Leeds Studies in English

Article:
Carla Morini, 'The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York', Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 36 (2005), 63-104

Permanent URL:
https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=123780&silolibrary=GEN01

Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lse
The Old English *Apollonius* and Wulfstan of York

Carla Morini

The *Historia Apollonii regis Tyrii* (henceforth *HA*), a romance of travel, exile and love, has been handed down to us in various Latin and vernacular redactions. There are basically two hypotheses as to its origin. According to the first of these the work was initially composed in Greek during the third century AD and then translated into Latin at the end of the fifth century; according to the second hypothesis the text was compiled in Latin at that same time, before being reworked from a Christian perspective at some point between the fifth or the sixth centuries. The rich Latin textual tradition of this romance, which has been collected and studied by A. Riese and A. A. G. Kortekaas, dates from the ninth century and can be classified in three recensions known as *RA*, *RB* and *RC*. This romance was not only considered worthy of preservation in Latin but also of being translated into different vernaculars from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries.

The Old English translation of the *HA*, the first vernacular version of the text, has recently been the subject of renewed interest. It is my intention in this article to investigate two related questions: why was a fragmentary copy of the Old English translation (henceforth *OEHA*) preserved in a codex containing Wulfstan's laws and homilies (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201B)? Who made the translation, and for what purpose? In addressing these questions I will analyse the translation with respect to its source, and investigate the evidence for its authorship, in relation to Wulfstan himself or to his entourage. Both the substance and style of the translation seem closely related to Wulfstan's writings and ideology.
The OEHA and its manuscript

Nothing is known about the arrival of the first Latin copy of the HA in Anglo-Saxon England. No Anglo-Latin manuscript of the HA has survived and the Latin tradition of the romance that did survive in England, part of the so-called redaction C, is more recent in origin than the Old English translation. It has been suggested that probably the earliest copy of the Latin text of the HA was brought to Anglo-Saxon England, together with many other Latin texts, by Benedict Biscop, founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow (681). But it should also be borne in mind that Bishop Cynewald of Worcester (929-57) used to import books from various continental monasteries (Jumièges, Hornbach, St Gall, Constance), as did his successor Oswald. Moreover Wulfstan of York (†1023) brought from York to Worcester many Latin texts by several authors and encouraged the copying of many other continental writings.

It is known that a text entitled Apollonium Anglice was preserved in the library of the abbey at Burton on Trent; this copy is now lost. Thus the only Old English text of the HA to reach us is that preserved in the second part of Corpus Christi College MS 201B, written by three scribes around the middle of the eleventh century. The two parts of Corpus Christi College MS 201—Ker 49 (A, pp. 1-7, 161-7 + B, pp. 8-160, 167-76) and Ker 50—both written in insular minuscule, were put together at Canterbury in the second half of the eleventh century. Corpus Christi College 201B is a miscellany that contains Wulfstan's homilies, laws, and ecclesiastical institutes, as well as a few texts of other genres. While the second part of this manuscript (Ker 50) was undoubtedly written at Exeter, the place of origin of its first part (A + B) has not been definitively established; in fact, it has been variously argued that it was written in York, Winchester, or Worcester.

Corpus Christi College MS 201B does not contain the entire translation of the HA into Old English, but just two fragments of it, respectively corresponding to chapters 1-22 (MS, pp. 131-40) and 48-51 (MS, pp. 141-5) of the Latin romance. It may be regarded as a copy from another exemplar, firstly because of copying mistakes, such as Apallinus or Apollianus for Apollonius; and, secondly, because both the end of p. 145, where the OEHA finishes, and the following page which concludes the quinternion, contain no text. The empty space suggests that the text which follows was copied before the OEHA, and that its lost archetypal form was either
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

similarly fragmentary, or that a decision was taken to copy only some of the available excerpta. The OEHA text, copied by the same early eleventh-century hand responsible for copying most of the texts in Corpus Christi College MS 201B,\(^2^0\) is not exempt from corruption, as can be observed by the modern editorial emendations made to the Latin.\(^2^1\) Nothing in the language or orthography of the text has helped us to establish a more precise dating for the translation than the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.\(^2^2\)

Was there a particular reason why the OEHA was preserved in this codex, located between Wulfstan's homilies and various legal texts? It has been suggested that the manuscript contains annotations or excerpts of juridical material that were personally utilised by Archbishop Wulfstan.\(^2^3\) Corpus Christi College MS 201B is not a collection of a purely juridical nature, and Mary Richards has argued that there was a reason for placing instructional texts and items addressing matters of faith between law texts dealing with similar topics: all the pieces served to provide Anglo-Saxon people with useful instructional material.\(^2^4\) She concludes that this careful arrangement of the entire codex 'was made under Wulfstan's supervision,\(^2^5\) and that the OEHA has nothing to do with this plan, having been added later by others, because the romance, 'a marvellous narrative', belonged to a genre that Wulfstan avoided.\(^2^6\)

As I have recently noted,\(^2^7\) the fragments of Aethelred's Laws contained in Corpus Christi College MS 201 mention the juridical situation of the widow:

Si ælc wuduwe, þe hi silfe mid rihte healde, on Godes griðe 7 ðæs cynges. sitte ælc xii monað werleas; ceose siððan þæt heo sylf wille (V Atr 21-21.1, MS pp. 48-52; VI Atr, MS pp. 126-30)\(^2^8\)

[Every widow who lives properly shall be protected by the Church and the king she shall live for one year without her husband and then can choose who she wants.]

Moreover, The Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical (Corpus Christi College MS 201, pp. 40-3 and pp. 87-93) define the norms for regulating the social behaviour of laymen and religious people in marriage, as well as in bachelorhood and in widowhood:

65
Læwedum men is ælc wif forbidon, buton hi rihtæwe (Book I, 75)
[Laymen are not permitted to have women except as their legitimate wives]

Be læwedum mannum. Riht is, þæt gehadode men þam læwedum wissian, hu hi heora æwe rihtlicost sculon healdan
(Book II, 87)
[On laymen. It is proper that consecrated men lead the laymen as to the most correct way they should behave in marriage]

Dæt bið rihtlic lif, dæt cnihþurhwunige on cnihthade, oððæt he on ríhtre maedææwe gewifige, and hæbbe þa siððan and nænige oðre, ða hwile þe seo libbe. (Book II, 188)
[It is the proper life that a young man should maintain himself in chastity until he takes a young woman in lawful matrimony, and let him afterwards have this woman and no other while she lives.]

Gif hire þonne forðsið getimige, þonne is rihtast þæt he þanonforð wuduwa þurhwunige (Book II, 189)
[If then it happens that she dies, then it is most appropriate that he should remain thereafter a widower]

Ac ða canonbec forbeodað þa bletsunge þarto, þe to frumwifunge gesette syn (Book II, 191)
[But the books of the canons forbid the blessing on it that was granted for the first marriage]

And eac is gescrifen dædbot swilcum mannum to donne (Book II, 192)
[And also to such men is penance imposed]

Be þam man mæg witan, þæt hit eallunga riht nis, þæt wer wifige oððe wif ceorlige oftor þonne æne. (Book II, 194)
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

[Therefore it can be understood that it is not entirely proper that a man or a woman should marry more than once]

And þæt bið eac micel syn, þæt gehwa his rihtæwe lifigende alæte and him on unriht oðre geceose. (Book II, 195a)
[And it is also a serious sin for a man to leave his lawfully wedded wife while she lives and to choose another one unlawfully]²⁹

In the first fourteen chapters of the fourth book of The Handbook for the Confession (Corpus Christi College MS 201, pp. 115-21), the penance imposed on the transgressor of the marriage canon, and on anyone guilty of violence towards women, is described in detail:

Gyf hwa mid his ofercraefte wif oððe mødæn neadinga nymð to unriðhæmede hire unwilles, beo he amansumod (200-1)
[If someone commits adultery by fraud on a woman or on a girl against her will he is to be excommunicated]

Gyf hwa wille wið wið wið wifman unrihtlice hæman, fæste XL daga on hlæfe and on wætere (246-7)
[If someone wishes to have illegitimate intercourse with a woman, he must fast for forty days on bread and water]³⁰

The Handbook for the Confession and the canonical and political laws contained in the manuscript thus provided Anglo-Saxon England with regulations as to proper conduct in marriage and prohibitions against marital transgression, including violence, adultery and incest: all these elements are central to the plot of the Apollonius text. On the basis of this evidence, it is reasonable to argue that there could also be a relationship between some of the juridical and religious statements to be found in Corpus Christi College MS 201B and the content of the fragments of the romance, which touches on issues of rape, incest, marriage, free consent, and widowhood.
It has been suggested that the Latin model used by the Anglo-Saxon translator of the *HA* can be found either in chapter 153 of the *Gesta Romanorum*, or in a Latin exemplar preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 226, or in another copy of the *HA* from Tegernsee, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 19148. But the attention of scholars has mostly been drawn to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 318 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud MS 247, both of which belong to the C redaction, a mixed text originating from the other two redactions. Benjamin Thorpe provided his own edition of the *OEHA* with chapter 153 of the *Gesta Romanorum*, adding that a better text was the one given by Welser and reproduced from a manuscript belonging to St Ulrich and Afra Abbey, Wurzburg. It was Julius Zupitza who first argued that the *OEHA* could have been translated from a Latin text very close to that extant in Corpus Christi College MS 318 (twelfth century), a hypothesis affirmed by J. Raith. Finally, the most recent edition of the *OEHA*, edited by P. Goolden (1958), contains a peculiar Latin text, which, while also based on the Latin text preserved in Corpus Christi College MS 318, includes all the Latin variant readings convergent with the Anglo-Saxon translation, which are preserved in other manuscripts belonging to all three redactions. Goolden also includes the variant readings of a no longer extant Augsburg manuscript, of which we have one fourteenth-century transcription, and also other variants belonging to chapter 153 of the *Gesta Romanorum*. Therefore this Latin text has been described by Gneuss as 'artificial' and 'conflated'.

The Old English translation

With respect to the Latin text preserved in Corpus Christi College MS 318 and the redaction C, *OEHA* has some distinctive variant readings, which could be attributed to the translator himself or to the use of a different Latin exemplar. While the text translated in the *OEHA* appears to have been very close to that preserved in Corpus Christi College MS 318, it was not exactly the same. Misunderstandings in the Old English text that could be attributed to the corruption of the probable Latin model are rare, as (according to Raith) are translation mistakes: 10,3 *ic eow cuđe* for Lat. *relevabo* that was read as *revelabo*; 12,9 *hwæs mæg ic biddan* for Lat. *quam partem petam*; 13,24 *and mid*
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

gelæredre handa he swang þone top for Lat. ceroma effricuit eum tanta subtilitate; 13,26 on his cynesetle for Lat. in solio; 14,16 buton scruðede for Lat. abiecto habitu; 50,28 heo rahte þa sóðlice hire handa him to, and het hine gesundfaran for Lat. quem manumissum incolumem abire precepit. Moreover, the different linguistic structure of Old English made it necessary for the translator to introduce some modifications to his Latin original: 22,4 in to dam bure par his dohtor inne wæs for Lat ad filiam suam; 12,7 waelreownesse for Lat. haec; 13,15 mid his geferan for Lat. cum suis; 1,11 of slaepe awoc for Lat. vigilans; 21,23 þonne saende ic eow word for Lat. mittam ad vos.

Without any further explanation, Goolden restricts himself to noting that only a few additions can be attributed to misinterpretation and, thus, to a poor translation of the Latin text; among these he mentions the *explicit* (though not the existence of an *incipit*) without giving any interpretation. But I would argue that the OEHA can hardly be defined as a pure translation. It is basically an impressive prose work which, operating at varying degrees of proximity to its model, creates a quite different atmosphere and a better text than are to be found in the source. The real novelty in this translation, which is not always a literal one, lies in the introduction or omission of particular words or clauses, and in the adaptation and highlighting of various scenes, a process which, I believe, points to the conscious creation of an exemplary text. Amplifications and omissions of words and clauses in the original Latin text are not only the result of an attempt to make a good translation, but also suggest that it was the adaptor's intention to make the Latin text more familiar to and relevant for Anglo-Saxon readers.

Rape and incest

The Old English translation begins, as does the Latin text, with the narration of the incest episode concerning King Antiochus of Antioch who seduces and rapes his daughter. But the translation introduces some modifications, amplifying some details and omitting others:

Sed dum pater deliberaret, cui potissimum filiam suam in matrimoniaun daret, cogente iniqua concupiscientia crudelitateque flamme, incidit in amorem filie sue, et cepit eam aliter diligere quam quod paterem opporpetebat. Qui
<cum> diu luctatur cum furore pugne, cum dolore vincitur amore. Excidit illi pietas, oblitus est esse se patrem, induit coniugem. Sed dum sevi pectoris sui vulnus ferre non posset, quadam die prima luce vigilans irrupit cubiculum <filie>, famulos secedere longius iussit, quasi cum filia sua secretum colloquium habiturus, diuque repugnanti nodum virginitatis erupit; perfectoque scelere cupit celare secrete. (HA, ch. 1 )

Da gelamp hit sarlicum gelimpe, þa ða se fæder þohte hwam he hi mihte healicost forgifan, þa gefeol his agen mod on hyre lufe mid unrihtre gewilunge, to ðam swiðe þæt he forgeat þa fæderlican arfaestnesse and gewilnode his agenre dohtor him to gemæccan; and þa gewilunge naht Lange ne ylde, ac sume ðæge on ærne mergen, þa he of slæpe awoc, he abræc into ðam bure, þær heo inne læg, and het his hyredmen ealle him aweg gan, swilce he wið his dohtor sume digle spæce sprecan wolde. Hwæt! he ða on ðære mánnfullan scilde abisgode and þæt gefremede mánn gewilnode to bediglianne. (OEHA, ch.1)

[Then it happened, through a painful mishap, that while the father was thinking to whom he might, in preference to others, give her, then his own mind fell on her with wrongful desire so greatly that he forgot paternal piety, and desired his own daughter to himself for a mate: and that desire was not long delayed; but one day, in the morning, when he awoke from sleep, he broke into the chamber wherein she lay, and bade his servants all go away from him, as if he would speak in secret with his daughter. He then engaged in that sinful crime, and by great strength and with difficulty overcame the struggling damsel and sought to hide the committed crime.]

Sed dum gutte sanguinis in pavimento cecidissent, subito nutrix introivit; et vidit puellam roseo rubore perfusam, asperso sanguine pavemento [. . .] (HA, ch. 2 )
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

Da gewearð hit þæt þæs mædenes fostormodor in to ðam bure eode, and geseah hi ðar sittan on micelre gedræfednesse (OEHA, ch.2)

[Then it happened that the maiden's foster-mother went into the chamber, and saw her sitting there in great affliction]

Et ut semper impiis thoris filie frueretur, ad expellendos nuptiarum petitores questiones proponebat (HA, ch. 3)

and to ðam þæt he þe lenge brucan mihte his dohtor árleasan bridbeddes, and him fram adryfan þa ðe hyre girndon to rihtum gesynscipum, he asette ða rædels (OEHA, ch. 3)

[and in order that he might the longer enjoy his daughter's impious bride-bed, and drive from him those who desired her in lawful marriage, he then posed a riddle]

The additions were made in order to underline the serious impiety of the king, and above all the illegality of his crime, but there are also omissions relating to rape and violence. The reader is gradually informed about what is going to happen: initially we learn that 'gelamp hit sarlicum gelimpe' [a painful misfortune occurred], caused 'mid unrihtre gewilnunge' [by an illegal desire]; the introduction of unriht [illegal, improper] seems designed to offer a juridical judgment of the action. Another sentence introduced by the translator, 'Hwæt, he ða on ðare manfullan scilde abisgode', expresses the transition from intention to action, to the violence perpetrated against a non-acquiescent individual, well expressed by the Latin repugnanti. The phrase is introduced by the untranslatable hwæt, a term with native poetic associations. The adjective manful [sinful] is added in order to define the nature of the father's action. Finally, the use of riht (ch. 3) [legal, juridical], introduced as positive modifier to the Latin noun nuptia, underlines here the legality of the future marriage of the princess which can be contracted with one of her suitors, as opposed to the illegitimate relationship with her father, defined by the translator, as we have noted, as unriht (ch. 2). It is worth remarking that this adjective, in its positive and negative forms, is characteristic of Wulfstan's lexis.44 We may note in particular how the anonymous translator emphasises that the rape had been perpetrated against the will of the victim, introducing both the adverb earfordlice
Carla Morini

[with difficulty] and the complement *mid micelre strengðe* [literally 'with great strength'].

The presence of such interpolations highlights the juridical and religious purpose of this translation. It should be noted that during the Middle Ages rape and incest\(^45\)—condemned by the Christian Church and by civil law\(^46\)—were related to a breach of the injunction not to marry one's closest relatives. Germanic law, as well as that of the Christian Church, considered marriage between descendants, ascendants and siblings to be illegal.\(^47\) But with the conversion to Christianity intermarriage was forbidden within Germanic society and therefore, in due course, to the Anglo-Saxons.\(^48\) Bede reported an *Interrogatio Augustini* to Gregory the Great about this topic:\(^49\)

\[V. Interrogatio Augustini: \textit{Usque ad quotam generationem fideles debeant cum propinquis sibi coniugio copulari; et novercis et cognatis si liceat copulari coniugio.} \]

Respondit Gregorius: Quaedam terrena lex in Romana republica permittit, ut sive frater et soror seu duorum fratrum germanorum vel duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali coniugio sobolem non posse succrescere, et sacra lex prohibit cognitionis turpitudinem revelare. \textit{Unde necesse est, ut iam tertia vel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi iungi debeat; nam secunda, quam praediximus, a se omnimodo debet abstinere. [\ldots]} Quia vero sunt multi in Anglorum gente qui, dum adhuc in infidelitate essent, huic nefando coniugio dicuntur admixti, ad fidem venientes admonendi sunt, ut se abstineant, et grave hoc esse peccatum cognoscant. Tremendum Dei iudicium timeant, ne pro carnali dilectione tormenta aeterni cruciatus incurrant (Book I, ch. 27, V).

[Augustine's fifth question. Within what degree may the faithful marry their kindred; and is it lawful to marry a stepmother or a sister-in-law?]

Gregory answered: A certain secular law in the Roman State allows that the son and the daughter of a brother and sister, or of two brothers or two sisters may be married. But we have learned from experience that the offspring of such marriages cannot thrive. Sacred law forbids a man to uncover the
nakedness of his kindred; hence it is necessary that the faithful should only marry relations three or four times removed, while those twice removed must not marry in any case, as we have said. [...] Now because there are many of the English race who, while they were unbelievers, are said to have contracted these unlawful marriages, when they accept the faith, they should be warned that they must abstain, because such marriages are a grave sin. Let them fear the heavy judgement of God, lest, for the gratification of their carnal desires, they incur the pains of eternal punishment.]\footnote{50}

From the eighth to the eleventh or twelfth centuries the Church forbade any marriage up to the seventh generation.\footnote{51} Through the introduction and the fixing of Canons of councils, which served to promote its stability and indissolubility, marriage was regulated and legitimized.\footnote{52} It is interesting to note that in 958 Archbishop Oda separated King Eadwig and his wife Ælfgifu on the grounds of consanguinity, because they shared the same great-great grandfather King Æthelwulf:

\textit{Chronicles D, year 958}

Her on þissum geare Oda arcebiscop totwæmde Eadwi cyning and Ælgyfe, for þæm þe hi waeron to gesybbe.\footnote{53}

[In that year Archbishop Oda divorced Eadwig and Ælgyfu because they were too closely related]

The Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical laws on marriage were first introduced by Wulfstan for Æthelred and Cnut, whom he assisted in drawing up legal statements. In particular LawVI Atr, 11.3-12.4 and Law I Cnut, 7.2, 7.3 fixed (by the same text also preserved in Corpus Christi College MS 201B, p. 127) the permissible limits of consanguinity to be observed before a marriage could proceed.\footnote{54}

[6.3] And æghwilc Cristen man eac for his Drihtenes ege unrihthæmed georne forbuge and godcunde lage rihtlice healde.

[7] And we lærað and we biddað and on Godes namam beodað, \textit{þæt ænig Cristen man binnon six manna sibfæce on his agenum cynne æfre ne wïfge}, ne on his mæges leafe, þe swa neahsib
Each Christian for the fear of God also despises greatly an illegitimate embrace and adheres properly to the divine laws. 7. And we warn, ask and decree in the name of God that no Christian should marry within the sixth degree of relationship in his own family, neither with the woman left by his relative, who was of the same degree of relationship, nor with a relative of [his] former wife. 7.1. Nor should any Christian man marry his godmother, nor a holy nun, nor a separated woman, 7.2. Neither should he perform any type of immoral deed. 7.3. Nor should a man who wishes properly to preserve the law of God and to preserve his soul from the flames of hell have more than one woman, but should remain with the one as long as she lives.]

This statement on permissible degrees of consanguinity was also reproduced by Wulfstan in his homilies, in which he offered instruction to the laity of all classes. The various Anglo-Saxon penitentials testify that, since the eighth century, the promulgation of moral and social laws concerning marriage and violence was driven by necessity. The penitentials contain a list of severe sanctions relating to a variety of matrimonial and sexual topics, as well as to possible infringements of the permissible degrees of consanguinity in marriage. They were also directed against other sins such as adultery, divorce, and sexual violence. Incest was another issue addressed:

De incestuosis. Si quis cum matre fornicaverit, xv annos poeniteat [. . .] Si cum filia vel sorore fornicaverit, similiter poeniteat. (Penitential of St. Theodor, Book V 13-14) [On the incestuous. He who fornicated with his mother shall do penance for fifteen years [. . .] If he fornicated with his daughter or sister, let him do the same penance.]
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

Qui cum matre fornicaverit xv. annos peniteat. Si cum filia vel sorore xii. annos poeniteat (Penitential of St. Egberth, Book IV).\(^60\) [He who fornicated with his own mother, shall do penance for fifteen years. If he fornicated with his daughter or with his sister he shall do penance for twelve years.]

In the Sermo Lupi (Napier 59,\(^61\) Hom U 48), considered by Whitelock and Jost to be authentic,\(^62\) Wulfstan also deals with the permissible degrees of kinship, reproducing exactly the same clauses from the above-cited law:

[. . .] and we lærað and biddað and on godes naman beodað, þæt ænig cristen man bynnan syx manna sibbfæce æfre ne gewifige on his agenum cynne ne on his mæges lafe, þe swa neahsibb wære, ne on his wifes nydmanag, þe he sylf ær ahte ne on his gefæderan ne on gehaldgode nunnan: ne on ælætan ænig cristen man ne gewifige æfre ne na ma wifa, þonne an, hæbbe, ac boe bo ðære anre þa hwile, þe heo lybbe, se ðe wylle godes lage gyman mid rihte and wið hellebryne beorgan his sawle. (Napier 59, p. 308)\(^63\) [and we teach, ask and decree in the name of God that no Christian man should marry his own kin within six degrees of kinship, nor the woman left by his relative, who were so closely related, nor a close relative of (his) former wife; nor his godmother, nor a holy (professed) nun, nor should any Christian man ever marry a separated (deserted) woman, nor have more than one wife, but who will observe the laws of God with right and preserve his soul from the flames of hell, shall remain with this one, as long as she lives.]

The same statement is extant in another homily attributed mostly to Wulfstan's authorship.\(^64\) In this work the duties of the various classes in society are discussed. Such is the skill with which the material in this homily has been assembled that it has been argued that only Wulfstan, or someone in his entourage, could have been the author.\(^65\) It is worth remarking that a copy of this homily is also preserved in Corpus Christi College MS 201B, at pp. 78-80.

Finally, with regard to incest, even if earlier laws of King Alfred and King Guthrum (AGu, a. 880-90, p. 130) made brief reference to the topic (and
and concerning incest the councillors decreed that [. . .]), only Wulfstan, in the law-codes drafted for King Cnut, set the penalty for this sin:

> Gif hwa *siblegero* gewyrce, gebete þæt be sibbe mæðe, swa be were swa be wite swa be ealra æhte (*II Cnut*, 48, 5)

*[If somebody commits incest, let him amend it according to the level of relation (with the woman), by means of wergeld or fine (in money or food) or by means of his entire possessions]*

He also included it among a list of other infractions in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*:

> ac wearð þes þeodscipe, swa hit þyncan mæg, swyðe forsingod þurh mænigfealda synna and þurh fela misðæda: ðurh morððæda [. . .] ðurh laðbrycas and ðurh æswics, ðurh mægæras and þurh manslihtas, ðurh hadbrycas and þurh æwbrycas, þurh *siblegeru* and ðurh mistlice forlegeru. (*Bethurum XX, C*)

*[but this nation, so it seems, has become totally sinful through manifold sins and through many misdeeds: through deadly sins [. . .] through breaches of the law and through seditions, through attacks on kinsmen and through manslaughters, through injury done to those in holy orders and through adulteries, through incest and through various fornications.]*

On the basis of this evidence, from both legal and homiletic writings, it seems clear that the juridical content of the fragments of *OEHA* could explain each omission and amplification with respect to the Latin source, since they are concerned with sinful love, incest and rape.

---

**Free consent in marriage**

The Latin text of the *HA* contains another theme relating to marriage: that of the free choice of the maiden. The Old English text stresses that it is the princess, rather than her father, who chooses the husband:

Apollonius cwæð: 'Na, ac ic blissige swiðor, ðæt þu miht ðurh ða lare, þe þu æt me underfengæ, þe sylf on gewritte gecyðan hwilcne heora þu wille. Min willa is, þæt þu ðe wre geceose þar ðu sylf wille.' ðæt mæðen cwæð: 'Eala lareow, gif ðu me leofodest, þu hit besorgodest.' Æfter þisum wordum heo mid modes anrædnesse awrat ðer gewrit and þæt geinsegloðe and sealde Apollonio: Apollonius hit þa ut bær on ða stræte and sealde þam cyngæ. ðæt gewrit wæs þus gewritten: Du gode cyngæ and min se leofesta fæder, nu þin mildheortnesse me leafe sealde þæt ic sylf mæste ceosan hwilcne wer ic wolde, ic sece ðe to sooðan þone forlidenan man ic wille. (OEHA, ch. 20)

[Apollonius said: 'No, but I shall much more rejoice that you, through the instruction which you received from me, can yourself show in writing which of them you will. My will is that you choose a husband whom you desire.' The maiden said: 'Alas, master! if you did love me, you would be sorry about this.' After these words, she, with firmness of mind, wrote another letter, sealed and gave it to Apollonius. Apollonius then carried it out into the street, and gave it to the king. The letter was written thus. 'Good king and my most beloved father, now that your tenderness has given me leave that I might choose what husband I would, I will say truly to you that I desire the shipwrecked man.]

Although the whole passage follows the HA closely, the translator adds some touches of colour here. We may note the repetition of the same word, puns, assonance, and the use of words with the same root but a different meaning, in a manner that strikingly amplifies the content of the Latin text. The translated
Carla Morini

passage reflects the statement about free consent in marriage as established in Anglo-Saxon England during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The consent of the woman was not considered of great importance in Germanic law. Her power and patrimony passed from her father to her husband. However, for the Christian Church from the ninth century onwards, consensus was the basis of marriage as maritalis affectio. Thus, free agreement between the couple replaced the requirement for parental consent in Anglo-Saxon England. The Be wifmannes beweddunge (970-1030), a private Anglo-Saxon matrimonial contract, testifies that free choice is confirmed for both the woman and her husband to have the morgengifu [the morning gift after the consummation of the marriage]. The bride as principal beneficiary could be the owner of her own patrimony (the dowry and the morgengifu):

Donne syððan cyðe se brydguma, hwæs he hire geunge, wið þam ðet heo his willan geceose and hwæs he hire geunge, gif heo læng sy ðonne he. [Then her husband says what he has to give, from the moment that she has chosen him of her free will, and what he would leave her if she were to survive him.]

Wulfstan, providing the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of King Aethelred and of King Cnut with a special law concerning widows, decrees that they may choose for themselves whom they wish to marry:

and sy ælc wydewe, þe hy sylfe mid rihte gehealde, on Godes griðe and on þæs cynges and sitte ælc xii monad werleas; ceose syððan þæt heo sylfe wille. (II Cnut, 74, p. 360) [and each widow, who behaves justly, shall be under the protection of God and the king and remain twelve months without a husband, then choose what she herself wishes.]

and sytte ealc wuduwe werleas .xii. monad, ceose syððan, þæt heo sylfe wylle. (I, V Atr. 21, 21.1, p. 242; VI Atr 26, 26.1, p. 254) [and the widow remain twelve months without a husband, then choose what she herself wishes.]
The following passage also occurs in a homily published by Napier as 50 with the title *Larspell* (Hom U 40), a text, in Bethurum's opinion, made up of combinations of Wulfstan's phrases:

> and sy ælc wydewe, þe hig sylfe mid rihte gehealdæ, on godes gride and on þæs cynges; and sytte ealc werleas . xii. monad; ceose syððan, þæt heo sylfe wille. (Hom U 40, 18-20)

*[and each widow, who behaves justly, be under God's and king's protection and remain twelve months without a husband, then choose what she herself wishes]*

A statement in *King Cnut's Laws* (c. 1023) also attests to the importance of free agreement between the couple:

> Na nyde man naðer ne wif ne mæden to þam þe hyre sylfre mislicie ne wið sceatæ ne sylle, butan he hwæt agenes ðænces gyfæn wille. (II Cnut 73, p. 360)

*[No woman or maiden can be forced to marry a man who displeases her, nor sold for money, unless he wants to give something of his own will.]*

Thus it seems clear on the evidence of these juridical writings that by the end of the tenth century in Anglo-Saxon England the consent of both parties lay (at least in theory) at the heart of Christian marriage, and that this is in line with the emphasis given to the topic in the fragment of the *OEHA*.

The reason for translating

The motivating force behind the translation of the Old English *Apollonius* has been variously identified as an interest in the riddles included in the Latin romance; the new interest in the East, as revealed by *The Wonders of the East*; the presence of the theme of exile; or the exemplary Christian figure of Apollonius, who has been seen as a model of virtue and patience, like Job or the saints.

It must be pointed out, however, that the *OEHA* does not express the complex narrative structure and content of the *HA*. Therefore it is
inappropriate to evaluate the OEHA using the same criteria as its model. The OEHA lacks riddles, tales, obstacles, vicissitudes, not to mention characters and episodes linked by the structure of a travel narrative. Thus, for example, the riddles, although fundamental to the development of the HA, do not constitute the essence of the OEHA, which contains only one such element. It also lacks any description of customs, clothes, ceremonies, buildings, or the legislation of eastern countries, thereby casting doubt on the translator's possible interest in oriental matters. Finally, it is worth considering that the motivation for translating the HA into Old English may relate to work's genre, which remains a subject of debate. The work has been regarded as: a) an historical romance; b) a romance of love and adventure (it has been seen as the first love story, written for entertainment four centuries before the emergence of romance as a genre); c) an exemplary romance.

In the light of what I have argued so far, it would seem reasonable to suppose that behind the translation there lay an exemplary intent, moral and (in particular) juridical, which related to Wulfstan's 'propaganda' on the subject of incest and marriage. The driving force behind Wulfstan's career was the moral regeneration of orthodox Christian witness in Anglo-Saxon England at a time when, as is well known, the northern part of the country faced invasion and subsequent colonization by the pagan Scandinavians. Wulfstan probably intended to resist any possible revival of pagan Germanic customs by supplying Anglo-Saxon England with a set of canons, laws and homilies whose purpose was to confirm and consolidate orthodox practice. I believe that the OEHA fragments could have served as exercepta from the complete Latin work in order to offer an exemplum of the 'right way to view marriage', as promoted by Wulfstan's laws and homilies. The behaviour of Antiochus and his daughter constitutes, in fact, a negative example, in contrast to that of King Arcestrates and his daughter which represents proper or legal behaviour, as the lexical amplifications of the translator underline. The behaviour of King Arcestrates is exemplary, both as a father and as king. Princess Arcestrate speaks of and demonstrates her own will, unlike the other princess, the unlucky daughter of Antiochus, who suffers passively, a victim who submits to her father's will. Moreover, it must be observed that the changes relating to the matter of love which were introduced by the translator (the omission of many expressions of love and emotion relating to the princess, for example amore incensa, amores suos, amoris audacia, mittens in amplexu eius), serve to underline the text's conformity to behavioural orthodoxy. Moreover,
Antiochus is referred to by name only four times in the Latin text, which prefers to use rex or the personal pronoun. But in the OEHA the name of the king occurs fourteen times, followed or preceded by the noun cyninge [king] (ch. 1.1; 6.1; 7.7; 7.14; 7.23; 8.23; 9.5; 10.5; 12.4; 54.21). The Anglo-Saxon translator always defines Antiochus as a bad man, using adjectives such as arleaste ('se arleastea cyngc Antiochus' [the perfidious King Antiochus], ch. 3.1) and wælreow ('Antiochus se wælreowa cuningc' [Antiochus, the merciless king], ch. 4.1). Such evidence appears to confirm that the translator wished to emphasise the contrast between the evil King Antiochus, a familiar figure to learned Anglo-Saxons, and the worthy Apollonius, by adopting the same vocabulary used for Roman persecutors by Ælfric in the Old English Lives of Saints.

According to the juridical statements on marriage, the desire of King Arcestrates to respect the will of his daughter in the choice of her bridegroom appears to be perfectly in harmony with the ideology of marriage sanctioned by the Church and the king at the end of the tenth century. Therefore the romance could be said to promote exemplary behaviour of the kind maintained by Wulfstan in his promulgation of ecclesiastical and lay duties.

**Incipit–explicit, vocabulary and style**

In determining the authorship of OEHA one important element should be considered. The Old English text begins with an incipit, newly introduced by the translator:

Her onginneS seo gerecednes be Antioche ðam ungesælgan cingce and be Apollonige\(^8^6\)
[Here begins the story of Antiochus, the miserable king, and of Apollonius]

Why is only King Antiochus, one of the secondary characters of the romance together with King Arcestrates and Atenagora, named in the incipit? I believe that one answer to this question lies in the fact that Antiochus was a familiar historical character well-known in the Anglo-Saxon world. The reference is presumably to Antiochus I, the Seleucid ruler (280-261 BC), whose name occurs in the Old English Orosius:
Carla Morini

Pa ḷa Lucius Valerius and Flaccus Marcus wæron consulas, ḷa ongon *Antiochus, Sira cyning*, winnan wið Romanum (Book IV, xi, p. 108)
[When Lucius Valerius and Flaccus Marcus were consuls, then Antiochus, King of Syria, began to fight against the Romans]

Pa *Antiochus* ðæt gehierde, ḷa bæd he Scipian friðes (IV, ix, p. 109)⁸⁷
[When Antiochus heard that, then he asked Scipion to make peace]

Moreover, King Antiochus was often mentioned in Old English writings, notably *The Old English Martyrology*, *The Psalms*, and Ælfric’s Lives of Saints:

*Antiochus, se oferhydiga cyning*, nydde hi ðæt hi æten swynen flæsc. ðæt wæs Godes folce forboden on þære ealdan æ (Das altenglische Martyrologium)⁸⁸
[Antiochus, the proud king, forced them to eat pig flesh. That was forbidden to God's folk in the old law]

Machabeas hatað, ðæt hy sceoldon ðæt ylce seofian, on hiora earfoðum, *under Antiochus, pam kynge.* (Ps 87)⁸⁹
[Maccabes were named who had to suffer the same, in their tortures, under King Antiochus.]

An ðæra cyninga wæs heora eallra forcuðost, *arleas and uppahafen*, *Antiochus* gehaten, se feaht on ægypta lande. (ÆLS xxv, 6-8)
[One of these kings was the wickedest of them all, irreverent and proud, named Antiochus, who fought in Egypt]

Hwæt ḷa *Antiochus se arleasa cynincg* behet þam anum cnapan þe þær cucu wæs ḷa git mycelæ woruldæhta gif he wolde him abugan (ÆLS xxv, 168-170).
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

[Thereupon Antiochus, the impious king, promised the one boy who was still alive much worldly wealth, if he would submit to him]

Efne þa eode on heora eallra gesihðe án Iudeisc mann to þam deofolgílde, and geoffrode his lac swa swa Antiochus hét (ÆLS xxv, 221-3).
[Therewith there came in sight of them all a Jewish man to the devil-image, and offered his offering, as Antiochus commanded.]

Þa cwæð Judas to his geferum þæt he ða fylðe wolde adón of þam Godes temple, þæ se gramlica Antiochus þær aræran hét on hæðene wisan (ÆLS, xxv, 378-380).
[Then Judas said to his comrades, that he would do away with the filth of the temple of God, which the wrathful Antiochus had ordered to be raised there, in the heathen manner.]

Betwux þysum ferde se foresæða Antiochus to Persiscre þeode mid micclum þrymme (ÆLS xxv, 530-1)
[Meanwhile the aforesaid Antiochus went to the Persian people with a great force]

Finally, the OEHA also contains an explicit:

Herenda ge wea ge wela Apollonius þæs tiriscan: ræde se þe wille. And gif hi hwa ræde, ic bidde þæt he þas awæandednesse ne tæle, ac þæt he hele swa hwæt swa þær on sy to tale.
[Here finishes the misfortune and the happiness of Apollonius of Tyre: read who so wishes, and if anyone does read it, I ask that he should not blame this translation, but correct whatever there is in it to blame.]

The content of this passage is comparable with King Alfred's Praefatio to De consolatione Philosophiae:
Carla Morini

and nu bit and for Godes naman he halsað ælcne þara þe þas boc rædan lyste, þæt he for hine gebidde, and him ne wite gif he hit rihtlicor ongite þonne he mihte.

[and now he prays and implores in the name of God everyone who wishes to read this book, to pray for him and not to blame him if he can interpret it in a more accurate way than he has been able to do.]

From the linguistic and stylistic point of view it is also comparable with ræde, se þe will (Rid 59, 15, p. 210) or ræde þær se þe wille (Gen 49,1).

The author of the translation also displays an excellent knowledge of Latin and Old English. He makes extensive use of stylistic and rhetorical devices, employing several kinds of repetition, sometimes in the same clause, and often making use of chiastic structures:

1. Repetition of a word (epañâlepîsîn), used in the same case and inflection; this often occurs in assonance and in alliteration with other words:

na þæt an þæt we willað þinne fleam bediglian, ac eac swilce, gif þe neod gebirað, we willað campian for ðinre hælo, ch.9, 19-21 [non solum fugam tuam celabunt, sed si necesse fuerit pro salute tua dimicabunt]; and Apollonius ana becom mid sunde to Pentapoli þam ciriniscan lande and þar up eode on ðam strande. þa stod he nacod on þam strande, ch. 12, 2-4 [Apollonius solus tabule beneficio in Pentapolitanorum est littore pulsus, hoc est Cyrinorum. Stans in litore Apollonius nudus].

2. Repetition of the same word, used in a different case and inflection; this often occurs in assonance and in alliteration with other words:

þæt gehyrde þæt he his willes gehyran nolde [ut audivit quod audire nolebat, ch. 4,9 Rex ut audivit quod audire nolebat]; heora þu wille [...] þone du silf wille [cui animus tuus desiderat nube [...]], hwilcne wer ic wolde, þone forlidenan man ic wille [quoniam clementiae et indulgentia tue permittit mihi dicere: illum volo coniugem naufragum], ch. 20, 17-19.
3. Repetition of the same root through the patterned repetition of words as simples or compounds (paregmenon; polyptoton), but with a different semantic and morphologic value (noun-adjective; noun-verb), as, for example:

\[ \text{gelamp [. . .] gelimp} \] (there is no correspondence in the Latin text);  
\[ \text{gewilnunge [. . .] gewilnode [. . .] gewilnunge [. . .] gewilnode}, \text{ ch.1 [cepit eam alter diligere quam quod paterem opporpetat. Qui <cum> diu luctatur cum furore pugne, cum dolore vincitur amore. Excidit illi pietas, oblitus est esse se patrem, induit coniugem. Sed dum sevi pectoris sui vultur ferre non posse [. . .] perfectoque scelere cupit celare secrete]; on micelre gedrefednesse [. . .] swa gedreafes modes?, ch. 2, 2-3 [ et vidit puellam roseo rubore perfusam [. . .] Quid tibi (sic) vultus turbatus et animus?]^{93} \]

Although the translator could have used OE \text{stirung}, which has the same semantic value, he repeats \text{gewilnunge}; the parallelism \text{gewilnunge / gewilnungan} also occurs in Ælfric, in the Psalms, and the Gospels.\textsuperscript{96} In ch. 16, \text{sweg} and \text{swegecraefte} occur alternatively with a double parallelism and word play on \text{swig} and \text{swigode}. We may also note that while the repetitions \text{willad / willad / wolde} are very common in Old English writings (WHom 20, CPHead, CP, GDPref), \text{lande / strande} is only used in Old English Charters (1095, 1109, 1119, 1125, 1126, 1127 etc). It is also interesting to note the frequent deployment of rhetorical devices in chapters 19-21: \text{awritad, gewrite, gewrita} (five times in succession), \text{awrat oder gewrit, gewrit, gewritten, awrat, gewrit, gewrit, gewrit}. Although the \text{gewrite / awrat} word play is very common in Old English writings (see Ælfric's CH and LS, GD, Hom U 35, 54, 6, and so on), \text{gewerite / gewrita} only occurs here.

Other passages are marked by alliteration (usually used in combination with parallelism and word play, as previously noted):

\[ \text{þa gyrnde hyre mænig mære man micle mærða beodende; sume digle space sprecan (ch. 1, 13); and geseah hi ðar sittan; brucan [. . .] his dohtor arleasan bridbeddes (ch. 3, 5-6); þu beþence ðone rædels ariht (ch. 5, 6); ac he ne mæg for scame in gan buton scrude. Ða het se cyngc hine sona gescridan (ch. 14, 16-17); Du goda cyngc and earmra gemiltsigend, and þu ewen lære lufigend (ch. 17, 18).} \]
The translator also makes use of echoic repetition, puns, and assonance, involving similar simples or one element of compounds. In this text word play depends more on similarities in the sound (pun-like assonance) or semantic aspects of the words than on the introduction of obscure forms and meanings. If we consider ch. 12, 1-4. 'Apollonius ana becom mid sunde to Pentapoli þam ciriniscan lande and þar up eode on dam strande', it is worth remarking that mid sunde [by swimming] is a free translation of the Latin tabule beneficio in order to create a play on words. Thus, forms are deployed for rhetorical colour by the translator by virtue of their terminal assonance and alliteration, half-rhymes, or punning element.

The translator's lexis is carefully chosen and, with some exceptions, very appropriate. Although for the most part he uses words which occur frequently in liturgical writings (notably from Psalms, Old English Ecclesiastical History, Benedictine Rule, Ælfric's and Wulfstan's Homilies and Wulfstan's law-codes), he also adopts words rarely used in Anglo-Saxon texts:

ancæænnd (Hy and Ps); acuman 'sustain' (Gen and Num); 1 aerod(d)ian (Ps and GD); 2 hæðstede, begirdan, sirwan (PS); bereafigend, bridgiftna AldGl; bocist (boccyst) armarium Aug Ench; dunlandum (LCh and Deut and Æl); moddren 1 ArPrGl; forlidennes, hyredmenn (Æ); flima, giftelic (CIGL1); horu (El and Hy); rose, plega (Æ and GL); elcung (Æ and BR); dirstig (Ch); tacenbora 'guide', hearpenægel, hæðstede (GL and Hy); top, rudu (GL and WN); plega (GL and AGr); longeawinnan (LSc); fostermodor GD); fremduflnen, sidfeaxe (BR); fæderlich (Hy; ungecnawe (Lk); waforlic (GlNap and Ps); halierne (AldGl and Ex); herapian (Beow and HomS); suðwesterne (Ch).

In the Latin model, where two subordinate words express a single idea, in the OEHA simple coordination is favoured:

2,6 ait / andwirde and cwæð; 4,3 locuples valde./ Swide welig and snotor; 4,7 quasi pius pater: swa swa to godum fæder and arfaestum; 6,17 vestemque copiosam/ an mid menifealdum and genihtsumum reafum; 6,21 queritur: wæs gesoht and geacsod; 6,22 meror ingens/ micel mornung and ormate wop; 6,25 tonsores cessarent/ eodon ealle unscorene and sid-feaxe; 7,6 in luctu/ on swa micclum heafe and wope;
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

11,13 ut illi lateret/ hæt he mihte þær bediglad beon and þær wunian;
16,27 silencio facto/ Da weard stilnes and swige geworden; 49,21 apollonius non credens. Da niste na apollonius ne ne gelifde; 53,5 quieta vita vixit/ he leofode on stilnesse and on blisse.\(^97\)

The translator omits words and short phrases as well as introducing forms new to the Latin original.\(^98\) It is worth remarking that he introduces only a few *hapax legomena*:\(^99\)

- **brid-beddes** [bridal bed] for Lat. *thoris* (ch. 3,6)
- **asmeagung** [examination, consideration] for Lat. *questiones solutiones*
- **irlic** [angry] for Lat. *iratus* (ch. 4,10; 5,3)
- **eastnordørne** [windas] [north-east (winds)] for Lat. *ventis* [...],
  *hinc boreas* (ch.11,11)
- **snelneasse** [agility] for Lat. *velocitas* (ch. 13,19)
- **æfestful** [full of envy] for Lat. *invidet* (ch. 14,28)
- ***misypynca**n [to have mistaken ideas] for Lat. *male suspicere*
  (ch. 14,29)
- **swegcräfte** [musician's art] for Lat. *ars musicae* (ch. 16,14;
  16,16; 16,20)
- **gecneordnesse** [study, diligence] for Lat. *hesterna studia*
  (ch.18,6)
- ***hearpestreng** [harp-string] for Lat. *cordis lyrae* (ch. 16,28)
- ***læringmaeden** [female pupil] for Lat. *discipula* (ch.19,19)
- ***ofstænan** [to stone] for Lat. *lapidare* (ch. 50,24).

Some of them occur in echoic pairs: *asmeagunge* [... ] *behealdunge*; *irlicum* [... ] *cynelicium*; *æfestful* [... ] *æfestigād*, *sweg* [... ] *swegcräfte swigode swegcręfte swigende swegcraeft*; *hearpestreng* [... ] *hearpengæl* [... ] *hearpæn*; *ofstænan* [... ] *ofslean*. The translator also introduces *hwæt* twenty-one times and *eala* six times, both of which terms represent a distinctive homiletic usage.

Although there is no definite evidence for the origin of the manuscript, there are some stylistic features of the text of the Old English *Apollonius* which, in my opinion, can be compared with Wulfstan's style or Wulfianisms.\(^100\) It is well known that the 'most impressive of the devices of
Wulfstan's style are alliteration, rhyme, the large number of intensifying adjectives and adverbs, a distinctive lexis, parallelism of words and clauses, exclamation and rhetorical quotations. Moreover, the effectiveness of his homilies derives particularly from the word play and pun-like assonances featured. Similar elements are discernible in the OEHA:

1. The introduction of terms such as *riht*, *ariht*, *unriht*, *mid rihte* in a way that confirm's the translator's familiarity with the law-codes and language of Wulfstan; the introduction of the adjectives *riht* and *unriht* (once), the nouns *ariht* / *areht* (four times), and *mid rihte* (twice). The absence from the OEHA of other distinctive marks of the lexis, such as other intensifying adjectives and adverbs, may perhaps be accounted for in terms of the generic difference between this work and the laws and homilies.

2. The use of intensifying adjectives and adverbs like *swiðe* (nine times) and *sodlice* (24 times). However, there is no occurrence of *eorne* or *geornlice*, so often used by Wulfstan.

3. The use of sophisticated rhetorical devices:
   a) duplication of clauses, which are often arranged in pairs, sometimes linked by alliteration or rhyme.
   b) patterned repetition of words and similar rhyming sounds, a figurative technique used by Wulfstan probably under the influence of similar constructions in Latin rather than in Old English. This device in Wulfstan's writings also involves *hapax legomena*.
   c) conscious and effective use of word play, sometimes involving forms with the same root but with different meanings. Thus:

   Ful earhlisc laga and scandlice nydgild þærh Godes irre us sind gemæne, understande se þe cunne and *fela ungelumpa gelumpð þisse þeode oft and gelome. (Sermo Lupi ad Anglos)*

   *Da gelamp* hit sarlicum *gelimpe*, *tha ða* se fæder þohte hwam he hi mihte healicost forgifan (OEHA, ch.1)

4. The construction of very short clauses, linked by *and*. 
It should also be noted that some sentences in the OEHA appear to be very similar to passages in Wulfstan's writings (Polity, Law codes and homilies).

Lexical elements and rhetorical devices used by Wulfstan and effectively deployed by the translator of the OEHA, do occur in earlier Old English writings. But although parallelism, repetition and alliteration are to be found in homilies (see, for example, *the Vercelli Homily X*) and other Old English writings a quarter of a century before Wulfstan and the OEHA, they are not comparable with the artful and sophisticated instances to be found in the romance's fragments. Moreover, although word play occurs in some Riddles, in legal writings (laws, wills and charters) and in the homilies, it is very rare and involves no more that two or three terms. The repetitive use of *hwaet* (21 times) and *eala* (six times), so typical of the language of homilies, shows that whoever translated the text was familiar with them.

As is well known, Wulfstan himself had many imitators. Thus, the same phrase is extant in anonymous homilies published by Napier and not considered genuine by Bethurum.

```plaintext
and þæt gewrit ne arwat nan eorðic man gewrit he (Napier 57, Hom U 57, Sermo ad populum Dominicus diebus)
þæt he arwat gewrit and þis gewrit næs æt fruman awritten. (Hom U 5) titled Be þam dríhtenlican gewrit þus sunnanæg gewritten folces lar)

Æfter þisum wordum heo mid modes anrædesse arwat ðæter gewrit and þæt geinseglode and sealde Apollonio: Apollonius hit þa ut bær on þa stræte and sealde þam cynge. Þæt gewrit wæs þus gewritten (ch. 20).
```
Carla Morini

Conclusions

On the basis of the evidence set out above, the following conclusions may be drawn from the present analysis. By retelling the story of Apollonius in Old English the translator, or (better) the adaptor, created a different atmosphere, which would make sense to an Anglo-Saxon audience. He created a juridical emphasis, through the use of omission and amplification of words and phrases in his Latin source. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon fragments of the HA give expression to a clear juridical position in line with that of the Church, emphasizing the ideology of marriage and the canon of free consent. The text could thus have provided the translator, or whoever authorized the translation (perhaps Wulfstan), with a positive model of morally appropriate behaviour for husbands, wives and fathers-in-law, and a negative model of the unlawful behaviour of an incestuous father.

Accordingly, the transcription into Corpus Christi College MS 201B of the Anglo-Saxon translation of the HA, or rather of its fragments, covering such issues as incest, marriage and widowhood, could have been motivated by the wish to offer an illustration of a life lived in accordance with the laws preserved in the same manuscript. The presence in the manuscript of only two fragments corresponding to Cnut's law codes (completed about 1023-6) suggests that it was compiled before those dates but after 1018. In my view the presence of a copy of the OEHA in Corpus Christi College MS 201B seems to be neither random nor arbitrary, but reflects a plan that can be associated with Wulfstan himself. Wulfstan, the acknowledged planner of the manuscript, made use of two forms of communication for disseminating his beliefs: firstly, homilies delivered from the pulpit, that allowed all Christians to access directly the truths of the faith and, secondly, the written record of the law. On the evidence of the similarities of content and expression between the OEHA and Wulfstan's laws and homilies, the presence of a text of the OEHA in a codex whose structure was so carefully planned by Wulfstan himself is certainly consistent with his programme.

Finally, it seems reasonable to argue that whoever undertook the work was a well-read monk, one of pa de þæt leden cuðon [those who know Latin], and who were familiar not only with Wulfstan's works, but also with other Old English texts. Moreover, he was capable of reproducing Wulfstan's distinctive style and adapting the content of his translation to the archbishop's statements. Although his elaborate and polished style recalls an earlier native
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

stylistic tradition, he was able to develop it to a new level of sophistication. We may therefore consider two possibilities: the first, that the author was a monk belonging to Wulfstan's circle, to whom Wulfstan assigned the task of translation, and who imitated the archbishop's style; the second, that the translator was Wulfstan himself.
Carla Morini

NOTES

This article is an expanded version of a lecture delivered at the Department of English, University of Bern, in December 2003.

1 The Latin redactions were collected for the first time by A. Riese, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, repr. 1973); see more recently A. A. G. Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984).


4 See note 2 above.


The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York


The Latin tradition of the romance in England is represented by Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 318, pp. 477-509, *Vita Apollonii Tyrii*, twelfth century; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 451, fol. 88a-105b, *Historia Apollonii*, thirteenth century; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Laud 247, fol. 204a-23a, *Liber Apollonii*, thirteenth century; Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson D 893 (105), chs 15-16, fol. 195 (106), ch. 31, fourteenth century; Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson C 5010, fol. 260b (31b), fol. 270b (41b), fourteenth century. The first scholar to discover the existence of this version was Riese, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, pp. 125-73; see also Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, pp. 20-22; J. Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke* (Munich: Huber, 1956), pp. 85-91. There are other exemplars belonging to the RC tradition: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 8503, fol. 1r-7v: *Ystoria Apollonii regis Tyrii et synodis et regis Anthiochi* (thirteenth-century); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 718, fol. 206r-222r: *Narratio vitae sive actuum Apollonii syri* (twelfth-century); Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 1984, fol. 167r-84r: *Historia Tyrii Apollonii* (early twelfth-century); Innsbruck, Universitätssbibliothek, MS 60, fol. 211r-222r: *Historia Apollonii regis Tyrii*, a. 1471; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 266, fol. 107r-26v: *Historia Apollonii* (twelfth-century); Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 3129, fol. 41r-60v: *Historia Apollonii* (fifteenth-century).

For more details on this hypothesis see Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, p. 29. 'Benedict Biscop was making journeys to Rome regularly and as soon as the monastery was founded he brought back books from Rome and probably from Gaul in large quantities': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. xxv.


This title is recorded in a catalogue of the Abbey's library, see British Library, Additional MS 23944, fol. 157, at no. 75.


Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, nos. 49 and 50, and for other details see Whitbread, 'MS. C.C.C.C. 201'.

94
According to Fowler, *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgard*, p. xxi: 'We cannot locate the manuscript precisely on the evidence provided by present linguistic knowledge. æ points vaguely to a southern as opposed to northern origin, despite the presence of NPL (i.e. Nordhymbre preosta logu) in the manuscript'.


H. Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60 (p. 5).

It seems probable that the MS did not originate at Worcester, but was only assembled there, see Whitbread, 'MS. C.C.C.C. 201', pp. 109-10. In the opinion of P. Clemoes, this manuscript does not contain the standard form of writing which characterized this scriptorium, i.e. the peculiar spelling of its main hand was unknown in Worcester manuscripts (æ instead of West-Saxon a for the nasal, while the custom in Worcester was e). He suggested that it has been introduced, as well as other spellings, to Worcester by Wulfstan himself or by his secretaries: see Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Facing*, p. cxxix.

Of these the most evident is the one contained in chapter 20, where the coming of Apollonius into the princess's rooms is described by a meaningless sentence (*Hlafdige, nœs git yfel wif*). No help is afforded by the Latin versions: see A. F. Pottle, 'nœs git yfel wif in the Old English Apollonius', *JEGP*, 30 (1931), 21-5 (p. 25); McGowan, 'The Old English Apollonius of Tyre and the Latin Recension', 184-7. The occurrence of *hlaeford geong* (ch. 13) was probably a mistake for *cynig*. see McGowan, 'Royal Titles in the Old English "Apollonius"', p. 4.
Carla Morini


26 Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts of the Old English Laws', p. 182. But Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 2, argued that this manuscript was arranged by Wulfstan himself.

27 Morini, 'La versione anglosassone del romanzo di Apollonio', p. 16.

28 These passages are quoted by F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1903-16, repr. Aalen, 1960), pp. 243 and 254. Anglo-Saxon queens or princesses, widows or single women used to live in the monastery as abbesses, or in their usual residence close to the monastery, but the law protected them. Again, the behaviour and therefore the choice made by princess Archestrate could be considered totally exemplary. In fact, she does not get married, but retires to a temple, living in chastity and enjoying the same dignity as the Anglo-Saxon abbesses: 'Heo wæs soðlice þearel wlitig and for þar micclan lufe þare clænnesse, hi sædon ealle þæt þær nære nan Dianan swa gecweme, swa heo' (*OEHA*, ch. 48) [She really was very beautiful, and because of her great love of chastity, everybody said that there was nobody as pleasing to Diana as she was].

29 All the passages are quoted by K. Jost, *Die 'Institute of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstan of York* (Bern: Francke, 1959), pp. 113, 130, 131, 133.


The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York


36 Raith, Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius–Bruchstücke.

37 Goolden, 'The Old English "Apollonius of Tyre"'.

38 'Über den Wert eines solches conflated Text kann man verschiedener Meinung sein; hier jedenfalls bietet er alles, was zum Verständnis des ae. Textes wesentlich ist, während ein lat. Text, der ausschließlich einer Hs. folgt, für die meisten Benutzer, des Buches kaum von Vorteil wäre [. . . .] Der jeweils gegenüber abgedruckte lat. Text ist "conflated"; er (Goolden) stellt den Versuch dar, die verlorene lat. Vorlage der ae. Übersetzung zu rekonstruieren. Dabei ist die lat. Textform aus Hs. CCC 318 zugrunde gelegt, die von den zahlreichen erhaltene Hss. Dieser Vorlage am nächsten stehen dürfen. Änderungen, Zusätze und Auslassungen sind durch den ae. Text und andere lat. Hss. gesichert und hier selbstverständlich gekennzeichnet', Gneuss, review of P. Goolden, The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre', in Anglia, 78 (1960), 364-6 (p. 366).

39 For example Lat. granago could be an errata lectio for grandisago (see Gesta Romanorum); for other mistakes see McGowan, 'The Old English Apollonius of Tyre and the Latin Recension', pp. 182-190.

40 Raith, Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius–Bruchstücke, p. 46.

41 'Deviations between the Old English text and its source are, apart from this small point, entirely the casual results of a not too meticulous process of translation', Goolden, The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre', p. xx.


43 The Latin text from Corpus Christi College MS 318 and the Anglo-Saxon text are both quoted from Raith's edition.

44 On this topic see further the conclusion to this article.

45 The juridical and moral problem concerning incest finds its source directly in the Bible (see for example Lev. 18. 6-18. 18).

46 D. A. Brundage, 'Rape and Marriage in the Medieval Canon law', in Sex, Law and Marriage in the Middle Ages (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 63-4. Before the
establishment of a well-organized ecclesiastical juridical system (The Decretum of Gratian, a. 1140), the Church in any case penalized such crimes during the early Middle Ages; see Brundage, p. 64.

47 F. Merzbacher, *Ehe*, in Handbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte, ed. by A. Erler et al. (Berlin: Schmidt, 1971), I 824. According to Brundage, 'Rape and Marriage in the Medieval Canon law', pp. 63-4, rape in Roman law, which was considered the most serious sexual offence, merited harsher punishment than other sexual crimes.


50 Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1.27.5, pp. 84-5.


52 Thus, for example, Canon viii, Council of Trosly (a. 909) affirmed the principle of the indissolubility of marriage: Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum collectio, t. xviii, ch. 286-288. Canon Law was compiled from large collections of material derived from patristic works, papal letters, conciliar canons, biblical passages: the so-called Vetus Gallica (seventh to eighth centuries) which contains rare canons on marriage entitled 'De incestis et adulteris et qui uxores suas demittunt'; the Vetus Hibernensis, where the canon is entitled
'De ratione matrimonio'; the Ps. Isidorian (ninth century); the Collectio Canonum Anselmo dedicata (ninth century.), where it is decided that only an ecclesiastical judge might intervene in marriage questions; the Liber de synodalibus causis of Reginon von Prum (tenth century); the Decretum Burcardii, whose VII, 1-30 is concerned with incest (eleventh century), see Picasso, 'Il fondamento', pp. 200-31. On Canon Law, see A. G. Fransen, Les Collections canoniques (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973). Canon Law becomes, anyway, a well-organized legal system only after the promulgation of the Concordia discordantium Canonum or Decretum of Gratian (c. 1140), which established the recognition of only previous authentic canons in order to obtain a universal juridical ecclesiastical law. See for a brief introduction on this work S. Kuttner, Harmony from Dissonance: An Intrepretation of Medieval Canon Law (Latrobe: Archabbey, 1960) and Il matrimonio nella società altomedievale, Settimane di Studio del Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 24 (1977); G. Duby, Medieval Marriage. Two models from twelfth-century France, trans. by Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).


54 According to Whitelock, the juridical fragments preserved in MS 201B, Ker art. 51, and corresponding to II Cnut, are to be considered excerpts or extracts from the previous law codes of king Edgar and VI Ethelred, prepared and used by Wulfstan in order to provide a complete new statement, planned for his meeting with king Cnut and the Danes at Oxford in 1008: Whitelock, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut' Laws', HER 69 (1955), 72-85. On the same subject see also P. Stafford, 'The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon royal Promises', Anglo-Saxon England 10 (1981), 175-190 and A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's law Code of 1018', Anglo-Saxon England 11 (1982), 57-81.

55 The text is quoted from MS 201, fol. 127, as it is published by F. Liebermann, Gesetze der Angelsachsen, pp. 290-1; recently it was published also by A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's law Code of 1018', pp. 57-81( p. 75).


It is worth noting that the sanctions referring to sexual and matrimonial topics were the most numerous. For a detailed study on this topic see A. Davies, 'Sexual Behaviour in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *This Noble Craft*, ed. by E. Cooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991), pp. 83-105 (at 83-4); D. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press 1987), pp. 57-123. In Ecbert's Penitential, for example, the list concerning sexual sins constitutes 45%, see Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials*, p. 52.


The text is quoted by Wulfstan Homilies, *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, ed. by A. Napier (Berlin: Weidmann, 1834), Homily 59, pp. 307-9 (p. 308). This homily was not included by Bethurum in her edition, because she did not consider it to be a homily.


*Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 25.


*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, I, Ælfred und Guthrum*, pp. 128-31 (p. 130).


*Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 261-266 (pp. 264-5, 4-13).

On this subject see Merzbacher, *Ehe*, pp. 813-14.

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York


72 Text quoted by Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*.

73 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, II Cnut, 74, p. 360. It is to be remarked that this law is also preserved in Corpus Christi College MS 201, pp. 126-30.


75 *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 39.

76 Napier, *Wulftsan Homilies*, pp. 266-74 (pp. 271, 18-20).

77 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, II Cnut. 73, p. 360.

78 Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 25-6 and 184.


84 On this topic see Archibald, 'Fathers and Kings'.

85 My article on this subject has been published in *SELIM XVI* (2005).

86 The emendation *tiriscan ealdormen* [prince of Tyre], first proposed by Thorpe and then by Raith, derives from the same reading in ch. 10; Zupitza and Goolden add just *tiriscan*. Page has recently argued that the erasure space in the manuscript after *pam* could only have accommodated one word, *tiriscan* or *ealdormen*. He favours the latter option: see 'The Title', p. 172.

87 *The Old English Orosius*, ed. by J. Batley, EETS s.s 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), see also *Indices*, V 4; V 4, 17 and 20.


Carla Morini


94 Other occurrences of this device are: Da agan se cyneg plegan [. . .] and Apollonius hine gemægnd, swa swa godes wolde, on ðæs cyninges plegan and [. . .] to ðam plegedan cynge, ch. 13, 14-17 / Subito Archestrates rex totius illius regionis cum turba famulorum ingressu, dum cum suis ad pile lusum exerceretur, volente deo miscuit se Apollonius regi; et dum currenti sustulit pilam, substul veloxitate percussam ludenti regi remisi. Se forlidena man is cume [. . .] ac he ne mæg for scamne in gan buton scruce. Dā het se cynge hine sona gescridan mid wurdūfullan scruce, ch. 14, 16-17 [‘Naufragus adest, sed abiecto abitu introire confunditur’; Statim rex iussit eum dignis vestibus indui et ingredi ad cenam]; ræde se þe wille [. . .] hwa ræde (at explicit).

95 Other occurrences of this device are: Swa man swa hwylc minne rædels riht aræde [. . .] and se ðe hine misræd, ch. 3, 7-9 [‘Si quis vestrum questionis mee solutionem invenerit [. . .] qui autem non invenerit’; þone rædels understodon to aðædenne; and þone rædels understodon to aðædenne [. . .] þone rædels ariht rædde, ch. 3, 14-15 [‘sed quis prudentia litterarum questionis solutionem invenisset, quasi qui nichil disisset decollabatur’]; Antiocbus se wælreowa cyninge on pyssæ wælreownesse þurhwunode, ch. 4, 1-2 [‘et cum hanc crudelitatem rex Antiocbus exerceret’; snotor [. . .] on his snotornesse, ch. 4, 3-4 [‘fidens in habundantia litterarum [. . .]’]; þæt Apollonius þone rædels swa rihtæ arædde, ch. 5, 1-2 / rex ut audivit iuvenem questionis sue solutionem invenisset; Apollonius ariht araëdde mynne rædels. Astih nu rædclice, ch. 6, 4 [‘Apollonius Tyrius invenit questionis mee solutionem. Ascende enim confestim navem [. . .]’]; þæt eart waelreowra þonne Antiochus [. . .] has wælreownesse þæt ic þurh ðe gewurde wædda [. . .] and þæt se wælreowesæ, ch. 12, 5-8 [‘O Neptune, fraudator hominum, deceptor innocentium, Antiocho rege crudelior, propter me hec reservasti ut egenum et inopem me dimitteres. Facilius rex Antiochus crudelissimus persequeretur’; [. . .] and sono swa heo hearpian organ, heo mid winsumum sange gemægnde þare hearpan sweg. Đa ongannon ealle þa men hi herian on hyre swegecræfte, and Apollonius ana swigode. Đa cwæd se cyninge [. . .] ealle men heriad mine
The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

dohtor on hyre swegcraeft, and þu ana hi swigende tæltst. Apollonius cwæð [..] ic secge þæt ic ongite þæt sodlice þin dohtor gefeol on swegcraeft, ch. 16, 13-18 [Omnes laudare ceperunt et dicere: Non potest melius, non potest dulcius dici. Inter quos Apollonius solus tacebat. Ad quem rex ait: [..] Omnes filiam meam in arte musica laudant;[..] Filiam tuam in artem musicam incidit, nam non didicit. Denique iube mihi tradi liram, et scies quod nescis. [..] Et iussit eum trahi liram. [..] Et accipiens liram [..] atque silentio facto arripuit plectrum animumque accomodat arti. Miscetur vox cantu modulata cum cordis]; [..] heora þu wille. Min willa; Æfter þisum wordum heo mid modes anrædnesse awrat oðer gewrit and þæt geinsegode and sealde Apollonio: Dæt gewrit wæs þus gewritten, ch. 20, 31-34 [Haec dicens istante amoris audacia scripsit et signatos codicellos iuveni tradidit [..] Scripti erant sic: illum volo coniugem naufragum [..] quod pudica virgo tam impudenter scripserim]; þæt he þas æwændesnesse ne tæle, ac þæt he hele swa hwæt swa þar on sy to tale (explicit).

96 Ælfric's Lives of Saints, Saint Apollinaris, XXII 112-115: Min God Drihten Hælend, þe minum lareowe Petre forgæafe his gewilnunga swa hwæt swa he gewynnode æt ðe, arar nu ðis mæden of ðýsum reðum deása, forðan þe heo is þin gesceaft, and nis nan God buton ðu; (Psgic) 'and gewilndon gewilnunga on westynne & costodon god on druwnunge' [Et concupierunt concupiscientias in deserto et temptauerunt deum in siccitate]; Lk (Wscp) 'and þa tima wæs he sæt and his twelfe apostolas mid him, & he sæde him, of gewilnunge ic gewilnude etan mid eow þas Eastron ær ic fordærare'.
97 Raith, Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius–Bruchstücke, p. 43.
99 * signals the hapax legomena listed by Raith, Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius–Bruchstücke, pp. 36-37.
101 Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. by Bethurum, p. 28.
102 Moreover, Wulfstan in his homilies and laws used particular lexical items, like beorgan instead of anan, lac instead of onsegdnes, and gesælig not eadig. In the Old English Apollonius we find beorgan, and both gesælig and eadig.
In Wulfstan's homilies there are 27 *hapax legomena* occurring in echoic pairs, see Chapman, 'Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning in Wulfstan's Echoic Compounds', pp. 19-20.

See *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 264.

I am indebted to Donald Scragg for drawing my attention to the *Vercelli Homily X*, where the repetition involves only one word mostly twice; very rarely does it involve compounds. See also, for examples of repetition, D. 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 M. Kohrhammer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 181-92 (p. 185).

*Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 38.


