctuation – which implies a substantival use here of the adjective *ellenrōfum* – may be accepted); 2392b (*Ēadgilse*), 2393a (*fēasceaftum*; provided that the adjective in the second element may be taken as substantival); 2411b (*holmwylme*), 2412a; 2678b (*mægenstrengo*), 2679a.

(iii) *Two nouns linked by ond*

In nominative (as subject): 2659b (*sweord ond helm*), 2660a (a parallel in syntax and ultimately in sense).

In accusative (as object): 2369b, 2370a.

(iv) *Noun or pronoun with participle or adjective (or pronoun used adjectivally) as attribute*

In nominative (as subject): 129b, 130a (chiastic); 685b (*wītig God*), 686b; 1111b, 1112a; 1306b (*frōd cyning*), 1307a; 1645a, 1646a (chiastic; the parallel is here in apposition to the subject, *ealdor þegna*, 1.1644b, which does not form part of it); 2271a, 2273a; 2413b, 2414a (chiastic).

In nominative (vocatively): 1758b, 1759a.

In accusative (as object): 214b, 215a (chiastic); 231b, 232a (chiastic); 294b, 295 (*nīwtyrwydne nacan*; chiastic); 325b, 326a (chiastic); 520b, 522a (chiastic); 1021a, 1022a (chiastic; the emendation to *hildecumbor*, 1.1022a, seems generally accepted); 1358b, 1359a; 1409a, 1411a; 1409b, 1410a (chiastic); 1410a, 1410b; 1488b, 1489a; 1557b, 1558a (chiastic); 1583a (*ōðer swylc*), 1584a (whether or not this may be seen as chiastic depends on which of the two pronouns in the first element is regarded as adjectival); 2253b, 2254a (chiastic); 2456a, 2456b (chiastic); 2517a, 2518a; 2788b, 2789a (chiastic); 2889b, 2890a (chiastic); 3107b, 3108a (chiastic); 3141b, 3142b (chiastic).

In accusative as parallel to the subject accusative element in an accusative and infinitive construction: 222b, 223a (chiastic); 2978a, 2979a (chiastic; the emendation to *brād[ne]* in the first element seems generally accepted).

In accusative as complement to the object of a verb denoting mental action (in this case *tellan*, to reckon): 2641 (*gārwiġend gōde*), 2642a (chiastic).

In dative (as adverb-equivalent): 345a, 346a (chiastic); 1417b (*Denum eallum*), 1419b; 1677b, 1678a; 2102a, 2103a; 2160a (*suna sīnum*), 2161a (chiastic).

(v) *Noun as subject with predicative adjective or participle*

49b (*geōmor sefa*), 50a; 1857a, 1860a (provided that both phrases may be regarded as dependent on *wesan*, l.1859a, as M&R seem to suggest); 2209b (*frōd cyning*), 2210a (Klaeber's translation (p. 208) of the first half-line as 'the king was then old' suggests that the adjective is to be taken as predicative rather than attributive); 2283b (*hord rasod*), 2284a (chiastic).

(vi) *Noun as the object of a verb denoting mental action (in this case witan, to know) with adjective as complement*

1308 (*aldorþegn unlyfigendne*), 1309 (*þone dēorestan dēadne*).

(vii) *Noun qualified by a noun or a pronoun in the genitive case (plural or singular)*

As subject: 1069a, 1069b; 1202b, 1203a; 1283b (*mægþa cræft*), 1284a (chiastic); 1484b, 1485a (*sunu Hrædles*; chiastic); 1550b, 1551b (chiastic); 1866a (*eorla hlēo*), 1867a (chiastic); 1961b, 1962a (chiastic); 2142a (*eorla hlēo*), 2143b (chiastic); 2262b (*hearpan wyn*, here taken as the subject either of *næs* meaning 'was not' (so M&R) or of an understood existential verb with *næs* as negative adverb (so Klaeber and Jack)), 2263a (chiastic); 2316a (*wyrmes wīg*), 2317a (with adjective in genitive used substantivally in the second element); 2325b (*his sylfes hām*), 2327a (chiastic); 2337b, 2338b; 2356a (*Gēata cyning*), 2357a, 2358a (a double parallel, in which the first and second elements on the one hand, and the second and third on the other, are related to one another chiastically); 2401a (*twelfa sum*), 2402a (chiastic); 2428b (*sinca baldor*), 2429a (chiastic); 2602b, 2603b, 2604a (a double parallel, in which the first and second elements on the one hand, and the first and third on the other, are related to one another chiastically). If Klaeber⁶ is right in comparing the construction of this sentence to a common way of introducing characters in Old Norse prose, then the first

element in the parallel is strictly speaking the subject, the predicate being *Wīglāf*, 1.2602a, which does not participate in the parallel); 2900 (*wilgeofa Wedra lēoda*), 2901a; 2991b, 2992a.

Used predicatively: 178b (*bēaw hyra*), 179a (chiastic; whether the parallel is to be seen as predicative or as the subject of the sentence depends on whether the pronoun *swylc*, 1.178b, is regarded as adjectival or substantival); 454b (*Hrædlan lāf*), 455a.

Vocatively: 427a, 428a; 429b, 430a (chiastic); 1474b, 1476a; 1652b, 1653a.

As subject accusative in an accusative and infinitive construction: 1967b (*eorla hlēo*), 1968a (chiastic).

As logical subject in the accusative in an impersonal construction: 2026b, 2027a (chiastic).

As object: 182a (*heofena Helm*), 183a; 350b (*wine Deniga*), 351a, 352a (a double parallel, in which the first and third element on the one hand, and the second and third on the other, are related to one another chiastically); 443b, 445a (chiastic);⁷ 912b, 913a (chiastic); 1730b, 1731b (chiastic); 1847b, 1849a; 2952 (*Higelāces hilde*), 2953a (with adjective in genitive used substantivally in the second element).

(viii) *Nouns as subject and object (of a verb which does not participate in the parallel)*

652b, 653a (in the first element the pronoun *ōþerne*, here used substantivally, occurs as object).

(ix) *Noun or pronoun as subject with adverb or adverb-equivalent (the latter modifying a verb or adjective which does not participate in the parallel)*

55b (*fæder ellor*), 56a; 264b (*hē on weg*), 265a (provided that the adjective *gamol* in the second element may be regarded as substantival); 2076 (*Hondsciō hil[d]*), 2077a (chiastic).

(x) *Simplex adjective*

Qualifying a noun (which does not participate in the parallel) in the subject accusative in an accusative and infinitive construction: 1662b (*wlitig*), 1663a (*ēacen*).

(xi) *Compound adjective*

Used with reference to the subject (expressed or unexpressed) of the verb *gān* (to go): 640b (*goldhroden*), 641a (*frēolicu*); 3031a (*unblīðe*), 3032a.

Qualifying a noun (which does not participate in the parallel) in the subject accusative in an accusative and infinitive construction: 1586a, 1587a.

(xii) *Two adjectives linked by ond and referring to the subject of a sentence or clause*

Appositively:⁸ 121a, 122a.

Predicatively: 3181, 3182 (Two superlative adjectives, the first of them modified in each element of the parallel by an adverb-equivalent consisting of a plural noun. In the second element this noun is in the dative (of respect) (*lēodum*); in the first it is either in the dative (of respect) also (if Jack's and M&R's reading *mannum* in l. 3181a is accepted) or in the (partitive) genitive (if Klaeber's reading *manna* is preferred).

(xiii) *Superlative adjective used substantivally and qualified by a plural noun in the partitive genitive*

As object: 453a, 454a.

(xiv) *Participle or adjective modified by an adverb or adverb-equivalent, and referring in the nominative to the subject (which does not participate in the parallel) of a sentence or clause, in one or other of the following ways:*

Attributively: 1038a (*searwum fāh*), 1038b.

Appositively: 1332a (*ǣse wlanc*), 1333a; 1450b, 1451a (chiastic); 2746a (*sāre wund*), 2746b.

Predicatively: 903b, 904a; 1438b, 1439a; 1742b (*tō fæst*), 1743a; 3022b, 3023a (chiastic); 3071b, 3072a, 3072b, 3073a (a triple parallel).

Appositively in relation to an adjective which (does not participate in the parallel and) itself refers predicatively to the subject: 1459b, 1460a (chiastic).⁹

Used semi-substantivally as the subject of a co-ordinate clause, but referring ultimately to the subject of the preceding main clause: 565b, 567a.

(xv) *Transitive finite verb with its subject*

22b (*gewunigen*)-23a, 24a (chiastic; the parallel depends on *lēode* of l.24a being taken as nom. pl., which is how Klaeber and Jack take it. Both verbs are

transitive, with *hine*, l.22a, which does not participate in the parallel, as the object of the first at least of them, cf. xvi, below).

(xvi) *Transitive finite verb with its object*

22a (*hine*) [. . .] 22b (*gewunigen*), 24a (the parallel depends on *lēode* being taken as dat. sing., which is how M&R take it, rather than as nom. pl., as Klaeber and Jack do, cf. xv, above); 420b (*fife geband*), 421a (chiastic); 422b, 423a (chiastic); 667b, 668b; 1149b, 1150a (chiastic); 1204b, 1205a; 1273b (*þone fēond ofercwōm*), 1274a (chiastic); 1563a (*gefēng þā fetelhilt*), 1564b (chiastic); 1580a (*Hrōðgāres*)-1581a, 1581b-1582 (semi-chiastic; the verb is modified by an adverb-equivalent in each element, and the object qualified by a genitive noun phrase in each element); 2133a, 2133b, 2134a (a double parallel); 2469a, 2469b; 2747b (*ærwelan*)-2748a, 2748b (*scēawige*)-2749a (chiastic; the object consists of two parallel compound nouns in the first element, cf. section ii, above, and of a compound noun qualified by an adjective in the second element); 3159 (*betif[m]bredon on tȳn dagum*)-3160a, 3160b-3161a (chiastic; the verb is modified by an adverb-equivalent in each element, and the object qualified by a genitive noun phrase in each element).

(xvii) *Transitive finite verb with its subject and object*

180b, 181b (chiastic).

(xviii) *Transitive finite verb modified by an adverb or adverb-equivalent*

513b, 514b; 531b, 532a (chiastic); 1158b, 1159a (chiastic); 1452b, 1453a (chiastic); 1716b-1717a, 1717b-1718a (the verb is preceded by two adverbial expressions in each element); 3175b, 3176a.

(xix) *Intransitive finite verb with its subject*

817b, 818a (chiastic); 1120b, 1121a; 1160b, 1161a (chiastic; the adverb *eft* in the first element is not paralleled in the second); 1215a, 1215b (the second element adds between the subject and the verb an adverb-equivalent – *fore þæm werede* – which has no counterpart in the first element but which, however, may be said to assist the parallel semantically, provided that the verb *mapelian* occurring in the first element may reasonably be taken as meaning 'to speak in public'); 1327b (*hnton fēpan*), 1328a (chiastic);¹⁰ 1375b (*lyft drysmaþ*), 1376a; 1570a, 1570b (*Līxte se lēoma, lēoht inne*

stod; chiastic); 1615b, 1616a (chiastic; the adverb *æ̅r* in the first element is not paralleled in the second).

(xx) *Intransitive finite verb with an adjective referring predicatively to the subject (not part of the parallel) of a sentence or clause*

130b, 131a (chiastic; the first verb, *sæt*, is definitely intransitive; the second, *þolode*, is arguably so in this context); 1754b, 1755a.

(xxi) *Intransitive finite verb modified by adverb or adverb-equivalent*

8a, 8b (chiastic).

(xxii) *Transitive verb in the infinitive with its subject*

3014b (*brond fretan*), 3015a (the infinitives are dependent on the auxiliary *sceall*, l.3014b, which does not participate in the parallel, and have as their object the demonstrative pronoun *þā*, l.3014b, which does not do so either).

(xxiii) *Transitive verb in the infinitive with its direct object*

74b, 76a (provided that both phrases may be taken as depending directly on the verb *gefrægn* of line 74a, a possibility which Klaeber, p. 129, admits. Each phrase may then be seen as forming part of the same accusative and infinitive construction in which the subject accusative is left unexpressed and in which the verb governing the construction (i.e. *gefrægn*, l.74a) does not participate in the parallel); 1125b, 1126b (infinitive of purpose); 1449 (*meregrundas mengan*), 1450a (chiastic; the infinitives depend on the auxiliary *scolde*, l.1449b, which does not participate in the parallel); 1469b, 1470a (the infinitives depend on *ne dorste*, l.1468b, which does not participate in the parallel); 2045b, 2046a (the infinitives depend on *onginneð*, l.2044a, which does not participate in the parallel); 2421 (*þone gomelan grētan*), 2422a (chiastic; the infinitives depend on *sceolde*, l.2421b, which does not participate in the parallel); 2513b, 2514a (provided that the emendation to *mæ̅rð[u]* in the second element is correct (so Klaeber and Jack; contrast M&R); the infinitives depend on *wylle*, l. 2512b, which does not participate in the parallel); 2770 (*þone grundwong ongitan*), 2771a (provided that the generally accepted emendation to *wræ̅te*, acc. pl. of *wræt*, f., in the second element is correct; the infinitives depend on *meahte* (2770b), which does not participate in the parallel); 3171 ((*care*) *cwīðan*, [*ond*] *kyning mæ̅nan*), 3172 (the *ond* in l.3171b is

supplied by Klaeber, Jack and M&R for metrical reasons, though its absence from the line is not enough to disqualify the two lines, syntactically, as an example of the parallel; the infinitives depend on *woldon*, 1.3171a, which does not participate in the parallel).

(xxiv) *Transitive verb in the infinitive with its direct object and its accusative subject in an accusative and infinitive construction (the latter dependent on a verb which does not participate in the parallel)*

786, 787b-788a.

(xxv) *Transitive verb in the infinitive with its accusative subject in an accusative and infinitive construction (and governing an object which does not participate in the parallel)*

3132b (*wġ niman*), 3133a (the infinitives depend on *lġton*, 1.3132b, which does not participate in the parallel).

(xxvi) *Transitive verb in the infinitive with noun in the dative as adverb-equivalent (and governing an object which does not participate in the parallel)*

2735 (*gŭđwinum grġtan*), 2736a (the infinitives depend on *dorste*, 1.2735b, which does not participate in the parallel).

(xxvii) *Verb in the imperative with its direct object*

659a, 659b (chiastic).

(xxviii) *Adverb combined with adverb-equivalent*

542a, 543a (chiastic; comparative adverb in the second element).

(xxix) *Adverb-equivalent (other than the ones noted under sections i, ii, iv, ix, xii, xiv, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi, xxvi, and xxviii, above)*

Preposition (or prepositional phrase) with noun or noun-equivalent: 126a (*on ūhtan*), 126b; 753b (*on mōde*), 754a (*on ferhðe*); 763b (*on weg*), 764a (*on fenhopu*); 859a, 860a (the noun in the second element is qualified by one in the genitive); 1257a (*æfter lāpum*), 1258a; 1704a, 1705a (*ofer þēoda gehwylce*; the noun-equivalent in the second element is qualified by a noun in the genitive); 2261a, 2262a (chiastic; preposition with noun – *æfter wġfruman* – in the first element, noun with prepositional phrase – *hæleðum be healfe* – in the second; the parallel depends on *æfter* being

interpreted as 'along with' (so Klaeber) or '(physically) behind' (so Jack), rather than 'after (the death of)' (so M&R)); 2624b (*of ealdre*), 2625a (*on forðweg*).

Preposition with adjective (or equivalent) and noun: 184a, 185a (in the second element the adjective is paralleled by a noun in the genitive); 395b, 396a (the possessive adjective qualifying the noun in the first element is not paralleled in the second).

(xxx) *Sentence containing a conditional clause, the object of which is modified by a comparative clause*

1822-25, 1826-30a (the object consists of a noun itself modified by an adjective – *mōdlufan māran*, l.1823 – in the first element, and of a noun-clause taking up all of l.1827 in the second. The comparative clauses are introduced by *ðonne*, l.1824b, and *swā*, l. 1828a, in the first and second elements respectively).

This is only the beginning. The next step is to search the remainder of the Old English poetic corpus for examples of the balanced parallel, with a view to finding out, among other things, whether the thirty headings listed here exhaust the various kinds of syntactic context in which this type of parallel may occur. The way will then be open for a search in the corpus for examples of the nine other types of parallel identified by Campbell¹¹ – all of them essentially variations on the balanced one – and for a consideration of how far his account of them needs to be modified and/or developed.

NOTES

¹ Alistair Campbell, 'The Old English Epic Style', in *English and Medieval Studies: Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), pp. 13-26 (p. 20).

² *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. by Fr. Klaeber, 3rd edn (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1950).

³ *Beowulf: A Student Edition*, ed. by George Jack (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; repr. 1997).

⁴ *Beowulf: An Edition with Relevant Shorter Texts*, ed. by Bruce Mitchell and Fred. C. Robinson, rev. edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

⁵ See Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 1, 65, § 134.

⁶ Klaeber, p. ci, n. 5.

⁷ For various possible ways of reading the second element, see Klaeber, p. 144 and Jack, with references.

⁸ See Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 1, 63 §130.

⁹ See Klaeber's note, pp. 185-86, for a cautious acknowledgement of closeness in meaning between the two elements.

¹⁰ The parallel depends on the verb *cnyssedan* in the second element being taken as intransitive, which is how Dorothy Whitelock takes it in her Glossary to *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, rev. by Dorothy Whitelock, 15th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

¹¹ Campbell, pp. 20-22.

Vercelli Homily XIV and the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon¹

Paul E. Szarmach

When the late J. E. Cross cited the progressive activity of source study, he no doubt had in mind the advance in understanding that he established with his study of Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 as well as the grand movement of several generations of scholars.² It has been some time since anyone argued that Ælfric, for example, had an extensive library that made it possible for him to pick the flowers of the Fathers as he composed his homilies and sermons. It was Paul the Deacon who in many cases made that first important pick, thanks to Charlemagne.³ Cyril Smetana's two classic studies put an end to speculation about libraries for good by directing scholars to the homiliaries and Ælfric's use of them, settling the large question of grand libraries for certain and opening up studies of other possibilities, such as our honoree has offered with her research into Smaragdus.⁴ Pembroke 25, of course, has a special connection to the Vercelli Homilies, which Cross has amply demonstrated. Vercelli Homily XIX draws on the Rogationtide sermons for the treatment of Jonah.⁵ Vercelli Homily XX, which Forster cited as coming ultimately from Alcuin's *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, derives in fact from a ninth-century redaction of Alcuin's work into three homilies, cap. 27-35 providing the substance of art. 93 in Pembroke and its equivalent in Vercelli XX.⁶ These discoveries are part of the corrective processes embedded in that 'progressive activity' Cross cited. In these two cases, at least, this author happily bows to the rod of correction, for the discoveries have corrected his early work on these two homilies. Specifically, the positive literary qualities of shaping ultimate sources or of crisp diction belong to Latin intermediaries who were followed by their Old English adaptors, not created by them. In this paper I would seek to administer even more self-correction in the name of steady progress by way of a review of the source work on Vercelli XIV which, because it will return scholarly attention to Paul the Deacon's homiliary,

might seem to be a form of retrogressive progress. A reprise of the homily in its manuscript context is a necessary beginning.

Vercelli XIV, entitled *Larspell to swylcere tide swa man wile* [= 'quando uolueris'], written in red minuscule, is the fourth and final item in the manuscript grouping B2b, as established by D. G. Scragg, and the sixteenth item in the Vercelli Book.⁷ The use of red minuscules, which are not otherwise found in the Vercelli Book, as well as certain language features, link XIV to XI-XIII, which are given serial enumeration as homilies for Rogationtide. As all scholars seem to agree, the Vercelli Scribe copied, rather mechanically, the headings of his various exemplars. The Rogation sermons in B2b are noticeably briefer than the prose pieces in the Vercelli Book. This Rogationtide trio has further, thematic unities, as Charles D. Wright has recently argued. With due caution Wright suggests 'an unprovable hypothesis' that the three sermons give voice to secular clerks who have worked out the right relation between material wealth and *timor domini* as opposed to their monk-critics who saw the clerks as worldly and licentious.⁸ Such a reading gives the three sermons remarkable status in the anti-monastic reaction that accompanied the Benedictine Reform and, with C. A. Jones' reading of Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, serves as a reminder that the Benedictine Reform did not sweep all before it.⁹ Homily XIV is a penitential homily, and as such shares on the broad level the same theme of spiritual renewal through soul-saving practices as found in XI-XIII. Where XI and XIV offer similar passages based on Caesarius of Arles' *Sermo* 215 *De Natale Sancti Felicis*, the evidence would suggest that there are at least two different Old English writers at work in Group B2b.¹⁰ Vercelli XIV is not extant in variant form, but Scragg has found two sentences from this homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303, art. 40, *De Inclusis*, p. 202, which is a Rochester production of the early twelfth century.¹¹ Presumably the text of Vercelli XIV was available at Rochester in some form at least at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Caesarius of Arles duly noted, the main source for Vercelli XIV is Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, beginning with a small passage in IV.59 and following through to the end of the *Dialogues* in IV.62, which in the Scragg edition occupies ll. 45-139 approximately out of 179 lines.¹² While developing a theory of composition for some Old English homilies, I suggested that one had to consider whether this core of Vercelli XIV derived from a pre-existent translation or came directly from the Latin to this composition.¹³ The less than confirming proof can now yield to the discovery that section IV.62 of the *Dialogues* exists as a contribution to the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, *pars aestivalis*, item 94b, as

reconstructed by Grégoire in 1980 and also 1966.¹⁴ Oddly enough, Grégoire indicates that *Dialogues* IV.60-62 is the extract, when the incipit he cites, 'Sed inter haec sciendum est quia [. . .]' is the incipit for IV.62. In this attribution there is a double misdirection in operation. First, the use of the title 'homiliary' may lead to a certain casualness in the understanding of Paul the Deacon's homiliary. In fact, Paul the Deacon adopted several non-homiletic works. They include, among other works, Augustine's *Quaestiones Evangeliorum* (I.7), his *De Civitate Dei* (I.29), his *Enchiridion* (III.131), Isidore of Seville's *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* (I.31), Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (I.32), Jerome's *Epistles* (II.1), and 'sermons' based on commentaries of Jerome and Bede.¹⁵ Secondly, the scribe or compiler of a given version might mislead the unwary source hunter by, as noted below, calling an extract a 'sermo', and thus giving a false lead for a fruitless search among sermons and homilies when the given work is neither of these.

The absence of a definitive edition of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary is a further difficulty. The version in PL 95, 1059-1566 is manifestly, if not hopelessly, an interpolated version.¹⁶ In 1966 Grégoire summarized the state of the question while highlighting the importance of Vat. Lat. 8562 and 8563, 'two good witnesses'; in 1980 he downplayed the Vat. Lat. manuscripts, returning to a consideration of four Reichenu manuscripts, two Benediktbeuern manuscripts, and one Troyes manuscript to create his inventory.¹⁷ Over time varying liturgical contexts and religious developments certainly created a special kind of *mouvance* in the dissemination of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary, as the anthology developed away from Paul's first intention. For Anglo-Saxon literary culture there are only comparatively later Latin manuscripts with no notice thus far of any ninth- or tenth-century witnesses except St.-Omer 202 (see below). Within this context Vercelli XIV would then appear to be among the earliest witnesses to the use of Paul the Deacon in the vernacular, at least more or less contemporaneous with Ælfric's two homily cycles and, with due acknowledgment of the hazards of dating, perhaps even earlier.¹⁸

Exactly what constitutes the field of study for Anglo-Saxon homiliaries remains fuzzy and unclear. With their respective handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and catalogue of eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts Helmut Gneuss and Richard Gameson have advanced the subject, as has Mary Richards with her special study of Rochester homiliaries.¹⁹ The problem for Anglo-Saxon Studies generally is the *terminus ad quem*, and it is no different for the study of Anglo-Saxon literary culture, or to put it another way: how far into the twelfth century should investigation proceed, especially for the study of late tenth- or

early eleventh-century texts?²⁰ Gneuss and Gameson nevertheless give something of a baseline for study, though their fields are not quite congruent. Gneuss lists some sixteen manuscripts or fragments of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary.²¹ Gameson does not include the fragmentary Canterbury, Cathedral Library and Archives, Add. 127/1 or St.-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202, but adds BL Harley 1918.²² The scope of Richards' work allows her to go forward into the twelfth century with, for example, Edinburgh, N.L. MS. Adv. 18.2.4, which is in 'the distinctive Rochester style of the first quarter of the twelfth century'.²³

In the face of these traps and pitfalls about the temporal closure to the study of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary and the prospect of infinite textual progression, it is the happy fact that Cambridge, Pembroke College 23, art. 68, fols. 289r1-89v2 represents an intermediary text between Gregory's *Dialogues* and Vercelli Homily XIV. Pembroke 23, art. 68 is the equivalent of *Dialogues* IV.62, which is a major part of Vercelli XIV, but not of course the entire Gregorian section. Thus, as with Pembroke College 25 and Vercelli Homilies XIX and XX, a later Latin text indicates the proximate source of an earlier vernacular version. Rebecca Rushforth describes Pembroke 23 and Pembroke 24 as a 'two-volume set of homilies written in France, probably at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, in the first half of the eleventh century'.²⁴ She associates the two volumes with Abbot Baldwin (1065-1097/98), who had been a monk at Saint-Denis and who is likely to have been instrumental in the importation of the volumes from St. Denis to Bury.²⁵ The punctuation in the text, notably the ';' mark, suggests that it was a reading text, but the punctuation generally corresponds to sense units as well. In addition to the main hand there may be at least three other hands: 1) a late, likely Renaissance, hand that seeks to indicate that the Gospel reading is from Matthew; 2) a hand in darker ink that corrects erring 'indul' to 'indulti' (l. 20) and places an apparent accent mark on the root syllable of 'relaxat' (l. 2); 3) perhaps a third hand that inserts hyphens at the end of ll. to indicate word division and light separation marks between words. The later annotator who writes faintly 'Nota' in the margin opposite manuscript ll. 15-16 could be yet another hand.

The Latin text in Pembroke College 23 strays only slightly from the text as established by Umberto Moricca and Adalbert de Vogüé, respectively.²⁶ One may dismiss from consideration at the outset errors in Pembroke 23 as, for example *qui* (in standard abbreviation) for correct *quia* (l. 3), *ei* instead of correct *eique* (l. 7), *cum seruo* instead of correct *conseruo* (l. 11). The hand that corrects *indul* to *indulti* (l. 18), rather than *indulgentiae*, follows the mainline tradition in both the

Italian and French traditions. Invariably variants such as *in eo* for *in ipso* (l. 2), *aduersus* for *aduersum* (l. 4), *illud rursus a nobis exigitur* for *illud rursus exigimur* (l. 18) are variants witnessed in the whole tradition. Pembroke 23 offers minor points of variation: *delicti sui* for *sui delicti* (l. 1), *offeret* for *offers* (l. 3), *scilicet ut* for *et scilicet* or *ut scilicet* (l. 8). The free adaptation of a broad Latin tradition makes it difficult to seek to establish clinching points of correspondence.²⁷ One example may suffice. Ll. 20-22 of Pembroke 23 read:

Igitur dum per indul[t]i temporis spatium licet, dum iudex sustinet, dum conuersionem nostram is qui culpas examinat, expectat, conflemus in lacrimis duritiam mentis [. . .]

[Therefore, while it is permitted through a space of time of grace, while the judge holds back, while the one who will examine our sins awaits our conversion, let us melt down the hardness of our mind in tears [. . .]]

which become in the Old English:

Uton þonne, men þa leofestan, geþencan þane fyrst þisse forgifenan tide, nu us læreð 7 myndgað, 7 ure gehwyrfednesse bideð, se ilca se ðe is ure dema. Hreowsian we mid tearum þa heardnesse ures modes 7 ura synna [. . .]²⁸

[Let us then, dearly beloved, consider this time of forgiveness, now that the same one that is our judge teaches us, reminds us, and awaits our conversion. Let us repent the hardness of our mind in tears [. . .]]

The key words *indul[t]i* and *conuersionem* make it through the re-arranged syntactic flow, as presumably variant *indulgentiae* and *conuersionem* would have too, with the trailing elegance of the complex Old English subject. The relation is there, and it is noteworthy that de Vogüé's collation with the eighth-century St. Gall 213 and Autun 20 supports the connection. A more specific link to a particular manuscript seems not possible.

There is still some distance to go in ascertaining a closer relationship between Homily XIV and Gregory's *Dialogues*. It may very well be that some version of Paul the Deacon contains an extract that does in fact pick up in IV.59 and goes through to IV.62, as Scragg demonstrates in his notes and I have

discussed in *English Studies*. The existence of a partial correspondence must now point the direction of research towards homiliaries of the Paul the Deacon type. By way of postscript: as de Vogüé notes, Matthew 5. 23-24 is something of a favorite text for Gregory, who cites it in the *Pastoralis* at III.22, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem Prophetam*, I.viii.9, and *Registrum Epistularum*, *Epistola* 7.4.²⁹ Alfred the Great does translate III.22 closely, but there is no particular correlation between the passages in Vercelli XIV and the *Pastoralis* beyond the citation of Matthew 5:23-24.³⁰ In private communications (June, 2006) Thomas N. Hall suggested to me the possibility Vercelli XIV is really in a line of abbreviated versions of Paul the Deacon, the specific evidence for which has not yet come to light, though there are examples of such abbreviation in other cases.

In the edition of Pembroke 23, art. 68, which follows below, I have modernized punctuation and have expanded abbreviations without notice. Tailed 'e' is a manuscript feature, but I have not distinguished it. Nor have I pursued spelling variants, as Moricca and de Vogüé have. The notes to the Latin text combine light textual commentary with variants. Pembroke College 23 art. 68 is collated with the mainline tradition of the text of the *Dialogues* as a whole, as presented in de Vogüé primarily, which is, as I have suggested, essentially a composite.

Cambridge, Pembroke College 23 fols. 289r1-89v2

SERMO BEATI GREGORII PAPE DE EVANGELICA LECTIONE

Sed inter hec sciendum est quia ille recte delicti sui ueniam postulat,
qui prius hoc quod in eo delinquitur relaxat. Munus enim non accipitur,
nisi ante discordia ab animo pellatur, dicente ueritate, 'Si offeres
munus tuum ad altare et recordatus fueris qui[a] habet aliquid aduer-
[col. 2]sus te frater tuus, relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et uade 5
prius reconciliari fratri tuo. Et tunc ueniens offer[s] munus tuum.' Qua
in re pensandum est, cum omnis culpa munere soluatur, quam grauis est
culpa discordiae, pro qua nec munus accipitur. Debemus itaque ad
proximum, quamuis longe positum longeque disiunctum, mente ire;
ei[que] animum subdere, humilitate illum ac beniuolentia placare, 10
scilicet ut conditor noster, dum tale placitum nostrae mentis aspexerit, a
peccato nos soluit, [289v1] quia munus pro culpa sumit.

Veritatis autem uoce adtestante didicimus, quia seruus qui decem milia talenta debebat, cum penitentiam ageret, absolutionem debiti a domino accepit, sed quia [con]seruo suo centum sibi denarios debenti debitum non dimisit, et hoc est iussus exigi quod ei fuerat iam dimissum. Ex quibus uidelicet dictis constat quia, si hoc quod in nos delinquitur ex corde non dimittimus, et illud rursus a nobis exigitur, quod nobis iam per penitentiam dimissum fuisse gaudebamus. 15

Igitur dum per [col. 2] indul[ti] temporis spatium licet, dum iudex sustinet, dum conuersionem nostram is qui culpas examinat expectat, conilemus in lacrimis duritiam mentis, formemus in proximis gratiam benignitatis, et fidenter dico quia salutari hostia post mortem non indigebimus, si ante mortem Deo hostia ipsi fuerimus. 20

TEXTUAL NOTES

Title. In red rustic capitals [= 22nd Sunday after Pentecost: reading according to Matthew 18. 2-14, 'Simile est regnum coelorum homini regi [. . .]']. Beneath the title a later hand (Renaissance?) writes *mathei* followed by *s.d.* [?].

1. *Sed*. Initial *S*, zoomorphic in five ms. lines, and the first line are highlighted as per the layout practice of the book in translucent light brown ink.

delicti sui: sui delicti.

2. *eo: ipso*.

3. *offeret: P, offers*.

4. *qui[a]*: originally *qui* in abbreviated form.

aduersus: aduersum.

6. *reconciliari: reconciliare. offer[s]*: *P, offer*.

7. *in re: de re*.

10. *ei[que]*: *P, ei*.

11. *scilicet ut: ut scilicet / et scilicet*.

14. erasure after *-bebat*.

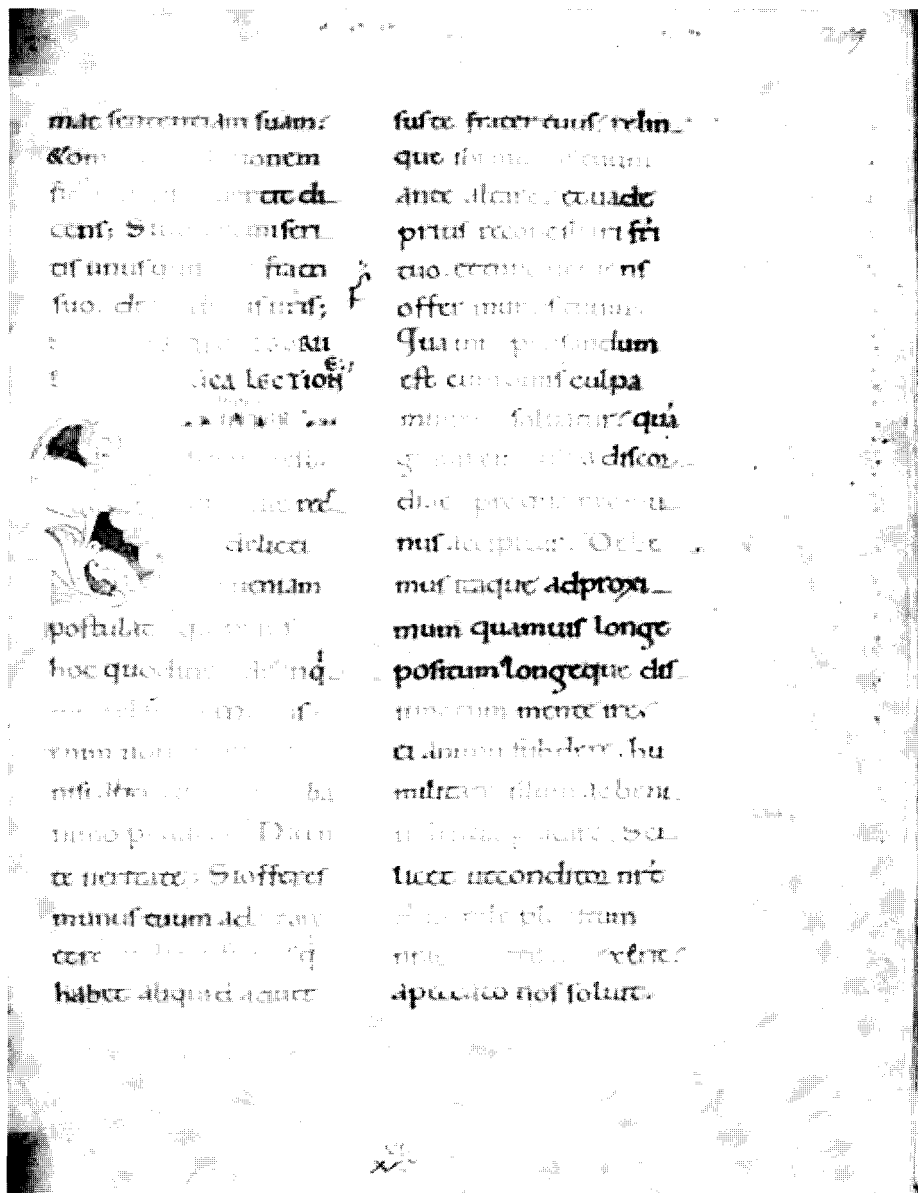
15. *[con]seruo: P, cum seruo*.

17. *quibus [. . .] quod*: a later hand writes 'nota' in the margin opposite these manuscript lines. *quia si hoc*: written as one word with a thin vertical line separating the units.

18. *illud rursus a nobis exigitur: illud rursus exigimur*.

20. *indul[ti]: ti* written in darker ink above the line.

23. *hostia*: erasure before and after *hostia*.



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quia minus proculpa
sumus. Veritatis autem
uocem adstantes dici
cimus. quia seruus qui
decem milia talenta de
bebat. cum p[er]ueniret
ad agerem. absolutio
nem debiti ad domino ac
cepit. Sed quia cum ser
uo suo centum sibi dena
rios debent. debitum
non dimisit. & hoc est
iustus exigi. quod et ius
tiam dimissum. Ex
quibus uidelicet dicat
constat. quasi hoc q[uo]d
in nos delinquitur ex
corde. non dimittimus.
et illud rursus. nobis
exigitur. quod nobis
tunc p[er] uentum di
missum fuisse. quide
bamus. Igitur cum p[er]

indulgentiam. non spatium
habet. sed astante.
cum cor. non enim n[on]
si quod. et dimittat
expe[ctat]. et in
lacrimis. cum iustam men
tis. formemus in p[ro]p[ri]am
gratiam benignitatis.
Et fidenter dico. qui
salutari. hostia. post
mortem. non indiget. bin
stante. mortem d[omi]ni hostia
ipsi fuerimus.
dom[ini] p[er]uenit. **Post reu**
tescentia.
Lectio. sajori. euan
gelii. scdm. quat. i[st]m.
hilo. tempore. A bea
ta pharisa. consilium.
interunt. ut capere. ne
ibm. in sermone. Gen. 12.
emelia. Bedae. p[ri]mi.
de eadem lectione.

NOTES

¹ I would like to thank Thomas N. Hall for his comments and suggestions.

² James E. Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College 25: A Carolingian Sermonary Used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers*, King's College London Medieval Studies, 1 (London: King's College, 1987), p. 93 and, more generally and certainly enthusiastically, 'Towards the Identification of Old English Literary Ideas: Old Workings in New Seams', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Virginia Darrow Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture, 20 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 77-101.

³ Réginald Grégoire prints Charlemagne's authorizing letter to Paul the Deacon, directing him to read 'flosculos' and to assemble them, and also Paul's dedicatory verse to the 'pietatis amator', more or less in reply, in *Homéiaires liturgiques médiévaux* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1980), pp. 423-24. Grégoire's earlier work, *Les Homéiaires du Moyen Âge*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticorum Documenta*, Series Maior, Fontes 6 (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1966), gives only the dedicatory poem at p. 75.

⁴ Cyril L. Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', *Traditio*, 15 (1959), 163-204, and 'Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt [*recte*, Haymo of Auxerre]', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 457-69; Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 203-37. See also Mary Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 207-42. Henri Barré's *Les Homéiaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre*, *Studi e Testi*, 225 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), establishes background for the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

⁵ Cross, pp. 96-122.

⁶ Cross, pp. 123-42. See now my 'Pembroke College 25, Arts. 93-95', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall, Thomas D. Hill and Charles D. Wright, Medieval European Studies, 1 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 295-325.

⁷ D. G. Scragg, 'The Compilation of the Vercelli Book', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973), 189-207, esp. p. 194.

⁸ Charles D. Wright, 'Vercelli Homilies XI-XII and the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform: Tailored Sources and Implied Audiences', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 203-27 (pp. 226-27).

⁹ Christopher A. Jones discusses compromises in its execution and related issues in *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 42-51.

¹⁰ D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS, o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 237-48, for an edition of Vercelli XIV, with introductory remarks about the homily and its sources, leading to this judgment: '[. . .] a most competent and considered piece compiled by an author of learning and discernment' (at p. 238). Cf. my edition of *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*, Toronto Old English Series, 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 29-34.

¹¹ Scragg, p. 237. See, forthcoming, Joyce Hill's 'Towards a Characterisation of Ælfric's Manuscript of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary', in *Precedence, Practice and Appropriation: The Old English Homily*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (Brepols).

¹² See my 'Another Old English Translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*?', *English Studies*, 62 (1981), 97-109.

¹³ Szarmach, p. 97 for the question and p. 109 for the final, essentially inconclusive, answer.

¹⁴ Grégoire (1980), pp. 470-71; Grégoire (1966), p. 107. Scragg, p. 236 n.1, finds the suggestion of another Old English translation of the *Dialogues* beyond Wærferth's to be unconvincing.

¹⁵ As presented by Grégoire (1966), *passim*.

¹⁶ Grégoire (1980), p. 426, notes some 55 interpolations.

¹⁷ Grégoire (1966), pp. 72-74; Grégoire (1980), p. 425. Grégoire used: 1) for the winter part: Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek, Augiensis 29 (Reichenau, IX¹); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 4533 (Benediktbeuern, XI¹); Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek, Augiensis 14 (Reichenau, IX); 2) for the summer part: Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek, Augiensis 15 (Reichenau, IX); Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek, Augiensis (Reichenau, IX¹); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 4534 (Benediktbeuern, XI¹); Paris, Bibl. Nationale, n. acq. lat. 2322 (Troyes, IX).

¹⁸ For the date of the *Catholic Homilies* see the discussion by Malcolm Godden in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary, and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 2000), pp. xxix-xxxvi, who argues for a date 990x994 for the First Series, and '[. . .] A year or so later [. . .]' (p. xxxv) for the Second. The Vercelli Book as a whole is dated towards the end of the tenth century by most authorities, c. 975 perhaps, but there is evidence that individual pieces might have existed rather earlier; see Scragg, pp. xxxviii-xlii.

¹⁹ Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 241 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001); Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (ca. 1066-1100)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Mary P. Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Library*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1988), and especially chapter IV, 'The

Medieval Homiliary at Rochester', pp. 85-120, with its tables of correspondences among manuscripts.

²⁰ For the fruitfulness of incorporating twelfth-century work see Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, eds, *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²¹ With comments on dating and provenance from Gneuss, the manuscripts are, by his numbering:

16: Cambridge University Library li.2.19, (Easter vigil to fourth Sunday after Epiphany), xi/xii, by way of Norwich;

24: Cambridge University Library Kk.4.13 (Septuagesima to Easter vigil, Sanctorale), xi/xii, by way of Norwich;

129: Pembroke College 23 (Easter to Advent), xi², from Bury St. Edmunds;

130: Pembroke College 24 (Sanctorale, *commune sanctorum*). xi², from Bury St. Edmunds;

209f: Canterbury, Cathedral Library and Archives, Add. 127/1, xi¹;

222 Durham, Cathedral Library A.III.29 (Easter to 25th Sunday after Pentecost; Sanctorale, May to December), xi. ex. (before 1096), Durham;

226: Durham, Cathedral Library B.II.2, Christmas to Good Friday, xi ex. (before 1066);

249.3f: Durham, Cathedral Library C.IV.12 (Binding strips);

273: Lincoln Cathedral Library 158 (beginning of Lent to Easter vigil, Sanctorale 25 January to 30 November), xi ex., Normandy or Engliand;

424: London, British Library, Harley 652, xi/xii, St. Augustine's Canterbury;

452: London, British Library, Royal 2.C.iii (Septuagesima to Sabbatum Sanctum; sanctorale, *common of the saints*), xi/xii, Rochester;

753: Salisbury, Cathedral Library 179 (Easter to All Saints and common of the saints), xi, Salisbury;

763: Worcester Cathedral Library F.92 (Advent to Easter); xi/xii or xii in., from Worcester;

763.1: Worcester Cathedral Library F.93 (Easter to Advent); xi/xii or xii in., from Worcester;

763.2: Worcester Cathedral Library F.94 (Sanctorale, 3 May - November 30 and Commune, sanctorum); xi/xii or xii in., from Worcester [?];

930.5e: St.-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202 (39 items, though Holy Saturday), ix², originally from northeast France (prov. St. Bertin), by way of Exeter xi med.?

²² For a full study of St.-Omer 202 see J. E. Cross and Julia Crick, 'The Manuscript: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202', in *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 10-35. Gameson, p. 107, noting that Harley 1918 is similar to Harley 652 (xii¹, Glastonbury).

²³ Richards, p. 103 and continuing discussion to p. 110.

²⁴ Rebecca Rushforth, 'The Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Manuscripts of Bury St Edmunds Abbey' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2003), pp. 99-104. I am grateful to Dr. Rushforth for sharing results of her study of the French manuscripts at Bury. See also M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp. 20-22, and Gameson, no. 110, p. 67. There are 75 items in Pembroke 23 and though Gregory's homilies are well-represented (as are Bede's), thus far no other indication of Gregory's Dialogues has been discerned. For Bury St Edmunds in general see Antonia Gransden, ed., *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, British Archaeological Association, Conference Transaction, 20 (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 1998), and her contribution 'Some Manuscripts in Cambridge from Bury St Edmunds Abbey: An Exhibition Catalogue', pp. 228-317, esp. p. 230 and n. 12. About 270 Bury books survive. In the same collection see also Teresa Webber, 'The Provision of Books for Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', pp. 186-93 (p. 188).

²⁵ Rushforth, p. 104.

²⁶ Umberto Moricca, ed., *Gregorii Magni Dialogi IV*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 57 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1924); Adalbert de Vogüé, ed., *Dialogues*, Sources Chrétiennes, 251, 260, 265, 3 vols (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1978-80). De Vogüé discusses his edition and its context at length at I, 164-91. Evidently (p. 172) de Vogüé considers his edition to be somewhat provisional while the critical edition announced by J. Mallet for *Corpus Christianorum* takes shape. In one sense de Vogüé has created an edition of editions, indebted to Moricca and his 'Italian' edition and the Maurists for their 'French' edition found in PL 77, 127-432. The national references here underline the field of manuscripts chosen in the respective editions. De Vogüé did collate St. Gall 213 and Autun 20, two eighth-century manuscripts, with the editions.

²⁷ Szarmach, 'Another Old English Translation', p. 102, and Scragg, p. 238, the latter noting the downside of the presumed upside by observing that the modification of Latin sources makes the resolution of Old English cruces difficult.

²⁸ Scragg, p. 245.

²⁹ De Vogüé, III, 205, note to LXII.1 (*Pastoralis* incorrectly cited to III.23).

³⁰ For Alfred's translation see Henry Sweet, ed., *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, EETS, o.s. 50 (London: Trubner, 1871; repr. Oxford University Press, 1930; and Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1958), pp. 348-49.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 and the Blickling Manuscript

Mary Swan

In this essay I will describe one striking and hitherto undocumented feature of the relationship of a composite Old English text to its sources, and will consider what this implies about scribal activity and manuscript relationships.¹ The composite text in question is the homily on folios 311v-316r of manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 – article 62 in Neil Ker's description of the manuscript's contents.² Most of the contents of CCCC 198 are Ælfrician. The earliest part of the manuscript, Part I, was written in the early eleventh century. Article 62 is one of a group of what John Pope categorises as 'nearly contemporary additions in several hands' which constitute Part II of the manuscript.³

The main source text for article 62 is Ælfric's composition entitled 'In Quadragesima. De Penitentia'.⁴ Almost all of this homily is copied into article 62, and to it is added a lengthy excerpt from the anonymous homily Blickling X.⁵ The welding together of an Ælfrician composition with one from the Blickling collection might seem unlikely – and would certainly have alarmed the Abbot of Eynsham – but at least one other late Old English composite text makes just such a combination,⁶ and many of the re-uses of items from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* turn them into something closer in tone and rhetoric to parts of the anonymous corpus.⁷ Blickling X is assumed by Richard Morris to have been intended for Rogation Wednesday, although its title is erased in the Blickling manuscript. Morris gives it the editorial title 'Pisses middangeardes ende neah is'. Article 62 has the title 'Incipit de penitentia. in quadragesima', and it opens with the formula 'læwedum mannum is to witane þ', which is presumably the work of its compiler.⁸ This phrase is used to lead into Ælfric's 'De Penitentia', which article 62 follows from its opening to its penultimate word, reproducing its discussions of baptism,

repentance and confession, prayer, and the nature of the Trinity. The compiler of article 62 then changes Ælfric's final word, 'amen', into 'butan æghwīlcum ende'. Throughout its version of 'De Penitentia', article 62 shows minor differences of vocabulary which do not alter the sense of the text in any significant way.

After copying 'De Penitentia', the compiler of article 62 turns to a lengthy excerpt from Blickling X, corresponding to p. 111, line 15 to p. 115, line 8 in Morris' edition. In both the Blickling manuscript and article 62 this passage opens with the importance of Christian teaching, the division of the body and soul at death, the transitory nature of earthly things, human bones talking about earthly decay,⁹ and the beauty of the world when it was first created. From here, Blickling X begins its final section with an exhortation to reflect on the creation of the world and its original beauty,¹⁰ and moves into a rather confusing sequence: 'þa wīsnod he on Cristes haligra heortum, & nu is on urum heortum blowende swa hit gedafen is'.¹¹ The description of the world shrivelling and then blooming is not anchored in any parallel account of moral decline and renewal, and even if this sequence were anchored in such a way, it would hardly fit the exhortatory theme of the homily, which relies on presenting the world as declining and sinful in order to stress the need to repent now. Blickling X carries on in precisely this vein; emphasising the misery and evil of current times, and reminding its audience of the transience of the world and of the necessity of obeying God.¹²

Article 62 reproduces most of the text described above, with relatively frequent small changes of vocabulary and turn of phrase, of the sort often seen in composite Old English homilies' treatment of their sources, and indeed in article 62's alterations to Ælfric's 'De Penitentia'. In the middle of the Blickling X description of the world being created beautiful, article 62 misses out several lines of text in the Blickling manuscript version, which continue the description of the newly-created world's beauty,¹³ and resumes copying the Blickling X text a little further on for a few short phrases from the end of the Blickling X description of earthly beauty.¹⁴ Article 62 alters its Blickling source text in one further way; by unscrambling the confusing sequence in Blickling X. In place of this, it has a description of a more predictable decline, '7 þa wæs he ealra godnyssa ful 7 nu he is wanigenne 7 scinddende',¹⁵ which is presumably the work of its compiler. After this reworking, article 62 copies the text of Blickling X, with a few minor alterations, to its end, which includes an account of the evils of the present world and the importance of rectifying them.¹⁶

Structurally, thematically and verbally, article 62 welds together its material intelligently to construct a powerful appeal to repentance. 'De Penitentia's closing account of Judgement and the torment the sinful will suffer provides a strong thematic lead-in to Blickling X's insistence on spiritual preparation for Doomsday. The addition of the Blickling X extract enables the compiler of article 62 to address many themes connected with Judgement in the anonymous Old English homiletic and poetic traditions, such as earthly decay as expressed in laments for what is past, and personified by speaking human bones. These popular features of anonymous vernacular writing on the end of the world add a lively, imperative tone to Ælfric's treatment of Judgement, and the end of Blickling X brings article 62 to a thematically and structurally striking close with a return to an exhortation to repentance.

The improvement of the confused passage in Blickling X, coupled with the many smaller changes made to the Blickling X text, led Donald Scragg to suggest that 'here the compiler of the piece in F [CCCC 198] is copying Blickling no. x with some freedom'.¹⁷ These aspects of the comparison of the two might seem on first consideration to indicate that it is more likely that Blickling X is not the direct source of article 62, but that the two are connected via a now-lost intermediate version, or that they draw independently from a common, lost, source-text. In fact, however, it is clear from other examples of the re-use of Old English prose that the process of recasting a source text into a new piece often entails a re-articulation of the source text which introduces minor changes and on occasion more significant alterations.¹⁸ It is entirely possible, then, that article 62 drew directly on a text identical to the only copy of Blickling X which now survives – the one in the Blickling manuscript – and altered it in the copying, and that its relationship to Ælfric's 'De Penitentia' is of the same order.

The physical and mental working practices required to re-cast source texts in this way are very well captured in an important analysis of medieval scribal practice by Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing. Benskin and Laing examine Middle English scribes who copy source-texts from manuscript exemplars and who introduce changes of the order of the more routine ones noted above. They describe the point of the copying process at which the words in a source text are transformed into the different words which the scribe copies out: '[i]nstead of reproducing a perhaps laboriously interpreted visual image, the visual image is now interpreted at a glance; and what is held in the mind between looking at the exemplar and writing down the next bit of text, is not the visual symbols, but the spoken words that correspond to them. What the scribe reproduces is then the

words that he hears, not the visual images from which they arose: regardless of whether his lips move, he is writing to his own dictation"¹⁹. Benskin and Laing call this technique 'copying via "the mind's ear"',²⁰ and it is an extremely useful model for conceptualising the process behind the production of a text like article 62 from direct source-texts like Ælfric's 'De Penitentia' and Blickling X, where the scribe is recasting each source here and there into a preaching text which retains many of the essentials of the sources, but which has been revoiced as an individual new address.

We cannot know whether in CCCC 198 we have the first or only version of article 62 to be made. No other copies of the text which is article 62 survive, but this does not preclude their having existed. In principle, then, the direct drawing on 'De Penitentia' and Blickling X argued for above could have taken place in an earlier and now-lost composite homily, and CCCC 198 article 62 could be a recopying of this. On balance of probability, it is more likely that this is not the case, since the very great majority of anonymous composite Old English homilies now exist in only one copy. It might be assumed that they would have circulated less widely than the work of such a well-networked author as Ælfric, and the dramatic contrast between the many multiple copies of Ælfrician homilies and the almost-always single copies of anonymous composites weighs in favour of most of the latter being unique.

If the question of whether the text which is article 62 was compiled for the first time in CCCC 198 or whether it had an earlier existence is therefore open, it follows that we do not know whether the scribe of CCCC 198 article 62 is also its compiler. With regard to this, it is important to note that if scribe and compiler are not one and the same, it is possible that they were not working in the same place, since the text could have been compiled in one centre and then either been taken to another for copying into CCCC 198 or been drawn on for copying into CCCC 198 which itself was then taken elsewhere. This notwithstanding, given what we can ascertain about the textual transmission of other composite homilies, as outlined above, the working assumption of this essay is that article 62 was written out fully for the first time in CCCC 198. This in turn means that its scribe in CCCC 198 can therefore be assumed to be its compiler, and that in the first half of the eleventh century the scribe of CCCC 198 article 62 was therefore working in a centre where a copy of Blickling X was available.

A pair of separate but similar issues – that of the precise version of Blickling X available to the compiler of article 62 and that of the relationship between the two manuscripts, which share two entire items in addition to the re-

use of Blickling X in article 62 – has been the subject of scholarly interest for some time.²¹ Scragg demonstrates the close connection between the manuscripts, and is convinced that '[i]f any further light is to be shed on the origin of B [the Blickling manuscript], it is most likely to come from F [CCCC 198]',²² but he does not judge the Blickling manuscript to be the direct source of CCCC 198 for the material they share. He proposes, rather, that 'F [. . .] is not dependent upon B but is so close to it that we must assume that they have a common ancestor lying no great distance behind them', and that 'the likelihood is that [the scribes of the two manuscripts] were working in the same scriptorium'.²³ Mary Clayton also believes CCCC 198 'to be close to B in its milieu of origin', and that Part II of CCCC 198 'was written in the same centre in which B was produced'.²⁴ The general assumption seems to be that the two manuscripts, in their shared items, are separated by only one or two stages in a chain of source- and product-manuscripts.

The whereabouts of their putative shared scriptorium is unknown: the Blickling manuscript's place of production has been the subject of debate for decades, and is still unresolved;²⁵ CCCC 198 is likely to have been in Worcester, or thereabouts, by the thirteenth century, when the 'Tremulous Hand' scribe annotated it; the place or places of production of its two parts are not securely known, and scholarly opinion has lined up for and against Worcester as the place of production of Part II.²⁶ The very limited range of Ælfric's work drawn on in CCCC 198, as well as its lack of similarity to known Worcester styles of script, led Pope to doubt that the manuscript was at Worcester in the eleventh century.²⁷ It is worth noting, in the light of this, the Office of St Guthlac added to the end of CCCC 198 in the late eleventh century. Scragg argues that this does not help identify a location for the manuscript, since 'the saint appears to have been widely popular',²⁸ but if an alternative Worcester-area origin and/or provenance is under consideration, St Guthlac's priory in Hereford might be a relevant candidate.

In the light of this question of place of production and/or use, I would like now to return to the analysis of the relationship between article 62 and Blickling X, to point to the precise nature of one of the differences between them, and to use this both to reinforce the argument for a very close relationship and to add to the speculation about the location of the Blickling manuscript by the second half of the eleventh century. As noted above, after the point where it describes the beauty of the world at its creation, CCCC 198 article 62 does not reproduce the short section of Blickling X which extends this description.²⁹ No obvious reason for omitting this very standard description of the delights of earth

after its creation is apparent; article 62 copies from its source-texts for long stretches without abbreviating them, and the theme of the omitted section is entirely in keeping with that of article 62; this does not appear to be an example of a compiler omitting a passage because it does not fit the theme or priorities of the composite piece. The material details of the omission prove to be more suggestive: comparison of the relevant manuscript folios reveals that the omission covers exactly seven lines of the Blickling manuscript text (fol. 69v ll. 15-21 of the Blickling manuscript). In the transcriptions which follow, manuscript line endings are marked by '/' and the folio ending by '//', and text which exists in both manuscript versions is underlined:³⁰

Blickling manuscript folio 69v, line 12 - folio 70r, line 1

gesceapen wæs þa wæs he ealre fægernes/
se full 7 he wæs blowende on him sylfū/
on swyþe manigfealdre wynsumnesse/
7 on þa tid wæs mannum leof ofor eorþan/
7 halwende 7 heal smyltnes wæs ofor/
eorþan 7 sibba genihtsumnes 7 tud/
dres æpelnes 7 þes middangeard wæs/
on þa tid toþon fæger 7 toþon wymsum/
lic. þ he teah men to him þurh his wlite/
7 þurh his fægernesse 7 wynsumnesse//
fram þon ælmihtigan gode 7 þa he þus fæger/

CCCC 198, folio 315v, lines 19 - 21

he ealra fægernysa ful 7 he wæs blowende on him/
sylfum on swiþe manigfealdre wynsumnysse/
fram þam ælmihtigan gode 7 þa he þus fæger wæs/

As can be seen, the last word copied in article 62 before the omission is 'wynsumnysse', which is at the end of line 20 of fol. 315v of CCCC 198, and at the end of line 14 of fol. 69v of the Blickling manuscript; and the last word of the omission from article 62, at the end of line 21 of fol. 69v of the Blickling manuscript, is also 'wynsumnesse'.³¹ This, therefore, may be an accidental omission from article 62 rather than an example of the compiler deliberately editing the source text. If we assume that article 62 was copied from a manuscript which happened to have the same line-layout as the Blickling manuscript at this

point, then this could very well be an example of homeoteleuton – eyeskip – on the part of the scribe of article 62. The line-layout of CCCC 198 and the Blickling manuscript does not match in the lines surrounding this point, so it is not the case that the CCCC 198 scribe is slavishly following the line-layout of an exemplar which matches the Blickling manuscript for any length of time, but the coincidence of line-layout across the two manuscripts at the point of the eyeskip is very striking, and highly suggestive of the scribe/compiler of article 62 working from an exemplar whose line-layout was identical at this point to that of the Blickling manuscript. If this is the case, the exemplar of article 62 is very likely to be either a manuscript extremely close to the Blickling manuscript in terms of time and chains of copying, or the Blickling manuscript itself.

If Benskin and Laing's 'mind's ear' copying technique is postulated for article 62, it is necessarily the case that the scribe would take his or her bodily eye (to coin an Anglo-Saxonism) off the source text for whole phrases in order to process it into the text which would then be written out. Benskin and Laing identify scribal confidence and familiarity with the language of the source-text as necessary prerequisites for the use of the 'mind's ear' copying technique,³² and both attitudes are amply demonstrated by the smooth transitions between verbatim reproduction of and small changes to source-texts throughout article 62, and by the recasting of the muddled Blickling X passage. The deliberate and necessary disengagement from the text written out in a source manuscript by a confident scribe copying out from it using the 'mind's ear' technique would, then, lead to the sorts of minor verbal reworkings of the source texts seen throughout article 62. It would also, of course, provide precisely the conditions for a scribe to lose his or her way in a manuscript exemplar and to produce inadvertent scribal eyeskip of the sort described here.³³ If a scribe is from time to time taking their eye and their mind – and also, especially when the text being compiled is a preaching text intended for out-loud delivery, their ear – off the precise verbal detail of the source text, the likelihood of their resuming reading and copying it in the wrong place is increased. In such circumstances the scribe would not intend to copy out the source-text slavishly, but would rather set out to adapt it in small ways, and then might unintentionally omit a portion of it because his or her attention was taken off the source-manuscript whilst mentally reformulating a phrase before writing it down.

One further factor which would increase the likelihood of such error in the example under scrutiny is the strong possibility of a brief pause on the part of the scribe at the point of the eyeskip: 'wynsumnysse' – the trigger word for the

eyeskip – comes at the end of a line in CCCC 198, and if the CCCC 198 scribe wrote out the text a line at a time, the pause to check the exemplar either after writing this word or between writing 'wynsum' and 'nysse', which are separated by a space on CCCC 198 fol. 135v l. 20, might have created the conditions for the eyeskip. The sense of some sort of scribal pause or break at around this point is amplified by the aspect of the script of article 62, which changes in the course of fol. 315v, becoming horizontally and vertically tighter and more upright from towards the end of line 18 onwards, as if the scribe has recalculated how much space is left and has decided that it is necessary to compress script. Another shift or pause seems to happen in line 20, where the letter-size and spacing grow, with 'wynsumnysse', at the end of the line, being markedly widely spaced. By contrast, the start of line 21, 'fram þam', sees a new and distinct compression of letter-size and space. In sum, the impression is that the writing out of lines 18 to 21 of fol. 315v was done with a series of pauses or shifts in strategy. This, of course, would further increase the chances of eyeskip. It is also notable that the omitted passage takes up exactly the last seven lines of fol. 69v of the Blickling manuscript. If the scribe of CCCC 198 article 62 was working from an exemplar which mirrored the line- and page-layout of the Blickling manuscript at this point, and if at this point of the copying the CCCC 198 scribe was more prone to make mistakes, he or she would perhaps be unlikely to pick up on an accidental omission once 'fram þam' had been written and a new page of the exemplar was being consulted, as his or her eye would have travelled a long way from the point of the eyeskip, low down on the left-hand verso page of the exemplar, to the top of the right-hand recto page.

The apparent eyeskip in article 62, although a very small element of the text's production and relationship to its sources, offers an important piece of support to the evidence assembled to date which links CCCC 198 and the Blickling manuscript. It raises anew the question of whether the Blickling manuscript might have been the direct exemplar for CCCC 198 article 62 and adds weight to the argument that CCCC 198 Part II was made in an institution very directly connected to, if not identical with, the one which housed the Blickling manuscript in the first half of the eleventh century.³⁴ This in turn underpins the growing understanding that the identification of manuscript relationships, whether by content, codicology or palaeography or a combination of these aspects, is key to bringing into sharper focus our picture of where, with what resources, and under what conditions Anglo-Saxon books were made.³⁵

NOTES

¹ This essay is based on work done under Joyce Hill's supervision during my PhD studies. Although Joyce would no doubt be dismayed at the delay between its origins and its publication, it seems fitting to offer as my contribution to her birthday festschrift something which resulted from her invaluable guidance.

² Neil Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; repr. with supplement, 1990), p. 81. All details of manuscript date, provenance and article numbers are taken from Ker, *Catalogue*, except where otherwise stated. For a diplomatic transcription of article 62, see Mary Swan, 'Ælfric as Source: The Exploitation of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* from the Late Tenth to Twelfth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1993), pp. 266-77.

³ *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, Early English Text Society, o.s. 259 and 260, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1967 and 1968), I, 21. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 76.

⁴ This piece is included in Thorpe's edition of the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* after the main run of the *CH* from manuscript Cambridge, University Library Gg. 3. 28: *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols (London: Ælfric Society, 1844-46), II, 602-08. Peter Clemoes describes 'De Penitentia' as 'a piece on penitence in Lent, perhaps an extract from a letter' (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 25). In his later rescensions of the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, however, Ælfric did not include this piece, and instead incorporated it into the *Lives of Saints* as part of the item numbered XII in Skeat's edition (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by W.W. Skeat, EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London: Oxford University Press, 1881-1900; reprinted as two volumes, 1966)); Malcolm Godden does not include 'In Quadragesima. De Penitentia' in his edition of the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979)). For further discussion of the status of this piece, see Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 166-68, and D. G. Scragg, 'The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 299-316 (p. 312).

⁵ Morris' edition is still the point of reference for the text of the Blickling Homilies: *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. by R. Morris, EETS, o.s. 58, 63 and 73 (London: Oxford University

Press, 1874, 1876, 1880; repr. as one volume, 1967), pp. 107-15. Article 62 is manuscript Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71 (hereafter referred to as the Blickling manuscript), fols 65r-70r. The pagination of the manuscript used by Morris in his edition and Ker in his *Catalogue* has now been superseded, and therefore in the present article I use the current manuscript pagination, as set out by Scragg, 'The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', pp. 299-316 (p. 301 note 12). The date of the Blickling manuscript is not certain, but it is generally thought to have been written in the late tenth or early eleventh century.

⁶ The other composite text in question is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121 article 33 (fols 148v-54v), which combines an extract from *Catholic Homilies I* 'In Dominica Palmarum', material resembling part of Blickling Homily VII and substantial unsourced sections which are probably the work of its compiler. It is edited by Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, "'De descensu Christi ad inferos': Una inedita omelia anglosassone", *Studi Medievali*, 13 (1972), 989-1011, and discussed in Scragg, 'A Late Old English Harrowing of Hell Homily from Worcester and Blickling Homily VII', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II, 197-211, and in Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 94-104.

⁷ For a survey of all re-uses of the *Catholic Homilies*, see Swan, 'Ælfric as Source'.

⁸ It is interesting to note that this phrase also opens the piece which follows 'De Penitentia' in CUL, Gg. 3. 28; Ker item 96, a passage on Lenten duties: Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, II, 608.

⁹ For discussions of the latter two motifs in Old English literature, see J. E. Cross, "'Ubi Sunt' Passages in Old English – Sources and Relationships", *Vetenskaps Societeten i Lund Årsbok* (1956), 25-44; and J. E. Cross, 'The Dry Bones Speak – A Theme in Some Old English Homilies', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 56 (1957), 434-39.

¹⁰ *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 115, ll. 4-12.

¹¹ 'then it shrivelled up in the hearts of Christ's holy ones, and now is blooming in our hearts as it is fitting.'

¹² Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 115, ll. 15-25.

¹³ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 115, ll. 8-12.

¹⁴ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 115, ll. 12-13.

¹⁵ CCCC 198, fol. 315v, ll. 22-23: 'and then it was all full of goodness and now it is diminishing and shameful'.

¹⁶ Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 115, ll. 15-25.

¹⁷ Scragg, 'Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', p. 314, note 73.

¹⁸ For discussion of the range of transformations performed by compilers on *Catholic Homilies* items, see Swan, 'Ælfric as Source' and also Swan, 'Remembering Veronica in Anglo-

Saxon England' in *Representations of Women in Medieval Literature*, ed. by Elaine M. Treharne (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002), pp. 19-39; 'The Catholic Homilies in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 62-82; 'Memorialised Readings: Manuscript Evidence for Old English Homily Composition', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Elaine M. Treharne and Phillip Pulsiano (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1998), pp. 205-17; and 'Old English Made New: One Catholic Homily and its Reuses', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 28 (1997), 1-18.

¹⁹ Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So many people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Medieval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55-106 (p. 66).

²⁰ Benskin and Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen*', p. 66.

²¹ The other two shared items are Blickling Homily XIII (*The Blickling Homilies*, pp. 137-59) /CCCC 198 article 54 (fols 350r-59r) and XVIII (*The Blickling Homilies*, pp. 229-49) /CCCC 198 article 64 (fols 386r-94v). Article 54 is reedited by Mary Clayton in *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 239-45.

²² Scragg, 'Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', p. 315.

²³ Scragg, 'Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', p. 313.

²⁴ Clayton, *Apocryphal Gospels of Mary*, p. 240.

²⁵ Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 210, notes the accepted view that 'the language of Blickling seems to point to Mercia'.

²⁶ As summarised by Scragg, 'Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', p. 313.

²⁷ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, I, 22.

²⁸ Scragg, 'Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', p. 313, note 60.

²⁹ CCCC 198 fol. 315v, l. 20; Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 115, ll. 8-12.

³⁰ My transcription of Blickling X here follows the manuscript, not Morris' edition.

³¹ I am grateful to Professor R. I. Page, former Librarian of the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for checking my readings from CCCC 198, and to Ms Gill Cannell, the Sub Librarian, for her assistance.

³² Benskin and Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen*', p. 66.

³³ It is interesting to note that all of article 62 is written by a single scribe; Ker's scribe 8, who completed the last of the homilies in Part I of the manuscript, and also wrote a block of miscellaneous homilies which end Part II: Ker's block II, iii, of which article 62 is the fifth of eight items. Ker also identifies five lines of a possible ninth text in this block, which are now erased and illegible apart from a large initial H, but which are identified by the

sixteenth-century table of contents in the manuscript as a homily, 'De Virginitate' (Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 80-82. The possibility exists, then, that Ker's scribe 8 is the 'organiser' of the second version of the manuscript (i.e. Parts I and II; not Part III, which is of slightly later date).

³⁴ Kevin Kiernan's argument for a common place of production for the *Beowulf*- and Blickling manuscripts (Kevin S. Kiernan, 'The Legacy of Wiglaf: Saving a Wounded *Beowulf*', in *Beowulf: Basic Readings*, ed. by Peter S. Baker (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 195-218 (p. 208)) is worth noting here. If it is reasonable to assume that, at the time Part II CCCC 198 was copied, the Blickling manuscript was still in its place of production, and if the above comparison with CCCC 198 suggests that this place might be in the West Midlands, and possibly Worcester or perhaps Hereford, then these places and their local networks of scriptoria are worth considering as the possible milieu of production of all three manuscripts: CCCC 198, the Blickling manuscript and the *Beowulf*-manuscript. For further comments on the Blickling manuscript and Worcester, and on the connection between the Blickling manuscript and Junius 121, see Scragg, 'A Late Old English Harrowing of Hell Homily', especially p. 204.

³⁵ I am grateful to Donald Scragg and Orietta Da Rold for their very helpful comments on this essay and on CCCC 198, respectively.

A Possible Source for the *seofonfealdan Godes gifa*

Loredana Teresi

There are two Old English treatises dealing with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit: one is attributed to Ælfric (B 1.6.3) and one to Wulfstan (B 2.2.6).¹ Wulfstan's version is an expanded reworking of Ælfric's text, which, in turn, is thought to have been written by Ælfric on Wulfstan's request.² The present work briefly analyses the way in which the two authors treat the subject, with a view to assessing a possible source.³

Ælfric's exposition of the gifts of the sevenfold Holy Spirit (wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of God) and of the opposed wicked gifts of the devil is found in seven manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34; London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix;⁴ London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi; London, British Library, Harley 3271; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116.⁵ Wulfstan's adaptation is recorded in two manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201;⁶ a third manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 419) contains part of the text as the final section of a homily on *De die iudicii*.⁷ Both versions were edited by Arthur Napier in 1883, and Wulfstan's version was later re-edited in Dorothy Bethurum's 1957 collection of Wulfstan's homilies.⁸

The Ælfrician text begins by enumerating the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, giving their names both in Latin (*sapientia, intellectus, consilium, fortitudo, scientia, pietas*, and *timor domini*) and in Old English (*wisdom, andgit, ræd, modes strengð, god ingehyd, arfæstnyss*, and *Godes ege*), and quoting the Prophet Isaiah as source.⁹ The list is then followed by a short description of each gift and of the behaviour of the fortunate man on whom it has been bestowed. This happy catalogue is immediately followed, in a symmetrical fashion, by a list

of the seven 'bad gifts' (*ungifa*) offered to men by the devil, again with their names spelled out both in Latin (*insipientia, stultitia, inprovidentia, ignavia, ignorantia, impietas, and temeritas*) and Old English (*dysig or dwæсныss, stunnys, receleasныss butan foresceawunge, abroðennyss or nahтныss, nytenыss, arleasныss, and dyrstignyss*), and by their brief descriptions. Every *spiritus bonus* has, in fact, two bad 'countergifts', since each *spiritus malus*, in its worst expression, takes the form of a hypocritical *simulatio* of its corresponding *spiritus bonus* (for example, the bad counterpart of wisdom is folly, but also simulated wisdom).

Wulfstan modified the Ælfrician text partly in terms of vocabulary and style (by introducing, for example, alliterative tags, binary phrases, formulaic expressions, and other elements typical of his style),¹⁰ and also by adding a long final section on the deceitful and hypocritical behaviour of the Antichrist and of the men that are misled by him.

If we exclude the two manuscripts where the text is defective at the beginning, all the other copies of the text that have come down to us, whether in Ælfric's or in Wulfstan's version, with the sole exception of one (Harley 3271), have a short Latin introduction listing, always with reference to the Prophet Isaiah, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, each with its two 'countergifts' (its negative opposite and its simulation).¹¹ This Latin preamble has long been puzzling to scholars and editors, who have been uncertain whether to assign the piece to Ælfric himself or to a source still to be identified; the problem being that, although it would not be Ælfric's custom to provide his works with a Latin résumé and then translate it into English, no text was close enough to the Ælfrician Latin introduction to be held to be its source, and most of all, none of the various patristic writings mentioning or discussing the gifts of the sevenfold Spirit seemed to cite also their negative counterparts. In Bethurum's words:

There is no other example in Ælfric's works of his writing out an outline in Latin first, if he did that here, and then elaborating it in English. It is slightly indebted to Gregory's treatment, which Ælfric probably knew directly and may have got also from Amalarius, who quotes Gregory, or from Charlemagne's letter. The form of Ælfric's sentences is like that of Amalarius's, but the opposite vices are not dealt with directly in any of these works.¹²

To the best of my knowledge, the origin of this Latin prologue is still obscure. A very similar passage, comprising not only the seven positive gifts of the Holy Spirit, but also the seven two-fold bad gifts of the devil is found, however, in the eighth book of Ambrosius Autpertus's commentary on the *Apocalypse* (*Expositio in Apocalypsin*),¹³ in the section where he provides an exposition of chapter 17. 3. Although Ælfric's text appears to be slightly more concise, the two passages share the same vocabulary and, for the most part, the same syntactic structure, apart from the very beginning, as can be seen from the following synoptic arrangement of the two versions:

Ambrosius Autpertus, *In
Apocalypsin*
(ll. 110-13 and 156-72)¹⁴

Ælfric, *De septiformi spiritu*
(ll. 10-25)¹⁵

Et in bono enim et in malo septinarium numerum frequenter poni Scriptura sacra testatur.

Nam cum Spiritus Sanctus pro septinaria operatione, Esaia testante, septiformis esse credatur in bono, spiritus etiam nequam septiformis saepius designatur in malo. [...]

Et ut quod dicimus manifestius appareat, spiritus bonus quo aduersitati resistens impletur Ecclesia, spiritus est sapientiae. Cui e contrario malus opponitur spiritus insipientiae, quo aperte ueritati cornibus resistens pars insanit aduersa, alter peior simulatio sapientiae, quo in uerisimile fraude septies ac multiplicius pars aduersa ad seducendum praeualet.

Spiritus sanctus pro septenaria operatione, Isaia propheta testante, septiformis esse creditur in bono; spiritus etiam nequam septiformis designatur.

spiritus bonus

spiritus sapientie, cui e contrario malus opponitur spiritus insipientie, alter peior simulatio sapientiae.

Spiritus bonus, spiritus
intellectus; malus autem,
spiritus stultitiae; alter peior,
simulatio disciplinae.

Spiritus bonus consilii;
malus autem spiritus
inprudenciae; alter peior,
simulatio prouidentiae.

Spiritus bonus, spiritus
fortitudinis; cui opponitur
malus, aperte ignauiae spiritus;
alter peior, infirmitas fallens
obumbratione uirtutis.

Spiritus bonus, spiritus
scientiae; cui contrarius
opponitur malus, spiritus
ignorantiae; nequior autem,
usurpatio scientiae.

Spiritus bonus, spiritus
pietatis; malus uero, spiritus
impietatis; alter peior, falsae
pietatis obtentus.

Spiritus bonus, spiritus
timoris Dei; cui contrarius est
spiritus temeritatis; alter peior,
dolus fictae religiositatis.

spiritus bonus spiritus
intellectus, malus autem
spiritus stultitiae, alter peior
simulatio discipline.

spiritus bonus spiritus
consilii, malus autem spiritus
inprouidentiae, alter peior
simulatio prouidentiae.

spiritus bonus spiritus
fortitudinis, cui opponitur
malus aperte ignauiae spiritus,
alter peior infirmitas fallens
obumbratione uirtutis.

spiritus bonus spiritus
scientiae, cui contrarius malus
spiritus ignorantiae, nequior
autem usurpatio scientiae.

spiritus bonus, spiritus
pietatis, malus uero spiritus
impietatis, alter peior false
pietatis obtentus.

spiritus bonus spiritus
timoris dei, cui contrarius est
spiritus temeritatis, alter peior
dolus fide religiositatis.

The biblical passage that Ambrosius Autpertus is discussing in this section of the commentary concerns the vision of a woman (Babylon) sitting on a red beast with seven heads and ten horns (the empire), covered in blasphemous words:

et uidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam coccineam plenam
nominibus blasphemiae habentem capita septem et cornua
decem¹⁶

This description forms a negative parallel with *Apocalypse* 5. 6, which describes the vision of a Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes, explicitly said to be the seven Spirits of God:

et vidi et ecce in medio throni et quattuor animalium et in
medio seniorum agnum stantem tamquam occisum
habentem cornua septem et oculos septem qui sunt spiritus
Dei missi in omnem terram¹⁷

Because of this parallel, Ambrosius Autpertus associates the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the seven 'countergifts' of the devil with the apocalyptic Lamb's and beast's horns and heads.¹⁸ He also enumerates the seven gifts when he expounds *Apocalypse* 1. 4, on John's greeting to the seven Churches, which have been filled – he explains – the sevenfold spirit of God.¹⁹ The description of the first gift (*sapientia*) in Ambrosius Autpertus's book eight contains references to this wider context ('quo aduersitati resistens impletur Ecclesia' and 'quo aperte ueritati cornibus resistens pars insanit aduersa'). These references become obscure once the catalogue has been extracted from this wider context, which would easily explain why the Latin introduction in Ælfric's treatise has a slightly altered and more concise text for the first gift; that is to adjust its source to its new context.

Whether Ælfric was drawing directly on Ambrosius Autpertus's commentary cannot be ascertained. It is possible that both were drawing from a third source which has not yet been identified, or that Ælfric copied his text from a source which had in turn copied from Ambrosius Autpertus. What is certain is that Ælfric did not make up the Latin text: he just reproduced it, possibly eliminating the references to the *Apocalypse* if they were still there, and then translated it into Old English, giving the Old English equivalents for the names of the gifts, and finally expanding it, by giving short descriptions of the various gifts and associated behaviours.

There is, however, another element that deserves to be taken into account, since it might help throw some light on the text that Ælfric was using. As mentioned above, Wulfstan adapted Ælfric's text to form a new, longer treatise on the same topic, where he added, at the very end, a long discussion on the Antichrist and on hypocrisy. This addition creates a further link with Ambrosius Autpertus's text, which deserves attention. Ælfric's text never mentions the Antichrist: the *ungifa* are ascribed to the devil, who is named variously (*yfela gast*, *ungesewenlica feond*, *arleas deofol*, *deofol*, *widerræda deofol*, *manfulla*

deofol, *hetela deofol*, and *gramlica deofol*), but never called *antecrist*, and there are no elements in Ælfric's version which directly evoke the Antichrist. Ambrosius Autpertus's text, on the contrary, is centred on the Antichrist, not only because it occurs in the wider context of the *Apocalypse*, but also because it explicitly refers to the Antichrist and to hypocrisy. His text on the seven gifts is immediately followed by direct references to the Antichrist and to hypocrisy, and the whole passage echoes Wulfstan's theme:

Hinc est quod ipsa bestia cum sit e septem, ipsum septinarium excedens numerum octaua inuenitur. Hinc per Psalmistam specialiter de antichristo dicitur: *Sedet in insidiis cum diuitibus in occultis*. De quo etiam Apostolus dicit: *Tunc reuelabitur ille iniquus quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet inlustratione aduentus sui eum cuius est aduentus secundum operationem Satanae in omni uirtute et signis et prodigiis mendacibus, et in omni seductione iniquitatis in his qui pereunt*. In uirtute scilicet apertam potentiam; in signis uero et prodigiis mendacibus ac seductione iniquitatis, hypocrisin simulatae ueritatis designauit.²⁰

This parallelism between Wulfstan's addition and Ambrosius Autpertus's text would seem to confirm that the text from which Ælfric drew his introduction was indeed Ambrosius Autpertus's *Expositio in Apocalypsin*. Wulfstan must have been familiar with Ambrosius Autpertus's work too. He may have spotted the source in the treatise, or Ælfric may have pointed it out somehow. Wulfstan went back to the *Expositio* while reworking Ælfric's treatise, and was inspired by Ambrosius Autpertus's words for his long expansion on the Antichrist's deceitful deeds and the spreading of hypocrisy in the world that he added to the Ælfrician treatment of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The *Expositio* is believed to have been widely known and rather influential in medieval Europe.²¹ There is also manuscript evidence for the circulation of two works by Ambrosius Autpertus in Anglo-Saxon England.²² Ælfric's drawing on Ambrosius Autpertus's commentary for his Latin introduction to the *De septiformi spiritu* seems therefore plausible, and suggests that the *Expositio in Apocalypsin* should also be included in the number of Ambrosius Autpertus's works that were known in late Anglo-Saxon England.

NOTES

¹ For the so-called Cameron numbers see Angus Cameron, 'A List of Old English Texts', in *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. by Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 25-306. Cameron considers Ælfric's text a tract and Wulfstan's a homily.

² On this and related issues see *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 24-36 and 304-06; Otto Zimmermann, 'Die beiden Fassungen des dem Abte Ælfric zugeschriebenen ags. Traktats über die siebenfältige Gabe des Heiligen Geistes' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leipzig, 1888); Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* (Bern: Francke, 1950); Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1949), 109-42; and Ida Masters Hollowell, 'On the Two-Stress Theory of Wulfstan's Rhythm', *Philological Quarterly*, 61.1 (1982), 1-11.

³ I chose to write on this topic not only because of the very valuable work that Professor Joyce Hill has done in this field, but also because, the first time I ever met her, she was giving a very interesting and enlightening lecture on Ælfric's and Wulfstan's style. This short essay is my modest way of saying 'thank you' for that lecture, for all her inspiring work, and for her friendly and contagious enthusiasm for our discipline.

⁴ In this manuscript the beginning of the text is lacking.

⁵ See N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), nos 86, 153, 199, 239, 310, 332 and 333, respectively.

⁶ Here the text begins imperfectly.

⁷ See Ker, nos 331, 49b and 68. CCCC 419 contains the final part on the Antichrist, which is not found in Ælfric's text.

⁸ *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit I Text und Varianten*, ed. by Arthur Napier (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1883), pp. 50-56 (no. VII: Wulfstan's text) and pp. 56-60 (no. VIII: Ælfric's text); Bethurum, pp. 185-91 (no. 9). See also H. Logeman, 'Anglo-Saxonica Minora', *Anglia*, 11 (1889), 97-120 (pp. 106-10, no. VI), for the version in Cotton Tiberius C. vi.

⁹ Cf. Isaiah 11. 2-3: 'et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini' [and the spirit of the Lord will rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit of the fear of God will fill him]. All biblical quotations are from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. by Robert Weber, 3rd edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

¹⁰ See Bethurum, p. 306, and Jost, pp. 117-29. Wulfstan also translates the Latin names of the *ungifa* differently from Ælfric in two instances: *insipientia* becomes *unwisdom* (Ælfric had translated it as *dysig* or *dwæsnys*) and *ignauia* is rendered as *wacmodnys* (Ælfric's *abroðennyss* or *nahthyss*).

¹¹ According to Bethurum, the Latin prologue was only part of Ælfric's text, and was not retained in Wulfstan's version: p. 321. Ms Hatton 113, however, includes it.

¹² Bethurum, p. 305. Zimmermann considers it Ælfric's own work: p. 52.

¹³ *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, ed. by Robert Weber, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis: 27, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin Libri I-V*, and 27A, *Expositionis Apocalypsin Libri VI-X* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975). Ambrosius Autpertus was born in Gaule, in Provence, and became a monk in the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, in the South of Italy, around 740. He became abbot, only for a very short time, in 777, but left the monastery probably because of conflicts between the Lombard and the Franc monks. He died in 778, while on a journey to Rome. The commentary on the *Apocalypse*, written between 758 and 767, was his main literary achievement, and was mainly based on Primasius, but also, often indirectly, on Victorinus, Jerome, Tyconius, Augustine, Gregory, and Benedict. For more details see *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, vol. 27, pp. v-xvi and Claudio Leonardi, 'Spiritualità di Ambrogio Autperto', *Studi medievali*, 9 (1968), 1-131.

¹⁴ *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, vol. 27A, book VIII, ch. 17. 3b, pp. 649-50. [The Holy Scripture attests that the number seven appears frequently, in connection with both good and evil. While the Holy Spirit is believed, on the basis of Isaiah's testimony, to be sevenfold because of his sevenfold action, the wicked spirit is often also designated as sevenfold in connection with evil. [. . .] And in order to make clearer what we are saying, [we will say that] the good spirit – which resists adversities – with which the Church is filled, is the spirit of wisdom. To this is opposed, in contrast, the wicked spirit of insipience, by which the opposite party is driven mad, overtly resisting the horns of truth. An even worse [spirit] is the simulation of wisdom, by which the opposite party succeeds in seducing with well-disguised deceit, seven times and many more. A good spirit is the spirit of understanding, whilst wicked is the spirit of stupidity, and an even worse spirit is the simulation of intelligence. A good spirit is the spirit of counsel, whilst wicked is the spirit of imprudence; even worse is the spirit of the simulation of prudence. A good spirit is the spirit of fortitude, to which is opposed the overtly wicked spirit of moral weakness; a worse spirit is weakness that deceives through the false aspect of virtue. A good spirit is the spirit of knowledge, to which is opposed the wicked spirit of ignorance, and even wicked is that of the illegitimate use of knowledge. A good spirit is the spirit of piety; wicked, conversely, is the spirit of impiety, and an even worse spirit is the exhibition of false piety. A good spirit is the spirit of fear of God, to which is opposed the spirit of temerity; an even worse one is the malice of feigned religious devotion.] I wish to thank Prof. Patrizia

Lendinara, Prof. Giorgio Di Maria and Dr Filippa Alcamesi, from the University of Palermo, and Dr William Flynn and Dr Mary Swan, from the University of Leeds, for very kindly helping me with the translations from Latin in this essay. Any mistakes which remain are mine.

¹⁵ Napier, p. 50. [On the basis of the Prophet Isaiah's testimony, the Holy Spirit is believed to be sevenfold in connection with good, as it performs a sevenfold action; the wicked spirit is also designated as sevenfold. A good spirit is the spirit of wisdom, to which, in contrast, is opposed the wicked spirit of insipience and the even worse spirit of the simulation of wisdom. A good spirit is the spirit of understanding, whilst wicked is the spirit of stupidity, and an even worse spirit is the simulation of intelligence. A good spirit is the spirit of counsel, whilst wicked is the spirit of imprudence; even worse is the spirit of the simulation of prudence. A good spirit is the spirit of fortitude, to which is opposed the overtly wicked spirit of moral weakness; a worse spirit is weakness that deceives through the false aspect of virtue. A good spirit is the spirit of knowledge, to which is opposed the wicked spirit of ignorance, and even wickeder is that of the illegitimate use of knowledge. A good spirit is the spirit of piety; wicked, conversely, is the spirit of impiety, and an even worse spirit is the exhibition of false piety. A good spirit is the spirit of fear of God, to which is opposed the spirit of temerity; an even worse one is the malice of feigned religious devotion.]

¹⁶ [and I saw a woman sitting on a red beast, full of blasphemous words and having seven heads and ten horns.] The beast is also described in *Apocalypse* 13. 1-3.

¹⁷ [Then I saw a Lamb standing in the centre of the throne, surrounded by the four living creatures [= the four symbols of the evangelists] and the elders. The Lamb appeared to have been killed. It had seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God that have been sent throughout the whole earth.]

¹⁸ *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, vol. 27, p. 262 and vol. 27A, pp. 646-50.

¹⁹ *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, vol. 27, pp. 28-29.

²⁰ *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, vol. 27A, p. 650. The underlining is mine. [This is the reason why the very same beast, although being part of the seven beasts, exceeds the number seven and becomes the eighth beast. Therefore, through the words of the Psalmist, the Antichrist is described especially in these terms: *He lies in ambush with the rich, in the dark*. The Apostle also says about him: *And then the wicked will reveal himself, and will be killed by Lord Jesus, by means of the spirit of His mouth, and, with the light of His coming*, [Lord Jesus] *will destroy him that comes through the power of Satan with all sorts of false wonders, signs and prodigies, and with all sorts of impious deceits, among those who will perish*. By virtue he obviously meant undisguised power; by signs, in truth, and by false prodigies and by the seduction of injustice he meant the hypocrisy of simulated truth.]

²¹ Gerald Bonner, [Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary', in *Bede and His World: The Jarrow Lectures*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), I, 155-83 (p. 168).

²² The *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutem* and the *Sermo de cupiditate*, both attributed to Ambrosius Autpertus, feature in manuscripts that are thought to be of English origin or provenance. See Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), nos 41, 112, 363 and 519, and Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), nos 81, 471, 485, 596 and 838.

Every Picture Tells a Story: Cuthbert's Vestments in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold¹

Sarah Larratt Keefer

Early Medieval prayers and *ordo* material associated with Mass, ordination and consecration make provision for the clerical attire to be worn by deacons, priests and members of the episcopal ranks.² Nevertheless, the art from Anglo-Saxon England does not always correspond with these ritual directives, and requires closer investigation to explain particular anomalies. The focus of this article lies on two such conundra presented by tenth-century portraits of St Cuthbert, Prior and Bishop of Lindisfarne and, for the Anglo-Saxons, perhaps England's most celebrated 'native son'. But where his vesture in one of these images can be understood by context, his garb in the other is far more puzzling. This second representation of Cuthbert appears in the front row of the Choir of Confessors miniature which now stands at the beginning of London, British Library Additional MS 49598, the Benedictional of St Æthelwold; in this depiction, Cuthbert's attire seems part of the agenda of re-affirming the Romanization of the church and the nationalization of Benedictinism, a programme of policy that hallmarked Æthelwold's tenure of Winchester.

What in fact might we expect an Anglo-Saxon monastic bishop to have worn? No *ordo* prescriptions for vestments are preserved in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, since there are no insular copies of the *Ordines Romani*: all that we have concerning monastic and/or clerical vestments written in hands known to be English resides in the *Regularis concordia* and in the ordination and consecration rituals of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals which themselves draw heavily on continental use and *ordo* or customary practice. The eighth-century *Ordo Romanus I* describes a papal vesting for Mass, with the pontiff donning the linen or woollen layers of alb, dalmatic, and chasuble, with an amice around his neck, a maniple on his left wrist, and a *pallium* encircling his shoulders. To this the Frankish *Ordo Romanus VIII* (s. ix²) adds the *orarium*, called *stola* ('stole') north of the Alps considerably before the term was adopted in Rome after 1000.³

Alb (Lat. <i>alba</i>)	An ankle-length linen under-tunic, generally white, with closely-fitted sleeves and skirt; it was always belted with a cincture, or <i>cingulum</i> .
Dalmatic (Lat. <i>dalmatica</i>)	An unfitted and voluminous over-tunic, probably more frequently of wool than of linen north of the Alps, with loose, often three-quarter-length sleeves and reaching to just below the knee. Originally the garb of the regional deacons of Rome, it was later worn by deacons and bishops but not by priests.
Chasuble (Lat. <i>casula</i> or <i>planeta</i>)	The outermost vestment given at ordination (the 'cope' is not part of the ritual garbing of an ordinand), the <i>casula</i> ('little hut') or chasuble derives from the <i>paenula</i> or Mediterranean over-cloak, though as a vestment it underwent substantial stylistic change.
Amice (Lat. <i>amictum</i>)	A linen or woollen scarf worn around the neck or in some cases, over the head, below the alb as a protection for the consecrated vestments against grease, oil and perspiration.
Maniple (Lat. <i>mappulum</i>)	A narrow length of ornate material, often fringed, that has its origins in insignia denoting consular rank, in the napkins carried by servants, or in a blend of both. It is worn over the left wrist (or carried in the left hand) by deacons, priests and the episcopal ranks during Mass.

<p><i>Pallium</i></p>	<p>By the ninth century, the symbol both of obedience to the papacy and of concomitant archiepiscopal authority. The origins of the <i>pallium</i> are uncertain: again, it may derive from consular insignia, or represent a severely-reduced toga-like garment which acquired an association for its wearer with the Good Shepherd. It is a narrow strip of white wool worn about the shoulders only by the Pope and – apparently – archbishops, but see below.</p>
<p>Stole (Lat. <i>stola</i> or <i>orarium</i>)</p>	<p>Once again, a long narrow strip of embroidered fabric that may derive from consular insignia of honour; it is worn directly over the alb, over the left shoulder of the deacon (falling in front and behind, and thus once again resembling a servant's towel, but see the representation of Peter the Deacon on the 'Frithestan' embroidered maniple from St Cuthbert's tomb, below), around the neck of the priest to cross at his chest and be secured by his alb's cincture, and around the neck of the bishop but falling straight to his cincture without crossing.</p>

The *Regularis concordia* explicitly prescribes the alb for monks at Candlemas and on Palm Sunday ('albis induti', 'mid alpan gescrydde' [vested in albs]), while it seems to be understood as the vestment worn beneath the chasuble on Ash Wednesday ('annectens alteram summitatem eius cingulo alb', 'tocnyttende oþerne ende þære mid gyrdle alban' [making the lower end thereof fast to the girdle of his alb]) and it is part of what can only be termed the 'costuming' for the Easter Sunday *Quem Quaeritis* enactment ('quorum unus, a<l>ba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum', 'þære an mid alban gescrydd swylce elleshwæt to donne' [one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose]).⁴ The stole seems reserved for the abbot, evidently as an ordained man, although provision is made at the burial of a monk who was a priest for his stole to be placed over his cowl and interred with him ('si

uero sacerdos fuerit, circumdatur ei stola super cucullam', 'gif he soplice sacerð byþ si ymbutonseald him stole ofer þa culan' [But if he is a priest a stole may be placed about him over his cowl]).⁵ Finally, the *Regularis concordia* prescribes the chasuble (OE 'mæssehacela') for wear by sub-deacon, deacon and priest during Lent and Ember days only,⁶ evidently assuming the chasuble to be for diaconal use as well.

The earliest extant English pontifical (Paris, BNF MS Lat. 10575), erroneously attributed to Egbert, Archbishop of York, comes from the mid-tenth century. In it we find initial prayers consecrating the vestments ('incipiunt orationes ad uestimenta sacerdotalia seu leuitica') to be received by the diaconal or sacerdotal ordinand: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus. qui moysen famulum tuum pontificalia seu sacerdotalia atque leuitica uestimenta ad exemplum in conspectu tuo ministerium eorum. et ad decorem seu laudem nominis tui fieri decreuisti'.⁷ Diaconal and sacerdotal ordinations provide for the sanctification and presentation of stole and chasuble, with the alb already in the possession of the ordinand and the garment worn for the ordination ritual. Of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals in print, neither the first Claudius Pontifical nor the Sidney Sussex Pontifical, both from the later tenth century, nor the eleventh-century Lanalet Pontifical disagrees with the vestments to be consecrated nor with their recipients. As a group, the three tenth century books – Egbert, Claudius and Sidney Sussex – indicate a formula prayer for the consecration of the stole or the chasuble, depending on the rank of ordinand, but this formula prayer is omitted from Lanalet so the service may have become simpler as time went on.⁸ Although in the ordination rituals of *Ordines Romani XXXIV* and *XXXV* we see the ordinand to the diaconate clothed with a dalmatic, then exchanging his dalmatic for a chasuble (here called *planeta*) when he becomes a priest, and the candidate for the episcopate re-vested in the dalmatic and chasuble together,⁹ the dalmatic is never consecrated in these ordines and we never see it given ritually to an ordinand in English service books. *Ordo Romanus VIII* prescribes alb, stole and chasuble but not dalmatic for a bishop or archbishop, so there was evidently some variability in the wearing of the dalmatic between alb and chasuble for those in major orders (as we shall see with the images on the tenth-century maniple from Cuthbert's tomb). Thus, from the service-book evidence rather than the *ordo* evidence, we could fairly expect to find a tenth-century English member of the major orders wearing only the alb with his stole over that, and his chasuble over them both.¹⁰ The presence or absence of a dalmatic thus remains a minor detail.¹¹

Because the bishop candidate is already in possession of Mass vestments as of his ordination to the diaconate or priesthood, episcopal consecration confers the *anulus* and *baculus* – symbols of his new office – alone;¹² it is only with the

consecration of an archbishop, of which there were just the two in Anglo-Saxon England, in Canterbury and in York, that the final and most deeply symbolic vestment is presented to the new prelate, and this is the *pallium*, central to our purposes here. Historical studies of vestments tell us confidently that possession of the *pallium* is the signal mark of the archepiscopal office:¹³ in the early Middle Ages it was made as a long oval band of white wool with two hanging sections bearing black or purple crosses sewn onto them. When placed around the shoulders on top of the chasuble, with the sections hanging down in front and behind, it could create either a T- or a Y-shaped effect. By the time of the compilation of *Ordo Romanus I*, it was worn by the Pope to represent the supremacy of his pontifical office. As a mark of obedience to the See of Rome, it was granted to archbishops only, and its possession signified an authority that extended beyond the ecclesiastical to the political, since only archbishops might conduct episcopal consecrations and regnal coronations. By the ninth century, no archbishop could assume his office until he had received his own *pallium*, which could not be worn outside of his administrative see nor loaned to another man, and would be buried with him at his death.

In the art of Anglo-Saxon England, we find two vestment puzzles that need to be solved in terms of the *ordo*, customary and service-book provisions rehearsed above. The first is the less complicated: fol. 1v of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183, from perhaps the 930s, contains a celebrated picture of King Æthelstan holding a book which he is evidently presenting to St Cuthbert [Plate 1]. Here the saint is nimbed, and dressed only in an alb, with sleeves that are tight at the wrist, and a chasuble whose orphreys are visible down the front;¹⁴ consonant with the model of *Ordo Romanus VIII*, he wears no dalmatic, and because he is standing just outside the doorway of his own church and thus is not represented as a celebrant of the Mass, he bears no maniple.¹⁵ However he also wears no stole.

The second image of Cuthbert appears in London, British Library Additional MS 49598, compiled primarily as a Benedictional for Bishop Æthelwold perhaps between 971 and 984. Twenty-eight full-page miniatures remain, of which the first [Plate 2] shows a group of seven Confessors: four saints standing behind a more prominent trio in front, who are identified as 'Sanctus Gregorius, Presul' (prelate) to the viewer's left, 'Sanctus Benedictus, Abbas' (abbot) in pride of place at the centre, and 'Sanctus Cuthbertus, Antistes' (bishop) to Benedict's left and the viewer's right. Each is nimbed and vested for Mass on the model of the pre-ninth century *Ordines Romani*, and wearing alb, stole, dalmatic and chasuble, but also a *pallium*.

The lack of a stole for Cuthbert is somewhat puzzling in CCCC 183. As a bishop Cuthbert would wear the vestments of an ordained man, and bishops, priests

and deacons were expected to wear the stole at least when officiating within church ritual: from an early period, the stole or *orarium* was considered an essential vestment for the Mass.¹⁶ It is however significant that, despite reference to the *orarium* in both the *Ordines Romani* and the writings of ninth-century Church Fathers, no consistent mention is made of this garment in any service-book until the mid-tenth century.¹⁷ Because this is the earliest English manuscript image of a vested cleric, we must ask if there is precedent within contemporary art on the continent to see bishops without the stole depicted outside of ritual celebration. The answer is ambiguous, since the intent of an illustration may need to be understood in order for us to make sense of its details. Popes, bishops and archbishops in Carolingian and Ottonian art may be vested as for Mass in a scene set in a throne-room, or may be clad more simply without the stole, depending on the agenda of the artist. Closer to home, we may look at the embroidered clerics on the early tenth-century 'Frithestan' maniple, given with a matching stole by Æthelstan to Cuthbert's tomb at perhaps the same time as the CCCC MS 183 manuscript in which an image, described by Ivy as follows, occurs:

[Popes] Gregory and Sixtus each wear an alb, dalmatic, stole, maniple and chasuble. Peter and Laurence, being deacons, do not wear chasubles. Peter wears his stole in diaconal fashion over his left shoulder. Laurence does not appear to have one. Peter and Gregory both have decorated dalmatics.¹⁸

So, while continental art vests its bishops according to the design of the artist, in the tenth century representations of vested clerics in the 'Frithestan' embroideries, we find stoles provided for members of the episcopate but not necessarily for both deacons, despite both *Ordines Romani* and continental conciliar provisions, seem here to be without chasuble (or *planeta*) as well.

However, in CCCC MS 183, Cuthbert occupies a different reality from that in which the living king stands with his book. He is a long-dead saint, no longer responsible for the immediate care of his particular pastoral flock, yet he 'lives' still within the faith of the Church Triumphant; it is perhaps for this reason that Cuthbert is garbed as simply as we find him here.¹⁹ Nevertheless, we cannot find any consistency in pre-Conquest English vestment representation, even if we make an effort to assign roles for the clerics in the images. Folio 1v of the Lanalet Pontifical depicts the consecration of a church, with the bishop in alb, stole and chasuble, and carrying a maniple. However, we find drawings of Dunstan and Æthelwold in both

London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii and Durham Cathedral Library MS B.III.32, the latter a copy of the former and both belonging to the eleventh century. They are dressed as Cuthbert is, in CCCC MS 183, with only alb and chasuble and without stoles. This may be fitting since, like Cuthbert and unlike the Lanalet bishop, they are not engaged in ritual; nevertheless, Dunstan, on the right of each drawing, wears the *pallium*, marking his office as Archbishop of Canterbury. The stole-less Cuthbert, therefore, may not present the appearance of a bishop as we might understand it from the English ordination or consecration services, but this can be explained and seems not out of keeping within artistic representations of episcopal figures from both insular and continental traditions.

The second conundrum, from the Benedictional, is, however, anything but simple. We have noted that Cuthbert, in company with Benedict and Gregory, is vested in full Mass regalia – alb, stole, dalmatic, amice, and chasuble – but he also bears a *pallium* along with the other two, and it is here that we need to look carefully at what we are being shown. Of the three, Benedict is not a priest, and therefore should not be garbed as a celebrant of Mass at all. However, again of the three, only Gregory is a Pope: Benedict was an abbot, the founder of Benedictinism, and Cuthbert both a prior and a bishop (though not apparently at the same time), but never an archbishop of either of the English sees. By the assertions of vestment historians, then, neither of these saints merits the *pallium*, saints though they may be. It is nevertheless on the *pallium* of each that his name is inscribed, and Cuthbert's *pallium* is further confusing in that it is blue-green and not white, as all *pallia* ought to be.

Robert Deshman has this to say of Benedict's depiction in the Confessors' portrait:

Another feature of the iconography that should also be understood in the context of the reform is the anomalous costume of St. Benedict. In the choir of confessors he wears pontifical vestments, including the pallium, the insigne of metropolitan rank [. . .] As Benedictine monks, Æthelwold and his illuminators would certainly have known that the founder of their order had not been a priest, much less an archbishop; they must have had a purpose in depicting the abbot saint as a member of the episcopacy [. . .] By depicting Benedict himself as a bishop, Æthelwold pushed the argument for monastic

bishops a step further than his more cautious pupil Ælfric, who must have been echoing some of his teacher's ideas.²⁰

This is as may be, but it is perhaps easier to explain the *pallium*, together with full Mass vestments, for a saint – Benedict – who in life would have worn none of them than for a saint – Cuthbert – who in life would have had the right to wear all but the *pallium*. We will also have to consider the issue of the colour of Cuthbert's *pallium* which, artistic license undoubtedly at work elsewhere in the manuscript notwithstanding, remains an uncanonical blue-green when compared to those of Benedict and Gregory. But we must first tackle the more immediate question of why the artist of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold has ascribed a *pallium* to a man, national saint as he was, who was only a bishop? Could this have been merely an honour, ascribable either by ecclesiastical practice or through artistic license, to a saint?

Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has Gregory the Great providing for three *pallia* and not two, the third being for the Bishop of London.²¹ However, this initial third emblem of power seemed to fall into obscurity shortly thereafter, and Pope Honorius' letter to Honorius of Canterbury makes clear that only York and Canterbury remain sees whose metropolitans have the papal mandate to consecrate another archbishop, and thus by extension to create other bishops or provide for the coronation of kings: 'et duo pallia utrorumque metropolitanorum, id est Honorio et Paulino, direximus, ut dum quis eorum de hoc saeculo ad auctorem suum fuerit accersitus, in loco ipsius alterum episcopum ex hac nostra auctoritate debeat subrogare'.²² The archiepiscopal consecration ordines in two unedited pontificals, London, BL Additional MS 57337 (the 'Anderson Pontifical', s. xi¹) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 44 (the 'Corpus-Canterbury Pontifical', s. xi³) quote this very letter from Pope Honorius, indicating that customs regarding the scope of English archiepiscopal authority had not changed from the early seventh century; the prayers and ritual that follow for this consecration make clear that the investiture of an archbishop with a *pallium* was a solemn undertaking and, as such, would likely never have been an empty symbol granted by the Papacy to a saint after his death.²³ More contemporary with the Benedictional comes the Letter of Privilege from Pope John XII (dated to September 21, 960) granting the *pallium* to Dunstan. Its earliest version is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 943 (the Sherborne Pontifical, s. x²); its details regarding the significance of the *pallium* and its prescriptions on when it should be worn reinforce the solemnity surrounding such a grant, but also leave no doubt that a Reform period artist charged with the important task of illuminating the Benedictional of St

Æthelwold would never have added it as a gratuitous detail in a painting for the purpose for symmetry or convenience.²⁴

What do we know with certainty of tenth-century views concerning Cuthbert's episcopal authority, in terms of its extent over local rather than regional matters? In the Benedictional, he is identified as *antistes* rather than *episcopus*, and in this the Benedictional artist follows Bede, who uses the term for Cuthbert in both the Prose and Metrical *Vitae*.²⁵ Bosworth-Toller glosses *antistes* as 'suffragan bishop', although at the time of Cuthbert's election to the see of Lindisfarne, the episcopacies of Northumbria were very irregular and there was no archbishop of York whose proxy a suffragan might take to synod. While Ælfric renders the Bedan *antistes* as 'bisceop' in his version of the childhood narrative, he also calls Cuthbert 'leodbiscop', one of only three uses in the two series of Catholic Homilies; there is however no evident equation to be made between *antistes* and 'leodbiscop', and Godden notes that '[t]he 3 examples [of this lemma] do not appear to show any special function for the leod-element'.²⁶ But while *antistes* appears in Bede, it derives ultimately from the same Scholica Graecarum Glossarum which lies behind the hermeneutic language of the tenth-century Reform, promulgated by Æthelwold himself.²⁷

Despite a general definition of *antistes* as 'summus sacerdos quod [sic] ante altare stat' [the highest [office of] priest who stands before the altar], and thus 'bishop',²⁸ which is in accord with Godden's observation about 'leodbiscop', above, it is interesting to ask whether Æthelwold considered Cuthbert to have been more than an ordinary bishop, by having the Benedictional artist vest Cuthbert in a *pallium*. Of the liturgical calendars remaining to us, only an early (s. ix) Northern calendar (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 63) describes Cuthbert as *confessor* alone;²⁹ his prevailing epithet is *episcopus*, with its earliest attestation in Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 150 from c. 969-78, and it is worth noting that the calendar on fol. 2r of London, British Library Additional MS 37517 (the Bosworth Psalter from Canterbury, St Augustine's, c. 988-1012) calls Cuthbert *presul*, as we see Gregory identified in the Confessors' Choir miniature.

We must return to continental art to see if we can find any precedent for bishops depicted in *pallia* to which they were not officially entitled. It is here that we must begin to question the confident statements about *pallia* intended for archbishops only which are found in the many studies of historical vestments, and to scrutinize more closely those councils on which such statements are based. It is not always obvious, in an illustration from a Carolingian or Ottonian book, whether the cleric in the *pallium* is in fact an archbishop if his identity is not evident. In some cases, it may be that scholars familiar with vestment history make assumptions based

on what they see in art, thus 'here we see that unidentified Cleric A wears a *pallium* so unidentified Cleric A must be an archbishop'. On the other hand, art and medieval historians alike who work regularly in this period frequently use the term 'bishop' in discourse for any cleric in a *pallium*, generalizing for convenience but creating the erroneous impression that *episcopus* and *archiepiscopus* are interchangeable.

At the opposite extreme, the vestment historians attempt to be comprehensive in their categories. R. A. S. Macalister tells us that 'from the first, [the *pallium*] was regarded as a distinct vestment to be worn by archbishops only'³⁰ but later identifies 'a few favoured bishops' as having received 'this privilege', their sees being 'Autun, Bamberg, Dol, Lucca, Ostia, Pavia and Verona', although this seems a phenomenon later than the year 1100.³¹ Herbert Norris echoes this pronouncement:

The *pallium* was a symbol of jurisdiction and also an ornament of great honour, which indicated the highest dignity in the wearer, and the custom arose for the Supreme Pontiff to confer it upon archbishops and on a few bishops as a token that the recipient participated in the plenitude of the papal authority. Some few bishops received it purely as an honour, devoid of all ecclesiastical power.³²

Janet Mayo reminds us that by Pope Nicholas I's decree of 866, 'no archbishop could take office without the *pallium*' and, ignoring Bede's inclusion about Gregory's provision having been made for the Bishop of London, suggests that no one but an archbishop in England was ever to wear one.³³ Cyril Pocknee suggests that 'in fact the early evidence all goes to show that [the *pallium*] was a sign of episcopal rank, and common to all bishops', and cites the Council of Macon in Gaul, held in 583, where it is bishops who are not allowed to celebrate mass without a *pallium*: 'ut episcopus sine palleo missas dicere non praesumat' [so that a bishop may not presume to say mass without a *pallium*].³⁴ The ecclesiastical historian Duchesne ascribes the *pallium* to bishops ('*êveques*'),³⁵ and Andrieu himself has this to say on the subject:

Cet insigne papal apparaît dans les documents au vi^e siècle [. . .]
Il est à supposer que les papes portaient eux-mêmes le *pallium*
depuis longtemps, lorsqu'ils commencèrent à le considérer
comme une sorte de décoration dont ils pouvaient honorer

d'autres prélats, généralement investis d'une autorité particulière.³⁶

Conflicting or insufficient evidence together with a variety of interpretations have therefore left the question of whether bishops wore the *pallium* in early years, with a change restricting it to archbishops thereafter, still unresolved.

We have already seen the absence of *pallia* for the two popes who merit it in the images of Gregory and Sixtus II on the 'Frithestan' maniple. We find an unusual presence of the *pallium*, by no less an artist than the Gregory Master,³⁷ in the Sainte Chapelle Gospels (Paris BNF Lat. 8851. fol. 52v) of c. 984 where St Mark wears a *pallium* in his evangelist portrait. This detail seemed enough of a piece with the rest of the composition to be copied without question in the next century into the St Mark miniature in the Codex Aureus of Echternach, c. 1031, who again bears a *pallium* in his portrait. The Uta Codex of the early eleventh century (Munich, Clm 13601)³⁸ also presents singular vestments in its portraits of two German saints, Erhard who died in 630 and Emmeram who died in 685; they were bishops one after the other of Regensburg and, as such, their identities accompany their depictions. The image of St Erhard, presented as celebrating Mass on fol. 4a, is clad in full episcopal regalia but he wears a *rationale* (elsewhere called *ephod* by some historians) on top of his vestments.³⁹ This breastplate-like ornament was known in Ireland and on the continent but not evidently in England, and appears in other eleventh-century presentations of bishops and archbishops alike. Pseudo-Alcuin describes it as 'a distinctive adornment for a bishop', and the remains of an actual *rationale* makes this representation of St Erhard, ostentatious as it is, more plausible.⁴⁰

However, we find a depiction of St Emmeram on fol. 1v,⁴¹ in which Hartwic, the architect of the book, offers its representation to the saint. He stands in much the same conceptualized space as that of Cuthbert in CCC 183, static within his sainthood as he receives a book from a living suppliant. But while this image of St Emmeram is far less elegant than that of St Erhard at Mass, the sainted bishop's vestments are easy to make out: he wears an alb, a stole, a dalmatic, a chasuble and a *pallium*; the latter is clearly not the chasuble orphreys because the bottom section of the *pallium* falls below the lower edge of the chasuble, and the shoulder girdle is presented in the Y-shape that is one of the two designs for *pallia* from this period. So once again we find an image, admittedly later than that of Cuthbert in Æthelwold's Benedictional, where a canonized bishop who is not evidently intended to be celebrating Mass is nevertheless presented in full pontifical vestments that include

the symbol of the highest episcopal office, which in life he would apparently have had no right to wear.

We therefore have continental examples of art both before and after the Benedictional of St Æthelwold that deviate perhaps as abruptly from historical vestment assignment as does the Cuthbert image with its *pallium*. Did the customs regarding the conferral of *pallia* change and become stricter as the centuries passed, or do art and *ordo* disagree for other reasons?⁴² We read of emperors sanctioning a request for a *pallium*,⁴³ so the power invested in its symbolism was clearly politicized with imperial or regnal association and grew more sophisticated throughout Western Christendom between 500 and 1000: to what end does the presence of the House of Wessex in the Tenth Century Reform have any bearing on this depiction? And does the association of the *pallium* with Roman authority tell us anything of Bishop Æthelwold's desire to have St Cuthbert appear for posterity completely in accord with Rome instead of Ireland? At the time of the compilation of the Benedictional, liturgy and monasticism, both triumphantly Roman since the seventh century, were the focus of a determined standardization programme to bring both church and monastery ritual back into line with continental Roman practice. Although we have no definitive proof either way, Irish monastic custom may still have had its adherents at Glastonbury, which played a signal role as a base from which the Reformers began their work to revive Benedictinism but which itself had to be reformed as part of this programme.⁴⁴

It is perhaps here that we need to consider the colour of Cuthbert's *pallium*. One possible explanation for it is the influence of the mid seventh-century Cambrai Homily,⁴⁵ whose three-fold theory of martyrdom is linked to the colours white, red, and blue, although the association has been of penance with blue, and ascetic mortification (to accord with Cuthbert's own eremitical asceticism) with white.⁴⁶ A blue vestment is associated by Bede with good works, but it is with a tunic and not an insignia of rank intended to be white that this connection is drawn.⁴⁷ A less dramatic but perhaps more plausible proposal, given the obvious bias within the Benedictional towards Æthelwold's reaffirmation of Roman ecclesiasticism, is a variation of that proposed by Deshman concerning the hierarchy of nimbi for the Choir of Virgins in fol. 1v: 'the lesser figures have both a crown and nimbus, but their haloes are blue and therefore less prestigious than the ornamented gold ones of Æthelthryth and the Magdalene'.⁴⁸ It is just possible that this same kind of subtle hierarchy is being implied by ascribing to Cuthbert a blue-toned *pallium* rather than the traditional white one being worn by Gregory or Benedict.

Yet Deshman's own study of the Confessors' Choir miniature is perplexing. On the one hand he correctly assumes a plausible lost miniature of a first group of Confessors, on the verso of the page preceding the current folio 1r; on the other hand, he tells us 'in most Anglo-Saxon litanies, Benedict heads the list of confessors, and Gregory and Cuthbert are seldom far down' (pp. 151, 150). By this reckoning, the Confessors of the missing miniature (standing first of the original pair) would have outranked in importance those saints in the one that remains, despite Benedict's undoubted pre-eminence in the litanies of the Anglo-Saxon service-books and the thematic importance of Benedictinism within the construction of the Benedictinal itself.⁴⁹ While the lack on fol. 1r of the designator 'Chorus' (deriving as a piece with 'Confessorum' from the litany form itself) clearly indicates that a miniature is missing, I am not persuaded by Deshman's subsequent assumption, perhaps resulting from his belief that the book was completed after the translation of Swithun,⁵⁰ that 'Swithun was undoubtedly included in the missing half of the choir'. The litanies provide us with a regularly-occurring group – in no particular order, Silvester, Martin, Hilary, Leo, Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome – whose names stand either before, after or on either side of Gregory and Benedict, and therefore could have occupied the lost first miniature.⁵¹

Historical figures who played an important role in Æthelwold's programme, but fell outside a ready association with the Roman authority to which the English church was being restored by its Reformers, may have been depicted with insignia that may or may not have been canonical as to actual practice, but were intended to make the visual statement 'this saint accords in all things with the highest authority of Rome'. Cuthbert's *pallium*, then, perhaps like that of Abbot Benedict, would be part of the inevitable Æthelwoldian agenda, clearly influenced by continental art and its politics, though with different intent from that of continental programmes. In the front row of the Confessors' portrait remaining to us today, we find the Benedictine Pope who sent Christianity to England (no mention to be made of the Irish mission that ran parallel to it in the North), the Founder of Benedictinism (a movement which the Reformers likely promoted as an outgrowth of Roman ecclesiastical authority) and England's greatest saint and bishop. Clothing them all with the same emblem of obedience to the Papal see in Rome, strengthened as it would be by Gregory's obvious right to that emblem, presents a unified picture of the Church Triumphant, squarely and completely Roman in ideology.

At this stage, a closer look at Cuthbert himself is essential. His inclusion, rather than that of another English saint, in the triad points directly to a crucial second element in Æthelwold's personal priorities: surely, if adherence to things

Roman and indeed Benedictine was the primary impulse for presenting Confessors favoured by the English Reform in this miniature, then Wilfrid would have been a much better candidate than Cuthbert to stand to the left of Benedict in the Confessors' portrait. However, the role of the King is crucial to Æthelwold's programme for Benedictine revival in England, even though no picture of Edgar appears in the Benedictional:⁵² the *Regularis concordia* makes the provision not only that bishops be drawn from the ranks of abbots or at least professed men, but that elections of both abbots and bishops be 'carried out with the consent and advice of the King',

'ut abbatum [. . .] electio cum regis consensu et consilio sanctae regulae ageretur documento Episcoporum quoque electio uti abbatum, ubicumque in sede episcopali monachi regulares conuersantur'

[that the election of abbots [. . .] should be carried out with the consent and advice of the King and according to the teaching of the Holy Rule. Thus, wherever monks live the monastic life in a bishop's see, the election of the bishop shall be carried out in the same way as that of an abbot].⁵³

Edgar is represented by Æthelwold's designs in other art as a pious king, a wise ruler and a supporter of the Benedictine Reform, but above all, as one upon whose power the Reformers depended.⁵⁴ Cuthbert figured substantially as a saint-protector to the early kings of the House of Wessex.⁵⁵ Wilfrid on the other hand is no good model for a Confessor who is on good terms with a monarch: he quarrelled with both Ecgrifh and Aldfrith, resulting in his expulsion not once but twice from Northumbria,⁵⁶ and while he brought Benedictinism to the North, he also sowed dissent and abused his authority shamefully. Although his early profession was to Irish monastic rule, Cuthbert, with his close bonds to the royal family of Northumbria, was the logical choice instead of Wilfrid for Æthelwold to have made, since he obediently accepted Roman and (perhaps) Benedictine practice after Whitby in 664, and in his role as Prior of Lindisfarne he brought the monastery around to accepting the Roman way as well. In the Confessors' portrait, Benedict holds a large golden book which is doubtless the *Regula* itself, and Gregory has a smaller text which may represent the Life of Benedict that he included in his *Dialogues*; Cuthbert holds no book but his hands are spread in a gesture reminiscent of the *monasteriales indicia* sign for the

Rule,⁵⁷ suggesting that the viewer must read that which is written within the Rule and, presumably, commit himself to its prescriptions.

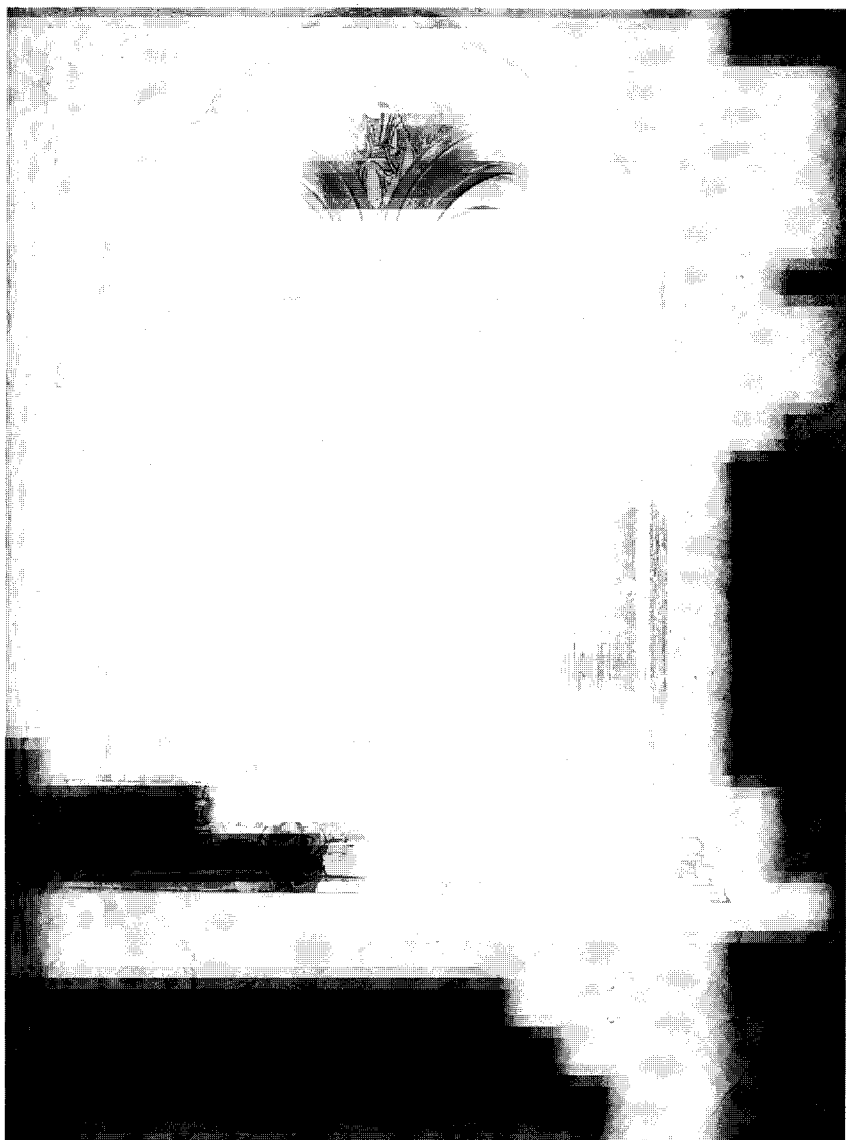
While I do not believe that Æthelwold himself coveted a *pallium*, he was not above using that for which it stood to further his own particular ends. Legitimizing Cuthbert through art as having unusual episcopal authority under Rome may, as Deshman notes, have contributed to an archetectonic symmetry within the Confessors' Choir miniature,⁵⁸ but more importantly it allowed access to the benefits of all else that Cuthbert stood for in the eyes of the reformed English Church. His learnedness, holiness and wisdom, but more importantly, his acceptance of the right way of Benedictinism in place of Irish monasticism together with the favour he enjoyed from ruling families in Northumbria during his lifetime and in the south during the tenth century, all decidedly reflect Æthelwold's dedication to a Church Reform whose roots were planted in Roman practice and whose reliance on Edgar and the royal House of Wessex was paramount.

Plate 1: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183, fol. 1v



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Plate 2: London, British Library Additional MS 49598, fol. 1r



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NOTES

¹ I am grateful to the following scholars for their assistance and advice: Michelle Brown, Elizabeth Coatsworth, Stephen Harris, Catherine Karkov, Patrizia Lendinara, Gale Owen-Crocker, Gordon Whatley and Charlie Wright.

² The most complete and therefore standard scholarly work on vestments in both Eastern and Western Christendom is Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).

³ M. Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines Romani*, 5 vols (Louvain: Spicilegium, 1931-61), II, 77-79, 321-22.

⁴ Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich: Fink, 1993), p. 64, l. 744; p. 73, l. 848; p. 69, l. 806 and p. 104, ll. 1224-25; for translation, see Dom Thomas Symons, ed., *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Nelson, 1953), pp. 35, 33, 49.

⁵ Kornexl, p. 64, l. 749, p. 57, l. 778 and p. 138, ll. 1585-86; for translation, Symons, p. 65.

⁶ Latin 'Quattor Tempora' and OE 'feower tidum': the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday that now follow Ash Wednesday, Whitsunday, Holy Cross Day (14 September) and St Lucy's Day (13 December), marked by fasting and abstinence. See Kornexl, pp. 68-69, ll. 797-808, and Symons, p. 33.

⁷ 'Almighty and eternal God, who through thy servant Moses, thou has caused pontifical or sacerdotal and levitical vestments to be made as examples for your ministers in your sight and as adornment or praise of thy name', H. M. J. Banting, ed., *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 104 (London: Boydell, 1989), p. 22.

⁸ London, BL Cotton MS Claudius A. iii (D. H. Turner, ed., *The Claudius Pontificals*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 97 (Chichester: Regnum Press, 1971); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 100 (in Banting, pp. xxxix-li and pp. 156-70) and Rouen, BM MS 368 (G. H. Doble, ed., *Pontificale Lanaletense* (London: Harrison, 1937)). For a discussion of the inter-relationships of tenth- and early-eleventh century English pontifical-benedictionals using ordination as a point of focus, see Turner, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

⁹ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, III, 605-06, 612 (OR XXXIV) and IV, 38-39, 43 (*Ordo Romanus* XXXV): subdeacon ordained to diaconate 'dum uero consecratus fuerit [. . .] stat ad dexteram episcoporum iam indutus dalmaticam [. . .]' [then at his consecration [. . .] let him stand to the right of the bishops while being vested with [the] dalmatic]; (deacon ordained to priest) '[. . .] Exuit eum dalmatica et sic enim induit planeta [. . .]' [[the] dalmatic is removed from him and he is then vested with [the] chasuble]; (candidate consecrated as bishop) '[. . .] induit eum dalmatica, planeta et campagnos' [he is vested with dalmatic, chasuble and sandals]; in *Ordo Romanus*

XXXVB, the bishop is clad in sandals, gloves and dalmatic, but receives his *planeta* only after being invested with the episcopal ring and staff, IV, 85, 100.

¹⁰ The *planeta* may well have been another version of the chasuble, and we find it prescribed for monks in continental customaries; benedictions of stoles or these *planetas* are set out in such a way ('Incipit benedictio ad stolas uel planetas quando leuite uel presbyteri ordinandi sunt' [here begins [the] blessing for stoles or chasubles, depending on whether deacons or priests are to be ordained] (Banting, p. 22)) as to suggest that it is the stole for the deacon and the *planeta* for the priest; however such a regular assignment is undercut by the *planeta* given to diaconal ordinands in the *Ordines Romani*, and the provision of chasubles for even sub-deacons in the *Regularis concordia* further confuses the picture.

¹¹ Andrieu, IV, 133, observes that, at least for deacons, the dalmatic seems a matter of course in Rome whereas the stole is a matter of course north of the Alps. See also S. L. Keefer, 'A Matter of Style: Clerical Vestments in the Anglo-Saxon Church', forthcoming in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 3 (2007).

¹² The *anulus* is the episcopal ring, symbol of a bishop's 'betrothal to his church' (F. L. Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 1167) and one part of the bishop's insignia of rank. The *baculus*, differing from the crosier (or *cambutta*), is the staff of pastoral office: eleventh century pontificals preserve a 'Benedictio baculi sive cambuttae' [blessing of [the] episcopal staff of office or [the] crosier], indicating their distinction.

¹³ See Braun, pp. 627-30.

¹⁴ An 'orphrey' is a ornamented strip of material sewn along the seams where sections of chasuble are joined together, so as to reinforce the stitching. It is usually made of fabric designed to contrast and enhance the appearance of the chasuble.

¹⁵ Although a number of art historians and scholars have assumed Cuthbert's attire to consist of dalmatic, alb and chasuble or just dalmatic and chasuble, upon informed inspection we find that this is clearly not the case; the dalmatic is a voluminous garment, neither cuffed nor tightly-fitting at the wrist, and thus Cuthbert is wearing, as described above, only an alb and a chasuble.

¹⁶ L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris: Thorin, 1920), pp. 410-12. The Council of Braga held in 563 (probably the first and not the second) required deacons to wear their *oraria* on top on their tunics, rather than beneath them, and the Council of Braga held in 675 (probably the third and not the fourth) provided for priests to wear their *oraria* over both shoulders, thus passing around the neck and crossing across the chest, Andrieu, IV, 129-30. All English pontificals make provision for the deacon to receive the stole and for the priest to have it 'changed' from over the shoulder to around the neck by the bishop.

¹⁷ Although Andrieu, IV, 131, emphatically states that no mention is made of a stole or *orarium* in the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, nor in important pontifical and sacramentary texts from the ninth and tenth centuries: 'les livres liturgiques ne deviennent

unanimis à ce sujet qu'après la fin du X^e siècle', we find it part of diaconal and sacerdotal ordinations in all four of the mid-tenth century English pontificals, see Keefer, 'A Matter of Style'.

¹⁸ Jill Ivy, *Embroideries at Durham Cathedral* (Sunderland: Attey, 1992), p. 13; see also Christopher Hohler, 'The Stole and Maniples (b): The Iconography', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 396-408 (esp. pp. 402-03); Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 28; and Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'The Embroideries from the Tomb of St Cuthbert', in *Edward the Elder 899-924*, ed. by N. I. Higham and D. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 292-306.

¹⁹ But for a different presentation of vestments imagined for a continental saint receiving a book in a configuration similar to that in the CCCC 183 presentation miniature, see the description of the image of St Erhard from the Uta Codex, below.

²⁰ Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 9 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 172-73.

²¹ '[Q]uatinus Lundoniensis ciuitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sanctaet apostolica, cui Deo auctore deseruio, sede percipiat' [the bishop of London shall, however, for the future, always be consecrated by his own synod and receive the honour of the pallium from that holy and apostolic see which, by the guidance of God, I serve], *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 104-05.

²² 'We are also sending a *pallium* for each of the metropolitans, that is for Honorius and Paulinus, so that when either of them is summoned from the world into the presence of his Creator, the other may put a bishop in his place by this our authority', Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 194-95.

²³ Both the Anderson and Corpus-Canterbury Pontificals come from Christ Church, Canterbury. The latter was likely designed for use at some stage by the current Archbishop of Canterbury, with Robert of Jumièges (1051-52), Stigand (1052-70) and Lanfranc (1070-89) as possible owners (see Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), I, 675-76).

²⁴ It relies on a source that is not quite an exact copy of formula 45 of the *Liber Diurnus*. See *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and others, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), I, 88-92.

²⁵ The most memorable shared incidence of this term occurs in the infancy tale where the youthful Cuthbert is rebuked in the Prose Life by the much-younger child as 'sanctissime antistes et presbyter Cudbercte' (PL 94, 737), 'most holy bishop and priest Cuthbert'. The Metrical Life shows the same term being used: 'Ingenuum stadio numquid concurrere servis/ Fas erit aut vulgi antistes similabitur actis?' [Surely it will not be proper for a noble to run a race with slaves; Or will a

bishop imitate the deeds of the crowd?] (PL 94, 577). My sincere gratitude to Dr William Flynn, Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, for his translation of these lines.

²⁶ Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, EETS, s.s. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 81 and 88; and Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 734.

²⁷ For information and advice on the background to the terms *antistes* and *presul*, I am very grateful to the work and advice of Patrizia Lendinara, who generously shared much of her current research with me. See also Michael Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 67-111 (repr. in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, ed. by Michael Lapidge (London: Hambledon, 1993)), pp. 105-49. Benedict's identifier *abbas* is in keeping with his own Rule, but Gregory's term *presul* is noteworthy: even as pope, Gregory is called *pastor et pedagogus* early on in the North (see Patrizia Lendinara, 'Gregory and Damasus: Two Popes and Anglo-Saxon England', in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. by R. H. Bremmer Jr., K. Dekker and D. F. Johnson, Mediaevalia Groningana New Series, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pp. 137-56 (p. 138)), but we find that one of Abbo of Fleury's surviving poems honouring Archbishop Dunstan begins *O praesul Dunstane* and may indicate a particular choice of language for Gregory in this portrait that was made by Æthelwold himself.

²⁸ Private communication from Patrizia Lendinara, who is working on the 'Scholica Graecarum Glossarum', from Isidore, *Etymologiae* VII, xii, 16.

²⁹ Francis Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 72 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1934; repr. 1988), p. 4; see, however, the Office for All Saints (*Omnibus Sanctis ad Vesperam*) found in London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. lxxv-lxxvii) in which Cuthbert is appealed to as 'confessor Christe uenerande' [[a] venerable Confessor for Christ] (p. lxxvi).

³⁰ R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London: Stock, 1896), pp. 50-51.

³¹ Macalister, p. 102.

³² Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* (London: Dent, 1949), p. 24.

³³ Mayo, *Ecclesiastical Dress*, p. 23.

³⁴ Cyril Pocknee, *Liturgical Vesture: Its Origins and Development* (London: Mowbray, 1960), p. 51. 'Concilium Matiscon', in *Concilia aevi Merovingici*, ed. by F. Maassen, MGH, Conc. I (Hannover: Hahn, 1892), quoted in J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 755-56. Emphasis mine. Nevertheless, since the term *pallium* is in diverse places

(and especially in the early centuries) used to refer to the maniple, the original *paenula* or even the *orarium* at times, this statement is by no means as conclusive as Pocknee believed.

³⁵ Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chretien*, pp. 370-75.

³⁶ Andrieu, IV, 292-93. [This papal emblem appeared in the documents of the sixth century [. . .] it may be supposed that popes themselves wore the pallium for a long while since they began to consider it as a kind of decoration with which they were able to honour other prelates, who were generally invested with specific authority].

³⁷ 'One of the most important of all Ottonian masters, and [. . .] easily the most accomplished manuscript illuminator', Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols (London: Miller, 1991), I, 39.

³⁸ *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany*, ed. by Adam Cohen (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2000).

³⁹ Although the *ephod* and the *rationale* appear to derive from two discrete Levitical vestments (cf. Exodus 28. 4 and 29. 5 where they are described as separate items) with the former apparently the original of the *superhumerales*, scholars tend to blur the distinction between them by confusing the two terms.

⁴⁰ Mayr-Harting, II, 97.

⁴¹ *Uta Codex*, p. 62, Plate 16.

⁴² See for example Gregory the Great rebuking John, bishop (and not archbishop) of Ravenna (*episcopus Ravennatis*) for misuse of the *pallium* (Lib. II, Epis. LIV; quoted in *Vestiarius Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of the Holy Ministry in the Church*, ed. by W. B. Marriott (London: Rivingtons, 1868; repr. St Athanasius Press, WI [n.d.]), p. 66), but both Hrabanus Maurus (*De Institutione Clericorum* xxiii (A.D. 819); quoted in Marriott, p. 92) and Amalarius of Metz (*Liber Officialis*, lib. II, xxiii (c. A.D. 824)) assuming the *pallium* to be for an archbishop only (i.e. 'Illo discernitur archiepiscopus a cæteris episcopis' [by this an archbishop may be discerned from other bishops], in I. M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica omnia*, 3 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948-50), II, 248. On fol. 87rv of Durham Cathedral Library MS A. IV. 19, Aldred the Provost adds and glosses material on the differing ecclesiastical orders, noting 'Archiepiscopus [. . .] qui et pallio uteretur ['hehbisceop [. . .] se ðe æc ðæm hrægle gebrvce[æð]]', [the archbishop [. . .] is the one who has use of the *pallium*], see also U. Lindelöf, ed., *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis: The Durham Collectar* (Durham: Andrews, 1927), p. 194.

⁴³ Norris, p. 26.

⁴⁴ See Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 270, note 202; and 'The Irish Tradition', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 345-74 (p. 361).

⁴⁵ *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. by W. Stokes and J. Strachan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901-03), II, 244-47.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of this triad, see Clare Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 21-46 and for a possible Hiberno-Latin transmission to Anglo-Saxon England, see Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, pp. 19, 33 and 74.

⁴⁷ Bede, *De Tabernaculo* III. ii, quoted in *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 79.

⁴⁸ Deshman, p. 151.

⁴⁹ Deshman, pp. 179-91.

⁵⁰ Deshman, pp. 188-90.

⁵¹ Deshman, p. 152. Of the fifty-four extant litanies written or known in Anglo-Saxon England that contain any of these four saints, Swithun appears in only twenty-three, Cuthbert in twenty-five once, in one twice and may have appeared in a damaged section of another; Gregory appears in forty-nine and Benedict, frequently invoked twice or in places thrice, appears in fifty-one. Gregory and Benedict alternate in standing first of these four in these litanies, with Cuthbert generally third of the quartet and Swithun fourth; at no time does Swithun ever outrank Gregory; and in two of the four instances where his name appears before that of Benedict (Salisbury Cathedral MS 150 [SW England, s. x²]; London, BL MS Arundel 155 [Canterbury Christ Church, s. xi¹]; CCCC 391 [Worcester, c. 1065]; and Rouen, BM MS 231 [Canterbury, St. Augustine's, s. xi^{ex}]), Benedict's name is invoked twice (Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 106 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 285, 150, 117 and 266). Even in the *cursum* for All Saints, guardedly assumed by Lapidge and Winterbottom to be 'identical to that instituted by Æthelwold for the private observance of his monks at Winchester and referred to in the *Regularis concordia*' (p. lxxvii), Swithun stands below Birinus who in turn is preceded by Cuthbert, Martin and Benedict in ascending order of authority (Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. lxxvi).

⁵² The festal portrait of Benedict on fol. 99v of the Benedictional has him wearing a crown of life but holding what appears to be a temporal crown in his left hand: this may once again be a reference to the opening provisions of the Synod that associate King Edgar directly with the resuscitation of Benedictinism in England: 'Comperto eternim quod sacra coenobia diuersis sui regiminis locis diruta ac paene Domini nostri Ihesu Christi seruitio destituta neglegenter tabescerent, Domini compunctus gratia, cum magna animi alacritate festinando ubique locorum decentissime restaurauit' [When therefore he learned that the holy monasteries in all quarters of his kingdom, brought low, and almost wholly lacking in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ, were wasting away and neglected, moved by the grace of the Lord he most gladly set himself to restore them everywhere to their former good estate], Symons, pp. 1-2; see also

Deshman, p. 203. Symons suggests (p. 2, n. 1) that 'in a work of national importance the first place is naturally given to the head of the realm', but the provision made for regnal consent in chapter 9, 'cum regis consensu et consilio', Symons, p. 6, could explain the proffered crown and St Benedict's approbation of regnal authority in the Benedictional's festal portrait.

⁵³ Symons, p. 6. The translation is Symons.

⁵⁴ See also Catherine Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), p. 84, and pp. 99-111 (esp. pp. 99-102 and 108).

⁵⁵ With visits to his tomb by Edward the Elder bearing offerings from his father Alfred, by Æthelstan in 934 and by Edmund on his way to Scotland before 946, 'the kings of the royal house of Wessex faithfully obeyed Alfred's injunction to be the Church's benefactor and showered gifts upon the shrine [of St Cuthbert]', Battiscombe, *Relics*, pp. 31 and 33-34.

⁵⁶ 'Quo etiam anno orta inter regem Ecgfridum et reuerentissimum antistem Uilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus' [In the same year there rose a dissension between King Ecgfrith and the most reverend bishop Wilfrid with the result that the bishop was driven from his see]: Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 370-71; see also pp. 522-25.

⁵⁷ Debby Banham, ed. and trans., *Monasteriales indicia* (Hockwald-cum-Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1991), pp. 30-31: 'Regoles tacen is þæt þu wegge þine hand and stryçe mid þinum scyte fyngre andlang þinre wynstran handa swylce þu regolige': [The sign for the Rule is that you move your hand and stroke with your index finger along your left hand, as if you were ruling.]

⁵⁸ Deshman, p. 152.

Ælfric's Errors: The Evidence

Richard Marsden

All Bible translations are hostages to fortune. The source text, in whichever scriptural language it may be, continues to coexist with the target version and demands periodically a re-assessment exercise, in which it endures a rigorous interrogation by the latest generation of scholars in respect of its ideology, its style and, especially, its perceived accuracy. The Old Testament translation known as the *Old English Hexateuch* or *Heptateuch*, depending on which of the two main manuscript witnesses draws our attention, is no exception.¹ As the first attempt to make a substantial part of the Old Testament available in the English vernacular, the *Heptateuch* (as I shall call it for convenience) is a seminal document in the history both of biblical translation and of the English language.² It is viewed nowadays as a hybrid text: partly the work of Ælfric, partly that of 'Anonymous', the latter being in fact at least two translators, to judge by variation in translation style and other factors.³ To Ælfric we now assign Genesis 1-24. 26, Numbers 13-end and all of Joshua; to Anonymous, the rest. The *Heptateuch* has never received the full scholarly attention which its importance warrants, but there have been several assessments of the translation errors to be found in it. The most thorough was by Karl Jost, during his pioneering work to distinguish between the contributions of Ælfric and Anonymous, and he was particularly severe in regard to the performance of the latter.⁴ Peter Clemoes took a kinder view, which was important if his theory that Anonymous was Byrhtferth of Ramsey were to be accepted, though in the event it was not.⁵ My own brief previous foray into this area offered some mediation between Jost and Clemoes but conceded most of the failings of Anonymous.⁶

It is indeed quite easy to arraign the anonymous translators on charges of incompetence (though it is only fair to affirm, in mitigation, the general soundness of their work). Amid a regular trickle of awkward renderings and

minor misunderstandings of the Latin, they make several real howlers, such as translating *moratus*, 'delayed', as though it were *mortuus*, 'dead' (in Deuteronomy 23. 21), and *fui*, 'was', as though it were *fugi*, 'fled' (in Genesis 32. 4), and showing their ignorance of the embalming process in their clumsy versions of Genesis 50. 2-3 and 25 (about which, however, we should perhaps not be too judgemental).⁷ But are the Ælfrician parts of the *Heptateuch* without blemish? The fact is that, as presented to us in the main manuscript witnesses, they have significant translation errors as well. Because their alleged perpetrator was the most erudite scholar of his generation, a competent latinist and a superb English stylist, and knew his Bible inside out, we are instinctively more circumspect and defensive in our approach to them (Jost and Clemoes certainly were); yet they require investigation.

There are great difficulties, however, in distinguishing between translation error and transmission error in the *Heptateuch*, for we must negotiate a situation of double textual instability. To begin with, the OE text itself has come down to us in imperfect copies, with some puzzling variation between them; we must be careful to blame neither Ælfric nor Anonymous for the mistakes of careless Anglo-Saxon copyists – a problem of which Ælfric himself was of course acutely aware.⁸ But the Latin source-text, the Vulgate, may be just as problematical. Deliberate emendation and accidental textual corruption were characteristic of the Latin Bible in the medieval period,⁹ and so we must also avoid blaming our Anglo-Saxon translators for the faults and foibles of Latin copyists.

The veritable cottage industry of error-making in the monasteries of the early medieval period would indeed make for a fascinating study in itself. One aspect of the problem is that not all the mistakes in biblical manuscripts, in whatever language, are as immediately obvious as was (or should have been) the example of the delay/death confusion noted above. Surprisingly often, the new reading seems happily apt and, without the irritation of an 'original' to insist otherwise, we might never know the difference. An aural or visual error in the early transmission of the Latin Judith, for instance, gave us *onustati*, 'laden', for *honestati*, 'ennobled' or 'enriched', in 15. 7. Yet, far from undermining the sense of the passage, the new reading seemed so appropriate, and became so widespread, that it was eventually adopted in the sixteenth century by the Clementine revisers and became 'official' in the Vulgate.¹⁰ I have noted many other such muddles in the manuscripts, such as *uirorum* replaced by *uiuorum* (Wisdom 1. 13), *in uita* by *in uia* (Sirach 30. 5), *mors* by *sors* (Sirach 41. 12) – and in each of these cases the substitutions produce a possible, if not always entirely satisfactory, alternative

reading.¹¹ In a copy of Job 2. 7, there is confusion between *uertex* ('top of the head') and *ceruix* ('neck'), the correct word, which reduces but does not quite destroy the effectiveness of the rhetoric.¹² It is interesting to compare a similar problem in the anonymous part of the *Heptateuch*, in Deuteronomy 28. 35, where *uerticem* is rendered as *hneccan*, 'neck'. We are likely to blame the OE translator here, for he has committed several other errors in this part of the translation, yet it is entirely possible that the mistake was in his copy of the Vulgate (that is, *ceruicem* for *uerticem*) and that he dutifully rendered his Latin as found. Other confusions in the *Heptateuch*, unrelated to the Latin original, include simple consonant transposition, as in the writing of *tugon*, 'pulled out', for *guton*, 'poured out', in Genesis 42. 35, where the mistake, in context, is barely noticeable, and *geferan* for *gerefan* in Genesis 43. 17, where 'companion' is in fact quite wrong (the Latin has *dispensatori*, identifying Pharaoh's 'steward' or 'reeve').¹³ The move from handwritten copies to printing at the end of the fifteenth century reduced but did not eliminate such problems of biblical transmission. Several editions of the Geneva Bible confused 'Jesus' and 'Judas' in John 6. 67; omission of the negative from the commandment 'thou shalt not commit adultery' in a 1631 edition of the King James Bible, in Exodus 20. 14, landed the printer with a £300 fine; and the injunction in an eighteenth-century edition that children be 'killed' instead of 'filled', in Mark 7. 27, caused understandable embarrassment.¹⁴

THE ERRORS IN THE ÆLFRICIAN HEPTATEUCH

In what follows, I examine fourteen errors, or apparent errors, in Ælfric's *Heptateuch*. Twelve are from Genesis 1-24. 26 and two from Joshua; there is none of significance in Numbers 13-26.¹⁵ My primary OE text is that of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 (hereafter L), dating from the second half of the eleventh century. The text is substantially the same in London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv (the 'illustrated Hexateuch', hereafter B), copied a little earlier in the eleventh century but more remote from the archetype, in my view, than L.¹⁶ For several of the passages from Genesis, I introduce also the version in Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 (hereafter 'C'), dating from the later twelfth century. Although the textual relationships between the extant versions of the *Heptateuch* are not yet fully understood, we can accept that L and B represent a compilation put together probably during the first two decades of the eleventh century and using, for Genesis 1-24. 26, Numbers 13-26 and Joshua,

pre-existing translations by Ælfric. Ælfric's text of Genesis survives also in the late C, though this has been subject to some corruption (mainly by omission). While in general the texts of LBC coincide closely, there are three extended sections where LB offers a revised version; it is based on the close translation given in C but is much shortened, uses different vocabulary, and is often paraphrased.¹⁷ Some passages from these revised sections will be discussed below. Where 'LBC' is cited as a single version, it is given in L's spelling. OE quotations are normalised to the extent of providing initial capital letters for names, and abbreviations have been expanded silently, but the manuscript punctuation is reproduced, where there is any. The Vulgate text with which I start each analysis may be assumed to be 'standard', with no recorded variants of relevance, unless otherwise indicated. It is the 'Hieronymian' text of the Rome *Biblia Sacra*, the authoritative critical edition;¹⁸ I cite it without punctuation but with colon separation indicated by a forward slash. Where significant alternative Old Latin or Septuagint versions are known, I introduce these to my analysis also.¹⁹

Genesis errors only in 'LB' or only in 'C'

I start with a few errors which are not consistently reproduced in the manuscripts, being either in LB or in C but not in both. Given that the errors involved are the sort which it is most unlikely that Ælfric would have made, it is reasonable to suppose that the correct reading (wherever it is) in his. I deal separately with errors that occur only in LB and those that occur only in C.

(i) 'LB' errors

The text of the compilation in LB cannot always be trusted to deliver Ælfric's text accurately; despite its own textual problems, C is often the better witness. This becomes clear when variant readings which are not obvious errors are compared; in some eighty per cent of cases, C's variant is more accurate in relation to the Vulgate and, given the generally faithful nature of Ælfric's translation, we need not doubt that such readings are his.²⁰ Several problems in the main textual tradition, then (i.e. LB), may be attributed to mistakes made in the 'sub-archetype' stage of transmission, after LB's branch diverged from that

which led to C, and thus we can look to C for Ælfric's intended translation. A prominent example occurs in the narrative of Noah's inebriation and self-exposure:

Genesis 9. 24

euigilans autem Noe ex uino
[but when Noah awoke from the wine]

LB Noe soðlice ða ða he awoc of ðam slæpe
C Noe soðlice ða ða onwoc on ðam wine

As Ælfric translates the episode fully and closely, there is no reason to doubt that C transmits correctly his version. This has Noah waking from 'wine', as in the Vulgate, not 'sleep'. Jerome is close to the Hebrew here; Old Latin versions, following the Septuagint, add some definition: 'et sobrius factus est Noe a uino' [Noah sobered up after the wine]. Nevertheless, it will be seen that there are some small problems in C: the loss of a necessary pronoun before the verb and the use of *on* for *of* (a fairly frequent error in late manuscripts of OE). We cannot know whether LB's substitution began as a conscious 'improvement' (though in fact sleeping is nowhere mentioned in the narrative) or an unconscious slip. There is a problem of a slightly different sort later in the same passage, as I discuss below.

Other errors occur in LB in the sections where its text is a revision, usually a paraphrase, of that from which C derives (see above), and they do much to confirm the integrity of C as 'Ælfrician'.

Genesis 5. 7

uixitque Seth postquam genuit Enos octingentis septem
annis / genuit que filios et filias
[Seth lived 807 years after he fathered Enoch, and he
fathered sons and daughters]

LB ymb seofan 7 hundeahtatigwintre æfter ðam he
gestrynde suna 7 dohtra
C He lyfede seðen he gestrinde enos .viii. hund geare 7
seofon gear 7 gestrynde sunu 7 dohtra

As well as getting the years wrong (87 for 807), the version in LB has conflated the two main elements of the verse, with odd results ('87 years later, he fathered

sons and daughters'). Misunderstanding of the OE text, which a reviser was trying to paraphrase at the compilation stage, seems to be the explanation, rather than subsequent copying error.

Genesis 5. 20

nongenti sexaginta duo anni
[962 years]

LB nigonhundwintre 7 fif 7 sixtigwintre
C .ix. hund geara 7 twa 7 syxti

The correct figure (for the age of Iared at death) is C's 962, not LB's 965. Again, this seems likely to be a revision error, due perhaps to the influence of *fif 7 sixtigwintre* in the following colon (i.e. in 5. 21).

Genesis 11. 31

de Ur Chaldaeorum
[from Ur of the Chaldeans]

LB to Ur Chaldea
C of þære chaldeisre Hur

LB's preposition, *to*, is obviously wrong when the phrase is read in context. It occurs in a passage from one of the sections of Genesis where the text in C varies substantially from that of LB. It will be noted that, in its rendering of rest of the phrase, C is nearer to the Latin.²¹

(ii) 'C' errors

Having insisted on the value of C as a guide to the translation produced by Ælfric, before later copyists or compilers corrupted his work, we must now risk an accusation of special pleading by noting two cases where the opposite seems to be the case, where C itself has errors which are not in LB. They are again errors which it is very unlikely that Ælfric (or any other translator) would have made, and therefore we may assume that they were not in the LBC 'archetype' but were

the product of corruption in the transmission of that text to C. The first case occurs earlier in the passage just cited.

Genesis 11. 31

tulit itaque Thare Abram filium suum et Loth filium Aran
filium filii sui / et Sarai nurum suam uxorem Abram filii
sui / et eduxit eos

[and Terah took Abram his son and Lot the son of Aran (his
son's son) and Sarah his daughter-in-law (the wife of Abram
his son) and brought them]

LB witodlice Thare nam Abram. his sunu 7 Loth his suna
sunu 7 gelædde hig

C hwæt þa Thare genam his tweigen sunu mid heora
twam wifum. 7 Loth his sune suna 7 lædde hig

The two OE versions are not far apart, except in the crucial question of how many sons Terah takes with him. The Vulgate is not easy to follow, and both OE versions have simplified the passage, but C alone has made an erroneous emendation ('two sons', instead of simply one, i.e. Abraham). The mistake may have been made because, in 11. 29 (rendered in both LB and C, though less fully in the former), we have learned that Terah's other surviving son, Nahor, has married at the same time as his brother, Abraham. A translator (though not, one would expect, Ælfric) might be forgiven for assuming that Nahor and his wife would automatically be with Terah's party of emigrants, even though the Vulgate narrative does not mention them. In fact, it is an essential element of the story that Nahor does not migrate with the others from Ur, for when Abraham eventually sends his son Isaac back to his (Abraham's) native land (to 'the city of Nahor') to seek a wife, it is Nahor's granddaughter, Rebecca, whom he finds there (see Genesis 24. 10 and 15). The fact that the LB version of this passage gets the detail right does not mean that the reviser of its text must have returned to the Latin, possible though that is. It is more likely that the difference between the two versions arose through a mistake by a copyist of Ælfric's text during the long transmission to C. There are problems with the earlier part of this narrative in C also.²²

Genesis 16. 15

peperitque (Agar) Abrae filum qui uocauit nomen eius
Ismahel

[and she/Hagar bore a son to Abram, who called his name
Ishmael]

LB Agar þa acende sunu Abrame. 7 he het hys naman
Ysmahel

C Agar þa acende sunu 7 het his naman Ismael

I have bracketed *Agar* in the Latin citation because, although inclusion of the name is not judged to be Hieronymian, it occurs in many Vulgate manuscripts, including presumably that used by Ælfric. Without it, we can make do with the pronoun 'she', for it is quite clear from the previous cola that Agar (Sarah's serving-woman) is the subject. C's version of the passage omits both *Abrame* and *he*, so that the naming is done by Agar, not by Abraham. Almost certainly, this mistake has occurred accidentally in transmission. However, it is interesting to note that, almost 1000 years after Ælfric, another scholar, Ronald Knox, made the same error in his own well-received translation of the Vulgate.²³

Genesis errors which are in all manuscripts

The Genesis errors which remain to be dealt with are in L, B and C. Thus they were either there from the start, made by Ælfric, or were introduced inadvertently into an LBC archetypal manuscript which must have preceded both the sub-archetypal ancestor of the copy used for the *Heptateuch* compilation (i.e. LB) and that which began the separate textual line which led to C.

Genesis 7. 10-11

cumque transissent septem dies aquae diluuii inundauerunt
super terram / anno sescentesimo uitae Noe mense secundo
septimodecimo die mensis / rupti sunt omnes fontes abyssi
magnae

[When seven days had passed, the waters of the flood
drowned the earth. In the six-hundredth year of the life of

Noah, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, all the great fountains of the deep ruptured]

LBC Ða on ðam eahtogan dæge [. . .] þa ypode þæt flod ofer eorðan on þam oþrum monðe on ðone seofenteoðan dæg þæs monðes. Ða asprungon ealle wyllspringas þære micclan niwelnisse ²⁴

The second part of this passage is an incremental repetition of the first, adding both graphic detail about the mechanics of the flood (the rupturing of the fountains of the deep) and the information that it occurs, not only a week after Noah and family entered the ark, but also on what is the seventeenth day of the second month of the year in which Noah is 600. Without the first clause of 7. 11 ('anno [. . .] Noe'), a rendering of which the OE version omits, the reference to the month and day can only be attached logically to the previous clause, and hence the punctuation of the scribe of L (presumably following his exemplar); but it makes no sense. A later reference, in Genesis 8. 13, to the flood drying up in the second month of the year in which Noah is 601 (showing that the whole adventure lasts one year) is omitted completely in the OE translation, deliberately, I assume; but it is hard to believe that Ælfric would have half-translated the reference in 7. 11. This is likely, then, to be an early transmission error.

Genesis 9. 24

cum didicisset quae fecerat ei filius suus minor
[when he learned what his younger son had done to him]

LBC 7 he ofaxode hwæt his suna him didon ²⁵

This is the clause which follows the one discussed above, from the passage which describes Noah's waking from his wine-induced stupor. He becomes aware of the antics of just one of his sons, Ham, the youngest, who has drawn attention to his father's nakedness. Noah has no argument with the other two, who have behaved with exemplary diffidence. Thus the plural used by each OE manuscript here ('his suna [. . .] didon') is quite wrong. The preceding cola have been about the actions of Sem and Iapeth, so that a superficial reading might encourage the expectation in a copyist of a continuing plural subject; furthermore, *suna* is a form often used for the singular as well as plural in late OE. However, the logic of the narrative is

perfectly clear and it is hard to believe that Ælfric himself would have made such an error.²⁶

Genesis 13. 1–5

ascendit ergo Abram de Aegypto / ipse et uxor eius et omnia
quae habebat / et Loth cum eo ad australem plagam / erat
autem diues ualde in possessione argenti et auri /
reuersusque est per iter quo uenerat a meridie in Bethel /
usque ad locum ubi prius fixerat tabernaculum inter Bethel
et Ai / in loco altaris quod fecerat prius / et inuocauit ibi
nomen domini / sed et Loth qui erat cum Abram fuerunt
greges ouium et armenta et tabernacula

[¹ Thus Abram went up out of Egypt, he and his wife and all
that he had, and Lot with him, into the northern region. ²
Moreover, he (Abram) was very rich in his possession of
silver and gold. ³ And he returned by the way that he had
come, from the south to Bethel, to the place where before he
had pitched his tent between Bethel and Hai, ⁴ in the place
of the altar which he had made before; and there he called
on the name of the Lord. ⁵ But Lot also, who was with
Abram, had flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and tents.]

LBC ¹ Abram þa ferde of egipta lande mid ealre his fare
[. . .] 7 Loth ferde forð mid him ³ oð þæt hig comon to
supdæle betwux Bethel 7 Hai ⁴ to þære stowe þe he þæt
weofod ær arærde. 7 gebæd hine þær to gode ⁵ 7 Loth
samod mid him. Abram soþlice wæs swiþe welig on golde 7
on seolfre 7 on orfe. 7 on geteldum²⁷

Although I have quoted this passage at length in order to show the context, it is the last part of the OE rendering which is our concern: 'truly Abram was very rich in gold and silver and cattle and tents'.²⁸ It looks as though the assumption has been made by the translator that the references to wealth in the Vulgate's 13. 2 ('erat autem diues ualde') and 5 ('fuerunt greges ouium') are repetitive, both referring to Abram, and so they have been conflated and placed at the end of the passage. This has necessitated, or at least resulted in, the linking of the initial

element of 13. 5 ('sed et Lot') with the previous verse about devotion at the altar (with the adversative conjunction replaced by 'and'). But the new version is wrong. The point of the Vulgate account (and it follows the Hebrew closely) is that Lot is wealthy in his own right as well as Abram: it is thus impossible for the families of both men to live together, for wealth means big flocks and herds and the need for extensive grazing land. It is the solution to this problem which occupies the rest of the chapter.

Clearly, one difficulty with the Latin is that *Loth* has no dative marker: its grammatical case (lit. 'to-Lot there were flocks [. . .]') can only be deduced retrospectively as we read the rest of the sentence. Yet that cannot be the whole explanation for the error. Clutching at straws, Jost suggested that Ælfric's Latin source had a second *Abram* before *fuert* and that, in appending 'sed et Lot' to v. 4, he was influenced by remarks by Bede in his 'Hexameron' (i.e. his commentary *In Genesim*).²⁹ But that is unlikely; indeed, if Ælfric had referred to Bede here, he could hardly have failed to get the translation just right, for Bede's citation (using Jerome's version) of the second part of the passage, starting at 'Sed et Loth', is separated from the earlier part by a section of commentary, so that it is impossible to misunderstand. My own view (another clutching at straws, perhaps) is that, if we are not to concede error by Ælfric, a Latin text which had been corrupted under Old Latin influence may be the explanation. The Vulgate's *sed et* ('However, [. . .]') unequivocally marks a syntactical separation between what has preceded ('Abram offered to the Lord') and what follows ('Lot was wealthy'), and Jerome here renders the Hebrew accurately. The Septuagint stayed close, and, in its use of a dative phrase apposed to the proper noun to express Lot's being with Abram, left no possibility of doubt that Lot is the possessor of the wealth alluded to: 'to-Lot-journeying-with-Abram were [. . .]'.³⁰ Old Latin witnesses are rare, but in rendering the Greek, at least one tradition used the dative preposition *ei* in the second part of the passage (reasonably enough) but also added at extra conjunction before it: 'et Loth qui comitabatur cum Abram et erant ei oues et boues et tabernacula'.³¹ Thus the clause 'et Lot [. . .] Abram' is separated from, rather connected with, what follows: 'and Lot who was with Abram (made his devotions also); and to-him were sheep and cattle and tents'. The dative pronoun *ei* could now refer either to Lot or to Abraham; the (wrong) choice of the latter, as the most recently named subject, is likely. Although there is no evidence that the intrusive extra *et* reached any Vulgate manuscripts, several do have the added *ei*, and there is at least a possibility that Ælfric was faced with a text which had become corrupt in some way. Normal copying errors in the OE transmission

could not, I think, have produced the LBC version. What is absent from it is any indication of just why Abraham's being rich should in itself prevent his living alongside Lot. Perhaps Ælfric was aware of a problem; he added the phrase 'he 7 Loth', without Vulgate authority, in the next sentence of the OE, and this could have been his way of making up for a deficiency, by confirming the competitive nature of the relationship of Abraham and Lot, which will now be developed as the narrative continues.

Genesis 16. 4

at illa concepisse se uidens despexit dominam suam
[and seeing herself conceive, she despised her mistress]

LBC 7 Agar þa geeacnode. 7 eac forseah hire hlæfdian

The OE's coordinate syntax with *eac* quite fails to render the dynamic of cause and effect which is explicit in the Vulgate (and the Hebrew).³² Sarah has let Abraham sleep with her servant Agar, who now, as a consequence of finding herself pregnant, begins to despise her mistress. Sarah herself spells this out in 16. 5, in diction very close to that of 16. 4: 'qui uidens quod conceperit despectui me habet'. Ælfric again translates this with coordination, but crucially he does not use *eac*, and so cause and effect are implicit: 'nu wat heo þæt heo ys eacniende 7 forsihð me', 'now she knows that she is pregnant and despises me'. The probability is that *eac* was added carelessly in 16. 4 early in transmission, possibly in a reflex triggered by the first main element in *geeacnode*. The style of the sentence seems to me very un-Ælfrician.

Genesis 16. 12

et e regione uniuersorum fratrum suorum figet tabernacula
[and he shall pitch his tents away from all his brethren]

LBC 7 he gewislice arærð æfre his geteld onemn his
gebroþra

The OE preposition *onemn* ('alongside/by/near') conveys a sense of continuing intimacy which seems to be at odds with the tenor of God's address to Hagar, of which this clause is a part. He declares that Hagar's son Ishmael, universally shunned, will separate himself from his kin, pitching his tent in the opposite

direction to them (*e regione*; 'over against' is a popular modern rendering). The Old Latin versions, following the Septuagint, are more pointed, using *ante faciem* or *contra faciem* to express the separation. In the OE, the supplied adverb *gewislice* ('prudently'), for which there is no Vulgate authority, renders the suggestion that Ishmael will simply settle alongside his antagonistic kin even more odd. It could be that Ælfric translated *e regione* originally with OE *ongean*, 'opposite/against', and that this became corrupted to *onemn* subsequently. Conceivably, however, Ælfric considered that to have Ishmael living *near* is sufficient indication that he is not living *with*. In this connection, is it interesting to note that although the prepositional phrase used in the Hebrew of this passage might be translated literally as 'upon the face of' or 'against the face of' (hence Old Latin *ante* or *contra* and Jerome's *e regione*), or 'at odds with', and even 'to the east of', yet another possibility is 'alongside', which is of course the sense of OE *onemn*.³³ Although such an interpretation contradicts the idea of hostility which is accepted as being the point of this passage by most commentators on Genesis, it has been championed by at least one of them.³⁴

Genesis 17. 12

tam uernaculus quam empticius circumcidetur / et
quicumque non fuerit de stirpe uestra
[the home-born slave as well as the bought slave shall be
circumcised, and whoever is not of your stock]

LBC 7 inbyrdlingum 7 geboht þeowa. beo ymsniden þeah
he ne beo eowres cynnes

This passage is from the 'covenant of circumcision' which God makes with Abraham; this is to involve every male of his household, without distinction. Ælfric's concessive clause, using *þeah*, does not translate the perfectly lucid Latin clause beginning *et quicumque*, 'and (also) whoever [. . .]'. Although there is no evidence of any significant variation here in the collated Vulgate manuscripts or the Old Latin versions, we might still offer the defense of corruption in Ælfric's Vulgate exemplar, with the conjunction and pronoun *et quicumque* perhaps becoming altered to something nearer a concessive word or phrase – *etiamsi* or simply *et cumque*. The interesting thing about the OE version, however, is that it does convey the sense of the Hebrew text here, which Jerome missed. In the Hebrew, the reference to 'those not of your stock' simply amplifies 'those bought

with money from a foreigner'. The Septuagint makes this clear, and Old Latin versions – such as those of Augustine, in *De ciuitate Dei* (16, 26), and Rufinus, in his translation of Origen's commentary on the epistle *Ad Romanos* (2, 12) – follow.³⁵ So it may be that Ælfric, rather than making an error or being confused by an ambiguous Vulgate text, was influenced by his familiarity with some patristic discussion of the passage, which enabled him quietly (and perhaps unconsciously) to correct Jerome. Alternately, it was simply an intuitive emendation.³⁶

Genesis 18. 15

negauit Sarra dicens non risi timore perterrita
[Sara denied it, saying, 'I did not laugh', for she was afraid]

LBC þa ætsoc Sarra. ne hloh ic na ac ic wæs afirht

If this is Ælfric's translation, he is in error, though not disastrously so. The context makes it clear that the Vulgate's 'timore perterrita' is not a continuation of Sarah's words ('non risi') but is a return to the narrative mode. This is more obvious in the Old Latin 'non risi timuit enim', which closely follows the Septuagint. Conceivably, Ælfric's Vulgate exemplar had an erroneous *timui*. This variation has not been noted in any collated Vulgate manuscript, but in one copy of Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, where the passage is cited, the final *t* of *timuit* has been marked for deletion, and this echoes a similar variation in Greek manuscripts.³⁷ It is difficult to see how transmissional corruption might have produced the OE error. We may note that the Latin ablative absolute construction causes problems elsewhere in the *Heptateuch*, though not in Ælfric's portion.³⁸

Genesis 18. 28

quid si minus quinquaginta iustis quinque fuerint / delebis
propter quinque uniuersam urbem
[what if there should be five fewer than fifty just persons:
will you destroy the whole city on account of five?]

LBC la leof hwæt dest þu gyf ðær beoð fif 7 feowertig
rihtwisra. wylt þu adilegian ealle þa burh

The context of this passage is God's revelation to Abraham of his intention to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Abraham is struck by the potential injustice of the innocent being killed alongside sinners, and so he tests God by asking if he will not spare Sodom if fifty just men are found; God affirms that he will. Abraham then asks the question cited above: what if a mere five fewer than the required number of fifty were lacking? He then reinforces his question by resolving the subtraction: forty-five hypothetical just men. By conflating the two parts of the question, the OE translation ignores the point of the Vulgate way of putting it, which is to stress the trivial number of people involved. In what is otherwise a very full and close translation of this key episode, the skipping over of such a crucial point, if deliberate, would be surprising. However, it is likely that Ælfric was faced with a corrupt Vulgate text here. Although the Hieronymian version cited above correctly renders the Hebrew, more than half of the Vulgate manuscripts have, in the second colon, 'propter quadraginta quinque', instead of 'propter quinque'. No Old Latin citations of these cola have been traced, but the error is in some Greek witnesses. Among the Vulgate manuscripts carrying it are most in the Theodulfian tradition and two late Alcuinian Bibles; it reached the Clementine edition and thus became 'official'.³⁹

Errors in Joshua

Two apparent problems in Ælfric's translation of Joshua are notable; the first is of especial interest.

Joshua 7. 21

uidi enim inter spolia pallium coccineum ualde bonum / et
ducentos siclos argenti / regulamque auream quinquaginta
siclorum

[for I saw among the spoils a very fine scarlet robe, and two
hundred shekels of silver, and a golden rule of fifty shekels]

LB ic geseah betwux þam herereafum wurmreadne
basing. 7 twa hund entsena hwites seolfres. 7 sumne gildene
dalc. on fiftigum entsum

This is part of the confession of Achan, who has broken Joshua's anathema on the spoils left after the destruction of the city of Jericho, resulting in the defeat of the Israelites in battle. Achan is found out, and among the valuables he now admits to looting is what Jerome renders as '*regulam auream quinquaginta siclorum*', 'a golden rule of fifty shekels'. It is clear that he uses *regula*, 'rule', in the sense of a measuring instrument, so it is what we might call a 'bar' of gold. The Hebrew rendered by Jerome is *lishan*, 'tongue', but it is usually translated as 'wedge' in English; 'gold' is a noun, not an adjective.⁴⁰ Ælfric would certainly have understood the sense of *regula* as an artefact, not simply a 'regulation', for his own *Glossary* interprets it as *regolsticca*, 'measuring stick/ruler'.⁴¹ In rendering *regulam auream*, nevertheless, as a 'golden *dalc*', he uses a word which is rare in the OE corpus, with only five other occurrences, all as late glosses (see below).⁴² What did Ælfric understand by it? In his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* (his 'Grammar'), he gives Latin *spinther* as an example of a word of neuter gender and then translates it as *dalc*; and in his *Glossary*, the lemma *spinther* is interpreted as '*dalc oððe preon*'.⁴³ Common meanings of *preon* are 'pin' or 'fastening'. Although in Classical use, according to Lewis and Short, *spinther* (or *spinter*) was used specifically for 'a kind of bracelet [. . .] kept in place by its own elasticity',⁴⁴ a collection of glosses copied probably at Canterbury during the first half of the eleventh century confirms a rather wider contemporary understanding of the word. As an OE interpretation, Ælfric's *preon* is given again, and then there are two Latin equivalents, '*fibula uel armilla*', the first meaning 'buckle', 'clasp' or 'pin', the second 'bracelet'.⁴⁵ Each of these words features in the section of Ælfric's *Glossary* where *spinther* occurs; they constitute an extended Anglo-Latin family of words denoting bodily ornament:

anulus hring. *armilla* beah. *diadema* kynehelm. *capitium*
hæt. *monile* myne oððe swurbeah. *spinther* dalc oððe preon.
fibula oferfeng, *uitta* snod. *inauris* earpreon⁴⁶

A full survey of the suspiciously incestuous relationships between the members of this family (and between the glossaries which record them) cannot be attempted here, but we can see that senses such as 'bracelet', 'fastening' or 'brooch' are all possible for *dalc*, and any of these would suit the context of the Joshua passage well. The word, which has Celtic cognates, is more frequent in Old Norse, as *dálkr*, where its meaning is usually 'a pin to fasten a cloak with' (and sometimes 'a dagger'), and, given the absence of any trace of *dalc* in the earlier OE corpus, the

influence of this may be conjectured.⁴⁷ It survived into Middle English as *dalk*, signifying 'pin', 'brooch', 'clasp' or 'buckle'.⁴⁸

So far, so good. But the plot thickens when we look at the three other occurrences of OE *dalc* as a gloss; the lemmata are given in italics:

fibula oferfeng uel dalc
legulam .i. fibulam oferfenc dalc
legulam .i. oferfeng dalc

The first interpretation is in the eleventh-century collection of glosses from which we have already cited.⁴⁹ Latin *fibula* featured also among Ælfric's family of ornament-words, of course, along with OE *oferfeng*, 'buckle' or 'clasp'. The other interpretations, however, are derived from two copies of Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* which were glossed in OE in the earlier part of the eleventh century, both of them associated with Canterbury: and it transpires that the lemma *legulam* occurs in Aldhelm's quotation of the very passage from Joshua which is the subject of our enquiry.⁵⁰ In ch. 55, the example of Achan is given to illustrate the disastrous consequences of the lust for outer finery, and Aldhelm goes on to contrast this with the desire for inner chastity which should adorn the pious virgin.

Nonne Achan [. . .] qui de anathemate municipii [. . .]
 pallium coccineum et legulam auri sibi usurpans contra
 decretum ducis claudistina fraude surripuit [. . .] horrendum
 mortis spectaculum Ebreorum falangibus praeibit.⁵¹
 [Did not Achan [. . .], who with secret treachery had taken
 from the anathema of the city [. . .], against the command of
 his leader, a cloak of scarlet and a wedge of gold, keeping
 them for himself, provide a horrendous spectacle of death
 for the crowds of Hebrews [. . .]?]⁵²

Now in using *legulam* where Jerome has *regulam*, Aldhelm follows the Old Latin textual tradition. The form of the word there is in fact usually *ligulam*, but *legulam* is standard in all the manuscripts of *De uirginitate* collated by Ehwald, and indeed in the many Anglo-Saxon glossary entries in which it occurs (on which see more below).⁵³ Lewis and Short maintain a distinction between the two forms, but in dictionaries of later Latin and Insular Latin, they are conflated.⁵⁴ The Septuagint rendered the Hebrew's 'tongue' of gold literally with γλώσσα, and

the Old Latin translators were of course simply following this with their *ligula* (or occasionally *lingula*), a diminutive of *lingua*, 'tongue', which is extended to mean anything tongue-shaped, such as a shoe-latchet or strap, or a ladle or part of a lever. In his homily on Joshua, Origen made productive use of the word, equating the 'tongue of gold' hoarded in his tent by Achan with the seductive golden tongue of the philosopher or poet who spouts perverse doctrines which, if we hoard them in our hearts, pollute the church.⁵⁵

Glosses added to copies of *De uirginitate* in the early eleventh century cannot of course tell us how Aldhelm interpreted *legula* when he was writing in the later seventh.⁵⁶ However, the fact that he omits mention of Achan's two hundred shekels of silver from his citation of Joshua 7. 21, so that the richly dyed *pallium* and the *legula* are juxtaposed, and then a few lines later he develops his interpretation of the symbolism of the episode with a warning from the first Epistle of Peter about the wearing of gold,⁵⁷ persuades me that he probably understood *legulam auri* as a gold ornament, perhaps holding in place a fine robe. That possibility seems to be strengthened by the almost contemporary evidence of the Épinal Glossary, copied during the first half of the eighth century, where *legula* is interpreted as *gyrdislhringae*, the 'buckle' which fastens a girdle or belt.⁵⁸ The interpretation is repeated in glossaries derived from Épinal, such as the eighth- or ninth-century Corpus Glossary and the mid-tenth-century Cleopatra Glossary.⁵⁹ It is worth noting also that, in his *Etymologiae*, Isidore picks up the word *fibula*, which we saw closely associated with *legula* in the eleventh-century glossaries, and defines it as something which adorns a woman's breast or holds a cloak (*pallium*) at the shoulders or a girdle at the waist.⁶⁰

It cannot be coincidence that Ælfric translated Jerome's *regula* as though it were instead the Old Latin *legula* or *ligula*, in its well attested sense of a costume accessory of some sort. Possibly Ælfric actually knew the usage of *legula* from Aldhelm's work. It is tempting to assume that, in using *dalc* he had in mind a large ornamental brooch used to fix a cloak at the shoulders (as in Old Norse usage), but here we must be more cautious. In his translation of Joshua he retained the reference to the silver in Achan's hoard, so that a direct connection between the gold object and the *pallium* is not a necessity. Is it possible that Ælfric's copy of the Vulgate actually had *legula* instead of *regula*? There is no evidence for the variant as an original reading in the collated Bibles, but it is of great interest to note that in the single late Anglo-Saxon witness to the Latin text of Joshua, the two-volume Bible which is now London, British Library, Royal 1. E. VII–VIII (copied late in the tenth century), *legulam* is to be found in Joshua 7.

21 as a correction.⁶¹ The original copyist wrote *regulam*, and the *r* was later overwritten with an *l*, apparently by the corrector who made many other emendations to the text of this Bible in the immediate post-Conquest period. It may of significance that he was working at Canterbury, where the glossing of Aldhelm's *De uirginitate* in the two manuscripts noted above is thought to have taken place.⁶²

A final twist to the tale emerges when we look for direct evidence of what Ælfric would have understood by *legula*. Once again, conveniently enough, it is in his *Glossary*, but the interpretation rather distances us from the world of fine dressing. Intriguingly, the entry forms a pair with that for *regula*, noted above.⁶³

legula sticca. regula regolsticca.

The humble *sticca* is a 'stick', 'peg' or 'pointer' (of a dial), or a 'spoon' or 'spoonful' (mostly in medical recipes).⁶⁴ The juxtaposition of the two entries rather suggests some sort of deliberate word-play here, in which case it may have been important to use *sticca*, and nothing more. It could be, too, that the *Glossary* was compiled some years before the translation of Joshua, when Ælfric was perhaps as yet unfamiliar with the extended use of *legula*.⁶⁵

Thus far, the exact process by which Ælfric came to render *regula* in Joshua 7. 21 as *dalc* remains unclear – if indeed he was responsible. It is entirely possible that he provided a literal translation (though *regolsticca* might have seemed a little odd in the context) and that someone at the stage of the compilation of the *Heptateuch* decided to substitute the more colourful word.

Joshua 11. 19

non fuit ciuitas quae se traderet filiis Israhel / praeter Eueum
qui habitabat in Gabaon

[There was not a city that delivered itself to the children of
Israel, except the Hevite, who lived in Gabaon]

LB 7 ælc burhwaru wæs bugende to him. buton Eueum
ana. þe eardode on Gabaon

The OE statement that 'the inhabitants of every town submitted to them' is clearly at odds with the given Latin. God has hardened the hearts of all the rulers of the north of Canaan, so that the pugnacious leader of the Israelites, Joshua, can crush

their cities in punishment. Only one city in fact makes peace – Gabaon, where the Hevites live. The reason for the apparent error of translation by Ælfric has a simple explanation. A majority of medieval Vulgate manuscripts have a double negative version of the passage: 'non fuit ciuitas quae se *non* traderet filiis Israhela'; that is, all capitulated without a fight. This is quite wrong, but in the immediate context, it is not perhaps apparent, for we might simply assume that the Hevites were exceptional because they would *not* surrender. The next clause in the Vulgate, 'omnes enim bellando cepit' ('for he [Joshua] took all through fighting', not translated by Ælfric) does then seem rather disconnected, but a following reference to God hardening 'their hearts' ('corda eorum'), could conceivably be applicable to an intransigent Gabaon (the OE has 'drihten hi gehyrde', 'the Lord hardened them'). After that, however, the logic falls apart, for we are taken through a list of all the cities destroyed one after the other by Joshua. It seems very probable, then, that Ælfric here translated correctly an incorrect Vulgate text and did not detect (or decided to overlook) the narrative problem.

CONCLUSION

We have been able to return 'not guilty', or at the very least 'not proven', verdicts on most of the potential charges against Ælfric, in respect of translation errors in 'his' parts of the *Heptateuch*. There has even been one case (in Genesis 16. 12) where Ælfric quite possibly put right a Hieronymian error. The demonstrable instability of the OE text offers a clear explanation for many textual problems in the main manuscripts, L and B, and also in C, even though the latter is in some ways the most reliable transmitter of Ælfric's text. Whoever created these errors, it was not Ælfric. Where errors in Genesis are shared both by LB and by C, it is still likely in some cases that very early transmissional problems are to blame (as in Genesis 7. 11, 9. 24 and 16. 4); and when there is *prima facie* (but never of course incontrovertible) evidence that the errors were in Ælfric's autograph translation, instability in the other party to the translational transaction, the Vulgate text, may be the explanation. Thus in Genesis 18. 28 and Joshua 11. 19, at least, Ælfric may have been translating accurately what his exemplar presented to him, or simply making the best he could of a corrupt Latin text. In the intriguing case of *dalc* for *regula* (if that was indeed the word he read), in Joshua 7. 21, the choice must have been deliberate, not a mistranslation – though whether it was made by Ælfric himself, perhaps echoing an established tradition known to

him from old sources, or by an emender, is open to question. In the latter case, the possible Canterbury connection may be of significance in any effort to locate the work of compilation of the *Heptateuch*.

Our positive judgement of Ælfric's works must, however, be balanced with some reservations. Doubt remains about several readings, among them the mistake with the ablative absolute in Genesis 18. 15. And we are entitled to wonder why, in cases such as those in Genesis 13. 1-5 (where an important point is lost in the OE version) and Joshua 11. 19 (where an error causes a breakdown in the sense of the narrative), Ælfric did not see the problems and do something about them. The explanation may be a perfectly ordinary one – that, when working at speed on less familiar biblical passages, he was not always as scrupulous as he might have been. Perhaps, on occasions, even Ælfric nodded.

NOTES

¹ The manuscripts are identified below.

² It was last edited by S. J. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch: Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, EETS, 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922; repr. with the text of two additional manuscripts transcribed by N. R. Ker, 1969). My own new edition for EETS is in the press.

³ See my 'Translation by Committee?: The "Anonymous" Old English Heptateuch', in *The Old English Hexateuch: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. by R. Barnhouse and B. C. Withers (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2000), pp. 41-89. At the time of writing, both the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the British Library still attribute the whole work to Ælfric.

⁴ 'Unechte Ælfricexte', *Anglia*, 51 (1927), 82-103 and 177-219.

⁵ 'The Composition of the Old English Text', in *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B. iv*, ed. by C. R. Dodwell and P. A. M. Clemoes, EEMF, 18 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974), pp. 42-53; cf. P. S. Baker, 'The Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 22-37 (pp. 23-32).

⁶ 'Translation by Committee?', pp. 63-67.

⁷ See previous footnote.

⁸ See the prefaces to his translation of Genesis and his collections of *Lives of Saints* and *Catholic Homilies* (both series); *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. by Jonathan Wilcox (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994), pp. 110, 112, 119 and 121.

⁹ See my *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 57-58.

¹⁰ Judith 15. 7: *et praedam quam fugientes Assyrii reliquerant abstulerunt et honestati sunt ualde*, 'and they took away the spoils which the Assyrians had left behind when fleeing, and they were greatly honoured/laden'. The Vatican's revised *Nova Vulgata* (1979) restores the original sense with *locupletati*.

¹¹ See my *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 161 and 164.

¹² *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 251.

¹³ Correct *gerefan* in a third OE witness to this part of Genesis, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp. 1-178, confirms that this is a transmission, not a translation, error.

¹⁴ See *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, ed. by B. M. Metzger and M. D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 143.

¹⁵ I pass over obvious scribal errors such as *ceaste* for *ceastre* in Numbers 16. 49.

¹⁶ Crawford's edition (see n. 2) is based on B, except for the abbreviated Ælfrician version of Judges, which only L carries. My own forthcoming edition is based on L.

¹⁷ The revised passages are Genesis 4. 23-4, 5. 1-4; 10. 3-31, 11. 10-26; and 22. 20-24, 23. 14-15, 24. 11-14, 16-22. They are discussed in the introduction to my forthcoming edition.

¹⁸ *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe O. S. B. edita*, ed. by H. Quentin and others, 18 vols (Rome: Typis polyglottis vaticanis, 1926-95): I *Liber Genesis* (1926), IV *Libri Iosue-Iudicum-Ruth* (1939). Modern translations of Latin biblical texts are my own.

¹⁹ My Old Latin sources are, for Genesis, *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron* (Freiburg: Herder, 1949-): II *Genesis*, ed. by B. Fischer (1951-54); for Joshua, P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae uersiones antiquae seu uetus Italica*, 3 vols (Rheims: Franciscum Didot, 1743-79): I. If I cite directly from specific patristic writers, they are referenced separately. My Greek source is *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. by A. Rahlfs, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Privilegierte württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).

²⁰ There is no substantial evidence that the text as it reached C had been subject to any revision process with reference to a Vulgate text.

²¹ LB's *Chaldea* is presumably in apposition with Ur, signifying 'in Chaldea'; C renders, as in the Vulgate, with a genitive noun: 'of the Chaldeans'.

²² Jost, too, envisaged transmissional corruption, on the grounds that Abraham, being of far more importance than Lot, would certainly have been named in 11.31 in Ælfric's original version; 'Unechte Ælfricexte', pp. 195-96.

²³ 'Agar, then, bore a son to Abram, and called him Ismael'; *The Old Testament Newly Translated from the Latin Vulgate by Mgr Ronald A. Knox at the Request of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, I, Genesis-Esther* (London: Burns and Oates, 1949).

²⁴ At the ellipsis, the OE amplifies with a reference to God's having closed the door of the ark.

²⁵ C omits 7 and has *diden* for *didon*.

²⁶ Vulgate corruption of the passage is rare but not unheard of; one eighth-century Vulgate manuscript had plural *filios suos* originally, before correction to the singular. *Biblia Sacra* I, s.v.

²⁷ The ellipsis in 13.1 shows where I have, for convenience, omitted the clause *7 farao se cyning him funde ladmen*, which the translator has incorporated from the last verse of the previous chapter. The OE versions are more or less the same, except that C omits *sodlice*.

²⁸ The OE order 'gold and silver' occurs occasionally in Vulgate manuscripts.

²⁹ 'Unechte Ælfricexte', p. 198. See *In Genesim*, III, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL, 118A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), p. 178.

³⁰ 'Καὶ Λὼτ τῷ συμπορευομένῳ μετὰ Ἀβραμ ἦν πρόβατα, καὶ βόες, καὶ σκηναί.'

³¹ The citation is from a fifth-century palimpsest; see *Genesis*, ed. by Fischer, p. 159. Ambrose, in his *De Abraham*, II, has simply 'et Loth qui ambulabat cum Abraham erant oues et boues et tabernacula' (ed. by C. Schenkl, CSEL, 32.1 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1896), p. 581). Each renders the Septuagint's simple conjunction at the start of the clause as *et*, where Jerome would use a pointed *sed et*.

³² I have traced no Old Latin citations of the full passage. The Septuagint is less explicit than the Hebrew, but cause and effect are still implicit.

³³ See R. Davidson, *Genesis 12–50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 52–53.

³⁴ Harry M. Orlinsky, *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969), p. 90.

³⁵ Respectively, ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCL, 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), p. 530 ('ab omni filio alieno qui non est de semine tuo'), and ed. by J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 12 (Paris: 1862), 903C ('ab omnibus filiis alienigenarum qui non est ex semine tuo').

³⁶ The *Nova Vulgata* restores the Hebrew sense.

³⁷ *Aurelii Augustini Opera V*, ed. by I. Fraipont, CCL, 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), p. 15.

³⁸ In Genesis 47. 10, Latin 'benedicto rege' is wrongly translated as '7 se cining hine blotsode'. The subject is indeed *rege* but *benedicto* is a passive perfect infinitive, giving us 'the king having been blessed'. Jacob blesses the king, Pharaoh, before leaving him; for Pharaoh to bless Jacob would be odd indeed.

³⁹ Jerome's version is restored, however, in the *Nova Vulgata*.

⁴⁰ F. Brown and others, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906; corr. repr. 1951), s.v. 'Shekel', like OE *entse* or *yndse* (ultimately from Latin *uncia*), can in fact be used to denote a piece of money, as well as a measurement of weight.

⁴¹ Julius Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Erste Abteilung: Text und Varianten*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1880; repr. with intro. by H. Gneuss, 1966), 314.6–7.

⁴² The conjectured early form is **doluc*; F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: 1934), s.v. There is an Old Irish cognate, *delg*, 'thorn', 'shoulder clasp', and various modern Celtic equivalents.

⁴³ Zupitza, *Grammatik*, 44.3 and 303.16.

⁴⁴ C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), s.v.

⁴⁵ The first is in the part of the glossary (in fact, a collection of glossaries) which is in British Library, Additional 32246, on fol. 15v; the second is in the part now in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum 32. The glosses are ed. by L. Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus 32 and British Museum Ms. Additional 32246' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Stanford, 1956).

⁴⁶ Zupitza, *Grammatik*, 303.14-17.

⁴⁷ R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), s.v. See also n. 42.

⁴⁸ *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1954-2001), s.v. The last use noted by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), is in 1488. The Toronto OE *Corpus* records one occurrence of *dalc* in a compound, *steordalce*, 'steering-pin/helm', in a glossary where the Latin lemma is *clauo*.

⁴⁹ Additional 32246, fol. 15v. It is in a batch of ornament-words which is clearly related to that in Ælfric's *Glossary*. Of interest also is *fibula. preon. uel oferfeng*, on fol. 13r.

⁵⁰ The manuscripts are Brussels, Royal Library 1650, with Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum 190 (Salle, iii.55), with text and gloss contemporary, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 146, with text copied at the end of the tenth century. On the Canterbury connection, see Scott Gwara, *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis Prosa de Virginitate cum glosa latina atque anglo-saxonica*, 2 vols, CCSL, 124-124A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), I, 94-101.

⁵¹ Cited from *Prosa de Virginitate*, II, 714-16; see also Rudolf Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auct. Antiq., 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), pp. 313-14. Two other manuscripts have glosses to *legulam*, with *7 bulan* and *.i. fibulam oferfeng*; *Prosa de Virginitate*, II, 716. OE *bul* or *bula* is another OE word meaning 'bracelet/necklace/brooch' (from Latin *bullā*).

⁵² Translation based on M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich: Brewer, 1979), p. 124.

⁵³ In one of those used by Gwara, from twelfth-century Northumbria, is it corrected (presumably after reference to a Vulgate text) to *regulam*; see *Prosa de Virginitate*, II, 717. Some eighty manuscripts of the work survive, but Ehwald used only sixteen for his edition (see n. 51).

⁵⁴ Lewis and Short define *legula* as 'flap' or 'ear-flap'. In *A Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, Vol. 1 A-L*, ed. by R. E. Latham and D. R. Howlett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975-97), definitions of *legula* (or *ligula*) include 'buckle', 'strap', 'lace', 'garter' and 'metal band'.

⁵⁵ In *Jesu Naue*, 7, 7, where the treasure is *lingua aurea*; *Patrologia Graeca*, 12, ed. by J. P. Migne (Paris: 1862), 863B.

⁵⁶ On the dating of the work, see Gwara, *Prosa de Virginitate*, I, 47-55.

⁵⁷ Gwara, *Prosa de Virginitate*, II, 719.

⁵⁸ *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, ed. by J. D. Pheiffer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 582, and note.

⁵⁹ Pheiffer, *Épinal-Erfurt*, 582n; see also note, p. 97. Part of the Cleopatra Glossary transmits more glosses from Aldhelm's *De uirginitate*, and here *legulam* in interpreted simply as *hringan*.

⁶⁰ 'Fibulae sunt quibus pectus feminarum ornatur uel pallium tenetur a uiris in humeris seu cingulum in lumbis'; *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum siue Originum Libri XX*, 2 vols, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), II, 19.31.17.

⁶¹ On the Royal Bible, see my *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 321-78. There is no evidence that it was used by Ælfric, or by other contributors to the *Heptateuch*. The Codex Amiatinus (c. 700) is the only other Anglo-Saxon witness to the Latin text of Joshua; it has *regula*.

⁶² In a repetition of the reference in Joshua 7. 24, however (not rendered in the OE), *regulam* has not been altered. On the corrector of Royal, see Teresa Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*, ed. by R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London: Hambledon, 1995), pp. 145-58 (pp. 155-56), and my *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 326.

⁶³ Zupitza, *Grammatik*, 314.6-7.

⁶⁴ In a glossary in Additional 32246 (fol. 7r), *legula* is interpreted thus: *uel coclea* ['snail/snail-shell/spiral'] *uel cocle* [?] *metesticca* ['spoon'].

⁶⁵ According to the chronology of Ælfric's works suggested by Peter Clemoes, the maximum distance between the two texts would be ten years; he assigns both to the period 992 x 1002, with Joshua among the last to be composed; 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by P. A. M. Clemoes (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 212-47; corrected reprint in *Old English Newsletter, Subsidia 5* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York Press, 1980), at pp. 16, 32 and 33-34.

A Key to Ælfric's Standard Old English

Mechthild Gretsch

Most Anglo-Saxon scholars are agreed that a written standard in the vernacular, standardized in the representation of inflexional endings and stressed vowels on the basis of the Late West Saxon dialect, came into existence in the late tenth century and that, though Ælfric was one of the principal proponents of 'Standard Old English', this type of standard was pervasive in all sorts of texts throughout the eleventh century and from all regions of England.¹ For a study of Ælfric's language and style, his two series of *Catholic Homilies* have always taken pride of place among his extensive writings: they constitute a very large text corpus;² they have been available in print for more than 150 years, and, most importantly, in an edition based on a very reliable manuscript;³ and we may assume that Ælfric revised the text of his homilies over a considerable number of years, and that such revisions included details of language and style. The implication of this last point is that Ælfric remained in control over the production of at least some of the manuscripts of the *Catholic Homilies*, as opposed to his other major collection, the *Lives of Saints*, over which he seems to have lost control astonishingly soon.⁴

Study of the *Catholic Homilies* in all their aspects took a quantum leap forward with the completion, in 2000, of the three-volume edition by Peter Clemoes and Malcolm Godden, which includes extensive introductions to the texts of the two series and a massive commentary volume.⁵ For an analysis of Ælfric's linguistic usage, which is my concern here, it is, for example, of utmost importance that such investigation can now be undertaken with the help of the meticulously detailed information on the textual relationships of the manuscripts which is provided in the introductions to the two text volumes. This information, obtained from a full collation of all the manuscripts by the two editors, enables us for the first time to identify with some confidence manuscripts that bear the stamp of authorial revisions, and to distinguish more clearly than ever the various stages

of such revisions.⁶ Nevertheless, it has to be borne in mind that (as always in the textcritical evaluation of possible authorial revisions of linguistic details) it may be difficult to distinguish between alterations for which Ælfric was responsible and those made by scribes and correctors – a problem of which one of the editors, Malcolm Godden, has reminded us in a recent article.⁷

In the preface to his Commentary volume, Godden also remarks that an analysis of the language of the text was already excluded from the original plan of the edition, for various reasons, not least because 'another lengthy volume, and many more years would be needed to do justice to the language'⁸. But, in spite of this modest disclaimer, much valuable information on the language can be found in the edition: in the glossary of the Commentary volume, which records the number of attestations and most of the spelling variants of a given lemma, as they occur in the two base manuscripts, A and K; and in the text volumes, which contain lengthy sections on the nature of Ælfric's revisions, providing many examples for them.⁹ It should also be noted that important observations on the language of Ælfric's supplementary homilies, as transmitted in eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts (where they are often combined with items from the *Catholic Homilies*), are found in John Pope's introduction to his edition of these homilies.¹⁰

What is not discussed in any detail in the Clemoes-Godden edition (nor in Pope's edition), is the representation in the manuscripts of stressed vowels and inflexional morphology, and how we are to evaluate the manuscript evidence in this respect. Also, for the sake of the readability of the apparatus criticus, variant forms belonging to these categories are not normally recorded there. But as a full collation of all the homilies underlies the new edition, complete inventories of such variant readings do exist. They exist in the form of handwritten dossiers, compiled many years ago by Peter Clemoes for *CH* I and Malcolm Godden for *CH* II, and meticulously recording for each homily every variant reading that is found in the manuscripts. We at Göttingen are deeply grateful to Malcolm Godden for making available for our project on Standard Old English a considerable number of these precious dossiers, despite the rather brittle state they are in.¹¹

At present, we are in the course of collecting from these dossiers, and classifying, the material pertaining to inflexional morphology. In a first stage all variants in a given homily concerning the inflexion of nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs are extracted and identified, e.g. for nouns, case, gender and declension is supplied, and verbs are classified according to person, number, mood, tense and

verb class. In a second stage, forms in the same homily for which no variants exist are extracted and classified in the same fashion. By eventually comparing the two sets of data, it is hoped that relevant information may be gleaned on Ælfric's usage with regard to inflexional morphology and on its reception by eleventh-century scribes. How standardized and how stable was Ælfric's spelling of the inflexional endings of nouns, adjectives and verbs, and of pronouns and their cases? Can he be shown to have revised his spellings in the course of his work on the *Catholic Homilies*? How faithfully did the scribes adhere to his spellings? Are scribal variants (if they may be identified as such, in distinction to authorial revisions) of a haphazard nature or are patterns beginning to emerge, patterns which might indicate that Ælfric's system of spelling was being tentatively replaced by a different system or systems? In what follows, I shall briefly explore how such questions might be answered. For this I shall concentrate on an analysis of one of the homilies, randomly selected to serve as a specimen for an evaluation of the data. Such evaluation would be the third stage in our work with the Clemoes-Godden dossiers. The preliminary character of an analysis based on only one of the homilies scarcely needs stressing. But I believe that even this small corpus will allow us to glimpse at least some tentative answers to the aforementioned questions – answers which would then have to be confirmed by a large-scale evaluation of the collected data.¹²

The homily chosen for my analysis is *CH* I.23 'Dominica secunda post pentecosten'.¹³ It is preserved in the following late-tenth- to twelfth-century manuscripts:¹⁴

- A London, BL, Royal 7 C. XII (preserves text only up to l. 145; ll. 146-210 (end) are lost)
- B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343
- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303
- D Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342
- E Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198
- F Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162
- H London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C. v
- K Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28
- Q Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188
- U Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 34

The textual relationships of these manuscripts and the stage of authorial revision to which they belong have been comprehensively discussed by Clemoes and Godden in their introductions, and there is no need to rehearse their arguments and conclusions here.¹⁵ For our purpose, where the degree of closeness of a manuscript to Ælfric's scriptorium matters, it is sufficient to recall that A (containing the First Series only) is thought to be a fair copy of Ælfric's draft of the First Series, made before he sent the Series to Archbishop Sigeric.¹⁶ A has about one thousand alterations, many of them pertaining to linguistic details. A substantial number of these were apparently made by Ælfric himself.¹⁷ DEF represent the stage of a first authorial revision of the First Series, as it was sent to the archbishop. Interestingly, DEF are also thought to represent a textual tradition which developed outside Ælfric's influence, in the Southeast.¹⁸ K (the only manuscript containing a complete set of the two series) is the best representative of the second stage of authorial revisions of the First Series. As Clemoes put it: 'We may think of this codex, with its highly pure and accurate text, as representing the definitive type of the homiletic products of Ælfric's scriptorium during a period after Sigeric had been sent his copy of each of the Series and before Ælfric had composed further homilies'¹⁹. H (in the part which contains CH I.23) belongs to the same stage of revision as K;²⁰ and Q and U are witnesses to later stages of authorial revision, characterized by augmentation and rearrangement of the texts.²¹ Finally, it should be noted that we have excluded from the collection of data for our project the twelfth-century manuscripts B and C, since it is obvious from the drastically increased number of variants they present that, by the twelfth century, standardization was beginning to dissolve.

INFLEXIONAL MORPHOLOGY IN CH I.23

Nouns

I begin my specimen survey with an analysis of the inflexions of nouns.

(i) a-declension

For the fifty occurrences of masculine nouns of this declension, no variants can be found in any of the manuscripts. The endings of the various cases are all in accordance with the regular endings as recorded in Old English grammars. Among the fifty-nine occurrences of neuter nouns of the a-declension, only one

form has a textual variant: the acc. pl. of *bebod* is *beboda* in AKHQDU, but *bebodu* in EF. Originally, the nom. and acc. pl. of two-syllable neuter nouns ended in *-u* or took no ending.²² However, for both cases, *-a* appears to have been Ælfric's regular ending.²³ This may be confirmed here, not only by A and K presenting this ending, but also by the nom. pl. *tintrega*, occurring in all manuscripts. All the other attestations of neuter nouns show the regular endings as recorded in the grammars.

(ii) *ō-declension*

There are ninety-nine attestations of feminine nouns belonging to the *ō*-declension, among which textual variants are found somewhat more frequently. All the variants are, however, restricted to nouns with three suffixes: 1. *-ung*, 2. *-ðu*, *-ð*, *-t* (Germ. **-īpo*), 3. *-nys*. Interestingly, these are precisely the nouns within the *ō*-declension for which the grammars record the greatest number of variation in their inflexional endings.²⁴

The nouns with *-ung* (nineteen attestations) present two forms with variants:

acc. sg. *gaffetunge* AKHDEF; *gaffetunga* QU

acc. pl. *bodunga* AKHQ; *bodunge* DEFU

In both cases A and K preserve the regular West Saxon ending.²⁵

The forms with the suffix Germ. **-īpo* occur eighteen times, with variants on five occasions:

nom. sg. *uncyst* AKHQDEF; (the regular form); *uncyste* U

mægenleat KHQDEFU; *mægenleaste* A

Here A, the manuscript which was corrected by Ælfric himself presents an irregular ending.

gen. sg. *ymðe* AKHQDFU (the regular form); *ymða* E²⁶

acc. sg. *ymðe* KHQEU (A deficient here); *ymðe* altered to

ymða D, *ymða* F

Note that for the further four occurrences of the acc. sg. of this noun *all* the manuscripts have correct *ymðe*.

acc. sg. *gesælðe* AHQDEU; *gesælðæ* K (obviously an error);

gesælða F

With this suffix again, with the exception of *mægenleaste* in A and the erroneous *gesælðæ* in K, the manuscripts closest to Ælfric present the correct ending. *Mægenleaste* may or may not belong to the fairly numerous grammatical forms in A revealing Ælfric's uncertainty about the correct inflexions of some words. The evidence from one homily is too slender to be firm on this point (but see below).

The substitution of *-a* for *-e* in F (and D) occurs too sporadically to suspect a tendency here.

There are twenty-seven occurrences of nouns with the suffix *-nys*, with variants on four occasions:

nom. sg. *upahefednys* AKHQEFU (the regular form);

upahefednysse D

menniscnys KQEFU (A deficient here; H illegible);

menniscnysse D

acc. sg. *oferflowednysse* KHQDEFU (the regular form);

oferflowednyssa A

acc. pl. *angsumnyssa* KHU (the regular form); *angsumnysse*

altered to *angsumnyssa* AQF;

angsumnysse DE

Was Ælfric at the A-stage uncertain about the inflexion of nouns with this suffix? The correction in A in one instance may suggest this much, but such suspicion would have to be corroborated by further evidence. It would also have to be corroborated by further evidence whether D shows a tendency to use *-e* as the ending for all cases of nouns with *-nys*. Note, however that on the further six occurrences of the nom. sg., D, in accordance with all other manuscripts, has *-nys*.

In sum, eleven forms with variants from a total of ninety-nine attestations for nouns of the \bar{o} -declension reveal only a moderate inclination towards substituting inflexional endings in the various manuscripts. The exclusive concentration of the variants on nouns with three suffixes are, however, a clear indication that these subgroups of the \bar{o} -declension were rather unstable in their inflexion; and the fact that irregular forms for these nouns occur also in A may suggest that this situation also reflected on Ælfric's usage, at least at an early stage.

Only a few words need to be said about the remaining declensions. The most important fact about them is that, as with the *a*-declension, scarcely any variants are found for their nouns. Thus, there are twenty-four occurrences of nouns originally belonging to the *i*-declension,²⁷ and sixty-four occurrences of nouns of the weak (*n*)-declension. Among these eighty-eight attestations only four variants occur, and they are restricted to U, which has twice *-an* for regular *-um* in the dative plural and once each *-ene* for *-ena* and *-ana* for *-ena* in the genitive plural. Three of the variants²⁸ may be attributed to the Late Old English tendency to express the reduction of inflexional syllables in writing and might therefore be reckoned among deviations from a standardization which avoids such expression.

All the other occurrences of these nouns (i.e. the remaining eighty-four) show the regular forms in all manuscripts.²⁹

Adjectives

There are fifty-three attestations of adjectives showing strong declension: twenty-seven masculine, ten neuter, sixteen feminine. No variants are found among them. Apart from three irregularities, occurring in all manuscripts, the adjectives present the regular inflexional endings. Of the weak declension, forty-two adjectives occur: thirty masculine, four neuter, eight feminine. For two adjectives variant readings occur (once in D and once in DEU), and in two further instances an originally variant reading in one manuscript (Q) has been corrected to conform with the other manuscripts.

Before looking at the irregularities and variants, it is important to note that with this grammatical category, too, there is a high degree of consistency in usage and of uniformity among the manuscripts. Two of the irregularities in the strong declension concern the use of the strong form of the adjective after the possessive *his*, where the weak declension would have been expected (once in the gen. sg. fem.: 'his agenre alysednysse' (94) and once in the acc. sg. fem.: 'his agene sawle' (36)). This is an irregularity which Ælfric already attempted to eliminate from his texts in the course of his corrections made in A.³⁰ We may therefore be reasonably certain that the two readings (faithfully preserved by all the manuscripts) may be traced back to him.

The third irregular form, presented by all manuscripts, is also of a type which has been associated with Ælfric himself: in the dat. sg. masc. the strong ending *-um* is used after the definite article, where weak *-an* would be expected ('fram þam manfullum heape' (108)). As John Pope has noted, in the dat. sg. masc. and neuter, strong *-um* is used 'rather frequently' even 'in the earliest Ælfric manuscripts and may be attributable to the author'.³¹ As all manuscripts have *-um*, this irregular form again probably goes back to Ælfric. But it was not the form he normally used: in the further six instances of an expected weak dat. sg. masc./neuter, regular *-an* occurs, either in all manuscripts or in those most closely associated with Ælfric. Interestingly, the two variants, plus the two variants that have been eliminated by correction in Q, all concern the endings *-um* and *-an* appearing after the definite article, and three of them concern the dative: once, D has *-um* for the weak dat. sg. neuter; once DEU have *-an* for the weak dat. pl.

fem. (where *-um* would be expected); once the weak dat. sg. masc. has been corrected from *-um* to *-an* in Q, and, also in Q, once the weak acc. pl. masc. is altered from *-um* to *-an*. If anything, this evidence goes to show that the scribes were even more confused about these two inflexional endings (*-um* and *-an*) than was Ælfric. This makes the overall careful preservation of Ælfric's spellings for the two endings by most of the scribes all the more remarkable.³²

Pronouns

Space permits only a brief synopsis of the forms of the various types of pronouns; but even from this brief examination of our specimen homily some interesting results emerge. Moreover, we are fortunate in that, for pronouns, we are in a position to check the forms in individual homilies against those given in Godden's glossary for the pronouns in A and K. Godden records variant forms and also indicates the number of attestations for variant forms that occur only rarely in the two manuscripts. We are therefore on relatively firm ground with regard to the forms of pronouns for which Ælfric apparently allowed some variation. Thus, a glance at the glossary reveals that Ælfric's usage (as attested in A and K) allows very little variation within the forms of the personal and possessive pronouns, and that all the forms in *CH* I.23 (as they uniformly occur in most of the manuscripts) are in accordance with his standard usage. Variant readings for these pronouns are restricted to a small number of forms, and they occur, with very few exceptions, in two manuscripts only: H and U.

The following forms are in question: The possessive pronoun *his* occurs fifty times in this form in AKQDEFU; H preserves this form on nine occasions, but has *hys* in forty-one instances. The acc. sg. masc. *hine* has ten attestations in this form in AKQDEFU; H retains the form once, but otherwise has *hyne* (on one occasion it is joined by F). There are four attestations of the nom. sg. neuter *hit* in the other manuscripts, against four attestations of *hyt* in H.

So, in H, *i* is systematically replaced by *y* in some forms of the personal and possessive pronouns with original *i*, but not in all such forms: the nom. and acc. pl., *hi*, remain unchanged, as do the dat. sg. and pl., *him*. It is clear that by substituting *y* for *i* in *his*, *hit* and *hine*, the scribe was following a norm (and one that differed from Ælfric's usage), but why his norm did not pertain to *hi* and *him*, we cannot say. Curiously, the other manuscript showing variant readings in the form of the personal pronouns, U, replaces *i* by *y* in precisely the forms which

were left untouched by H: of the thirty-two attestations of the nom. and acc. pl., always in the form of *hi* in AKHQDEF, U retains *hi* on nine occasions; it has *hy* three times, and *hi* altered to *hy* nineteen times.³³ The ten attestations of the dat. sg. masc. occur invariably as *him* in all manuscripts, but of the four attestations of *him* as dat. pl., U retains *him* on one occasion only (and probably because it construed the form as singular). On the remaining three occasions U has *him*, altered to *hym*.³⁴

So again, a normative tendency (different from Ælfric's usage and from that of the scribe of H) can easily be detected in U, but again, we cannot say why it was restricted only to specific forms of the pronoun with original *i*. What we can say with confidence, however, is that the systematic replacements of *i* by *y* in H and U do not indicate any difference in pronunciation in comparison with the Ælfrician forms. It is precisely the restriction of the substitution of *y* for *i* to some, but not all, of the forms with original *i*, and their mutual exclusiveness in the two manuscripts, which reveals that these substitutions are attempts to standardize the spelling of the pronouns, regardless of their pronunciation.³⁵

In light of these moderate attempts to replace Ælfrician norms, it is noteworthy that scarcely any variants are found among the numerous attestations of forms of the definite article. The few variants that do occur in individual manuscripts are most economically explained as simple errors or as influenced by the immediate context. For the forms of the demonstrative pronoun *þes* 'this' with original *i*, *þises*, *þisre* etc., Ælfric himself appears to have admitted some variation between *i* and *y*, according to Godden's glossary and also according to the forms in CH I.23, where forms with *i* and *y* appear in A and K. Interestingly, in these forms neither H nor U show a tendency to standardize in the direction of *y*. Interestingly too, Ælfric's admittance of *i* and *y* is reflected in all the manuscripts: they show forms with *i* or *y* in various groupings and no pattern emerges from their groupings.

Verbs

We may form some impression of the nature and degree of Ælfric's standardization with regard to verb conjugation, and of how his standardization has been preserved in the manuscripts, by looking briefly at those verb forms in CH I.23 which are notorious for their unstable inflexional endings in Old English texts in general. The relevant forms are: the infinitive, the plural present

subjunctive, the plural preterite indicative and the plural preterite subjunctive. It should be noted in passing that scarcely any variants occur in the homily for verb forms other than these.

Among the nineteen occurrences of the infinitive of uncontracted verbs, the ending in all manuscripts is almost invariably *-an* (*-ian* in weak verbs II), the regular ending for this verb form. Only on one occasion and only in one manuscript (E) *-on* is found. There is more variation with the pl. pres. subj., where the regular ending would be *-en* (*-ien* for weak verbs II). Among the six occurrences of this verb form we find once *-on* in all manuscripts and twice *-ian*, equally in all manuscripts.³⁶ For the remaining three instances we have the following variants and groupings: 1. *-on* AHQU, *-en* F, *-an* KDE; 2. *-on* AHQFU, *-en* DE, *-an* K; 3. *-ian* AKHDE, *-ien* F; *-ion* QU. For Ælfric's usage this seems to suggest that at first (at the A stage) he admitted both *-on* and *-an*, but that, beginning with the revision in K (and perhaps even at the intermediate stage, represented by D), he preferred *-an* and tended to replace earlier *-on*. But of course this impression would need to be tested against the evidence of all the other homilies.

By comparison with the pl. pres. subj., there is little variation in the endings of the pl. pret. indic. and the pl. pret. subj. The original ending for the pl. pret. indic. was *-on*, and with the eleven occurrences of the form, *-on* is found in eight instances in all manuscripts. On three occasions *-an* occurs in a single manuscript each (E, Q and U respectively), but here, too, the other manuscripts have *-on*. In the pl. pret. subj. the original ending was *-en*, but in the three attestations of the verb form in CH I.23 the ending appears as *-on*, and no variant is found in any of the manuscripts.

Although the preliminary character of my investigation must again be stressed, a pattern may perhaps be seen to emerge for the four verb forms we have been reviewing: the inflexional ending of the infinitive is *-an*, that of the pl. pret. indic. and subj. *-on*, and that of the pl. pres. subj. is either *-on* or *-an*, with perhaps a preference for *-an* in revised stages of the text. This distribution of the spellings of the four inflexional endings very possibly goes back to Ælfric, and in the case of three of them, the scribes of the various manuscripts saw little occasion to alter his system. Increased scribal variation in the case of the fourth ending, that of the pl. pres. subj., seems to reflect the process of Ælfric's own hesitations and deliberations on how this ending should be represented in writing. In any event, it is clear that accumulating and evaluating sufficient material for the four inflexional endings, usually labelled as 'unstable', would merit close scholarly

attention. Should the suspicion raised by the analysis of the four endings in *CH* I.23 be confirmed – if only to some extent – by a large-scale investigation of the relevant forms in the other homilies, we would have precious evidence for the high level of sophistication which Ælfric's attempts to standardize his native language had reached.³⁷

CONCLUSION

There can scarcely be any doubt that Ælfric aimed at standardizing Old English in its written form. This has been a long-standing notion among Ælfric scholars, and ample evidence for Ælfric's endeavours in this respect may be gleaned even from the sifting of the material for only one aspect – inflexional morphology – in only one of his *Catholic Homilies*. But this sifting of the evidence from one homily has also revealed that, in order to be on firmer ground concerning the details of Ælfric's standardization, much work still needs to be done by way of large-scale collecting and evaluating of data. In the present article I have tried to highlight one of the ways in which such collecting and evaluating could be done.

With regard to the questions posed above which might be answered by a full evaluation of the Clemoes-Godden dossiers, the evidence of just our homily strongly suggests that, although usually the spelling of a morphological item remains stable throughout the *Catholic Homilies*, in some cases Ælfric indeed seems to have admitted a moderate number of spelling variants (for example with some forms of the personal pronouns), and that in some other cases he seems to have developed his eventually fairly stable spelling only after a period of hesitation and experimentation. Judging from the evidence we have sifted, this occurred most notably with the declension of adjectives after the definite article and the possessive, and (perhaps) the system of spelling devised for four notoriously unstable verb forms. I shall return to both in a moment.

The question of how to distinguish in a manuscript between authorial revisions and scribal variants will often remain difficult to decide; only those instances where no more than one or two manuscripts offer a variant are relatively straightforward. From our evidence it would appear that in cases where A and K disagree and/or where Ælfric seems to have decided on the spelling for a morphological item only after some hesitation, not only do the manuscripts side in various groupings with either A or K (which might be attributed solely to their

respective textual affiliations), but the scribes also tend to introduce their own variants, as in the case of, again, the four verb endings.

The important question of competing spelling systems for morphological items, which may show up in some manuscripts, can unambiguously be answered in the affirmative by the systematic replacement of the Ælfrician spellings for certain pronouns in two different ways by two manuscripts, as noted above. This point needs further examination, but the important implication of it would be that what Ælfric wrote was not 'Standard Old English' *per se*, but 'Ælfric's Standard Old English', and that this existed side by side with other standards, though perhaps none as systematic as his was.³⁸

I return in conclusion briefly to the verbal endings we have examined and to the strong forms of adjectives after possessives and the definite article. At first glance, the use of the wrong declension of an adjective appears to be a blunder which we would hesitate to attribute to Ælfric. But the irregularity occurs in the manuscripts most closely associated with him, and he can be shown to have corrected erroneous forms of adjectives in A, as we have seen. Moreover, Bruce Mitchell rather firmly denies the existence in Old English of the patterns 'Demonstrative/possessive + strong form of adj. + noun', which some earlier scholars had assumed. What few cases there are in Old English texts, he would attribute to *-um/-an* confusion in the dative, though he has to admit that wrong strong forms can also be found with other cases (two even appearing – after the possessive – in our slender corpus).³⁹

If the pattern did not exist, was Ælfric, then, incapable of declining an adjective correctly? The answer (at least for the confusion in the dative) probably lies in the fact that for him and his contemporaries the strong dative *-um* and the weak dative *-an* were not distinguished in their pronunciation. Therefore, initially he may not have cared too much about distinguishing both systematically in writing. But apparently he had second thoughts about this, as is testified by his corrections of many of the wrong forms. Such demonstrable endeavour to distinguish in spelling between forms that were no longer distinguished in the spoken language may perhaps permit us to be more confident that Ælfric indeed attempted to devise a system for the spelling of the four verb forms, as I suggested above. It is almost certain that the inflexional endings of the infinitive, the pres. pl. subj., the pret. pl. indic. and subj. (*-an*, *-en*, *-on* and *-en* respectively) had coalesced in a phonetic form /ən/ by the time Ælfric wrote.⁴⁰ Whether a contemporary native speaker, even one like Ælfric, with a keen interest in the details of linguistic structure, could have had precise knowledge of the original

pronunciations of these endings is not certain. Such knowledge might have been derived either from older native speakers or, perhaps more likely, from late-ninth- or early-tenth-century manuscripts. But even a glance at, say, the Alfredian manuscripts will reveal that they already present a substantial number of variant forms for the endings in question. It is also noteworthy that Ælfric seems to have avoided *-en*, the original ending for two of the verb forms, preferring *-on* and *-an* instead. This, in combination with the linguistic situation prevailing during his lifetime, may suggest that what was foremost in his mind when he devised his spellings of the four forms was primarily the achievement of some sort of standardization. Standardizing the historically correct form can, for him, have been only a secondary concern, if a concern at all. By the same token, it was inevitable that inconsistencies should remain (here as elsewhere) given the size of the *Catholic Homilies*, and given the probability that his system of spelling the four endings developed only in the course of his work on the *Homilies*. That the scribes should adhere to his system rather faithfully is no indication that Ælfric's standardization in this respect was generally adopted. It might indicate, however, that, as opposed to the situation with the personal pronouns, there was no competing tendency to standardize the four verb endings in their graphic representation; consequently, they copied out – no doubt with a due amount of scribal error – what they found in their exemplars. Faithful copying by the various scribes might perhaps also indicate that, for whatever reasons, scribes generally tended to preserve Ælfric's spellings more carefully than that of other texts; a point which, again, would have to be clarified.⁴¹

Ælfric and Standard Old English: an enormous amount of work needs to be done, and many more questions than the few I have mooted here will need to be solved. But as with Ælfric's sources, into the exploration of which an immense amount of scholarly endeavour has gone over the past decades (not least by the honorand of this Festschrift), yielding comprehensive and enduring results, the amount of work put into an exploration of Ælfric's linguistic standard and 'Standard Old English' in general will amply repay. Its results will enable us and future generations of scholars to control an aspect of intellectual activity in Anglo-Saxon England which had no parallel anywhere in Early Medieval Europe.

NOTES

¹ For assigning the rise of Standard Old English to a late-tenth-century ambience, see C. L. Wrenn, 'Standard Old English', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, (1933), 65-88; H. Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 63-83; repr. with additions in his *Language and History in Early England* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), no. I; and M. Gretsch, 'Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English: the Vernacular in Late Anglo-Saxon England', The T. N. Toller Memorial Lecture, 2000, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 83 (2001), 41-87. The general acceptance and prevalence of Standard Old English in the eleventh century have been expressed most succinctly by Kenneth Sisam: 'the early eleventh century was the period in which West Saxon was recognized all over England as the official and literary language': K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 153.

² Malcolm Godden has calculated that the *Catholic Homilies* amount to 'some twelve per cent of the extant corpus of prose and verse in Old English': M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. v.

³ See *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by B. Thorpe, 2 vols (London: Ælfric Society, 1844-46); for the manuscript, Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (K) see discussion below.

⁴ The single surviving manuscript of the *Lives* which is fairly complete, London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii, written s. xiⁱⁿ, somewhere in South England, includes four saints' Lives not by Ælfric (an addition to the collection which he would have very much objected to), and the manuscript presents pronounced peculiarities of spelling: on these, see most comprehensively *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints*, ed. by G. I. Needham (London: Methuen, 1966), pp. 6-11; see also M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies, 4.ii (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 581-82, and M. Gretsch, 'In Search of Standard Old English', in *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. by L. Kornexl and U. Lenker (Frankfurt: Lang, 2003), pp. 33-67 (pp. 45-55).

⁵ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) [hereafter CH I, ed. by Clemoes]. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by M. Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1979) [hereafter CH II, ed. by Godden]; M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* [hereafter Godden, *Commentary*].

⁶ Kenneth Sisam, in a series of groundbreaking articles (first printed in the early 1930s and reprinted in a revised version in his *Studies*) was the first to moot, in any detail, the question of successive stages of authorial revisions, but had concluded that 'the problem is one for an editor with full collations': 'MSS Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', in his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, pp. 148-98 (p. 165) [orig. publ. in *RES*, 7-9 (1931-33)]. Characteristically, many of his findings are now confirmed by the full collations made for the new edition.

⁷ See M. Godden, 'Ælfric as Grammarian: The Evidence of his *Catholic Homilies*', in *Early Medieval English: Texts and Interpretations. Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. by E. Treharne and S. Rosser (Tempe, AZ: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 13-29 (p. 16).

⁸ Godden, *Commentary*, p. v.

⁹ See *CH I*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 125-35 (the alterations made in A are also classified by Clemoes in *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies (British Museum Royal 7. C. XII, fols. 4-218)*, ed. by N. Eliason and P. Clemoes, EEMF, 13 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1966), p. 33, nn. 10-18); and *CH II*, ed. by Godden, pp. lxxviii-lxxxvi. Godden also discusses some important aspects of Ælfric's revisions, such as changes in the use of cases after prepositions, in the declension and gender of nouns, or in the mood of verbs in subordinate clauses, in his recent article, 'Ælfric as Grammarian'.

¹⁰ See *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by J. C. Pope, 2 vols., EETS, o.s. 259-60 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1967-68) I, 177-85, and cf. the section on the manuscripts, pp. 6-91, *passim*.

¹¹ On this project, see Gretsich, 'In Search of Standard Old English'.

¹² I should like to thank Dominik Kuhn, who, in the course of his work for the project, extracted and classified the material on which my evaluation is based.

¹³ *CH I*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 365-70.

¹⁴ I use the sigla devised by Clemoes and Pope, and ever since in general use by Ælfric scholars. For the date and origin and/or provenance of the manuscripts I refer the reader to Clemoes's and Godden's introductions to their respective volumes.

¹⁵ See *CH I*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 64-168 and *CH II*, ed. by Godden, pp. xx-xciv. As the Second Series was completed after the First Series, both differ with regard to the stage of revision in which they occur in a manuscript. We are concerned here with the revisions of the First Series.

¹⁶ See *CH I*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 65-66.

¹⁷ For the alterations, see above, n. 9.

¹⁸ Cf. *CH I*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 67-68 and *CH II*, ed. by Godden, pp. xxv-xxxiii.

¹⁹ CH I, ed. by Clemons, p. 69; cf. also Sisam: 'the best single source of the *Catholic Homilies*' (*Studies*, p. 165) and Godden: 'either a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript' (CH II, ed. by Godden, p. xliii).

²⁰ Cf. CH I, ed. by Clemons, pp. 98 and 105-09.

²¹ Cf. CH I, ed. by Clemons, pp. 83-89.

²² See K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik: Nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers*, 3rd edn (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1965) [hereafter SB], § 243 and A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959) [hereafter Campbell], § 574.3-4.

²³ See Pope, *Homilies*, I, 183 and Gretsch, 'In Search of Standard Old English', p. 49.

²⁴ See SB, §§ 255.1, 3 and 258, n. 1, and Campbell, §§ 590.6, 8 and 592d.

²⁵ Note that *bodunge* (l. 119) could have been construed as singular by DEFU: *-e* would then be the regular ending.

²⁶ Note that *yrmda* in E might be due to the immediate context: 'þæra manfulra yrmða' (110).

²⁷ By the end of the tenth century, the nouns of the i-declension had largely coalesced with the a- and ō-declensions; all the forms attested in our homily show the regular endings of these two declensions.

²⁸ *-ana* for *-ena* may simply be an error.

²⁹ For the variants *lufon* AKHQ and *lufan* DEFU (dat. sg. of *lufu*), see the glossaries in Godden, *Commentary* and Pope, *Homilies*, II, 885.

³⁰ See CH I, ed. by Clemons, p. 128, n. 10.

³¹ Pope, *Homilies*, I, 184.

³² For the irregular use of the strong declension of adjectives, see also below.

³³ On one occasion U has the form *heo*, which was probably prompted by the immediate context: *hi forseod > heo forseod*.

³⁴ Note that D has twice *hiom* for the dat. pl., with superscript *o*.

³⁵ Note that H (but not U) substitutes *y* for *i* with some regularity in other morphological forms as well, such as *ys*, *nys*, *byð*, *wylle*.

³⁶ Note that in the conjugation of weak verbs II, I ignore K's tendency to represent the suffix of this class as *-ig-*, against A's preference for simple *-i-*. Thus, in one of the two instances listed above as *-ian*, K has *-igan*. It is clear that *-ig-* has the status of a spelling variant (with no reflex in pronunciation) but, interestingly, a spelling variant which Ælfric himself seems to have decided to prefer in the course of his second systematic revision of the First Series, as represented in K.

³⁷ For these verb endings, see also below.

³⁸ To my knowledge, the possibility of the existence of more than one literary standard was first alluded to by John Pope: *Homilies*, I, 181 and 182.

³⁹ See B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) I, 58-60 (§§ 118-22). Perhaps we need to distinguish here between the strong dative after the definite article and strong adjectives after possessives: 'his agenre alysednysse' and 'his agene sawle', occurring in all manuscripts of *CH* I.23 (discussed above), can scarcely be attributed to *-um/-an* confusion. On the other hand, the strong declension of adjectives after possessives is normal in Modern German, and it was an alternative to the weak declension in Middle High German: see H. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, 24th edn, rev. by P. Wiehl and S. Grosse (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), p. 358 (§ 391). Could it, therefore, have been an alternative pattern in Old English as well? A pattern which Ælfric eventually chose to reject?

⁴⁰ For the merger of the vowels in these endings, see SB, § 44, n. 7 and Campbell, §§ 377-79.

⁴¹ This suspicion might be fed by the work of a mid-eleventh-century corrector at Rochester, to whom Don Scragg has drawn attention (and whose work was comprehensively analysed in Neil Ker's unpublished doctoral dissertation). He systematically corrected grammatical forms in the homilies in D, but made significantly fewer alterations to Ælfric's homilies than to the pre-Ælfrician ones contained in the manuscript. Interestingly, he also seems to have made his corrections with some kind of spelling norm in his mind, a norm which differed from Ælfric's standard; see D. G. Scragg, 'Spelling Variations in Eleventh-Century English', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by C. Hicks (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 347-54 (pp. 353-54), with reference to Ker's dissertation.

Ælfric's Scribes

Donald Scragg

Many of Joyce Hill's advances in Old English scholarship have been concerned with Ælfric's use of sources. This essay in her honour investigates some of the ways in which his scribes transmitted the work that he produced from his inherited materials. In the same way that she investigated the meat that went into the sausage machine, I intend to follow the work of the retailers, passing on the finished product to his customers, the readers. The transmission of text has been studied by others in some depth, and I shall concentrate here on more minute linguistic details, especially spelling, to gauge whether we can judge if Ælfric's wish to be treated as an authority whose word was to be respected was fulfilled in the decades that followed his death. I concentrate entirely on the eleventh century because after 1100 there is no doubt that scribes altered texts in ever more significant ways as social circumstances and exigencies of copying changed.

Generally in the homilies Ælfric's scribes are faithful to the sense of what he wrote. Whereas Wulfstan's homilies were reused in a wide variety of ways, often becoming fodder for the multitude of composite homilists of the eleventh century, there are relatively few examples of Ælfric's homilies being cut up and used in conjunction with non-Ælfrician material.¹ This is in part due to the nature of the material itself. Wulfstan wrote pieces for general use, whereas many of Ælfric's homilies depend upon a particular pericope and are homilies in the strict use of the word. Obviously, the *Lives of Saints*, the biblical translations and the Latin *Grammar* are even less susceptible to dissection and re-use than the homilies. But when we look at the detail – and spelling obviously comes under that heading – it is surprising to find just how faithful his scribes are to what we may assume was the text transmitted from his scriptorium at Cerne Abbas.

We may begin by looking at Ælfric's own spelling choices, available in small measure in the marginal comments that are assumed to be in his own

handwriting in London, BL, Royal 7 C. XII.² The corpus of words here is small, and few of them have spellings that vary significantly in late Old English. One of those that does is *ciriclice* at the foot of fol. 76r. In the late tenth and early eleventh century there are four regular spellings of the word for 'church', *cyrce*-, *cyrice*-, *circ*- and *ciric*-, out of more than a thousand surviving instances of the word and its compounds. Of these, the first two are by far the most frequent, *y*-spellings outnumbering *i*-spellings by eight to one, and there is no sign that the variation changes as the century progresses. Almost exactly the same number of monosyllabic as of disyllabic forms occurs in both spellings throughout the period. The fact that Ælfric, in the single instance recorded, uses the less usual vowel perhaps means little, but it is worth testing the forms found in Ælfrician manuscripts. Malcolm Godden, in his glossary to both series of the *Catholic Homilies*,³ lists 123 instances of the word and its compounds, yet only four of them are disyllabic, and only two of those have *i*. Clearly the manuscripts on which the glossary is based neither agree with the one recorded Ælfric form nor with the general rule for the eleventh century. The base manuscripts of the standard edition of the *Catholic Homilies* by Clemoes and Godden are Royal 7 C. XII for the First Series and Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28 for the Second, both of which Peter Clemoes believed were manuscripts which were copied at Cerne Abbas.⁴ Neither Clemoes nor Godden cites minor spelling variants in their apparatus, but many of these may be found in the Manchester electronic database of script and spellings at <http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/mancass/C11database/>. The database is currently being populated, but at the time of writing this essay, it records only three examples in Ælfrician texts of the spelling favoured by Ælfric himself, and only another twelve examples with *i* but with only one syllable. Of these fifteen, thirteen occur in two closely related manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340/342, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198,⁵ and while these two also have the occasional *cyrce*- spelling also, every other copy of the *Catholic Homilies* (involving large numbers of eleventh-century scribes and manuscripts in the case of the First Series) use *cyrce*-. Although the use of *-y-* is perhaps not significant, because *i*-spellings are so rare in the period, the almost universal appearance of the monosyllabic form shows a remarkable degree of uniformity given the degree of spelling variation normally found in eleventh-century texts. It also suggests that the majority of eleventh-century copyists were faithful to the forms in Cerne Abbas manuscripts.

What it also shows, however, is that the Cerne Abbas scribes were not faithful to Ælfric's own preferred spelling, assuming that the single instance is indeed his usual form. Ælfric as a grammarian was sensitive to all aspects of language, including spelling, as may be seen from his comments on Latin spelling found in the grammar. I quote two:

þes *que* is sceort mid þrym stafum gewriten oððe getitelod,
and se langa *quae*, þe is FEMININUM of *quis*, sceal beon
mid feower stafum *q, u, a, e* awriten.

[This *que* is short, written or inscribed with three letters, and
the long *quae*, which is the feminine of *quis*, should be
written with four letters, *q, u, a, e*.]⁶

þes *uae* sceal beon awriten mid þrim stafum, and se sceorta
ue, ðe is CONIUNCTIO, hæfð twegen stafas.

[This *uae* should be written with three letters, and the short
ue, which is a conjunction, has two letters.]⁷

Sadly not all the copyists of the *Grammar* seemed always to be reading, in the full sense of the word, what they wrote. The scribe of London, BL, Harley 3271 wrote *que* as the feminine of *quis*, despite having its four letters spelt out for him, and wrote the short *ue* with three letters as *uae* despite being told that it has only two.

Rather than recording scribal failure to follow Ælfric's instructions, however, this single manuscript highlights how faithfully Ælfric's scribes generally reproduced the copytext, copying errors aside. Harley 3271 is the only one of a dozen surviving eleventh-century copies of the *Grammar* that I have so far found that did not get these Latin spellings right. But what of English words? Were Ælfric's copyists quite so punctilious when it came to copying the homilies in general as they appear to have been in their attitude to *cyrce*? We should now extend the search to words with a wider range of possibilities. In an article on eleventh-century spelling published a decade and a half ago,⁸ I suggested some lines of enquiry, beginning with the spellings *þar* and *hwar* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 which John Pope claimed were amongst those that distinguished the manuscript in that they were 'unlike those that prevail in the other manuscripts of the first half of the eleventh century' but were not in themselves 'a deviation from West Saxon'.⁹ My point was that we might consider where these spellings came from in what is a 'substantially unchanged'¹⁰ copy of

an Ælfric collection, although not a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium, and from that where the spellings were introduced, whether they were first used by the scribe of that manuscript or whether copied by him from his exemplar. The spelling database lists eighteen examples of the word *hwar*, only one of them in Corpus 178 (*De falsis diis*). Other examples are in manuscripts ranging in date from c. 1000 to the third quarter of the century and known to have been written in centres as far apart as Canterbury and Worcester. The spelling seems therefore not to be particularly localised or date specific. But when we add the evidence of *par* words, we find that out of a total of 126 instances so far recorded in the database, twenty-three are recorded from Corpus 178, and only two from other copies of Ælfric homilies.¹¹ This indicates that Pope was right to pinpoint the unusual nature of the spelling of Corpus 178 in this regard, but it is unusual not in comparison with eleventh-century manuscripts generally but solely in comparison with other Ælfric manuscripts. It also suggests, by implication, the regularity of spelling of all other Ælfric manuscripts in this respect.

To take a rather different example, although the texts suggest that Ælfric used the genitive plural pronoun *heora*, he appears not to have used the analogous dative *heom* which many writers from the end of the tenth century choose as a less ambiguous spelling than *him* which they then can reserve for the singular. His scribes show different attitudes to the form. In the *Catholic Homilies*, the Cerne Abbas scribes of Royal 7 C. XII and CUL 3. 28 never use it, but it is widely used in manuscripts of the 'Canterbury' group,¹² where it also appears in non-Ælfrician items, including copies of the Vercelli homilies which were originally written before *heom* became fashionable and which therefore must have come to them in copy-texts, like the Ælfric ones, without *heom*.¹³ Other manuscripts with a mixture of Ælfric and non-Ælfric material show a similar free use of *heom*, e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 113/114 and Junius 121 (largely by a single scribe of the second half of the eleventh century from Worcester) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419/421 (written at the same period but in Exeter). The sole manuscript containing Ælfric items alone to have regular use of *heom* is Cambridge University Library li. 4. 6 (mid-eleventh-century of unknown provenance), whereas there are a number of manuscripts, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188, and London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C. v, in which it never appears. The conclusion, it seems to me, is that from this single frequently-recorded word alone, we can identify those scribes like that of Corpus 188 who are faithful to their copy-text and those who, like the copyists of the manuscripts of the Canterbury group, are willing to impose their own forms or follow an

archetype whose scribe has imposed his own forms.¹⁴ Neither *heom* nor *hwar* / *þar* can, in Pope's words, be considered 'a deviation from West Saxon' but their use can tell us much about the scribes who used them and their training. And this surely is the point to be stressed. Terms such as late West Saxon and even late Old English are inadequate now to describe the late period of Old English as we understand it, given the electronic means at our disposal. We are able to be – and should be – more discerning, to try to identify strands and differences within what used to be called late West Saxon, and to discover just how much we can learn about the transmission of texts within the eleventh century.

Another common word which has an interesting distribution of forms is the genitive plural demonstrative *þara* / *þæra*. The former is the more common spelling in the tenth century, the latter becomes the more frequent later, but both are used throughout Old English. In Ælfric manuscripts, *þæra* is by far the more frequent form. Most scribes have at least one instance of *þara*, although I have found none in Corpus 188 and none so far in Vitellius C. v.¹⁵ What is interesting is that when an instance of *þara* occurs in one manuscript, it appears in the same context in another, sometimes in up to four manuscripts at the same point, suggesting that the spelling is carried over from the exemplar.¹⁶ But the overall preponderance of *þæra* forms suggests again that Ælfric's scribes were heavily influenced by the spellings that they found in their copy-texts. There is no such consistency, however, in another demonstrative form which is regular in Ælfric: the feminine genitive and dative singular of *þes* written as *þyssere* or *bissere*. It is probable that Ælfric himself used this expanded form rather than the earlier *þysse* / *bisse*,¹⁷ and the latter occur only very rarely in any copy of Ælfric texts. But the true inconsistency here is between thorn and eth on the one hand and between *i* and *y* on the other, both of which are understandable given that they are effectively different shapes of the same letter rather than different letters in late Old English, and between trisyllabic forms and the disyllabic *þysre* / *bisre*. The very occasional *þysse* may simply be a miscopying of *þysre* by a scribe used to seeing the earlier form.¹⁸

It would be tedious in an essay like this to continue to cite a long series of examples, and I content myself with just two. The word *naht* 'nothing' is only spelt in this way in Ælfrician manuscripts, never *noht* which is otherwise fairly widespread in eleventh-century manuscripts. Furthermore, after a preposition the word is inflected as *nahte* in every one of hundreds of examples, except for a single instance of *naht*, whereas in non-Ælfrician texts, the inflected and uninflected forms are often confused.¹⁹ Again, the consistency of Ælfric's scribes

is notable. In the case of *betwux* 'between', there are numerous choices of spelling available, but this is again the regular spelling in hundreds of instances in Ælfric manuscripts. Of the alternatives, only two appear more than once: *betux*, which occurs at the same point in the same text in both Royal 7 C. XII and CUL Gg. 3. 28 on two occasions, each time in one further manuscript (with *betwux* in five other manuscripts),²⁰ and *betweox* which appears fifteen times, all but four occurring in two or three copies of the same text at the same point. Again, it would seem that we may be dealing with scribes copying very precisely from one another here, something for which they are not notorious in the period. The fact that *betwyx* occurs only once, though it is otherwise a common eleventh-century spelling, and other spellings like *betwix* never, shows just how strong a tradition there is in the *Catholic Homilies* of exact copying of very common words which normally have a high degree of spelling variation.

I end with reference not to individual words but to a more general linguistic feature, the use of double letters in the *Catholic Homilies*. One of the notable features of the language of Corpus 178 which Pope drew attention to is the doubling of *o* in *good* to distinguish it from *God*, but what he did not say is that the scribe is remarkably fond of doubled letters, both consonants as well as vowels, especially in word-final position, e.g. a fondness for *-ss* in *hiss*, *huss*, *-nyss*, and of *n* in *inn* (preposition), *mann*, and *menn*, but always within the scope of what Pope would say is usually considered to be late West Saxon. Scribal alternation between single and double consonants is not generally a remarkable feature of late Old English, and the scribe of Corpus 178 is different only in the consistency of his usage. But there are a few instances of consonant doubling which are perhaps part of the copying tradition in Ælfric texts, notably the doubling of *d* before *r*. If we take the example of the plural of 'mother' which in Ælfric is usually *moddru(m)* (also *moddra-*), we find currently in the database seventeen instances with *-ddr-*, all in the *Catholic Homilies*, and only five with *-dr-*. This seems to me indicative of a strong tradition in Ælfric manuscripts to copy this word exactly as it appears in the copy-text, especially given the propensity of eleventh-century scribes to alter double to single consonants at will and vice versa. The same phenomenon can be observed with other words in which we find *d* doubled before *r*. *Goddra*, *goddre*, inflected parts of 'good', occur forty-five times in the database, only four of them not in the *Catholic Homilies*, and one of those is in a copy of Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*. On the other hand, the much more common instances of *godr-* occur in a wide variety of texts and manuscripts, only half of them in copies of Ælfric. The same is true of *deaddra* 'of the dead'

which occurs eighteen times in the database, only two of them not in Ælfric, and these two are in the Corpus 198 and Bodley 340 copies of Vercelli homily I within what is, of course, basically an Ælfrician collection. The very frequent examples of *deadra*, on the other hand, occur in a wide variety of texts, Ælfric and non-Ælfric. It is hardly necessary to continue to quote more examples.²¹ The point is simply that not only do instances of doubling of *d* before *r* seem particularly common in Ælfric manuscripts, but a great many copies of the *Catholic Homilies* continue the practice observable in the two earliest manuscripts, Royal 7 C. XII and CUL Gg. 3. 28, of having this consonant doubled.

The subject of spelling in Ælfrician texts and manuscripts requires a monograph rather than a brief essay, and such a monograph both deserves to be written and soon perhaps will be written, given the electronic materials now being made available. But I trust that the contents of this essay already allow some important conclusions to be drawn. It is natural, perhaps, to assume that the language of the majority of Ælfrician manuscripts, particularly those most closely associated with the master himself, represents Ælfric's usage. This may well be true of some aspects of language, inflections probably and syntax and lexical choice certainly. But before we assume that regular spelling choices in the manuscripts, such as the very widespread use of doubling of *d* before *r*, are those of Ælfric himself, we should remember *cyr-* / *ciric-*. Ælfric's scribes, although for the most part very consistent in their copying, are not necessarily transmitting his spellings. It is also clear from the evidence above that Ælfric's scribes had a very different attitude to the material they copied than did copyists of other material. Those who transmitted anonymous homilies certainly made no attempt to reproduce the spellings before them,²² but then they also made less attempt to be faithful to the matter than Ælfric's scribes seem to have been, and the same is true of non-homiletic material. Why then were his scribes apparently so careful? It may be that they regarded his word as an authority, as he apparently wished, but it may have more to do with the circumstances of copying than their attitude. It is probable, for example, that most of the many surviving manuscripts containing full or nearly full sets of the *Catholic Homilies* were made in major centres and were written by well-trained scribes. It may also be important that many of these copies are in large, sometimes very large, manuscripts copied by a single scribe: Corpus 162, Corpus 188, Corpus 419/421, Trinity B. 15. 34, Vitellius C. v (as originally written), Hatton 113/114, Bodley 340/342, and, for the most part, CUL Gg. 3. 28. A scribe copying a large body of text derived from a single source which is ultimately by a single author and therefore probably in a

uniform language is more likely to retain any consistency that he finds, remaining true to his copy-text, than one faced with a diversity of source material in different linguistic forms upon which either he feels drawn (or has been trained) to superimpose a single system or which he is confused by.²³ This speculation may perhaps be tested by looking more closely than hitherto at manuscripts like Royal 7 C. XII which are written by more than one scribe, to ascertain how much variation there is between individuals who are obviously working together in a single scriptorium with similar material.

This point leads me to my final conclusion, which is that we need to know much more than we do at present about the exigencies of copying, the training of scribes, their practices and their education. We have learned a great deal about these subjects in recent years, particularly in lengthy and thoughtful introductions to editions of prose texts,²⁴ but more is possible, I suggest, with careful and fuller study of an enormous resource which remains to us and which has been for too long neglected. It is traditional, in editing Old English texts, to assume that the most important goal is to establish what the author wrote and then to neglect what his successors did with it. This is the pattern of Early English Text Society volumes, a series that has published many of the most important editions of recent years, and it is one that is now old-fashioned in both editing and critical terms. What happens to a text is just as interesting, ultimately, as where it came from (Joyce Hill's sources), though I would be the last to deny the importance of source studies in themselves. What I am arguing is that an editorial policy which ignores common spelling variants has damaged our ability to see some part of transmission history.²⁵ Though I doubt if spelling can tell us more about manuscript relations than textual studies can, it is a very valuable source of information in its own right. And it should be stressed that this information should be seen as totally independent of studies of phonology. Minor spelling variation in common words can probably tell us little if anything about the history of sounds, although a wider study of spelling can certainly improve our understanding of phonological developments and their chronology. If this essay opens up a new route in the editorial process and in the study of scribes and their idiosyncrasies, it will have justified its inclusion in this volume, and will take the work of its honoree forward in new and exciting ways.

NOTES

¹ See my 'The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before Ælfric', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 223-77, *passim*, and, for the *Catholic Homilies*, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979). For other brief comments on the textual integrity of Ælfric's work, see Malcolm Godden, 'Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', in *The Old English Homily and its Background*, ed. by P. E. Szarmach and B. Huppé (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1978), pp. 97-117 (pp. 110-11), and Jonathan Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts, 9 (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994), pp. 34-35. For details of all Ælfric homilies combined with anonymous material, see Mary Swan, 'Ælfric as Source: The Exploitation of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* from the Late Tenth to Twelfth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1993). My thanks to Mary for drawing my attention to this reference.

² *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies: British Museum Royal 7 C. XII, fols. 4-218*, ed. by Norman Eliason and Peter Clemoes, EEMF, 13 (Copenhagen, 1966), pp. 19-20.

³ Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, ss 18 (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2000).

⁴ That Royal 7 C. XII is a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium is suggested by the marginal annotations by Ælfric himself. Clemoes has suggested that the textual purity of CUL Gg. 3. 28 (his K) is 'of such a high order that probably it was itself a product of Ælfric's scriptorium', *The First Series*, p. 147.

⁵ For their relationship, see Kenneth Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', in *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 148-98.

⁶ *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. by Julius Zupitza, 2nd edn with a foreword by Helmut Gneuss (Berlin: Weidmann, 1966), p. 265, ll. 7-10. Not all the variants are in Zupitza's collation.

⁷ Zupitza, *Grammatik*, p. 279, ll. 8-10.

⁸ 'Spelling Variations in Eleventh-Century English', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford: Watkins, 1992), pp. 347-54.

⁹ *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, EETS, o.s. 259-60 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1967-68), p. 178.

¹⁰ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, p. 62.

¹¹ One of the instances is in Royal 7 C. XII, but in an interlinear insertion on fol. 131v. Clemoes' edition (*The First Series*, p. 394) indicates in the apparatus that the hand is not that of the text, but neither here nor in the EEMF introduction (Eliason and Clemoes, *British Museum Royal 7 C. XII*) is the hand identified. I would judge it to be almost contemporary with the principal hand of the manuscript.

¹² The 'Canterbury' group are manuscripts which derive their text from that sent by Ælfric to Archbishop Sigeric; see Clemoes, *The First Series*, pp. 67-68.

¹³ To my knowledge, there is no use of the spelling as early as the early 990s when the *Catholic Homilies* were composed.

¹⁴ Not all scribes conform to one of these two patterns, of course. The scribes of what is now the double manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85/86 use a variety of unusual (probably south-eastern) spellings, except in the single Ælfric item in the manuscript which is written in what is for that manuscript remarkably standard spellings. Some scribes, then, changed their copying habits from one item to the next.

¹⁵ The manuscripts which have most *para* spellings are mid-century or later: Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 34 and Hatton 113/114.

¹⁶ If this seems to be a far-fetched conclusion from an example of a word which occurs very frequently with both spellings and where the reproduction of one form or another in copies of the same text might be thought to be coincidental, consider the rare spelling of the word for 'disciple' as *leornigcniht*, lacking a medial *n*. Out of around 400 instances recorded in the database, the majority in Ælfric texts, there are only six that lack *n*, and of these, two appear at the same point in the same Ælfric homily in Corpus 198 and in London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii. For links between these two manuscripts textually, see Clemoes, *The First Series*, pp. 137-44, and *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. by D. G. Scragg, EETS, o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1992), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv. There are a great many more isolated examples which to me prove the point as effectively. Godden's glossary cites the word *dolchswapu* 'wound' occurring once in Royal 7 C. XII, against seven instances of *dolh-* (*Introduction*, p. 700). What he does not note is that at the same point, the otherwise very orthodox Corpus 188 scribe also writes *ch*, although nine other copies have the usual *-h*. Godden also cites one instance (out of eight) of an inflected form of *hlihan* 'laugh' with *-hg-*: *hlihgað* (p. 726). Again, because variants are not cited, there is no mention of the fact that this unusual spelling occurs at the same point in four manuscripts: Royal 7 C. XII, CUL Gg. 3. 28, CUL Ii. 4. 6 and Hatton 114. We have surely reached a point where coincidence is unlikely.

¹⁷ Clemoes and Eliason disagree about whether the note on fol. 164v of Royal 7 C. XII, which contains the word *byssere* is by Ælfric (*Ælfric's First Series*, p. 19, note 8, final paragraph), but there is little doubt that a word in Ælfric's hand on fol. 64r now partially cut off by a binder was the trisyllabic form (*Ælfric's First Series*, p. 18, note 8).

¹⁸ This may be particularly true of the scribe of Bodley 340/342 who copies *bysse* regularly in his non-Ælfrician items.

¹⁹ The single example is in Corpus 162. I ignore instances of *nahte* as plural and as part of the verb *nagan*.

²⁰ There are two other examples of *betux* separately elsewhere.

²¹ Comparable is *midd(e)re* 'middle', where almost all examples with *-dd-* are in Ælfric. In the case of *næddr-* we have a word which occurs with a variety of vowel spellings and inflections, as well as variation between *-dd-* and *-d-*; although many non-Ælfrician scribes spell the word with *-dd-* throughout the period, it is noticeable that in the very large number of instances with *-d-*, only nine are in the *Catholic Homilies*.

²² One has only to look at the items in the Vercelli Book, in particular two copies of Vercelli homily II, in Vercelli II itself and in Vercelli homily XXI, which are likely to have been drawn from the same exemplar at not too distant a time. See Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 357-62.

²³ We may compare the Vercelli homilies in the Vercelli Book, in a variety of spellings, and the more uniform copies of them in Bodley 340 and Corpus 162.

²⁴ John Pope's edition of Ælfric homilies is an excellent early example. His review of manuscripts is very full in describing the spelling habits of particular scribes, and some of his comments are undoubtedly the starting-point for further investigation of specific Ælfric scribes (cf. his highlighting of occasional idiosyncrasies in Corpus 188 on pp. 260-61). He also hints at the use of specific spellings for identifying the origin of manuscripts, cf. his comments on *heom* in the third stage of Vitellius C.v and CUL li. 4. 6 on pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Lack of benefit of full collation of the *Catholic Homilies* and the Vercelli homilies led Pope slightly astray in his account of the distribution of *heom* in late Old English. He describes the spelling as appearing 'with some frequency in the course of the eleventh century' (p. 33) but we now know that it was already common at the close of the tenth, as witnessed by Corpus 162, Bodley 340/342 and the Lives of Saints manuscript London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii.

The Invisible Woman: Ælfric and his Subject Female

Elaine Treharne

In recent work on the *Catholic Homilies*, scholars have been keen to embrace Ælfric as the populist didact who wrote his prolific corpus of vernacular texts for a 'mixed and all-compassing audience'.¹ This audience of lay men and women, secular clerics and regular religious men and women is hypothesised from comments embedded within the Old English texts themselves, particularly Ælfric's own declarations. In the second series homily written for Wednesday in Rogationtide, for example, Ælfric directly addresses his audience:

Mine gebroðra [. . .] Nu behófige ge læwede men micelre
lare on ðisne timan. for ðan ðe þeos world is micclum
geswenct ðurh menigfealdum gedrefednyssum.²

[My brethren [. . .] Now you unlearned men [laymen] have
need of great learning at this time, because this world is
greatly disturbed by various troubles.]

With his typical homiletic rhetoric Ælfric identifies his hearers or readers as, *prima facie*, a united, and specifically masculinised gathering – 'gebroðra' – and also as 'læwede', *laici*. Such statements, found throughout the *Catholic Homilies*, have led to the subsequent definition of Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest audiences of Ælfric's English sermons as a 'lay', 'uneducated' group of people.³ If it is accepted that terms such as 'broðer' and 'man' are non-gender specific, then this confirms the sense that we know for whom Ælfric wrote: a homogenous congregation of (mostly) *illiterati* comprised both of women and men.⁴ But this is to suppose that all manuscript compilers using the *Catholic Homilies* had this audience in mind; moreover, such a conclusion would insist on some form of public performance by a priest, bishop, canon or other religious preacher.⁵ It is

likely that the exploitation of the *Catholic Homilies* is much more nuanced than this theoretical stasis throughout the two hundred years of its varied appearance in English manuscripts. A notional audience, then, is as much a construct of the modern scholarly imagination as is Ælfric's own attempt to imagine his addressees, about whom he might actually have known as little as we do.

This short paper will look briefly at Ælfric's addressees, and his female subjects, to demonstrate the problematic nature of understanding Ælfric's 'mixed' audience. It is a knotty issue because of the invisibility of women in the texts, made more invidious once Ælfric's deliberate camouflage of rhetorical generality has been discarded.⁶ The forms of address in the quotation above to 'brothers' and 'men' are typical of Ælfric's extensive homiletic corpus, which most frequently employs gender-marked terms to denote his perceived audience. In the vast majority of homilies, when discussing in the abstract the preferred behaviour of the good Christian, the norm is always a masculine subject: in his homily for the feast of St Peter, Ælfric advises 'Eow læwedum mannum mæg ðeos anfealde racu to trymminge';⁷ and in a Pentecost homily, he warns that 'Ne forseo nan man godes stemne. and his gearcunge. þy læs ðe he hine nu beladige'.⁸ One might persist in believing that Ælfric's use of 'man', 'his', 'he', and 'hine' can be translated as 'person', 'their', 'they', and 'them',⁹ but that 'man' is often (usually?) intended as exclusive is evident many times within the *Catholic Homilies*.¹⁰

Such an indication that Ælfric addressed his male audience alone is illustrated in the sermon for the ninth Sunday after Pentecost:

Þu mann wylt habban gód. ðu wilt habban hælu þines lichaman [. . .] Soðlice nelt ðu nan ðing yfeles habban. on ðinum æhtum; Nelt ðu habban yfel wíf. ne yfele cild. ne yfele ðeowe men. ne yfel scrud. ne furðon yfele sceos. and wilt swa ðeah habban yfel lif[.]¹¹

Not only is it immediately apparent in this example that 'mann' refers only to the male holder of a wife, but that also his wife and child are equated with disposable items owned by the man, 'ðinum æhtum', possessions such as clothing and shoes. Ælfric bases this part of his text on an Augustinian sermon, but makes small alterations to his source changing the nature of the text in a significant way. Augustine comments:

Vis enim habere sanitatem corporis [. . .] Quid enim est quod velis habere malum? Dic mihi. Nihil omnino; non uxorem, non filium, non filiam, non servum, non ancillam, non villam, non tunicam, postremo non caligam: et tamen vis habere malam vitam.¹²

Besides altering the rhetoric of his source such that Augustine's co-operative mode of question and answer is transformed into an authoritative declaration, Ælfric also abbreviates the list of possessions through an excision of two of the specifically female referents (*filia*, *ancilla*). To enhance the emphasis of an evil life, even as the subject sinner is seen not to have cause for his immoral actions, Ælfric repeats the qualifier 'yfel' for maximum impact. The equation of an evil wife with an evil servant or 'evil' shoes, though, is to create this list as the expectation of a man's lot;¹³ moreover, Ælfric's omission of the daughter and serving-girl writes out the role of women, while accentuating the 'yfel wif', part of the moveable goods of the man.

Such male-specific use of language, interchangeably masquerading as non-gendered, is pervasive. In his general homily, *In natale sanctorum martirum*, the discourse makes explicit only masculine referents and stereotypical male fields of occupation when, for example, the congregation is told: 'Máre sige bið þæt se man hine sylfne ðurh geðyld gewylde. ðonne hé wiðutan him burga oferfeohte',¹⁴ where the military prowess of a male warrior is used as the sole point of reference. In his First Series homily on the Circumcision of the Lord,¹⁵ Ælfric provides a unique, and quite lengthy, metaphorical reading equating chastity with spiritual circumcision.¹⁶ In his idiosyncratic reading,¹⁷ Ælfric explains that:

nan mann ne bið. soðlice cristen buton he þa ymsnidenysse
on gastlicum þeawum gehealde; Hwæt getacnað þæs
felmenes ofcyrf on þam gesceape. buton galnysse wanunge;
Eaðe mihte ðæs cwede beon læwedum mannum bediglod.
nære seo gastlice getacnung[.]¹⁸

And Ælfric expands in a reinforcement of this interpretation that 'Ne scolde we for þi synderlice on anum lime beo ymsnidene; ac we sceolon ða fulan galnysse symle wanian'.¹⁹ The 'we' here notionally indicates that spiritual circumcision is meant to apply to all members of the gathered faithful,²⁰ but the particular focus and physical analogy of the text here is distinctly male, and the maleness of the

explication is stressed by Ælfric's references to the foreskin and the penis. The 'we' of Ælfric's position in relation to his audience can thus only be read as referring specifically to men.

This suppression of female subjectivity and experience manifests itself in different ways throughout the *Catholic Homilies*. In *letania maiore*, for instance, contains a lengthy discussion on the worthlessness of earthly prosperity, and the need for charity.²¹ Ælfric admonishes his audience:

Se ðe god beon wyle. clypige to ðam þe æfre is gód. þæt he
hine godne gewyrce; Se man hæfð gold. þæt is gód be his
mæðe. he hæfð land and welan þa sind góde; Ac ne bið se
man gód þurh þas þing.²²

This and the succeeding exposition seems to apply to all Christian people, in spite of the use of 'he' and 'man', and in spite of a common association of land and wealth with men in this period.²³ Ælfric subsequently, however, introduces another exemplum: 'Gif rice wif. and earm acennað togædere. gangon hi aweig. nast ðu hwæðer bið. þæs rican wifes cild. hwæðer þæs earman'.²⁴ The use of this example, based on an Augustinian sermon,²⁵ indicates Ælfric's recognition of the role of women in child-bearing on the one hand, but his separation of them here indicates that they may not be explicitly included in the previous discussion of 'se man'.

Such potential exclusion within seemingly gender-neutral language occurs among Ælfric's catalogues of the Christian faith's greatest exponents too, and this despite his own sporadic depiction of holy women. Ælfric depicts pious women when they appear in his scriptural sources. For example, in his homily on St Peter, Ælfric provides a slightly abbreviated account of Acts 12. 12-16, in which Peter is miraculously released from prison, returns to his companions, and is greeted by Rhode, 'sum mæden þæs geleaffullan weredes'.²⁶ Similarly, in the same homily, narrating the role of the faithful and devoted woman in scriptural accounts, Ælfric relates the miracle of Christ when he healed a woman with a long-term haemorrhage. As Godden comments, Ælfric adds a line here to his scriptural source to emphasise that 'þæt wif hine hrepode synderlice mid geleafan'.²⁷ Yet, in comparison with the two scriptural sources (Mark 5. 25-34 and Luke 8. 43-48), Ælfric silences the woman with his use of reported speech ('Heo [. . .] feol bifigende to ðæs hælendes foton. and sæde ætforan eallum ðam folce hwi heo hine hrepode'),²⁸ when in the two gospel accounts she speaks directly to

Christ. The direct speech in this narrative belongs to Christ and Peter alone enhancing the male performance here.

The subtle silencing of women is apparent, then, from the way in which Ælfric manipulates his sources, and from the use of inclusive terms, either masculine but supposedly generic, such as 'he' or 'se man', or gender-neutral, like 'Cristes gelapung', Christ's church. In relation to the former, Ælfric's occasional indexes of those who represent the epitome of Christian behaviour demonstrate a gender imbalance, arguably typical of all institutionalised religions. In his homily on St Peter, in which scriptural women are accorded a presence, Ælfric lists those who will join Christ:

Witodlice cristes ðenas þæt sind Apostolas. and martyras.
andeteras. and halige fæmnan becomon to heofenan rice.
swa swa he sylf cwæð. and ealle ða þe ðurh clænre
drohtnunge and góðum geearnungum Criste ðeniað.
becumað untwylice to his rice.²⁹

In this hierarchical categorisation, the ostensibly non-gender marked language of 'martyrs' and confessors cannot be said to apply to women, who instead form a separate group at the end of the list.³⁰ This list occurs again in the *Excusatio dictantis* in the context of Ælfric's plan for completing the *Catholic Homilies*:

Ne durre we ðas bók na miccle swiðor gelengan. ði læs ðe
heo úngemetegod sy. and mannum æðryt þurh hire
micelnysse astyrige; We willað swa ðeah gýt. ane feawe
cwyras on ðissere bec geendebyrdian. gemænelice be
apostolum. and martirum. andeterum. and halgum fæmnum
þam hælende to lofe.³¹

Within this ranked list, despite their identical status with men within God's congregation, women are clearly not included within the first three groups of venerated figures; they form a specifically and explicitly gender-marked group of lesser stature in the order, and it is this appropriate order that Ælfric states is his guiding principle. In fact, the four major texts that follow *Excusatio Dictantis* are *In natale unius apostoli*, *In natale plurimorum apostolorum*, *In natale Sanctorum martirum*, *In natale unius confessoris*, and *In natale sanctarum virginum*.³² Ælfric thus follows his established hierarchy as he completes the second series of

Catholic Homilies, and very clearly intends the 'holy women' of his brief catalogue to equate with 'the holy virgins' of the penultimate homily in the collection, rather narrowing the definition of what 'holy woman' actually denotes in Ælfric's eyes.

In turning to the only text that appears from Ælfric's own categorisation to be concerned with holy women, *In natale sanctarum virginum*,³³ it is perhaps no surprise to find that Ælfric's rubric and gospel reading, the parable of the ten virgins from Matthew 25. 1-13, are somewhat misleading, as Godden points out.³⁴ The homily is not actually about virgins, but about the church comprised of 'werhádes and wifhádes' ('men and women'), and who can be metaphorically understood as the ten virgins:³⁵

Deos andwerde gelaðung þe underfehð yfele and góde. is
wiðmeten ðam tyn mædenum. ðæra wæron fif stunte. and fif
snotere³⁶

In this extended explication:

Ælc ðæra manna ðe hine forhæfð fram unalyfedlicere
gesihðe. fram unalyfedlicere heorcunge. fram
unalyfedlicum swæcce. fram unalyfedlicum stence. fram
unalyfedlicere hrepunge. se hæfð mædenes naman. for ðære
anwalhnyse.³⁷

Here, there can be little doubt that Ælfric intends 'man' to be all-encompassing, both in terms of obedient Christians' abilities to deny illicit sensual activities, and in terms of their ability to be known as virgins. Here, then, in contradistinction to the exclusion of women, Ælfric overtly includes them, but also shows that men are equal participants in the purity that seemed to be the only attribute assignable to a woman. Countering the narrow definition that he gave of 'holy women' as 'holy virgin', Ælfric demonstrates man's place in the virginal grade; whereas women can be denied a part in the hierarchy of apostles, martyrs and confessors, men cannot be denied a share in any means of salvation.

The difference between the sexes' endeavours for salvation is evinced in another of the general homilies, *In natale Sanctorum martirum*. Although Ælfric attended to some of the early Christian martyrs individually in his *Lives of Saints* collection, this homily focuses instead on the virtue of exhibiting patience through

suffering; that is, principally on 'digela martyrdom' (secret martyrdom).³⁸ Ælfric first mentions briefly the apostle John as the exemplar of secret suffering. He then dwells on two Gregorian exempla: the first about a certain Stephen, who bore life's hardships with patience while dwelling in contemplation within a monastery; and the second, about a religious woman, Romula, whose story is told in the homily's closing paragraphs. Romula is described as 'swiðe geðyldig and þearle gehyrsum, singal on gebedum, and swigan lufode',³⁹ while her textual predecessor, Stephen, 'forlét ealle woruldðing. and forfleah manna gehlȳd. beeode his gebedu on sumum mynstre drohtniende'.⁴⁰ In addition to the contemplatives' usual patience and devotion to prayer, it is Romula's obedience that marks her out here: characteristics Ælfric presumably wanted all those wishing to embark on secret martyrdom to emulate, and particularly, one might argue, religious women.⁴¹ Romula's patient endurance of her pain and incapacity caused by palsy is rewarded by her soul's journey to heaven in the company of angels, alluding to the virgin's ascent to her bridegroom, guarded by the angelic host.⁴²

The key aspects of this exemplum, unlike the Gregorian source, are the holy woman's silence, obedience, physical suffering and patience,⁴³ and are, indeed, the traits that Ælfric, in his *Catholic Homilies*, seems to find praiseworthy in women. This may suggest his adherence to, and deliberate perpetuation of, age-old stereotypes and myths about women's licentiousness, garrulousness, and inconstancy. In his account of St Benedict derived from Gregory's *Dialogues*, Book II,⁴⁴ for example, Ælfric tells the story of two religious women who are threatened with excommunication by the saint because of their refusal to cease using slanderous words.⁴⁵ While for the most part, Ælfric remains close to his source, he stresses the women's verbal waywardness. In Gregory's account, Benedict threatens the women with the possibility of excommunication, narrated through indirect speech and reported to the women by their maligned servant; Ælfric has Benedict send a harsher, more direct, warning, saying 'Gerihltæcað eowere tungan. gif ge ne dóð. Ic eow amánsuimige'.⁴⁶ The women die suddenly after this warning, and are buried in their parish church. However, during Mass, the bodies of the women rise up and leave the church when the deacon asks those who are non-communicant to retire. Benedict subsequently restores the communicative status of the deceased women by sending a eucharistic wafer for the celebration of a mass for the women. This results, in Gregory's account, in their posthumous readmission into Christ's communion, a consequence that seems to imply acceptance into heaven for the women. In Ælfric's account, the religious women are never again seen to emerge from their graves (with no comment on

their salvation or otherwise), and the cause of this incident 'for heora stuntum wordum' is repeated and reinforced.⁴⁷

While these two religious women clearly behave in aberrant ways, as in his account of Romula, Ælfric also provides positive models of holy behaviour. In his homily on the Purification of Mary, for instance, Ælfric describes how Anna did not love luxuries, did not indulge in idle discourse, and did not wander about the land:

Deos áнна þe we embe sprecað. ne lufode heo na estmettas.
ac lufode fæstenu; Ne lufode heo idele spellunge. Ac beeode
hyre gebedu. Ne ferde heo worigende geond land. Ac wæs
wuniende gepyldelice binnan godes temple. Gif wife
getimie. þæt heo hyre wer forleose þonne nime heo bisne be
þisre wudewan;⁴⁸

The antitheses of the pairs of behaviour makes the comparison between Anna and other hypothetical widows very insistent, the negative coming first in the pair suggesting that there may be other widows who participate precisely in the condemned activities of over-indulgence at mealtimes, gossiping or chattering, and wandering by the way.⁴⁹ In almost all cases, then, from widows to holy women, virgins to married women, Ælfric either implicitly condemns his imagined audience of contemporary Anglo-Saxon women, or effectively disinvests his texts of explicit relevance for them. From the *Catholic Homilies* alone, however, it is perhaps too easy to overstate the potential negativity of Ælfric's depiction of women. One can note that women barely register as individuals worthy of direct address in the formal context of this author's homiletic framework, and that Ælfric often has in mind stereotypical characteristics as if his first-hand knowledge of women were limited.⁵⁰ Thus it is that for more sustained depictions of women and positive models of pious female behaviour, one must attend to Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, written, as is well documented, for aristocratic male patrons.⁵¹

While the female virgin martyrs, such as Agnes, Lucy, and Cecilia, and the lone female confessor, Æthelthryth, are obvious candidates for scholarly scrutiny, other female characters in the *Lives of Saints* are only now beginning to receive detailed attention.⁵² Among those worth mentioning is the sole female recipient of a miracle in the Old English Life of St Swithun.⁵³ This woman, a servant, due to be flogged for a minor offence, prays arduously through the night for help from Swithun. As lauds is being sung in Winchester New Minster, her feet are freed

from their fetters, and she runs to the minster to thank the saint. Her lord subsequently frees her in honour of Swithun's mediation.⁵⁴ This particular episode seems designed not to demonstrate the intercessory powers of the saint *per se*, but his meaningful intervention in this miscarriage of justice. That the recipient of the miracle is female appears to be of little significance, at least, until the sources available to Ælfric are examined, and the fuller story revealed. As Lapidge outlines, there are two major Latin texts from which Ælfric drew his Life: the *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 975, composed by the monk Lantfred, who had been assisting Æthelwold in implementing the reforms in Winchester, and who thus might be considered both an architect and product of the Benedictine Reform itself;⁵⁵ and the *Epitome Translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni*, an abbreviated version of Lantfred.⁵⁶ In his meticulous analysis, Lapidge has made a very strong case for regarding the author of the *Epitome* as Ælfric himself.⁵⁷

It is, however, the Old English version that is of greatest relevance here. In this subsequent, expanded vernacular account, written for Æthelweard and Æthelmær, Ælfric emphasises those miracles and events that seem directly relevant to his envisaged audience. He omits all of Lantfred's events that take place outside the local area of Winchester and Hampshire, for example; and, remarkably, expunges all of the miracles involving women recipients or participants, with the exception of the 'token' one involving the freed female servant, which is a shorter account even so, deliberately refocused to emphasise Swithun's power.⁵⁸ Ten chapters of Lantfred's forty concern women,⁵⁹ and others concern both men and women.⁶⁰ Blind women are healed because they are deemed 'worthy',⁶¹ and an unwell woman, who does not give sufficient thanks (or gifts to Swithun's shrine) for her healing, sickens again and is cured a second time.⁶² In Lantfred, a woman recipient of a vision of Swithun is told by him to report to Æthelwold the negligence of the New Minster monks who have not been assiduous in their praise of the saint on his performance of a miracle. In Ælfric, this female visionary becomes a man – an interesting refusal by Ælfric, perhaps, to countenance the propriety of a visit by a woman to bishop Æthelwold.⁶³

Ælfric also excises miracles performed by the saint on two French women, and ignores the miracle of the fettered slave-woman miraculously transported into the shrine of the saint.⁶⁴ Such omissions might be attributed to Ælfric's preference to emphasise for his patrons only local events that are relevant and uncontentious or non-sensational, as with the case of the cutting of the 'invisibly transported' woman. This cannot, however, explain the virtual writing out of women, both as subjects of the saint's miraculous powers, and as actors in remarkable events that

allegedly take place within the actual lifetimes of the writers, Lantfred and Ælfric. While Ælfric always seems so determined to be true to his authoritative sources in his homilies,⁶⁵ he makes very profound alterations to this particular saint's life, suggesting he is quite capable of treating his sources, if they are not revered patristic authors, with considerable freedom. Unlike Lantfred or Wulfstan the Cantor, Ælfric thus seems quite unable to envisage a role for women in Reform-era Winchester, in a manner that clearly marks him out as untypical of his milieu, and certainly in comparison with these other, contemporary writers influenced by Æthelwold and working at Winchester. The consequence of Ælfric's re-shaping of Lantfred's text is a sealed work, closed off to women, and precluding them from any real share in the merits of Swithun and any genuine sense of equal participation in the text. Ælfric's concerns to reinforce a specifically male setting for a specifically male audience are foregrounded above all else in this particular Life.⁶⁶

This masculine perspective provided for a declared audience of male patrons problematises any construction of Ælfric's 'mixed' audience, real or imagined. Women seem to have had little place in Ælfric's scheme of salvation or revelation of divine favour through miraculous events. This certainly appears to be the case for contemporary women,⁶⁷ upon whom Ælfric gazed unfavourably from a very long (and very safe?) distance. If women had access to the *Lives of Saints* or the *Catholic Homilies* much of the discourse will have been alienating or even irrelevant, and one can but wonder, then, if women were genuinely intended by Ælfric to hear his message at all, or if lip service was the only courtesy he was willing to pay them.

By a number of different methods, therefore, Ælfric assembles audiences for his *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* that he can only conceive of as male; female subjects are not within his purview, and are not meant to be within ours, subsumed as they are beneath the gazed-upon male of this exegetical and spiritual discourse.⁶⁸ Moreover, no matter how easy it is to dismiss stylistic aspects of Ælfric's writing as 'non-gender specific' or to contextualize him sympathetically within his Christian and patriarchal milieu, there can be little doubt that, for much of the time, he silently wrote women out of the shared Christian experience. Even in the post-Benedictine Reform period, exceptional as Ælfric was in every aspect of his thought and work, his agenda was not one that engaged fully or convincingly with the broad lay audience envisaged by so many modern critics. Only close analysis of his writing can provide a more nuanced

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account of his intentions, and prevent modern scholarship from constructing Ælfric's audience as imaginatively as he himself did.

NOTES

¹ *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. by Jonathan Wilcox, Durham Medieval Texts, 9 (Durham: Durham University Press, 1994), pp. 20-21 (p. 21). See his similar description, with references to others' research too, in the more recent 'Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care', in *Pastoral Care in the Late Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), pp. 52-62. It is a pleasure to dedicate this piece to Joyce Hill with love and thanks. She is an exceptionally important role model for British women in the field of Anglo-Saxon Studies, and is, moreover, a stalwart ally and friend.

² *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 206-12, *In letania maiore, feria iiii*, p. 211, l. 180 and p. 212, ll. 191-94. For a brief discussion and sources, see Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 545-48. All translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

³ See, for example, E. Gordon Whatley's perceptive discussion of Ælfric's concerns for his audience, in his "'Pearls before Swine": Ælfric, Vernacular Hagiography, and the Lay Reader', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall, Thomas D. Hill, and Charles D. Wright, Medieval European Studies, 1 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 158-84, where, at p. 173, he states 'The two series of *Catholic Homilies*, which were sent to Canterbury for redistribution, were intended for preaching on major feast days to mixed congregations of lay people around the country'.

⁴ 'Man(n)' and its variants are ubiquitous in the *Catholic Homilies*. Many homilies begin with 'Men ða leofostan' (*CH* II, 15, 18 and 20, for example; and as do some of the Vercelli Homilies and Blickling Homilies too) and contain repeated references to 'man', 'he', 'his', 'him'. Mary Swan shows in numerous papers (such as 'Performing Gender and Identity in Ælfric's Preaching Texts', and 'Performing Christian Identity in Old English Preaching') and in her forthcoming book, *Making Ælfric's Audience*, that Ælfric is quite deliberate in his 'rhetorical positioning' *vis-à-vis* his perceived audience and that he constructs through these apparent non-gender specific addressees a more masculinist and monastic agenda than one might at first think. I am deeply grateful to Dr Swan for the allowing me to see her work in progress, and for our frequent discussions on this and other topics.

⁵ Neither supposition can be wholly supported by the extant evidence: manuscripts produced between c. 1000 and c. 1200 that incorporate Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* often differ significantly from one another in their overall contents and contexts of production, though all that can be localised belong to a monastic or secular cathedral, with the exception of Ælfric's

own manuscripts; furthermore, a 'mixed' or 'lay' audience will have varied considerably over a period of two hundred years depending on regional pastoral provision and the actual consequences of two conquests, if nothing else.

⁶ Mary Swan discusses this briefly in her paper, 'Performing Gender and Identity in Ælfric's Preaching Texts', given at the 2003 International Society of Anglo-Saxonists conference in Scottsdale, Arizona.

⁷ CH II, 24, p. 222, ll. 48-49: 'To you unlearned men this simple account may be edification'.

⁸ CH II, 23, p. 217, ll. 117-18: 'No man should ignore God's voice and his preparation unless he excuse himself now'.

⁹ On the early modern history of the non-gender marked 'he', see Ann Bodine, 'Androcentrism in prescriptive grammar: singular "they", sex-indefinite "he", and "he or she"', *Language and Society*, 4 (1975), 129-46 (repr. in *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader*, ed. by Deborah Cameron (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 166-86). One should also note the frequent use of 'brother(s)', 'brotherhood', and 'brotherly' in the *Catholic Homilies*. This too, it can be supposed, is meant as gender-neutral, as in 'brethren', but 'sisterly' or 'sisters' would clearly not be equipollent.

¹⁰ To corroborate this, all anyone need do is substitute 'person' or 'people' every time 'man' and its variants appear. It becomes evident on numerous occasions that gender-neutral language is not implied in the Old English.

¹¹ CH II, 26, pp. 238-39, ll. 110-11; 120-23: 'Man, you will have good, you will have the health of your body [. . .] Truly, you will not have evil things among your possessions: you will not have an evil wife, or an evil child, or an evil servant, or horrible clothing, or, moreover, horrible shoes, and will even then have an evil life'.

¹² Godden, *Commentary*, p. 574. This passage is derived from Augustine's Sermon 72, § 5, *Patrologia Latina*, 38, 468-69. 'You will certainly have the health of your body. Indeed, what will you have that is bad among your possessions? Tell me. Nothing at all; not a wife, nor a son, nor a daughter, nor a servant, nor a serving girl, nor a house, nor a tunic, nor finally a shoe: and nevertheless you will have an evil life'.

¹³ As if Ælfric were saying, 'Look, you don't even have an evil wife, or an evil child, etc. and yet you're still leading an evil life'.

¹⁴ CH II, 37, pp. 314, ll. 128-29: 'It is a greater victory that a man control himself within through patience than conquer towns without'.

¹⁵ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (London: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 224-31, homily 6.

¹⁶ In CH II, 4, pp. 38-39, ll. 281-93, Christ's circumcision is interpreted as pointing to 'gemænelicum æriste on ðissere worulde geendunge. on ðære bið seo galnys forðwyr. and on ðære ablinð ælc hæmed', 'the general resurrection at the ending of this world, where lust will be

destroyed and all sexual activity will cease.' As Godden, *Commentary*, p. 379, proposes, Ælfric's reference to lust and sexual acts here 'presumably expands Bede's *mortalis propago cessabit*', but the implicit link made between circumcision and the cessation of lust here echoes the direct symbolism of spiritual circumcision and chastity in *CH I*, 6. In other words, for Ælfric, any reference to the body, but particularly to the sexual members, is cause for admonitory comment.

¹⁷ See Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 49-50 for the free handling of this part of the homily, which takes scriptural and patristic commentary on circumcision in a different, more gender-marked, direction. Compare, for example, Philippians 3. 3: 'For we are the circumcision, who in spirit serve God and glory in Christ Jesus, not having confidence in the flesh.' But one might compare also Ambrose's Letter 72 to Constantius, § 20 on the Christian's spiritual circumcision: *The Letters of Saint Ambrose, Bishop of Milan*, rev. by H. Walford (Oxford: 1881), pp. 423-32, available online at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ambrose_letters_08_letters71_80.htm#Letter72.

¹⁸ *CH I*, 6, p. 226, ll. 81-84: 'no man is truly Christian unless he maintain circumcision in his spiritual way of life. What does the cutting-off of the foreskin from the penis signify unless it is the diminishing of lust? This discourse might easily be hidden from the uneducated man were it not for its spiritual symbolism'.

¹⁹ *CH I*, 6, p. 227, ll. 102-03: 'We should not, therefore, be circumcised in one member separately, but should always repress that disgusting lust'. Ælfric is following Haymo here. See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 50.

²⁰ As is the case in Colossians 2. 11-12, for example.

²¹ *CH I*, 18, pp. 317-24 (p. 323).

²² *CH I*, 18, p. 323, ll. 165-66: 'He who wishes to be good should call to him who is forever good, so that he will make him good. A man has gold which is good of its kind; he has land and wealth which are good; but no man can be good through these things'.

²³ It does seem, however, that women could bequeath land in this period. See, for example, Ann Williams, 'Land Tenure', in Michael Lapidge and others, eds, *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 277-78.

²⁴ *CH I*, 18, p. 324, ll. 190-91: 'If a rich woman and a poor one give birth together and then go away, you will not know which is the rich woman's child and which the poor one's'.

²⁵ See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 153.

²⁶ 'a certain maiden of that faithful company'. See *CH II*, 24, p. 222, ll. 26-30.

²⁷ 'That woman alone touched him [Jesus] with faith.' See *CH II* 24, p. 228, l. 243; and Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 558 and 564.

²⁸ *CH II*, 24, pp. 228-29, ll. 244-46: 'She fell trembling to the Saviour's feet, and said in front of all the people why she had touched him'.

²⁹ CH II, 24, p. 225, ll. 119-23: 'Truly Christ's servants, that is the apostles and martyrs, confessors and holy women, will come to the heavenly kingdom just as he himself said, and all those who serve Christ by chaste living and good merits will certainly come to his kingdom'.

³⁰ While 'apostolas' itself is non-gender specific, this group obviously pertains to the male disciples of Christ.

³¹ CH II, 34, pp. 297-98, ll. 2-7: 'We do not dare to lengthen this book more in case it becomes excessive and cause tedium to men through its great size. Even so, we will yet arrange in order a few narratives in this book about the apostles and martyrs, confessors and holy women generally, to praise the saviour'. On the distinctions made between women and men, chiefly by male authors in the twelfth century, see Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 19-28. She notes at p. 28 that men are described by their profession (of apostle, confessor, martyr, monk, bishop, etc.) while 'holy women formed a class unto themselves'.

³² CH II, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 respectively. These are followed by the final homily for the dedication of a church.

³³ CH II, 39, pp. 327-34.

³⁴ Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 654-66. Notably, as Godden comments at p. 655, 'Although the rubric, and indeed the earlier note headed *Excusatio Dictantis*, assign the homily to the feast-day of holy virgins, Ælfric follows the patristic tradition in applying the text to all the faithful, not just women in religious orders, and the avowed subject of the homily is not mentioned again after the rubric'.

³⁵ CH II, 39, 40. One might note that Godden seems to anticipate an expectation that a homily on virgins would be for 'just women in religious orders' (*Commentary*, p. 655).

³⁶ CH II, 39, p. 328, ll. 32-34: 'This present church which takes in the evil and the good is compared with the ten virgins, of whom five were foolish and five were wise'.

³⁷ CH II, 39, p. 328, ll. 40-44: 'Each one of those men who refrain from forbidden sight, from forbidden listening, from forbidden taste, from forbidden smell, from forbidden touch, has the name of virgin for that purity'. This is based on Augustine, *Sermon* 93. See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 656.

³⁸ Ælfric makes a clear distinction between types of martyrdom: 'Twa cynn sind martirdomes. An dearnunge. oðer earwunge' [There are two kinds of martyrdom: one is secretly, the other openly], CH II, 37, pp. 314, l. 132.

³⁹ CH II, 37, p. 316, ll. 177-78: 'very patient and very obedient, constant in prayer, and she loved silence'.

⁴⁰ CH II, 37, p. 315, ll. 165-66: 'abandoned all worldly things, fled from men's noise, devoted himself to his prayers, living in a certain monastery'.

⁴¹ CH II, 37, pp. 316. Godden, *Commentary*, p. 646, gives Gregory's Homily 40 as the source for this abridged narrative of Romula, but it seems equally possible to me that Gregory's *Dialogues*, Book 4, chapter 16 influenced Ælfric here. Either way, Gregory's account, which emphasises the joyful and painless death of the sainted, followed by their musical journey to heaven, is somewhat decontextualised by Ælfric here, with its emphasis on patience and suffering in this life rather than the glories that usher in the next.

⁴² Thus, even though there is no actual reference to virginity as an essential component of Romula's life and salvation, it seems to form a crucial sub-text in this narrative.

⁴³ This is made clear by Ælfric's final paragraph following immediately upon the reception of Romula's soul into heaven. In his conclusion (CH II, 37, pp. 316-17, ll. 202-04), Ælfric states that 'Se ælmihtiga god beswingð and ðreað þa ðe he lufað. þæt hī ðurh ða hwilendlican geswencednyse wuldorfulle becomon to ðam ecan life', 'The almighty God chastises and corrects those whom he loves so that they will come gloriously to eternal life through temporary affliction'.

⁴⁴ Godden, *Commentary*, p. 429.

⁴⁵ CH II, 11, page 102, ll. 334-61. On these two women, see also Mary Swan's forthcoming book, *Making Ælfric's Audience*.

⁴⁶ CH II, 11, p. 102, ll. 341-42: 'Correct your tongues. If you do not, I will excommunicate you'. In Gregory's account, the fact that Benedict only threatened the women with excommunication is repeated.

⁴⁷ CH II, 11, p. 102, l. 360: 'because of their foolish words'. One might also note that in Gregory's account the women's 'old nurse who regularly made an offering for them' is the eyewitness of the dead women's self-removal from the Mass. In Ælfric's version, the nurse is excised; instead, the women emerge from their graves 'on manna gesihðum' [in the sight of the men/people].

⁴⁸ CH I, 9, p. 255, ll. 193-97: 'This Anna about whom we speak did not love rich food, but loved fasts. She did not love idle chatter, but she devoted herself to her prayers. She did not go wandering through the land, but was living patiently inside God's temple. If it should happen to a woman that she lose her husband, then she should take her example from this widow'. See Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 75-76 for the source – Haymo's Homily 13 – where the list of negative actions precedes the list of positive attributes. On Ælfric's depiction of widows, see Catherine Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), 1-32, who, in an extensive survey, concludes that Ælfric wrote chiefly for a male audience, demonstrating a suspicion of women throughout his homiletic and hagiographic works. See also Clare Lees, *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Medieval Cultures, 19 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), esp. Chapter 5; and Mary Swan's work cited above in note 4.

The Invisible Woman: Ælfric and his Subject Female

⁴⁹ The wandering by the way and gossiping, of course, foreshadows the epitome of a secular widow – the Wife of Bath in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

⁵⁰ As one might expect, indeed, from a man who had been within a monastic environment since a child.

⁵¹ *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London: Oxford University Press, 1889-1900; repr. as 2 vols, 1966). For recent discussions of female saints' lives, see Leslie A. Donovan, *Women Saints' Lives in Old English Prose*, Library of Medieval Women (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999); and Paul E. Szarmach's intriguing 'Ælfric and the Problem of Women', in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson, King's College London Medieval Studies, 17 (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000), pp. 571-90. It is worth noting that Claire Watson, in her recent PhD, 'The Authority of Saints and their Makers in Old English Hagiography' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2004), pp. 100-61, demonstrates very convincingly that 'the virgins Ælfric selects for his writing are all relatively vulnerable figures, and generally inferior to male saints in their performance of miracles' (pp. 160-61).

⁵² In the forthcoming work of Robert Upchurch, for example: *Ælfric of Eynsham's Lives of the Virgin Spouses* (Exeter: Exeter University Press), and 'The Legend of Chrysanthus and Daria in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*', *Studies in Philology*, 101 (2004), 250-69.

⁵³ Ed. by Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, as number xxi; also edited by G. I. Needham, *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1966; rev. edn 1976), pp. 60-81. Most recently edited and discussed together with other major Latin and English versions in Michael Lapidge's immense *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies, The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester, 4.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003). It is this latter edition to which I shall refer. I have recently written more extensively on St Swithun in 'Ælfric's Account of St Swithun: Literature of Reform and Reward', in *History and Narrative in Early Medieval Literature*, ed. by Ross Balzaretti and Elizabeth Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 167-88.

⁵⁴ Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, ch. 12, pp. 596-97, based on Lantfred, ch. 6.

⁵⁵ Edited by Lapidge, in *Cult of St Swithun* at pp. 217-334.

⁵⁶ See *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 217-610.

⁵⁷ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 553-57.

⁵⁸ Compare Ælfric's account with Lantfred's in *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 596-97 and 288-91 respectively.

⁵⁹ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 217-334, chapters 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 20, 21, 32, 33, 38.

⁶⁰ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 217-334, chapters 12, 14, 19, 22, 23, for example.

⁶¹ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 289, 291

⁶² *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 293

⁶³ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 293-97 and pp. 599-601.

⁶⁴ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 320-23 and 302-05, respectively.

⁶⁵ So extensively analysed by Joyce Hill, of course. See for example, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), pp. 203-47; 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford: Watkins, 1992), pp. 103-17; and 'Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79 (1997), pp. 43-65.

⁶⁶ This is similar to the conclusion at which Cubitt arrives in her 'Virginity and Misogyny'.

⁶⁷ With the exception of Æthelthryth, Ælfric dwells upon few obvious contemporary or recent female figures.

⁶⁸ That is, Ælfric directs his gaze to the male, not to a 'mixed' congregation.

Hagiographical Imagery of Light and Ælfric's 'Passion of St Dionysius'

Hugh Magennis

In portraying the transcendence of the saint an important recurring image used in Old English saints' lives, as in hagiographical tradition generally, is that of light. Anglo-Saxon hagiographers inherited the idea of light as a central Christian symbol, a deeply traditional metaphor, expressing the divine nature and, in its dynamic aspect of illumination, the manifestation of that divine nature in the world. It was an image of glory, knowledge and transformation. Light was associated with creation, heaven and the divine; with Christ, redemption and Christianity; and with conversion and repentance. Reference to light and to the darkness it dispels is ubiquitous in the Bible, and the symbolism of light came to be thoughtfully developed and explored in patristic thought and in Christian liturgy, iconography and literature. Light had also featured significantly in the pre-Christian religions and philosophies of the Mediterranean, many of the former of which included sun-worship, and it has been shown that aspects of such traditions were incorporated into Christianity.¹ In the Christian view, however, light was seen as not being of this world – certainly not of this fallen world – which was a world of darkness, but rather from outside, its only source being divine.² Anglo-Saxon hagiographers were probably aware of different, world-affirming, traditions of the symbolism of light, but they are generally careful not to introduce such ideas into their writings. As I discuss elsewhere, however, such ideas do appear in Old English and related literature, forming an important contrast with what we find in the work of religious writers, including hagiographers.³

Light is associated with saints because of their special relationship to the glory of the divine, to the knowledge that came with Christ and redemption, and to the transformation of conversion and repentance; they experience light and they are figures of light. Vernacular hagiographers are usually closely following

Latin sources but also, particularly in the case of poetry, can develop the imagery in creative ways. In the present discussion there is room to concentrate only on Old English prose hagiography, but verse presents an obvious area for further study. Among prose hagiographers, Ælfric of Eynsham, the most prolific of them, provides a useful focus of attention. In many ways Ælfric's use of light imagery is representative of the wider hagiographical tradition, in which images of light are frequently drawn upon, but in one work, his 'Passion of St Dionysius and his Companions', in the collection *Lives of Saints*, it is evident that this imagery plays a particularly important role and, in my view, a very interesting one.⁴

In hagiography heavenly light is described as shining upon the saints, and when Christ's messengers appear to saints they are suffused with light or carrying light; similarly, in epiphanic scenes saints themselves are described as radiant and shining with light, in accordance with the words of Jesus in the gospel, 'I am the light of the world; anyone who follows me will not be walking in the dark; he will have the light of life' (John 8. 12). Thus, to give examples of episodes from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, Christ himself appears to St Eugenia in her dark prison 'with a heavenly light' ('mid heofonlicum leohte', 'St Eugenia', l. 403), 'illuminating' (*on-lihte*, l. 405) the prison and bringing sustenance to her;⁵ the grey-haired physician who comes to heal St Agatha in her prison-cell, who announces himself to be the apostle of the Saviour, carries a *leohtfæt*, 'lantern', in his hands ('St Agatha', l. 133),⁶ and after her mutilated breast has been healed a great light shines in the prison (l. 147); similarly, a light shines in prison in the 'Passion of St Julian and Basilissa' (l. 213); in the 'Passion of St Sebastian' a light, accompanied by an angel, shines on the saint after his preaching to a group of afflicted Christians (ll. 87-88).⁷ In 'St Oswald' the sanctity of Oswald is demonstrated after his death when a heavenly light, 'swilce healic sunnbeam', 'like a lofty sunbeam' (l. 184), shines up to heaven from his remains;⁸ in an episode in 'St Martin' (omitted in Ælfric's earlier account of the same saint in the second series of *Catholic Homilies*)⁹ a wicked monk even manages by his 'devilish art' ('mid feond-licum cræfte', l. 823) to bring it about that his cell is filled with light and his own clothes are shining, but his sorcery is instantly found out by the holy Martin (ll. 809-29). The non-Ælfrician items included in the *Lives of Saints* manuscript also offer instances of similar images: in the 'Passion of St Eustace and his Companions', the likeness of the cross appears to Eustace between the horns of a stag, accompanied by the image of Christ, the cross being 'brighter than the sun's beam' (ll. 43-44);¹⁰ in the 'Legend of the Seven Sleepers' (also in the *Lives of Saints* manuscript) in their transfigured state the faces of the seven saints

shine like the radiantly bright sun: 'eall heora nebwilte ongann to scinenne swilce seo þurhbeorhte sunne' (ll. 753-54) (recalling the Transfiguration of Jesus, in which his face was 'shining like the sun', Matthew 17. 2).¹¹ The Old English 'Legend' announces itself as being about 'þæra eadigra seofon slæpera ðrowung, ðara haligra naman scinað on heofon, lihtað eac on eorðan beorhte mid Cristenum mannum' (ll. 1-3) [the passion of the seven blessed sleepers, whose holy names shine in heaven and brightly give light also on earth to Christian men].¹²

As well as shining with light, saints also spread the light, following Christ in bringing enlightenment to the world through their missionary and pastoral work and through the inspiration provided by their lives; in the words of Jesus to the apostles, they are 'the light of the world' (Matthew 5. 14). The teaching of Ælfric's St Sebastian drives away unbelief,

swa swa dægred to-dræfð þa dimlican þystra .

And manna eagan onlyht þe blinde wæron on niht .

('Passion of St Sebastian', ll. 108-09)

[just as the dawn drives away the dim dusk and enlightens
men's eyes that were blind in the night.]

In the same passion Polycarp asserts that Christ can enlighten ignorance through his mercy ('þurh his miltsunge onlihtan', l. 200), while Chrysanthus in the 'Passion of Saint Chrysanthus and his Wife Daria' speaks of the light of truth as revealed in the holy gospels and of not turning to darkness from the true light ('to þeostrum fram þam soðan leohte', l. 20). The enemies of saints, on the other hand, are spiritually blind, like the suitor of St Agnes, whom Ælfric describes as 'wið-innan ablend' (inwardly blinded), and the 'ablenda' emperor in 'St George' (l. 128).¹³ The miracle of healing the blind, which is granted to some saints, associates them with Christ, the spiritual significance of whose healing of the blind man in the gospels was carefully explained by exegetes in terms of spiritual enlightenment. Examples of the healing of blind people occur in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* in the 'Passion of Saints Julian and Basilissa' (ll. 172-74), 'St Maur' (l. 97),¹⁴ 'Passion of St Dionysius and his Companions' (ll. 51-58) and 'St Martin' (ll. 585-91).

In line with the imperative of *imitatio Christi*, the use of light imagery in hagiography generally ties in with the idea of saints as perfected in themselves and transformative of others, providing the light that others need; saints participate in the light, and light is a sign of their sanctity. With a few exceptions, such as Cyriacus in the Old English poem *Elene* and Mary of Egypt, they are not

shown themselves as coming to see the light: the *leoht* that Cyriacus ignored before his baptism is mentioned in *Elene* (l. 1044), however;¹⁵ afterwards he himself can call forth a miracle of light, revealing the hiding place of the holy nails by means of a flame 'brighter than the sun' ('sunnan beorhtra', l. 1109). And Mary of Egypt in her time of temptation in the desert is comforted in her distress by the appearance of 'a light shining everywhere about me' ('leoht gehwanon me ymbutan scinende', Old English version, ll. 639-40); after her death her own body shines like the sun (ll. 883-84).¹⁶ Other saints are bringers rather than receivers of light.

Although Ælfric, like other writers, makes widespread use of light imagery in episodes throughout his saints' lives, there is, as mentioned above, one life by him in which light plays a particularly prominent role. This is his 'Passion of St Dionysius and his Companions' in *Lives of Saints*, a version that closely – though with considerable abbreviation – follows the highly influential *Passio Sanctissimi Dionysii* by the Frankish scholar and ecclesiastical leader Hilduin of Saint-Denis, BHL 2175 (*Incipit* 'Post beatam ac salutiferam').¹⁷ Hilduin's *passio* of Dionysius, the revered patron of his monastery, has been dated 835-40, and Ælfric would have read it in a version of the 'Cotton-Corpus legendary', the Latin hagiographical collection that was the main source for his writings about saints.¹⁸

Hilduin's *passio* is a hagiographical tour de force, in which Dionysius ('the Areopagite'), mentioned in passing in Acts 17. 34 as being among those converted by St Paul at Athens, and (Pseudo-)Dionysius, the anonymous, possibly sixth-century, author of a body of writings in Greek applying Christian concepts to a Neoplatonic system, are both amalgamated with a third figure, Dionysius the missionary of the Gauls, who is reported in an early *passio* and in Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* as having been martyred as bishop of Paris (according to Gregory, in the third century).¹⁹ The early *passio* is the *Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*, BHL 2171 (*Incipit* 'Gloriosae martyrum passionēs'), formerly attributed to Venantius Fortunatus and dating, perhaps, from as early as the late fifth century.²⁰

Hilduin played an important role in introducing the Pseudo-Dionysian writings to the west and had already translated some of them into Latin by the time he composed the *passio*, which includes a detailed survey of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus and extensive quotations from his own translations.²¹ He also wrote a metrical version of the life of Dionysius.²²

Hilduin was not the first to identify Dionysius of Paris with the other two figures. It is accepted that in his *passio* he drew extensively upon an existing

anonymous version of the life of Dionysius, *BHL* 2178 (*Incipit* 'Post beatam et gloriosam'), which mentions that Dionysius was converted by St Paul at Athens before beginning his missionary work,²³ and on other sources. Hilduin's contribution was to expand greatly on the existing picture of the composite St Dionysius, providing an elaborate narrative of the saint's Athenian phase and a wealth of detail about the writings attributed to him – none of which is in the anonymous *passio*, *BHL* 2178. It is notable that he includes in his *passio* reference to Dionysius's philosophical interest in the idea of light: the *passio* contains an account and inventory of Dionysius's works in which Hilduin writes that one of his epistles was to a certain Dorotheus, 'making known that the divine darkness [or mist] is an inaccessible light, in which God is said to dwell and in which is everyone who has been worthy in this body to know and see him' ('innotescens quod divina caligo sit lux inaccessibilis, in qua habitare Deus dicitur, et in qua sit omnis qui eum scire et videre dignus in hoc corpore fuerit', col. 32C). As pointed out below, the *passio* itself is unusual, even in the context of the widespread exploitation of the imagery of light in hagiography, in the extent of its preoccupation with this imagery, which was to be transmitted in turn in Ælfric's Old English version.

Ælfric is not very interested in Dionysius as a writer of philosophy but he is extremely interested in him as a convert and converter and as a bishop and martyr. The account he inherits from Hilduin is quadripartite in structure; the four parts dealing, respectively, with the conversion of Dionysius at Athens through the ministry of St Paul, Dionysius having been a devotee of the pagan gods (Hilduin, chs. 1-8); the writings of Dionysius, presenting an itemized list of these and an extended summary of their contents, including excerpts from Hilduin's own translation of them (Hilduin, chs. 9-16); the travels of Dionysius, first to Rome and then, at the direction of Pope Clement, as a missionary in the region of Paris, where, as Hilduin puts it, 'Gallic pride and Germanic obstinacy rather eagerly submitted to him' ('subdebat se illi potius certatim Gallicanicus cothurnus atque Germanica cervicositas', ch. 22, col. 41C) (Hilduin, chs. 17-22); and his persecution and martyrdom, along with those of his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius, and events after his death (Hilduin, chs. 23-36).

Ælfric reduces the structural divisions from four to three, summarizing the account of Dionysius's writings in a couple of sentences. He mentions the names of some of those for whom the books were written (ll. 91-96) but makes no attempt to follow Hilduin in exploring the nature of Dionysius's thought in these books, noting only that he wrote 'many books concerning the true faith and

concerning the orders of angels, with wondrous reasoning' ('mid wundorlicre smeagunge') (ll. 87-88; trans. by Skeat, II, 175). Ælfric's version overall is brief indeed compared to the Latin, to the extent that it has been seen as 'more an epitome than a close rendering'.²⁴ While it is more than an epitome, the 'Passion of St Dionysius' is certainly an example of Ælfric at his most concise, with little other than the odd emotive epithet (a familiar element of his style) in the way of addition to the bare story. Ælfric's severe pruning of his source results in a much sharper narrative than is found in Hilduin's expansive and highly-wrought Latin version, the Old English version highlighting clearly in its three movements the themes of the saint's conversion (ll. 1-80), missionary work (ll. 81-187) and martyrdom (ll. 188-340).

Ælfric ignores most of Hilduin's rhetorical flourishes and tropes,²⁵ but significantly he adopts his most insistent image, that of light. Hilduin was aware of the philosophical importance of light in the writings of Dionysius, in which inaccessible light is an image of God's unknowableness, and it is my suggestion that, influenced by his reading of Dionysius, he self-consciously elaborated the imagery of light as a major motif in the *passio*, thereby also providing a key means of expressing the important theme of conversion in Dionysius's story. In elaborating the imagery of light, Hilduin was exploiting what had become a commonplace in hagiography generally, but usually in saints' lives light is employed as a 'local' theme, specific to particular episodes. In Hilduin's *passio*, however, and in Ælfric's Old English adaptation of it, the idea of light becomes an recurrent feature in the story of the saint, integral in a way that I have not found elsewhere in hagiography despite the widespread use of images of light in this kind of writing.

It has recently been suggested that another feature of the 'Hilduinian' legend of St Dionysius, the saint's carrying of his cut-off head to his place of burial while the head praises the Lord, functions as a symbolic expression of the philosophy of Pseudo-Dionysius. In his book *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Medieval Thought and Literature*, David Williams writes, 'The ultimate demonstration of the paradoxical relation between the *via positiva* and the *via negativa* that [St Dionysius] was thought to have expounded is now "shown" through the monstrous representation of a speaking head that communicates nothing'.²⁶ Williams sees Pseudo-Dionysius and his Western translator and interpreter John Scotus Eriugena (c. 810 – c. 877) as playing a key role in the development of a medieval theory of monstrosity, according to which the monstrous serves to demonstrate the inadequacy of human cognition in

containing the limitlessness of the real and thereby shows that God transcends human knowledge utterly. Williams focuses on 'the Areopagite's insistence on the superiority of the deformed image over the natural' as part of his teaching concerning the *via negativa* that leads towards God.²⁷

Williams makes a persuasive case in general terms but it should be pointed out that, according to the accepted view, the head-carrying episode has been inherited by Hilduin from *BHL* 2178, 'Post beatam et gloriosam', and is independent therefore of the interest in Pseudo-Dionysius's thought engendered by Hilduin and his younger contemporary Eriugena. As the – earlier – *BHL* 2178 account has it,

beatissimi se Dionysii et pontificis venerandi sanctum
exanime cadaver erexit beataque manu caput a corpore
abscisum, lictoris ense truncatum *pendulis* coepit brachiis
vectitare atque ab illo montis cacumine duobus fere milibus
firmis gressibus apportavit novo et prius inaudito miraculo,
exanime corpus viventis currere more et homo jam mortuus
firmis incedere plantis.

(ch. 13; p. 794B)

[The lifeless corpse of the most blessed and venerable
bishop Dionysius raised itself up and with its blessed hand
began to carry in its hanging [*reading pendulis*] arms the
head which had been cut off from the body and beheaded by
the attendant's sword, and from that mountain summit it
carried it for almost two miles with steady steps in a new
and previously unheard of miracle, a lifeless corpse and a
man already dead hastening in the manner of a living person
and advancing with firm feet.]

Hilduin follows this closely, even using many of the same words and phrases, but he introduces an angelic troop which accompanies the miraculous walk and adds a reference to sweet-sounding hymns in praise of God ('hymnis dulcisonis Deum laudans', col. 47B); and he draws upon the imagery of light.

The first part of Hilduin's account, beginning with a reference to the light that shines upon Dionysius and his two companions at their death, is as follows:

ac lux ineffabilis cunctis resplenduit; et beatissimi Dionysii se cadaver erexit, sanctaque manu caput a corpore dolabra lictoris truncatum, angelico ductu gressum regente, et luce coelesti circumfulgente, pendulis coepit brachiis vectitare. Et facta est omnes multitudo coelestis exercitus exanime ejus corpori caput proprium, ab ipso monte ubi fuerat decollatus, per duo fere millia deportanti usque ad locum, in quo nunc Dei dispositione et sua electione requiescit humatum, sine cessatione hymnis dulcisonis Deum laudans. (ch. 32; col. 47A-B)

[but an indescribable light shone forth on them all; and the body of the most blessed Dionysius raised itself up and, with an angelic escort guiding his path and a heavenly light shining around him, with his holy hand he began to carry in his hanging arms the head which had been cut off with the attendant's axe. And there was a great host of a heavenly army, accompanying him as with his lifeless body he carried his own head, from that mountain where he had been beheaded, for almost two miles to the place in which it is now rests in burial, according to God's providence and his own choice, praising God without ceasing with sweet-sounding hymns.]

From Hilduin's account it appears that it is the angelic host that does the praising – an appropriate activity for them – as the participle *laudans* seems to agree grammatically with *omnes multitudo* (with *omnes* for *omnis*). The syntax is potentially confusing, however (the participle being far removed from its noun), and the passage could be read as meaning that the saint's head was singing. Later adaptors of Hilduin, including Ælfric (l. 296), interpret it in this way, producing an even stranger miracle than the 'straightforward' head-carrying, as found in Hilduin and his source; a miracle eagerly seized on by Williams.²⁸

Hilduin's presentation of the episode stresses that it is according to divine dispensation and with heavenly approval that the saint makes his miraculous walk to his final resting place, the miracle serving therefore to authenticate dramatically the link between the monastery of Saint-Denis and a great saint. Far from labouring the point about the grotesqueness of the miracle, especially if it is the angels and not the severed head which are praising God, Hilduin insists that

such a miracle is not difficult for God. (ch. 33; col. 47C-D). He considers the miracle from the perspective of the greater miracle of God breathing life into dust and that of the bodily resurrection. As well as adding the angelic host and the song of praise to the inherited account of this miracle, Hilduin introduces the imagery of light – 'lux ineffabilis cunctis resplenduit' [an indescribable light shone forth on them all], 'luce coelesti circumfulgente' [with heavenly light shining around] – thereby taking up an idea that has figured throughout his narrative but which had not been significant in *BHL* 2178.²⁹ In my view, it is in his emphasis on light rather than his cultivation of the monstrous that Hilduin reflects the thought of his subject in the *passio*, an emphasis that is also transmitted in Ælfric's version of the legend.

As I have suggested, Ælfric was not interested in Dionysius's philosophy, but he could see how suitable the imagery of light was in the story of Dionysius, the story of a convert who becomes a converter and undergoes a glorious martyrdom. Ælfric knows light as an effective symbol in hagiography and is happy to follow Hilduin in his imaginative elaboration of it in the life of Dionysius, even including a highly 'Dionysian' image of darkness as a betokening of light near the beginning of the narrative. Rather than reducing the concentration on light in line with his instinct for abbreviation, Ælfric chooses to draw upon the imagery extensively in his version, so extensively indeed that, just as in Hilduin, light becomes the most prominent image in his text – which is not the case elsewhere in his saints' lives.

The image of darkness betokening light, mentioned just above, is the first instance of imagery of light in Ælfric's 'Passion'. Ælfric relates that Dionysius had seen the sun darken at the time of Christ's Passion and that Dionysius had interpreted this darkness as a sign of light to come. Living at the time in Egypt, Dionysius, along with some other philosophers, saw

hu seo sunne aþystrode to sweartre nihte
fram mid-dæge oð non þa ða ure drihten þrowode
for mancynnes alysednyse . and hi micclum þæs wundrodon .
þa cwæð Dyonisius . þeos deorce niht getacenaþ
micel leoht towerd eallum middan-earde
þæt god sylf geswutelað soðlice mann-cynne.
(ll. 11-16)

[how the sun grew dim unto swart night from midday to nones when our Lord was suffering for mankind's redemption, and they greatly wondered thereat. Then said Dionysius, 'This dark night betokeneth a great light to come upon all the earth, which God Himself will verily manifest to mankind'. (Skeat, p. 171)]

Here Ælfric faithfully transmits the essential meaning of a much more elaborate passage in the Latin:

Ubi simul cum eo degens, quando Deus homo, Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro mundi salute invidia Judæorum cruci pendit afflixus, et sol sui Domini mortem pavescens, lucis suæ radios in tetræ mutavit noctis horrorem, atque orbis climata tenebrarum obtexit caligine, earumdem tenebrarum signo antea invisio et inaudito attonitus, ut omnium litterarum disciplinis edoctus, dixit: hæc nox, quam nostris oculis novam descendisse miramur, totius mundi veram lucem adventuram signavit, atque Deum humano generi effulsurum, serena dignatione dictavit.

(ch. 5; col. 27A-B)

[While he was dwelling with him [*sc.* the philosopher Apollophanus], at the time when God as man, our Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of the world hung tortured on the cross through the ill-will of the Jews, and when the sun, becoming afraid at the death of its Lord, changed the rays of its light to the dread of hideous night and covered the skies of the world with the mist of darkness, he was astounded by the sign of this same darkness, a sign previously not seen or heard of, well-versed though he was in the study of all that had been written, and he said, 'This night, which, new to our eyes, we see with wonder to have descended, has given a sign of the true light which will come to the whole world, and it has told us in its bright graciousness that God will shine upon the human race.']

Ælfric simplifies and clarifies Hilduin's imagery, omitting, for example, the paradox of dark night as having bright graciousness (*serena dignatione*) and supplying the detail that the darkness lasted from midday until the ninth hour (cf. Matthew 27. 45). The central idea comes through, however, and indeed Ælfric in an addition to his source points out that the light which Dionysius predicted did come to him later with the preaching of Paul at Athens, which led to his conversion:

and him com þæt leoht to . þurh paules lare syððan
swa swa we her secgað on þisre soðan rædincge.
(ll. 18-19)

[and that light came to him through Paul's lore afterward,
even as we shall here say in this true reading. (Skeat, p. 171)]

Ælfric also follows the Latin in including the account of Paul healing a man blind from birth the day after his encounter with Dionysius. There is no sign of this episode in Acts 17 or in *BHL* 2178. Hilduin has invented it with the evident intention of developing the theme of enlightenment, in particular the enlightenment of Dionysius, to whom the Apostle sends the man as a sign. Ælfric's version of the episode picks up on the symbolism of enlightenment in the speech the healed man makes to Dionysius, referring back to the earlier mention of the darkened sun:

Ic eom se ylca þe þu embe sprycst .
þe blind wæs geboren . and seo beorhte sunne
minum eagum ne scean . oþ þisne andwyrðan dæg .
ac se eadiga paulus mine eagan onlihte
þurh his drihtnes mihte . þe he mannum embe bodað.
(ll. 67-71)

[I am the same man of whom thou speakest, who was born blind, and the bright sun never shone on my eyes until this present day; but the blessed Paul enlightened mine eyes through his Lord's might, concerning whom he preacheth to men. (Skeat, p. 173)]

Hilduin's original reads,

Ego nempe sum, cui cæco nato hactenus sol non luxit; sed ipse Paulus, cujus tibi defero mandata salubria, Jesu Christi magistri sui invocata virtute, sanitatis mihi lumen indulsit.

(ch. 8; col. 28D)

[I am indeed he upon whom, blind from birth, the sun has not shone up until now; but Paul himself, whose health-bringing commands I report to you, has granted me the light of healing, calling upon the power of his master Jesus Christ.]

Interestingly, the episode of the healing of the blind man is the only specifically described piece of wonder-working by a saint in Hilduin's entire text, with the exception of the bizarre post-mortem episode of Dionysius carrying his cut-off head. Hilduin, followed by Ælfric, mentions that Dionysius performed miracles but does not say what they were. As mentioned above, the episode of the healing of the blind man has been invented by Hilduin, as has the earlier episode of Dionysius seeing the sun darken at the time of Christ's death and interpreting it as a sign of light to come. *BHL* 2178 provides no information about Dionysius before his conversion and covers the conversion in a single sentence, before immediately whisking the saint off to Rome to begin his own missionary work (ch. 3; 792E).

Later in the 'Passion' Ælfric transmits an image of light from Hilduin in his account of the preaching of Dionysius among the Franks. As he fearlessly carried out his missionary work at Paris, says Ælfric, idolators opposed the saint, but when they saw his face shining with heavenly light they submitted to him, or fled – 'swa hraðe swa hi ge-sawon his scinendan neb-wlite / mid þam heofonlican leohte' (ll. 169-70) [as soon as they saw his shining countenance with its heavenly light (Skeat, pp. 179-81)]. This follows Hilduin's account:

tanta et ita ineffabiliter in eo lux cælestis gratiæ radiabat, ut aut omni ferocitate una cum armis deposita se illi prosternerent: aut qui compuncti Spiritus sancti dono ad credendum non erant, pavore nimio solverentur, et territi a præsentia ejus aufugerent.

(ch. 22; col. 41B)

[so great a light of heavenly grace shone in him, and in such an unutterable way, that they either prostrated themselves before him, laying down their fierceness along with their weapons, or those who were not motivated to believe by the gift of the Holy Spirit were overcome with great fear and fled terrified from his presence.]

To move on finally to the martyrdom of Dionysius and his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius, it is notable that in both Ælfric and Hilduin the account of this is generally highly conventional, but again the insistence on the imagery of light is striking. Ælfric relates that in his lightless dungeon (l. 257) Dionysius celebrated mass before his death, and as he divided the sacred host,

þa com þær heofonlic leoht .
ofer ealle þa meniu . swilc swa hi ær ne gesawon .
þær com eac se hælend mid þam heofonlican leohte .
and fela engla mid him . þær menn onlocodon.
(ll. 262-65)

[there came a heavenly light over all the multitude, such as they had never before seen. There came likewise the Saviour with the heavenly light, and many angels with Him, where they were looking on. (Skeat, pp. 185-87)]

This corresponds to Hilduin's

resplenduit hujus modi lux de cælo super eum et omnes qui ibi aderant, qualem nemo eorum antea viderat; in qua veniens apparuit ei Dominus Jesus Christus, etiam cunctis videntibus, quibus est datum videre, cum multitudine angelorum.
(ch. 29; col. 45C)

[in this way a light from heaven shone forth over him and all who were present there, such as none of them had seen before; and in it the Lord Jesus Christ came and appeared to him, with a host of angels, even before the sight of all, to whom it was granted to see.]

And just after the beheading of Dionysius and his companions, a great light shines upon their bodies and a heavenly light accompanies Dionysius's carrying of his head. I have already quoted Hilduin's elaborate description of this event above. Ælfric transmits it (more briefly) as follows:

ƿær com ƿa micel leoht to ƿære martyra lice .
and ƿæs bisceopes lic mid ƿam leohte aras .
and nam his agen heafod ƿe of-aheawen wæs
uppan ðære dune . and eode him forð ƿanon
ofer twa mila ƿam mannum onlocigendum
his drihten herigende . mid halgum lof-sangum .
and engla werod eac ƿær wynsumlice sungon .
oð ƿæt ƿæt lic becom ƿær ðær he licgan wolde .
mid heafde mid ealle . and ƿa halgan englas
singallice sungon . swa swa us secgað bec .³⁰
(ll. 291-300)

[For there came a great light to the martyrs' bodies, and the bishop's holy body arose with that light, and took his own head, which was hewn off upon the hill, and went him forth thence over two miles, while the men were looking on, praising his Lord with holy hymns; and a company of angels also there winsomely sung until the body came where it desired to lie with the head and all, and the holy angels continually sung, as books tell us. (Skeat, pp. 187-89)]

Here in what Ælfric describes as a 'strange wonder' ('syllic wundor', l. 306) and a 'strange sign' ('syllice tacn', l. 309), Dionysius rises up 'with the light' ('mid ƿam leohte', l. 292) and carries his head to his desired resting-place. Ælfric inserts his own interpretation of the sign, saying that it showed that Dionysius's soul lived on and how great had been his faith while he was alive (ll. 309-12). Afterwards, when Dionysius's remains have been translated to a famous monastery (Saint-Denis), Ælfric follows Hilduin in relating that unnumbered miracles take place there, the first mentioned of which is the healing of the blind (l. 336).³¹

In his account of St Dionysius Ælfric, following Hilduin, includes motifs referring to light that are familiar enough in hagiography. They are more frequent and insistent here than elsewhere in Ælfric's saints' lives, however. They occur at each stage of the saint's story and, as such, they perform more of a structural

function than in other Ælfrician lives. In particular, they serve to emphasize the theme of conversion, a theme that runs through the whole narrative. Ælfric is not interested in reflecting the 'Dionysian' metaphor of the light of divine unknowableness, but he is interested in the theme of conversion, which appears in the 'Passion of St Dionysius' in its most developed form in his hagiographical writings.

The saint as convert is not a theme that Ælfric explores widely in his work, nor is it one to which his highly stylized approach to hagiography is suited. Elsewhere, he discusses the failings and imperfections of saints as great as Peter and Paul, but he is careful to reserve such concerns for his homiletic rather than hagiographical writings. According to the early medieval hagiographical model of sanctity which is evident at its most refined and consistent in Ælfric's lives, saints are typically presented as superhuman and unchanging 'iconic' figures,³² who convert others but are themselves in a state of achieved sanctity, elevated above human fallibility. They are presented in oppositional terms, reflecting heavenly perfection, not earthly weakness.³³ Saints who are known to have converted are accommodated to this pattern, either by the hagiographer drawing a veil over their pre-conversion activities, or by having them convert at a very young age, or by the suggestion that they were already searching virtuously for truth before they received the Christian message. In Ælfric, even saints whose progress was known to be more 'gradational',³⁴ like Cuthbert, are reconceived in terms of the image of the saint as constant in perfection.

The 'Passion of St Dionysius' is an Ælfrician saint's life in which conversion is inherited as a central preoccupation, applying to the saint himself and to his work among hostile tribes. Conversion had been a distinguishing feature of Hilduin's story. In its expression in Hilduin there is already accommodation of the saint to the model of constant virtue: Dionysius had been a seeker after truth in his former life, not at all like the ignorant and savage Gauls/Franks, the 'Other' that he converts later. Before his conversion he had honoured the 'unknown God' (cf. Acts 27. 23) and he was receptive to the divine portent of the darkening sun. Ælfric maintains the preoccupation with the theme of conversion in his version, adopting, and if anything extending, Hilduin's imagery of light as the key means of symbolizing the theme, an imagery that, as I have proposed, Hilduin was particularly prompted to elaborate from his reading of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius himself. Conversion is effected in the legend of St Dionysius by preaching, and also by means of – mostly unspecified – signs and wonders, described as unprecedented. The ones that are specified are associated with light, and light is itself the manifestation of the special

relationship of the saint to God. I would suggest that it is in Hilduin's *Passio Sanctissimi Dionysii* and in Ælfric's vernacular adaptation of it that the potential of the traditional image of light expressing sanctity and conversion is most purposefully fulfilled among early medieval hagiographical writings.

NOTES

¹ See Hans Conzelmann, 'φῶς', in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by Gerhard Friedrich, trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), ix, 310-58 (pp. 313-18); Hugo Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mysteries*, trans. by Brian Battershaw (London: Burns and Oates, 1963), esp. pp. 89-178.

² On light in early Christian tradition, see Pierre-Thomas Camelot, 'Lumière', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, ed. by M. Viller and others, 17 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), ix, 1149-58, at col. 1149 and 1151-55; also Conzelmann, 'φῶς', in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ix, 356-57; Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd edn (London: Dacre Press, 1945), pp. 416-25; Jean Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), pp. 298-301. On the importance of light in the writings of the most influential western father, Augustine, see Eoin Cassidy, 'Per Christum Hominem ad Christum Deum: Augustine's Homilies on John's Gospel', in *Studies in Patristic Christology*, ed. by Thomas Finan and Vincent Twomey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), pp. 122-43 (p. 129).

³ See my article, 'Imagery of Light in Old English Poetry: Traditions and Appropriations', forthcoming in *Anglia*.

⁴ Walter W. Skeat, ed. and trans., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94 and 114 (London: Oxford University Press, 1881-1900; repr. as two vols, 1966), 'Passio Sancti Dionysii et Sociorum Eius', II, 168-91.

⁵ 'Natale Sancte Eugenie Uirginis', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 24-51.

⁶ 'Natale Sancta Agathe Uirginis', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 194-209.

⁷ 'Passio Sancti Iuliani et Sponse Eius Basilisse', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 90-115; 'Passio Sancti Sebastiani Martyris', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 116-47.

⁸ 'Natale Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, II, 124-43 (cf. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 11: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 246-47); Felix of Crowland in his *Life of St Guthlac* reports a similar miracle after the death of Guthlac: see ch. 50: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 158-59.

⁹ 'Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi et Confessoris', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, II, 218-313; for the *Catholic Homilies* version, see 'Deposito Sancti Martini Episcopi', in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 288-97; for translation, see *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, Or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. and trans. by Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols (London: Ælfric Society, 1844 and 1846), II, 499-519.

¹⁰ 'Passio Sancti Eustachii Martyris Sociorumque Eius', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, II, 190-219.

¹¹ Hugh Magennis, ed., *The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers*, Durham Medieval Texts, 7 (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1996); for translation, see *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 489-54.

¹² See Magennis, *The Anonymous Old English Legend*, p. 62, note to ll. 2-3.

¹³ 'Passio Chrisanti et Dariæ Sponse Euis', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, II, 378-99; 'Natale Sancte Agnetis Uirginis', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 170-95; 'Natale Sancti Georgii Martyris', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 306-19.

¹⁴ 'Natale Sancti Mauri Abbatis', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 148-69.

¹⁵ P. O. E. Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf's Elene*, rev. edn (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996); for translation, see S. A. J. Bradley, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, Melbourne and Toronto: Dent, 1982), pp. 164-97.

¹⁶ Hugh Magennis, ed. and trans., *The Old English Life of St Mary of Egypt* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002); cf. the St Oswald reference at n. 7, above.

¹⁷ Hilduin, *Passio Sanctissimi Dionysii*, edited in *PL*, 106, 23-50; translations from this and from *BHL* 2178, mentioned below, are my own. Ælfric had also inserted a short passage on St Dionysius in the item 'Natale Sancti Clementis Martiris' in the first series of *Catholic Homilies* (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 497-506, ll. 39-50), where it is stated that Clement, whom Peter 'chose for pope of the Roman people after his day, and before his passion ordained him pope' (trans. by Thorpe, I, 559), sent Dionysius, with his companions, to preach Christianity among the fierce heathens of the 'francena rice' (l. 41) [kingdom of the Franks]; through his preaching and miracles, says Ælfric, the whole people inclined to the faith. On this life, and Dionysius's place in it, see Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric's Homily for the Feast of St Clement', in *Ælfric's Lives of Canonised Popes*, ed. by Donald Scragg, Old English Newsletter, subsidia 30 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 2001), pp. 99-110 (see esp. pp. 105-07).

¹⁸ On the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, see Patrick H. Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E. i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1979); see also Zettel's article, 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 17-37; and Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 131-46.

¹⁹ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, I, 30: *Gregorii Turonis Opera*, ed. by Wilhelmus Arndt, MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, 1, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885), pp. 1-450 (p. 48); translated by Lewis Thorpe, in *Gregory of*

Tours: The History of the Franks (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 87. Gregory reports that Dionysius was one of seven men who were consecrated bishops at the time of Decius (emperor 249-51) and sent to preach among the Gauls. Concerning Dionysius, Gregory states only that he was sent to *Parisi* and that he 'suffered repeated torture in Christ's name and then ended his earthly existence by the sword' (trans. by Lewis, p. 87) ('diversis pro Christi nomine adfectus poenis, praesentem vitam gladio imminente finivit', ed. by Arndt, p. 48).

²⁰ *Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*, in *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati Presbyteri Italici Opera Pedestria*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, 4, Pars Posterior (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885), pp. 101-05. For a succinct account of this *passio* and the other major Latin Dionysius texts, see E. Gordon Whatley, 'Acta Sanctorum', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Vol. I: Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près and Sancta Sanctorum*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs and others (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001), pp. 22-486 (pp. 171-74).

²¹ On the writings of Dionysius, with quotations from them, see Hilduin, *Passio*, cols. 29-37. Hilduin's own translation of Pseudo-Dionysius, which 'has been judged to be almost unintelligible and was rarely copied' (David Luscombe, 'The Reception of the Writings of Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite into England', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall Presented by her Friends on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 115-43 (p. 119)), was soon superseded by the more fluent version of John Scotus Eriugena, which 'was to become the standard Latin edition of Denis's writings' (Luscombe, 'The Reception', p. 120).

²² See Michael Lapidge, 'The Lost *Passio Metrica S. Dionysii* by Hilduin of Saint-Denis', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (1987), 56-79.

²³ *Acta Fabulosa S. Dionysii Areopagitæ Afflicta, Auctore Anonymo*, ed. by Constantinus Suyskeno and others, in *Acta Sanctorum, Octobris Tomus Quartus*, ed. by Joanne Carnandet, 2nd edn (Paris and Rome: Victor Palmé, 1866), pp. 792-97; on Hilduin's use of this work, see Raymond J. Loenertz, 'La légende Parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite: Sa genèse et son premier témoin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1951), 217-37. There is no mention of writings by Dionysius in this anonymous *passio*, but the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus was known in northern Europe by the early ninth century and was already associated with Dionysius of Athens, the authority of whose attributed writings had been particularly invoked in support of images in the iconoclasm controversy: see Henri Moretus Plantin, 'Les Passions de Saint Denys', in *Mélanges offerts au R. P. Ferdinand Cavallera: Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Toulouse, à l'occasion de la quarantième année de son professorat à l'Institut Catholique* (Toulouse: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Catholique, 1948), pp. 215-30 (p. 229); Luscombe, 'The Reception', pp. 116-18.

²⁴ Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources', p. 236.

²⁵ Such as that of *senex-novus* (see esp. ch. 26; col. 43B-C) and *miles Christi* (e.g., ch. 19; col. 39B).

²⁶ David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 308.

²⁷ Williams, *Deformed Discourse*, p. 6.

²⁸ In his discussion of the theme of the *lingua palpans* (*Deformed Discourse*, pp. 298-303), Williams attributes the idea of the talking head (as found in later versions) to Hilduin, but without examining the grammar of the relevant passage.

²⁹ *BHL* 2178 has only one image of light, referring to Dionysius providing light among the pagans at Paris: 'ut posita super candelabrum lucerna incredulis mentibus lucis suæ radios ministraret' (ch. 7; 793C) [so that as a lantern placed on its stand he supplied the rays of his light to unbelieving minds]. This particular image is not taken up in Hilduin (but cf. his ch. 22, col. 41C, discussed below).

³⁰ Ælfric's participle *herigende* (l. 296) and the accompanying singular pronoun *his* make it clear that the head is singing, this phrase being grammatically separated from *engla werod* in the following line; Ælfric has the angelic host singing as well, however.

³¹ Cf. Hilduin, ch. 36; col. 50A.

³² See Scott DeGregorio, 'Ælfric, *Gedwyld*, and Vernacular Hagiography: Sanctity and Spirituality in the Old English Lives of SS Peter and Paul', in *Ælfric's Lives of Canonised Popes*, pp. 75-98.

³³ See Charles F. Altman, 'Two Types of Opposition and the Structure of Latin Saints' Lives', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 6 (1975), 1-11.

³⁴ On the 'gradational' approach in hagiography, see Altman, 'Two Types of Opposition', esp. pp. 3-5.

Rewriting Ælfric: An Alternative Ending of a Rogationtide Homily

Jonathan Wilcox

Joyce Hill has contributed more than most scholars to our understanding of Anglo-Saxon homilies in general and the working methods and significance of Ælfric's homiletic achievement in particular.¹ One of Joyce's fundamental insights throughout much of her scholarship has been into the importance of investigating manuscripts rather than printed editions for understanding the Anglo-Saxon preaching tradition.² I would like to add to that picture with one small example of homiletic adaptation that has been largely overlooked: an alternative ending to Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* I.18, 'In letania maiore', in MS Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34, which has not seen print or much notice of any kind. I offer this brief foray into the Old English homiletic corpus as a tribute to Joyce and her valuable work in this field.³

Rogationtide, the three weekdays preceding Ascension Day featuring a period of fasting and repentance and the procession of relics, has long been recognized as a particularly important moment for preaching in Anglo-Saxon England and one that generated an unusually extensive range of Old English homilies. The period is known in modern terminology as the Minor Litanies, as distinct from the Major Litany on 25 April, although Joyce has demonstrated that such was not the terminology of Anglo-Saxon England, where Rogationtide was often designated as *In letania maiore* (i.e. the Greater Litany) and known in the vernacular as *gangdagas* (literally walking days, referring to the processional nature of the festivities) or *bendagas* (petition days) or *gebeddagas* (prayer days).⁴ The festival was instituted, according to tradition, by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, c. 461-75, to save his city from a series of calamities. Ælfric provides homilies for each of the three days in both the first series of *Catholic Homilies* (CH I.18-20) and the second series (CH II.19-22). A further homily by Ælfric on auguries in *Lives of Saints* is also for this period (LS 17).⁵ Anonymous homilies

survive for this occasion with some abundance, namely Vercelli 11-13, Vercelli 19-21, and Bazire and Cross 4-11, while Blickling 8-10 may have been intended for this time.⁶

The reason for the popularity of Rogationtide as a preaching occasion in Anglo-Saxon homilies surely has a lot to do with the useful thematic range of sermons for the occasion. As Joyce observes, the frequency of copying 'must in part result from the general utility of the subject matter, since the focus was on penitence, prayerful petition and basic instruction in the faith'.⁷ Bazire and Cross also make this point, suggesting that Rogationtide homilies teach basic tenets of the faith and serve as an opportunity 'for taking the warning of the Doomsday to come. The visualization of Doomsday is created from the popular apocrypha and from other descriptions, and almost becomes a homiletic topos'.⁸ The underlying lection, as Joyce shows, was Luke 11. 5-13 and related gospel texts. This is a passage where Christ teaches his disciples to pray, immediately after telling them the Lord's Prayer, and expands on the significance of prayer with the parable of a friend who knocks at midnight to ask for three loaves of bread for the sake of hospitality, centering on the idea 'Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you' (Luke 11. 9). Explicating this lection is conducive to general explanation of the nature of God and his accessibility.

Ælfric's first series homily 'In letania maiore' (*CH* I.18), which this essay focusses on, is something of a model of Old English Rogationtide preaching. Ælfric translates the name of the festival as *gebeddagas* (prayer-days) and characterizes it as an occasion of prayer for the abundance of earthly fruits, for health and peace and for the forgiveness of sins.⁹ He explains the origin of the Rogationtide observance in the three day fast established by Bishop Mamertus as a reaction to the calamities afflicting his city of Vienne, a practice that Ælfric sees as modelled on the penitence of the Ninevites in the story of Jonah, which he then recounts. He then translates the pericope, Luke 11. 5-13, and provides an exposition based largely on Augustine, explicitly named as his source. The friend who comes in the night is a call to turn to Christ in the ignorance of the world; the three loaves the friend asks for stand for faith in the holy trinity; the friend is supporting a visitor just as we are all wayfarers in this world. In further exposition, Ælfric sees the householder as Christ and the petitioner as the Christian, who must persevere in his or her prayers. The request for fish, egg and bread symbolizes the need for faith, hope and charity, which are given to us by the heavenly father, who 'deð þæt we habbað godne gast. þæt is godne willan' (ll.

151-52, 'causes that we have good spirit, that is good will'), an amplification which seems to be *Ælfric's* own and to which I will return.¹⁰

Ælfric turns to a discussion of the responsibilities of the rich as he considers the nature of goodness. Gold, land and riches, while good things in themselves, only make their owner good if that owner uses them to do good, and the ownership of wealth carries obligations. *Ælfric* emphasizes the importance of charity by appealing to the audience's sense of shame at the break down of brotherly love: 'Hu mihtu for sceame. æniges þinges æt gode biddan: gif ðu forwyrnst þinum gelican. þæs þe ðu foreaðelice him getiðian miht' (ll. 184-85, 'How could you ask anything from God for shame if you deny to your own kind what you could very easily grant them?'). Avarice, he warns, is the root of all evil. *Ælfric* does not condemn wealth outright, but does condemn the acquisition of wealth through avarice, even as he draws a distinction for those who are rich simply through inheritance.¹¹ The rich and the needy are mutually dependent, he suggests (ll. 205-end), the one giving bodily bread that is soon turned to dung, the other giving eternal life by allowing the rich to show their charity. He appeals to Matthew 25. 40: whatever the rich give to the poor, they give to Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father and Holy Ghost forever without end.

Ælfric's first series of *Catholic Homilies* circulated widely – Clemoes identifies some 36 manuscripts that survive in whole or in part and postulates the former existence of some 50 others – and *CH* I.18 participated in this wide circulation, surviving in fifteen manuscripts.¹² These include all six main phases of distribution identified by Clemoes. One representative of the sixth and final phase is the MS Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34.¹³ This is a manuscript copied in the mid-eleventh century at Canterbury, which contains a set of homilies by *Ælfric* for Sundays and festivals other than saints' days from Easter to the Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost, at which point it breaks off imperfectly. Clemoes speculates that it represents the first volume of an extensive *Temporale* collection assembled by *Ælfric* relatively late in his career.¹⁴

In this particular manuscript, there is an alternative ending to *CH* I.18, written into the right-hand margin of the last page of the homily (MS Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34, p. 135). An eleventh-century hand that is clearly distinct from the main scribe, and that Ker considers nearly contemporary with it, has inserted on 24 short unruled lines the following alternative ending.¹⁵ I will first give a literal transcription, then a more accessible edition, then a translation.

Transcription (retaining MS punctuation, word division, line breaks, and corrections)

Se wel willenda god. u| ge wissige to his will[erasure supplied next line]an [over
erasure of about 6-8 characters] þæt we his willan | moton ge wyrcean | her onlife.
þæt we m[erasure supplied next line]oton ge earnian us | þa ecan myrhðe | þe he
us ge unnen | hæfð. 7 he ure [erasure supplied next line] | saule eft onfo. þe hy | a
sende to ðam lic|haman. Ge unne | us þonne se ælmi[erasure supplied next line]htiga
god. þæt we to [erasure supplied next line] | ðam heofenlican eðel[erasure supplied
next line]e be cuman magon | 7 moton. þær he | sylf leofað 7 rixað | mid ['mid'
under erasure] fæder 7 sunu | 7 mid þam ['mid þam' under erasure] halg[erasure
supplied next line]an gaste an ælmihtig | god un to dæled | æfre á on ecnesse |
AMEN

Edition (with normalised word division and modernised punctuation)

Se welwillenda god us gewissige to his willan, þæt we his willan moton
gewyrcean her on life, þæt we moton geearnian us þa ecan myrhðe þe he us
geunnen hæfð, 7 he ure saule eft onfo, þe hy asende to ðam lichaman. Geunne us
þonne se ælmihtiga god, þæt we to ðam heofenlican eðele becuman magon 7
moton, þær he sylf leofað 7 rixað mid fæder 7 sunu 7 mid þam halgan gaste an
ælmihtig god untodæled æfre á on ecnesse. AMEN.

Translation

God the Benevolent may guide/steer us to his will so that we may work his will
here in life, so that we may merit for ourselves the eternal joy which he has
granted us, and he may receive again our soul, having sent it to the body. Grant
us, then, God Almighty, that we may and can come to the heavenly homeland,
where he himself lives and reigns with the father and son and the holy ghost, one
ever indivisible God Almighty, forever into eternity. AMEN

As an addition to the corpus of Old English preaching, this is rather modest. The
homilist of this alternative ending is apparently charmed by balance and
chiasmus. He picks up on the idea that God gives good spirit, that is good will,

that Ælfric placed in the middle of the sermon and plays up the paradox of *willa* as human free will which may, nevertheless, be attuned to God's will, just as the soul is given by God to the body and may be received again by Him from there. The return of the soul is to the heavenly home here named as *eðel* (homeland) as in *The Dream of the Rood* and elsewhere.¹⁶ The augments's emphasis on the journey of the soul picks up on the popular Rogationtide preoccupation with eschatology that is prominent in other homilies for the period. The fact that the soul 'magon 7 moton' journey to the homeland reminds of the other possibility, the anxiety that it might travel elsewhere, although this is not stressed. Instead the emphasis here is on the need to petition God so that the soul does travel in the right direction. In the stress on petition, the passage brings the homily back to the emphasis of the opening on prayer, as is appropriate to the season. This ending returns to Ælfric's own beginning by picking up on the idea of prayer that he will pursue in the next homily, 'De dominica oratione', *CH* I.19 for Rogation Tuesday, specifically on the Lord's Prayer.

This alternative ending, then, is a sequence of pious commonplaces, quite elegant and appropriate to the context, if rather slight. Such a short passage scarcely seems worthy of comment and it is slight enough that it is hard even to be sure of Pope's confident assertion, in the only comment in print, that this is not by Ælfric, although this seems likely for reasons that I will suggest below.¹⁷ Although modest in itself, though, this ending becomes a lot more interesting as a sign of the uses made of the homily by one deliverer of the text, especially in relation to what it apparently replaces.

There is no point of substitution indicated in the text and the new ending could be cumulative, to be added to what is there, although the repeated closing formulas suggest that it is intended rather as a substitution at some point that has not been marked. The first emphatic punctuation mark on this page comes at l. 4 – a punctus versus followed by a large capital – which marks the opening of l. 205 in the edition of the homily – a division of sense that Clemoes registers as a new paragraph in his edition. The most likely intended replacement, then, is the passage from l. 205 to the end, which is precisely the rather radical statement about the interdependence of rich and poor and the greater value of the poor's gift of the opportunity for charity than the rich's gift of food. This idea is one that seems not to come from Ælfric's sources but rather to be his own development.¹⁸ While Ælfric is generally careful not to condemn the wealthy for being rich, this last paragraph is his most heavy-hitting statement against the wealthy within this homily, mostly carrying a punch from the rhetorical power of the image that sees

the rich donors' bread becoming dung whereas the needy give life eternal. Ælfric states explicitly that 'Se earma is se weig. þe læt us to godes rice' (l. 208, 'the poor are the way that leads us to the kingdom of God'). The emphatic moral here is of the need for the rich to give to the poor.

The alternative ending involves a striking shift in agency as well as in moral emphasis and a striking softening of implied social outrage. In the alternative ending, human free-will can be turned to God's will through the guidance of God. Rather than stressing the act of charity, the final stress here is on the need for prayer to defer to God's will, which subsumes human action to divine intervention. The substitute ending thereby backpedals on the emphatic pro-charity, anti-wealth-if-associated-with-avarice position of Ælfric's original. Is the substitute ending evidence of squeamishness by some user of the homily at the strength of that anti-wealth message? Might it arise from a desire not to upset an audience that incorporated precisely such wealthy people?

This makes particularly interesting the question of who made this addition and when. MS Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34 was written in the mid-eleventh century at Christ Church, Canterbury, since it was written by the same scribe who wrote MS London, British Library, Harley 2892, the 'Canterbury Benedictional'.¹⁹ There are fairly extensive corrections and alterations throughout B. 15. 34, attesting to interest in and use of the manuscript in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. *CH* I.18 has plentiful corrections, such as the insertion of 'þa' at MS 119/1 (Clemoes, l. 10), 'godes' at MS 119/12 (Clemoes, l. 16) along with many other such corrections, and the addition of two substantial omitted passages added in the margin in a correcting hand that is distinct from the main hand but also distinct from the alternative ending (MS 128/5, Clemoes, ll. 119-21; MS 131/8, Clemoes 158-59). There are also annotations in other hands, such as 'ham' glossing 'botl' at MS 118/17 (Clemoes's l. 8) or 'loti' glossing 'tan' MS 119/19 (Clemoes l. 20). Another hand again added the note 'pater noster' beside the story of Jonah at MS 119 (Clemoes's l. 14). In other words, the homily has demonstrably been the subject of considerable attention both to establish the accuracy of the text when first copied and to make sense and lightly mark up the homily for subsequent users. The main corrections were presumably undertaken at Christ Church, Canterbury, as part of the main writing campaign, although the manuscript probably did not remain there as it is not recorded in the various Canterbury catalogues and additions are not in a south-eastern dialect.²⁰ The date of the move away from Canterbury is unknown, as is the place that it moved to.

None of the various interventions in the manuscript are quite as substantive as the alternative ending discussed here and the hand of this alternative ending does not appear to be the same as that of any of the other additions or corrections. Ker's description of the script as nearly contemporary with the main hand places it at the late end of the middle of the eleventh century. It is notable that the addition has itself been subject to correction, both in the erasure of 'mid' and 'mid þam' towards the end and in making good a small amount of text lost by cropping. These corrections are themselves of an unknown date, although the cropping from which the text was made good happened at a relatively early stage since this particular folio is some 5 mm. wider than the rest of the book (and now folded over), presumably because the page was preserved from subsequent croppings in an attempt to save this addition. The corrections suggest a desire to keep the alternative ending usable, presumably at a time when the language of the homily was still comprehensible, and so are probably of a piece with the other annotations and corrections of the eleventh and twelfth century throughout the manuscript. The alternative ending was apparently as valued as the main text in the transmission of this homily.

At some time in the second half of the eleventh century, then, possibly at Christ Church, Canterbury, possibly elsewhere, some user of this manuscript composed and wrote in a brief alternative ending to Ælfric's *CH* I.18, 'In letania maiore'. The user was in tune enough with the preaching occasion and with the original text to create an ending that works with a certain elegance to return the homily to its opening theme, an emphasis on prayer, and to create a version of the sermon that was probably recited and used thereafter. As such, this is a modest example of the textual eventfulness or *mouvance* of Ælfric's homiletic texts that Joyce has described so eloquently.²¹ What makes this particular *mouvance* so interesting is the tantalizing possibility that it reflects some user's unease at the power of Ælfric's indictment of the rich and at the strength of his call that they redistribute their wealth. Presumably the work of a priest, such backpedalling in handling the rich suggests something of the moral laxity that would become the staple of anticlerical satire by Chaucer, Langland, and their like in the fourteenth century. In any event, the very act of softening Ælfric's point with this alternative ending reminds us of the radical – even discomfiting – nature of Ælfric's preaching. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* may have been embraced by the church hierarchy as an official programme of preaching, as I have argued elsewhere,²² and yet his own position may not always have been simply symptomatic of the Benedictine reform but rather, at times, a reflection of his own priorities, as Joyce

has strongly argued in relation to other issues.²³ Even a modest alternative homiletic ending can open up the intellectual and moral world of England a millennium ago, as the work of our honorand would lead us to expect.

NOTES

¹ For her broad accounts of Old English homilies, see 'Reform and Resistance: Preaching Styles in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993), pp. 15-46, and 'The Benedictine Reform and Beyond', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 151-69. For a wonderful assessment of Ælfric's working methods in composing the *Catholic Homilies*, see her 'Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models & Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79 (1997), 43-65 (also published separately as The Toller Memorial Lecture and repr. in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 241-59), which builds on and synthesizes her important studies of working method and sources such as 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 203-37; 'Ælfric's Sources Reconsidered: Some Case Studies from the *Catholic Homilies*', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely'; Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 362-86; and 'Ælfric's Authorities', in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: ACMRS, 2002), pp. 51-65.

² As she states explicitly in 'Reform and Resistance', p. 46 and 'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', p. 54; cf. also 'Ælfric, Authorial Identity and the Changing Text', in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. by D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 177-89, and her examination of the manuscript tradition of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* in two essays: 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Preliminary Survey', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996), pp. 235-59, and 'The Preservation and Transmission of Ælfric's Saints' Lives: Reader-Reception and Reader-Response in the Early Middle Ages', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), pp. 405-30.

³ This is a good opportunity to publicly acknowledge my great debt to Joyce as the editor of my volume *Ælfric's Prefaces*, *Durham Medieval Texts* (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994).

⁴ Joyce Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 211-46.

⁵ Ælfric's homilies are cited from the following editions: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) = *CH I*; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979) = *CH II*; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-1900 repr. as two vols, London: Oxford University Press, 1966) = *LS*.

⁶ These homilies are ed. by D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS, o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982); and *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. by R. Morris, EETS, o.s. 58, 63, 73 (1874-80; repr. as one volume London: Oxford University Press, 1967). The speculation about Blickling is by Rudolph Willard, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, EEMF, 10 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960), pp. 39-40: one of these homilies is attributed to Rogationtide in another manuscript and has an erased rubric to this effect in the Blickling manuscript. The corpus of Rogationtide homilies is assembled by N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 529, and by Bazire and Cross, *Rogationtide Homilies*, pp. xvii-xx.

⁷ 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores*', p. 226.

⁸ Bazire and Cross, *Rogationtide Homilies*, p. xxiv.

⁹ The homily is ed. by Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies: First Series*, pp. 317-24. For a commentary on Ælfric's sources in this homily, see Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 145-53.

¹⁰ Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, p. 152, note to ll. 150-52 points out that this idea is not drawn from the main source of Augustine but develops an association in Haymo.

¹¹ M. R. Godden, 'Money, Power and Morality in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 41-65, shows how Ælfric grapples with the moral status of the rich repeatedly throughout his works, attempting to soften biblical condemnation of the rich simply for being rich.

¹² Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies: First Series*, provides a full textual introduction, pp. 1-168; the summary of the circulation is at p. 162.

¹³ Trinity B. 15. 34 is described by Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 130-32, and by myself in a forthcoming description in the series *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*. It is given the siglum U in editions of Ælfric's homilies and described by John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, EETS, o.s. 259-60 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967-68), i, 77-80, Godden, *Catholic Homilies: Second Series*, pp. lxx-lxxi, and Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies: First Series*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁴ See P. A. M. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 212-47, and *Catholic Homilies: First Series*, pp. 85-97 and 122-25.

¹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 131.

¹⁶ Climactic in the last line of *The Dream of the Rood*, l. 156, but common enough in the homilies of Ælfric and others; see DOE, s.v. *epel*.

¹⁷ In the only published comment on this ending apart from mention of it in Ker's *Catalogue*, Pope states 'It imitates Ælfric for a few clauses but is plainly not his work' (*Homilies of Ælfric*, p. 78, n. 1). Clemoes makes no mention of the ending in his edition.

¹⁸ Godden comments 'The final passage is Augustinian in style but not from Augustine's Sermon 61 or 105', which are his sources throughout the exposition; he points to a source for the idea in a sermon of Caesarius (*Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, p. 153).

¹⁹ As identified by Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 132.

²⁰ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 132, and Simon Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia 18 (Binghamton: CEMERS, SUNY, 1992), p. 35.

²¹ Hill, 'Reform and Resistance', pp. 41-43, 'Translating the Tradition', p. 64, and 'Ælfric, Authorial Identity and the Changing Text'. On the reuses of Ælfric by later homilists, see Mary Swan, 'Old English Made New: One Catholic Homily and Its Reuses', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 28 (1997), 1-18; 'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 62-82.

²² 'Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 52-62, building on the work of Clemoes on circulation.

²³ See, especially, Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric's "Silent Days"', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 16 (1985), 118-31, and 'Benedictine Reform', p. 162.

The Irregular Life in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*

Christopher A. Jones

Our scant knowledge of life inside Anglo-Saxon monasteries makes the *Colloquies* of Ælfric Bata (fl. s. xi¹) at once important and frustrating. The chatty, tipsy monks who populate these dialogues may have enlivened Latin conversation-drills for Anglo-Saxon oblates.¹ Today, however, determining where the jokes end and trustworthy details begin is embarrassingly hard. If Bata's context was the 'reformed monasticism' of Benedict's *Rule* as codified in the emergent genre of customaries, then either the jokes of the *Colloquies* went far indeed – much farther than often acknowledged – or the prescriptive sources themselves are hopelessly misleading. To review these severe alternatives and ponder a course between them seem appropriate goals for an essay honouring Joyce Hill, author of inspiring articles about colloquies and monastic custom.

For all the celebrity of reformed monasticism in Anglo-Saxon England, its internal organization is poorly documented. Like other pre-eleventh-century customaries, the *Regularis concordia* drafted c. 973 by Æthelwold of Winchester deals mainly with liturgy and may reflect ideals more than actualities.² Its goal has been compared to Carolingian aspirations for 'one rule, one custom', though evidence for promulgation of the *Concordia* is slight.³ Both surviving copies come from one place (Christ Church, Canterbury) two generations after Æthelwold, and probably neither manuscript served as the text of reference for any house.⁴ Others who knew the work treated it as a source to mine: Ælfric of Eynsham, Æthelwold's student, adapted the *Concordia* freely, as did a Winchester translator whose Old English version accommodated a house of nuns.⁵ It pays to recall, moreover, that reformed monasteries were always far fewer than unreformed minsters or other types of foundation, and that boundaries between monastic and secular clergy remained permeable.⁶

The disputable impact of the *Concordia* and ambiguity of its manuscript tradition are problems familiar to historians of monastic custom, who have long debated the evidentiary value of written *consuetudines*.⁷ Typologies of 'descriptive' versus 'prescriptive' have increasingly yielded to approaches more flexible and less eager to infer reformist alliances from sample *Punktvergleiche* of customs or from the mere presence of one house's customary at another.⁸ These lessons bear on the reception of the *Concordia* and equally on its indebtedness to continental sources. Æthelwold's proem acknowledges influences from Ghent and Fleury specifically, and modern research has regarded the *Concordia* as, variously, Lotharingian, Fleuriac, or distantly Cluniac.⁹ The discovery of Thierry of Amorbach's customary describing uses at Fleury c. 1000 has recently affirmed Æthelwold's debts to that house, but much about the continental affiliations of Anglo-Saxon customs remains unclear.¹⁰

The 'Bata problem' therefore involves not only patent misbehaviours shown in the *Colloquies* but our own uncertainty about actual (as opposed to ideal) English standards of 'monastic' and 'reformed' at the time. To contextualize Bata's witness, I begin with a survey of moments in the *Colloquies* that appear to defy trends of tenth- and eleventh-century regulation, whether English or continental. Thereafter I consider how representations of 'irregularity' were used by other monastic authors in the period, and how these analogues may render Bata somewhat less puzzling.

The Colloquies and reformed customs

In England, as on the Continent, 'reform' was a protean concept. But to emphasize only its variety does injustice to the impressive continuities dating back, in important respects, to Benedict of Aniane.¹¹ Two such areas of wide consensus happen to be ones where the *Colloquies* frequently transgress, namely the observance of silence and the nurture of oblates. The value attached to silence is easily forgotten, but in reformed circles 'by the tenth century there was scarcely a time or a place for monks to speak'.¹² The trend registers directly in Anglo-Saxon customaries and indirectly in the Old English monastic sign-language list *Monasteriales [sic] indicia*.¹³ Some allowances for speech must have been made in the 'school' but need not have gone so far as free conversation.¹⁴ Ælfric of Eynsham's *Colloquy* is instructive in this regard: the framing remarks of its *magister* represent that entire exchange as a controlled give-and-take within the

scola. Though several of Bata's pieces suggest a comparable setting (e.g., *Colloquies* 3-6 and probably 14-18), others blithely portray talk during the *horae incompetentes* of night (e.g., *Colloquies* 1-2 and 10-12) and while eating or drinking in the refectory (*Colloquies* 8-9 and 24).

Yet the more serious irregularities dramatized by Bata concern the supervision of younger *scolastici*.¹⁵ These are presumably oblates – boys offered to the monastery by their parents and immersed in a system of intellectual and spiritual formation. The categories and terminology for 'boys' versus 'youths' or 'adolescents' were not entirely stable. In theory the *scola* included *pueri* aged seven to fifteen; thereafter as *iuvenes* they might join the regular community but remain under close watch for several more years. A balance of punishment (*disciplina*) and constant policing (*custodia*) was supposed to transform oblates into elite monk-priests whose purity guaranteed the efficacy of a community's prayers and, hence, its ability to attract patronage.¹⁶ The fact that an entire institutional identity was at stake in keeping the oblates pure explains why customaries and related sources, especially the ninth-century *Rule*-commentary by Hildemar of Corbie, recommend that persons *sub custodia* never be left by themselves or alone in the private company of anyone else.¹⁷ Other than *magistri*, only a few high-ranking monks were allowed to address or even gesture to the *pueri*.¹⁸ Children themselves internalized these and other measures from an early age, learning (for example) to sit at a prescribed distance from one another, curbing impulses to touch or speak and keeping their bodies always covered.¹⁹

It comes as no surprise that some late-Anglo-Saxon sources reflect these trends: the proem to the *Concordia* forbids senior monks, including abbots, to embrace the *pueri* and *iuvenes*: 'Nec ad obsequium priuatum quempiam illorum [*scil.* puerorum uel adolescentium] nec saltem sub spiritualis rei obtentu solum deducere praesumant [*scil.* seniores], sed uti regula praecipit sub sui custodis uigilantia iugiter maneat. Nec ipse custos cum singulo aliquo puerulo sine tertio qui testis assistat migrandi licentiam habeat.'²⁰ Æthelwold here bows to the most rigorous continental observance, possibly to Fleury in particular,²¹ though the impact of the *Concordia* here as elsewhere can only be guessed. The oblate in Ælfric of Eynsham's *Colloquy* calls himself a 'puer sub virga'²², suggesting that conventions of *custodia* are familiar enough for the periphrasis to need no further explanation.²³ More than a half-century later, Osbern of Canterbury links the memory of Dunstan to the same emblem: when, for fear of their abusive *magistri*, oblates at Christ Church seek refuge at his tomb, the sainted archbishop appears holding not a bishop's staff but a master's *virga*.²⁴

The *Colloquies*' disregard of custody is extreme. Whatever relief Æthelwold might have felt when Bata has one boy say 'non audeo osculari te, frater' to an overly affectionate elder, little else would have pleased.²⁵ The boys of the *scola* are left unsupervised at least twice, first while their master strolls in the cemetery to chat with a layman, then again as oblates go to and from the refectory.²⁶ Individual boys head off on errands without *custodes*.²⁷ One monk upon rising sends a lone youngster out in the dead of night to fetch water; another boy is left behind by his master and peers to sleep through Nocturns.²⁸ Bata even has boys called upon to assist others with their *cura corporis*. Most irregular is a repeated request in Bata's *Colloquies* 9 and 10 that a lone boy accompany an elder to the latrine. In the first instance the boy answers that he must ask his master's permission. The master, instead of refusing or demanding (as at Cluny or Fleury) that an additional witness accompany the pair, enthusiastically encourages the boy to guide the monk to the latrine, then to bed, and there help him remove his shoes.²⁹

In the latter detail, neglect of custody extends even to the sleeping quarters, a zone of particular anxiety in monastic regulation. Chapter 22 of Benedict's *Rule* had required that the beds of youths (*adolescentiores*) be arranged among those of their elders for easier supervision; Hildemar names outright the targets of vigilance as homosexual contact (*sodomiticum scelus*) and masturbation (*immunditia*).³⁰ By the eleventh century, some reformers had come to see the dangers as arising less among the oblates than from older monks preying on them. The realization led to revised sleeping arrangements, described most revealingly at Fleury by Bata's contemporary, Thierry: 'lectuli infantum nequaquam fratrum lectis intermiscentur, sed potius in medio dormitorii fiunt ubi lucerne pendent, ut ex omni parte circumspici possunt. Lubricum quippe est valde et periculosum inter spiritaes viros conversari puerulos, quia nonnumquam scandalum permaximum atque destructio locorum inde procedit'.³¹ A similar arrangement pertains in Cluniac and other sources, corroborating the reformers' particular worries about the dormitory.³² Bata describes nothing overtly scandalous as his speakers retire to bed in *Colloquies* 9-11. But the boys' duty in making up elders' beds (*Colloquies* 9-10) is hard to square with typical arrangements that those under custody entered and exited the dormitory silently, as a group, having no reason or permission to touch the beds of older monks.³³ Other of Bata's remarks about the dormitory are also surprising, as in *Colloquy* 12 where the chief sacristan responsible for waking the whole community must himself be woken by an errand-boy.³⁴

The *cura corporis* occasions some of Bata's other major challenges to reformist custody. His Colloquy 23 seems realistic on the preparation and infrequency of baths, and in the detail that bathing rotations were not interrupted even for liturgical duties. On the other hand, Bata's description of an *adolescens* helping one monk to get undressed, bathe, then get dressed again defies the letter and spirit of most prescription.³⁵ In principle, bathing was possibly the only time when a monk was entirely naked and allowed to touch his unclothed body. For *magistri* charged with upholding custody even here, the conflicting demands of supervision and modesty must have been as tricky as during latrine-visits.³⁶ The washing of faces and hands at intervals throughout each day involved fewer pitfalls, but oblates remained segregated and scrutinized at these moments too.³⁷ Though Bata describes younger monks' participation in mutual shaving or hair-trimming, customaries tend to forbid those under custody to perform these tasks for one another (although they might, if supervised, so tend their *custodes*).³⁸

Like his depiction of bathing, Bata's remarks about clothes are also, when held up to reformist sources, a mix of the credible and incredible. In *Colloquy* 26 a boy complains of neglect by the officer who distributes clothes (Bata's *vestiarius*, typically the *camerarius* in other sources); given the value that reformed communities placed on their oblates, the charge has a whiff of the implausible about it. But Bata's inventory of *cappa*, *cuculla*, *toral*, *femoralia*, *perizomata*, and other garments agrees fairly well with a clothing list in the nearly contemporary Old English monastic sign-language text.³⁹ Unfortunately neither these nor other Anglo-Saxon documentary sources reveal much specific about the look of monastic habits.⁴⁰ The terms Bata uses may, moreover, have been lifted from class glossaries and so not reflect his own house's customs.⁴¹

One final detail in Bata's talk of clothing raises questions concerning real practices in a different, important sphere: corporal punishment. About his need for new clothes a *puer* gripes, 'femoralia quoque non habeo, nisi cruentata cum uirgis nuper uapulata'.⁴² In a later episode, Bata scripts the punishment of an allegedly cleptomaniacal oblate: the master deputizes two of the wretch's peers (possibly his accusers) to bring switches, then he orders: 'stet unus in dextera parte culi illius et alter in sinistra, et sic inuicem percutite super culum eius et dorsum, et flagellate eum bene prius, et ego uolo postea'. The master chides one punisher for not hitting hard enough and even jokes 'Non es mortuus adhuc' when the miscreant cries that he feels as if he is dying. In a verbose lament, the boy continues: 'modo sanguis meus in terra manat, cum lacrimis cruor stillat, non est cruor lacrimarum sed uulnerum'.⁴³ The lash was one of many forms of monastic

punishment, and the *Colloquies* convey its unique terror for the young. Customaries recognize a preventative as well as punitive benefit to corporal punishment; applied with discretion, it was part of a larger ascetic program for forming the stainless monk-priest.⁴⁴ Generally children were protected from delation and whipping in daily conventual Chapter; but in their own separate Chapter overseen by *magistri*, oblates were expected to accuse themselves or one another of faults and to receive punishment. Bowing to realism, some customaries limit their expectations of boys in so potentially sensitive a situation. Certain kinds of accusation were effectively disallowed, and in no customary known to me is any boy or adolescent still under custody ever deputized to whip a peer, as happens in Bata's *Colloquy* 28.⁴⁵

Bata's specific references to bloodshed are difficult to judge, as are his hints that culprits had to bare their backs or posteriors. For reasons of safety and collective modesty, the typical procedure appears to have been for offenders to remove the cowl but keep on the undershirt (*staminea*) during whippings. Bata's references to undressing for punishment are vague, mentioning only the cowl explicitly.⁴⁶ The thief's testimony that his 'blood drips with tears' cannot be taken too seriously: the words come verbatim from Isidore's *Synonyma*, and some eleventh-century authors coloured their descriptions of boys' being whipped to evoke the Holy Innocents.⁴⁷ Before dismissing Bata's gorier details as embellishment, however, it should be noted that oblates do seem to have faced unusually harsh discipline at Fleury. There, in children's Chapter, boys up to age fifteen stripped bare to the waist for lashings by a master whose job Thierry of Amorbach grimly describes: 'terribilibus solet verberibus latera eorum cruentare'.⁴⁸ Most unusually, Thierry requires older boys (*adolescentiores*) whipped in regular conventual Chapter to strip in the same fashion, even though this requires some exquisite choreography since 'verecundie est permaxime monacum nudum videri'.⁴⁹

So far I have considered mainly patterns in the *Colloquies* difficult to reconcile with a wide array of reformist customs (some of which, admittedly, may have had no correlates in Anglo-Saxon England). Yet among these irregularities also occur, as noted, plausible details about clothing, punishment, and bathing. Likewise, Bata's descriptions of eating and drinking may be less outrageous than they are reputed to be (Pierre Riché regarded the quantities of alcohol guzzled in the *Colloquies* as 'unworthy even of English monasticism').⁵⁰ Normative sources show considerable latitude about oblates' diets, and Hildemar allows younger boys to eat meat, provided they are weaned from the custom as adolescents. Customaries typically reserve meat-eating for the sick, but monastic diets

normally included fish and animal products such as cheese and eggs, and supplementary rounds of drink including beer, mead, and sweetened wine proliferated even at reformed centres.⁵¹ Bata's mentions of flesh-meat and frequent drinking are therefore not uniformly scandalous in themselves. The problems lie rather in uncensored portrayals of excessive consumption and chatter in the refectory, a space where, as in the dormitory, interactions were strictly curtailed.⁵²

Any catalogue of the believably irregular in the *Colloquies* will also include their references to private property, work-for-pay, recreations for the boys, and social excursions outside the monastery.⁵³ While regulation variously forbade all these, they were, like meat-eating and excess drinking, mentioned often enough in monastic literature to amount to commonplaces about unideal monkhood. As such topoi were rarely disengaged from polemic, Bata must have known that they would stir his audience's expectations for some kind of morally redeeming point. Such a point, if he had one, is hard to identify. Had he wished to illustrate vice in order to reinforce good conduct, he might have done so more clearly with only minor adjustments: his scenarios about latrine-visits, for example, could have launched exchanges upholding custody ('May I accompany this brother to the latrine?' 'Not unless he is a *magister* and a third goes with you!'). In the absence of such gestures, it is nevertheless still possible to consider the transgressiveness of the *Colloquies* anew by viewing them first within the wider range of contemporary motives for describing monastic misbehaviour, then within the problematic history of reform at Bata's probable home, Canterbury.

Reading monastic undiscipline

The *Colloquies* are hardly unique in representing lapses of discipline as part of monastic life. Histories and hagiography do so too, and, from the twelfth century, criticism of bad monks would become a veritable genre. Late-Anglo-Saxon communities received famous critiques from Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, both invoking already ancient clichés about monastic worldliness. Some attributes of Bata's monks echo the same stereotypes, yet without the plain motives of an Eadmer or William out to justify Norman domination, or even of a Gerald of Wales avenging perceived 'Cluniac' obstructions to his own career.⁵⁴ Did Bata have comparable agendas that we simply cannot see? Some wider antagonism seems all the more necessary to explain how such a man could have been appointed *magister* at Canterbury, either St Augustine's or Christ Church

Cathedral Priory (I view the latter as more likely).⁵⁵ Insofar as either was reformed to even approximately Æthelwoldian standards, the job of its *magistri* should have been to uphold custody as well as teach Latin. Yet the *Colloquies* nearly invert the emphases that the customaries or Hildemar assign to *disciplina* and *custodia*. Excess of the former and deficiency of the latter make Bata's picture of oblation a grotesque of the reformed ideal.

Critical responses to contradictions so extreme have tended two ways. One is *ad hominem*, making Bata a rogue who stayed a monk by inertia or compulsion. The practice of oblation probably meant that monasteries housed more such persons than the rare known examples betray (such as Gottschalk at Fulda). Osbern and Eadmer knew of Bata by reputation as a would-be despoiler of Christ Church, so he may in fact have been a bad seed.⁵⁶ If so, however, what that means for the *Colloquies* is none the clearer: a vindictive monk might seek to embarrass his community by documenting actual misbehaviours, inventing them outright, or mixing truth and slander.

A more provocative response to Bata's curious amorality is to question how deeply reform actually implicated him and his peers. Suspicions on this count may begin with the generic backgrounds of the *Colloquies* themselves. Bata drew on the straight-laced *Colloquy* by his reformist teacher Ælfric of Eynsham, but his other sources lay farther afield. Porter has shown that Bata modeled some of his scenarios on ones in an earlier text, the *Colloquia e libro De raris fabulis retractata* (or *Retractata*, for short), which in turn drew on the earlier collection *De raris fabulis*.⁵⁷ The latter was composed before c. 900 in Wales or Cornwall, hence remote in time and place from the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform.⁵⁸ Unsurprisingly, the *De raris fabulis* reflects institutions and terminology that are 'monastic' only in a broad pre-reformed sense.⁵⁹ It is surely striking, then, that some of Bata's episodes flouting silence and *custodia* in zones of particular anxiety to the reformers – the refectory, dormitory, bathing-house, and latrines – ultimately bear, via the *Retractata*, the impress of the pre-reformed *De raris fabulis*.⁶⁰

The debts of the *Colloquies* to these models still do not explain why Bata risked setting inadequately adapted scenarios before his students, or why his superiors would tolerate him as master if they took more seriously than he the objectives of Æthelwoldian-style reform. Beneath the latter 'if' of course lies the real question: in reading the *Colloquies* against normative texts of tenth- and eleventh-century reformed pedigree, are we using a standard to which Bata and his house truly aspired? The possibility that houses directly or indirectly joined to Æthelwold's legacy could flout his progressive customs may be remote. But the

Winchester ambit did not include the Canterbury communities, historically exceptional in any case. If Christ Church was Bata's home, the uncertain progress of reform there further complicates the problem. The claims of spurious charters notwithstanding, little evidence supports that the cathedral chapter was purged of clerks and monasticized at one stroke; the change rather appears to have proceeded gradually well into the eleventh century. However far it had gone by 1011, Danish attacks on the city in that year were later remembered as having claimed the lives of so many monks that the next monastic archbishop, Lyfing, was forced to replenish his chapter from the ranks of secular clergy.⁶¹

Accurate or not, the memory of a disciplinary slump at Canterbury recalls other narratives of monastic misfortune, some surprisingly helpful for imagining how a character such as Bata might have risen to important rank, or what his seeming indifference to new reforms could betoken. Perhaps the most instructive analogies lie at St Gall in the work of Bata's younger contemporary, Ekkehard IV, whose anecdotes of monastic undiscipline have also seemed enigmatically motivated. Writing perhaps c. 1050, Ekkehard relates how his abbey's destruction by fire in 937 forced the otherwise strict abbot, Craloh, to relax discipline. Compounding these hardships, Craloh had to accept as schoolmaster the arrogant monk Victor, whose hatred of the abbot divided the community and later ended in violence. Most arresting is the detail that 'cuius [*scil.* odii] scintillas, quaqua potuit, Victor inflammavit, propter quod et ipsi in scholis, quas ei commiserat, plura incommodasset severius inconsulto eo cum pueris agendo'.⁶² The moment resonates with Bata's whipping-scenes and with the aforementioned anecdote by Osbern about the Christ Church oblates' flight from bullying *magistri*.⁶³ The plausible lesson is that abused or neglected youths were sometimes pawns in the sort of intracommunal struggle that Ekkehard exceptionally details. Victor's career attests that even under a strict abbot, circumstances could land the oblates under the power of someone willing not just to abuse his position but to do so calculatedly.⁶⁴

St Gall provides other lessons potentially relevant to Bata, especially concerning the resistance to reform typical of old, proud monastic houses. Ekkehard's narrative has been interpreted as a defense of St Gall's adherence to the *Rule* against Lotharingian reformers' perennial charges of laxness. (In 1034 reformers actually imposed their own abbatial candidate, Norpert, on Ekkehard's community.) Faults that reformers long decried at St Gall, such as permissiveness about meat-eating and personal property, recall attributes of Bata's monks, as does a tolerance at St Gall for relatively frequent holidays by the *scola*. Granted, at its most topsy-turvy Ekkehard's St Gall is still a more sober, orderly place than

Bata's. The point, simply, is that Ekkehard in effect pleads no contest to what lapses he does acknowledge, chiefly because he and his brothers consider themselves upholders of an ancient, more authentically Benedictine observance than reformers brought. His community's failings, such as they were, Ekkehard attributes mainly to vicissitudes natural and man-made.⁶⁵

Of the two Canterbury communities, St Augustine's is perhaps the one that we would expect to mimic such venerable holdouts against reform as St Gall or, for that matter, Fulda or Fleury.⁶⁶ For its part, early-eleventh-century Christ Church could regard itself as an old 'Benedictine' house only through a trick of historical imagination, albeit one now recognized as characteristic of Anglo-Saxon reformers. On their view, Bede appeared to confirm that, from its Gregorian plantation, the English church had been not only monastic but monastic *stricto sensu*, with its first archbishop a monk served by a *familia* of the same.⁶⁷ Thus inspired, more than one Christ Church monk in the decades to either side of 1000 may have wondered why his community should adopt any customs imposed from outside. Belief in a 'Benedictine' pre-Viking-Age church, with Canterbury's Cathedral Priory as its head, made more logical a flow of custom in the opposite direction, from Christ Church as a type of *Musterkloster*. Naturally, such logic availed little against political realities that had already assigned Æthelwold's Abingdon or Winchester something like the role accorded Benedict of Aniane's Kornelimünster. But against intruded novelties of custom, Christ Church may have nurtured a sense of historic independence much as it did in the liturgy, where its Office remained loyal to the Roman Psalter over the recently fashionable Gallican.⁶⁸

Such conservatism joins other attributes to make the monastery of Bata's *Colloquies* resemble more and more the bustling, open complex that recent studies have seen in the great, late-Carolingian houses, 'Benedictine' and perhaps grudgingly Anianian but not yet reformed in tenth-century moulds.⁶⁹ That this was to some extent the case at urban Christ Church is plausible, notwithstanding any local effects of the Danish onslaught in 1011. There a turn to customs 'reformed' along actually current continental lines may have had to wait for the reign of the Confessor, if not the arrival of Lanfranc.⁷⁰ This does not mean that other cultural achievements associated with monastic reform in Anglo-Saxon England did not flourish at Christ Church from Dunstan through Stigand. Undoubtedly some did, especially the copying and decoration of books or the composition of new liturgical forms.⁷¹ Nevertheless, well into the eleventh century even the 'monastic' books copied at Christ Church can send mixed

signals. The volume famously inscribed with Bata's name, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, is emblematic of this ambivalence, being an archive for pointedly old-fashioned texts (the *Rule* and its Carolingian supplements), alongside products of recent reform (the *Regularis concordia*, the *Monasteriales indicia*) but also much else not monastic in any particular sense.⁷² Given the manuscript's Old English glosses that make the *Rule*, its supplements, and the *Concordia* vehicles for learning Latin language as much as custom, these parts of Tiberius A. iii approach the look of something monumental demoted to workaday service, like temple statuary used for garden planters.

The arrival of more current European custom at Christ Church is just one measure of monastic reform and one that, the suspicion grows, can be considered independently from others. Bata's assumed witness either to a decline of Anglo-Saxon reformed monasticism or to the unrealism of its prescriptions deserves qualification accordingly. Beyond allowing for his humour and debts to older textual models, we should consider that some aspects of the *Colloquies* outrageous by reformed standards of the day appear less so if Bata's context was one of transition, even surly or spiteful resistance, to new strictures being imposed from above or without. The implications of such antagonism reach beyond Bata, placing in a new light, for example, the notorious absence of any non-spurious Christ Church voice celebrating the chapter's monasticization. Tensions between what Joyce Hill has called 'reform and resistance' make the lone contemporary voice that may survive from this transition – Bata's – less unaccountable. When the monks of tenth-century Fulda encountered reformist pressure, Widukind of Corvey grumbled at the arrogance of the Lotharingian zealots: 'Gravisque persecutio monachis oritur in diebus illis, affirmantibus quibusdam pontificibus, melius arbitrati paucos vita claros quam plures negligentes inesse monasteriis oportere'. Like Widukind, who contradicted such fervour with Christ's parable of the wheat and tares (Matthew 13. 24-30), Bata probably would have sympathized with the Fulda monks – and realized that their days were numbered.⁷³

NOTES

¹ See *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. and trans. by Scott Gwara and David W. Porter (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 12-15 and 56, this book hereafter cited as *Conversations* (for Porter's introduction) or by text- and page-numbers of the *Colloquy*-items and translations.

² Ed. by Thomas Symons and others in the series *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* (= CCM), 14 vols in 19 to date (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1963-), VII/3 (1984), 61-147, prolegomena in VII/1 (1984), 155-66 and 371-93.

³ See Patrick Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), pp. 13-42 (pp. 30-32 on the *Concordia* specifically).

⁴ See *Die 'Regularis concordia' und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, ed. by Lucia Kornexl, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie*, 17 (Munich: Fink, 1993), pp. xcvi-cxxix. On evidence that both copies preserve an inchoate state of the text, see Kornexl, *Die 'Regularis concordia'*, pp. cxliii-cxlv. On the more important of the manuscripts, see Helmut Gneuss, 'Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: The Case of Cotton Tiberius A. III', in *Of Making Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. by P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), pp. 13-48. See also my discussion, below.

⁵ *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. and trans. by Christopher A. Jones, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 18-58; Joyce Hill, 'Rending the Garment and Reading by the Rood: *Regularis concordia* Rituals for Men and Women', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, *Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia* 5 (London: Boydell, 2005), pp. 53-64.

⁶ John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 349-54.

⁷ For the state of research, see references in Isabelle Cochelin, 'Évolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Cluniac Customs*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, *Disciplina monastica*, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 29-66. On English customaries, see my 'Monastic Custom in Early Norman England', *Revue bénédictine*, 115 (2003), 135-68 and 302-36 (pp. 135-37 and 143-48).

⁸ These views represent reaction to Kassius Hallinger's *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, *Studia Anselmiana*, 22-25, 2

vols (Rome: Herder, 1950-51); helpful on the controversies is Pius Engelbert, 'Kassius Hallinger (1911-1991) und die Erforschung des hochmittelalterlichen Mönchtums', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 79 (1993), 278-94.

⁹ See *Regularis concordia* 5 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 71-73 and commentary) and incisive remarks by Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ The Fleuriac customs (*Floriacenses antiquiores*) are edited by Anselme Davril and others, CCM VII/3 (1984), 2-60, prolegomena in CCM VII/1 (1984), 147-52 and 331-70 (see pp. 351-59 on Fleury and the *Concordia*). For context, see John Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury, and Continental Reform', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 23-45.

¹¹ In addition to Wormald, 'Æthelwold', good overviews are essays in *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Raymund Kottje and Helmut Maurer, Vorträge und Forschungen, 38 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989); also Joachim Wollasch, 'Monasticism: The First Wave of Reform', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, III: c. 900-c. 1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 163-85.

¹² Scott G. Bruce, 'Uttering No Human Sound: Silence and Sign Language in Western Medieval Monasticism' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 2000), p. 7.

¹³ *Regularis concordia* 84 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 131); cf. *Regularis concordia* 28, 31, and 40 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 88, 90, and 95); Ælfric's *Letter* 60 (ed. by Jones, p. 60); Bruce, 'Uttering No Human Sound', pp. 132-33. *Monasteriales indicia: The Anglo-Saxon Monastic Sign Language*, ed. and trans. by Debby Banham (Pinner: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1991); cf. Bruce, 'Uttering No Human Sound', p. 136.

¹⁴ See, e.g., the Carolingian *Memoriale qualiter* 8 (ed. by C. Morgand, CCM I (1963; 2nd edn 1989), 239, commentary to line 5). Possibly the eleventh-century Cluniac *Liber tramitis* 154 (ed. by Peter Dinter, CCM X (1980), 220) allows some free but still monitored talk in the *scola*.

¹⁵ For the scholastic component, see *Colloquies* 3, 4, 6, 14-15, 24-25, 27-28, *Colloquia difficiliora* 2 and 4, and comment at *Conversations*, pp. 8-15 and 56; Pierre Riché, 'La vie quotidienne dans les écoles monastiques d'après les colloques scolaires', in *Sous la règle de saint Benoît: Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du moyen âge à l'époque moderne*, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 47 (Geneva: Droz, 1982), pp. 417-26; idem, 'Les moines bénédictins: maîtres d'école VIIIe-XIe siècles', in *Benedictine Culture: 750-1050*, ed. by W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), pp. 96-113; Susan Boynton, 'Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. by George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 7-20 (pp. 15-16).

¹⁶ See Maria Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder: Ein Beitrag zur Liturgie- und Sozialgeschichte des Mönchtums im hohen Mittelalter*, Münsteraner theologische

Abhandlungen, 13 (Münster: Oros, 1991), pp. 215-57; Patricia A. Quinn, *Better Than the Sons of Kings: Boys and Monks in the Early Middle Ages*, Studies in History and Culture, 2 (New York: Lang, 1989), pp. 76-81; Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 228-45; and eadem, 'Growing Up in a Carolingian Monastery: Magister Hildemar and His Oblates', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 99-128. On monastic ranks of age and maturity as fluid, see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 95-131; Isabelle Cochelin, 'Étude sur les hiérarchies monastiques: Le Prestige de l'ancienneté et son éclipse à Cluny au XI^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 11 (2000), 5-37.

¹⁷ Good overviews of custody are de Jong, 'Growing Up', distilling the mid-ninth-century commentary on Benedict's *Rule* by Hildemar of Corbie: see *Vita et regula SS. P. Benedicti una cum expositione regulae, III: Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita*, ed. by Rupertus Mittermüller (Regensburg: Pustet, 1880), esp. capp. 22 and 37 (pp. 337 and 418). For degrees of custody, see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 106-14.

¹⁸ Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 350-58.

¹⁹ Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 199-200, 357-58, and 406-07. On physical imitation in the oblates' training, see Isabelle Cochelin, 'Besides the Book: Using the Body to Mould the Mind – Cluny in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Medieval Monastic Education* (op. cit. in note 15 above), pp. 21-34.

²⁰ *Regularis concordia* 12 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 76-77); I translate: '[The elder monks] shall not presume to take any one [of the boys or youths] aside alone for the purpose of some private request or even under the pretense of some spiritual matter; but rather the youth should remain always under the watchful care of his minder, and not even the minder should be permitted to go about with any individual boy without the presence of a third to stand as witness.' Limiting abbots' discretion here is unusually strict; cf. Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 353-56.

²¹ Cf. *Floriacenses antiquiores* 18 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 30).

²² 'a boy beneath the rod.'

²³ *Ælfric's Colloquy*, rev. edn by G. N. Garmonsway (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1978), p. 46.

²⁴ Osbern, *Miracula sancti Dunstani* 15 (ed. by William Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, Rolls Series, 63 (London: Longman, 1874), pp. 140-42); cf. Eadmer, *Miracula sancti Dunstani* 12 (*Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. by Stubbs, pp. 229-31). Note the Dunstan of this vision counters the bad *magistri* in the anecdote and does so while honouring custom to the letter, using the *virga* rather than his hand to touch the visionary boy.

²⁵ *Colloquy* 20 (p. 122, trans. p. 123): 'I don't dare kiss you, brother'. Unless the older monk is a *magister*, custody has already been violated by his addressing the boy and asking him to come sit down next to him for a while. Cf. *Colloquy* 25 (p. 140) and Porter's introduction, p. 14.

²⁶ *Colloquies* 5 and 24 (pp. 88 and 132). Porter, supposing that there is just one senior *magister* (*Conversations*, p. 8), wonders if plural 'masters' mentioned in *Colloquy* 6 (p. 92) were older members of the *ordo infantum*. But other sources often speak of multiple *magistri* (e.g. Hildemar, *Expositio regulae* 22 (ed. by Mittermüller, pp. 331-32); Lanfranc's *Decreta* 109 (ed. by David Knowles, CCM III (1967), 95)) or of mature monks acting as *solatia* to the headmaster (*Floriacenses antiquiores* 18 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 30)). On *magistri* generally, see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 344-50 and 352-53.

²⁷ That boys carried out menial chores, especially in the refectory, is attested by, e.g., Hildemar's *Expositio regulae* 37 (ed. by Mittermüller, p. 418); cf. Bata's *Colloquy* 8 and *Difficiliora* 1 (pp. 94-98 and 178). But refectory- and kitchen-duties were closely supervised; see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 297-300.

²⁸ *Colloquies* 2 and 12, respectively (pp. 80-82 and 110). A boy who sleeps through Nocturns in *Colloquy* 12 pleads that a fellow oblate was supposed to wake him; but cf. Hildemar, *Expositio regulae* 22 (ed. by Mittermüller, pp. 335-36), forbidding boys to perform this function for one another. In Ælfric of Eynsham's *Colloquy*, the master's *virga* rousts an oblate from bed (ed. by Garmonsway, p. 48).

²⁹ *Colloquies* 9 and 10 (pp. 98 and 108); cf. sources surveyed by Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 315-20, and Gerd Zimmermann, *Ordensleben und Lebensstandard: Die Cura Corporis in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, 32 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), pp. 120-22. But cf. Hildemar's *Expositio regulae* 22 (ed. by Mittermüller, p. 234), not mentioning a third party on nightly latrine-visits. Details in Bata's descriptions are unclear: in *Colloquy* 10 the boy may be carrying a lantern; in 9 the fact that the requester needs guidance and sleeps (apparently) in a room other than the dormitory implies that he is a visiting monk (yet custody around strangers was supposed to be strictest of all; see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 180-81).

³⁰ *Expositio regulae* 22 (ed. by Mittermüller, pp. 332-33). Hildemar refers to these two species of offense together again in cap. 29 (ed. by Mittermüller, pp. 365 and 369).

³¹ *Floriacenses antiquiores* 28 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 41-42); I translate: 'the beds of the small boys should never be placed here and there among the beds of the brethren but rather in the middle of the dormitory where lanterns hang, so that [the boys] can be seen from every angle. Indeed it is a hazard and great danger for boys to live in the midst of spiritual men, since from this often arises greatest scandal and the ruin of places.'

³² Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 261-68, surveys pertinent sources and argues against the inference (e.g., by Quinn, *Better Than the Sons*, p. 63) that children typically slept in a separate dormitory.

³³ Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, pp. 134-46; Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 261-74, 348, and 403-06; Quinn, *Better Than the Sons*, pp. 123-24; de Jong, 'Growing Up', pp. 112 and 117. On a related topic, see Bata's description of bedding-supplies in *Colloquy* 26 (p. 160).

³⁴ The abbot, however, would not be woken (thus *Colloquy* 11); cf. Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 263-64.

³⁵ *Colloquy* 23 (p. 130).

³⁶ Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, pp. 124-26. Against monks' being seen naked while bathing, see *Floriacenses antiquiores* 12 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 23). In Lanfranc's *Decreta* 7, the young are barred from assisting older bathers, novices from bathing with oblates (CCM III (1967), 11). Customaries otherwise say little about children's baths; Lahaye-Geusen infers the occurrence was rare owing in part to strains it placed on the custody-system (*Das Opfer*, p. 312; cf. Quinn, *Better Than the Sons*, pp. 132-33).

³⁷ *Colloquies* 1 and 2 refer to washing hands and faces daily upon rising: boys wake, put on their stockings and night shoes, visit the latrine, then wash, all before going to church for the first Office (presumably Nocturns). Cf. *Regularis concordia* 23 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 85) and Ælfric's *Letter* 2 (ed. by Jones, p. 110) which first describe this daily washing at a later point, i.e. before Terce in Winter (before Prime in Summer). Before Nocturns these latter sources explicitly mention only a visit to the latrine, but other customaries do describe a first washing before Nocturns; see Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, pp. 118-19; Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 307-10.

³⁸ *Colloquies* 14 and 23 (pp. 114 and 128-30) mention shaving. For the customaries, cf. Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, pp. 126-28; Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 313-14.

³⁹ *Colloquy* 26; Porter translates 'cap', 'cowl', 'overcoat', and 'trousers', but *cappa* here probably means 'cape, cloak' (cf. *DOE*, s.v. *cæppe*) and *perizomata* 'loin cloth' (cf. Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, rev. edn (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), p. 253). Cf. *Monasteriales indicia* 91-93 and 101-08 (ed. by Banham, pp. 40 and 42-44).

⁴⁰ On monastic garb, see Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, II, 681-83, 689-92, 695-96, and 715-30; Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, pp. 88-107. Boys used essentially the wardrobe of adult monks; see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 53 n. 31 and 302-06.

⁴¹ See *Conversations*, p. 39, and minor discrepancies between lists in *Colloquy* 26 (already discussed) and *Colloquy* 1: 'ficones [. . .] et pedules et ocreas' (p. 80; cf. Porter's translation, p. 81: 'shoes, stockings, and leggings'); *Colloquy* 14: *stropheum* 'belt', *interulum* 'shirt', *tractorium* 'boothook', *ficones* 'shoes', *duae manicae* 'sleeves' [or perhaps 'gloves'], *duae*

ocreae uel pedules 'a pair of leggings or stockings', *duo ficones seu subtulares* 'a pair of shoes or slippers' (p. 114, translation p. 115).

⁴² *Colloquy* 26 (p. 160, translation p. 161): 'I don't have any trousers save for the bloody ones from when I was beaten with rods a while back.'

⁴³ *Colloquy* 28 (pp. 166 and 168, translation pp. 167 and 169): 'One boy stand on the right side of his ass and one on the left. Take turns beating his ass and back. First you two beat him well and I will afterwards' [. . .] 'You're not dead yet' [. . .] 'Now my blood lies on the earth and my blood drips with tears. It is not the blood of tears, but of wounds'.

⁴⁴ The point is often made in studies of the *Colloquies*, both Bata's (see *Conversations*, pp. 8-9, 12, and 14; Riché, 'Les moines bénédictins', pp. 103-04) and Ælfric of Eynsham's (ed. by Garmonsway, pp. 18-19 and 45). On corporal punishment in customaries, see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 380-99.

⁴⁵ On children's Chapter, see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 117-18, 275, and 368-72; Quinn, *Better Than the Sons*, pp. 65 and 116-27.

⁴⁶ *Colloquies* 6 and 18 (pp. 92 and 170) on dressing/undressing for punishment. On the rarity of whipping bare skin, see *Floriacenses antiquiores* 18 and 32 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 31, commentary to line 6; also 51, commentary to ll. 3-4 and 6).

⁴⁷ *Colloquy* 28 (p. 169 n. 345). On whipping as 'martyrdom' see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 384-87 and 394-96; cf. the anecdote by Osbern cited above (in note 24), and the famous episode in Eadmer's *Life of St Anselm* 1.22 (rev. edn and trans. by R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), pp. 37-40).

⁴⁸ *Floriacenses antiquiores* 18 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 31); I translate: 'he customarily bloodies their flanks with horrific beatings'. Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 394-95, takes the passage for hyperbole but grants that punishments were comparatively harsh at Fleury.

⁴⁹ *Floriacenses antiquiores* 32 (CCM VII/3 (1984), 51): 'it is the ultimate embarrassment for a monk to be seen naked' (my translation, aided by the French of Anselme Davril and others in *L'Abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil*, Sources d'histoire médiévale, 32 (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 2004), p. 234). Problematically, other monastic texts can use *nudus* for 'stripped' only of the outer *cuculla*; see Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, p. 394.

⁵⁰ 'Les moines bénédictins', pp. 106-7. *Colloquy* 8 (p. 98) has an older monk goad a younger to eat and drink excessively.

⁵¹ Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, pp. 58-64 and 67-71; Quinn, *Better Than the Sons*, pp. 127-28; Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 276-86. Eating and drinking abound in *Colloquies* 8, 9, 21, the opening of 24, and *Difficiliora* 1 and 12; cf. *Monasteriales indicia* 57-78 and 83-86 (ed. by Banham, pp. 32-38).

⁵² Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 288-97.

⁵³ For property see *Colloquies* 14, 20, and 28 (beginning); in *Colloquy* 24 boys negotiate wages for copywork; for playtime, see *Colloquy* 7 and cf. Hildemar, *Expositio regulae* 37 (ed. by Mittermüller, p. 419); Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer*, pp. 274-75. For frivolous trips from the monastery see *Colloquy* 21.

⁵⁴ Eadmer, *Miracula sancti Dunstani* 16 (ed. by Stubbs, pp. 236-38); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* 1.44 (ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 52 (London, 1870), pp. 70-71); Brian Golding, 'Gerald of Wales and the Monks', *Thirteenth-Century England*, 5 (1995), 53-64.

⁵⁵ On Bata's career, see *Conversations*, pp. 1-3 and 208-09. Favouring Christ Church are an inscription in Cotton Tiberius A. iii (see Gneuss, 'Origin', pp. 23-24, and below) and the grudges of Osbern and Eadmer (see following note). Favouring St Augustine's are Bata's references to an 'abbot' over his community and the St Augustine's provenance of the Cambro-Latin *De raris fabulis* (see Scott Gwara, 'Education in Wales and Cornwall in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Understanding *De raris fabulis*', Hughes Memorial Lectures, 4 (Cambridge: ASNAC, 2004), pp. 12-13), on which see my discussion below. Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 277-78, allows that some monks in this period moved between the two Canterbury houses.

⁵⁶ For this view see *Conversations*, pp. 12-15; on Osbern and Eadmer, *Conversations*, pp. 3 and 208-09. On Gottschalk and other rebellious *nutriti*, see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 77-99 and 219.

⁵⁷ David W. Porter, 'Anglo-Saxon Colloquies: Ælfric, Ælfric Bata and *De Raris Fabulis Retractata*', *Neophilologus*, 81 (1997), 467-80. For the *Retractata*, see *Latin Colloquies from Pre-Conquest Britain*, ed. by Scott Gwara, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 32 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996), pp. 29-38. For *De raris fabulis*, see '*De raris fabulis*', '*On Uncommon Tales*': *A Glossed Latin Colloquy-Text from a Tenth-Century Cornish Manuscript*, ed. and trans. by Scott Gwara, Basic Texts for Brittonic History, 4 (Cambridge: ASNAC, 2004).

⁵⁸ See Gwara as cited above (note 55) and his 'The *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*, Latin Oral Fluency, and the Social Function of the Cambro-Latin Dialogues Called *De raris fabulis*', in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. by Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 109-38 (pp. 110-11).

⁵⁹ For example, Cambro-Latin *podum* and *princeps* in *De raris fabulis* 6 (ed. by Gwara, p. 7) for 'monastery' and 'abbot' respectively; see Wendy Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), pp. 36-38 and 121-28. On diversity in pre-reformed English 'monasticism', see Blair, *The Church*, pp. 80-83.

⁶⁰ E.g., speech during *horae incompetentes* = *Retractata* 1-2 from *De raris fabulis* 1-2 (texts cited from editions by Gwara, as note 57 above); refectory = *Retractata* 6 from *De raris fabulis* 6; dormitory and bed-making = *Retractata* 18 from *De raris fabulis* 18; bathing = *Retractata* 20 from *De raris fabulis* 20; latrine = *Retractata* 12 from *De raris fabulis* 11; kissing = *Retractata* 9 from *De raris fabulis* 11; boy left alone to guard an elder's property = *Retractata* 5 from *De raris fabulis* 5 (cf. *Conversations*, p. 8 n. 19).

⁶¹ Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 255-66. Tardy reform also explains Christ Church's relative uninterest in relic cults; see Alan Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and His Successors', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay and others (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 221-45.

⁶² Ekkehard IV, *Casus sancti Galli* 70 (ed. and trans. by Hans Haefele, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 10 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), p. 148). Departing from Haefele's German rendering, I translate: 'Victor, so far as he could, fanned into flame the sparks of hatred [against Craloh]; to that end, even in the school which Craloh had entrusted to him, Victor caused many difficulties for the abbot by acting very harshly towards the boys without his permission.'

⁶³ See note 24, above. Brooks (*Early History*, p. 266) dates the events of the anecdote to 1066.

⁶⁴ Several factors, including aristocratic connections at the Ottonian court, enabled Victor's challenges to Craloh; see Iso Müller, 'Ekkehart IV. und die Rätoromanen', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 82 (1971), 271-88 (pp. 272-75).

⁶⁵ For reformist pressures on St Gall, see Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1, 187-99. A recent interpretation of the *Casus* as resistance to reform is Ernst Hellgardt, 'Die *Casus Sancti Galli* Ekkeharts IV. und die *Benediktsregel*', in *Literarische Kommunikation und soziale Interaktion: Studien zur Institutionalität mittelalterlicher Literatur*, ed. by Beate Kellner and others, *Mikrokosmos*, 64 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001), pp. 27-50. On recreation see Janet L. Nelson, 'Feasts, Games, and Inversions: Reflections on *The Ups and Downs of St-Gall*', in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), pp. 269-76.

⁶⁶ For Fulda, see Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1, 217-15; Josef Semmler, 'Instituta sancti Bonifatii: Fulda im Widerstreit der Observanzen', in *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. by Gangolf Schrimpf, *Fuldaer Studien*, 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1996), pp. 79-103; Pius Engelbert, 'Klosterleben in Fulda um das Jahr 1000', in *Kloster Fulda*, pp. 225-45. For Fleury, see most recently Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury', pp. 33-41.

⁶⁷ Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 39-41; also Antonia Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), 159-207 (pp. 162-68). The character of regular life at Christ Church in

earlier centuries, especially after reforms by Archbishop Wulfred (805-32), is disputed; see Blair, *The Church*, p. 125 with references.

⁶⁸ Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 261-65.

⁶⁹ Richard E. Sullivan, 'What Was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St Gall and the History of Monasticism', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 251-87.

⁷⁰ Jones, 'Monastic Custom', pp. 161-68.

⁷¹ See Richard Gameson, 'Books, Culture, and the Church in Canterbury around the Millennium', in *Vikings, Monks, and the Millennium: Canterbury in about 1000 A.D.* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Society, 2000), pp. 15-39. On liturgical composition, see Christopher A. Jones, 'The Origins of the "Sarum" Chrism Mass at Eleventh-Century Christ Church, Canterbury', *Mediaeval Studies*, 67 (2005), 219-315.

⁷² See Gneuss, 'Origin', pp. 23-24. On the Aachen supplements and other Carolingian monuments important to the Anglo-Saxons, see Mechthild Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early Stages of the Benedictine Reform in England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 111-46 (pp. 114-25 and 146).

⁷³ *Res gestae saxonicae* 2.37 (ed. by H. E. Lohmann, 5th rev. edn by Paul Hirsch, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935), p. 98); I translate, 'In those days there arose against the monks a hard persecution, to which certain bishops gave their approval as they deemed it more fitting for a few men of outstanding life to inhabit the monasteries than crowds of slack ones'.

Pope Sergius I's Privilege for Malmesbury

Christine Rauer

Not many books survive from the earliest library at Malmesbury, although some of its contents can be inferred from the reading of one of Malmesbury's most interesting figures, the early abbot and Anglo-Latin author Aldhelm (d. c. 709 or 710).¹ In the late seventh or early eighth century Aldhelm appears to have travelled to Rome, possibly to obtain privileges from Pope Sergius I (s. 687-701) for two English monasteries over which he presided: Malmesbury, and an unnamed institution in the neighbourhood dedicated to St John.² Sergius is known to have had other connections with England: it was Sergius who baptized Cædwalla (689),³ gave the pallium to Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury (693),⁴ and consecrated Willibrord as Archbishop of the Frisians (695);⁵ he also seems to have confirmed a privilege for the monastery at Wearmouth,⁶ and perhaps even arbitrated in the disputes between Bishop Wilfrid of York and Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury.⁷

On the occasion of Aldhelm's visit, Sergius may well have obliged his petitions with a privilege, and it is the resulting Latin text and its relationship with an Old English version which will be at the centre of this discussion. The bull handed over to Aldhelm (if indeed issued), is unsurprisingly lost. Three late medieval cartularies, however, claim to preserve its text:⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5, fols 57^r-60^r (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), London, Public Record Office, E 164/24, fols 140^v-41^v (s. xiii), and London, British Library, Lansdowne 417, fols 35^r-36^v (s. xiv/xv).⁹ The text also survives embedded in two works by William of Malmesbury: his edition of the *Liber pontificalis*¹⁰ and his *Gesta pontificum* where it was inserted by William himself, as is apparent from his autograph, Oxford, Magdalen College 172, fols 86^v-87^v (s. xii¹).¹¹ Finally, an early modern transcript was made by John Joscelyn, secretary to Archbishop Parker, in the margins of London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, part I, fols 68^r-69^v (s. xvi).¹² The

medieval Latin versions can be said to differ only in minor details, and the version preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5 seems to be closest to the text's archetype.¹³ There then survives an Old English version of the Latin privilege, preserved only in London, British Library, Cotton Otho C.i, part I, fols. 68^r-69^v (s. xi^{med.} prov. Malmesbury?), one of the manuscripts badly damaged in the fire of 1731.¹⁴ The Latin and Old English texts of Sergius's privilege are similar in structure, consisting of a Superscription, Preamble (on the nature of privileges, sections [1-2]), Disposition (describing the parties involved, the requested privileges and conditions, the confirmation and details of the privilege and disclaimers, [3-10]), and the Final Protocol (penal clause and salutation [10-11]).¹⁵ A witness list [12] which only survives in the vernacular text probably existed in the Latin version too;¹⁶ the dating clause is missing from both versions. Among the surviving Latin versions, that closest to the Old English is again Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5.

It is clear that no papal bull would have been issued in Old English, and that any vernacular version of such a text would necessarily have to be a translation. The most basic scenario suggesting itself, therefore, would be a relatively long transmission of the Latin text ending in the surviving Latin versions, with a derivative vernacular tradition. Given that papal documents are often known to have experienced interpolations, rewritings and other tampering, however, a more complex scenario is theoretically plausible.¹⁷ Heather Edwards, the most recent editor of Sergius's text, indeed proposed a more complicated relationship: according to Edwards, the vernacular version represents a translation from an older, lost Latin tradition; the surviving Latin versions are said to be direct descendants not of Sergius's bull, but of a later *retranslation* into Latin from Old English.¹⁸ Accordingly, the transmission of the Latin text would have come to an end within the early medieval period, with loss of all Latin copies, thus necessitating a retranslation from Old English for the reproduction of a new Latin text. The surviving Latin versions would therefore be descended from the vernacular tradition, via a process of translation from Latin into Old English and retranslation into Latin. As a possible setting, Edwards pointed to late eleventh-century Malmesbury, whose monastic personnel, dismayed at the lack of written information on the early history of their abbey, are known to have invited the Italian monk Faricius of Arezzo (d. 1117) to fill the gap by composing the notoriously fanciful *Vita S. Aldhelmi*.¹⁹ Faricius's English is known to have been poor,²⁰ and would likely have caused problems in his collection of vernacular material. Edwards suggested that a need would thus have arisen to recreate a

Latin text, if it had by then been lost, by or on behalf of Faricius: 'It seems likely that the Old English sources used for his *Life of Aldhelm* were translated for him by an assistant, himself perhaps a person of Norman origin and not entirely fluent in English'.²¹ Surveying previous opinions on the authenticity of Sergius's text, Edwards referred to David Knowles, Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren as 'the only scholars to have published an opinion of this particular document'.²² The latter two interpreted the surviving Latin versions as spurious, an impression which would indeed fit a theory of the Latin text as a product of translation and retranslation.²³

On closer inspection, however, the case could well be different. In what follows, I would like to propose an alternative scenario for the relationship between the Latin and vernacular branches of transmission; in particular, it should be possible to show that the surviving Latin tradition is unlikely to have issued from the vernacular, and that the most basic imaginable transmission, namely that of an older Latin tradition (genuine or spurious), with a derivative Old English text, could after all be the more convincing hypothesis. Modern reactions to Sergius's privilege are in any case more extensive and varied than has been suggested. It is true that some commentators have in the past referred to the text as spurious, in all cases without discussion or supporting evidence.²⁴ Others have variously interpreted the text as authentic (wholly or partially), probably authentic, or requiring further examination.²⁵ The most detailed examination of the literary sources of Sergius's privilege is that by Hans Hubert Anton, who describes the document's authenticity as 'largely accepted', assessing the surviving Latin versions as 'unambiguously genuine' and as presenting substantially the same text as that which was presumably issued by Pope Sergius.²⁶ Anton's argument is mainly based on stylistic comparison. Sergius's privilege is shown to present extensive verbal parallels with three other privileges: John VII for Farfa (JE 2144), Agatho for Chertsey (JE 2115) and Constantine I for Bermondsey and Woking (JE 2148), above all in the sections dealing with monastic exemption [7], the celebration of masses [8], abbatial and presbyterial elections [9-10], and in the exhortation [10-11]. The parallel phrasing in this group of documents seems to indicate literary influence from a common source or group of closely related sources – possibly an early version or precursor of the *Liber diurnus*, the much debated formulary of the papal chancery – and Anton goes as far as to use the parallels between this group of exemptions and *Liber diurnus*-material as an indicator of the probable authenticity of the privileges.²⁷

An important question is, therefore, whether a Latin text which has experienced translation into, and subsequent retranslation out of, Old English would still present a sufficient level of verbal parallel with a group of highly formulaic papal documents, and display the characteristics of authentic papal diplomatic, as outlined by Anton. If not, it is clear that the parallels between the privileges for Malmesbury, Farfa, Chertsey, Bermondsey and Woking and their purported source constitute an obstacle for a theory involving a recreation of the Latin privilege for Malmesbury from a vernacular source, especially so as Anton argues against a direct relationship between the four privileges. Sergius's privilege appeared sufficiently authentic to persuade several medieval popes who issued confirmations, starting with Innocent II (1142).²⁸ Around the same time, the Malmesbury community presented their case for free abbatial election, equally basing it on the privilege of Sergius.²⁹ Moreover, while working on his *Gesta pontificum*, William of Malmesbury is likely to have used a Latin, not vernacular, exemplar, probably a close relative of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5.³⁰ At least around the mid-twelfth century, therefore, a further Latin text, now lost, seems to have been in circulation which appeared convincing to the papal chancery and personnel at Malmesbury.

Closer analysis of the vernacular and Latin texts shows up characteristic divergence. Two points of differing content were pointed out by Edwards: the witness list which survives only in the Old English version, and the conflicting information on the origin of the place-name of Malmesbury.³¹ According to William of Malmesbury, Aldhelm was educated by a learned Irish hermit variously known as Maildubus, Maelduin or Maelduibh, allegedly the first abbot of Malmesbury whose name may also be preserved in the place-name.³² Although reference to this elusive figure seems to be made in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* ('[monasterium], quod Maildubi Vrbem nuncupant'), it remains unclear whether he should be regarded as historical, fictitious, or a conflation with a historical figure.³³ The Latin version of Sergius's privilege does refer to this figure: 'monasterium beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quod Meldum religiosae memoriae condidit, quod etiam nunc Meldumesburg uocatur' ('the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, founded by Meldum of religious memory and still called Meldumesburg (Malmesbury)', [3]). The corresponding vernacular phrase, by contrast, seems to present 'Meldum' as a place-name: 'þæt mynster þæt is sancte Petre and sancte Paule gehalgud, on þam mæran gemynde, gelogud æt Meldum, þæt is oþrum naman Maldumesburuh geclypuð' ('the monastery which is

consecrated to St Peter and St Paul, of famous memory, established ?at Meldum, which is alternatively called Maldum's Burgh (Malmesbury)' [3]).

Edwards regarded the Old English passage as 'obscure' and assumed anteriority, suggesting that the fabrication of the fabulous Malduibh in the Latin version should be attributed to the eleventh century.³⁴ But it seems to me that this conclusion is not inevitable. Bede does hint at earlier ideas of an Irish founder figure. The vernacular passage too makes reference to this founder in the place-name 'Maldumesburuh' which seems sufficiently transparent to suggest a masculine figure of 'Maldum', and also happens to correspond exactly to Bede's term. It is therefore important to stress that, like the Latin version, the Old English passage *also* refers to a person named Maldum. Moreover, late usage of Old English 'æt' admits the translation of 'gelogud æt Meldum' as 'established by Meldum', thus again referring to a person rather than a place.³⁵ Interestingly, in other texts this usage of 'æt' seems to be mainly Ælfrician.³⁶

It is true that this interpretation would also leave the subsequent reference to 'oprum naman' unexplained, which points to two synonymous place-names. The phrase 'oprum naman' also presents problems, however, as it is clearly at odds with the Latin equivalent 'etiam', here to be understood in a temporal sense, as 'still, even now, to this day'. It is possible that a translator may have misunderstood the Latin 'etiam' to indicate synonymity, leading to a translation as the more specific 'oprum naman'; that a retranslator extrapolated the more ambiguous 'etiam' from a reference as precise as the Old English one seems less convincing. But it is also interesting that a place-name 'Maldum', without '-burh' or a similar compound element or suffix, would be unique, again hinting that 'æt Maldum' does refer to a person rather than a place.

The context of the phrase 'of religious memory' is also difficult, apparently making more sense in the Latin text, where it refers to a person ('Meldum religiosae memoriae', now deceased but surviving in pious memory), and where it represents one of many attestations of precisely this construction.³⁷ In Old English, by comparison, the phrase 'on þam mæran gemynde' awkwardly and syntactically ambiguous attaches itself to either St Peter and Paul (meaningfully, but at odds with the Latin version), or, at greater distance, to 'Meldum' (which only makes sense if 'Meldum' is understood as a personal name, not a place-name).³⁸ Curiously, 'on þam mæran gemynde' seems to have no parallels or near-parallel in Old English, with reference to persons or places or otherwise. The entire passage concerning the foundation of Malmesbury seems to be more problematic in Old English than in Latin, appearing to be either unidiomatic, or

corrupt, or both, in the vernacular version. Again it may be easier to assume that the conventional phrasing of the Latin reflects the authenticity of that text, rather than that a retranslator managed to extract meaning from a garbled vernacular passage.

The stylistic differences between the vernacular and Latin texts are numerous. The former consistently provides greater amounts of commentary, explaining, for instance, the papal status of Sergius ('papa' [1]), which compares with the formulaic 'seruus seruorum Dei' ([1]). The vernacular version specifies the monastery, Malmesbury, at the opening of the text, whereas the Latin superscription more vaguely mentions the addressees' 'uenerabili uestro monasterio' ([1]). When the Latin text threatens with the suffering of Judas Iscariot, the vernacular expands on the reason for his suffering ('ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes belæwend' [11]), a phrase which has parallels and near-parallels in late Anglo-Saxon diplomatic.³⁹ The vernacular text also elucidates the relationship between Ananias and Sapphira ('his wif' [11]), and adds additional warnings to the Latin penal clause, namely being 'to bælue and to ecere yrmþe efre geteald and betæht' ([11]). Where the Latin recommends that the clerics concern themselves with the 'inner man', the vernacular expands with 'þæt is seo saul' ([6]); similarly, where the Latin has 'the outer man', the vernacular passage seems to explain that the body is meant (partially legible [6]). This equation of the 'inner man' with the soul is also paralleled elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon literature, most closely again in Ælfrician texts.⁴⁰

Some passages are conversely preserved in the Latin but not in the vernacular text. A reference which in the Latin recommends 'seculares curas et questus effugere' ([5]) is missing from the vernacular, as is a phrase about exercising abstinence as a means of bodily purification ('abstinentiam tamquam purificationem corporis in cunctis uitae studiis adhibere' [5]), and a passage about protection from bodily infection and harmful words and thoughts ('immaculatos sese uos non solum a contagione carnali, sed etiam a sermonibus noxiis et cogitationibus custodire' [6]). Interestingly, the vernacular also lacks a passage on extorting presents from the holy congregation ('munuscula a religiosa congregatione extorquere uel exposcere' [8]) and the detail concerning ordination without remuneration ('absque muneris datione ordinante' [9]).⁴¹

Other stylistic divergences are apparent, with the vernacular gesturing towards homiletic diction: besides the eschatological warnings and biblical 'footnotes' [11] referred to above, the vernacular also addresses the bull's recipients as 'brothers' twice more often than the Latin ('eow gebroþru' [4], 'and nu ge gebroþru' [10]). It is only the Old English text which observes that death

has a levelling effect on mankind ('þæt is eallum mannum gemæne' [9]). Occasionally the Old English syntax seems to have been simplified by breaking up a particularly long sequence of subordinate clauses [3, 4]. Another difference consists in the ubiquitous synonymous doublets in the vernacular. This relatively short text contains nine examples where two synonymous Old English terms correspond to one Latin one: compare 'conferuntur' [1] and 'tobrohte and togyfene' [1]; 'licentia' [1] and 'are and æhte' [1]; 'religione uestra' [3] and 'eower eadmodnyss and eower æwfæstnyss' [3]; 'impares' [3] and 'unwyr<þ>e and ungelice' [3]; 'decernimus' and 'gedemað and gesettað' [7]; 'dispensare' [3] and 'wissudest and dihtest' [3]; 'hortamur' [4] and 'mynegiaþ ([. . .]) and halsiaþ' [4]; 'profitientes' (or 'perfitientes' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5) [6] and 'hicgende æfre and þeonde' [6]; 'munienda' [7] and 'to bewerigende and to (g[. . .])' [7]. These doublets are frequently found in Old English prose, particularly in homiletic writings, where they constitute a mannerism of particular authors, especially Wulfstan.⁴² Here, they serve to create a distinctively vernacular impression, contributing to the moralizing tone of the privilege. Several of the doublets used in the vernacular version of Sergius's privilege are attested elsewhere: 'gedemað and gesettað' [7] occurs in the Old English *Bede*.⁴³ The collocation of 'ar' and 'æhte' [1] has parallels in a law-code and two wills, where, however, it seems to refer to estates and (movable) possessions, conflicting with the equivalent in Sergius's privilege ('libera uiuendi facultate', 'frigre are and æhte to libbenne').⁴⁴ In this case too, it seems unlikely that the more general Latin reference could have been derived from the narrow, quasi-formulaic Old English phrase of a different meaning. Like the idiomatically extended references to Judas, these two doublets would suggest that an attempt was made to cast the vernacular version in a diplomatic idiom.

The parallels with homiletic style, such as the use of alliteration and rhyme (particularly alliterative doublets), the eschatological interests of the vernacular author, the emphatic address of the audience as 'brothers', possible usage of Ælfrician 'æt', and the reference to the soul as the 'inner man' become still more interesting in view of similarities with the translation of an Ely privilege, whose characteristic diction allowed John Pope to attribute it to Ælfric.⁴⁵ Whereas the parallels between the Ely privilege and Ælfric's writings are very distinctive (ranging from close specific parallels in use of rhythm, vocabulary, literary sources, alliteration, rhyme, and paronomasia), the homiletic echoes in Sergius' privilege seem in my view to be not extensive and not characteristically Ælfrician enough to make attribution to this author straightforward. Whether it was now

Ælfric who was involved in the translation of Sergius's bull, or another author steeped in homiletic style, the accumulated weight of both the Ely and Malmesbury privileges in any case points to a pattern of homilist authorship for translation of Latin diplomatic into Old English.

To sum up, the Latin text represents a more or less formulaic document, with all the hypotactic complexities and technical vocabulary one might expect, contrasting with a vernacular version which has been annotated and simplified to such an extent that the text leaves little unclear to a reader unfamiliar with papal diplomatic. At the same time, the Old English text displays a distinctively vernacular, diplomatic, quasi-homiletic idiom. Should the surviving Latin versions derive from a retranslation from Old English, the retranslator would have been required to strip the vernacular text of precisely all these footnotes, homiletic idiosyncrasies, vernacular diplomatic diction and a great deal of additional information, to arrive at what is present in the surviving Latin text. This seems less likely to me than the reverse, namely that the wording of the surviving Latin text represents the source, not the derivative, of the vernacular text. No anglicisms have been detected in the Latin text which would indicate more clearly a transmission through an Old English stage. By contrast, the vernacular version contains what looks like a mistranslation of 'munus' [2], here in this context misunderstood as 'gift' (OE 'gærsum', 'treasure', instead of 'responsibility').⁴⁶ Another misunderstanding seems to have occurred in section [3], which refers to the pious devotion of the pope in the Latin version, but to that of the addressees in the vernacular. The lacunae caused by fire-damage to the manuscript make comprehension particularly difficult in sections [1], [3], and [6], but the vernacular version also seems to be textually corrupt, for instance in the description of the two monasteries [3], or the election of priests and abbots [9]; the corresponding Latin passages, by contrast, come across as grammatical, if complex.⁴⁷ These textual difficulties, together with the apparent solecisms of 'on þam mæran gemynde' [3], 'are and æhte' [1], and 'oprum naman' [3] discussed above, all with unproblematic Latin counterparts of a different meaning, indicate that the surviving Latin versions are unlikely to have issued from the Old English text.

What would seem to be more likely, therefore, is that a text similar to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5 was turned into an idiosyncratic Old English text of a distinctly 'vernacularized' style and content, a process which can be observed in dozens of texts based on Latin sources.⁴⁸ It is more difficult to find examples of the reverse process – corrective retranslation from Old English into Latin – although Edwards was right in pointing to the interesting case of a

privilege by Leo III (JE 2497), which was indeed translated into Old English with subsequent retranslation into Latin by William of Malmesbury.⁴⁹ But that case differs from Sergius's privilege as William explicitly comments on his retranslation, apologetically as it were, as a deviation from his normal working practice;⁵⁰ it is important to note that he gives no such source reference for the privilege for Malmesbury. On the contrary, the impression is that here William is editing a superior Latin exemplar, a close relative of which, moreover, survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5. William's retranslation of Leo's privilege could only with difficulty be regarded as an authentic papal document.⁵¹

One of the larger issues addressed here, then, is that of 'authenticity', undoubtedly a difficult concept in papal diplomatic. Having considered translation into and retranslation from Old English, Edwards concluded, paradoxically, that the surviving Latin text of Sergius's privilege may well be 'authentic' and 'part of a valuable corpus of evidence for the history of the early West Saxon kingdom'.⁵² I would suggest that a retranslation hypothesis would rule out 'authenticity', whatever its definition, since translation-cum-retranslation between different languages and registers tends to involve far greater levels of textual interference than would be at work during a more normal process of transmission. If retranslation is not convincing, two possibilities remain: the Latin version of Sergius's privilege could be directly transmitted and therefore authentic, either wholly or partially, or else could constitute a sophisticated forgery.

The parallels between the privilege of Sergius and other monastic exemptions analysed by Anton show that the surviving Latin text cannot have been newly produced with recourse to the surviving Old English text alone. Any later recreation of the Latin text, if that is what took place, would therefore have involved a complex, conscious forgery of the text, with close reference to various other papal privileges as well as *Liber diurnus*-related material, with simultaneous usage of the Old English text for content, a procedure for which no argument has yet been made.⁵³ Forgeries of papal privileges are known to have been produced in large numbers, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁴ But not every papal document claiming to date back to earlier centuries is therefore automatically a forgery. It seems to me that, at the current state of research, Pope Sergius's privilege presents few characteristics which could be seen as indicative of a forgery in the extreme sense; that is, an entirely recreated document. That does not mean that falsification, systematic or partial, can be ruled out altogether in the Latin text which is so clearly linked with a vast number of other papal privileges still under examination for their authenticity. Meanwhile, many other

indications appear to point to the alternative scenario already argued by Anton; namely that the text which claims to be Pope Sergius's privilege is authentic in the sense of representing a directly transmitted Latin text (admittedly with corruptions) whose seventh- or eighth-century phraseology is substantially preserved in the surviving Latin versions.⁵⁵

The text below represents a new critical edition of the Old English version of Sergius's Privilege for Malmesbury. The manuscript (L) is badly damaged by fire, and the resulting lacunae have been left largely unemended by previous editors.⁵⁶ Partly through systematic comparison with the Latin text, and by appending a section of textual notes, my edition attempts the restoration of some of these passages. A manuscript line missed by Edwards is restored here; I have also corrected a number of misreadings and typographical errors, and have introduced punctuation and modern word division. Deviations from Edwards's edition (E) are systematically signalled in the critical apparatus. Angular brackets indicate emendations of shorter lacunae or textual difficulties, parentheses denote passages which are difficult to read; brackets denote passages which are entirely illegible; longer defective passages are discussed in the textual notes. Material which has no equivalent in the Latin is underlined. Irregular spellings are not standardized, but I have silently expanded abbreviations and introduced capitalization. Some emendations first suggested by Hamilton, ed., William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, pp. 371-72 n., are flagged as (H) in the textual notes; suggestions which I owe to personal communication with M. Winterbottom (W) are also acknowledged. My translation of the Old English text can be found at <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/english/rauer/Sergius.htm>.

Sigla

- L London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, part I, fols 68^r-69^v.
E H. Edwards, 'Two Documents', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), 1-19 (pp. 16-17).

Text

[1] [68r] Sergius papa, Godes þeowa þeow, Aldhelm<e>, ([. . .]) Mealdumesbyrig^a and his æfterfyligendum and þur<h> ([. . .]) arwyrðum mynstre, æwfulre drohtnunge ([. . .]), Godes þeowum. Þa þincg þe ða<m>^b synd tobrohte and togyfene ([. . .]) frigre are and æhte to libbenne, na for luðre gelæfed<nesse>^c, ac for geornfulnesse wel to droht<nienne>^d and on G<odes>^e þeowdomum hi sylfe þa munecas mid syndrigre gewi<lnun>ge^f to þeowigienne buton ælcum twyn, beon hi<m>^g generude fram bisceopum and Godes biggencgerum þa ðe Godes lage began scylon, [2] þæt hi þ([. . .]) alyse ðe fram bende ælces mennissces domes, eallswa ^hhi s<ynd>^h fram ælcere gærsuman woruldlicra brucingga gewor<dene> clæne and unmæne, eallswa hyra munucbehatⁱ and hyra ([. . .]) him cyþ, þæt hi Gode hi sylfe geæmtigean and his sylfes þeowdome beon atihhte, for þæs mycelan mægenþrymmes arwyrþnysse hi synd gefreode na þæt an <fram> woruldlicra doma hefitenum byrþenum, ac eac swylce beon hi wyrþe þæs mæstan wyrþscipes for þære rihtre regules lufan. [3] Þanon eower eadmodnyss and eower æwfæstnyss us bitt þæt we scylon getrymman mid apostolicum sunderfreodomum^j þæt mynster þæt is sancte Petre and sancte Paule gehalgud, on þam mæran gemynde, gelogud æt Meldum, þæt is oþrum naman Maldumesburuh^k geclypud, gesett [68v] and aræred on Angelsexena scire, and eac oþer mynster <þæt> is aræred on þære ylcan scire wiþ þa ea þeo is geclypud Fron <and> on wyrþscipe þæs mæran fulluhteres Iohannis is ([. . .]). Þis we^l doþ for ure ealdres lufe sancte Petres þa<m> ([. . .]d) and ure

^a Mealdumesbyrig] Mealdumes byrig E

^b ða<m>] ðar E, L

^c gelæfed<nesse>] gelæredre ([. . .]) E

^d droht<nienne>] drohtinge E

^e on G<odes>] (ong[. . .]) E

^f gewi<lnun>ge] (gewi[. . .]ge) E

^g hi<m>] hi E

^h hi s<ynd>] his([. . .]) E

ⁱ munucbehat] munuc behat E

^j sunderfreodomum] sunderfreodomum E

^k Maldumesburuh] Maldumes buruh E

^l we] þe E

alysend hælend Crist gemedemude (be[. . .]ægan) to gewriþenne and to unbindenne on heofenan ([. . .]), <p>æs ðenunge and ciricean we eac brucaþ and Gode <ge>medemigendum^m geendebyrdaþⁿ and dihtaþ þeah þe we unwyr<p>e^o and ungelice synd. Be þisum forespecenum cyricum we (hab[. . .]rnud) and manegra soþan^p race gehyred þe to us ([. . .]on) þæt ðu him foregleawlice^q and wislice wissudest and dihtest ([. . .]). We þæs wel uþon eowre estfulre^r eadmodnysse to eowrum willan. [4] We mynegiaþ eow gebroþru and halsiaþ þæt ge beon on Godes lofum carfulle and on gebedum þurhwacule, on forhæfednysse and on clænnysse fæsthafulle and onclyfigende^s, cumliþnysse and manscipes weldædum beon underþeodde, hyrsumnysse and Cristes eadmodnysse þurhwunian æfre lufigendras and eow eall abutan mid þære arfæstre soþre lufe anræde, gastlicum bebodum and haligra yldrena regulum to þeowigenne, and þæs apostolices geleafan rihtincge ungewemmedlice gehealdan, [5] godum biggencgum simble to geæmtigean, manscipe gyfan^t beþearfendum^u and ælþeodigum, Godes cyricena bisceopum and mæssepreostum arwyrðnysse gegearwian swa hi hit geearnian, Gode æfre geæmtigean, gemedemunge and þearflicnysse lufian, on sealnum and on gastlicum ymnum^v and on singalum [69r] gebedum on eallum Godes bebodum eow gemænlice awreccan^v. [6] And beoþ hicgende æfre and þeonde fram beteran to beteran and huru on eornust, þæt ge beon carfulle embe eowre saule þearfe, and simble t<r>uwian^w on Godes fultum, eow ([. . .]) ungewemmede, þæt clænnys and sidefulnys eowres lichaman and saule ([. . .]) ætforan^x Godes eagan, þæt se inra mann, þæt is seo saul, (s[. . .]) mid mihte Godes gyfe and eac se uttra, þæt is se ([. . .]a) li<chama>,

^m <ge>medemigendum] ([. . .]) medemigendum E

ⁿ geendebyrdaþ] ge endebyrdaþ E

^o unwyr<p>e] unwyr([. . .])e E

^p soþan] soþra E, L

^q foregleawlice] fore gleawlice E

^r estfulre] est fulre E

^s onclyfigende] on clyfigende E

^t gyfan] gifan E

^u beþearfendum] be þearfendum E

^{v...v} and on singalum gebedum on eallum Godes bebodum eow gemænlice awreccan] *om.* E

^w truwian] tsuwian L, E

^x ætforan] æt foran E

begyte lof goddre drohtnunge and godes hlisan. [7] On eorn<ust> we gedemað and gesettað mid andweardum apostolicum sunderfreodomum beon to bewerigende and to (g[. . .]) þas foresædan and arwyrþan mynstru, for þi þe ([. . .]nað) and beon sceal ure bisceoplicre gyfe weldæd þylcum Godes freondum þe hi<s> <h>us^y healdap, swa we gefyrn on embespæcon, þæt hi under rihtum dome and bewerunge þæs sylfan þe we þeowiað, ures aldres þæs eadigan Petres apostoles, and his haligan cyricean þære we dihtniað, eallswa þin godnyss and þin æwfæstnyss us bæd, þær^z scel þurhwunian mid Godes fultume and mid sancte Petres nu and on ecnysse. [8] Na hi næfre na gyrnan nanne, oððe bisceopa opþe sacerda opþe ænigra cyricli<c>re^{aa} endebyrðnysse preost, na hi huru þinga^{bb} na gesetten nanne bisceopstol innon hyra cyricean oððe furþon^{cc} þær lætan þæne bisceop mæssan singan, butan gyf he þyder cymð gelaþud of þam abbude and þære geferræddenne. [9] Gyf hi neode habbað to halgigenne enigne mæssepreost opþe diacon for mæssena neode, and þæt buton ælcum tweon, halgie <he> buton ælcum [69v] scette under Godes dome, swa swa ealle^{dd} þincg to þam haligan regule belimpan. Gyf þæt getimie þæt is eallum mannum gemæne þæt se abbud gewite of þissum life and hit cume þærto, þæt <he beo>^{ee} cyres wyrþe, na awende man næfre of þære ([. . .]g[. . .]g) gegaderunge gemænum geþeahte, þæt þæne þe hi <ceos>að of Godes þeowum si þæt stedefæst þæt nan lyre^{ff} oððe ([. . .]est) na cume on þa lare þære munuclire drohtnunge, oðe mynstres þincg forwyrþan for abbudleaste. [10] Se bisceop ([. . .]) þe ðær on neawiste beo, be ure apostolicre leafæ and ealdor<dome> ([. . .]) ræd þærto þæt þær abbud wyrþe. Nu ge gebro<þru, þa>s þincg synd þus gelogud gyf ænig bisceop si, opþe mæssepreost opþe æniges gehadudes opþe læwedes na si he na swa rice, þæt gyf he understande þas þincg to awendenne opþe geþristlæce to abreccenne þe her sind under Godes dome

^y hi<s> <h>us] hi þus L, E

^z þær] þæt L, E

^{aa} cyricli<c>re] cyriclire L, E

^{bb} þinga] þincga E

^{cc} furþon] furþ on E

^{dd} ealle] eall E

^{ee} <he beo>] hi beo([. . .]) L, E

^{ff} lyre] lure E

and sanctus Petrus and uru eac gesette, wite he hine scyldigne ætforan^{gg} Godes gesihþe and framascyrudne fram gemænnyssse þæs halwendes lichaman and blodes ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes, [11] and gehleote eac þa genyþerunge ðe Iudas Scarioth ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes belæwend geearnude, and si he eac fordemed eallswa wæs Annanias and Zafira his wif fram^{hh} sancte Petre, þæraⁱⁱ ap<ostola>^{ij} ealdre, and si hi to bealue and to ecere yrmþe efre geteald and betæht, buton he hit ær hæle and bete. Si æfre lif and hæl and ece eadignyss þam þe þas ðincg gehealdan and þam þe hi beodan to healdenne. [12] + Handtacen Eþelredes^{kk} Myrcena kyniges + Handtacen Ines Wessexena cyniges. Ic, Ealdhelm, brohte to Ine, Wessexena kyncge, and to Eþelræde, Myrcena kyncge, þas priuilegia þæt sind syndrie freodomas^{ll} þe se apostolica papa Sergius awrat to ðæra^{mm} apostola mynstre Petres and Paules, and hi geþwæredon and hi hit swa geendudon þæt swa hweþer swa hit wære swa sibb swa twyrednys betweenan Saxan and Myr<enas> þæt þæt my<nste>r beo([. . .]) on sibbe and þa þe (þ[. . .]).

Textual Notes

[1]

Aldhelm<e> ([. . .]) Mealdumesbyrig] 'Aldelmo abbati'; most likely 'Aldhelm<e> abbude æt> Mealdumesbyrig'; see also H.

þur<h> ([. . .]) arwyrðum mynstre] 'per uos uenerabili uestro monasterio'; probably 'þurh eow eowrum arwyrðum mynstre', as suggested by H.

æwfulre drohtnunge ([. . .]), Godes þeowum] 'religiosae conuersationis intuitu monachis seruis Dei'; thus probably 'æwfulre drohtnunge munecum, Godes þeowum' (H), with the only attested usage of 'æfull'. The position of this phrase differs in the Old English and Latin versions.

ða<m>] Suggested by W; also implied by the Latin.

^{gg} ætforan] æt foran E

^{hh} fram] from E

ⁱⁱ þæra] þære E

^{ij} ap<ostola>] (aw[. . .]) E

^{kk} Eþelredes] æþelredes E

^{ll} syndrie freodomas] syndriefreodomas E

^{mm} ðæra] ðære E

([. . .]) frigre are] 'pro libera uiuendi facultate', thus 'for frigre are' (H).

buton ælcum twyn] Punctuated to go with the subsequent, not previous phrase, thus following the punctuation in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5, rather than that of William.

beon hi<m> generude] Proposed by W.

[2]

þ([. . .])) Perhaps insert 'þus' or 'þa'.

hyra munucbehat and hyra ([. . .])) 'professionis eorum regula'; insert something like 'regul'; see also H.

þæt hi [. . .] þæt hi] Anacoluthon?

[3]

gelogud æt Meldum] 'established by Meldum'; see discussion above.

on wyrþscipe þæs mæran fulluhteres Iohannis is ([. . .])) Possibly 'on wyrþscipe þæs mæran fulluhteres Iohannis is gehalgud'.

þa<m> ([. . .]d) and ure alysend hælend Crist gemedemude] 'cui Creator et Redemptor noster'; thus perhaps 'þa<m> ure scyppend and ure alysend hælend Crist gemedemude'.

Crist gemedemude (be[. . .]ægan) to gewriþenne and to unbindenne] 'Christus clauis ligandi atque soluendi ([. . .]) dignatus est impertire'; possibly emend to 'Crist gemedemude besellan [or begeotan] cægan to gewriþenne and to unbindenne'.

on heofenan ([. . .])) 'in caelo atque in terra'; one of the various attested phrases meaning 'on heaven and on earth' is required here.

we (hab[. . .]rnud) and manegra soþan race gehyred þe to us ([. . .]on)] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5 again closer to the Old English than William: 'dispensare didicimus multorum ueridica relatione ad nos peruolante agnouimus'; therefore perhaps 'we habbað leornud and manegra soþan race gehyred þe to us is cumon'.

wissudest and dihtest ([. . .])) Equivalent of 'Deo cooperante' is missing, lack of space in this line notwithstanding.

eowre estfulre eadmodnysse] In the Latin version it seems to be the pope's pious devotion which is referred to, not to that of the addressees.

[6]

eow ([. . .]) ungewemmede] Equivalent of 'custodire' is missing.

þæt clænnyss and sidefulnys eowres lichaman and saule ([. . .]) ætforan Godes eagan] A verb corresponding to 'luceat' seems to be missing here, perhaps 'scin' or a synonym; see also next entry.

þæt se inra mann, þæt is seo saul, (s[. . .]) Another verb seems to be missing, corresponding to 'illustretur', perhaps 'scin' or synonym; see also previous entry.

[7]

to bewerigende and to (g[. . .]) Requires one of the many synonyms for 'bewaterian'; compare, for instance, 'gewarian and bewerian', Wulfstan, *The Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, ed. by K. Jost, Swiss Studies in English, 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959), pp. 71 and 89.

for þi þe ([. . .]nað) and beon sceal] 'quia ([. . .]) oportet et debetur' (W); insert something like 'gedafenað'.

hi<s> <h>us] Suggested by W.

[9]

halgie <he> buton ælcum scette] The subject seems to be missing, although a neighbouring bishop is implied. Compare William's 'reuerentissimo episcopo qui e uicino est', and see also JE 2144, John VII for Farfa, ed. C. Troya, *Codice diplomatico longobardo*, 5 vols (Naples: [n. pub.], 1852-9), III, 60-65, at 63 for identical phrasing.

of þære ([. . .]g[. . .]g) gegaderunge] 'Holy' or equivalent is missing; compare 'religiosa congregatio', and H.

lyre oððe ([. . .]est)] A synonym for 'lyre' appears to be missing.

[10]

Se bisceop ([. . .]) þe ðær on neawiste beo, be ure apostolicre leaf and ealdor ([. . .]) ræd þærto þæt þær abbud wyrþe] Difficult also in Latin. Perhaps 'be ure apostolicre leaf and ealdordome nime ræd', as suggested in H.

Se bisceop ([. . .]) þe ðær on neawiste beo, be ure apostolicre leaf and ealdor

Difficult also in Latin. Perhaps 'be ure apostolicre leaf and ealdordome nime ræd', as suggested in H.

[12]

þæt þæt my<nste>r beo([. . .]) on sibbe and þa þe (þ[. . .]) Perhaps 'that the monastery should always be at peace and those who live there', cp. H: 'þæt þæt mynster beo æfre on sibbe and þa þe þær Gode þeowiað', presumably supplied on the basis of William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, c. 222.

NOTES

¹ R. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 97-115; H. Gneuss, 'Englands Bibliotheken im Mittelalter und ihr Untergang', and 'Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform', in H. Gneuss, *Books and Libraries in Early England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), p. 118 and p. 653 respectively, items I and II; S. Kelly, ed., *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 11 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 4-10.

² Epistola VI, ed. by R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi opera*, MGH, AA XV (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), p. 494, l. 14.

³ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), V.7.

⁴ N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), p. 77; W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 242.

⁵ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.11; Levison, p. 59.

⁶ Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. by C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), I, 380; Levison, p. 24; P. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by G. Bonner (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1976), pp. 141-69 (pp. 146-49).

⁷ Brooks, p. 78.

⁸ Catalogued in W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols (London: Whiting, 1885-99), no. 105; P. Conte, *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1971), no. 285; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. by E. Dekkers and E. Gaar, 3rd edn (Steenbrugge: Brepols, 1995), no. 1740; P. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. by S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leipzig: Veit, 1885-88), I (henceforth cited as JE or JL), no. 2140.

⁹ G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longmans, 1958), nos. 641, 644 and 645.

¹⁰ Cambridge, University Library Kk. 4. 6, fols 269^v-270^r; Thomson, pp. 119-36.

¹¹ See William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ed. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), c. 221 for a new edition of the privilege from which Latin quotations in this article derive, with many thanks for pre-publication access. Previous editions are in Ehwald, pp. 512-14; *Patrologia Latina*, 179, cols 1639-41; *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, and C. T. Martin, Rolls Series, 182-83,

2 vols (London: Longman, 1879-80), 1, 343-45, and H. Edwards, 'Two Documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), 1-19 (pp. 17-19).

¹² N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 181.

¹³ H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports, 198 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), p. 80.

¹⁴ R. Frank and A. Cameron, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), no. B.16.15; Ker, no. 181.2. I am presenting a new edition of the Old English text here; for previous editions see H. Edwards, 'Two Documents', pp. 16-17; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 52 (London: Longman, 1870), pp. 371-73 n., and Birch no. 106.

¹⁵ Bracketed numbers refer to sections in the text given below, following the subdivision of the Latin text in the forthcoming edition of William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*.

¹⁶ See Edwards, *Charters*, p. 101.

¹⁷ On the survival rate of early papal originals, see R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), pp. 37-38.

¹⁸ Edwards, 'Two Documents' and *Charters*, pp. 100-05. N. Berry, 'St Aldhelm, William of Malmesbury, and the Liberty of Malmesbury Abbey', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 16 (1990), 15-38, (p. 20) adopts a similar view, but suggests William of Malmesbury as the presumptive retranslator.

¹⁹ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols (Brussels: Bollandists, 1899-1901), no. 256; *Acta Sanctorum*, 3rd edn (Paris: Bollandists, 1863-69), May VI, pp. 84-93, with reference to Sergius's privilege on p. 86. On Faricius, see also M. Lapidge and M. Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich: Brewer, 1979), pp. 5-9, and M. Winterbottom, 'Faricius of Arezzo's Life of St Aldhelm', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by K. O'Brien O'Keefe and A. Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2005), 1, 109-13.

²⁰ Winterbottom, 'Faricius of Arezzo's Life', pp. 111-15.

²¹ Edwards, 'Two Documents', p. 10 n.

²² Edwards, 'Two Documents', p. 9 and *Charters*, p. 101; for a similar view, see Berry, p. 20.

²³ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 576, 'less authentic', 'modern historians have dismissed these papal documents far too lightly'; Lapidge and Herren, pp. 10 and 204 n., 'almost certainly spurious', 'patently spurious'.

²⁴ Summary in T. P. McLaughlin, *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'occident*, Archives de la France monastique, 38 (Paris: Picard, 1935), p. 194 n. 4; Conte, no. 285, siglum indicating 'documento dubbio'; P. Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber Censuum de L'Église Romaine* (Paris:

Thorin, 1892), p. 87 n. 1, and the views cited in the previous footnote, on which see the salutary comment by R. M. Thomson, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum Volume II: General Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 34.

²⁵ See the publications cited in the next footnote, and McLaughlin, p. 194; D. Knowles, 'Essays in Monastic History IV: The Growth of Exemption', *The Downside Review*, 50 (1932), 201-31 (pp. 225-28); W. Szaivert, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klosterexemption bis zum Ausgang des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschungen*, 59 (1951), 265-98; JE 2140.

²⁶ H. H. Anton, *Studien zu den Klosterprivilegien der Päpste im frühen Mittelalter*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 60-61, 67-82, 91, 117 and 'Der Liber Diurnus in angeblichen und verfälschten Papstprivilegien des früheren Mittelalters', *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16. - 19. September 1986* (Hanover: Hahn, 1988), III, 115-42 (pp. 139-41).

²⁷ L. Santifaller, 'Die Verwendung des *Liber Diurnus* in den Privilegien der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts', in *Liber Diurnus: Studien und Forschungen von Leo Santifaller*, ed. by H. Zimmermann (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976), pp. 14-158 (p. 88).

²⁸ JL 8233; Knowles, 'Essays', pp. 227-28; *Registrum Malmesburiense*, I, 346-48.

²⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella*, ed. by E. King (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 70; Knowles, 'Essays', p. 227.

³⁰ Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 80-81.

³¹ On this crux, see Plummer, II, 310-11; P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 108-09; Edwards, 'Two Documents', p. 10 and *Charters*, pp. 83, 101-02, 126; A. Watkin, 'The Abbey of Malmesbury', *A History of Wiltshire Vol. 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittall, The Victoria History of the Counties, ed. by R. B. Pugh (London: Dawson, 1956), pp. 210-31 (pp. 228-31); G. T. Dempsey, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Irish', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 99C (1999), 1-22, and Thomson, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum Volume II*, p. 30.

³² J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire*, English Place-Name Society, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 47-48.

³³ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.18. On onomastic elements in place-names, see M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (London: Dent, 1978), pp. 188-90, and J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: A Topographical Review', *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 226-66 (p. 234).

³⁴ Edwards, 'Two Documents', p. 10.

³⁵ See the 'Dictionary of Old English', s. v. 'æt' I.D.8, 'by, through, at', 'in passive constructions where a change of state is described'; compare 'gehæled æt þam halgan apostole', 'healed by the holy apostle', Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1881-1900), II, 414-15, l. 263, and 'ic æt þe wurde afrefred', *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, ed. by G. P. Krapp, ASPR, 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 107.

³⁶ 'Dictionary of Old English', s. v. 'æt', I.D.8; the non-Ælfrician attestation cited there (Tuesday in Rogationtide, J. Bazire and J. Cross, eds, *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, 2nd edn, King's College London Medieval Studies, 4 (London: King's College, 1989), pp. 95-99, l. 110) in fact quotes verbatim from Ælfric at this point; see M. Godden, 'Old English Composite Homilies from Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 57-65 (pp. 61-62).

³⁷ A Boolean search of the 'Patrologia Latina' and 'Acta Sanctorum' databases for *religios** + *memori** gives some thirty examples from a wide range of authors; in all attestations the phrase seems to refer to a deceased person.

³⁸ Punctuation in London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i points to the latter.

³⁹ 'Dictionary of Old English', Old English Corpus database; P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), nos 914, 1047, 1089, 1495.

⁴⁰ For two Ælfrician examples, which I owe to Malcolm Godden, see *Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 242, l. 46 and G. E. MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesis', *Anglia*, 7 (1884), 18, l. 175.

⁴¹ Similar omissions (which clearly follow a pattern) are also apparent in section [5] of the Latin version in Cambridge, University Library Kk. 4. 6, perhaps indicating different audiences for the various versions.

⁴² I. Koskeniemi, *Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Early Middle English Prose*, *Annales Universitatis Turkuensis*, 107 (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1968); D. Bethurum, 'Stylistic Features in the Old English Laws', *Modern Language Review*, 27 (1932), 263-79; S. M. Kuhn, 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 46 (1947), 168-76; A. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239-64 and M. P. Richards, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Neot', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 99 (1979), 259-78 (pp. 262-63).

⁴³ T. Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, EETS, o.s. 95, 96, 110, 111, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1890-98), II, 448.

⁴⁴ F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Berlin: Niemeyer, 1903-16), VI Æthelred 36 and 51; D. Whitelock, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), nos 13 and 20.

⁴⁵ Sawyer no. 779; J. Pope, 'Ælfric and the Old English Version of the Ely Privilege', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 85-113. I owe the reference to this interesting parallel to Nicholas Brooks.

⁴⁶ As M. Winterbottom has pointed out (pers. comm.).

⁴⁷ Textual difficulties in the Latin include section [4], whose syntax is seemingly resolved correctly in the Old English, and phrasing where Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5 and William's 'edition' diverge. Plummer, II, 310 explains the Latin 'Meldum'[3] as a corruption of 'Maelduin'.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, J. Bately, 'The Nature of Old English Prose', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 71-87, esp. pp. 75-85.

⁴⁹ Edwards, 'Two Documents', p. 10, *Charters*, p. 101.

⁵⁰ William of Malmesbury, *The Early History of Glastonbury*, ed. and trans. by J. Scott (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981), p. 106, 'Priuilegia sane pape et regis quia nusquam, nisi anglice, scripta repperi, meo labore transfundam in latinum, quantum intelligo ex sensu sensum'.

⁵¹ JE 2497; see L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), p. 336.

⁵² Edwards, 'Two Documents', pp. 1, 13, 15.

⁵³ See also N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400-1066* (London: Hambledon, 2000), p. 191, and *The Early History*, pp. 185-86.

⁵⁴ On English forgeries, see Levison, pp. 22-33; Anton, 'Der Liber Diurnus'; Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths*, pp. 1-19; Wormald, pp. 146-48; S. E. Kelly, 'Some Forgeries in the Archive of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', and J. Sayers "'Original", Cartulary and Chronicle: The Case of the Abbey of Evesham', both in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Teil IV Diplomatische Fälschungen (II)*, MGH, Schriften 33.4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1988), pp. 347-69 and 371-95.

⁵⁵ I would like to thank Nicholas Brooks, Malcolm Godden, Susan Kelly, Rodney Thomson, Michael Winterbottom, and Patrick Wormald for their helpful comments, as also seminar audiences at the universities of York and Birmingham, the CUNY Graduate Center and All Souls College, Oxford.

⁵⁶ Listed in note 14.

The Rochester Cathedral Library: A Review of Scholarship 1987-2005, Including Annotations to the 1996 Edition of the Catalogues in *CBMLC*, v. 4

Mary P. Richards

The years since I completed the study entitled *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Library* have seen impressive developments in scholarship on the manuscripts, texts, scribes, and regional scriptoria associated with the post-Conquest Benedictine foundation at Rochester.¹ These topics have merited attention for many reasons, but several are especially prominent. First, the contemporary documentation of the medieval library is exceptional, offering insight into the assembly and organization of a post-Conquest collection. Second, the percentage of surviving books is high, giving crucial evidence for the extent of Norman influence on this process. Third, certain Old English texts reflect important traditions, helping to demonstrate the collaborative relationships among scriptoria in southeast England. Publications on these and other topics have appeared in a variety of forms: books, chapters, articles, notes, reviews, and pamphlets to accompany microfiches. To present their findings most usefully, I have organized the present essay into three parts. It will begin with a review of new findings, moving from works treating larger topics such as the medieval catalogues to those concerning individual manuscripts. Then using this evidence and my own fresh research, I will present annotations to Andrew G. Watson's 1996 edition of the library records published in volume 4 of the *Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues*.² The essay will conclude with a select bibliography of works published from 1987-2006 dealing with the Rochester foundation and its books.

Indeed, as an ambitious reassessment of all of the extant documentation up to 1500, Watson's is the most fundamental study of the Rochester library to appear in the period covered here. In the introduction, Watson notes that, according to the evidence of the will of a former bishop, published in 1500, Rochester seems never to have built a separate library room.³ This conjecture

helps to explain the several locations for parts of the collection specified in the various catalogues. He also reviews the extensive number of *ex libris* inscriptions in Rochester books and classifies them according to probable accuracy. Finally, he describes the three scanty series of pressmarks and concludes, as have previous scholars, that they provide less information about the arrangement of the books than do the catalogues.

In his edition, Watson proceeds through the catalogues, including donation lists and loan records, by date. He introduces each piece with a physical description and provides more extensive information about the two major booklists compiled in 1122-23 and 1202. The first of these (B77), written into the cartulary of the *Textus Roffensis*, is, as he says, 'certainly the earliest booklist known from England to be organized by author and is also arguably the earliest extant catalogue from an English institution designed from the outset as an inventory of the book collection as a whole'.⁴ Watson deduces that the first leaf, listing bibles and related materials such as commentaries, followed by a few works of Augustine, has been lost. The item at the top of the first surviving folio (224r) supports this argument: 'Expositionem eiusdem super psalterium in .iii. voluminibus', a reference to Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*.

Watson's annotations to the first and subsequent catalogues include a complete itemization of the texts from each book (where known), the hand of each entry, citations for the latest editions of these texts, and cross-references to the same (or similar) books in the other Rochester booklists. For the item from Augustine quoted above, for example, he cites the surviving manuscript, the donor inscriptions, the *CPL* number, and the corresponding item in the 1202 catalogue.

In the fragmentary catalogue (B78),⁵ also from the early twelfth century, Watson identifies two new volumes of saints' lives, one of four abbots from Cluny, the other of the three sisters from Ely; the former survives in a later copy probably from another Kentish house, while the latter is recorded again in the 1202 catalogue. Moving on to this second major catalogue (B79), dated 1202, entered in London, British Library, MS Royal 5 B. XII, Watson gives a close analysis of the scribal hands and relates them to the dating phrase added at the top of the list. He also makes some editorial decisions regarding the deletion of entries and combining of others. Specific comments on these changes will follow in my annotations to the edition.

Soon after the completion of the 1202 catalogue, a separate list (B80) was made in BL MS Royal 10 A. XII of the books copied or acquired by one

Alexander 'quondam cantor.' Watson here does an admirable job of elucidating some very cramped entries. Next, he lists the entries referring to books from an early thirteenth-century donation list in the Rochester register (B81), BL Cotton Vespasian A. xxii, and links these to a number of items mentioned in the two full catalogues. Lastly, Watson prints two fourteenth-century documents, one recording a gift to Rochester of ten volumes (B82) by Bishop Haimo Hethe in 1346 and the second an indenture (B83), dated 1 June 1390, listing a loan of thirteen books from the prior and convent of Rochester to the rector of Southfleet (possibly five manuscripts identified). With the incorporation of these additional documents into his presentation of the Rochester catalogues, Watson develops a more complete picture of the medieval library than has previously been available.

Although not devoted exclusively to Rochester, Richard Gameson's Postdoctoral Fellowship Monograph, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)*, necessarily has much to say about the library and its surviving books.⁶ In a lengthy introductory essay drawing upon booklists and manuscripts, Gameson surveys the nature of library growth in England during the period covered by his study and notes the dramatic acceleration of that rate in the early twelfth century. The evidence from Rochester is useful particularly in documenting the role that Norman scribes and artists played in this process.⁷ For example, Gameson is able to identify at least three manuscripts in which Normans hands and an early version of the 'prickly' script adopted from Canterbury appear together. Furthermore, he demonstrates that Rochester participated in a 'chain' of copying that included Durham and Christ Church, Canterbury that sometimes began with a continental book.⁸ As Gameson reminds us, the earliest Rochester catalogue reinforces the priority given to collecting and copying patristic texts in the decades after the Conquest. It also demonstrates what a community 'with sufficient determination and good connections' could accomplish in its library by the 1120s.⁹ Again, the happy coincidence of thorough documentation and a high percentage of surviving books ensures Rochester's status as a case-study for the growth of a collection in the post-Conquest period.

Prior to his Inventory of Manuscripts, Gameson offers three appendices presenting information about texts surviving from the period in the most copies and about authors whose work is represented. These he follows with an Inventory of Texts Included in Book-Lists, by author and title, which also includes references to extant manuscripts. From an examination of the entries under 'A' only, including pseudo-Augustine, the comprehensiveness of the Rochester collection by 1130 becomes clear: of the 'A' items specified in the booklists,

excluding antiphoners, 72 are represented in the Rochester collection, while only 12 do not appear there. Turning to Gameson's Inventory of Manuscripts, we find some variation between his judgments and those of Watson, but, for the most part, these are minor. By working from the manuscripts as well as the booklists, Gameson is able to present a fuller picture of the scope of Rochester's library than emerges from a study of the catalogues alone.

Another recently-published resource, Helmut Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, also helps with descriptive information and dating, though it must be consulted for specific manuscripts since the items are not indexed by provenance, and its utility for the Rochester library is limited by the cut-off date of 1100.¹⁰ As many readers will know, the *Handlist* is organized by repository, collection, and shelf-mark. Each entry offers information about contents, date, and provenance. There is a handy index to authors and works that allows one to check, say, whether a copy of Usuard's *Martyrologium* linked to Rochester survives from this period. The answer is probably not, though the copy in the Durham Cantor's Book might have some connection to Rochester (see below). Using Gneuss's *Handlist* and other resources, Michael Lapidge has published an updated version of J. D. A. Ogilvy's *Books Known to the English 597-1066*. Entitled 'Catalogue of Classical and Patristic Authors and Works Composed before AD 700 and Known in Anglo-Saxon England', Lapidge's work includes some eight Rochester manuscripts from the late eleventh/early twelfth century that are also listed in Gneuss. These are copies of three works by Augustine, two by Gregory, and one each by Jerome, Isidore, and Julius Pomerius.¹¹ For later items, A. G. Watson's Supplement to the second edition of Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* adds five manuscripts and fragments from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries to the list of Rochester books.¹²

Rochester manuscripts have also been described in a variety of other catalogues. In P. R. Robinson's *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, see items 34, 152, 364, and 376 and plates 48-51.¹³ Robinson notes that Matthew Parker bequeathed her item 152, now Corpus Christi College MS 332, to that library in 1575.¹⁴ In her *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 888-1600 in London Libraries*, Robinson includes one item (53 and plate 10) from Rochester.¹⁵ In the description of the latter, she reviews the issues regarding the date of the earliest catalogue of the Rochester library and accepts Wormald's suggestion of 1124. Ralph Hanna provides a thorough description of a late thirteenth-century Vulgate, Oxford, St. John's College 4, inscribed with the name *Stephani De cranbroke de claustro Roffensis*

(fourteenth century).¹⁶ The Gundulf Bible (Pasadena, Huntington Library, MS HM 62) is covered in the 1989 catalogue of that library's manuscript holdings.¹⁷

New work on the history of Rochester Cathedral, which necessarily relates to the development of its library, has been collected and published in *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral 604-1994*.¹⁸ In chapter 1, Martin Brett covers the church at Rochester from 604-1185. Noting that pre-Conquest sources are skimpy, Brett focuses on the accomplishments of Bishop Gundulf and his successors, along with the continuing tensions arising from Rochester's role as dependency of Canterbury. In chapter 2, Anne Oakley details the daily life, administrative structure, acquisition of lands, and population of monks at Rochester Priory from 1185 to 1540. Oakley's account draws upon the extensive archival records surviving from the Cathedral Priory and described by Nigel Yates in Appendix B. Paul A. Welsby gives an overview of the Cathedral Library in Appendix A and describes the five medieval volumes still housed at Rochester. The remainder of *Faith and Fabric* covers the architectural history of the foundation as well as developments up to the twentieth century. In a separate study, Brett highlights the close relationship between Gundulf and Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury.¹⁹ The two prelates worked together for twenty years to transform the Rochester community into a thriving, well-endowed Benedictine house. Brett points out that Lanfranc also played a leading role in the conversion of the cathedral community at Durham, which may help to explain the circulation of texts among Canterbury, Rochester, and Durham that continues to be explored by Gameson and others.²⁰

In a related article, Marylou Ruud returns to the sources for Gundulf's life to argue that he was an aggressive and successful administrator of his diocese, both in acquiring extensive lands and in adjudicating disputes on behalf of the king.²¹ His efforts helped to set the stage for Rochester's future prosperity. Julie Potter's searching analysis of the *Vita Gundulfi* notes the emphasis there on Gundulf's dual roles as monk and bishop and connects this to the crisis faced by Rochester's monks in 1123-24, when they feared the appointment of a secular bishop. Potter suggests that the anonymous *Vita* served as part of an effort to persuade the monks of Canterbury to support a monastic appointment for their brethren.²²

James P. Carley has published several indispensable studies of the fates of Rochester manuscripts after the Dissolution. Most important is his volume, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, in which he edits the 1542 inventory of the Upper Library at Westminster.²³ For each entry, Carley identifies and describes the

manuscript or printed book, where extant, and provides references for the texts in question. In his introduction, he observes that more than 100 books from this collection derive from Rochester, over three times as many as from any other monastic house. He surmises that the books were seized from the library of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was executed in 1535.²⁴ Because this inventory aids in the identification of Rochester manuscripts, I have added cross references to it in my annotations to Watson's edition of the medieval catalogues. It is worth noting, however, that many of the Rochester volumes surviving from the Westminster collection are too late (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) for inclusion in the medieval booklists. These are primarily theological treatises and commentaries by authors such as Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Cornwall, and William Peraldus.

In 'John Leland and the Foundations of the Royal Library: The Westminster Inventory of 1542', Carley notes that items acquired for Henry VIII could have entered one of three separate collections (at Westminster, Hampton Court, or Greenwich).²⁵ As he analyses the Westminster inventory, Carley identifies a number of volumes marked, presumably, for the royal collection, which survive from the (separate) Old Royal Library itself. In a subsequent article, Carley traces a number of books from the royal collection to the ownership of Sir Robert Cotton in the early seventeenth century.²⁶ Carley identifies the now destroyed MS Cotton Otho A. xv, fols. 1-80, with entries in the Westminster inventory ('Acta gestorum pontificum') and the 1202 catalogue ('Acta beatorum pontificum in i vol') of the Rochester library.²⁷ He also describes two examples of Rochester volumes still in the Royal Library from which Cotton excised copies of pseudo-Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* for his own collection: MS Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, fols. 1-17 from MS Royal 15 A. XXII, and MS Cotton Vitellius A. xiii, fols. 91-100 from MS Royal 15 B. XI.²⁸ In all cases, there is evidence to illustrate Cotton's well-known tampering with books in his possession. Part I of Vespasian D. xxi is described, along with the rest of the composite manuscript, in ASMMF, 7, and reproduced on the accompanying fiche.²⁹ Another manuscript from Cotton's collection that has undergone reorganization, MS Nero D. ii, preserves a number of chronicles written at Rochester in the early fourteenth century.³⁰ A related study is Andrew Watson's 'The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope (d. 1614)'.³¹ Here Watson surveys the life and collecting habits, as they can be deduced, of a founding donor of the Bodleian Library. He presented a two-volume homiliary by Ælfric, now Oxford MSS Bodley 340 and 342, to the library in 1602.³²

Arguably the most important Rochester book to survive, the *Textus Roffensis*, has attracted enormous scholarly attention over the past twenty years. The most influential reassessment of the structure and purpose of this two-volume collection of laws and charters from early twelfth-century Rochester is the work of Patrick Wormald, first in an essay, '*Laga Eadwardi: The Textus Roffensis in its Context*',³³ and subsequently in his comprehensive study, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century: Volume I: Legislation and its Limits*.³⁴ In both, Wormald presents a detailed analysis of the assembly of the legal portion of the manuscript which, he argues, was copied in a number of self-contained units from a variety of sources by a scribe/editor. It was a bishop's book for Rochester, with no mention of archiepiscopal status as would be expected for Canterbury. As a legal compendium beginning with the earliest Kentish royal codes and including the post-Conquest Latin compilation known as the *Instituta Cnuti*, the *Textus* 'was both memorial to the past and instrument of its adaptation in a new world'.³⁵

Building upon Wormald's findings, Carole Hough investigates the letter-forms of the main scribe of the *Textus Roffensis* in both the charters and the lawcodes.³⁶ By comparing cartulary texts to the five surviving single-sheet originals containing Old English, she is able to demonstrate that the scribe was strongly influenced by the handwriting of his sources. From there Hough analyses the variant letter-forms in the Old English law codes and concludes, as did Wormald, that the codes were drawn from a number of exemplars, that more than one source was used for the laws of Alfred and Ine, and that many of the rubrics may be original to the *Textus* scribe. In short, she uses palaeography to confirm the scribe's editorial role in the assembly and organization of his material. Further, her method reveals that the earliest Kentish laws of Æthelberht may have a textual history separate from those of his successors Wihtred and Hlothere and Eadric. These Kentish royal codes have been re-edited by Lisi Oliver.³⁷ Based upon an examination of linguistic features such as archaisms and dialectal variants, Oliver posits a separate line of transmission for the laws of Hlothere and Eadric but finds insufficient evidence to determine whether those of Æthelberht and Wihtred travelled together or separately.³⁸ It seems clear, at least, that the earliest English codes did not circulate as a group until much later in their history.

The Norman influence at work in the legal collection is explored in two important articles. In 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early-Norman Canon Law', Peter Cramer gives the fullest picture to date of the scholarly interests and activities of Bishop Ernulf (1114-24), the individual traditionally credited with inspiring the

Textus Roffensis.³⁹ Although his education and writings were influenced by canon law, Cramer cites reasons to believe that, under Henry I, Ernulf might have turned his attention as well to secular law. Bruce O'Brien focuses on the Norman translation of certain Old English laws into Latin known as the *Instituta Cnuti*, whose earliest copy appears in the *Textus Roffensis* in place of the Old English codes of Cnut.⁴⁰ Citing evidence for the work's composition in Worcester, O'Brien analyses the translator's method and purpose as he worked to bring this material to a post-Conquest audience. Of particular interest to the study of Rochester manuscripts is O'Brien's argument that the version of the *Instituta Cnuti* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 641 (twelfth century, origin and provenance unknown) is a direct copy of that in the *Textus Roffensis* and that, as a pair, they represent an independent branch of the *stemma*.⁴¹ As part of his evidence, O'Brien shows the shortcomings in Liebermann's transcriptions of these texts and also answers Wormald's objections to his position.⁴² If he is correct, as seems to be the case, Rawlinson C. 641 would bear further consideration for its possible Rochester connections.

The cartulary in the *Textus Roffensis* and surviving sheet charters from Rochester have also been the subject of several editions and studies. In a recently published article, Nicholas Brooks draws upon Rochester's Anglo-Saxon documents to show how the bishop and cathedral community extended their control of properties within the Roman walls from the seventh to the ninth centuries.⁴³ He finds that in the 860s, during the Viking occupation of the area, the West Saxon kings actually ceded control of the *ceaster* to the bishop of Rochester.⁴⁴ Brooks also discusses the late Anglo-Saxon bridge-work list recorded in the *Textus Roffensis*, which offers detailed information about the Roman bridge across the Medway, including aspects of its construction and the allotment of responsibility for maintaining it.⁴⁵ Eight items from Rochester, including two from the *Textus Roffensis*, are described with full bibliographical information in David A. E. Pelteret's *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents*.⁴⁶ Using surviving documents recorded in the *Textus Roffensis* and on single sheets, Colin Flight reconstructs the history, from the tenth to twelfth centuries, of certain disputed properties ultimately retained by Rochester.⁴⁷ As Flight observes, it is remarkable that the agreements recounting the disputes were put into writing at all. It is to be supposed that this happened only when the outcome favoured the church, and that statements in the documents would be made only from Rochester's point of view. On the other hand, these types of materials demonstrate just how vexed the process of bequests and

donations to the church could be. Further on this point, Patrick Wormald includes seven lawsuits recorded in Rochester materials in his 'Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits'.⁴⁸ One particular case, that regarding ownership of an estate at Snodland, Kent, is analysed in detail by Wormald in the context of dispute settlement in Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁹ On the other hand, as Peter Kitson shows, at least one individual who wrote the boundary clause in a Rochester land charter amused himself by putting both the Old English and Latin versions in verse.⁵⁰ The cartulary in the *Textus Roffensis* also serves as the major source of H. Tsurushima's study, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100'.⁵¹ Here the author examines the background to selected gifts by wealthy laymen in exchange for entry into the society of monks at Rochester. The donors were both English and Norman, and they secured entry for themselves or for male family members, especially sons.

In the attached list of annotations I have added such identifications as I and other scholars have made recently for items in the Rochester catalogues; no doubt more progress will be made in the coming decades. One important discovery that bears further attention is the several links between Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B. IV. 24 (the Durham Cantor's Book), late eleventh century, and Rochester. The major texts included in the book are copies of the Benedictine Rule in Latin and Old English, a copy of Usuard's *Martyrologium*, and a copy of Lanfranc's *Constitutiones*. A. J. Piper first noted two Kentish supplements in the martyrology, the *passio sancti Alfeagi* (Archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1012) for April 19 and the death of Paulinus (Bishop of Rochester, d. 644) with the supplement *ciuitate Rofensi*.⁵² Furthermore, Piper finds evidence in the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text that could be linked to a foundation which had, until recently, housed an order of canons, as was the case with Rochester, and may then have been revised for an order of nuns, such as Gundulf had recently founded at Malling.⁵³

As scholars of Ælfrician materials know, a number of surviving manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries containing his works have been associated with Rochester. Although there is general agreement that these compilations originated in southeast England and probably reflect the close association of scriptoria at Canterbury (both Christ Church and St Augustine's) and Rochester, issues of precise origin and provenance remain unresolved. The standard editions of the two series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, with full descriptions of these manuscripts and their stemma, provide a starting point for our review. In his work on the First Series, Peter Clemoes follows N. R. Ker in

recounting the links of two early manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. 340 and 342 to Rochester, the provenance if not the origin of the collection.⁵⁴ In his edition of Ælfric's prefaces, Jonathan Wilcox recapitulates the links among three collections of the *Catholic Homilies*, MSS Bodley 340-342 and Cambridge MSS Corpus Christi College 162 and 303, presented by Malcolm Godden in his 1979 edition of the Second Series.⁵⁵ D. G. Scragg demonstrates the relationship between the homilies in the Vercelli Book and this group of south-eastern manuscripts and suggests that the Vercelli manuscript may have been at Rochester at some time in the eleventh century, though its sources were more likely to have come from Canterbury, possibly St Augustine's.⁵⁶

Additionally, a number of surveys and inventories of hagiographic material appearing in these and related collections have been published in recent years. The two-part article by Alex Nicholls contains a description of the corpus followed by a full list of all hagiographic items in each manuscript.⁵⁷ More details about individual pieces are provided by D. G. Scragg in 'The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context', where, for example, he describes items added to collections apparently destined for Rochester.⁵⁸ The distribution of selections from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* in homiletic as well as predominantly hagiographic collections is analysed by Joyce Hill in an article covering the same group of south-eastern manuscripts.⁵⁹

Studies of individual manuscripts associated with Rochester and the nexus of south-eastern scriptoria have provided many new details about the nature and circulation of vernacular materials in the area. Although they are often mentioned, MSS Bodley 340-342 have received more attention in the editions and surveys described above than in individual articles. A closely-related collection from the beginning of the eleventh century, CCCC 162, has been analysed, however, in recent publications, with the result that more detail is now available about its sources, organization, and idiosyncratic readings. D. G. Scragg shows how the scribe uses but alters a Bodley-type homiliary to produce an expanded temporale especially in the Septuagesima sequence leading up to Easter.⁶⁰ Franz Wenisch analyses the structure of CCCC 162 to show the relationship among Ælfrician and anonymous pieces, and edits a previously unpublished piece on penance.⁶¹ Scragg examines another anonymous piece, item 38 for Ascension Day, and argues that it was written originally to complete a Rogation set in the Vercelli Book, probably by the author of Vercelli IX, XX and XXI, probably in Canterbury during Dunstan's pontificate, 959-988.⁶² Lastly, in her catalogue of illustrated manuscripts from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Mildred Budny provides a

new physical description of MS 162 and synthesizes much of the recent scholarship about its textual affiliations. Most importantly, she offers an inventory of decoration and illumination in the manuscript, enhanced by numerous plates illustrating these features.⁶³

Elaine M. Treharne has published a number of studies ranging from overviews of Old English manuscripts in the post-Conquest period to examinations of individual manuscripts and texts.⁶⁴ For example, she has made an important discovery of palaeographic affinities between Cambridge, MS Corpus Christi College 367, fols. 3-6 and 11-29, and the *Textus Roffensis*, as well as two other manuscripts written at Rochester in the first quarter of the twelfth century.⁶⁵ Treharne also connects fols. 1-2 and 7-10 from CCCC 367 to the scribe of fols. 2-36v and 120v-227v of Cambridge, University Library MS li. 1. 33.⁶⁶ This is scribe 1 of CUL li. 1. 33 as identified by Oliver Traxel in his recent monograph, who therefore seems to have worked in one of the closely allied south-eastern scriptoria, possibly at Rochester.⁶⁷

Treharne has also provided the most comprehensive descriptions of Cambridge, MS Corpus Christi College 303, a collection of vernacular homilies for the Temporale and the second half of the Sanctorale concluding with some miscellaneous items, including further confirmation of its origin at Rochester. In her edition of the Old English lives of St. Nicholas and St. Giles, two of the three unique saints' lives appearing in the manuscript, Treharne argues for dating the manuscript in the second half of the twelfth century.⁶⁸ In her description for Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, vol. 11, Treharne offers a full inventory of the contents keyed to the most recent editions of the texts.⁶⁹ She also analyses and edits the Latin and Old English versions of a formula for excommunication added to fill blank space between two Ælfrician prose selections.⁷⁰ An edition of a unique life of St Margaret from CCCC 303 is provided by Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis.⁷¹ Additionally, Mary Swan argues that one Ælfrician/composite homily in CCCC 303, article 18 on the Finding of the True Cross, shows evidence of memorialised transmission, part of a wider phenomenon apparent in homilies from late Anglo-Saxon England.⁷²

Another twelfth-century collection of late Old English prose texts, London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, has generated even more debate and analysis in recent years. A new description of the manuscript is provided in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, vol. 8 by Jonathan Wilcox.⁷³ Additional descriptive work on the palaeography of the manuscript by Elaine Treharne, and on its compilation and use by Susan Irvine, has advanced our

understanding of this unusual collection.⁷⁴ Treharne highlights the problem of assigning an origin to *Vespasian D. xiv* owing to the fact that its script does not provide sufficient evidence to place it definitely at Canterbury or Rochester. Irvine notes that the textual transmission of the *Ælfrician* materials in the manuscript descends from that found in earlier collections with a Rochester origin and/or provenance, while these and other items in the collection witness the purposeful editing that has shaped it. Furthermore, annotations indicate that the manuscript was read by a woman, presumably a nun, in the late twelfth century.

Turning to individual texts in *Vespasian D. xiv*, one is struck by the unique character of many of these, as pointed out by scholars in recent years. Looking first at works from the *Ælfrician* tradition, Mary Swan shows how two pieces, one assembled from *Catholic Homilies II* and a topical sermon, the other from *Catholic Homilies I*, have been edited in significant ways from the originals.⁷⁵ The former, Ker article 15 in *Vespasian D. xiv*, combines almost all of *Ælfric's* homily *Dominica XII post Pentecosten* with an extract and a concluding summary from his *De Falsis Diis*, leading to a muddled message on humility and paganism. The second piece, Ker article 36 as drawn from *Ælfric's Natale Sancti Clementis*, omits the entire account of Clement's life and instead recounts Biblical stories of God saving people from heathen persecutors. This material is quoted, and partly summarized, from the second half of the homily. Joyce Hill discusses three saints' lives, including that of St Clement, from *Vespasian D. xiv*, in her essay on the preservation and transmission of *Ælfric's* hagiographic materials.⁷⁶ In addition to Clement, she covers Ker articles 16, 17, and 18, a composite homily on the Assumption of the Virgin. As Hill shows, the compiler drew on the first portion of the homily for that occasion in *Catholic Homilies I*, the entire homily in *Catholic Homilies II* omitting only the conclusion, and returned to a coda from the *CH I* homily for a concluding story. Hill also describes the substitution of an anonymous version of James the brother of John for the *Ælfrician* text that normally follows his Seven Sleepers homily in other collections such as Bodley 340 and 342. The Swan and Hill essays thus provide evidence for the range of *Ælfrician* adaptations found in this twelfth-century collection, from cutting and pasting, to summarizing, and even to outright substitution of unrelated material.

Another, now missing, *Ælfrician* piece from *Vespasian D. xiv* is the subject of Jonathan Wilcox's study, 'The Transmission of *Ælfric's Letter to Sigefyrth* and the Mutilation of MS Cotton *Vespasian D. xiv*'.⁷⁷ As Wilcox describes it, the text is 'a tract on virginity in general and a polemic against clerical marriage in particular' that has been mostly excised from the

manuscript.⁷⁸ The piece survives in a sixteenth-century transcript by John Joscelyn in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius D. vii, fols. 10r-12r. Although it was reworked by Ælfric into an addition to *CH I* for the assumption of the Virgin Mary and adapted into two other versions as well, the text in Vespasian D. xiv seems to represent the only surviving copy of the original, most polemic tract, there entitled 'Emb Clænnyse þe gehadede mæn healden scylen'. Archbishop Matthew Parker, among others, knew this tract and was especially interested in the topic of clerical marriage since he himself was married. However, on the basis of the date and manner of the excision, Wilcox attributes the removal to Sir Robert Cotton. Cotton's habit of rearranging manuscripts in his possession is well known, but his motive for removing this particular tract remains unclear. Wilcox prints and discusses the preface to the tract in his edition of Ælfric's prefaces.⁷⁹

Cotton Vespasian D. xiv originally began with the Old English *Dicts of Cato*, now the third item in the collection.⁸⁰ Elaine Treharne's recent study of this text in all three extant copies points to certain unique features of the Vespasian version, including an opening that 'emphasizes the responsibility of the individual in the pursuit of wisdom' and the addition of seven moralistic and hortatory items, two derived from the Old English *Deuteronomy*.⁸¹ Thus this version provides evidence, as indeed does the entire collection, of the adaptation of source texts for a contemporary readership, in this case monks and *conversi* seeking didactic Christian and moral information.

Two short weather-related prognostics in English, relatively unusual within a homiletic context such as we find in Vespasian D. xiv, are described by Roy Liuzza in a recent inventory of such material.⁸² The eclectic nature of this collection is further illuminated by several other unusual items included there. An abridged version of the Old English *Euangelium Nichodemi*, entitled 'De Resurrectio Domini' and treated as a sermon, appears on fols. 87v-100r.⁸³ There follows a severely edited text of the Old English version of the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, in which all sections of the narrative involving Veronica have been removed.⁸⁴ The text here complicates our attempts to reconstruct the transmission of the Latin version to England and, moreover, suggests that the original intended audience for Vespasian D. xiv was not female, despite indications of later female involvement.

The compiler includes another surprise with translated materials from two near-contemporary writers: two excerpts from the *Elucidarium* by Honorius of Autun (d. about 1140) and a homily on the Virgin Mary by Ralph d'Escures,

Bishop of Rochester and later Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1122).⁸⁵ The latter work is the subject of a recent essay by Elaine Treharne, who considers the homily in the context of the literary relevance and cultural usefulness of English during the post-Conquest period.⁸⁶ This is one of five English pieces for Marian feast-days in Vespasian D. xiv, a feature that may provide some clue to the circumstances under which it was assembled. As Treharne shows, the translator made a number of changes from the original Latin version, most notably by drawing upon Ælfric's homily on the Assumption of the Virgin from *CH II*, and by substituting a vernacular rendition of the *Trinubium Annae* for the laudatory verse to Mary at the end of Ralph's homily. Further on this point, Thomas N. Hall discusses the growing devotion to Mary and Anne in England after the Conquest at several English centres, including Canterbury.⁸⁷ Although the Latin source for the Old English version may have originated at Bury, it could have easily been transmitted to Canterbury or Rochester through a number of shared connections. Hall notes that the emphasis in the text on Anne's right to remarry after the death of each of her husbands, as sanctioned by Mosaic law, reflects English law in the eleventh century. This coincidence links, of course, with the documented interest in legal materials at Rochester and, presumably, at Canterbury during the post-Conquest period.

As the foregoing survey makes clear, vernacular texts of many sorts continued to be copied, updated, and created from Latin sources in south-eastern England during the twelfth century. In this regard, one additional short but interesting collection, known as the Vespasian homilies, deserves mention. A small group of late Old English homilies on fols. 52-59 of British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxii appears between Latin materials associated with Rochester. A full description of the manuscript has been made recently by Jonathan Wilcox.⁸⁸ In their study of the first of the four pieces, Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae*, Robert McColl Millar and Alex Nicholls remind us that this is one of the latest copies of an Old English text extant.⁸⁹ They argue that the poor quality of the copying indicates its purpose as a private booklet. The text has been simplified significantly, with focus upon the narrative at the expense of analysis. The vocabulary has been modernised even as some aspects of the grammar have deteriorated. In a forthcoming essay on two post-Conquest Old English homiletic collections copies c. 1200, Mary Swan offers new information about the codex containing the Vespasian homilies and links the text in several ways to some of the pieces in London, Lambeth Palace Library 487 (West Midlands).⁹⁰ The double-column ruling, unusual for Old English texts, plus evidence of Rochester

origin in the Latin materials (parts, 1, 2, and 4) as well as the Old English, leads to the suggestion that the latter texts were copied on a spare quire roughly contemporary with the rest of the codex. The Old English scribe left room to complete these works but never returned to the task; given their brevity, the purpose and intended audience of the pieces remain unclear, though intriguing.

To conclude, the Vespasian Homilies along with the previous Old English homiletic manuscripts under discussion have clearly not been copied as artefacts, a point made cogently by Elaine M. Treharne in numerous studies. Most recently, Treharne has pursued questions about the nature of the audience and the use for these texts, and has argued that they, and their language, should be taken seriously as evidence of a small but living tradition within the literature of the Anglo-Norman period.⁹¹ Whereas some of these productions have been assigned a Rochester origin and/or provenance, the evidence for others is ambiguous, but certainly bespeaks a circle of renewing Old English materials in southeast England after the Conquest in which Rochester took an active role even as the foundation continued to expand its monastic library.

***Annotations to English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues,
CBMLC, v. 4: The Documents for Rochester Cathedral Priory, B77-B83***

Note: The following series of corrections, additions, and annotations to Watson's edition of the catalogues are provided for those entries where the published transcriptions and references are inaccurate or questionable. Corrections are made to inaccuracies; additions present material that was inadvertently omitted in the course of publication; all entries not designated as corrections or additions represent my annotations made upon examination of the relevant evidence, as indicated. Omissions are indicated by brackets. Since the use of capitals and punctuation is editorial, these matters are not considered here. Additionally, three works covering the Rochester library, which have appeared since the publication of the catalogues, are cross-referenced with Watson's edition: Gneuss for Anglo-Saxon manuscripts dating before 1100; Gameson for manuscripts of early Norman England c. 1066-1130; and Carley (H2) for the Westminster Library of Henry VIII compiled in 1542. Each of these scholars adds important information about individual books while also providing a comparative view of the range, development, and survival of Rochester materials. Full citations of works mentioned in the annotations are provided in the Bibliography.

Rochester B77 (Textus Roffensis, fols. 224-230)

1. The three volumes (BL Royal 5 D. I-III) may have been copied sequentially over a period of perhaps twenty years. Gneuss 457.4; Gameson 489-91; H2, 612.
2. Gameson 496; H2, 583.
3. Correction: ... *epistolam* ... *cantica canticorum*. Gneuss 456.6; Gameson 478; H2, 849.
4. Gameson 480; H2, 577.
5. Correction: ... *Berengerium* Gameson 474; H2, 764.
7. Gameson 477.
8. Correction: ... *quaestiones* ... *Solomonis* ... *expositionem* Gameson 479; H2, 594.
9. Omission: *Item [librum]* Gameson 817.
10. Gameson 481; H2, 575.
11. Correction: ... *Caelestianos* ... *et regula*

12. Gameson 482; H2, 799.
14. Correction: ... *littera* Gameson 24.
15. Gameson 487; H2, 576. See also Webber (1996), p. 38 and n. 50.
16. Correction: ... *quidam* ... *catalogus Ysidori... reci[fol.225r]piendis ... diuinarum ... Ysidori [episcopi]* Gameson 584.
17. Omission: ... *concupiscentia [et responsio eiusdem sancti augustini]* Gameson 637.
18. Gameson 81.
19. Gameson 529; H2, 174.
21. Correction: ... *Danihelem*
22. Gameson 292.
23. Correction: Probably=B 79.80. Gneuss 453.2; Gameson 461; H2, 727.
25. Correction: ... *Hilarionis et aliorum* ... *appellatur*....
26. Correction: ... *quam* ... *hebreo [in latinum]* ... *Iesum* ... *In alio uero volumine* ... *[Liber] Tobie* ... *Libri [prophetarum omnes. Actus apostolorum.] Epistolae Pauli* ... *Apocalypsis*. Gneuss 934; Gameson 899-900.
29. Correction: ... *distantiis* ... *Parali\p/pomenon* ... Gameson 167; H2, 791.
30. Correction: ... *tratus* ... *perfidiam [et] libri duo* Gameson 667.
32. Correction: 'This volume cannot be B81.10 ...' H2, 755?
33. Correction: *Iesum* Perhaps now BL MS Royal I C. VII if Gameson's dating to the first quarter of the 12th century is accepted. Gameson 459.
35. Correction: ... *aecclesiastem* ... *improperium*
36. Gameson 510; H2, 581.
37. Gameson 509; H2, 689.
39. Gameson 471; H2, 580.
42. Gameson 524; H2, 578.
43. Correction: ... *nouatianos* ... *credendi* ... *Paulinam*
44. Gameson 515; H2, 796.
45. Correction: 'Now BL MS Royal 3 C.iv (vol. 1) "per R. precentorem" and Royal 6 C. vi (vol. 2) "per Radulphum archiepiscopum (s. xii) "''. Gneuss 453.6 and 469.3; Gameson 463 and 525; H2, 703 and 776.
46. H2, 1430.
48. Gneuss 469.5; Gameson 527; H2, 841.
50. Correction: 'The second volume is BL MS Royal 4 B. 1 ...'. Gameson 465; H2, 712.
52. Gneuss 457.8; Gameson 499; H2, 805.

53. Gameson 286.
55. Correction: ... *hystoriam* Gameson 929. Gameson suggests that this volume may have been copied from Cambridge, MS Corpus Christi College 187, origin and provenance probably Christ Church, Canterbury (Gneuss 57).
56. Omission: ... [*in i volumine.*]. See Gullick, p. 114, n. 45.
59. Correction: ... *reparatione* ... [*scriptum*] *Fulberti de sacerdote* ... *accipit* Gameson 511; H2, 736.
65. Possibly BL MS Harley 3680 (s. xii). Gameson 449. This work may have been divided originally at Book IV. It opens at the top of fol. 100r with several unique features: The large initial I extends along the left margin and does not intrude into the text block; the first line is written in red, green, and purple block letters, whereas normally there are two such lines at the beginning of a new book; fols. 99v and 100r appear more discoloured and worn than the surrounding leaves, with some staining that is not shared; and, most importantly, a new style of quire-numbering on the last verso (approximately 5.2 cm. below the text block) replaces the system of numbering on the first recto (approximately 4.5 cm. below). Whereas *Incipit Liber Quartus* is written at the bottom of fol. 99v, this may have happened when the two were joined because there is no room to do so appropriately at the top of fol. 100r.
67. Correction: ... *Alcuinum*/ ... *versificae* ... *quaestiones* Gameson 163; H2, 752.
70. Correction: *Commentarium*
71. On a possible relationship of this item to the so-called Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24), see Piper, esp. pp. 81-83 and Appendix, and Jayatilaka, p. 167.
72. Gameson 537; H2, 835.
73. Gameson 541-43: the manuscript was originally written as three separate volumes; H2, 728.
74. Gameson 9. This is a rare example of a surviving work listed in B77 but not included in later catalogues.
77. Correction: ... *Aelphaegi* ... *aecclesiae* Gameson 908.
78. Correction: ... *glosatae* Gameson 604. Although there are two surviving copies, Gameson implies, by excluding Cambridge, St John's College, MS 70 from his list, that this manuscript is too late to be equated with the entry.

79. Gneuss 342.2 and 342.3. The attribution to Rochester is questioned as well by Gneuss and Gameson 389 and 390.
80. Gameson 540; H2, 836.
82. Gameson 807. See also Love, pp. clxxvii-viii.
83. Gneuss 569.
84. Correction: ... *Sermones diuersarum solenitatum* Gameson 910.
85. For BL MS Royal 2 C. III, see Gneuss 452 and Gameson 460; H2, 719. For Edinburgh NLS MS Adv. 18.2.4, see Gameson 285; H2, 715. The Royal manuscript is the earlier of the two, but it is a mixed collection and so, strictly speaking, does not fit the description of the second volume. But, indeed, the entries for the various collections of homilies/sermons in Latin and Old English are so general as to defy confirmed attributions to extant books.
86. Few, if any, service books survive from the Rochester library.
90. Correction: =B79.75.
91. Correction: ... *historiam* Gameson 560; H2, 862. See also Carley (1989), pp. 20-21. ASMMF 7.7 and pp. 44-48.
95. Gameson 7.
97. Correction: ... *Ysidorum ... creaturae*
99. Correction: ... *regularum*

Rochester B78 (Rochester, Dean and Chapter Muniments, MS B. 854)

6. Correction: []rti et librum
8. Correction: appellatur.
10. Correction: ... *Iudicum*. []Psalterium. Proverbiorum. Ecclesiastes. S[]ia. In alio vero volumine
11. Correction: ... et interp[] et de decem
12. Correction: ... et liber unus de mendacio ... et liber eius ... duo libri d[]e et sermo ... sancti Aug[]legis
13. Correction: Ex []m
15. Correction: []ogus
19. Correction: ... *aequinocio*
20. Correction: ... et lx []domini et
22. See also Lapidge, p. 623 and notes 74-77.
24. Correction: []alia sancti ... in [] .

- 25. H2, 574.
- 28. This is the earliest known reference to the *arca cantoris* at Rochester.
- 32. Correction: [*Jogiarum .ii.*
- 35. Correction: ... *regist[]*.

Rochester B79 (BL MS Royal 5 B. XII, fols. 2r-3r)

- 3. Gneuss 453.8; Gameson 464; H2, 582.
- 5. Gameson 488; H2, 848.
- 13. H2, 593.
- 16. Correction: *De nupcijs et concupiscencia et contra Iulianum*
- 20. H2, 591.
- 21. Correction: *Libri*
- 23-24. Correction to intervening rubric: ... *Gregorij papa.*
- 33. Correction: ... *in i uolumine.*
- 45. Correction: ... *in i uolumine.*
- 49. H2, 763.
- 72. H2, 852.
- 81. H2, 887.
- 89. H2, 718.
- 94. H2, 804.
- 100. H2, 847. See Carley (1992), pp. 64-66.
- 111. Correction: This item, added in darker ink by the same scribe, refers to a second copy of 110 located in the *arca Cantoris*, and hence should be listed with 110. Cf. B79.165 and 167, where the works are cited as being *in duobus locis*.
- 117. H2, 823.
- 125. Correction: *De diuinis* is indeed an entry because the *D* is rubricated. It may refer to BL MS Royal 6 A. XI, a miscellany that opens with Ambrose's *De diuinis officiis*, in which the word *diuinis* is in rubrics on the first line. H2, 710.
- 128. H2, 775.
- 129. H2, 774.
- 132. Another partly completed copy from Rochester is BL MS Royal 1 B. IV (12th/13th).
- 135. H2, 574. See Carley (1992), pp. 56-57.

141. Correction: ?=B78.35.
142. Correction: ... *Diligendo deo*
143. Correction: =B78.30.
152. Possibly BL MS Royal 4 B. II (H2, 693). This entry is unique in describing the binding of the book, covered in deer hide.
163. Correction: Scribe γ.
180. Possibly Maidstone, Kent County Archives, MS U 1121 M2B, pp. 103-06. Gameson 603.
182. Correction: *iiii* .
186. Gameson 174.
197. Gneuss 497; H2, 869.
209. Correction: *Rethoria*
216. There is no obvious reason within the context of the list of books associated with Alexander to assume that items 216a and 216b constitute one entry. Where works are combined, the cataloguer normally uses a conjunction (*cum* or *et*), as in 219 and 221. As entry 222 indicates, the number of volumes is not always indicated with an entry.
218. There is a stronger case for associating 218a and 218b because both works were attributed to Hippocrates in the Middle Ages, but the entry is ambiguous.
226. Correction: *Diascorides*
236. H2, 666.
237. H2, 816.
239. H2, 808.
240. H2, 709.

Rochester B80 (BL MS Royal 10 A. XII, fol. 111vb)

7. H2, 897.

Rochester B81 (BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxii, fols. 86-90)

11. Possibly H2, 620.
20. Gneuss 446; H2, 643.

Rochester B82 (Rochester, Dean and Chapter Muniments, MS s.n., fol. 223)

No annotations.

Rochester B83 (BL MS Cotton Faustina C.v, fol. 50r)

1. Probably Oxford, MS St John's College 4; see Hanna, pp. 4-5.
2. H2, 642.
6. H2, 621.
9. Correction: ?=B77.35.

Select Bibliography

Note: The following list includes the most important works treating aspects of the Rochester scriptorium and library between 1987 and 2005. The author wishes to thank Professor Thomas Hall and Professor James Carley for their suggestions. Any omissions, however, are solely her responsibility. Most, but not all, of the items listed below are discussed in the foregoing review of research.

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NOTES

¹ This essay is dedicated to Joyce Hill, who took an early and much-appreciated interest in my work on Rochester.

² Sharpe, R., J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson and A. G. Watson, eds, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 4 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1996), pp. 463-537.

³ Watson, p. 464.

⁴ Watson, p. 470.

⁵ Maidstone, Kent County Archives Office, MS DRc/Z18/1-2.

⁶ Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁷ Gameson, p. 8. See also p., 17 and n. 102, which lists three related pairs of texts from Christ Church, Canterbury, and Rochester. Norman influence on the shape of the collection is described by Katharine Waller in 'Rochester Cathedral Library: An English Book Collection Based on Norman Models', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des xi-xii siècles: Colloque international du CNRS*, ed. by Raymond Foureville, Études Anselmiennes, 4 session (Paris: CNRS, 1984), pp. 237-50.

⁸ Gameson, p. 10 and n. 52. Further evidence of connection among the three scriptoria may be seen in Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B. IV. 24, the so-called Durham Cantor's Book, to be discussed below.

⁹ Gameson, p. 41.

¹⁰ Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001). See also Gneuss's 'Addenda and corrigenda to the Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 293-305.

¹¹ In Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 275-342.

¹² Andrew G. Watson, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, supplement to the 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society 1987), pp. 58-59.

¹³ P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1988)

¹⁴ Robinson, *Catalogue*, p. 56.

¹⁵ P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 888-1600 in London Libraries* (London: The British Library, 2003), p. 42.

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- ¹⁶ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁷ C. W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, 2 vols (Pasadena: Huntington Library, 1989), I, 124-30.
- ¹⁸ *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral 604-1994*, ed. by Nigel Yates and Paul A. Welsby, Kent History Project, 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996).
- ¹⁹ Martin Brett, 'Gundulf and the Cathedral Communities of Canterbury and Rochester', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, ed. by Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London: Hambledon, 1995), pp. 15-25.
- ²⁰ Brett, 'Gundulf', p. 17.
- ²¹ Marylou Ruud, 'Monks in the World: The Case of Gundulf of Rochester', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 11 (1988), 245-60.
- ²² Julie Potter, 'The *Vita Gundulfi* in its Historical Context', *Haskins Society Journal*, 7 (1995), 89-100.
- ²³ James P. Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 7 (London: British Library in Association with the British Academy, 2000), pp. 30-226.
- ²⁴ Carley, *Libraries*, pp. xl-xli.
- ²⁵ James P. Carley, 'John Leland and the Foundations of the Royal Library: The Westminster Inventory of 1542', *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1989), 13-22.
- ²⁶ James P. Carley, 'The Royal Library as a Source for Sir Robert Cotton's Collection: A Preliminary List of Acquisitions', *The British Library Journal*, 18 (1992), 52-73.
- ²⁷ Carley, 'Royal Library', pp. 56-57. However, he notes mistakenly that this item appears in the first Rochester booklist recorded in the *Textus Roffensis*.
- ²⁸ Carley, 'Royal Library', pp. 64-66.
- ²⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Volume 7: Anglo-Saxon Bibles and the Book of Cerne*, described by A. N. Doane (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 44-48.
- ³⁰ Description in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Volume 9: Deluxe and Illustrated Manuscripts Containing Technical and Literary Texts*, described by A. N. Doane and Tiffany J. Grade (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), pp. 52-64.
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- ³² Watson, 'Manuscript Collection', p. 294.

³³ Wormald, Patrick, 'Laga Eadwardi: The *Textus Roffensis* and its Context', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1995), 243-66 (repr. in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience*, (London: Hambledon, 1999), pp. 115-38).

³⁴ Wormald, Patrick, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century: Volume 1: Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Balckwell, 1999). See esp. pp. 244-53.

³⁵ Wormald, *Legal Culture*, p. 253.

³⁶ Carole Hough, 'Paleographical Evidence for the Compilation of *Textus Roffensis*', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 57-79.

³⁷ Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). Oliver has also published 'The Laws of Æthelberht: A Student Edition', *Old English Newsletter*, 38.1 (Fall, 2004), 51-72.

³⁸ Oliver, *English Law*, pp. 120-23.

³⁹ Peter Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early-Norman Canon Law', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), 483-510. An early fourteenth-century colophon on the first page states that the MS was made 'per' Bishop Ernulf. The writings of Ernulf are itemized with full bibliographic information in Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of The Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), p. 113.

⁴⁰ Bruce O'Brien, 'The *Instituta Cnuti* and the Translation of Old English Law', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 25 (2003), 177-97.

⁴¹ O'Brien, 'The *Instituta Cnuti*', p. 183.

⁴² O'Brien, 'The *Instituta Cnuti*', p. 180, n. 17.

⁴³ Nicholas Brooks, 'Rochester, A. D. 400-1066', in *Rochester: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. by Tim Ayers and Tim Tatton-Brown, The British Archaeological Association Transactions, 28 (2006), pp. 6-21.

⁴⁴ Brooks, 'Rochester', p. 15.

⁴⁵ Brooks, 'Rochester', pp. 16-17.

⁴⁶ David A. E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990). Items 40, 42, 49, 52, 53, 55, 60 and 145 are from Rochester; 42 and 145 have copies in the *Textus Roffensis*.

⁴⁷ Colin Flight, 'Four Vernacular Texts from Rochester Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 115 (1996), 121-53.

⁴⁸ Patrick Wormald, 'Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 17 (1988), 247-81 (repr. with an additional note in *Legal Culture*, pp. 253-87).

⁴⁹ Patrick Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 114-36 (repr. with an additional note in *Legal Culture*, pp. 289-311).

⁵⁰ Peter Kitson, 'Some Unrecognized Old English and Anglo-Latin Verse', *Notes and Queries*, 232 (1987), 147-51. The charter in question is no. 339 in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), a grant in 868 from Æthelred I to Bishop Cuthwulf of Rochester.

⁵¹ H. Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1991), 313-37.

⁵² A. J. Piper, 'The Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24)', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 83 and 91-92.

⁵³ Piper, 'Durham Cantor's Book', pp. 80-81. In 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), pp. 147-87 (esp. pp. 166-73), Rohini Jayatilaka analyzes the Latin and Old English texts of the Rule in the Durham MS but does not offer further conclusions about its origin.

⁵⁴ Peter Clemoes, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 10. A similar assessment is expressed in Gneuss 569.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts, 9 (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1996), p. 76. See the Introduction to Godden's edition, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. xxv-xlii.

⁵⁶ D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS, o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. lxxviii-lxxix.

⁵⁷ Alex Nicholls, 'The Corpus of Prose Saints' Lives and Hagiographic Pieces in Old English and its Manuscript Distribution', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 19 (1993), 73-96, and 20 (1994), 51-87.

⁵⁸ D. G. Scragg, 'The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 209-30, with an Appendix by Scragg and Elaine Treharne, 'The Three Anonymous Lives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303', pp. 231-34.

⁵⁹ Joyce Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Preliminary Survey', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, pp. 235-59. See also Hill's related essay, 'The Preservation and Transmission of Ælfric's Saints' Lives: Reader-Reception and Reader-Response in the Early Middle Ages', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997), pp. 405-30.

⁶⁰ D. G. Scragg, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 71-83.

⁶¹ Franz Wenisch, 'Nu bidde we eow for Godes lufon: A Hitherto Unpublished Old English Homiletic Text in CCCC 162', in *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Korhammer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 43-52.

⁶² D. G. Scragg, 'An Old English Homilist of Archbishop Dunstan's Day', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Korhammer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 181-92. The piece in question was edited by Hildegard Tristram as her number III, in 'Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970).

⁶³ Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), I, 463-73, II, pls 332-81.

⁶⁴ See Elaine M. Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', in *Beatus Vir: Essays in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. by A. N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf (Tempe, AZ: forthcoming).

⁶⁵ Elaine M. Treharne, 'The Dates and Origins of Three Twelfth-Century Old English Manuscripts', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, pp. 227-53. See also Treharne's description of CCCC 367 in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Volume 11: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge I: MSS 41, 57, 191, 302, 303, 367, 383, 422*, described by by Timothy Graham and others (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp. 67-73.

⁶⁶ Treharne, 'The Dates and Origins', pp. 240-44.

⁶⁷ Oliver M. Traxel, *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Evidence of Cambridge University Library, Ii. 1. 33*, Münchener Universitätsschriften, 38 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2004), esp. pp. 209-19. See also my forthcoming review in *JEGP* for further evidence of a Rochester origin for CUL Ii. 1. 33.

⁶⁸ Elaine M. Treharne, ed., *The Old English Life of St. Nicholas with the Old English Life of St. Giles*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, 15 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1997), pp. 4-28.

⁶⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Volume 11*, pp. 55-66.

⁷⁰ E. M. Treharne, 'A Unique Old English Formula for Excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 185-211.

⁷¹ Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), esp. pp. 92-94 and 152-80.

⁷² Mary Swan, 'Memorialized Readings: Manuscript Evidence for Old English Homiletic Composition', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 205-17.

⁷³ *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Volume 8: Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials*, described by Jonathan Wilcox (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), pp. 52-64.

⁷⁴ Respectively, Elaine M. Treharne, 'The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century', and Susan Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Old English, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 11-40 (esp. pp. 31-34) and pp. 41-61 (esp. pp. 48-54).

⁷⁵ Mary Swan, 'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. by Swan and Treharne, pp. 67-71.

⁷⁶ See note 58 above for the full reference. The items discussed here are on pp. 416-18.

⁷⁷ Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Transmission of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigefyrth* and the Mutilation of London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv', in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 285-300.

⁷⁸ Wilcox, 'The Transmission', p. 288.

⁷⁹ Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts, 9, (Durham: 1994; corrected repr., 1996), pp. 83-84, 125 (text), 162 (explanatory notes).

⁸⁰ Wilcox, 'The Transmission', p. 291.

⁸¹ Elaine M. Treharne, 'The Form and Function of the Twelfth-Century Old English *Dicts of Cato*', *JEGP*, 102 (2003), 465-85 (pp. 478-79).

⁸² Roy Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 30 (2001), 181-230 (p. 221).

⁸³ This piece is described by Thomas N. Hall in 'The *Euangelium Nichodemi* and *Vindicta saluatoris* in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source*, ed. by J. E. Cross, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 36-81 (esp. pp. 52-53 and 77). The variants in Vespasian D. xiv provide readings in the accompanying edition as manuscript C.

⁸⁴ Mary Swan, 'Remembering Veronica in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature: Approaches to Old and Middle English Texts*, ed. by Elaine Treharne, Essays and Studies, n.s. 55 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), 19-39 (pp. 31-34).

⁸⁵ Thomas Hahn, 'Early Middle English', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 61-

91 (esp. pp. 82-83). Hahn refers to the collection in Cotton Vespasian D. xiv as the *Rochester Anthology*, and states that these two translations are noteworthy specimens of early Middle English.

⁸⁶ Elaine M. Treharne, 'The Life of English in the Mid-Twelfth Century: Ralph D'Escures' Homily on the Virgin Mary', in *Literature of the Reign of Henry II*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 169-86. My thanks to Professor Treharne for providing a pre-publication copy of the essay.

⁸⁷ Thomas N. Hall, 'The Earliest Anglo-Latin Text of the *Trinubium Annae* (BHL 505zl)', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall, Thomas D. Hill and Charles D. Wright, Medieval European Studies, 1 (Morgantown, WVA: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 104-37 (esp. pp. 130-35).

⁸⁸ Jonathan Wilcox, *Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials*, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, 8 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), pp. 46-52.

⁸⁹ Robert McColl Millar, and Alex Nicholls, 'Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae* and London, BL Cotton Vespasian A.xxii: Omission, Addition, Retention and Innovation', in *The Preservation and Transmission*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal, pp. 431-63.

⁹⁰ Mary Swan, 'Preaching Past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A.xxii', in *Precedence, Practice, and Appropriation: The Old English Homily*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (Brepols, forthcoming). My thanks to the author for a pre-publication copy of this essay.

⁹¹ Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins'. My thanks again to Professor Treharne for an advance copy of this essay.

A Difficult School Text in Anglo-Saxon England: The Third Book of Abbo's *Bella Parisiacae Urbis*

Patrizia Lendinara

The *Bella Parisiacae urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés were undeniably part of the Anglo-Saxon curriculum.¹ The success of Abbo's poem – and especially of its third book – in England is witnessed by the significant number of English manuscripts containing the Latin text. Moreover, a specifically Insular product is represented by the prose version of the third book as well as the Old English continuous gloss which was provided for this part of the poem.²

Around the end of the ninth century, Abbo composed a poem consisting of three books. The first two described the attack launched by the Vikings against Paris, their siege (885–886), and the following events up to 896. The third book has a different content and is apparently intended for a different audience: it is dedicated to a young cleric and aims at improving his behaviour. With short sentences, generally one line long, the cleric is told what to do and what to avoid. Only by following the right path will he (and his fellow brethren) be able to ascend to heaven, there to join the company of the blessed forever singing the praises of the Lord.

The third book differs from the other two not only in subject-matter and length (115 lines against 660 of the first book and 618 of the second respectively), but, above all, in its lexicon. Abbo crams his lines with hundreds of uncommon words, among which Greek loanwords play a major role.³ There are at least 120 loanwords in the third book and they amount to about half of the glossed words of this book. Rare words are not lacking from the first two books, but their frequency in the third is astonishing and gives this part of Abbo's work that unusual flavour which has procured the poem its large renown and fostered its transmission to England.

As is explained in the *Scedula* prefacing the poem,⁴ Abbo himself was aware of the difficulties which the readers would face and therefore chose to gloss

all the difficult words.⁵ Nearly half of the words of the third book⁶ are accompanied by one or more Latin glosses, yielding an average of three glossed lemmata per line. This recurring pattern and the simple and repetitive syntax of the sentences suggest that the lines have been deliberately built around the key words provided with glosses. The lexical glosses are the majority.⁷ They are drawn from the same sources as their lemmata, that is the words interspersed in the lines, and both are drawn from the glossary (or glossaries) used by Abbo. These sources cannot, however, be identified with any of the known glossaries, owing to the way in which such compilations had been put together from the earlier Carolingian period onwards: compilers selected items from different glossaries and also recast the glosses to form a new entry by combining two or more sources.⁸ What needs to be highlighted is that Abbo drew from these glossaries not only the very words of his poem, but also the glosses which he himself provided for the difficult lines of the third book of the *Bella Parisiaca urbis*. These glosses are found, with little variation, in all of the manuscripts of the poem, including those of English origin.

About 150 of the key words of the third book have the same interpretamentum or interpretamenta of the corresponding items of the *Liber glossarum*,⁹ both those which the latter compilation drew from older glossaries like *Abstrusa* and *Abolita*¹⁰ and those which go back to Isidore and Virgil, among others. One source of Abbo's third book was identified by Laistner in the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*,¹¹ a compilation of about 500 entries, the lemmata of which are primarily Greek loanwords or mere transcriptions of Greek words. The *interpretamenta* provide etymological or pseudo-etymological explanations and are mostly derived from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and the *Liber glossarum*.¹² Among the other sources of the *Scholica* that I have identified so far are *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella and the glosses on the prologues of Jerome, a compilation attested in a number of manuscripts and still unpublished.¹³

Abbo in England

In the last part of the tenth century a number of Continental texts came into fashion in England and Abbo's third book was among them.¹⁴ The reasons for its fortune are to be sought in the features of the text outlined above: it was a self-contained composition, with a large amount of unusual vocabulary, already furnished with glosses.¹⁵

Besides the high number of English manuscripts containing the third book of the poem, there is other evidence of the popularity of Abbo's *Bella Parisiacae urbis* in England: about two hundred of the key words of the third book, together with the corresponding Latin glosses, were extrapolated from their context and copied in London, BL, Cotton Domitian i, fols. 37v-38v.¹⁶ A later glossary in London, BL, Royal 7. D. II, fols. 18v-19v, still unprinted, has about eighty entries from the third book of the poem.¹⁷ London, BL, Harley 3271 contains two versions of the third book of the *Bella*: the Latin text in hexameters with interlinear Latin glosses at fols 118v-120r is immediately preceded, at fols. 115v-118r, by a prose version with Old English contextual glosses.¹⁸ Another prose version with interlinear Old English glosses is found in Oxford, St John's College 154, fols. 221v-222r.

Each line of the third book of the poem confronts the reader with lexical obstacles, and the prose version does not simplify the task, but rather introduces further reasons of bewilderment. The glossator who provided the vernacular glosses must also have had a copy of the poem with Latin glosses at hand. The Latin interpretamenta guided and conditioned his choices, as is evident in many instances.

Glossarial words

In several cases the words used in the poem had no circulation outside glossaries and this glossarial lexicon gives Abbo's third book its special flavour of obscurity, produced by the strings of rare words. Such unusual terms, moreover, were often used with the meaning suggested by the Latin gloss or glosses, which, as is known, should not be considered a mere synonym or a translation.¹⁹ Many words occur in a variant form which is not recorded outside glossaries, and, in some instances, these words have no counterparts elsewhere. In many cases the variant form occurs exclusively in the glossaries reckoned to be among Abbo's sources, such as the *Liber glossarum* and / or the *Scholica*. A few examples may suffice here; note that all these terms except two are loanwords from Greek.²⁰

Abbo uses *aforismus* 'pithy sentence, aphorism' (l. 10) and not *aphorismus*, with the variant form with *f* which is rather common and found also in the *Liber glossarum*; *aliqua* 'grots, grits, gruel made with these' (l. 80) and not *alica*, *halica*; *acrizimus* 'slightly leavened' (l. 29), as in the *Liber glossarum* and the *Scholica*, and not *acrozymus*; *agoniteta*, with the meaning 'warrior, adversary', instead of

agonitheta or *agonotheta* (l. 7); *amphyballus* 'chasuble, sleeveless mantle' (l. 30) and not *amphibalus* (the *Scholica* have *amphiballus* and the *Liber glossarum*, *amfiballum*); *amphyteatrum* 'amphitheatre' (l. 37) and not *amphitheatrum* (the *Scholica* have *amphiteatrum*); *amphytappa* 'rug with pile on both sides' (l. 16) and not *amphitapa* (the *Liber glossarum* has *amfitapa*, the *Scholica*, *amphitapa*); *antropus* 'man' (l. 84) for *anthropus* (the *Liber glossarum* has *antropum*);²¹ *aphatia* 'freedom from passion' (l. 72) for *apathia* (the *Liber glossarum* has *apatia*); *apocrisarius*, here with the meaning and negative connotation 'adviser who keeps secrets', for *apocrisarius* (l. 25);²² *apoforeta* 'designed (for guests) to take with them' (said of presents) (ll. 83, 89) for *apophoreta* (the *Liber glossarum* has *apophereta*); *biotticus* 'mundane, ordinary' (l. 28) for *bioticus*; *brathea* 'gold foil' (l. 14), for *brattea*, *bractea*; *crisis* 'gold' (l. 39) for *chrisis*; *catasscopus* 'light vessel for reconnoitring, scout ship', here with the meaning 'scout' (l. 27) for *catascopus*; *diptica* (l. 1) (f.) 'diptych' for *diptycha* (n. pl.); *effebus* 'boy at age of puberty, youth, adolescent' (l. 30) for *ephebus*; *effipia* 'pad saddle, horse blanket' (ll. 17, 19), as in the *Liber glossarum*, for *ephippia*; *emistichium* 'half line' (l. 42) for *hemistichium*, as in the *Scholica*; *enteca* 'hoard, store' (l. 5) for *entheca* (the *Liber glossarum* has *enticam*); *gripphia* 'graphy, script' (l. 11) for *graphia*; *ierarchia* 'hierarchy, power' (l. 4) for *hierarchia*, as in the *Scholica*; *ieron* – a mere transcription of Greek ἱερόν – 'sacred' (l. 64) for *hieron*, as in the *Scholica*; *monotalmus* 'blind from one eye' (l. 35) for *monophtalmus*; *neofitus* 'newly converted' (l. 61) for *neophytus*, as in the *Liber glossarum* and the *Scholica* (R); *oroscopus* (l. 24), here with the meaning 'astrologer who takes horoscopes', for *horoscopus*; *perifrasticus* 'periphrastic, circumlocutory' (l. 32) for *periphrasticus*, as in the *Scholica*; *sincophanta* 'slanderer, impostor' (l. 10) for *syncophanta* (the *Scholica* have *sicophanta* / *sicofanta*); *zenodochium* 'hospital' (l. 44) for *xenodochium*. The prose version replaces *crisis* 'gold' of the text – glossed with *aurum* – with *obrissis* 'refined gold' (l. 39), a nonce word which stands for *obryzum* and clearly betrays the interference with the word *crisis* employed by Abbo.

The same orthographic difficulties and hypercorrections affect Latin words such as *herilis* 'of a master' (l. 102) for *erilis* and *perhennis* 'everlasting, perpetual' (l. 114) for *perennis*.²³

Words in disguise

Whereas the former examples belong to the realm of Medieval Latin orthographic instability, which is heightened because they are, for the most part, loanwords from Greek, in the following instances either the form of the word chosen by Abbo, or the word itself, had such a limited circulation as to impose a rather hard task on the glossator. In discussing these examples I do not intend to stress the artificiality and irregularity of his text, but rather to provide explanations for his word choices and those of the glossators, both those at work in the glossaries which were the sources of Abbo and the one who was responsible for the vernacular glosses to the prose version of Abbo's third book.

Ablunda 'chaff, hay, straw' (l. 18) stands for *apluda*, *adpluda*, *appluda*, *aplunda*.²⁴ The same form of the word is found in the *Liber glossarum* Ab 216, 'Ablundam: paleam' and the *Placidus* Glossary.²⁵ The word was omitted in the prose version, as it was not relevant, although the original doublet was quite witty and rather sententious: in the poem, the virtuous cleric was supposed to avoid both the 'cows and the chaff' (l. 18).

In line 5 Abbo uses an adjective *absidus* 'clear', which is not recorded elsewhere; the subject is *absida acrimonia* 'lucid rigorousness' (ll. 5-6), a quality of which the cleric should never run short. The word *absida* 'arch or vault, circle described by a planet in its orbit, segment of a circle, kind of round vessel' is a collateral form of *absis*, *apsis* 'arch, vault', a loanword from Greek ἀψίς; there is also the adjective *absidatus*, -a, -um 'arched, vaulted', but the adjective *absidus* is recorded only here. The origin of this glossarial entry, which occurs also in the *Liber glossarum* Ab 350, the *Scholica* A 35 and other glossaries, is a passage from Isidore, *Etymologiae* XV.viii.7: 'Absida Graeco sermone, latine interpretatur lucida, eo quod lumine accepto per arcum resplendeat' ('the term "vault" is of Greek origin; in Latin, it is rendered with 'bright' as it shines owing to the light it receives through the arch').²⁶

Aca 'rejoicing' (l. 69) stands for *acta*. *Acta* is a loanword from Greek ἀκτή, which means 'sea-shore, beach', and, as a metonymy, 'life of ease'. The same form occurs in the *Liber glossarum* Ac 8, 'Ac<τ>a: am<o>enitas'. The entry is originally a Virgilian gloss from *Aeneid* V, 613: 'Amoena pars litoris at procul in sola secretae Troades acta' ('At a distance, on lonely shores, the Trojan matrons, on their own').²⁷

Anodia 'pain reliever' (l. 9) stands for *anodyna* and does not occur elsewhere in this variant, with the exception of the *Liber glossarum* An 301,

'Anodia (anodyna): medicamina, quae dolores ad praesens mitigant tantum, non sanant' and the *Scholica* A 59 which have an identical entry.²⁸ *Anodyna* is a loanword from Greek ἀνώδυνα (n. pl.); larger circulation had *anodynōn*, *anodynūm* 'painkiller, that which soothes' and the adjective *anodynōs*, -a, -on, *anodynus*, -a, -um 'stilling pain'. The Latin gloss *medicinam* prompted the OE gloss *læcedom*.

In line 80 Abbo uses the word *apogeum* with the meaning 'cellar', where Lat. *hypogaeos*, *hypogaeon*, *hypogaeum*, *hypogeum* 'crypt, underground chamber, cellar' was expected. There is no such word in Latin; the adjective *apogeus*, -a, -um is a loanword from Greek ἀπόγελος 'blowing, coming from the land' and is used in reference to the wind, as in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 2, 114, 44. *Apogeum* replaces *hypogeum*, *hypogaeum* (a borrowing from Greek ὑπόγειον) already in the *Liber glossarum* Ap 122, 'Apogeum (hypo-): est constructum sub terries aedificium, quos nos antrum vel speluncam dicimus', which, for its interpretation, draws verbatim on Isidore, *Etymologiae* XV.iii.12. Abbo's Latin gloss *aedificium sub terris*, *antrum* is a shortened version of the very entry of the *Liber glossarum*. The glossator was mislead preferring OE *scræf* 'cavern', whereas the subject is a cellar, an underground chamber, where the harvest is kept in store: 'Let cellars greatly increase the crop' (l. 80). An entry similar to both the one in the *Liber glossarum* and the one in Abbo is found in the Glossary in Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 90, 'Apogeum: aedificium constructum sub terra, id est antrum vel spelunca' (*CGL* V, 561, 28). Another witness to the pair of words chosen by Abbo and the circulation of *apogeum* is provided by an entry in the First Cleopatra Glossary: 'Apogium, *eorþern*'.²⁹ There is no reason to correct these glosses as Goetz and Lindsay do in their editions, since they represent 'glossarial' variants, if not glossarial words, and as such circulated in the Middle Ages.

Aprilax 'warmth of the sun' (l. 77) stands for *apricitas* 'basking, sitting in the sun', a substantive that, as well as *apricitas*, refers to the quality of *apricus* 'sunniness, sunshine', see, for example, 'regio apricitatis inclutae' in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6, 46, 18. Abbo's nonce word *apricitas* occurs in the *Liber glossarum* as well, at Ap 186, 'Aprilax (-itas): calor'. The same glossary features another entry with the correct form, Ap 187, 'Apricitas: calor', which is found also in other all-Latin glossaries, including *Abstrusa*, 'Apricitas: calor' (*CGL* IV, 18, 48), and *Affatim*, 'Apricitas: calor' (*CGL* IV, 480, 10).

Arcisterium (ed. by Winterfeld) or *archisterium* (the variant of some manuscripts) 'monastery' (l. 81) stands for *asceterium*. Abbo's variant is also found in the *Liber glossarum* Ar 158 'Archisterium: monasterium graece'.³⁰

Asceterium, *asceterion* 'monastery, place of abode for ascetics' is a loanword from Greek ἀσκητήριον. The variant form *archisterium* had a circulation outside glossaries in Medieval Latin and is also witnessed in Anglo-Latin texts.³¹ The borrowing has been modified through interference from the first element of words such as *archiater*, *archidiacon*, *archiepiscopus* which are also borrowed from Greek (ἀρχι-). Of the two Latin glosses, *monasterium i. singularitatem dei servitii*, the latter of which is exclusive of Abbo, the Anglo-Saxon glossator chose the former, *mynster* to the effect of simplifying the message. The poem invites the cleric to disentangle his heart from the envelopments of sin and to pledge it entirely to God (l. 81).

Aslum (l. 76) stands for *asylum* 'place of refuge, sanctuary', a loanword from Greek ἄσυλον. In the poem *asylum* is given the meaning 'plunder, booty' as to the Latin gloss *spolium* 'stolen goods, booty'. The form *aslum* is witnessed by the *Liber glossarum* As 102, '[A]s<y>lum: spolium', as well as by several other glossaries.³² Abbo's entry provides an intriguing example of the relationship between lemma and interpretation, which mutually define each other's meaning and, as such, circulated together in the Middle Ages. A gloss in Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 439, 'Asilum graece templum ad quod quisquis fugiebat neas erat inde trahi dictum asylum a non traendo spolium',³³ presents an interpretamentum providing all the essential details to explain the pairing of two words with a different meaning, 'sanctuary' and 'booty'. Once again the influence of Servius' comment on *Aeneid* II, 761 was crucial: "'Iunonis asylo" templo unde nullus possit ad supplicium extrahi. dictum "asylum" quasi "asyrum". alii "asylum" ideo dictum, quod nullus inde tolleretur, id est quod συλασθαι, hoc est abripi, nullus inde poterat; vel quod fugienti illuc spolia non detraherentur; συλα enim Graece aut furta aut spolia dicuntur'.³⁴

Atervus (l. 70 *atervam*) stands for *aeternus* 'eternal', showing a form which also occurs in the *Liber glossarum* At 22 'A<e>tervi (-ni): perpetui' (a gloss to Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 154: 'vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum').³⁵ Behind Abbo's variant form of the adjective *aeternus*, *-a*, *-um* 'eternal, perpetual' there may be a penchant for (pseudo)-etymologies, such as that of Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6, § 11 ('Aevum ab aetate omnium annorum [hinc aeviternum, quod factum est aeternum]').³⁶

Abbo plays on the words *egidia* and *aregidia* in lines 74-75, giving the former the meaning 'goat' and the latter the meaning 'rain'. *Egidia* stands for *aegida*, the accusative of *aegis*, a loanword from Greek αἶγίς 'shield, defence' (from Greek δῖξ 'stormy flow').³⁷ The word originally referred to a divine

attribute of Zeus, represented as a round bib with scales that the god would quake to stir storms; in post-Homeric times the *aegis* became an attribute of Athena who wore it over her dress. Later on it was imagined as an object made of a goat's skin (associated with the skin of Amalthea, the goat that suckled Zeus), owing also to the similarity with Greek αἶξ, αἰγός 'goat'.

Aregidia 'rain, shower' (l. 75) is a variant form (or rather a misspelling) of the entry *aegida* in the *Liber glossarum* Ae 55, 'Aegid[i]a: pluvia'. The interpretamentum, 'rain', which is quite awkward, stems from a Virgilian gloss to *Aeneid* VIII, 354-55 'Cum saepe nigrantem aegida / concutiret dextra nimbos cieret' and Servius' interpretation of these lines: "'Aegida concutiret" hic distinguendum: nam aegida, id est pellem Amaltheae caprae, a qua nutritus est, in sinistra Iuppiter tenet. sane Graeci poetae turbines et procellas καταγίδα appellant, quod haec mota faciat tempestates. ergo "nigrantem" tempestatem commoventem. dextra nimbosque cieret et de dextera fulmina commoveret: nam modo nimbos pro fulminibus posuit, quae de dextera iacit. aegidis autem concussio commovet pluvias. ergo "concuteret aegida atque per eam nimbos moveret"'.³⁸ Note that Αἶξ is the Greek name of a star of the constellation of the Auriga, which is called *capella* in Latin; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 18, 66, 26 calls the constellation *capella pluvialis*. An interesting entry is that of the Antwerp-London Glossary, 'Capra aegida, *gabuccan hyrde*',³⁹ that is either 'keeper of a he-goat' or, if *hyrde* stands for *heorða*, 'goat hide'.

Baben (l. 22) stands for *bahen*, a loanword or rather a transcription of Greek βαῖνῆν,⁴⁰ a glossarial entry of Biblical origin. In a number of versions of the Bible the Greek word is translated as 'palm' or 'palm-rod'; other versions merely transcribe it as *baen* (Greek βαῖν), *bahem*, or *bahen*. In some explanations *bahen* is interpreted as the name of a religious chain or piece of jewellery. The Vulgate preserves only one occurrence of the word: 'coronam auream et baen quam misistis suscepimus' ('The golden crown and the bahem that you sent, we have received' I Maccabees 13. 37).⁴¹ Note that Abbo appropriately uses *bahen* to indicate a fitting ornament of kings and knights. Abbo's spelling of the term – evidently the product of a corruption or misreading of *h* for *b* – is also found in the *Glosarium Aynardi*,⁴² an alphabetical glossary compiled in France in 969, which shares a remarkable number of items with Abbo's third book and whose relationship to the sources of the poem would be worth investigating, especially in the light of the French origin of this glossary.⁴³

Baccaulus 'bier' (l. 34) stands for *capulus* and is glossed with *feretrum* and, in Old English, with *bære*. A similar corrupted form, *bacapulus*, occurs in the

Liber glossarum Ba 19, '[Bac]apulus: in quo mortui efferuntur'⁴⁴ and the *Scholica* B 7, 'Baccaulus (R) / bacculus (V) in quo mortui efferuntur'.⁴⁵ Latin *capulus* (m.), *capulum* (n.) means, *inter alia*, 'bier, coffin, tomb'. The word (from *capere*) is a frequent one in glossaries,⁴⁶ owing to its occurrence in playwrights such as Plautus, as well as in lexicographic compilations such as those of Varro, Festus and his epitome. Servius comments on the word in reference to *Aeneid* VI, 222: 'Feretro graece dixit, nam latine capulus dicitur a capiendo: unde ait Plautus'⁴⁷ *capularis senex, id est capulo vicinus*'.⁴⁸

Badanola 'portable bed, letter' (l. 16) stands for *baionula*, *baionola*. The word *baionula* derives from *baiulare* 'carry, bear (load)'; see also *baiulus* 'porter, carrier of a burden, letter-carrier', *baiulatio* 'carrying, bearing of burdens, loads', *baiulator* 'carrier, porter', *baiulatorius*, -a, -um 'of / belonging to carrier'. It is a word used by Plautus (*Asinaria* 660, *Mercator* 508), which found its way into medieval glossaries. The form with *d* picked up by Abbo occurs in the *Glosarium Aynardi*: '*Badanola est lectus qui fertur in itinere*'.⁴⁹ This form is found also in some manuscripts of the *Scholica*, entry B 25 '*Badanola: lectus qui itinere fertur*'. The explanation is the same as Isidore, *Etymologiae* XX.xi.2, '*Baianula est lectus qui in itinere baiolatur, a baiolando, id est deportando*' ('*Bainula* is a bed that is carried along on a journey, from *baiolando*, that is carrying.' Variant forms *baianola*, *badanola*), followed by the *Liber glossarum* Ba 58, '*Baionola est lectus qui in itinere baiolatur*'. The manuscripts of Abbo's poem have either the gloss *lectus in itinere* or *lectus itineralis*, which is the model for the OE *forbed*,⁵⁰ a compound which also occurs in the Antwerp-London Glossary '*bajanula, ferbed*' (WW 154, 4, not in Kindschi).

When inviting the cleric to be committed to learning, Abbo uses the word *sinteca* with the meaning 'composition, compilation' (l. 12), instead of *syntheca*. Both lemma and interpretation are derived from the *Scholica* S 14, '*Sint<h>eca* (Sy-): compositio', whereas the other glossaries have either *synthesis* 'mixture',⁵¹ a loanword from Greek σύνθεσις, or the adjective *synthetus*, -a, -um 'composed' borrowed from Greek σύνθετος.⁵² The existence of a further loanword from Greek συνθήκη is supported by the occurrence of Med. Lat. *synthychia* meaning 'treaty'.

Abbo's mastery of Latin is evident in his use of *teologus* (l. 33) in the sense of 'word of God', instead of 'one who writes, teaches about God' (the loanword from Greek θεολόγος, with a large circulation, is *theologus*). The Latin gloss *divinus sermo* has no counterpart elsewhere and is followed by the Old English gloss, *godcund spæc*. The literal interpretation of the Latin word may have been

fostered by the corresponding definition of the *Liber glossarum* Te 394, 'T<e>ologus: Dei disputator; theos enim dicitur Deus, logos ratio vel sermo', if not by a careless reading of the *Scholica* T 4, 'Theologus (R) / teologus (V): divinus sermocinator'.

Book-rest or necklace

It was this very vocabulary which was responsible for the popularity of the third book of the *Bella Parisiaca urbis* in England, where it became itself a sourcebook of hermeneutic vocabulary and was sectioned anew to build new glossaries. The study of this text, the composition of a prose version and its glossing were not a mere mechanical process, as it will be evident from the following examples.

In line 39 Abbo praises the merits of teaching in glowing terms: 'Scandito analogium, crisis nitet in ore docentis' ('Ascend the lectern, gold shines in the mouth of the teacher'). For some reason, however, the word *analogium* 'lectern' was not accompanied by a Latin gloss. *Analogium* (l. 39) 'lectern, pulpit, book-rest', is a loanword from Greek ἀναλογεῖον, the circulation of which was not limited to glossaries, as it was also found in popular texts such as Isidore's *Etymologiae* (XV.iv.17) and the *Benedictine Rule* (ch. IX). The vernacular glossator, on the other hand, rendered the word with OE *healsmene* 'necklace', which should not be considered an error, but a choice brought about by the prose rearrangement of the relevant line in one sentence 'Nitet analogiam scandito obrissis ore docentis'.⁵³ The verbal form *scandito* was taken for the adjective *candido* 'bright', modifying *analogium* (corrupted in *analogiam*). In the attempt to make some sense of the corrupted reading, the dazzling object was hence associated to *anabola*, a word already used in line 20, and there provided with the Old English gloss *healsmene* 'necklace'.

Anabola, which in line 20 was accompanied by the Latin gloss *ornamentum muliebre*, is a loanword from Greek ἀναβολή 'short mantel, shawl' attested in Late Latin,⁵⁴ with a few occurrences in glossaries,⁵⁵ including the *Scholica* A 71, 'Anabola ornamentum est muliebre [. . .]'. The OE *healsmene* is not entirely appropriate, because an *anabola* is a 'shawl', but the Latin gloss, *ornamentum muliebre* 'woman's adornment' was responsible for the simplified rendering 'necklace'.⁵⁶

Counting-board or writing tablet

The first piece of advice given to the cleric is never to take the diptychs from his side (l. 1). In line 33 he is invited to keep the *abbachus* in his hand and the Gospel in his mouth. The Latin *dipticas* 'diptychs' (l. 1) was glossed by *tabellas* in Latin and by *weaxbred* in Old English.⁵⁷ The same word was chosen to gloss the Latin *abbachus* at line 33, with reference to an instrument in use in Anglo-Saxon schools.⁵⁸ The choice of *weaxbred* for *abbachus* is remarkable, and, in my opinion, it witnesses to an internal net of relationships between the entries of the poem and their Latin and Old English glosses, which encouraged the repetition of the vernacular glosses with an undisputable didactic aim.

Abbachus (l. 33) stands for *abacus* 'counting-board, side-board, slab table, square stone on top of column', a loanword from Greek; also Latin *abax* is a loanword from Greek ἄβαξ. The word has several occurrences in glossaries, where the different interpretamenta reveal that the sources of the entries were manifold.⁵⁹ The meaning 'sideboard, the top of which was made of marble, used for the display of valuable vessels' is witnessed by such a gloss as 'Abacus: mensa in qua calices ponuntur' (*CGL* V, 652, originally a gloss to Juvenal, *Saturae* III, 204). The following entry, from the *Glosarium Aynardi*, 'Ab<a>cus et abax est pars capitelli vel tabula lusoria vel mensa marmorea in qua antiqui mittebant calices' (A 262), combines many meanings, that is 'square stone on top of column, gaming-board and sideboard'.

The *abacus* was also a 'counting board, covered with sand or dust, and used for arithmetical computation', as, for example, in another gloss to Juvenal: 'Abacon: signum geometricum' (*CGL* V 652, 1). The Latin gloss which occurs in all the manuscripts of the *Bella Parisiacae urbis, tabula pictoria*, has no counterpart elsewhere. Quite close to Abbo's source is the entry of the Harley Glossary (A 1 'Abacus id est mensa pingentis, stilus, tabula vel virga geometricalis'), a compilation where a disparate amount of glossarial material merged in a way which still needs a throughout explanation.

House without foundations or infirmary

In Abbo's long series of recommendations, some are more general and commonplace, such as that in line 55 'Abbaso quo fuerit, sit hirudo frequens [. . .]' ('Let the leech be always near to the infirmary'). *Abaso, abbaso* (l. 55) is a word

of obscure etymology and limited circulation outside glossaries; also the original meaning is uncertain, either 'lowest house' or 'house without foundations'.⁶⁰ Abbo used the word in the sense of 'infirmary' which adroitly fits the line, thereby misinterpreting the Latin gloss *infirmā domus*, 'house without foundation', as *infirmatorium*. The interpretamentum *infirmā domus* glosses the lemma *abaso* both in the *Liber glossarum* A 24, 'Abaso: infi[r]ma domus' and the *Scholica* A 33, 'Ab[b]aso (V) / abbasso (R): infirma domus quasi sine base',⁶¹ where is evident a penchant for etymological interpretations.⁶²

Lindsay surmised a corruption of *infima* 'lowest'⁶³ into *infirmā* 'unsteady'.⁶⁴ Whatever the original word which interpreted *abaso* may have been, it underwent further modifications into both *infama*, a nonce word derived from interference with the adjective *infamis* 'infamous, of ill-fame', witnessed by the *Abavus* Glossary: 'Abaso: infama domus' (*CGL* IV, 301, 6) and, on the other hand, into *infirmi* 'of the sick'. In England the *Corpus Glossary* features the interpretation *infirmā* (A 18, A 31) twice,⁶⁵ while the Antwerp-London Glossary has 'Abaso, infirmatorium, *seocra manna hus*' (Kindschi 238, 8).

Faced with an entry of doubtful significance and a Latin gloss such as *domus infirma*, the Anglo-Saxon glossator imagined for *abaso* a metaphoric meaning, so that the alleged unstable house became a weak, sick, household (giving *domus* the meaning 'household, religious house'), and rendered with OE *untrum hiwraeden*. Later on *zenodochium* 'hospital' (l. 44) is rendered with *þearfena hus* 'house of the poor', in accordance with the Latin gloss 'domus qua pauperes colliguntur'.

Filthy biers and flute players

Abbo uses the word *baccaulus* 'bier' twice, once in the text (l. 34) and once as a gloss (l. 3). In both cases the Old English gloss *bære* is a correct although uninspired rendering.

The word *baccaulus* occurs, at the beginning of the poem, as a gloss to *sandapila* (l. 3) 'bier used for poor people, malefactors', a word employed, among others, by Martial and Juvenal. By choosing this kind of word, Abbo wanted to charge the lines with additional significance. When saying that the 'dirty bier' should not rejoice in the cleric, Abbo means that his addressee should lead a righteous life and die accordingly, quite unlike those malefactors who, in Roman times, were carried away in a filthy bier. The pair *sandapila: baccaulus* does not

occur elsewhere, because in all glossaries the interpretation is *feretrum*, for example in the *Scholica* S 13, 'Sandapila: feretrum'.⁶⁶ Likewise, in the same line of the poem, the cleric is told to avoid a *toparcha* 'ruler of a district',⁶⁷ by which Abbo alludes to the devil who lays snare for the cleric and who is never called by name. The same happens with the hell into which the devil aims to plunge Abbo's addressee.

Similar overtones connote the use of *corcula* (l. 2), which is a patent misspelling for *choraula* 'player on reed pipes, flute player', a loanword from Greek χοραύλης (the feminine form, *choraule*, is also borrowed). In this instance the *Scholica* C 37, 'Choraula: princeps chori ludorum, quo nomine potest dici totus chorus' have the correct form and Abbo's variant may be due to a misinterpretation of an open *a*. The word designates the 'player who accompanies the choir with his flute', a meaning provided by Abbo's gloss, *princeps ludi*, which is an abridged version of the interpretation of the *Scholica*.⁶⁸ *Choraula* is given different interpretations in the all-Latin glossaries, but Abbo chose the first part of that of the *Scholica*, because it provided him with the required meaning. The line instructs the cleric to 'Avoid being the conductor of a ludic performance', that is encouraging other people to behave improperly, with an allusion to inciting role of the *choraula* within the choir. Later on Abbo will warn the cleric to 'stay away from the theatres' (l. 37), as licentious entertainment is dangerous for his eyes (l. 38).

Devoted to a woman or lustful

Abbo pretends to provide the cleric with a set of instructions, some of which are, at first sight, rather improbable, such as 'Prodigus, obliquus, monotalmus, subdolos haud sis' ('By no means be profligate, indirect, one-eyed, deceitful') (l. 35). A striking piece of advice is that in line 23 of the poem, where the cleric is advised not to be 'wife-bound'. The word *uxorious* is accompanied by the Latin gloss 'servator uxoris', which shows that Abbo picked up the word from a glossary with an entry similar to the one in the *Liber glossarum* Ux 4, 'Uxorius: uxori deditus'.⁶⁹ The adjective *uxorious*, -a, -um 'of or belonging to a wife, excessively fond of a wife' is used by Plautus and Terentius; also the substantives *uxorious* (m.) and *uxorium* (n.) are attested, the latter in Paul's Epitome of Festus 379: 'Uxorium pependisse dicitur, qui quod uxorem non habuerit, res populo dedit' ('He is said to have paid the *uxorium* [a tax imposed on male citizens in ancient Rome for not

marrying], because he who did not marry gave his goods to the people'). Virgil in *Aeneid* IV, 266, uses the word in reference to Aeneas and his attitude to Dido. Servius provides this comment for the relevant line 'Uxorius nimium uxori deditus vel serviens' ('*uxorius*, exceedingly dedicated to his wife or submissive'), comparing it to Horace, *Carm.* I, ii, 19-20 ('labitur ripa Iove non probante / *uxorius amnis*' – 'against Jove's will, the river, compliant to his wife, flows over its bank'), where *uxorius* refers to the relationship between the river Tiber and its wife Ilia.

In the Anglo-Saxon prose version of the third book of the *Bella Parisiaca urbis* the cleric is advised not to be *luxurious* rather than *uxorius*. *Luxurious*, with a surmised meaning such as 'dissolute', is a nonce word which sprung from the conflation of *uxorius* with words such as *luxus* 'luxury, soft living', *luxuria* 'lust, dissipation', *luxuries* 'luxury, extravagance', *luxuriosus*, -a, -um 'immoderate, wanton', and *luxuriare*, *luxuriari*, *luxoriare* 'to indulge'. The change from the original, in which the cleric was supposed not to be 'devoted to a woman', may have been fostered by the evident impracticality of the statement. The Old English gloss, *to gal* 'too wanton', follows the reading of the prose version rather than of Abbo, with the addition of the adverb *to* 'too'. Later on, at line 88, *galscipe* 'wantonness' glosses the Latin *venus* 'lust', again something strictly forbidden to the cleric.

As mentioned above, Abbo's putative aim is to improve the young cleric's behaviour, giving him precepts to follow. These precepts, which were already quite obscure in the original, tended to become blurred in the transmission and the translation into Old English. However, the original difficulties as well as those introduced in the course of the transmission were often brilliantly mastered by the glossator. Undoubtedly, Abbo's lines succeeded in providing Anglo-Saxon clerics, and Anglo-Saxon students in general with a rich store of learned vocabulary.⁷⁰ He definitely kept them busy and sharpened their acumen in the long hours they spent trying to master this difficult school text.

NOTES

¹ Joyce Hill has written on several occasions about education in Anglo-Saxon England: see, among her most recent contributions, 'Winchester Pedagogy and the *Colloquy of Ælfrie*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 29 (1998), 137-52, and 'Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. by Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 7-29. In these works, school texts and techniques are always examined within the broader context of the Benedictine Reform and the entire literary production of the tenth and eleventh centuries, a perspective that gives Joyce's work in this field that special blend of sound learning and far-reaching results which is a feature of all her contributions to our discipline.

² See Patrizia Lendinara, 'The Third Book of the *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 73-89, repr. in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 622 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 157-75; recently Anthony Adams and A. G. Rigg have also translated the third book: see their 'A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiacae urbis*', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), 1-68.

³ On contemporary knowledge of Greek, see, inter alia, Bernhard Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44 (1951), 27-55, repr. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien II* (Stuttgart: Hierseemann, 1967), pp. 246-75; Otto Prinz, 'Zum Einfluss des Griechischen auf den Wortschatz des Mittellateins', *Festschrift B. Bischoff*, ed. by Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart: Hierseemann, 1971), pp. 1-15; Edouard Jeaneau, 'Jean Scot Erigène et le grec', *ALMA*, 41 (1979), 5-50; and the comprehensive treatment by Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronimus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern and Munich: Franke, 1980), as well as *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Michael W. Herren, King's College London Medieval Studies, 2 (London: King's College, 1988).

⁴ Paul von Winterfeld MGH, PLAC IV, 1, 72-121 (pp. 78-79). In my opinion Abbo meant to mock the Greek vogue of his time; that is, the penchant for Graecisms (and rare words in general) which characterized the school of Laon, including John Scottus.

⁵ There are other works from this period provided with glosses by their authors, such as the *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* (Paul von Winterfeld, MGH, PLAC IV, 354-403), but none bears comparison with Abbo's poem. For a study of the glosses of the first two books, see Bengt Löfstedt, 'Zu den Glossen von Abbos *Bella Parisiacae Urbis*', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 22 (1981), 261-66.

⁶ The glossed words are 296 out of a total of 698 (reckoning conjunctions with the exception of the enclitic *-que*). Some words display two (48 x) or three (6 x) glosses of the same or of a different typology, amounting to a total of 356 glosses.

⁷ 326 out of 356. There are a few glosses which decode metaphors, for example 'toparcha: .i. diabolus erebi' (l. 3); there are a few grammatical and syntactical glosses; one (noxis: .i. pro culpis l. 78) is both lexical and grammatical; finally, one points out the use of a rhetorical figure, *silemsis* (= *syllipsis*, from Greek σύλληψις: l. 46).

⁸ See W. M. Lindsay, 'The *Affatim* Glossary and Others', *The Classical Quarterly*, 11 (1917), 185-200; Terence A. M. Bishop, 'The Prototype of the *Liber glossarum*', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by Malcolm B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scholar Press, 1978), pp. 69-86. This practice, while multiplying the possible number of candidates, reduces the chance of finding the exact glossary used by Abbo, who indeed could himself have followed the same procedures of conflation and combination.

⁹ The *Liber glossarum* is one of the largest medieval glossaries: W. M. Lindsay and others, *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, 5 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926-31; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), I, 15-604 (henceforth *GIL*); excerpts in Georg Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum a Gustavo Loewe inchoatum*, 7 vols (Leipzig, 1888-1923; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965), v, 161-255 (henceforth *CGL*), see also Georg Goetz, 'Der *Liber Glossarum*', *Abhandlungen der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philol.-hist. Klasse*, 13 (1893), 213-88; and David Ganz, 'The *Liber Glossarum*: A Carolingian Encyclopaedia', in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. by Paul L. Butzler and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1993), pp. 127-35.

¹⁰ *Abstrusa* (ed. *GIL* III, 1-90) and *Abolita* (*GIL* III, 97-183) survive, in a composite form, in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3321 (*CGL* IV, 3-198): the two manuscripts used by Goetz in his apparatus, Paris, BN, lat. 7691 and lat. 2341 (as well as the fragmentary Bern, Burgerbibliothek A 92. 3), contain only the *Abstrusa*. *Abolita* was printed within square brackets in *CGL* IV 4-198, following an editorial practice which produced serious misunderstandings in subsequent research: see M. C. Dionisotti, 'On the Nature and Transmission of Latin Glossaries', in *Les Manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge: Actes du Colloque international organisé par le 'Ettore Majorana Centre for Scientific Culture', Erice, 23-30 septembre 1994*, ed. by Jaqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, 1996), pp. 205-52 (pp. 215 and 250).

¹¹ M. L. W. Laistner, 'Abbo of St-Germain-des-Prés', *ALMA*, 1 (1924), 27-31, and 'The Revival of Greek in Western Europe in the Carolingian Age', *History*, 9 (1924), 177-87 (pp. 185-86). This glossary was first attributed to Martin of Laon (Thomson, Laistner) and

eventually regarded as a product of the Laon cultural milieu; according to Contreni the ultimate home of the *Scholica* must be sought in Spain: John J. Contreni, 'Martin Scottus (819-875) and the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*: A New Look at the Manuscripts', *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 70-1; 'The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena', *Speculum*, 51 (1976), 411-34 (pp. 413, note 18, and 426, note 57); *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978), p. 114.

¹² The frequent overlapping between the items of the *Scholica* and those of the *Liber glossarum* complicates research on Abbo's sources.

¹³ Abbo did not draw his material from any of the extant manuscripts of the *Scholica*. There is no complete edition of this glossary: CGL V, 583-6 prints excerpts from Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 215 (henceforth V); the edition of M. L. W. Laistner, 'Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth-Century Monastery Teacher', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 7 (1923), 421-56, is based on a collation of this manuscript with London, BL, Royal 15. A. XVI (henceforth R). I am preparing a new edition of the *Scholica*.

¹⁴ See Michael Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 67-111, repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), II, 105-50 and 474-79, and 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: [1] The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 99-140.

¹⁵ Note the collocation of the poem in the third part of Cambridge, UL, Gg. 5. 35: see A.G. Rigg and Gernot R. Wieland, 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the "Cambridge Songs" Manuscript)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 113-30; the definition of classbook, though still useful, is in need of revision: see Gernot R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153-73. For the Continental curriculum, see Günther Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1970); for England, besides Lapidge's works cited in note 14, see T. Julian Brown, 'An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Latin Authors in the British Isles from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*, 22 (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1975), 237-99 and 259-60; Helmut Gneuss, *The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England*, The Toller Memorial Lecture 1989, 2nd repr. with new postscr. in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 75-105.

¹⁶ Patrizia Lendinara, 'The Abbo Glossary in London, BL, Cotton Domitian i', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 133-49, repr. in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, pp. 177-98.

¹⁷ In my opinion, the Abbo entries of both the Domitian and the Royal glossaries are drawn from the version of his poem in Cambridge, UL, Gg. 5. 35, fols. 363v-365v.

¹⁸ This manuscript is the base of the editions by Julius Zupitza, 'Altenglische Glossen zu Abbos Clericorum Decus', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 31 (1887), 1-27, and William H. Stevenson, *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series*, 15 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929, repr. New York, 1989), pp. 103-12 (both with variant readings from St John's College 154 in the apparatus). The text of St John's College 154 is also used to supply the words missing from the Harley interlinear gloss. All quotations from the prose version and the Old English glosses are from Stevenson's edition.

¹⁹ See Patrizia Lendinara, 'Glosse o traduzioni', in *Tradurre testi medievali: obiettivi, pubblico, strategie*, ed. by Maria Grazia Cammarota and Maria Vittoria Molinari (Bergamo: Sestante, 2002), pp. 249-77.

²⁰ All the loanwords used by Abbo are, with a few exceptions, discussed by Friedrich O. Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig, 23 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1882; repr. 1964).

²¹ The word is a transcription from Greek, which Abbo integrated morphologically, rather than a loanword; in Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.i.5 there is the Greek word.

²² The original meaning of the word is 'official who represents a particular church at the imperial court in ecclesiastical cases'; I will return to the new meaning of this gloss and many others of Abbo's poem in a forthcoming work.

²³ In one manuscript of *Scholica*, London, BL, Royal 15. A. XVI (fols. 74v-83v), which was at Canterbury by the second half of the tenth century, an effort to improve the spelling of the Greek loanwords by adding the *h* above the line where appropriate is evident, as well as painstaking corrections of false word-division.

²⁴ Winterfeld records – unsystematically – only the major variant readings from the manuscripts he knew. A thorough revision of his edition is an unavoidable first step towards a new edition of the prose version with its Old English glosses.

²⁵ *CGL* V, 6, 20 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*) 'Abludam: paleam'; 43, 6 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*) 'Ablundam: paleam'. The inflected form of the entry suggests that the origin of this gloss may be Festus 10: 'Apluda est genus minutissimae paleae frumenti sive panici [. . .]. Sunt, qui apludam sorbitionis liquidissimum putent genus' ('Apluda is a kind of very thin chaff of either wheat or millet [. . .]. There are those who believe it is a very thin sort of soup'); for the uninflected form, see the *Glosarium Aynardi* A 215: 'Ablunda est palea'. There are several glossary entries with the lemma *apluda* such as *CGL* V, 6, 30 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*) and 48, 9 (*Plac. lib. gloss.*).

²⁶ Isidore's etymology may be based on Greek ἀπτω 'to light', rather than on ἀψίς

²⁷ See also the comment by Servius: 'sed propter differentiam commutatur, ne non secreta et amoena litorum, sed participialiter acta significet' ('it changes its meaning by difference, so

that it means not the easily accessible and pleasant sides of the shores, but, as a participle, shore'). As a literal translation of the last word I would suggest 'trodden': Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Virgilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols (Leipzig: 1878-1902; repr. Hildersheim: Olms, 1961). All references to Servius' commentaries are to this edition.

²⁸ *Anodia*, which occurs, *inter alia*, in Aurelius, *De acutis passionibus* (ed. by Daremberg, p. 720, 2-4) is one of the medical entries of the *Liber glossarum*, see J. L. Heiberg, 'Glossae Medicinales,' *Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser udgivne af det Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab*, 9, 1 (Copenhagen: 1924-25).

²⁹ Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. and collated by Richard P. Wülcker, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: 1884; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 350, 15 (hereafter WW). OE *eorþern* 'earth-place, tomb, sepulchre' occurs also in poetry.

³⁰ For the standard form, see As 26: 'Asceterium: monasterium Graece' and *Abolita* (CGL IV, 22, 16): 'Asciterium: monasterium'.

³¹ On the word, see Michael Lapidge, 'How "English" is pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin', in *Britannia Latina: Latin in the Culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Charles Burnett and Nicholas Mann, Warburg Institute Colloquia, 8 (London and Turin: Warburg Institute, 2005), pp. 1-13 (pp. 11-12).

³² CGL II, 248, 59: 'Asulon: asilum'; IV, 21, 50 (*Abstrusa*): 'Aslum: spoliū'; IV, 311, 24 (*Abavus*): 'Aslum: spoliū'; V, 268, 37 (Second Erfurt): 'Aslum: spoliū'; V, 338, 34 (First Erfurt): 'Assellum: spoliū'.

³³ Before CGL IV, 3, 20 in note. For similar interpretations, which witness to the circulation of this pseudo-etymological explanation of *asylum*, see CGL V, 4, 18 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*): 'Asillum graece templum ad quod siquis confugiebat nefas erat trahi idest añ trahendo spoliū'; CGL V, 48, 32 (*Plac. lib. gloss.*): 'Asilum grece templum ad quod quis confugebat nefas erat trahii id est non trahendo spoliū'.

³⁴ ("Juno's refuge", a sanctuary whence no one may be taken out to torture. It is said *asylym* as if [to say] *asyrum*. Others say that it is called *asylum* because no one may be taken out of it, that is because no one could 'σὺλᾶσθαι', meaning 'be taken away', from there; or because spoils could not be taken away from the one who takes refuge there; in fact booty or spoils are called σὺλα in Greek'). See also Servius' comment on *Aeneid* VIII, 342-43: 'hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asyllum rettulit' ('from there [he shows] a large wood, that the fierce Romulus made into a refuge').

³⁵ ('you, ever-burning flames and inviolable fire'). A number of entries of the third book have a counterpart in Virgilian glosses.

³⁶ (*Aevum* is so called from the length of all the years [hence *aeviternum*, what has been created eternal]). For the etymology of *aeternus*, see Alois Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 4th edn, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965), I, 21, s.v. *aetas*.

³⁷ See, respectively, *CGL* III, 520, 16: 'Aegida: scutum Iovis'; V, 263, 1 (Second Erfurt): 'Aegidas: scutum Minervae', and IV, 476, 31 (*Affatim*): 'Aegida: pellis caprarum'.

³⁸ Respectively ('When he often shook his darkening aegis with his right hand he stirred up the clouds') and ('[When] he shook his aegis', here it is necessary to draw a distinction: indeed, Jove holds the aegis, that is the skin of the goat Amalthea, by which he was fed, in his left hand. As a matter of fact the Greek poets call whirls and storms καταιγίδα, because this [aegis], when shaken, arouses the storms. Therefore darkening [means] "that arouses storms". With his right hand he [Jove] would summon the clouds and from the right he would hurl the thunderbolts: in fact he [Virgil] wrote clouds instead of thunderbolts, which he [Jove] throws from the right. Then the shaking of the aegis produces the rains. Therefore [the line means] "when he shook his aegis and moved the clouds with it").

³⁹ Lowell Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32,246' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 1955), p. 75, gloss no. 8.

⁴⁰ See *Th. L. L* II, 1682, 41 and *Th Gr. L* III, 47.

⁴¹ In I Maccabees 13. 51: 'et intraverunt in ea [. . .] cum laude, et ramis palmarum et cinyris et cymbalis' ('And they entered into it [. . .] with thanksgiving, and palm branches, and lyres, and cymbals') there occurs the rendering 'palm-rod'.

⁴² Paolo Gatti, *Ainardo, glossario*, Millennio medievale, 23, Testi, 9 (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000).

⁴³ The *Scholica* B 22 and the so-called *Glossae Scaligeri* (*CGL* V, 592, 68) have *baen*.

⁴⁴ An identical interpretation, drawn from Isidore, *Etymologiae* XX.ii.7, is offered by Ca 519.

⁴⁵ See also *CGL* IV, 210, 15 (*Abba*): 'Bacapulus: in quo mortui efferuntur'; V, 170, 13 (*Plac. lib. Paris.*): 'Bacapulus: in quo mortui efferuntur'. A similar entry occurs in the Harley Glossary B 14: 'Bacapulus . vel baccalis. In quo mortui efferuntur': Robert T. Oliphant, *The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary Edited from British Museum MS Harley 3376*, *Janua linguarum*, Series practica, 20 (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

⁴⁶ *CGL* IV, 27, 51; IV 215, 19; IV, 315, 50; V, 52, 13; V, 174, 22; V, 174, 37; V. 274, 2; V, 335, 6; V, 550, 9.

⁴⁷ Plautus, *Asinaria* 893: 'Perii misera, ut osculatur carnufex, capuli decus' ('Wretch that I am, I'm lost! How the villain is kissing away the garnishing of a bier').

⁴⁸ ('He used the word *feretrum* in Greek, in fact in Latin *capulus* is so called from *capiendo*: whence Plautus says *senex capularis*, that is "old man with one foot in the grave",

that is close to his burial'). See also Servius' comment to *Aeneid* XI, 64: 'haud segnes alii cratis et molle feretrum' ('and the other men zealously [pleach] a soft bier of oaken twigs').

⁴⁹ See also *CGL* V, 592, 12 (*Glossae Scaligeri*): 'Banadola lectus quod in itinere fertur. In alio Gloss. Baniola'.

⁵⁰ Lucia Kornexl, "'Unnatural words'? Loan-Formations in Old English Glosses', in *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger, 2nd rev. edn (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2003), pp. 195-216, points out that the glossator was expected to provide a lexical equivalent belonging to the same word class as the lemma, whereas, given the choice, he would perhaps have selected a different construction.

⁵¹ *Liber glossarum* Si 480; on the other hand *CGL* II, 111, 35; II, 466, 28; III, 442, 78 features the inversion of the lemma and the interpretamentum, 'Compositio: σύνθεσις'.

⁵² *CGL* V, 389, 50 (First Erfurt): 'Synthea: composita'; 389, 50 in note (Épinal): 'Syntheta: composita'; 557, 4 (*Cassin.* 402): 'Sintheta: composita'.

⁵³ This sentence has undergone several corruptions and therefore does not make sense. Only by interpreting *analogiam* (acc.) as a nominative, *obrisis* as the genitive of *obryzum* (with the likely interference of *c(h)risis*), and *scandito* as *candido* (in a dat. or abl. case), we obtain the following: 'The analogy of refined gold shines in the bright mouth of the teacher'.

⁵⁴ See also *anaboladium* 'kind of cloak, shawl, scarf', *anabolagium* 'veil, head covering, amice', *anobolarium* 'veil, head covering, amice', and *anobolium* 'dress'.

⁵⁵ *CGL* III, 439, 37: 'Anabla: ὀφειλον' and 475, 35: 'Anabla: ὀφιλον'.

⁵⁶ The Antwerp-London Glossary has 'Anabola, *winpel*' Kindschi, 88, 4; OE *wimpe* means 'cloak'.

⁵⁷ *Diptycha*, a loanword from Greek δίπτυχα (n. pl.), means both 'double tablet given to consuls, praetors with their portrait' and 'writing-tablet of two leaves'; also a Latin *diptychum* from Greek δίπτυχον is attested.

⁵⁸ In the classroom students used wax tablets to write down passages to be memorized for the next class.

⁵⁹ Georg Goetz, 'Epikritische Noten (*abactor. abigeus. abacus. abaddir*)', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 1 (1884), 558-64 (pp. 563-64).

⁶⁰ Georg Goetz, 'Lexikalisch-kritische Bemerkungen', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 2 (1885), 337-48 (pp. 346-47).

⁶¹ Lat. *basis* 'base' is a loanword from Greek βάσις.

⁶² See also the *Glosarium Aynardi* A 218: 'Abaso: domus infirma vel infirmi, et dicitur ab a, quod est sine, et basis, id est fundamentum'.

⁶³ According to Lindsay, *Liber glossarum*, p. 15, the change took place in *Abstrusa* and was provoked by the interference of the entry immediately following *abaso*, 'Absurdum: infirmum, inconveniens' (*CGL* IV, 3, 8).

⁶⁴ See also *CGL* IV, 3, 7 (*Abstrusa*): 'Abaso: infirma domus'; IV, 471, 8 (*Affatim*): 'Abaso: infirma domus'; V, 259, 24 (Second Erfurt): 'Abaso: infirmadomus'; V, 343, 11 (First Erfurt): 'Abaso: infirma domus'; V, 343, 22 (First Erfurt): 'Abaro: infirma domus'.

⁶⁵ W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921).

⁶⁶ *CGL* II, 178, 22: 'Sandapila: feretrum vel loculum in quo defuncti portantur: sic enim de Domitiano imperatore legimus, cuius cadaver populari sandapila per vespelliones reportatum atque ignominose sepultum'; *Liber glossarum* Sa 365: 'Sandapila: feretrum'; *CGL* V, 97, 23 (*Plac. lib. gloss.*): 'Sandapila: feretrum'; V, 578, 28 (*Cassin.* 90): 'Sandapila: feretrum idest locus ubi portantur gladiatores mortui non in quo nobilium corpora sed in quo plebeiorum atque damnatorum'; V, 654, 21 (glosses from Juvenal): 'Sandapila: feretrum'.

⁶⁷ The OE gloss *helle ealdor* blends the meaning of the two Latin glosses provided by Abbo: *princeps unius loci .i. diabolus erebi*.

⁶⁸ Among others, *mimus* in *Abolita* (*CGL* IV, 44, 40), *Plac. lib. Rom.* (*CGL* V, 12, 32), *Liber glossarum* Co 2141; *cantator* in *Liber glossarum* Co 2140, and *iocularis* in Second Erfurt (*CGL* IV, 325, 31); *Glossae Scaligeri* (V, 594, 58; V, 596, 30).

⁶⁹ See also the *Liber glossarum* Ux 3: 'Uxorius: uxori serviens', as well as *CGL* II, 597, 55: 'Uxorius: amator'; IV, 470, 51 (*Glossae AA*): 'Uxorius: uxori deditus'; V, 559, 21 (*Cassin.* 402): 'Uxorius: uxoris serviens'; V, 583, 20 (*Cassin.* 90): 'Uxorius: uxoris dedecus'.

⁷⁰ By the tenth century schools were also attended by lay students, as is witnessed, for example, by the words of Æthelwold: see Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. lxxxvi-xcix.

The Place which Is Called 'at X': A New Look at Old Evidence

Janet Bately

The quasi-formulaic naming-construction,¹ 'the place (monastery, town, etc.) which is called X', is found in a wide range of Old English literary texts, alongside a similar construction with names of people,² sometimes following the example of a Latin source, sometimes independently. And the verb used varies both between and within texts. In early West-Saxon, for instance, the OE Orosius (Or),³ like King Alfred's rendering of Boethius (Bo),⁴ favours constructions using *hatan*, though it has three instances of *nemnan*, one of them in conjunction with, and seemingly as a stylistic variation of, the *hatan* formula:

Bo 99/9-11: 'on ðæm felda ðe Nensar hatte, 7 on ðære þiode ðe Deira hatte, swiðe neah þære byrig þe mon nu hætt Babilonia'.

[On the plain which is called Nensar, and in the district which is called Deira, very near the town which is now called Babylon.]

Or 9/16-17: 'æt þæm beorge þe mon Athlans nemneð 7 æt þæm iglande þe mon hætt Fortunatus'.

[At the mountain which is named Atlas and at the island which is called Fortunatus.]

OH I.ii.11: 'mons Athlans et insulae quas Fortunatas uocant'.⁵

[Mount Atlas and the islands which they call Fortunate.]

Hatan is also found in a group of entries for the 890s in some versions⁶ of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC). So, for example:

ASC (MS A) 892: 'æt þæs micla[n] wuda eastende þe we Andred hatað'.⁷

[At the east end of the great wood which we call Andred.]

ASC (MS A) 893: 'on anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum seo is Legaceaster gehaten'.

[In a certain deserted city in Wirral which is called Chester.]

In the earliest annals of the Chronicle, on the other hand, *hatan* is never found, the naming-formula with place-names being confined to the section covering the years 449 to 584, where past-participial constructions with *genemned* and *gecueden* are the norm, alongside a couple of instances of *mon nemneþ*. So, e.g.:

ASC (MS A) 449: 'on þam stape þe is genemned Ypwinesfleot'.

[On the staithe (river-bank, etc.) which is named Ebbsfleet.]

ASC (MS A) 455: 'in þære stowe þe is gecueden Agælesprep'.

[In the place which is called Agaelesprep.]

ASC (MS A) 584: 'in þam stede þe mon nemneþ Feþanleag'.

[In the place which is called Fethanlea.]

In this it resembles the Mercian translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* (GD),⁸ which also uses these two verbs, while the Old English Bede⁹ and *Martyrology*¹⁰ have not only *hatan* and *nemnan*, but also *(ge)cigan* and *(ge)cweþan*, as does, in a later period, Ælfric – again often by way of variation within a passage, not infrequently following a change of verb in a Latin source. So, for instance:

GD 87/29-33: 'on þære stowe, þe is haten Interorina seo denu, seo fram manegum mannun mid ceorliscum wordum is genemned Interocrina'.

[In that place, which is called the valley Interorina, which is named by many people Interocrina in rustic speech.]

Dialogi I.xii.1-2: 'In eo [...] loco Interorina uallis dicitur, quae a multis uerbo rustico Interocrina nominatur'.¹¹

[In that place a valley is called Interorina, which is named by many Interocrina in rustic speech.]

OE Bede 282/13-14: 'in stowe, seo is geceged Ceortes eig'.

[In a place which is called Ceort's island (i.e. Chertsey).]

Bede. *HE* IV.vi.218-19: 'in loco, qui uocatur Cerotaesei, id est Ceroti insula'.¹²

[In a place which is called Ceorotaesei, that is Cerot's island.]

OE Bede 276/14: 'in þas stowe, þe is cweden Heorotford'.

[In this place which is called Hertford.]

HE IV.v.215: 'in loco, qui dicitur Herutford'.

[In the place which is called Hertford.]

Ælfric *CH* II.34. 2-3: 'on ðam earde þe is gehaten Pannonia. on þære byrig ðe is gecweden Sabaria'.

[In the land which is called Pannonia. In the town which is called Sabaria.]

Cf. Sulpicius, *Vita Sancti Martini* ii: 'Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit'.¹³

[Martinus originated from Sabaria town of the Pannonias.]

However, what I wish to concentrate on in this paper in honour of Joyce Hill is yet another variation of the 'place called X' formula, involving not the choice of verb, but close association with the place-name of what has been described variously as a pleonastic, prefixed, or 'seemingly redundant'¹⁴ preposition, which 'seems sometimes to have become an integral part of the OE name'¹⁵ and in particular, the preposition 'at'.

In the notes to his edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*HE*), Charles Plummer, commenting on the name *Adgefrin* (i.e. 'ad Gefrin'), compares the OE Bede's *Ætgefrin* (i.e. 'æt Gefrin'),¹⁶ and claims that this 'practice of prefixing a local preposition ['at' or 'in'] so that it becomes part of the place-name' is 'very common in Anglo-Saxon, and occurs constantly in the charters'.¹⁷ However, the generally assumed frequency of a 'prefixed' preposition in 'Anglo-Saxon', that is to say, Old English, has recently been challenged by Bruce Mitchell, who, commenting on OE *æt* in 'naming constructions', describes it as found only 'occasionally'. And he identifies two sets of contexts – 'either without a verb of naming [. . .] or with one'.¹⁸

The first question to be addressed, then, is whether the practice of 'prefixing' a preposition to place-names is common or just occasional, the second relates to the range of prepositions employed, and the third to the contexts in which they occur.¹⁹

A. 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' prepositions in a naming-formula

A.1 The preposition 'at'

A.1.1 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' OE *æt* in an Old English naming-formula

A.1.1.1 In Old English literary prose

I have found only twenty-five instances of the naming-formula with *æt*, mainly in texts from the ninth or early tenth century, thirteen of them in the late-ninth-century Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the majority corresponding to a similar construction with *ad* in its source.

A.1.1.1.1 With Anglo-Saxon place-names

OE Bede 262/8-9: 'in þære stowe þe is nemned *æt* Bearwe'.

[In the place which is named at the grove.]

HE IV.iii.207: 'in loco, qui dicitur ad Baruae, id est ad nemus'.

[In the place which is called at *Baruae*, that is at the grove.]

(Similarly 280/27, beside HE IV.vi.218: 'ad Baruae'.)

See also 140/10 ('æt Gefrin', HE II.xiv.115: 'ad Gefrin'); 222/5 and 226/1-2 ('æt Walle', HE III.xxi. 170 and HE III.xxii. 172 'ad Murum'); 222/13 ('æt Rægeheafde' [at the head of the roe], HE III.xxi.170: 'ad Caprae Caput' [at the head of the goat (Gateshead)]); 308/11 ('æt Stane' [at Stone], HE IV.xiv(xvi).237: 'ad Lapidem' [at Stone]); 368/3 ('æt Twyfyrd', HE IV.xxvi(xxviii).272: 'ad Tuifyrdi, [...] ad duplex uadum' [at the double ford]).

OE Bede 280/26: 'þæs mynstres, *æt* Medeshamstede is cweden'.

[Of the monastery (which) is called at *Medeshamstede*.]

HE IV.vi.218: 'monasterii, quod dicitur Medeshamstedi'.²⁰

[Of the monastery which is called *Medeshamstede*.]

See also 348/27 ('æt Coludes burg',²¹ HE IV. xvii [xix].243: 'Coludi urbem'); 478/27 ('æt Hwitan Ærne' [at Whithorn], HE V.xxiii.351: 'Candida Casa' [white house], beside HE III.iv.133: 'ad Candidam Casam'²²); 314/7 'in þære stowe, þe

mon hateð æt Wiramuþan' [in the place which is called at Wearmouth], *HE* IV.xvi[xviii]. 241: 'iuxta ostium fluminis Uiuri' [near the mouth of the river Wear]).

Chad 166/55-56: 'in þere stowe seo is gecweden æt bearwe'.²³

[In the place which is called at the grove.]

Cf. Bede, *HE* IV.iii.207, cited above.

OEMart, January 12, St. Benedict Biscop: 'on þære stowe þe is cweden æt Wiremuðan'.

[In the place which is called at Wearmouth.]

Cf. Bede, *HistAbb*.§1.364: 'iuxta ostium fluminis Uiuri'.

[Near the mouth of the river Wear.]

See also June 23, St. Etheldreda/ Æthelthryth ('æt Elie').

Resting Places (OE) 19.6.1: 'on þam mynstre, þe is genemnod æt Riopum'.²⁴

[In the monastery which is named at Ripon.]

ASC (MS A) 552: 'in þære stowe þe is genemned æt Searobyrg'.²⁵

[In the place which is named at Salisbury.]

ASC (MS D) 926: 'on þære stowe þe genemned is æt Eamotum'.²⁶

[In the place which is named at Eamont Bridge.]

A.1.1.1.2 With foreign place-names

Or 16/13-14: 'to þæm porte þe mon hætt æt Hæpum' (cf. ON *Haipabu*, 'town of the heaths').

[To the trading place which is called at the heaths.]

OEMart, January 17, Sts. Speusippus, Elasippus and Melasippus: 'seo cierece [...] þa man nemneð æt *sanctos geminos*, æt þæm halgum getwinnum'.

[The church [. . .] which is named at 'sanctos geminos' (holy twins), at the holy twins.]

See also September 25, St.Ceolfrið: 'in þære cirican þe hi nemnað *sanctos geminos* – æt þam halgum getwinnum' [in the church which they name 'sanctos geminos' (holy twins) – at the holy twins], cf. Bede, *HistAbb* §21.385: 'in ecclesia beatorum geminorum martyrum'.

OEMart, July 29, St. Lupus: 'on Trecassina þære byrig, þæt is on ure geþeode æt Triticum'.

[In the town Trecassina, that is in our language at Triticum.]

OEBede 422/6-8: 'sio alde worde þere þiode is nemned Wiltaburg; Galleas nemnað Traiectum; we cueðað æt Treocum'.

[Which in the old speech of that district is named Wiltaburg; the Gauls name it Traiectum, we say at Treocum.]

HE V.xi.303: 'antiquo gentium illarum uerbo Uiltaburg, [...] lingua autem Gallica Traiectum uocatur'.

[In the old language of those people Wiltaburg [. . .] in the Gallic language however it is called Traiectum (Utrecht).]

It is hard to explain either *Triticum* (resembling in form the Latin word 'wheat') or *Treocum* as 'English' forms of the place-name *Trecae* (modern Troyes) and what in Willibrord's *Life of Boniface* 'uocatur Trecht'²⁷ – though the possibility cannot be ruled out that the *æt* of 'æt Treocum' (*MS* var. 'æt troicum') is a misrepresentation of an ancestor of the first syllable of the name Utrecht, while, as Herzfeld's translation demonstrates, the *æt* of the Martyrology, St. Lupus, is capable of interpretation as an 'ordinary' preposition. This bishop's body, he writes, rests 'in the town of Tricassae, that is, in our language, at *Troyes*'.²⁸

A.1.1.2 In charters and other documents

In charters and other documents with text in the vernacular, I have found only three instances of the naming-formula with *æt*, the first of these in a manuscript of the mid-ninth century, the other two in thirteenth-century copies.

A.1.1.2.1 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' æt in an OE naming-formula

S[awyer] 298: AD 847 (Æthelwulf, king of Wessex): 'to ðæm beorge ðe mon hateð æt ðæm holne'.

[To the hill which is called at the hollow.]

S 496: AD 944 (King Edmund): 'on west wylle þenon oþre naman hæst æt Amman wylle'.

[[. . .] which by another name is called at Amma's well.]

Cf. also S 480: AD 942 (King Edmund): 'Þis synt þa land mæro to Ærmundes lea 7 oþre naman æt Æppeltune'. (Reference to Appleton 'probably an addition'.)²⁹

[by another name at Appleton.]

A.1.2 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' æt in a Latin naming-formula

In Latin contexts this construction occurs in some considerable numbers, from the eighth century right through to the eleventh, mainly in charters and often in the context of a reference to common people, locals or ancient tradition.³⁰ Some periods are more poorly represented than others; however, this may be because only a relatively small number of 'authentic' or 'possibly authentic' charters and other documents have survived from those times and even fewer original ones.³¹ Representative examples are:

Resting-Places (Latin), item 20: 'in loco qui dicitur æt Leomenstre'.

S 65b: A.D. c. 693x706 (Swæfred, king of Essex): 'decem manentes terre iuris mei que appellatur Et-tunende obre'.

S 155: A.D. 799 (Coenwulf, king of Mercia): 'ubi ita nominatur æt Ciornincge'.

S 1268: A.D. 825x832 (Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury): 'aliquam partem meae propriæ hereditariæ terræ hoc est iiii aratorum quod ab incolis terre illius nominatur æt Sceldes forda'.

S 340: A.D. 868 (Æthelred, king of Wessex): 'in loco qui appellatur æt Worðige [...], in loco qui appellatur æt Dornwara ceastræ'.

S 354: A.D. 878x899 (King Alfred): 'in alio loco ubi dicitur æt niðeran Hissanburnan'.

S 359: A.D. 900 (King Edward): 'in illo loco qui dicitur æt Stoce be Hysseburnan'.

S 425: A.D. 934 (King Athelstan): 'in loco quem solicolæ æt Derantune vocitant'.

S 480: AD 942 (King Edmund): 'ibidem ubi uulgares prisco more mobilique relatione uocitant æt Ærmundes lea uillamque nomine æt Æppeltune'.³²

S 552: A.D. 949 (King Eadred): 'in illo loco ubi iamdudum solicole illius regionis nomen imposuerunt æt Weligforda'.

S 636: A.D. 956 (King Eadwig): 'illic ubi vulgariter dicitur æt Melebroce'.

S 697: A.D. 961 (King Edgar): 'ubi Anglica apellatione [sic] dicitur æt Wipiglea'.

S 878: A.D. 996 (King Æthelred): 'in loco quem accole uicini æt Bromleage cognominant'.

S 977: A.D. 1021x1023 (King Cnut): 'in loco quem solicole noto nuncupant nomine æt Niwanham'.

S 1004: A.D. 1044 (King Edward): 'illo in loco ubi iamdudum solicole regionis illius nomen inposuerunt æt Wudetune'.

And with the second element of the place-name translated into Latin:

S 464: A.D. 940 (King Edmund): 'illic ubi vulgus prisco relatione vocitat æt Oswalding villam'.

A.1.3 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' Latin ad in a Latin naming-formula

Here not only is the context Latin but the preposition itself and sometimes also the place-name are rendered in that language. In addition to eleven instances in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,³³ and single instances in Bede's *Historia Abbatum* (§ 15.380 'ad uillam Sambuce') and *Resting Places* (Latin, item 9: 'ad Suðwyllum'), *ad* in a Latin naming-formula is recorded in a handful of charters,

the majority of which are designated by experts as 'unreliable', 'corrupt', 'spurious' or 'forgeries'. The following are deemed 'authentic':

S 29: A.D. 763 or 764 (Eadberht II, king of Kent): 'in loco cuius uocabulum est ad Serrae'.

S 429: A.D. 935 (King Athelstan): 'in loco qui uulgari diccione et appellatiua relacione nuncupatur ad Terentam'.

A.2 The preposition 'in'

A.2.1 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' OE in/on in an Old English naming-formula

This usage is found sixteen times in the OE Bede (all corresponding to a similar construction with Latin (or OE?) *in* in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*). There are also single instances in the *OE Martyrology* and *Life of Chad*. Once again the majority of places named are located in England.

A.2.1.1 With Anglo-Saxon place-names

OE Bede 194/26: 'in þære stowe, þe is cweden in Getlingum',

HE III.xiv.155: 'in loco, qui dicitur in Getlingum'.

[In the place which is called in Getlingum.]

Similarly 238/20 ('in Gætlingum'), HE III.xxiv.179. See also 222/32-3, HE III.xxi.171 ('in Feppingum'); 384/8,³⁴ 450/16, 456/18, 464/20 ('in/on Hrypum/Hripum'), V.i. 281, V.xix.322, V.xix.325, V.xix.330 ('in Hrypum'),³⁵ 282/15 ('in Bercingum'), HE IV.vi. 219 ('in Berecingum'); 388/1 and 404/11 ('in Dera/Deora wuda'), HE V.ii.283 ('in Derauuda, id est in silua Derorum') and HE V.vi.292 ('in silua Derorum') [in the wood of the men of Deira]; 422/25 ('in Cununingum'), HE V.xii.304 ('in Cuneningum'); 450/14 ('in Undalum'), HE V.xix.322 ('in Undalum'); 468.15 ('on Gyrwum'), HE V.xxi.332 ('in Gyruum').

OEMart October 11, St Ethelburga, OE Æthelburh: 'þæt fæmnena mynster on Brytene þæt is nemned on Bercingum'.

[the monastery of women in Britain which is named in Barking.]

Chad 164/41-42: 'in his mynstre. þet wes gehaten in lestinga ége'.

[In his monastery, which was called in Lastingham.]

Cf. Bede, *HE* IV.iii.206 (with *in* not in a naming-formula):

'in monasterio suo, quod est in Læstinga e'.

[In his monastery which is in Lastingham.]

A.2.1.2 *With a foreign place-name*

OE Bede 172/13: 'in þære stowe þe cweden is in Briige', *HE*

III.viii.142: 'in loco, qui dicitur in Brige'.

[In the place which is called in Brie.]

OE Bede 246/2-3: 'in þæm cynelecan tuune, þe is ceged in Conpendia'.

[In the royal town which is called in Compiegne.]

HE III.xxviii 194: 'in uico regio, qui uocatur in Conpendio'.

OE Bede 420/23-24: 'in sumum ealonde bi Riine, þet is on hiora gereorde geceged 7 nemned in Litore'.

[On a certain island by the Rhine, which is called and named in their language 'on the shore'.]

HE V.xi 302: 'in insula quadam Hreni, quae lingua eorum uocatur in litore'.

[On a certain island in the Rhine which in their language is called 'on the shore' (Kaiserswerth).]

A.2.2 *'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' in/on in a Latin naming-formula*

Apart from eighteen instances of *in* in Bede, *HE*,³⁶ I have also noted instances of 'prefixed' *in* (Latin or OE) and *on* (OE) with English place-names in a handful of other Latin texts and charters. So, for instance:

HAA §2.388: 'in loco, qui dicitur in Gætlingum'.³⁷

Bede, *Life of Cuthbert* vii: 'locum quendam [. . .] qui uocatur in Ripum'.³⁸

Resting Places (Latin version) item 46: 'in loco qui dicitur on Oxnaforda'.

Charter S 10: A.D. 689 (Swæfheard king of Kent): 'terram que dicitur in Sudaneie'.

S 252: A.D. 688 x 690. (Ine, king of Wessex): 'que terra appellatur in Bradanfelda'.

S 279: A.D. 836 (Egbert, king of Wessex): 'in illo loco qui nominatur on Scirdun'.

S 214: A.D. 869 (Burgred, king of Mercia, and Æthelswith, queen): 'id est . v . manentium ubi appellatur on Upþrope'.

Cf. also Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Wilfrid* xvii: 'haec sunt nomina regionum: iuxta Rippel et [i]n [G]aedyne et in regione Dunatinga et [i]n [C]aetlaevum'.³⁹

A.3 The preposition 'by', OE bi/be

In addition to *æt* and *in/on*, I have found 'prefixed' or 'pleonastic' OE *bi/be* in a Latin naming-formula in a handful of charters.⁴⁰ So, for example:

S 26: A.D. 727 (Eadberht I, king of Kent): 'regione qui dicitur bi Northanuude'.

S 326: A.D. 860 (Æthelbald, king of Wessex): 'in loco qui appellatur be Tefunte'.

S 469: A.D. 940 (King Edmund): 'in loco qui vulgari dictione et appellativo relatione nuncupatur be Wilig'.

and, along with a translation into English,⁴¹

S 334: A.D. 859? for 869 or 870 (Æthelred, king of the Saxons): 'in loco qui dicitur be Chiselburne'.

S 342: 'in þare istowe þe is inemned be Chiselburne'.
[In the place which is called by Cheselbourne.]

B. 'Prefixed' or 'pleonastic' prepositions before a place-name, without a verb of naming or its equivalent

B.1 OE æt

In his discussion of naming-constructions, Bruce Mitchell cites an entry in the *Pastoral Care* as an instance of a place-name after *æt* 'without a verb of naming'.⁴² I have succeeded in identifying only two further possible candidates for inclusion in this category, both from the final book of the Mercian translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*. Unlike the constructions with preposition in a naming-formula, these are not distinguished by syntax from other prepositional phrases. Moreover all three involve foreign place-names.

CP 311/6-7: 'Koka ealdormon towearp ða burg æt Hierusalem'.⁴³

[The chief of the cooks destroyed the *burh* at Jerusalem]

Regula Pastoralis III.xix: 'Princeps coquorum destruxit muros Hierusalem'.⁴⁴

[The chief of the cooks destroyed the walls of Jerusalem.]

GD 301/15-16: 'be Theophania þam ealdormen þære burge æt Certumcellens (MS var. Centum-).'

[About Theophanius the ruler of the *burh* at Certumcellens.]

Dialogi IV.xxviii.1: 'De Theophanio Centumcellensis urbis comite'.

GD 341/14-15: 'Uenantius þære cæstre biscop æt Lunan'.

Dialogi IV.lv.1: 'Venantius, Lunensis episcopus'.

Cf. GD 192/11-12: 'Uenantie, se wæs þære cæstre biscop Lunan', *Dialogi* III.viii.1: 'Venantio, Lunensis episcopi'.

In the case of the instance from the *Pastoral Care*, it could be argued that the reference here is not to 'the city of Jerusalem' ('Hierusalem seo burg', 'seo ceaster Hierusalem', etc.) but to 'the *burh* at Jerusalem', with *burh* in the sense of 'stronghold, fortress or citadel', as in an 'authentic' ninth-century charter and in Chronicle entries for the early 900s.⁴⁵ So, for instance:

Charter S 223: A.D. 884x901 (Æthelred, *ealdorman* and Æthelflæd): 'Æðeldred [...] 7 Æðelflæd [...] hehtan bewyrcean þa burh æt Weogernaceastre'.

[[. . .] ordered the fortification at Worcester to be constructed.]
ASC (MS A) 912: 'Eadweard cyning [...] wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burg worhte 7 getimbrede æt Witham'.

[King Edward encamped there while the fortification at Witham was being constructed and built.]

ASC (MS A) 914: 'ða for Eadweard cyning to Buccingahamme [...] 7 geworhte þa burga buta on ægþere healfe eas'.

[Then King Edward went to Buckingham [. . .] and constructed both the fortifications on either side of the river.]

And for the destruction of the defensive walls of Jerusalem we may compare OE Orosius 125/23-29:

'þa noldan him þa londleode þæt fæsten aliefan æt Hierusalem. [...] þa het Pompeius þæt mon þæt fæsten bræce [...] 7 mon towearp þone weal niþer oþ þone grund'.

[Then the inhabitants of the land would not yield to him the fortification at Jerusalem [. . .]. Then Pompey ordered the fortification to be destroyed [. . .] and the wall was cast down to the ground.]

OH VI.vi 2-4: 'ipse [. . .] a patribus urbe susceptus sed a plebe muro templi repulsus expugnationem eius intendit. [...] Pompeius muros ciuitatis euerti aequarique solo imperauit'.

[Having been received in the town by the fathers but been repulsed from the wall of the temple by the plebs, he decided to capture it. [. . .] Pompey ordered the walls of the city to be dismantled and levelled to the ground.]

However, the *Pastoral Care's* use of *æt* here has to be seen in the context of the three instances of *on*, cited below, all with reference to Jerusalem.

B.2 OE on

Ps (prose) 45.4.(5): 'þa wæs geblissod seo Godes burh on Hierusalem'.⁴⁶

[Then God's *burh* in Jerusalem was gladdened.]

Cf. Psalm 45.4 'fluminis divisiones laetificant ciuitatem Dei'.

[The streams of the river delight the city of God.]

OEMart March 25, Crucifixion: 'þa deadan arison [...] 7 eodon geond þa halgan burh on Hierusalem'.

[The dead arose [. . .] and went through the holy *burh* in Jerusalem.]

Cf. Matthew 27. 45-53 'in sanctam ciuitatem'.

InventCross 402: 'alle þa ðe on ðare ceastre wæron on Hierusalem'.⁴⁷

[All those who were in the city in Jerusalem.]

What we appear to have in all six cases is a periphrastic equivalent of the appositive or identifying genitive⁴⁸ that we see in the OE Bede's rendering of *HE* 'ciuitas Doruuernensis' [the Durovernia city] as 'seo ceaster Contwara burge' [the city of Canterbury].⁴⁹

B.3 Latin and OE in

In his *Index Nominorum* Plummer treats as 'prefixed' the preposition *in* that precedes three further foreign place-names, Brige, Cale and Andilegum, all in the same passage in Bede, *HE*:⁵⁰

HE III.viii.142: 'multi [...] filias suas eisdem [...] mittebant; maxime in Brige, et in Cale, et in Andilegum monasterio'.

OEBede 172/15-19: 'monige [...] sendon heora dohtor þider [...] 7 swiþust in þisum mynstrum in Briige 7 in Caale 7 in Andelegum'.

Cf. Miller's translation, '[...] above all at these monasteries, Brie, Chelles and Andely'.

In texts of the Anglo-Saxon period, monasteries may either be referred to as 'at' or 'in' a certain location, or described directly by the name of that place, as *HE* V.xxiv.357: 'monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quod est ad Uiuraemuda, et in Gyruum' (OEBede 480/23-24: 'þæs minstres þara eadigra apostola Petrus & Paulus, þæt is æt Wiramuþon 7 on Gyrwum' [of the monastery

of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, that is at Wearmouth and in Jarrow]), and Charter S 1161: 'Peteres mynster on Euerwic' [Peter's monastery in York], beside *HE* IV.xxiv.[xxvi].267: 'in monasterio Aebbercurnig' and 'monasterio, quod uocatur Streanæshalch', *OEBede* 358/20: 'pæm mynstre Æbbercurni' and 358/24-25: 'mynstre, þæt is geceged Streoneshealh'. For Dorothy Whitelock the references to monasteries at Brie, at Chelles and at Andelys fall into the first category,⁵¹ and one might well have expected a contemporary reader to agree. However, given the fact that Old English *in* is interchangeable with *on*, and in the light of the evidence considered in B.1 and B.2 above, the interpretation adopted by Plummer and Miller cannot be totally disregarded.

What then is the status of the expression 'the place which is called at X'? and how long was it current?

As we have seen, there is no evidence to support the theory that this formula was 'very common in Anglo-Saxon', though it occurs with some frequency in Latin material in charters. There are several possible explanations for this discrepancy in distribution. First of all, the place-names involved are almost all located in England. And while the charters deal almost exclusively with locations with Anglo-Saxon names, other Latin and vernacular texts with more than an occasional reference to English towns or cities are few in number. Secondly, use or non-use of the naming-formula, whether with or without *æt*, is a matter of individual choice and of register. So, for instance, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* covering the period 900 to 1066, MS D has only two instances of the formula without *æt* (in annals for 917 and 1016), and just the one instance with it, in the annal for 926, quoted above, while MS A has no instances at all of either construction. Moreover, in spite of claims that while 'there are no survivals of the written formulaic use in p.ns [...] the colloquial use of *æt* is implied in the very common survival of the dative forms in p.ns [...] and sporadic nouns like Attercliffe',⁵² arguments for a pleonastic or prefixed *æt* based on the forms taken by modern place-names such as Barrow, Cottam or Sale are easily dismissed.⁵³ As David Mills points out, 'place names would often naturally occur in adverbial or prepositional contexts requiring the dative case in Old English',⁵⁴ while place-names such as *Noke* are seen to have a basis in the late Old English and Middle English practice of using an identifying *at* plus place-name with personal names.⁵⁵ Indeed far from being a colloquial usage, the naming formula 'the place

which is called X', with or without the preposition, belongs to a literary, not a colloquial, register. The currency in the Old English Bede and *Life of Chad* has to be seen in the context of the presence of a similar idiom in their Latin source, while in charters written in Latin the language of the formula is often highly artificial.⁵⁶

As for the length of time that the formula enjoyed currency, Henry Sweet,⁵⁷ noting that the 'pleonastic' *æt* in annal 552 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* MS A⁵⁸ had at some time been erased, commented that this was evidence that the idiom, found in 'the older writings', had become obsolete. In Dorothy Whitelock's revision of his Reader, however, Sweet's comment is modified. The erasure, she writes, 'indicates obsolescence of the use', which, however, 'is common with place names'.⁵⁹ We may compare the observation by Cameron and others, that it is 'difficult to decide when this formation became obsolete, but in the later part of the Old English period it is believed to have been used in documents simply as a written formula',⁶⁰ in Susan Kelly's words a 'recycling of earlier formulae'.⁶¹ Presumably the term 'later part' is to be taken to refer to the second half of the tenth century onward. However, the erasure in *Chronicle* MS A, annal 552, has to be seen in the context not only of the appearance of the formula in ASC MS D, annal 942, but also of the usage in the other manuscripts that contain the 552 entry. Certainly none of the other surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle* has the preposition, and the oldest of these is datable to the late tenth century, while their (hypothetical) common ancestor would seem to have diverged from the (hypothetical) ancestor of MS A somewhat earlier.⁶² However, thanks to Angelika Lutz's painstaking reconstruction of the badly-burnt MS G,⁶³ we now know that the reading *æt* in MS A was still unerased in the early eleventh century, when it was copied by the scribe of MS G.⁶⁴ As for the continued use of the naming-formula with *æt* in the Latin charters, references to *antiquo usu* such as that in Sawyer, Charter 535, have to be seen in the context of formulae without that preposition, as, for instance, S 449: A.D. 939 (King Athelstan): 'in illo loco ubi ruricoli antiquo usu nomen indiderunt Uferan tun'.

What conclusions then can be drawn from the limited and clearly distorted evidence that has come down to us? With very few exceptions, the use of pleonastic or prefixed 'at' is restricted to English place-names in a combination of a Latin naming-construction with either OE *æt*, or Latin *ad*. The majority of exceptions are instances of an OE naming-formula with OE *æt* in works that have Latin texts with an *ad*-construction as their source, notably the Old English Bede. There is no evidence that requires us to suppose that this usage became

obsolescent or obsolete before the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, though it is not a feature of Middle English texts. However, at the same time the contexts in which it has been preserved are formal not colloquial. Finally, *æt* is not the only preposition used in naming-constructions. *In/on* and *bi/be* also occur. And, like *æt*, their use is, with very few exceptions, restricted either to Latin naming-constructions or to Old English texts with Latin sources.

NOTES

¹ Here referred to for convenience as the 'naming-formula'.

² For naming-constructions, see further Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), I, 616-19.

³ *The Old English Orosius*, ed. by Janet Bately, EETS, s.s. 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁴ *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'*, ed. by Walter John Sedgefield (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899).

⁵ *Pauli Orosii 'Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri VII'*, ed. by Carolus Zangemeister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1889).

⁶ See, e.g., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel: With Supplementary Extracts from the Others*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892-99), II, pp. xxiii-xxxvii.

⁷ See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, 3: *MS A*, ed. by Janet M. Bately (Cambridge: Brewer, 1986).

⁸ *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der 'Dialoge' Gregors des Grossen*, ed. by Hans Hecht, Bibliothek der ags Prosa, 5 (Leipzig: Wigand, 1900; Hamburg: Grand, 1907; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965).

⁹ *The Old English Version of Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People'*, ed. by Thomas Miller, EETS, o.s. 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890-98).

¹⁰ *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. by George Herzfeld, EETS, o.s. 116 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900); *Die Altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. by Gunther Kotzor, Abhandlungen, Bayerische Akademie der Philosophisch Historische Klasse, 88, 2 vols (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

¹¹ *Grégoire le Grand: 'Dialogues'*, ed. by Adalbert de Vogüé and trans. by Paul Antin, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1979).

¹² *Venerabilis Baedae: 'Historiam Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum', 'Historiam Abbatum', 'Epistolam ad Ecgberctum'*, ed. by Carolus Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896).

¹³ *Ælfric's 'Catholic Homilies': The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), with commentary in EETS, s.s. 18 (2000); *Sulpicii Severi Libri qui supersunt*, ed. by Carolus Halm, CSEL, 1 (Vienna: Geroldi filius, 1866), pp. 109-37.

¹⁴ Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. xix.

¹⁵ David N. Parsons and Tania Styles, with Carole Hough, *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (A-Box)*, (Nottingham: Centre for English Name Studies, 1997), pp. 34-35, following Kenneth Cameron, *English Place-Names* (London: Batsford, 1961), p. 30.

¹⁶ Plummer and Miller's idiosyncratic use of capitalisation and spacings in constructions of this type is unsupported by their own chosen base-manuscripts and not followed by me in the rest of this paper.

¹⁷ Plummer, *HE*, II, 103-04, 'Place-names compounded with prepositions'. He observes that in this text *in* is used with what 'seems to be either a district [...] or a tribal name'.

¹⁸ Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, 619.

¹⁹ A number of place-name studies claim that 'early examples [with *æt*] seem to be limited to names involving topographical rather than habitative elements'. So, e.g., Parsons and Styles, pp. 34-35. I have not attempted to test this claim. For *in* see above, note 17.

²⁰ MS T (Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, Tanner 10) only.

²¹ MSS T and Ca (Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 3. 18) only.

²² Chapter omitted from OEBede.

²³ *'The Life of St.Chad': An Old English Homily*, ed. by R. Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1953).

²⁴ *Die Heiligen Englands: Lateinische und angelsächsische*, ed. by F. Liebermann (Hanover: Hahn, 1889), pp. 9-19.

²⁵ For the erasure of *æt* here see below.

²⁶ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, 6: MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996).

²⁷ *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, ed. by Wilhelm Levison, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum separatim editi*, 57 (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1905), ch. 8.

²⁸ Herzfeld, *OE Martyrology*, p. 133.

²⁹ See *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), no. 34.

³⁰ Cited by Sawyer number. See *The Electronic Sawyer: An on-line version of the revised edition of Sawyer's 'Anglo-Saxon Charters', prepared by S. E. Kelly and adapted for the www by S. M. Miller*. www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html.

³¹ For details see www.Anglo-Saxons.net.

³² See also above, A.1.1.2.1.

³³ See above.

³⁴ MS var. 'æt Hripum'.

³⁵ See also *HE*.III.xxv.183 'in Hrypum', no equivalent in OE.

³⁶ See above, A.2.1.1 and A.2.1.2.

³⁷ *Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, in *HE*: Plummer, *HE*, I, 388-404.

³⁸ *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 174.

³⁹ *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). Colgrave's readings are *Ingaedyne* and *Incaetlaevum*. (cf. note 16 above).

⁴⁰ See the instance of Latin *iuxta* in A.2.2 above.

⁴¹ See *Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 22-28.

⁴² Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, 619.

⁴³ *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care'*, ed. by Henry Sweet, EETS, o.s. 45 and 50, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1871).

⁴⁴ *Grégoire le Grand: 'Règle Pastorale'*, ed. by Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel and Charles Morel, Sources Chrétiennes, 381, 382, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions du Cerf).

⁴⁵ *DOE burh* A.1.

⁴⁶ *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. by Patrick P. O'Neill, Medieval Academy Books, 104 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2001).

⁴⁷ Arthur S. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-Tree*, EETS, 103 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894), pp. 2-34.

⁴⁸ I do not include here OE *æt* and *on* for expected Latin *ad*, *in*, in the *Life of Wilfrid*, viii, 'terram decem tributarium [a]et [S]tanforda' and xv, 'donatum sibi [o]n [L]icitfelda'. See Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, 542-43.

⁴⁹ *HE* II, 7.94; *OE Bede* 118/2-3.

⁵⁰ See Plummer, *HE*, II, 481-82. For *in Brige* in a naming-formula see above, 1.2.1.1.

⁵¹ *English Historical Documents 1: c.500-1042*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972), p. 684.

⁵² A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, EPNS, 25, 26, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 6. For Attercliff, however, see now Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford: Tyas, 2000; repr. with corrections, 2003), p. 156.

⁵³ Cameron, *English Place-Names*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁴ A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xxii. Cf. Parsons and Styles, *Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁵ See e.g., Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, p. 6, Mills, *Dictionary: Noke*.

⁵⁶ See the instances cited in A.1.2.

⁵⁷ Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1876), p. 192.

⁵⁸ Noted above.

⁵⁹ Dorothy Whitelock, *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, 15th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 230.

⁶⁰ Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 30.

⁶¹ Kelly, *Abingdon Charters*, p. 152.

⁶² Janet Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships*, Reading Medieval Studies Monograph, 3 (Reading: University of Reading, 1991), p.62. Incidentally we do not know when the material in the annal was first recorded or in what language.

⁶³ *Die Version G der Angelsächsischen Chronik*, ed. by Angelika Lutz (Munich: Fink, 1981).

⁶⁴ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, 7: MS E*, ed. by Susan Irvine (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. xxxvi-xxxix. The person who made the erasure was quite probably the compiler of MS F, who was responsible for more than thirty interventions in MS A up to the annal for 616 and was working around 1100.

Some Thoughts on the Expression of 'crippled' in Old English

Jane Roberts

There are many things we find it hard to talk about; and there are some that go virtually unmentioned. The silence may not even be recognized. Topics that are taboo are almost non-topics. If we are honest with ourselves, we know what subjects we as a society are unwilling to discuss; but when we look back to earlier periods of the language, it is not easy to question their silences and their evasions. Although some at least of the causes for silence are likely to be universal, it is easier to recognize the areas of linguistic discomfort of the more recent than of the less recent past. We tend, indeed, to ascribe to our modern sensibilities more caring attitudes than we assume to have been the norm in the distant past. Nowadays the noun *cripple* is little-used in official and media publications, and the adjective *crippled* is often avoided, an evasion that may respond not just to a desire not to offend people but to a deep-seated fear within linguistic behaviour. When uttered by anyone disabled, the bluntness of *crippled* assumes a dysphemistic quality that shocks. In this short note I should like to explore, as far as the extant evidence will allow, the Old English words most concerned with the concept *crippled* (the participial adjective *crippled* is explained in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) as 'Deprived of the use of one's limbs; lame, disabled', with use also in transferred and figurative senses noted).¹

It is a curiosity of the history of the English lexicon that the adjectives *blind*, *deaf* and *dumb* have served as central terms across the recorded history of the language, whereas *crippled*, which is popularly regarded as the straightforward old English word, appeared first in late Middle English. Although *crypel* was already in use in Old English, that it was not a central term is clear from the overall figures for the frequency of these words in the A-F materials edited by the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) editors at Toronto.² They cite just one occurrence of *crypel* as an adjective:

And get ic þe, leofa Drihten, biddan wille [. . .] þæt innan
heora husum nan unhal cild sy geboren, ne crypol, ne dumb,
ne deaf, ne blind, ne ungewittes

*Adhuc peto, Domine [. . .] in domo illius non nascatur
infans claudus aut cecus neque mutus*

[And still Lord I beseech thee [. . .] that no sickly child be
born in their houses, neither cripple nor dumb nor deaf nor
blind nor crazed

*Yet Lord I ask [. . .] that there be not born in this house any
child lame or blind or dumb*]³

The linking of the form with following adjectives and the presence of the adjective 'claudus' in the source support this categorization, although, as is so often the case with Old English, the form might alternatively be regarded as a noun. Moreover, the other instances of the simplex *crypel* 'cripple' (x 5) and of the compound *eorðcrypel* 'cripple' (x 19 in all) are categorized as nouns. The word's semantic motivation is hinted at in the *OED*, where it is described as used 'either in the sense of one who can only creep, or perhaps rather in that of one who is, in Scottish phrase, "cruppen together", i.e. contracted in body and limbs'.⁴ The contrast presented by *blind*, *deaf* and *dumb*, all of which are adjectives that are used frequently at the head of noun phrases, is striking: *blind*, not surprisingly because it is so often used figuratively, occurs c. 475 times in the Old English corpus; and *deaf* and *dumb* are recorded c. 110 and c. 175 times respectively.

Clearly, *-crypel* was not an everyday word in Old English. The earliest use of the noun simplex is Aldred's 'ðæm cryple', above Luke 5. 24 'paralytico' in his glossing of the Lindisfarne Gospels (Li), and four instances are in the lives of Margaret and of Giles. The form occurs most often as the second element in the compound *eorðcrypel* (x 19): Aldred's preferred translation for *paralyticus* (x 14), it was carried over (x 5) into Farman's glosses to the Rushworth Gospels (Ru¹),⁵ as can be seen in the following table. Farman had access to the Lindisfarne Gospels when writing his glosses for Mark 1–2. 15 into the Rushworth Gospels, where he adopts *eorðcrypel*. But he had already glossed the first twenty-five chapters of Matthew before obtaining access to the Lindisfarne glosses,⁶ and for *parlyticus* in Matthew's gospel where Lindisfarne has *eorðcrypel* he uses *lom-*forms (x 5),⁷ which accord with the *lam-* forms usual in the West Saxon Gospels where Lindisfarne has (*eorð*)*crypel*.⁸ In addition, Aldred once uses the abstract

noun *crypelnes*,⁹ an invention he shares with Dr Johnson, for 'Crippleness, lameness; privation of the limbs' in his 1755 dictionary is the word's only *OED* occurrence. Thus, the distribution of *-crypel* 'cripple' and closely related forms is striking. Although in use in the late tenth century in Aldred's glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and in those parts of the Rushworth Gospels gloss that are regarded as influenced by Aldred's glosses, *-crypel* forms are not otherwise recorded before the twelfth-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303. Moreover, they are found there not in the CCCC 303 texts that date back to the tenth century but in the lives of Margaret and Giles, both of them 'transitional texts',¹⁰ and sharing linguistic features that set them apart from the Ælfician texts copied by the same hand.¹¹ There is therefore a gap of more than a century and a half in recorded usage for *-crypel* 'cripple'. Thus in Old English *-crypel* 'cripple' has all the appearances of a marginal word, for, apart from the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses, there are no examples of its use in until the early twelfth century. It may of course be that that the Anglo-Saxons evaded writing about cripples. The comparable southern noun *creopere*, with five citations in the *DOE*, is used even less frequently than is *-crypel*: three times by Ælfric in accounts of miracles and twice in the late Old English life of James the Greater. In addition, there are two unusual nouns for 'cripple' in poetry, *Andreas* 1171 'helle hinca' ('cripple of hell', of the devil) and *Guthlac B* 912 'adloman' ('fire-maimed wretches', of the demons that tormented St Guthlac).¹²

Of the forms that serve the notion *crippled* in Old English, only *healt* and *lama* are well represented in the Old English corpus, the former clearly an adjective, and the latter behaving typically as a noun of the weak declension.¹³ There are, according to the word senses recorded in the standard dictionaries of Old English, a few others as well as *crypel*:¹⁴

.Crippled, lame: *crypel*, *fēpelēas*, *healffēpe*^o_g, *healt*, *lama*,
lemphealt^g, *limlēas*, *limmlama*^o, *limsēoc*^p, *unfēre*

There are three occurrences of *fēpeleas*, one with the meaning 'crippled' in the *Old English Martyrology* Se 5, B 8 'sum deaf man ond fēpeleas'.¹⁵ The single occurrence of 'healffēpe' is an element by element translation of the Latin *semipes*.¹⁶ Better evidenced is the compound *lemphealt* (x 6, for *lurdus*).¹⁷

Corresponding forms in gospel translation

	WSCp	Li	Ru ¹	Ru ²
Matthew heading 31		eorðcryppel <i>paralyticum</i>		
Matthew heading 70		halte <i>claudos</i>		
Matthew 4. 24	laman	eorðcryplas <i>paralyticos</i>	loman <i>paraliticos</i>	
Matthew 8. 6	lama	eorðcryppel <i>paralyticus</i>	loma <i>paraliticus</i>	
Matthew 9. 2	æne laman	eorðcrypel <i>paralyticum</i>	loma <i>paraliticum</i>	
Matthew 9. 2	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcrypel <i>paralitico</i>	to þam loma <i>paralitico</i>	
Matthew 9. 6	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcrypple <i>paralitico</i>	to þam loman <i>paralitico</i>	
Matthew 11. 5	healte	halto <i>claudi</i>	halte <i>cludi</i>	
Matthew 15. 30	healte	halto <i>clodos</i>	halte <i>claudos</i>	
Matthew 15. 31	healte	halto <i>clodo</i>	ða healte <i>claudos</i>	
Matthew 18. 18	healt	halt <i>clodum</i>	healt <i>clodum</i>	
Matthew 21. 14	þa healtan	halto <i>claudi</i>	healte <i>claudi</i>	

Mark heading 6		ðæn eorðcryple <i>paralytico</i>	
Mark 2. 3	anne laman	ðone eorðcrypel <i>paraliticum</i>	þone eorðcrypel <i>paraliticum</i>
Mark 2. 4	se lama	se eorðcryppel <i>paraliticus</i>	þe eorðcrypel <i>paraliticus</i>
Mark 2. 5	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcrypple <i>paralytico</i>	to þæm eorðcrypele <i>paralytico</i>
Mark 2. 9	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcryple <i>paralytico</i>	þæm eorðcryple <i>paralytico</i>
Mark 2. 10	to þam laman	ðæm eorðcrypple <i>paralytico</i>	to þæm eorðcryple <i>paralytico</i>
Mark 9. 45	healt	halt <i>claudum</i>	halt <i>claudum</i>
Luke heading 17		ðone eorðcrypel <i>Paralyticum</i>	
Luke 5. 18	lama	eorðcrypel <i>paraliticus</i>	-
Luke 5. 24	þam laman	ðæm cryple <i>paralytico</i>	-
Luke 7. 22	healte	halto <i>claudi</i>	-
Luke 14. 13	healte	haltum <i>clodos</i>	halte <i>clodos</i>
Luke 14. 21	healte	haltum <i>clodos</i>	halte <i>cludos</i>
John 5. 3	healtra	haltra <i>claudorum</i>	haltra <i>cludorum</i>

WSCp = West Saxon Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 140);

Li = Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D. iv);

Ru = Rushworth Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 2).

This word is to be found in the *OED* under † *limphalt* and † *limphalting*, although with a gap between the two Old English glosses cited there and the sixteenth century citations:

1530 *Palsgr.* 317/2 *Lympe* hault, boiteux.

1549 *Chaloner* *Erasm. on Folly* A iij, Vulcane, that lymphault smithe.

Ibid. C ij, But when the Gods are sette at bankette, he plaieth the jester, now wyth hys lymphaultynge, now with his skoffinge.

The mysterious winning move *limpolding* in backgammon as played by the English does something to bridge this gap:

c1330 *Ludus Angl.* in *Fiske Chess Iceland* (Roy 13.A.18)

163: Hæc victoria vocatur lypoldyng. Si autem tota pagina [. . .] fuit occupata per adversarium [. . .] non vocabitur illa victoria limpolding sed vocatur lurching.¹⁸

[This victory is called 'lympoldyng'. If indeed the whole field [. . .] should be held by an opponent [. . .] this victory should not be called 'limpolding' but 'lurching'.]

A word used in a French version of the game, *la linpole*, must also be related.¹⁹ So too is modern English *limp*, a verb not found in English before late Middle English. In the nonceword *limmlama*, the limiting element reinforces the meaning 'crippled': HomU 21 (Nap 1) 62 'manege gefettan lichamlice hæle, and þær wurdan hale, þe ær wæran limmlaman' [many who had been crippled received bodily health there and became fit]. There are only three instances of *limleas*, all in Ælfric's homilies: twice it is linked with *alefed* and could well mean 'crippled';²⁰ and once it is a transparent compound used of the Eucharist.²¹ Like *feþeleas*, this is hardly an everyday word. Neither is *limseoc* common, for it occurs only in poetry: in *Andreas* 577; and in *Elene* 1212, where it is in variation with *lefe*. The four instances of *unfere*, all late Old English, need not be as specific as 'crippled', but may perhaps be explained as 'weak'.²²

There are striking differences between how *healt* and *lama* are used in Old English. One oddity is that although the adjective *healt* is found in both Li and Ru translating *claudus* (or *cludus* / *clodus*), as is to be expected,²³ *lama* forms are

absent from the Northumbrian glosses, Li and the Durham Ritual manuscript as well as Ru². In addition, often the two words appear to be very similar in meaning, as, for example, in:

He awende wæter to wine 7 eode ofer sæ. mid drium fotum.
7 he gestilde windas. mid his hæse. 7 he forgeaf blindum
mannum gesihðe. 7 healtum 7 lamum rihtne gang. 7
hreoflum smeðnysse. 7 hælu heora lichaman. dumbum he
forgeaf getincnysse 7 deafum heorcunge;
[He turned water into wine and he walked in water with dry
feet, and with his command he made the winds lie still, and
he gave sight to the blind and a true ability to walk to the
crippled and to lepers smooth skin and the health of their
bodies. To the dumb he gave speech and to the deaf
hearing.]²⁴

So, how far a true distinction was made in Old English between being paralysed and incapable of movement and being less completely crippled is hard to tell. From the evidence of glossed gospel texts and the West Saxon Gospels, the adjective *healt* had about it the notion of crippled movement, more so than *lama* (or *-crypel* in the more northerly texts), but this apparent distinction may have resulted from the choice of specific equivalents for translating from Latin. In the *TOE* the data led us to create two parallel groups, 02.08.04.03 Paralysis and 02.08.04.04 State of being crippled, with the adjectives in the first of these groups, *adeadod*, *aslapen*, *aslegen* and *slapende*, indicating inability to move, whereas the second group deals with impaired movement. Action verbs are of course not found in the 'crippled' group, movement being unlikely for full paralysis. From a fuller examination of Old English *healt* and *lam-* words, it is clear that *lama* should also stand among these adjectives because of its use for more serious afflictions as well as of being impaired in movement.²⁵ Whereas for the self-standing *TOE* we made every attempt to cut back on multiple placings for forms, erring on the side of caution, the resultant under-representation of Old English word senses should be redressed in the forthcoming Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE);²⁶ and there the evidence for the changing uses of both *halt* and *Iame* and of the forms etymologically related to them will be available. Already, however, it seems clear that in the Old English period *lam-* forms commanded a

wider field of meaning than did *healt*, and I should like to argue that *healt* was the central adjective for impaired movement.

That *healt* was the central Old English word for 'crippled, lame' is supported by the frequent collocation of *blind* and *halt* and the comparatively rare co-occurrence of *blind* and *lama*. In Ælfric's homilies, where there are frequent contexts requiring the concept, the pervasive form is *healt*. For 'bedridden, paralytic', his preferred word is *beddrida*: the DOE editors point out that although there are approximately thirty-five occurrences of *beddrida*, they are 'mainly in Ælfric'. He appears to use *lama* relatively infrequently (x 8, of which seven are in homilies and 'debilis lama' in ÆG1 304.16). This is not, however, the choice of the West Saxon Gospels, where *lama* is general in translation of *paralyticus*. Across the last millennium the use of the adjective *halt* has fallen away, except in archaistic tags from older biblical translations or in poetic use, a gradual erosion in which *lame*, wider-ranging in reference in Old English than was *halt*, must have played a significant part. In modern English *lame* is clearly an adjective, but it is used generally of less severe disablement than paralysis.

The vocabulary to do with cripples, every bit as much as with the left-handed, is particularly liable to change and renewal.²⁷ In writing this note I am acutely conscious that Joyce, who has just retired from the directorship of the Equality Challenge Unit, must often have pondered on the inventiveness of insult and invective when dealing with issues of discrimination against the disabled. Could it be that *creopere*, *crypel* and *eorðcrypel* were a little blunt even to the Anglo-Saxon ear? That might explain the surprising infrequency of these words in Old English. I should like to speculate that the *Andreas* poet has left us another uncomfortable word when using the phrase 'helle hınca' of the devil. The Old English and early Middle English *hoferede* was succeeded by a multiplicity of cruel adjectives, among them *hunch-back*, an adjective that could well be cognate with *hınca*. The OED entry for the verb *hunch* notes its sudden appearance 'in the comb. *hunch-backed* substituted in the 2nd Quarto of Shakspeare's *Richard III* (1598) *iv. iv. 81*, for the earlier and ordinary 16-17th c. word *bunch-backed*, which the 1st Quarto and all the Folios have here, and which all the Quartos and all the Folios have in the parallel passage *i. iii. 246*'.

Unusual words and forms appear in the vocabulary of invective, often massaged from written records, but a couple of clues remain to support the assumption that the word *hınca*, used in *Andreas* of the devil, is focused on crippled movement.²⁸ First, *hınca* can be aligned with the (h)*inca* found in glosses.²⁹ Secondly, in three of the glossed psalters, strange verb forms are added

by way of further clarification above the verb *claudicauerunt* in Psalm 17.46,³⁰ in PsGI G 'healtodon ð hlyncoton' (Cot. Vit. E. xviii),³¹ PsGI D 'healtodon ð huncetton' (Royal 2. B. V),³² and PsGI I 'ahealtodon & luncodon' (Lamb. 427),³³ Two of these, 'hlyncoton' and 'luncodon' are best reconciled as a weak verb **hincian*, and possibly the third also, unless it is interpreted as a cognate frequentative *huncettan*. The standard dictionaries provide an array of putative infinitives in explanation of these forms.³⁴ Clark Hall has **huncettan** 'to limp, halt', for the Regius Psalter form, and for the Lambeth form **luncian** ? 'to limp', hesitantly comparing Norwegian *lunke*.³⁵ Toller gives **huncettan** 'To limp, halt' for the Regius form, and opts for **hincian** (?) 'To limp, hobble, halt', reading the Lambeth form as *hincodon* and commenting '*In support of hincian* cf. *Icel. hinka* ; *p. aði* : *O. H. Ger. hinchān*; *p. hanch claudicare*. See also *hincā*.' The Vitellius Psalter (G) form 'hlyncoton' is registered under **hincian** by Campbell, who suggests that it stands for *hync-* although inscrutably he adds the Regius form alongside. But I have opened up a can of worms, because the only comparable forms to be found in the *OED* are the Scots verb *hink* (used by Henryson c. 1450 and Cleland 1697) and the Scots noun *hink* recorded as in use in Older Scots into the eighteenth century. The former is, according to the *OED*, very likely a borrowing from ON *hinka* 'to limp, hobble', and the latter probably from the verb *hink*, except that 'Some would identify it with OE. *inca* doubt, question, scruple. But the prefixing of a non-etymological *h* is against Scottish practice.' Yet *h-* is found in one of the extant Old English forms,³⁶ and it could be that the forms without it may have lost the etymological initial consonant.

Finally, if I have strayed a long way from the expression of the concept *crippled* in Old English, it is because of the range of words found, the immediate contexts in which they play a part, and the spotty distribution of some of the forms in play. That English should across time have lost from everyday use the adjective *halt* owes much to the inherent nature of the concept. So too, the surprisingly infrequent use of *-crypel* in the earliest records of English, together with the interesting distribution of the forms recorded, may suggest a feeling of discomfort about the very use of the word; alternatively *-crypel* may be seen as a northern form that took a long time to come into more southerly use. Our adjective *crippled* makes its first appearance in the fourteenth century in one of the early manuscripts of the northern version of *Cursor Mundi*, l. 19048, in the Cotton Vespasian A. iii manuscript, and the *Middle English Dictionary* editors date it to 'a1400(a1325)',³⁷ refining on the *OED* date 'a 1300'. The parallel Göttingen text of the northern recension manuscript reads 'croked', another word

ill-attested in Old English and a reminder that, in a short note, it is as impossible to include discussion of the Old English adjectives dealing more generally with injury and disfigurement.

NOTES

¹ A. H. James and others, eds, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884-1933); Robert W. Burchfield, ed., *Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972-86); John A. Simpson and Edmund S. C. Weiner, eds, 2nd edn, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); John A. Simpson, Edmund S. C. Weiner and Michael Proffitt, eds, *Additions Series* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993-97); John A. Simpson, ed., 3rd edn (in progress) *OED Online*, March 2000-Oxford: Oxford University Press. www.oed.com.

² *Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A-F* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2003). Citations, unless other sources are given, are taken from the Toronto database: Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price-Wilkin, and Takamichi Ariga, *Dictionary of Old English Corpus on the World-Wide Web*, Society for Early English and Norse Electronic Texts (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997, rev. 2000).

³ Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, eds, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 168 (§19) and p. 214 (§19).

⁴ The DOE editors gather fifteen citations under *crypel* noun²: 'narrow passage, drain; low opening' (x 14, of which x 13 are in Aldhelm glosses and x 1 in twelfth-century charter bounds Ch 1546 (Birch 684) 3 'swa andlang mores on fislace innan crypeles heale'); 'lattice' (x 1 OccGl 49 7.6 'per cancellos ðurh crepelas'); and note its use also as a place-name element. These forms are clearly closely related semantically.

⁵ The standard edition for both the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses is Walter W. Skeat, ed., *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions: Synoptically Arranged, with Collations Exhibiting all the Readings of all the MSS together with the Early Latin Version as Contained in the Lindisfarne MS., Collated with the Latin Version in the Rushworth MS.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1871-87). Farman's glosses (Ru¹) are to Matthew, Mark up to 2. 15 including 'hleonadun', and John 18. 1-3. Otherwise the glosses are by Owun (Ru²).

⁶ A. S. C. Ross, 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth One', *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1979), 194-98 (p. 198).

⁷ Robert J. Menner, 'Farman vindicatus', *Anglia*, 58 (1934), 1-27 (p. 8).

⁸ Unfortunately, manuscript loss prevents us from knowing how Owun, the second Rushworth glossator, dealt with *paralyticus* in his form of Northumbrian (Ru²), which differs from Aldred's. For Owun, see Paul Bibire and Alan S. C. Ross, 'The Differences between Lindisfarne and Rushworth Two', *Notes and Queries*, 226 (1981), 98-116.

⁹ LkHeadGl (Li) 17: '*Paralyticum nudato tecto dimissum ante se et a peccatis et a paralyysi curat* ðone eorðcrypel miððy gehreafad wæs hus forleton before him & from synnum & from crypelnise gемеð 1 gehæleð' [*A cripple being let down by an uncovered roof to in front of him, he heals him both from sins and palsy* the cripple with whom unroofed was house they left in front of him and from sins and from palsy he heals and cures].

¹⁰ The phrase is used by E. M. Treharne, ed., *The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s. 15 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1997), p. 1.

¹¹ Clayton and Magennis, eds, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, p. 103 and n. 24.

¹² See *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles*, ed. by Kenneth R. Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) and *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, ed. by Jane Roberts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), where these words are discussed in the commentaries.

¹³ Alfred Bammesberger, 'Old English *lama* and its Morphological Analysis', *Notes and Queries*, 249 (2004), 342-44, argues for its classification as a masculine substantive with the meaning 'lame person, cripple'. There is some slight evidence, however, for its use as a modifying adjective even in Old English. Most convincing is the phrase found at Ælfric's *CH* II.6 (59.199) 'þes lama wædla' [this lame beggar] (behind which may lie ultimately 'egenus' [poor]: see Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 394). Cf. also PPs 108.22 'Alys me, lifes weard, forþan ic eom lama þearfa' ('quia egenus et pauper ego sum') [Deliver me, Guardian of life, because I am a lame pauper (because I am destitute and needy)]; *LS* 30 (Pantaleon) 185 'And þa cwæð pantaleon, <Hat> me bringan to <æenne><laman><man> & <hat><gangan> þine sacerdas to him' [And then Pantaleon said, 'Have a cripple brought to me and have your priest go to him'] (a similar reading is adopted by Phillip Pulsiano, 'The Old English Life of St Pantaleon', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall with assistance from Thomas D. Hill and Charles D. Wright (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 61-103 (p. 83, ll. 182-84), against the facing Latin text 'Pantaleon respondit, "Iube unum paralyticum affere de his qui in ciuitate iacent, et ueniant sacerdotes tui"' [Pantaleon replied, 'Ask for a cripple to be brought from among those who are lying about the city, and let your priests come']).

¹⁴ See 02.08.04.04 in *A Thesaurus of Old English*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy, King's College London Medieval Studies, 11, 2 vols (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1995; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000; also at: <http://libra.englant.arts.gla.ac.uk/oethesaurus/>, 2005).

¹⁵ GenA 903 and Rid 77.1 reflect the word's elements literally: 'without feet, footless'.

¹⁶ PrudGl I (Meritt) 566.

Some Thoughts on the Expression of crippled in Old English

¹⁷ CorpGl 2 (Hessels) 10.296 'Lurdus lemphalt'; EpGl (Pheifer) 450 'lurdus laempihalt'; CIGl 1 (Stryker) 3597 'Lurdus lemphealt'; CIGl 3 (Quinn) 45 'Lurdus lemphealt'; ErfGl 1 (Pheifer) 589 'lurdur lempihalt'; LdGl 47.45 'lurdus lempahld'.

¹⁸ This is the only citation for *limpolding* in *The Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath, Sherman Kuhn and Robert Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001).

¹⁹ H. J. R. Murray, 'The Mediæval Game of Tables', *Medium Ævum*, 10 (1941), 57-69 (p. 61).

²⁰ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 311 (no. 16, ll. 131, 135).

²¹ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1979), p. 154 (no. 15, l. 134). Note that *limbless* is recorded five times only in the *OED*, with the explanation 'Having no limbs, deprived of a limb or limbs': the 1594 and first 1624 citation might be interpreted more narrowly as 'crippled, disabled', the second 1624 citation as '(Of the Eucharist) without movement' and the 1770 and 1881 citations as '(Of creatures or trees) having no limbs'.

²² Compare the related noun *unfernes* (x 2), placed in the *TOE* in 05.09 under the heading 'Impotence, infirmity'.

²³ Cf. Bammesberger, 'Old English *lama*', p. 344, who points out that the Old English translation of *claudus* is *healt*.

²⁴ *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, p. 187 (no. 1, ll. 254-58).

²⁵ Its presence already in the group should be noted within the noun phrase 'laman legeres adl', mistakenly placed alongside 'To be paralysed' instead of alongside 'Paralysis'. The elements of this phrase, used in the translations both of Bede (178.34) and of Gregory's *Dialogues* (GDPref and 4 (C) 283.25), are unsettled.

²⁶ For up-to-date information about this project, see:
<http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESL/EngLang/thesaur/homepage.htm>.

²⁷ This is clear from the numbers of forms listed in the HTE files. Interestingly, two of today's commonest overarching terms, *disabled* and *handicapped*, go back as far as 1837 and 1915 respectively.

²⁸ Listed for 'cripple' in the HTE files. The plural noun *adloman* in *Guthlac B*, equally a jeering taunt, needs no further justification as 'fire-maimed wretches' or 'cripples', once compared with the words *vulcanist* and *vulcan* recorded in the *OED* for 'cripple' in 1656 and 1682. See *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, p. 163.

²⁹ The initial *h* is found only in OccGl 45.1.2 (Meritt) C45.1.2 315 *scrupulo* hincan; five forms without initial *h* - are found glossing *scrupulum* in AldV 1 4079 (in layers B and C), AldV 13.1 4198, AntGl 2 112 and CIGl 3 1143.

³⁰ Forms of *healtian* 'to cease haltingly or hesitatingly from (a way or course); to fall away' are found in eleven glossed psalters and in the Old English Bede 472.19 '& fram rihtum stigum healtiað'.

³¹ *The Vitellius Psalter*, ed. by James L. Rosier, Cornell Studies in English, 42 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

³² Fritz Roeder, *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 18 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1904).

³³ *Der Lambeth Psalter*, ed. by Uno L. Lindelöf, Acta societatis scientiarum Fennicae, 35, i and 43, iii (Helsinki: Societas Fennicae, 1909, 1914). Lindelöf (ii, 321) compares 'luncedon' with Swedish and Norwegian forms *lunka* and *lunke* and with a Shetland verb 'to lunk'. These forms are all noted by Toller in his entry under **hincian** (?).

³⁴ These three psalter glosses are not recorded in T. Northcote Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898), but relevant discussion is to be found in Toller's *Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921) and in Alistair Campbell's *Revised and Enlarged Addenda* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

³⁵ John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, with suppl. by Herbert D. Meritt, 4th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 222, under '**luncian** ?'.

³⁶ See note 29 above.

³⁷ *The Middle English Dictionary*, under **lame** (adj.).

A Note on Modernity and Archaism in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and Earlier Texts of *Ancrene Wisse*¹

Tadao Kubouchi

In the Preface to the Ælfric Royal manuscript facsimile Peter Clemoes says:

In this facsimile we watch a major author at work, for the manuscript of Ælfric's First Series of *Catholic Homilies* here reproduced is not far removed from the author's draft – it is a unique witness to this early stage – and reveals much of the correction and revision which the author's text underwent before it was issued for general use. To observe the process of composition is keenly interesting to critics of any literature; to gain this sort of insight into a work of medieval literature is a rare experience indeed, all the more valuable in that one of the finest products of Old English literature is involved.²

Ælfric first composed both series of the *Catholic Homilies*, his earliest work – the first series, dated 989 and the second series 992³ – 'for his own use as mass-priest at Cerne [Abbas]'.⁴ Manuscript A_Æ (London, BL Royal 7 C. XII for *CH* I) represents this stage. Clemoes notes that 'Soon after being written A [here A_Æ] was subject to extensive revision and correction. [. . .] The various hands of the fully authenticated entries include Ælfric's'⁵, and 'Later he issued them in two series for general circulation to furnish the clergy with a sufficiently comprehensive body of orthodox preaching material in the vernacular. This stage is marked by the composition of the prefaces which have survived only in K [here K_Æ] [. . .]'.⁶ K_Æ (Cambridge, University Library MS Gg. 3. 28 (Clemoes' K)) could be said to represent a version issued for 'general use' or 'general circulation'.

'There is no reason', Sisam says⁷, 'that K [K_Æ] is itself that authoritative copy'. But drawing inferences from other circumstantial evidence, Sisam concludes that, 'It

is, then, a copy, direct or indirect, of a collection built up under Ælfric's instructions; and is thus very near the fountain-head'. Godden also emphasises 'K's remarkable faithfulness to Ælfric in text and in arrangement'.⁸ K_Æ has both prefaces and is the only complete copy of the second series of *CH*. Thus the relationship between the two manuscripts could surely shed illuminating light on the 'West Saxon Schriftsprache' problem, although homilies are in the first place orally delivered prose. 'Schriftsprache' here is used to mean what the fair-copy scribes like the K_Æ one thought to be properly standardised enough for 'general use' or 'general circulation'.

About 240 years later the above relationship finds its echo in that between the texts of the *Ancrene Wisse* (hereafter *AW*) as contained in London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra C. vi (here C_{AW}) and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402 (here A_{AW}). A_{AW} is dated 'about 1228-1230' and C_{AW} '1225-1230'.⁹ We have a rare experience here again. K_Æ is to A_Æ what A_{AW} is to C_{AW}. '[I]n the Cleopatra MS we have the opportunity of watching the author himself working on revisions which were to contribute to his completed revision as seen, in fair-copy, in the Corpus MS'.¹⁰ Dobson places especial stress on scribe B of manuscript C_{AW}. He takes him 'to be identical with the reviser, and indeed with the original author'.¹¹ To observe his revision and A_{AW}'s response gives a rare opportunity for insights into the linguistic situation of early Middle English period. Moreover, comparison of the relationship between the Cleopatra and Corpus manuscripts for the *AW* text on the one hand and that between the Cambridge University Library and Royal manuscripts for the *CH* I text on the other hand can throw illuminating light on the 'medieval Schriftsprache' problem. It is noteworthy that there are evident similarities, but also that there is some essential difference between the two relations. The difference is substantial and significant.

Clemoes¹² gives a revised version of Royal alteration lists originally set out in the Introduction to Eliason and Clemoes.¹³ The lists include Ælfric's correction of numerous grammatical irregularities such as those in the declension of nouns and their gender and in the declension of adjectives after demonstratives and possessives, in the form of the relative, in the classes of weak verbs, the cases following verbs, and the mood of the verb in subordinate clauses, and in cases after prepositions, particularly *purh*.¹⁴ These alterations were almost always faithfully followed by K_Æ, although it is undeniable that K_Æ is occasionally at variance with the Royal text. Punctuation sometimes differs. But on the whole K_Æ seems to be poised to follow the altered text. Even in exceptional cases apparently deviating from A_Æ's altered text, the K_Æ scribe seems to have anticipated A_Æ's imaginative re-revision.

The first deck of the apparatus of Clemoes' EETS edition records 'alterations in A's text that are nearly contemporary with the writing of the manuscript, whether by the main scribes, by Ælfric himself, or by other correctors'.¹⁵ Out of 14 alterations in the declension of nouns recorded by Clemoes for *CH* I. 1, all the $A_{\mathcal{E}}$ alterations are faithfully followed except for one instance, where $K_{\mathcal{E}}$ does not adopt $A_{\mathcal{E}}$'s change from *god* to *gode* after *ongean* at 34 in *CH* I. 1. $K_{\mathcal{E}}$ changes $A_{\mathcal{E}}$'s 'ongean gode ælmihitigum' to 'ongean god ælmihitigne' (accusative). $A_{\mathcal{E}}$'s alterations include change from dative to accusative after *ongean*.¹⁶ This observation, although very brief, still shows how faithfully $K_{\mathcal{E}}$ adopted the revised $A_{\mathcal{E}}$ text. We could perhaps say that the scribes concerned in the making or revising of $A_{\mathcal{E}}$ and $K_{\mathcal{E}}$ share almost the same idea with respect to what we here call their 'Schriftsprache', i.e. the language to be used for the version for 'general use' or 'general circulation'. The $K_{\mathcal{E}}$ scribe has his contemporaneous 'Schriftsprache' to follow.

Now we turn to the 240-years-later counterpart and the interaction that we see between the manuscripts C_{AW} and A_{AW} , or rather between the C_{AW} original scribe and the C_{AW} reviser-author on the one hand, and the fair-copy A_{AW} scribe on the other. When compared with the case of Ælfric as we saw it in *CH* I. 1, the interaction or relationship in the case of *AW* shows about as many differences as similarities.

In Part 1 of *AW* as it is found in A_{AW} (Part 1, fols. 4r-12r), we come across quite a few imperative clauses, which amount to 74 examples, and in which, as we might imagine, VO order is predominant. That order accounts for 53 examples in the 'Noun-O' (VOn) order and 11 examples in the 'Vpron.-O' (VOpron) order. The remaining 10 are in the 'Noun-OV' (OnV) order. The examples are as follows.¹⁷ *Italics are mine. Curly brackets ({ }) indicate a part of the line expuncted by the original scribe.*

1(A_{AW}) 4v25-26: her efter scheoiende ow 7 claðinde ow seggeð . Pater noster [. .] Miserere n. *þis word seggeð* {æ}auer apet 3e beon al greiðe .

'After this, putting on your shoes and dressing, say "Pater noster [. .], miserere nobis". Say these words all the time until you are completely ready.'

2(A_{AW}) 4v26: *þis word habbeð* muchel on us 7 [. .]

'Make much use of these words and [. .]'

3(A_{AW}) 6r22: Efter euensong anan *ower placebo* euche niht *seggeð* hwen 3e beoð eise .

'After Evensong, say your 'Placebo' at once each night, when you are able.'

4(A_{AW}) 6v3: *Requiescant in pace* i stude of Benedicamus *seggeð* on ende .

'Say 'Requiescant in pace' instead of 'Benedicamus' at the end.'

5(A_{AW}) 6v9: *Seoue psalmes seggeð* sittinde oðer cneolinde wið þe letanie .

'Say the Seven Psalms sitting or kneeling with the Litany.'

6(A_{AW}) 6v10: *fiftene psalmes seggeð* o þis wise .

'Say the Fifteen Psalms in this way.'

7(A_{AW}) 6v22: *Seoue salmes 7 þus þeose fiftene seggeð* abuten under .

'Say the Seven Psalms and the Fifteen in this way at about the third hour of the day, i.e. 9 a.m.'

8(A_{AW}) 8r13: *alle hare sares setteð* in ower heorte .

'Set all their sorrows in your heart.'

9(A_{AW}) 9r7: 7 þenne þe antefne segge eauer þus .

'and then always say the antiphon thus.'

10(A_{AW}) 9r19: *nawiht ne changede* bute þe salmes 7 te ureisuns .

'Change nothing except the psalms and the prayers.'

So far as those instances are concerned, we can hardly talk of modernity. Did they faithfully reflect the linguistic usage of the early thirteenth century? Certainly not; we have manuscript C_{AW} and its contemporary manuscript N_{AW} for evidence on this point. N_{AW} is London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. xiv, fols. 1-120v; dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.¹⁸ When those Corpus examples are compared with the readings of these two contemporary manuscripts, C_{AW} (fols. 9r-19v) and N_{AW} (fols. 4r-11r), a different picture appears; a picture of modernity, as it were, rather than archaism.

While the Cleopatra scribes A (C_{AW}'s original scribe), B (the scribe whom Dobson takes to be the original author of *AW*) and D (a scribe of the late thirteenth century) and the Nero scribe leave examples 1, 2, 6 and 8 unaltered, they make certain alterations in the other cases. In example 3, C_{AW} (scribe A) adds a *punctus* or point after the noun object *Placebo*, and N_{AW} takes an even more remarkable step and, putting the noun object after the verb *siggeð*, changes the OnV order into the modern VOn. In example 4 the verb is omitted in C_{AW}, while N_{AW} employs the VOn

order. In example 5, C_{AW} (scribe D) adds a *virgule* (/) after the noun object *seoue salmes*. In example 7, although N_{AW} leaves the text unaltered, C_{AW} (scribe B) adds a *punctus elevatus* after the noun object *seoue salmes 7 fiftene*. In example 9, C_{AW} (scribe A) alters the OnV order into the modern VOn element order, which scribe B accepts, and N_{AW}, in order to avoid a risk of confusion as to the OnV order, adds a *punctus* and, erroneously, 7 before the verb *sigge*. Finally, in example 10, where C_{AW} leaves the basic element order unchanged (cf. manuscript A_{AW}, f. 12r2), N_{AW} employs a completely different sentence construction (OVS) with the subject *3e* added and the verb altered into present subjunctive.¹⁹

The alterations which we saw in C_{AW} and N_{AW} above could be interpreted to reveal and testify to the situation of the element order in imperative clauses in the early thirteenth century. We could safely say that by the second quarter of the thirteenth century the OnV order had become so restricted in use in imperative clauses, at least on the spoken language level in the dialect concerned, that the scribes found it necessary to change the order into a then common one, or at least to mark the pause after the preverbal noun object. The practice of preverbal object pointing is but a step towards the change into the VOn order, as is evident from the Nero and Cleopatra examples 3(N_{AW}), 4(N_{AW}) and 9(C_{AW}).

Thus the element order usage as found in the Corpus manuscript, so far as our examples are concerned, could be described as 'more archaic or formal'. This reflects the fact that there is a possibility that, even in terms of element order, the language of the Corpus text has been adjusted to conform to what might be called a 'thirteenth-century English literary standard', although it must have been locally restricted, or to the so-called 'AB language'. The A_{AW} scribe was probably expected to produce the 'AB language', and he has his retrospective, not contemporaneous, 'Schriftsprache' to follow. Here the sort of 'antiquarian sentiments' which Stanley pointed out in the case of the *Brut* might be called upon to explain A_{AW} scribe's sentiments as well.²⁰

Whereas in the A_Æ-K_Æ interaction case there was 'remarkable faithfulness', in this later case there is a certain difference between the C_{AW} and A_{AW} scribes in terms of their intention. N_{AW} also has its own intention. The A_{AW} scribe was responsible for the fair-copy version to be used for 'general use' or 'general circulation', and his version shows some bias. What we see in this picture is the presence of a preference for archaism and regularities, although on a small scale, on the one hand (as in the A_{AW} text), and the general intention to modernise and elucidate the language of the text on the other hand (as in the C_{AW} and N_{AW} texts). This pattern can be traced in the usage of relative pronouns. The second quarter of the thirteenth century is a pivotal period of time for the shift in usage of the relative pronouns from *þe* (*þeo*) to *þet* (or

bat, *þ*).²¹ The following table²² shows the frequency of various sequences of selection among *be* / *þet* (*bat*, *þ*) in A_{AW}, C_{AW}, N_{AW} and V_{AW} as seen in Preface and Part 1. V_{AW} is added in anticipation of information about later developments. V_{AW} (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. poet. a. 1; its usual siglum is V) is a manuscript of the late fourteenth century. *þ* is an abbreviated form for *þet* or *þat*.

TABLE 1

	A _{AW}	C _{AW}	N _{AW}	V _{AW}	Preface	Part 1
(a)	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	19	19
(b)	<i>þ</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	1(4r25)	2(7r24, 9v11)
(c)	<i>þe</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	5	9
(d)	<i>þe</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	--	0	1(12r23)
(e)	<i>þe</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>þ</i>	1(3r19)	0
(f)	<i>þe</i>	<i>þe(o)</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>þ</i>	6	6
(g)	<i>þe</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>þ</i>	--	0	1(8v28)
(h)	<i>þe</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>þ</i>	5(1v22, 2r17, 3r01, 3r18, 26)	0
	Others ²³				6	6
	Totals				43	44

The table neatly shows how the weak form *þe* declined and the strong form *þet* or *þat* gained ground. However, we must remember that chronologically C_{AW} comes first. That it looks as if chronologically A_{AW} preceded the other manuscripts betrays how A_{AW} assumes archaic aspects. Syntactic factors working in the *þe* / *þet* (or *þat*, *þ*) selection in the A_{AW} text are succinctly explained by G. B. Jack.²⁴ He observes:

In the Corpus text of *Ancrene Wisse*, then, the main factors affecting the selection of *þe* or *þet* are the syntactic function of the pronoun and the animateness and number of the antecedent. *þe* is most used when the relative pronoun is the subject or when the antecedent is animate. The selection of *þet*, by contrast, is unaffected by the syntactic function of the relative pronoun; the preferred situation for the use of *þet* is

when the antecedent is inanimate, and in particular inanimate singular, for when the antecedent is plural *þe* is less used than *þe*.

This explanation works well, but does not account for many other instances. Even the 'animate-inanimate' criterion in the case of the antecedent does not always show thorough consistency. As Suzuki notes, '*þe* is used generally for a person, and *þæt* [*þet*] for a thing, though this is not always the case'.²⁵ The table which follows gives an idea of *þe* / *þet* (*þat*) frequency percentages in the four manuscript texts. Percentages are for Preface and Part 1.

TABLE 2

		A _{AW}	C _{AW}	N _{AW}	V _{AW}
Preface	<i>þe</i>	20 (47%)	12 (32%)	8 (19%)	0
	<i>þet/þat</i>	23 (53%)	25 (68%)	34 (81%)	42
Part 1	<i>þe</i>	22 (50%)	10 (26%)	2 (5%)	0
	<i>þet/þat</i>	22 (50%);	29 (74%)	41 (95%)	43

In view of the extraordinary variations among the earliest contemporaneous texts A_{AW}, C_{AW} and N_{AW}, it will be evident that the situation is not explainable solely on syntactic or phonological grounds. In view of the short span of time, i.e. c. 1225-c. 1250, within which the three texts (A_{AW}, C_{AW} and N_{AW}) fall, the variations in terms of *þe*-frequency (47 and 50%, 32 and 26%, 19 and 5%) are unexpectedly large. What could account for such variations within the rather short span of time of about a quarter century? Archaism or conservatism could probably be invoked, as in the case of word order and punctuation usage above.

In what follows I would like to examine some examples to see aspects of this relative pronoun selection process that are representative of how the A_{AW} scribe responded to the altered text of the C_{AW} scribes. Here again what we see is a preference for archaism and regularities, although on a small scale, on the one hand (in the A_{AW} text), and the general intention to modernise and elucidate the language of the text on the other hand (in the C_{AW} text). Sequences (a) and especially (b) could be taken as representing an innovating tendency in the A_{AW} text. Sequence (a) includes an example with an animate antecedent and a *þ*-relative used as the object (A_{AW} 10r03: *þi brihte blisfule sune þ te giws wenden forte aprusmin i þruh* ('[. . .] thy

bright blessed Son, whom the Jews thought to stifle in the tomb')). This example could be labelled as 'modern' in view of Jack's explanation, which is rather applicable to more conservative usage. The following examples are from sequence (b). Example 12 could be classified as 'modern'. ' ' indicate insertion.

11 (A_{AW}) 4r25-26 'your heart, in which is order and religioun and the soul's life'

A_{AW} ower heorte þ̅ orde 7 religiun 7 sawle lif is inne .

C_{AW} ouwer heorte . þe orde 7 religiun saule lif is inne .

N_{AW} ower he'o'rte . þ̅ orde 7 religiun 7 soule lif is inne .

V_{AW} oure herte . þat orde . 7 Religion . and soule lyf lith þer Inne .

12 (A_{AW}) 7r24 'for the seven hours which Holy Church sings,'

A_{AW} 7 for þe seoue tiden þ̅ hali chirche singeð

C_{AW} 7 for þe seoue tiden þe hali chirche singeð [.]

N_{AW} 7 for þe seoue tiden þ̅ holi chirche singeð

V_{AW} And for þe seue tyden þat holi chirche singeþ .

13 (A_{AW}) 9v11 'for the great bliss which you had'

A_{AW} for þe ilke muchele blisse þet tu hefdest

C_{AW} for þilke muchele blisse þe þu hefdest

N_{AW} vor þe ilke muchele blisse þ̅ tu hefdest

V_{AW} ffor þat ilke muchele blisse . þat þou heddest .

A_{AW}'s archaism or conservatism can most typically be found in sequences (c), (d) and (e), although sequences (f), (g) and (h) as well, at least in part, could be taken as representing the Corpus scribe's archaistic intention. We could say even with respect to examples of sequences (f), (g) and (h) that the Corpus scribe left unaltered archaic constructions which the Cleopatra text has. *Al(le)-þ̅* accounts for 7 (2 in Preface and 5 in Part 1) and *þet* 'what' 6 (5 in Preface and 1 in Part 1) of 36 examples (sequence (a)). It is to be noted that there is an example of 'archaic' *alle þe*-type clauses (cf. *OED*, s.v. *all*, II.5). This is a case of sequence (c).

14 (A_{AW}) 6v11 'the first five for yourself, and for all who do you good and wish you well.'

A_{AW} 6v11

A_{AW} þe earste fiue for ow seolf . 7 for alle þe ow god doð

C_{AW} þe eareste fiue . for ouseolf 7 for alle þ̅ ou god doð .

N_{AW} þe uormeste viue uor ou sulf . 7 for alle þ̅ ou god doð .
 V_{AW} þe ffurste fyue . for ow self ⁊ and for alle . þat ow good doþ .
 A_{AW} 6v12
 A_{AW} oðer unnen .
 C_{AW} oðer god vnnen .
 N_{AW} oðer unneð .
 V_{AW} oþer wilneþ .

Examples 15 and 16 are of *þeo-þe* type (Cf. A_{AW} 3r19, 8r12):

15 (A_{AW}) 1r11 'They are right who live according to a rule.'

A_{AW} þeo beoð rihte þe liuieð efter riwle .
 C_{AW} þeo beoð þe rihte . þe liuieð efter riwle .
 N_{AW} þ̅ beoð riht þeo . þet libbeð efter riwle
 V_{AW} þulke beþ rihte ⁊ þat loueþ aftur rule .

16 (A_{AW}) 3r22 'similarly, he is fatherless who has through his sin lost the father of heaven.'

A_{AW} 3r22
 A_{AW} þe is alswa federles þe haueð þurh his sunne forloren
 C_{AW} þeo is alswa federlese þ̅ haueð þorch his sunne iloren
 N_{AW} þe is also federleas . þ̅ haueð þurh his sunne ⁊ vorlore
 V_{AW} He is also . faderles þat haþ þorw his sunne for loren
 A_{AW} 3r23
 A_{AW} þe feader of heouene .
 C_{AW} þene heze feder of heouene .
 N_{AW} þene Veder of heouene .
 V_{AW} þe ffader of heouene .

In the following example (A_{AW} 1r16) we find an example where the Corpus scribe did not follow the revised readings from the Cleopatra manuscript (entered by scribe B). Dobson observes, 'From *þoncg* to end of line underlined and also struck through; above, B writes *woh inwit 7 of wrezinde þ̅ segge* (correct emendation; cf. Corpus).'²⁶ Dobson speaks of 'correct emendation', but with respect to relative-pronoun selection he is not right. The Corpus scribe did not adopt the Cleopatra reading (i.e. scribe B's emendation). His text has *þe* instead of *þ̅*.

17 (A_{AW})1r16 'The one rules the heart and makes it even and smooth without the lumps and pits of a conscience crooked and accusing, which says, "Here you sinned", or "This has not yet been atoned for [...] "'

A_{AW} 1r15

A _{AW}	þe	an	riwleð	þe	heorte	7	makeð	efne	7	smeðe	wiðute
C _{AW}	þ	an	riwleð	þe	heorte	7	makeð	efne	7	smeðe	wið vte
N _{AW}	þe	on	riwleð	þe	heorte .þe		makeð hire	efne	7	smeðe	wið vte
V _{AW}	þe	on	ruleþ	þe	herte .	and	makeþ	euene .	and	smeþe	wiþouten

A_{AW} 1r16

A _{AW}	cnost	7	dolc	of	woh	inwit	7	of	wreizende	þe	segge .
C _{AW}	cnoste	7	dolke	of	þoncg	inwið			unwrest 7 3irinde	þ	
(B scribe)					'woh	inwit	7	of	wre3inde	þ	segge'
N _{AW}	knotte	7	dolke .	of	woh	inwit	7	of	wreinde .	þet	seið .
V _{AW}	spotte	of	fulþe	of	vnriht	inwit	7	of	schewynge .	þat	sigge

A_{AW} 1r17

A _{AW}	her	þu	sunegest .	oþer	þis	nis	nawt	ibet	3et	ase	wel	as
C _{AW}	þu	her	sunegest	oðer	þis	nis	naut	ibet	3et			alse
N _{AW}	her	þu	sunegest .	oðer	þis	nis	nout	ibet	3et	also	wel	alse
V _{AW}	her .	þou	sungest .	oþer	þis	nis	nou3t	i	bet	3it .	as	wel as

A_{AW} 1r18

A _{AW}	hit	ahte .
C _{AW}	hit	schulde .
N _{AW}	hit	ouhte .
V _{AW}	hit	ouhte .

Thus the relative pronoun selection as we find in the Corpus manuscript, too, so far as our examples are concerned, could be described as 'more archaic or formal', just as in the case of the element order and punctuation usage that we saw above. The A_{AW} scribe had his retrospective, not contemporaneous, 'Schriftsprache' to follow. This makes a difference between the interaction or relationship as we see here in the A_W case and what we see in the case of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies, First Series*. The relationship between the Royal manuscript scribe and his 'Schriftsprache' is a contemporaneous one. That of the Corpus scribe and his fair-copy model was a retrospective one.

NOTES

¹ I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to John Scahill for his kind help and invaluable advice.

² N. E. Eliason and P. A. M. Clemoes, eds, *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies: British Museum Royal 7 C. XII, fols. 4-218*, EEMF, 13 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1966), p. 11.

³ Peter A. M. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), pp. 212-47 (repr. as *Old English Newsletter*, Subsidia 5 (Binghamton, NY: CEMERS, SUNY, 1980).

⁴ Peter A. M. Clemoes, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, EETS, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 65.

⁵ Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies*, p. 66.

⁶ Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies*, p. 65.

⁷ Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 168.

⁸ Malcolm R. Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, EETS, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. xliii.

⁹ Eric J. Dobson, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle Edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. VI*, EETS, o.s. 267 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. ix and x.

¹⁰ Quoted from the review article by M. L. Samuels of E. J. Dobson, *The English Text* (*Medium Ævum*, 43 (1974), 78-80 (p. 79)).

¹¹ Dobson, *The English Text*, p. ix.

¹² Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies*, pp. 126-29.

¹³ Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series of Catholic Homilies*, pp. 28-35.

¹⁴ Clemoes says, 'Additions of substance entered in his hand or in those of others can be assumed to have originated with Ælfric. But what about all the minor corrections and revisions entered in the manuscript in early hands? Were they all the fruits of intense but unsystematic revision on Ælfric's part and did a number of people transfer them to Royal piecemeal from the copy or copies in which Ælfric entered them? Not necessarily, I think. Ælfric may well have let interested friends see the manuscript, and it would have been natural for him – as for any author – to ask qualified readers to correct any mistakes they noticed and to make any improvements they thought fit. The number and character of the hands in which the alterations are entered, and the fact that a few of the alterations in early-looking hands are not absorbed into the text of other manuscripts may

be indications that some of Royal's entries are to be explained in this way': Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series of Catholic Homilies*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁵ Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies*, p. 168.

¹⁶ See Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies*, p. 128, fn 15. Footnote 15, incidentally, needs a correction. For 162 (2x) read 163 (2x).

¹⁷ Tadao Kubouchi, 'Word Order in the *AW* Revisited', in *Essays in Linguistics and Philology Presented to Professor K. Hasegawa on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday February 8, 1995*, ed. by A. Baba and others (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1995), pp. 573-81.

¹⁸ Mabel Day, ed., *The English Text of the 'AR' Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. XIV: On the Basis of a Transcript by J. A. Herbert*, EETS, o.s. 225 (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. ix.

¹⁹ For details see Kubouchi, 'Word Order'; and T. Kubouchi, Keiko Ikegami and others, eds, *The 'A-W': A Four-Manuscript Parallel Text. Preface and Parts 1-4*, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature, 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2003).

²⁰ Eric G. Stanley, 'Lazamon's Antiquarian Sentiments', *Medium Ævum*, 38 (1969), 23-37 (p. 27).

²¹ Angus McIntosh, 'The Relative Pronouns *þe* and *þat* in Early Middle English', *English and Germanic Studies*, 1 (1947-48), 73-87; Kikuo Miyabe, 'A Note on the Relative Pronouns in Early Middle English', *Anglica*, 4:1 (1959), 56-69; Robert D. Stevick, 'Historical Selection of Relative *þat* in Early Middle English', *English Studies*, 46 (1965), 29-36; Kirsti Kivimaa, '*þe*' and '*þat*' as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Expected Consideration of the Emergence of the Pleonastic '*þat*' (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1966); Shigetake Suzuki, *The Language of the 'AW'* (Tokyo: Society of Social Sciences and Humanities, Tokyo Metropolitan University, 1967); George B. Jack, 'Relative Pronouns in Language AB', *English Studies*, 56:2 (1975), 100-107; Yoko Wada, 'Relative Pronouns in *AW* (MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402) and *AR* (British Museum Cotton MS. Nero A. xiv) as a Criterion for Determining their Dates', *Kansai University Studies in English Language and Literature*, 22 (Osaka, 1983), 70-79; Sayo Yanagi, 'The Relative Pronouns *þe* and *þ* in the *AR* (1)-(3)', *Fukuoka University Review of Literature & Humanities*, 20 and 21 (1989), 20: 1293-1321 (1); and 21: 207-35 (2), 713-33 (3).

²² From Tadao Kubouchi, 'Relative Pronoun Selection in the *AW*', in *Studies in English Historical Linguistics and Philology: A Festschrift for Akio Oizumi*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature, 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002), pp. 225-37.

²³ (i) *þ*---*þ*-*þ* 4v10, 12r16; *þ*---*þ*--- 2v11; (j) *þ*-as-*þ*-*þ* 2v21; (k) *þe*---*þ*-*þ* 6v19; (l) *þe*-----*þ* 3r28; (m) *þe*-ase-*þ*-*þ* 7v17; *þe*-*þe* -hwose-*þ* 11v07; (n) *þe*-wase-*þe*-*þ* 7r14-15, 12r03; (o) *þe*-he(o)-*þe*-*þ* 1v04, 3v08.

²⁴ Jack, 'Relative Pronouns', p. 105.

²⁵ Suzuki, *The Language*, p. 105.

²⁶ Dobson, *The English Text*, p. 2.

The Dating of William of Malmesbury's *Miracles of the Virgin*¹

Philip Shaw

William of Malmesbury's *Miracula Sanctae Mariae Virginis* (*Miracles of the Virgin*) is perhaps not as well known as his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* or his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, but it has long been known to Marian scholars as an important text in the early development of the Marian miracle collections which were to become one of the most popular literary forms of the high and later Middle Ages.² Richard Southern has argued that such collections developed first in England, spreading from there to the rest of Europe.³ Southern does not argue that England produced the earliest collections of Marian miracles – still less the earliest individual accounts of such miracles – but that the English collections of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries introduced an innovation which was instrumental in the emergence of the huge later collections. The earliest continental collections had been collections of miracles associated with a particular locality, composed for local communities.⁴ The English collections moved beyond this local impact, bringing together miracles associated with various localities; these collections, although initially small in size, were the first universal collections – or at least the first potentially universal collections. Without this first step, very large collections such as Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X (el Sabio) would perhaps not have developed.

Southern points to the collection which Mussafia termed the HM-TS series (which Southern ascribes, not implausibly, to Anselm of Bury, nephew of St Anselm, writing in the first quarter of the twelfth century) as the starting point of the tradition.⁵ He argues that Dominic of Evesham's *De Miraculis Sanctae Mariae* was produced shortly after HM-TS, and William of Malmesbury's *Miracula* within around twenty years of Dominic's collection.⁶ Southern does not address the relationship between the collections of Dominic and William, because

Peter Carter was in the process of producing his doctoral thesis on William's collection at the time Southern was writing.⁷ Carter, in an article based on this thesis, argued that William's text is a combination and re-writing of the two earlier collections, together with a smaller collection of versified miracles.⁸ He provides a table setting out the miracles narrated by William, with indications of the probable sources for these accounts.⁹ This is extremely useful, but perhaps gives a false impression that William's compositional process was to a large extent one of stitching together a number of smaller collections – Dominic's *De Miraculis*, HM-TS, and the series of (usually) six narratives in rhythmical Latin which Carter terms MB. This does appear to be Carter's view of the collection:

This means that only a small fraction of the collection is original, as far as we can now tell: 'The Jews of Toulouse', 'Guy Bishop of Lescar', 'Guimund and Drogo', 'Rustic Church Enlarged', and 'Mary Image confounds Saracens' all probably come from oral testimony while the stories about Pavian saints [. . .] and those about Constantinople [. . .] are compiled from William's own research. 'Prayers of a Friend' and 'Dying Freeliver' appear to have come from written miracle stories but these have not been traced.¹⁰

Leaving aside the issue of originality, it seems clear that this misrepresents William's compositional process. In his edition of the *Miracula*, Canal, like Carter, notes that William shares several miracles with Dominic of Evesham: but, unlike Carter, he does not assume that, in most cases where William recounts the same miracle as Dominic, he is using Dominic as a direct source. Canal's caution is justified: a closer look at the relationship between Dominic's and William's versions of shared episodes suggests a rather more complex picture.¹¹

While a detailed account of the relationship between William's text and that of Dominic cannot be provided in an article of this size, a brief summary may be useful here. Dominic's text often follows an obvious source quite closely. For instance, Dominic's account of Theophilus is closely based on the *Paenitentia Theophili*.¹² William's version of this miracle is not strikingly similar in wording or content to either Dominic's account or the *Paenitentia*. Nevertheless, it echoes some words and phrases present in Dominic's account, but none which are not also present in the *Paenitentia*. In a few cases, William's narrative agrees with the *Paenitentia* against Dominic. The execution of the Jewish magician appears in the

Paenitentia and in William's version, but not in Dominic's. In introducing the magician into the story, William echoes the phrasing used by the *Paenitentia*, writing 'erat in eadem urbe hebraeus' ('there was in that same city a Jew'; the *Paenitentia* has 'erat denique in eadem civitate hebraeus'; 'there was, finally, in that same city a Jew').¹³ Dominic retains the word *civitas* from the *Paenitentia*, but re-arranges the sentence and replaces *eadem* with *praelibata*: 'ea tempestate quidam nefandissimus hebraeus in praelibata civitate erat' ('at that time a certain most wicked Jew was in the aforesaid city'). The *Paenitentia* has Mary instruct Theophilus, 'confitere mihi, o homo' ('confess to me, O man').¹⁴ William preserves the word *mihi* while removing 'o homo', while Dominic preserves 'o homo' while removing *mihi*. It appears, then, that William probably used the *Paenitentia* directly, although we cannot rule out the possibility that he also consulted Dominic's version. Similar evidence can be found in some of the other miracles shared between William's and Dominic's texts.¹⁵ William probably did use Dominic's collection, but he did not follow it closely, and seems frequently to have availed himself other sources – often Dominic's sources, but, as we shall see, in at least one case of a source not used by Dominic.

This case is in William's version of the story of the Jewish boy who is thrown into an oven by his father. This story, which became extremely well-known in the later medieval miracle collections, had already achieved a wide circulation by William's day as a miracle relevant to debates over transubstantiation.¹⁶ Both William and Dominic include in their collections versions of this miracle, but there are no obvious parallels of phrasing between them. Carter has shown that Dominic's account almost certainly derives from the version in HM-TS, which is itself based on Paschasius Radbertus's *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*.¹⁷ It has been supposed that William then based his account on Dominic's, but this seems unlikely. Their narratives differ substantially, with Dominic's representing a much fuller and more detailed account. In William's version, a Jewish boy in Pisa, in a spirit of play, joins other boys in going to church and receiving the Eucharist. He then plays until his mealtime, when he goes home, and his parents gently ask where he has been. In his childish innocence, he tells the truth, and his father, enraged, hurls him into the oven. His mother begins to cry out, and Christians rush in and rescue the child, who is entirely unharmed. They ask how he escaped the flames, and he replies that the beautiful woman whom he saw sitting on a throne, and whose son the people divided among themselves, kept him safe from the flames. At this point, they

realise that Mary kept the boy safe, and that she revealed the mystery of the Eucharist to him.¹⁸

Dominic's version is much fuller. The Jewish boy, seeing some Christian companions, goes along with them, and, on going into the church, simply does as others are doing. He looks around the church, seeing the cross, and an image of the Virgin. He goes up with the rest for the Eucharist, and it seems to him that the image of the Virgin is distributing the host along with the priest. Meanwhile, the boy's parents are frantic with worry about their missing child, seeking him everywhere. When, after the Mass, he returns home, they question him with threats about where he has been, and the terrified boy tells them. His father becomes enraged, and hurls him into an oven and blocks up the door. His mother begins to cry out, and the populace and the judges rush in. They are stupefied at this terrible deed, but, to their surprise, see that the boy alive and well, and playing amid the flames. When he is taken out, he explains that the woman whom he saw standing above the altar in church, and distributing the host, protected him from the flames. Everyone praises the mercy of Mary, and it is decided to punish the boy's father by casting him into the oven. The boy and his mother are then baptised, and almost all the Jews of the city are converted.¹⁹

The narrative as it appears in HM-TS is similar in its essentials to Dominic's, but shorter, and lacking the detail of the parents' anxiety.²⁰ These versions tie up all the loose ends which are left hanging in William's version, such as the fate of the father. They lack the emphasis on miraculous witness of transubstantiation present in William's narrative. The different geographical settings of the accounts are significant; William's setting of Pisa is anomalous, while HM-TS and Dominic's Bourges is seen in many versions of this miracle.²¹ The difference in setting is intriguing, but it remains unclear why William should introduce Pisa.²² The miraculous witness of transubstantiation in William's account is essentially irrelevant in the context of a collection of Marian miracles: the miracle which is of importance here is Mary's protection of the boy in the oven. HM-TS and Dominic's *De Miraculis* seem to reflect a realisation of this problem, removing the transubstantiation and replacing it with the boy's vision of Mary distributing the host. This seems an awkward attempt to turn this part of the narrative into another Marian miracle.

If William's account differs significantly from those of HM-TS and Dominic, it differs no less from that of Paschasius Radbertus's *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, the probable source of HM-TS. William's presentation of the Jewish boy as a witness to transubstantiation is lacking in Paschasius's text.

Paschasius does include Jesus as a key figure in the Eucharist in the boy's vision, but says simply that he 'propria manu sacram communionem sacerdoti porrigebat' ('was providing the holy communion to the priest with his own hand').²³ HM-TS and Dominic re-assign Jesus's role here to Mary, choosing to focus solely on Mary who is, after all, their main subject. William takes the interesting step of having the boy say that he was protected in the oven by the lady he saw sitting on a throne in the church, 'cuius filius populo diuideuatur' ('whose son was divided among the people').²⁴ This is an ambiguous presentation of the vision. It is unclear whether the boy is claiming to have seen Jesus divided among the people, or whether he is simply expressing his (perhaps somewhat surprising) knowledge of the doctrine of transubstantiation. That William intended the former is suggested by the version of this episode which he includes in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, in which the Jewish boy 'uidit puerum in ara membratim discerpi et uiritim populo diuidi' ('saw a child on the altar being torn limb from limb and distributed individually to the people').²⁵

There remains, however, another possible source to consider. In his commentary on this miracle in his thesis, Carter quotes a short version of the story from a sermon for Christmas Day by Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich.²⁶ Curiously, Carter does not consider the possibility that William made use of this version; yet a comparison of his two versions with Losinga's text reveals a number of shared words and phrases. Herbert states that the miracle took place 'die sancto paschæ' ('on the holy day of Easter'); William, in his *Miracula*, gives the date as 'die paschae' ('on the day of Easter').²⁷ Herbert claims that the boy 'et coevos suos ad altare accederet. et sacram communionem acciperet' ('and his peers approached the altar and received holy communion').²⁸ In his *Miracula*, William says that the boy 'ceterisque ad altare pro communione accedentibus, pariter accesserat' ('when the others were approaching the altar for communion, likewise approached it');²⁹ in his *Gesta Regum*, the boy goes to communion 'cum aequo Christiano' ('with a Christian boy of his own age'; in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 712, and in London, British Library Harley 447, *coequo* appears, rather than *aequeo*).³⁰ In Herbert's sermon, the boy's honesty in telling his mother what he has been doing is put down to 'puerili simplicitate' ('youthful guilelessness'), while in William's accounts it is ascribed to 'puerili innocentia' ('youthful innocence'; *Miracula*) or 'innocentia puerili' (*Gesta Regum*).³¹ Herbert, like William and Dominic, uses the word *clibanus* for the oven into which the boy is thrown.³² In William's *Miracula*, as in Herbert's sermon, the boy is asked, when he is pulled from the oven, 'quomodo euasisset' ('how he escaped [death by burning]').³³

In the *Gesta Regum*, the wording is similar, but not exactly the same: 'interrogatusque quomodo uoraces ignium globos euaserit' ('when asked how he escaped the flames of the devouring fire').³⁴

Some of these phrases are present in the HM-TS account: the date is 'die solemnitatís paschē' ('on the day of the solemnity of Easter'), the boy 'ad altare accessit' ('approached the altar'), and he is asked 'quomodo euasisset' ('how he escaped [death by burning]'); but his *innocentia* or *simplicitas* do not figure in his decision to tell his father where he has been, and he is thrown into a *fornax* rather than a *clibanus*.³⁵ It is, of course, possible that William took the term *clibanus* from Dominic, and the other details from HM-TS; but this would not account for the boy's fatal *innocentia*, which is paralleled in Herbert's version. These correspondences provide fairly convincing evidence, then, that William had access to something very like Herbert Losinga's account.³⁶ Certainly, there are differences between his accounts and Herbert's – Herbert places the miracle in an indeterminate Greek city, and has the boy reveal his participation in communion first to his mother, who then tells his father – but these are no greater than the differences between William's own two versions: for instance, in the *Gesta Regum* the boy is rescued only after several hours, whereas in the *Miracula*, as in the majority of versions, he is rescued very quickly. William evidently knew of Herbert Losinga, as he appears in both the *Gesta Regum* and in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*.³⁷ Herbert is also cited as a source elsewhere in William's *Miracula*, in the story of St Bon, in which it is said that Herbert had seen the saint's garment.³⁸ It seems quite plausible, then, that William should have had access to a copy of Herbert's sermon for Christmas Day, or to a closely-related text, and that he should have used it in composing his versions of the story of the Jewish boy's communion.

It is significant that William's account in his *Miracula* appears more closely related to Herbert's narrative than does that in the *Gesta Regum*. Many of the parallels discussed above appear in both of William's versions, but in many cases the parallel is more exact in the *Miracula*. The term *clibanus*, moreover, is replaced by *rogus* in the *Gesta Regum* – a term which does not appear in any of the other accounts discussed so far.³⁹ This is surprising, given that the *Gesta Regum* is generally supposed to have been composed prior to the *Miracula*. One might expect that William would have composed the version in the *Gesta Regum*, based on Herbert's, and then used the *Gesta Regum* version in composing the version in his *Miracula*. Yet this is unlikely to have been the case. While it is tempting to suppose that William simply used Herbert's sermon on both

occasions, but more freely on the first, this would not satisfactorily account for the fact that both of William's versions have the same set of echoes from Herbert's account (with the exception of the innovative use of *rogus* in the *Gesta Regum*). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that William may well have composed the version which appears in his *Miracula* before that which appears in the *Gesta Regum*, and that the latter is based on the former.

This order of composition would also account for William's emphasis on transubstantiation, which is lacking in Dominic's account, and in HM-TS, and in the version by Paschasius Radbertus. Herbert does not explicitly depict the Jewish boy as miraculously witnessing transubstantiation, but he does include, in the boy's explanation of his miraculous protection in the oven, the statement that he was saved by the protection of the boy 'cujus super aram christianorum sanctissimum accepi corpus' ('whose most holy body I received on the altar of the christians').⁴⁰ William's *Miracula*, like Herbert's account, makes no reference to transubstantiation at the point at which the boy receives communion, but rather includes a reference in the boy's explanatory speech. In the *Miracula*, of course, William presents Mary alone as saving the boy, but nevertheless describes her as the lady 'cuius filius populo diuideatur' ('whose son was divided among the people').⁴¹ While these two phrases are quite different in wording, they appear at the same juncture in both accounts, and they both draw attention to the boy's understanding of transubstantiation, and his apprehension of this process in the communion he has recently attended. That William is essentially following Herbert here, modifying his source only in order to present Mary as the sole miracle worker (a very necessary alteration for a collection of Marian miracles), seems wholly plausible.

If William then later used the account in his *Miracula* in composing that which appears in his *Gesta Regum*, he might very naturally have taken the reference to transubstantiation in the boy's explanatory speech as indicating that the boy actually witnessed transubstantiation. In Herbert's account, the boy's understanding of transubstantiation can easily be attributed to the schooling of Jews by Christians, which Herbert specifically remarks on as causing Jewish children to learn something of christian doctrine: 'veritatis succus teneris iudæorum mentibus paulatim infundebatur' ('the elixir of truth was gradually poured into the young minds of the Jews').⁴² In William's *Miracula*, this element of Herbert's account is omitted; if William used the narrative from his *Miracula*, then, in composing the version in his *Gesta Regum*, he would have had no indication in the source from which he was working that the boy would have been

in any position to understand transubstantiation due to his schooling. Since William is specifically discussing the controversy surrounding transubstantiation in this chapter of his *Gesta Regum*, it is perhaps only natural that he should take the boy's speech as an indication that he had come to understand transubstantiation through miraculous witness.

If this sequence of composition is correct, it makes a very considerable difference to our understanding of the development of William's *Miracula*, and, indeed, to our knowledge of the development of Marian miracle collections more generally. Southern suggests that Dominic of Evesham was writing his *De Miraculis* between around 1120-1125 and 1130.⁴³ If this is correct, and if Carter is correct in believing that William used the account of the siege of Chartres in Dominic's *De Miraculis* in composing his own version of that episode in his *Gesta Regum*, then Dominic's work must have been available to William very soon after its composition.⁴⁴ Interestingly, there is one possible indication that William's account of the siege of Chartres in the *Gesta Regum* is based on that in his *Miracula*, and not, as has previously been thought, *vice versa*. Both accounts are very similarly worded, and one must clearly have been taken from the other, but there is nothing in their wording which suggests the direction of influence. Both of William's accounts tell us that one of the French kings named Charles obtained Mary's tunic from Constantinople and gave it to Chartres – a fact which does not appear in accounts prior to William's.⁴⁵ In the *Gesta Regum*, William states that this king was Charles the Bald; in the *Miracula*, he merely says that 'unus ex Karolis' ('one of the Charleses') imported the tunic.⁴⁶ If William was copying his account from the *Gesta Regum* in composing that in his *Miracula*, this would be surprising. As Carter has shown, William takes considerable (though not always effective) pains to situate many of the miracles in his collection in their historical contexts.⁴⁷ If William did wish to present the miracle with less specificity, there is no reason why he could not have omitted entirely the name of the king who gave the tunic to Chartres. The simplest explanation of the fact that William identifies the particular Charles in question in the *Gesta Regum*, but not in the *Miracula*, is that the account in the *Gesta Regum* was written after the account in the *Miracula* and incorporates extra information about which William was uncertain when he wrote the *Miracula* version. This would be consistent with our knowledge of his revisions of the *Gesta Regum* in the light of new information becoming available to him.⁴⁸

William's improving understanding of the historical contexts for the siege of Chartres also appears to be reflected in his use, a few chapters earlier in the

Gesta Regum, of some phrasing which occurs in the opening part of his *Miracula* account. In the *Miracula*, William presents Rollo as 'tota paene Gallia et maxime circa maritima grassatus' ('having descended on almost the whole of Gaul and most greatly around the sea-coasts').⁴⁹ To suggest that Rollo had descended on almost the whole of Gaul is to exaggerate the scale of the Norman incursions, if not their perceived impact. The account in the *Gesta Regum* is more accurate, noting that, as a prelude to the siege of Chartres, 'omnia inquietauerint Northmanni ab oceano Britannico, ut ante commemorauit, usque ad Tirrenum mare' ('the Northmen set everything in turmoil from the British ocean, as I have described already, to the Tyrrhenian Sea').⁵⁰ William's cross-reference here is to the section of chapter 121 in which he claims that Hasting and his followers 'tota enim ora maritima usque ad mare Tirrenum grassati' ('descended upon the whole sea-coast as far as the Tyrrhenian sea').⁵¹ Carter supposed that William used this phrase as the source for the opening part of the *Miracula* account quoted above.⁵² Given William's cross-reference within the *Gesta Regum*, it is certainly not impossible that he might have checked back to the earlier chapter, and borrowed a few words, in composing his version for the *Miracula*. It is, however, at least equally likely, and perhaps even more likely, that William was using his *Miracula* account in composing the account in the *Gesta Regum*, and that he was prompted to create the cross-reference precisely by his use of an account in which this phrasing is more closely connected with introducing the siege of Chartres.

It seems possible, then, that at least parts of William's *Miracula* were composed prior to the composition of the parallel episodes in the *Gesta Regum*. These episodes in the *Gesta Regum* were already present in the earliest complete text of the *Gesta Regum*, which was in circulation by 1126.⁵³ This has important implications for our understanding of the dating of William's *Miracula*, its process of composition, and its relationship with Dominic of Evesham's collection. The currently accepted dating of William's *Miracula* rests principally on the belief that William used Dominic's collection as a source, and on statements within the text which suggest that William was writing towards the end of his life.⁵⁴ The fact that the two manuscripts of the *Miracula* have the miracles in quite different orders has been interpreted by Carter as evidence that William originally set the miracles out in one order, which he later revised. Carter has found convincing evidence in the text of the Salisbury manuscript for this process of revision.⁵⁵ It does not seem implausible, then, that the *Miracula*, like the *Gesta Regum*, was revised over many years, and perhaps released at different points in time in different arrangements. One might therefore suppose that

William wrote his versions of the siege of Chartres and the Jewish boy for the *Miracula* very early in his career, and that these subsequently found their way into the first version of the *Gesta Regum*. It need not be the case that the *Miracula* as a whole was completed prior to the completion of the *Gesta Regum* (though this cannot be ruled out); the *Miracula* could have been an ongoing project of many years or even decades.

Doubts about the dating of William's *Miracula*, and the duration of the compositional process, clearly impact on our understanding of its relationship with Dominic's *De Miraculis*. Dominic's text can be dated only by our knowledge of Dominic's career, and by the assumption that Dominic's text was used by William in composing his *Miracula*. Our knowledge of Dominic's career is scanty. Jennings has shown that he was a monk at Evesham by 1104, that he became Prior there by 1125, and that his successor as Prior was in office by 1145.⁵⁶ If William was already writing his *Miracula* by 1126, then it is possible that the parallels between some of William's narratives and some of Dominic's narratives are in fact due to Dominic's knowledge of William's text, and not *vice versa*. It remains more likely that William drew on Dominic's text, as William tends, when he is following Dominic, to depart further from Dominic's sources than Dominic already had. It is important, however, to realise that William in all likelihood began his *Miracula* while Dominic was still Prior of Evesham. In his re-working of some of Dominic's narratives, and his occasional rejection of Dominic in favour of other sources, William can be seen to be engaging in a vital process of developing and refining Marian miracle collections very early in their development. William's work should not simply be seen as a process of second-generation compilation based on selecting and copying miracles from first-generation texts. William's text is, in fact, one of the first generation texts. William at least started his *Miracula* within Dominic's lifetime, and he makes a very definite attempt to answer Dominic's text, going back to Dominic's sources for further information, or even using entirely different sources for the same miracle.

Southern, in his seminal article discussed above, chose to see the HM-TS collection and Dominic's collection as the earliest examples of Marian miracle collections with more than a local agenda. For Southern, the origins of this genre, which was to become ever more popular and ever more compendious throughout the Middle Ages, were with these two English collections. Yet Dominic's collection, as Jennings has pointed out, was composed by the Prior of a monastic house dedicated to Mary; a man whose writings are, according to Jennings, 'all centred on Evesham'.⁵⁷ Moreover, Dominic concludes his collection with a

miracle located in Evesham.⁵⁸ While the miracles as a whole have a wide variety of locations, Dominic's collection is in many ways a response to a local interest, even if the collection has more than local interest. The HM-TS collection is, if Southern is correct in his attribution to the younger Anselm, also the product of a circle, if a well-travelled one. William's text is different, and not just because it is larger. William's text represents the true step away from the local collection, because it simply attempts to collect noteworthy miracles, without regard to a particular circle of individuals, or to a particular locality or monastic house. Indeed, William enjoys demonstrating his knowledge of a variety of cities across Europe.⁵⁹ If William fails to mention Dominic as his source, and suppresses the name of the younger Anselm, perhaps this is not, as Carter implies, a deliberate attempt to obscure his use of sources, but a product of the fact that William was by no means solely reliant on these individuals' collections.⁶⁰ William seems, moreover, to be writing a new sort of collection – a collection designed from the start to possess supra-local appeal.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to Mary Swan and Siân Prosser for advice on the structure and content of this article. Penny Eley and Elaine Treharne both gave valuable advice on features of twelfth-century manuscripts. Any errors are, of course, my own.

² There are two modern editions of the text: Peter Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise on the Miracles of the Virgin', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1960); José-María Canal, 'El Libro *De Laudibus et Miraculis Sanctae Mariae* de Guillermo de Malmesbury, O. S. B. († c. 1143)', *Claretianum*, 8 (1968), 71-242.

³ R. W. Southern, 'The English Origins of the "Miracles of the Virgin"', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), 176-216.

⁴ Southern notes especially the collections of Fécamp, Soissons and Laon (p. 178).

⁵ Southern, pp. 183-200.

⁶ Southern, pp. 182-83 and 200-01.

⁷ Southern, p. 201.

⁸ Peter Carter, 'The Historical Content of William of Malmesbury's Miracles of the Virgin Mary', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 127-65 (pp. 137-38).

⁹ Carter, 'Historical Content', pp. 133-36.

¹⁰ Carter, 'Historical Content', p. 138.

¹¹ I have suggested elsewhere that William's account of the death of Julian the Apostate may depend as much on the Pseudo-Amphilochian *Vita Sancti Basilii* as on Dominic's text (Philip Shaw, 'A Dead Killer? Saint Mercurius, Killer of Julian the Apostate, in the Works of William of Malmesbury', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 35 (2004), 1-22, (p. 4)). This miracle will therefore not be discussed in this paper.

¹² The *Paenitentia* has been edited in G. G. Meersseman, 'Kritische Glossen op de Griekse Theophilus-Legende (7^e Eeuw) end haar Latijnse Vertaling (9^e Eeuw)', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België: Klasse der Letteren*, 25:4 (1963), 1-36 (pp. 17-34).

¹³ Meersseman, p. 18 (chapter 5). Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the author's own.

¹⁴ Meersseman, p. 25 (chapter 25).

¹⁵ Stevenson has identified some of the evidence for William's direct use of the *Vita Sanctae Mariae Aegyptiacae* in his account of Mary of Egypt (Jane Stevenson, 'The Holy Sinner: The Life of Mary of Egypt', in *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular*

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Hagiography, ed. by Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 19-50 (pp. 47-48)). William also clearly agrees with Dominic against the *Vita* in a few places.

¹⁶ See Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 523-25.

¹⁷ Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 526-28.

¹⁸ See Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', pp. 201-02.

¹⁹ José-María Canal, 'El Libro "De Miraculis Sanctae Mariae" de Domingo de Evesham (m.c. 1140)', *Studium Legionense*, 39 (1998), 247-83 (pp. 260-61).

²⁰ See *Miracula Sanctae Virginis Mariae*, ed. by Elise F. Dexter, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, 12 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1927), pp. 32-33. This is a convenient, if flawed, edition of a single manuscript of the HM-TS series. The manuscript in question, the first of several bound together as Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Manuscript 147, contains the HM-TS series in more or less its supposed original order, and without the addition of other collections, such as Dominic's *De Miraculis*, as is common in many manuscripts of HM-TS. On palaeographical and art-historical grounds the manuscript has been dated to the first half of the twelfth century (Dexter, pp. 7-9). The small, two-column format of the manuscript, and its distinctive formatting of verse, suggest to the present author that it may have been an insular production. Such formats are not, however, common in the earlier part of the twelfth century, so it is intriguing that Thomson remarks that two manuscripts which can be identified as products of the Malmesbury scriptorium in William's day are small format volumes laid out in two columns (R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), p. 83). Unfortunately, at the time of writing, Special Collections at the University of Chicago Library are undergoing renovation work, and the manuscript is not available for consultation. Given that this may be one of the very earliest manuscripts of HM-TS extant, a new edition, perhaps as part of a wider effort to edit the earliest manuscripts of Marian miracle collections, could prove invaluable.

²¹ Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 526-29.

²² Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 530, suggests that William perhaps misread the word *pusio* ('boy') in his other version of the story in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.

²³ Paschasius Radbertus, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 120, cols 1261-1350 (col. 1299).

²⁴ Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 202.

²⁵ *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998-99), I, 520 (book 3, chapter 286), trans. p. 521.

²⁶ Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 521-22.

²⁷ *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga*, ed. by Edward Meyrick Goulburn and Henry Symonds, 2 vols (Oxford; London: Parker, 1878), II, 30. Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 201.

²⁸ *Life, Letters, and Sermons*, p. 30.

²⁹ Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 201.

³⁰ *Gesta Regum*, I, 520 (book 3, chapter 286), trans. p. 521.

³¹ *Life, Letters and Sermons*, p. 30. Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 201. *Gesta Regum*, I, 520 (book 3, chapter 286).

³² *Life, Letters and Sermons*, p. 30. Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 201. Canal, 'Domingo de Evesham', p. 260.

³³ Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', pp. 201-02. *Life, Letters and Sermons*, p. 30.

³⁴ *Gesta Regum*, I, 520 (book 3, chapter 286), trans. p. 521.

³⁵ *Miracula Sanctae Virginis*, pp. 32-33.

³⁶ Though Herbert's account, as it appears in *Life, Letters and Sermons*, pp. 30-32, only states that Mary was sitting above the altar, and not that she was sitting on a throne: this detail is shared by William and Paschasius alone of the authors discussed here.

³⁷ *Gesta Regum*, I, 536 (book 3, chapter 300), 586-88 (book 4, chapters 338-39), 754 (book 5, chapter 417). *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 52 (London: Longman, 1870), pp. 107-08, 117 and 151-52.

³⁸ Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 142.

³⁹ The term *rogus* is usually used in classical Latin to refer to a funeral pyre (see *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), *sub* *rogus*). A glance at the *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* suggests that it was undergoing a semantic development in twelfth-century Anglo-Latin from use to refer to a 'pile of wood' or a 'beacon', to being used also to refer to ovens. The word-list records two late twelfth-century usages in which the term is used to mean 'limekiln': in the earlier of these two instances, it is paired with the explanatory term *calcis* to create a phrase meaning 'limekiln'. Such phrases represent the early stages of a shift by which *rogus* can come to mean 'oven' on its own (*Word-List*, ed. by R. E. Latham (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), *sub* *rogus*). The *Word-List* notes 1193 as the earliest date of the term used on its own to refer to a limekiln. William's use of *rogus* here, then, may well represent a particularly early instance of this usage of the term in the British Isles.

⁴⁰ *Life, Letters and Sermons*, p. 32.

⁴¹ Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 202.

⁴² *Life, Letters and Sermons*, p. 30.

⁴³ Southern, p. 183.

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- ⁴⁴ Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 365.
- ⁴⁵ Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', II, 364.
- ⁴⁶ *Gesta Regum*, I, 200 (book 2, chapter 127). Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 145.
- ⁴⁷ Carter, 'Historical Content', pp. 140-62.
- ⁴⁸ See, for instance, the discussion of William's addition of material concerning Glastonbury, sometime in the late 1120s or thereafter, in *Gesta Regum*, II, pp. xxvii-xxviii.
- ⁴⁹ Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 145.
- ⁵⁰ *Gesta Regum*, I, 200 (book 2, chapter 127), trans. p. 201.
- ⁵¹ *Gesta Regum*, I, 184 (book 2, chapter 121), trans. p. 185.
- ⁵² Carter, 'William of Malmesbury's Treatise', I, 365.
- ⁵³ *Gesta Regum*, II, pp. xvii-xxii.
- ⁵⁴ For instance, William remarks in closing his work 'inter uincula corporis aegri tutare animam' ('to protect the soul amidst the chains of a sick body'; Canal, 'Guillermo de Malmesbury', p. 235) — a phrase which Canal, in a note to this sentence, treats as evidence that William was unwell, and perhaps near the end of his life, when he finished this work.
- ⁵⁵ Carter, 'Historical Content', pp. 130-31.
- ⁵⁶ J. C. Jennings, 'The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham', *The English Historical Review*, 77:303 (1962), 298-304 (p. 298).
- ⁵⁷ Jennings, p. 298.
- ⁵⁸ Canal, 'Domingo de Evesham', p. 283.
- ⁵⁹ Carter, 'Historical Content', pp. 161-62.
- ⁶⁰ Carter, 'Historical Content', p. 137.

Henry, duke of Lancaster's *Book of Holy Medicines*: The Rhetoric of Knowledge and Devotion¹

Catherine Batt

Guillaume de Lorris, in his earlier thirteenth-century *Roman de la rose*, evoking a garden of love reminiscent of the Earthly Paradise, makes passing mention of the healing properties of pomegranates:

Pomiers i ot, bien m'en sovient,
qui chargoient pomes guernades,
c'est uns fruiz mout bons a malades.²
[I remember well that there were fruit trees
bearing pomegranates,
a fruit extremely good for the sick]

Guillaume's wisdom raises several questions about knowledge and its perception. Would readers have assumed his primary debt was to the rhetorical handbooks of late Latin antiquity – such as Quintilian's – which recommend a particular rhetorical mode of praising a landscape, involving, as Ernst Curtius has said, a process of both 'technicalization' and 'intellectualization'?³ Would the mention of pomegranates' medicinal properties – together with a further remark about how certain spices aid digestion – reflect a scientific knowledge that educated people took for granted, and so capture the goodwill of a sophisticated audience? Or is this flourish designed to stress the poem's 'utility' as well as (even, as part of) its aesthetic charm?

It is difficult to determine the extent of medical knowledge, and among which groups, in the Middle Ages, in part because medical knowledge per se fuses the experiential and the bookish.⁴ At the same time, is clear that a range of documentary channels exists for its dissemination, among them encyclopaedias and other texts that are not evidently professional 'medical' treatises. Moreover, in

its register, medicine brings together social and spiritual matters, on practical and on rhetorical levels, and so writes large the broader questions about how medieval culture views and deploys as 'permeable', and 'shared', what a modern sensibility might think of as discrete and separate categories of knowledge.⁵ Reciprocally, from scripture and the Church Fathers onwards, medical tropes have an expository doctrinal and spiritual function, the most powerful of which is the image of Christ the Physician, who himself provides, through his Passion, the medicine for a sin-stricken humankind.⁶ Bede, in his commentary on Mark's account of Christ's healing of the paralytic, notes that 'we are given to understand' that sins are the cause of many physical illnesses, and that bodily health may be restored once sins are forgiven.⁷ Medical treatises similarly assume that the poor physical condition of an individual may bespeak a moral or spiritual failing; it is not unusual for a medical text to warn that the patient should be confessed before treatment begins, for sin may be at the root of the sickness.⁸ And as Marie-Christine Pouchelle has explored (with specific reference to the work of the fourteenth-century surgeon, Henri de Mondeville), not only may medical and penitential writings share vocabulary and imagery, but the treatment of spiritual and of physical affliction follows similar procedures.⁹ The *Fasciculus Morum*, an early fourteenth-century English Franciscan preaching handbook, explains how confession expels spiritual sickness: sins are 'wounds' that need attention; the process of contrition, confession, and satisfaction are parallel to medical treatments of prophylactic, purgative, and diet.¹⁰ The healing efficacy of medical charms is often predicated on religious belief; a thirteenth-century Latin 'charme for a wounde þat it ake not', for example, exhorts the said wound: 'by the five wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the two breasts of his most Holy Mother', to heal cleanly, without pain, putrefaction, or scarring.¹¹ Carole Rawcliffe's research into the reading matter available in medieval hospitals notes a greater bias towards the spiritual than towards the strictly medical.¹²

Henry, duke of Lancaster's Anglo-Norman devotional treatise, written in 1354, asks to be read within this richly allusive devotional-medical context. It embraces a wealth of colourful explicatory imagery, but its dominant metaphor is that of spiritual sickness and cure; the abject sinner, the narrator, suffers sin-produced wounds, which he describes in some detail. He begs mercy of God, and thanks Christ the Physician who, with his blood, provides the healing balm for the wounds of his wretched human soul. The Virgin Mary, imagined as supportive nurse, reinforces, with her care, the healing Christ undertakes. If it is not possible to recover firm evidence of Henry's ownership of medical texts, the internal

evidence of the treatise alone suggests its author is cultured and medically knowledgeable. A book so dense in allusion that one nineteenth-century librarian catalogued it as a medical text, its very title, the *Livre de Seyntes Medicines* [*Book of Holy Medicines*] arguably plays on Mattheus Platearius's twelfth-century Latin *Liber de Simplici Medicina* (in French, the *Livre des Simples Medicines* [*Book of Simple Medicines*]).¹³ Henry's work intensifies the question of the cultural import and reception of particular encodings of knowledge, and how ostensibly different categories of knowledge interrelate. The *Livre* has no obvious identifiable single source, and appears to draw on a broad range of materials, sophisticated and commonplace, which makes it a key text for investigating how aristocratic lay spirituality constitutes and articulates itself in late-medieval England. Henry's medical knowledge constitutes an important aspect of his cultural and devotional background, and also shapes his devotions.

Henry's editor, E. J. Arnould, suggests that the writer's medical knowledge is 'popular' rather than specialist, embellished with details drawn from his personal experience.¹⁴ A division between 'lay' and 'professional' medical knowledge and practice is perhaps not straightforward, and Arnould also underplays Henry's integral imbrication of religious trope and medical language. There are many examples from the *Livre* of forms of expression and register that (if startling to us) find parallels in both devotional and medical texts. An example is the exposition of theriac, a powerful medieval medicine used primarily as an antidote, which works by driving out one poison by means of another.¹⁵ Henry's account explains how theriac made with a scorpion is especially potent against that animal's sting, and how preachers, analogously, incorporate mention of the devil into their teaching, the better to work against his capacity for poisoning with his temptation to sin. However, if a patient is severely poisoned, theriac risks reverting to its poisonous state, and so the patient is twice envenomed: 'I am so invaded by poison that the theriac cannot help me, and only through God's grace will I expel from my body the spiritual sloth that prevents me from making a good confession' (p. 58). While mention of scorpions (rather less common in England than is the devil, Henry notes) might convey personal experience, or knowledge of a text such as Bartholomew the Englishman's encyclopaedia,¹⁶ Laurent d'Orleans' *Somme le roi* of 1279 (which in turn is drawing on Guillelmus Peraldus's writings on vices and virtues) already exploits the properties of theriac, in a spiritual simile. The recalcitrance of a sinner overcome with pride, resistant to instruction and discipline, is likened to the patient so sick that any medicine turns to poison within him [a qi touz triacles tourne en venin].¹⁷

Henry's medical imagery arguably keeps in check the allusive and otherwise loosely connected metaphors of his treatise as a whole. In Mary Douglas's elegant formulation: 'The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system';¹⁸ Henry's wounded body both generates and controls his articulation of sinfulness, and while he makes it simultaneously the place for an intensified awareness of human abjection and the possibility of salvation, he also imparts a spiritual intensity to the technical knowledge he marshals. Preoccupied as Henry is with his body as site of sin, and with the expository potential of the physical in general, some of the material on which he draws would not seem out of place in books of household management, and regimens for general health, as well as recipe-books and medical treatises. So, for example, a discussion of the healing value of Mary's tears hinges on a recipe for rosewater, which, Henry observes, has a cooling effect on a feverish patient. His explanation of how, having threaded rose petals on string, one can make rosewater either by the heat of the fire or by the heat of the sun, follows the same method for distillation as the *Menagier de Paris* touches on, in much the same language, later in the century.¹⁹ This becomes the basis for spiritual exposition of how the 'roses' of Christ's wounds will distil into the grief of Mary's tears:

j'ai dit devant qe homme prent de roses [. . .] et les mette
homme sur un fil, qelles sont celles rouges roses? Ces sont
les hidouses et senglantes plaies de Jesus, qe feurent tout
mys sur un fil – c'estoit le fil Seinte Marie qe vous, douce
Dame Seinte Marie, par la grande humilité qe en vous estoit,
ceo douz fil en vos douz flanes doucement filastes. Mes qi
afile celles rouges roses sur le fil blank? Ceo estoymes nous,
peccheours [. . .]. (pp. 150-51).

[I said above that a man will take roses [. . .] and a man will
put them on a thread; what are those red roses? They are the
hideous and bleeding wounds of Jesus, which were all put
on one thread – this was the son of Holy Mary, the sweet
thread which you, sweet Lady Holy Mary, sweetly span in
your sweet womb, in your great humility. But who threaded
those red roses on the white thread? It was us, sinners.]

This account involves a pun on 'thread'/'son' [fil/s] and the act of spinning [filastes] that English cannot fully reproduce, as connectives to link his extraordinary conceit that acts to endorse this metaphorical representation of Christ and the Virgin Mary. In this extract, the pun works to legitimise the metaphorical reading of the scientific process; technical and devotional 'knowledges' appear mutually valorising.

Henry claims experiential knowledge (p. 199) for his assertion of the cooling properties of pomegranates, which correlates with Bartholomew's account of the fruit, that it: 'abateþ þe hete of feueres and [. . .] restoreþ wonderliche'.²⁰ He likens himself to a man sick with 'a feverish pleasure in sin', for whom Christ's scourged body, which has the appearance of a pomegranate, so closely packed together are the wounds, offers the means to quench his thirst (pp. 200-01). Other imagery recalls and confirms the knowledge of the herbal. So, for example, Henry's mention of how people drink goat's milk in May (when the goat has eaten powerful herbs) as preventive medicine – this in the context of his request for milk from the Virgin Mary (p. 135) – echoes medical recommendation of spring-time herbs as particularly efficacious.²¹ Some of the most arresting images concern Christ's sacrifice. An apparently well-known cure for delirium is to kill a cockerel, disembowel it, and place it immediately, blood still hot, feathers and all, on the head of the patient: Henry declares himself the delirious wretch who needs the 'cockerel' of the crucified and bloodied Christ, as covered with wounds as a bird is with feathers: 'il me covenera prendre cel cook ensi appareillé et mettre sur ma fieble teste, pur conforter les espritz, et les sens de la teste mettre a poynt' [I need to take this cockerel, thus prepared, and place it on my weak head, to lift my spirits, and to put me in my right mind] (pp. 162-63). The fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman *Euporiston* offers a parallel to this in recommending, for the treatment of 'frensy', a freshly disembowelled cockerel (or, failing that, a sheep lung).²² But where the medical text offers the cockerel cure as part of a list of possible remedies, in the *Livre* it initiates an allusive, metaphorically impelled meditation on Christ as our cockerel, who leads us from darkness to dawn, and who has triumphed over sin, the devil, and death. The thought that one has to kill the cockerel to make his medicine efficacious brings the sinner back to the memory of Christ's passion and the importance of the salvific blood of his wounds, which is all that can heal the sinner's soul. A classic recipe for chicken soup, necessary food for the convalescent/sinner (pp. 194-95) achieves a similar effect, the capon shut up in a bain-marie a metaphor for the Incarnation, the yielding of nutritious juices through cooking compared to the 'sweat like blood'

Christ exudes in the Garden of Gethsemane.²³ The ordinary is transformed into the extraordinary, human knowledge expanded into divine knowledge, by means of meditation and faith.

In the *Roman*, mention of pomegranates may well witness to writing within an identifiable rhetorical tradition and simultaneously be refamiliarising the audience with a practical application. Henry, in his treatise, certainly seems to depend on a reader's recognising the secular wisdom (and its registers) that form part of his detailed descriptions, to reinforce the epistemological frameworks already familiar from devotional material. His innovation lies in the exhaustive detail with which he describes, and then investigates, his imagery. Henry's model of his own body, however, which he continually insists is breachable and permeable, rendered integral only by Christ the Physician, perhaps ultimately impedes higher spiritual progress; that is, the treatise seems to stop short of being a full autobiography of spiritual development because, although it notes the importance of individual volition, and of human contrition, and of returning human love for divine love, the deployment of its metaphors emphasises divine mercy, rather than the active exercise of virtue, as primarily reconstitutive of human wholeness. The appropriation of knowledge from encyclopaedias, recipe-books, and herbals is part of the process of Henry's spiritual engagement. In so far as Henry can incorporate elements of his knowledge of natural and medical science into his spiritual exposition, his book witnesses to the recuperability, mutual validation, and intercalatedness of human knowledge in general, making it integral of itself, and consciously part of a Christian belief system eager to find confirmation in the physical and the material. In so far as all of this information, in Henry's metaphorical programme, may itself work to confirm Henry's abject sinfulness, it delineates the reach and the limits of Henry's uses of his own spiritual awareness and scientific knowledge.

NOTES

¹ This is a revision of a paper delivered at a session of the 2005 Leeds International Congress, a forum for intellectual discussion that Joyce Hill worked so hard to establish, support, and promote.

² Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la rose*, ed. by Félix Lecoy, 3 vols (Paris: Champion, 1973-82), I, II. 1328-30.

³ Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 183-202 (p. 193). Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. by H. E. Butler, 4 vols (London: Heinemann, 1921), I, Book III, 7, 27 (p. 479), notes that one may praise places for their 'beauty and utility; [. . .] utility in healthy or fertile localities [. . .] things of every kind may be praised [. . .] physicians have written eulogies on certain kinds of food'.

⁴ See further, Monica H. Green, 'Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages', *Dynamis*, 20 (2000), 331-69, on medieval women's relative lack of access to 'formal medical literature', and the need to look 'beyond the written word' to attempt to assess the extent of their knowledge (p. 360).

⁵ Linda Ehrsam Voigts, in an account of medical and scientific writings in Middle English, notes the extent to which elements of what we think of as Fachliteratur can be manifest in diverse writings which would not necessarily be regarded, either then or now, as 'scientific': 'Scientific and Medical Books', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 344-402.

⁶ See Rudolph Arbesmann, 'The Concept of "Christus Medicus" in St. Augustine', *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 1-28.

⁷ 'In Marci evangelium expositio', *Patrologia Latina*, 92, col. 148b.

⁸ See, for example, the Anglo-Norman and Old French translations of the *De instructione medici*, in *Anglo-Norman Medicine: II*, ed. by Tony Hunt (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 21, 59.

⁹ Marie-Christine Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Rosemary Morris (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 55: 'the doctor and the confessor are, from a structural point of view, in exactly the same position relative to those in their care' (p. 55), and p. 227, notes 43 and 45.

¹⁰ *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. by Siegfried Wenzel (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), pp. 597, 465.

¹¹ British Library, MS Sloane 962, fol. 63r; Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), p. 95.

¹² Carole Rawcliffe, 'Written in the Book of Life: Building the Libraries of Medieval English Hospitals and Almshouses', *The Library*, 7th Series, 3:2 (2002), 127-62: 'The quest for salvation [. . .] predominated' (p. 139).

¹³ See Jeanne Krochalis and Ruth J. Dean's account of the text's cataloguing: 'Henry of Lancaster's *Livre de Seyntz Medicines*: New Fragments of an Anglo-Norman Work', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 18 (1973-74), 87-94 (p. 90).

¹⁴ E. J. Arnould, *Étude sur le 'Livre des Saintes Médecines' du duc Henri de Lancastre* (Paris: Didier, 1948), p. lxxx. The study contains extracts: Arnould edited the full text as *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940). References are to this edition, by page number, in the body of the essay. Translations are my own.

¹⁵ Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 152-55. For Langland's deployment of theriac, see Roseanne Gasse, 'The Practice of Medicine in *Piers Plowman*', *Chaucer Review*, 39.2 (2004), 177-97.

¹⁶ *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus 'De Proprietatibus Rerum'*, ed. by M. C. Seymour, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975-88), I, 434, explains that scorpion is the best antidote to scorpion sting.

¹⁷ British Library, Additional MS 28162, fol. 17r.

¹⁸ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Ark, 1984), p. 115.

¹⁹ *Le Menagier de Paris*, ed. by Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 272-73.

²⁰ *On the Properties of Things*, II, 990.

²¹ Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 77.

²² *Euperiston*, in: Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine: II*, pp. 139-40.

²³ For chicken soup as convalescent food, see Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 188-89.

Two English-Language Documents from Pre-Dissolution Marrick Priory, North Yorkshire

Oliver Pickering

Marrick Priory, on the banks of the River Swale a few miles west of Richmond in the old North Riding, was one of the small and impoverished Yorkshire nunneries that struggled through the later Middle Ages to the Dissolution.¹ Founded in the 1150s, it had a community of thirteen Benedictine nuns when it was surrendered to the authorities in September 1539.² Two documents in English from amongst its surviving archives, both to be dated within the last fifty years of its life, testify in different ways to its need, perceived and actual, to protect its property and privileges. They are also of obvious linguistic interest, being so precisely localized. We have no way of knowing whether the two different scribal hands represented in them belong to members of the female community, or to one of the nuns' employed male servants, such as their steward, or to a chaplain.³ The only surviving evidence of intellectual interests at the nunnery appears to be the illuminated copy of the English translation of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* donated to it by Dame Agnes Radcliffe c. 1500.⁴

The principal sources for the pre-Dissolution history of Marrick Priory are found among the collections of Marrick estate documents held in Hull University Library and Leeds University Library. As is common for medieval English nunneries, the sources are few in number, and the only Marrick document to have been studied in detail is a set of accounts for 1415-16, which forms the main focus of John Tillotson's history of the priory.⁵ On the basis of these accounts, of some later surviving rentals, and of comparative evidence from other nunneries, Tillotson discusses the nature of Marrick's income and expenditure, its domestic organization, and the standard of living of the nuns, concluding that 'the impression left by the accounts is of an economy dependent on careful management of barely adequate resources' and that 'nothing [. . .] would suggest anything other than a very modest household by contemporary upper-class

standards'.⁶ He establishes earlier that Marrick seems never to have attracted patronage in the form of substantial grants of land, and remained set within its restricted local community.⁷ However, Tillotson provides little information about the later history of the priory, in the years leading up to the Dissolution, and says nothing about its post-Dissolution relationship with its immediate landowning neighbours, the subject of unpublished research by Sarah Costley.⁸

Judging by the surviving late-medieval documents in the Leeds collection, difficulties with neighbouring landowners formed one of the priory's principal concerns during the thirty years before its surrender to the king's commissioners in 1539. It had been founded by a Richmondshire knight, Roger de Aske, and the Askes remained patrons until the death of William Aske (and with him the failure of the male line) in 1512. William Aske, in his will, divided the neighbouring manor of Marrick between his two granddaughters Anne and Elizabeth, conditional on their marrying into local families.⁹ Anne (who received two-thirds) married Sir Ralph Bulmer, and it is Bulmer's actions, as effective lord of the manor, which stand out as of great concern to the priory, as is clear from the second document, below, and from later-sixteenth-century versions of the same material.

The first English-language document to be discussed (Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/7) is, however, of more general content, although, being an imprecation or 'sentence of cursing', it can be read as a premonition of difficulties to come. It is written on one side of a narrow piece of paper of vertical orientation (405 x 130 mm) in a confident and rather angular secretary hand of the Tudor period, and can broadly be dated c. 1500. In content it severely warns that no one trouble the monastery or deprive it of its possessions, on pain of excommunication and the possibility of damnation at the Day of Judgement. Conversely those who assist the monastery are promised spiritual and eternal reward. The status of the document is hard to determine. It begins as if a continuation of something now lost ('Overmor'; 'þe beforseyd monestere'), but the initial capital of 'Overmor', in size and decoration, clearly marks the beginning of at least a new section. Marrick is not named, and the general nature of the imprecation, together with the use of the terms 'monestere' and 'my bull' and the reference to the 'cowrtt off Rome', makes it likely that this is a standard form of curse, issued by the Pope or his agents for the use of religious houses that felt the need to protect themselves against powerful potential predators, and here rendered into English. It bears some similarities to the 'sentence of cursing' often found in manuscripts containing Middle English prose,¹⁰ but the examples of this

genre so far recorded do not appear to concern, as here, the protection of a religious house. Instead they typically take the form of a parish priest warning the laity about a far wider range of misdemeanours leading to excommunication.

In the version of the text that follows I have modernized punctuation, capitalization, word division, and paragraphing, and silently expanded suspensions and contractions; ampersand has been used to render the Tironian symbol for 'and'. The letters y and 'thorn' often take the same graphic form, as is usual in late-medieval northern English texts, but I have distinguished them here according to their phonetic value. Apparently otiose strokes through or at the end of letters are ignored. Emendations are enclosed within square brackets. Explanatory and textual notes follow the transcription.

Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/7

Overmor we commande on all wysse þat itt be noght leffull vnto no
man for to dises ne dystrubell þe beforsayd monestere, ne to take
fra þam þar possescyones ne þar gudes, ne to hald þam fra þam,
ne to lesse þam, ne to vex ne to trubell þam, ne to harm þam,
bott alle þar gudes be to þam saffyd & kepyd hayll & sownde. 5
For to thar governaunce & sustynaunce þay ar gyffen, and onto þar
vsse in thym endless to cum, saffand þe right and þe actorite that
falles to the cowrtt off Rome and þe lauffull ryght off þe dyosys,
þat is off þe byschope and off þe ersdeken.

Wherffor whatsoeuer he be in tym commynge, man off haly 10
ky[r]ke or seculer man, þat wyttandly & wyfully dar take on hym
folely to do oghtt agaynes my bull: oons and twysse & þe third thym
[he schall be] ammonysched; bott yff he amendes hys presumpcyon
(þat is hys mystakynge), he schall be depravyd off the dignyte off hys
powre and off his hous. And weytt he well, for hys wykkednes 15
that he has don he schall be gylty in þe domme off God and putt
away fra þe most hallyest sacramentt off þe body & þe blode off
our lorde God & our agaynebyere Jhesu Crist, and to be putte vnto þe
straytte vengauce in hys laste examynyng.

Morover, in contrare maner, vnto all thos that be keband, 20
helpand & supportand þe ryght off þe housse [b]e gyffyn the pese
and þe blessynge off owr lord Jhesu Criste, swa þat þay may ressayff

and take þe froyte off gud werkes in thys world and befor þe strayte
juge ffynde þay and take þe medes ande the rewardes off euerlastynge
pesse. Amenn etc etc.

25

Textual Notes

7. *thym*, i.e. time. 9. *ersdeken*, i.e. archdeacon. 11. *ky[r]ke*] *kyke* MS. 13. *he schall be*] not present MS, supplied editorially. 14. *depravyd*, i.e. deprived.
18. *agaynebyere*, i.e. again-buyer, redeemer. 21. *[b]e*] *he* MS.

In contrast, the second English-language document (Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/10) was undoubtedly prepared by the nunnery itself, or by a legal representative of the prioress. It is headed 'Memorandum þat þes be þe artykylles off wronges þat be done to God & owr lady & Scant Andro off Marryke', and lists a series of ten specific grievances against 'þe lord off þe town'. In this case the text continues on to the upper part of the second side of a single paper leaf (205 x 145 mm), and is written in two less angular hands of apparently later date than that of document 2/7. Although at first written with some care, with each item beginning on a fresh line and a sequence of corresponding arabic numerals in the left-hand margin, the document is probably a draft and not a final, formal presentation of the case. Items 7-10 appear to be the work of a second, less careful scribe, and the writing becomes particularly compressed on the second page, the text eventually tailing off in some confusion, quite possibly unfinished.

Fortunately assistance with elucidation is provided by a number of other Marrick documents, of post-Dissolution date, for this is a tale not of one conflict but of two. In 1545 John Uvedale, a leading government administrator and the royal commissioner who had taken the surrender of the priory in 1539, purchased the whole estate, leaving it, at his death in 1549, to his son and heir, Avery Uvedale, who died in 1583.¹¹ Meanwhile the manor of Marrick had passed, by 1559, to Sir Ralph Bulmer's daughter Dorothy and thus into the control of her husband John Sayer, who died in 1584. Sayer renewed his late father-in-law's attempts to constrain the privileges enjoyed by the priory estate, to the extent that Avery Uvedale, needing to defend his rights, assembled what earlier documents he could, and copied them out in his own hand. Certain of these copied

documents survive in the Marrick archive at Leeds, all probably to be dated to the 1560s or 1570s.¹²

The most important for the present purpose (though it is physically defective and possibly unfinished) is 3/1/49, headed 'Articles of wronges doone by Sir Raff Bulmer of Marrike knight in the right of dame Anne his wiff against dame Isabell Barningham priores and the nonnes of Marrike'. Uvedale here not only transcribes the articles of wrongs from a document very close in wording to 2/10 (perhaps the eventual fair copy, no longer extant), but in every case supplies detailed contextual information, usually longer than the article itself, about how the point of contention was resolved and how the situation then continued. From this it emerges that a settlement of the original dispute was partly due to the intervention, apparently on the nuns' side, of a Mr Robert Bowes, very likely either the husband of Sir Ralph Bulmer's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Aske, or this husband's brother.¹³ The 'answer' to the first article also dates its resolution to 1526-27 ('this claime of the saide Sir Raff Bulmer was determinede by Mr Robert Bowes esquier and others abowt the xvij yeare of king henrye the viij'), evidence that the first dispute between the priory and Sir Ralph can be dated to the earlier or mid-1520s, which may therefore give an approximate date for document 2/10. The original of 3/1/49 must have been written no later than 1530, the year of death of the prioress Isabell Barningham named in the heading.¹⁴

The two other documents in Avery Uvedale's hand, now 3/1/40 and 3/1/45 in the Leeds collection, are of a different nature but go over the same ground. Instead of being written in the first person plural (e.g. 'we can nott haue no resonabyll way', 2/10), the phrasing is now formally in the third person (e.g. 'whether the saide priores owght to haue a reasonable waie', 3/1/40), suggesting that the two documents may originally have been drawn up by a lawyer. The text in 3/1/45 ('Articles of variance betwixte Sir Ra[l]ph Bulmer and my ladye priores of marrigge abbaye'), which has been crossed through, perhaps by Uvedale when he realised its lack of value, looks to be a first draft at what became 3/1/40: the order of items is close to that in 2/10, and no commentary on the points at issue is yet provided. In contrast 3/1/40 is a lengthy document listing twelve grievances in a decidedly new order, and each is furnished with an 'answer' that at times matches the wording of the comments in 3/1/49. However, there is no mention now of the original dispute having been settled with the help of Mr Robert Bowes and others, and the heading to 3/1/40 ('Articles to be commonide [*i.e. debated*] betwixte Sir Raff Bulmer and mi ladie prioress and the Covent of Marrigge anno .27. Henrici octau[i]) seems to establish that the dispute between the priory and Sir

Ralph Bulmer had flared up again, in 1535-36. But given that there is no reference to a renewed dispute in the commentary supplied by Uvedale in 3/1/49, it may be that '27' in this heading is a scribal slip for '17', i.e. 1525/26. The only textual evidence within 3/1/40 for a date in the 1530s is the phrasing under point 2, 'and the priores encloside another close which her succes[sor] occupiethe to this daie', which would seem to refer to Marrick's final prioress, Christabel Cowper, unless Avery Uvedale (who elsewhere in 3/1/40 refers to the Dissolution as having taken place) is here referring to himself.

I now print the text of document 2/10, using the same transcriptional conventions as in 2/7. Emendations made on the basis of document 3/1/49 are enclosed within square brackets. The notes that follow detail the relationship between the two documents at these and other points.

Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/10

[*recto*] Memorandum þat þes be þe artykylles off wronges þat be done to God & owr lady & Scant Andro off Marryke.

[1] In primis þe lord off þe town doth mercy vs for apperance in hys cowrt as hys frehold, þe wych we deny.

[2] Item he hath inclossyd a grett parte off the more þe wych we clame enter commone in, & itt lay opyn euer more, ne sufer vs to gitt no eldyng nor no lyng to owr husys.

[3] Item he wyll pay no tende att þe Schaw ffor intakes þat ys latly inclossyd, ne latt hys tennandes pay none, in pane of loseying of þar farmoldes.

[4] Item we can nott haue no resonabyll way to bryng Godes partt fro þe towne feld bott to pay þerfore euery yere.

[5] Item because we wold nott pay mercymennt for þe aftercrope off a certyn grownd callyd þe Pykalles, þe wich we haue þe ouercrope & schold haue þe after, þe last yere he toke an ox to strys, & thys yere he causyd all þe towne cattyll to be put þerin.

[6] Item he wyll pay vs no tende off þe mylne þe wich we haue a specyall grantt off by owr fyrst fownder.

[7] Item yf þer be ony þat mak ony vareans within owr presynkes he wyll nedes haue þe fray [ne suffer vs to haue no stokes within owr self, wherin

we rekkyn þat he dothe vs wrong, for as we trist by owr fyrst ded of gyft þat we ar mayd fre within owrselff].

[8] Item he wyll nott sufer vs to haue no fold to fold þe cattyll þat cumys into owr feld, bott says we schall haue þam to þe towne fold; moreouer he says yff we oppyn ony grownd we schall not haue þe ovre.

[*verso*] [9] Item he hase comma[n]dyd stratly, yff ony of owr gudes cum in þe newe close þat he hase latly inclosyd, þat euere hed schal pay iiijd.

[10] Item a rayn callyd Browdles wych we haue had euer more in pessabyll possesscyoun onto a laytt tyme [and the mill vnder owr howse at marrike], þe wych þe tennandes hathe put vp in þe lordes cowrtt for þe lordes tenement & so hath takyn yt fro vs.

Textual Notes

Explanatory notes (mainly lexical) are in each case placed first, and textual notes (mainly variant readings), second. MED refers to the *Middle English Dictionary*, which is used as the primary point of reference; OED refers to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

[Heading]

Scant Andro, i.e. St Andrew, to whom the priory church was dedicated.

3/1/49 adds *as folowithe* at the end. As noted earlier, it also has the overall heading, *Articles of wronges doone by Sir Raff Bulmer of Marrike knight in the right of dame Anne his wiff against dame Isabell Barningham prioress and the nonnes of Marrike*.

[1]

mercy vs for apperance in hys cowrt as hys frehold, apparently 'levy a fine to make us attend his (manorial) court as he claims is his freehold right' (MED *mercien* v. (2)). The commentary in 3/1/49 maintains that the prioress was not liable to attend because she kept her own court. 3/1/40 says that the prioress was a tenant by free alms, i.e. by divine service (cf. MED *almes*(*se* n. 5).

þe lord off þe town] Sir Raff Bulmer 3/1/49.

[2]

enter commone, i.e. common rights over the entire area. *eldyng*: fuel (MED *elding* n.). *lyng*: ling, the heather, also used as a fuel.

Item he] Item the saide Sir Raff Bulmer 3/1/49. *enter commone in*] additional *in* inserted above the line after *enter* 2/10; *entire comon in* 3/1/49, but with *entire*

crossed through and *interest as tenantes in* inserted above the line. *ne sufer vs*] *sufer vs* inserted above the line 2/10, *ne he will not suffer hus* 3/1/49. (With the shorthand syntax of *ne sufer vs*, cf. the same phrase in [7] below. In both cases 3/1/49 has longer, more 'correct' phrasing.) *nor no lyng*] *anye more apon the moore nor pull ling* 3/1/49.

[3]

tende: tithe (MED *tenth(e num. 2 (b))*). *att þe Schaw*: the Shaw, a local farmhouse, was where the manorial courts were held (I owe this information to Sarah Costley). *intakes*: MED *intak n.*, a piece of land taken in from a moor or common. *farmoldes*: see MED *ferme n. (2), 1 (c)*, 'a tract of leased or rented land'.

[4]

Godes partt: apparently 'portion due to God', i.e. tithe, though the phrase is not recorded in MED or OED. Cf. 3/1/40, *a reasonable waie to carrie her tithe corne from the towne fieldes*.

[5]

mercymenntt: a fine (MED *merciment*). *aftercrope*: the second or later crop (produce) of a piece of land (OED *aftercrop*; not in MED). *ouercrope*: surplus crop? Not recorded in MED, and not in OED except in the sense of an excessive crop. *to strys*, i.e. as a distraint (MED *stres(se n., 4)*; the phrase 'to stress' is not recorded there).

mercymenntt] *no merciamentis* 3/1/49. *þerin*] in 3/1/49.

[6]

This item does not occur in 3/1/49 or 3/1/45, but is present in 3/1/40.

[7]

Items [7] and [8] are reversed in 3/1/49.

vareans: quarrel (MED *variaunce n., 4*), here seemingly in the sense of brawl. *haue þe fray*, apparently, take over the punishment of the affray (the phrase is not in MED or OED). *stokes*: stocks.

vareans] *fraye or varians* 3/1/49. *ne suffer vs to haue no stokes within owr self* [. . .] *þat we ar mayd fre within owrselff*] 2/10 places *ne suffer vs to haue no stokes within owr self* at the end of this block of text; the adopted word order is that of 3/1/49.

[8]

to fold, i.e. in which to pen (MED *folden v. (1)*). *oppyn ony grownd*, i.e. dig into any piece of ground (for the purpose of extracting minerals). *ovre*: ore.

feld] *grownde* 3/1/49. *says (1)*] *sayethe that* 3/1/49. *says (2)*] *sayes that* 3/1/49. *we schall not*] *he* before *we* crossed through 2/10.

[9]

stratly: strictly, rigorously (MED *streitly* adv., 3 (b)). *gudes*: livestock (OED *good* sb., C, 7e; cf. MED *god* n. (2), 12 (b)). *hed*, i.e. *headde of cattaile* (3/1/45). *comma[n]dyd* *n* after *a* not indicated 2/10, *commawndide* 3/1/49. *latly inclosyd*] *encloside latelye* 3/1/49. *iiijd*] reading uncertain 2/10, *xijd* 3/1/49, *iiijd* 3/1/40, 3/1/45.

[10]

This item occurs as item [6] in 3/1/49.

Item: in this case to be understood as, 'Another thing there is a dispute about is [. . .]', because an ungrammatical sentence follows. *rayn*: a strip of land forming a boundary (MED *rein* n. (2)). *put vp* [. . .] *for þe lordes tenement*: seemingly, (successfully) petitioned that it is the lord's freehold (MED *putten* v., 26 (b); *tenement* n. (a)).

euer more] *more* uncertain 2/10, *alwayes* 3/1/49. *a laytt tyme*] *of late time* 3/1/49. *and the mill* [. . .] *at marrike*] not present 2/10, supplied from 3/1/49. (Much of Avery Uvedale's commentary in 3/1/49 concerns the mill, and it seems likely that the clause has been accidentally omitted from 2/10.) *for þe lordes tenement*] in 2/10 written directly below *cowrtt & so hath*, apparently to be read as an insertion after *cowrtt*; in 3/1/49 the phrase is placed at the end of the sentence, after *fro* vs.

The northern character of the two documents printed here is readily apparent from their phonological and morphological forms, as well as from their orthography and lexis.¹⁵ The combination of *þay*, *þam* and *þar* for 'they', 'them', and 'their' alongside *gud(es)* 'goods', *fra* 'from', *swa* 'so', and *haly* / *hallyest* 'holy' / 'holiest' is sufficient to place the language of document 2/7 north of a line running from north Lancashire to the Humber (and tends to confirm a date of not later than c. 1500). The assemblage of forms for those items recorded in the *Linguistic Atlas of Later Mediaeval English* would not, however, allow a closer 'fit' than this were the local origins of the document unknown;¹⁶ but there is nothing in it that is not consistent with a localization in the Marrick area. Other typically northern forms and spellings include *noght* 'not', *ne* 'nor', *bott* 'but', *agaynes* 'against', and present participles ending in *-and*; spellings with internal *-f(f)-* such as *gyffen* 'given' and *saffand* 'saving' may also be noted.

Document 2/10 has fewer phonological and morphological forms characteristic of northern England, no doubt partly because of its seeming later date. Thus we find *nott* rather than *noght* and *fro* rather than *fra*; third-person

present-tense verbal endings in -s and in -th sit alongside each other, but the plural form *hathe* in item [10] is likely to be an erroneous hypercorrection to a presumed standard, typical of sixteenth-century northern scribes (cf., in contrast, northern *cumys* in item [8]). However, 2/10, because of its much more specific subject-matter, contains examples of distinctive northern vocabulary, most obviously *elding*, *ling* and *rayn* (all from Old Norse), *intakes*, *tende*, and probably *gudes* in the sense of livestock.

NOTES

¹ For the pre-Dissolution history of the priory, see especially John H. Tillotson, *Marrick Priory: A Nunnery in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, Borthwick Papers, 75 (York: Borthwick Institute, 1989).

² Tillotson, p. 3, drawing on *Yorkshire Monasteries: Suppression Papers*, ed. by John Wm. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 48 ([Leeds]: [printed for the Society], 1912), p. 134. For a recent note on the surrender, with a list of the nuns and their pensions, see Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 150 ([Leeds]: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1995), pp. 525-28. The most recent account of the foundation of the priory is in Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire: 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 129, 140-42.

³ Tillotson prints an account roll dating from 1415-16 (Hull University Library, DDCA 2/29/108) – approximately a century earlier – but although it comprises the accounts of three female office-holders, it is most unlikely to have been written by any of them; see V. M. O'Mara, 'Female Scribal Ability and Scribal Activity in Late Medieval England: The Evidence?', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 27 (1996), 87-130 (p. 103, mentioning this case). Tillotson discusses the priory's servants in 1415-16 on pp. 13-14.

⁴ The manuscript in question, which has been dated c. 1430, is now New York Public Library, Spencer 19. See *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 129; Tillotson, p. 43 (n. 95); and Mary C. Erler, 'Exchange of Books between Nuns and Laywomen: Three Surviving Examples', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 360-73 (pp. 362-64).

⁵ See n. 3 above. Many of the documents from the collection now in Hull, together with five of those now at Leeds, were printed by 'T. S.' (T. Stapleton?) under the title 'Ground Plan and Charters of St Andrew's Priory in the Parish of Marrigg, North Riding, Co. Ebor', in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ed. by John Gough Nichols, 8 vols (London: Nichols, 1834-43), v (1838), 100-24 and 221-59. The accounts published by Tillotson and the two documents now printed here, from the Leeds collection, were not amongst them. For a recent summary of the surviving records from pre-Dissolution Marrick, see Nigel Ramsay and Maureen Jurkowski, 'Medieval English Monasticism: The Records', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 5 (1999), 43-53 (pp. 48-53). Certain of the twelfth-century charters were printed in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. by Charles Travis Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society,

Record Series, extra series 1-2, 12 vols ([Leeds]: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935-36), iv-v: *The Honour of Richmond*, pts 1-2.

⁶ Tillotson, pp. 12-13.

⁷ Tillotson, p. 7. But, on the plus side, Tillotson shows that the priory apparently made larger than usual charitable donations, and experienced no disciplinary problems.

⁸ I am grateful to Sarah Costley (York City Archives) for sharing the results of her work with me, and assisting with the interpretation of the historical background.

⁹ See *Victoria County History: Yorkshire North Riding*, ed. by William Page, 2 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1914-23), i, 98.

¹⁰ For an initial survey of manuscripts, see O. S. Pickering, 'Notes on the Sentence of Cursing in Middle English: Or, A Case for the *Index of Middle English Prose*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 12: *Essays in Honour of A. C. Cawley* (1981), 229-44. For a survey of manuscripts noted subsequently, see Niamh Pattwell, 'A Sentence of Cursing in Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 285', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 35 (2004), 121-36 (pp. 122-23).

¹¹ For a detailed account of Uvedale's career, and some information about his son, see J. D. Alsop, 'Uvedale, John (d. 1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹² The complexity of the interlocking land-holdings of the two sides is well brought out in the crown lease of 6 June 1542 by which John Uvedale first took possession of the priory estate, now Hull University Library, DDCA2/29/122. After a long list of separate parcels of land, the document continues: 'etiam [. . .] omnia terras tenementa prata et pasture infra villam et campos de Marryke predict' *que iacent in diuersis locis insimul inter terras Radulphi Bulmer militis et domine Anne uxoris sue* (my italics). I am grateful to Helen Roberts of Hull University Library for supplying me with a copy of this lease.

¹³ See *VCH North Riding*, i, 98: William Aske's will left 'one-third of the manor on a marriage to be made between [his daughter] Elizabeth and Richard, or in default Robert, son of Sir Ralph Bowes'.

¹⁴ For a list of prioresses, see *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, v, 259. Isabella Berningham (as she is there called) became prioress in 1511. She was succeeded by Christabel Cowper, the prioress who surrendered Marrick to John Uvedale.

¹⁵ For assistance with what follows I am indebted to the kindness and expertise of Margaret Laing and Derek Britton of the Department of English Language in the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁶ Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).

Some Notes on the Amesbury Psalter Crucifixion (All Souls College, Oxford, MS 6)

Peter Meredith

Unresolved observations about a mid-thirteenth century psalter may seem an odd choice of subject as an offering for a resolute Anglo-Saxonist, but my latter struggles with the psalter and my acquaintance with Joyce Hill are almost co-terminous, and it would be good to end the struggles and concentrate on the friendship. So here's to an end to one and a continuation of the other!

One of the most startling effects in the illumination of the Amesbury Psalter (All Souls College, Oxford, MS 6) is the contrast on the Crucifixion page (fol. 3/5) between the painting of Christ's body and that of the cross on which he hangs (Plate 1).¹ Christ's body is modelled in brown and heavily outlined and anatomised in black. His forehead is bound with what is perhaps best described as a matt green band, his head is backed by a gold cross-halo, and the lower part of his body is covered with a rich blue garment with a border of gold and lined with orange. From his forehead, hands, feet and right side run stylised trickles of blood. The whole effect (with the exception of the green band) is rich and precise. By contrast, the cut-branch cross on which he hangs (set against a reddish cross-shaped panel), is a blank matt pale green, outlined in black and with orange on the cut-branch stubs as the only additional colour.

There is no doubt about the effectiveness of the contrast, but considerable doubt about whether it is what the artist intended. If one looks closely at the cross it is immediately clear that, except for those from Christ's side which flow straight on to the reddish background cross, the trickles of blood from Christ's wounds are interrupted by the green cut-branch cross, but continue once they are beyond it. The blood from Christ's right hand re-appears first on the black outline of the cross, then at one point crosses the orange of a branch stub, and finally flows over the reddish background cross and onto the gold background. The same is broadly

true of the left hand, though there is no branch stub. At his feet the effect is most marked since there is a large gap between the blood that flows from the wounds in his feet and the blood that appears to well up from the hole in which the cross stands. At no place is the blood shown actually on the green cross, yet its reappearance beyond the edges of that cross, certainly at the cross arms, imply it.

The matt green appears elsewhere in the illumination, and in some places the black line which would once have edged the green is separated from it by a band of gold, and it is clear that the original pigment has flaked away leaving either the stained vellum or the bare gold leaf. In other words, the matt green is not the intended surface but merely a stain left in the vellum. On the whole page there is only one tiny fragment of green pigment remaining, at the foot of Mary's undertunic. The effect which appears so startling is, it seems, not one of artistic intent but one of time. And yet time is surely not the only cause of the disappearance of the green paint. There is a thoroughness about the elimination of almost every speck of green, that does not seem like the effect of time alone.

In the other illuminations in the manuscript where the green pigment has been used, there is in all cases some flaking, and occasionally and in certain areas the disappearance is as complete as on the Crucifixion page.² But on this page, because of the cross, the use of green is more dominant than elsewhere and it seems most likely that the remaining flakes of pigment have been systematically removed, perhaps, prosaically, simply to tidy up the illumination. Unfortunately, the flaking and removal of the pigment has resulted not only in a misrepresentation of the artist's intention but also in some loss of detail – in some cases significant detail. The green band round Christ's head was once the crown of thorns, though now the lines of the twisted twigs are only just visible. On the tomb at the foot of the cross, the interior, and therefore the effect of depth, has totally gone; the artist's intention being represented only by a faint line on the green and the black edging over the central figure's legs. On the cross itself, the topmost part of the ground in which the cross stands is visible only as a faint line on the green of the cross, and the edges of the fingers of Christ's right hand and most of the heads of the nails have been lost. The lining of John's robe no longer has any folds shown, the tunics and wings of the angels are now featureless, and any decoration there might have been on the ground below Mary and John has totally disappeared.³

If one of the reasons for the complete absence of green pigment on the Crucifixion page is that it has been scraped away, is it possible that there is a connection between this and another curious fact? In a half quatrefoil in the right-

hand side of the frame is a figure of Synagoga, holding in her right hand a broken pennon and in her left an upturned pot (Plate 2). Behind her head is the tie of a bandage, but there is almost no sign of the painting of the bandage across her face. It seems likely that the bandage would have been indicated in a way similar to that on the figure of Synagoga in the related Henry of Chichester Missal at Manchester (John Rylands Library MS 24, fol. 153),⁴ that is a tie at the back of the head and two lines of black crossing the face, except that in the Chichester Missal there is a differentiation made between the colour of her face under and outside the bandage. What is curious about the All Souls figure is that though there are no lines across the face, there are lines from the tie at the back across the hair which stop short at the face, and where the lines of black pigment should be, there are narrow lines of flaking white. The only lines of pigment left on the face are on the left cheek and just above the right eyebrow, but these are hardly visible. In other words it seems as though the bandage has been deliberately and painstakingly removed from the face of Synagoga.⁵

It is difficult to say why this might have been done. The banal explanation is that, as with the green pigment, someone was tidying up a flaking surface. But the bandage is painted in black not green, and black, except on gold, shows little tendency to flake. At the other extreme, could it have been an attempt to underline the idea that with Christ's coming the veil was removed from the Old Law:

Hactenus obscuris legis uelata figuris
Adueniente fide rem synagoga uide? ⁶

Without further evidence, neither of these suggestions seems completely satisfactory. Unfortunately the somewhat sketchy history of the manuscript up to its donation to All Souls College by Daniel Lysons in 1772 seems to give little help. Apart from the annotations in the hand of John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, and the seventeenth-century inscription by Robert Mandey on flyleaf 2/fol. 2,⁷ there is no easy way of telling into whose hands it fell. There are one or two peculiarities in the later additions to the manuscript, however, which may give an indication of the kind of person who at one time owned it. In the calendar there are the expected erasures of certain saints, but most of these have been re-written in brown ink in a hand imitating the *textura* of the original. Is this further tidying up? Or does it go with the insertion of an obit for Mary Tudor for the seventeenth of November and perhaps indicate a Catholic owner? At the tops of the relevant calendar pages the names of the months have been added in Latin and

the psalter itself has been divided up for morning and evening recitation of the psalms in thirty days.⁸ Also, the psalms have been numbered, and identifications of the Old Testament pieces (the canticles), customarily added at the end of the psalms, appear with some notes. Much of this seems to be the work of Robert Mandey, but though it is suggestive of continuing use (partly perhaps scholarly, partly perhaps devotional), it is not easy to make a convincing link between these additions and the alterations to the green pigment or to Synagoga's bandage. Perhaps the most that one can say is that if someone, possibly Mandey, was sufficiently interested in the manuscript to bring it into line with current Anglican liturgical usage, presumably in order to use it, the same person might well have been concerned to improve its appearance by tidying the flaking green paint. But the alteration to Synagoga's bandage argues very acute observation of the miniature and a concern of a very particular kind.

If this problem is at the moment insoluble, another is soluble but only controversially so. For some time now descriptions have appeared of the three figures at the foot of the cross (Plate 3), and though there has been a certain amount of agreement in these descriptions, there has also been some variation. E. G. Millar says, 'below, Adam, Eve (?) and another receive the Holy Blood'; O. E. Saunders, 'Below is the symbolical figure of Adam rising from his grave, out of which the cross grows'; Margaret Rickert, 'Below are the dead rising from the tomb'. Gertrud Schiller has described the figures as 'Resurrection of the Dead' in the caption to her reproduction of the page, and most recently Nigel Morgan has described them as, 'Adam rising from the tomb' and '[. . .] Adam and two other figures in poses of resurrection'.⁹

Before considering what this scene might represent, it is essential to describe the page as a whole and the group below the cross in some detail. In circular medallions at the corners, four angels kneel, honouring the act of sacrifice (and the Trinity) with swinging censers, three of which cross the edge of the medallions and intrude into the main scene. Above the Crucifixion, contained in a half medallion in the frame, is a half-figure of God the Father holding the dove of the Holy Spirit (facing upwards) and with a worshipping angel on each side. He stares out at the viewer. There is no contact between these two and the cross, and this is not an obvious Throne of Grace image or *gnadenstuhl*.¹⁴ Above the arms of the cross the sun (on the viewer's left) and the moon (on the right) appear as faces with eyes closed. The sun is a simple circular disc; the moon is also a disc but containing a female face framed on the viewer's right by a crescent moon on the wane. On Christ's right, Mary wrings her hands, her eyes cast down.

On his left, John, with partly cast-down eyes rests his head on the back of his right hand and holds back his robe with his left. Behind Mary, in a half medallion in the frame, stands Ecclesia with banner and chalice; behind John, in a similar half medallion, Synagoga, as has already been said, staggers with broken banner staff and emptying urn. The cross is set in a small pit in a hillock. In the border immediately below, contained within a half-medallion, is a rectangular matt green tomb with its 'red' lid lying diagonally across its left-hand side (like a heraldic bend). Out of the tomb, at the centre, rises a single naked man his hands together and raised towards the cross. He has grey hair coming down over his shoulder, and a beard. His raised right thigh and knee are visible just above the rim of the tomb. He is turned half round and looks up to Christ on the cross. Behind him, to the viewer's left, is another naked man, outside the tomb. He is not bearded, has fair hair and his hands are also raised in prayer. To the right of the central figure is a third naked man, also outside the tomb. He too has fair hair but is bearded. His right hand is raised, palm outwards, and his left elbow rests on the frame of the medallion. All the green pigment has gone from the tomb but the black outline of the rim can be seen on the central figure's leg and just behind the lid, and the original line of it can just be made out elsewhere. Out of the pit in which the cross is set four trickles of blood flow, one from the left side and three from the centre. The one on the left runs down to the left-hand figure, two from the centre run down onto the central figure, and the third runs behind the upraised hands of the central figure, and across the raised arm of the right-hand figure.

The pictorial tradition of Adam's grave at the foot of the cross is an old and by this time a common one,¹⁰ but the All Souls' version is a somewhat different development of the tradition. Peter Brieger has described the group most carefully in that he draws attention to the importance of the blood: 'Old Adam and two other naked men rising from their tombs and reached by trickles of blood from the wounds'.¹¹ The description, however, needs to be refined a little. There is only a single tomb and though the trickles of blood do reach all three figures, the ways in which they do so vary. The two in the centre reach the central figure and end on his body (the left-hand one ending on his stomach and the right-hand one exactly on his navel) The single one on the viewer's left, likewise ends on the body of the left-hand figure (the upper part of his right arm), but the third central one flows past the figure on the viewer's right and ends on the edge of the tomb. It is also clear that the figures are not all alike, as Hollaender observes;¹² Adam, for there can be no doubt about the identity of the central figure, holds his hands up as in prayer, so does the figure on the left, but the one on the right leans on his left

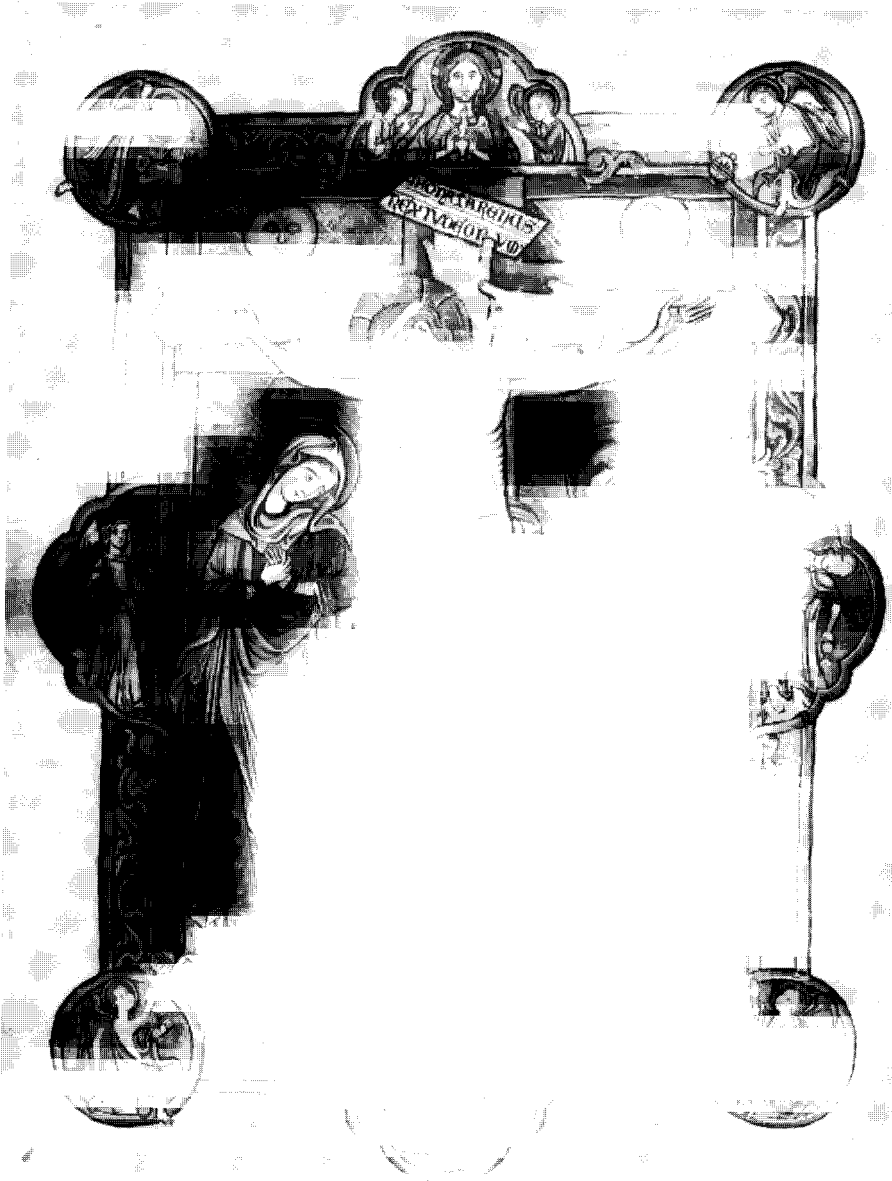
arm and gesticulates with his right. Not only is he bearded but he is also somewhat long-nosed,¹³ while his clean-shaven opposite has a nose like Adam's. The question is are these significant distinctions or distinctions without a difference? It is possible that they are indeed, as Morgan has said, simply 'Adam and two other figures in poses of resurrection'. The only distinction then being between Adam and two representative figures. But it is also possible that the variations in the destinations of the trickles of blood are not insignificant, but indicative of something beyond a general idea of salvation.

It seems to me that there cannot be a certain answer to the question, but there are one or two matters which are worth bearing in mind. First of all, it is important to put the figures below the cross into the context of the whole scene. The composition is unusual only, perhaps, in containing so many different elements, and the question which naturally arises is whether these elements combine and interrelate or remain separate. Their very presence together means that they interact. That is inevitable. But there does seem to be a pattern on each side of the cross – up to a point one might say a commonplace pattern. On the right of Christ: the sun represents the rise of the New Law, Mary represents Ecclesia, which in turn stands behind her. On his left: the moon represents the waning Old Law, John too can represent the Old Law,¹⁵ and behind him stands Synagoga, the Old Law itself. It seems not unreasonable to take the pattern further to the figures at the foot of the cross. There is no doubt that the figures to right and left of Adam are distinguished. The most obvious explanation is that they are Adam's sons: Cain, the elder, (in front of Adam) and Abel, the younger (behind Adam). The differences in appearance could then simply reflect the differences in age. Similar distinctions can be seen in the Cain and Abel figures in the *Beatus* initial (fol. 11/13). But Cain and Abel are frequently seen as representative of the peoples of the Old and the New Law, and Cain, as the murderer of Abel, is also seen as a figure of the crucifiers of Christ, and Abel as a figure of Christ himself, for example: 'Itaque occiditur Abel minor natu a fratre majore natu: occiditur Christus caput populi minoris natu a populo Judaeorum majore natu: ille in campo, iste in Calvariae loco'.¹⁶

Rather than just a hopeful image of salvation, then, the Crucifixion page may carry an image of judgement. God the Father, youthful like the Christ below him, has the steadfast gaze of a judge. Salvation is now a possibility, but only for those who accept it. In addition to an image of the Old Law giving way to the New and the promise of salvation, there is a hint of the threat of damnation for those who, like Cain, reject the promise. 'Maior est iniquitas mea quam ut veniam

merear' (Genesis 4. 14); despair of the power of God's mercy, interpreted by many as the sin against the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ Whether the destination of a trickle of blood can carry such weight depends in the end upon individual perceptions of the artist's (or his director's) concern with detail. The artistic importance of the Amesbury Psalter has long been recognised, but there are questions relating to the physical state of the manuscript, to its past ownership and, perhaps, to its iconographic significance that deserve further consideration.¹⁸

Plate 1: Full page miniature of the Crucifixion
(All Souls College, Oxford, MS 6, fol. 3/5)



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All Souls College, Oxford

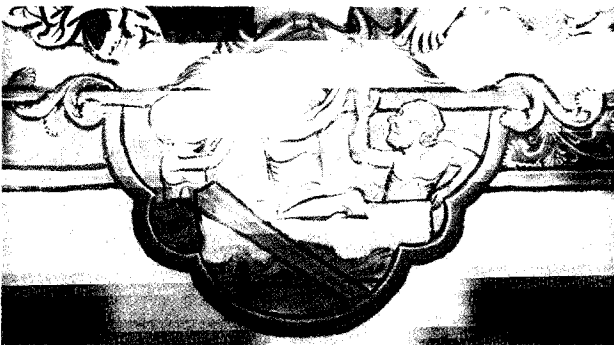


Plate 2: Detail of fol. 3/5: Synagoga

The black lines of the bandage can be clearly seen on her hair, and their original positions just made out in the broken line of white pigment on her right cheek, nose and forehead.

Plate 3: Detail of fol. 3/5: the group below the cross

The termination of the right-hand trickle of blood can just be made out on the black line of the edge of the tomb. Note the rough edges of the matt green where pigment has been lost or removed.



NOTES

¹ The best colour reproduction of the Crucifixion page appears in N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II) 1250-1285*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 4 (London: Miller, 1988), plate 29. This present article was first prepared as a note for the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* in 1977. I am grateful to the editors for their careful consideration and helpful comments at that time and particularly for putting me in touch with Professor Morgan whose friendly and painstaking response to the note delayed it by very properly making me aware of the many new directions it might take. I hope it has gained something from both, but the shortcomings, many of which I know remain, are my own. All the plates in this article are reproduced by kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford. I am most grateful to successive Librarians at All Souls College for their friendly assistance over many years, and especially to the present Librarian-in-Charge and her assistant for invaluable help with the colour illustrations. The manuscript has been re-foliated by the exclusion of the two fly-leaves from the numbering. Both foliations, divided by a slash, are used in references here, the new one being given first. There is a recent and full description of the manuscript in Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 13-15.

² The illuminator clearly had difficulties with the green pigment. All the full-page miniatures, except that on fol. 4/6, Christ in Majesty, which uses hardly any green, are in a state similar to that of the Crucifixion, though in no case has the green been removed quite so thoroughly as there. Deliberate removal after initial break-up of the pigment would again seem the most likely explanation of the totally blank areas. On fol. 1/3, the Annunciation, only the small area of ground is completely blank, though the shading on Mary's robe and on the buildings at the top has flaked a little. On fol. 2/4, Virgin and Child, there is more use of green and almost all, even the smallest areas, are now blank. This affects particularly the basilisk under Mary's left foot and the tunic of the angel at the top left. The green shading still appears to some extent on the lining of Mary's cloak, and on the turrets above her head. The Beatus page too (fol. 11/13) has suffered, losing some of its detail; especially the shape of the altar and Cain's sheaf (medallion top right), Abraham's altar (medallion middle right), and the stem of the Jesse Tree. The sea surrounding the Ark, however, (medallion bottom right), and Abel's tunic (medallion top left) retain their green pigment almost completely. Other colours are little affected except where they are over gold leaf, or, in the case of the Annunciation (fol. 1/3), where a patch (top left corner) has strained the page and forced it to fold diagonally across the figure of Gabriel - though even here the loss is slight. (The patch was removed and the leaf restored in the conservation of the manuscript by Nicholas Pickwoad in 1990.) All colours stain

through the vellum on to the reverse of the illumination to some extent, but the green most markedly. One of the blues used frequently shows the same stain colour as the green.

³ The original decoration of the ground may be perhaps deduced from the illuminated initial on fol. 62v/64v, *Dixit insipiens* (Temptation in the Wilderness), where though there is some loss of gold leaf and the devil's face has been scored across, the ground is almost intact, or, to a lesser extent, that on fol. 94/96, *Exultate Deo* (Jacob's dream and wrestling with the angel). The decoration on Christ's tomb on fol. 112/114, *Domine exaudi* (Resurrection) may give an idea of what is lost from the tomb at the foot of the cross.

⁴ Reproduced in Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, plate 20.

⁵ This has led to some errors in description. O. E. Saunders says that Synagoga 'is not, as usual, blindfolded'; Lewis Edwards, 'she is not however blindfolded or veiled', and A. E. Hollaender, most positively, 'this time the Synagogue is *not* blindfolded – a remarkable variation'. See Saunders, *English Illumination*, 2 vols (Firenze: Pantheon; Paris: Pegasus Press, 1928), I, 63; Edwards, 'Some English Examples of the Medieval Representation of the Church and Synagogue', *Jewish Historical Society of England*, 18 (1958), 73; Hollaender, 'The Sarum Illuminator and his School', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 50 (1943), 243. In her excellently detailed typescript notes on the Amesbury Psalter, Mrs Lucia N. Valentine first wrote simply: 'She is not blindfold', and then added by hand: '[. . .] owing to the colourist ignoring the lines indicating the position of the bandage'. I am grateful to Mr J. S. G. Simmons, at the time Librarian of the Codrington Library, for obtaining Mrs Valentine's permission to make use of her notes, and to her for granting permission.

⁶ See Eton College MS 177, fol. 7. These lines border a picture of Synagoga in which a hand draws away a veil from her head. Compare Lambeth Bible (Lambeth Palace Library MS 3) fol. 198, where Synagoga stands between two prophets and again a hand pulls away the veil (C. R. Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible* (London: Faber, 1959), plate 4). Neither of these, however, refers directly to the Crucifixion. The elaborately symbolic Crucifixion in the eleventh-century Uta Gospels refers to the same idea by means of a medallion of the splitting of the veil of the temple (bottom left) with the inscription: '*Velum templi scissum est / Quia obscuritas legis ablata est*' (C. R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe 800 to 1200* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), plate 84).

⁷ See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, p. 61. The inscription runs as follows: 'Rob. Mandey / Memorandum, Psalmus nonus in hac translatione continet psalmum 10^{mum} et ea ratione variatio cum Hebraica, siue anglicana quoad numerum vsque psalmum 146 qui diuiditur in psalmos duos complere numerum 150'. Morgan (*Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, p. 61) reads the name as 'Manday', Watson reads 'Mandey' (*Manuscripts of All Souls*, p. 15). Robert Mandey may be the gentleman of that name, living at North Nibley in Gloucestershire, who witnessed a number of deeds and who seems to have become receiver of rents to Lord Berkeley in 1671

(Gloucestershire Record Office, Parish Deeds, D2957, and D225). The Lysons family had extensive estates in Gloucestershire, their main seat being at Hampsted (or Hampstead) Court, just south of Gloucester, and the manuscript may well have come to them there. For Daniel Lysons, see *Dictionary of National Biography* under Daniel Lysons, 1727-1800. It should be said that it is only an assumption that Mandey owned the All Souls Psalter, but his free annotation of it certainly suggests that. Watson suggests that Mandey's annotations 'evidence a Roman Catholic allegiance' (*Manuscripts of All Souls*, p. 15). The only indubitable sign of this is the obit for Mary Tudor which does not seem to me to be in Mandey's hand, though the brevity of it makes absolute certainty impossible. The re-insertions of 'Papa' and the saints in the calendar could just be antiquarian tidying-up.

⁸ The psalms are divided according to the list first set out in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer under 'The Ordre how the Psalter is appoynted to bee redde'. Both Mandey and the BCP *Ordre* point out the discrepancy between the Hebrew and Latin versions in divisions and numbering of the psalms. They are also similar in that they both ignore the conflation of psalms 114 and 115 (AV) in the Latin, and the division of 116 (AV) into two, even though these changes briefly add a new variation to the numbering. The divisions are shown in the psalter by a number for the day, and a letter (M or V) for morning or evening prayer next to the opening of the psalm, and a corresponding sign at the top of the page (i.e. psalms 1-5 are marked 'I M'; 6-8, 'I V'; 9-10, '2 M'; and so on). Mandey indicates on fols. 18/20 and 157/159 the places where the Latin departs from and rejoins the Hebrew numbering. His reference for the *Canticum Anne* on fol. 160v/162v is '1.Sam: c.2.v.1' – an English Bible reference rather than a Vulgate one.

⁹ E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the 10th to the 13th Centuries* (Paris and Brussels: Oest, 1926), p. 97; O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, I, 63; Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 116; Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Janet Seligman, 2 vols (London: Humphries, 1972; German edition 1968), II, plate 410; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, pp. 59 and 60.

¹⁰ For a summary see Schiller, *Iconography*, II, 130-33.

¹¹ *English Art 1216-1307*, Oxford History of English Art, 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) p. 175.

¹² 'Sarum Illuminator', p. 243.

¹³ It should be noted, however, that the nose of the figure on the right is somewhat distorted by the loss of some pigment and the uncovering of the gold beneath. But the black outline remains to show the original shape.

¹⁴ See *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. by Engelbert Kirschbaum and others, 9 vols (Herder: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1994), II, col. 535, and Schiller, *Iconography*, II, 122-24.

Some Notes on the Amesbury Psalter Crucifixion

¹⁵ See, for example, the *Glossa Ordinaria* comment on John 20. 4: '*Joannes significat Synagoga, quae prior venit ad monumentum sed non intravit, quia prophetias de incarnatione et passione audivit sed et mortuum credere noluit. Petrus Ecclesiam, quae cognovit carne mortuum, viventem credidit Deum, post quem et in Judaea in fine intrabit.*' (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 114, col. 422b), though this relates immediately, of course, to the Resurrection and not the Crucifixion.

¹⁶ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, Book 12, chap. 9, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 42, col. 259.

¹⁷ See, for example, *Glossa Ordinaria*, Genesis 4. 13, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 113, col. 99.

¹⁸ The image of the Trinity contained in the initial of Psalm 109 is, for example, also unusual (fol. 126/128; see Morgan, *English Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, plate 22). The figures of God the Father and the Son are identical and the Father (on the viewer's right) with his right hand grasps the right wrist of the Son (on the viewer's left), trebly emphasising the words of the psalm: '*Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis*', Psalm 109. 1. Paul Thoby in his extensive survey of the representations of the Crucifixion makes no mention at all of the Amesbury Psalter, nor has he any examples of the particular schematic development represented here; see *La Crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes: [Bellanger], 1959) and *Supplément* (Nantes: [n. pub.], 1963).

Pericles and the Simpsons

Ian Wood

It is well known that the company of players led by Christopher and Robert Simpson from Egton in the North Riding of Yorkshire included *Pericles*, at the time a relatively new play, in their repertoire during the winter of 1608-09.¹ It is equally well known that the Simpsons were recusants.² This information, however, has not impinged as much as might have been expected on efforts to interpret the earliest of Shakespeare's romances.³ Perhaps scholars have assumed that the players would have imposed their own reading on the text, and not produced a performance that the play's authors would have recognised. Certainly the Simpsons did adapt at least one of the plays they performed to suit recusant audiences.⁴ *Pericles*, moreover, is thought to have been presented for 'oppositional as well as state purposes'.⁵ It is worth pausing to look closely to see whether the performances by the Simpsons, or Lord Cholmley's Men as they are often known to modern scholars,⁶ might have imposed meaning on the text, or whether they would merely have exposed aspects of the script which might have been dealt with more surreptitiously in London.

Sir John Yorke, the owner of Gowthwaite Hall in Nidderdale, 'belonged to the category of people who were known, not as recusants, but as "popishly affected"'.⁷ He was related, on his mother's side to a Jesuit, Francis Ingleby, who was executed in 1586, and to a number of the Gunpowder plotters. Indeed Yorke himself was accused of complicity in the plot, although no charge was brought.⁸ What did bring Yorke before Star Chamber was a performance at Candlemas 1609 by the Simpsons and their company.⁹ Their repertoire included *King Lear* and *Pericles*, though the plays proposed to Yorke were apparently *Saint Christopher* and *The Three Shirleys* (or *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers*) by George Wilkins, John Day and William Rowley.¹⁰ Wilkins, is now recognised, of course, as the co-author, with Shakespeare, of *Pericles*. Yorke

chose the Saint Christopher play. In itself it was an innocuous work, but an interlude was inserted into it in which a catholic priest debated with an English minister, at the end of which the priest was led to heaven by an angel and the minister to Hell by the devil.¹¹ This interlude was only included by the players when they thought that their audience was pro-catholic.¹² Since Yorke's tenants were all recusants,¹³ and since Yorke himself tried to keep an eye on those admitted to the performance,¹⁴ the Simpsons felt free to insert the scene when performing at Gowthwaite. Unfortunately a certain William Stubbs managed to join the audience. He subsequently informed Sir Stephen Procter,¹⁵ 'monopolist, priest hunter and demolisher of Fountains Abbey',¹⁶ in addition, it seems, to being a liar and congenital litigant.¹⁷ After a delay of two years, Yorke was accused not only of 'causing a seditious interlude', but also of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot and of harbouring seminary priests.¹⁸ Ultimately Yorke was merely charged with 'permitting the Simpson players to present an interlude, by which the established religion was brought into derision', and attempting to suborn witnesses.¹⁹

The remarkable documentation for the Simpsons at Gowthwaite is rather less informative about *Pericles* than many modern allusions imply. According to the Star Chamber testimony of William Harrison, who was the company's clown, two plays were performed at Yorke's house:

One of the plays acted and played [. . .] was *Perocles*, prince of Tire, And the other was *Kinge Lere* [. . .] these plaies which they so plaied were usual plaies And such as were acted in Common and publick places and staiges[. . .] and such as were played publicuely [. . .] and prynted in the bookes.²⁰

It has, however, been suggested that Harrison's testimony was inaccurate, and was intended to draw attention away from the actual performance of the Saint Christopher.²¹ It is, thus, uncertain whether the Simpson's really did perform *Pericles* at Gowthwaite. And there is not a shred of evidence to suggest, as has been argued, that the company introduced a guardian angel to protect Marina in the brothel scenes.²²

There are, however, points about *Pericles* that may be inferred from the information relating to the Candlemas celebrations at Gowthwaite. As already noted, the Yorke house in Nidderdale was a centre of recusancy, and the

Simpsons were essentially a recusant company. While their choice of plays was acceptable to the authorities, in that they had all supposedly been printed,²³ the Simpsons did adapt the Saint Christopher play to please catholic taste. *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* would certainly have been appreciated by a catholic audience, since the Shirley brothers were themselves catholic, and the play includes a visit by Sir Anthony Shirley to 'his holinesse' the pope.²⁴ As for *King Lear*, it has been suggested that the play's interest in exorcism and demoniacs could have appealed to Catholics²⁵ – though one might wonder whether protestants would have found the topic any less interesting. King James famously had an interest in the occult. What then of *Pericles*?

In addition to the inclusion of *Pericles* in the repertoire of the Simpsons, there is also the evidence for performances of the play before ambassadors of catholic countries,²⁶ as well as the striking fact that a copy of *Pericles* is recorded in a 1619 list of books held in the library of the recusant centre at Saint-Omer in the Spanish Netherlands.²⁷ The catalogue includes 124 books, and *Pericles*, according to William Schrickx is 'the only work of imaginative literature in a long list of devotional and controversial works'.²⁸ It would appear that the play was not only popular, but it was particularly prized by Catholics or recusants.

Although the story of *Pericles*, or rather Apollonius, originated in a Greek romance, the play, which is deliberately introduced by the pre-Reformation Englishman Gower, clearly draws on biblical stories. It is littered with allusions which would seem to direct attention to the Bible and to Christian doctrine.²⁹ At times it reads like a parable. Gower states:

I'll show you those in troubles reign,
Losing a mite, a mountain gain.³⁰

There are the 'resurrections' of Thaisa and Marina, both thought dead, supposedly buried and then found alive. Allusions to the stories of Jonah, Job and Tobit have all been noted.³¹ In addition the influence of miracle plays dealing with Tobit and with Mary Magdalene has been hypothesised.³² There is also the explicit reference to the death of Antiochus IV,³³ drawn from 2 Maccabees 9 – of which a good deal has already been made.³⁴ In fact, although Antiochus was used as a metaphor for religious tyranny, he was so used by both Catholics and Protestants in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: his position is, thus, potentially ambivalent. The lines on his death do not, therefore, prove a recusant agenda. And in any case the fate of Antiochus is referred to in the *Confessio*

Amantis.³⁵ It is necessary, therefore, to treat the narration of the tyrant's death in *Pericles* with caution, at least initially. On its own it does not prove that the play was intended to carry a religious message.

The text of *Pericles* would seem, however, to invite the hearer to find a religious meaning from early on in the first scene. Antiochus poses the prince a riddle, which he must solve before he may marry the king's daughter.

I am no viper, yet I feed
On mother's flesh that did me breed.
I sought a husband, in which labour,
I found that kindness in a father,
He's father, son and husband mild;
I mother, wife and yet his child.
How they may be and yet in two,
As you will live resolve it you.³⁶

The riddle can scarcely be thought of as being difficult to solve: it plainly alludes to the incestuous relationship between Antiochus and his child. Its transparency has raised more than one critical eyebrow. Yet surely as important as the meaning of the riddle is its language, which is unquestionably theological: 'father, son and husband mild' is a clear deformation of 'Father, Son and Holy Ghost', while 'mother, wife and yet his child', could be understood as playing on the Virgin's position as mother and (theological) child of Christ. Although Hoeniger argued that the play took the riddle directly from Gower,³⁷ comparison of the two texts reveals just how different they are in terms of expression, for in the *Confessio Amantis* the relevant passage runs:

With felonie I am up bore,
I ete, and have it not forlore
My moders flesshe, whose husbonde
My fader for to seche I fonde,
Which is the sonne eke of my wife
Herof I am inquisitif.³⁸

Equally different in language from the riddle of the play is the version in its other major source, Laurence Twine's *Patterne of Painefull Adventures*:

I am carried with mischiefe, I eate my mothers fleshe; I
seeke my brother my mothers husband and I cannot find him.³⁹

Comparison of the riddle in these three versions suggests clearly that the audience of the play is being deliberately encouraged to think of it in liturgical, if not theological, terms. For an audience as au fait with the basics of Christian doctrine as that of the early seventeenth century, what would have been most notable about Antiochus' riddle is not its lumbering transparency, but its subversion of religious language.⁴⁰ Yet not every editor of *Pericles* has paused to note the blasphemy involved.⁴¹

Towards the end of the play the impurity of Antiochus' riddle is answered in Pericles' response to the realisation that Marina is his daughter, when he cries

Thou that begett'st him that did thee beget [. . .]⁴²

While it has been noted that this statement brings the play full circle,⁴³ the theological allusion involved has not often received the attention it deserves.⁴⁴ The point is more subtle than that made in the Antiochus riddle, and it does not stray into blasphemy: yet it is easy to draw a parallel between Marina and the Virgin Mary, who begat Christ, who, theologically, as God, created her. Anyone with any inkling of Marian doctrine might have seen this. Not that Marina is presented as Mary, but the audience is apparently being encouraged to contemplate the Virgin through the heroine. In other words Marina is presented as a Marian figure in the text of the play: the Simpsons would not have needed to add anything in order to give *Pericles* a catholic twist.

It is worth looking to see whether there are other indications that Marina is being presented as a Marian figure. There is, of course, the constant emphasis on her virginity, though on its own this, and other of the heroine's virtues, scarcely amount to proof of an intended comparison with the Virgin. Of the passages in praise of Marina two of the most striking are not to be found in the Quarto text of the play, but in Wilkins' spin-off novella, *The Painful Adventures of Pericles*.⁴⁵ The Oxford edition of the play has plausibly inserted them into the text. Lysimachus remarks of Marina:

Now surely this is virtue's image, nay
Virtue herself sent down from heaven a while
To reign on earth and teach us what we should be!⁴⁶

And

Thou are a piece of virtue,
The best wrought up that ever nature made.⁴⁷

The fact that the lines can be cast as blank verse suggests that they were indeed taken from the play. Certainly they are of a piece with, and enhance the image of Marina as a holy figure.

At least one other point might be thought to support a Marian reading of Marina. It is often noted that the hero of the original hellenistic story, and indeed of the play's direct sources, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Twine's *Patterne of Painfull Adventures*, is not called Pericles but Apollonius or Apollinus. Shakespeare and Wilkins may have been responsible for renaming the character, although in one French version Apollonius takes the name Perillie, which may suggest that the change of name had already been effected in some lost version.⁴⁸ Scholars, however, have tended not to comment on the parallel fact that in the versions of Gower and Twine Apollonius' daughter is not called Marina, but Thaise or Tharsia. Shakespeare and or Wilkins chose to change the name, assigning that of Thaisa to the wife of Pericles, who in Gower is unnamed, but in Twine is called Lucina. Why the name Thaisa should be switched from daughter to mother, and the daughter then given a new name is surely something which demands explanation. One reason for not calling Pericles' daughter Thaisa might be that the name Thais is associated in Propertius, Ovid, Martial and Terence with courtesans, the last association that one might want for a character whose virginity is central to her role. Wilkins at least, who was enough of a classical scholar to translate Justinus' epitome of Pompeius Trogus, could have known that the name Thaisa had unwanted overtones. As for the name Marina, we are, of course, given a good reason for its choice, 'for she was born at sea.'⁴⁹ But this may not be the only reason that the name Marina is used instead of Thaisa. Indeed the fact that this explanation of the name is repeated on a number of occasions may suggest that it was intended to hide another, and deeper, reason for the choice. The similarity between the names Marina and Maria might be thought too close to be purely coincidental: only a single letter 'n' separates them. That it is not a coincidence may be indicated by Marina's own comment on her birth. She states,

When I was born the wind was in the north.⁵⁰

Given Shakespeare's love of conceits, it is possible that the line deliberately draws attention to the 'n' added to Maria.

Allegorically Maria/Marina, 'that begett'st him that did thee beget,' does more than simply bring the play full circle in answering the initial blasphemy of Antiochus and his daughter. English Catholics would surely have seen in the work of the heroine a call to restore the old faith. Pericles, perhaps to be understood as a metaphor for the man or nation in danger, is restored to wholeness by the virgin Mari(n)a. Something similar might be found at the end of *Cymbeline*, when the aged king unaccountably in strict narrative terms, having just defeated the Roman army, agrees to pay tribute to Rome: not to the wicked Italy of Iachimo, but the just empire, by which a recusant might easily understand the Roman Church. It is a point that is not in Holinshed, and is thus a deliberate addition by Shakespeare.⁵¹

There are, then, reasons for thinking that the Simpsons might have chosen to include *Pericles* in their repertoire because of its theological subtext, and that in playing it before Catholics and crypto-catholics they would have been making patent what was already implicit in the text. *Pericles* was an ideal work for a recusant audience, and it would seem to be a powerful illustration of Shakespeare's crypto-catholicism, which is increasingly noted by a growing number of modern scholars.⁵² It would also seem to indicate that Roger Prior's scrupulous rejection of the identification of George Wilkins with the recusant George Wilkinson,⁵³ was actually a misjudgement, as some have already implied.⁵⁴ Wilkins' justified reputation as a thoroughly violent and unpleasant man⁵⁵ needs to be balanced against his position as a recusant. As for the play itself, in contrasting it with the 'devotional and controversial works' of the Saint-Omer list, William Schrickx perhaps underestimated the extent to which *Pericles* can be read and played as both devotional and controversial.

NOTES

¹ Scholars almost invariably cite Charles J. Sisson's account of the performance, in 'Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies', *The Review of English Studies*, 18 (1942), 129-43 (pp. 135-42), even though Sisson himself explicitly states that he was largely writing from memory because his notes were lost during the war: p. 129, n. 1: 'The closing of the British Museum and the Public Record Office, with the destruction of my collections and most of my notes, has impeded the proper preparation of this article, and forced me to trust too much to memory'. In the light of this candid admission, scholars ought to have relied more on the fuller account of what happened at Gowthwaite and of the subsequent Star Chamber proceedings of 1614 to be found in Christopher Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale 1565-1634* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1939). More recent, and in many respects more valuable, is G. W. Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', *North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications*, no. 7, Journal 3 (April 1976), 95-130.

² On the Simpsons and their company, Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', pp. 95, 108, 121-23.

³ The point, originally made by William Schrickx, "'Pericles" in a Book-List of 1619 from the English Jesuit Mission and some of the Play's Special Problems', *Shakespeare Survey*, 29 (1976), 22, still has some validity.

⁴ Sisson, 'Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies', p. 142.

⁵ Suzanne Gossett, ed., *Pericles*, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), p. 87.

⁶ Following Sisson, 'Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies', pp. 135-36, and Schrickx, "'Pericles" in a Book-List of 1619 from the English Jesuit Mission and some of the Play's Special Problems', p. 23. See also Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', pp. 95, 108.

⁷ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, p. 12. For a more recent analysis of the range of catholic commitment, Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993).

⁸ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, pp. 10, 14-15, 27-29, 39-40, 43-44.

⁹ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, p. 21.

¹⁰ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, p. 23; Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 104.

¹¹ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, pp. 23-26; Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', pp. 105-06.

¹² For a repetition of the scandal at Gowthwaite, when the same play was presented at Masham in 1610, Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', pp. 107-08.

¹³ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, p. 16.

¹⁴ Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', pp. 104-05.

¹⁵ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, p. 21; Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 106.

¹⁶ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, p. 47.

¹⁷ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, pp. 47-58.

¹⁸ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, pp. 27-33.

¹⁹ Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale*, pp. 44-45; Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 107.

²⁰ Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 106.

²¹ Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 106.

²² Pace Gossett, ed., *Pericles*, p. 88.

²³ Sisson, 'Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies', p. 140: see also William Harrison's comment as recorded by Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 106.

²⁴ John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins, *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers: Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Anthony, Mr Robert. As it is now Play'd by her Maiesties Seruants* (London: John Wright, 1607): Schrickx, "'Pericles'", pp. 23-24.

²⁵ Schrickx, "'Pericles'", p. 24.

²⁶ Schrickx, "'Pericles'", p. 24: also Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), p. 205.

²⁷ Schrickx, "'Pericles'", pp. 21-32.

²⁸ Schrickx, "'Pericles'", p. 22.

²⁹ Biblical parallels are discussed briefly by F. D. Hoeniger in his edition of the play (London: Methuen, 1963), p. xix, and also in the footnotes to the text.

³⁰ *Pericles*, ed. by Roger Warren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), scene 5, ll. 8-9: Gossett, ed., *Pericles*, Act 2, scene 0, ll. 8-9. Given the variation in numbering of scenes, in what follows scenes will be cited first by the number in Warren's edition, and then in that of Gossett. Hoeniger, ed., *Pericles*, p. 37, n., argues that these lines hint at the underlying thought and purpose of the play.

³¹ Hoeniger, ed., *Pericles*, pp. xviii-xix, lxxxi.

³² Hoeniger, ed., *Pericles*, pp. xc-xci.

³³ Scene 8, ll. 1-13 = Act 2, scene 4, ll. 1-12.

³⁴ Schrickx, "Pericles", pp. 24-29. This rather undermines Warren's dismissal of the passage as an awkward intrusion (Warren, ed., *Pericles*, p. 140, n.).

³⁵ Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957-75), iv, 395, ll. 1006-10.

³⁶ Scene 1, ll. 107-14 = Act 1, scene 1, ll. 65-72.

³⁷ Hoeniger, ed., *Pericles*, p. xv.

³⁸ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vi, 379, ll. 413-18.

³⁹ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vi, 428.

⁴⁰ One might compare the perversion of the Book of Common Prayer in *Macbeth*, Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 188.

⁴¹ For an exception, Warren, ed., *Pericles*, p. 98, n. 1.

⁴² Scene 21, l. 184 = Act 5, scene 1, l. 185.

⁴³ Warren, ed. *Pericles*, p. 57. The distorted parallel between Antiochus' daughter and Marina could have been emphasised on stage if the same boy played both parts.

⁴⁴ But see Gossett, ed., *Pericles*, p. 87, commenting that the line 'approximates Marian theology', and p. 120.

⁴⁵ Warren, ed. *Pericles*, p. 287.

⁴⁶ Warren, ed. *Pericles*, scene 19, ll. 146-48.

⁴⁷ Warren, ed. *Pericles*, scene 19, ll. 162-63.

⁴⁸ Hoeniger, ed. *Pericles*, p. xviii.

⁴⁹ Scene 13 = Act III, scene 3, l. 13. Compare scene 21, ll. 145-46 = Act V, scene 1, ll. 146-47, and scene 22, ll. 68-69 = Act V, scene 3, ll. 46-47.

⁵⁰ Scene 15, l. 102 = Act IV, scene 1, l. 49.

⁵¹ W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed: The Chronicle and the History Plays Compared*, 2nd edn (London: Chatto and Windus, 1907), pp. 6-18.

⁵² Most notably Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, and Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Cape, 2004).

⁵³ Roger Prior, 'The Life of George Wilkins', *Shakespeare Survey*, 25 (1972), 137-52 (pp. 142-43).

⁵⁴ For others who have seen Wilkins as a recusant, see Schrickx, "Pericles", pp. 23-32, and Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 275.

⁵⁵ Most powerfully stated in Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, pp. 205-13.

**Aesthetic Evaluations of the Sound of Old English:
'About the Anglo-Saxon tongue there was the strength of iron,
with the sparkling and the beauty of burnished steel'**

Eric Stanley

This paper is not about scholarly attempts to find the rules governing the scansion of Germanic alliterative verse, especially of Old English verse. That subject in the history of scholarship leads from Hicke's *Thesaurus* to Tyrwhitt, Ellis, Turner, Conybeare, Rask, Guest, Skeat, Scherer, Rieger, Schipper, Sievers, Kaluza, Graz, Neuner, Heusler, Kuhn, Pope, Bliss, Cable, Obst, Russom, Kendall, Fulk, Hucheson, Susuki, and others, important, or interesting whether right or wrong.¹

Elementary courses in Old English traditionally begin with some attempt to teach orthography and pronunciation. Orthography is demonstrable, unlike details of pronunciation. The exact value of diphthongs cannot be determined stage by stage through half a millennium of written Old English. When had the sounds represented by <ēa> and <æ> merged so that these spellings became interchangeable? How could <sc> have the pronunciation of Modern English <sh> when *frosc* occurs while *frocs* was metathesized before /sk/ had become /ʃ/; moreover hypocoristic *frogga* is formed from *froc*? Southern <hw> is thought to be, not /xw/, but voiceless /ʍ/, and <hl>, <hr>, and <hn> are thought to stand, not for <xl>, <xr>, and <xn>, but for a voiceless pronunciation of the liquid or nasal. We do not know how exactly the Anglo-Saxons pronounced these liquids, voiced or voiceless. We do know that their language had more gutturals than Modern English, more like Dutch or German, so that to a civilized Frenchman like Hippolyte Taine,² every Old English half-line 'breaks forth like a growl', or 'like a grunt' – 'sort comme un grondement' – that grunting effect perhaps heightened by a glottal catch, if those are right who believe that, since all vowels alliterate indiscriminately with one another, they must have shared in being introduced by a strong glottal catch.³ Thus details of pronunciation reveal the insecurities of diachronic phonetics. One would like to know more for an aesthetic evaluation of the verse of the Anglo-Saxons. We know that their dialects

manifested differences, and that pronunciation underwent many changes in the five hundred years from *Cædmon's Hymn* in eighth-century manuscripts to the twelfth-century *The Grave*.

It is safer, therefore, to spend one's aesthetics on broader issues, syllabicity and accentuation prominent among them, in comparison with other languages or when compared with later English. The relatively infrequent use of particles was commented on early. Sharon Turner had noted that infrequency in 1805:⁴

The vernacular poetry of the Anglo-Saxons had not soared far above a peculiar versification when it first appears to our notice. But in this early state we find it distinguished from prose by some marking circumstances.

One of these was the omission of the little particles of speech, those abbreviations of language and thought which contribute to make our meaning to be more discriminatingly expressed and more clearly apprehended. The prose and poetry of Alfred's translation of Boethius will enable us to illustrate this remark. Where the prose says, 'Thee the on tham ecan setle ricsast,' the poetry of the same passage has, "Thee on heahsetle ecan recsast," omitting the explaining and connecting particles the and tham. So 'Thou that on the seat,' is in the poetry, "Thou on seat." The omission of these particles increases the force and dignity of the phrase, but requires a greater exertion of the mind to comprehend the sense, because as it reads it must gain the habit of instantaneously and almost imperceptibly supplying them.

Another mark and practice of their poetry was the inversion of their phrases. Thus where the prose says, 'The darkness extinguishes of the swarthy night,' the poetry is "Of swarthy night darkness extinguishes." This inversion of phrase will always ensue when it becomes a custom to place words in an order different from their natural construction.

Turner had recognized that, by comparing the prose with the verse rendering into Old English of the same piece of Boethius, one could understand better some of the principles of the verse. It is not clear whether he refers to the original audience or the late eighteenth-century reader struggling with Old English verse, when he says the

omission of particles 'requires a greater exertion of the mind to comprehend the sense' and speaks of 'natural construction'.

Conybeare gains better understanding of Old English metre by comparing bilingual verse, the first half-line Old English with the second half-line Latin, in *The Phoenix* and *Aldhelm*.⁵ He introduces that comparison with a parenthesized caveat about the limits of modern understanding of the sounds of Old English: '(as far as we are capable of judging with respect to the pronunciation of that which we possess as a written language only)'.

It is obvious that the average length of a native word in late Middle English and Modern English was preponderantly monosyllabic, but in Old and early Middle English preponderantly disyllabic; and disyllables could become trisyllables and polysyllables with prefixes and suffixes (including inflexional increments). There is little difficulty about which syllable of an Old English word bears the accent, namely, the stem-syllable: in verse the metrical accent coincides with the accent on a word in ordinary, that is, unmetrical, speech.⁶ These are the issues upon which writers on poetic aesthetics expatiate, from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. My impression is that sweeping generalizations became rarer in the course of the twentieth century, even among scholars who prefer the wide expanse of English writings in general to the restrictive details of Old English linguistics and metrics.

The author of *The Arte of English Poesie* (published in London in 1589), probably George Puttenham, is the earliest writer to concern himself with such fundamental differences as syllabicity between Old English and early Modern English, and with the effect that difference has on the use of rhyme.⁷ He does not attempt to discuss 'Saxon' discourse, but how native English words, as opposed to loanwords, affect the sound of contemporary English poetry. He writes,⁸ in his chapter 'Symphonie or rime':

we make in th'ends of our verses a certaine tunable sound:
which anon after with another verse reasonably distant we
accord together in the last fall or cadence: the eare taking
pleasure to heare the like tune reported, and to feele his
returne. And for this purpose serue the *monosillables* of our
English Saxons excellently well,⁹ because they do naturally
and indifferently receiue any accent, & in them if they finish
the verse, resteth the shrill accent of necessitie, and so doth it
not in the last of euery *bissillable*, nor of euery *polisillable*
word.

Puttenham's use of 'naturally' is part of his belief in 'our naturall Saxon English' concluding his chapter on accent:

Againe in these *bissillables*, *endüre*, *vnüre*, *demüre*: *aspire*, *desire*, *retire*, your sharpe accent falles vpon the last sillable: but in words *monosillable* which be for the more part our naturall Saxon English, the accent is indifferent, and may be vsed for sharp or flat and heauy at our pleasure. I say Saxon English, for our Normane English alloweth vs very many *bissillables*, and also *trissillables* as, *reuerence*, *diligence*, *amorous*, *desirous*, and such like.¹⁰

Naturall implies no condemnation of *our Normane English* as unnatural: *naturall* in Puttenham's use is like the botanical use, 'self-sown in this island, not imported from outside'. Puttenham does not prefer monosyllables, except for rhymes. Unstressed syllables are needed for sixteenth-century verse, and are provided richly in Romance, Latin, and Greek loanwords.

George Ellis's aesthetic assessment of modern languages, and of Old English in particular, is indebted to Tyrwhitt, inevitably so in 1801:

[T]he harmony of all the modern languages depends much more upon accent and emphasis, that is to say, upon changes in the *tone* or in the *strength* of the voice, than upon *quantity*, by which is meant the length of time employed in pronouncing the syllables. Upon the whole, it must still remain a doubt, whether the Anglo-Saxon verses were strictly metrical, or whether they were only distinguished from prose by some species of rythm: to a modern reader it will certainly appear, that there is no other criterion but that which is noticed by Mr. Tyrwhitt, namely, "*a greater pomp of diction, and a more stately kind of march.*"¹¹ The variety of inflection, by which the Anglo-Saxon language was distinguished from the modern English, gave to their poets an almost unlimited power of inversion; and they used it almost without reserve: Not so much perhaps for the purpose of varying the cadence of their verse, as with a view to keep the attention of their hearers

upon the stretch, by the artificial obscurity of their style; and to astonish them by those abrupt transitions which are very commonly (though rather absurdly) considered as Pandaric, and which are the universal characteristic of savage poetry.¹²

Condemnation of polysyllabic words belongs to a later age, when admiration for Dr Johnson was unfashionable, and his style mocked as excessively Latinate. In a review of the first volume of Thorpe's edition of the first series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, the reviewer (C.P.S.) launches himself on seas of vapid praise:

To every Englishman of right feelings, the exhumation of any hitherto hidden fragment, however small, of our national literature, will become a source of interest and delight. But to the Catholic it must always be doubly so; for, in looking upon these offsprings of the nation's mind, as it thought, and spoke, and taught the people, a thousand and more years ago, he cannot fail to behold in them so many witnesses to certify the oneness of that belief which he and his Anglo-Saxon forefathers hold in common, unchanged, unaltered, unabridged, even in an atom, notwithstanding the wide gap of time which parts them.¹³

And further in this vein:

There are, however, other weighty reasons [than the preservation of, as yet unprinted, Anglo-Saxon texts in perishable manuscripts] why we earnestly wish to bespeak for the Ælfric Society the goodwill of our countrymen, and especially of those to whom is entrusted the charge of the education of our youth. We confess that without slighting other men or other countries, we love above all our own dear mother-land, and we wish our youth to be taught to love her too, fondly, warmly, heartily, and to look with becoming feelings of homage and attachment on everything belonging to her old religion, her old constitution, her old laws, her old glory and renown. As Englishmen we have to think, to write, to speak, in English and with Englishmen. Surely, then, it is a

matter of concern to know and understand well our own tongue. But what is the truth? In all our schools, public and private, with sorrow be it said, much, very much time is thrown away upon learning two dead languages, Greek and Latin, which after all lend little aid to the everyday business of life. The object of learning a strange tongue is not so much to become knowing in new words, but through words to become knowing in the sentiments, opinions, and wisdom of the great, the good, and the holy men of by-gone ages, and other lands, or to tell strangers our thoughts, our wishes, our feelings, in language which they understand. Now of all those who have spent so many years at our schools in the scanning of Homer or Virgil, or stringing words together in the various measures of Latin verse, how many ever take up a Greek or Latin book, have need to write a letter, a speech, an accompt, in Latin or Greek; or use either language as a means of amusements, instruction, or business, in after life? Not one in twenty thousand. How much better then would it be if in our public and private schools as much attention at least were given to the teaching of English, as of Greek and Latin, that our youths might bring home with them a racy idiomatic way of speaking and writing their own language, instead of a smattering of Greek and Latin, which they almost forget, and generally neglect in a few years' time. Let our English youth of both sexes be taught to drink deeply of the well of English undefiled. For this, a study of Anglo-Saxon is absolutely needful; for after all, it has bequeathed to us by far the largest stock of words in our language. About the Anglo-Saxon tongue there was the strength of iron, with the sparkling and the beauty of burnished steel, which made it withstand with success the attacks that the Norman William and his fawning courtiers directed against it as they tried in vain to thrust their French into the mouths of the English people. If the sword of the Normans vanquished the Anglo-Saxons, the Anglo-Saxons' tongue in its turn overthrew the French of the Normans. The greatest harm that was ever inflicted on the English language came from Johnson, who in giving English endings to long-

drawn Latin words, foolishly thought to impart dignity of style to his writings by words, big, not with meaning, but with sounding emptiness. Such silliness and childishness has happily died away; but still our young men have to be taught to follow our best and latest writers, and always to choose an Anglo-Saxon word before a Latin one. When this shall be done, then may we look forward to a bright period in our country's literature. We shall have our ears charmed with a flow of sounds as strong as they are sweet and beautiful, instead of, as often now happens, being wearied with a namby pamby gibberish made up of Greek, Latin, and French words, with English endings.¹⁴

A footnote refers to a short book, *Holy Readings*, where similar sentiments are expressed more briefly, and with emphasis on the strength of Saxon words.¹⁵

High praise is bestowed by Louis F. Klipstein on the sounds of the English language and the rich range of ideas expressed in it; though speakers of a language are hardly impartial judges of its beauty in sound and expressiveness:

It may not be amiss to observe in this place that no language ever possessed greater capabilities, or more powers of development, so as to become fully adequate for all the purposes of human speech, than the Anglo-Saxon; and in saying this we only express a leading characteristic of the Teutonic languages in general. The Anglo-Saxon, too, appears to us as one of the most original forms of language, not only containing words which from their formation and sounds we would be almost disposed to regard as primeval, but constructed throughout of elements definite as well as significant, and combining with such regularity as to constitute one beautiful and harmonious whole. We do not make this assertion at random or from prejudice, but in accordance with a full conviction of the judgment, after close study and thorough investigation, carried as far as our limited opportunities would allow.¹⁶

From such Anglophone praise of English one turns with relief to what was said in France about the sounds of English and Old English by Taine in the nineteenth century and Émile Legouis in the twentieth. Vigour and strength make themselves felt in the powerful acclamatory gruntings or growlings that Hippolyte Taine associates with the vernacular poetry of the Anglo-Saxons:

[W]hat remains [*Beowulf* and two or three fragments of 'lay-poetry'] more than suffices to show the strange and powerful poetic genius of the race, and to exhibit beforehand the flower in the bud.

If there has ever been anywhere a deep and serious poetic sentiment, it is here. They do not speak, they sing, or rather they shout. Each little verse [*i.e.* half-line] is an acclamation, which breaks forth like a growl; their strong breasts heave with a groan of anger or enthusiasm, and a vehement or indistinct phrase or expression rises suddenly, almost in spite of them, to their lips. There is no art, no natural talent, for describing singly and in order the different parts of an object or an event. The fifty rays of light which every phenomenon emits in succession to a regular and well-directed intellect, come to them at once in a glowing and confused mass, disabling them by their force and convergence. Listen to their genuine war-chants, unchecked and violent, as became their terrible voices. To this day, at this distance of time, separated as they are by manners, speech, ten centuries, we seem to hear them still.¹⁷

Some generalizations about the figurative poetic diction of Anglo-Saxon England and of Iceland follow, and then with reference to Old English poetry:

Four times successively they [the poets using 'variation' for the sun] employ the same thought, and each time under a new aspect. All its different aspects rise simultaneously before the barbarian's eyes, and each word was like a fit of the semihallucination which possessed him [the poet]. Verily, in such a condition, the regularity of speech and of ideas is disturbed at every turn. The succession of thought in the visionary is not the same as in a reasoning mind. One colour

induces another; from sound he passes to sound; his imagination is like a diorama of unexplained pictures. His phrases recur and change: he emits the word that comes to his lips without hesitation; he leaps over wide intervals from idea to idea. The more his mind is transported, the quicker and wider the intervals traversed. With one spring he visits the poles of his horizon, and touches in one moment objects which seemed to have the world between them. His ideas are entangled without order; without notice, abruptly, the poet will return to the idea he has quitted, and insert it in the thought to which he is giving expression. It is impossible to translate these incongruous ideas, which quite disconcert our modern style. At times they are unintelligible [a footnote, 'The cleverest Anglo-Saxon scholars, Turner, Conybeare, Thorpe recognise this difficulty']. Articles, particles, everything capable of illuminating thought, of marking the connection of terms, or producing regularity of ideas, all rational and logical artifices, are neglected [a footnote suggests that the French language 'is too clear, too logical' to do justice to such poetry]. Passion bellows forth like a great shapeless beast; and that is all. It rises and starts in little abrupt lines; it is the acme of barbarism.¹⁸

The views of an English contemporary, namely, J. R. Green, the highly successful popular historian, accord with Taine's:

It was not that any revolution¹⁹ had been wrought by Cædmon [when inspired to 'this sudden burst of song'] in the outer form of English song, as it had grown out of the stormy life of the pirates of the sea. The war-song still remained the true type of English verse,²⁰ a verse without art or conscious development or the delight that springs from reflection,²¹ powerful without beauty, obscured by harsh metaphors and involved construction, but it is eminently the verse of warriors, the brief passionate expression of brief passionate emotions. Image after image, phrase after phrase, in these early poems, starts out vivid, harsh and emphatic. The very metre is rough with a

sort of self-violence and repression; the verses fall like sword-strokes in the thick of battle. Hard toilers, fierce fighters, with huge appetites whether for meat or the ale-bowl, the one breath of poetry that quickened the animal life of the first Englishman was the poetry of war.²² But the faith of Christ brought in [. . .] new realms of fancy.²³

In America, Francis B. Gummere's views on the original audience of *Beowulf*, and on the poet who wrote for – or rather sang before – such an audience were no different: 'we may fancy that some deed of *Béowulf*, or a member of his kin was sung amid the enthusiasm of the warriors and their guests, with shouts of applause and remembered delight of battle, with copious flowings of the ale'.²⁴ Some years earlier Gummere had expatiated at greater length upon the poetic art of the Anglo-Saxons, though flowings of ale had not yet entered explicitly into his *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of Anglo-Saxon versification: 'The main characteristic of the earliest period [the Anglo-Saxon period of English verse] in our metre is strength, - a sort of breathless vigor: the accented syllables are the chief consideration, and they are emphasized not only by their weight, but also by the use of beginning-rime';²⁵ more fully:²⁶

The accented syllables were (in recitation) further marked by a stroke on some instrument. The importance of marking these four accents [that is, 'accented syllables'], the carelessness about unaccented syllables, are the chief characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon verse. The presence of such unaccented syllables and the consequent need to hurry over them so as to come to the strong ones, gave a sort of irregular but powerful leap to the rhythm. It is all weight, force, – no stately, even, measured pace, as in Greek epic verse. Our old metre inclines, like our ancestors themselves, to violence. It is at its best in describing the din of war, the uncertain swaying of warriors in battle; – a verse cadenced by the crashing blows of sword and axe. But we do not move forward. As was pointed out when we spoke of the parallelisms and repetitions of the Anglo-Saxon diction,²⁷ there is an eternal leaping back and forth, but there is little actual advance. As Scherer says,²⁸ the Germanic nature was fond of raining its blows on the same spot.

The context of Scherer's statement about the Germanic fondness 'of raining its blows on the same spot' is interesting. Scherer, a distinguished linguist, was in the forefront of those who believed that a nation's language is governed by that nation's character:

Innate in our entire language was therefore the style which we can recognize in the oldest poetic compositions of the nation. The Germanic poet is less concerned with the plenitude and palpability of the various imagined moments which he seeks to represent, than with their force. For that reason he always executes several strokes on one and the same spot. He depicts nothing other than the subject itself, but not so much by means of the most appropriate word but rather by means of a number of synonyms. He never seems satisfied and he struggles in vain to achieve total expression of his inmost representation.

This distinctiveness may arise from the passionate natural disposition of the Ancient Germanic peoples which vents its fury in war, play, and deeds of violence.²⁹

And a little later:

But the passionate reiteration of the same thought, the struggle to achieve a forceful designation of the subject could induce the poet to stress that part of the word which preeminently designated the subject, namely, the stem-syllable. This was a new means to achieve the same end.³⁰

Violence, strength, vigour, weight, and force, the emphasis on the root-syllables, treating the unaccented syllables without attention, hurrying over them to get to the sounds that matter, these are the characteristics of Germanic metre. They have their origin and reflect the temperament of the Ancient Germanic peoples themselves, and therefore of the Anglo-Saxons and their poetry, in the admiring eyes and ears of writers like Green, Scherer, and Gummere.

In France, Émile Legouis's popular history of English literature goes into details of Anglo-Saxon pronunciation. He judges the sound of Old English verse in contrast with Modern French:

[I]t might be said, of the essence of the English language, that in its Teutonic elements it surpasses French by its vigorous strokes, but that it speaks with a less melodious voice. What the French weakly call *force*, has an English name, *strength*, from the Anglo-Saxon *strengtho*, in which seven muscular consonants strangle a single vowel, but in the French word *oiseau*, a solitary consonant hums among soft vowels and diphthongs, which such effect that it makes the English *bird* (A.S. *bridd*) seem to have little power of suggestion.

The primary character of the Anglo-Saxon language derives from the predominance of its consonants. Not only are syllables introduced by a consonant or group of consonants (*h*, *sp*, *st*, *str*, *hr*, *thr*, etc.), but these consonants form the vital part of the syllables. They are explosive, not quiescent, and their noise drowns the neighbouring vowels, a characteristic of which the persistence is proved whenever any French word passes through an English throat, as when *donne* becomes *ddonne* or *plaine*, *pplaine*. The value given to the initial consonant, together with the tonic accent, which throws the root syllable into relief, and with the emphasis on the essential word of a sentence, make up the law of Anglo-Saxon versification. The comparative insignificance of vowels is shown in the rule that vowel sounds, which may be substituted for alliterations or repetitions of initial consonants, need not be identical. For here it is not the sound of the vowel but the absence of the consonant which is important. The effect is produced by the momentary softening of the line.³¹

One may disagree with the supposedly explosive nature of the predominating consonants of Old English, or with 'its vigorous strokes', *coups de vigueur*, but Legouis is justified in thinking that nominals have greater weight in verse than finite verbs or function words unless exceptional stress is given them for exceptional emphasis.³²

Taine, Gummere, and Legouis are not alone in thinking Anglo-Saxon poetry the utterances of barbarians, and its contemporary reception noisy, as is only to be expected from ale-swilling warriors. Their view is far from Kenneth Sisam's imaginary picture of the world of heroes, but he too thinks the audience

unsophisticated: 'A great man's hall was particularly suited for the display of noble conduct which contributes so much to the dignity of *Beowulf*. We are shown the best side of the life of heroes as it was imagined in Anglo-Saxon England'.³³ And the audience? It is difficult to tell if Sisam is thinking of the audience in the Danish court of Heorot or of the poet's audience at court in Anglo-Saxon England; perhaps he thinks they are much of a muchness, since the Anglo-Saxon poet is likely to have bodied forth the Danish and Geatish courts such as he (like Sisam) imagined the English court in days of yore:

the main audience would be the king's bodyguard, who shared his hearth and table (*heorðgeneatas*, *beodgeneatas*) and in battle formed the core of his army. These men were not chosen mainly for intellectual qualities. They should not be thought of as learned in legendary history or theology, and quick to interpret any difficulty of expression or allusion. Bold rather than delicate effects would suit them best.³⁴

Sisam is not concerned with the sound of poetry: Michael Alexander is, and he invites modern readers to think their progress in assimilating the poetry of *Beowulf* is like the Anglo-Saxon apprentice singer's progress in acquiring the art of composition. Bold rather than delicate effects suit such beginners best, and so, as they declaim half-line upon half-line, each phrase becomes the sequence of sword-strokes in the thick of battle that J. R. Green heard as he declaimed, and like Gummere's 'crashing blows of sword and axe':

Anyone who will speak aloud, or, better, declaim vigorously the lines quoted above [his verse translation of *Beowulf* lines 867b–874a], will soon get by ear the characteristic Anglo-Saxon rhythm. It is a formalized version of the rhythm of emphatic speech, derived originally from the rhythm of the heart and the rhythm of the breath. Reduced to its crudest form, it might be represented by

BANG . . . BANG : BANG . . . CRASH

The placing of the weak syllables among the heavy stresses may give five types of half-line [. . .] But the ear soon gets a grasp of the 'permissible' moulds.

In learning the possible forms of the half-line, the reader is going through the same process as does the apprentice singer. The half-line – a verbal and musical phrase containing two stresses – is the basic unit of Old English metric, and the singer would pause before and after each half-line. The halves are bound together over the mid-line break by an alliterative brace, but the important consideration in this kind of verse is the rhythm, the distribution of the stresses – not the alliteration, as is often thought.

The end of the line – so important in rhymed, end-stopped, or stanzaic verse, or any sort of printed poetry – is the creation of the editors of Old English poems, for in the original MSS. the poems are written as continuous prose, the quill stopping at the edge of the page. The end of the line, indeed, is far less important than in rhymed verse, the last stress actually breaking the alliteration instead of repeating it.

Once the apprentice singer has learnt to 'think in half-lines', he must learn the art of construction – of binding half-lines into sentences, sentences into episodes, and episodes into stories.³⁵

As the thoughtful poet of *Beowulf* moves forward in his narrative, often binding the last stress of a second half-line in alliteration to the line that follows, thus shaping his continuities into sentence paragraphs, his lines may not have been felt by him, 'bang, bang: bang, *crash*', like sword-strokes, even when battle against enemies – monstrous, Swedish, or draconic – is his immediate theme. The often subtle wit of the poets who composed the *Riddles*, many bookish, some sexual, is to be relegated to the world of unGermanic activities, as also when biblical and theological themes are the subject, when the sources are Latin, or when, as in the spiritual short poems, among them *The Dream of the Rood*, and others traditionally included among 'elegies', alliterative verse has been attuned to Christianity in sound and spirit by poets whose spiritual progress has perhaps left their bang-bang-bang-crash critics far behind. Some of them may still say with the earliest who wrote on Saxon poetry, that the sound of alliterative verse composed of stem-stressed words, monosyllabic except when inflected or expanded by prefixation or suffixation, always remains inappropriately harsh when applied to peaceful subjects. Praise of God, fear of death, these happen to be the earliest poetry, *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song*, that

survive in some of the earliest manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England. Alliterative verse can accommodate all manner of subjects, monosyllables may be shouted or whispered.³⁶ There are battle-scenes and turbulent voyages, and the sound that expresses them in verse may seem to be in harmony with them. Yet some traditionalists, deafened by the imagined din of battle and the roar of storm and waves in turmoil, will fail to listen to the quiet moments of devout reflection expressed in often excellent alliterative verse. Such readers probably still wonder, *Quod Christus cum Hinieldo?*

NOTES

¹ Daniel G. Calder, 'The Study of Style in Old English Poetry: A Historical Introduction', in *Old English Poetry Essays on Style*, ed. by D. G. Calder (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 1–65, has a good history of this scholarship. The following are important or interesting. George Hickes, 'De Poetica Anglo-Saxonum', in George Hickes, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archæologicus* (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705, 1703), I, 177–221. Thomas Tyrwhitt, 'An Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer', in *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, ed. by Thomas Tyrwhitt (London: for Payne, 1775), IV, 46–63. George Ellis, ed., *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (London: Bulmer for Nicol and Wright, 1801), I, 1–34. Sharon Turner, 'On the Anglo-Saxon Versification', in Sharon Turner, *The History of the Manners, Landed Property, Government, Laws, Poetry, Literature, Religion, and Language, of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: for Longman, and others, 1805), History of the Anglo-Saxons, IV, 409–17. John Josias Conybeare, 'Observations on the Metre of Anglo-Saxon Poetry', and 'Further Observations on the Poetry of our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors', *Archæologia*, 17 (1814), 257–74, reprinted as part of 'Introductory Essay on the Metre of Anglo-Saxon Poetry', in J. J. Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. by William Daniel Conybeare (London: for Harding and Lepard, 1826), pp. i–lxxv. Rasmus K. Rask, 'Verselære', in Rasmus K. Rask, *Angelsaksisk Sproglære* (Stockholm: Hedmanske Bogtrykkeri for Mag. Wiborg, 1817), pp. 108–29; trans. by Benjamin Thorpe, *A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue* (Copenhagen: Møller, 1830), pp. 135–68; 2nd edn (London: Trübner, 1865), pp. 114–25. Edwin Guest, 'Alliteration' and 'Un-accented Rhime', in Edwin Guest, *A History of English Rhythm*, 2 vols (London: Pickering, 1838), I, 140–45, II; chapters 2 and 3 refer to Old English poetry. Walter W. Skeat, 'Essay on Alliterative Poetry', in Frederick J. Furnivall and John W. Hales, eds, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London: Trübner, 1868), III, pp. xi–xxxix. Wilhelm Scherer, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin: Duncker, 1868; 2nd edn, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1878). Max Rieger, *Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1876); also *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 7 (1876), 1–64. Jakob Schipper, *Altenglische Metrik*, Englische Metrik in historischer und systematischer Entwicklung hergestellt, I (Bonn: Strauss, 1881), pp. 39–77. Eduard Sievers, 'Zur rhythmik des germanischen alliterationsverses', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 10 (1885), 209–314, 451–545; 12 (1887), 454–82; *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1893). Max Kaluza, *Studien zum germanischen Alliterationsvers* (Berlin: Felber, 1894), I–II, Der altenglische Vers, with, III, Friedrich Graz, 'Die Metrik der sog. Caedmonischen Dichtungen' (Weimar: Felber, 1894); Kaluza, 'Zur Betonungs- und Verslehre des Altenglischen', in *Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage Oskar Schades* (Königsberg: Hartung'sche Verlagsdruckerei, 1896), pp. 101–33. Erich Neuner, *Über ein- und drei-*

hebige Halbverse in der altenglischen alliterierenden Poesie (Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1920). Andreas Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, I, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, 8/1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1925). Hans Kuhn, *Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen* (Universität Marburg, Habilitationsschrift; Halle: Niemeyer, 1933), also *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 57 (1933), 1–109. John Collins Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942; rev. edn 1966). Alan J. Bliss, *The Metre of Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958; rev. edn 1967). Thomas M. Cable, *The Metre and Melody of 'Beowulf'*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 64 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974); *The English Alliterative Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). Wolfgang Obst, *Der Rhythmus des Beowulf*, Anglistische Forschungen, 187 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987). Geoffrey Russom, *Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Calvin B. Kendall, *The Metrical Grammar of 'Beowulf'*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Robert D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). Bellenden Rand Hutcheson, *Old English Poetic Metre* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995). Seiichi Suzuki, *The Metrical Organization of 'Beowulf'*, Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs, 95 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1996).

² See below. H. Taine, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (Paris: Hachette, 1863), I, 43 and see also note 13.

³ Cf. Jakob Schipper, *A History of English Versification* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), pp. 13–14. Klaus von See, *Germanische Verskunst*, Sammlung Metzler, M 67 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967), pp. 14–15, expresses persuasive doubts. A good account of the inadequacy of the glottal-catch theory is by Suzuki, *Metrical Organization*, pp. 307–12.

⁴ Turner, *History of the Manners*, IV, 375–76.

⁵ Conybeare, *Illustrations*, pp. vii–x; Conybeare, 'Further Observations', pp. 258–61.

⁶ That is not to accept the view that 'Old English verse is really the spoken language rather tidied up', which is rejected on, I think, irrefutable grounds by Fulk, *Old English Metre*, pp. 27–28 and footnote 51. The view had been widely advocated, for example, by C. L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London: Harrap, 1967), p. 26: 'Now, since the prosodic patterns of Old English poetry were primarily a selection of the more dignified and emphasized patterns of actual speech, continuity in form for English poetry, in so far as we may be sure of observing it, must be regarded as very largely due to a fundamental continuity in the actual stress-patterns of the language'.

⁷ Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker, eds, George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. xi–xliv, discuss the authorship of Richard Field's print, whether George or Richard Puttenham, or Lord Lumley: George Puttenham is generally accepted, cf. *STC* nos 20519 and 20519.5. Note, however, the facsimile edition: (*Lord*

Lumley?) *The Arte of English Poesie* London 1589, *The English Experience*, 342 (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1971).

⁸ *The Arte of English Poesie*, II. v. 76-77 (= facsimile, p. 63).

⁹ Puttenham, p. 68 (= facsimile, pp. 56-57), refers to the monosyllables of 'our naturall & primitiue language of the *Saxon English*' in his discussion of classical metres, II ch. 3 'Of proportion in measure'; these require more unstressed syllables than just the one supplied in Old English by inflexions. Similarly, p. 112 (= facsimile, p. 85), when approving, in II ch. 12 (heading), of 'the vse of the Greeke and Latine feete [. . .] brought into our vulgar Poesie'. The whole of this chapter is relevant to the difference in syllabicity of Old English words compared with early Modern English, and the effect this has on metre.

¹⁰ *The Arte of English Poesie*, p. 79 (= facsimile p. 65), II ch. VI (heading, p. 68 = facsimile p. 64) on 'the flowing of a meeter'. This chapter shows Puttenham's grasp of accent in words of more than one syllable, and of the place of stress in metre.

¹¹ Ellis is quoting Tyrwhitt, *Canterbury Tales* (1775), IV, 48 n. 40 ctd.

¹² George Ellis, *Specimens*, pp. 12-13. D. G. Calder, *Old English Poetry*, quotes Ellis too.

¹³ *Dolman's Magazine*, 2 (August-December 1845) (London: Dolman, 1846), 237-44 (p. 239), review of Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The Homilies of Ælfric, I* (1844). I have not been able to identify 'C. P. S.'; he is not in Richard Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur* (Leipzig: Veit & Comp., 1885), nor in Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson, eds, *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (Toronto and Buffalo: 1980). C. P. S. appears to have been a Roman Catholic; moreover he recommends the piety of *Holy Readings* (cf. note 15, below). Thorpe referred to the review in the preface of the second and subsequent editions of *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (London: Smith and others, 1846), quoting at length C. P. S. on the blessings that might be conferred on the youth at school in England by the study of Old English, and how the influence of Johnson has been wholly deleterious.

¹⁴ *Dolman's Magazine*, 2, pp. 243-44.

¹⁵ *Holy Readings* [. . .] *In One Hopeful & Good for All Catholics every where by the Author of 'Catholic Hours'* (London: Jones [a 'Catholic bookseller'], 1843), p. vi: 'we have followed a plan which experience urges us to recommend to all teachers of the people, and, especially, to all teachers of youth:- We have never employed a word of Norman derivation when we could readily think of a Saxon word of the same meaning.' p. vii: 'in books and in teachings meant for the people, it is wise to speak their language as much as we can. That language is essentially Saxon: and every Saxon word which we may employ, will not only be better understood by them, but will embody our own meaning more readily and strongly than any foreign word could do'.

¹⁶ Louis F. Klipstein, ed., *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica: Selections, in Prose and Verse, from the Anglo-Saxon Literature* (New York: Putnam, 1849), I, 82-83.

¹⁷ And he quotes in inaccurate translation at second hand the lines from near the beginning of *The Finnesburg Fragment* followed by lines from the beginning of *The Battle of Brunanburh*. H. A. Taine, *History of English Literature*, trans. by H. Van Laun, (London: Chatto & Windus, new edn 1883), I, 68. See H. Taine, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (Paris: Hachette, 1863), I, 43–44:

[C]e qui a subsisté suffit et au delà pour montrer l'étrange et puissant génie poétique qui est dans la race, et pour faire voir d'avance la fleur dans le bourgeon.

Si jamais il y eut quelque part un profond et sérieux sentiment poétique, c'est ici. Ils ne parlent pas, ils chantent, ou plutôt ils crient. Chacun de leurs petits vers est une acclamation, et sort comme un grondement; leurs puissantes poitrines se soulèvent avec un frémissement de colère ou d'enthousiasme, et une phrase, un mot obscur, véhément, malgré eux, tout d'un coup, leur vient aux lèvres. Nul art, nul talent naturel pour décrire une à une et avec ordre les diverses parties d'un événement ou d'un objet. Les cinquante rayons de lumière que chaque chose envoie tour à tour dans un esprit régulier et mesuré arrivent dans celui-ci à la fois, en une seule masse ardente et confuse, pour le bouleverser par leur saccade et leur afflux. Écoutez ces chants de guerre, véritable chants, heurtés, violents, tels qu'ils convenaient à ces voix terribles: encore aujourd'hui, à cette distance, séparés de nous par les mœurs, la langue, et dix siècles, on les entend.

¹⁸ Taine, *History of English Literature*, pp. 70–71.

¹⁹ 1902 replaces 'revolution' by 'changes'. This and the notes that follow give significant variants in vol. I of J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People Illustrated edition*, ed. by (Mrs) [Alice Stopford] Green and Kate Norgate, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1902), p. 53. Mrs [J. R.] Green's Introduction is dated December, 1887. Some of her alterations are, according to Mrs Green's introduction, based on her husband's revisions. The changes include references to later Cædmonian scholarship than was available in 1874, the edition quoted for which see note 23, below.

²⁰ 1902 adds 'accented and alliterative'.

²¹ 1902 adds 'a verse swift and direct,' and replaces the words 'powerful without beauty' by 'leaving behind it a sense of strength rather than of beauty'.

²² 1902 leaves out the sentence about 'appetites', 'the ale-bowl', and 'animal life' and adds: 'The love of natural description, the background of melancholy which gives its pathos to English verse, the poet only shared with earlier singers.'

²³ John Richard Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London: Macmillan, 1874), pp. 26–27.

²⁴ Francis B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins A Study in Primitive Culture* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 114.

²⁵ Francis B. Gummere, *A Handbook of Poetics for Students of English Verse* (Boston: Ginn, 1885), pp. 174–76. In Stefan Jurasinski's excellent article, 'The Ecstasy of Vengeance: Legal History, Old English Scholarship, and the "Feud" of Hengest', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 55 (2004), 641–61 (p. 648), he refers to Gummere's belief in a 'deep-rooted Germanic love of the feud, of bloodshed and revenge', and he quotes Gummere's 'cadenced by the crashing blows of sword and axe'. Gummere's *Handbook of Poetics* is not listed in R.W. Burchfield, 'The prosodic terminology of Anglo-Saxon scholars', in Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr, eds, *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 171–202; Gummere's terminology includes: *alternate rimes* 'cross-alliteration' abab (as in *Beowulf* l. 32) and 'transverse alliteration' baab (as in *Beowulf* l. 2982 if *wæron* is thought to be stressed and alliterate); *beginning-rime* 'alliteration'; *rime-giver* 'head-stave'.

²⁶ Gummere, *Handbook of Poetics*, p. 176.

²⁷ He refers to a similar statement earlier in his book.

²⁸ See Wilhelm Scherer, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 87; the passage is quoted more fully in the next note.

²⁹ Gummere provides no bibliographical reference to Scherer's *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 1st edn (1868), p. 159, 2nd edn (1878), p. 87. I quote 1878, giving in square brackets significant variants in 1868. Old English is mentioned only incidentally by Scherer whose book is about the German language, especially Old High German, and, inseparably linked to it by derivation and natural inclination, Proto-Germanic as it manifests itself in the recorded Germanic languages:

Unserer ganzen Sprache war also der Stil eingeboren, den wir aus den ältesten nationalen Poesien [Dichtungen] erkennen. Dem germanischen Dichter ist es weniger [nie] um die Fülle und Anschaulichkeit der einzelnen Vorstellung zu thun, die er erwecken will, als [sondern nur] um ihre Stärke. Er führt daher immer mehrere Streiche auf einen und denselben Fleck. Er bezeichnet nichts als die Sache selbst, aber nicht durch das [das eine] angemessenste Wort, sondern durch eine Zahl von Synonymen. Er scheint sich nie genug zu thun und vergeblich nach völligem Ausdruck seines innern Bildes zu ringen.

[Not in 1868:] Diese Eigenthümlichkeit mag aus dem leidenschaftlichen Naturell der alten Germanen fließen, das in Krieg und Spiel und Gewaltthat sich austobte.

The running head in 1868, pp. 156–59, reads 'Nationalleidenschaft und Nationalpoesie' [national passion and national poetry], in part I, 'Zur Lautlehre' [phonology], chapter 5, 'Der Ursprung der germanischen Lautform' [origin of the Germanic phonetic form]. Pages 160–62 have the running

head 'Alliteration und Fatalismus', with much on the inevitability of alliteration in the Germanic tribes given to drawing lots inscribed with runic letters; the whole of this wildly imaginative causation did not survive into 1878, where there are no running heads other than the chapter titles. The contents are analysed; pp. 86–89, 'Erklärung der germanischen Eigenthümlichkeit' [explanation of Germanic distinctiveness].

³⁰ p. 88, not in 1868: 'Aber das leidenschaftliche Wiederholen desselben Gedankens, das Ringen nach starker Sachbezeichnung, konnte den Dichter veranlassen, den vorzugsweise sachbezeichnenden Worttheil, die Wurzelsilbe, zu betonen. Es war das ein neues Mittel zu demselben Zwecke'.

³¹ Émile Legouis, *A History of English Literature, I: The Middle Ages & the Renaissance (650–1660)*, trans. by Helen Douglas Irvine (London: Dent, 1926), pp. 9–10. Cf. É. Legouis (and L. Cazamin), *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1921; quoted from the rev. edn, 1933), pp. 16–17:

On pourrait ainsi, exprimant l'essence de la langue anglaise, dire qu'en ses éléments teutoniques elle excelle, si on la compare à la nôtre, aux coups de vigueur et lui cède pour les émissions de voix mélodieuses. Nous nommons faiblement la *force* que l'anglais avec son unique voyelle étranglée entre sept consonnes musculeuses appelle si bien *strength* (anglo-saxon *strengtho*). D'autre part auprès de notre mot *oiseau* où une seule consonne gazouille entre de douces voyelles et diphthonges, le mot *bird* (ags. *bridd*) paraît bien insignifiant.

Or le caractère premier de l'anglo-saxon est dans la prééminence des consonnes. Non seulement les syllabes nous apparaissent ayant en tête une consonne ou un groupe de consonnes (*h, sp, st, str, hr, thr*, etc.) mais les consonnes sont la partie vitale de la syllabe. Elles ne sont pas tranquilles; elles font explosion, et leur fracas assourdit les voyelles voisines. Comme ce trait subsiste, il suffit de faire prononcer aujourd'hui n'importe quel mot français par un gosier anglais pour le sentir. *Donne* devient *ddonne*, *plaine* devient *pplaine* etc. C'est cette valeur de la consonne initiale qui, combinée avec l'accent tonique lequel met en relief dans le mot la syllabe radicale, et avec l'accent oratoire (*emphasis*) qui souligne dans la phrase le mot essentiel, a constitué la loi de la versification anglo-saxonne. L'insignifiance relative des voyelles se marque à la règle suivant laquelle les allitérations ou répétitions de consonnes initiales peuvent être remplacées par des sons de voyelles lesquelles n'ont pas besoin d'être identiques. C'est qu'en pareil cas ce

n'est pas le son de la voyelle qui importe, c'est l'absence de la consonne.

L'effet est produit par l'adoucissement momentané du vers.

³² The general principle, that the order of precedence of parts of speech in the alliterative system, nominals, finite verbs, grammar words, etc., is set out roughly, with examples, by Schipper, *History of English Versification*, pp. 50–54. Exceptions include the 'refrain' in *Deor* and *Beowulf* ll. 197, 790, 806, as well as l. 563; rare prosodic effects are achieved in *Exodus* l. 463b *Flod blod gewod*, and *Christ and Satan* l. 423 (unless corrupt).

³³ Kenneth Sisam, *The Structure of 'Beowulf'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 8.

³⁴ Sisam, *Structure of 'Beowulf'*, p. 9.

³⁵ Michael Alexander, trans., *The Earliest English Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966; repr. 1967), pp. 18–19.

³⁶ Early commentators on Germanic metre might have denied that. Guest, *History of English Rhythms*, has a chapter on 'Accent', I, 76–104, does not believe that an accented syllable is distinguished by sharpness of tone alone, but by loudness (p. 77): 'though an increase of loudness be the only thing *essential* to our English accent, yet it is in almost every instance accompanied by an increased sharpness of tone'. This is quoted by Skeat, 'Essay on Alliterative Poetry', in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. by Hales and Furnivall, III, p. xi, and he adds, 'I define a *loud* syllable as that whereon an accent falls, a *soft* syllable as an unaccented one'.

Anglo-Saxon Poetry in Iceland: The Case of *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida*¹

Andrew Wawn

Though the tale of post-medieval British and North American (re)discovery of Old English and Old Icelandic has been well told in recent times,² that of the equivalent Icelandic exploration of Old English has yet to find a teller.³ A loose quarto leaf included at the end of Lbs. [Landsbókasafn Íslands] MS 800 8vo offers one intriguing grain for truth's pile, from which a more comprehensive narrative might eventually emerge. The manuscript presents the holograph text of *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida*, a pioneering Icelandic version of *The Battle of Brunanburh* by Jón Jónsson Espólin (1769-1836), *sýslumaður*, scholar, and saga writer. This text dates from the early nineteenth century, and has never been printed. It is not the only extant Icelandic version of *Brunanburh*, now that Benedikt Gröndal Sveinbjarnarson's incomplete late nineteenth-century text has recently come to light,⁴ but the early date, manuscript environment, and authorial milieu of Jón's version make it worthy of comment.

The principal work in Lbs. MS 800 8vo, written out in Jón Espólin's minute but meticulous hand, is his 404 page Icelandic translation of the poems ascribed to 'Blindr Ossían / Bragsmidr Skota' [Blind Ossian, poet of the Scots].⁵ This remarkable achievement,⁶ its text based almost certainly on the 1807-09 Danish version of Steen Blicher (1782-1848), can be dated to the period between 1810 and Jón's death – a conclusion based partly on internal evidence. With paper always a scarce resource, Jón clearly stored re-usable spare sheets from dated letters received at his various homes (Brekubær, Flugumýri, Viðvík, Frostastaðir), with the first (from 1801) used for fol. 17, and the last (addressed to Frostastaðir, his home from 1822) for fols 365-66. Included with the Ossian manuscript is a separate quarto sheet on which we find the text of Jón's *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida*. The document is not a recycled letter, and has no watermarks, but its neat script is identical with (though larger than) that of the

Ossian text. We may reasonably assume that the two translations were done at much the same time.

Jón's primary source for his *Brunanburh* translation was the 'Carmen Anglo-Saxonicum de prælio Brunanburgensi inter Danos et Anglos, Anno 937', as printed (Anglo-Saxon text with parallel Latin translation) in the 1773 second volume of Jacob Langebek's *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*.⁷ This nine volume compilation, the first seven volumes of which were largely the work of Langebek, was taken over after his death by other accomplished old northern scholars based in Copenhagen, notably Peter Suhm and E. C. Werlauff. Langebek's compendium was an impressive example of the politically-driven, state-sponsored publication of medieval texts relating to Danish history that had begun in the late seventeenth century,⁸ and was to find further expression in the Old Icelandic text series published in Copenhagen from the 1770s under the auspices of the Arnamagnæan Commission. Grímur Jónsson Thorkelín's *Beowulf* text and translation, published in 1815, may be viewed as an integral part of these activities.⁹

As with Jón Espólín's *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida*, the Old English text for Benedikt Gröndal Sveinbjarnarson's late nineteenth-century 'Carmen de proelio Brunaburgensi' was also 'ritað eptir Langebek' [copied from Langebek], but Gröndal was aware that his source was 'víða rángt' [in many places incorrect],¹⁰ and he had been able to correct the text from the version established in the first volume of C. W. M. Grein's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* (1872-1933).¹¹ There was no such safety net for Jón Espólín earlier in the century: he had been flying blind with only Langebek's problematic primary text and Latin translation(s) to guide him. Jón is most likely to have encountered *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi* during his three years as a student in Copenhagen from May 1789. Unlike his fellow countrymen Grímur Thorkelín, Finnur Magnússon and Þorleifur Repp, he seems to have had no sustained contact with contemporary British scholars and antiquaries, and is thus unlikely to have been aware of the stirrings of interest in *Brunanburh* in England at this time. For instance, Thomas Warton's prose translation had been included in the first edition of his *History of English Poetry* (1774-81),¹² and by the time that Jón was at work on his own version, a revised and generously annotated new edition had appeared (in 1824),¹³ but these versions, along with that by James Ingram (1823; verse),¹⁴ will almost certainly have passed him by.

It is just possible that during his Copenhagen years Jón may have come across George Hickes's pioneering *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus*

grammatico-criticus et archæologicus (1703-05). This massive collection makes available both an Old English text of *Brunanburh* and Henry of Huntingdon's twelfth-century Latin version of the poem.¹⁵ Hickes is also almost certainly the first scholar to draw attention to the metrical and stylistic comparability of Old English alliterative verse and Old Icelandic *fornyrðislag*, by printing on adjacent pages extracts from *The Fight at Finnsburh* and *The Waking of Angantýr* (from *Hervarar saga*). By highlighting similarities of kenning usage within the two traditions, Hickes put down a marker for future exploration of the topic,¹⁶ and his insight eventually caught the eye of Thomas Warton, who notes that *Brunanburh* 'and many other Saxon odes and songs now remaining, are written in a metre much resembling that of the scaldic dialogue at the tomb of Angantyr'.¹⁷

It is likely, however, that Jón Espólin had to reinvent this particular wheel for himself, and we may say that he makes a remarkably resourceful and intelligent job of it. *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida* bears ample witness to Jón's philological ingenuity and energy. With the help of Langebek's notes and appendices, he crumbles the Old English text through his fingers, relishing the linguistic challenge it poses and the prosodic continuities it hints at. Jón had known the Eddas and sagas of his native land since he was a child, of course, and draws deftly on his accumulated knowledge when creating his own pastiche sagas such as *Sagan af Hálfðani gamla og sonum hans*. That work's archaised vocabulary and specially-crafted *fornyrðislag* verses may well have been designed to trick or tease the Copenhagen scholarly mafia,¹⁸ and such ventriloquial gifts made Jón the ideal man to exploit the similarities of alliteration, compound vocabulary, formulaic phrase, and narrative motif in the earliest poetic traditions of two North Atlantic islands. Jón duly adopted the Eddic *fornyrðislag*, with its pattern of interlinear alliteration, as the medium best suited for the *Brunanburh* text, as did his contemporaries Jón Þorláksson and Jónas Hallgrímsson when translating English and European poetry.¹⁹

The text presented here is a relatively conservative one that seeks to preserve Jón's spellings, word division, capitalisation, and unstandardised accents; *d* for *ð* is retained throughout, but some clarificatory punctuation has been added. Jón provides occasional annotation, some of which is cited. A relatively unvarnished English translation is provided:

Ræsir herjarla,
recka hringiafi,
Harri Adalsteinn

Lord of battle-earls,
ring-giver of men,
King Athelstan,

hliri með Iatmundi bardist at broddaleiki brondum eggskaurpum, gátu frægd æfilánga gylfar at borg Bruna.	brother alongside Edmund, fought at spear-play, with sharp-edged swords; they won life-long fame, heroes at Brunaburh.	5
Kiaurmegir Iátvards klufu þar brióstvarnir, hiuggu dyra skiauldu, hellz var þeim kynlagit landi vauru veita fyr víkinga lidi hefd og heimkynni, móti hverjum fianda.	Edward's select band breached breast-defences there, hewed precious shields; it was most in their nature to offer defence to land, against a viking horde, honour and home, against every foe.	10 15
Valr fell þar Skota, víkingar Dana hnigu ²⁰ ærinn var þó fyristada afl þeim lengi dugdi, hlumdi gaurd harla, hraustir kappar dou, frá því er glófaugr Guds drottins sunna gyltti glæstann dag til þess geck í ægi nidr.	The Scottish slain fell there, Danish vikings fell, though in opposition their strength long sufficed, assaulted the stronghold fiercely; bold heroes died, from when the radiant sun of the Lord God gilded the shining day until it went down into the sea.	20 25
Kappar lágu Skota und kaustum spióta, Skytar og Nordannmenn med skiauldum daudir, elltu Vestr-Saxar alla daglángann rackir at brandslógum reidmenn óvina.	Heroes laid low Scots under the casting of spears – Scots and Norsemen dead among the shields; the West Saxons chased all day long the bold ones at blade-clashes, enemy horsemen.	30
Hiuggu flugargiaurnum hálsa ok baktygi,	They hewed those eager to flee, necks and back-armour,	35

brustu við brynhringar	broke mail-rings,	
búkar rofnudu,	bodies were destroyed;	
skýrir beittu skioldungar	cunning kings wielded	
skorpum kvernbytum,	sharp swords;	40
spordu eigi Merkimenn	the Mercians did not spare	
spíot eða högg mikil,	spears or mighty blows,	
atgaungr afarlegar,	mighty attacks,	
orku gyldega,	great force	
þeim er með Ólafi	against those who with Óláfr	45
of ægi á sneckjum komu.	came from the sea in ships.	

Lágu á vígvelli,	Lay on the battlefield,	
lamdir sverdhoggum	struck down with sword blows,	
ungir jaufrar fimm,	five young kings –	
oc þó allhvassir,	though very fierce;	50
earlar sio samann	seven jarls together,	
þeir er Ólafi fylgdu,	who followed Óláfr;	
hundmaugr þíod skota,	a mighty band of Scots,	
oc af hafi víkingar;	and vikings from the sea;	
hilmir Nordmanna ²¹	a chief of the Northmen,	55
hrauck einn til skeyda,	slunk off to a ship –	
fleytti fáliðadr	launched with a few followers	
á flod hið skúmhvíta,	onto the frothy-white flood;	
braugnum var hann horfin	from men did he disappear,	
barg svo lífi sínu.	saved thus his life.	60

Kænn var Constantinus	Canny was Constantine.	
komst hann á flug undann,	He escaped by flight,	
hermaðr inn hári	the lofty warrior,	
til heima norðr vinna,	to head home to the north,	
hæðit vopnaleiki,	he gloried in weapon-play;	65
hnigi hans frændr allir,	all his kinsfolk fell,	
vinir á vígflautu,	friends on the battle-field,	
og vaskr arfþegi,	and his valiant heir,	
ungr í brynju lá	young in armour, lay	
þar eptir helfærðr.	there, death bound.	70

Kunni né inn bleikhári	The bleached-haired one could not,	
kæni herjaufr	canny battle-lord,	
at þat happi hrósa,	boast of that good luck;	
né Ólafr bardaga,	nor Óláfr of the battle;	
þeir eda herr þeirra	(neither) they nor their army	75
þurftut frægd hæla	needed to boast of glory	
í vopnydiu kappa	in armed conflict,	
þars vauðu nár þakti,	where the dead covered the battlefield;	
sverd of hátt glumdu	swords clashed noisily,	
enn saung í spiotflugum	still sang in spear-flights,	80
oc járnnum skipta skyldi	and would have sword-dealings	
við látvards erfivaurdu.	with Edward's heirs.	

Leif styrði Nordann-manna	The rest of the Norsemen steered –	
lituð var hún vigblóði,	stained were they with battle-blood –	
seymdum sneckjum sínum	their studded long-ships,	85
á sæ afardjúpann,	out on the deep ocean,	
of vedrmeginn ægis,	to the windy region of the sea,	
vegðs andvana,	bereft of glory –	
allt til Dyflinnar	all the way to Dublin,	
þar Irar bygd halda.	where the Irish are settled.	90

Barmar hvurfu bádir,	Both brothers disappeared	
bróndum hulidum	with hidden brands.	
Englaver og audlingr ²²	The defender of Angles and leader,	
endr af heidi nordann	formerly from the northern heath,	
heim til Vestr Saxa,	home to the West Saxons,	95
hófðu getit æmann sigr,	had won victory enough;	
leifðu val gulum	they left the slain to the yellow	
póddum landmyra,	frogs of the marshes,	
vörgum allmorgum	to the many wolves	
er víða til sott.	who ravaged far and wide.	100

Hrafn kom þar blúgnefr,	A bent-nosed raven came there,
hinna hási fenja byggvir,	the hoarse dweller of the fens,
fugl inn fótguli,	the yellow-footed fowl,
glóði flugandi,	gleaming in flight;

glenta kom in grádga,	came the greedy-mouthed one,	105
oc inn grábeini	and the grey-boned one,	
ulfr af eydimaurku,	a wolf from the marches –	
átu þar verd mikinn.	they ate there a mighty meal.	

Ár varat á eyju	Not in the early –	
í inum aldrænum	in the ancient – annals of the isles,	110
skráþ þar skata getit	is mention made there,	
skjóþum eggfránum	with sharp-edged swords,	
fleiri veginna,	of greater slaughter of men,	
siðz foru um haf austann ²³	since from the east went	
Saxar oc sudr Englar	Saxons and South Angles	115
at sækja land Breta,	to visit the land of the Britons;	
þá Vali gátu sigra	then they defeated the Welsh	
og vaska jarla felldu,	and slew valiant jarls –	
Visar inir veggjornu,	the leaders eager for glory,	
Vodans attkonir. ²⁴	the kindred of Woden.	120

A comparison of ll. 27-36 in Jón's translation with the equivalent passage in the Benedikt Gröndal version (ll. 23-32; quoted with the emended version of Langebek's Old English text from which he worked) helps to identify the different priorities of the two translators.²⁵ First Gröndal:

Skota lýðir	Sceotta léoðe
ok skip-flotnar	and scip-flotan
feigir féllu	fæge feollon
fold dunaði	feld dynade (dennede)
seggja sveita	secga sváté
siðan sunna upp	siððan sunne up
um morgun tíð	on morgen tið
mæra túngl	mære tungol
leið yfir grundir	glað ofer grundas
guðs kyndill bjartr	godes condel beorht
eilífs dróttins	eces dryhtnes
unz at hin ágæta aðal skepna	oþ þæt sió æthele gesceaft
seig at setri	sah to setle

These lines bear the mark of a *jeu d'esprit*, as one of nineteenth-century Iceland's most accomplished wordsmiths celebrates the ease with which cognate Icelandic forms can be found to accommodate and mimic the Old English phraseology.²⁶ Translation borders on transliteration, not out of insecurity or lack of imagination, but as a display of linguistic ingenuity. The Espólin version of these same lines presents a different stylistic face to the world:

Valr fell þar Skota,	
víkingar Dana hnigu	
œrinn var þó fyristada	
afl þeim lengi dugdi,	20
hlumdi gaurd harla,	
hraustir kappar dou,	
frá því er glófaugr	
Guds drottins sunna	
gyllti glæstann dag	25
til þess geck í ægi nidr.	

Though Jón is alert to parallels between Old English and Icelandic vocabulary other priorities are also identifiable. For instance, we may note the pattern of Eddic echo and allusion established here, as where *valr* (l. 27) [those slain in battle] recalls the fateful valkyries at *kiosa val* [selecting the slain]. Jón's response to *feld dynede* involves the rare Eddic verb *hlymja* (l. 31) rather than the more prosaic *dynja*. And Jón's sun sinks with more residual mythological resonance – *geck í ægi nidr* (l. 36) [went down in the sea] – than does Gröndal's, which, in more courtly fashion, *seig at setri* [sank to its setting/abode]. The elaboration of *gyllti glæstann dag* (l. 35) [gilded the shining day] recalls the enamelled diction of skaldic verse, though only by sacrificing the formulaic variation in the Old English 'Godes condel beorht / Eces Dryhtnes', an element eventually restored by Gröndal in 'guðs kyndill bjatr / eilífs dróttins' [bright candle of God, of the Eternal Lord]. Lastly, by generating two verbs, *fell* (l. 27) and *hnigu* (l. 28), to cover OE *feollan*, Jón achieves his own variation, albeit at the loss of the bleak simplicity of *Brunanburh*, where the same verb governs the fate shared by the doomed warriors on both sides.

The stylistic characteristics signalled in these lines are confirmed by Jón's treatment of preceding sixteen lines with which the poem opens. The Icelandic version is accompanied here by Langebek's unamended Old English text:

Ræsir herjarla,	ÆDELSTAN Cyning.	
recca hringiafi,	Eorla Drihten.	
Harri Adalsteinn	Beorna beah-gyfa.	
hlira med Iatmundi	And his brodor eac <i>Eadmund</i> ædeling.	
bardist at broddaleiki	Ealdor langne tyr.	5
bróndum eggskaurpum,	Geslohgon æt secce.	
gátu frægd æfilánga	Sveorda ecgum.	
gylfar at borg Bruna.	Ymbe <i>Brunanburh</i> .	
Kiaurmegir Iátvards	Bord-veal clufan.	
klufu þar brióstvarmir,	Heovan headolinde.	10
hiuggu dyra skiauldu,	Hamora lafan.	
hellz var þeim kynlagit	Afaran EADVEARDES	
landi vaurn veita	Sva him geædele væs.	
fyr vikinga lidi	From cneo-mægum.	
hefd og heimkynni,	Thaer hie æt campe.	15
móti hverjum fianda.	Oft vid ladra gehvæne.	
	Land ealgodon.	
	Hord and hamas hettend crungun.	

The Norsemen may have come second at the real Battle of Brunanburh, but Jón's energies seem devoted here to ensuring that old northern poetic tradition wins the replay nine centuries later. He immediately winches up the stylistic register by deploying medieval poetic vocabulary, as with *ræsir* (l. 1), *harri* (l. 3), *hliri* (l. 4), and *gylfar* (l. 8); and he finds additional metaphoric colour and complexity as *secce* becomes *broddaleiki* (l. 5), and *Sveorda ecgum* re-emerges as *bróndum eggskaurpum* (l. 6). And if *Hamora lafan* proves to be a kenning too far for him, Jón adopts a deft solution – *hellz var þeim kynlagit* (l. 12) – for the potentially tricky *Sva him geædele væs*; he finds a matching triad – *landi* (l. 13) / *hefd* / *heimkynni* (l. 15) – for *land* [. . .] *hord and hamas*; and senses the parallels between *clufan* [. . .] *Heovan* and *klufu* (l. 10) / *hiuggu* (l. 11). As for *hettend*, no English translator of *Brunanburh* during Jón's lifetime used 'viking' as the naturalised English form of Old Icelandic *víkingr*. The word was virtually unknown in Britain until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and took its time thereafter to achieve its full romantic resonance; whereas Jón's *fyr vikinga*

lidi (l. 14) reminds us that *vikingr* had been an integral part of the Icelandic literary word-hoard for a thousand years.

After this opening flourish the stylistic register is taken down a notch or two, as Jón's translation responds deftly to the rhetorical challenges of the original – the kennings, the litotes, the formulaic motifs, and the concluding authenticating glance towards the *bec* [. . .] / *Ealde udvitan* [books [. . .] aged sagas] of the Langebek Old English original. An occasional error catches the eye, as in Jón's improbable augmentation of the familiar beasts of battle topos.²⁷ As comparison with Campbell's 1938 Old English edition confirms, the Langebek version used by Jón represented quite a challenge to any Enlightenment-Age Anglo-Saxonist, no matter how accomplished:

Lætan him behyndan.
 Hræfn *Bryttian*
 Salu vipadan
 And thone sveartan hrefn.
 Hymned nebban
 And thane hasean padan.
 Earn æftan hvit æses brucan.
 Grædigne gud-hafoc.
 And thæt græ-gedeor wulf on vælde.²⁸ (Langebek)

Letan him behindan *hræ* bryttian
 saluwigpadan, þone sweartan hræfn,
 hymnednebban, and þane *hasupadan*
 earn æftan hwit, æses brucan
 grædigne guðhafoc ond þæt græge deor,
 wulf on wealde.²⁹ (Campbell)
 [They left behind them, corpses to enjoy,
 the dark-plumed one, the black raven,
 horny-beaked, and the dun-plumed one,
 the eagle, white of tail, carrion to enjoy,
 greedy war-bird, and that grey beast,
 wolf in the wood]

Variant readings, both helpful (hasean padan: *hasopadan*) and unhelpful (Hræfn Bryttian: *hrav Bryttigean*), are supplied by the Danish editor, as are two

paraphrastic Latin translations in which ingenuity and inaccuracy vie for supremacy:

Ergo corvus niger ore cornutus, & buffo liuens, aqvila cum milvo, canis, lupusque mixtus colore, his sunt deliciis diu recreati.

[And so the black crow, horned in its mouth/beak, and the dark-coloured toad, and the eagle with the kite, and the dog, and the wolf of mingled colour—by these delicacies were they long refreshed] (Henry of Huntington, twelfth century)

Corvus Britannos esca emunxit, & iste niger corvus, fronte cornutus, lividusque bufo. Aqvila albam escam secuta, milvo usa [sic] voraci intestino, lupusque dominio voracior. [The crow despoiled the Britons with its booty, and it is a black crow, horned in its beak, and the toad too is bluish-black. The eagle is in pursuit of the white tid-bit, and so too is the kite, which uses its voracious stomach, and so too does the wolf, more voracious in its dominion] (Abraham Wheloc, 1644)³⁰

With such uncertain guidance at Jón's disposal, it is hardly surprising that Langebek's 'Lætan him behyndan / Hræfn Bryttian / Salu vipadan' unravels into 'leifdu val gulum / poddum landmyra' (ll. 98-99) [they left the slain to the yellow frogs of the marshes]. After all, even Anglo-Saxon scribes had stumbled over *saluwigpadan* and *hasupadan*.³¹ That *gulum poddum* [*pöddum*] could emerge, with no encouragement from the Latin versions, shows that Jón had his eye on the Old English text,³² which could have suggested an Icelandic noun phrase along the lines of *söl padda* [sallow/yellow frog]).³³ We might add, however, that it is not clear what sort of creature Jón may have understood by an Icelandic *padda*, for what the famously brief seventy-second chapter in *The Natural History of Iceland* (1758) says of snakes – 'No snakes of any kind are to be met with in the whole of Island'³⁴ – could just as easily have been said of frogs.

To set against Jón's struggle with the beasts of battle, we may note several more positive features. Firstly, in the manuscript Jón favours a stanzaic presentation of the poem (the first line of each new verse is inset slightly) which anticipates the arrangement to be found in Alfred Lord Tennyson's 1880

translation of *Brunanburh*.³⁵ Secondly, the careful treatment of 'Leif styrði Norðann-manna / [. . .] seymdum sneckjum sínum' (ll. 84, 86) [The remnants of the Norsemen steered their studded long-ships] is impressive. This reading accords with Langebek's gloss on *dreorig dara tha laf* (OE *laf* linked with Latin *reliqvæ* and Old Icelandic *leif*)³⁶ and ignores the siren voices of Henry of Huntingdon and Wheloc (both quoted by Langebek) who associate *laf* with a named individual, Anlaf/Anlavus (Óláfr). Thirdly, the battle depiction seems more three-dimensional in Jón's version. At the point where the Old English poet tells how the West Saxons 'Heovon here-flyman / Hindan thearle mecum / Mylen scearpan' [fiercely they hewed down from behind with mill-sharp swords those who fled], Jón's Icelandic (ll. 35-43) projects additional physicality onto the conflict's ebb and flow. Fourthly, in that same passage the transformation of *mecum / Mylen scearpan* into *skorpum kvernbytum* attracts one of the translator's more intriguing marginal notes: 'Þar kenningin er þvilík Engil Saxeyskum; hefi eg leidd mer i hug ad þeir brædr hafi att sverd svo kollud eins og það Adalsteinn gaf Hakoni, sem hafi verid reind í því sama, því traudt muna Engil Saxar k[e]n[n]t hafa vid hans sverd' [here the kenning is similar to the Anglo-Saxon (one). It has occurred to me that the brothers (Athelstan and Edmund) may have had swords with names similar to the one for the sword that Athelstan gave to Hákon, swords which were put to the test in the same (battle), for the Anglo-Saxons will hardly have named their swords after his]. Jón wonders whether *Brunanburh*'s 'mill-sharp swords' expression may derive indirectly from *Kvernbitr*, the name by which the sword given to King Hákon góði Haraldsson by his English foster-father King Athelstan came to be known, after the precocious Hákon had split a mill-stone with it.³⁷ Perhaps the fame of that original weapon and its name encouraged the brothers to create equivalent Old English names for their own swords, with that term eventually finding expression in the Old English poem. And, we may add, perhaps it did not!

If the language and style of *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida* have their intriguing features, so does the cultural politics underpinning it. For all his interest in British literature, as confirmed by his translations from the Ossianic corpus and of *Brunanburh*, Jón was certainly not motivated by the pro-English political preoccupations of several of his scholarly fellow countrymen. For Icelanders such as Þorleifur Repp (who lived in Edinburgh 1826-37)³⁸ and Eiríkur Magnússon (in Cambridge from the mid 1860s until his death in 1913),³⁹ the relentless assertion

of medieval cultural affinities between England and Iceland was part of a dedicated strategy to loosen the hold of modern Danish political control over their native land, by drawing attention to alternative cultural-political compatibilities with the British Isles. Thus, for Repp and Eiríkur the identification of linguistic parallels between Icelandic and English medieval literature represents a prelude to political action. Jón Espólin had good reason to see things differently. He was a *sýslumaður*, a regional official in Iceland, responsible to the Danish government for law and order. He was, moreover, a poacher turned game-keeper—the dissolute, debt-ridden, billiard-playing student reprobate who become an energetic functionary of the Danish crown, touring the valleys of north Iceland on horseback, fighting the good fight against drink, debauchery, dodgy dealing, and disputed paternity suits.⁴⁰ Thoughts of devoting his poetical and philological energies to the cause of challenging Danish authority in Iceland will have been far from his mind. Moreover, we may note that the prefatory matter to the second volume (containing *Brúnaborga Bardaga Quida*) of Langebek's *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi* would have reminded him, had any reminder been needed, of where the loyalties of Icelandic civil servants such as himself should lie. The volume is dedicated to the young Crown Prince Frederik, 'Principi Haeredi Daniae, Norvegiae, Vandalorum, Gothorumque, Ducis Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae, et Ditmarsiae, Comiti in Oldenburgo et Delmenhorst' [Heir Apparent to the Danes, Norwegians, Vandals, and Goths; Duke of Slesvic, Holsten, Stormarn, Ditmarsken; Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst]. Such ceremonial fanfares recall the warfare by dedication that marked the publications of Swedish and Danish scholars of the old north during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴¹ The Langebek volumes ensured that this loyalist spirit continued to resonate well into the nineteenth century, providing a counterpoint to the emerging pulse of Icelandic romantic nationalism.

Jón's scholarly preoccupation is with history in all its shapes and sizes. As his chronicle-style narratives reveal, no-one knew better than he what was going on in his native Skagafjörður,⁴² and his breezy accounts of national events over several centuries enjoyed widespread popularity.⁴³ Jón's fascination with Ossian and the Langebek *Brúnanburh* may be seen as part of his deep-rooted interest in the re-imagining and re-narration of medieval history, both European and from further afield. Unlike his *Íslands Árbækur í sögu-formi*, which were published in Copenhagen (by Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1821-55), only two of his more specialist historical narratives found a publisher (in Iceland), and that was twenty years after his death.⁴⁴ Ossian's works certainly had their admirers in Iceland,⁴⁵

but Jón's lengthy page translation may have seemed rather too much of a good thing for even the boldest nineteenth-century publisher at sixty-six degrees north. As for *Brúnaborgar Bardaga Quida*, it is not hard to imagine such a work finding a ready readership in journals such as *Skírnir* or *Eimreiðin*, but there is no evidence that Jón ever sought publication. So it is that the poem was left to gather dust and damp among the translator's papers, a silent witness, firstly, to the inquisitive and enterprising spirit of a still under-rated Icelandic writer in whose work Philology and Mercury found a surprisingly happy marriage; and, secondly, to the completion of a virtuous cultural circle, whereby an Old English poem originally influenced by Old Icelandic poetry,⁴⁶ is eventually re-absorbed into Icelandic literary tradition.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to Jim Binns, Robert Cook, Magnús Fjalldal, Tom Shippey and Sveinn Yngvi Egilsson for commenting helpfully on parts of this paper; and to Sjöfn Kristjánsdóttir and Aðalgeir Kristjánsson in the Handritadeild of Landsbókasafn Íslands for deciphering several problematic manuscript readings. Responsibility for errors that remain is mine alone.

² See, for example, Timothy Graham, *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2000); *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997); Roberta Frank, 'The Battle of Maldon: Its Reception, 1726-1906', in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period: Studies in Honor of Jess B. Bessinger, Jr.*, ed. by Helen Damico and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993), pp. 29-46; Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000).

³ Though a good start has been made by Magnús Fjalldal, *Anglo-Saxon England in Icelandic Medieval Texts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁴ Sverrir Tómasson, "'Iarlar árhvatir / Iörð um gátu": Þýðingar Benedikts Gröndals Sveinbjarnarsonar úr fornensku', in *Skorrdæla: Gefin út í minningu Sveins Skorra Höskuldssonar*, ed. by Bergljót Soffía Kristjánsdóttir and Matthías Viðar Sæmundsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2003), pp. 179-86.

⁵ Finnur Magnússon's phrase in his *Minnis-Ljóð um Jón Milton ok Jón Þorláksson til Herra Jóns Heaths M.A., frá Íslendingum* (København: [n. pub.], 1829), p. 3.

⁶ Discussed in Andrew Wawn, 'Óðinn, Ossian and Iceland', in *Sagnaping helgað Jónasi Kristjánssyni: sjötugum 10. apríl 1994*, ed. by Gísli Sigurðsson, Guðrún Kvaran and Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 2 vols (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1994), II, 829-40.

⁷ *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*, ed. by Jakob Langebek and others (Copenhagen: Joh. Phil. Bockenhoffer, 1772-1878).

⁸ The political rivalry between Denmark and Sweden found expression in feverish philological activity in both countries: see Mats Malm, 'Áhugi á íslenskum handritum á Norðurlöndum', in *Handritin: Ritgerðir um íslensk miðaldahandrit, sögu þeirra og áhrif*, ed. by Gísli Sigurðsson and Vésteinn Ólason (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2002), pp. 101-08.

⁹ *De Danorum rebus gestis secul. III & IV. Poëma danicum dialecto anglosaxonica* (Copenhagen: Th. E. Rangel, 1815).

¹⁰ Sverrir Tómasson, in *Skorrdæla*, p. 181.

¹¹ Sverrir Tómasson, in *Skorrdæla*, p. 183.

¹² Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols (London: Dodsley, 1774-81), I, Sig. e3^v-e4^v.

¹³ Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century*, 4 vols (London: Tegg, 1824), I, pp. lxxxvii-cii.

¹⁴ In James Ingram, *The Saxon Chronicle: With an English Translation, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823), pp. 141-45.

¹⁵ George Hickes, *Linguarum vet. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus*, 2 vols (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1703-05), I, 181-82 (Old English version), pp. xiv-xv (Henry of Huntingdon version).

¹⁶ Hickes, *Thesaurus*, I, 192-93. See Christine Fell, 'The First Publication of Old Norse Literature in England and its Relation to its Sources', in *The Waking of Angantyr: The Scandinavian Past in European Culture*, ed. by Else Roesdahl and Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, Acta Jutlandica LXXI: I, Humanities Series, 70 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), pp. 27-57.

¹⁷ Warton, *History* (1774-81), I, Sig. e4^v.

¹⁸ Olai Skulerud, *Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin and Manchester* (Kristiania: Moestues, 1918), p. 14; P. E. Muller, *Sagabibliothek*, 3 vols (København: Schultz, 1817-20), II, 672-75.

¹⁹ See Sveinn Yngvi Egilsson, *Arfur og umbylting: Rannsókn á íslenskri rómantik* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag og ReykjavíkurAkademían, 1999), pp. 315-25.

²⁰ Jón notes: 'Olafr Skota Konungr var Danskr, at móðerni frá Ragnari Lodbrok; hans er því eins getid í Egils sögu, enn Constantinus Skota Konungr veitti honum lid, og Vikingar ad auki' [Óláfr, King of the Scots, was Danish on his mother's side, from Ragnarr loðbrók; he is referred to as such in *Egils saga*; and Constantine, King of the Scots, offered him support, as did vikings].

²¹ Jón's note: 'annadhvort herkongr einhverr eda Olafr sialfr, sem eins og Danskur, kann hafa verid kalladr Nordmadr af Engli Soxum, enn Egils saga segir hann hafi fallid' [either some warrior king or Óláfr, King of the Scots, himself, who, as a Dane, could have been called a Norseman by the Anglo-Saxons – but *Egils saga* says that he fell (in the battle)].

²² Jón's note identifies this figure as 'Íátmundr' [Edmund].

²³ Jón's note offers 'síðann' [later] as an alternative.

²⁴ Jón's note: 'Saxa Odins afkomendr, Engil Saxa konungr sem þeir kolludu Vodan' [Descendants of Óðinn of the Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon king whom they called Woden].

²⁵ Sverrir Tómasson, in *Skorrdæla*, p. 181; *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*, II, 414.

²⁶ Gröndal's literary milieu is discussed illuminatingly in Sveinn Yngvi Egilsson, *Arfur og umbylting*, pp. 176-205.

²⁷ See M. S. Griffith, 'Convention and Originality in the Old English "Beasts of Battle" Typescene', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1992), 179-99. On the distinction between Old English elegiac and Old Icelandic triumphalist deployment of this topos, see Judith Jesch, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves: Beasts of Battle, Symbols of Victory and Death', in *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century*, ed. by Judith Jesch (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 251-80. Jón Espólin's fondness for Ossianic melancholy as well as for *fornaldarsögur* bravado will have enabled him to accommodate both traditions.

²⁸ *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*, II, 418-49.

²⁹ *The Battle of Brunaburh*, ed. by Alistair Campbell (London: Heinemann, 1938), p. 94.

³⁰ *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*, II, 421.

³¹ On these problematic readings, see *Brunaburh*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 90-91, 135, 142; *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by Elliott van Kirk Dobbie (London: Routledge; New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. 19; and Peter Orton, *The Transmission of Old English Poetry* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 89, 105.

³² At l. 51 we even find him accidentally writing *eorlas* for **iarlas*.

³³ A similarly associative moment seems to have produced Thomas Warton's 'hoarse toad' for *hasupadan*, though his 'dark-blue toad' for *saluwigpadan* indicates dependence on Wheloc's Latin.

³⁴ Niels Horrebøw, *A Natural History of Iceland* (London: Linde, 1758), translated from the 1752 Danish original. Quoting the chapter in its entirety was a favourite 'party piece' of Dr Samuel Johnson.

³⁵ Discussed in Edward B. Irving, 'The Charge of the Saxon Brigade: Tennyson's *Battle of Brunanburh*', in *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. by Donald G. Scragg and Carole Weinburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 174-93.

³⁶ *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*, II, 418.

³⁷ *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, 4 vols (Reykjavík: Prentverk Akraness, 1944), I, 48.

³⁸ Andrew Wawn, *The Anglo-Man: Þorleifur Repp, Philology and Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Reykjavík: Bókautgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1991), pp. 105-32, 203-12.

³⁹ Andrew Wawn, 'Fast er drukkið og fátt lært': *Eiríkur Magnússon, Old Northern Philology and Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, 2001), pp. 12-20.

⁴⁰ On Jón, see Ingi Sigurðsson, *The Historical Works of Jón Espólin and His Contemporaries* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1972); also 'Jón Espólin: eftir sjálfan hann', in *Merkir Íslendingar*, ed. by Þorkell Jóhannesson, 5 vols (Reykjavík: Bókfellsútgáfan, 1947-57), V, 126-292.

⁴¹ The prefatory material accompanying Jakob Reenhielm's edition of *Thorstens Viikings-sons Saga på gammal Göthska* (Upsala: Curio, 1680) is a good case in point.

⁴² Jón Espólín and Einar Bjarnarson, *Saga frá Skagfirðingum, 1685-1847*, ed. by Kristmundur Bjarnason, Hannes Pétursson and Ögmundur Helgason, 4 vols (Reykjavík: Íðunn, 1976-79).

⁴³ Jón Espólín, *Íslands Árbækur í sögu-formi*, 12 vols (Kaupmannahöfn: Hið Íslenska Bókmentafélag, 1821-55).

⁴⁴ *Sögur Sólons hins spaka og Platons heimspekings* (Akureyri: Jón Borgfirðingur, 1858); *Langbarða sögur, Gota ok Húna* (Akureyri: Prentsmiðja Norðr- og Austr-umdæmisins, 1859).

⁴⁵ Helgi Þórláksson, 'Ossian, Jónas, and Grímur', *Mimir*, 14 (1969), 22-33; Sveinn Yngvi Egilsson, *Arfur og umbylting*, p. 324.

⁴⁶ The case is argued in John D. Niles, 'Skaldic Technique in *Brunanburh*', *Scandinavian Studies*, 59 (1987), 356-66; see also Roberta Frank, 'Did Anglo-Saxon Audiences Have a Skaldic Tooth?', *Scandinavian Studies*, 59 (1987), 338-55.

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