

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.¹ 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;² 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.³ The rich Latin textual tradition of this romance, which has been collected and studied by A. Riese and A. A. G. Kortekaas,⁴ dates from the ninth century and can be classified in three recensions known as *RA*, *RB* and *RC*.⁵ 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.⁶

The Old English translation of the *HA*, the first vernacular version of the text, has recently been the subject of renewed interest.⁷ 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.⁸ 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).⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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;¹⁶ in fact, it has been variously argued that it was written in York,¹⁷ Winchester,¹⁸ or Worcester.¹⁹

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 quaternion, 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

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,²⁰ is not exempt from corruption, as can be observed by the modern editorial emendations made to the Latin.²¹ 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.²²

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.²³ 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.²⁴ She concludes that this careful arrangement of the entire codex 'was made under Wulfstan's supervision,²⁵ 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.'²⁶

As I have recently noted,²⁷ 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)²⁸

[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:

Læwedum men is ælc wif forboden, 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]

Ðæt bið rihtlic lif, ðæt cniht þurhwunige on cnihtade, oððæt he on rihtre mædenæwe 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 ofercræfte wif oððe mæden neadinga nymð to unrighthæmede 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 wifman unrihtlice hæman, fæste XL daga on hlafe 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.

The Old English Apollonius and its Latin model

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*,³¹ or in a Latin exemplar preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 226,³² or in another copy of the *HA* from Tegernsee, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 19148.³³ 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, Würzburg.³⁴ 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),³⁵ a hypothesis affirmed by J. Raith.³⁶ Finally, the most recent edition of the *OEHA*, edited by P. Goolden (1958), contains a peculiar Latin text,³⁷ 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'.³⁸

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,³⁹ as (according to Raith) are translation mistakes: 10,3 *ic eow cuðe* 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 cynesetele* for Lat. *in solio*; 14,16 *buton scrude* for Lat. *abiecto habitu*; 50,28 *heo ræhte þa soðlice hire handa him to, and het hine gesund faran* for Lat. *quem manumissum incolumem abire precepit*.⁴⁰ 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 ðam bure þar 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.⁴¹ 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 episode⁴² concerning King Antiochus of Antioch who seduces and rapes his daughter. But the translation introduces some modifications, amplifying some details and omitting others:⁴³

Sed dum pater deliberaret, cui potissimum filiam suam in matrimonium daret, cogente iniqua concupiscentia crudelitateque flamme, incidit in amorem filie sue, et cepit eam aliter diligere quam quod paterem oportebat. 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 secreta. (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 gewilnunge, to ðam swiðe þæt he forgeat þa fæderlican arfæstnesse and gewilnode his agenre dohtor him to gemæccan; and þa gewilnunge naht lange ne ylde, ac sume dæge on ærne mergen, þa he of slæpe awoc, he abræc into ðam bure, þar heo inne læg, and het his hyredmen ealle him awege gan, swilce he wið his dohtor sume digle spæce sprecan wolde. Hwæt! he ða on ðare mánfullan scilde abisgode and þa ongeanwinnendan fæmnan mid micelre strengðe earfoðlice ofercom, and þæt gefremede mán gewilnode to bedigianne. (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 pavimento [. . .] (HA, ch. 2)

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

Ða gewearð hit þæt þæs mædenes fostormodor in to ðam bure eode, and geseah hi ðar sittan on micelre gedrefednesse (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 proponerat (HA, ch. 3)

and to ðam þæt he þe lengc 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 *earfodlice*

[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 incest⁴⁵—condemned by the Christian Church and by civil law⁴⁶—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: 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 prohibet cognationis turpitudinem revelare. Unde necesse est, ut iam tertia vel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi iungi debeat; nam secunda, quam praediximus, a se omnimodo debet abstinere.

[. . .] 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

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

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.]⁵⁰

From the eighth to the eleventh or twelfth centuries the Church forbade any marriage up to the seventh generation.⁵¹ Through the introduction and the fixing of Canons of councils, which served to promote its stability and indissolubility, marriage was regulated and legitimized.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:

Chronicles D, year 958

Her on þissum geare Oda arcebiscop totwæmde Eadwi cyning and Ælgyfe, for þæm þe hi wæron to gesybbe.⁵³

[In that year Archbishop Oda divorced Eadwig and Ælfgifu 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 *Law VI 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:⁵⁴

[6.3] And æghwile Cristen man eac for his Drihtenes ege unrihtthæmed georne forbuge and godcunde lage rihtlice healde.
[7] And we lærað and we biddað and on Godes namam beodað, þæt ænig Cristen man binnon six manna sibfæce on his agenum cynne æfre ne wifige, ne on his mæges leafe, þe swa neahsib

wære, ne on ðæs wifes nydmagan, þe he silf ær hæfde, [7.1] ne on his gefæderan, ne on gehalgodre nunnan, ne on ælætan ænig Cristen man ne wifige æfre; [7.2] ne ænig forligeru ahwar ne begange; [7.3] ne na má wifa hæbbe þonne án; ac beo be þære anre, þa hwile þe heo libbe, se þe wille Godes laga giman mid rihte and wið hellebryne beorgan his sawle.⁵⁵

[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,⁵⁶ the promulgation of moral and social laws concerning marriage and violence was driven by necessity.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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)⁵⁹

[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 nydmagan, þe he sylf ær ahte ne on his gefæderan ne on gehalgodre nunnan: ne on ælætan ænig cristen man ne gewifige æfre ne na ma wifa, þonne an, hæbbe, ac beo be 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*

*æt siblegerum þa witan geræddan, þæt [. . .]*⁶⁶ [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 *sibleger* gewyrce, gebete þæt be sibbe mæðe, swa be were swa be wite swa be ealra æhte (*II Cnut*, 48, 5)⁶⁷

[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 misdæda: ðurh morðdæda [. . .] ðurh lahbrycas and ðurh æswicas, ðurh mægræsas and þurh manslihtas, ðurh hadbrycas and þurh æwbrycas, þurh *sibgelegeru* and ðurh mistlice forlegeru. (Bethurum XX, C)⁶⁸

[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:

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

'Immo gratulor, quod abundantia litterarum studiorum meorum percepta me volente cui animus tuus *desiderat* nube.' Puella ait: 'Magister, si amares, dolores. Hec dicens istante amoris audacia scripsit et signatos codicellos iuveni tradidit. Pertulit Apollonius in foro et tradidit regi. Scripti erant sic: 'Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam clementie tue *indulgentia permittit mihi dicere*: Illum *volo* coniugem naufragum, a fortuna deceptum.' (HA, ch. 20)

Apollonius cwæð: 'Na, ac ic blissige swiðor, ðæt þu miht ðurh ða lare, þe þu æt me underfenge, þe sylf on gewrite gecyðan hwilcne heora þu wille. Min willa is, þæt þu ðe wer geceose þar ðu silf wille.' ðæt mæðen cwæð: 'Eala lareow, gif ðu me lufodest, þu hit besorgodest.' Æfter þisum wordum heo mid modes anrædnesse awrat oðer gewrit and þæt geinseglode and sealde Apollonio: Apollonius hit þa ut bær on ða stræte and sealde þam cyng. ðæt gewrit wæs þus gewriten: Ðu goda cyngc and min se leofesta fæder, nu þin mildheortnesse me leafe sealde þæt ic silf *moste ceosan hwilcne wer ic wolde*, ic secge ðe to soðan 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

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.⁶⁹ However, for the Christian Church from the ninth century onwards, *consensus* was the basis of marriage as *maritalis affectio*.⁷⁰ Thus, free agreement between the couple replaced the requirement for parental consent in Anglo-Saxon England.⁷¹ 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 cyþe se brydguma, hwæs he hire geunge, wið þam ðet heo his willan geceose and hwæs he hire geunge, gif heo læng sy ðonne he.⁷²

[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 monað werleas; ceose syððan þæt heo sylfe wille. (*II Cnut*, 74, p. 360)⁷³

[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)⁷⁴

[and the widow remain twelve months without a husband, then choose what she herself wishes.]

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

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:⁷⁵

*and sy ælc wydewe, þe hig sylfe mid rihte gehealde, on godes gride and on þæs cynges; and sytte ealc werleas . xii. monad; ceose syððan, þæt heo sylfe wille. (Hom U 40, 18-20)*⁷⁶
[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 sceatte ne sylle, butan he hwæt agenes ðances gyfan wille. (*II Cnut* 73, p. 360)⁷⁷
[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;⁷⁸ the new interest in the East, as revealed by *The Wonders of the East*;⁷⁹ the presence of the theme of exile;⁸⁰ or the exemplary Christian figure of Apollonius,⁸¹ who has been seen as a model of virtue and patience, like Job or the saints.⁸²

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);⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵ Moreover,

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

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 *cyningc* [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 *arleasest* ('se arleasesta cyngc Antiochus' [the perfidious King Antiochus], ch. 3.1) and *wæltreow* ('Antiochus se wæltreowa 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 onginneð seo gerecednes be Antioche þam ungesælgan
cingce and be Apollonige⁸⁶
[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*:

þa þa Lucius Ualerius and Flaccus Marcus wæron consulas,
þa 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]

þa *Antiochus* þæt gehierde, þa bæd he Scipian friþes (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 þæt hi æten swynen
flæsc. þæt 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, þæt hy sceoldon þæt ylce seofian, on hiora
earfoðum, under *Antiochus*, þam kynge. (*Ps* 87)⁸⁹

[Maccabees 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 ða *Antiochus* se arleasa cynincg behet þam anum
cnapan þe þær cucu wæs þa git mycele 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 deofolgilde, 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 Iudas to his geferum þæt he ða fylðe wolde adón of þam Godes temple, þe *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 foresæda *Antiochus* to Persiscre peode mid micclum þrymme (*ÆLS* xxv, 530-1)⁹⁰

[Meanwhile the aforesaid Antiochus went to the Persian people with a great force]

Finally, the *OEHA* also contains an *explicit*:

Her endað *ge wea ge wela* Apollonius þæs tiriscan: ræde se þe wille. And gif hi hwa ræde, ic bidde þæt he þas awændednesse ne tæle, ac þæt he hele swa hwæt swa þar 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*:

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 mihte⁹¹.

[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)⁹² or *ræde þær se þe wille* (*Gen* 49,1).⁹³

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 chiasmic structures:

1. Repetition of a word (*epanálepsis*), 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*].⁹⁴

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:

gelamp [. . .] **gelimp** (there is no correspondence in the Latin text); **gewilnunge** [. . .] **gewilnode** [. . .] **gewilnunge** [. . .] **gewilnode**, ch.1 [*cepit eam aliter diligere quam quod paterem oportebat. 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 posse* [. . .] *perfectoque scelere cupit celare secreta*]; on micelre **gedrefednesse** [. . .] swa **gedrefedes** modes?, ch. 2, 2-3 [*et vidit puellam roseo rubore perfusam* [. . .] *Quid tibi (sic) vultus turbatus et animus?*]⁹⁵

Although the translator could have used OE *stirung*, which has the same semantic value, he repeats *gewilnunge*; the parallelism *gewilnunge* / *gewilnungan* also occurs in Ælfric, in the *Psalms*, and the *Gospels*.⁹⁶ In ch. 16, *sweg* and *swegecræfte* occur alternatively with a double parallelism and word play on *swig* and *swigode*. We may also note that while the repetitions *willað* / *willað* / *wolde* are very common in Old English writings (*WHom* 20, *CPHead*, *CP*, *GDPref*), *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: *awritað*, *gewrite*, *gewrita* (five times in succession), *awrat oder gewrit*, *gewrit*, *gewriten*, *awrat*, *gewrit*, *gewrit*, *gewrit*. Although the *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), *gewerite* / *gewrita* only occurs here.

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

þa gyrnde hyre **mænig mære man micelre mærdða** beodende; sume digle **spæce 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 cwen lare 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:

ancæanned (*Hy* and *Ps*); *acuman* 'sustain' (*Gen* and *Num*); 1 *aerod(d)ian* (*Ps* and *GD*); 2 *bæðstede*, *begirdan*, *sirwan* (*PS*); *bereafigend*, *bridgifta* *AldGl*; *bocist* (*boccyt*) *armarium* *Aug Ench*; *dunlandum* (*LCh* and *Deut* and *Æl*); *moddren* 1 *ArPrGl*1; *forlidennes*, *hyredmenn* (*Æ*); *flima*, *giftelic* (*ClGL*1); *horu* (*El* and *Hy*); *rose*, *plega* (*Æ* and *GL*); *elcung* (*Æ* and *BR*); *dirstig* (*Ch*); *tacenbora* 'guide', *hearpenægel*, *bæðstede* (*GL* and *Hy*); *top*, *rudu* (*GL* and *WN*); *plega* (*GL* and *ÆGr*); *longeawinnan* (*LSc*); *fostermodor* *GD*); *fremdfulnen*, *sidfeaxe* (*BR*); *fæderlich* (*Hy*); *ungecnawe* (*Lk*); *waforlic* (*GINap* 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* / *Swiðe welig and snotor*; 4,7 *quasi pius pater*: *swa swa to godum fæder and arfæstum*; 6,17 *vestemque copiosam* / *an mid mænifealdum and genihtsumum reafum*; 6,21 *queritur*: *wæs gesoht and geacsod*; 6,22 *meror ingens* / *micel morcning and ormæte wop*; 6,25 *tonsore 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/ þæt he mihte þar bediglad beon and þar wunian;
16,27 silencio facto/ Ða wearð stilnes and swige geworden; 49,21
apollonius non credens. Ða 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* (ch. 3,13)
- irlic* [angry] for Lat. *iratus* (ch. 4,10; 5,3)
- eastnorðerne* (*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)
- **misþyncan* [to have mistaken ideas] for Lat. *male suspicere* (ch. 14,29)
- swegcræfte* [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)
- **lærlingmæden* [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* [. . .] *cynelicum*; *æfestful* [. . .] *æfestigað*, *sweg* [. . .] *swegcræfte* *swigode* *swegcræfte* *swigende* *swegcræft*; *hearpestreng* [. . .] *hearpenægl* [. . .] *hearpan*; *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'.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰²

2. The use of intensifying adjectives and adverbs like *swiðe* (nine times) and *soðlice* (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,¹⁰³ a figurative technique used by Wulfstan probably under the influence of similar constructions in Latin rather than in Old English.¹⁰⁴ This device in Wulfstan's writings also involves *hapax legomena*.¹⁰⁵

c) conscious and effective use of word play, sometimes involving forms with the same root but with different meanings. Thus:

Ful earhlice laga and scandlice nydgild þurh Godes irre us sind gemæne, understande se þe cunne and *fela ungelumpa gelumpð* þisse þeode oft and gelome. (*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*)¹⁰⁶

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

4. The construction of very short clauses, linked by *and*.

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

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*)¹⁰⁷ 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 than two or three terms. The repetitive use of *hwæt* (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:¹⁰⁸

<p><i>and þæt gewrit ne awrat nan eorðlic man (Napier 57, Hom U 57, Sermo ad populum Dominicis diebus)¹⁰⁹</i></p>	<p><i>þæt he awrat gewrit and þis gewrit he awrat; and þa wæs þæt gewrit þus gewriten (Napier XLIV, Hom U 44, spell)¹¹⁰</i></p>	<p><i>þis gewrit næs æt fruman awriten. (Hom U 5) titled Be þam drihtenlican sunnandæg folces lar)¹¹¹</i></p>	<p><i>Æfter þisum wordum heo mid modes anrædnesse awrat oðer gewrit and þæt geinseglode and sealde Apollonio: Apollonius hit þa ut bær on ða stræte and sealde þam cynge. Ðæt gewrit wæs þus gewriten (ch. 20).</i></p>
--	--	--	---

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 *þa ðe þæt leden cuðon* [those who know Latin],¹¹² 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.

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).

² This hypothesis is based on the presence in the *HA* of references to certain places and events contained in the *Ephesiaca* of Senofonte or in Euripides' Alcmaeon. See E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre: Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), p. 32; A. A. G. Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, pp. 109-113, and A.H. Krappe, 'Euripides' Alcmaeon and the Apollonius Romance', *Classical Quarterly*, 18 (1924), 57-8.

³ See E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von 'Apollonius aus Tyrus'. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung über ihre lateinische Urform und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1899), p. 216.

⁴ See note 2 above.

⁵ On this dating see M. Manitius, 'Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 67 (1935), 324-5 and Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, pp. 419-31. For a detailed and recent study on the textual relationships existing among the three extant redactions see Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, pp. 59-96.

⁶ On its entire tradition of vernacular translation read the very useful work by Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 182-216; 'Apollonius of Tyre in Vernacular Literature: Romance oder Exemplum?', *GCN*, 3 (1990), 123-37; 'Fathers and Kings in Apollonius of Tyre', in *Images of Authority: Papers Presented to Joyce Reynolds on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by M. M. Mackenzie and C. Rouche, *Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary volume 16*, (1989), pp. 24-40; 'Apollonius of Tyre in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', in *Latin Fiction: the Latin Novel in Context*, ed. by H. Hofmann (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 229-37.

⁷ J. McGowan, 'Royal Titles in the Old English "Apollonius": Two Emendations', *Studia Neophilologica*, 61 (1989), 3-6; 'The Old English *Apollonius of Tyre* and the Latin Recensions', *Proceedings of the Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Conference*, 1989 (for 1987-88), 179-95; 'Apolloniana', *Archiv (ASNSL)*, 227 (1990), 130-8; *Id.*, 'The Old English

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

Apollonius of Tyre 19', *Explicator*, 49 (1991), 74-5; R. A. Riedinger, 'The Englishing of Arcestrate: Women in *Apollonius of Tyre*', in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. by H. D'Amico and A. Hennessy Olsen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 292-306; H. Ogawa, 'Stylistic Feature of Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*', *Poetica*, 34 (1991), 57-74; R. I. Page, 'The Title of the Old English "Apollonius of Tyre"', *ANQ*, 4 (1991), 171-2; C. Morini, 'La versione anglosassone del romanzo di Apollonio nel contesto del suo manoscritto', *AION*, sez. germ., n.s. 10 (2000), 13-26; 'Aspetti giuridici nella versione anglosassone della *Historia Apollonii*', in *Vettori e percorsi tematici nel mediterraneo romanzo*, ed. by F. Beggiano and S. Marinetti (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002), pp. 199-216; D. Townsend, 'The naked Truth of the King's Affection in the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 34 (2004), 173-95.

⁸ 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, fols. 1r-7v: *Ystoria Apollonii regis Tyrii et synodis et regis Anthiochi* (thirteenth-century); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 718, fols. 206r-222r: *Narratio vitae sive actuum Apollonii syri* (twelfth-century); Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 1984, fols. 167r-84r: *Historia Tyrii Apollonii* (early twelfth-century); Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 60, fols. 211r-222r: *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, a. 1471; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 266, fols. 107r-26v: *Historia Apollonii* (twelfth-century); Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 3129, fols. 41r-60v: *Historia Apollonii* (fifteenth-century).

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ On Cynewald and Oswald and their importation of manuscripts from the Continent see *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by D. Bethurum, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957, repr. 1971), p. 60.

¹¹ Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 62, quoted the following authors: Gregory, Augustine, Alcuin, Adso, Jesse of Amiens, Theodulf of Orleans, Amalarius of Metz, Rabanus Maurus, Abbo of St. Germain, Isidore, Caesarius of Arles, Atto of Vercelli, Eligius of Noyon, Pirmin of Reichenau, Ælfric of Eynsham and Bede. On Wulfstan, his life and his works, see H. Sauer, 'Wulfstan von Worcester und York', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 (1998), 347-8; Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (1942), 25-45; Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 69-81. Unfortunately no catalogue remains of the library of Worcester before the Conquest. On the previous manuscripts belonging to this library see K. Keller, *Die literarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in angelsächsischer Zeit* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1900); C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916); N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1962; repr. 1964), pp. 205-15.

¹² This title is recorded in a catalogue of the Abbey's library, see British Library, Additional MS 23944, fol. 157, at no. 75.

¹³ See for more details N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, repr. 1990), p. 90.

¹⁴ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 50, p. 91; L. Whitbread, 'MS. C.C.C.C. 201: A Note on its Character and Provenance', *Philological Quarterly*, 38 (1959), 106-12 (p. 100). For a detailed description of Corpus Christi College MS 201 see also M. R. James, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Corpus Christi College Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), I 485-486; Turner, *Early Worcester Manuscripts*, p. lvi; B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung* (Hamburg: Grand, 1914; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. xiv-xvi; supplement to the introduction by P. Clemons, pp. cxxvii-cxxix; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 82-90; Whitbread, 'MS. C.C.C.C. 201', pp. 107-108; R. Fowler, *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, EETS o.s. 266 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. xi-xiii; Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, pp. 4-8; Morini, 'La versione anglosassone del romanzo di Apollonio', pp. 15-17. The dating is that upheld by Ker, but other scholars such as Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 2, attribute it to the end of the eleventh century.

¹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, nos. 49 and 50, and for other details see Whitbread, 'MS. C.C.C.C. 201'.

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

¹⁶ According to Fowler, *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgard*, p. xxv: '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. *Norðhymbre preosta logu*) in the manuscript'.

¹⁷ Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976, rev. ed.), p. 25 in relation to the extant *Northumbrian Priests Laws*, a work originating in and concerning the province of York. Bethurum first claimed Wulfstan's authorship for these laws, see 'Six Anonymous Old English Codes', *JEGP*, 49 (1950), 449-63. Recently P. Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by D. A. E. Pelteret (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 191-224 (pp. 211-13), argues that this text was probably a work later than Wulfstan, written by another archbishop, one of his two immediate successors or someone in his entourage.

¹⁸ H. Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60 (p. 5).

¹⁹ 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 Fasing*, p. cxxix.

²⁰ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 49B, p. 90. On different hands pp. 151-160 (*Genesis*) and pp. 170-6 (Latin rites for the confession), see Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 49B, art. 56 and 58. It has been argued that the scribe was a Saxon (from Essex) who introduced dialect forms into a West-Saxon copy: see P. Goolden, *The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. xxxi; Raith argues that it is not possible to define the dialect of the scribe: *Die alt- und mitttelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, p. 15.

²¹ 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 (*Hlæfdige, næs git yfel wif*). No help is afforded by the Latin versions: see A. F. Pottle, '*næs 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 *hlaford geong* (ch. 13) was probably a mistake for *cynig*, see McGowan, 'Royal Titles in the Old English "Apollonius"', p. 4.

²² Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, p. 8; Goolden, *The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. xxxvii.

²³ D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *HER*, 63 (1948), 433-52 (p. 449).

²⁴ M. P. Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts of the Old English Laws: Tradition and Innovation', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. by P. E. Szarmach (New York: State University of New York Press, 1986), pp. 171-92 (p. 178).

²⁵ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts of the Old English Laws', pp. 180-1.

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 Arcestrate 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 þearle wlitig and for þære micclan lufe þære clænnesse, hi sædon ealle þæt þar 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.

³⁰ The Old English text is quoted by Fowler, *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, pp. 23-4. The work comes from Pseudo Eberth's Penitential, datable to the ninth/tenth centuries: see Raith, *Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bußbuches* (Hamburg: Grand, 1933; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).

³¹ B. Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre* (London: Arch, 1834), pp. 51-52; A. H. Smyth, *Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre: A Study of Comparative Literature* (Philadelphia: MacCallia, 1898), pp. 93-112. The collection of the tales known as the *Gesta Romanorum* was compiled in the fourteenth century and its first edition dates back to 1480; the hypothesis that the Anglo-Saxon translation derives from this text appears, therefore, erroneous. The convergences can be explained only if a lost common Latin source for both texts is hypothesized. See the edition of the work published by H. Oesterly, Berlin 1872, repr. 1963, and a discussion on ch. 153 in Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 190-1.

The Old English Apollonius and Wulfstan of York

³² J. Meyer, 'Über den lateinischen Text der Geschichte des Apollonius von Tyros', *Sitzungsberichte der philos-philol.-und historischen Kl. der K. Bayerischen Akademie*, 2 (1872), 1-28.

³³ T. Mommsen, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre. A novel by George Wilkins printed in 1608 and found upon Shakespeare's Play* (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1857), p. xviii-xx.

³⁴ Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre*.

³⁵ J. Zupitza, 'Die altenglische Bearbeitung der Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus', *Archiv (ASNSL)*, 97 (1896), 17-34; Riese, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, p. vi; Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, p. 39.

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

³⁷ Goolden, 'The Old English "Apollonius of Tyre"'.
³⁸ 'Über den Wert eines solchen *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 *grandi sago* (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.

⁴² On this topic see Archibald, *Incest and Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

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.

⁴⁸ W. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 26-7.

⁴⁹ On the authenticity of the texts contained in this famous letter (*Libellus responsionum*, in *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, ed. by P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, MGH Epp 2, xi. 56a (Berlin: Weidmann, 1891-1899; repr. 1957), pp. 342-3), see P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's text of the Libellum Responsionum of Gregory the Great', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to D. Whitelock*, ed. by P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 15-33; G. Picasso, 'I fondamenti del matrimonio nelle collezioni canoniche', *Settimane di studio del Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 24 (1977), 190-231 (p. 217); J. Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'église depuis le décret de Gratien jusqu'à la mort de Clément V* (1314) (Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1933), pp. 146-52; S. Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 15-16.

⁵⁰ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, I.27.5, pp. 84-5.

⁵¹ The Councils of Tours (a. 1060, G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florentiae: Expensis Antonii Zatta, 1759-98; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960-2), t. xix, ch. 928) and Rouen (a. 1072, Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum collectio*, t. xx, ch. 14 and 38-9) established the prohibition of marriage within the seventh degree, in order to prevent the major noble families from maintaining joint ownership; see P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, vol. 1 (Paris: Sirey, 1931-2). On the topic of consanguinity and its development on the Continent see C. B. Buchar, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Speculum* 56 (1981), 268-87.

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).

⁵³ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition*, 6. MS D: a semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Oxford: Brewer, 1996), p. 45.

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).

⁵⁶ On the *Discipulus Umbrensius* or *Poenitentiale Theodori* (seventh-eighth centuries), the *Poenitentiale Ps. Theodori* (aa. 830-47), the *Confessionale Ps. Ecberti* (eighth century), the *Poenitentiale Ecberti* (aa. 732-66), and the *Poenitentiale Ps. Ecberti* (aa. 950-1000) see F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle: Graeger, 1851, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958); C. Vogel, *Les 'Libri Poenitentiales'* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978); A. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983); L. Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlicher Bußbücher* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1993).

⁵⁷ C. Vogel, *Le pécheur et la pénitence dans l'Eglise ancienne* (Paris 1966); Vogel, *Le pécher et la pénitence au Moyen Age* (Paris: editions du Cerf, 1969); P. J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials* (Toronto: Toronto University Press 1984), p. 8 argues that the penitential was not compiled for confessional use but as a list to be memorised of sanctions relating to a variety of sins. For a detailed study see also R. Manselli, 'Il matrimonio nei Penitenziali', in *Il matrimonio nella società Altomedievale*, pp. 287-315 (pp. 289-302); D. A. Brundage, 'Better to Marry than to burn? The Case of the Vanishing Dichotomy', in *Sex, Law and Marriage*, III 198-9; L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials; Their Religious and Social Background*, in *Studia Patristica*, 7 (1966), 329-39; see the edition by L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963).

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ *The Poenitentiale Ps. Theodori*, V 13-14; text quoted by Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 584.

⁶⁰ *The Poenitentiale Egberti*, IV, Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 234.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 25, 38. See also Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, p. 20; K. Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* (Bern: Francke, 1950), pp. 219-20.

⁶³ Text quoted by Napier, *Wulfstan Homilies*, Homily 59, pp. 307-9 (p. 308).

⁶⁴ *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 25.

⁶⁵ *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 39-40. According to Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 249-61, it is a work compiled later than Wulfstan.

⁶⁶ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, *Ælfred und Guthrum*, pp. 128-31 (p. 130).

⁶⁷ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, *II Cnut*, 48. 51, pp. 346-7.

⁶⁸ *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 261-266 (pp. 264-5, 4-13).

⁶⁹ On this subject see Merzbacher, *Ehe*, pp. 813-14.

⁷⁰ Merzbacher, *Ehe*, pp. 811-14; see also D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 63-4.

⁷¹ See the very important letter written by Pope Nicolas I to the Bulgars: *Nicolai I papae Epistolae*, ed. by E. Perels, MGH, *Epistolae Aevi Karolini* 4 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1978), pp. 568-600.

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.

⁷⁴ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, V Atr., 21, 21.1, p. 242; VI Atr 26, 26.1, p. 254.

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

⁷⁶ Napier, *Wulfstan 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.

⁷⁹ C. L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London: Harrap, 1967), p. 253.

⁸⁰ Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 184.

⁸¹ T. E. Pickford, 'Apollonius of Tyre as Greek Myth and Christian Mystery', *Neophilologus* 59 (1975), 599-609; Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, pp. 49-50.

⁸² Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, pp. 49-50; Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 184.

⁸³ 'Es war der erste Versuch, einen unterhaltenden Prosaroman zu schreiben, eine Liebesgeschichte zu erzählen [. . .] Der Mönch, der Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts den Apollonius in engl. Prosa brachte, war damit allerdings seiner Zeit um vierhundert aus voraus [. . .] der engl. Prosaroman beginnt im 15. Jahrhundert [. . .]': Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, p. 48.

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 *þam* 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.

⁸⁸ *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. by G. Kotzor (Munich: Beck, 1986), II 5, 165.

⁸⁹ *Old English Psalms: 1-50, Libri psalmorum versio antiqua Latina cum paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica*, ed. by B. Thorpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1835), Ps. 43, p. 105.

⁹⁰ *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1881-1900): *Book of Maccabees*.

⁹¹ The text is quoted from *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius 'De Consolatione philosophiae'*, ed. by W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899, repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), p. 3.

⁹² *The Exeter Book*, ed. by G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, ASPR VI (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 210.

⁹³ *Genesis*, 49 (BL, MS Cotton Claudius B. IV): *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. by S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922, repr. with additional material by Ker, London, 1969), p. 20.

⁹⁴ Other occurrences of this device are: *Ða agan se cyncg plegan* [. . .] and *Apollonius hine gemægnde, swa swa godes wolde, on ðæs cyninges plegan* and [. . .] *to ðam plegendan cyngc*, 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, substuli velocitate percussam ludenti regi remisit*. Se forlidenan man is cume [. . .] ac he ne mæg for scame in gan buton *scrude*. *Ða het se cyngc hine sona gescriðan mid wurðfullan scrude*, ch. 14, 16-17 [*'Naufragus adest, sed abiecto abitu introire confunditur'*: *Statim rex iussit eum dignis vestibis 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 inveniit* [. . .] *qui autem non inveniit*]; þone *rædels* understodon to *arædenne*; and þone *rædels* understodon to *arædenne* [. . .] þone *rædels* ariht *rædde*, ch. 3, 14-15 [[. . .] *sed quis prudentia litterarum questionis solutionem invenisset, quasi qui nichil dixisset decollabatur*]; Antiochus se *wælreowa* cyningc on þysse *wælreownesse* þurhwunode, ch. 4, 1-2 [*et cum hanc crudelitatem rex Antiochus exerceret*]; *snotor* [. . .] on his *snotornesse*, ch. 4, 3-4 [*fidens in habundantia litterarum* [. . .]]; þæt Apollonius þone *rædels* swa rihte *arædde*, ch. 5, 1-2 / *rex ut audivit iuvenem questionis sue solutionem invenisse*; Apollonius ariht *arædde* mynne *rædels*. Astih nu *rædlice*, ch. 6, 4 [*Apollonius Tyrius invenit questionis mee solutionem. Ascende enim confestim navem* [. . .]]; þu eart *wælreowra* þonne Antiochus [. . .] þas *wælreownesse* þæt ic þurh ðe gewurde *wæðla* [. . .] and þæt se *wælreowesta*, 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 sona swa heo hearpian ongan, heo mid winsumum sange gemægnde þare hearpan *sweg*. *Ða ongunnon ealle þa men hi herian on hyre swegcræfte*, and Apollonius ana *swigode*. *Ða cwæð se cyningc* [. . .] ealle men heriad mine

dohtor on hyre *swegcræfte*, and þu ana hi *swigende* tæltst. Apollonius cwæð [. . .] ic secge þæt ic on gite þæt soðlice þin dohtor gefeol on *swegcræft*, 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 geinseglode and sealde Apollonio: Ðæt *gewrit* wæs þus *gewriten*, ch. 20, 31-34 [*Haec dicens istante amoris audacia scripsit et signatos codicillos iuveni tradidit [. . .] Scripti erant sic: illum volo coniugem naufragum [. . .] quod pudica virgo tam impudenter scripserim*]; þæt he þas awændednesse 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 forgeafe his gewilnunga swa hwæt swa he gewylnode æt ðe, arær nu ðis mæden of ðysum reðum deaðe, forðan þe heo is þin gesceaft, and nis nan God buton ðu'; (*PsGIC*) 'and gewilnodon gewilnunga on westynne & costodon god on druwunge' [Et concupierunt concupiscentias 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 forðfare'.

⁹⁷ Raith, *Die alt- und mittellenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, p. 43.

⁹⁸ Raith, *Die alt- und mittellenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, pp. 42-43.

⁹⁹ * signals the hapax legomena listed by Raith, *Die alt- und mittellenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁰ On Wulfstan's stylistic features see A. Orchard, 'Crying wolf: oral style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992), 239-64.

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 *onsægdnes*, and *gesælig* not *eadig*. In the Old English *Apollonius* we find *beorgan*, and both *gesælig* and *eadig*.

¹⁰³ About 200 echoic pairs occur in Wulfstan's homilies, see D. W. Chapman, 'Motivations for producing and analyzing compounds in Wulfstan's Sermons', in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. by J. Fisiak and M. Krygier (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), pp. 15-21.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapman, 'Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning in Wulfstan's Echoic Compounds', *JEGP*, 101 (2002), 1-20 (p. 18).

¹⁰⁵ 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.

¹⁰⁶ See *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 264.

¹⁰⁷ 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).

¹⁰⁸ *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 38.

¹⁰⁹ Napier, *Wulfstan Homilies*, pp. 215-26 (p. 217, 15 and 20; p. 221, 4).

¹¹⁰ Napier, *Wulfstan Homilies*, pp. 291-299 (p. 292, 19-20).

¹¹¹ Napier, 'English Literature 1: An Old English Homily on the Observance of Sunday', in *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr Furnivall*, ed. by W. P. Ker and A. S. Napier (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 355-62 (pp. 357-62).

¹¹² *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 175.