Andreas Lemke

The Old English Translation of Bede's
Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum
in its Historical and Cultural Context

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List of Abbreviations

ASC   *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition*, ed. D.N. Dumville, S. Keynes and S. Taylor (Cambridge, 1983-).

ALL   *Anglo-Latin Literature*, ed. M. Lapidge, 2 vols. (London, 1993-1996).

BEASE   *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge et al. (Oxford, 2001).

BS   *Biblia sacra : iuxta Vulgatam versionem: adiuvantibus B. Fischer ... rec. et brevi apparatu critico instruxit Robertus Weber*, ed. R. Gryson and R. Weber, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 2007).

Budny   *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi Collge, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, ed. M. Budny, 2 vols. (Kalamazoo, 1997).

BT   *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Based on the Manuscript Collections of Joseph Bosworth. With rev. and enl. Addenda by Alistair Campbell*, ed. T.N. Toller, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1972-73).

CASL   *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne (Oxford, 2001).

CCB   *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. S. DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010).

CCSL   *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954-)

C-H   *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. J.R. Clark-Hall, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1960).

C&M   Beda Venerabilis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed.* and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969).

CSEL   *Corpus Scriptorum et Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Wien, 1866-)

DOE	*Dictionary of Old English: A-G*, Dictionary of Old English Project, University of Toronto. Online.
DOEC	*Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, Dictionary of Old English Project, University of Toronto. Online.
EHD	*English Historical Documents, vol. I: c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1979).
FAS	*Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project, University of Oxford. Online.
GHW	*Georges ausführliches Handwörterbuch: Lateinisch-Deutsch*, ed. H. Georges, 11th ed., 2 vols. (Hannover, 1962).
Gneuss	Gneuss, H., *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a List of Manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001).
HEGA	Beda Venerabilis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. M. Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi* (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*), transl. P. Chiesa, 2 vols. (Milan 2008-2010).
Hogg	Hogg, R.M., *A Grammar of Old English*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992-), vol. I: *Phonology*.
JL	*Jarrow Lecture* (Jarrow on Tyne, 1958-).
Ker	Ker, N.R., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)
K&L	*Alfred the Great:* Asser's Life of King Alfred *and other contemporary Sources*, ed. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (London, 1983).
Liebermann	*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle a.d.S., 1898-1916).
MG	*Mittellateinisches Glossar*, ed. E. Habel und F. Gröbel, 2nd ed. (Paderborn, 1989).
NCMH	*The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. D. Abulafia *et al.*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1995-).

OEB	*The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T. Miller, 4 vols., EETS os 95, 96, 110, 111 (London, 1890-1898; repr. in two parts 1959).
OEG	Campbell, A., *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1964).
OEPC	*King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, 2 vols., EETS os 45, 50 (London, 1871).
Plummer	*Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896).
PONS	*PONS Wörterbuch für Schule und Studium: Latein-Deutsch*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart, 2003).
Rowley	Rowley, S. *The Old English Version of* Bede's Historia *Ecclesiastica* (Cambridge, 2011).
SB	Brunner, K., *Altenglische Grammatik. Nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers*, 3rd rev. ed. (Tübingen, 1965).
VÆ	Asserius, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser. With Article on recent Work on Asser's Life of Alfred by Dorothy Whitelock* (Oxford, 1959).

I. Introduction and Methodology

Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (*HE*), written c. 731, enjoyed a great popularity among the Anglo-Saxons and Carolingians and was one of the most popular texts in medieval Europe.[1] This is underscored by the fact that Anglo-Saxon writers revered it as source from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.[2] Its importance can be further gauged by the number of Old English texts which drew upon the *HE*.[3] In addition to these sources stands the (more or less) full-blown

[1] See J. Westgard, "Bede in the Carolingian Age and Beyond", *CCB*, pp. 201-15; S. Rowley, "Bede in Later Anglo-Saxon England", *CCB*, pp. 216-28; G.H. Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 117-34. Westgard lists 164 copies of the *HE* that were copied from the eighth to the fifteenth century throughout Europe ("Caroligian Age", p. 210, table 1).

[2] The *FAS* records 723 hits for the *HE* as source text; http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[3] The ninth-century *OE Martyrology* (Augustine of Canterbury, Columba of Iona, Oswald of Northumbria, Aidan, Fursey, Alban, Cedd, Æthelburh, Æthelthryth, Higebald, Hild of Whitby, John of Beverly, the Hewalds, Germanus), ed. G. Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 2 vols. (München, 1981); cf. M. Lapidge, "Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the Old English Martyrology", *Analecta Bollandiana 123* (205), 29–78; the ninth-century *Chad Homily*, ed. R. Vleeskruyer, *The Life of St. Chad: an Old English Homily* (Amsterdam, 1953); the ninth-century *OE Boethius*, ed. M. Godden and S. Irvine, *The Old English Boethius: an Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius' "De Consolatione Philosophiae"*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2009); Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (1.11, 2.1, 2.9, 2.10, 2.21, supplementary homily 19), ed. P. Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Series 1: Text*, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997); *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Series 2: Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979); *Homilies of Ælfric : a Supplementary Collection; being Twenty-One Full Homilies of His Middle and Later Career, for the Most Part not Previously Edited ; with some Shorter Pieces, Mainly Passages Added to the Second and Third Series / ed. from all the Known Manuscripts with Introd., Notes, Latin Sources and a Glossary*, ed. J.C. Pope, EETS os 259, 260, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1967-68); Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (Oswald, Alban, Æthelthryth), ed. W.W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints: being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church. Ed. from Ms. Julius E. VII in the Cottonian Collection, with Various Readings from other Ms*, EETS os 76, 82, 94, 114, 4 vols. (London, 1890-1900; ed. as two volumes); the eleventh-century *Vision of Leofric*, ed. P. Stokes, "The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context", *RES* 63 (2012), 529-50; the mid-eleventh century *OE Life of Paulinus*, ed. K. Sisam, "An Old English Translation of a Letter from Wynfrith to Eadburga", in

translation of Bede's work, the *Old English Historia Ecclesiastica* (*OEHE*).[4] This vernacular rendering by an anonymous translator (or translators)[5] was without a doubt a demanding and time-consuming endeavor. It required on a basic level advanced skill, if not mastery, in both Medieval Latin and Old English. On a more sophisticated level it required the interpretative capability to grasp the meaning of Bede's Latin original without challenging its author(ity) while at the same time rendering it into Old English, a medium so different on various levels from the Latin in which the *HE* was written. The translation had to transpose a text imprinted with the cultural forces of eighth-century Northumbria into the historical and cultural context of an Anglo-Saxon society considerably removed in time (and space?) from Bede.[6] In addition to the linguistic level and cultural transformation, a vernacular Old English rendering of a work such as the *HE* triggers more general questions concerning medieval translation. Should a translation be aimed primarily at readers who do not understand the original and does it, therefore, serve purely practical ends? Although this is an undeniable aspect of translation it does not sufficiently explain its general nature. If we regard a translation as faithful if not slavish rendition of a text in order to make the original intelligible, this deprives us of the cultural and intellectual forces that shape any translation and bars our view as to its purpose and inherent power. Consequently, the questions of why the *HE* was translated into the English vernacular and which historical and cultural forces shaped this translation process will be addressed in this thesis.

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his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 199-224, at pp. 212-23; and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, whose early annals up to 731 draw on the *HE*.

4   The present thesis follows Sharon Rowley's use of *OEHE* ('Old English *Historia Ecclesiastica*') as it is more clear-cut than 'Old English Bede'. As far as I know she is the first person to use this acronym consistently; cf. Rowley, *passim*.

5   For the sake of convenience all references to 'the translator' or 'the glossator' have been made with the masculine personal pronoun rather than a mixed tag ('he or she').

6   The corpus of literature on Bede, his times and his works is too vast to be covered in detail here. The following selection is perhaps indispensible when treating the subject: A.H. Thompson, ed., *Bede: His Life, Times and Writing* (Oxford, 1935); G. Bonner, ed., *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976); P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede*, 2nd rev. ed. (1990); G.H. Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2010); S. DeGregorio, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2011). Apart from editions and translations of his works there are numerous monographs and essays on certain aspects of Bede's work of which P. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham, 2012) is the most recent. This small selection does in no way give credit to the plethora of materials in Bede studies but presents a useful beginning point for further study.

Why Translate Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*?

What triggered the *HE* to be translated? The earliest manuscripts of the *OEHE* have been dated on paleographical grounds to the period c. 890x930.[7] Consequently, it happened to be associated with the famous translation program of King Alfred of Wessex (871-899).[8] The main reason why this putative connection to Alfred is so appealing is the king's famous lament on the dismal state of learning and literacy and the poor level of Latin in England in the Preface to the *Old English Pastoral Care* (*OEPC*). Apparently, the Anglo-Saxons were no longer able to understand Latin texts and therefore unable to access the intellectual and intrinsic religious worth therein.[9] Given the output of an allegedly impressive think-tank that gathered at Alfred's court at the end of the ninth century it seems reasonable to assume that the *OEHE* was also produced in this setting, or at least is difficult to imagine in a contemporary context independent of the Alfredian program. Claims for the *OEHE* to stem from an earlier Mercian school of translation, mainly based on the Mercian dialect admixture in the earliest manuscripts, have been convincingly refuted.[10]

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[7]   Cf. Rowley, pp. 15-25, for an excellent overview.

[8]   For King Alfred's translation program see J. Bately, "Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred", *ASE* 17 (1988), pp. 93–138; *idem*, "The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?", in *Basic Readings in Old English Prose*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (New York and London, 2000), pp. 3–28; *idem*, "The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years on", in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 107–20; D. Whitelock, "The Prose of Alfred's Reign", in "The Prose of Alfred's Reign", in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E.G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 67-103; K&L, *passim*.

[9]   Cf. *OEPC*, pp. 2-9; translation K&L, pp. 124-26.

[10] It has been suggested that the translation of the *HE* should be dated to the middle of the ninth-century rather than the end of the century and that the Mercian element in spelling and lexicon has led to the assumption that the *OEHE* was the product of a Mercian center, possibly in the West Midlands; see H. Schabram, *Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz*, 2 vols. (München, 1965), I, 46-50; and F. Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums (Heidelberg, 1979)*, pp. 46-47. Greg Waite remarked that a date of the composition earlier than Alfred's reign was "dependent upon more positive proof of a Mercian tradition of vernacular writing in the ninth century." ("The Vocabulary of the Old English Version of Bede's Historica Ecclesiastica", unpubl. PhD thesis (Toronto, 1985), pp. 57-58). Bately however, convincingly refutes linguistic arguments in favor of such a tradition, put forward by its most prominent proponent Vleeskruyer ("Old English Prose", pp. 104-113). Drawing on Waite's lexical analysis of the *OEHE* she concludes that the translator had not used more archaic word forms than Werferth had done, who died in 915 (p.114); cf. also C. Sisam's comments in her "Review of Vleeskruyer 1953", *RES* ns 6 (1955), 302-303, at p. 302; cf. *OEB*, I.1, lix for a supposed Lichfield origin. For the claim of a Mercian school of translation, see Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, pp. 38-71. For its refutation see *inter alia* Bately, "Old English Prose", pp. 93-118; J. Roberts, "On the Development of an Old English Literary Tradition", Inaugural Lecture from the Department of English, King's College London (London, 1998), p. 13 (citing Si-

Due to the literary testimony of Ælfric, William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon and the (self-)promotion of the West Saxon King as translator in the Preface to the *OEPC* and the *OE Boethius,* the *OEHE* had long been viewed as translated by Alfred himself.[11] Alfred's authorship has now been convincingly ruled out, as indeed the whole concept of the translation program and the king's agency as translator have recently been a matter of debate between Malcolm Godden and Janet Bately.[12] Based on the relative stylistic coherence of the translation, the vernacular version of Bede's *HE* – or at least the 'body', disregarding the preface and the chapter headings – is now being regarded as the work of one anonymous (possibly Mercian?) translator.[13] Although there is no convincing proof to uphold King Alfred's authorship, the alleged connection between the *OEHE* and his translation program remains the crucial question. The work has been deemed to be commissioned by Alfred but undertaken by a translator of the same school as the one responsible for the translation of the *OE Dialogues*, which is assigned to Werferth, then the bishop of Worcester.[14] In recent years, contributions by George Molyneaux and Sharon Rowley have questioned any direct link to the Alfredian program. Molyneaux regards the translation as a primarily religious and edifying work of Christian instruction but left the issue of any Alfredian connotations open, neither assigning it to nor completely detaching it from the translation

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sam, *Old English Literature*, p. 31); and M. Gretsch, "The Junius Psalter Gloss: Its Historical and Cultural Context." *ASE* 29 (2001), 85-121, at p. 105 n. 79.

[11] For details, see chapter 'Author and Authority in the *OEHE*' *infra*. The title of Jacob Schipper's edition *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1897-99) is a prime example of a tradition which accredited the West Saxon king with the authorship of the *OEHE*. This view was persistently entertained by Sherman Kuhn until the 1970s ("Synonyms in the Old English Bede", *JEPG* 46.2 (1947), 168–76 and "The Authorship of the Old English Bede Revisited", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972), 172–80).

[12] Whitelock's landmark essay "The Old English Bede", Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, *PBA* 48 (1962), 57-90, convincingly questioned the Alfredian authorship. For the controversy between Malcolm Godden and Janet Bately on King Alfred's translation program, see M. Godden, "Did King Alfred Write Anything?", *Medium Ævum* 76.1 (2007), 1–23; Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, and J. Bately, "Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited", *Medium Ævum* 78.2 (2009), 189–215.

[13] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede". Whitelock argues elsewhere for at least two different translators, who were in charge of the running text and the chapter headings, respectively ("The List of Chapter-Headings in the Old English Bede", in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. R. B. Burlin, E. B. Irving und J. C. Pope (Toronto, 1974), pp. 263–84). I was notified by Prof. Rudolf that Greg Waite in a talk given at the ISAS conference in Dublin 2013 had cogently argued for a third translator who translated the preface to the *OEHE*. Unfortunately, the publication process of this thesis prevented me from discussing the matter with Prof. Waite and therefore cannot be addressed here.

[14] See Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 75-77; and S. Potter, "On the Relation of the Old English Bede to Werferth's Gregory and to Alfred's Translation", in *Memoires de la Societe Royale des Sciences de Boheme: Classe des Lettres* (1931), 1–76, at pp. 5-55. Potter's analyses show that there are still remarkable differences despite striking similarities that make a joint authorship for both works very unlikely.

program at the West Saxon court.[15] Rowley detaches the *OEHE* from both an earlier Mercian school of translation and King Alfred's program. She argues that the *OEHE* does not only display a set of discourses and concepts which were to a large extent different from Bede's, but also different from what marks out the character of the translations usually associated with the king and his helpers. In her view the *OEHE* was more likely to be the work of a sole genius – not unlike Bede – who probably worked in the West Midlands and was in dialogue with Alfred's program rather than a part of it.[16] Both scholars have shifted the focus of *OEHE* studies. Since the late nineteenth century, they have focused primarily on philological aspects of textual transmission, linguistic issues of translation or aesthetic aspects of style and lexicon.[17] Those studies chiefly analyzed the *OEHE* in the light of Bede's Latin masterpiece. They therefore stressed aspects such as the translator's incapability to grasp Bede's genius and sense of history, his unidiomatic and latinate Old English, or the distortion of Bede's work due to the various omissions in the *OEHE*, which streamline Bede's Latin original considerably. On a more positive note certain aspects of the translation have been praised, such as Bede being fortunate in his translator, his purposeful editorial agenda or his 'poetic turn of mind'.[18]

It was Rowley's study that turned our attention to the fact that we should regard the *OEHE* as a text with a value of its own rather than judging it in terms of fidelity to the Latin original. Instead, she focused on the translator's purposeful reshaping of Bede's text, who changes the narrative logic of the text and presents us with different notion of history than Bede had. Rowley calls attention to the

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[15]   G. Molyneaux, "The Old English Bede: English Ideology or Christian Instruction?", *EHR* 124 (2009), 1289–1323.

[16]   Rowley, esp. pp. 51-56. This comprehensive monograph assembles and develops ideas which Rowley had published in a remarkable set of essays: *idem*, "Shifting Contexts: Reading Gregory the Great's Libellus Responsionum in Book III of the Old English Bede", in *Rome and the North*, ed. R.H. Bremmer Jr., K. Dekker und D. F. Johnson (Paris, 2001), pp. 83–92; *idem* "Reassessing Exegetical Interpretations of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*", *Literature & Theology*, 17.3 (2003), 227-43; *idem* "Nostalgia and the Rhetoric of Lack: The Missing Exemplar for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Manuscript 41", in *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, ed. J.T. Lionarons (Morgantown, VA, 2004), pp. 11–33; *idem* "The Fourteenth- Century Glosses and Annotations in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10" *Manuscripta* 53.1 (2009), 49–86; *idem*, "The Role and Function of Otherwordly Visions in Bede's Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum", in *The World of Travellers: Exploration and Imagination*, ed. K. Dekker (Leuven, 2009), pp. 163-81.

[17]   For a comprehensive bibliography up to 1996 see G. Waite, ed., *Old English Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 42-48 and 321-53.

[18]   Cf. D.K. Fry, "Bede Fortunate in his Translators: The Barking Nuns", in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose: 16 Original Contributions*, ed. P. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1986), pp. 345-62; D. Whitelock, "Old English Bede"; and P.E. Szarmach, "'The Poetic Turn of Mind' of the Translator of the OE Bede" in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. S. Keynes, A. Smyth and C.R. Hart (Dublin, 2006), pp. 54–68; Kuhn remarks that several passages of the translation were extremely well written and therefore could not have been the work of a novice ("Authorship", pp. 172-80).

context of external historical evidence which should help us to appreciate the distinctive nature of the Old English translation. In that she urges us to do away with the notion of an Anglo-Saxon 'master narrative', which re-interpreted Bede's concept of the *gens Anglorum* to fit political ends at the West Saxon court.[19] The novelty of Rowley's approach is her treatment of material culture, i.e., the manuscripts and their different layers of textual interaction.[20] Rowley concludes that the *OEHE* displays cultural, temporal and discursive differences between languages over time. The texts in the manuscripts functioned as highly valued vernacular resources for reading/preaching and transmitting historical and ecclesiastical knowledge.[21] Rowley carries out groundbreaking work in combining literary, linguistic, historical and paleographical aspects to show how the translator and later scribes and annotators reshaped their Latin source text. It is worth quoting one of Rowley's claims in full:

> [T]he *OEHE* steers clear of the terms and ideologies strongly associated with Alfred and his successors. The *OEHE* does not look back on an age of Bede from the perspective of a king centralizing power and striving to build community by recalling a glorious English past. Rather, the *OEHE* transforms its source in a way that reflects a narrow focus on local history, key Anglo-Saxon saints and their miracles. Its reading of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* reflects an ecclesiastical setting more than a political one, with uses more hagiographical than royal. It recasts much of the conflict we would now describe as ethnic, honing in the importance of unity in the Church as the central issue. This shift of intellectual contexts marks a major change in our understanding of the role of the *OEHE* in medieval England.[22]

As evident in Rowley's and Molyneaux's approaches, purely linguistic and aesthetic analysis of the *OEHE* have given way to a more comprehensive view which acknowledges the complex generation of meaning through the interplay of the content, its form – i.e. the material artifact as transmitted in the manuscripts – and extralinguistic determiners, which influenced its production and reception. Despite Rowley's contribution it is still worth asking basic questions as each new enquiry adds to our understanding of the text, such as when, where, by whom, how and to what end was the *HE* first translated into the vernacular? These are the issues which will be addressed in this thesis.

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[19] Cf. Rowley, pp. 1-15.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 156-94. She explores how readers and annotators in the centuries to come continued the process of interpretation and transformation begun by the translator himself and expounds how these texts (in the plural) represent/reflect and refract the realities of their historical moments and the reception of the text in later centuries.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

The methodological approach applied here is not entirely different from Rowley's, yet it challenges it in some points. Her claim just quoted above has given rise to some follow-up questions on my part. It appears that Rowley refutes the assumption that the *OEHE* reflected an Alfredian ideology which actively promoted a 'master narrative' of the English in order to help the West Saxon king centralize power. In my view, this would presuppose notions of Alfred, together with his chief political advisors and *ealdormen*, craning over the shoulders of the translator to ensure a promotion of a glorious Anglo-Saxon past in order to forge a political monopoly of power of the House of Wessex by means of the translation. Read in that way the translation would then resemble 'official' West Saxon court propaganda composed to utilitarian ends, a concept which Rowley otherwise actively seeks to negate. This utilitarian concept is highly problematic. First, the political overlordship of the House of Wessex had already become a reality and manifested in the so-called 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' (KAS).[23] Instead of disproving an active political interest of King Alfred and his circle in the production we should conceive of the *OEHE* as being subject to those historical and social determiners but not actively seeking to generate them. This, in my view, does overburden the text. Second, the shift from a political context to an ecclesiastical context, which Rowley considers as especially remarkable and novel, might be worth reconsidering. Political and ecclesiastical spheres were intimately intertwined in Anglo-Saxon England.[24] Cases in point are Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* or the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*, in which the symbiosis between religion/ecclesiastical sphere and historical/political sphere become most apparent.[25] The translations associated

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23   See chapter three 'The Intellectual and Political Landscape of Ninth-Century England' *infra*.

24   Cf. H. Gneuss, "Bücher und Leser in England im zehnten Jahrhundert", in *Medialität und mittelalterliche Insulare Literatur*, ed. H.L.C Tristram (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 104–30 at p. 106, who stresses the relevance of extralinguistic reference frame of Old English Literature; the intimate relation between political and ecclesiastical spheres is also manifest in the concordat of the West Saxon kings with the archbishops of Canterbury (N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597-1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 197-206). Finally, it is evident in King Alfred's translation program, where intellectual activity was carried out in the proximity if not in the very centre of political activity.

25   Rowley further notes that the translation fails to show any signs of the Viking incursion of the first Viking Age, which she sees as argument for detaching it from Alfred's court and refutes a political agenda (Rowley, p. 92). This is problematic as any textual artifact is shaped by the social, historical and intellectual pressures of its time, which leave their mark on the text through presence and absence. Consequently, not making mention of Viking invasions explicitly does not rule out their influence on the translator and his discourse. As will be argued in my chapter 'Mission and Conversion', the *OEHE* might have played a role in the dealings of the Anglo-Saxons with the Vikings. A short passage towards the end of the *OEHE* may show that the Scandinavian invasions have left their mark on the text: "Þære tide sona æfter se hefigesta wol Sarcina þeode Gallia rice mid sarlice wæle ond earmlice fornaman ⁊ fohergodon; ⁊ hie sona æfter medmiclum fæce in þære ilcan mægþe wyrþe wite onfengon ⁊ þrowedon hiora getreowleasnesse." *At that season, soon after, that most grievous pest, the Saracens, wasted and destroyed the realm of Gaul with grievous and miserable carnage; but they soon after received and suffered the due punishment for their perfidy in that same province* (text and transl.: *OEB*, I.2, 476-77)[translations in this thesis are

with the wider ambience of the West Saxon court and the so-called 'Alfredian canon' in particular display an interdependence of Christian self-perception and worldly fate. The *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care* regards the earthly tribulation, i.e. the Viking raids, as contingent upon the English neglect of learning and Christian virtues.[26] Learning as set down in the Alfredian discourse leads to knowledge, which leads to wisdom. This progress marks out one of the most important determiners of Christian self-perception: with the pursuit of wisdom Christians are pursuing the source and fountain of all wisdom, which is God.[27] We need to keep in mind that the translations were not undertaken by military strategists or political advisors but by rank-and-file churchmen, such as Archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury, Bishop Werferth of Worcester, the Mercian priests Æthelstan and Werwulf, the Welshman Asser – later bishop of Sherbourne – Grimbald of St Bertin and John 'the Old Saxon'. It was primarily learned expertise and religious conviction, not political cunning, which Alfred summoned to his court, although we cannot rule out political considerations completely. The translations were secular and ecclesiastical at the same time. Therefore, a distinction between the two spheres does not seem helpful. In addition, it was in all likelihood an ecclesiastic/monastic setting where the text was produced and written down as the cathedral schools and the monasteries with their chapters and scriptoria were the places of education, as well as manuscript and charter production.[28] But we cannot rule out that the *OEHE* was read in silence or listened to by secular office holders as Mechthild Gretsch describes it vividly.[29]

Finally, Rowley's observation that much of what "we would now describe as ethnic, honing in the importance of unity in the Church" was recast by the translator appears to be an odd observation. Bede was highly concerned about ortho-

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my own unless otherwise stated]. This passage, probably referring to Charles Martell's victory against the Saracens at Tours, is embedded in a narrative sequence which correlates the incursion of the heathens with the open ending of Bede's *HE*, when the future state of England was not yet disclosed and the conversion of the peoples at the ends of the world in Christian salvation history not fully accomplished. This context of uncertainty, mixed with the invasion of a heathen force – which is successfully repelled – may have appealed to readers at the end of the ninth century and may be interpreted as embodying the way in which the Viking raids left their mark on the work of the translator without directly referring to them.

[26] *OEPC*, p. 5: "Geðenc hwelc witu us ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon: ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren, & swiðe feawe ða ðeawas."; *Remember, what punishments befell us in this world when we ourselves did not cherish learning nor transmit it to other men. We were Christians in name alone, and very few of us possessed Christian virtues*; trans.: K&L, p. 125.

[27] Cf. S. DeGregorio, "Texts, Topoi and the Self: a Reading of Alfredian Spirituality", *EME* 13.1 (2005), 79–96, at p. 96.

[28] Until the emergence of a royal chancery in the tenth century as Simon Keynes has demonstrated (*The Diplomas of King Aethelred "the Unready" 978 - 1016 : a Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980).

[29] M. Gretsch, "Literacy and the Uses of the Vernacular", in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 273-94, at pp. 286-87.

doxy and the unity of the Church.[30] This is also discernible in the *HE* which narrates the history and eventual unification of the different strands of Christianity in Britain from Romano-British Christianity to the conversion of the monks of Iona (*HE* V.22).[31] Stressing a difference between the *HE* and its Old English translation in this regard seems artificial. At the same time, ecclesiastical unity more often than not has a political dimension. Therefore, the apparent shift of intellectual contexts loses its force if we reduce it to the strict distinction of worldly and ecclesiastical spheres. That is not to say that we should discard it completely, as the late-ninth century West Midlands are not Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in 731. The *OEHE* needs to be seen at the intersection of both worlds, subject to their influence and discourse. Before we can delve deeper into the historical and intellectual context of the translation and focus on its purpose it is necessary look closer at the concepts of translation and the theoretical models the potential translators could have used. This will help us to delineate a theoretical model for the translation of the *HE*.

'Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgite of angite': Anglo-Saxon Translation in Theory and Practice

> [Ð]a ongan ic ongemang oðrum mislicum & manigfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc wendan on Englisc ðe is genemned on Læden Pastoralis, & on Englisc Hierdeboc, hwilum word be worde, hwilum angit of angi[e]te, swæ swæ ic hie geliornode.

> (*I then began, amidst the various and multifarious afflictions of this kingdom, to translate into English the book which in Latin is called* Pastoralis, *in English 'Sherpherd-book', sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, as I learned it*). [32]

Every student of Old English knows these famous lines from King Alfred's prefatory letter to the *OE Pastoral Care*. They are echoed in the prose preface to the *OE Boethius*:

> Ælfred kuning wæs wealhstod ðisse bec and hie of boclædene on Englisc wende swa hio nu is gedon. Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa he hit þa sweotolost and andgitfullicast gereccan mihte for þam mistlicum and manigfealdum

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[30] Cf. my chapter 'The Role of the Britons' *infra*.
[31] The present study follows Michael Lapidge's recent edition of the *HE* in the chapter numbering and not C&M. For the difference in chapter numbering see *HEGA*, I, cix and cxxv, II, 608; cf. C&M, pp. 376 and 380, *apparatus criticus*.
[32] *OEPC*, p. 7; translation: K&L, p. 131.

[weoruldbisgum] þe hine oft ægðer ge on mode ge on lichoman bis-
godan.

(*King Alfred was the translator of this book, and turned it from Latin into
English, as it is now done. Sometimes he set it down word for word, sometimes
sense for sense, in whatever way he could most clearly and intelligibly explain it,
on account of the various and multiple wordly cares which often busied him either
in mind and body*).[33]

The formula "sometimes word by word, sometimes sense by sense" was a well-
known tag in medieval translation known from the works of Jerome and Gregory
the Great.[34] King Alfred states in the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care* that his trans-
lation program has been made necessary due to the ignorance of Latin. It might
appear that his take on translation was to give the reader/listener a basic idea of
the original text. However, this dichotomous formula brings to the fore a central
issue of translation, which does not carry any connotations of intellectual decay.
Translation involves the process of mediating a set of linguistic codes that carry
specific traditions, rules and values configured by the social and historical deter-
miners of its creation into yet another cultural context with its specific codes, rules
and value system.[35] Translation is a cognitively challenging act of interpretation,
which enables us to negotiate these cultural, temporal and discursive differences
of languages.[36] The conveyance of 'cultural capital' (social or religious concepts,
norms, etc.) cannot be done easily. The problem is exacerbated if two cultures are
spatially and chronologically detached. A translator has to make copious choices
when conferring the mediating between the source culture and the target culture.
Being exposed to the principle paradox of translation theory, he has to do justice
to his source but at the same time needs to transpose and dissociate it in order to
adapt to the cultural sphere he is working in. In that he vacillates between the
poles of adequacy and acceptability.[37] Accordingly, every translation is not only

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[33] Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, I, 239 (text) and II, 1 (translation).

[34] See my chapter 'From Rome to the Fathers', *infra*. The formula is also used by Asser when he
refers to Werferth's translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*: "aliquando sensum ex sensu po-
nens." (*VÆ*, ch. 77); [*S*]*ometimes rendering sense for sense*; trans.: K&L, p. 92.

[35] R. Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1963), transl. E.T. Bannet, "The Scene of Trans-
lation: After Jakobson, Benjamin, de Man, and Derrida", *New Literary History 243* (1993), 577-95,
at p. 579.

[36] Rowley, p. 9. She argues that the choices of the translator were an expression of the ways in
which language and sense can be renewed in order to (re)create meaning beyond and into new
contexts.; cf. also P. Ricoeur, "What is a Text?: Explanation and Understanding", in *Reflection and
Imagination: A Ricoeur Reader*, ed. M.J. Valdés (Toronto, 1991), pp. 43-63; and J. Derrida, "Des
Tours de Babel", trans. in *Difference in Translation*, ed. J.F. Graham (Ithaca, NY), pp. 165-207.

[37] The interpretative dimension is seen in the Latin word for translation, *interpretatio*. F.M. Rener
remarks that a translator is like a skillful stone-mason with a double assignment. He has to dis-
semble the inherited structure ncarefully and then rebuild it according to the new environment
(*Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam, 1989), p. 30). For a com-
prehensive treatment of the term 'cultural capital' with regard to the Alfredian program meme,

interpretation but also contextually unique. The particular contexts might vary in scale, from, say, a monastic class-room, where the novice has to find the right glosses to present to his teacher, to the constraints of a politically-charged context, like Alfred's court at Winchester, with a mixed audience encompassing the royal family, the ealdorman and the clergy; Anglo-Saxons, possibly Britons, Irishmen, Scandinavians, Saxons and Gauls alike.[38]

 But even copious (lexical and stylistic) choices cannot guarantee faithfulness to the source text. Bede himself provides us with a prime example. When translating *Cædmon's Hymn* into Latin in the *HE* he wrote:

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see N.G. Discenza, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Albany, NY, 2005). With regard to adequacy and acceptability, Discenza (*ibid.*, p.6) draws on a concept outlined by Pierre Bourdieu (*Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. J.B. Thomson and transl. G. Raymond and M. Adamson (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

[38] Besides the well-documented presence of Asser (Briton), Grimbald (Gaul) and John (Saxon) there is evidence for the presence of Irishmen, Britons, Frisians and even Scandinavians at King Alfred's court. Asser's *VÆ* gives us hints as to who may have frequented Alfred's court. In ch. 76 it reports that Alfred was kind and generous to foreigners: "Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli, pagani, Britones et Scotti, Armorici sponte se suo domino subdiderant"(p. 60). *Wherefore many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, Vikings, Welshmen, Irishmen and men from Brittany subjected themselves willingly to his lordship*; trans. K&L, p. 91. Irishman at Alfred's court are mentioned in the *ASC*, s.a. 891: "⁊ þrie Scottas comon to Ælfrede cyninge on anum bate butan ælcum gereþrum of Hibernia, [...]. Þus hie wæron genemnde, Dubslane, ⁊ Maccbethu ⁊ Maelinmun." (Bately, ed., *MS A: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.N. Dumville, S. Keynes and S. Taylor 3 (Cambridge, 1983), p. 54). *And three Irishmen came to King Alfred in one boat, without any oars from Ireland [...]They were named thus, Dubslane, Maccbethu and Maelinmun* (translations in this thesis are my own unless otherwise stated). No Britons except for Asser are mentioned anywhere, but there is evidence for Welsh influence in the *OE Orosius* as Janet Bately has claimed. She adduces evidence for the misspellings of some Latin proper names in the translation being the result of the dictation by a Welsh native speaker. See J. Bately, ed. *The Old English Orosius*, EETS ss 6 (London, 1980), p. cxiv. The native speaker in question does not necessarily need to be Asser himself. It is quite unlikely that he undertook the long and probably perilous journey from St. David's to Winchester without some companions. Given the surrender of the Welsh kings to Alfred (*VÆ* chs. 79-80), it is more than likely that there were Welshman present in Wessex and the court. See also K&L, p. 258 n. 157 for that matter and p. 291 n. 42 for Wulfric, the 'Welsh reeve'. Evidence for the presence of Frisians is provided by the entry in the *ASC* s.a. 894, where in an encounter with the Vikings "Þær wearð ofslægen [...] Wulfheard Friesa ⁊ Æbbe Friesa ⁊ Æðelhere Friesa [...] ⁊ ealra monna fresiscra." (*ASC MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. 60-61), *There were killed [...] Wulfheard the Frisian, and Æbbe the Frisian and Æthelhere the Frisian [...] and all of the Frisians*. Evidence for Scandinavians is again provided by Asser, who reports in ch. 94 of his *VÆ* (p. 81): "In quo etiam monasterio unum paganicae gentis edoctum in monachico habitu degentem, iuvenem admodum, vidimus, non ultimum scilicet eorum."; [*I*]*n the monastery too I saw someone of Viking parentage who had been brought up there, and who, as quite a young man, was living there in the monastic habit — and he was probably not the last of them to do so*; trans.: K&L, p. 103). Even if we do not have direct textual evidence it is highly likely that a number of Scandinavians were at King Alfred's court as peace-making processes with the Vikings as the one between Alfred and Guthrum at Edington in 878 encompassed the exchange of hostages or wards, cf. R. Abels, "Paying the Danegeld: Anglo-Saxon Peacemaking with the Vikings", in *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, ed. P. de Souza and J. France (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 173–92.

> Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime conmposita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri.
>
> (*This is the sense but not the order of the words which he sang as he slept. For it is not possible to translate verse, however well composed, literally from one language into another without some loss of beauty and dignity.*) [39]

Although Bede's reference pertains to verse with its artistic conventions his statement holds true for any act of translation. The process of interpretation and transposition always entails loss and gain at the same time. The degree of fidelity to the source varies with the aim of the translator, his agenda, his context and training. Therefore, an absolute correlation of source text and translation is not necessarily desirable. We need to view source and translation as two different texts, shaped by different genre conventions, cultural backgrounds, agendas and audiences. The *OEHE* interestingly leaves out Bede's comment on the imperfection of translation. The choice of words in the lead-in to the poem is remarkable:

> þa ongon he sona singan in herenesse Godes Scyppendes þa fers ⁊ þa word þe he næfre gehyrde, þære endebyrdnesse þis is: […].
>
> (*Then he began he soon to sing in praise of God Almighty the verse and the words which he had never heard (before), the order/arrangement of which is this*).[40]

The Old English translator makes an interesting choice in rendering the Latin *sensus* as *endebyrdnesse*. The word is polysemic but in general refers to 'order/arrangement' with the connotations of 'logical', 'appropriate', or 'divine'.[41] Whereas Bede's choice makes the following Latin hymn appear to carry only the gist of its (vernacular?) original, its Old English rendering, it seems, carries more authority. Those words are presented as Cædmon's, uttered in the appropriate, logical (and divinely ordained?) order.[42] They do not need to be reinterpreted or mediated by Latin but carry the authority of both Cædmon, who composed this wonderful verse in Old English, and Bede, who appears to have read or heard this composition in the vernacular, given the narrative mode of the *OEHE*, which

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[39] *HEGA*, II, 278; trans.: C&M, p. 417. This study is not dealing with the problem of whether Bede's Latin wording is the paraphrase of an original oral composition in the vernacular or whether it never had an Old English source and was translated into Old English from his Latin.

[40] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 344-45.

[41] Cf. *DOE*, s.v. *ende-byrdness* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[42] Cf. H.L.C. Tristram, "Bede's 'Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum' in Old English and Old Irish", in *Nova de Veteribus: Mittel- und Neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt* ed. A. Bihrer and E. Stein (München, 2004), pp. 193-217, at p. 194 n. 6. Tristram is intrigued by the question whether the Old English version is a poetic translation of the Latin or vice versa.

leaves Bede's narrative voice and authority intact.[43] This effect is heightened by the deictic relative clause at the end. This brief example is telling with regard to attitudes to translation and the vernacular, appropriation of authority and raises awareness of the difficulties of (genre-specific) translation processes.

 Concomitantly, we have to consider questions of legitimization. Under which circumstances was it allowed to translate into the vernacular? We have already touched upon questions of authority, which will be dealt with in more detail later on in this thesis. In the case of the *OE Pastoral Care* and the *OE Boethius* the act of translation is legitimized by the authority of Alfred. With *Cædmon's Hymn* it is Bede himself, who as authoritative figure undertakes the translation. The Northumbrian scholar appears to have had a positive attitude towards translation as can be seen from various sources. In his *De obitu Bedae*, a widely disseminated text, Bede's pupil Cuthbert shows that his master was occupied with translation until his last days:[44]

> In istis autem diebus dua opuscula memoriae digna, exceptis lection-
> ibus, quas cottidie accepimus ad eo, et cantu psalmorum, facere
> studuit; id est a capite sancti euangelii Iohannis usque ad eum locum
> in quo dicitur, 'sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?' in nostram linguam
> ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit, et de libris Isidori episcopi ex-
> cerptiones quasdam.

> (*During those days there were two pieces of work worthy of record, besides the les-*
> *sons which he gave us every day and his chanting of the Psalter, which he desired*
> *to finish: the gospel of St. John, which he was turning into our mother tongue to*
> *the great profit of the church, from the beginning as far as the words 'But what*
> *are they among so many?' and a selection from Bishop Isidore's book On the*
> *Wonders of Nature*).[45]

We cannot be sure, however, whether the excerpts from Isidore's work were a translation of a Latin *florilegium*. Apart from that, Cuthbert reiterates that Bede was familiar with Old English poetry:

> [E]t in nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus,
> dicens the terribili exitu animarum e corpore:
>   Fore then neidfaerae naenig uiuurthhit

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[43]   For details on the narrative mode(s) of the *OEHE* and question of textual authority, see chapter 'Author and Authority in the *OEHE*' *infra*.

[44]   Cuthbert was abbot of Monkwearmouth in the second half of the eighth century. The text was transmitted in two different branches in forty-two manuscripts in England and the continent. There is a fragment of unknown provenance, dating perhaps to the early tenth century, which has descended independently from the common ancestor (The Hague, Royal Library, MS 70.H.7); cf. C&M, p. 579 and Plummer, I, lxxi-lxxix; cf. also Brown, *Companion to Bede*, pp. 101-02.

[45]   Plummer, I, clxii; trans.: C&M, p. 583.

> thonc snottura than him tharf sie
> to ymb hycgannae aer his hin iongae
> huaet his gastae godeas aeththa yflaes
> aefter deothdaege doemid uueorthae.

> (*And in our own language, — for he was familiar with English poetry, — speaking of the soul's dread departure from the body, he would repeat:*
> *Facing that enforced journey, no man can be*
> *More prudent than he has good call to be,*
> *If he consider, before his going hence,*
> *What for his spirit of good hap or of evil*
> *After his day of death shall be determined*).[46]

Although the lines which are now known as *Bede's Death Song* are not necessarily Bede's, Cuthbert's portrait of his master depicts the Northumbrian as a translator who was well-versed in Old English poetry. In this context, Ursula Schaefer regarded the Cædmon story in *HE* IV.24 as a self-referential episode by which Bede wanted to legitimize vernacular Old English poetry and translation.[47] The fact that *Cædmon's Hymn* in Old English accompanies the Latin *HE* in its earliest manuscripts – Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5.16, the 'Moore Bede' and Leningrad, Public Library Lat. Q. v. I. 18, the 'Leningrad Bede' both dating to the eighth century – as interlinear and marginal gloss shows that from a relatively early point on the vernacular (in this particular case: translation?) had amassed enough authority to be transmitted alongside the authoritative Latin texts, though only marginally.

Bede's advocacy of the vernacular seems to have followed practical and spiritual purposes at the same time. In his *Letter to Archbishop Egbert*, in which he complains about the state of the Church, Bede urged Egbert with regard to pastoral care:

> Et quidem omnes, qui Latinam linguam lectionis usu didicerunt, etiam haec optime didicisse certissimum est; sed idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriae tantum linguam notitiam habent, haec ipsa sua lingua discere, ac sedulo decantare facito.[…] Propter quod et ipse multis saepe sacerdotibus idiotis haec utraque, et symbolum uidelicet, et dominicam orationem in linguam Anglorum translatam optuli.

> (*All who have already learnt the Latin tongue by constant reading have quite certainly learnt these texts* [i.e. the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer]; *but as for the unlearned, that is, those who know their own language only, make these learn the texts in their own tongue and accurately sing them.*[…] *That is*

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46   Plummer, I, clxi; trans.: C&M, pp. 581 and 583.
47   U. Schaefer, *Vokalität : Altenglische Dichtung zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 40.

> *why I have frequently offered translations of both the Creed and the Lord's*
> *Prayer into English to many unlearned priests).*[48]

It becomes clear from the context that Bede saw basic Christian instruction in the vernacular as a means to inculcate Christian norms in the congregation, which shows the spiritual dimension of translation for him. His demands were duly met by the Council of Clofesho in 747, whose chapter ten laid the foundations for lay instruction in the vernacular, thus legitimizing translation for catechetical and didactic reasons. The popularity of vernacular instruction becomes also evident in canon XVII of the Council of Tours in 813.[49]

Finally, translation plays a role in key episodes of the *HE*. In Book I.24 the Roman missionaries led by Augustine are accompanied by Frankish interpreters ("de gente Francorum interpretes") to facilitate the communication with Æthelberht and thus the Christianization of Kent.[50] The Roman mission in the south is paralleled by the Irish mission in the North. When Aidan is sent to evangelize the Northumbrians King Oswald acts as an interpreter (*HE* III.3):

> Vbi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit, ut euangelizante antistite, qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non nouerat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpres uerbi existeret caelestis, quia nimirum tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum iam plene didicerat.

> (*It was indeed a beautiful sight when the bishop was preaching the gospel, to see the king acting as interpreter of the heavenly word for his ealdormen and thegns, for the bishop was not completely at home in the English tongue, while the king had gained a perfect knowledge of Irish during the long period of his exile*).[51]

While both passages testify to a major role of translation in key episodes of the Christianization of England, it provided King Alfred with an apt example of royal translation, which could have lent special force and authority to his own enterprise. All these sources show that from a relatively early point both the vernacular and translations assume an authoritative role in Anglo-Saxon England backed by institutions (church councils) or distinguished figures like Aidan or Bede. In each case vernacular translation assumes a spiritual dimension as it is applied to basic religious instruction.

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[48]   Plummer, I, 408-09; trans.: *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People with Bede's Letter to Egbert and Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede*, translated by L. Sherley-Price, R.E. Latham and D.H. Farmer (London, 1990), p. 340.

[49]   *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1871; repr. 1964), III, 366; and *Concilia Aevi Karolini. Tomus I. Pars I.*, ed. Albertus Werminghoff, *Monumenta Germiniae Historica Leges* 4 = Legum sectio 3, Concilia; 2,1 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1906), p. 288.

[50]   *HEGA*, I, 98.

[51]   *Ibid.*, II, 22; trans.: C&M, p. 221.

In addition to these literary examples Anglo-Saxon England had a long-standing tradition of translation set in a religious context: glossing. Glossing Latin texts and compiling glossaries were important activities in Anglo-Saxon England, essential for the learning and teaching of Latin and the understanding of Latin texts.[52] Starting with the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian in the mid-seventh century, glossing becomes an activity of utmost importance in Anglo-Saxon culture. This is attested by the huge number of glossed manuscripts and glossaries.[53] The development from the early glossing activities at Canterbury and full-blown prose translations as we find them at King Alfred's court is not straightforward. We encounter a wide range of different glossing techniques in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and lack manuals which outline (theoretical) guidelines for the process. Nevertheless, glossing-as-translation is of interest to the present discussion, as Kuhn suggested that the *OEHE* evolved from an interlinear gloss.[54] This point becomes even more intriguing when we consider that the only surviving ninth-century copy of the *HE* produced in England, probably at Canterbury (now London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius, C.II; Ker no. 198, Gneuss no. 377) has ink and dry-point glosses in Old English. The manuscript may thus display of what might be an intermediary stage in the translation process of the *HE*.[55]

A brief history of translation will follow in order to outline other theoretical models which the *OEHE*'s translator may have made use of. The analysis will also cover aspects of the interplay of translation and political power.

A Brief History of Translation

The question of which theoretical models were available to the Anglo-Saxons is a complicated one. Both Thomas Steiner and Christine Thijs negated the existence of theoretical concepts of translation with regard to the Middle Ages and Alfred's

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[52] Cf. Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002) ch. 1; T. Graham, "Glosses and Notes in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts", in *Working with Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. G. Owen-Crocker (Exeter, 2009), pp. 113-58; P. Pulsiano, "Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries", in *CASL*, pp. 209–30; H. Sauer, "Language and Culture: How Anglo-Saxon Glossators Adapted Latin Words and their Word", *JML*18 (2008), 437-68; M. Gretsch, "Glosses", *BEASE*, pp. 209–210.

[53] The most important Anglo-Saxon glossaries are the following: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144 (*Corpus Glossary*); Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale 72, fols. 94-107; Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, Amplonianus F.42 (*Erfurt-Épinal Glossaries*); London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A.iii (*Cleopatra Glossaries*) London, British Library, Cotton Otho E.i; London, British Library, Harley 3376 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Misc. a. 3, fol. 49; Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus lat. 4° 69 (*Leiden Glossary*); Werden, Pfarrhof + Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Paulinianus 271 (719) + Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 187 (e. 4).

[54] See Kuhn, 'Synonyms' and *idem*, 'Authorship'.

[55] Cf. my chapter 'The Scratched Glosses in British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius, CII' *infra*, which will focus on the glossing tradition and analyze the agenda and techniques of the glossing process.

alleged program[56] Translation theory, however, did exist during the Middle Ages. The unifying element was a general idea of language and communication and an equally shared idea of translation as "a body of principles and procedures arranged in a system."[57] Such a system is provided by the rhetorical training of classical Antiquity, which later on was adapted and modified in the monastic classroom by the discipline of *grammatica*.[58]

From Rome to the Fathers

Translation had its role in the rhetorical training in Rome, although not a prominent one. The idea of the *fidus interpres* rendering the source text *verbo pro verbum*, 'word by word' was met with derision in the works of Cicero, Quintilian and Horace. The *locus classicus* of the famous dictum is a passage from Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum*.[59]

For the Roman rhetoricians translation was an aggressive and competitive act to 'Romanize' a text, with a premium put on inventiveness and oratory skill to develop one's argument.[60] Greek cultural hegemony should be overcome through the disjunction of meaning and the exposing of differences between the two cultures. Cicero's concept of translation was driven by the idea of preservation for the benefit of the target language, i.e. Latin. He wanted to reinvent his source to appropriate it for his own cultural sphere and to valorize *latinitas*.[61]

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[56] Quoted in Rener, *Interpretatio*, p. 4; cf. C. Thijs, "Early Old English Translation: Practice before Theory?", *Neophilologus* 91 (2007), 149-73.

[57] Rener, *Interpretatio*, p. 8.

[58] Cf. M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'GRAMMATICA' AND LITERARY THEORY 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994); *idem* and D. Thompson, "Grammatica and Literary Theory" in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 2: *The Middle Ages*, ed. A.J. Minnis and I. Johnson (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 15-41.

[59] "[N]ec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figures, verbis ad nostrum consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui redder, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi."; *Cicero: De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, ed. and transl. H.M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MS, 1949), p. 5; *And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the forms, or as one might say, the 'figures' of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language*; trans. R. Copeland, "The fortunes of 'non verbum pro verbo': or, why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", in *The Medieval Translator: the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages. Papers read at a Conference held 20-23 August 1987 at the University of Wales Conference Centre, Gregynog Hall*, ed. R. Ellis (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 15-36 at p. 18.

[60] Cf. Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", pp. 15-18; *idem*, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. pp. 21-33. Rener stresses that rhetoric not only had an ornamental function but aimed at persuasion of the audience (*Interpretatio*, p. 257).

[61] Cf. Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", p. 17. In late Antiquity, with the decline of knowledge of Greek in the third century, translation within rhetoric lost its hermeneutical value and degenerated to a mechanism of style. The main aim was on discourse and the *copia verborum* became an integral exercise of *elocutio*; cf. also *idem*, *Rhetoric*, pp. 38-42; Thijs is skeptical about the translations of Alfred and his circle based on theoretical models from classical antiquity and

However, attitudes towards translation changed from Rome to the Middle Ages and Cicero's famous dictum underwent several reinterpretations. The patristic model of translation had rather different premises and constituted a significant break with the Roman model of eloquence as human control of signification, of disjunction and agonistics. The aim of patristic hermeneutics was to establish the supra-lingual kinship of meaning in order to "expound the transcendent *sensus spiritualis* that goes beyond the sundered languages."[62] Thus translation as a hermeneutic tool followed a primarily exegetical drive.[63]

The famous dichotomy of word-by-word versus sense-by-sense seems to have originated in Jerome's *Epistle 57 to Pammachius* (also known as *De optimo genere interpretandi*), in which he quotes Cicero's *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* as well as Horace's famous dictum "nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres" from the *Ars Poetica*.[64] However, Jerome modified this dictum to delineate a rather counterrhetorical model as he prioritized the meaning of the textually signified to rhetorical ornament. Jerome believed in an extra-linguistic signified that had to be safeguarded against linguistic displacement.[65]

[] stresses that we had no evidence of Alfred or his contemporaries theorizing about translation ("Old English Translation", p. 153). A similar injunction is uttered by Stanton, who remarks that there appears to have been little direct knowledge of the Roman theories of translation but admits as grammar and hermeneutics supplanted rhetoric in the medieval curriculum at least some knowledge must have been channeled to Anglo-Saxon England, (*Culture of Translation*, pp. 73-78).

[62] See Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 43-45 and *idem*, "Why Jerome was not a Ciceronian", pp. 19-20; for the *sensus spiritualis* and its significance within medieval textual hermeneutics and interpretation cf. F. Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis. Studies in the Medieval Significs and the Philology of Culture. Edited and with an Epilogue by Samue P. Jaffe. Translated by Kenneth J. Northcott* (Chicago and London, 2005), ch.1.

[63] From a Christian viewpoint, human language was regarded as secondary. Consequently, the task of translation was to recuperate the transcendent signified behind human multilingualism after Babel. Augustine developed a model of a supra-linguistic teleology in which multilingual contradiction could be resolved through inspired exegesis (*De Civitate Dei* 18.43); see Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", pp. 20-22; cf. *Sancti Avrelii Avgvstini De civitate Dei*, in *Sancti Avrelii Avgvstini Opera. Pars XIV*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, 2 vols. *CCSL* 47-48 (Turnhout 1955), II, 638-40. The role of the translator thus became that of an archaeologist of knowledge (*pace* Foucault), who tries to recover "a kind of original certitude which the conventions of rhetoric have not vitiated or obscured (Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", p. 22); Augustine's attitude against the ornamental discourse of rhetoric is manifested in his decision to resign his post as rector - *venditor verborum. Sancti Aureli Augustini Confessionum Libri XIII*, ed. M. Skutella and H. Jürgens (Berolini, 2009), 9.2 and 9.5.

[64] *Horaz: Ars Poetica*, ll. 132-33, in *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, ed. and transl. H.R. Faircloigh (Cambridge, Mass, 1926); *If you do not seek to render word for word as a slavish translator*; cf. Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", pp. 23-29; Gneuss, "Bücher und Leser", p. 119; Stanton, *Culture of Translation* 75-77 for Jerome's role in the formation of a medieval theory of translation.

[65] We have to be careful here as the concept just outlined pertains to non-scriptural texts. With regard to Bible translation, Jerome advocated a strict verbal fidelity in order to preserve the mystery of the divine logos (Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", pp. 24-29).

This concept is also evident in Gregory the Great's famous statement about the error and confusion literal translators produce.[66] It was further applied by Boethius in the prologue to his second version of Porphyry's *Isagogue*. Boethius, however, reinterpreted Jerome in that he valorized a strategy of literal translation in order to certify the uncorrupted truth of the original, i.e., he applied Jerome's precepts for scriptural translation to philosophical texts. His method put a premium on discourse as the language of the text provides the translator with the uncorrupted truth – the extra-linguistic meaning. Boethius's commentaries and therefore his model for translation became known in monastic and palace schools in the ninth century and might have been channeled to England.[67] Although we might not have a monolithic theory of translation it appears that the Gregory, Augustine, Jerome and Boethius had a common denominator in that they wanted to confer the correct meaning, the extralinguistic 'truth' of the original.

Although we lack evidence for a wide proliferation of the works of these theoreticians in Anglo-Saxon England, translation was an integral part of the medieval curriculum through the discipline of *grammatica*.[68] The Roman rhetorical motif of translation as cultural appropriation and displacement is recovered and reinterpreted by exegetical practice, enacted in the *enarratio* (critique, restatement, reconfiguration) of *grammatica*. Within the process of *enarratio* it became a dynamic,

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[66] See *The Letters of Gregoy the Great. Translated with Introduction and Notes*, ed., J.R.C. Martyn, 3 vols. (Toronto, 2004), III, 731-34 (Ep. 10.21).

[67] Cf. Copeland, "Why Jerome is not a Ciceronian", pp. 30-34; There appear to be close connections between England and Francia in the ninth century and the presence of Grimbald of St Bertin at the West Saxon court underscored the importance of Frankish thought in England. The close ties between England and Francia are underpinned by the marriage of Alfred's father Æthelwulf and Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald; for the influence of Boethian commentaries on the *OE Boethius*, see Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, I, 5-8 and 54-57; and Whitelock, "Prose of Alfred's Reign", pp. 82-83.

[68] There is no manuscript evidence for Boethius's works other than *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. In general it is difficult to ascertain the direct influence of the classical and patristic sources as the manuscript evidence for both is rather scarce. However, the influence of those writers is discernible in a range of Anglo-Saxon authors. There is also no manuscript evidence for either Cicero, Quintilian or Horace. Jerome's *Epistle 57* is preserved in a single copy (now Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 2° Ms. theol. 21; Gneuss no. 832), which dates to eighth-century Northumbria, but which probably was in Fulda by the ninth century. We do not have any manuscripts of his translation of the *Eusebian Chronicle*. With regard to Augustinus, there is no copy of *De Doctrina Christiana* and only a single copy of *De Civitate Dei*, which however, does not contain the whole text but only excerpts from XVIII.23 (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173 fols. 57-83; Gneuss no. 56; Ker no. 40, the so-called 'Corpus Sedulius'). For a good survey of Latin manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon England see G. Wieland, "A Survey of Latin Manuscripts", in *Working with Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 113-57, esp. tables 2-4. However, the influence of those works on Anglo-Saxons authors is out of question. Referring to the *FAS* database *De Civitate Dei* was used as a source in 92 cases (among them the *OE Orosius*, *OE Boethius*, the *OE Martyrology* and the works of Bede and Ælfric). A search for *De Doctrina Christiana* results in 36 hits (Ælfric and chiefly Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsim*). Apart from that no traces of the abovementioned texts on translation and rhetoric are discernible in Anglo-Saxon works (<accessed: 01/10/2014>).

re-creative engagement with the language of tradition. Copeland argues that the medieval translator did not betray what we would call a historical consciousness. Her parameters were the *translatio studii*, the translator's own historicity and bringing the text forward to his own historical situation. To her, the medieval *interpres* was an appropriator of classical tradition.[69]

Apart from the exegetical reinterpretation of translation, the patristic writings and the Middle Ages in general display a re-orientation towards the text. The hermeneutics of *grammatica* aimed at discovery of the inherent meaning of textual matter. We have to be careful, however, as Rita Copeland correctly remarks that there was not one monolithic theory of translation.[70] What is common to all medieval approaches is a focus on extralinguistic meaning, a certitude – or truth – which had to be sought and faithfully rendered by the translator. He was – in a nutshell – a servant to the authority of the meaning behind the text he was translating, which, however, needed to be appropriated to the translator's context and audience. Patristic translation theory, therefore, followed primarily exegetical principles, including etymology as is shown by their recourse on Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, and textual authority.

Alfred and the Rise of English

Translation as appropriation of authority is closely linked to the concept of the *translatio imperii et studii*. Copeland remarked that it introduced inter-lingual transfer, thereby opening the project of *translatio studii* to linguistic diversity and exposing the unifying claims of *latinitas* as a myth serving interests of cultural privilege.[71] The act of translation enables a cultural community to partake of authoritative knowledge and become part of the literate community. By assuming the function of the high-level sacred language of Latin the vernacular assumes authority itself.[72] Language thus becomes a crucial determiner for an imagined community, in our case, an English-speaking community. The access to knowledge is no longer contingent upon a knowledge of Latin. It enables the reader/listener to live up to the Christian duty of the pursuing knowledge and wisdom, which are ultimately derived from God. This in turn legitimizes any act of translation in a Christian nation and makes it integral to its self-perception. However, the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom can only be successful if the texts are correctly expounded and understood. As we can see in the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*, *legere* is the first

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[69] Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 61-62.
[70] We find such ambivalence even within the works of certain authors. Jerome is a case in point, since he adhered to a verbal translation of the Scriptures as the meaning of the word of God, whereas he advocated a fidelity only to the sense with regard to non-scriptural texts.
[71] See Copeland, *Rhetoric,* p. 231.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33. The idea of the sacred languages (Hebrew, Latin and Greek) derives from the fact that those languages were inscribed on the Holy Cross.

step, followed by *intellegere* and *interpretare*. When Alfred stressed that other nations had translated the Hebrew law and other religious books into their own language, the king was at pains to portray this as a process which involved copious deliberation and rumination.[73] This becomes clear in his usage of *leornian*. The Greeks and the Romans only translated after they had learned ("geliornodon") the texts.[74] Alfred himself undertakes the translation of the *Pastoral Care* "swæ swæ ic hie geleornode"[75] from Asser, Plegmund, Grimbald and John. He puts himself into the same intellectual tradition as the Greeks, Romans and other Christian nations, claiming that he had learned and understood the texts, not displacing but meaningfully rendering them in his own language. Cædmon behaves likewise as he learns biblical stories from his teachers and then ruminates over them "like a clean animal chewing the cud," as Lerer has remarked.[76] This concept of intellectual authority and the *translatio studii* is closely intertwined with the idea of *translatio imperii*, i.e. the continuation of the Roman Empire in the Latin Middle Ages.[77]

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[73] *OEPC*, pp. 5 and 7: "Ða gemunde ic hu sio æ wæs ærest on Ebr[e]isc geþiode funden & eft, ða hie Creacas geliornodon, ða wendon hie hie on hiora agen geðiode ealle, & eac ealle oðre bec & eft Lædenware swæ same, siððan hie hie geliorndon, hie hie wendon eall[a] ðurh wise wealhstodas on hiora agen geðiode. Ond eac ealla oðræ Christnæ þioda sumne dæl hiora on hiora agen geþiode wendon." *Then I recalled how the Law was first composed in the Hebrew language, and thereafter, when the Greeks learned it, they translated it all into their own language, and all other books as well. And so too the Romans, after they had mastered them, translated them all through learned interpreters into their own language. Similarly all the Christian peoples turned some part of them into their own language* (trans.: K&L, pp. 125-26).

[74] *OEPC*, p. 7.

[75] *Ibid. Such as I (had) learned it.*

[76] Cf. S. Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Lincoln, NE, 1991), p. 45: "For it is by this very rumination, the mark given by God of clean animals, that God has meant that anybody must swallow what he hears into his heart so that he should not be idle while thinking over it, but, when listening, he should resemble someone eating, and then, when he summons, what he has heard back to memory and recalls it in a most sweet meditation, he should resemble a chewing creature."

[77] Cf. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, pp. 26-27. The conviction in medieval thought that the Middle Ages were the continuation of Rome was based largely on Augustine's philosophy of history. Cf. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. W.R. Trask (Princeton, N.J., 1990), pp. 27-30 [originally published 1953]. Augustine correlates the six days of creation to the six ages of man and the succession of world empires. Curtius makes us aware that apart from Augustine's influential works the Bible provided medieval historical thought with additional substantiation for the idea of the succession of world empires. A passage in *Ecclesiastes* 10:8 gives rise to the concept of *translatio* - e.g. of the Roman *imperium* to the Frankish empire - as Curtius claims (*European Literature*, p. 28): "Regnum a gente in gentem transferetur propter injustas et injurias et contumelias et diversos dolos"; *BS*, II, 1041 (*Because of our unrighteous dealings, injuries and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is transferred from one people to another*; trans.: Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 28. The Middle Ages took from Rome the idea of a universal not national empire. What is important in this regard is Augustine's ideas expressed in *De Civitate Dei*. As the passage from *Ecclesiastes* shows, the transfer of *imperium* does not happen voluntarily but is the result of the misuse of that dominion. After the fourth century had seen the concept of a penitent Rome, Augustine claimed that the Roman virtues were vices from a Christian standpoint. Thus Christians had to turn from the imperial (worldy) kingdom (*civitas terrena*) of Rome to the

Every Christian nation could lay claim to the succession of Rome, if its aim was directed towards right Christian livelihood and the pursuit of divine knowledge and wisdom.[78] This *translatio studii et imperii* is of importance in works connected with Alfred and his circle. Apart from the passage just mentioned, a tradition of translation from the Hebrews through the Greeks and Romans to other Christian peoples is also evident in the lavish preface to Alfred's law-code. There, the king reiterates the tradition of Old Testament legislation, which was modified – translated – by the New Law of Christ and subsequently was disseminated and adapted by Christian peoples throughout the world.[79] Alfred puts the Anglo-Saxons and Old English in line with their historical and cultural role models. By translating authoritative knowledge into the vernacular, Old English was not only enriched but gained unprecedented prestige and became a medium to express divine wisdom and knowledge.[80]

Thus a translation of the *HE*, seen as appropriation of Christian knowledge through one's own vernacular, carries an enormous potential to foster national or

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heavenly kingdom (*civitas dei*). Rome as a worldly empire therefore is not to be emulated (Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 29-30).

[78] Cf. Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis*, p. 36: "The mental picture that comes to us from antiquity and is taken over by Christianity, thanks to its exegesis of the *Book of Daniel*, is that of a series of world empires of which the last, and present, one, the Roman, can be secured in its continued existence by the reworking of old materials provided the medieval present with an exultation of life in the fourth, Roman, Christian, and final world empire which was to endure until the coming of the Antichrist."; cf. P. Wormald, "Engla lond: the Making of an Allegiance", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7.1 (1994), 1–24, at p. 18: "the political education of European peoples recommenced in the aftermath of Rome's fall with the simple but explosive idea that God might single out a distinct culture for His special favour in return for its enforced conformity with His will as its authorities perceived it."

[79] See Liebermann, I, 26-47.

[80] The question of whether the vernacular can vie with languages that were regarded as being representative of highly-admired cultures or even 'holy' appears to be a recurring feature in the course of linguistic history. The Romans faced the problem with regard to Greek and English, especially during the sixteenth century, witnessed an incessant controversy on the assets of English and its ability to vie with Latin and Greek in the wake of the Renaissance. See A.C. Baugh and T. Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 5th ed. (London, 2002), chs. 8-9; C. Barber, J.C. Beal and P.A. Shaw, *The English Language: a Historical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2009), ch. 8. The exploitation of another language to gain mastery of one's own appears to be normal process according to Marou, who claims that the Romans were forerunners in this aspect (cf. Copeland, *Rhetoric*), p. 11. The idea of the sundered languages and it's redemption through Pentecost gives the assertion of the vernacular a theoretical scriptural background. This was also backed by Gregory the Great in his *Moralia in Iob* where he discards the idea of sacred languages. Language for Gregory the animating faculty of a people's religious being. Latin is not preferred as the written medium because it is a sacred language and has been used in Rome, but its appeal to Christianity (cf. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, pp. 64-66). Asser's famous remark about the teaching of *uterque linguae* at his palace school elevates English to a "canonical national status that of imperial Latin in Roman grammatical." (Irvine, *Textual Culture*, p. 416).

at least group identity.[81] Intellectual considerations of the *translatio studii* amalgamate with the political as Nicole Discenza has remarked:

> Translation […] becomes one of the means by which a nation proves itself, shows that its language is capable of rendering what is rendered in more prestigious languages [...]. Translation, in this case, amounts to a seizure of power.[82]

Indeed, translation defines the attitudes towards a 'received authority', but at the same time it sets the parameters of how to reproduce and shift it.[83] Robert Stanton concludes that Alfred created a specific culture of translation by drawing on theoretical precedent (classical models, patristic writings, Bede, Alcuin) as well as historical precedent (Bible, Oswald, Charlemagne). Stanton regards this culture to be situated in a specific historical context and forged with a myth of Anglo-Saxon origins.[84] Alfred is presented as the champion of a vernacular culture. His program of translation was created by two historical forces – the practical need for literacy and a nascent English identity *ex negativo*, fostered by religious and linguistic elements. Alfred followed the model of the Christian king, who was responsible for the education of his people as exemplified by Charlemagne, but took the concept one step further. Alfred himself became the focal point of his didacticism as he is presented to undergo the same process of reading, learning, understanding and interpreting that he wanted his subjects to undergo.[85] All this is interwoven with a deep religious conviction that the pursuit of knowledge is connected with piety and Christian morality, the neglect of which had led to the punishments that had befallen the English, i.e. the Viking raids. Translation in this context becomes more than a literary activity. It is the key to understanding and morality.[86] On a more pragmatic level, the program of translation and education ensured an institu-

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[81] Cf. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, p. 71, who calls the *HE* a "ready-made ideological artifact"; cf. Tristram, "Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica'", p. 213.

[82] Discenza, *The King's English*, p. 3; cf. S. Foot, "The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest", *TRHS* 6th ser. 6 (1996), 25-49, at p. 29, on the role of language as an important determiner of identity. Venuti has remarked on the political nature of translation. Each act of translation is at the same time intertextual (i.e. being influenced by Latin sources and other Old English texts) and ideological (i.e. located within genres and institutions that generated political, religious, social discourse); L. Venuti, *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (London, 1992); *idem*, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995); cf. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, pp. 1-6.

[83] Cf. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, p. 2.

[84] Cf. *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

[85] *Lectio*, *ennaratio*, *emendatio* and *iudicium*; cf. M.B. Parkes, "Rædan, areccan, smeagan: how the Anglo-Saxons Read" *ASE* 26 (1997), 1-22.

[86] Stanton argued that the king's educational reform could be seen as a method of redeeming a people in an interval of peace (*Culture of Translation*, p. 71). The pursuit of wisdom and learning also fulfills a social function. Alcuin in his *De Rhetorica et De Virtutibus* stresses the civilizing power of eloquence, which transforms humans from the level of beasts to pursuers of wisdom (*ibid.*, p. 72).

tionalized monopoly of power.[87] The literary culture Alfred wanted to establish was closely linked to national identity and ideology. In that regard he might have built his program along the lines of Isidore of Sevilla.[88] With regard to the importance of the vernacular in creating a common identity Isidore famously remarks in Book IX.i.14:

> Ideo autem prius de linguis ac deinde de gentibus posuimus, quia ex linguis gentes, non ex gentibus linguae exortae sunt.

> (*We have treated languages first, and then nations, because nations arose from languages, and not languages from nations.*)[89]

Gretsch observes that Isidore here suggests two separate identities, which however may coalesce.[90] Although this coalescence of linguistic identity and concomitant political identity appears to have developed strongest in the course of the tenth century, it might have been Alfred's intention to sow the seeds.[91] His program might have been a trigger and capitalized on Bede's notion of an English identity that fused the English myths of migration and conversion with the idea of a national English church within the universal church.[92]

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[87] Educating his officials also facilitated correspondence, law enforcement and the dissemination of official documents of political importance, e.g. the *ASC*. This becomes also apparent in Asser's *VÆ*, where the king shows deep concern for his judges, berating them for their lack of wisdom in ch. 106. Alfred makes their offices contingent upon the ability to read and acquire knowledge and wisdom (*VÆ*, p. 92-95); cf. DeGregorio, "Text, topoi and the Self", p. 92. DeGregorio argues, that while preserving humility internally, the ruler must utilize his authority and power to extirpate vice now to lessen the consequences of divine retribution later. In this way he will mirror the divine judge, mingling gentleness with severity.

[88] For Isidore as a possible source for the *OE Boethius* see and J.S. Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius and Its Latin Sources: a Reconsideration", *ASE* 11 (1983), 157-83, at p. 11; Godden and Irvine do not list Isidore among the sources for the OE translation (*Old English Boethius*, I, 54-61).

[89] *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Siuve Originum Libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911), I, *s.p.*; trans.: S.A. Barney, *et al.*, ed., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 97.

[90] See Gretsch, "Uses of the Vernacular", p. 274.

[91] For the status of English in religious prose see R. Liuzza, "Religious Prose", in *CASL*, pp. 233–50; and D.A. Bullough, "*The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric Teaching utriusque linguae*" in *idem*, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 297-334 at pp. 297-300. Bullough states that it was noteworthy that Asser in his *VÆ* (ch. 75) remarks that in Alfred's school at Winchester "utriusque linguae libri, Latinae scilicet & Saxonicae assidue legebantur." (*VÆ*, p. 54); *Books of both languages, that is to say Latin and English, were carefully read*; trans.: K&L, p. 90. The reference *uterquae linguae* usually referred to Latin and Greek, which in this case elevates English to the status of both classical languages (Bullough, "Educational Tradition", p. 300).

[92] Cf. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, p. 72.

Translating the *OEHE*: Theoretical Considerations

The translator of the *HE* could avail of a wide range of (theoretical) models as the present discussion has shown. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say which particular model exacted direct influence on his approach to translation. Through his monastic training he will undoubtedly have been trained in *grammatica* and learned the tools necessary for interpretation. But whether he had in-depth knowledge of the classical authors or patristic thinking cannot be said with certainty. Even so, we can derive certain parameters for a theoretical model of translation that could have been applied by the translator. First, translation was understood as facilitating the instruction of the laity in basic Christian knowledge. Second, it appears to be a natural process in Christian salvation history. Third, translation is a process of elucidating the *sensus spiritualis*, i.e., finding a transcendent 'truth' beyond the linguistic code. Thus, translation has a didactic and exegetical dimension within a specific religious context. Fourth, translation is the mediating authority for the purpose of persuasion. At the same time, a translation is only successful if it conveys an authority of its own. Fifth, translation happens in political discourses of power. Translation is the product of and influenced by certain historical and political forces, but also helps to create and stabilize (or destabilize) these parameters. Finally, translation is intrinsically connected to identity and is at the same time an expression thereof. Therefore, the theoretical concept which the translator of the *OEHE* may have availed of is situated at the intersection of didacticism, exegesis, religious self-perception, identity, authority and political thought. If we consider the title of Bede's Latin work, all these elements come to the fore: *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. *Historia* suggests an authoritative prerogative of the interpretation of the past in order to legitimize the present. *Ecclesiastica* shows the religious and eschatological dimension of that history, while *Gentis Anglorum* specifies the ethno-religious group and thus creates identity. Historiography for Bede was always closely connected to exegesis. To him, history was the perceivable aspect of God's plan for the salvation of mankind.[93] In this thesis, this idea will be taken up and exegetical readings encouraged for the way the translator remodeled the *OEHE*.

In order to come to a full understanding of the translation process we need too turn to two other parameters, which are essential for the present discussion: the concept of 'text' and 'the social logic of the text', which together with my theoretical model for translation constitute the three aspects of my methodological approach.

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[93]   Cf. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*; R.D. Ray, "Bede, the Exegete as Historian", in *Famulus Christi*, ed. Bonner, pp. 125-40; A. Thacker, "Bede and History", in *CBB*, pp. 170-89; Brown, *Companion to Bede*; S. De Gregorio, "Bede and the Old Testament", in *CCB*, pp. 127-41; A.G. Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", in *CCB*, pp. 142-55.

The *HE* and the *OEHE*: Text-theoretical Considerations

In order to make valid statements about the *OEHE* it is necessary to elucidate which 'text' we are dealing with given the specific characteristics of a manuscript culture. Texts usually come down to us in a number of manuscripts that display certain variations of what we regard as the 'text'. These variations are found on the level of omissions, restructuring of certain passages, chapters, different word-ings, and para- and peritextual elements like running-titles, glosses, annotations, decoration. These elements are owed to the process of manuscript transmission and production. Mary Swan's remark encapsulates the dilemma:

> a single manuscript copy of a text could be said to resemble a snap-
> shot of one moment in a textual evolution which began before the
> manuscript copy was made, and which will continue beyond.[94]

The *OEHE* has been transmitted in five extant manuscripts and a single leaf with three excerpts, which were copied from the end of the ninth-century to the second half of the twelfth-century:

1. MS Z: London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.IX, fol. 11, s. ix ex. or x in., unknown origin.
   Ker no. 151, Gneuss no. 330

2. MS T: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10, s.x[1], unknown origin
   Ker no. 351, Gneuss no. 668

3. MS C: London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho B.XI, s.x med. – s.xi[1], Winchester.
   Ker no. 180, Gneuss no. 357

4. MS O: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 279B, s. xi in., unknown ori-gin.
   Ker no. 354, Gneuss no. 673

5. MS B: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, s.xi[1], Southumbria.
   Ker no. 32, Gneuss no. 39, Budny no. 32

6. MS Ca: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 3.18, s.xi[2], Worcester.
   Ker no. 23, Gneuss no. 33

The text has been edited by Abraham Wheelock in 1643, John Smith in 1722, Jacob Schipper in 1897-99 and Thomas Miller in 1890-98.[95] All of these editions,

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[94]   M. Swan, "Authorship and Anonymity", in *CASL*, pp. 71–83, at p. 76.
[95]   Rowley, pp. 25-28.

however, present an idealized text, which does not represent the material state of any of the particular manuscripts to the last degree. The manuscripts show different layers of revision and annotations and reveal textual variation, be it in orthography or word choice. We encounter what Zumthor has termed 'textual *mouvance*.'[96] Bernhard Cerquiglini regarded the different degrees of textual variance as genuinely motivated, a creative imperative for medieval authors.[97] Winfried Rudolf in his study on textual variation of Old English Homilies took the discussion on step further in seeking to delineate the *Variationsintentionen*, i.e., the regulations which govern phenomena of textual instability like *mouvance* or variance. Rudolf concludes that in order to approach the particular version of a text in its concreteness of the communication it is necessary to contextualize it.[98]

Three of the five extant manuscripts show considerable lacunae with whole quires missing at the beginning and end. Moreover, only two of them have a preface and a table of contents. Although we have variation on the level of orthography and word choice the running text of Bede's five books does show a remarkable textual stability in all manuscripts with hardly any changes as far the content or the rearrangement of passages is concerned. The only exception is a difficult section in Book III, which makes the manuscripts fall into two recensions. Here, a portion of the text appears to have gone missing in the course of transmission and was retranslated and added independently.[99] The textual integrity of the *OEHE* appears to have been upheld without any conspicuous rewritings, omission, or additions in the particular manuscript versions. However, we need to ask whether it is more appropriate to speak of the *Old English Bede* or rather the *Old English Bedes* as every manuscript embodies a particular performance of the text which is determined by its own historical and cultural context. The materiality of the text

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[96]   See P. Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris, 1972), pp. 65-81. Zumthor differentiated between texts of low and high variance which were triggered by the phenomena of a performative orality (Vortragsmündlichkeit); see *idem*, *La poésie et la voix, dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris, 1984), pp. 82-83. Paramount for Zumthor is the mode of oral transmission during the Middle Ages, which is the trigger for what he defined as *mouvance* in medieval texts. His main aim was to study the hints of vocality (i.e. the performativity of texts in an extralinguistic context) in different texts and compare it to other textual functions of the same order (*ibid.* p. 25); for the concept of vocality and performativity of medieval texts and the aspect of orality cf. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990) and Schaefer, *Vokalität*.

[97]   See B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris, 1989), esp. pp. 57-69.

[98]   Rudolf recurs on the textual model of De Beaugrande/Dressler, which seeks to understand the function of texts in human interaction; cf. W. Rudolf, *Variatio Delectat: Altenglische Themapredigten als unfeste Texte* (Jena, 2005 and R.-A. de Beaugrande and W.U. Dressler, *Einführung in die Textlinguistik* (Tübingen, 1981).

[99]   For a comprehensive survey see my chapter 'The *OEHE*: the Material Evidence' *infra*; even then there is a certain amplitude in quality as Kuhn has remarked ("Authorship", pp. 179-80). In this article Kuhn revises his former view that the *OEHE* was one of Alfred's first works and claims that it was in fact his last work. Kuhn's argument nevertheless is not tenable in the light of missing convincing evidence.

and the different layers of interaction must be taken into consideration as they speak volumes about the perception of the text and therefore its generation of meaning in different contexts. Does the format and the decoration suggest that it was a precious gift designed for private reading or are there indicators of a use in a liturgical or educational context? Which functions do the revised layers display? Unfortunately, the scope of the present study does not permit to analyze each manuscript in its particular historical context with regard to the macro- level and micro-level of textual variation. The focus of this thesis will therefore be on the running text which remained mostly unchanged over 150 years of copying. This will help to elucidate the primordial state of the *OEHE* – the moment the translation was undertaken and written down.

To circumnavigate the problem of textual variation the authority of the text and its material manifestation are important factors in the present analysis. The materiality of the text in manuscript context, signs of usage such as glosses, annotations or running-titles, and the text's collation as source are revealing of the textual authority and consequently the importance of the text. The insertion of a table of contents, a preface, chapter-headings or running titles as evident in MSS B and Ca testify to a perception of the *OEHE* as fixed text just as does the fact that all manuscripts preserve it as a stand-alone text. Moreover, the collation of the *OEHE* as an intertextual source – verbatim or intellectual – for the production of other texts such as homilies or chronicles further underscores the claim that it was perceived as a more or less fixed authoritative source by writers already during the Anglo-Saxon period. Therefore, what the present study assumes is that although we have textual variation in the different manuscripts, it is highly probable that they all derived from a common archetype, whose level of textual authority prohibited the text from being changed profoundly on the level of content. This apparently authoritative version, in combination with the paratextual markers found in the different manuscripts and relatively marginal textual variation in the running text, points to what we might call a 'manifest text'. For the purpose of the study it is assumed that the *OEHE* was initially translated and disseminated at some point between 890x930 as a fixed text with a high level of stability and an authority of its own. The surviving textual material does not meet this claim to the last degree, but by being aware of and analyzing the different filters in the translation process, I will argue that we actually can work on the assumption of a common, idealized text. Therefore, in lack of the new work-in-progress edition prepared by Rowley and Waite, the present study will draw upon the text as presented in Thomas Miller's edition. Nonetheless, textual variation and material aspects of the different manuscripts will be taken into consideration if applicable.

Given the nature of the *OEHE* as translation, we have to consider its most powerful inter-text, namely the *HE*. The *HE* is one of the most copied and widely disseminated texts of the European Middle Ages. The authority and tradition of the Latin text, which survives in two recensions, as well as its manifestation as

fixed text need to be taken into consideration.[100] It has been argued that the translation of the *OEHE* was based on a Latin manuscript of the insular C-branch, although the matter is complicated and none of the manuscripts available seem to carry the exact text which served as copy for the translation of our assumed *OEHE* text.[101] Therefore, we have a similar problem as to what Latin 'text' we need to assume when comparing the *OEHE* with its Latin source. Again, for the purpose of this thesis the present analysis assumes an ideal text as presented in Michael Lapidge's recent edition.[102] Once again, the Latin manuscripts show a remarkable textual stability at least within these two branches. The reverence for Bede's works is shown by the fact that they "circulated complete and unabridged, in copies seemingly not far removed from the author's own, not only textually, but often also in their layout and apparatus."[103] Therefore, being aware of the methodological problem of textual variance in medieval manuscripts, we have good arguments for a textual comparison of the *HE* and the *OEHE* based on the concept of an archetypal text, as both the Latin as well as the Old English manuscripts do not display fundamental differences as far as the running text is concerned.

   The co-existence of both texts brings us to more important questions: which specific role does each text assume? The *OEHE* apparently did not supplant the *HE* in Anglo-Saxon England, as both texts were copied until the Norman Conquest with the Latin version being copied as late as the eleventh-century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 43) and the vernacular version as late as the second half of the eleventh century (Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.3.18). Connected to this is the question of why the *HE* was translated into Old English at all. The vernacular version had no exclusivity as the Latin text was still available in England at the time of the *OEHE*'s alleged composition. The answer may be sought in the mode of translation. In what way do both texts show differences and similarities, breaks and continuations? At first glance the *OEHE* is shorter than the *HE*, streamlined by about a third without any significant additions. What is assumed in this thesis is that the vernacular translation was purposefully undertaken, with the reductionist mode following a certain agenda. Although there is a lot of speculation about the underlying agenda, all studies lack a meticulous comparison of the Latin and the Old English version, which is analyzed against their

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[100]   *HEGA*, I, lxxxv-xciii; C&M, pp. xxxix-lxxii; Plummer, I, lxxxiv-cxliv.

[101]   See M. Lapidge, "The Latin Exemplar of the Old English Bede", in … *Un tuo serto di fiori in man recando: scritti in onore die Maria Amalia D'Aronco*, ed. P. Lendinara, 2 vols. (Udine, 2008), I, 235-46 for a summary of the different branches and new aspects concerning the translator's exemplar.

[102]   *HEGA*. C&M will be taken into consideration when the differences between the two branches are relevant to the present discussion as its Latin base text resembles the M-branch.

[103]   Westgard, "Carolingian Age", p. 212; cf. Brown, *Companion to Bede*, pp. 117-34.

backdrop of the historical and cultural contexts.[104] Both texts are cultural artifacts, and as such expressions of their most immediate contexts. The present thesis seeks to show that the differences and similarities between the Latin and the Old English versions can be explained by expounding upon them with the help of cultural determiners. In that I assume the position of a New Philologist in order to analyze the social logic of the text.

The Social Logic of the Text

Modern critical theory has challenged long-held views with regard to the work of Anglo-Saxon philologists. It is important to acknowledge that although new theoretical concepts will inevitably generate new insights and perspectives and add to our multi-perspective understanding of texts, we need to be careful with their application, as most of those theories have been generated in specific historical and socio-economic contexts and facilitated by a modern understanding of text and author, which fits a twentieth-century globalized mass-media print-culture, but which does not consider the otherness (not pre-modernity) of the Middle Ages and a medieval manuscript culture.[105] The key problem of the application of post-modernist approaches to medieval texts has been outlined by Lee Patterson in 1990. To him, this obsession with producing 'new' meanings

> inevitably risks the effacement of history, not just by overriding past differences, a problem for all forms of understanding, but more important, by effacing historical determinants – social, political and economic – that govern cultural production.[106]

Patterson accepted a postmodern discourse directed towards universalism and essentialism.[107] Sigfried Wenzel strikes a similar note in assuming that the medieval text is the product of various social forces that left their mark on the text (con-

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[104] For the editiorial agenda of the translator cf. Potter, "Old English Bede", esp. 1-55; Whitelock, "Old English Bede"; Rowley, *passim*; N.G. Discenza, "The Old English Bede and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Authority", in *ASE* 31 (2002), 69–80.

[105] Cf. R. Schnell, "'Autor' und 'Werk' im deutschen Mittelalter. Forschungskritik und Forschungsperspektiven", in *Neue Wege der Mittelalter-Philologie: Landshuter Kolloquium 1996*, ed. J. Heinzle, L.P. Johnson, G. Vollmann-Profe, Wolfram Studien XV (Berlin, 1998), pp. 12-73. In 1990 *Speculum* dedicated a whole issue (65.1) on the topic *New Philology*, which deals with the challenges posed to philology and medieval studies by post-modern theoretical concepts; cf. also U. Schaefer, "Von Schreibern, Philologen und anderen Schurken: Bemerkungen zu New Philology und New Medievalism in den USA," *Das Mittelalter* 5.1 (2000), 69–81 for an evaluation of the *New Philology*.

[106] L. Patterson, "On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies", *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), 87-108, at p. 106.

[107] Patterson, "On the Margin", pp. 106-07.

sciously or not).[108] Finally, Gabrielle M. Spiegel outlined her concept of the 'social logic of the text.'[109] Triggered by the text-context conundrum brought into sharp focus by the *New Historicism*,[110] Spiegel saw a need to reconcile literary criticism and history despite their different agendas. Her point of departure is the perception of texts as situated uses of language. They are products of the social world of authors and textual agents in that world, which constituted and are constituted by social realities. Only a minute examination of the form and the content of a given work can determine its situation with respect to broader patterns of culture.[111] As a consequence, the aesthetic character of a work is intimately related (positively or negatively) to the social character of the environment. Spiegel advocates to focus any analysis on the process of inscription, i.e. the moment when the historical world is internalized in the text and its meaning fixed.[112] The text itself is shaped by a host of unstated desires, beliefs, misunderstandings and interests, which are imprinted on the text, consciously or not, but which arise from certain pressures "that are social and not merely intertextual."[113] For Spiegel, analysis of texts as determinate historical artifacts grants access to the past and defines the social logic of the text within a network of social and intertextual relations. Her concept locates texts within specific social sites that themselves disclose the political, economic and social pressures that condition a culture's discourse at any given moment:

> Only after the text has been returned to its social and political context can we begin to appreciate the ways in which both language and social reality shape discursive and material fields of activity and thus come to an understanding of a text's "social logic" as situated language use.[114]

The analysis of the text as cultural artifact endowed with meaning at the point of its inscription, which in turn permits us to glimpse the social, cultural and historical determinants that left their mark (positive or negative) on the text, is the final aspect of this thesis's methodological approach. In order to elucidate the point of inscription this thesis will focus on material, intertextual and historical aspects.

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[108] See S. Wenzel, "Reflection on (New) Philology", *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), 11-18.

[109] See G.M. Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages", *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), 59-86.

[110] Cf. P. Barry, *Beginning Theory: an Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, 3rd ed. (Manchester, 2009), pp. 166-75 .

[111] See Spiegel, "Social Logic of the Text", p. 77. The critical stance Spiegel had in mind builds on Mikhail Bakhtin: "Form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon." (*The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. M. Holquist, transl. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Austin,TX, 1981), p. 31).

[112] See Spiegel, "Social Logic of the Text", p. 84.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Structure of the Thesis

Following these preliminary methodological considerations the study is divided into two main parts and will be structured in the following manner. The first part of the thesis covers philological analysis. It encompasses, in chapter two, a survey of the surviving manuscripts and text-critical aspects. In addition, the chapter will deal with medieval signs of use, which will help to facilitate our understand of the different reception contexts of the particular manuscripts. A special focus will be on the oldest textual witnesses, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10 and the three fragments found on fol. 11 of British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.IX, both produced s.ix/x. Tanner and Domitian will be treated in their immediate historical and cultural contexts and evaluated with the help of intertextual material.

Chapter three sheds led light on important determiners which are likely to have left their mark on the translation of the *OEHE* and which are therefore crucial to our understanding of the text in context. These are the intellectual landscape of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England, King Alfred's translation program and the so-called Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons.

Translation and Author(ity) are the core of chapter four. Questions concerning author and authority as well as the *OEHE* as an authoritative text in its own right will be addressed. Following that, the editorial agenda behind the translation as well as particular techniques of translation are analyzed in chapter five. This will help to locate the *OEHE* within its intellectual context and enable us to draw conclusions about the monastic training and Latinity of the translator and the implied audience. In addition, a survey of the dry-point and ink glosses in British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.II and their potential status as an intermediary step towards a full-blown translation will be undertaken in chapter six.

The second part of the thesis is of a rather historical-analytical nature. Consequently, chapter seven will turn to an in-depth textual comparison of the *HE* and the *OEHE*. The aim of this chapter is to elucidate the thematic editorial pattern of the translator, i.e. his omission, retention and rewriting of certain thematic issues such as the role of Rome, mission and conversion, the portrayal of Britons or the questions of ethnogenesis and identity. The thematic breaks and continuities will be categorized and interpreted against the backdrop of other historical and literary evidence in order to come to a viable conclusion as to why the translator omitted certain passages or whole chapters but included others. Paramount to this approach will be considerations of contemporary relevance of the different thematic aspects, since they might give us information about the extra-linguistic forces that left their mark on the translation process. For that purpose, King Alfred's translation program, the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, and aspects of medieval translation theory and practice will be taken into consideration.

Finally, the present study wishes to establish a comprehensive picture of the forces that shaped the vernacular translation of Bede's *HE*. The ultimate goal is to come to a viable conclusion about the *OEHE* as a purposefully planned enterprise

and the product of a specific historical frame of mind. The study will contribute to a better understanding of the social logic of the *OEHE*'s text, determined by the social and historical determiners at the moment of its inscription and its reception contexts while paying heed to the parameters of the text as a translation.

II. The *OEHE*: The Material Evidence

The Manuscripts of the *OEHE*

In order to narrow down the possibilities for the moment of inscription to apply Spiegel's terminology, we need to turn our attention to the material and literary evidence. With regard to the material evidence, we are fortunate to have the *OEHE* preserved in five extant manuscripts and a single leaf containing three excerpts. In addition to the surviving manuscripts, we have evidence of an apparently wide dissemination throughout England during the Middle Ages, as Sharon Rowley has pointed out.[1] This meta-evidence ought to make us aware that the surviving copies might not have been the only ones, let alone the 'best' specimen. It is likely that an important and prestigious work such as the *OEHE* would have been copied and disseminated on a large scale, maybe on a level par to the distribution of the *OE Pastoral Care*.[2]

All manuscripts have been subject to intensive research through the years, a reiteration of which is unnecessary here.[3] Nonetheless, the geographical and the chronological dissemination speak volumes about the esteem in which the *OEHE* must have been held in medieval England. The surviving manuscripts date from

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[1] See Rowley, p. 25 and n. 40.

[2] See R.J.S. Grant, *The B Text of the Old English Bede: a Linguistic Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1989), p. 7 and n. 27; for the dissemination of the *OE Pastoral Care* cf. K. Sisam, "The Publication of Alfred's Pastoral Care", in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M.P. Richards (New York & London, 1994), pp. 373–81; C. Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation of Pope Gregory the Great's Regula Pastoralis and its Cultural Context: a Study and Partial Edition according to all Surviving Manuscripts Based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), pp. 51-82; S. Keynes, "The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871-899", in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 175–98, at pp. 193-97.

[3] For an overview of the manuscripts, see Rowley, pp. 15-25. Her study further encompasses an informative synopsis of the signs of medieval use, which raises some important points concerning the transmission and reception of the different manuscripts.

s.ix[ex] until s.xi[2], with the majority being copied in the eleventh century. Consequently, the importance of the *OEHE* in Anglo-Saxon England, even at the eve of the Norman Conquest, cannot be denied. Given the period in which the *OEHE*'s manuscripts were copied, an interesting correlation between the copying of the text and the emerging 'Kingdom of the English', that gained momentum during the tenth and eleventh centuries, can be detected.[4] It leaves us to wonder whether the popularity of the *OEHE* might be contingent upon a growing interest in the origins of an English people, its history and identity, or the desire – maybe necessity – of the body politic to legitimize the political and religious status quo. These will be recurring questions in the course of the present study.

In order to draw any viable conclusions about the production and dissemination of the *OEHE*, we need to analyze the relationship of the manuscripts. Textual criticism and addressing some important questions on the manuscript stemma will facilitate our understanding of the textual genesis.

Textual Criticism and the Problem of the Table of Contents

Judging from the manuscript evidence all surviving copies derive from a common archetype. This idea was first put forward by Thomas Miller and was acknowl-

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[4] English political unification was a complex process and not as straightforward in its development as one might assume. Claims concerning a national English identity in the reign of King Alfred as uttered by Foot ("*Angelcynn*") might miss the point. Nevertheless, the end of the ninth century might have seen the formation of a nascent English identity *ex negativo* as a consequence of the Viking onslaughts of the 'First Viking Age'. The so-called 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' (c.890x927), even if initially conceptualized as a pragmatic coalition of the free Anglo-Saxon kingdoms under West Saxon hegemony, laid the foundations from which a united English kingdom was to manifest itself in the centuries to come. For the development of English political unification from the 'heptarchy', through the 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' to the 'Kingdom of the English', see S. Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians", in *Kings, Currency and Alliances. History and Coinage of southern England in the ninth Century* , ed. M.A.S. Blackburn and D. Dumville (Woodbridge 1998), pp. 1-46; *idem*, "England, 700-900", *NCMH*, II, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 18-42; *idem,* 'England, c.900-1016', *NCMH*, III, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 456-84; and *idem*, "Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons", in *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, ed. N. Higham and D.H. Hill (London, 2001), pp. 40–66. Keynes discussed the role of King Alfred's legacy in Anglo-Saxon nation-building in a lecture at the British Museum in 2002 ("'The Grand Combinations' of the Anglo-Saxons, 07.03.2002.') He warns not to draw premature and simplistic conclusions ('grand combinations') about this topic and persuasively argues that the English nation-state was a product of the tenth and eleventh centuries; cf. also J. Campbell, "The Kingdom of England: the Anglo-Saxon Achievement", in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (London, 1995), pp. 31-47; and *idem*, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000).

edged by most scholars thereafter.[5] The criteria Miller based his claim on are the following:

   a) the division into chapters is substantially the same in all manuscripts
   b) all manuscripts place the *Libellus Responsionum* at the end of Book III
   c) all manuscripts agree in placing the appeal to the reader (*praeterea omnes*) at the conclusion of the work, as in the Latin copy preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. II
   d) common peculiarities or corruptions found in all manuscripts

Although the dialect of all extant manuscripts (including Tanner) is predominantly West Saxon, the archetype appears to have a strong Mercian connection as we encounter an admixture of dialectal elements from the Midlands in the surviving manuscripts.[6] All of them have undergone processes of up-dating with regard to spelling and/or vocabulary and bear witness to a gradual West Saxonization of the original text.[7]

The idea of a Mercian original was questioned to some point by Jakob Schipper and Sherman Kuhn. Schipper attempted to reconcile Miller's dialectal evidence with the alleged authorship of King Alfred and came up with the idea of an intermediate, Mercianized copy from which all manuscripts had been derived at the same time proposing that the original might have been West Saxon. The Mercian features were ascribed to the influence of the king's Mercian helpers.[8] Sherman Kuhn took up the question of the Old English synonym pairs in the *OEHE*. In his survey he concluded that the archetype was either a gloss or an adaptation of a gloss. He explained the dialect mix as the result of King Alfred's endeavors to adapt an earlier Mercian gloss when translating Bede's work.[9] Kuhn's claim has been convincingly opposed by other scholars and the view that all manuscripts derived from a Mercian archetype is generally accepted.[10]

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[5] See *OEB*, I.1, xxii-xxiv; cf. *inter alia* Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 81 n.22; and Grant, *B Text*, p. 3. Deutschbein remarks that the stemma had been established by Zupitza and was only confirmed by Miller ("Dialektisches in der ags. Uebersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte", *PBB* 26 (1901), p. 169 n.1).

[6] The issue of dialectology will be dealt with in the linguistic analysis of Tanner and Cotton Domitian later on. Both manuscripts are presumably the oldest specimen and betray a considerable number of Mercian dialect features.

[7] Rowley, p. 26. The most important copies in that regard are O and B. O exhibits evidence of massive corrections concerning the orthography (see below) whereas Grant's analysis of B has yielded interesting results about the process in which characteristics (phonology, vocabulary, syntax etc.) of the texts were updated by the two scribes according to their early-eleventh century Southumbrian perspective (Grant, *B-Text*, esp. chs. 2-5).

[8] Schipper, *Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, I, xxxix-xl.

[9] S. Kuhn, "Synonyms", 168–76. The question of the synonyms and their significance for the translation process will be treated in chapter 'The Synonym Pairs in the *OEHE*' *infra*.

[10] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 58-59 and Waite, "Vocabulary".

The textual criticism of the text is rather problematic. Following Miller's initial division of the manuscripts into two main branches, Dorothy Whitelock established the traditional stemma:[11]
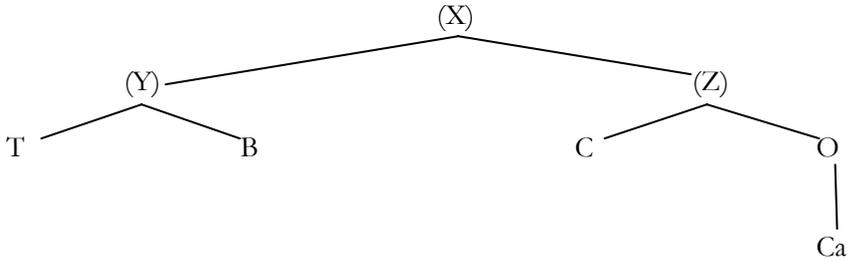
Fig. 1 Whitelock's stemma

The argument for the division was primarily based on the different renditions of *HE* III.16-20 in the *OEHE*:

a) 202/9-204/33[12] exhibit two divergent versions
b) 206/1-208/4 are found in the Z-branch only
c) 201/3-220/18 are found in Y-branch only

Miller ruled out the idea that the defect had been in one branch only and preferred the idea that there had been a missing portion in the exemplar Y and Z were derived from.[13] Both branches show a tremendously different rendition of the a) passage. The rendition in the Y-branch shows stylistic and lexical similarities to the rest of the running text and displays features peculiar to its translator, while the vocabulary and syntax in the Z-branch differ remarkably.[14] The alleged lacunae, according to Miller, was consequently amended by two different editors. With reference to the table of contents (preserved in MSS B and Ca) – which lacks entries for *HE* III.17-20 – he hypothesized that the divergent section may not have been in the original translation, while at the same time admitting that the matter was more complex, as the table of contents included a capitulum for *HE* III.16.[15]

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[11] Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 81 n. 22.
[12] The numbers refer to page/line in Miller's edition.
[13] *OEB*, I.1, xxiv-xxiv.
[14] Cf. J.J. Campbell, "The OE Bede: Book III, Chapter 16 to 20", *MLN* 67 (1952), pp. 381-86. Campbell shows that the text of the Z-branch omits a number of Mercian dialect words, which are to be found in the Y-branch and correspond to the translator's practice for the rest of the text.
[15] *OEB*, I.1, xxiv-xxv; Deutschbein explains the divergence in the two branches by two independent copies of the *OEHE* – Anglian and West Saxon – from which the scribes of the archetypes of both branches had copied respectively ("Dialektisches", pp. 177-78). This explanation is rather unsatisfactory and appears to be contradicted by the lexical evidence provided by the manuscripts. The alternative translation in COCa might well go back to the archetype of that

The exact relation between the table of contents and the surviving manuscripts is highly problematic and needs to be dealt with separately below. Miller's solution to the problem was that the translator, when dealing with the Irish bishop Aidan, "stopped short abruptly" as he became too critical of the aforementioned bishop while translating the account.[16] Although Miller's argument seems reasonable, it seems more probable that the omission of Bede's original critique of Aidan's non-orthodox practice of the celebration of Easter is in line with the general streamlining of the account by the translator, as Whitelock has argued.[17] Bede's comments and accounts relating to the Easter controversy, one of the overriding issues in the *HE*, are omitted or cleverly circumnavigated in the Old English translation.[18] Therefore, it is safe to rule out the possibility that the Aidan passage was left out on account of religious sentiments.[19] There have been several scholars who mounted a persuasive case against this conjecture.[20]

Raymond Grant subsequently modified the stemma given by Whitelock as similarities in the two branches complicated the issue. Grant himself admits that "the emended stemma remains itself over-simplified as it fails to be able to show textual contamination indicated by agreements in error":[21]
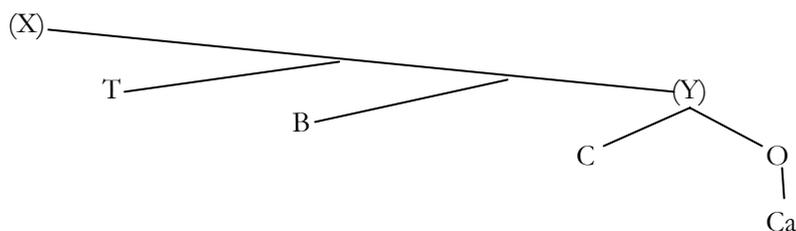
Fig. 2 Grant's stemma

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branch, which might have been copied in a West Saxon environment. Deutschbein's assumption that there initially were two independent translations appears to be rather unlikely.

[16]   *OEB*, I.1, xiv.

[17]   Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 62-3 and *idem*, "Chapter-Headings", p. 279 n. 10.

[18]   Cf. Rowley, pp. 86-92.

[19]   The passage (206/1-208/4) (re-)inserted in the Z-branch translates the second half of III.17. It adheres closely to the Latin and thus appears to have been (re-)translated from a Latin copy.

[20]   Simeon Potter was the first to argue against Miller's assumption. He argued that at some point in the Z-branch, the writer copied from a manuscript that was lacking some pages, which he translated anew and independently ("Old English Bede", pp. 33-34). Although J.J. Campbell doubted some of Potter's conclusions, he concurred with him insofar as the TB version was part of the original translation ("Book III, Chapter 16 to 20", pp. 382-83); cf. Whitelock, who similarly pointed out the "close agreement in vocabulary and mannerism between the version in Y and the rest of the translator's work ("Chapter-Headings", p. 264).

[21]   Grant, *B-Text*, p. 447. See also Deutschbein: "Nur erscheint es bei der grossen Verschiedenheit, die der Text von B zeigt, nicht unmöglich, dass B auch mit der anderen gruppe verwandt ist." ("Dialektisches", p. 169 n.1).

Finally, Rowley pointed out the shortcomings of Grant's modified stemma with regard to the divergent section and the table of contents, but has not yet come up with an alternative.[22]

The stemmatic problems are exacerbated by the table of contents, which is preserved in two manuscripts from the respective branches, B and Ca. The table of contents in B precedes the preface. Its first four and last six chapters are not numbered, while the rest is numbered consecutively V-CXIIII. The table is written by the first hand, who copied the manuscript up to p. 206.[23] In contrast thereto, the table in Ca follows the preface and is separated from it by a genealogy of the West Saxon kings up to Alfred.[24] Unlike B, the chapters in Ca are numbered according to the five books.[25] Whitelock presumes that there might have been a list in O, as Ca is its faithful copy and displays readings that seem superior to C's list. The analysis of the table of contents led Whitelock to the conclusion that B's list probably came from a manuscript antecedent to her Z.[26] The stemmatic problem arises when we consider the fact that the capitula for *HE* III. 17-20 are missing in the table of contents. In the case of Ca, this can be explained by assuming that some folios in the archetype of the Z-branch were missing or that the chapters in question were left untranslated in the copying process. B lacks those entries in the table of contents, even though it probably never lacked chapters III.17-20. Whitelock, in her meticulous analysis of the table of contents, tried to solve the question. She came to the conclusion that the translator in charge of the lion's share of the text was probably not the translator of the running text, and that the original translation was provided with a table of contents at the place of its production, and that more than one copy existed at the original centre (at least one being complete, and one faulty in lacking the portion from Book III). Furthermore, Whitelock concluded that the manuscript used as template for the table

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[22] Rowley, pp. 28-30. She told me in private correspondence that the new edition will include a new proposition for the manuscript stemma.

[23] Cf. Ker, p. 45 and Budny, I, 507-08. Judging from the manuscript, the whole procedure (chapter headings, rubrication, chapter-numbers) might have involved more than one scribe. This question is worth further consideration, however, it is not central to my argument.

[24] Rowley notes that the genealogy used to be included in C before it was burned (pp. 20 and 24). Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 66, does not deem the list to have been part of the original translation.

[25] Ker, p. 37. MS C appears to have had a table of contents as Abraham Wheelock collated it for his edition in 1643 before it suffered severe damage in the Cotton Library fire in 1731. Unfortunately, Lawrence Nowell's transcript dropped everything preliminary to *HE* I.1 (see Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 265). For the Nowell-Transcript see R.J.S. Grant, "Lawrence Nowell's Transcript of BM Cotton Otho B.xi", *ASE* 3 (1974), 111-24. Wheelock's edition is hard to get to. I would like to thank the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen which had a license for accessing the database *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*). http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[26] Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 265-69. She convincingly showed that C and Ca share certain errors in opposition to B, whereas the evidence was inadequate to show that B and C shared errors against Ca.

of contents was the faulty copy and that the section that went missing in the Z-branch was inserted later on by someone "whose style and diction were very different from those of the original translator, and who was probably working elsewhere."[27] Consequently, the list in B might have been copied from a prototype which used a faulty manuscript. However, Whitelock had to admit that her conclusions might be an over-simplification and that "the whole question requires reconsideration."[28]

In order to add to the present discussion this study will approach the problem with the help of the following questions. First, was the table of contents drawn up concomitantly with the archetype? Second, did the archetype already lack the mission portion? Third, can we infer from the defect in the table of contents a defect in the manuscript that was used to generate it? And finally, did B have a predecessor that lacked the original table of contents, which was later substituted from a faulty exemplar?

Before addressing those questions, we need to take stock of the facts and arguments compiled by Whitelock. Up to *HE* I.23 the capitula of the table of contents follow the Latin closely.[29] After I.23 the table seems to have been brought into line with the Old English text.[30] The materiality of the manuscripts complicates the issue. On the one hand, the Z-branch twice displays a chapter-break in the MSS which is not mirrored by a new corresponding entry in the table of contents.[31] Thus the table rather resembles the material state of the MSS of the Y-branch, where no such break is discernible. On the other, there are arguments for Whitelock's supposition that the translator who tried to bring the table of contents into line with his copy had before him an exemplar from the Z-branch.[32] In *HE* IV.12 the manuscripts of the Z-branch show a clearly indicated chapter-break,[33] which in turn is represented by a new entry in the table of contents. We have no such indicated chapter-break in the Y-branch MSS. Additionally, there is a single instance where we have a clear chapter-break in all MSS without the cor-

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27 Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 277
28 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
29 This is exemplified by the fact that the table of contents includes entries for *HE* I.9-10 and I.17-22 even though these chapters are omitted in the translation.
30 There are only two instances where a chapter was retained in the list despite its exclusion from the translation. In both instances Whitelock shows that the omission of the chapter may not have been obvious to the compiler of the table of contents ("Chapter-Headings"), pp. 270-71. The chapters in question are *HE* IV.18 (Bede's poem on St Æthelthyrh) and *HE* V.16-17 (Adamnan's accounts on holy places).
31 *HE* IV.8 (*OEB*, I.1, 289/6) and *HE* V.10 (*OEB*, I.1, 414/5); cf. also Rowley, Table 1 ('Chapter-breaks from Book III, chapters 14-19 in the *OEHE* manuscripts') and Appendix I ('Summary of the Chapters and Chapter-Breaks in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* vs. Chapters and Chapter-Breaks in the *OEHE*'). The Appendix is available online from http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de.
32 Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", pp. 273 and 275.
33 *OEB*, I.1, 298.27. I would like to thank Prof. Winfried Rudolf who provided me with digital facsimiles of the *OEHE* manuscripts.

responding entry in the table of contents.[34] Therefore, it is hard to judge whether the exemplar of the person who tried to bring the list into line with the actual Old English text in front of him was of the same nature as any of our surviving specimens. Similarly, we cannot ascertain that we are dealing with a MS of the Z-branch and a translator acting inconsistently. The capitula for *HE* I.27-33 are especially problematic. Whitelock argued that they fit "a text set out like that in CN, O and Ca better than that in T or B."[35] At the outset she appears to be correct here. *HE* I.27 includes Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum* (*LR*), whereas this text was moved to the end of Book III in all manuscripts of the *OEHE*.[36] The translator translates the Latin paragraph leading up to the *LR*, which is matched by a corresponding entry in the table of contents. While *HE* I.28 is omitted from the *OEHE,* the beginning of *HE* I.29 directly follows I.27 in the manuscripts without any indication of the break. The capitulum for *HE* I.29 is kept nevertheless.[37] Whitelock argues that this could be explained by the layout of the MSS of the Z-branch, which begin a new section including the information on Augustine receiving the pallium and a letter with instructions to aid with the missionary work. This new section conveys all the necessary information to justify the retention of the corresponding capitulum. T and B, according to Whitelock, have no division at that point.[38] Although the present study concurs with her with regard to the absence of any visible chapter-break in T, the layout of B indicates a new section with a decorated 'IN', which corresponds with the cap *HE* I.29 (I.27).[39] This new section perfectly matches the entry in the table of contents: "Þæt se ylca papa gregorius sende agustine pallium ⁊ maran fultum godes word to læranne."[40] The table of contents includes Cap. *HE* I.32 (I.28), which is neatly divided from the previous chapters in all MSS of the Z-branch. T or B have no such indication. Thus B's layout corresponds to Cap. I.29 (I.27) but fails to do justice to Cap. I.32 (I.28). Consequently, Whitelock's conclusion appears to be valid but calls for a differentiation concerning the connection between T and B. Cap. *HE* I.33 is troublesome as well. Although all MSS begin a new chapter the corresponding capitulum is collapsed with Cap. *HE.* I.32 (I.28). It is followed by two further headings

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[34] *HE* IV.5 (*OEB*, I.1, 280.6).

[35] Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 277.

[36] Miller in his edition glossed over that fact and placed the Old English translation of the *LR* in the position of the Latin text, thus disregarding the material state of all MSS. Despite this, he mentions that textual peculiarity as a common denominator and strong argument for his idea of a common archetype in his introduction (*OEB*, I.1, 23). For a discussion on the displaced *LR*, see Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 70 and Rowley, "Shifting Contexts", pp. 83–92.

[37] The capitula of the OE version differ in numbering, due to omission of chapters. Thus cap. *HE* I.29 is indicated as XXVII in the *OEHE*; see *OEB*, I.1, 10. Miller prints his list of chapter-headings from Ca with alternative readings (*OEB* I.1, 6-24 and II, 3-11 for the variants). The *OEHE* capitula-numbering is given in brackets.

[38] Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 274.

[39] *OEB*, I.1, 88.31.

[40] *Ibid.*, I1, 10.

(I.29 and I.30) both referring to *HE* I.33. Here, Bede writes on the foundation of Christ Church, Canterbury and the subsequent election of St. Augustine and its first abbot Peter. The MSS. of the Z-branch have chapter breaks to indicate the division between the foundation of Christ Church and St Augustine's, whereas T and B lack those breaks. Whitelock concludes that the table of contents fit the layout of the Z-branch better than they fit the Y-branch.[41]

The stemmatic difficulties posed by the table of contents cannot be completely resolved, as Whitelock admitted. Even though we are fortunate to have five extant copies of the *OEHE,* additional copies were probably lost. As Rowley states: "it becomes clear that the *OEHE* was well disseminated in England during the medieval period."[42] Keeping in mind the importance of Bede's work as part of the Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, we are safe to assume that its Old English translation might have enjoyed a similar prominence. Additional now-lost copies might be the key to the vexed question of the apparently faulty table of contents in B.

The present study wishes to propose an additional scenario. Whitelock was probably right in her assumption that the table of contents was originally drawn up by the translator of the running text, with a Latin copy of the work before him. He then delegated his work to an amanuensis after Cap. I.23, who tried to bring the chapter-headings into line with the Old English manuscript in front of him. He too might have had recourse to the Latin text in order to cross-check his entries. This amanuensis's manuscript of the *OEHE* might have lacked the folios containing *HE* III.17-20. Consequently, he did not include Cap. III.17-20 and drew up a faulty table of contents. If we follow Grant's stemma and assume that neither T nor B lacked the missing section initially, the faulty table of contents was copied into the examplar from which B was copied, a possibility that Whitelock herself did not rule out.[43] The question is whether the ensuing copying process involved a combined circulation of the text and the table of contents, or whether it did not. T and B were derived from a common ancestor (Y in Whitelock's stemma), which had *HE* III.16-20 and was therefore 'uncorrupted'. If indeed the text and the table of contents circulated together, we need to ask ourselves why B carries the faulty table of contents. One explanation might be that the scribe who was set to copy the archetype (Y) and had before him the faulty exemplar together with the simultaneously faulty table of contents found fault with the text. His knowledge of the *HE* may have been so excellent that he recognized that it lacked *HE* III.16-20. In that case he got hold of another copy of the *OEHE* (including III.16-20) and amended Y accordingly in the copying process, without paying heed to the faulty table of contents, which was then copied into B and probably T. The latter assumption cannot be verified as T lacks quires at the beginning. If,

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41 Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", pp. 274-75.
42 Rowley, p. 25.
43 Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 265.

however, the table of contents circulated independently from the text, it is possible that the faulty table was copied only into the exemplar of B (β). Consequently, in both cases we would need to assume the existence of a lost copy of the *OEHE,* which included III.16-20 alongside a faulty copy, and which lacked that passage and served as a reference crib for the translation of the table of contents.

The faulty copy of the *OEHE* happened to be the exemplar used for the archetype of the Z-branch. What is conspicuous is that those manuscripts display not only clearly visible chapter-breaks of *HE* III.16-18 (red capital),[44] but also clearly visible chapter-breaks for Cap. *OEHE* I.28-30, which all refer to *HE* I.33. Apparently, the scribe of Z checked his text against the table of contents while copying and arranged the manuscript layout accordingly. The question of whether the faulty copy circulated together with the table of contents cannot been answered sufficiently. Such a separate circulation would not be surprising, as the manuscript evidence of the *OE Pastoral Care* and its prefaces suggest that the prefaces and the main text were drawn up separately and were put together later.[45] The missing portion was subsequently translated anew, probably directly from another Latin exemplar, as the scribe of the Z-archetype or his supervisor was well familiar with the Latin text and regarded the whole issue surrounding Aidan important. Whitelock described this emendator as "a writer whose style and diction were very different from those of the translator, and who was probably working elsewhere."[46] *HE* III.19 (Bede's account of Fursey's otherwordly journey) and III.20 (Episcopal succession in south-east England) are left out of the restored translation. This may be accounted for either by a faulty Latin copy or the disinterest of the translator in the episodes recorded. The latter would stand against the popularity of Fursey's account during the Middle Ages. Miller's claim that the original translator deleted the account on account of "national jealousy" is difficult to support, as Rowley has remarked.[47] She meticulously analyzed the significance and importance of the Fursey story and its transformation by the Old English transla-

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44   See Rowley, Table 1.

45   Cf. Schreiber, *King Alfred's Translation* and n. 112 *supra.*

46   Whitelock, "Chapter-List", p. 277.

47   *OEB*, I.1, lviii; Rowley, pp. 86-87; cf. also *idem*, "Otherwordly Visions". To omit Fursey's account on grounds of national jealousy is highly unlikely as the Irish were held in high esteem by Bede and his translator. Anti-Irish sentiments can be ruled out as the geographical description of the British archipelago depicts Ireland as 'promised land', which prefigures Britain's role after the conversion. On the island-scape of the British archipelago and the typological and hexameral significance thereof, see C.B. Kendall, "Imitation and the Venerable Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in M.H. King (ed.), *Saints, Scholars, and Heroes: Studies in medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones*, vol. I: *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage* (Collegeville, MN, 1976), pp.161–90; D. Speed, "Bede's Creation of a Nation in his Ecclesiastical History", *Parergon* ns 10.2 (1992), 139-54.; A.H. Merrils, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2005); D. Scully, "Location and Occupation: Bede, Gildas and the Roman Vision of Britain", in *Anglo-Saxon Traces: Papers Presented at the Thirteenth ISAS Conference, Held in the University of London from 30 July through 4 August 2007* (Tempe, AZ, 2011), pp. 243-72.

tor. To her it fostered a "sense of cultural interaction, presenting a reminder of immanent judgment in the context of the past, and foreshadowing the work of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the continent in Book V," which in case of Fursey's flight from heathen invaders would surely have been appealing to an audience having experienced the First Viking Age.[48] Therefore, the question of why such an important passage had been left out remains. Maybe the translator's penchant for Aidan might have made him drop Fursey, who in the translator's eyes could potentially have outshone his Irish counterpart in terms of piety and right livelihood.[49] He might have likewise been ignorant (intentionally or not) of the (archi-)episcopal succession of East Anglia, Kent and Wessex depicted in III.20. We might speculate about an Anglian/Northumbrian background or affiliation of this translator, who showed a keen interest in Aidan and was disinterested in the church affairs of other areas.[50]

The scenario entails that – with all probability – the faulty table of contents was drawn up at the scriptorium where the original translation was undertaken. In this scriptorium, there must have been at least several copies of the *OEHE* (one of them faulty) and a Latin exemplar of the C-type available for occasional cross-checking. What is remarkable is the fact that the table of contents in the *OEHE* encompasses all chapters of the book right at the beginning. This contrasts the *OEHE* with the *HE*, where each of the five books is preceded by its own table of contents. Therefore, we may conclude that the table of contents was translated together with the running text and testifies to an editorial agenda which conceived of the *OEHE* as a fixed authoritative text and manifested the vernacular version of Bede's *HE* as a 'book'.

Apart from the table of contents and the missing portion in Book III of the Z-branch, the stemmatic relations can be reconstructed by the presence or absence of a passage in *HE* II. 5-7 in the *OEHE* manuscripts. It appears to have been part of the original translation as we find it in MSS TBC as well as in the table of contents. As MSS COCa seem to be derived from a common exemplar the traditional stemma has to be modified. The archetype of the Z-branch is included the passage as it is present in C. The fact that it is lacking in MSS OCa leads to the conclusion that there must have been an intermediary MS from which O and Ca were derived (γ). This MS must have lacked some leaves, which were

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[48]   Rowley, p. 145.
[49]   I am grateful to Winfried Rudolf, who suggested that the account of Fursey might have been left out due to its use as homiletic preaching material. This question needs to be treated in more detail and is left out of the current discussion.
[50]   Whitelock admitted that the reason for the translator failing to translate *HE* III.19 and 20 can only be the subject of speculation: "With regard to St Fursey's vision she assumes that [h]e might have shrunk from so great a task of translation, or have regarded it as an interruption in a historical work, or have possessed it in a separate form," without giving a convincing explanation for the non-consideration of III.20. She laconically states: "the second is only an account of Episcopal succession in East Anglia and Canterbury" ("Chapter-Headings", pp. 279-80 n. 14).

not emended by the scribes who copied O. Neither O nor Ca display contemporary visual markers to indicate the gap in the manuscripts. Content-wise, there appears to be no obvious reason why the passage had been left out. The missing bit deals with the relapse of Essex into paganism after King Eadbald's death, its military defeat in a campaign against Wessex, Laurentius's piety, the steadfastness of Kent, the obstinacy of the Londoners to receive Mellitus back as their bishop, and Mellitus' miraculous powers. If indeed we assume particular (ideological) historical circumstances for the copying of O, the following assumption is worth considering: that a story of the relapse into paganism and the fatal role of London might not have been regarded as suitable in a time when the English where struggling with a renewed Scandinavian onslaught, in which London became the focal point of Anglo-Saxon resistance and a symbol for the Christian cause at least in the narration of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*ASC*).[51] However, such a scenario needs to be taken with a grain of salt. The missing passage is glossed over clumsily in the manuscripts, ending with Ealdbald of Kent's fornication and his people turning to heathendom, which is joined to the final paragraph of Mellitus's miracle, which appears nonsensical when all are read together.[52] Therefore, it is more probable that the scribes copied a faulty exemplar without checking it against another Old English copy or a Latin exemplar.[53] If that was the case, it would mean that the scribe of γ was not familiar with the Latin text and mechanically copied the exemplar before him. An attentive scribe must have realized that this portion of the manuscript was odd. Neither the scribe of O nor Ca amended that shortcoming. This points to either the lack of a Latin and/or Old English copy of Bede to check the work against – or at least the difficulty to procure such a copy – and the authority of the Old English text. In the latter case the scribe(s) might not have dared to intervene with the presumably authoritative translation of Bede's canonical work, at least as far as the content was concerned. This seems to be another

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[51] In the account of the 'Æthelredian Annals', it is London and its *burhwaru* that withstand the Viking attacks; cf. O'Brien O'Keeffe, K., ed., *MS C: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.N. Dumville, S. Keynes and S. Taylor 5 (Cambridge, 2001), s.a. 994, 1009, 1013, 1016. Moreover, after his martyrdom in 1012 the corpse of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ælfheah – "heafod Angelkynnes �7 Cristendomes"(*MS C*, p. 96) is translated to London and said to have worked miracles there. The status of London can be also deduced from the fact that it had to pay an additional 10.500 pounds of tribute after the Danish Conquest, probably to dispirit all latent resentments by the hitherto heroic defenders of the realm (*ASC* s.a 1018). For the depiction and significance of London in the 'Æthelredian Annals' see A. Lemke, "'Ealla þas ungesælða us gelumpon þuruh unrædas"': Voices from the Reign of Æthelred II', in *Von Æthelred zum Mann im Mond: Forschungsarbeiten aus der englischen Mediävistik*, ed. J. Müller and F. Reitemeier, Göttinger Schriften zur Englischen Philologie 4 (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 13-120, at pp. 48-51.

[52] See *OEB*, I.1, 110 and 118.

[53] For the question of whether it was checked against another copy of the *OEHE* or a Latin MS, see Rowley, p. 159.

strong argument for the assumption that the *OEHE* was regarded as an authoritative text, which had a more or less fixed form.[54]

What conclusions can be drawn from that for the questions I posed earlier? First, the table of contents was probably planned to be an integral part of the *OEHE* right from the start. The Latin capitula are an essential element of the *HE*. Therefore, it would have been rather strange if they would have been left untranslated. Their position at the beginning of the *OEHE* can be accounted for if we see them as quick reference guides to this voluminous work. Whoever wanted to consult the *OEHE* would have seen the essentials outlined when following the table of contents. This made the text easily accessible and points to a popular work appealing to a large (and mixed) audience. Second, it cannot be ruled out that the defect in Book III existed at a very early stage. It was probably not in the archetype as the style of the passage in TB is congruent with the rest of the text. There might have been a defect in the exemplar from which (Y) and (Z) were copied (my α). The table of contents could have been drawn up according to this exemplar before the copyist of (Y), still writing in the original center, realized the error and checked the text against the archetype without caring about the list of chapter-headings he was copying. Third, it is therefore highly probable that the scribe who initially compiled the list had a defective copy in front of him and did not check what he had copied. Finally, and consequently, the exemplar from which B was copied cannot be ruled out to have had a faulty table, which was copied by the scribe of B and used by the scribes of the Z-branch.

Even after taking all those points into consideration, the question of the stemma appears to be complicated. Given the focus of the present study a meticulously manuscript-by-manuscript comparison cannot be undertaken. Nevertheless, the preliminary ideas will be visualized and a slightly altered stemma proposed. This still appears to be problematic, but it is hoped that it will trigger further discussion:

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[54] What has been left out of the discussion of the stemma by Anglo-Saxon scholars is the Domitian leaf (Z). This negligence is most certainly explained by the scarcity of evidence it provides. It contains translations of the last two chapters of the Synod of Hertford (*HE* IV.5) and three brief excerpts on the early conversion history of England. The wording of the translated passages, however, except for an interpolation in excerpt three (see below), leaves no doubt that it is derived from the same archetype as the other manuscripts. Some peculiarities suggest a date prior to that of Tanner. Thus, it might have been closer to the initial translation. It agrees with T in most cases but disagrees with T in favor of B or other manuscripts in some cases (e.g. *rehtliche* ZB vs. *rihtlice* and *aetherio* ZBOCa vs. *otherio* T). Unfortunately, the marginality of Z's evidence constrains one in altering the manuscript stemma to include this witness.
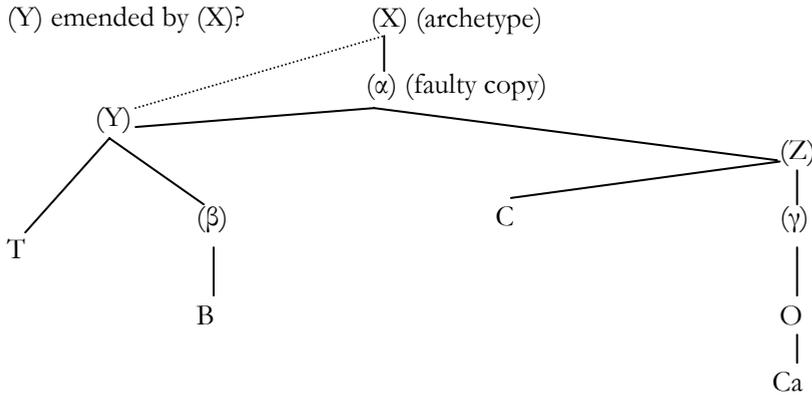
Fig. 3 Lemke's stemma

The present analysis hardens Grant's argument for a scheme of copying and dis-seminating the *OEHE* which matches the *OE Pastoral Care* in scale. Grant admits, however, that we lack tenable proof thereof.[55] Nonetheless, my analysis provides us with a scenario of a thriving monastic centre with the adequate resources as the origin of the Old English translation.

In order to shed light on the context of the original translation, it is worth considering our surviving manuscripts with regard to their context and signs of medieval use. This allows us to glimpse the importance of the text and its recep-tion by different audiences through the centuries and might help us to reverse-engineer the context of the initial translation.[56] In the following discussion, this chapter will deal primarily with the allegedly oldest copies – MS T (Tanner) and MS Z (Domitian) – to narrow down the possibilities for a centre where translation activities on such a scale could have been carried out, and then will focus briefly on the other manuscripts with regard to their revision layers and medieval signs of use.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner, 10

MS Tanner 10 is the oldest surviving extant copy of the *OEHE*. The manuscript is known for its lavish decoration – unusual in comparison with the rather sparsely decorated manuscripts of the late-ninth/early tenth centuries – and was used as the base text by Miller for his edition.[57] Tanner is important to our understanding

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[55] Grant, *B Text*, p. 400.

[56] For a recent and comprehensive survey, see Rowley, pp. 238-59.

[57] Although Grant in his treatment of MS B has called the 'superiority' of T into question and argued that the manuscript "emerges from the present study as not quite as good a text as has hereto been assumed." (*B Text*, p. 12).

of the original translation as it presents us with a *terminus ante quem*. Accordingly, an analysis of its material state may help us with dating and locating the translation of Bede's *HE*.

Codicology

The codicology and paleography of the manuscript have been intensively studied and a complete facsimile edition has been published by Janet Bately.[58] Therefore, a synopsis of important issues will suffice here. The text is incomplete, defective at the beginning (starting at the end of *HE* I. 15) and breaking off at the end in *HE* V.14. Consequently, it lacks the preface, the table of contents and the work's conclusion.[59] Tanner had been attributed to Winchester by M.B. Parkes.[60] He had argued that both its arrangement and ruling betrayed continental practice, which was also palpable in the *Junius Psalter*, a manuscript widely held to be written at Winchester in the 920s or shortly before.[61] This was refuted by Gameson, who argued for insular practice at work in the production of Tanner.[62] This carries important implications for our understanding of the manuscript. In his essay, Parkes advocated a strong continental influence on a scriptorium at Winchester, possibly the *monasterolium* given to Grimbald of St Bertin, one of Alfred's continental helpers.[63] Grimbald's predilection for historiography is out of question[64]

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[58] M.B. Parkes, "The Paleography of the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries", in his Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts (London, 1991), pp. 143-69 [originally published *ASE* 5 (1976), 149-71], at pp. 157-63; R. Gameson, "The Fabric of the Tanner Bede", *BLR* 14 (1992), 176-206; D.N. Dumville, "English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and the Earliest Phases", *ASE* 16 (1987), 147-79, at pp. 167-89; *The Tanner Bede : the Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, Oxford: Bodleian Library, Tanner 10, together with the Mediaeval Binding Leaves, Oxford: Bodleian Library, Tanner 10*, and the Domitian Extracts, London: British Library, Cotton Domitian A. IX fol. 11*, ed. J. Bately, EEMF 24 (Copenhagen, 1992); *OEB*, I.1, p. xiii.

[59] Some single leaves are missing throughout. An apparent lacuna with a quire missing (fols. 105-14) has been amended by the mid-tenth century with the original text of fol. 115r being erased and rewritten to achieve a smooth transition (see *infra*).

[60] Parkes ('The Palaeography', pp. 156-57) grouped Tanner together with the *Tollemache Orosius* (London, British Library, Additional 47967 (Ker no. 133), the *Junius Psalter* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27 (S.C. 5139) and the *Parker Chronicle* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 173, 1r-25v; Ker no. 39) on paleographical grounds. The association with Tanner is apparently made due to its affinity to the decoration of the Tollemache Orosius and Junius; cf. also Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p. xiii.

[61] See Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 107 and n. 83.

[62] Gameson, "Fabric", pp. 177-80 and 197.

[63] For Grimbald and his career see Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 113 and n. 113.

[64] Gretsch argued that Grimbald was "imbued with the strong Frankish tradition of historiography, especially in the form of annals," and gives Hincmar and Fulco, both archbishops of Reims, as specimen for this tradition, who would have exercised a considerable influence on Grimbald's teaching and frame of mind (*ibid.*, p. 117 and n. 132).

and the fact that of those manuscripts, which Parkes grouped together as having been produced in that scriptorium at Winchester during that period, also included the earliest surviving copies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Old English translation of Orosius's world history, seems to substantiate his claim that this scriptorium had a strong interest in history. Nonetheless, the attribution of Tanner to Winchester on grounds of thematic penchant is doubtful. Moreover, the similarities to the *Junius Psalter* in matters of decoration – another argument of Parkes's – is disputable as will be shown below.

Apart from codicology and decoration, the manuscript size can give us valuable insight into its function and status. In contrast to MS B, which Budny calls a "[d]ecorated, but uncompleted, large-format copy," that measures c. 352x216 mm,[65] Tanner's format is smaller (250x165mm).[66] This format matches the size of books designed for private readings, e.g. prayer-books (London, British Library, MS Royal A. 2.XX: 230x170 mm, Gneuss no. 450),[67] rather than deluxe copies presented on a lectern (London, British Library, MS Royal 1. E.VI: 470x345 mm, Gneuss no. 448; London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.IV: 340x245 mm; Gneuss no. 343; Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.II.16: 350x24 mm, Gneuss no. 219; or Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS A.135: 395x314mm, Gneuss no. 937). We need to be careful as there are small-sized gospel-books as well (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286: 245x180 mm, Gneuss no. 83). Tanner's handy size gives the impression of being used for private reading or for continuous study in the library.

Scribes and Script

The manuscript was copied by five scribes. The first scribe is responsible for the bulk of the manuscript (fols. 1-104v) and its decoration.[68] His script was identified as Dumville's fourth reformed style of insular minuscule.[69] Bately and Gameson regarded him to be a more skillful writer than the other scribes and Ker praised his "admirable hand."[70] He seems to have worked in connection with the second scribe (fols. 103r-104r/5; 115v-116r/13, 116r/17-bottom of that folio; 116v/13-117v/13), as we find passages by him (116r/13-17; 116v/1-12) in the section writ-

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[65] Budny, I, 501.

[66] Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 13.

[67] All data is taken from M. Lapidge, "Latin Learning in Ninth-Century England", *ALL*, I, 409–54, at pp. 440-41.

[68] Miller's and Ker's claim that he occasionally wrote words in the section attributed to scribe 5, was refuted by both Bately and Gameson; cf. Ker, p. 429; *OEB*, I.1, pp. xiii-xiv; for the objections see Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 17-18 and n. 6; R. Gameson, "The Decoration of the Tanner Bede", *ASE* 21 (1992), 115-59, at p. 129.

[69] See Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 19; Dumville, "English Square Minuscule", pp. 167-68.

[70] Gameson, "Decoration", p. 151; Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 17-20; Ker, p. 429.

ten by the latter.[71] The second scribe wrote in a specimen of early square minuscule, as did the fourth and fifth scribes. Compared to the first two scribes, the fourth and fifth scribes are of lesser quality.[72] From his analysis of the hands, Gameson argued that the copying was conducted at "a scriptorium at a crossroads of writing styles," and not particularly endowed with a reservoir of scribal talent by the time of its completion.[73]

The loss of a quire (fols. 105r-114v) was amended by another scribe, the third scribe, in a mid-tenth-century Square minuscule similar to London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus II.44 (S 552).[74] The style is close but not identical to the boundary clause in that charter, which is attributed, together with four other diplomas, to a single scribe, generally known as 'Edmund C'. He was assumed to have been working in an ecclesiastical scriptorium at Winchester.[75] We cannot judge with confidence any Winchester connection of the amended section in Tanner. Keynes objected that there was no evidence for such an assumption and argued that it was "dangerous to argue that the drawing up of diplomas was of necessity entrusted to a single scriptorium" and demonstrated the perils of identifying the place of copying of any given manuscript from the script of its scribe.[76] Even so, the insertion made by the third scribe is remarkable and shows the evident importance of the *OEHE* in one of the most important political, religious and cultural centers of Anglo-Saxon England in the tenth century.[77]

Judging from the script, the first scribe's stint can be dated to c.890x930.[78] Scribes two, four, and five write in an early square minuscule, which according to Dumville "was certainly being written in, and probably throughout, the 920s; it may also have been written in the 910s, but here the evidence is less clear."[79]

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71 Gameson, "Fabric", p. 196 and n. 73.
72 Gameson, "Fabric", p. 196: "The work of scribes iv and v is remarkable first and foremost for its untidiness: the inherent ugliness of scribe v's hand was exacerbated by writing on poor parchment with an inky pen."; cf. Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 17-26; Ker, p. 429; *OEB*, I.1, xiii-xiv.
73 Gameson, "Decoration", p. 129; *OEB*, I.1, xv.
74 See Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 22. In this thesis Anglo-Saxon charters are cited by their number in P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London, 1968), abbreviated a S. The date of the insertion is confirmed by Ker and Gameson.
75 See Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 22.
76 Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 23-26.
77 Rowley has recently drawn attention to the fact that scribe iii had access to another copy of the *OEHE* from which to amend the missing passages. Given the high probability that the emendator of the missing portion of Bk. III in the Z-branch had access to a Latin copy, but not an Old English exemplar, led her to the conclusion was that that this provided evidence for the fact that that there were scribes and translators skilled enough to do that and suggests that both the Latin and the Old English versions were circulating together in some parts of England, with access to either not to taken for granted (see Rowley, p. 54); cf. Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 32-33.
78 Ker, Gneuss and Gameson date it to the beginning of the tenth century; see Gameson, "Decoration", p. 115; Ker, p. 428.
79 Dumville, 'Square Minuscule', pp. 169-73, at p. 171.

Therefore, according to the script, the copying of Tanner can dated with all due caution to c. 890x930.[80] In addition to the codicology and the script, the manuscript's decoration might help us gauge the circumstances of Tanner's production.

Decoration

Tanner stands out because of its decorated initials that reflect the development of contemporary manuscript art.[81] Despite the relative scarcity of manuscripts from the s. ix2-x1 period,[82] Gameson stresses that only a few manuscripts, chiefly written in Old English, had decorated zoomorphic initials and that Tanner stood out among them.[83] The initials represent Wormald's Type I initial, which flourished in Latin and Old English manuscripts of the first half of the tenth century.[84] Gameson argues that the initials are most closely associated with books ascribed to the period c.920-940. He calls for a reassessment of the Type I initials. He claims that the continental influence on this type and insular manuscripts has been overestimated. He follows Francis Wormald, who had shown that the roots of Type I lay in the secondary calligraphic decoration of Southumbrian manuscripts from the later eighth to the first half of the ninth century, such as the *Book of Cerne*, the *Barberini Gospels* or the *Book of Nunnaminster*.[85] According to Gameson,

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[80]   Ker, however, made us aware that "manuscripts written in the ninth century or the earlier part of the tenth century are datable only approximately by their script."(Ker, p. xx.); cf. Gameson, "Fabric", p. 198.

[81]   On the initials see E. Temple, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol II: *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: 900-1066* (London, 1976), p. 40, no. 9; L.L. Brownrigg, "Manuscripts containing English Decoration 871-1066. Catalogued and Illustrated: a Review", *ASE* 7 (1978), 239-66, at pp. 251 and 261 n.1; T.H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: an Iconographic Catalogue c. AD 625 to 1100* (New York, 1986), pp. 74-75, no. 87, and briefly A. Rumble, "Using Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts", in M.P. Richards, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings* (New York, 1994), pp. 3-24, at p. 16.

[82]   Gameson, "Decoration", p. 115 and n. 3.

[83]   *Idem*, "Fabric", p. 150.

[84]   See F. Wormald, "Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900-1100", represented in his Collected Writings, vol. I: *Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, T.J. Brown and J. Gibbs (Oxford,1984), pp. 47-75 [originally published *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), 107-35], at 53-57; *idem*, "The 'Winchester School' before St Ethelwold", represented in his *Collected Writings*, vol. I: *Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, T.J. Brown and J. Gibbs (Oxford,1984), pp. 76-84 [originally published in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 305-12]. Those initials are characteristically reconstructed from complete or near-complete representations of animals and birds; J.J.G. Alexander assigns Tanner to the first half of the tenth century together with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27 and Bodley 579 (2675) (*Anglo-Saxon Illumination in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 6-7); cf. Temple, who dates it to the first half of the tenth century (together with Bolougne, Bibliothèque Municipal 10) Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 38, 40-41.

[85]   Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apotolica Vaticana, MS Barberini lat. 570; London, British Library, MS Harley 2965 (Ker no. 237). This earlier insular

those earlier insular precedents were revived in the wake of King Alfred's educational program, resulting in the (Proto-)Type I initial at the end of the ninth century. He claimed the Type I style to have achieved formal maturity in a number of manuscripts datable to 900-940.[86] Among those Tanner 10, Junius 27 and Boulogne 10 were the most adventurous in formal style, probably roughly coeval with the more primitive *Durham Ritual* (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19).[87] To break up any stipulated 'Winchester connection', he shows that the Type I style enjoyed great popularity at a number of centers at the end of the ninth and during the first half of the tenth century, and observes a tendency to discuss works and styles from a Winchester-centric standpoint despite its lacking a monopoly on styles.[88] He further dissociates Tanner from Junius 27 by showing that with regard to its painting Tanner was "notably closer" to Boulogne 10, thus further de-emphasizing any purported Winchester connection.[89] Gameson further highlights the fact that the initials classified as Type I lacked real cohesion as a group. He argues:

> It is of little value to posit a typological development for the initials in this group of manuscripts as a whole, when such uncertainties apply, when the formal links between them are not particularly close, and when the most significant distinctions may principally reflect differences in the personal styles of the scribe-artists responsible or differences in the projected context of the books.[90]

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precedent was taken up in the decoration of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 15.33, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 218 (fols. 131-208), London, British Library, MS Cotton A.ix, or London, British Library, Additional 23211 (royal genealogies; *OE Martyrology*). On the connection of the *Book of Cerne* to Tanner see M.P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London, 1996), p. 180, who argues that Tanner exhibits influence in script of decoration from a source similar to the style in *Cerne*. However, an implicit attribution of Tanner to a particular centre or date is almost impossible. Elsewhere, Brown identified whimsical animal ornament and biting beast heads as characteristic of a tradition of Southumbrian manuscripts produced under the Mercian hegemony. A typical exponent for this type of decoration to her was Cotton Tiberius C.II. This manuscript of Bede's *HE* was probably produced in the middle of the ninth century at Canterbury. Michael Lapidge has shown that the Old English translator used a Latin manuscript that closely resembled the 'Canterbury redaction' (cf. Lapidge, "Latin Exemplar"). Thus the decoration of Tanner might link the manuscript to Canterbury in one way or another.

[86] Gameson, "Decoration", p. 124; the manuscripts in question are Boulougne, Bibliotèque Municipale, MS 82; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183 (Ker no. 42); London, British Library, Additional 47967 (Ker no. 133); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27 (Ker no. 335); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10 (Ker no. 351); Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 10.

[87] Gameson, "Decoration", pp. 124-25.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 125 and 152.

[89] *Idem*, "Fabric", p. 184.

[90] R. Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1998), p. 187; Janet Bately adds that it would be dangerous to base an argumentation on the absence of certain features

However, dating Tanner according to its decoration is a perilous business. Dumville brilliantly subsumed the problem:

> [T]he creation of the Old English Bede remains undated except within very broad limits (notwithstanding the strong tendency to place it in the presumed period of Alfredian translation, c. 885-99) [...]. Unless it can be shown that the artistic style – dated on its own terms rather than by reference to the other supposed dates of associated scripts and texts – could not have originated in Alfred's reign and continued thence into the 920s. It must be acknowledged that these three manuscripts [the Bede excerpts in Domitian A.ix, Tanner 10, and the Durham Ritual] might have been written as early as the 890s. Their outer limits of date should perhaps be described as c. 890x930 (s.ix/x). If the art-historical evidence should compel a late date for the Tanner Bede, we then must remark the continuance into the 920 of a style of writing seen in the 890s and the existence of another Insular script alongside Square minuscule of Phase I.[91]

Gameson, however, queries some of Dumville's dates for his specimens. He observed that the script differed from the ordering of his evolutionary view of the forms of their initials would suggest.[92] He argued elsewhere that Tanner was of unknown origin and that the assignment to a Winchester scriptorium was neither substantiated by its contents, preparation, script, nor decoration. In an attempt to reconcile the apparent discrepancy arising from chronological differences in script and decoration in accordance with his ideas of the insular tradition of the (Proto-) Type I initials, Gameson claimed that Tanner was more likely to display an early example of a modified Type I- style than retaining a late residue of revived Insular minuscule. Consequently, he assumed the reign of Alfred's son Edward the Elder as a possible period of production.[93]

In order to undo the 'Gordian knot' of the stipulated Winchester connection, Bately made some important observations. She admitted that the decorated initials of *Junius 27* and (to a lesser extent) Additional 47967 in many ways resembled Tanner, but that it would be unwarranted to suggest that the scribe-artist of Tanner and Junius was the same person. She further remarked that even if it could be proven beyond all doubt that Junius was illuminated at Winchester, it would not follow that it was the same with Tanner. Decorators as well as books moved from one scriptorium to another. She argued that there was nothing in the scripts of

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from Tanner, as some decorated initials had been removed from the manuscript. According to her, Tanner's decoration provides positive and negative evidence for artistic traditions ranging from the early ninth to the late tenth and eleventh centuries (*Tanner Bede*, pp. 30-31).

[91] Dumville, "Square Minuscule", p. 169.
[92] Gameson, *Role of Art*, p. 187; "Dumville makes insufficient allowance for variations arising from differences of place and person." (p. 134).
[93] *Idem*, "Decoration", p. 130.

scribes one, two, four or five that indicated an origin from the same scriptorium as any of the other early 'Winchester manuscripts.'[94] Therefore, the connection with Winchester appears to crumble and with it the problems arising from apparent chronological differences in script and decoration.

Gameson considered Tanner to reflect the stimulus given to the vernacular as a literary language by King Alfred. If the *OEHE* was indeed part of the program or associated with it, this would have given the text a certain prestige, which in turn would have justified the lavish decoration of a copy.[95] In any case, compared to the manuscripts associated with Winchester in the early tenth century or the caliber of organizing structures active at Canterbury (St Augustine's and Christ Church) in the second half of the tenth century "Tanner 10, in contrast, appears in isolation; it is remarkable as the work of a single individual – whose personal achievement is magnified by the fact that his only known associates were considerably less proficient."[96]

To sum up: neither the script, nor the decoration yield exact results as far as date and origin are concerned. Tanner appears to be copied in two stages between 890 and 930, probably at a smaller monastic foundation. The alleged Winchester connection does not prove to be substantial and ought to be regarded as mere conjecture. The evolving script and decoration points to a scriptorium in transition, which might have been influenced by the changes brought about in the wake of Alfred's educational program. The early provenance of the manuscript remains undisclosed.[97] It is not entirely clear if and when the manuscript was transferred to Thorney Abbey. After having concluded the paleographical analyses, a survey of the manuscript's language may offer some clues as to its date and place of production.

Language

In his dissertation, Waite convincingly showed that the vocabulary of Tanner had a considerable Anglian admixture,[98] which contributes to Miller's idea of an Anglian archetype mentioned earlier. Miller spotted several peculiarities common to

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[94]   Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 33-34; for mobility of scribes/artist see Keynes (*Diplomas of King Æthelred*, p. 79) and Brownrigg ("Manuscripts", p. 240), who states that many tenth-century manuscripts remained unfinished, waiting for a travelling artist or being sent to other scriptoria for completion.

[95]   Gameson, "Decoration", p. 150.

[96]   *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[97]   Judging from the flyleaves of the mortuary role, it has been generally assumed that the medieval provenance was Thorney Abbey, a Benedictine house in Cambridgeshire, founded c. 972 by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester; see Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 33-36.

[98]   Waite, "Vocabulary"; cf. Budny, I, 504, who calls it "A major monument of the Mercian (or Anglian) dialect of Old English. […] The length of the text makes it the largest relic of this dialect to survive."

all manuscripts that in his understanding would place the *OEHE* in Northern Mercia, between the dialectal areas of the *Rusworth Matthew* and the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* (*VPG*), respectively.[99] Apart from Deutschbein's comment "was Miller in seiner Einleitung bietet, ist durchaus nicht erschöpfend,"[100] there are further aspects, which might attenuate or at least modify Miller's claim. Janet Bately, drawing on Vleeskruyer, commented that the use of *on* (or *an*) for *ond* – one of the Mercianisms delineated by Miller – as a dialect feature was debatable.[101] The textual development shows that the manuscripts had undergone a gradual West-Saxonization in the process of copying from the late ninth/early tenth until the eleventh century. Thus, Miller's argument that the translation was undertaken on Anglian (Mercian) soil has to be treated with some skepticism. Apart from his linguistic findings, his main arguments were that the translator had showed both familiarity with Scottish localities and a "tenderness for national susceptibilities." He claimed also that certain omissions and insertions with regard to the Paschal Controversy betrayed a predilection for Aidan and Iona, while at the same time discrediting the British and – to some extent – the Irish. He explained the omission of the vision of the Irish Fursey (III.19) from the archetype to be triggered by "national jealousy" (see *supra*). Miller rejected such feelings to have been seated at the West Saxon court but favors one of the Mercian monasteries. He advocated a monastery in the West Midlands, possibly Lichfield, which had a prominent Scottish tradition and underscored his assumption with the diocese's proximity to the dialect of the *VPG* and South Yorkshire.

There are some problems with Miller's claim. First, the dialect of a manuscript does not necessarily confirm its place of origin. Second, at the beginning of Book I, the translator leaves out geographical details concerning the division of the Picts and the Britons. On the one hand, this could be dismissed as fitting the general streamlining of the translation. On the other, as the translator is at pains to faithfully reproduce Bede's details on the different nations that dwell in Britain, this editorial change seems very odd for someone who is credited for being particularly familiar with the northern geography of Britain. Third, Miller's claim for Lichfield is based on a chain of assumptions.[102] Moreover, to omit Fursey's account on

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[99] For difficulties arising from the dialectal status of *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* and Miller's survey on the dialectal coloring of Tanner, see Potter, "Old English Bede", pp. 27-28.

[100] Deutschbein, "Dialektisches", p. 170.

[101] Cf. Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p. xlix. She comments that this usage occurred frequently in the *OEHE*, the 'Parker Chronicle' (hands I and II), the *OE Dialogues*, the Leiden, Corpus and Erfurt glossaries and the *Rusworth Matthew*, but adds Vleeskruyer's objection: "The spelling *on* might perhaps be considered an archaism in so far that it points to an older phase of Anglo-Saxon orthography, in which greater latitude as the spelling of individual words still existed."; see *OEB*, I.1, xxvi, for his analysis.

[102] Potter ("Old English Bede", pp. 27-28) addresses problems concerning the scantiness of data for the Mercian dialect (primarily the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* and the Rushworth Gloss of St Matthew (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.19 (3946); Ker no. 292) and remarks that the *OEHE* and the *OE Dialogues* were considerably removed from the Rushworth Matthew.

grounds of 'national jealousy' is highly questionable as the Irish were held in high esteem both by Bede and his translator as we can see in the examples of Aidan and Cuthbert.[103] Miller admits that the version might have been executed by Mercian scholars on Alfred's orders, but he does not detach the act of translation from the locality of translation. It is common knowledge that Alfred relied upon Mercian help for his education program. Therefore, the Mercian dialectical features may be due to the Mercian influence either at King Alfred's court or at least within a wider West Saxon trajectory. Miller's advocacy of Lichfield, therefore, is mere speculation.

Bately argued that the use of *Scotland*, *Scota land* instead of *Iraland*/*Ireland* for the Latin *Hibernia* indicated a date not later than the first decade of the tenth century, with the non-linguistic *terminus post quem non* being the date of the two oldest surviving MSS.[104] There are some problems with the location, however, as Bately admits that the use of *Scotland*/*Scota land* was quite similar to some early West Saxon texts, which otherwise do not show explicit Mercian admixture.[105]

A caveat must be inserted here. The dating and localization of Old English manuscripts according to their dialectology poses some methodological problems. It was Richard Hogg who called for a reconsideration of our understanding of Old English dialects. What we lack is a substantial sample to confidently delineate concepts like Mercian, Kentish or Northumbrian. There are only a few monuments of the respective dialects that represent more or less 'pure' specimen.[106] Prior to the emergence of a late West Saxon standard (or a 'focused language' in Hogg's argumentation) it is difficult to locate Old English texts by their dialectal features. A case in point is that the prime witness for the Mercian dialect, the *VPG* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.I; Ker no. 203), was apparently added at St Augustine's Canterbury.[107]

All chief witnesses for early West Saxon (eWS) show a considerable dialect mix. Following the theory of Kitson, such a mix might point to an intersection of different isoglosses.[108] Caroline Schreiber has demonstrated that according to this hypothesis, all eWS manuscripts would have originated in such areas, e.g., the

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[103] Cf. The geographical description of Britain and Ireland, where Ireland is praised and depicted as some sort of 'holy land' that prefigured Britain's role after the conversion; Rowley, p. 214: "In the *HE* and *OEHE*, the account of his [i.e. Fursey's] life and visions becomes a central point, drawing together a variety of themes running through the texts, including mission, pilgrimage, monastic foundation, asceticism and the uncertain but imminent moment of judgment."

[104] Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p.11 and *idem*, "Old English Prose," pp. 114-18.

[105] Ker no. 203.

[106] Cf. R. M. Hogg, "On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology", in *Luick Revisited*: *Papers Read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloß Liechtenstein, 15.-18.9.1985*, ed. D. Kastovsky, G. Bauer and K. Luick (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 183–203; cf. *OEG*, §§ 6-22.

[107] See Budny, I, 504.

[108] Cf. P. Kitson, "The Nature of Old English Dialect Boundaries", in *Medieval Dialectology*, ed. J. Fisiak, (Berlin, 1995), pp. 43-135.

Mercian/West Saxon borderlands, which she regarded as being "implausible."[109] The dialect mix might also reflect Mechthild Gretsch's idea of a supradialectal language that reflected the newly-formed political entity of the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, whose new focal point became London.[110] Accordingly, a text of mixed dialect features might hint at the cooperation of scribes that combined – consciously or not – features of their different local trainings. The non-standard orthography let us glimpse the early stages of Old English prose writing, where the use of the vernacular as medium for book writing was still in its infancy. The combination of different dialectical features shows at the same time the uncertainty of the scribes when inscribing their mother tongue and also that written Old English in the beginning was characterized by tolerance and acceptance of different spellings and words. With reference to the dictum of Gneuss and Gretsch that the extralinguistic context was of paramount importance for any evaluation of the status of the literary languages of Anglo-Saxon England, Schreiber concludes that "strict adherence to West Saxon as the basis of a literary language would have been in sharp contrast to the policy of integration evident in the fields of monetary economy, legislation and administration."[111] We need to be careful to equal a dialect mix as either a policy of integration or a conscious effort of the scribes to express a pan-English feeling, since a concept like dialectal admixture can only exist if we have a widely recognized standard for the vernacular. King Alfred's reign saw the first large scale production of prose in Old English. On these grounds, we can rule out the awareness of or conscious effort to produce a standard language. Therefore, we need to refrain from taking Tanner's Mercian dialectical features as definitive proof for the manuscript's origin and date. Despite Tanner's value as material artifact, which is often assumed to be closest to the original translation of the *OEHE*, there is another – often neglected – witness of the early dissemination of the text: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.IX.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.IX, fol. 11r

Apart from Tanner, we have early evidence for a full-blown translation of Bede's *HE*, namely, three items on fol. 11r of British Library, MS Cotton Domitian

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[109] Cf. C. Schreiber, "Dialects in Contact in Ninth-Century England", in *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. L. Kornexl, U. Lenker and H. Gneuss (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), pp. 1-31, at p. 5, and Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 101.

[110] See Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", pp. 105-06.

[111] Schreiber, "Dialects in Contact", p. 20.

A.IX.[112] These passages from the *OEHE* appear inconspicuous and not necessarily interrelated at first. Item one encompasses the last two canons of the Council of Hertford (672 or 673), while the second deals with the consecration of Augustine of Canterbury. The last item relates the consecration and missionary activities of bishop Mellitus among the East Saxons. This item was slightly altered. It omits a reference to bishop Justus of Rochester, which is both in the *HE* and the other *OEHE* MSS.[113] Except for this alteration the wording of the items correlates exactly with all other *OEHE* MSS. There is no doubt that these items were copied from the original translation and were not translated independently.

Due its brevity, the Domitian leaf has not been given the attention it deserves.[114] The selection by the compiler or scribe was by no means haphazard. The topical content of these excerpts, their decoration and the layout of the folio suggest that their compilation followed a particular agenda. Each excerpt has to be regarded as part of a composite whole in order to appreciate its value and significance.[115] This chapter will first undertake a philological analysis before the document's significance with regard to its purported historical and cultural background will be expounded upon with the help of other sources.

Physical Description, Origin and Date

The Domitian leaf appears to have formed as the last folio of a quire.[116] The layout suggests that the items on the recto were purposefully chosen and arranged.

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[112] Ker no. 151; Gneuss no. 330. The verso, which contains 34 runic symbols and their value in Anglo-Saxon script as well as rune names, rune values and Latin interpretations by Robert Talbot, is described by Bately (*Tanner Bede*, p. 38).

[113] The text of the passage continues above an erasure; cf. Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 37, n.6.

[114] The excerpts were edited by Zupitza ("Drei alte Excerpte aus Alfreds Beda", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 30 (1886), 185-86); *OEB*, I.1, xx-xxi; Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 37-39 and plates; brief discussions are to be found in J. Nelson, "The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex." in her *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe. Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 125–158 [originally published in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe, ed.* A. J. *Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 125-158]*, at pp. 156-57, and *idem*, "'…sicut olim gens Francorum…nunc gens Anglorum': Fulk's Letter to Alfred Revisited", in her *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe. Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 135-44 [originally published in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Roberts and J. Nelson (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 135-44], at p. 143. Recently the items were briefly treated by D. Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 211-12; and Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", p. 1213.

[115] I am grateful to Prof. Gretsch, who made me aware of an essay by Simon Keynes, in which he ingeniously showed how the importance and significance of a small collection of miscellaneous material was revealed when analyzed and interpreted as a composite whole; see S. Keynes, "Between Bede and the Chronicle: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104-9", in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard (Toronto, 2005), pp. 47-67.

[116] Ker, pp. 188-89; Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 37

Each item is introduced and the first subdivided by a decorated initial.[117] The excerpts are written by a single scribe although a change of ink is recognizable in line 13.[118] Date and origin of the Domitian leaf are uncertain. It has been dated to s.ix/x.[119] Dumville regarded the script on the recto to be the fourth type of his 'reformed styles' of Anglo-Saxon minuscule. He aligns the Cotton leaf to other specimens of that type of script (e.g. MS T) and argued that the outer limits of their production were c. 890x930, with the Domitian leaf coming from London, and therefore to be dated post-883.[120] The four decorated initials strongly suggest that the leaf was part of a document of considerable importance. Domitian's decoration, remarkable for its descent from the old insular type, distinguishes the leaf from Tanner, as Dumville remarks.[121] Bately assumed that the decoration was more in line with that of late ninth-century manuscripts. However, she uttered objections to this analysis "as later copyist sometimes reproduced faithfully the design of the initials in their exemplar."[122] She identified the style of the initials with Wormald's Type I, which Dumville conjoins to the Tanner Bede and the early 'Winchester School' style closely associable with that of the *Lauderdale Orosius* and the *Junius Psalter* – both written in the later 910s or 920s.[123] In my view, the

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[117] Below the excerpts the remaining ruling of the page is visible and in the bottom left-hand corner there appears and unidentifiable object in fading green, which, however, cannot be identified. Apparently the scribe was not sure about the amount of lines it would take him to copy the items. Therefore, the page was carefully ruled to the bottom.

[118] Bately*, Tanner Bede*, p. 37.

[119] Zupitza, "Älfreds Beda", p. 185; *OEB*, I.1, xx-xxi; Ker, pp. 188-89. Ker, however, admits that "manuscripts written in the ninth century or the earlier part of the tenth century are datable only very approximately by their script"(p. xx); R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* (Brügge, 1954), p. 4 n. 2; Gameson, *Role of Art*, p. 185.

[120] Dumville, "Square Minuscule", pp. 167-69 and 158 n.55. The other manuscript specimen for that type of script are London, British Library, Add. 40618, fol. 66r and Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.IV.19.

[121] Dumville, "Square Minuscule", p. 167-68. He points out that the initials are filled in with red and yellow and surrounded by yellow dots; cf. Ker, p. 189. The style of the initials fits Ker's description on pp. xxxvii-xxxviii. He points out that good specimens are to be seen in the *Parker Chronicle*, the *Tollemache Orosius* and the *Hatton Pastoral Care* (all written around 900) and that colored zoomorphic initials were an innovation of the tenth century. Nevertheless, as Ker lists the *Vercelli Book* and the *Exeter Book* (both written c. 950-1000) among the witnesses of this plain style of decorated initials, the dating of Domitian becomes problematic.

[122] Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 39.

[123] Dumville, "Square Minuscule", p. 168. He dates those manuscripts according to the style of their script, not their decoration. The present study does not concur with Bately's attribution (*Tanner Bede*, p. 38). The manuscript is neither listed among Wormald's Type I manuscripts nor do the characteristics of that type (humanoid or zoomorphic elements, arcanthus, interlace) apply to the decoration of Domitian; cf. F. Wormald, "Decorated Initials", pp. 58-60 and 72-73. The initials are rather in line with Wormald's statement that "The chaotic condition of England during much of the ninth century explains why it is impossible to produce many decorated manuscripts of good quality after the Book of Cerne. [...] It is not until the end of the century that ornamented initials begin to appear again in manuscripts. When they do appear they are slight and poor productions which cannot be compared with either their predecessors in manu-

initials, written in black, filled in with yellow and red and surrounded by dots, closely resemble the style of London, British Museum, MS Additional 23211, which is dated by Ker s.ix.ex. and begins with a genealogy of the West Saxon kings to Alfred (similar to MS A of the 'Parker Chronicle'; Ker no. 39).[124] Thus, a late ninth-century date for Domitian is likely. Even so, a precise dating on grounds of script and decoration is almost impossible.

The transmission of the manuscript and evidence of its later use do tell us a little about the likely date and origin. With regard to its provenance, nothing is known about the leaf's history before it came into the possession of Robert Talbot in the sixteenth century, as we do not have any signs of medieval use.[125] Dorothy Whitelock suggested that it may have belonged to St. Paul's, London as the alteration of the third abstract gave the impression that the writer was interested only in the See of London.[126] In addition to the paleographical analysis, linguistic aspects may be of great use in order to date the leaf and determine its origin.

Phonology, Orthography, Lexicology

Miller detected some forms (*ðassum, dernre, rehtlice, welle, siondan* (pret. pl.)), which did not occur in the other manuscripts and which he deemed to be Anglian. In combination with the doubling of vowels in *æteecte, oofre,rinne, wiif*, Miller assumed that the excerpts were even senior to the other manuscripts.[127] Let us consider his evidence in turn.

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scripts or with other works of art dating from the reign of Alfred." (p. 51). Thus, with all due caution, we might assume a late ninth-century date for the Domitian leaf.

[124] Ker, p. 160. For a facsimile of fol. 1r see J. Roberts, *Guide to Scripts used in English Writings up to 1500* (London, 2005), p. 45. The West Saxon regnal list is followed by three genealogies of the East Saxon kings. Roberts comments (p. 45): "These lists celebrate King Alfred's ancestry and the history of his kingdom, which had adsorbed the old Kingdom of the East Saxons."

[125] Cf. Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 38-39; Ker, p. 189. Rowley remarks that all other *OEHE* MSS show various degrees of interaction and usage, with Domitian being left untouched ("Glosses", p. 56). We have to be careful, however, as the brevity of our sample makes it impossible to pass a judicious verdict.

[126] D. Whitelock, "Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London", in her *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London, 1981), pp. 3-34 [originally published Chambers Memorial Lecture 1975 (London, 1975)], at pp. 16-17 and 17 n.1; she had argued elsewhere that "These abstracts may have been made at Canterbury, or London." ("Old English Bede", p. 90 n. 170).

[127] *OEB*, I.1, xxi; cf. Bately, who claims that Domitian appears to be more old-fashioned in every respect (*Tanner Bede*, p. 39).

[Ð]*assum*/*passum* clearly is an Anglian form.[128] The same holds true for *dernre*, which appears to be a non-WS form (vs. eWS *dierne*).[129] [R]*ehtlice* (MS B vs. TOCa) and *rehtre* can be identified as Anglian forms as they show Anglian smoothing, whereas the forms with *riht-* in the other MSS are the result of palatal mutation, typically of WS (and Kentish).[130] *Welle* appears to be nWS.[131] It is frequently found in the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth Glosses* and appears twice in MS T (*OEB*, I.2, 412.1 (alongside *wille* in the same sentence) and 424.2), though not in the passage represented by the Domitian leaf. Similarly, *siondan* (vs. eWS *sindon*, T has *seondan*) appears to be a non-WS dialect feature due to back mutation,[132] which appears in T as well (*OEB*, I.2, 410.21). The double graphemes in Domitian – *wiif, oofre, æteecte* and spellings *cuom* and *rinne* (with double *n* to render an *m*) – appear archaic, reminiscent of the early glossaries. The use of digraphs to indicate long vowels might be a sign of someone who was writing at a stage where written Old English was still in its infancy, with only nascent scribal conventions.

Adding to Miller's criteria, there are other non-WS features. First, syncopation of medial vowels after long syllables (in this case *eadgan* vs. *eadigan* TOCa, *eadegan* B and *ængum* TZ vs. *ænigum* BOCa, *halge* vs. *halig* T, *halige* BOCa), which occurs in Anglian texts;[133] second, *mæ* instead of *ma* (comparative of *micle*), which is non-standard and appears in Anglian Texts;[134] third, *e* as the result of *ea*+ i-muation in *æteetce* (*ætecte* T vs. *ætycte* BOCa; also *alefed* (TZ vs. *alyfed*)). Those forms could be Anglian or Kentish (Kt);[135] Fourth, there is the sg. present subjunctive ending –*æ* (as opposed to –*e*) in *gegadriæ* and *gedwaeriæ*. These type of –*æ*-endings are quite unusual, archaic and appear to be an Anglian feature as well.[136] There is

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[128] Cf. *SB* § 338, A.4; *OEG* § 711. Northumbrian frequently develops *a* as root vowel. There are twelve occurrences of *ðassum*/*passum* according to the *DOEC* (<accessed: 01/10/2014>). All of them are to be found in the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth Glosses*, written in Northumbrian and South Northumbrian/Northern Mercian dialect, respectively. Its use in Domitian can by no means be deemed an archaism as those glosses date to the second half of the tenth century. Apparently, there are no occurrences in 'southern' manuscripts, so that we are safe to assume a specific Anglian use. We have to be aware, of a methodological problem the *DOEC* is built according to editions and not particular manuscripts, which leaves out the variants in the critical apparatus. It is remarkable that Miller tells us that the form did not occur in MS T, whereas it appears on fol. 131r of the manuscript; cf. Bately, *Tanner Bede.* It starts the account of the vision of Dryhthelm in Book V with a decorated zoomorphic initial.

[129] Cf. *SB* §§ 104, 105a; *OEG* § 200.2; Hogg, § 5.82.

[130] Cf. *SB*, § 119; *OEG*, § 227; Hogg, §§ 5.96-97 (smoothing); *SB*, § 122.1-2. The *riht* can also be a Mercian feature, but tenable proof is found only in Ru1; *OEG*, §§ 304-9, 311; Hogg, §§ 5.113-118 (palatal mutation).

[131] *SB*, §§ 428. A.4; *OEG* § 265, n. 2. Apparently this <e> is a Northumbrian feature.

[132] *SB* §111. A5, who specifies *siondon* as a Kentish variant; *OEG*, § 217; Hogg, § 5.103.

[133] *SB* § 162, *OEG* §§ 358; Hogg, §§ 6.15, 6.18-19.

[134] *OEG*, § 676.

[135] *SB*§§ 104-05.

[136] *SB* § 361; cf. *OEG*, § 735. In private correspondence Waite remarked that tailed-e or æ instead of e were quite unusual and attested in VP and Ru1 (cf. also SB § 361.A.2). He further noted that they were also a feature of a Kentish Charter (S 1510) of 837x847.

also an occurrence of breaking of *æ* before *l* + consonant with subsequent retraction, which would mark this form in (TZ) as Anglian: *alderburh* (vs. *ealdor*-); while *a* instead of *ea* appears in WS/Kt as well, especially in earlier texts, which might be due to Mercian influence.[137] Furthermore, we do not encounter palatal diphthongization of back vowels after palatal <sc> in the case of –*biscop*- TZ vs. –*bisceop*- BCa. The insertion of a glide is common in WS and Northumbrian (NH), but not in Mercian and Kentish.[138]

Further increasing the list of Anglian dialect features are a few lexical items: TZ *nemne*[139] (WS *butan*), *ah* instead of *ac*,[140] and the archaic use of *tid* instead of *tima*.[141] We might add *in* when used as a preposition (*in Breotone* Z vs. *to* BO and *on* Ca; *in ða tid* and *in ðære ðiode*, where all other MSS have *on*.)[142]

However, there are other items that express the dialect mix of our excerpts. We find Mercian/Kt *cester* alongside WS *ceaster* (as in TBOCa)[143] and instances of second fronting (a primarily Mercian/Kt feature) in *ercebiscop* alongside *ærcebiscop* (TOCa vs. *arcebyscope* B)[144]. We have frequent rounding of [a] before nasal. It is yet questionable whether this is an indicator for an Anglian coloring, as the co-existence of *an* /*on* is also a feature of eWS.[145] According to Gretsch, the absence of such a co-existence might indicate a purely Mercian text.[146] Domitian uses the *on* almost consistently (the only exceptions are *ilcan* and *siodan*), were T and other Mss have *an*-forms. Besides the apparently Anglian and mixed forms, we can detect a lot of eWS dialect features: the apparently West Saxon form *sæbeorht* with breaking of [*e̜*] before r+h, occurs in Z whereas T shows the expected Anglian smoothing –*berht*.[147]

Furthermore, there are also some cases of <ie> spellings, that might point to eWS, whereas the other MSS have <y>or <i>.[148] With regard to *forgiefen* it is safe to deem it the product of West-Saxon palatal diphthongization of [e]- Although the digraph <ie> is regarded as one of the most distinctive features of early West

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[137] *SB* §85. A.1; *OEG* § 143; for a different view see Hogg § 5.10 who assigns it to first fronting with subsequent retraction.

[138] *SB* § 92.2; *OEG* §§ 179-83,

[139] *OEG* § 484; R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes: eine wortgeographische Untersuchung mit etymologischen Anmerkungen* (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 46-48.

[140] *SB* § 210.

[141] Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, p. 33.

[142] Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut*, pp. 174-5; *OEB*, I.1, xxi, xxxiii-xliv.

[143] *SB* §§ 52, 91 a. A.1 (palatal diphthongization); *OEG* §§ 185-89; Hogg §§ 5.49-51.

[144] *SB* § 19.3, *OEG* §§ 164-69; Hogg §§ 87-92.

[145] *SB* § 79; *OEG* §130, Hogg §§ 5.3-5.5. Anglian texts from the ninth century onwards have <o> almost exclusively, see K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1964), § 367.

[146] M. Gretsch, "The Language of the 'Fonthill Letter'", *ASE* 23 (1994), 57-102, at pp. 59-60. She remarked in that context that the appearance of on was by no means a strictly Mercian feature as it can be found in a lot of eWS texts.

[147] *SB*, §§ 84, 120; *OEG* §§ 146, 222-233.

[148] The instances of *sie* 'be' might be non-WS forms; *OEG* § 234.

Saxon, there is general agreement that it represented a monograph by time of King Alfred. Thus, in comparison to the <i;y> spellings in the other MSS the <ie> should be regarded as early.[149]

The Domitian leaf further betrays a preference for <io> spellings instead of <eo> in the other MSS, which might be a Kentish feature.[150] We have *tiogeða* as opposed to *teoþa* and *teogoða*, which appear to be typical WS forms. The *tiogeða* is difficult to place as <eo> by back mutation appears as <io> in eWS texts.[151] Nevertheless, the origin of the diphthong was probably non-WS as back mutation before dental [ð] was not possible in West Saxon.[152]

Contributing to our dialectal mix is the ppt. of class II weak verbs. The consistent use of *-ade* instead of *–ode* in that respect has been referred to as being an Anglian dialect feature.[153] Nonetheless, we encounter a preference for the former in one of our prime examples for eWS, namely the *Lauderdale Orosius*.[154] This vacillation between *–ode* and *–ade* seems to be a typical feature of eWS.[155] Thus, the consistency with which *–ade* is used in Domitian might point to a Mercian origin. Prof. Gretsch, however, has shown, that the scribe of the *Fonthill Letter*, a document that she possibly regarded to be the product of Alfred's West Saxon revival of learning, used *–ade* consistently.[156]

Concerning the date, we have a couple of 'archaic' phonological features. Domitian has *sio* (personal pronoun) instead of *seo*, with <io> being the original digraph.[157] Moreover, we have *geðiode* (vs. *geðeodde* T, *geþeodde* BOCa. As <io> stems from germ. <iu>,[158] the digraph in Domitian shows an original and therefore rather old spelling in comparison to the <eo> in other MSS. Although [eo] and [iu] are still distinguished in the early glossaries, the long diphthongs [ēo] and [īo] in the *VPG* are completely confused.[159] Therefore, this spelling is not helpful to ascertain a dialectal origin for Domitian.

Another archaism might be the *nigeða* with absent back mutation, which could be either Mercian or WS.[160] The other MSS either show *neogotha* (T) or *nygetha* (BOCa). The <io> spelling in *ðiode* for original <eu> is problematic. Non-

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149   For a discussion of the diphthong <ie> and its later development, see *SB*, §§ 41-42; *OEG* §§ 299-301; 316-317. For its representation in early West Saxon, see Gretsch, "'Fonthill Letter'", pp. 61-64.

150   *SB* § 38; *OEG* § 297; Hogg § 5.160.

151   *OEG* § 296.

152   *SB* § 111, *OEG* §§ 205, 212-15, 221; Hogg § 5.103.

153   *SB* §§ 413-14; *OEG* § 757; Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, regarded it West Mercian (p. 100).

154   Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p.xlvii; cf. P.J. Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, 2 vols. (Den Haag, 1883-1886), II, §§ 129-30.

155   Gretsch, "'Fonthill Letter'", p. 70.

156   *Ibid.*

157   *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

158   *OEG* § 275.

159   *Ibid.* § 294.

160   *SB* § 328.

etymological <io> spellings are a very rare feature outside the Kentish dialect, thus the spelling might be Kentish. However, the fluctuation of <io>/<eo> is a "distinctive feature of early West Saxon texts."[161] Thus, [eo] and [iu] probably had coalesced at a very early date.[162] In late WS (lWS) text we find a dominance of <eo> with only a few etymological <io> spellings. Therefore, the <io> points to an early text.

Domitian shows a dialectical mix typical of Old English before the introduction of a written standard,[163] betraying a variety of different spellings, even of the same word. The dialectal coloring of the excerpts in Domitian is Anglian/Mercian to a high degree and matches analogues from T (e.g. *nemne*, *ængum*, *reht-*, *halgade*, /o/ before nasal) There are, however, instances where T's forms are already West-Saxonized (e.g. *sy*, *dyrnre*, *ceaster*) while Domitian keeps the Anglian spelling. This gives credit to the assumption that it must have been one step less removed from the archetype. Even so, the Domitian leaf betrays a dialectical mix which makes it difficult to deem it purely Anglian/Mercian.

What can be stated with some confidence is that the evidence does not rule out a date of production c. 883x930 as indicated by the script and decoration. The evident problems of date, origin and provenance of Domitian can be solved only to a certain degree by our philological analysis. Therefore, a close-reading analysis and a contextualization with the help of other sources will shed more light on the issue.

The Content

The question remains whether the excerpts were potentially part of a more substantial selection of *OEHE* episodes and, if so, what purpose this selection served. The idea of an independent translation can be ruled out. The wording of all items corresponds to the other extant MSS except for the modified passages in the third item. They were apparently copied from a manuscript close to the archetype,

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[161] Gretsch, "'Fonthill Letter'", p. 65.

[162] For the origins of the diphthongs and their later development see *SB* §§ 38-40; *OEG* §§ 293-97; Hogg §§ 5.155-62.

[163] For Standard Old English see H. Gneuss, "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester", *ASE* 1 (1971), 63-83; M. Gretsch, "Der liturgische Wortschatz in Æthelwolds Übersetzung der Benediktinerregel und sprachliche Normierung in spätaltenglischer Zeit", *Anglia* 111 (1993), 310-54; idem, Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English: the Vernacular in Late Anglo-Saxon England', The T. Northcote Toller Memorial Lecture 2000, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library at Manchester* 83 (2001), 41-87; idem, "In Search of Standard Old English", in *Bookmarks from the Past. Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. L. Kornexl and U. Lenker (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 33-67; idem, "A Key to Ælfric's Standard Old Englis", in *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. M. Swan, *Leeds Studies in English* 37 (Leeds, 2006), pp. 161-77; W. Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch : Untersuchungen zur geographischen und zeitlichen Verbreitung altenglischer Synonyme* (München, 1987).

which was available for copying at the center where the Domitian leaf was copied. Even though Grant suggested the presence of a *OEHE* copy at "either Canterbury or London by quite an early date, circa 900,"[164] we need to be careful with such assumptions. A close reading of the items will facilitate our understanding and help us draw conclusions about the context in which it may have been copied.

Item no.1 focuses on the Synod of Hertford (*HE* IV.5). As the rest of the quire is lost, Ker's suggestion that "probably the remaining decrees of the synod were on the preceding leaf"[165] stands to reason. The decision to copy the last two chapters into the Domitian leaf was done purposefully, given the synod's significance in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Pratt goes so far as to argue that the Domitian excerpts were a direct response to a letter by Pope Formosus (see below), in which the pope criticized the religious conditions in England and demonstrated the "centrality of specifically 'English' canonical precedent, the authority of which had been questioned by Fulk [i.e. the archbishop of Reims] and earlier popes."[166] The Synod of Hertford was the first council of the Anglo-Saxon Church after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore and marks a pivotal point in his program to reform the Church.[167] According to its list of attendees, it was the first synod encompassing all dioceses – Northumbrian as well as Southumbrian.[168] It combined three interrelated initiatives. First, bring an end to the diversity of the Anglo-Saxon Church and make the canons of the Universal Church its principle (ch. 1). Second, the regular convocation of synods (ch. 7). Third, creating new dioceses to provide adequate pastoral care and put an end to the accumulation of power by individual bishops (chs. 2, 3, 8, 9). Theodore wanted to place the different influences on the Anglo-Saxon Church (Roman, Irish, Frankish, British) under

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[164] Grant, *B Text*, p. 5. He does not procure detailed evidence for his suggestion but apparently relies on the conventional dating and localization of the leaf.

[165] Ker, p. 189.

[166] Pratt, *Poltical Thought*, p. 212. Molyneaux comes to similar conclusions. He argues that the proceedings of both synods had found their way into the Bede translation in order to provide English canonical precedent as there was a remarkable decline in frequency of synods between 845 and the tenth century. He presumes that the exclusion of most other official documents from the *OEHE* appears to have been driven by a desire to produce a text focused on inculcating Christian norms through examples with the few documents retained [among them the *Libellus Responsionum*] not running counter to this interpretation (Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", pp. 1314-15). It is interesting to see that King Alfred in his lengthy introduction to the *dombóc* stresses the Old Testament, Christian and Apostolic tradition and authority of the law as decreed by numerous councils throughout the world and England; cf. Liebermann, I, 44-46.

[167] Cf. M. Lapidge, ed., *Archbishop Theodore : Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, (Cambridge, 1995); Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 71-76.

[168] *HE*, IV.5.: Archbishop Theodore, Bisi (East Anglia), Wilfrid (Northumbria, represented by his proxy), Putta (Rochester), Leutherius (Wessex), Wynfrid (Mercia); cf. also C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650 - c. 850* (London, 1995), pp. 249-50 and C&M, p. 348. Concerning the possible London origin of the leaf, it is noteworthy that Hertford lay in the diocese of London; cf. Cubitt, *Church Councils*, pp. 298-300.

firm central control.[169] Unfortunately, Bede's lead-in to the Synod of Hertford (meticulously translated in the Old English version) is not preserved on the Domitian leaf. If it was part of the now-lost quire, the invocation of an Anglo Saxon Church, firmly integrated into the universal church, directed by its canons, would be all the more apparent.[170]

The Theodorean enterprise of an organized and regulated church based on Hertford starkly contrasted with the muddled organization of previous years.[171] Brooks remarks: "Under Theodore and under his two immediate successors, Berhtwald (692-731) and Tatwine (731-4), the See of Canterbury exercised greater authority than it was ever to possess again."[172] Thus, by including the Hertford canons the copyist of the Domitian leaf promoted the authority of Canterbury and the firm organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The decrees might have been included out of a desire to re-invoke this 'Golden Age' of Theodore and his most immediate successors after the Viking invasions had thrown the diocesan structure and the religious life into disarray and made the realization of an 'all-English' Church a practical impossibility.

An obvious interest in the subject matter of the canons of Hertford fits well with late ninth/early tenth-century issues as can be ascertained by contemporary documents. The need for more bishops (ch. 9) and issues of lawful marriage (ch. 10) seem to be in line with numerous concerns uttered by the papacy and other ecclesiastical agencies with regard to the religious state of England in the second half of the ninth century. The three papal letters by Pope John VIII to Burgred (King of Mercia) in 874,[173] Æthelred and Wulfhere (archbishops of Canterbury and York, respectively) between 873-75,[174] and again Æthelred in 877/78,[175] betray dissatisfaction with the conditions in England.

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[169] Cubitt, *Church Councils*, p. 9.

[170] In Bede's introduction it is stated that "Theodorus cogit concilium episcoporum una cum eis, qui canonica patrum statuta et diligerent et nossent, magistris ecclesiae pluribus."(*HEGA*, II, 190); *Theodore summoned a council of bishops together with many teachers of the church who knew and loved the canonical institutions of the fathers* (trans.: C&M, p. 349). At a later time, he stressed the acknowledgment of those decrees and ordinances by all bishops present. The book of canons mentioned by Bede probably was the book of ancient canons, approved by the Council of Chalcedon, translated into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus in the early sixth century and duly adopted by the Western Church; see C&M, p. 351; for a more detailed analysis see Lapidge and Bischoff, who argued that the second recension of a collection compiled and translated by Dionysius underlay Theodore's *liber canonum*, amplified by other sources of canon law (B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 147-55.

[171] Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 67-71.

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[173] *EHD*, no. 220.

[174] *Ibid.*, no. 221. The abstract of the letter deals with the clerical vestments and an advice by the pope to "resume the clerical vestments according to the custom of the Roman Church." (p. 811). Whitelock in her introduction to the letter remarks that it bears witness of the papacy trying to keep contact with the See of York in times of Danish invasion.

The issues of fornication and unlawful marriage are at the centre of John's letters to Burgred and Æthelred. The pope reprimands the English for transgressing against the "statute of St. Gregory", which certainly refers to *Libellus Responsionum* (*LR*) of Gregory the Great.[176] These issues are similarly mentioned in his letter to Æthelred. Written "either shortly before or else during the Danish invasion which almost succeeded in conquering Wessex,"[177] the letter primarily deals with the hardships the Anglo-Saxon Church had to endure and encourages Æthelred to stand firm against worldly dangers, interference and impairment with regard to Canterbury's authority. The Pope advices Æthelred on questions of (re-) marriage and refers specifically to the "decree of our holy predecessor Gregory, the teacher of your race,"[178] which again relates to the *LR*. In a letter by Archbishop Fulk (of Rheims) to King Alfred in 890,[179] the former congratulates the king on the elevation of Plegmund to the archdiocese of Canterbury and the his zealous efforts to fight "pagan errors,"[180] namely, fornication and incestuous behavior. Thus, for a period of about fifteen years the papal epistles addressed questions which were dealt with in the tenth canon of Hertford. In addition to these letters, the sin of fornication features prominently in central pieces of Alfred's translation program, namely, the OE *Pastoral Care* and the *OE Soliloquies* as Godden has noted.[181]

The ninth canon of Hertford seems to have been of similar importance. In a letter written between 891 and 896 Pope Formosus threatened the English bishops with excommunication on account of their inactions against the upsurge of pagan practices. One passage is of special interest:

> [D]o not any longer in your country suffer the Christian faith to be
> violated, the flock of God to wander and be scattered and dispersed,

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[175] *Ibid.*, no. 222, p. 880.

[176] *Ibid.*, no. 220, p. 880. The need for papal advice to order society and keep close ties with Roman ecclesiastical authority seem to have been of major importance for both Rome and Anglo-Saxon England as the *Libellus* has been translated without major alterations in all extant manuscripts of the *OEB*. This is all the more remarkable as with a few exceptions all papal correspondence has been either omitted from the translation or paraphrased. I will treat the *Libellus* in more detail in my chapter 'The Role of Rome'. For the contemporary relevance of the *LR* see Whitelock, 'Old English Bede', p. 70 and Rowley, 'Shifting Contexts'.

[177] *EHD* no. 222, p. 881

[178] *Ibid.*, no. 222, p. 882. A few lines later he refers to "the statute of the same Gregory, our predecessor, the ray of whose wisdom illumines the Church of Christ dispersed throughout the globe."

[179] *Ibid.*, no. 224.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 887.

[181] See M. Godden, "King Alfred's Preface and the Teaching of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England", *EHR* 117 ((2002), 596–604, at pp. 601-02; cf. *OEPC*, pp. 410-13 and *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's 'Soliloquies'*, ed. T.A. Carnicelli (Cambridge, Mass, 1969), p. 72. The *OE Pastoral Care* changes its source to a direct admonition of the clergy to marry in order to avoid committing fornication and consequently to burn in hell. Moreover, we find an interjection in the OE *Soliloquies* which pertains to fornication among the clergy.

> for the lack of pastors; but when one dies, another who is suitable is
> to be canonically substituted forthwith.[182]

Two things are noteworthy here. First, there was a lack in pastors, possibly as a consequence of the problems to consecrate and invest new bishops and clerics due to the Viking invasions.[183] Second, the pope stressed the importance of canonical consecration. Both issues are treated in the canons of Hertford. Pastoral care was also of paramount importance for Fulk, as is seen in a letter to King Alfred (883-886).[184] According to the letter, there was a frequent correspondence between Alfred and the archbishop of Rheims. Unfortunately, Alfred's responses do not survive.[185] Fulk addressed the dismal state of the religious orders due to pagan attacks, carelessness of the prelates and ignorance of those subject to them. Interestingly, he responded to Alfred's gift of hounds metaphorically, by remarking that in return the English had requested spiritual dogs (i.e. priests), who were able "to bark loudly for their master and continually guard his flock" as opposed to "Dumb dogs, not able to bark."[186] This famous topos, ultimately derived from the Bible,[187] is echoed in the letter by Pope Formosus[188] and was certainly a means of reminding the hitherto negligent clergy of their pastoral duties. In his letter the archbishop stressed the need for a continuous missionary zeal and referred to councils that had issued synodal decrees[189] by which canons were often established. This is immediately followed by an exhortation of the English:

> Since for the reasons mentioned above the salutary observance of
> these canons and of the religious and ever to be honored tradition ei-
> ther never became fully known among your people, or else has now
> for the most part grown cold.[190]

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[182] *EHD*, no. 227, p. 891.

[183] For the Viking impact on the religious infrastructure and the diocesan succession, see Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 209-11; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 291-341; D.N. Dumville, "Ecclesiastical Lands and the Defence of Wessex in the First Viking Age", in his *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar. Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1992), pp. 29–53; J. Barrow, "Survival and Mutation: Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries", in *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.* ed. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 155-76.

[184] *EHD*, no. 223; cf. K&L, pp. 331-33 for useful notes concerning the role of Grimbald of St Bertin.

[185] Cf. Nelson, "Fulk's Letter to Alfred", p. 137.

[186] *EHD*, no. 223, p. 885.

[187] *Isaiah* 56:10.

[188] *EHD*, no. 227, p. 890: "Having heard that the abominable rites of the pagans have sprouted again in your parts, and that you keep silent "like dogs unable to bark.""

[189] Fulk does not specify these councils, therefore it appears that he makes a general remark about the synodal history of the Christian Church.

[190] *EHD*, no. 223, p. 885.

Fulk identifies this as the trigger for Alfred's request for spiritual guidance. The letter exhibits Fulk's evangelical zeal, which is not surprising given the contemporary Frankish background, Rheims' claim to apostolicity and the concerns about the state of the religious life in England.[191] At the same time, he speaks with high regard of Augustine's endeavors and the importance of papal advice through letters in the early phase of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The evidence of those letters betrays serious concerns about the religious state of England on part of the papacy and the archbishopric of Rheims, who seemed to fear sprouting paganism. It may be concluded that the Synod of Hertford was translated not only in Domitian but found its way into all other manuscripts of the *OEHE* – alongside the Synod of Hatfield (*HE* IV.17; *OEB*, I.2, 311-13) – in order to counterbalance the abovementioned criticism.[192] Those concerns surely would have been shared by the Anglo-Saxon clergy and the political agents, first and foremost King Alfred. The inclusion of the Hertford canons thus invokes the tradition of an Anglo-Saxon Church, which is under firm control of the See of Canterbury and in the canonical tradition of the Apostolic Church, important aspects that resound in the letters we have glimpsed at.

The second item recounts Augustine's consecration as Archbishop of Britain on behest of Pope Gregory (*HE* I.27). It appears as if this passage was inserted to emphasize Augustine's credentials. The canonical consecration by the hands of the archbishop of Arles is of great importance as no one in England would have been authorized to undertake it. This formal and orthodox consecration enabled Augustine himself to canonically consecrate bishops in England, backed by the authority of the papacy. At the same time the supremacy of Gregory is invoked as he ordered Augustine's consecration: "[Æ]fter hæse ond bebode ðæs eadgan fæder sanctae gregorii."[193] This excerpt displays a chain of canonical and orthodox legitimacy, from Gregory through Aetherius of Arles and Augustine to all subsequent episcopal consecrations. It also stresses the claim of Canterbury and its archbishops to have preeminence over the Anglo-Saxon Church as Augustine is consecrated "ærce biscop ongel ðiode."[194]

The third item is perhaps the most interesting. It describes the consecration of Mellitus by Augustine and his preaching among the East Saxons, with London as their metropolis (*HE* II.3). In contrast to Domitian's text, the Latin original – with all other *OEHE* manuscripts corresponding to it – mentions the consecration of two bishops: Mellitus and Justus, bishop of Rochester, who succeeded Mellitus as archbishop of Canterbury.[195] The altered text of the Domitian leaf reads: "au-

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191 Nelson, "Fulk's Letter to Alfred", pp. 137-40.
192 See Pratt, *Political Thought*, p. 212-13.
193 Zupitza, "Älfreds Beda", p. 186. *On order and command of the blessed father St. Gregory.*
194 *Ibid.*
195 "Augustinus Britanniarum archiepiscopus ordinauit duos episcopos, Mellitum uidelicet Iustum."(*HEGA*, I, 188). The Old English version reads: "Augustinus Breotone ærcebishop gehalgade twegen biscopas: oðer wæs Mellitus haten, oðer Iustus."; (*OEB*, I.1, 104).

gustinus breotone ærce biscop ge halgade mellitus *ærest on ongel ðiode* [my italics]."[196] This implies that Mellitus, and therefore London, were assigned a prominent position in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, deriving authority directly from St. Gregory and St. Augustine. On the folio there is a small erasure of a single letter just after the word *gehalgade*. The erased letter is barely readable but with all due caution the remains of it suggest that we can rule out that it was intended to be a <t>, which is the first letter of the word *twegen*, that follows in all other manuscripts. The intended wording remains a matter of speculation. However, it is safe to assume that the passage was deliberately altered. Whitelock attributed the leaf to St Paul's and associates it with Heahstan, bishop of London (d. 897). She does not further back her claim, but there is another alteration that would underscore a possible London focus – item three ends with the words "in ðære ðiode [i.e. the East Saxons] was in ða tid sæ beorht cyning."[197] In contrast to all other *OEHE* MSS, Domitian omits the rest of the passage that follows in the *HE*. Bede describes the family ties between Sæberht and King Æthelberht of Kent, and tells us that the former was under the latter's dominion, remarking that the Kentish king held sway over Southumbria.[198] Although the other manuscripts drop the reference to Æthelberht's Southumbrian overlordship as well, the omission of Sæberht's subaltern status is unique to Domitian. Essex and therefore London are portrayed as 'independent' from any sort of Southumbrian overlordship.

Each of the apparently inconspicuous items reveals more, as we embed it into possible historical and inter-textual contexts. Nonetheless, their real significance is only brought to the fore if read as a composite whole. The first item refers to one of the most important synods in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which restructured the episcopal landscape under Canterbury's dominion. This links it to the second item, which stresses the preeminence of Canterbury. Subsequently, item three focuses on London and its bishop by means of textual alteration, but at the same time connects the See of London with the archbishopric of Canterbury through the person of Mellitus. The common determiner of all items, therefore seems to be a strong focus on Canterbury and its role in Anglo-Saxon church politics. Why did this fact need to be stressed? Does an apparent disagreement between the West Saxon court and the See of Canterbury surface in the compilation of those items? Tensions between the West Saxon court and Canterbury seem to have become acute, as can be inferred from Pope John's letter to Archbishop Æthelred. Therein John reprimands the archbishop to "station yourself as a wall for the house of the Lord, laying aside every worldly fear [...] and

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[196] Zupitza, "Älfreds Beda", p. 186. *Augustine, Archbishop of Britain, consecrated first Mellitus among the English.*

[197] Zupitza, "Älfreds Beda", p. 186; *Among this people was in that time Sæberht king.*

[198] The Latin reads: "Saberct nepos Aedilbercti ex sorore Ricula regnabat, quamuis sub potestate positus eiusdem Aedilbercti qui omnibus, ut supra dictum est, usque ad terminum Humbrae fluminis Anglorum gentibus imperabat."(*HEGA*, I, 188); cf. *OEB*, I.1, 104: "Sæberht cyning, Æthelberhtes swustorsunu ꟕ his hera".

[…] do not cease to resist strenuously not only the king."[199] He mentions a letter sent to King Alfred (which is not preserved), in which he had exhorted the king not to neglect his Christian duties and to obey Æthelred as his predecessors, "the most godly kings of the English,"[200] had done and warns him that he would lose his worldly realm and his eternal life if he behaved contrarily. This invokes a tradition of cooperation between archbishop and king from the very beginning of Christianization in Kent, to the concordat of 838 between the See of Canterbury (under Archbishop Ceolnoth) and the West Saxon dynasty at Kingston.[201] John continues: "we wish to preserve unimpaired and beyond doubt the privilege of your see, in the manner of the blessed Augustinus", and then he states:

> [W]e have admonished your king to show due honor to you for the love of Jesus Christ the Lord, and be anxious to preserve all the rights of your privilege in everlasting security and to keep them undiminished, if he wishes to have the grace and benediction of the apostolic see as his predecessors deserved to have by their well-doing.[202]

What sounds like a severe threat of excommunication and seems to imply royal intervention has to be treated with caution and needs to be analyzed in context. Dorothy Whitelock, in her introduction to the letter, suggests that the 'impairing of rights' had something to do with an increase in public services demanded by the king due to the Scandinavian onslaught.[203] In such a scenario Canterbury was probably unwilling to provide for the defense of the kingdom in a – from their perspective – disproportionate way. Christ Church and St. Augustine's surely had to make large contributions to the tribute that was levied to buy off the Scandinavian invaders.[204] Brooks remarked that it is not clear whether the dispute concerned the church as a whole or Christ Church in particular and suggested that archbishop and pope were mainly concerned with the independence of the churches, ministers, priests and nuns from royal lordship and interference.[205] The dispute with Canterbury might have evolved around another issue. The idea of an

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[199] *EHD*, no. 222, p. 882.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] See Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 145-47, 198-203.

[202] *EHD*, no. 222, p. 883.

[203] *Ibid.*, p. 881; cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 86 n. 119.

[204] Kees Dekker remarks that Alfred's attitudes towards monasticism and the endowment and promotion of monasteries is a moot point among scholars ("King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's Dialogi: Tales for the Unlearned?", in *Rome and the North*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr., K. Dekker und D. F. Johnson (Paris, 2001), pp. 27–50., at pp. 47-48). He refers to Fleming who demonstrated that Alfred pursued a policy of expropriating monastic estates to cover for the defense of his kingdom ("Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age", *EHR* 100 (1985), 247-65). Dekker, however, claims that Alfred was nevertheless sympathetic towards monastic communities and was just "setting the right priorities in the right times."(48).

[205] Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, p. 150.

endangered primacy of Canterbury could have been rooted in Gregory's original scheme for two metropolitan sees at London and York, respectively.[206] The rise of London's importance as the emerging focal point of the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons coincides with the purported composition date of the three excerpts (890x930). Thus, the possibility of Alfredian plans to shift the metropolitan see to London or at least curtailing the privileges of Canterbury may come to the mind of the reader.[207] What might have been Alfred's motivation? He pursued a conciliatory policy towards the Kingdom of Mercia, culminating in the handover of London after its 'restoration' in 886.[208] Was Alfred entertaining the idea of making this tremendous concession to gain the political (and military) support of the Mercians in order to stabilize the 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons'? In the past Mercian kings had tried to secure their power among other things by curtailing the importance of Canterbury. King Offa (757-796) even established a third archbishopric at Lichfield on Mercian territory.[209] In an attempt to undo Offa's work, one of his successors, the Mercian King Coenwulf (796-821), tried to set up what Brooks has called "the London scheme."[210] Coenwulf's attempt to move the metropolitan see to London was rebutted by papal intervention and Canterbury's primacy and the English diocesan structure was reinstated at Clofesho in 803.[211] Henceforth, the metropolitan authority of the see of Canterbury was never again seriously threatened. […] Thus when the political unification of England was achieved under West Saxon rather than Mercian kings, there was no question of a corresponding challenge to Canterbury's metropolitan status.[212]

Nevertheless, the diocese of London had played an important role in the history of the English Church, especially in the summoning of Church councils.[213] Taking all things into consideration, Alfredian plans of shifting the archiepiscopal seat to London appear unlikely and are not substantiated without additional proof.[214] The northern see at York, as the second centre of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, was effectively out of reach in a territory controlled by the heathen enemy.

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[206] *HE* I.29.

[207] Janet Nelson has hypothesized about that issue in connection with the search for a bishopric for the newly recruited Grimbald. Her claim was later plausibly refuted by Pratt; see Nelson, "Political Ideas", pp. 156-57; Pratt, *Political Thought*, p. 212.

[208] See Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians".

[209] Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 118-20.

[210] *Ibid.*, p.123.

[211] Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 123-26.

[212] *Ibid.,* p. 126.

[213] Cubitt claims that until 850 all church councils might have been taken place in the diocese of London ("Councils, Church", *BEASE*, p. 125). For an opposing view see Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho* (Leicester, 1994); cf. Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, *passim* for the importance of London. A discussion and analysis of place-names of the various sites of the Church Councils see Cubitt, *Church Councils*, Appendix 2 (available online from http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de.).

[214] Whitelock remarks that many lay and ecclesiastical people in the southern provinces would have objected strongly to a disturbance of the existing arrangement, ("Old English Bede", p. 70).

Thus, any attempt to re-order the ecclesiastical landscape of southern England and follow Gregory's original scheme would have been a foolhardy undertaking. Alfred would surely not have moved the rock on which the English Church had been built and from whence it drew its authority. Furthermore, relations between Alfred and Æthelred's successor Plegmund appear to have been excellent, as he was one of the chief contributors to Alfred's translation program.[215] Consequently, a change in the intimate link between Canterbury and the House of Wessex, established from Ceolnoth's time onwards, seems highly unlikely. Therefore, Pope John's letter should be regarded to reflect a particular problem at a given moment. It is, nevertheless, safe to assume that indeed the Viking invasions precipitated a considerable disruption of the ecclesiastical landscape and stirred fears of insufficient pastoral care and a possible relapse into paganism that put pressure on the relations between worldly and spiritual authority. Fulk's letter to Alfred strikes the same chord. Judging from the content, the Domitian extracts might have reflected contemporary concerns that would fit a dating of *circa* 875 x 900. Given the fact that they were apparently copied from a manuscript possibly closer to the archetype than any of the other manuscripts, this would imply that the original translation of Bede's *HE* has to be dated to that period, which is not ruled out by the paleographical and lexical evidence.

In summary, the above discussion has made it clear that the Domitian leaf fits perfectly into the historical and intellectual climate of the last quarter of the ninth century. Although its exact date and origin are obfuscated, the items betray a purposeful selection process. The question of an alleged London bias is a vexed one if we consider the third item in isolation. When analyzed in context, however, the specific interest in and emphasis of London gives way to a wider perspective, namely, that of Canterbury and Rome. To regard the Domitian leaf as expression of a grand scheme of the metropolitan see to London as the new focal point of the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons would be too far-fetched. Moreover, even if there actually was a deliberate emphasis on London, a connection to Gregory's bi-diocesan scheme is mere conjecture. Such emphasis may rather reflect London's role as political, religious and economic center. This would perfectly match Alfred's conciliatory policy towards Mercia and the acknowledgment of its history and present status – nothing more, nothing less. Even so, it might be noteworthy that Gregory's letter concerning his plan of two archdioceses had been paraphrased in the *OEHE*, leaving out the crucial passage on London and York.[216] Besides the alleged London emphasis, the three items also stress the authority and pre-eminence of Canterbury and its archbishops, ultimately derived from Rome. The inclusion of the Hertford canons displays an unequivocal commitment of the Anglo-Saxon Church to Rome and the canonical and orthodox tradition of the Universal Church. Whoever compiled the Domitian items and altered item three

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[215] See *VÆ*, ch. 77; *OEPC*, p. 7; Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, p. 153.
[216] This issue will be addressed in more detail in the chapter 'The Role of Rome' *infra*.

had made a careful decision. It could have been intended to provide guidance in times of turmoil, and to give structure during years in which the integrity of the Anglo-Saxon Church and the authority of certain religious centers were challenged and seriously put to the test. Apart from the fact that these three excerpts apparently reflect pressing issues of the last quarter of the ninth century, their real significance lies in the fact that Bede's *HE* still must have been a key text for the Anglo-Saxons and a continuous source of inspiration and authority for the clergy at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries.

Based on a philological analysis of Tanner and Domitian, and by evaluating the latter against the backdrop of intertextual evidence, we may conclude that the full-blown translation of Bede's *HE* was undertaken at some point during the period 875-930. Its relation to King Alfred's program is difficult to determine, as is the original agenda behind the translation. As we have seen, the Domitian excerpts mirror a fascination with the *HE* in terms of church history and possibly archiepiscopal authority and Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The exact status remains obscure to us. What we may pronounce with confidence, however, is that the *OEHE* was highly valued in Anglo-Saxon England. This is testified to by the work's manuscript transmission. The first impulse might have come from the fact that the Latin version of the *HE* was no longer available or had become inaccessible on an intellectual level, due to the decline in monastic culture and learning as King Alfred outlines in his *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*. There are six surviving Latin manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* that were produced in England in the Anglo-Saxon period.[217] In the ninth-century, however, only one copy of Bede's text was produced in England; the London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II, dating to mid-ninth-century Canterbury. Two copies (Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5.16 and Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Thel. Qu. 2) left England before c. 825 and were preserved on the continent, as Michael Lapidge has shown.[218] It appears that the translation of the *OEHE* – among other things – may have been undertaken to make good this loss. Furthermore, given the apparently dismal state of learning and education in Anglo-Saxon England with regard to Latin literacy, a translation into the vernacular would not only have helped Bede's text to survive but also would have made it accessible to a wider audience, be it in private reading or in an aural context.

The Reception of the Manuscripts

The importance of the *OEHE* can be further gauged by its five extant manuscripts, copied over a period of 150 years from the late ninth century to the sec-

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[217]   See Lapidge, "Latin Exemplar", p. 236.
[218]   See *idem*, "Latin Learning", Annex 2.

ond half of the eleventh. All of these manuscripts, except for London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B.XI, contain the *OEHE* as a stand-alone text, which again shows its importance and authority.[219] Besides the surviving manuscripts we have evidence that there must have been additional copies, which have not survived as has already been shown. Although we do not have contemporary material evidence for the text's reception, all manuscripts show different layers of interaction. Those include glosses in Latin and Old English *inter alia* by the 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' in MS Ca, the updating of orthography in MS O, annotations, running-titles and neumes, all noted comprehensively by Sharon Rowley.[220] Those interactions with the vernacular translation, ranging from the tenth to the fourteenth-century, show a keen and unwavering interest in the text. At the same time, those later interactions with the text might help us gain insight into how the text was received in the centuries that immediately followed and offer clues as to whether the original translation may have been shaped by the same or similar interests. Following is a synopsis of Rowley's findings, modified by some additional observations.

MS T (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10)

Although the manuscript shows a number of additions and modifications, their significance of these modifications has not been treated sufficiently for a long time. Ker recognized the chapter-numbers, running-titles and the Latin glosses and notes to be added in the fourteenth-century and Janet Bately made them more accessible in her facsimile edition of Tanner, but without treating them in a comprehensive manner.[221] It is not clear when and where the glosses, annotations, running-titles and chapter-numbers were entered in the manuscript. Recently, Sharon Rowley has focused on the nature and significance of these items.[222] Rowley connects the whole process to at least one person, probably working at Thorney Abbey in the fourteenth-century.[223] It remains a matter of debate when Tanner arrived at Thorney, but it was apparently there in the fourteenth-century, at which point an abbey mortuary role was used for the flyleaves (now MS Tanner 10*). Janet Bately, however, remarked that "the theory of a Thorney connection

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[219] Cf. Gernot Wieland, who argued that the *HE* was rarely bound with other texts because of its length and if it was, the other items were brief ("Survey of Latin Manuscripts", p. 142). It cannot be ruled out that the same applied to the *OEHE* manuscripts.

[220] Rowley, pp. 156-94.

[221] Ker, p. 428; Bately, *Tanner Bede*, esp. p. 26. Gameson briefly called attention to the signs of use in Tanner and emphasizes that "such intelligent interest in an Old English text is rare at this date." ("Fabric"), p. 201 n. 14.

[222] See Rowley, pp. 275-87 and *idem* "Glosses", pp. 49-86.

[223] Rowley, p. 286.

for Tanner 10, if not perhaps capable of absolute proof, is both highly attractive and extremely plausible."[224]

Rowley identifies 118 interlinear Latin glosses, one marginal gloss, ten marginal notes and running titles in MS T. The nature of the glosses is rather lexical. Some of them are uninflected, as Rowley shows. The bulk of the glosses occur at the end of Book I and the beginning of Book II, thus highlighting key moments in conversion of the English, with a strong focus on Gregory the Great and the Canterbury mission of Augustine including the *Libellus Responsionum.* All in all the glosses do not appear to focus on rare or Anglian words, thus "dialect and difficulty cannot be the driving force behind the glossing."[225] Although the glosses cover examples from all parts of speech and consequently might be attributed to the glossator's process of learning Old English, Rowley casts doubt on that idea as the glosses were not pervasive throughout.[226]

The marginal annotations and running-titles draw attention to key historical figures and saints. They appear mainly in Books III and IV and indicate an interest in prominent figures of the history of the English Church. Rowley calls special attention to the fact that with the exception of St. Cuthbert the protagonists whose stories are annotated in Tanner do not appear in the *South English Legendary.*[227] Therefore, the signs of use might indicate a vernacular resource of information about the English Church and religious leaders who are not found elsewhere.

Rowley further claims that chapter-numberings and some of the glosses betray a facility with Old English. Several of the glosses that do not correspond with Bede's Latin occur in places where the Latin source is recast or embellished by the Old English translator. She draws special attention to a passage in Book II, ch. 1, where "the fourteenth-century glossator keeps up with the Old English, at least at the level of diction."[228] The chapter-numbers corresponding to Bede's Latin show that the annotator apparently had a working-knowledge of Old English as, according to Rowley, the chapter-division in the *OEHE* did not correspond at all times with those in the *HE.* The medieval use of the manuscript, therefore, suggests a keen interest in the *OEHE* as a vernacular source for the history of the early English Church and its key figures.

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[224] Bately, *Tanner Bede*, pp. 34-35; see pp. 15-17 for her treatment of the binding and the flyleaves and pp. 33-36 for the history of the manuscript; cf. Ker, p. 429, who claims that "[t]he manuscript was, no doubt, at Thorney in the fourteenth century, if not earlier […]."

[225] Rowley, p. 281.

[226] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[227] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[228] *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79.

MS C (London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B.XI)

This manuscript was badly damaged in the Cottonian fire of 1731 but survived in a sixteenth-century transcript by Laurence Nowell (CN). Because of this transcript we know that in the first quarter of the eleventh century the contents of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173 were copied into C, a manuscript that had the G-text of the *Anglo- Saxon Chronicle*, the *Laws of Alfred and Ine*, the *Burghal Hidage*, lists of popes and bishops, a poem for the seasons of fasting and herbal recipes. Moreover, before the fire a single leaf had been removed, which survives in British Library, MS Additional 34652. This leaf contains a copy of the West Saxon regnal list.[229] Judging from the contents of the manuscript, what we have here is primarily a West Saxon historical archive into which the *OEHE* would have fit perfectly well. Its inclusion among the other documents suggests as close connection to the West Saxon court under Alfred and his son Edward. Wormald reads the construction of the composite manuscript as an extension of the argument of CCCC MS 173, which "was designed to balance the dynastic achievement in battle and in justice."[230] Rowley objects to Wormald's argument but sees his ideas confirm the idea that the additions were indicators for the *OEHE* "being anthologized for historical and archival – if not ideological – purposes, with the later *Chronicle* and *Burghal Hidage* materials serving to supplement the information contained in the *OEHE*."[231] It appears that by the early eleventh century the *OEHE* belonged with the documents clearly associated with Alfred and Wessex in that scriptorium (probably Winchester). It might be of interest that the first hand of C has been claimed to be similar to and even identified with that of *Bald's Leechbook* and hand 3 of the *Parker Chronicle* (annals *924-955), while the copy of the *Laws of Alfred* on fols. 33-52 of CCCC MS 173 may be ascribed to the same scriptorium.[232] The compilation of a manuscript in the given way for Rowley strongly suggests that "the *OEHE* alone did not suffice to fulfill the ideological agenda generally ascribed to Alfred's circle or that of his successors."[233] Her argument might indeed counter-balance claims by Wormald or Foot, who regard the Old English translation as a possible means of a West Saxon campaign to facilitate Anglo-Saxon nation-building and the construction of identity by the promulgation of the

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[229] Roland Torkar argued that the regnal table in BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 178 preceded the *OEHE* in C, while the table in Additional 34652 followed it. R. Torkar, *Eine altenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins De Virttibus et Vitiis, Kap 20 (Liebermanns Judex), Untersuchungen und Textausgabe* (München, 1981), pp. 42-43; cf. Rowley, p. 35 n 17.

[230] P. Wormald, "BL, Cotton Otho B.xi: A Supplementary Note", in *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, ed. D. Hill and A. R. Rumble (Manchester, 1996), pp. 59-68, at pp. 61-62.

[231] Rowley, p. 250.

[232] Cf. *MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. xxxiv-xxxv and ns. 94-95; Rowley argues for the hand also resembling that of the 'Lauderdale' Orosius (Rowley, pp. 35-36 and n. 18); cf. also Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 98 n. 53 for various aspects concerning the 'Parker Chronicle'.

[233] Rowley, pp. 250-51.

term *Angelcynn*, matching Bede's *gens Anglorum*. Then again, the manuscript compilation does shed light on the significance of the *OEHE* being retrospectively perceived as part of the same (political) context evolving around the West Saxon court and the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons.

MS O (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 279B)

Whereas T and C show interest in historical moments and figures, O discloses an interest in language and orthography. According to Rowley, this manuscript displays signs of use from the Anglo-Saxon period, encompassing some 3000 alterations mostly with regard to spelling. Rowley claims that these changes do not follow a clear pattern of modernization, that is, West Saxonization of previous Mercian forms.[234] The evident problem is the impossibility of reconstructing the original letters that have been erased and replaced by apparently West Saxon forms. Judging from the evidence of O, she claims that the West Saxon shift in all manuscripts does not happen as systematically as Miller suggested in his edition and offers the example of an actual restoration of the Mercian dialect term *ono*, expunged in C/CN/B and Ca. Therefore, she expresses serious doubts about a systematic scribal agenda of dialectal consistency or modernization.[235] Referring to Busby, Rowley concludes that the changes in C rather procure evidence for a language whose structure and conventions were fluid, and takes up Hogg's ideas for a re-conceptualization of Old English dialects as they "fail to take account of the complex social and political structure underlying and in part shaping these dialects."[236] Her argument does not contain the idea of a modernization but opposes the idea of a systematic agenda behind the process.

The fact that the manuscript does not divulge any additions or glosses similar to those in T apparently rules out a thematic interest in the *OEHE*. Nevertheless, these alterations show that the reviser(s) saw a need to embark on such an elaborate undertaking. Apparently, these alterations were made to suit the need of an audience or readership that might have found fault with the presumably archaic forms. The fact that this copy was brought up to date and adapted to the contemporary system of orthography shows that it had some renewed relevance.

MS B (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41)

MS B was copied in the mid-eleventh century by two scribes.[237] At about the same time, additions in blank spaces were made by a third scribe. The marginal material

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[234]   Rowley, pp. 160-62.
[235]   *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[236]   Hogg, "Old English Dialectology", p. 198; cited in Rowley, p. 162.
[237]   Rowley, pp. 23-24.

contains formulae in Old English and Latin, parts of the *Old English Martyrology*, the Old English verse dialogue *Solomon and Saturn*, six anonymous Old English homilies, and extensive liturgical material (e.g. neumes) in Latin.[238] Thus, the impulse behind these additions appears to have been ecclesiastical. In connection with the manuscript's medieval provenance at Leofric's Exeter, Rowley makes the compelling suggestion that B may have been used for preaching or for another kind of oral performance.[239] She grounds this tantalizing assumption in the use of neumes in the account of the poet Cædmon and the *Vision of Dryhthelm* in Book V. According to her, unlike the other marginalia in B, these neumes related directly to the main text and suggested its oral performance. In the *Vision of Dryhthelm* the neumation suggests that parts of the text were sung when read aloud and Rowely speculates about the text (or at least passages of it) being used for preaching to the laity or as part of a vernacular office.[240] The use of the margins as an ecclesiastical archive for homilies, liturgies and formulae appears to be congruent with the uses of the other manuscripts of the *OEHE*. Rowley concludes that the B-text apparently had been highly valued for a variety of hagiographical, priestly and performative purposes. Karin Olsen has recently called attention to the possible implications of the annotations, suggesting a possible use as a study book, which let us glimpse the practice of learning in a monastic community, making MS B a witness to monastic classroom education.[241] Whatever the case may be, filling the margins of CCCC 41 does not attest to the notion that it was not respected and was held in low esteem, as the second-rate product of a small center running out of parchment. Rather, it serves as evidence for a purposeful use of the *OEHE* in the eleventh century. Olsen demonstrates some definite and likely thematic correspondences between the marginalia and the text of the *OEHE*. What we have here then might point to a vernacularization of learning in an eleventh-century religious center, not only by means of translation but by interaction.[242] Thomas Bredehoft recently argued for a gradual development of the manuscripts archive into a 'liturgical compendium', identifying several stages in the work of the marginalia scribe.

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[238] See Ker, pp. 43-45; Budny, I, 501-24; for a discussion on a copied gloss whose original might have been connected to the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester and the convincing objections to that claim see R.J.S. Grant, "A Copied "tremulous" Worcester Gloss at Corpus", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 97 (1996), 279-83 and C. Franzen, "On the Attribution of Copied Glosses in CCCC MS 41 to the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester", *N&Q* 246 (2001), 373-74.
[239] Rowley, p. 172.
[240] Rowley, pp. 258-9.
[241] K. Olsen, "Thematic Affinities between the Non-Liturgical Marginalia and the Old English Bede in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41", in *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R.H. Bremmer Jr and K. Dekker, (Paris, 2010), pp. 133-46.
[242] See Olsen, "Thematic Affinities", p. 142.

Unfortunately, Bredehoft does not pay particular attention to a possible thematic interdependency of the marginalia and the *OEHE*.[243]

MS Ca (Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 3.18)

The youngest of the *OEHE* manuscripts was glossed in the thirteenth century by the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester.[244] Franzen speculates that the glossator had a special interest in the provision of didactic and penitential literature in the ver-nacular in order to make it available for preaching. Whereas Ker lists two layers of use in Ca (running titles and glosses), Rowley in her study showed that the manu-script was glossed by two different hands (one earlier than the 'Tremulous Hand') and annotated by Coleman, chancellor to Archbishop Wulfstan in 1089.[245] While this early glossator, glossing the opening passages and a few later pages, has not been identified, Coleman was a very prominent annotator as Rowley shows.[246] His annotations in Ca included comments on kings and bishops, as well as the edify-ing nature of Dryhthelm's vision, with the latter passage also glossed by the 'Tremulous Hand'. Rowley assumes that the story of Dryhthelm as an epitome of strict, self-imposed penance and poverty was appealing to the tastes of both Coleman and the 'Tremulous Hand'.[247]

She concludes that the penitential focus of the glossing and the annotations, together with other signs of use, pointed to a practical interest rather than an anti-quarian interest and refers to Wendy Collier's study, who suggested that the 'Tremulous Hand' intended to produce "some kind of vernacular pastoral hand-book" in the wake of the repercussions of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 that put a premium on vernacular instruction in England.[248]

This brief discussion of manuscript context and the signs of medieval use has shown the unwavering interest in the *OEHE* during the English Middle Ages. The manuscripts were glossed and annotated apparently for a variety of purposes, be it

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[243]   See T. Bredehoft, "Filling the Margins of CCCC 41: Textual Space and a Developing Archive", *The Review of English Studies* ns 57 (2006), 721-32; cf. also S.L. Keefer, "Margin as Archive: The Liturgical Marginalia of a Manuscript of the Old English Bede", *Traditio* 51 (1996), 147-77.

[244]   Christine Franzen concluded as Rowley remarks that most glosses "are cribbed from a Latin source." C. Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the 13th Century* (Oxford, 1991); cf. Rowley, p. 271.

[245]   Rowley, p. 183.

[246]   *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[247]   *Ibid.*

[248]   See *ibid.*, p. 274 and W. Collier, "The Tremulous Hand and Gregory's Pastoral Care", in *Rewrit-ing Old English,* ed. M. Swan and E. Treharne (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 195–208, at pp. 207-08; on the importance of the Fourth Lateran Council to the use of Old English manuscripts, see also E. Treharne, "Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period", in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A.N. Doane and K. Wolf (Tempe, AZ, 2006), pp. 329-58, at p. 348.

as a study-book for the monastic classroom or for private devotion or for vernacular preaching to the laity, or in chapter. In concur with Rowley that

> [r]ather than indicating a lack of respect for these books, or the secondary status of the people using them, the medieval annotations and signs of use reveal that these manuscripts were valuable vernacular sources for reading, preaching and the transmission of knowledge about local saints, saintly kings and other historical figures in England.[249]

After having considered the material evidence, this study will now turn to the intellectual context of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England and intertexual literary evidence in order to shed some light on the possible origin and date of the original translation. Among other things, it will ask which resources it would have needed to translate a work such as the *HE* and where the patrons of the translation could possibly have found them in a country that was subject to a massive Viking onslaught.

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[249]   Rowley, p. 287.

III. The Intellectual and Political Landscape of Ninth-Century England

The translation of the *HE* was a demanding enterprise that required sufficient intellectual and material resources and a political climate in which such an undertaking could thrive. It is necessary, therefore, to put the intellectual and political landscape of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England under close scrutiny. Any evidence of book production, glossing and teaching activities, or an infrastructure capable of producing written documents in Latin and the vernacular would provide important clues for the context in which the *OEHE* could have been produced. The central question is whether Alfred's program stands out as a singular occurrence, a *creatio ex nihilo*, or whether there is substantial evidence for intellectual activity that preceded Alfred's reign. Let us consider all of the evidence in turn. The first impulse would naturally be to look for intertextual evidence that might link the *OEHE* to the other prose translations associated with King Alfred and his court. Within a century after the supposed composition of the *OEHE,* Ælfric of Eynsham, in his *Homily on St Gregory,* attributes the translation to King Alfred:

> Manega halige bec cyðað his drohtnunge ꞃ his halige lif, ꞃ eac historia anglorum, ða ðe ælfred cyning of ledene on englisc awende.

> (*Many holy books tell of his habit and holy life, and also the history of the English, who King Alfred turned from Latin into English.*)[1]

Alfred's fame as translator continued beyond the Norman Conquest as the twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury wrote in his *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*:

> Denique plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit opimam predam perigrinarum mertium ciuium usibus conuectans; cuius præcepui sunt libri, Orosius, Pastoralis Gregorii, Gesta Anglorum Bedae, Boetius De Consolatione Philosophiae, liber proprius quem patria lingua Enchiridion, id est Manualem librum appelauit.
>
> (*He made a great part of Latin literature accessible to English ears, bringing together a rich cargo of foreign merchandise for the benefit of his countrymen. The chief titles are Orosius, Gregory's* Pastoral Care*, Bede's* History of the English*, Boethius* On the Consolation of Philosophy*, and a book of his own which he called in his native tongue* Enchiridion*, that is* Hand-book).[2]

Alfred's authorship poses some problems which will be addressed in detail below. For the time being, we have authoritative literary evidence for the *OEHE* being part of the Alfredian program. Both pieces, however, are later than any assumed date for the *OEHE*'s translation. This positive evidence for a close link between the *OEHE* and the other late ninth-century vernacular translations is counterbalanced by two contemporary sources, namely, Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*, written c. 893, and the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*.

Asser recounts how Alfred summoned helpers to his court to serve the king's drive for knowledge. The only work explicitly referred to in this context is bishop Werferth of Worcester's translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*.[3] There might be several explanations for the missing references to other works. First, the *OE Dialogues* may have been the starting point of Alfred's translation program, translated at some point before 893. Second, the other works (possibly including the *OEHE*) associated with Alfred's program may not yet have been translated when Asser wrote the *Vita*. Furthermore, the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* display conspicuous similarities and seem to originate from the same school of translation. Unless we can procure definitive proof for separating the *OE Dialogues* from the *OEHE*, dissociating the translation from the wider orbit of the Alfredian program appears difficult. Third, Asser's silence might be due to the fact that the translation of the

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1   *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies,* ed. Godden, p. 72.
2   Text and trans.: *William of Malmesbury. Gesta Regvm Anglorvm. The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, completed by R.M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-99), I, 193.
3   *VÆ*, chs. 77-78.

HE had not been finished by the time he wrote the *Vita*. Given the popularity of the work in Anglo-Saxon England, it would have been a prime candidate for Alfred's scheme. Bearing in mind its importance and prestige, it is likely that such a translation would have been undertaken with acumen and precision. In order to do justice to the authoritative and venerable persona of Bede, the translator had to consider too carefully the Latin and find an appropriate way to render it into the Old English vernacular. This might have slowed down the process of translation immensely, especially if it was supervised and cross-checked before circulation. The sheer length of the *HE* may have been enough to slow down the translation process. Fourth, the textual transmission of Asser's *Vita* poses some problems. The original manuscript – London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A. XII – was destroyed in the 1731 Cotton Library fire and had to be reconstructed from various transcripts and medieval chronicles that made use of Asser's work.[4] Therefore, we have no evidence of Asser's signature writing or of the archetype. Another impediment to our understanding is the abruptness with which the *Vita* terminates after chapter 106. The work does not include an account of Alfred's renewed wars with the Danes and his achievements in war, let alone his death or any epitaph. This appears odd, because Asser outlived King Alfred for almost a decade.[5] Besides, there are other inconsistencies in the work that have been addressed exhaustively by scholars.[6] For instance, Keynes and Lapidge dealt with the problem in a very straightforward manner and suggested that the text as we have it was no more than an "incomplete draft."[7] In the end, we are left with the notion that Asser's work had not reached its final stage of composition. Hence, the lacking reference to the *OEHE* might be owed to the imperfection and incompletion of Asser's work.

In the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*, what is noteworthy is Alfred's invocation of a 'Golden Age' of learning and royal prosperity and piety reminiscent of seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria, an allusion which has been frequently pointed out by scholars.[8] Tone and wording of this passage in the *Preface* remind the informed reader of Bede's appraisal of the Church in Anglo-Saxon England after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore (*HE* IV.5). But just as the *Vita,* the *Preface* does not mention other works that were translated under Alfred's supervision. Consequently, the literary evidence is contradictory and does not provide incontrovertible proof of any association or dissociation of the *OEHE* with Alfred's program. What we can observe is that the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* bear cer-

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4   K&L, pp. 223-27.
5   Cf. *ASC* s.a. 909 (*MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 63): "⁊ Asser biscop gefor æfter ðæm, se wæs æt Scireburnan biscop." *And Bishop Asser departed thereafter, who was bishop at Sherborne.*
6   For an outline of the discussion see K&L, p. 222 ns. 117 and 118.
7   *Ibid.*, p. 56. Linked to this problem is the assertion that the *Vita* was a forgery and not written by Asser, although this charge has been rebuked in a very convincing manner; K&L, pp. 50-51 and S. Keynes, "On the Authenticity of Asser's Life of King Alfred", *JEH* 47.3 (1996), 529-50.
8   K&L, p. 294 n. 9.

tain similarities in terms of translation and are difficult to keep apart. Whether the *OE Dialogues* were the first work to be translated is a difficult question. The exact relation between this work and the *OEHE* is complex and deserves further investigation, which, however, cannot be done within the constraints of this thesis.

If we leave the literary meta-evidence aside, the question remains when and where an endeavor such as the translation of Bede's masterpiece could have been undertaken. Again, Alfred's letter attached to *OE Pastoral Care* serves as an appropriate point to begin discussion:

> Swa clæne hio wæs oðfeallenu on Angelcynne ðæt swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hiora ðeninga cuðen understondan on Englisc, oððe furðum an ærendgewrit of Lædene on Englisc areccean; & ic wene ðæt[te] noht nonige begiondan Humbre næren. Swa feawa hiora wæron ðæt ic furðum anne anlepne ne mæg geðencean besuðan Temese ða ða ic to rice feng.

> (*Learning had declined so thoroughly in England that there were very few men on this side of the Humber who could understand their divine services in English, or even translate a single letter from Latin into English: and I suppose that there were not many beyond the Humber either. There were so few of them that I cannot recollected even a single one south of the Thames when I succeeded to the kingdom.*)[9]

According to this passage, the intellectual infrastructure throughout England had severely deteriorated when Alfred assumed the throne of Wessex (i.e. 871). Alfred outlines the growth of knowledge as a gradual process that began before his time.[10] First, the king reminisces about a now-lost 'Golden Age' of intellectual activity and contrasts it with the intellectual paucity of his own time.[11] Alfred remembers how in his youth the libraries had been full of presumably Latin works, which could not be accessed or put to good use due to the general decline in reading skills. He certainly refers to the period between his birth (c. 849) and the arri-

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[9]   *OEPC*, p.3; trans. K&L, p. 125.

[10]   For the different layers in Alfred's statement see P.E. Szarmach, "The Meaning of Alfred's Preface to the Pastoral Care", *Mediaevalia* 6 (1980), 57–86; and H. Gneuss, "King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries", in his *Books and Libraries in Early England* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 29-49.

[11]   His reference point is not clear. It would be apposite to Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries (cf. K&L, p. 294 n.2). Bede and Alcuin stand as exemplary for the intellectual capacity that was then cultivated in Northumbria. Their works were not only copied and disseminated throughout England but also on the continent. In 782 Alcuin was summoned by Charlemagne to be the rector of the emperor's palace school at Aachen, where he became also his close advisor. On the level of secular figure-heads, the Northumbrian kings Edwin (616-33), Oswald (634-42), Oswine (643-51) and Oswiu (651-670) would fit Alfred's remark about exemplary kings, who fared well in warfare and wisdom and displayed extraordinary piety. The authority of Edwin, Oswald and Oswiu is underscored by the fact that they are numbers 5-7 in Bede's list of Anglo-Saxon kings that had exerted supra-regional power (*imperium*; cf. *HE* II.5).

val of the *micel here* ('great army') in 865, after which "hit eall forhergod wære & forbærned."[12] By the time of his literary activity (c.890) the situation seems to have ameliorated, as Alfred remarks: "Gode ælmihtegum sie ðonc ðæt[te] we nu ænigne on stal habbað lareowa."[13] This is concomitant with his statement towards the end of the text: that "[U]ncuð hu longe ðær swæ gelærede biscepas sien, swæ swæ nu Gode ðonc *wel hwær siendon* [my italics]."[14]

   The historicity of King Alfred's remarks has been another matter of debate.[15] Although it may be easy to dismiss Alfred's first-hand knowledge about Northumbria and to regard his statements in the *Preface* as hyperbole, we are well-advised to consider the material evidence of ninth-century England. Gneuss in his surveys on the Anglo-Saxon library and manuscript production in the ninth century opined that the material evidence gave credibility to Alfred's comments.[16] Lapidge concurs with Gneuss and argues for a 'black hole' in intellectual activity and book production from 835 to 885.[17] The abysmal Latinity of twenty-two Kentish charters which Lapidge analyzed allowed him to remark that "[t]he obvious implication is that schools had ceased to function during the period 835-885."[18] Morrish's claims for a more positive assessment of the intellectual land-

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[12]   "[…] ða gemunde ic eac hu ic geseah, ærðæmðe hit eall forhergod wære and forbærned, hu ða ciricean giond all Angelcynn stodon maðma & boca gefyldæ ond eac micel men[i]geo Godes ðiowa & ða swiðe lytle fiorme ðara boca wiston, forðæmðe hie hiora nan wuht ongiotan ne meahton forðæmðe hie næron on hiora agen geðiode awritene."(*OEPC*, p. 5); *I recollected how – before everything was ransacked and burned – the churches throughout England stood filled with treasures and books. Similarly there was a great multitude of those serving God. And they derived very little benefit from those books, because they could understand nothing of them, since they were not written in their own language.* (trans.: K&L, p. 125). For the arrival of the *micel here* and its subsequent activities, see *MS A*, s.a. 865-878.

[13]   *OEPC*, pp. 3 and 5. *Thanks be to God Almighty that we now have any supply of teachers at all.* (trans.: K&L, p. 125).

[14]   *OEPC*, p. 9. *It is not known how long there shall be such learned bishops as, thanks be to God, there are now nearly everywhere.* (trans. K&L, p. 126).

[15]   Cf. J. Morrish, "King Alfred's Letter as a Source on Learning in England in the Ninth Century", in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose: 16 Original Contributions*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (New York, 1980), pp. 87–107; Szarmach,"The Meaning"; and Godden, "Alfred's Preface", p. 598. See also R. Gameson, "Alfred the Great and the Destruction and Production of Christian Books", *Scriptorium* 49 (1995), 180–210, at p. 190. The problem of cultural downturn expressed by a fading understanding of a highly-revered language is a commonplace theme in Western European Culture. The Roman Empire faced a similar problem with the decline in the knowledge of Greek in the third century; cf. Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 38. In her view, the rupture of bilingualism precipitated a shift in rhetorical training and in the attitude towards translation.

[16]   Gneuss identifies sixteen manuscripts produced in Anglo-Saxon England during the ninth century, only ten of which predated Alfred's reign ("The History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries", p. 37).

[17]   Lapidge, "Latin Learning", p. 434 and *idem, The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 45-46. David Pratt goes so far as to remark: "What one must imagine is a major breach in a learned tradition which extended back to the school of Theodore and Hadrian." (*Political Thought*, p. 50).

[18]   Lapidge, "Latin Learning", p. 434. For a detailed survey of the charters see *ibid*, Appendix 3, esp. nos. 19 and 20; cf. also N. Brooks, who sees a steady decline in intellectual production at Christ

scape were convincingly refuted by both Gneuss and Lapidge.[19] Indeed, there are only very few specimens that let us glimpse intellectual activity predating Alfred's reign.[20] Apparently, books and libraries continued to be in existence at a low-level in the critical period 835x885, despite the Viking onslaught and settlement. York seems to be a case in point – in spite of being a Scandinavian city for almost a hundred years, scholarly books survived.[21] The disruptive effect of the Viking

Church, Canterbury from the 860s onwards with the nadir during the episcopate of Æthelred (870-88) (*Church of Canterbury*, pp. 171-73); cf. D.N. Dumville, "English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century", in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard (Toronto, 2005), pp. 305-25., at p. 307. The Appendices are available online from http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de.

[19] See Morrish, "Alfred's Letter", 87-107, at 91-99; Gneuss, "The History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries", p. 47 n. 43; and Lapidge, "Latin Learning", pp. 435-6 and *idem*, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 45 n. 69.

[20] 1)The Mercian gloss to the *Vespasian Psalter* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.i. Ker no. 203, Gneuss no. 381. s.ix (med?), St Augustine's, Canterbury). Lapidge's remark on the significance with regard to it being an indicator of intellectual activity is rather dismissive. To him, it signified at best that a Mercian in the ninth century could translate the Roman Psalter. As the gloss was an adaptation of an earlier manuscript it is of negligible evidence for the Latinity of the period in question ("Latin Learning", pp. 436-37); 2) a computus manuscript from Northumbria (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 63, fols. 1-87. Ker no. 319, Gneuss no. 611. s.ix² (844 or 867x892), Northumbria). Dumville makes us aware of some problems concerning the date and origin of Digby, which according to him cannot be said to be definitely Northumbrian. (D.N. Dumville, "English Libraries Before 1066: Use and Abuse of the Manuscript Evidence", in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M.P. Richards (New York and London, 1994) [originally published in Insular Latin Studies, ed. M.W. Herren (Toronto 1981), pp. 153-78], pp. 169–220 at pp. 194-95 and *idem*, "English Script", pp. 308-09); 3) the *Durham Liber Vitae* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian, A.vii, fols. 15-45. Gneuss no. 327. c.840, Lindisfarne or Monkwearmouth-Jarrow?). The manuscript was at Chester-le-Street at the end of the ninth century, which would indicate that the monks of that scriptorium probably did not flee the Vikings until a fairly late date. The manuscript has additions dated s.ix 2/4; 4) the *Codex Aureus* inscription (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS A. 135. Ker no. 385, Gneuss no. 937. s. ix med). The gospel book was apparently retrieved from a Viking army by ealdorman Ælfred (of Hampshire) and given to Christ Church, Canterbury. The script of the inscription "is generally like that of Canterbury charters, *c. 830-40*."(Ker, p. 456); 5) a biblical commentary in Iob (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 426, fols. 1-118. Gneuss no. 576. 838x847, Wessex (Winchester, Sherborne?).

[21] Lapidge, "Latin Learning", p. 431. After the arrival of the great army in 865, Northumbria was the first kingdom to surrender to Danish dominion. The subsequently established kingdom of York did only cease its existence when the Norwegian Eirik 'Bloodaxe' died in 954 and the territory was integrated into the Kingdom of the English. Dumville ("English Script", p. 309) remarks that "from about 840 until the late tenth century we have almost no reliable direct evidence for the course of development of Insular script in Northumbria.", which contributes to our impression of the ceasing of scholarly activity. But Lapidge correctly points out that the mere existence of books does not necessarily imply capable teachers to expound them ("Latin Learning", p. 433). His analysis further showed that primarily deluxe manuscripts survived in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England, whereas books for monastic instruction written before 825 survived on the continent. He concludes that there well might have been school-books, which however were not applied for the instruction of the clergy.

invasions on the political, religious and intellectual landscape is without question. The religious infrastructure as the heart of book production, teaching and knowledge appears to have suffered due to the Scandinavian onslaught.[22] Even so, the present study wishes to present three modifications to this apparently mono-causal explanation.

First, the Danish and Norwegian raids and the subsequent settlement affected some areas more than others, possibly leaving the ecclesiastical infrastructure of Anglo-Saxon England intact to uphold low-level intellectual activity.[23] Second, political instability and military threat do not necessarily bring about a cessation of intellectual work; on the contrary, they might be the trigger for it.[24] Michelle Brown remarked:

> That an elaborate, large-scale de luxe Bible (B.L., Royal MS 1.E.vi.), which makes conscious reference to Carolingian book production and the artistic traditions of Charlemagne's court and Ravenna, but which nonetheless is a celebration of the English contribution to the transmission and editing of Scripture, should have been produced in Kent while the Vikings were battering at the door is ample warning that this era should not be seen as feeble 'tailing off' of insular culture.[25]

Consequently, the apparent equation of political instability and warfare with a collapse of intellectual activity needs to be treated with due caution. Thirdly, the scarcity of manuscripts from 835x885 may be explained by the fact that military response to the Scandinavian invaders was probably the prime objective of all

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[22] See Blair, *Church*, pp. 320-21.

[23] See *ibid.*, pp. 291-32. Blair gives a concise and informative survey of the pre- and post-Viking religious landscape. Although his intention is not to deny the effacing effects of the Scandinavian raids, his study provides a differentiated picture that gives credit to regional differences. He also notes that the decline in religious communities and therefore, intellectual activity was the result of long-term trends, which were only exacerbated by the Viking invasions (pp. 291-92); cf. also Gneuss, "The History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries", pp. 33-34.

[24] Gameson, "Alfred the Great", pp. 194-97. He refers to the impressive book production of Northern Spain despite external predicaments. Another case in point is be the reign of King Æthelred II (978-1016), which saw waves of Viking attacks, constant warfare and devastation, culminating in the eventual Danish Conquest of England. Yet, the evidence of charters and law-codes from Æthelred's reign proves that the administration on all levels did not cease to function but rather faced the problems with vigor and determination. See Lemke, "Voices from the Reign of Æthelred II"; cf. S. Keynes, "Apocalypse Then: England A.D. 1000", in *Europe Around the Year 1000*, ed. P. Urbanczyk (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 247-70 and *idem*, "Re-Reading King Æthelred the Unready", in *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates *et al.* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 77-98; at p. 95 and n. 89. Moreover, this apparently chaotic period, when England appeared to collapse from within and fall apart according to the narration of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, witnessed the heydays of Anglo-Saxon book-production.

[25] M. Brown, "Mercian Manuscripts? The 'Tiberius Group' and Its Historical Context", in *Mercia: an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2005), pp. 278–91, at p. 287.

members of Anglo-Saxon society. On the one hand, the monasteries had to make substantial material contributions to the defense of the kingdom, on the other, secular power-mongers could not afford to be generous in endowing monasteries, as all their resources would be allocated to defense of the realm. This would well accord with Keynes' observation that in general fewer charters were produced during the period from 860x925.[26] If we assume that there were areas where scribal activity was upheld despite all obstacles, we have to ask ourselves where to look.

Alfred's lament conveys the impression that only Mercia, which is South of the Humber and North of the Thames, seems to have preserved remnants of pragmatic knowledge of Latin.[27] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* seems to underscore the impression that the West Midlands seem to have remained unscathed.[28] There, the religious infrastructure as prerequisite for intellectual activity might have escaped the Viking onslaught. This seems to accord well with Asser's report that the first wave of intellectual expertise to assist Alfred came from Mercia: Werferth of Worcester, Plegmund, future Archbishop of Canterbury, and the priests Æthelstan and Werwulf.[29] Apart from Asser, we find further references to the Mercian helpers in the *Preface* to *OE Pastoral Care*.[30] Michelle Brown has brought the Mercian intellectual tradition into sharp focus by analyzing the manuscripts of the so-called 'Tiberius-group'. She subsumed works produced in Mercia and Kent under the term Mercian *Schriftprovinz*.[31] Brown convincingly linked that tradition to the re-

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[26] Keynes, "Written Word", p. 191.

[27] See Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 104.

[28] The *ASC* s.a. 866-878 does not record excessive raids on Mercian territory. The entries s.a. 868, 872, 874 and 877 rather suggest that the Mercians avoided intensive plundering due to a clever policy of peace-making. Finally, the Danes drove out King Burgred and installed a 'puppet-king' – Ceolwulf – and shared out the land between him and themselves. For a more positive view of Ceolwulf, see Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians", pp. 12-19. An excellent illustration of the Viking campaigns during that period gives D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 40-41 and maps 58-59. According to Blair, the West Midlands (Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire) presented themselves as an "abnormally stable region, neither overrun by the Vikings nor subjected to undue pressure from the West Saxon court." (*Church*, p. 306).

[29] *VÆ*, ch. 77. The following chapters (78-89) describe, how Grimbald (of St. Bertin), John ('the Old Saxon') and Asser himself came to Alfred's court to be part of the West Saxon 'think tank'; cf. K&L, p. 260 ns. 168-69; Gretsch notes that Asser's verdict on Werferth's style represented a contemporary verdict on the bishop's scholarly and literary performance ("Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 104 n. 76).

[30] Alfred says that Plegmund assisted him with the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* (*OEPC*, p. 7). In addition, we find an indirect hint in the Preface to the *OE Dialogues*. Although Werferth is not explicitly mentioned, Alfred talks about "my true friends" who have translated the work for him. As Asser explicitly mentions Werferth as the apparent translator and given the Anglian dialect features, Alfred's remark probably refers to the Mercian helpers rather than Grimbald, Asser and John; cf. K&L, pp. 34 and 293 n.1.

[31] Brown, "Mercian Manuscripts", p. 281.

vival of learning at the Winchester court, with Alfred's wife Ealswith as an important link. Brown concludes:

> A Mercian role in the Alfredian revival, the continued operation of Worcester in 'free Mercia' and the West Saxon succession to the control of Kent ensured that the legacy of Mercia and its culture continued to inform the emergence of a new England.[32]

Moreover, there has been a considerable influence of Mercian diplomatic tradition on the West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf and his sons.[33] It appears that Mercia played an important role as a conduit to channel the religious, cultural, textual and artistic traditions of early Anglo-Saxon England.[34] It stands to reason that Alfred drew on resources that Mercia had cultivated and which were transmitted to the court at Winchester through prominent agents. Given the intimate relation between Mercia and Wessex, everything except cultural exchange would have come as a surprise. Cooperation in military matters, combined with a series of peace-making marriages, is a characteristic for both kingdoms from the early ninth century onwards.[35] This cooperation culminated in a newly-created polity, termed 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' by Keynes. This primarily military coalition of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms not under Scandinavian occupation lasted from c. 890 to 927 and can be regarded as the forerunner of the 'Kingdom of the English' which was to emerge in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[36]

The argument for Mercia's cultural heritage has been taken so far as to claim a specific pre-Alfredian Mercian prose tradition which formed the basis for the renaissance of the late ninth century. But this has been convincingly refuted.[37] The only potential candidate for a specimen of Old English prose before the Alfredian revival is the *OE Martyrology*. It is commonly ascribed to the late ninth

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[32] Brown, "Mercian Manuscripts", p. 290.

[33] S. Keynes, "The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and His Sons", *EHR* 109 (1994), 1109–1149, at pp. 1136-37.

[34] See Rowley, p. 53.

[35] Cooperation and close ties between Wessex and Mercia was commonplace. We can deduce the build-up of a 'working alliance' of both kingdoms in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries characterized by shared military campaigning and peace-making marriages. See for example Brihtric's marriage to Offa"s daughter Eadburh (*ASC* s.a. 789); Alfred's sister was married King Burgred of Mercia (*ASC* s.a. 853), Alfred married to Ealswith "from the stock of the noble Mercians" (*VÆ*, ch. 73; trans.: K&L, p. 88) and Alfred's daughter Æthelfled married *ealdorman* Æthelred of Mercia (*VÆ*, ch. 75). The military coalition is also well-recorded: *ASC* s.a. 825, 853 and 893. Keynes suggested that the siege of London (*ASC* s.a. 883) was presumably a combined West Saxon/Mercian operation in which *ealdorman* Æthelred – as in the restoration of London in 886 – might have played a more significant role than allowed for in the *ASC* or Asser ("Alfred and the Mercians", pp. 22-23).

[36] See Keynes, "Alfred and the Mercians"; *idem*, "Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons", pp. 40–66.

[37] Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad,* pp. 38-62. His idea cannot be verified mainly due to the scarcity of surviving texts; see Bately, "Old English Prose", pp. 103-18.

century but usually dated to the Alfredian period.[38] Kotzor has drawn attention to lexical and stylistic similarities between the *OE Martyrology* and the so-called 'Mercian translations' – the *OEHE* and the *OE Dialogues*.[39] However, the only text of evident Mercian origin that can safely be dated to the ninth century is the translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*, ascribed to Werferth in Asser.[40] That the *OEHE* was composed before Alfred's time or even before 900 is a matter of conjecture, just as is its composition on Mercian soil or by the king's Mercian helpers in the ambience of the West Saxon court.[41]

Simon Keynes has rekindled the discussion on the depletion of West Saxon intellectual resources. He convincingly argued for a diplomatic tradition of West Saxon charters from the 830s to 870s. In conjunction with Julia Crick's idea of a West Saxon minuscule, Keynes proposed the existence of a West Saxon tradition of pragmatic literacy in Latin and the vernacular despite the apparent crudeness of Latin charters c. 850x870 and the problem of their transmission.[42] The *Alfred-Guthrum Treaty* (written down before the alleged revival of learning) and Alfred's law-code presupposed intellectual resources of some kind. Keynes's analysis of the production and distribution of the *OE Pastoral Care* led him to the assumption that there had to be a network of scribes, either at regional centers, or at a headquarters, or both. He makes two propositions. First, that West Saxon practices should not be judged by Kentish evidence [i.e. the charters] and that, secondly, Alfred's program necessitated and produced an amount of scribal activity that could not have "come out of the blue."[43] Keynes admits that Alfred had to rely on external resources, be it from Mercia or the continent, but stresses that at the same time Alfred inherited a specific West Saxon framework concerning administration, law-giving, social distinctions, and other elements.[44] He concludes: "There is no doubt that the West Saxons had much to learn from the Mercians; and that, one suspects, is what the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons was all about," thus stressing the composite character of Anglo-Saxon England between 890 and 930.[45]

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[38] Cf. Lapidge, "Acca of Hexham" and *idem*, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 47-49. He shows that the *OE Martyrology* could have been translated from a Latin exemplar at some point between 731 and 899; cf. Bately, "Old English Prose", pp. 103 and 135. See Kotzor, *Martyrologium*, I, 323-425, 445, 446, 449 for Kotzor's dating based on a detailed linguistic analysis. Additionally, he discusses paleographical and content evidence (I, 449-54). It is only on linguistic grounds that he connects the *OE Martyrology* (in one scenario) to Alfred's prose works, whereas the content and paleography run contrary to such an assumption.

[39] See Kotzor, *Martyrology*, I, 363-67, 400-405, 421-25 and especially 243 and 453-54.

[40] See Bately, "Old English Prose"; *VÆ* ch. 77.

[41] For the Mercian helpers see Bately, "Old English Prose," p. 103 and n. 40.

[42] Keynes first proposed this idea of a tradition in "The West Saxon Charters", pp. 1109-49. See also *idem*, "Written Word", pp. 184-9. For the West Saxon minuscule see J. Crick, "The Case for a West Saxon minuscule", *ASE* 26 (1997), 63-79.

[43] See Keynes, "Written Word", pp. 188-96.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

We have no conclusive evidence for a complete cessation of intellectual activity in Wessex or its survival in Mercia before Alfred's days. The material evidence, however, does point to a downturn in learning and in literature in Anglo-Saxon England. It appears that there was a certain veneration for Mercian knowledge at the West Saxon court, but it would be erroneous to portray the West Saxons as backward, and in dire need of a 're-cultivation' by the Mercians. Even Mercian training in Latin seems to have left much to be desired, given the quality of Werferth's translations of Gregory's *Dialogi*.[46] The scribal activity towards the end of the ninth century shows a mélange of Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish elements, which accumulated into an intellectual think-tank that was unprecedented in the early Middle Ages. This project could not have come from nothing. Therefore, we ought to assume that skills in Latinity and book production as well as a pragmatic literacy in Latin and Old English survived the middle years of the ninth century.

It is rather likely that a project such as the translation of Bede's *HE* was undertaken in favorable circumstances. Michelle Brown's statement "[S]tability is not a prerequisite of cultural achievement. It is, however, likely to impact upon the survival rate of evidence of material culture"[47] should be read together with Alfred's remark in the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*:

> [M]id Godes fultume, gif we ða stilnesse habbað, ðæt[te] eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hi ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste, ða wile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit arædan.
>
> ([W]ith *God's help* [...] *provided we have peace enough, so that all the free-born young men now in England who have the means to apply themselves to it, may be set to learning (as long as they are not useful for some other employment) until the time they can read English writings properly*).[48]

For Alfred, times had changed and the success of his intellectual revival was contingent upon God's mercy and the peace it would bring about. His statement also implies that this was not to be taken for granted as there obviously were young men who were needed in other capacities (e.g. as warriors to defend the kingdom) or lacked the means (not necessarily intellectual, but maybe material due to the Viking depredations) to be educated.

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[46] See Godden,"Wærferth and King Alfred: the Fate of the Old English *Dialogues*", in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Roberts and J.L. Nelson, pp. 35-51, esp. 43-49; cf. also H. Hecht, ed., *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Großen*, (Leipzig und Hamburg, 1905-7), part 2, esp. 99-121; and P.N.U. Hartung, "The Text of the Old English Translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*", *Neophilologus* 22 (1937), 281-302.

[47] Brown, "Mercian Manuscripts", p. 279.

[48] *OEPC*, p. 7.; trans.: K&L, p. 126.

This analysis has shown that the infrastructure and intellectual resources for a translation of Bede's *HE* might have been available at various centers in Anglo-Saxon England[49] Those resources probably could have been brought to good effect only after the Viking raids had come to a slow-down, with a state of temporary peace and stability in England. Therefore, it is most likely that the production of the *OEHE* was undertaken towards the end of the ninth century.

Regarding the location, it would appear that Worcester, Canterbury, Winchester or possibly a minor centre are all likely to be leading candidates. In order to approach the problem, it might be advisable to pose a related question which concerns the Latin copy the translator used. As already mentioned, Anglo-Saxonists agree that the *OEHE* was based on a Latin exemplar of the C-branch. Recently, Michael Lapidge has modified Plummer's analysis by meticulously analyzing the stemma of the Latin manuscripts and checking the vernacular manuscripts against them. Lapidge argued that the so-called κ-redaction of the Latin text (a copy of the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow house-copy – Lapidge's μ – sent to Nothelm shortly after the completion of the *HE*) showed textual variance. Lapidge draws our attention to twelve occasions where the κ-redaction displays such 'corruptions' but the Old English translation appears to follow the 'correct' reading of the original text (i.e. the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow house copy).[50] In Lapidge's opinion, the Latin exemplar the translator used must have been less corrupt than μ, and subsequently the surviving manuscripts of the k-redaction must have been copied from now-lost and corrupt hyparchetype ζ.[51] Consequently, the *OEHE* appears to have been closer to the original Canterbury redaction than all surviving copies of that branch. Lapidge assumes it to have been copied from a Latin copy of κ, which he represents as ε, and sets out a new stemma:[52]

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[49] Rowley remarked that the translator might have worked at one of the scriptoria that survived the tumultuous period, possibly one which received a copy of the *OE Pastoral Care*. She admitted, however, that we were still unable to identify all the scriptoria to which Alfred sent a copy of this work (Rowley, pp. 42 and 46).

[50] Lapidge, "Latin Exemplar", pp. 237-39 and 242-44.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 244. The manuscripts in question are a) London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.ii (C), Ker no. 198; Gneuss no. 377. Canterbury (?StA), s.ix[2/4]; b) Kassel, Gesamthochschul-bibliothek, MS Qu. theol. 2 (K) (Gneuss, no. 835. Southumbria [?Kent] or Northumbria, s.viii[2]; prov. Fulda prob. s. ix [books IIII-V only]); c) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 43 [S.C. 4106] (O) (Ker no. 326; Gneuss no. 630. Southumbria [?Winchester ambit; ?Glastonbury], s.x/xi; prov. Canterbury (CC)).

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
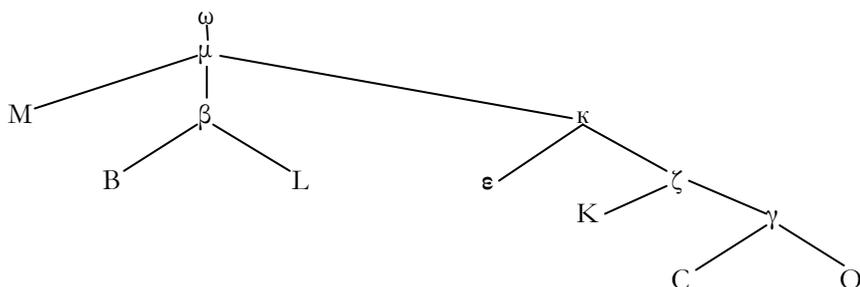
Fig. 4 Lapidge's stemma of the *HE* MSS
ω = Bede's (autograph) working copy
μ = the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow house copy
κ = the Canterbury redaction of the copy sent to Albinus
β = the (Northumbrian) exemplar of LB
γ = the (Southumbrian) exemplar of CO
ɛ = the copy used by the translator of the *OEHE*
ζ = the (very corrupt) copy of the κ – redaction from which CKO descend
M = Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.5.16
B = London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.XIV
L = St Petersburg, Public Library, MS Q. v.I.18
C = London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II
K = Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, MS Qu. theol. 2
O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 43

Following Lapidge's argumentation and the new stemma, Tiberius C.ii and Hatton 43, were copied from a likewise corrupt hyparchetype γ (copied between s. viii² and ix s.ix2/4), which was derived from the same archetype as the Kassel manuscript, but was one step removed from it. We can conclude that Tiberius was copied from a less perfect manuscript (γ) than the original manuscript of the Canterbury redaction (k), which served as exemplar for the Latin copy the Old English translator used. Therefore, γ must have been kept at Canterbury when Tiberius was copied in the middle of the ninth century. Similarly it served as an exemplar for Hatton 43 (s.x/xi). Apparently, that hyparchetype γ was used to produce copies of Bede's *HE* at Canterbury and possibly Winchester for a period of approximately 150 years. The corollary would be that the Latin exemplar which was used by the Old English translator had left Canterbury by the second half of the eighth century (the date K was copied from κ) and did not return in order to check other copies connected with Canterbury (CKO). Where did ɛ go? Given Mercia's ascendency in the eighth century and its hegemony in Kent, it cannot be ruled out that a Latin copy of Bede's *HE* was produced at Canterbury and sent to Mercia. Promising candidates would have been Worcester or Gloucester or Lichfield. It is very intriguing idea – given Werferth's role in Alfred's translation pro-

gram – that he either provided the Latin exemplar which was used to translate the *HE* at Alfred's court or that he had it translated by his monks at Worcester. Referring back to the chapter on textual criticism and the conclusion that the original translation was undertaken at a center which had sufficient resources, Worcester is a likely candidate.[53] The apparent difference between the translations of the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* leaves room for two possible conclusions. First, Werferth (if he was indeed the translator of the work) translated the *OE Dialogues* himself, whereas he left the translation of the Bede's *HE* to his team of scribes, as this task required the resources of a multitude rather than of an individual. He might just have given his *imprimatur* in the end. Alternatively, the *OEHE* may have been an independent translation, not directly connected with Worcester. It might have been translated at Lichfield, which would concur with Miller's argumentation, but we have no hard evidence for such an assumption.[54] If the translation was commissioned by Werferth or Alfred, as well as whether or not it was outsourced to another, must remain matters of conjecture.

Taking all the evidence into consideration, the translation seems to have been carried out by a team of translators, who had a Mercian connection and/or background and who worked in a center that provided sufficient resources to carry out the task. The manuscript they used was derived from the Canterbury redaction (κ) of Bede's *HE*, but copied and sent elsewhere between 731 and 800. It must have survived the Scandinavian raids of the ninth century to serve as the exemplar for the Old English translators between c.890x930, but was subsequently lost. The most likely candidates are Canterbury or Worcester. Sherborne or Gloucester might have also provided sufficient resources, but with a work such as the *HE* it is more likely that it was translated at a more important center.[55] An argument in favor of Sherborne might be that Asser used Bede's *HE* as a source for his *Vita Ælfredi*.[56] Then again, he might have had access to that work at Winchester (where the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which drew on Bede's work as well, was probably compiled) or at Canterbury.

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[53] Blair remarks that the West Midlands do not appear to have been seriously affected by the Scandinavian depredations. With regard to Worcester he states: "After the 870s, Worcester and Gloucester became the centers of a revived Mercia which preserved its identity under the semi-autonomous rule of Æthelred and Æthelflæd."(*Church*, p. 306).

[54] Blair concedes that were are lacking charter evidence for Lichfield, but admits that this was not necessarily due to institutional disruption but rather to archival loss. Evidently, the diocese survived the turmoil of the first Viking Age as a bishop's seat (*ibid.*, p. 308-09).

[55] For the importance of Gloucester, however, see Blair, *Church*, p. 308. Æthelflæd founded a second minster there in 900. Sisam argued that it was unlikely that Alfred, especially at the beginning of his reign, had enough trained scribes at his disposal in one place to meet all scribal and administrative tasks. He probably drew on the resources of Canterbury and Worcester ("Publication of the Pastoral Care", pp. 141-43).

[56] K&L, p. 54 and 231 n. 16 and Lapidge, "Asser's Reading", in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 27–48, at pp. 38-39.

Nevertheless, the role of Asser might prove to be of certain interest for our purposes. Lapidge argued that "his knowledge of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* might also be relevant to the origin of the Old English Bede."[57] He showed that Asser's reading included works needed for the scholarly activity at Alfred's court.[58] With regard to the *OE Orosius,* he elaborated on a theory outlined by Bately, who adduced evidence for the misspellings of some Latin proper names in the translation as being the result of dictation by a Welsh native speaker.[59] For Lapidge, Asser's familiarity with the Latin text helped to confirm Bately's linguistic evidence that it might have been Asser by whom the *OE Orosius* was dictated. Lapidge refers to close verbal parallels between the *OE Orosius* and a version of the *ASC*.[60] Asser, in turn, based the annalistic chapters of the *Vita Ælfredi* (up to chapter 86) on a version of the *ASC* that is now lost. This version might have resembled the earliest compilation, but was in any case different from all surviving manuscript copies of the *ASC*.[61] This interconnection between Asser, Bede's *HE*, the compilation of

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[57]   Lapidge, "Asser's Reading", p. 40.

[58]   *Ibid.*, according to Lapidge's analysis, Orosius, Gregory (*Dialogi*) and Bede were among Asser's sources (pp. 33-38). It is also quite interesting that Aldhelm is among Asser's sources, whereas a copy (British Library, MS Royal 5 F.iii fols. 1-40; Gneuss no. 462, Ker no. 253) of the prose *De Virginitate* was produced s.ix^ex or ix/x in Mercia (Worcester?) and might thus have come to Asser's attention through Alfred's Mercian helpers. Mechthild Gretsch convincingly argued that the roots of the revival of the Aldhelm's Latin 'hermeneutic style' were to be found at the court of King Alfred, who is said, according to Williams of Malmesbury, to have greatly venerated the Anglo-Saxon poet (*The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 341-44.); for the hermeneutic features of Asser's style see K& L, pp. 54-55 and 221-22. This evidence does reinforce the notion of the close connection between Mercian intellectual activity and the court at Winchester.

[59]   See Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p. cxiv. The native speaker in question does not necessarily be Asser himself. It is quite unlikely that he undertook the long and probably perilous journey from St. David's to Winchester all by himself. He was probably accompanied by some fellow Welshmen. Given the surrender of the Welsh kings to Alfred(*VÆ* chs. 79-80), it is more than likely that there were Welshman present in Wessex and the court (*VÆ* ch. 76). See also K&L, p. 258 n. 157 for that matter and p. 291 n. 42 for Wulfric the 'Welsh reeve'.

[60]   Lapidge, "Asser's Reading", pp. 41 and notes.

[61]   Asser's makes an interesting addition concerning London in ch. 4 of the *VÆ*: "quae est sita in aquilonari ripa Tamesis fluminis, in confinio East-Seaxum et Middel-Seaxum, sed tamen ad East-Seaxum illa civitas cum veritate pertinet." (*VÆ*, p. 5); *Which is situated on the northern bank of the river Thames, between the East Saxons and the Middle Saxons, although this city truly belonged to the East Saxons*). This appears to be based on *HE* II.3, which was also used for one of the three excerpts to be found on the Domitian folio. Asser's connection with the compilation of the *ASC* might be hardened by the fact that two entries of the 'First continuation' (893 and 896) explicitly apply the term *cristnan* when referring to the Anglo-Saxons as opposed to their apparently 'heathen' (though not explicitly styled as such) counterparts, the Danes. This usage is not to be found before that in the narration of the *Chronicle* and only sparsely used thereafter (cf. *DOEC*; <accessed: 01/10/2014>). Asser coherently uses *christiani* and *pagani* in his *Vita Ælfredi*, where he casts the conflict between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes in terms of a 'holy war'. Therefore, it might stand to reason that Asser influenced the terminology of the 'First Continuation.' As Asser succeeded to the bishopric of Sherborne at some point between 892 and 900, he might well have been present at Winchester to supervise the compilation of the entries.

the *ASC* and the *OE Orosius* makes one wonder as to what extent Asser might have been involved (in whatever capacity) in the translation of the *OEHE*, which consequently must be located in Winchester or at least Wessex rather than an independent Mercian context. We have to be careful not to be attracted too much by important people. Neither Alfred nor Werferth nor Asser might have been directly involved in the translation of Bede's *HE,* but it is highly likely that they were. Although it is difficult to come up with a definitive suggestion of a place of origin, the evidence just outlined leaves either Canterbury or Worcester as the prime candidates.

To shed more light on the issue of authorship (and implicitly the translators' background and training) the next chapter will focus on the concepts of medieval authorship and authority, and on the translation strategies evident in the *OEHE*. In this regard the glosses (both scratched and ink) in MS Cotton Tiberius C.II, a manuscript copied at ninth-century Canterbury, will be analyzed in order to ascertain whether or not these resemble a preliminary attempt at translating the *HE*.

IV. Author and Authority

The *OEHE*'s authorship has troubled Anglo-Saxon scholars up to the present day. Although we lack a preface similar to those preceding the *OE Boethius* or the *OE Pastoral Care,* King Alfred had been accredited with the translation until Whitelock convincingly removed the West Saxon king from that authorship.[1] The question of authorship is important, as author and authority were two sides of the same coin during the Middle Ages. Authorship was intimately linked to power and status. A translation of such an important and prestigious work as Bede's *HE* suggests the question of who had the authority, power and means to translate it. Did this authority imply a particular wisdom to translate and therefore legitimize the act of translation? Did the translation itself command authority and, if so, on what grounds? Was it a vernacular derivative of the Latin masterpiece or an authoritative text in itself? And finally, do we actually need to have an 'author'?[2] Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to analyze to what extent the *OEHE* needs to be regarded as authoritative text, how this authority was generated and what role (if any) the author did play in that process. This will facilitate our understanding of the text with regard to its importance and purported Alfredian connection.

First, a brief summary of the textual tradition which identifies King Alfred as the author of the *OEHE* will be given. Then, the medieval concepts of authorship and textual authority will be discussed. Next, the role of the 'author' of the *OEHE*, with a special focus on the construction of authority, will be analyzed. Finally, the question of authority with regard to the use of the *OEHE* as a source for later compilers will be taken into consideration.

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[1] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede";

[2] The term 'author' is a complex one, especially with regard to the Middle Ages. Problems concerning the distinction of author and narrator will be addressed further below. Therefore, the term 'author' is put in single quotation marks.

King Alfred and the Authorship of the *OEHE*

Alfred's purported authorship had rested primarily on the literary evidence given by Ælfric in his *Homily on St. Gregory* and William of Malmesbury's account of Alfred, as has already been discussed. The material evidence seems to lend credence to that claim as we find a Latin couplet on the first page of MS Ca, which is repeated on p. 194 of that manuscript: <Historicus quondam fecit me Beda latinum, Ælfred rex Saxo transtulit ille pius>.3 This testifies that by the time of the Norman Conquest at the very latest, Alfred's reputation as author/translator of the *OEHE* was in full swing. However, the late ninth-century literary sources do not mention the *OEHE*, let alone Alfred's role in translating it. The evidence is ambiguous. How then came Ælfric to credit Alfred with the translation? Being a prolific writer, well-versed in and well-acquainted with Old English and its linguistic features, he must have recognized the Mercian dialect features displayed in the text.4 Why should we discard William of Malmesbury's attribution when – at the same time – we readily accept Alfred's authorship for the other works he mentions?5 With Ælfric, it might have been his sense for archaic features, which made him assume – being used to the late West Saxon standard of Winchester – that the translation was authoritative because of its archaic character. And whose authority should come to his mind other than that of Alfred, who featured as implied authorial persona in his translation program?

The reasons for questioning Alfred's authorship are mainly philological. Henry Sweet was a pioneer in raising doubts about Alfred's authorship, with Miller then being the first to discern the conspicuous Mercian dialect admixture.6 In attempts to reconcile the authorship of Alfred with the Mercian element, Jacob Schipper stressed the influence of Alfred's Mercian helpers and argued that the West Saxon element could be explained by personal notes and glosses which Alfred had either accumulated during his study of the texts or which another person had drawn up for the king.7 Kuhn took up Schipper's argument and proposed that the king used and adapted an earlier Mercian gloss to the text, although his view was refuted by

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3   On the first page <Ælfred> is altered to <Ælured>.

4   Cf. Kuhn, "Authorship", p. 179. Mechthild Gretsch remarks on the validity of Ælfric's statement: "It is interesting therefore, that Ælfric refers to the Old English Bede as one of the king's translations. […] Apparently Ælfric, a scholar whose awareness of linguistic detail can scarcely be paralleled anywhere in Old English literature, saw no problems in attributing a text crawling with Anglian dialect features (which no doubt he will have recognized) to the king himself." ("Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 104 n.77).

5   Kuhn,"Authorship," p. 179. We have to modify Kuhn's statement insofar as the *OE Orosius* has been detached from the Alfredian canon, thanks to the research by Janet Bately.

6   See H. Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Oxford, 1876), pp. 197-98. He remarks that the word-order was quite un-English, which would in turn prove that the passage was "only nominally Alfred's".

7   For Schipper's argument see his *Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, I, xl-xlii.

Dorothy Whitelock.[8] Today Alfred's authorship is generally ruled out by Anglo-Saxonists.[9] Even then, those past analyses need to be considered in the light of surviving evidence. We have little 'control' evidence as the sample is relatively small and we lack any vernacular texts that are demonstrably written by individual helpers of Alfred's.[10] With regard to the Alfredian translations the spectrum of opinions witnesses – at one extreme – the ultra-skeptical position which proposes a collective early West Saxon court style with Alfred lending his name (and authority) to the collective composition of a group of scholars.[11] The ultra-positivist position regards Alfred as the formative mind behind the translations, and who carried them out in person.[12] Pratt also formulated a minimalist view and 'revised'

8   Cf. Kuhn, "Synonyms", 168-76; *idem*, "Cursus in Old English: Rhetorical Ornament or Linguistic Phenomenon", *Speculum* 47.2 (1972), 188–206 and *idem*, "Authorship"; cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 58-59.

9   Cf. Bately, "King Alfred and the Old English Translation of Orosius", *Anglia* 88 (1970), 433-56; *idem*, "The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence", *PBA* 64 (1978), 93-129, at pp. 101-29; *idem*, *OE Orosius*, pp. lxxxiii-vi; *idem*, "Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter", *ASE* 10 (1982), 69-95; *idem*, "Old English Prose"; *idem*, "The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?", in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P. Szarmach (N.Y., 2000), pp. 3-28, *idem*, "The Alfredian Canon Revisited". For opinions other than Bately's see Potter, "Old English Bede"; Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 77; and E.M. Liggins, "The Authorship of the Old English Orosius", *Anglia* 88 (1970), 289-322.

10   See D. Pratt, "Problems of Authorship and Audience in the Writings of King Alfred the Great", in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. J.L. Nelson and P. Wormald (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 162-91, at p. 168. The sole contemporary authority for Werferth's authorship of the *OE Dialogues* is Asser, whereas the preface to the Old English translation does not mention the bishop of Worcester. Moreover, in the cases of the *OE Soliloquies* and the *OE Boethius* their transmission poses a serious problem as both texts survive in manuscripts copied long after the alleged composition of the works. The *OE Boethius* survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 180 and London, British Library, Otho A.vi, badly damaged but known from a transcript by Francis Junius made in the seventeenth century. The translation of the Augustine's *Soliloquia* survives in a single manuscript, London, British Library, Vitellius A.xv, fols. 4-59. On the lacunose state of the manuscript see also K&L, p. 299. Mechhild Gretsch warns us of the difficulties raised by lexically-based ascription of a text or texts to a certain individual as opposed to a closely known group ("Literacy and the Use of the Vernacular"), p. 20. Moreover, the whole issue of identifying an author on grounds of style is a risky business as the integrity of content and form is difficult to uphold for a medieval textual culture (cf. Schnell, "'Autor' und 'Werk'", pp. 60-61).

11   Cf. Swan, "Authorship", p. 73. Roland Barthes highlights the desire to define an author in order to understand a work of literature and claims that "the image of literature to be found in contemporary culture is tyrannically centered on the author." ("The Death of the Author", in *The Rustle of Language*, transl. R. Howard (Oxford, 1986), pp. 49-55, at pp. 49-50). Foucault describes the author-function as the result of complex attempts to construct a rational entity to whom we can ascribe the work. He discards those aspects of an individual as mere projections ("What is an Author?", *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays*, ed. D.F. Bouchard and transl. S. Simon (Oxford, 1977), pp. 113-38, at p. 123).

12   Cf. also W.G. Busse, "Die 'karolingische' Reform König Alfreds', in *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen*, ed. F.R. Erkens (Berlin, 1999), pp. 169-84, who argues that historical circumstances would have rendered any literary efforts of Alfred impossible. His argumentation, however, is not wholly convincing. A central argument of his is based on an obvious misreading of Asser's

minimalist view of things. The former stresses that Alfred only authorized the texts. The latter claims that despite the attraction of the minimalist view, it was too simple. The king must have been familiar with the works that were translated in his name, as the sole *imprimatur* would not have sufficed to give the texts their authority.[13] In sum, Alfred's role as 'author', lending authority to the translations (including the *OEHE*?) is a troublesome business. Before we embark on a detailed analysis of the *OEHE*'s 'author', it is necessary to reconsider the concept of 'author' as it is evident in early medieval literature.

Defining the Medieval Author

The concept of the medieval 'author' is difficult to delineate. First of all, the term we are dealing with is *auctor*, which will henceforth be used in the present discussion.[14] Alistair Minnis, in his seminal study *Medieval Theory of Authorship,* defines the *auctor* as follows:[15] the status of the author depends to some degree on reception by later scholars and is defined by authenticity (veracity) and authoritativeness (sagacity). The works of an *auctor* need to have what Minnis calls 'intrinsic worth' (i.e. conformity with Christian truth) and must be authentic (i.e. genuine productions of the named author). Finally, seniority plays an important role. Subjectively 'old' or 'ancient' works were seen as authoritative, which at the same time triggered the dogma that authoritative works must be old. Minnis's chiasm puts the major problem with regard to the status of an *auctor* in a nutshell: "the work of an author was a book worth reading, a book worth reading was the work of an author."[16] In sum, an *auctor* is a person whose works must be authentic, 'old', conform with Christian truth, must be well-received, acknowledged/venerated, applied by generations of scholars and command authority. When turning to Old English texts, more often than not, we are left with anonymous texts whose di-

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Latin in the *Vita Ælfredi*, which consequently makes him date the beginning of the king's literary activities to 877 and not 887 as is evident in the text.

[13] Pratt, "Some Problems", pp. 172-75. Pratt's argumentation embeds the 'royal' texts into the wider intellectual and historical development of the 890s, especially the translation program. He focuses on text-immanent criteria and the king's supposed readership and comes to the conclusion that the texts give the impression "of conscious self-projection, heavily dependent on authorial recognition," with the works being "conduits of the king's uniquely manipulative truth." (*ibid.*, pp. 190-91).

[14] If we turn to the *LexMA* for a definition we get the following entry: "*Auctores* (seit 12./13. Jhdt. auch: actores), Urheber aller Art, Verfasser, Autoren von bes. Ansehen und Beweiskraft [...], dann Textbücher, die dem Unterricht zugrundegelegt und vom »lector« (in der Vorlesung) erklärt werden. Speziell: Autoren und Texte (bes. poetische), die den Gegenstand des Literaturstudiums bilden (im Rahmen der Grammatik) bilden (→ Artes liberales, → Schullektüre) (*LexMA,* s.v. *Auctores*)."

[15] A. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, 1988), pp. 10-13.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

recting mind is irrecoverable.17 Authorial self-assertion is rare in the majority of early medieval texts.18 Anglo-Saxon authors took great pains to present themselves as mediators of knowledge, carefully citing their sources rather than stressing their authorial genius. Their texts drew their status from the authority of the sources processed.19 Mary Swan defines the authorial self-image thus:

> an Anglo-Saxon author is most likely to have a self-image as somebody who inherits source materials, reworks them and issues them so that they can be passed on to new readers and new writers who will in turn rework them.20

A case in point is Bede himself, who – as one of the best-known identifiable authors of Anglo-Saxon England – was committed to derivation rather than originality and had a predilection for intertextuality, not independence.21 This apparent self-denial of authorial consciousness should not be overestimated, though. There is a preponderance of anonymity in (early) medieval literature, but we encounter confident self-assertions of authorship all over Europe. This further contributes to the idea of a fixed, author-centered text, which is not to be altered.22 The most prominent examples from Anglo-Saxon Saxon England are King Alfred and Ælfric of Eynsham. Ælfric claims to be an *auctor* as "someone who was at once a writer and an authority, someone not merely to be read but also to be respected and believed."23 Ælfric's primary concern, however, was the validation and secur-

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17 Foucault's argument that anonymity ensures the readership's engagement with the text rather than its interpretation of the author's secret agendas, does only apply to a certain extent to medieval texts (cf. Schnell, " 'Werk' und 'Autor'", pp. 11-12). Modern literary reception perceives of the concepts of author and work as intricately interwoven. Moreover, the availability of information through the internet, social networks etc. and the common access to a literary canon and its interpretation provide a different context from the Middle Ages. Foucault's statement is valid for a modern society but is inappropriate for the (early) Middle Ages in my opinion.

18 The suppression of the author's name can *inter alia* be explained by Sulpicius Severus and Salvian, who warn the writer against the sin of *vanitas terrestris*. Moreover, the author might have chosen to omit his name out of modesty as he hoped that the name of the saint he was writing about will protect his work from the envious as is the case with Heiric of Auxerre's *Allocutio ad librum*, which is a preface to his *Life of St. Germanus*. See Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 515-16.

19 The theoretical backing for recycling ideas in different contexts rather than being original in literary composition was formulated by Augustine in his *De Doctrina Christiana*. He clarifies that as long as the material drawn upon was composed in wisdom and a good style, the compiler would not be acting unjustly as there are many heralds of the (divine) truth as "uerbum autum dei non est ab eis alienum qui obtemperant ei; […]."(*but the word of God is not alien to those, who obey him*); *Augustinus. De Doctrina Christiana*, in *Sancti Avrelii Avgustini Opera, Pars IV.1*, ed. J. Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 162), pp. 1-167, at p. 106.

20 Swan, "Authorship and Anonymity", p. 79.

21 See J. Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1998), p. 2.

22 Cf. Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 515-17 and Schnell,"'Werk' und 'Autor'", pp. 58-62.

23 Cf. Minnis, *Theory of Authorship*, p. 10. Two examples must suffice here. In the final prayer of the *Catholic Homilies* he requests: "Gif hwa ma awendan wille. ðonne bidde ic hine for godes lufan þæt he gesette his boc onsundran. fram ðam twam bocum ðe we awend habbað." (*If anyone*

ing of a canon of orthodox Christian teaching, which he feared was endangered by unlearned scribes. He was aware that his vernacular works were unstable in the copying tradition of the medieval manuscript culture in which he lived.[24]

In this culture the boundaries between text and the individual were fluid.[25] Authoritative texts were read and carefully mused about in order to be used as guidance in life on one's way to the heavenly kingdom. In this process the author was influenced by the interpretive culture he was embedded in – a certain canon of authors as well as textual commentaries. Thus, any given text needs to be understood as part of a "system of written knowledge," the monastic libraries, and not necessarily as the product of a sole genius.[26] Even so, the 'author' did play a role in that he had to comprehend – equipped with the fundamentals of doctrine – and adroitly interpret the meaning of the texts he was processing.[27] Alfred's remark in his preface to the *OE Pastoral Care* is apposite when he refers to the transmission of the Old Law: "[…] hie [i.e. the books] wendon ell[a] ðurh wise wealhstodas on hiora agen geðiode." ([They] *translated them all through learned interpreters into their own language*.)[28] The adjective *wise* is important in this regard. Given the concept of medieval hermeneutics outlined before, a translator/author could only be 'wise' if he followed a certain orthodox tradition of interpretation, which meant, *inter alia*, inculcating a specific set of Christian values into his readers.[29]

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wants to write more, then I ask him for the love of God that he set his book apart from the two books which we have witten) (*Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Godden, p. 345, ll. 7-9; trans.: Swan "Authorship", p. 79). He bids the copyists in his preface to the *Lives of Saints* : "[G]if hwa þas boc awritan wille […] he hi wel gerihte be þære bysne and þær namare betwux ne sette þonne we awendon. (*If anyone wishes to copy out this book […] he write it properly according to the exemplar and does not set down any more amongst it than we have written.*) (Skeat, *Lives of Saints*, I, 6, ll. 74-6; trans.: Swan, "Authorship", p. 79).

24 Cf. J. Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, (Durham, 1994), pp. 65-71 for an analysis of Ælfric's authorial self-identifcation and the tactics which he applied to bestow authority on his works; cf. Swan, "Authorship", pp. 78 -79 and Liuzza, who deems Ælfric's practice remarkable and "rare in a medieval literary culture where anonymity and textual instability are generally the hallmarks of vernacular culture." ("Religious Prose", p. 244).

25 DeGegorio, "Texts, Topoi and the Self", p. 81. Gregorio cites *Gregory's Moralia in Iob* in this respect: "In nobismetipsis namque debemus transformare quod legimus, ut cum per auditum se animus excitat, ad operandum quod audierit vita concurrat" (Gregoy, *Moralia in Iob* 1.33, CCSL 143, 43, ll.16-18). *We ought to transform what we read into ourselves, so that when our mind is aroused by what it hears, we may hasten to accomplish in our lives what we have heard.*(DeGregorio's translation).

26 Irvine, *Making of Textual Culture*, p. 429. Irvine's other macro genres are lexicon, gloss and commentary, compilation and encyclopedia (pp. 425-30). Despite this institutional focus with certain power structures and specific discourses, we need to discard the new historicist notions bolstered by Foucault's power of the discourse that permeates every layer of society. In comparison to a modern society with its multi-channeled access to information and incessant and unrestricted social interaction, the medieval author wrote in 'splendid isolation.' The characteristics of a modern nation-sate and society do not apply to the early Middle Ages. Thus the discourses which he was exposed to and part of – willingly or not – were restricted; cf. Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis*, esp. pp. 1-28.

27 Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 158.

28 *OEPC*, p. 7; transl.: K&L, p. 125.

29 Cf. Discenza, *The King's English*, p. 1 with regard to the *OE Boethius*.

The actual composition of texts was a rather complicated process, which often included the element of dictation. In the case of the *OE Pastoral Care*, Alfred probably listened to the explications of his helpers (Grimbald, Plegmund, Asser, John) and discussed the chapters with them before he rendered it into an English version (and perhaps even had his translation noted down in rough form). Given his day-to-day business as king he might have entrusted the task to a helper, who continued to dictate it to a scribe in the king's stead. Thus, the *OE Pastoral Care's* may be the product of a collective effort, filtered further through the king's helper and the scribe(s) of the MSS.[30]

Apart from that, we need to take the material culture of the manuscripts into consideration. As texts were open to interaction (glosses, annotations, comments, revisions, recycling for other purposes like homilies or *florilegia*) the term 'author' becomes even more problematic: is it the commentator, the glossator, the compiler, the one who dictates the text, or the scribe?[31] Medieval texts are *per se* open texts as they were subject to a complex process of production and reception. Therefore, it is necessary to assume a diversity of definitions for 'author' and 'text' as Schnell has proposed.[32] Consequently, it appears to be apposite to shift the focus from the 'author' to the authority of the text. Good examples for this are

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[30]   See R.W. Clement, "The Production of the Pastoral Care: King Alfred and his Helpers" in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose: 16 Original Contributions*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (New Sork, 1986), pp. 129-52, at pp. 139-42; cf. also Magennis, "Audience(s), Reception, Literacy", in *CASL*, pp. 84-101, at p. 86. The role of dictation for the writing process was utilized for figurative language. In Alcuin's reading God is the dictator, under whom holy men write; see Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 314. cf. also Minnis, *Theory of Authorship*, who refers to Gregory's excursus on authorship in his *Moralia in Iob*, where the pope claims that with regard to the Scriptures God he could deploy words by inspiring human *auctores* to write. At first he compares the human writer of the Book of Job to a pen with which a great man has written, but Gregory gives also the human *auctor* his due as an agency in the writing process (p. 36). See *Sancti Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob*, in *Sancti Gregorii Magni Opera*, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143-143B (Turnhout 1974), I, 8-9; "Sed quis haec scripserit, ualde superuacue quaeritur, cum tamen auctor libri Spiritus sanctus fideliter credatur. Ipse igitur haec scripsit, qui scribenda dictauit. Ipse scripsit, qui et in illius opera inspiratur exstitit et per scribentis uocem imitanda ad nos eius facta transmisit. Si magni cuiusdam uiri susceptis epistolis legeremus uerba sed qua calamo fuissent scripta quaeremus, ridiculum profecto esset non epistolarum auctorem scrie sensumque cognoscere, sed quale calamo earum uerba impressa fuerint indagare. Cum ergo rem cognoscimus, eiusque rei Spiritum sanctum auctorem tenemus, quia scriptorem quaerimus, quid aliud agimus, nisi legentes litteras, de calamo percontamur?"

[31]   A case in point are homilies whose manuscripts might reveal elements that have textual parallels in other manuscripts and which might belong to a so-called *Versionsgemeinschaft*; cf. Rudolf, *Variatio Delectat*; and Schnell, "'Werk' und 'Autor'", pp. 63-65. The majority of homilies are *subjektdezentriert* (i.e. not centered on a particular author). It is the message rather than the medium through which it is delivered which is important.

[32]   Schnell, "'Werk' und 'Autor'", p. 72. Schnell concludes that a medieval 'open text' is not the same as a postmodernist 'pluralistic, de-centered and fragmentary text' as at issue were the characteristics of an original that were generated in the transmission of the text (pp. 45 and 49 n. 140). Moreover, he argues that the term *open* necessitated a precision as there were different aspects of 'openness' (p. 71); Swan, "Authorship", p. 78.

the prose translations authorized by King Alfred (or rather his 'authorial-persona').

From Author to Authority

Given that the works of the 'Alfredian canon' may well have been products of group processes with Alfred's role ultimately unclear, they derive their authority from their alleged institutionalized context of composition with the West Saxon king as the driving force and 'author'. This is chiefly accomplished by the prose and verse prefaces attached to the *OE Dialogi*, the *OE Boethius* and the *OE Pastoral Care*. The prefaces elaborate on the translation process and name Alfred as their author (either in the first or third person).[33] In his study of these prefaces, Allan Frantzen identified their distinctive features as a use of figurative language and an explication of the working methods. Frantzen deems them to be 'preludes', which lead the reader into the main action and demand an active engagement with the text rather than a passive reception.[34] Discenza outlines three elements in the authorizing process of those texts. First, connection to highly respected Anglo-Saxons (Alfred, Werferth, Augustine). Second, a comment on the act of translation and, finally, approving reference to the author of the source text (Gregory, Augustine).[35] All those prefaces identify Alfred as translator (*OE Pastoral Care*, *OE Boethius*) or commissioner of the works in question (*OE Dialogues*). The *OE Soliloquies* do not explicitly mention Alfred in the preface, but in the coda to the translation it is written: "(H)ær endiað þa cwidas þe Ælfred kining alæs of þære bec þe we hatað on (Ledene *de uidendo deo* and on Englisc *be godes ansyne*)." (*Here end the sayings which King Alfred selected from the book which in Latin is called De Videndo Deo* and in English*, On Seeing God*).[36] The Alfredian translations forcefully show that Alfred is created as an authorial persona. The Latin sources are not slavishly reproduced and their authority transported; it is rather the king himself, who through his merging of royal and intellectual authority, poses himself as the eloquent ruler who institutionalized and authorized the Old English texts produced at his court. Alfred bestows ultimate authority on the Old English text, which become canonical texts in their own right, through the power of the Alfredian discourse, the institutional character of his alleged program and the towering character of the king himself. *Auctor* and *auctoritas* converge in the West Saxon king, or rather his

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[33] For an excellent treatment of Alfred's Prefaces and the question of authority see A.J. Frantzen, "The Form and Function of the Preface in the Poetry and Prose of Alfred's Reign" in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferen*ces, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 121-35; cf. also N. Discenza, "Alfred's Verse Preface to the Pastoral Care and the Chain of Authority," *Neophilologus* 85 (2001), 625-33; Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, pp. 63-100, and DeGregorio, "Text, topoi and the Self."

[34] See Frantzen, "Function of the Preface", pp. 124-30.

[35] See Discenza, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", pp. 69-71.

[36] Carnicelli, *St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, p. 97; transl. K&L, p. 152.

literary *alter ego*. This chain of legitimization is necessary, as by Alfred's time Old English had not yet produced an extensive literary corpus. Translating from a highly-venerated and holy language like Latin into the 'inferior' vernacular needed to be at least explained, if not justified. Moreover, making texts accessible in Old English endangered the elite status of wisdom and knowledge, which used to be confined to the *litterati* (those who could read and write in Latin) of whom probably no more than a few hundred existed in Alfred's days. Thus, translation assumes a social and political dimension, which again requires a legitimizing element.

Author and Authority in the *OEHE*

Surprisingly, the *OEHE* lacks a preface in which Alfred lends his authority to the text. Consequently, the *OEHE* is usually regarded as the work of an anonymous translator. Judging from the text, however, we get the impression that the author is none other than Bede himself, as we have a first-person focalization in the *OEHE*'s preface as well as in the narrative throughout the *OEHE*.

The preface – a modified version of Bede's Latin preface – begins with "Ic Beda Cristes þeow and mæssepreost sende gretan ðone leofastan cyning Ceolwulf."[37] (*I, Bede, Christ's servant and priest sends greetings to the most-beloved King Ceowulf*). In general, the narrative mode of the *HE* is upheld. At the same time, anachronistic references pertaining to Bede's lifetime are updated except for a few instances. Consequently, the audience gets the impression that Bede himself is talking to them in their native tongue with nothing to displace the illusion of contemporary relevance. Discenza has demonstrated that by means of this narratological strategy, the text derived its authority not from the 'authorial persona' of Alfred but from the most venerated and prolific Anglo-Saxon scholar of all time.[38] The text is not marked as a translation, which diverts attention from the source text and avoids comparison between the two texts, which would have diminished the authority of the vernacular version. This is a clever tactic as a preface similar to those attached to the *OE Pastoral Care* or the *OE Boethius* has a simultaneous strengthening and weakening effect on the work. Despite the construction of a chain of authority through references to the source text and eminent figures like Alfred or Gregory, and the transparency achieved by the elaboration on the translation techniques, it can still be seen as a means to justify the translation and explains its worth.[39] With Latin as the language of Church and High Culture, a translation into the vernacular was deemed secondary to the source text, even dangerous and he-

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[37]   *OEB*, I.1, 1.
[38]   Discenza, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", pp. 72-80.
[39]   Cf. Frantzen, "Function of Prefaces", p. 124.

retical.[40] Moreover, Latin texts were regarded as more fixed compared to the instability of vernacular texts, especially in a period when the vernacular writing was yet in its infancy and no venerated vernacular *auctores* had entered the stage. These issues are completely avoided in the *OEHE*. The text does not have the 'stain' of translation on it. There seems to be no self-consciousness about the vernacular mode, which does not happen to be commented on and consequently does not afford to be vindicated or explained. The towering figure of Bede commands authority in the preface, giving the work a head-start to other translations as it seems to have come from the pen of the most prolific Anglo-Saxon scholar.[41] As we have seen already in the Anglo-Saxon period, Bede had won himself a reputation as translator and proponent of the English vernacular. If we take Alfred's lament on the state of learning into consideration, we might argue that nobody was capable of translating an important and prestigious work such as the *HE* except for the hitherto greatest Anglo-Saxon scholar. Even if Bede did not translate his *HE*, his state as intellectual capacity combined with the notion that the *OEHE* as Bede's own translation has the air of seniority about it, would have legitimized and authorized the translation. Let us take a closer look how the preface to the *OEHE* constructs authority and look for similar strategies as applied in the Alfredian prefaces.

The preface survives only in manuscripts B and Ca.[42] In MS B the preface follows the capitula on p. 18. It seems to be integral to the rest of the text as it is firmly integrated into the manuscript layout without any sign of it being drawn up later or produced independently. It has no heading like PREFATIO or FORE-

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[40] The prime example is Ælfric, who feels uneasy about the use of the vernacular and regards text written in Old English as being particularly dangerous since they might distort orthodox teaching and circulate heretical doctrine and misleading narratives among the laity and the less learned clerics. In his preface to the *First Series of Catholic Homilies* he writes: "þa bearn me on mode, […] þæt is þas of Ledenum gereorde to Englisce spræce awende, na ðurh Godes gife, na þurh gebilde micelre lare, ac for ðan ðe Ic geseah and gehyrde mycel gedwyld on manegum Engliscum bocum, ðe ungelærede menn ðurh heora bilewitnysse to micclum wisdome tealdon. And me ofhreow þæt hi ne cuþon ne næfdon ða godspellican lare on heora gewritum, buton þam mannum anum ðe ðæt Leden cuðon, and buton þam bocum ðe Ælfred cyning snotorlice awende of Ledene on Englisc, ða synd to hæbbenne"; *Then came to my mind, […] that I translate those from Latin into English, not through the grace of God, nor through the confidence of great learning, but because I saw and heard much heresy in many English books, which unlearned men because of their simplicity regarded as great wisdom. And it grieved me that they did not know nor had the evangelical teaching in their writings, except for that few men, who knew latin, and except for the books, which King Alfred wisely translated from Latin into English, which are at our disposal*; cf. Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, pp. 65-71 and M. Godden, "Ælfric and the Alfredian Precedents", in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. H. Magennis and M. Swan (Leiden, 2009), pp. 139-63.

[41] Kendall remarked that Bede's reputation prompted a degree of accuracy in the copying and transcription of his works that was otherwise only reserved for the Bible ("Bede and Education", *CCB*, pp. 99-112, at p. 110).

[42] It seems likely that MSS TCO also had the preface. Due to their defective state the beginning of each manuscript is lost and therefore irrecoverable.

SPRÆCE, which would mark it out as a preface.[43] However, this might be due to the generally unfinished state of the manuscript. After the last capitulum of the table of contents there is a blank space of about two lines in the manuscript. The second line appears to have been left empty for the illuminator, who was expected to fill it in an ornamented manner. Thus the preface was planned to be marked out explicitly and to be perceived as such. The words <Ic Beda cristes Þeoƿ ⁊ mæsse preost sende>, which appear in the originally blank line, are supplied in a modern hand.[44] In MS Ca the preface precedes the table of contents. Again it lacks an explicit heading but the first line <IC BEDA CRISTES ÞEOƿ AND MÆSSE-PREOST SENDE GRETAN> is written in rustic capitals and rubricated, starting with a distinct initial. It begins on fol. 3r and ends on 3v immediately followed by a genealogy of the West Saxon kings up to Alfred himself (fols. 3v-4r), which in turn is immediately followed by the table of contents. Neither the preface nor the genealogy appear to be independent from the main text as they do not constitute an extra bifolium separated from the rest of the text. The inclusion of the West Saxon genealogy is noteworthy, particularly as this manuscript was copied at Worcester, outside of West Saxon territory. The copyist might have adhered to the traditional idea that Alfred had translated the book and found it apt to attach a genealogy of the House of Wessex in order to associate the translation with Alfred and his circle. Thus the *OEHE* – at least in the eyes of the scribe – appeared as closely connected to Alfred and the West Saxons. By inserting the genealogy, the text is authorized in an additional way. It now bears the authority of the West Saxon kings, who forged the 'Kingdom of the English' and became the dominant power from the mid-ninth century until the Norman Conquest. This authorizing process also works conversely: through the genealogy of the West Saxons, with the uninterrupted succession until Alfred's time, is presented to the reader even before the story of the Anglo-Saxon Church and the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the table of contents. The genealogy appears even before the *descriptio britanniae* which portrays the primordal state of Britain and sets the scene for the successive the arrival of the different tribes (*HE* I.1). Consequently, the West Saxons are symbolically given primacy among the different tribes and kingdoms. This could be explained by a scribe with West Saxon affiliations and a need to emphasize the role of the West Saxons, who do not play a prominent role in the *OEHE*'s narration and whose ascendancy among the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms began after the period which the *HE* and its vernacular translation cover. The rule of the House of Wessex is thus portrayed as the culmination of a development that began with the Romans, the Britons, the Kentish, the Northumbrians and the Mercians, as narrated by Bede. Moving on from those material aspects, the content of the Old English preface is of high interest. It has been treated in a patronizing

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[43] All the Latin manuscripts of the *HE* have the heading <PREFATIO> and also an <EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO>.

[44] Cf. *OEB*, II,1, who speculates about the hand to be Wheelock's.

way by Anglo-Saxonists, who pointed out mistakes and deficiencies in comparison with the Bede's Latin preface.[45] These verdicts reveal a lot about the question of authority. The Old English version is regarded as inferior as it does not adequately render the source text with its status as authoritative work, written by a prominent and venerated author. Molyneaux pointed out that those attitudes presupposed that the translator had the same intentions as Bede did. In contrast, Molyneaux revealed the translator's purposeful editing in order to emphasize the aspect of learning and teaching, apparently designed for an audience rather than a readership.[46] The OE preface differs significantly from its Latin counterpart. Although it is no longer Bede's work, the translator uses the narrative voice of 'Bede' to authorize the work. The preface starts in a first-person voice (*Ic Bede*), stating 'Bede's' position as member of the clergy (*cristes þeow and mæssepreost*) and addresses a lay patron, King Ceolwulf.[47] This is similar to the tactic Ælfric applied in his prefaces, where he identified himself, referred to his status as a member of the clergy and to clerical and civic authority.[48] In the case of the civic authority, this is conveyed by addressing Ceolwulf explicitly as *cyning* and assigning him the superlative *leofastan* ('most beloved').

One question is whether or not a late ninth-century, not exclusively Northumbrian audience needed to know who Ceolwulf was. In any case, Bede's being on friendly terms with him – as the highest lay authority – lent authority to the translation. The implied audience's ignorance of Ceolwulf might have even enhanced the authority of the work as he may have been perceived as a king of old, shrouded in mists of time, which may have evoked associations of seniority and quasi-mythical status. If the audience was familiar with Ceolwulf, they will have recalled that he resigned his kingdom and took monastic vows, which elevated him to a sacral, quasi-saintly status and would have given the *HE* additional

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[45] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 74; and A. Crepin, "'La communication discursive dans la version vieil-anglaise de l' *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* ", in *Bède le Vénérable entre Tradition et Postérité*, ed. Lebecq, Perrin and Szerwiniack (Lille, 2005) pp. 289-96, at p. 289.

[46] See Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", pp. 1307-10. The translator omits Bede's statement "qui, quod uera lex historiae est, simpliciter ea quae fama uulgante collegimus ad instructionem posteritatis litteris mandare studuimus." (*HEGA*, I, 12). *For, in accordance with the true law of history, I have simply sought to commit to writing what I have collected from common report, for the instruction of posterity*; trans.: C&M, p. 7).

[47] Discenza remarks that this wording resembled the address as found in the Hatton MS of the preface to the *OE Pastoral Care*. The address reads "Alfred kyning hateð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice ond freondlice." (*OEPC*, p. 3; *King Alfred bids to greet Bishop Wærferth with his words lovingly and friendly*). Consequently, Discenza does not rule out that the translator modeled Bede's sentence on Alfred's letter, which he might have known. In that the preface would adapt "one of the methods of asserting authority used by the Alfredian prefaces: it establishes authority based on well-known Anglo-Saxon names, that of a cleric and that of a king." ("Anglo-Saxon Authority", p. 73).

[48] Cf. Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, pp. 68-70.

authority.[49] Reading the *HE* may have shown Ceolwulf the way from the temporal to the heavenly kingdom and thus manifested the spiritual worth of the book, a status which the *OEHE* now assumes. In any case, the appearance of two eminent protagonists – Bede and Ceolwulf – right at the beginning of the preface gives authority to the ensuing text. Similarly, the salutation plays an important part in constituting the persona of the humble narrator. What we have here is a chiasm which merges a formula of submission with a devotional formula.[50] However, 'Bede' is not Ceolwulf's servant but rather is Christ's. *Cristes þeow* (*HE famulus Christi*). This "expresses the idea that the drawer owes his earthly mission to the grace of God."[51] This mixture of formulas thus fits well the humble decorum appropriate for addressing a secular authority, but at the same time it is an expression of the higher authority "whose voice Bede will be."[52] Thus, 'Bede' as the narrator is humble, but his words are authoritative.[53] 'Bede''s personal authority towers even more than in the Latin preface as the translator omits the passage which refers to a previous version, which Bede had sent to Ceolwulf for critical reading and which Bede apparently had received back with annotations to draw up the most recent version of the *HE*.[54] Therefore, 'Bede''s authority is more prominent in the OE preface as the text is his creation and not in need of the correction and approval of the king. This is also a powerful statement about the relation between religious and worldly authority as the priest advises the king. This instruc-

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[49] Ceolwulf was later revered as saint and his relics were translated from Lindisfarne to Norham in 830. See C&M, p. 2 n. 2 and *HEGA*, I, 277.

[50] C. Kendall, "Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*: the Rhetoric of Faith", in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. J.J. Murphy (Berkeley, CA, 1978), pp. 145-72", at pp. 160-62.

[51] Curtius, *European Middle Ages*, p. 407.

[52] Kendall, "Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*", p. 161.

[53] There are, however, minor differences between the Latin and the Old English version in the application of elements constituting Bede's modesty and humbleness. The translator retains Bede's concern to remove all doubt from his opus by citing his authoritative sources and claiming that he was urged by Abbot Albinus to undertake this task as well as his petition for divine mercy due to his weaknesses of mind and body. The latter is placed at the very end of the *OEHE*, corresponding to the occurrence of the prayer in the manuscripts of the C-type (*inter alia* represented by London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II), whereas it occurs at the end of the preface in all manuscripts of the M-type. Likewise, he retains the Latin "Lectoremque suppliciter obsecro" (*HEGA*, I, 12) as "þone leornere ic nu eadmodlice bidde ʒ halsige"(*OEB*, I.1, 6) in entreating his reader not to blame him for any shortcomings in his record, to which the reader may read or hear anything different or contradictory. From the points listed by Kendall ("Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica", pp. 160-62), the *OEHE* leaves out Bede's remark that he had written down what he has read in "simple faith" (*simpliciter*) and his drive to "simpliciter ea quae fama uulgante collegimus." (*simply sought to commit to writing*.) (*HEGA*, I, 6). The *OEHE* also omits Bede's account of the *uera lex historiae*, which dictates the transmission of the common report for the instruction of posterity, with Bede being the *uerax historicus*, whose voice belongs to *historia*.

[54] "[E]t prius ad legendum ac probandum transmisi, et nunc ad transscribendum ac plenius ex tempore meditandum retransmitto." (*HEGA*, I, 6). *And I have sent it initially to be read and approved, and now I send it again for copying and more detailed meditation as time may permit.*

tional mode is exemplified by other passages that were reworked. Bede wanted Ceolwulf to study and disseminate the text ("ad transcribendum ac plenius tempore meditandum"),[55] which is rendered as "to rædanne ꝺ on emtan to smeageanne, ꝺ eac on ma stowe to writanne ꝺ to læranne" (*for reading and ruminating at leisure, and also for copying and teaching in many more place*) in the *OEHE*. Moreover, the *ad transcribendum* is modified to *on ma stowe to writanne*, which echoes King Alfred's words in the preface to the *OE Pastoral Care* about its dissemination:

> Siððan ic hie ða geliornod hæfde, swæ swæ Ic hie forstod, and swæ ic hie andgitfullicost areccean meahte, ic hie on Englisc awende; ond to ælcum biscepstole on minum rice wille ane onsendan. […] forðy ic wolde [ðæt]te hie ealneg æt ðære stowe wæren, buton se biscep hie mid him habban wille, oððe hie hwær to læne sie, oððe hwa oðre biwrite.
>
> (*After I had mastered it it, I translated it into English as best as I understood it and as I could most meaningful render it; I intend to send a copy to each bishopric in my kingdom.* […] *Therefore, I would wish that they* [i.e. the book and the *æstel*] *always remain in place, unless the bishop wishes to have the book with him, or it is on loan somewhere, or someone is copying it.*)[56]

Just as Alfred had ruminated about the work (*hie ða geliornod hæfde, swæ swæ Ic hie forstod*) before he had made it available through its translation and dissemination, so the *OEHE*'s preface instructs Ceolwulf to read and ruminate about the work (*rædan* and *smeagan*) and have it copied at various locations and taught to his subjects. The teaching aspect is also the subject of an addition to the work as Molyneaux shows. The *OEHE* renders a rather circumlocutory passage in the Latin as follows:

> *For þinre ðearfe ꝺ for þinre þeode ic þis awrat; forþon ðe God to cyninge geceas, þe gedafenað þine þeode to læranne* [Molyneaux's italics].
>
> (*For your benefit and for your people I recorded this, because God chose you to be king, it becomes you to teach your people.*)[57]

The king is advised by 'Bede' to instruct his people with the help of the present book. It is a clear instruction but also gives the work a defined purpose and authorization. It is God who has deigned to elevate the king to a position to teach the people subject to him. The *OEHE* is depicted as an apt medium for the transmission of God's teaching through an intermediary installed by God himself. The purpose and importance of the book are further invigorated:

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[55]   *HEGA*, I, 6. *For copying and more detailed meditation as time may permit.*
[56]   *OEPC*, pp. 7-9; trans.: K&L, p. 126.
[57]   *OEB*, I.1, 2.

> Forðon þis gewrit oððe hit god sagað be godum mannum, ⁊ se ðe hit gehyreþ, he onhyreþ þam, oððe hit yfel sagaþ be yfelum mannum, ⁊ se ðe hit gehyreð, he flyhð þæt ⁊ onscunaþ. *Forþon hit is god godne to herianne ⁊ yfelne to leanne, þæt se geðeo se þe hit gehyre. Gif se oðer nolde, hu wurð he elles gelæred?* [Molyneaux's italics].

> (*Because this book says good things about good men, and the one who hears it, he emulates that, or it says wicked things about wicked people, and the one who hears it, he flees it and shuns it. Because it is good to cherish good deeds and discards wicked deeds, so that he may profit who hears it. If he otherwise does not want to, how else will he be instructed?*)[58]

This passage is striking for various reasons. First, it outlines the purpose and also the power of the book. The people are given a guide-book for their way of life by the means of exempla. Additionally, it claims that the exempla in the book actually have the power to change the conviction of the audience. On top of that, it is the aural aspect which matters, and with it the medium who reads out the exempla to the people. Ceolwulf as king commands authority by nature. The message of the book read out by an authoritative figure like a king will better the listeners. Finally, listening to the *OEHE* being read out loud appears as the ultimate answer to the instruction of learners. This passages squares well with the idea of Alfred's translation program and the state of the nation as outlined in the preface to the *OE Pastoral Care*. Apparently, there were people who were reluctant to listen to Christian teaching and doctrine. This strikes a familiar chord when we recall Alfred's complains about the carelessness of the English as far as learning and wisdom is concerned.[59] The phrase "hu wurð he elles gelæred?"[60] (*How else will he be instructed?*) echoes the inability of the Anglo-Saxons to read and understand Latin, which in turn would make aural instruction in the vernacular the only viable way. Also, the *how else* might refer to the dearth in instructional literature during the ninth century which Alfred seeks to change with his translation program.

The book itself appears to have authority as well, since it is not 'Bede' who speaks about the good and bad *exempla* but "þis gewit […] sagað."[61] In using the rhetorical device of personification (*prosopopoeia*) the book is stylized as an animate object, although it does not assume the role of the narrator as is common in Old English riddles or the verse preface to the *OE Pastoral Care*.[62] Yet it emphasizes

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[58]   *OEB*, I.1, 2.
[59]   *OEPC*, p. 5; and K&L, p. 125.
[60]   *OEB*, I.1, 2.
[61]   *Ibid.*
[62]   The verse preface of the *OE Pastoral Care* ends: "Siððan min on Englisc Ælfred kyning awende worda gehwelc, & me his writerum sende suð & norð; heht him swelcra ma brengan bi ðære bisene, ðæt he his biscepum sendan meahte, forðæm hi his sume ðorfton, ða ðe Lædenspræce læste cuðon"(*OEPC*, p. 9); *King Alfred subsequently translated every word of me into English and sent me south and north to his scribes, he commanded them to produce more such copies from the exemplar, so that he*

how religious books command authority on their own as teaching the rightful Christian doctrine.[63]

What follows in the preface is an appeal to authority. 'Bede' meticulously recites the process of how he acquired the information in his compilation and then he names his credentials, i.e. his association with the eminent figures of Anglo-Saxon England. He also cites the purpose of this endeavor: "꜓ þæt ðy læs tweoge hwæðer þis soð sy, ic cyðe hwanan þas spell coman."[64] (*and that there may be less doubt whether this is true, I will tell from where those stories come*). 'Bede' thus maps out his narrative sources and thereby establishes a chain of authority. This comprehensive approach of the undertaking becomes clear as 'Bede' lists every district of Anglo-Saxon England and his sources for it in turn. He begins with Kent and the early history of the mission triggered by the papacy. His chief credential is "se arwurða abbud Albinus"[65] (*the worthy abbot Albinus*), whom he singles out as "wide gefaren ꜓ gelæred, ꜓ wæs betst gelæred on Angelcynne."[66](*far-travelled and erudite, and he was most learned among the English*). 'Bede' states that Albinus ascertained all that "on gewritum oððe ealdra manna sægenum"[67] (*from the writings and sayings of old men*) or "fram leorningcnihtum þæs eadigan papan Scē Gregories"[68] (*from the disciples of the blessed pope Saint Gregory*). The authenticity and therefore authority is established in various ways. First, there is a dual process of authenticating Albinus' information, both written (*on gewritum*) and oral (*sægenum*). This shows that the aspect of orality, or *fama uulgans*, plays an important role in addition to the authority of the written medium. Second, the aspect of seniority is important as those sayings are specifically said to be 'of old men'. Third, the authority of the papacy is invoked since

could send them to his bishops, because some of them who least knew Latin had need thereof; trans.: K&L, p. 127.

63   Cf. Lerer, *Literacy and Power,* pp. 37-96, who deals with the importance of written texts for Christian culture and King Alfred's forging of a religious Anglo-Saxon culture by means of the written text. With regard to the copying of Scripture, the very act of writing can be seen as a protracted prayer with the scribe assuming the role of *miles christi* (M. Brown, "Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Production: Issues of Making and Using", in *CASL*, pp. 102-17, at p. 113); the act of writing itself assumes religious significance. Isidore of Seville maps out the allegorical significance of the writing instruments: "Instrumenta scribae calamus et pinna. Ex his enim verba paginis infiguntur; […] cuius acumen in dyade divitur, in toto corpore unitate servata, credo propter mysterium, ut in duobus apicibus Vetus et Novum Testamentum signaretur; quibus exprimitur verbi sacramentum sanguine Passionis effusum." (*Etymologiae*, Bk. VI.14.3). *The scribe's tools are the reed-pen and the quill, for by these the words are fixed unto the page. A reed-pen is from a tree; a quill is from a bird. The tip of a quill is split into two, while its unity is preserved in the integrity of its body of its body, I believe for the sake of a mystery, in order that by the two tips may be signified the Old and New Testament, from which is pressed out the sacrament of the Word poured forth in the blood of the Passion* (trans.: Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, p.142); Cassiodorus sees the fact that the scribe holds the quill with three fingers as an allegory for the Trinity; cf. Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 313 and n. 21.

64   *OEB*, I.1, 2.
65   *Ibid.*
66   *Ibid.*
67   *Ibid.*
68   *Ibid.*

the information has come from the disciples of Gregory the Great, which height-
ens their credibility. But 'Bede' does not only talk about the origin of his informa-
tion and its authority, but shows its quality as it appears to be the product of a
purposeful selection. Albinus transmitted his findings as written documents, or
through "Noðhelm ðone æfestan mæssepreost on Lundenbyrig"[69] (*Nothelm, that
pious priest of London*), who came to 'Bede' in person. Albinus made a careful selec-
tion and dispatched only those pieces of information "þe gemyndwurðe wæron."[70]
(*that were worthy to remember*). Therefore, the stories 'Bede' includes in his *OEHE* are
marked as authoritative, ancient, dually transmitted and of highest quality, as they
are worthy of commemoration. These strategies are applied to all his sources.
Apart from the history of Kent, Albinus and Nothelm have provided 'Bede' with
information about how the East Saxons, the West Saxons, the Angles and the
Northumbrians received the faith. It also becomes clear that 'Bede' was encour-
aged by Albinus and Daniel, bishop of Winchester to write the *HE*:

> Ðurh Albinus swiðost ic geðristlæhte þæt ic dorste þis weorc ongyn-
> nan, ꝧ eac mid Danieles þæs arwurðan Westseaxna bisceopes, se nu
> gyt lifigende is.

> (*Through Albinus I was chiefly encouraged that I dared to undertake this en-
> deavor and also with* [the help] *of Daniel, the reverend bishop of the West Sax-
> ons, who is now yet living.*)[71]

'Bede' implies that he had not seen himself capable or wont to compile a work
such as this, but was encouraged by two eminent figures, Albinus and Daniel of
Winchester.[72] Therefore, the whole undertaking had been sanctioned by two lead-
ing figures of the Anglo-Saxon Church and gives the impression of a work that
was deemed to be worth writing. Moreover, the translator stresses the contempo-
rary appeal and immediacy of the *OEHE* by adding that Daniel *se nu gyt lifigende is*,
which is a downright anachronism but bestows topicality upon the Old English
translation. It leaves one to wonder whom the translator expected to be the audi-
ence, as among the learned Anglo-Saxon clergy it would have been known that
Daniel was not alive anymore. A possible explanation may be that Daniel's biog-
raphy would not have been remembered precisely by the audience. As a corollary,
his inclusion with the slight modification that he was still alive needs to be seen as

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[69]   *OEB*, I.1, 2.
[70]   *Ibid*, 2-4.
[71]   *Ibid.*, 4.
[72]   Daniel of Winchester had guided the West Saxon missionary Boniface through the exchange of
      letters during his evangelizing efforts on the continent and would have been known by pur-
      ported readers, at least from hearsay.

authoritative name-dropping to bridge the gap between Bede and the contemporary reference-frame of the audience.[73]

Daniel provides 'Bede' with written information about the South Saxons, the West Saxons and the Isle of Wight. 'Bede' continues by listing the different districts along with his sources: Mercia and Essex (Cedd and Chad), East Anglia ("ealdra manna gewritum oððe sægene" and "Isses gesægenne";[74] *through the writings or sayings of old men* […] and *the sayings of abbot Isse*), Lindsey ("þurh gesegene þæs arwurðan biscopes Cynebyrhtes ┐ þurh his ærendgewritu ┐ oðra lifigendra swiðe getreowra";[75] *the sayings of Bishop Cynebehrt and his letter and of other very trustworthy living people*). Bede ends with Northumbria. His account is based:

> nalæs mid anes mannes geþeahte ac mid gesægene unrim geleaffulra witena, þa þe þa ðing wiston ┐ gemundon, ┐ syððan þæt ic sylf ongeat, ne let ic þæt unwriten.
>
> (*in no way on the thoughts of one man but on the sayings of innumerous pious wise men, who knew and remebered those things and that which I myself new then, I did not let unwritten.*)[76]

'Bede' is at pains to lend credibility to the account of Northumbria, as he does not rely on the testimony of one person but bases his information on numerous trustworthy wise men, who display knowledge of the events and rely on more ancient traditions as they *gemundon* 'remembered' things. Finally, 'Bede' elevated himself to the status of an authority as he confidently writes down what he himself could recall. By now, through the fastidious references to his sources, 'Bede' has acquired the status as reliable narrator. Thus, we are supposed to believe him. He elaborates that the stories about St. Cuthbert are based on

> þam gewritum ðe ic awriten gemette mid þam broðrum þære cyricean æt Lindesfearona ea, sumu, ða þe ic sylf ongitan mihte þurh swiðe getreowra manna gesægene, ic toycte.
>
> (*those books which I found written among the brothers of that church at Lindisfarne, moreover, that which I myself could gather from the sayings of very trustworthy people, I added on.*)[77]

Again, 'Bede' applies a dual authorization: the oral report of truthful men and the written record of the monastery of Lindisfarne. The preface ends with 'Bede' entreating his audience:

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[73] The insertion seems to be deliberate as there was no other West Saxon bishop named Daniel during the Anglo-Saxon period. Therefore, confusion with a bishop Daniel alive at the end of the ninth/beginning of the tenth century can be ruled out.

[74] *OEB*, I.1, 4.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] *Ibid.*

⁊ þone leornere ic nu eadmodlice bidde ⁊ halsige, gif he hwæt ymbe
ðis on oðre wisan gemete oððe gehyre, þæt he me þæt ne otwite.

(*and that the learner I now humbly beg and entreat, that if he something about
this find or hear in another manner, that he does not blame me.*)[78]

At first sight, this does appear like the humility topos, a device commonplace in
Latin prefaces and also evident in the prose preface to the *OE Boethius*.[79] Ap-
proaching this passage from a different angle, however, might open the way for it
to be read as yet another authorizing statement. Judging from his meticulous colla-
tion of material and the extensive citation of sources, 'Bede' has done a very good
job. Given the long list of eminent Anglo-Saxons and the first-hand information
'Bede' gathered, it would be hard to argue against anything that the Northumbrian
is claiming. The audience is compelled to believe him, and even more so if the
OEHE was delivered aurally through a medium of high status – a member of the
clergy or an authoritative lay figure. Therefore, this passage does not read as a
genuine modesty topos, but as a final statement which casts the notion of false
report on any other than his own narration. The *OEHE* by means of this preface
becomes the authoritative narration of the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church and
the English as a people of God. It is written in the vernacular as a work which is
deemed worthy by divine and clerical approval to inculcate right Christian norms
and livelihood through teaching.

   The fact that it is written in Old English and apparently not mediated through
a translator gives the authority full force. The vernacular is deemed appropriate to
render 'Bede''s narration without distorting the intrinsic worth of the book. Apart
from that, 'Bede' applies a range of strategies to authorize the work. He connects
it to the authority of eminent members of the clergy including the archbishop of
Canterbury and the Apostle of the English, whom he assigns adjectives like *æfæst*,
arwurð and *gelæred*, often in the superlative. Moreover, he refers to the seniority of
the reports and their value as they have undergone (at least in the case of No-
thelm) a selection process, apparently to purify the information for the better.
'Bede' is pursuing a comprehensive approach as his sources cover all of England,
including the reference to local notables like Daniel, Chad, Cyneberht, Isse or the

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[78]   *OEB*, I.1, 6.
[79]   Frantzen, "Prefaces", pp. 126-33. In the prose preface to the *OE Boethius* Alfred is referred to in
        the third person: " and nu bit and for Godes naman he halsað ælcne þara þe þas boc rædan lyste
        þæt he for hine gebidde, and him ne wite gif he hit rihtlicor ongite þonne he mihte, for þam þe
        ælc mon sceal be his andgites mæðe and be his æmettan sprecan þæt he sprecð and don þæt þæt
        he deð."; Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, I, 239; *And now he beseeches and in God's name
        implores each of those whom it pleases to read this book, to pray for him and not to blame him if they can inter-
        pret it more accurately than he was able: for every man must say what he says and do what he does according to
        the capacity of his intellect and the amount of time available to him*; trans.: K&L, pp. 131-32. Frantzen
        took this as a cue to dissociate the prose preface from Alfred because it was a weak statement
        by the King of Wessex, basically begging for forgiveness because of his incapacity to translate
        the work properly.

brethren of Lindesfarne. 'Bede' believes in the authorizing power of the written word but also takes oral tradition into account, the status of which appears almost equal to that of the written sources. He thereby is appealing to living memory, which is further invigorated by referring to audience's contemporary reference frame. Finally, 'Bede' himself becomes an authorizing figure, either by his name and or his association with the authorities he has cited.

The reworked content of the preface, which stresses the importance of teaching in the vernacular, and the authorizing strategies, which strongly remind one of the Alfredian prefaces, convey the impression that the translator worked close to the think-tanks at Winchester and Worcester, or at least was familiar with their work. In general, the *OEHE* is more Anglo-centric. Papal letters – and thus the authority of the papacy – are cut out and Bede's role as authority of his work even more pronounced as in the *HE*. Yet, we glimpse the activity of the translator every now and again. There are five instances where the narrative mode is changed and we are able to discern an intruding voice:[80]

1) *HE* II.16 (account of the conversion of Lindsey by Paulinus)

   HE: "De huius fide prouinciae narrauit mihi presbyter et abbas quidam uir ueracissimus de monasterio Peartaneu, uocabulo Deda […]."[81]

   OEHE: "Bi þisse mægðe geleafan, cwæð he Beda, me sægde sum arwyrðe mæssepreost ⁊ abbud of Peortanea þæm ham, se wæs Deda haten."[82]

2) *HE* III.12 (a miracle worked by the relics of Oswald at Bardney):

   HE: "Quod ita esse gestum, qui referebat mihi frater inde adueniens adiecit, quod eo adhuc tempore quo mecum loquebatur, superesset in eodem monasterio iam iuuenis ille, in quo tunc puero factum erat hoc miraculum sanitatis."[83]

   OEHE: "Cwom sum broðor þonon, cwæð Beda, þe me sægde, þæt hit þus gedon wære: ⁊ eac sægde, þæt se ilca broðor þa gyt in þæm mynstre lifigende wære, in þæm cneohtwesendum þis hælo wundor geworden wæs."[84]

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80   *OEB*, I.1, 144; I.1, 186; I.2, 216; I.2, 378; I.2, 448; there is one case where a first-person construction is changed to an impersonal one (I.2, 326); cf. Discenza, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", p. 79.

81   *HEGA*, I, 254.

82   *OEB*, I.1, 144, *About this people's faith, said Bede, told me a venerable priest and abbot of Partney, who was named Deda.*

83   *HEGA*, II, 58.

84   *OEB*, I.1, 186-88. *Came from there some brother, said Bede, that is were done so. And he also told me that the same brother was still living there, on whom in his childhood this heeling miracle happened.*

3) *HE* III.19 (the Vision of Fursey):

HE: "Superest adhuc frater quidam senior monasterii nostri, qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac reliogiosum hominem, quod ipsum Furseum uiderit in provincia Orientalium Anglorum[…]."[85]

OEHE: "Is nu gena sum ald broðor lifiende usses mynstres, se me sægde, cwæð se þe ðas booc wrat, þæt him sægde sum swiðe æfest monn ⁊ geþungen þæt he ðone Furseum gesege in Eastengla mægðe."[86]

4) *HE* IV.29 (a miracle performed by St Cuthbert):

HE: "Erat in eodem monasterio frater quidam, nomine Badudegn, tempore non pauco hospitum ministerio deseruiens, qui nunc usque superest […]."[87]

OEHE: "Wæs in ðæm ilcan mynstre sum broðor, ðæs noma wæs Beadoþegn, se wæs lange tid cumena arðegen þara ðe þæt mynster sohton. ⁊ cwæð, þæt he ða gena lifgende wære, þa he þis gewrit sette."[88]

5) *HE* V.18 (on the Episcopal succession in Wessex):

HE: "Quo defuncto, pontificatum pro eo suscepit Fordheri, qui usque hodie superest […]."[89]

OEHE: "Þa he ða forðferde, þa onfeng fore hine þone bysceophad Forðhere, se gen oð to dæge, cwæð se writere, lifigende is."[90]

These passages are interesting from a narrative point of view. Throughout the *OEHE* – following Bede's *HE* in that respect – the narration is very elaborate. We encounter the authorial persona of 'Bede', whom we can characterize as explicit, extradiegetic, heterodiegetic, and non-involved. But 'Bede''s story provides us with a frame-narrative, with further embedded narratives. He becomes homodiegetic, intradiegetic and involved from time to time. In this narrative process he is explicit in providing commentary on himself and the aspects of his narration, e.g. why he deemed it necessary to include particular stories. There are also appeals to the reader, although it is he who provides focalization. The five passages

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85   *HEGA*, II, 90.
86   *OEB*, I.2, 216. *There is now living some old brother of our minster, who told me, said he who wrote this book, that some very pious and excellent had told him that he had seen this Fursey in East Anglia.*
87   *HEGA*, II, 314.
88   *OEB*, I.2, 378. *There was in the same minster some brother, whose name was Beadothegn, who was a long time the servant of guests, of those who sought that minster. And he said, that he was still living, when he wrote this story.*
89   *HEGA*, II, 408.
90   *OEB*, I.2, 448. *When he died, then received for him Forðhere the bishopric, who still till this day, said the writer, is living.*

recently listed complicate the process of narration in the *OEHE*. By inserting those into the narrative, the translator makes himself out as an 'authorial' persona. In the translation he clearly is extradiegetic, heterodiegetic, non-intrusive and neutral is his narration. To state it plainly, the reader does not realize that he is present on an additional narratological level except for those additions to the text.

The common denominator in all five examples is the insertion of tags, which on a narratological level introduce a formal – and arguably temporal – distance between the reader and the narrated events. This becomes most explicit in the fourth example, where the translator uses indirect speech to render the Latin text. The insertion of the tags follows a certain principle. In each case, the translator is rectifying anachronistic references that would have seemed odd to a late ninth-/ early tenth-century readership, or to be more general, a readership that was not contemporary with Bede. This has two effects. First, the translator did not want to portray 'Bede' as what we would call an 'unreliable narrator' because anachronistic references would be at odds with the readership's frame of reference. In that he is basically following Bede, who as the frame-narrative's first-person narrator in the Latin text, has to rely on his sources, which lend credence and legitimacy to the accounts of episodes he could not have witnessed himself. Second, the translator introduces a formal distance into his story. The illusion that it is Bede who speaks to the reader is upheld to a certain degree, but the historicity of the narration is stressed by the fact that the reader is reminded that he is listening to a voice from a bygone age. The translator is thus appropriating and displacing the authority of Bede's narrative voice.[91]

Most remarkable about the tagging is the fact that in the first two passages 'Bede' is explicitly referred to, whereas the other excerpts convey the impression of formal distance. There might be different explanations for that. First, it must have been clear to the reader that the impersonalized references refer to 'Bede'. Second, the translator might have wanted to distance himself and 'Bede' from the particular passage in the narrative. This is quite unlikely as those passages do not recount controversial, heretical or even politically charged issues. Third, the author might have wanted simply to vary his usage. Fourth, the changed character of the tags might give rise to speculation about the deconstruction of the translator of the *OEHE* and see various translators at work. Even though it might stand to reason that the translation was the enterprise of a think-tank or at least two translators, the variations are following an editorial principle.

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[91]   Cf. Godden, *The Translations of Alfred and his Circle and the Misappropriation of the Past*, Chadwick Memorial Lecture (Cambridge, 2003), esp. pp. 26-28. Godden argues that Alfred and his circle were appropriating classical authors to create a body of Anglo-Saxon literature that explored ideas in an imagined setting (27). According to him, Alfred's readers engaged in "imaginative fictionalizing on themes suggested by their progenitors"(p. 28) and thus entered into a dialogue with the authors, partly accepting, partly questioning, and partly just wishing to enter debate.

In examples 1) and 2) the Latin uses first person sg. pronouns (*mihi* and *me*). Therefore, the translator explicitly mentions 'Bede' as the referent, 'cwæð Beda'. Passage no. 3 does have a first person plural possessive pronoun. The *nostri* is not specifically attached to 'Bede', but is a more impersonal choice than *mei*. The last two passages do not have any personal pronouns which have a direct reference to 'Bede'. Therefore, the translator follows an explicit editorial principle, showing apt understanding for the intricacies of the Latin text, which he rendered accordingly into Old English. Consequently, we need not assume stylistic flaws and a deconstruction of the translator's persona, let alone conclusive evidence for different translators at work.

With regard to the third item, it is interesting to see that the Old English translator explicitly mentions that the boy on whom this miracle was performed had joined the monastic order. The Latin source just makes mention of the *iuvenis*. Apparently the translator had to expound to his audience what would have been obvious to the audience of the *HE*. This might give a hint about the frame of reference of his audience. At the same time, he might have wanted to stress the power of miracles as manifestations of God's power and the love worked through his intermediaries – the saints – to win over young people to join the monastic life.

The tagging might also be indicative of a text that was being read out loud to an audience. It is not hard to imagine that the presenter of the text changed his voice or his intonation to imitate Bede. In order to make clear that he was quoting the venerable Northumbrian scholar, the tags fit quite well. Even though we have these five passages where the translator of the text becomes graspable, they are negligible when seen against the backdrop of the sheer length of the *OEHE*, especially if we perceive of the text as being read out loud. In no way do they thwart the illusion that it was 'Bede' whose narrative voice the audience reads or listens to.

The Metrical Envoi in CCCC MS 41

Just as the preface makes us believe that it was written by 'Bede' so too does the conclusion of the *OEHE* assume Bede's authority. The *OEHE* ends with two petitions following Bede's list of his works, which meticulously render the text of the *HE*. The first passage is undoubtedly Bede's, as it appears at that point in all extant manuscripts of the work, in both Latin and Old English. The second petition is an Old English version of the prayer *praeterea omnes*.[92] Both petitions occur

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[92]   This prayer is of singular importance as it helped scholars, beginning with Plummer, to ascertain that the translator used a Latin copy of the C-branch of Latin *HE* manuscripts, in which the Latin prayer appears at the end of the work, whereas all manuscripts of the M-branch have it as a conclusion to Bede's *prefatio*.

at the end of both Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 (B) and Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 3.18 (Ca). Unfortunately, the other manuscripts are defective at the end, leaving us to speculate whether T, O and C had these petitions as well. This is the wording of the passages:

> Ond nu ic þe bidde, duguþa Hælend, þæt þu me milde forgife swetlice drincan þa word þines wisdomes, ðæt þu eac fremsumlice forgife, þæt ic æt nihstan to ðe þam willan ealles wisdomes becuman mote Ᵹ symle ætywan beforan þinum ansyne.

> (*And now I pray thee, our good Saviour, that you will mercifully grant me to drink in sweetly the words of thy wisdom, that you will also graciously grant that I may at last come to thee, the fount of all wisdom and appear for ever before thy face.*) [93]

> Eac þonne ic eaðmodlice bidde þætte to eallum þe þis ylce stær to becyme ures cynnes to rædenne oþþe to gehyrenne, þæt hie for minum untrymnessum ge modes ge lichoman gelomlice Ᵹ geornlice þingien mid þære uplican arfæstnesse Godes ælmihtiges, Ᵹ on gehwilcum hiora mægþum þas mede hiora edleanes me agefe, þæt ic þe be syndrigum mægþum oððe þam heorum stowum, þa þe ic gemyndewyrðe Ᵹ þam bigengum þoncwyrþe gelyfde, geornlice ic tilode to awritenne, þæt ic mid eallum þone wæstm arfæstre þingunge gemette.

> (*Now I also humbly pray of all to whom this history of our race may come, either as readers or hearers, that they oft and earnestly pray to the divine goodness of God Almighty for my infirmities of mind, and grant me in each of their provinces this meed of reward, that I, who has zealously endeavoured to write about the separate provinces and the more famous places, what I believed to be memorable or acceptable to their inhabitants, may obtain among all the fruit of pious intercession.*) [94]

In addition, MS B offers a third item on pp. 483-484, which had been termed 'The Metrical Epilogue to Manuscript 41, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge' by E.V.K. Dobbie.[95] It had been treated in isolation as a scribal colophon and edited with disregard to its manuscript context until Fred C. Robinson's contribution shed new light on this item. The passage runs as follows:

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[93] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 486-87. Miller uses Ca as base text, which shows slight differences to B. The most conspicuous alterations are *duguþa Hælend* 'splendid savior' of instead of *goda hælend* and the addition of *fremsumlice* 'graciously' in the phrase *fremsumlice swylce forgyfe*; cf. *OEB*, II, 596-97 for the variants.

[94] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 486-87.

[95] Dobbie, E. van Kirk, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR 6 (London, 1942), p. 113.

BIDDe ic eac æghwylcne mann brego rices weard þe þas boc ræde ꝺ
þa bredu befo fira aldor þæt gefyðrige þone writere wynsum cræfte
þe þas boc awrat bam handum twam þæt he mote manega gyt mun-
dum synum geendigan his alre to willan ꝺ him þæs geunne se ðe ah
ealles geweald rodera waldend þæt he on riht mote oð his daga ende
drihten herigan. AMEN

<div align="center">g e   w e o r þ e   þ æ t</div>

(*I also beseech each man – ruler of the realm, lord of men – who might read this
book and hold the volume that he support with kindly power the scribe who wrote
this book with his two hands so that he might complete yet many* [more copies]
*with his hands according to his lord's desire; and may He Who reigns over all,
the Lord of the Heavens, grant him that so that he might rightly praise the Lord
until the end of his days. Amen. So be it.*)[96]

Robinson showed that the third item displayed important verbal and syntactic
linkages to the preceding items, which were strongly reinforced by the visual pres-
entation of the text in the manuscript.[97] He concluded on account of their repre-
sentation in the manuscript that the three petitions were intended as a 'ceremonial
coda' to Bede's work and that consequently the third item was no independent
work but was an integral part of the scribe's endeavor.[98] All items come together
as they address different recipients in turn: the first petition addresses the Saviour,
the second anyone who reads or hears the *OEHE*, while the third turns to those
who actually have the book in their possession and can materially support the
scribe. Robinson suggested that this could be only a person of substantial power,
most probably a king. He saw the third item as a restatement of the appeal which
Bede uttered to King Ceolwulf at the beginning of the preface, but with Ceolwulf
long dead, generalizes the appeal to accost "each king, ruler of men."[99] Robinson
further remarked that when the composer of the third item let 'Bede' speak on
behalf of the scribe, he used the voice of an author who has himself served as a
scribe and who understands that authors and scribes are nothing more (or less)
than intermediaries through whom God speaks – the image of the pen in the hand

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[96]   Text and translation F. Robinson, "Old English Literature in Its Most Immediate Context", in
       his *The Editing of Old English* (Oxford, 1994) [originally published in *Old English Literature in Con-
       text: Ten Essays*, ed. J.D. Niles (Cambridge, 1980), 11-29 and 157-61], pp. 3-24, at pp. 19-20.
[97]   The scribe used the same script which he used for his portion of the text of the *OEHE*. Thus
       we have a continuum from the *OEHE* through to the last petitions. Moreover, the scribe left
       large spaces for illuminated capital letters to introduce each of the three petitions, which, how-
       ever, were never filled by the illuminator. This is a common feature of MS B, where we find
       numerous occasions where the scribes had left spaces for the illuminator to fill. This work was
       yet never completed so that B remains in an unfinished state. All these aspects suggest that the
       last petition was integral to the text of the *OEHE*; cf. Robinson, "Old English Literature", p.
       20.
[98]   *Ibid.*, p. 21-23.
[99]   *Ibid.*, p. 22.

of the Almighty. Therefore, the last petition exalts the scribe's work and lends a spiritual dimension to the appeal for support. The undertaking of writing this history of the Anglo-Saxon Church in the vernacular was an endeavor pleasing to God and necessary to instruct the people, according to the preface. Copying this text, as is urged in the preface and taken up again in the conclusion, has God's approval and is beneficial to anyone who does so and teaches his fellow Christians. Motifs from the prefaces are reiterated in the petitions, which make them an elliptical equivalent of the work's beginning: an audience of readers and listeners, the appeal to a king, the urge to copy the work, the divine approval and intrinsic worth of the book, including the record of those aspects which were memorable and the comprehensive approach that apparently covered all areas of England. Moreover, the appeal for intercession in the second petition and the passage where 'Bede' longs to be permitted *that I be allowed to come at last to Thee*, accrues new significance in the light of the vernacular translation. It appears that Bede's enterprise, to which he was set and assisted by God, had been finished at this moment with its rendition into the vernacular. Readers and listeners of all ranks might benefit from the work, which Bede has set down as the quill of the Almighty, which has been dipped into *þam wylle ealles wisdomes* 'the fountain of all wisdom'. The *OEHE* is set as a work pleasing to God, which brings Bede's task to an end and allows him to come into the presence of the Creator. It becomes all the more powerful and authoritative as the translator let the Northumbrian scholar tell his story in the vernacular.

Such reading of the *OEHE* would have been possible even if we had the only the first two items (which is the case with MS Ca). The third item reveals further clues about the original context of the composition. First, MS B was written at the beginning of the eleventh century and is the only MS that carries item no.3. This gives rise to the question of whether the third petition was genuine to that manuscript or whether it was just copied from another exemplar. Robinson laconically remarks that the compiler of the lines was "not very likely the scribe of this particular manuscript."[100] Budny in her survey of B was uncertain whether it was composed for this manuscript in particular or adapted or copied from elsewhere. With reference to the bichrome character of the epilogue, she concludes that this layout and presentation would augment the formality of the epilogue "and may strengthen an impression that it derives from the exemplar, rather than from the individual scribe's own impulse."[101] Unfortunately, we are lacking the copy the scribe may have used. A follow-up question would be whether the third petition had been added at the center where the original translation was undertaken and therefore had been integral part of the whole enterprise. There are two aspects which speak against this theory. First, the other 'complete' version of the *OEHE*, MS Ca, does not have the third item but breaks off after Bede's second petition

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[100] Robinson, "Old English Literature", p. 22 and n. 23.
[101] Budny, I, 505.

with no clue in the manuscript layout to suggest that the third item was yet to be added. Second, apart from the five extant manuscripts that survived, there is indirect evidence that there had been other now-lost copies of the text circulating in England.[102] The third item could have been composed for any of those copies without the original translation having contained it. Even so, there are also good arguments to support the hypothesis that the third item had been conceived of at the center where the original translation of the *HE* was undertaken. The folio on which the first two petitions occur in Ca was ruled to the bottom of the page. Therefore, we cannot rule out that this manuscript was unfinished and the last item was protracted to be inserted. Moreover, as the manuscript stemma of the *OEHE* appears to be quite complicated, this gives a range of opportunities for the item to be lost in the approximately 250 years that had passed between the original translation and the production of MS Ca. Maybe Ca's exemplar had already lost it. Even if it had the third petition, the scribe of Ca, which was probably the monk Hemming, or his superior, bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (St Wulfstan) may have deigned to drop it. The reasons for that may have been manifold. Because of its partial verse character it might have been regarded as too pedestrian or not corresponding well with petitions one and two. Similarly, it could have been a question of authority. The scribe or his supervisor may have deemed it 'not original' as there is no corresponding passage in Bede's Latin. This would of course have required a Latin copy to check the exemplar against, which is not unlikely as the purported scriptorium of Ca is Worcester – which is quite likely to have had an exemplar of the *HE*. The seniority of the Latin text, written by one of the most prominent and revered Anglo-Saxon authors, would surely have had its impact on the scribe (and his supervisor), who decided to drop the last item which did not appear to be genuine and therefore was unauthorized. Furthermore, read in the wrong way, the last item reads like a blunt appeal for monetary compensation from a potential patron. If Ca was copied on behalf of or to please a patron such bluntness may well have been found offensive. Finally, the defective manuscripts TCO do not provide us with positive evidence for the last item but they do not rule out the possibility that they had it either. An impasse is reached as far as the material evidence goes. The last item appears to be generic to the translation, as it rounds off Bede's narration and takes up motifs which had been evident in the preface. If we consider the conclusion to the work in tandem with the preface, we encounter a lot of similarities to aspects of the Alfredian program, some of which have already been discussed. The metaphor of the fountain of wisdom from which Bede partakes fits well with the discourse inherent in all Alfredian text, i.e. the pursuit of wisdom in order to pursue the source of all wisdom, which is God. Moreover, it is conspicuous that the third item refers to the *cræft* of the writer which God had bestowed on him. *Cræft* plays a central role in the Alfredian works

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[102]   Cf. Rowley, pp. 25, 34-35.

as well, most notably in the *OE Boethius*.[103] Finally, its urge to have the work copied corresponds well not only to the preface, which urges the royal addressee to copy it at various places, but also to Alfred's scheme or the dissemination of the *OE Pastoral Care*. The fact that it does not address Alfred in person but speaks of *rices weard* and *fira aldor* does not rule out that the work was undertaken on his commission. The work might have been designed as a timeless piece for those who assume high positions in state and church. An explicit dedication to Alfred might have thwarted that purpose. As discussed before, the work did not need Alfred's authority as the other translations had, because it already had 'Bede''s and his meticulously cited sources to draw upon. The Northumbrian scholar appears as the author or translator of the *OEHE*, which makes no further legitimization necessary. If we consider the *OEHE* as an apparently late work in Alfred's program as has already been suggested,[104] and given the fact that it was a text of considerable length, which probably took a considerable time to translate, the whole endeavor may have come to fruition only after Alfred's death in 899. Therefore, the direct salutation was obsolete, as either the translator of the third item was taken by surprise by Alfred's death before he had finished the third petition or was anticipating Alfred's death as he was of old age and stricken by a recurring inflammatory disease. If we then keep in mind the relative political instability of the newly-forged 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons', with the consequences of Alfred's death unforeseeable, an explicit dedication to Alfred would have been in vain. It remains a fascinating probability that the third petition had been part of the initial translation and was intricately connected with Alfred's translation program. The authority which Bede lent to the *OEHE* was further enhanced by the almost symmetrical arrangement of preface and conclusion, the latter of which takes up the important motifs from the former and rounds of the work in the authoritative voice of the Northumbrian monk in person.

The Authority of the *OEHE* as Source Text

The degree of authority the *OEHE* achieved in its own right can be ascertained by its reception in the following centuries. Chapter two has already addressed the signs of medieval use in. Another important aspect is the text's collation as a source.

In addition to the manuscript evidence, it appears that the *OEHE* was held in high esteem among Anglo-Saxon authors. Ælfric of Eynsham was a great admirer of Bede, which can be seen by the fact that he frequently collated Bede's works to compile source material for seventy of his texts.[105] Although the *Fontes* database

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[103] Cf. Discenza, *The King's English*.

[104] Cf. *idem*, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", p. 80; and Kuhn, "Authorship Revisited", pp. 179-80.

[105] Cf. *FAS* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

gives the *OEHE* as source only once (*CH* 2.9: *The Homily on St. Gregory*), it cannot be ruled out that Ælfric had recourse to both the Latin *HE* and its Old English translation when compiling his *Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*. With regard to the particular texts, it appears quite difficult to discern whether Ælfric used the Latin or Old English as his source.[106]

Apart from Ælfric's interest in the *HE* and possibly its translation, the Old English *Homily on St. Chad*, surviving in the twelfth-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 116),[107] is a prime candidate to provide evidence for the *OEHE* being used as a source text. The homily's ultimate source is Bede's account of St. Chad in Book IV of the *HE*. Although the homily appears to be translated independently from the Latin at first, we encounter long passages whose wording is almost identical to that of the *OEHE*. This point will be illustrated by the following selection:

HE[108]	«Non legistis quia, intonuit de caelo Dominus et altissimus dedit uocem suam.
OEHE[109]	Ac ge ne leornodon: Quia intonuit de cello d(omi)n(u)s et altissimus dedit uocem suam:
Chad[110]	Ac ne leornaden ge
HE	Misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos?
OEHE	misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos:
Chad	…
HE	…
OEHE	ðætte Drihten hleoðrað of heofonum ⁊ se hehsta seleð his stefne;
Chad	þet drihten leoðrað of heofone. ⁊ se hesta seleð his stefne.
HE	…
OEHE	he sendeð his stræle ⁊ heo toweorpeð; legetas gemonigefealdað ⁊ heo gedrefeð.

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[106] These conclusions are based on a preliminary analysis. A detailed analysis of the relation of the *OEHE* and Ælfric's works cannot be undertaken in the present thesis but will be subject of a forthcoming essay.

[107] Ker no. 333, Worcester, s.xii¹. It was glossed by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester, cf. C. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 44-48.

[108] Text from *HEGA*, II, 182.

[109] Text from *OEB*, I.2, 268-70.

[110] Text from Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, pp. 176-78.

Chad	he sendeð his strelas. ⁊ he hio tostenceð. he gemonigfaldað legeto. ⁊ he heo gedrefeð.
HE	Mouet enim aera Dominus, uentos excitat, iaculatur fulgora, de caelo intonat,
OEHE	Forþon Drihten lyfte ontyneð, windas weceð, legetas sceotað of heofonum ⁊ hleoðrað,
Chad	drihten onstyreð lyftas ⁊ awecceð windas. he sceotað legeto. ⁊ he leoðrað of heofone.
HE	ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet,
OEHE	þæt he eorðbigengan awecce hine to ondrædanne;
Chad	Þet he þa eorðlican mod awecce hine to ondredenne.
HE	ut corda eorum in memoriam futuri iudicii reuocet,
OEHE	þæt he heora heortan in gemynd gecege þæs toweardan domes;
Chad	⁊ þet he heora heortan gecige in þa gemynd þes toweardan domes.
HE	ut superbiam eorum dissipet et conturbet audaciam,
OEHE	þæt he heora oferhygd toweorpe ⁊ geþyrstignesse drefe,
Chad	⁊ þet he heora oferhygd tostence. ⁊ heora bældu gedrefe.
HE	reducto ad mentem tremendo illo tempore,
OEHE	to heora mode gelæddre þære forhtiendan tide,
Chad	⁊ heora gemynd gelede to þere beofugendlican tide.
HE	quando ipse caelis ac terris ardentibus uenturus est in nubibus,
OEHE	hwonne he, heofonum ⁊ eorðan byrnendum, toweard sy in heofones wolcnum,
Chad	þonne he bið toweard to demene cwice ⁊ deade. heofones ⁊ eorðan beornendum
HE	in potestate magna et maiestate, ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos.
OEHE	in micelre meahte ⁊ þrymme to demanne cwice ⁊ deade.
Chad	⁊ in micelre mihte ⁊ megenþrymme.
HE	«Propter quod» inquit «oportet nos ammonitioni eius caelesti debito cum timore et amore respondere
OEHE	Forþon us is gedafenað, þæt we his heofonlicre monunge mid gedefenlice ege ⁊ lufan ondswarige;
Chad	forðon us is gedafenað cweð se biscop ceadda. þet we his monunge þere heofonlican andswarien. mid gedefe ege ⁊ lufan.

HE	ut, quoties aere commoto manum quasi ad feriendum minitans exserit nec adhuc tamen percutit.
OEHE	þætte, swa he lyft onstyrge ond his hond swa swa us to sleanne beotiende æteaweð, ne hwæðre nu gyt slæð,
Chad	þet swa oft swa drihten on lyfte his handa onstyrie. swaswa he beotige us to slenne. ⁊ þonne hweðere þonne gyt ne slæð;

This selection is representative of a greater number of passages of the homily which show parallels to the phrasing and lexis of the *OEHE*. Although the scribe of the homily uses different lexical items from time to time (e.g. *tostenceð* instead of *toweorpeð*, or *onstyreð* for *ontyneð*), these seem to be negligible and might be due to the scribe's urge to use lexical variation. An intimate connection between both texts could be testified by the use of *oferhygd*. This rendering of the Latin *superbia* is a typically Mercian feature as it appears as *ofermod* in West Saxon texts.[111] Even though we cannot rule out that both translators just shared the same dialectal background or training by coincidence, it is also possible that one copied from the other. The corollary would be that the compiler of the *Homily on St. Chad* mainly drew on Bede's Latin *HE* when he translated the text, but at the same time had recourse to an exemplar of the *OEHE* to check his translation. Another argument in favor of this assumption is the insertion of the tag *cweð se biscop ceadda*, which is reminiscent of the tags which the *OEHE*'s translator applied to render Bede's direct speech as discussed above. The examples of Ælfric and St. Chad may demonstrate that the *OEHE* assumed textual authority itself and that textual excerpts were used for various purposes, be it as preaching material or for devotional reading in private.

Another text that might have drawn upon the *OEHE* as source is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, whose 'common stock' was probably compiled towards the end of the ninth century at the court of the West Saxon King Alfred. The *ASC* made ample use of the *HE* for the annals up to 731, although its debt to Bede's work is a complex.[112] It has been acknowledged that the compiler of the so-called 'North-

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[111] See Schabram, *Superbia*.

[112] See *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the other: a revised Text, ed. with Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Glossary*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-1899), II, 1-42; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1961) xxii; J. Bately, "Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle", in *Saints, Scholars and Heroes*, ed. Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI, 1979), II, 233-54; and S. Keynes, "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle", in *BEASE*, pp. 35-36. The present study follows Keynes's approach to deem the term *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* as a term of convenience since (despite certain overlaps) the manuscript versions are far from homogeneous or uniform. Therefore, referring to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* in the plural rather than the singular is preferable. For a possible compilation of the 'common-stock' of the *ASC* under West Saxon auspices see Whitelock, *Chronicle*, p. xxi-xiii; Keynes 2001; and K&L, pp. 39-41 and 275-81; J. Bately, "The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"; *idem*, "The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle once more", *Leeds Studies in*

ern Recension' of the *ASC*, which is represented by MSS DE, drew on the *HE*. [113] Its distinctive features-- compared to the other manuscripts--are additions to the annals up to 731 which relate to the northern regions of England and which were largely taken from Bede's *HE*. [114]

Despite the fact that the *ASC* represents the most important piece of historiography of Anglo-Saxon England in the vernacular, it was Bede's Latin work, rather than the *OEHE*, which has been drawn into sharp focus as source material. Although the claim that the compilers of the 'common stock' and the 'Northern Recension' of the *ASC* drew on Bede's *HE* is beyond debate, the *OEHE* also appears to have been used in the compositional process of the latter. The possibility of a direct influence of the *OEHE* on the different manuscripts versions of the *ASC* has been neglected or ruled out by scholars so far. [115] The present study argues that the compiler of the 'Northern Recension' of the *ASC* would appear to have had access to a copy of the *OEHE*. Its influence on the *ASC* is most evident from the entry for 716. MS E records *s.a.* 716:

English, N.S. 16 (1985): 7-26 and *idem*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships*, Reading Medieval Studies 3 (Reading, 1991); a good and concise overview of the *ASC* is presented by M. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, rev. ed. (London, 2000), pp. xi-xxxv.

[113] See Plummer, *Saxon Chronicles*, I, lx-lxi and n. 2.; Bately, "Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle", pp. 239-40; and S. Irvine, ed. *MS E: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.N. Dumville, S. Keynes and S. Taylor 7 (Cambridge, 2004). p. xxxvii. On the relationship of MSS D (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.iv; Ker no. 102) and E (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636, the 'Peterborough Chronicle'; Ker no. 346) and the 'Northern Recension' see Whitelock, *Chronicle*, pp. xiv-xviii; Plummer, *Saxon Chronicles*, II, xxxi-xxxv, xlv-xlviii, lx-lxxxii, cxix-cxxii; G.P. Cubbin, ed. *MS D: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.N. Dumville, S. Keynes and S. Taylor 6 (Cambridge, 1996). pp. xvi-lxxix; and *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine, pp. xxxii-lxxxvii. There is close agreement between D up until the annal for 1031. The archetype √DE is believed by Whitelock to have been compiled in tenth/eleventh-century York. After its separation in 1031 √E ceases to be a northern version. By the middle of the century it appears to have been at St Augustine's, Canterbury, where the scribe of F (London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian viii; Ker no. 148) made use of it around 1100 (Whitelock, *Chronicle*, pp. xv-xvi). Eventually √E or a copy of it reached Peterborough to make good the loss of manuscripts in the fire of 1116. E itself is written in two hands from the 1120s up to the middle of the twelfth century (Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xviii-xxix).

[114] Cf. *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. xxxvii.

[115] Cf. Whitelock, *Chronicle*, p., xxiii for a brief summary of the discussion; Kenneth Sisam argued for a complementary production of both works ("Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies", *PBA* 39 (1953), pp. 287–349, at p. 335 f.); cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 73-74 , where she objects to Sisam's view and concludes: "It seems to me therefore that one cannot safely claim that the chronicler knew that a translation of Bede existed or was in preparation." Whitelock ruled out any direct influence on the *OEHE* among other things because it had little to offer which was relevant to West Saxon history. The discussion, however, pertains to the original compilation of the 'common stock' and does not rule out the use of the *OEHE,* for later copies or compilations of the *ASC*. To the best of my knowledge, there has been no explicit treatment of that matter for almost 50 years except for sporadic assumptions that the omissions in the *OEHE* compared to the *HE* were due to the complementary nature of the *OEHE* and the *ASC*.

AN. dccxvi. […] ⁊ Ecgbyrht se arwurþa wer <gecyrde> Ie hiwan to rihtum Eastrum ⁊ to Sancte Petres scære[116]

(*In the year 716* […] *and Egbert the venerable man turned Iona to the correct Easter and to Saint Peter's tonsure*)

The *ASC*'s entry is based on the *recapitulatio chronica totius operis*, at the end of the *HE*, which was not translated in the *OEHE*:

Anno DCCXVI […]; et uir Domini Ecgberct Hiienses monachos ad catholicum pascha et ecclesiasticam correxit tonsuram.[117]

(*In the 716* […]; *and the man of the Lord, Egbert, corrected the monks of Iona to the catholic Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure.*)

The scribe of MS E translates *ecclesiasticam tonsuram* as *Sancte Petres scære*, probably to make an explicatory comment for those not familiar with the different styles of tonsure of the Christian church.[118] MS E shares this wording with MSS DF. In contrast, MS A does not follow this reading but reads instead:

AN. dccxvi. […] ⁊ Ecgbryht se arwierþa wer on Hii þam ealonde þa munecas on ryht gecierde þæt hie Eastr`o´n on ryht heoldon ⁊ þa ciriclecan scare.[119]

(*In the year 716* […] *and Egbert, the venerable man, turned the monks on the Isle of Iona to the right, that they held Easter rightfully and the ecclesiastical tonsure.*)

Instead of *Sancte Petres scære*, MS A has *þa ciriclecan scare*, a reading which the manuscript shares with BCG.[120] The translation of *ecclesiasticam tonsuram* seems to separate MSS ABCG on the one hand from MSS DEF on the other. As F copies intensively from √E (E's exemplar), it is safe to assume that this alternative translation was common to the archetype of the 'Northern Recension' or at least the archetype behind MSS DE (√DE). The different wording in MSS DEF has hitherto only sporadically been acknowledged by scholarship, usually without making

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[116] *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. 35. The <gecyrde> was omitted in error from E and supplied from D in Irvine's edition.

[117] *HEGA*, II, 478.

[118] On the different styles of tonsure cf. Plummer, II, 353-54; E. James, "Bede and the Tonsure Question", *Peritia* 3 (1984), 85-98; D. McCarthy, "On the Shape of the Insular Tonsure.", *Celtica* 24 (2003), 140-167; and *HEGA*, II, 559.

[119] *MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. 33-34.

[120] *Þa cyriclican sceare* (*MS B: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. S. Taylor, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.N. Dumville and S. Taylor 4 (Cambridge, 1983), p. 24), *þa cyrclican sceare* (*MS C*, O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 44 (*s.a.* 717)) and *þa cyrcligan scare* (*Die Version G der Angelsächsischen Chronik*, ed. Angelika Lutz, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 11 (München, 1981), p. 24).

any further assumptions about the reason for this alternative translation.[121] Similarly, the 'Northern Recension' specifies the tonsure in the entry for 737:

> ⁊ Ceolwulf cyning feng to Petres scære, ⁊ sealde his rice Eadberhte his fæderan sunu, se ricsade .xxi. wintra.
>
> (*And King Ceolwulf received Peter's tonsure, and gave his realm to Eadberht, the son of his father; he reigned 21 years.*)[122]

This translation is based on an entry in the continuation of Bede's *recapitulatio* at the end of the *HE*. The entry for 737 reads as follows:

> [N]imia siccitas terram fecit infecundam; et Ceoluulfus sua uoluntate attonsus regnum Eadberto reliquit.
>
> (*A great draught rendered the land infertile; and Ceolwulf was tonsured at his own request and resigned the kingdom to Eadberht.*)[123]

This entry is specific to the 'Northern Recension' (MSS DEF) as MSS ABCG do not make mention of this event.[124] What then triggered the compiler of √DE to specify the tonsure and attribute it to St Peter? The *OEHE* may provide the answer to this question. Sharon Rowley has recently remarked that the anonymous translator modified two passages from Book V.[125] In his chapter on the conversion of Iona to Roman practice by Ecgberht (*HE* V.22), Bede launches a diatribe against the divergent religious practices of the Britons. He writes:

> ipsi adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis et capita sine corona praetendunt et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur
>
> ([*T*]*hey still persist in their errors and stumble in their ways, so that no tonsure is to be seen on their heads and they celebrate Christ's solemn festivals differently from the fellowship of the Church of Christ.*) [126]

This is translated in the *OEHE* as

> hi nu gyt heora ealdan gewunon healdað, ⁊ from rihtum stigum healtiað; ⁊ heora heafod ywað butan beage Scē Petres sceare; ⁊

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[121] Whitelock, *Chronicle*, p. 27 n. 2; and, *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. xl n. 44.

[122] *MS D*, ed. Cubbin, p. 12.

[123] Text and translation C&M, pp. 572-73. The *Continuatio Bedae* does not occur in all MSS of the *HE*, but in a number of continental manuscripts, whose common ancestor, however, is likely to have been copied in Northumbria in the eighth century; cf. C&M, pp. lxv-lxix.

[124] MS E has "⁊ Ceolwulf feng to Petres scære" (*MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. 36) but MS F diverges as it recounts that Ceolwulf "feng to clerichade" (S. Baker, ed., *MS F: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.N. Dumville, S. Keynes and S. Taylor 8 (Cambridge, 2000), p. 48).

[125] See Rowley, pp. 83-86.

[126] *HEGA*, II, 462; trans.: C&M, p. 555.

Cristes symbelnesse rihte Eastran butan geðeodnesse ealra Godes
cyricena healdað ꞇ weorþiað.

([*T*]*hey still as now, maintain their old habits and halt from the right path; and*
display their heads without the crown of St. Peter's tonsure; and observe and sol-
emnize the due festival of Christ's Easter not in community with all the churches
of God.) [127]

A similar modification occurs in the chapter on the Picts accepting the Roman
Catholic practices through the teachings of abbot Ceolfrith (V.21):

[A]dtondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi,

(*All ministers of the altar and monks received the tonsure in the form of a*
crown.)[128]

which the *OEHE* translated as

Ða wæron scorene ealle munecas ꞇ sacerdas on ðone beh Scē Petres
sceare.

(*Then all monks and priests received the tonsure according to the form of St. Pe-*
ter's crown.)[129]

The fact that the *OEHE* renders the rather neutral *corona* in this particular way is
striking with regard to the use of (*Sancte*) *Petres scære* in MSS DE(F) of the *ASC*.
The specification of the tonsure as that of St. Peter is a rare occurrence in the
corpus of Anglo-Saxon literature.[130] Apart from the *OEHE* and the *ASC* it occurs
only in one other text, namely in the Old English translation of Felix of Crow-
land's *Vita Guthlaci*.[131]

With all probability, the compiler of the 'Northern Recension' did not have a
reference to St. Peter in his Latin copy but chose to specify the tonsure as that of
St. Peter himself. This would give credence to the claim that he drew on a copy of
the *OEHE*, maybe alongside the Latin version of the *HE*. To underscore the

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[127]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 472-73.
[128]   *HEGA*, II, 460; trans.: C&M, p. 553.
[129]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 470-71.
[130]   See *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.
[131]   "And þa æfter þon þæt he ferde to mynstre, þe ys gecweden Hrypadun, and þær þæ gerynelican
        sceare onfeng sancte Petres þæs apsotoles under Ælfðryðe abbodyssan." *Das angelsächsische Prosa-*
        Leben des heiligen Guthlac, ed. P. Gonser, Anglistische Forschungen 27 (Heidelberg 1909), ch. 2, l.
        78, translating the Latin "Exin coepto itinere, relictis omnibus suis, monasterium Hrypadum
        usque peruenit, in quo misticam sancti Petri apostolorum proceris tonsuram accepit sub abba-
        tissa nomina Ælfthryth." *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac. Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*, ed. B.
        Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), p. 84. In this case we have *mysticam tonsuram* which is translated as
        gerynelican sceare. The wording *sancte Petres þæs apostoles* is a direct translation of the Latin *sancti Petri*
        apostolorum proceris (with the vernacular not translating *proces, -eris* 'chief'). This makes a consider-
        able difference to the *OEHE*, where the reference to St. Peter has no model in the Latin.

argument we need to look for other passages in the 'Northern Recension' which betray traces of the *OEHE*. Let us consider the evidence in turn.

Whitelock pointed out that the translator of the *HE* was familiar with the current place-names of towns in the North of England, which he could not have learned from the Latin. With regard to Hexham the *OEHE* translates Bede's *Hagostaldensis* as *H(e)agost(e)aldes ea*.[132] This reading has the support of the 'Northern Recension' of the *ASC* s.a 681 E, 766 DE[133] and *Culudes byrig/Coludes burg*[134] for Bede's *Coludanae urbis/Coludi urbem*.[135] One may compare *Coludesburh* in the Northern recension of the *Chronicle* s.a 679 EF and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196 (*Old English Martyrology*).[136] Apart from these items, it seems difficult to ascertain a direct influence of the *OEHE* on the 'Northern Recension'. It shows a number of variations, recasting of annals and additions in comparison to MSS ABCG. These additions for the annals up to 731 mostly relate to the northern regions of Anglo-Saxon England and appear to be largely drawn from Bede's *HE*. It is hard to tell whether the compiler of the 'Northern Recension' used the Latin exemplar or its Old English translation, but given the case of St. Peter's shares it is rather likely.

It remains to be asked where the 'Northern Recension' was compiled and whether we can trace evidence for manuscript copies of the *OEHE* at that very same scriptorium. York has been proposed as a possible origin for the 'Nothern Recension'.[137] Unfortunately, we have no evidence for a York origin or provenance for any of the *OEHE* manuscripts. But given the fact that the dioceses of Worcester and York were closely connected and held in plurality from the 970s to at least the 1040s (among others by St Oswald and Wulfstan),[138] Worcester is just a likely choice as York. In order to find evidence for a possible Worcester connection another entry specific to the 'Northern Recension' might be of great help. The annal for 693 adds "⁊ Dryhthelm wæs of life gelæd", which is not found in

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[132] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 65 and n. 61; "Sucepit uero pro Vilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius" (*HEGA*, II, 428); "Ða onfeng for Wilfriðe biscophad ðære cyricean æ Haegostealdes ea Acca his mæssepreost." (*OEB*, I.2, 466).

[133] *s.a.* 681: "Her man halgode trumbriht biscop to Hagustaldesea, ⁊ Trumwine <Pihtum>, forþan hy hyrdan þa hider." (*MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. 33); *s.a.* 766: "Her forðferde Ecgberht arcebishop in Eoforwic on .xiii. kalendas Decembris, se wæs biscop .xxxvii. wintra, ⁊ Friðebryht in Hagustaldesee, se wæs biscop .xxxiiii. wintra ⁊ man gehalgode Æþelberht to Eoforwic / Alchmund to Hagustaldesee." (*MS D*, ed. Cubitt, p. 15).

[134] *HEGA*, I, 20 (Cap.), II, 318, 348

[135] *HE* Cap. IV (*HEGA*, II, 162), IV.25 (*HEGA*, II, 284), IV.19 (*HEGA,* II, 246).

[136] *s.a.* 679: "Her mon ofsloh Ælfwine be Trenton þær ðær Egferð ⁊ Æþelred gefuhton. ⁊ her forðferde Sancte Æðeldrið, ⁊ Coludesburh forbarn mit godcundum fyre." *MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. 39; cf. the entry on St Æthelthryth in the *Old English Martyrology*: "þa onfeng heo haligryfte on ðæm mynstre ðe is nemned Colodesburh (London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A.x = MS B)/Coludesburh (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196 = MS C)." Kotzor*, Martyrologium*, II, 128 and *apparatus criticus*.

[137] See *supra*.

[138] *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. B. Fryde *et al.*, 3rd ed. (London, 1986), p. 224.

MSS ABCG.[139] The story of Dryhthelm is found in *HE* V.12 and was faithfully rendered in the *OEHE*. The *ASC*'s date of Dryhthelm's otherworldly vision could only have been reconstructed by means of the *HE*.[140] Therefore, the compiler must have had access to a copy of either the *HE* or the *OEHE*.

Two of the *OEHE* manuscripts roughly fall into that period: O (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279b; s.xi in.; Ker no. 354), which is of unknown origin, and its faithful copy Ca (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Kk. 3.18, s.xi2; Ker no. 23), which is a product of Worcester Cathedral Library.[141] It cannot be ruled out that either these copies – or, more likely, their exemplars – were at Worcester when the 'Northern Recension' was compiled. The corollary is that if the archetype of the 'Northern Recension' was a Worcester product, the compiler may have had copies of the *HE* and *OEHE* at his disposal to correct his version of the *ASC* accordingly. It is conspicuous that Dryhthelm's story is added in the 'Northern Recension'. Worcester appears to take a special interest in the former monk of Melrose, whose story is only recorded in the *OEHE* and Ælfric's *Alio Visio* in the second series of his *Catholic Homilies*.[142] One of the manuscripts which had two items dealing with Dryhthelm is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115, a manuscript from Worcester, s. xi2 .[143] Moreover, MS Ca of the *OEHE* was copied at Worcester during the second half of the eleventh century. That manuscript was annotated by Coleman, chancellor to Wulfstan in 1089. Coleman showed special interest in Dryhthelm's story, which he annotated in the margin <sumes goodes mannes gesihðe be heofene rice ⁊ be helle wite ræd ⁊ well understond ⁊ þu bist the betere> '*The vision of a good man of the heavenly kingdom and of hell. Wisely read and well understood and you are the better*'. This passage was also heavily glossed by the 'Tremulous Hand' in the thirteenth century, as was Dryhthelm's vision in Hatton 115, which may also have been annotated by Coleman.[144] Thus the scriptorium at

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[139] *MS D*, ed. Cubitt, p. 9; MS E incorrectly says *Brihthelm*, which might be due to eye-skip as the *Bryhtwald* in the preceding line may have irritated the scribe.

[140] *HE* V.8 gives 692 as the last dated event prior to Dryhthelm's story. Moreover the consecration of Swithberht as bishop of Frisia as mentioned in V.11 must have taken place between July 692 and August 693 (*HEGA*, II, 672). The vision of Dryhthelm begins with "His temporibus miraculum memorabile et antiquorum simile in Britannia factum est," (*HEGA*, II, 372; *About this time a memorable miracle occurred in Britain like those of ancient times*; trans.: C&M, p. 489), which would explain the calculated date of 693 in the *ASC*.

[141] Cf. Rowley 2011, 21-25.

[142] *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden, pp. 199-203 (*CH* 2.21).

[143] Ker no. 332; arts. 8 and 9. There are three other MSS of the *Catholic Homilies*, which have the story Dryhthelm which Ælfric used for his *Alio Visio*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 340/342 (Ker. no. 309; s.xi in., Canterbury or Rochester); London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian D.XIV (Ker, no. 209; s. xii med., Rochester or Canterbury); and Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ii.1.33 (Ker, no. 18; s. xii, origin unknown).

[144] Rowley, pp. 184-85.

Worcester shows an ostentatious interest in Dryhthelm's story.[145] It has been noted that the 'Tremulous Hand' used a copy of the *HE* to cull Latin glosses for the Old English text.[146] Given the fact that the 'Northern Recension' of the *ASC* supplements annals with information given in the *HE*, it cannot be ruled out that the copy which 'Tremulous' used was the same which had been drawn upon by the compiler of the 'Northern Recension'. The apparent interest in Dryhthelm at Worcester might account for the addition in the *ASC* sub anno 693, which makes it highly probable that the archetype of the 'Northern Recension' was produced at Worcester. Its compiler may have had a copy of the *OEHE*, which he on occasion used in tandem with its Latin source to check certain entries. This would explain the conspicuous rendering of *Scē Petres scære* s.a. 716. The Ca a faithful copy of MS O, copied s.xi. at an unknown center.[147] Its medieval provenance is also unknown. If the compiler of the 'Northern Recension', presumably working at Worcester, used both a Latin and a vernacular copy of the *HE*, the most likely candidate would be MS O or an intermediary manuscript between O and Ca. It appears that the *OEHE* assumed such an authority that it was used for the compilation of the 'Northern Recension' and probably used in tandem with its Latin original.[148]

Another Worcester manuscript might help gauging the dimension of the influence of the *OEHE*: the so-called 'Worcester fragments'. On fol. 63r of Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F. 174, written at the beginning of the thirteenth-century by the 'Tremulous Hand', we find a short text in rhythmic prose.[149] It begins:

> [San]c[tu]s beda was iboren her on breotene mid us ⁊ he wisliche
> […] awende þæt þeo englise leoden þurh weren ilerde.

> (*Saint Bede was born here in Britain with us and he wisely translated* […] *that the English people were educated through it.*) [150]

The trimming of the manuscript caused the loss of the direct object of this sentence. So we do not know what exactly Bede translated. Although the 'Tremulous Hand' was the scribe of the manuscript, *St. Bede's Lament* was not penned by him.

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[145] There is no evidence for the promotion of an official cult at Worcester. Dryhthelm is regarded as a saint and his feast-day is the first September. However, there has never been an official cult; cf. D.H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1997), s.v. *Drithelm* pp.139-40.

[146] Cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 130-1; see also T. Graham, "Glosses and Notes", p. 183.

[147] The manuscript was bound together with a fourteenth-century Latin copy of the *HE* (MS 279A) in the sixteenth century; cf. Rowley, pp. 21-23.

[148] See my analysis of the *Life of St Chad supra*; Rowley made us aware that there is evidence that indeed both texts were circulating together in some areas of Anglo-Saxon England at an early stage (Rowley, pp. 32-33).

[149] Ker no. 398. It contains Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, *Soul's Address to the Body* and *St. Bede's Lament*.

[150] *Selections From Early Middle English 1130-1250*, ed. J. Hall, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1920), I, 1.

The orthography points to an exemplar that was in Anglo-Saxon script.[151] Hall argues that it may have been composed around 1070, probably at Winchester, given the preponderance of names connected with that see.[152] At the same time, he argues that it was probably not composed at Worcester, given the absence of three important bishops of the see, namely, Wulfstan (1002-1016), Werferth (872-915) and St. Wulfstan (1062-1095) and the apparent ignorance of the North of England (he misspells <Ripum> (Ripon) <Sipum>).[153] Hall's argument concerning the origin does not appear to be utterly convincing. Although he names four former bishops of Winchester, one of them Ælfheah, who was rather remembered for being the Archbishop of Canterbury (1006-1012) and murdered by the Danes in 1012.[154] The text further mentions Ælfric as another candidate with a Winchester connection, but the composer adds "þe we alquin hoteþ" 'whom we call Alcuin'.[155] He correctly assigns the OE translation of the Pentateuch to him, but his conflation of the names of two such eminent and prolific Anglo-Saxon scholars makes one doubt whether he actually knew the people he was talking about or whether it was just name-dropping. Moreover, the list includes various Sees other than Winchester, which makes Hall's Winchester claim contestable.[156] Of greater interest for our purposes, however, is the fact that the anonymous composer singles out Bede as authoritative translator. Although we have meta-evidence for Bede's activities as a translator, we do not have any surviving Old English texts penned by him.

Why, then, do we have this reference to a work (or works) translated by Bede with an explicitly didactic purpose? The answer may be sought in the way the *OEHE* seeks to uphold Bede's authority. Judging from the text, we get the impression that the author and narrative voice is none other than Bede himself. Thus, there is good reason to suppose that the reference in *St. Bede's Lament* is to the *OEHE*. The didactic purpose of the *HE* was made clear by Bede in the Latin original, which he wrote down "ad instructionem posteritatis."[157] This focus on instruction and teaching is even more pronounced in the Old English preface to the *OEHE*, which stresses that the text should to be used in a teaching context. One possible explanation for this attribution to Bede may be that the composer either had seen (and read or listened to) a copy of the *OEHE*, which to him ap-

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[151] Hall, *Early Middle English*, II, p. 224. In the fragment an Englishman laments the substitution of the English clergy in the wake of the Norman Conquest.

[152] He mentions among the learned bishops who taught the English – Birinius, Swiðun, Æðelwold and Ælfheah.

[153] Hall, *Early Middle English*, II, 225.

[154] Cf. *MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, pp. 96-97.

[155] Hall, *Early Middle English*, I, 1.

[156] The sees are Worcester (Oswald, Egwin, Dunstan), York (Wilfrid, John, Paulinus, Oswald), Ripon (Wilfrid), Lindisfarne (Cuthbert), Sherborne (Aldhelm), London (Dunstan), Rochester (Paulinus) and Canterbury (Dunstan, Ælfheah).

[157] *HEGA*, I, 12.

peared to be translated by Bede himself or – in contrast to the tradition that Alfred was the author – his lament shows a different tradition that claimed Bede to be the translator of the work. In both cases we may venture to suggest that the emendation of the omission should read *boc* (not *bec* or *writen* as editors have done),[158] possibly referring to the *OEHE*.

What seems odd is that 'Tremulous' seems to reproduce the text faithfully and uncritically. He does not correct the Ælfric/Alcuin's mistake, nor does he correct *Sipum*, which should read *Ripum*. With regard to the latter, it may have been 'Tremulous''s fault;he may have misread the original *Ripum*. He further retains the assumption that Bede was a translator with a didactic purpose. We cannot presume that the 'Tremulous Hand' actually believed that the text was translated by Bede himself, given his glossing of other works from the Alfredian program. Is there a chance that 'Tremulous' did not deem the *OEHE* part of Alfred's program but rather Bede's own translation? There is no mentioning of the *OEHE* in the prefaces to the *OE Dialogues* and the *OE Pastoral Care*, both of which he glossed.[159] This may have instigated him to dissociate the work from the Alfredian program. Concerning the style of translation, it is doubtful whether his knowledge of Old English was sufficient to be able to tell the differences in style between the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* in particular, and between those works and the *OE Pastoral Care*, although he had the Latin originals of those translations available and probably checked his glosses against them.[160] What is even more puzzling is that 'Tremulous' had a copy of the *OEHE* readily available at Worcester, which he glossed: MS Ca, which has two references to Alfred as the translator of the *OEHE* as we have seen.[161] 'Tremulous' could hardly have ignored them. Furthermore, he was probably aware of Ælfric's attribution of the *OEHE* to Alfred, as he glossed two manuscripts which contained the *Homily on St. Gregory*.[162] Whether he knew the ascription to Alfred that we find in William of Malmesbury cannot be ascertained. It is thus not likely that 'Tremulous' deemed the *OEHE* a genuine translation of Bede's. He may have been just a faithful copyist of the exemplar of

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[158] Cf. Hall, *Early Middle English*, I,1 and II, 225. <writen>, as emended by Hall seems unlikely given the confined space in the manuscript. However, as the margins are trimmed we need not presume a lack of space.

[159] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20 (Ker no. 324); cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 59-60; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 12 (Ker no. 30); cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 60-63; London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho CI, vol. ii (Ker no. 182); cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 64-65; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76 (Ker no. 328); cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 65-69

[160] He glossed two manuscripts which have the *Cura Pastoralis* (Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunterian 431) and the *Dialogi* (Cambridge, Clare College, MS 30), cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 71-72.

[161] See my chapter 'King Alfred and the Authorship of the *OEHE*', *supra*.

[162] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 (Ker no. 48; art.11); cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 51-53; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Hatton 114, (Ker no. 331; art 60) , cf. Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 34-38.

St. Bede's Lament disregarding what he may have known about the translation of the *OEHE* or other works by Bede. Be that as it may, *St Bede's Lament* provides compelling evidence that there is a tradition that proclaims Bede as translator around the time of the Norman Conquest. What exactly he translated is disclosed in the manuscript. Even more remarkable is the fact that 150 years later, 'Tremulous' faithfully copied this attribution to Bede, although at least in the case of the *OEHE* he was certainly aware of the contending tradition which ascribed the vernacular translation to King Alfred.

The present survey has shown that we need to be careful as to which concept of author and authorship we apply with regard to the *OEHE*. We will probably never know who exactly undertook the translation. At the outset the 'author' of the *OEHE* was 'Bede' and the way in which the text was modified strongly suggests that this authority was appropriated by someone who was closely connected to King Alfred's program, if not an integral part of it. The text itself became an authoritative source for generations to come, drawn upon as a source text and being subject to continuous interaction through annotations, glossing, and so on. All this might have been triggered by the authority of 'Bede' which did not require another act of formal legitimization by the means of a preface similar to those attached to the *OE Pastoral Care* or the *OE Boethius*.

Even though we cannot trace the translator's identity, and do not necessarily have to, an analysis of the translation techniques will facilitate our understanding of the circumstances of the translation. Therefore, the next chapter will focus on linguistic aspects of translation from Latin to Old English, such as syntax and lexis, in order to gauge the Latinity and rhetoric of the translator and therefore the degree of his monastic training and possibly the audience he was addressing. In addition, the present study will have a closer look at one specific aspect of the translation and turn to the synonymous pairs in the *OEHE*. These will be discussed in order to reflect on Schipper's and Kuhn's claim that the translation might have evolved from an interlinear gloss.

V. Translating the *Historia Ecclesiastica*

This chapter will deal with various aspects of the translation process. First, the elements of the translator's editorial agenda will be put under close scrutiny. Here, the focus will be on translation techniques and the quality of the translator's latinity. All of this will be done to come to a better understanding of the skills the translation required and the possible training the translator had undergone. The survey covers he latinity of the translator, the use of synonym pairs and his rhetorical training. Based on this linguistic analysis, the implied audience of the *OEHE* will be drawn into sharp focus. This chapter will also provide a link to the next chapter, which deals with the Old English ink and dry-point glosses in Cotton Tiberius C.II. This Latin manuscript of the *HE* was copied at Canterbury in the mid-ninth century, with the glosses roughly dating to the same period. The glosses will be analyzed in light of Sherman Kuhn's hypothesis that the *OEHE* evolved from an interlinear gloss. Therefore, the aim of the present analysis is to find out whether the glosses represent an intermediary stage – a proto-translation of the *OEHE*. This analysis will shed light on the question of whether we can speak of a tradition of vernacular prose, or at least translation, which predates the Alfredian program and whether or not the *OEHE* was its product. If we assume that King Alfred was probably not the translator of the translation, can we find evidence for a different 'authorial persona' who rendered the *HE* in the English vernacular?

Translation Techniques in the *OEHE*

The way the translator chose to render the *HE* in the vernacular is of immeasurable value with regard to questions of textual authority, the Latinity of the translator and the status (and stage of development) of Old English as a written medium. The latter two points are especially important with regard to the significance of the translation and the purported connection to King Alfred's program. For once,

the question of how well the translator had grasped the meaning of Bede's Latin in order to render it into Old English is directly relevant for our assessment of Alfred's famous statement about the decline in Latin literacy in the prefatory letter to the *OE Pastoral Care*. Moreover, the style of translation might be a help to ascertain a date for the *OEHE*. Even so, a correlation between the Old English style and the date is difficult and carries some problems. On the one hand, we may assume that a rather latinate style with the Old English being close to Bede's original in terms of syntax suggests a relatively early composition, with the vernacular struggling with its *Verschriftung* (scripting, i.e., transcoding the phonic into the graphic medium) and *Verschriftlichung* (contextual textualization, i.e., a change of linguistic modality and in cultural modality).[1] Other than that, closeness to the original could also indicate the high regard in which the authoritative source text was held. Thus, a literal translation is not necessarily an expression of uncertitude or immaturity with regard to the new written medium of Old English but does show the authority of the source text.

The transition from a basically oral culture like the Anglo-Saxon to a written culture is a major step, the significance of which should not be underestimated. Rendering authoritative Latin texts into the vernacular marked an assertion of authority and contributed to a high degree to the generation of a nascent common identity, as it put English on par with Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Keeping that in mind, the translation of Bede's *HE* into Old English could well have been a fitting piece for King Alfred's translation program.

In the following translation strategies applied by the translator will be put under close scrutiny.[2] The following aspects will be taken into consideration. First, his Latin skills. Second, the way Bede's Latin was adapted to the relatively new medium of written Old English and, third, the status of English as an authoritative medium. Ultimately, these points are subject to two further questions. First, does the translation display features characteristic of a language not yet long committed to writing but which shows an appeal to authority? Second, do we have to consider the *OEHE* a rather 'bookish' translation, which was designed for reading in private by an elite audience, or does it display elements which hint at an 'oral' context, i.e., being read out to a congregation or the nobles assembled at Alfred's court?

The chapter will be structured as follows. First, a summary of the editorial agenda of the translator combined with an overview of relevant research on that topic will be given. Next, a highly interesting passage – *HE* III.16-17 – will be

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[1]   Cf. U. Schaefer, "A Dialogue Between Orality and Literacy: Considerations on Linguistic Strategies in the Old English Bede", in *Dialogische Strukturen: Festschrift für Willi Erzgräber zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. T. Kühn und Ursula Schaefer (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 17-33, at pp. 19-22.

[2]   As the analysis focuses on the running text (discounting the preface and the table of contents), which appears to be stylistically coherent, speaking of a translator in the singular seems feasible.

focused on as two different translations are transmitted.[3] The analysis will focus on the Latinity of the 'original' translation and its rendition of the Latin into Old English. This will be done by comparing the *OEHE* with its alternative translation for *HE* III.16-17. This provides us with a yard-stick for the quality of the *OEHE*. Additionally, it may provide us with further evidence for the usage and/or availability of the original Old English text if we can find conspicuous similarities between the two versions. Before going into regarding to the translator's translation techniques some general remarks on the editorial agenda underlying the *OEHE* need to be made.

The Editorial Agenda of the Translator

The *OEHE* streamlines the Latin original by about one third. The omissions follow a clear-cut editorial agenda. They were made with extraordinary care. For example, all cross-references to omitted passages are dropped to avoid confusion. The major editorial principles are the following:[4]

1) The account of Roman history in Book I is significantly shortened.

- *HE* I.3 is significantly abbreviated and chapters I.9 and I.10 are dropped entirely.

2) Most documents are cut out.

- Papal letters are either omitted or summarized.[5]

3) Hymns and epitaphs are omitted.

- The hymn in honour of Ætheltryth (IV.18) and the epitaphs of the West Saxon king Cædwalla (V.7), Archbishop Theodore (V.8), or Wilfrid (V.19) are not retained.

- Exceptions are the epitaphs of Gregory the Great (II.1) and St. Augustine (II.3), as well as the Old English version of *Cædmon's Hymn* (IV.24).

4) Passages concerning the Easter controversy are significantly abridged or omitted.

- Omission of the Synod of Whitby (III.25) and the brief summary of Ceolfrith's monumental letter to Naitan, King of the Picts, in V.21.

5) Most Latin place-names are omitted as well as Bede's etymological explications and geographical details.

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[3] One apparently undertaken by the translator who translated the running text, the other by someone whose style and lexis differ considerably from the rest of the *OEHE*.

[4] The best summary of the editorial principles of the translator is in Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 61-74, cf. also Potter, "Old English Bede", pp. 8-12.

[5] For a detailed summary of the translator's treatment of papal letters, see Rowley, ch. 5, esp. p. 113.

- In his account of the Irish and Pictish incursions (I.12) Bede comments on the origin of the Irish and Picts and their perception as "transmarinas"[6] and recounts geographical details, like "Orientalis habet in medio sui urbem Guidi, occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad dexteram sui, habet urbem Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat «petram Cluith»: est enim iuxta fluuium nominis illius." (*Half way along the eastern branch is the city of Guidi, while above the western branch, that is on its right bank, is the town of Alcluith (Dumbarton), a name which in their language means 'Clyde Rock' because it stands near the river of that name.*)[7] This passage is entirely dropped by the translator.

- On the establishment of the West Saxon episcopal sees (III.7) Bede remarks that one was "in ciuitate Venta, quae a gente Saxonum Vintancaestir appellatur"[8] is translated as "in Wintaceastre."[9]

6) Additional information is left out.

- In the *descriptio Britanniae* (I.1) Bede adds to the observation that Britain possesses hot streams, which is omitted by the Old English translator: "Aqua enim, ut sanctus Basilius dicit, feruidam qualitatem recipit, cum per certa quaedam metalla transcurrit, et fit non solum calida sed et ardens."(*For water, as St. Basil says, acquires the quality of heat when it passes throughcertain metals, so that it not only becomes warm but even scalding hot.*) [10]

7) The synopsis of Adamnan's *De Locis Sanctis* (V.16-17) is dropped.

8) Accounts on the Pelagian heresy are cut out.
- Chapters I.10 and I.17-22, which deal with it chiefly are cut out.

9) The translator updates anachronistic reference in order to not disturb the audience's reference frame.
- In *HE* I.15 Bede recounts on the coming of the Germanic tribes: "De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuari et Victuarii, hoc est ea gens quae Vectam tenet insulam, et ea quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam."(*The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the Kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes.*)[11] The *OEHE* changes this to: "Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, ⁊ Wihtsætan; þæt is seo ðeod þe Wiht

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6   *HEGA*, I, 56.
7   *HEGA*, I, 58; trans. C&M, p. 41.
8   *HEGA*, II, 38; *In the city of Venta, which the Saxons call Wintancæstir (Winchester)*; trans.: C&M, p. 235.
9   *OEB*, I.2, 170.
10   *HEGA*, I, 24; trans. C&M, pp. 15-17.
11   *HEGA*, 68; trans.: C&M, p. 51.

þæt ealond oneardað."(*Of Iutish origin are the men of Kent, and the Wihtsætan; that is the tribe dwelling in the Isle of Wight.*)[12] Given the changed political circumstances by the end of the ninth century the settlers of Iutish origin had amalgamated with the West Saxon population on the mainland so that by the time the translator worked they were no longer regarded as a distinct Iutish enclave.

- With regard to the missionary Willibrord, Bede tells us in *HE* V.11: "Ipse autem Vilbrod, cognomento Clemens, adhuc superest, longa iam uenerabilis aetate, utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum, et post multiplices militiae caelestis agones ad praemia remunerationis supernae tota mente suspirans." ([*B*]*ut Willibrord himself, surnamed Clement, is still alive and honoured for his great age, having been thirty-six years a bishop. After fighting many a battle in the heavenly warfare, he now longs with all his heart for the prize of a heavenly reward.*),[13] which is changed to: "Ah he Willbrord, þe se papa Clemens nemde, longe aeldo �7 arwyrðe he hefde; six �7 ðritig wintra in bisscophade liifde, ond efter monigfealdum gewinnum heofonlices comphades to meordum þes uplican edleanes becuom to aare."(*And he Willibrord, who the pope named Clemens, he had a long and venerable period [of office]. Thirty-six years he lived in episcopate, and after manyfold battles of heavenly warfare he attained to the reward of the heavenly retribution to honour.*) [14] This revision pays heed to the fact that this well-known missionary had been dead for more than 150 years by the time when the Old English translation of the *HE* was undertaken.

10) The *Libellus Responsionum* is moved from I. 27 to the end of Book III.

11) A comprehensive table of contents (only in B and Ca) is placed at the beginning of the work instead of particular tables at the beginning of each book.

12) Bede's meticulous dating formulas are no longer retained.

13) The translator uses synonymous word-pairs or even triplets to render a single Latin word.

14) The translator makes a few additions/contextualizations.
- Most of these additions are chiefly of an explicatory nature:
- In *HE* I.1 the translator adds that the five books "quibus lex diuina scripta est"[15] are "Moyses boca".[16]

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12   Text and trans.: *OEB* I.1, 52-53.
13   *HEGA*, II, 372; trans.: C&M, p. 487.
14   *OEB*, I.2, 422.
15   *HEGA*, I, 26.
16   *OEB*, I.1 ,26.

- Whereas the rebuilt Church where Aidan had worked a miracle in III.17 is "in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis dedicata,"[17] the *OEHE* specifies that it "in Scē Petres noman þæs aldoraposteles wæs gehalgod."[18]
- In III.27 the translator explains the term *eclipsis solis*: "þæt is sunnan asprungennis, þæt heo sciman ne hæfde: ꝼ wæs eatolice on to seonne."[19]
- Whereas Bede simply speaks of *paralysis* in V.2 the *OEHE* reads "[mid þa aðle geslægene beon], þe Grecas nemnað paralysis, ꝼ we cweðað lyftadl."[20]
- In V.11 the translator explains that the archbishopric of Frisia is "Traiectum; we cueðað Ættreocum,"[21] whereas the Latin has only "Traiectum."[22]
- In V.14 Caiphas is specified as "þone ealdorman þara sacerda."[23]
- In V. 22 Bede launches into a diatribe on the liturgical practices of the British Church and complains that they showed their heads "sine corona."[24] The translator explains this by rendering it as "butan beage Scē Petres sceare."[25]

There are other additions which contribute to the narrative quality and make Bede's account more vivid:

- In I.4 Diocletian is given the epithet *yfel casere* whereas Constantine is termed *se gode casere* in I.8, stressing the dichotomy of good and bad exempla the reader should read about in this book.[26]
- In *HE* I.6 Diocletian's and Maximian's deprevation is further enhanced by the translator adding "þa betwyh ða monigan yfel þe hi dydon"[27] (*Then among the many evil things they did.*) on top of their persecution of Christians and the devastation of Churches.
- In I.7 the executioner of Alban was turned "þurh Godes gife"[28] from a persecutor to a fellow martyr. The same holds true for I.26, where King Æthelberht of Kent is drawn to the Christian faith "þurh Godes gife."[29]
- It is "scomiende"[30] 'with shame' that the Britons realize that Augustine's truth had healed the sick man during the meeting at *Augustine's Oak* (II.2).

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17 *HEGA*, II, 72.
18 *OEB*, I.1, 204.
19 *OEB*, I.2. 240.
20 *Ibid.*, 378.
21 *Ibid.*, 422.
22 *HEGA*, II, 372.
23 *Ibid.*, 444.
24 *Ibid.*, 462.
25 *OEB*, I.2, 472.
26 *Ibid.*, I.1, 32 and 42.
27 *Ibid.*, 32.
28 *Ibid.*, 38.
29 *Ibid.*, 62..

- The Irish sent Aidan to "Oswalde þam cyninge heora freonde to lareowe"[31] which extents "ad praedicandum miserunt"[32] significantly (III.5).
- In IV.29 Cuthbert "Incubuit precibus"[33]. This is elaborated in detail in the *OEHE*: "Ða aðenede se biscop hine in cruce �‐ hine gebæd."[34] (*Then the biscop prostrated himself in [the form of] a cross and prayed to himself*).
- In V.20 it is said that Acca of Hexham learned certain things during his training in Rome, which he could not have learned in England. The *OEHE* adds "�‐ þa wel heold læste oð his lifes."[35] (*and held them well as long as his life lasted*).

There are various examples where it appears that the translator felt the need to make his story more detailed and personal:

- In III.14 the Latin reads that king Oswiu of Northumbria was attacked by "pagana gente Merciorum,"[36] whereas the old English translator enhances personal agency: "Penda se cyning �‐ seo hæðne þeod Mercna."[37]
- In III.7 (on the conversion of the West Saxons) Bede narrates that "rex ipse […] cum sua gente ablueretur."[38] However, the beginning of the chapter makes mention of various personae, which makes it difficult to associate *rex* with the West Saxon king Cynegisl (mentioned at the very beginning) and the *gens* with the West Saxons. The Old English translator explicates the confusion: "ꝛ þone cyning […] aþwoh mid his þeode Westseaxum."[39] Even when reading it, the Latin account is quite confusing with regard to the *dramatis personae*. The clarification of the *þeod* as the West Saxons by the translator might hint at the fact that the Old English account was intended for being read out to an audience, in which case clarifications such as these would have been of paramount importance to follow the narration
- There are five passages in the narration, where the voice of the translator becomes evident as has been shown earlier. Those tags in the manner of "says Bede" or "says the author of this book" are reminiscent of an oral context, where the passage was read out to the audience.

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30   *Ibid.*, 100.
31   *OEB*, I.1, 164.
32   *HEGA*, II, 32.
33   *Ibid.*, 308.
34   *OEB*, I.2, 372.
35   *Ibid.*, 468.
36   *HEGA*, II, 64.
37   *OEB*, I.1, 192.
38   *HEGA*, II, 36.
39   *OEB*, I.1, 166-68.

In sum, the additions betray that the translator was at pains to uphold a reader/listener focus by making things more explicit and therefore more vivid. Repetition and clarification of details, especially with regard to the different tribes and protagonists in which the *HE* abounds, might be indicative of a text that was intended as being read out loud. In this case, the more detailed and vivid account would have been invaluable. Moreover, it appears that the explicatory notes hint at an audience whose knowledge of scriptural essentials could not be taken for granted. Therefore, those notes might hint at a lay audience, e.g. the king and his family, or the nobles at the Winchester court.

After this preliminary summary of the general features of the translator's editorial agenda, the present study will turn to the particular strategies with which the translator tried to grasp the Latin and render it in the vernacular.

The Style of Translation

The style of the translation has evoked rather heterogeneous verdicts by Anglo-Saxonists. Janet Bately remarks that

> In brief, one finds in the [Old English] Bede 'a curious mix of the pedantic and the poetic, of literal exactitude alongside rhetorical embellishment', with the variation between literal and free translation running throughout the work.[40]

This view is shared by the authors of the *The New Critical History of Old English Literature*, who deem the style "a prose that is somewhat tortured and barely idiomatic, but still at times inspired [...]."[41] Finally, Sherman Kuhn's verdict is telling:

> [S]everal passages are well-written, by no means the work of a novice. Such passages suggest that the author, when deeply interested, could rise rather high, even though on the next leaf his work might lapse into something resembling a half-revised interlinear gloss.[42]

This gloss aspect features prominently in discussions about the style of translation. Simeon Potter remarks in his landmark study on the late-ninth century prose translations that "the translation sometimes becomes little more than a gloss, 'worde be worde'"[43] and gives the following example from *HE* IV.23:[44]

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[40] Bately, "Old English Prose", p. 125.

[41] S. Greenfield and D. G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature With a Survey of the Anglo-Latin Background by Michael Lapidge* (New York, 1986), p. 58. Raymon St-Jacques even calls the translator "a master of prose narrative" ("Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete"? Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and its Old English Translator", *Florilegium* 5 (1983), 85-104, at p. 101).

[42] Kuhn, "Authorship", p. 180.

[43] Potter, "Old English Bede", p. 2.

HE	His temporibus	monasterium uirginum	
OEHE (MS O)	þyssum tidum	þæt nunmynster	
OEHE (MS T)	þyssum tidum	ðæt mynster,	

HE	quod	Coludi Vrbem	cognominant
OEHE (MS O)	þæt	mon nemneð	colludes burhg
OEHE (MS T)	þæt	mon nemneð	Æt Coludes burg

HE	cuius	et supra	meminimus,
OEHE (MS O)	þæs	we beforan	gemyngedon
OEHE (MS T)	þæs	we beforan	gemyndgodon,

HE	per culpam incuriae	flammis	absumtum est.[45]
OEHE (MS O)	þurh ungymenne synne	fyres lige	wæs fornumen.[46]
OEHE (MS T)	þurh ungemænne synne	fyre ꞇ lege	wæs fornumen.[47]

Despite minor differences (e.g. switching of the subject/predicate and the object complement in first relative clause) the elements of the Latin sentence are rendered almost verbatim into Old English. This relative closeness of translation can be further illustrated by the beginning of the chapter on Cædmon in IV.22:[48]

HE	In huius	monasterio abbatissae	fuit	frater quidam
OEHE (MS T)	In ðeosse	abbudissan mynstre	wæs	sum broðor

HE	diuina gratia specialiter	insignis[49]
OEHE (MS T)	syndriglice mid godcundre gife	gemæred ond geweorðad.[50]

Despite the rather literal style, it is interesting to see that the order of *monaterio* (head of the noun phrase) and *abbatissae* (its genitive attribute) is inverted to bring demonstrative pronoun and noun together, whereas they are parted due to the head of the noun phrase in Latin. The word order thus seems to be adjusted to a subjectively 'normal' way of utterance. Moreover, the synonym pair *gemæred ond geweorðad* renders a single Latin word (*insignis*). This synonym pair makes the account more vivid and is reminiscent of Old English alliterative poetry, especially when seen in connection with the *godcundre gife*. Apart from the sound aspect (which probably would have worked as a mnemonic aid for someone who listened to the account) *gemæred* 'to make famous, to honour' and *geweorðad* 'to revere, to hold worthy, to praise, to adorn, to distinguish' perfectly cover the range of se-

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44   *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
45   *OEB*, I.1, 348. The reading of T is added as Potter uses Schipper's edition, that prints MSS O and B in parallel columns with this passage showing O's reading. *HEGA*, II, 284.
46   *OEB*, II, 417.
47   *Ibid.*, I.2, 348.
48   Cf. also Waite, 'Vocabulary', pp. 20-22.
49   *HEGA*, II, 276.
50   *OEB*, I.2, 342.

mantic meanings expressed by *insignis*.[51] The synonym pairs are a conspicuous feature of the text although they are in no way a unique characteristic.[52]

Hildegard Tristram in her treatment of the *OEHE* lists the synonym pairs among other stylistic features. Her analysis is based on the translation of the famous scene of Pope Gregory and the Anglian boys in the Roman market-square (*HE* II.1) but reflects general tendencies. The features are as follows:[53]

1) rhetorical doubling (*hendiadyoin*)

   - Quos cum aspiceret – ða he ðe heo geseah ꝺ beheold (*HEGA*, I, 178; *OEB*, I.1, 96)
   - Responsum est – þa andswarode him mon ꝺ cwæð (*HEGA*, I, 178; *OEB*, I.1, 96)

2) deletion or replacement of abstract or complex formulations by simpler forms

   - capillorum quoque forma egregia – ꝺ æðelice gefeaxe (*HEGA*, I,178; *OEB*, I.1, 96)
   - quia Deiri uocarentur idem prouinciales – þæt heo Dere nemde wæron (*HEGA*, I, 178; *OEB*, I.1, 96)

3) additional contextualization in Old English

   - aduenientibus mercatoribus – come cypemen of Brytene (*HEGA*, I, 178; *OEB*, I.1, 96)
   - ut fructificaret – þæt heora laar wære wæstmbeorende to Godes willan ꝺ to ræde Ongelcynne (*HEGA*, I, 180; *OEB*, I.1, 98)

4) replacement of integrated Latin syntax by coordination and serial subordination

   - Dicunt quia die quadam, cum aduentibus nuper mercatoribus multa uenalia in forum fuissent conlata, multi ad emendum confluxissent (*HEGA*, I, 178)

   - Secgað hi, þæt sume dæge þider niwan come cypemen of Brytene ꝺ monig cepe þing on ceapstowe brohte, ꝺ eac monige cwomon to bicgenne þa ðing (*OEB*, I.1, 96)

5) breakdown of complex speech acts into a sequence of simple speech acts

   - At ille: «Bene», inquit, «Deiri, de ira eruti et ad misericordiam Christi uocati. Rex prouinciae illius quomodo appellatur?» (*HEGA*, I, 178)

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51 See PONS, s.v. *insignis*.
52 Cf. Waite, 'Vocabulary', pp. 30-34.
53 Tristram, "Bede's 'Historica Ecclesiastica'", pp. 204-06.

- Cwæð he: Wel þæt is cweden Dere, *de ira eruti*; heo sculon of Godes yrre beon abrogdene, ꞇ to Christes mildheortnesse gecegde. Ða gyt he ahsode hwæt heora cyning haten wære. (*OEB*, I.1 96)

Tristram regarded those features as evident of a "popularizing stilistic tenor."[54] The change of integrative Latin formulations into aggregative phrases in Old English facilitated the auditory reception of the text. Tristram suggests that all this hinted at a functional change, with the text being directed at an audience rather than a readership. For Tristram, this audience could have been minor clerics as well as lay public.[55] The translation showed faithfulness to its source but at the same time adapted the Latin to a different functional (aural) context.

Ursula Schaefer also focused upon the translation techniques in the *OEHE*. The value of her survey is further enhanced by the fact that she also treats the development of the text from the oldest manuscript (T) to a younger manuscript (B). She outlines various features of the style of the translation with reference to the text passage on the *adventus Saxonum* (I.15):[56]

> Quod ubi domi nuntiatum est, simul et insulae fertilitas ac segnitia Brettonum, mittitur confestim illo classis proxilior, armatorum ferens, manum fortiorem, quae praemissae adiuncta cohorti inuincibilem fecit exercitum.[57]

> Þa sendan hi [i.e. the Saxons] ham ærenddraccan ꞇ heton secgan þysses landes wæstmbærnysse, and Bretta yrgþo. ꞇ hi þa sona hinder sendon maran sciphere strengran wighena; ꞇ wæs unoferswiþendlic weorud, þa hi togædere geþeodde wæron.[58]

Schaefer outlines the features which distinguish the Old English translation from its Latin original as follows:

1) the complicated Latin *consecutio temporum* is transformed into additive linearity (paratactic seriality)

   - þa[…] ꞇ […] ꞇ […] þa

2) agency is identified and nominally and verbally lexicalized

   - *nuntiatum est* is personfied by the *ærendraccan* 'messengers' and the action is more explicit and verbalized as we have the *heton secgan*

3) passive constructions are transformed into active constructions

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54 Tristram, "Bede's 'Historica Ecclesiastica'", p. 207.
55 *Ibid.*
56 See Schaefer, "A Dialogue", pp. 22-30; cf. Waite, "Vocabulary", pp. 41-42 for general characteristics of Latin-Old English translation.
57 *HEGA*, I, 68.
58 *OEB*, I.1, 50.

- *mittitur* becomes *hi sendon*
- due to the structural differences of the Old English tense system (which knew only present tense and past tense) the complicated Latin *consecutio temporum* has to rendered by a narrative addictive sequence, i.e., the past perfect action of the Latin is the first narrated action in the Old English sequence.

4) <u>present participle constructions are either retained as loan syntax constructions converted into relative clauses or expressed in a completely different manner</u>

- in the present case *amatorum ferens manum fortiorem* ('including a stronger band of warriors') is rendered as *strengran wighena*, which drops the present participle altogether and turns the adverbial it into a genetive attribute.

Taking other passages into consideration Schaefer outlines further characteristics:

5) <u>Increased explicitness</u>

- Schaefer points out linguistic explictness is a characteristic of written as opposed to spoken language (due to the absence of extra-linguistic referenttiality). However, 'over-explicitness' (oral explictness) that amounts to redundance appears to her as an adaptation to the "technique of discourse."[59] She refers to Grant who has shown that the redactor of the B text adds a noun/pronoun in the sentence, where T implies it in 83 cases[60] and illustrates that with the Cædmon episode:

HE	(Exsurgens autem a somno), cuncta quae dormiens cantauerat memoriter retenuit.[61]
OEHE (MS T)	(þa aras he from þæm slæpe), ⁊ eal, þa þe slæpende song, fæste in gemynde hæfde.[62]
OEHE (MS B)	(þa aras he fram þam slæpe) ⁊ eall ðæt he slæpende song, he hyt fæste on gemynde hæfde.[63] [Schaefer's parentheses]

As Schaefer observes, the B redactor repeats the subject and the object, thus re-oralizes the text.[64] T as we can see, is an almost faithful translation of the Latin.

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59 Schaefer, "A Dialogue", p. 19.
60 Grant, *B Text*, p. 331.
61 *HEGA*, II, 278.
62 *OEB*, I.2, 344.
63 *OEB*, II, 410.
64 Schaefer, "A Dialogue", p. 26. This kind of doubling is typical of spoken utterance. Brigitte Halford calls this phenomenon "topic movement" (See Brigitte K. Halford, "The complexity of

Additionally, we again have features which Schaefer had observed with regard to the *adventus Saxonum* passage. The hypotactic construction (with the participle *exurgens* signalling a temporal relation) is replaced by a paratactic sequence (*þa* […] *and*). Moreover, the Latin *consecutio temporum* with its pluperfect (*cantauerat*) and present perfect (*retenuit*) is expressed by simple past with the anterior action (*song*) narrated first. Apart from this transformation of the Latin, the second participle in the Latin is retained in the OE and not converted into a relative clause. Here as with the word order and choice of words we see a closeness to the Latin in the process of translation.

6) <u>Lexical Doublets</u>
- for Schaefer, these are expressions of English poetic tradition, which link the English text with the discursive tradition of 'epic style'. This feature will be dealt with in detail later on.

Taking all evidence into consideration, Schaefer concludes that both textual witnesses, T and B, provide good evidence for the developemt of conceptual textualization in the ninth and tenth centuries.[65] In her view, both texts link the English text to the native discourse tradition, exemplified chiefly by the doublets. She sees a dialogic process at work, between Latin (with a fully developed literacy) and English (with a still developing literacy). The *OEHE* therefore is an excellent model for the beginnings of vernacular textualization, with the translator (and redactor) working as a mediator between orality and literacy in three frames.[66] Consequently, the translator and the redactor "cause the two parallel narrative traditions of Latin written historiography and English oral epic to merge."[67] This process was by no means at an end by the time of the initial translation. We see rather that the redactor of B re-oralized the text, making it correspond closer to English norms and helping to establish a nascent 'English idiom'.

The Latinity of the *OEHE*'s Translator

We cannot, however, assume that by the time the initial translation was undertaken Old English had a developed written idiom. The corpus of Old English prose before the tenth century and Alfred's translation program is small and its

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Oral Syntax", in *Syntax gesprochener Sprachen*, ed. B.K. Halford and H. Pilch (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 33-44).

[65] Schaefer, "A Dialogue", p. 30.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32; 1) the outer frame: the "universe of referentiality," where authentification works refers either to written (Latin) or oral (English) tradition; 2) language-specific sub-systems with their discursive traditions (e.g. variation, formulism and specific rhythm with regard to English) with different linguistic codes (Latin: literate vs. English: oral); 3) the grammatical means of a langauge which had not had a long and established tradition as a *Schriftsprache*.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

items difficult to date precisely.[68] By the time Alfred instigated his translation program Old English had not yet been comitted to writing intensively. The literary language of Europe by that time was Latin. Combined with the fact that Alfred sought to imitate Charlemagne in his promotion of learning and literacy, it is small wonder that Latin played an important part in the process of inscripting Old English. The Latin influence on Old English, especially on prose writing, cannot be denied.[69] At the same time, Bruce Mitchell warns us "that we must avoid the tendency […] to rush around slapping the label 'Latinism' on anything which deviates in the slightest from our preconceived notions of the norms of ordinary speech."[70] The influence of Latin on written Old English is understandable, as Latin was the high-prestige written language against which any written vernacular had to be measured. Imitating Latin was thus a question of authority and veneration. Moreover, the Latin influence is only logical in translations of Latin originals. The translators had to wrestle with the authority of their source and their own concepts and ideas as well as their audience. Trying to live up to all three demands was a cumbersome and dauting task. Finally, the Latin influence can be accounted for by the rich glossing tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. Thus, in order to find Old English equivalents for Latin lemmata, the translator's monastic training would have – consciously or not – latinized the way of translation to a certain degree. The most pressing problems would have been to find semantic equivalents for cultural concepts which did not exist in Anglo-Saxon England (e.g. *res publica*, *consul*, *magistratus*),[71] to cope with the periodic and complex syntax of Latin and to find a way to render grammatical features like *ablativus absolutus*, *participium coninuctum* or *AcI*.

With regard to syntax, it has been observed that Old English translators coped with the complex periodic syntax of Latin – with its adverbial phrases headed by participles or adjective – in that they used subordination and at the same time tried to break down complex sentences into shorter sentences using paratactic

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[68]   See chapter III 'The Intellectual and Political Landscape of Ninth-Century England', *supra*; cf. Bately, "Old English Prose"; for a different view, see Vleeskryuer, *Life of St. Chad*, pp. 38-71, esp, 51-61.

[69]   See G.H. Brown, "Latin Writing and the Old English Vernacular", in *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. U. Schaefer (Tübingen, 1993), pp. 36-57. For grammatical features with a focus on syntax see B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), II, *General Index* s.v. *Latin influence*. For an overview of the Latin influence on Old English syntax cf. M. Scheler, *Altenglische Lehnsyntax. Die syntaktischen Latinismen im Altenglischen* (Berlin, 1961) and S. O. Andrew, *Syntax and Style in Old English* (New York, 1966), *passim*. Studies with a special focus on the *OEHE* are R. Molencki, "Some Observations on Relative Clauses in the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*", *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 20 (1988), 83-99 and M. Kilpiö, *Passive Constructions in Old English Translations from Latin with Special Reference to the OE Bede and the Pastoral Care* (Helsinki, 1989).

[70]   B. Mitchell and F.C. Robinson, ed., *A Guide to Old English*, 7th ed. (Oxford, 2007), p. 68.

[71]   On this problem see H. Sauer, "Language and Culture", 437-68.

constructions.[72] Even so, at times the Latin syntax is quite clumsily imitated in Old English with the translation betraying the already mentioned fondness of word-pairs, especially synoynms.[73] In both cases we should not regard Old English as 'simpler' as even parataxis need not been regarded as less vivid and inferior from a rhetorical or narrative standpoint.[74]

A prime example of the close imitation of Latin is the so-called 'dative absolute' in Old English, which seeks to imitate the Latin *ablativus absolutus* without resolving it with the help of an adverbial clause. This phenomenon is most evident in the *OEHE* and the *OE Dialogues* as Potter has shown.[75] There are three reasons this might be. First, the reverence for the authority of the Latin texts, which the translators sought to imitate as closely as possible. Second, that the *OEHE* and the *OE Dialogues* present a different chronological step in the development of Old English prose translations (presumably an earlier stage, where the Old English translators had not yet ventured to create an independent artifical prose). Third, that those works were intended for a more learned audience, which would have recognized the phenomenon and understood it immediately, as they were used to it from their training in Latin. However, even the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* do not follow an identical style of translation, since the proportion of dative absolute constructions in the *OE Dialogues* exceeds the one in the *OEHE* by far.[76] What do we make of that? First, the translator of the *OE Dialogues* might not have known how else to render the *ablativus absolutus* other than to create an Old English calque. This can be explained by either his ineptitude in Latin, or by the premature state of written Old English, or by his devotion to fidelity to the original. Similarly, his audience, which might have been very learned and well-versed in Latin, could have played a role. Second, the *OEHE* may have been a work for a different audience (a less learned one), which would have been troubled to the point of confusion when encountering the anglicized latinism. Finally, the use of fewer dative absolute forms testifies to a more mature approach and a confidence to render the complex ideas of the Latin periodic syntax, with the help of adverbial clause or principal clause in a paratactic scheme. The borrowing from the Latin model can be seen as a more adventurous and emancipated state in the development of Old English prose translation without forsaking the original's authority.

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[72]   Cf. M. Godden, "Literary Language" in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 1:*The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. R. M. Hogg, Cambridge, 1992), 490-536, at pp. 513-24.

[73]   Cf. Godden, "Literary Language", p. 523.

[74]   Cf. Mitchell and Robinson, *Guide to Old English*, pp. 99-100.

[75]   Cf. Potter, "Old English Bede", pp. 21-23. On the grounds that those works are grouped together may have come from a similar school of translation in opposition to the works of the Alfredian canon, which hardly have the dative absolute.

[76]   There are 100 dative absolutes in the *OEHE* compared to 558 ablative absolutes in the *HE*, but 123 dative absolutes in the *OE Dialogues* (265 absolutes in the Latin original); cf. Potter, "Old English Bede", p. 23.

Thus, Discenza's argument for a late date for the the *OEHE* gains new currency in the light of this observation.[77]

Even though the *OEHE*'s style of translation is often descibed as latinate or literal, Mitchell, in his landmark study on Old English syntax, singles out only twenty-four chapters where Latin influence on the Old English is demonstrated with reference to passages from the *OEHE* (of 143 total instances where passages from the *OEHE* are cited to illustrate syntactic features).[78] A small selection must suffice:

- § 945: the inflected infinitve of (in)transitive verbs is used to express future action: "swa swa heræfter is swutolecor to secganne"[79] renders the Latin gerundive "ut in sequentibus latius dicendum est."[80]
- § 1950: the OE noun clause does not occupy the first place in OE sentences. Mitchell cites *OEHE* 178/1 and 270.26[81] as sole examples and regards them as "unidiomatic imitations of the Latin"[82]
- § 2564: in context of the rule that *þa* only takes the preterite indicative in clauses of time Mitchell explains that the subj. *bede/bæde* in Bede 162.21 is due to influence of the Latin original *postulasset* and that fact that it is in independent speech.
- § 3004: Mitchell argues that we occasionally find a clause of purpose in initial position under Latin influence and cites examples from Bede 2.14, and 288.3 ("in a clumsy imitation of the Latin") and 74.10.

These points show that it is not easy to judge the Latinity of the translator as well as his syntactical and grammatical fidelity to the structure of the Latin original. Nevertheless, the circumstance that we have an independent translation of a passage in Book III provides us with a means to evaluate the quality of the translators' Latinity and the the degree to which the translation imitates the original grammatically in each case.

As already noted, the *OEHE* manuscripts roughly fall into two branches as they show different renditions of *HE* III.16-20. The present analysis focuses on chs. 16 and 17, as we have differing translations of the same text portion in MSS TB and COCa, respectively.[83] The TB version appears to be part of the original translation process as it displays stylistic and lexical similarities to the rest of the

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[77] See Discenza, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", p. 80; Kuhn "Authorship", p. 180, also proposes a late date.

[78] See Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §§ 396, 437, 945, 1950, 2196, 2238, 2491 2544, 2549, 2564, 2806, 2839 n., 3004, 3095, 3107, 3123, 3131, 3544, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3878.

[79] *OEB*, I.2, 298.

[80] *HEGA*, II, 216.

[81] Mitchell's references refer to page and line in Miller's edition.

[82] Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, II, 11.

[83] *OEB*, I.1, 202/9-204/34.

OEHE translation. It seems probable that on the COCa part of the manuscript stemma the scribe copied from a manuscript of the *OEHE* which lacked a few pages of the original translation. This was made good by translating the missing bit anew from a Latin manuscript of the *HE*. The COCa rendering does not show the Anglian dialect admixture of the original translation.[84] Its style appears to be more latinate than that of the rest of the *OEHE*, which would testify it being translated independently. For the sake of comparison the text is provided passage-by-passage in facing columns in the appendix.[85]

The main observations on the passage in TB (which is assumed to be the original translation) are the following and generally fit both Schaefer's and Tristram's points:[86]

1) <u>the translation is quite literal but it does not appear to be gloss-like:</u>

- in general the translation does not imitate the Latin in a word-by-word rendering. There are a few instances, however, where the Old English text reminds one of a gloss:

HE	destinam illam	non ut antea		deforis
OEHE (MS T)	þa ilcan studu	nales swa swa ær		uton
HE	in fulcimentum domus adposuerunt[87]			
OEHE (MS T)	togesettton to trymenesse þæs huses[88]			

- We find similar tendencies in the alternative translation:

HE	et haec eadem destina	in munimentum est parietis
OEHE (MS O)	ꓶ seo foresprecene wræðstudu	þam wage to wreþe geseted wæs
HE	ut ante fuerat,	forensicus adposita[89]
OEHE (MS O)	swa swa heo ær wæs[90]	

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84 Cf. Campbell, "Book III, Chapter 16 to 20", pp. 383-86.
85 See Appendix I.
86 The alternative translation in COCa is put alongside the translation in TB to illustrate similarities and differences. In each case, the text is from O as Miller used that as his base text for the alternative translation. For the sake of convenience shorter passages have not been given a reference in a footnote. The text of the 'main translation' follows *OEB*, I, 202-08, that of the alternative translation *OEB*, II, 221-27, whereas the Latin examples are from *HEGA*, II, 74-80.
87 *HEGA*, II, 78.
88 *OEB*, I.1, 204.
89 *HEGA*, II, 78.
90 *OEB*, II, 224.

- nevertheless, the Latin word-order and the embedded relative clause are rendered differently in Old English and the *forensicus* is dropped. Therefore, the style sways between being rather literal and gloss-like.

2) <u>synonym pairs are used to render a single Latin word:</u>

- deuastans – hyðde �7 hergode (MS T) (MS O: passage not translated)[91]
- capere – abrecan ne gegaan (MS T) (MS O) passage not translated)[92]
- dixisse – cleopode � cwæð (MS T) (MS O: cleopode � cwæde)[93]
- accenderant – ældon � bærndon (MS T) (MS O: no synonym pair)[94]
- praedicando – bodade � lærde, (MS T) (MS O: to lærenne � to trym-manne)[95]
- perderet – fornom �7 forleas. (MS T) (MS O: no synonym pair)[96]
- supplicare – wilnian �7 secan (MS T) (MS O: passage not translated)[97]
- flammarum incendia – se leg � seo hætu (MS T).[98] This is example debatable as *incendia flammarum* is a noun phrase consisting of the noun and its genitive attribute rather than a single Latin word, but the Old English aptly renders this construction to make the account more vivid.

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[91] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 200.
[92] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1 202
[93] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1 202; II, 221.
[94] *HEGA*, II, 74: *OEB*, I.1, 202; II, 221.
[95] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202; II, 222.
[96] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204; II, 221.
[97] *HEGA*, II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[98] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1 202.

3) the Latin *consecutio temporum* is simplified:

- the Latin pluperfect and perfect are rendered by past tense constructions with adverbials if necessary. The anterior event is narrated first to give a notion the sequence of events.

4) the mood is simplified:

- The subjunctive, which is often applied in Latin subordinate clauses, is rendered by the indicative in the OE translation:
  conspiceret (imperfect subjunctive) = geseah[99]

5) the voice is changed from passive to active:

- mutati […] uenti – oncerde se wind[100] (also number changed)
- translatum […] est – Lædde mon[101]
- flammis absumeretur – fyre forbærnde[102]
- *HE*   uicum eundem et ipsam pariter ecclesiam ignibus consumi[103]

  OEHE (MS T) þætte se ilca tun forborn ⁊ seo ilca cirice ætgedre wæs mid fyre fornumen[104].

  ⇨ Here the Latin noun clause with its governing verb *consumi* is split into a noun clause with an active verb and a principal clause with a verb in the passive.

- ipsam tamen ledere nullatenus sinebatur[105] – ⁊ hwæðre þa studo sceðþan ne meahte.[106]

The alternative translation (COCa) is generally more faithful to the voice but at times also renders a Latin passive with an Old English active:

- quam diuinitus iuuari cognouerant[107] – hi oncneowon þ(æt) hie god scylde[108]

6) nominalization of verb constructions:

  consuerat + inf. – his gewuna wæs[109]

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[99]   *HEGA*, II, 74., 200
[100] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[101] *HEGA*, II,76; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[102] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[103] *HEGA*, II, 78.
[104] *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[105] *HEGA*, II, 78.
[106] *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[107] *HEGA*, II, 74.
[108] *OEB*, II, 221.
[109] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202.

7) <u>replacement of integrated Latin syntax by coordination and serial subordination:</u>

HE	ita ut aliquot laesi, omnes territi, inpugnare ultra urbem cessarent[110]
OEHE (MS T)	⁊ monig monn swiðe gewyrdledon; ⁊ heo ealle afyrhte onweg flugon ⁊ blunnon þa burg afeohton.[111]

HE	saepius ibidem diuerti ac manere atque inde ad praedicandum circumquaque exire consuerat[112]
OEHE (MS T)	⁊ his gewuna wæs, þæt he gelomlice þider cerde ⁊ þær wunade, ⁊ þonon eode gehwyder ymb ⁊ þær godcunde lare bodade ⁊ lærde[113]

HE	Nam tempore episcopatus eius hostilis Merciorum exercitus Penda duce Nordanhymbrorum regiones impia clade longe lateque deuastans peruenit ad urbem usque regiam, quae ex Bebbae quondam reginae uocabulo cognominatur, eamque, quia neque armis neque obsidione capere poterat, flammis absumere conatus est.[114]
OEHE (MS T)	Þæt gelomp in þa tid his biscophada, þætte Penda Mercna cyning gelædde here on Norðanhymbra lond, ⁊ hit feor ⁊ wide mit arlease wæle hyðde ⁊ hergode. Þa becwom he æt nyhstan to þære cynelecan byrig, seo is nemned Bebbanburg. Þa he þa geseah, þæt seo burg wæs to þon fæst, þæt he ne meahte ne mid gefeohte ne mid ymbsete heo abrecan ne gegaan, þa wolde he mid fyre forbærnan.[115]

8) <u>Participle constructions (esp. ablative absolute) and gerunds dissolved:</u>

- deuastans - hyðde ⁊ hergode[116]
- ad praedicandum - godcunde lare bodade ⁊ lærde[117]

The alternative translation tries to emulate these Latin constructions more closely:

- ad praedicandum - for rihtne geleafan to lærenne ⁊ to trymmanne[118]

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[110] *HEGA*, II, 74.
[111] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[112] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[113] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[114] *HEGA*, II, 74.
[115] *OEB*, I.1, 200, 202.
[116] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 200.
[117] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 202.

Given the fact that the Old English dative absolute as a means to render the ablative absolute of the Latin appears to be a conspicuous characteristic of the *OEHE* translation, it is interesting to note that all six instances of the ablative absolute in III.16-17 are rendered by finite verb constructions and hypotaxis in MS T:

- discissique uiculis – aslat þa þa tunas ealle[119] (principal clause + subsequent parataxis)
- Quo dicto – Ond þa sona[120]
- completis annis – þa ðæt gen wæs, þæt þa ger gefylled wæron[121] (clause of time + noun clause)
- Quo clarescente miraculo – þa þis wundor þus gecyðede wæs[122]
- peracto tempore aliquanto – gelomp æfter tida fæce[123]
- interiecto tempore aliquanto – þa wæs æfterfylgendre tide[124] (in the last example the noun phrase is in the instrumental case modelled on the ablative in Latin)

The translator of the alternative section appears to follow the Latin closely as he renders the *ablativus absolutus* with the dative absolute in two cases in MS O:

- Quo dicto – þyssum wordum þa gecweden[125]
- Quo clarescente miraculo – þyssum wundre þa uncnawenu(m)[126]

9) <u>Participle constructions imitated:</u>

- cui incumbens obiit – þe se biscop onhleoniende[127]
- uentibus ferentibus – swapendum windum[128]
- ut acclinis destinae – on ðære styðe stondene[129]

These, however, are exceptions to the rule. The translator of the original passage prefers to use finite verb constructions and hypotaxis to dissolve the Latin participles.

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[118] *HEGA* II, 76, II, 222.
[119] *HEGA* II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[120] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[121] *HEGA* II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[122] *HEGA* II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[123] *HEGA* II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[124] *HEGA* II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[125] *HEGA* II, 74; 221.
[126] Cf. Potter," Old English Bede", p. 32. He also remarks that the translator of the divergent section uses a "crude" Dative Absolute, i.e., having no corresponding Ablative Absolute in the Latin in "eallre þære cyricean on þam oðrum getimbre forburnen."; *HEGA*, II, 78; *OEB*, II, 224.
[127] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[128] *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[129] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204.

10) <u>Latin adverbials are rendered by finite verb constructions:</u>

HE quin etiam astulis ex ipsa destina excisis et in aquam missis[130]

OEHE (MS T) Ge eac swylce of þære ilcan styðe sponas þweoton ꞑ sceafþan nomon, ꞑ in wæter sendon.[131]

The alternative translation applies the same pinciple:

- eac monige men of þære ylcan styde sprytlan acurfan[132]

11) <u>Additional Contextualization:</u>

These additions contribute to a better understanding of the story, making it more detailed and vivid:

HE eamque, quia neque armis neque obsidione capere poterat, flammis absumere conatus est.[133]

OEHE (MS T) *Þa he þa geseah, þæt seo burg wæs to þon fæst* [my italics], þæt he ne meahte ne mid gefeohtene mid ymbsete heo abrecan ne gegaan, þa wolde he mid fyre forbærnan.[134]

In thise case the additon gives a more vivid picture of the scene with the destruction of the city being personalized as the Mercian king Penda is brought into sharp focus once more, whereas in the Latin sequence, his name is given only at the beginning of the cumbersome Latin syntax. By inserting the clause of time, his personal agency is brought to the fore in the Old English translation.

HE discissisque uiculis quos in uicina urbis inuenit[135]

OEHE (MS T) Aslat þa þa tunas ealle ymb þa burg onwæg, ðe he þær on neaweste gemette, ꞑ *to þære byrig gewæg.* [my italics][136]

The last bit is a paratactic addition, which makes the account more vivid.

HE in insula Farne, quae duobus ferme milibus passuum ab urbe procul abest[137]

130 *HEGA*, II, 78.
131 *OEB*, I.1, 204.
132 *OEB*, II, 224.
133 *HEGA*, II, 74.
134 *OEB*, I.1, 202.
135 *HEGA*, II, 74.
136 *OEB*, I.1, 202.
137 *HEGA*, II, 74.

OEHE (MS T)	Ða in þa seolfan tid wæs se arwyrða biscop �7 se halga Aidan in Farne þæm ealonde, þæt is on twæm milum from þære byrig *ut on sæ* [my italics][138]
HE	Hunc dies mortis egredi e corpore cogeret conpletis annis episcopatum sui xvii[139]
OEHE (MS T)	Ða ðæt ða gen wæs, þæt þa ger gefylled wæron his biscophada, þæt he þis deaðlice lif forlætan sceolde, � *he untrum wæs* [my italics][140]

Here, the addition contributes to the picture of the aged and fragile Aidan, who after a life of service now should leave the mortal life and enter the heavenly kingdom. This is beautifully emphasized by rendering *egredi a corpore* as *þæt he þis deaðlice life forlætan sceolde.*

HE	unde factum est, ut adclinis destinae, quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat adposita, spiritum uitae exhaleret ultimum.[141]
OEHE (MS T)	Þa gelomp, þa he forðferan scolde, *þæt he genom þa studu*, þe seo cirice mid awreðed wæs, �7 on þære styðe stondende forðferde [my italics].[142]

The insertion of the noun clause enhances the dramatic effect and contributes to the vividness of the account.

HE	in honorem beatissimi apostolorum princips dedicata[143]
OEHE (MS T)	Scē Petres noman þæs aldoraposteles wæs gehalgod[144]

In this case we have a clear explicatory addition, which hints at the fact that the purported audience might not have been learned enough to well know who was meant by 'prince of the apostles'.

The alternative translation adds this comment as well:

- �7 on þæs eadigan apostoles noman scē petres gehalgad.[145]

HE	quin etiam astulis ex ipsa destina excisis et in aquam missis, plures sibi suisque languorum remedia conquisiere.[146]

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138 *OEB*, I.1, 202.
139 *HEGA*, II, 74.
140 *OEB*, I.1, 202.
141 *HEGA*, II, 76.
142 *OEB*, I.1, 204.
143 *HEGA*, II, 76.
144 *OEB,* I.1, 204.
145 *OEB*, II, 223.
146 *HEGA*, II, 78.

OEHE (MS T) Ge eac swylce of þære ilcan styðe sponas þwoton ⁊ sceafþan nomon, ⁊ in wæter sendon ⁊ *untrumum drincan sealdon*, ⁊ monigra untrymnessa læcedomas onfengon[my italics].[147]

The translator gives a very detailed account of the process which leads to the re-convalescence of the sick. The narration becomes more dramatic by the quick succession of principal clause.

- Tetenderunt ergo ei aegrotanti tentorium[148] – Þa aslogon *his geferan* teld, þa he untrum wæs [my italics][149]

Those who erect the tent are specified. Apart from that, we have another example for dissolving a Latin participle/gerund with a finite verb clause (here: clause of time). The alternative translation is similarly more explicit:

- þa men þe him þa þenedan his aslogan an geteld[150]

The agents are specified, but the translator fails to capture the fact that Aidan was being sick. However, he adds a small detail, which neither the Latin nor the TB version have. The passage just quoted continues with the remark that the tent was erected to the western wall of the church. The OCa version adds "þ(æt) he hine þær Inne gerestan mihte."[151]

- dicissisque uiculis – Aslat þa þa tunas *ealle*[152] [my italics]

This addition makes the destruction more devastating. Hyperbole is a common rhetorical device.

- antistes – biscop ⁊ *se halga*[153][my italics]
- omnes territi – ealla afyrhte onweg flugon[154]

The *onweg flugon* makes the account more dramatic and detailed.

- ad dexteram altaris – in suðhealfe þæs wigbedes[155]

The translator is very precise in his description of the burial place of Aidan's bones. As the main altar of churches is situated in the east 'to the right of the altar' does mean 'south'.

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147 *OEB*, I.2, 204.
148 *HEGA*, II, 76.
149 *OEB*, I.1, 202, 204.
150 *Ibid.*, II, 222.
151 *Ibid.*
152 *HEGA*, II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
153 *HEGA* II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
154 *HEGA* II, 74; *OEB*, I.1, 202.
155 *HEGA* II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204.

The alternative section has "on þa swiðran healfe þæs wigbedes,"[156] which is a correct translation, but it does not show the precision and cognitive transformation applied by the translator of the TB version.

  12) <u>Omissions:</u>

HE   ad urbem usque regiam, quae ex Bebbae quondam reginae uocabulo cognominatur[157]

OEHE (MS T)   to þære cynelecan byrig, seo is nemned Bebbanburg[158]

The audience will probably have been familiar with name *Bebbanburh* 'Bamburgh' even without the modification on the name-giving process, which would have slowed down the reading/listening process and provided an audience of listeners with information which were unneccesary in order to understand the story.

HE   sola illa destina, cui incumbens obiit, *ab ignibus circum cuncta uorantibus* absumi non potuit.[my italics].[159]

OEHE   (MS T) þa studu ane, þe se biscop onhleoniende forðferde, þæt fyr gretan ne meahte.[160]

It is odd that the translator omitted this bit, as it would have fitted the pattern of his making the account dramatic, detailed and vivid. The account of the miracle would have been even more forceful if he had recounted the destructive power of the fire, which left the holy pillar untouched.
The alternative translation keeps that detail:

- seo wræðstudu an ofer þa se halga bisceop hliniende forðferde eallre þære cyricean ⁊ þam oþrum getimbre forburnen gehrinen fra(m) þam fyre stod.[161]

Commenting on Aidan's pastoral duties Bede adds in the Latin:

HE   quod ipsum et in aliis uillis regiis facere solebat, utpote nil propriae possessionis excepta ecclesia sua et adiacentibus agellis habens.[162]

This passage is omitted by the translator in TB but faithfully rendered in the alternative section:

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[156]   *OEB* II, 224.
[157]   *HEGA*, II, 74.
[158]   *OEB*, I.1, 200.
[159]   *HEGA*, II, 78.
[160]   *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[161]   *Ibid.*, II, 223-24.
[162]   *HEGA*, II, 76.

- ðæt eac swilce his þeaw wæs on oþrum cyinges tune to donne swa swa hit eaðe beon mihte forþon þe he nowiht agnes hæfde butan his cyricean. ⁊ þær to feower æceras [163]

The alternative translation does not only retain this passage but makes an emphatic addition: *swa swa hit eaðe beon mihte* 'as it righfully should be'. What are we to make of that? The fact that the translator in TB does not want to mention Aidan's poverty which drove him to parsimony may be explained with the help of papal correspondence. As has been shown in the chapter on the fragments in Cotton Domitian, Archbishop Fulco of Reims and Pope Formosus criticized the Anglo-Saxon church for its lack in pastors and the subsequent parsimony. Apparently, this shortage in supply of priests and the insufficient pastoral care, especially in those areas which were under Scandinavian control, was a reality. If we assume that the translator was aware of that, we can easily see why he left out a topic that testifies to Aidan's virtue, when at the same time this practice was severely criticized by the pope and the archbishop of Rheims. This is part of the translator's habit of passing over in silence political and religious issues, which were sensitive at the time of translation. He appears to make conscious choices to express political and religious statements. In contrast to this, the inclusion of the passage in the alternative translation might simply be explained by the fact that it is in general faithful to the original and refrains from omissions. Yet the emphatic statement *swa swa hit eaðe beon mihte* makes one wonder if the translator also wanted to utter a certain religious view, i.e., that parsimony was acceptable given the miserable conditions in which the clergy have to work. Alternatively, this addition might just emphasize the translator's enthusiasm for the zeal and energy with which Aidan carries out his work without having the material sustenance behind him. Thus, it might be a strong statement for the monastic virtue of *pauperitas*.

Also the alternative section does on occasion leave out details:

- per culpam incuriae - þurh gymelyste[164]

The TB version has *þurh ungemænne synne*, which is a more faithful rendering of the Latin. At the same time, the TB translator is more moralizing in his translation, as he translates *culpam* as 'sin'. Thus the OCa translator erased a redundancy as he regarded negligence as such as faulty behaviour covering the semantics of *culpam* as well. When Bede relates where Aidan's bones are buried in the church he specifies:

> ubi intrantes genu flectere ac misericordiae caelesti supplicare deberent.[165]

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[163] *OEB*, II, 222.
[164] *HEGA*, II, 78; *OEB*, II, 224.
[165] *HEGA*, II, 78.

This is faithfully rendered in the TB translation as with the adverbial clause changed from a clause of place to a clause of purpose:

> þætte þa ingongendan þær heora cneo begean scoldon ⁊ him heofonlicre mildheortnesse wilnian ⁊ secan.[166]

The reason for not translating this passage cannot be discerned. The translator could well have deemed it irrelevant and artifical. There might be another explanation. Some of Aidan's bones were taken back to Ireland by Colman when he retired there after the Synod of Whitby. Following the sack of Lindisfarne in 793, Aidan's popularity was overshadowed by St. Cuthbert and only revived when monks from Glastonbury retrieved some of the bones in the tenth century. It was because of them that Aidan found his way into West Saxon calendars.[167] Maybe the translator was oblivious to the cult of St. Aidan at Bamburg – as this happened long before his time, or as he was a West Saxon rather than a well-informed North-Mercian or Northumbrian. Or he simply did not think that the cult had survived until the times he set himself to write about. The fact that he faithfully translated the rest of *HE* III.17, which elaborates on Aidan's faulty reckoning of Easter, shows that he did not want to erase this part of Aidan's life deliberately from his account. Although the possibility that the omission had something to do with the re-location or ebbing away of Aidan's cult at Bamburgh, or the ignorance of the translator working in the south is intriguing, there is no hard evidence to substantiate either claim. Therefore, we need to consider the omission as due to irrelevance to the translator of the alternative section.

13) <u>Increased explicitness:</u>

Both the orignal translation and the alternative translation show the repetition of the pronoun or addition thereof. As Schaefer has pointed out above, this contributes to increased explictness and might point to an aural context. Moreover, the recapitulation of pronouns is a common feature in Old English.[168] There are numerous examples, such as the following:

HE   aliud eiusdem patris memorabile miraculum ferunt multi, qui nosse potuerunt[169]

OEHE (MS T) Þonne secgeað monige, þa þe *hit* gearuwe cuðon [my italics].[170]

Moreover, whereas the Latin uses sometimes confusing pronouns, those are specified in Old English to facilitate the process of reception:

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166 *OEB*, I, 204.
167 Cf. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, s.v. *Aidan*.
168 Cf. Mitchell and Robinson, *Guide to Old English*, pp. 66-67.
169 *HEGA*, II, 74.
170 *OEB*, I.1, 200.

- qui – se biscop (MS T) (MS O: se halga bysceop)[171]
- ipsam – þa studo (MS T) (MS O: þære studo)[172]
- perederet – se leg þurhæt (MS T) (MS O: þæt fyr eode)[173]
- aliquot – monig monn (MS T) (MS O: sume)[174]

There is only one case where the alternative translation is more explicit:

- ossa eius - þæs foresprecenan biscopes ban (MS O) (MS T: his ban)[175]

14) <u>Agency is identified and nominally verbalized:</u>

- mox ibidem ecclesiam restaurata – timbrede mon hraðe eft ða cirican.[176]

HE   uicus quoque ille, in quo antistes obiit, una cum ecclesia memorata flammis absumeretur.[177]

OEHE (MS T) Penda […] ꝡ swylce eac þone tun, þe se biscop in forðferde, ætgædre mid þa gemyndgedan cirican fyre forbærnde.[178]

Here the impersonal passive construction is turned into a personal active construction with Penda as the identifiable agent.

In sum, the increased explicitness, the identified agency, which is nominally verbalized, the more coordinated syntax and the additions and contextualizations, which make the account more lively, addition of rhyming doublets and occasional alliteration, make it fit for an oral context. It is interesting to see that the alternative section is often more explicit about a Latin pronoun than is the TB version using *foresprecene* every now and again.[179] This can be judged as a discourse marker, which in an aural context would have facilitated the understanding of the story by connecting new elements to already recounted passages.

In general, the translator of the alternative section in most cases is closer to the Latin in his style:

HE   quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat apposita[180]

OEHE (MS T) þe seo cirice mid awreðed wæs[181]

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[171] *HEGA*, II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204; II, 222.
[172] *HEGA* II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204, II, 222.
[173] *HEGA* II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204, II, 223.
[174] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 202; II, 221.
[175] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204; II, 223.
[176] *HEGA*, II, 78; *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[177] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[178] *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[179] There are seven instances were *foresprecen* (and its inflected forms) is used in the alternative translation, in comparison to only one example in the TB version. In four of those seven cases, the Latin does have an unspecified referent (*urbe*, *eius*, *antistes*, *illa*).
[180] *HEGA*, II, 76.

OEHE (MS O) utan to þære cyricean geseted wæs þære cyricean to wraþe[182]

The subject of the sentence in the T version is church whereas in O it is the pillar as in Latin.

HE	Obiit autem septimo decimo episcopatus sui anno[183]

OEHE (MS T) forðerde ymb feowertyno ger, þæs þe he biscop wæs[184]

OEHE (MS O) he forðferde þy seofonteogeþon geare his bisceophades[185]

The orignal translation uses an adjective clause, while its counterpart applies a genitive attribute in a close imitation of the Latin.

HE	cuius corpus mox inde translatum ad insulam Lindesfarnensium atque in cymeterio sepultum est.[186]

OEHE (MS T) Lædde mon his lichoman to Lindesfarena ea, ꝛ in broðra lictune wæs bebyrged.[187]

OEHE (MS O) ꝛhis lichama þa sona wæs gelæded to þa(m) ealande þe nemned is lindesfarenensis ꝛ þær on þæra broðra lictune bebyriged.[188]

In the Latin the *est* governs both *translatum* and *sepultum*. This is faithfully reproduced in the alternative section, whereas the T version turns the first passive verb into an active verb.

HE	ac tempore non pauco in episcopatu permansit[189]

OEHE (MS T) ꝛ longe tiid biscop wæs[190]

OEHE (MS O) ꝛ monegu gear on bysceophade wunade[191]

HE	et haec eadem destina in munimentum est parietis[192]

OEHE (MS T) ꝛ þa ilcan studu utan togesette to trymnesse þæs wages[193]

OEHE (MS O) ꝛ seo foresprecende wræðstudu þam wage to wreþe geseted wæs[194]

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[181] *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[182] *Ibid.*, II, 222.
[183] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[184] *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[185] *Ibid.*, II, 223.
[186] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[187] *OEB*, I.1, 204
[188] *Ibid.*, II, 223.
[189] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[190] *OEB*, I.1, 204.
[191] *Ibid.*, II, 223.
[192] *HEGA*, II, 78.
[193] *OEB*, I.1, 204.

On the other hand, we have instances where the alternative translation is freer and the original version is closer to the Latin original:

HE   quam diuinitus iuuari cognouerant[195]

OEHE (MS T) þa heo ongeton þæt heo godcundlice gescilded wæs[196]

OEHE (MS O) forþon þe hi oncneowon þ(æt) hie god scylde.[197]

It is interesting to see that the Latin relative clause is replaced by an adverb clause, although one is temporal the other causal. The T version pays heed to the passive voice which is concomitant with the inversion of subject and object.

HE   de quae praefati sumus (relative clause)[198]

OEHE (MS T) þe we æt foresprecende wæron[199]

OEHE (MS O) from þære foresprecenan byrig[200]

In this case, he original translation tries to imitate the Latin participle and applies a relative clause to match the original. The alternative translation turns the Latin relative clause into an adverbial in the principal clause.

All in all, we can state with confidence that the translator of the orignal translation shows a very good understanding of his Latin source. The quality of his translation is even more evident when we compare it with the quality of the translation in the divergent section. The following points will illustrate the different style of the COCa translator:

- Bede sets out that Aidan reclined to Lindisfarne "secretae orationis et silentii cause,"[201] which is rendered as "for intingan stillnesse ⁊ his deagolra gebeda"[202] in T, but as "forþon þe him lyste þær on digolnesse his gebedu begangan ⁊ gode þeowian"[203] in O. The latter might be a freer interpretation of the Latin, but given the othewise literal translation in the alternative section it appears as less apt than the original translation.

- With reference to Aidan's hermitage, the original translator perfectly renders "denique usque hodie locum sedis illius solitariae in eadem insula solent ostendere"[204] as "ond mon mæg gen to dæge þa stowe his seðles on

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[194] *Ibid.*, II, 224.
[195] *HEGA*, II, 74.
[196] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[197] *Ibid.*, II, 221.
[198] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[199] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[200] *Ibid.*, II, 222.
[201] *HEGA*, II, 74.
[202] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[203] *Ibid.*, II, 221.
[204] *HEGA*, II, 74.

þæm ilcan ealonde sceawian"[205] whereas the alternative translation runs " eac swylce in þam ilcan ealonde symble oð ðysne ꞇ weardan dæg godes þeowa sum on on ancersetle wunode."[206] Either the translator misinterpreted the Latin completely, or he wanted to stress the fact that there was an ongoing succession of anchorites.

- Although we might assume a different intention of the translator in the first example, the following example shows that he tried to imitate the Latin closely, but failed in smoothing his Old English:

    > Hunc dies mortis egredi de corpore cogeret, conpletis annis episcopatum sui xvii erat in uilla regia[207]

    The translation runs:

    > Ðysne halgan bisceop þa þa hine se deað nydde on þam ytemestan dæge his lifes þ(æt) he of þam lichaman faran sceolde he wæs on anum þæs cyninges tune.[208]

    If we translate it literally we get: 'This holy bishop, when him death urged on the last day of his life, that he from his body should depart, he was in one of the king's towns.' The translator tried to imitate the *hunc* (acc. sg. masc. of *hic*), which becomes odd as we do not have a corresponding transitive verb. The noun phrase (*þysne halgan bisceop*) stands alone as the odd one out, syntactically belonging to the principal clause starting with 'he' but not fitting in gramatically. Had the translator chosen *þis halga bisceop*, it would have been an apt apposition following the rules of recapitulation common in Old English.[209] But as he chose to imitate the Latin, the translator produced garbled syntax.

- the translator renders *pridie kalendarum Septembrium* imprecisely as *þy dæge on calendas septembris*,[210] which would refer to the calends of September and not the day before as in the Latin original.
- *post aliquot annos* is not aptly rendered by *æfter monegum gearum*.[211]
- he translates *cum hostili exercitu* with *mid miclum herige*, which does not render the Latin correctly.[212]

[205] *OEB*, I.1, 202.
[206] *Ibid.*, II, 221. We also encounter here a possible case of dittography.
[207] *HEGA*, II, 76.
[208] *OEB*, II, 221-22.
[209] Cf. Mitchell and Robinson, *Guide to Old English*, pp. 66-67.
[210] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, II, 223.
[211] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, II, 223.
[212] *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, II, 223.

- *ferro flammaque* is rendered *mid iserne ꞇ fyres lege* in T, which perfectly renders the metaphoric image of the Latin, whereas the alternative translation runs *wæpnum ꞇ mid fyre*, which makes it loose the metaphoric ring.[213]

Despite all the praise for the original translator we must concede that also he mistook one passage in the Latin: Aidan is said to have died *decimo septimo episcopatus sui anno*, which is rendered as *ymb feowertyno ger, þæs þe he biscop wæs* and correctly as *þy seofonteogeþon geare his bisceophadas* in the alternative translation.[214] Just as Potter has argued that the alternative translation renders the Latin less accurately due to following a less perfect Latin MS, the same might be true in this case, i.e., a corrupt date given in the Latin original is what the translator of the original had recourse to.[215]

It appears that both translators preferred a rather literal style while the alternative section shows an even more latinate approach. Both versions cut out some points and make some additons. At the same time, the alternative translation shows greater freedom in some passages. This may be judged as a less perfect understanding of the Latin or as a different attitude which enabled him to venture more freely in his translation. In both cases, we see a tension between being faithful to the authoritative source but at the same time asserting a personal style by tweaking some passages. Both translations show elements which would make them sutiable for being read out loud although this is more pronounced in the original translation.

What can be ruled out is the idea that the translator of the alternative section had recourse to another manuscript of the *OEHE* to use as a guide for his translation. Despite the fact that there are passages in both translations that are quite close in their rendering, these samples are a clear minority and small in size Furthermore, as both translations are quite literal it is no surprise that they overlap to a certain degree. The general style of translation and also the different choice of words substantiate the claim that these passages where translated independently, possibly by using two different Latin exemplars. The most noteworthy aspect in this regard surely is that translating the *HE* was regarded as a necessity even after the original translation had been undertaken. At the same time it testifies to the use of the *HE* in various centres. The dialect of the passage shows that the alternative translation was produced outside Anglian/Mercian territory, if we compare it with the bulk of Mercianisms in the original *OEHE* translation.[216] If we assume that the original translation was made on Mercian soil it follows that the translation of the missing passage was undertaken outside Mercia.

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[213]   *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204; II, 223.
[214]   *HEGA*, II, 76; *OEB*, I.1, 204; II, 223.
[215]   Cf. Potter, "Old English Bede", p. 31.
[216]   Cf. Campbell, "Book III, Chapter 16 to 20", pp. 383-86.

Coming back to the initial questions, it seems that the *OEHE* translator's Latinity should not be underestimated as he shows good knowledge of his Latin text and renders it most aptly into Old English. His approach is rather literal but by no means glossomatic. The translation runs word for word rather than sense by sense and does not significantly deviate from the Latin source. Nevertheless, the translation betrays a number of elements which show that the translator tried to adapt his source to his audience. He is more explicit than the Latin, adds contextualizing details, omits passages and is at pains to do justice to his authoritative source and to adapt it to what might be called 'pre-mature English written idiom'. The translation seems to be designed for both private reading and for being read out aloud, with certain devices to facilitate oral comprehension, such as paratactic constructions, verbalizations, identified agency, repetition, synonym pairs to render a single Latin word, and others. By no means does the translation make the impression of a clumsy or a premature work. It appears like a well-pondered translation, which vacillates between the two poles of adequacy and acceptability. A closer look at the translation shows that the language follows the rules of what can be called 'good Old English' (to borrow Mitchell's expression; see *supra*). Even though we have a literal style of translation, which is sometimes at the brink of being gloss-like, this orientation of the translator's along the lines of Latin should not be regarded as immature or inferior. The close imitation of the Latin original may have been appreciated for reasons of authority and religious orthodoxy, just as Ælfric approved of the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* as they were close, over-literal renditions of "sound patristic doctrine" which add nothing substantial on their own.[217] In imitating the Latin the translators showed that Old English shared certain features with Latin. Therefore, adhering to a certain degree of Latinity demonstrated that English was able to render complex thought in the vernacular and was able to vie with the most prestigous literary language in Europe.[218] Thus, a rather close imitation of the Latin ought not be regarded as clumsy and insecure but rather as an expression of a waking awareness of the power of the vernacular and an assertion of authority. I concur with Waite's judgment here:

> From an evolutionary point of view the *OEHE* may be seen as a transitional work, being an outgrowth of the earlier vernacular writing of the gossators and glossary writers, and a precursor of the more mature vernacular traditions (largely independent of one an-

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[217] Godden, "Ælfric and the Alfredian Precedents", p.. 163.

[218] Cf. Gretsch ("Uses of the Vernacular", p. 280): "It [i.e. loan renditions] demonstrated that Latin patterns of word-formation could be succesfully imitated, with the implication that Latin and English had similar grammatical structures. This implication was the springboard for generations of Anglo-Saxon scholars aiming to forge the vernacular into a medium that would be as flexible as Latin for all kinds of theological, scholarly and literary discourse."

other) initiated by Alfred on the one hand and the monastic reform-
ers of Edgar's reign on the other.[219]

Moreover, the close imiation of the Latin may tell us a lot about the purpose of
the work. Bede's Latin was by no means artificial, ornate and magniloquent, as is
the case with the hermeneutic style cultivated by Aldhelm of Malmesbury,[220] but
at the same time it was not pedastrian. Charles Plummer's remarks about its purity
and ease:

> It is very seldom that we have to pause to think of the meaning of a
> sentence, There is no affectation of false classicality, and no touch of
> the puerile pomposity of his contemporary Aldhelm.[221]

For George Brown, this facility of Bede's Latin was owed to his self-perception as
"a pedagogue, not a pedant," who was aware of the need for Latin literacy in his
monastic community and the Anglo-Saxons in general. His aim thus was to make
reading easier and the text more accessible to his audience.[222] Consequently, the
excellent Old English rendering of Bede's Latin by the translator is partly due to
the accessibility of Bede's style, which was designed to be read and understood
with ease. Moreover, if the translator (or the one who commissioned the work)
had realized the suitability of the *HE* for a teaching context, it stands to reason
that the *OEHE* had been designed to serve a similar purpose from the start. In-
deed, even as a novice in Old English it is not too difficult to master the *OEHE*.

We should not forget, however, that although the translation is close to the
original for the most part, it is nevertheless well-written and inspired at times. The
most famous example, which almost all students of Old English literature have
come across, may be the the flight of the sparrow through King Edwin's hall
when the Northumbrian king is pondering whether or not to convert to Christian-
ity. Here Bede's "paruissimo spatio" is rendered metaphorically as "an eagan
bryhtm."[223] This testifies to the translator's rhetorical training in order to explicate
unspecific passages and his artistic approach in that he uses a metaphor. It further
shows his exegetical training and didactic impetus. This particular translation was
probably inspired by *I Corinthians* 15:52, where the similar phrase *in ictu oculi* refers
to the moment when, at Judgment Day, all mankind will be changed as Susan
Irvine remarks.[224] The expression *an(es) eagan bryhtm/byrthme* is quite rare in Old

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[219] Rowley, p. 43.
[220] On the hermeutic style see M. Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin
Literature", *ASE* 4 (1975), 67-111 and Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundation*s, pp. 332-48.
[221] Plummer, I, liii-liv.
[222] See Brown, "Latin Writing", pp. 46-47.
[223] *HEGA*, I, 244; *OEB*, I.1 137.
[224] Cf. S. Irvine, "Religious Context: Pre-Benedictine Reform Period", in *CASL*, pp. 135–50, at p.
140.

English literature and occurs outside the *OEHE* in homilies only.[225] In passing, the translator had inserted a cue of the story of universal salvation into history, which is central to the history of conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, as it is the final step that ultimately makes Edwin accept the faith, initiating the glorious history of the Northumbrian kings as being the champions of English Christianity. Thus, this translation is a purposeful rendering, inspired by exegetical training, which shows the central role that the English play in Christian salvation history and vice versa.[226] This example alone shows that on the style-level the translation was by no means a mechanical rendering of a Latin text, but a thoughtful and spiritual transformation of the Latin text.

As the present analysis has shown, the translator of the *OEHE* was by no means an unexperienced novice but rather was a well-educated Latinist, equipped with training in exegesis and rhetoric, who paid regard to the prestige and authority of the Latin text, but at the same time dislocated it and ventured from the source in order to create Bede's story anew in his vernacular tongue. Although it

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[225] Cf. *Vercelli Homily IV*: "On anes byrhtme bið eall hellwarena mægen þurh his anes fnæst geworden to ise." (*Vercelli Homilies*, ed. D. Scragg, EETS os 300 (Oxford, 1992), p. 92; *In the twinkling of an eye, all the troop of hell-dwellers, through his breath alone, will become as ice*; trans.: *The Vercelli Book Homilies : Translations from the Anglo-Saxon*, ed. L.E. Nicholson (Lanham, MD, 1991), p. 38). There is a similar expression earlier on in this homily, but the wording is different: "[N]e þincð him / þeos woruld eft naht, butan swylce hwa his eage bepriwe" (Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 91; [*T*]*his world will seem to him afterwards naught except as the blink of an eye*; trans.: Nicholson, *Vercelli Book Homilies*, p. 37). The other occurences are from the apocryphal *Apocalypse of St Thomas* in *Homily U 12.2* (edited R. Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 4-6): "Ealle ða sawla þara soðfæstra and ðara synfulra farað þurh þone lig, þa soðfæstan in anes *eagan birhtme* þone lig oferferað [my italics]" (p. 4, ll. 26-27; *All the souls of the pious and of the sinful go through that fire, the pious in the blinking of an eye transcend that fire*) and "And ealle ða sawla ðara soðfæstra and sinfulra ferað ofer þone flod, and swa ic ær cwæð, þa soðfæstan in anes *eagan birhtme* oferferað hi [my italics]" (p. 5, ll. 32-33; *And all the souls of the pious and the sinful go across that flood, and as I said before, the pious in the blinking of an eye transcend it*). The material is apparently of Irish origin and has come to us first and foremost in Irish and Latin. The Old English version is found as an eleventh century addition in the margins of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41, the B manuscript of the *OEHE* (pp. 287-95). Willard regards the Old English material though entered in the eleventh century as being of earlier origin "to what one might call the un-reformed, or pre-Ælfric period, and to the stratum of the Blickling Homilies, the Vercelli Homilies and many of those attributed to Wulfstan." (*Two Apocrypha*, p. 2). Willard also draws the connection to *Vercelli Homily IV* (*ibid.*). The contents of the homily describing the seven heavens and tracing the path of the soul with its purgations and ultimate disposition do not directly relate to the content of the chapters in whose margins they are entered (*HE* IV.10 (a healing miracle at the monastery of Barking), *HE* IV.11 (the death and vision of the East Saxon King Sæbbe), *HE* IV.12 (episcopal succession in Wessex, Northumbria and Lindsey). In any case, the old English translator may have been influenced by homiletic tradition when using the phrase *an eagan brythm*. His source may have been one of Irish tradition as can be ascertained for the homily added in the margins of CCCC 41. We may go so far as the say that this apocryphal homiletic material was seen as unorthodox and only entered in the margins of that manuscript after the scribe had seen that a similar wording had found its way into the main text of the *OEHE*.

[226] See Irvine, "Religious Context", p. 140.

does not match the *OE Boethius* or the *OE Soliloquies* in their freedom to displace, transform and add to their Latin originals, it would be preposterous to regard to *OEHE* as inferior to those texts, not even earlier and less mature, as the translator shows an apt understanding of the Latin source and tries to accommodate it to his cultural context and the not-yet-developed native idiom by committing it to writing.

The Synonym Pairs in the *OEHE*

Apart from the rather literal style of translation, the use of synonym pairs or triplets to render a single Latin word is another conspicuous feature of the *OEHE*. There has been much debate about this practice.[227] Hart regarded the synonym pairs as a stylistic device, namely, rhetorical amplification "quite apart from the needs of alliterative verse."[228] Fijn Van Draat argued that the translator wanted to emulate the *cursus*-forms which he found in his Latin exemplar.[229] This was refuted by Sherman Kuhn, who instead proposed that the Old English translator had recourse to an interlinear gloss when translating the *HE*. With regard to the dialectal mix of the manuscripts Kuhn states: "A translator, especially an inexpert one, might well lean upon an earlier interlinear gloss, changing […] and altering some words to fit his own dialect while leaving others very much as he found them."[230] He was convinced that the author was Alfred, using an older Mercian interlinear gloss, which he reworked and revised.[231] Although Kuhn's hypothesis is intriguing given the rich glossing tradition of Anglo-Saxon England as 'forerunner' of prose translation, it has been heavily critized.[232] It was first and foremost Greg Waite who levelled a series of damaging and convincing arguments against Kuhn's claim.[233] Waite remarked that doublings were a universal phenomenon, a common feature of Old English poetry and prose. [234] Although Waite agrees with Kuhn in that he did not regard the synonym pairs as an expression of rhetorical *cursus*, he

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[227] For a concise overview see Knappe, *Tradition der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England* (Heidelberg, 1996), pp. 377-79.

[228] J.M. Hart, "Rhetoric in the translation of Bede", in *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. W.P. Ker (Oxford, 1901), pp. 150-54, at p. 151.

[229] F. van Draat, "The Authorship of the Old English Bede: a Study in Rhythm", *Anglia* 39 (1916), 319-34, at p. 322.

[230] Kuhn, "Synonyms", p. 171.

[231] *Idem*, "Authorship", pp. 179-80. Kuhn lists different categories for the synonyms: a) dialect pairs (e.g., Mercian dialect word foolowed by West Saxon, indeterminate dialect + Mercian form, indeterminate dialect + West Saxon form), b) general term + more specific term, c) foreign element + native element, d) general-specific + literal-figurative.

[232] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", pp. 58-59.

[233] Waite, "Vocabulary", pp. 30-46.

[234] *Ibid.*, p. 31. He refers to Klaeber for whom the doublings were "the very soul of Old English poetical style" but at the same time remarks that doublings are ubiquitous in Wulfstan and Ælfric, who use them for rhetorical flourish and force, or in the *Chronicles*.

refutes the gloss hypothesis.[235] He points out that the translator tried to imitate the Latin text, which itself had an ample resevoir of synonym pairs. He lists a number of occasions where the transformation process from Latin to Old English could have been the trigger for the doublets:[236]

a)   two independent clauses in Latin are turned into a single Old English clause, which contains a pair of participles sharing a single auxiliary:

HE   unanima cunctorum voluntate superatur, atque at suscipiendum episcopatus officium   collum submittere compellitur.[237]

OEHE   mid anmode willan heora ealra he wæs oferswiðed ⁊ geneded to onfonne þa ðegnunge biscophades (368.16-8).[238]

b)   participle + verb constructions in Latin were transformed into a synonym pair:

-   erunentes duxerunt   tugon …⁊ læddon   (208.22-3)
-   surgens abiit   aaras ⁊ eode   (424.5)
-   manifestans respondit   ondette him ⁊ sægde   (328.21)
-   dispersi uagarentum   swicedon ⁊ foron   (274.2)
-   obrutum uileseceret   fornumen ⁊ fordilgad (44.27-8.)
-   recepto spiritu reuixit   onfeng he gaste ⁊ wearð
                                geedwerped   (326.7-8)
-   apertisque oculis uidit   his eagan ontynde ⁊ geseah
                                                        (426.11)

c)   substantives (nominative/accusative) + genitive attribute:

-   donaria pecuniarum   ða gifa ⁊ þa feoh   (162.16)
-   pro suae reuerentia deuotionis   for his arwyðnesse ⁊ for his
                                geornfullness   (264.12-13)
-   locum sedis   stowe ⁊ setl   (62.24)

Waite further undermines the glossing hypothesis by claiming that the word-order was not mechanical, but was rather revised for stylistic purposes. He concludes that it was not solely lexical problems which urged the translator to generate dou-

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[235]   *Ibid.*, p. 37. Waite argues that continuous interlinear glossing was reserved to liturgical and sacred books (which is also underscored by paleographical considerations, e.g. interlinear spacing) and that only in the late tenth-century other texts were intensively glossed. Building on his meticulous corpus of data, Waite objects that only a small portion of the examples did fit Kuhn's categories.

[236]   *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

[237]   *HEGA*, II, 304.

[238]   The references are to page and line in Miller's edition.

blings, as they were a common rhetorical feature conforming to the Old English idiom, and stresses the fact that a lot of these doublings were formulaic.[239] To him, the synonym pairs were primarily a stylistic device and lexically invaluable as the translator was looking for the right word in his desire to ampfliy, emphasize, explain or produce a pleasing sentence rhythm and structure.[240]

For the present study I have analyzed fifty synonym pairs to check Kuhn's and Waites's claims. I have taken care that these examples are evenly distributed throughout the *OEHE*:

1)	uastari	–	henden ⁊ hergodon	(32.27)[241]
2)	inquirere	–	secan ⁊ acsian	(34.25)
3)	exstructa	–	geworht ⁊ getimbrad	(40.25)
4)	expulit	–	adrifon ⁊ aflymdon	(44.17)
5)	militaret	–	campodon ⁊ wunnon	(52.1)
6)	praedicarent	–	bodedon ⁊ lærdon	(58.29-60.1)
7)	donaret	–	geaf ⁊ sealde	(62.23)
8)	iussa	–	hæse ⁊ bebode	(62.28)
9)	dictat	–	dihtað ⁊ findeð	(68.16)
10)	recuperauit	–	edneowade ⁊ worhte	(90.14)
11)	rexit	–	heold ⁊ rehte	(94.4)
12)	detrimento	–	wonunge ⁊ æwerdlan	(110.23)
13)	habeat	–	hæfde ⁊ wæg	(122.11)
14)	exercitus	–	fyrd ⁊ weorod	(132.5)
15)	consilio	–	gesprec ⁊ geþeaht	(134.7)
16)	fabricare	–	timbran ⁊ wyrcan	(138.25)
17)	gravi	–	hefig ⁊ micel	(148.7)
18)	deliberans	–	þohte ⁊ þreodode	(148.21)
19)	miraculum	–	mægen ⁊ wundor	(156.13)
20)	petens	–	bæd ⁊ wilnade	(158.16)
21)	tractatum	–	smeaunge ⁊ geþeahte	(162.30)
22)	discordabant	–	ungeþwære ⁊ ungesibbe wæron	(166.18)
23)	tenuit	–	heold ⁊ steorde	(172.5-6)
24)	sana	–	hal ⁊ gesund	(180.11)
25)	moralitas	–	woles ⁊ monncwilde	(190.9)

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239 Waite, "Vocabulary", p. 43. According to him, Worcester charters of c. 900 contain a significant number of doublings which are common to the *OEHE* and *OE Dialogues*.

240 Waite, "Vocabulary", p. 46; cf. also Lucia Kornexl, who claims that the synonym pairs resulted from the glossing training in monasteries. There were vocabulary definitions firmly imprinted in fixed combinations on a student's mind, that would be recalled automatically when the corresponding Latin signal word turned up. The search for the right word, the *mots juste*, played a subordinate role (*Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion. Mit Einleitung und Kommentar* (München, 1993), pp. ccxxiii-ccxxv).

241 The references are to page and line in Miller's edition.

26) preces	–	bene ⁊ gebedo	(194.30)
27) sopiuenit	–	aswefede ⁊ gestilde	(200.22)
28) idonei	–	micle ⁊ good	(222.8)
29) deleti sunt	–	fordilgade wæron ⁊ forðgeleorde	(252.22)
30) uocare	–	cegdon ⁊ laðodon	(266.30-31)
31) depopulans	–	forhergende ⁊ forneomende	(282.26)
32) lucerna	–	blæcern ⁊ leoht	(286.18)
33) puellis	–	þeowum ⁊ þignenum	(292.25)
34) descendit	–	astah ⁊ cwom	(302.33)
35) coniunx	–	gemæccan ⁊ wif	(316.9)
36) exhortatio	–	trymenesse ⁊ lare	(324.23)
37) insignis	–	gemæred ⁊ geweorðad	(342.4)
38) uisitare	–	neosade ⁊ sohte	(370.25)
39) clymiterium	–	gebaedhus ⁊ ciricean	(388.6)
40) deficiente	–	benumen ⁊ bescired	(396.18-19)
41) minister	–	discipul ⁊ ðegn	(410.7)
42) bellum	–	gewinnes ⁊ gefeohtes	(416.4)
43) perstringere	–	areccan ⁊ aasecgan ⁊ awritan	(422.23)
44) scelera	–	synna ⁊ mandæda	(436.28)
45) percussus	–	geslegen ⁊ gestonden	(442.24)
46) nitidus	–	hluttor ⁊ scinende	(448.7)
47) praetulit	–	forbær ⁊ gelufade	(450.25)
48) ampliare	–	gebrædde ⁊ gemonigfylde	(466.8)
49) incolebant	–	eardedon ⁊ beeodan	(470.27)
50) foedus	–	sibbe ⁊ were	(478.30)

According to the *DOEC*, almost all Old English words occur in glosses or glossaries.[242] However, most of the words are too commonplace and are found in a wide range of works. With some of the words there is a certain regularity in their occurrence. *Smeaung* (no. 21) is a rather common word but with a preponderance in psalter glosses. *Blæcern* (32) is a gloss word, as is *þigen* (no. 33). *Forbær* (no. 47) is also a commonplace word but frequently used in psalter glosses. There are a couple of words which apparently do not occur in a gloss context: *awærdlan* (no. 12) does occur only in the *OEHE* and in the law-codes of Alfred and Ine. *Ungesibbe* (no.22) is restricted to the *OEHE*, *Riddle 9* and the *Blickling Homilies* (*LS* 17.1 'St Martin'). In the latter case we even have the same synonym pair (*ungeþware ⁊ ungesibbe*).[243] *Monncwild* (no. 25) is restricted to the *OEHE* and the *OE Martyrology*. *Fordilgian* (no. 29) occurs almost exclusively in the *OEHE*, but also in *Vercelli Homily* 1 and *HomS 24.2*. *Forðgeleorde* (no. 29) is also a rare word (14 hits). It is most fre-

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242 *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/14>.
243 Morris, R., ed., *The Blickling Homilies* , 3 vols., EETS 58, 63, 73 (London) [repr. in 1 vol. 1967] , p. 241.

quent in the *OEHE*, but occurs in the *OE Dialogues*, charter *S 223*, the *OE Martyrology* (St. Arculf) and in the *Cambridge Psalter*. However, deciding whether a word is a typical gloss word or not brings some methodological problems. Despite the lack of data, the absence of a word in a gloss context can be explained by the transmission. Furthermore, as the translators/scribes had learned their trade in a monastic scriptorium or were trained by those who had undergone such a training, it is very likely that they had acquired the knowledge of certain words by means of glossing. Thus we cannot sharply distinguish between a gloss word and a commonplace word.

With regard to the Mercian elements the evidence is ambiguous. There are only a few words which can be regarded as Anglian or Mercian. One is *Gestilde* (no. 27, infinitive: *styllan*).[244] *Cegdon* (30) does survive longest in Mercian texts.[245] *Neosian* (no. 38)[246] and *gebedhus* are probably Mercian, too.[247] We might add *gesprec* for *consilio*. This is a rather Northumbrian usage, where it refers to 'a place where there is talk'.[248] Apart from those examples, we do encounter further Mercian or Anglian dialect words. Then again, we have a methodological problem as the dialect of the archetype seems to have had a strong Mercian admixture. The Mercian elements in the synonym pairs may be residual. These Mercian words are not hardening evidence for an interlinear Mercian gloss. Some of the words show an affinity with the translations of the Alfredian circle:[249] *henden* (no.1; infinitive: *hienan*) is not a a Mercian dialect word as it occurs frquently in the *OE Boethius*, the *OE Cura Pastoralis* and *OE Orosius*. Given the overall number of occurrences (33) *wol* is primarily found in *OE Boethius*, *OE Pastoral Care* und *OE Orosius* and *OE Dialogues*. It further occurs in glossaries or in the *Medicina De Quadrupedibus* as well. *Þreodode* (no. 18) is also a rare word (11 matches). It is found primarily in the *OEHE*, but also in poetry (*Fates of the Apostles* and *Elene*), Aldhelm glosses and *Assmann 10 J* (LS 18.2). Based on the current analysis, Kuhn's argument for an interlinear Mercian gloss as crib for the *OEHE* cannot be upheld.

Although it has been remarked that some synonymous pairs have an alliterative and poetic ring to them, only fifteen of fifty examples do alliterate according to my survey. Many words from the sample do occur in a poetic context. Even so, there is only one example of a word being exclusive to poetry outside the *OEHE*: *aswefede* (no. 27). It occurs mainly in poetic texts (*Beowulf*, *Judith*, *Exodus*, *Brunanburh*). In general, we can rule out that the translator tried to emulate poetic lexis. Nevertheless, as we have seen in Schaefer's argumentation, the doublings were part of the Old English poetic tradition and characteristic of an epic style.[250] The

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[244] Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten*, p. 26 and Wenisch, *Spezifisch Anglisches Wortgut*, p. 229.

[245] Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten*, p. 93; cf. Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, pp. 26-27.

[246] Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, p. 32.

[247] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[248] Wenisch, *Spezifisch Anglisches Wortgut*, p. 322.

[249] For the examples see *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/14>.

[250] For the poetic character of the translation see Waite, "Vocabulary", pp. 24-25.

importance of poetry for preaching purposes has already been noted. Given the fact that the *OEHE* may have been used as a mine for preaching material, the use of poetic word pairs might testify to its use in a preaching context or at least in aural context. Therefore, the alliteration could have worked as a memory aid. This, in turn, makes most sense if we imagine the *OEHE* to have been read out to an audience as it would have appreciated the synonyms when listening to the text. Semantics of the synonym pairs faithfully reproduce the range of Latin meanings, which is illustrated by the following examples:

1) *insignis*: 'held worthy, marked, prominent, outstanding, decorated, adorned, unheard of, unmatched, conspicuous, distinguished, glorified, made famous, honoured'[251]
   gemæred: 'declared, proclaimed, made famous, glorified, celebrated, honoured'[252]
   geweorðad: 'held worthy, distinguished, celebrated, praised, adorned, worshipped, honoured'[253]

2) *praedicarent* (*praedicare*): 'to preach, to praise, to make known, to announce'[254]
   bodian: 'to tell, to proclaim, preach, announce, make known, prophesy, foretell'[255]
   læran: 'to teach, to educate, instruct, inculcate, enjoin, advise, persuade, exhort, urge, preach'[256]

3) *miraculum*: 'miracle, wonder, portent, marvel'[257]
   mægen: 'miracle'[258]
   wundor: 'miracle, wonder, marvel, portent'[259]

4) *rexit* (*regere*): 'govern, direct, reign, administrate, maintain, command, hold under sway'[260]
   heold (*healdan*): 'to hold (fast), rule, govern, keep, guard, preserve, defend, maintain, uphold, support'[261]
   rehte (*reccan*): 'to rule, to guide, to direct, to wield authority'[262]

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[251] See PONS, s.v. *insignis*.
[252] See C-H, s.v. *mæran*.
[253] See C-H, s.v. *weorðian*.
[254] See PONS, s.v. *praedicare*.
[255] See C-H, s.v. *bodian*.
[256] See C-H, s.v. *læran*.
[257] See PONS, s.v., *miraculum*.
[258] See C-H, s.v., *mægen*.
[259] *Ibid.*, s.v. *wundor*.
[260] See PONS, s.v., *regere*.
[261] See C-H, s.v. *healdan*.
[262] *Ibid.*, s.v. *reccan*.

5) *foedus*: '(peace) treaty, pact, alliance, confederation, accordance, agreement, friendship'[263]
    sibbe (*sibb*): 'relationship, friendship, peace, love, kinship'[264]
    were (*wær*): 'trust, security, agreement, treaty, compact, covenant, bond (of friendship)'[265]

All of the examples show that the translator had to cope with polysemic Latin lemmata. The synonym pairs are an expression of correctness and an attempt to do justice to the polysemy of the Latin words. At the same time, the synonym pairs are a common stylistic device, also found in the *HE*, in order to explicate or clarify the meaning of words. They occur frequently in the prose translations of the late ninth century and in Old English poetry.[266] Furthermore, the doublets can be explained by a relative insecurity of a translator who worked in the initial stage of the inscription process of Old English and who paid heed to the authority of the source text as he did not want to lose any of Bede's intended meanings. This is excellently done: *bodian* and *læran* cover the aspects of annoucing (the Word of God) and instructing, both matching the semantics of *praedicare*. Gregory not only held the papacy, but also directed and governed it, which is perfectly rendered by *healdan* and *reccan*. Finally, the Irish are joined in a peaceful treaty to the English, being in agreement in political as well as religious matters, all aspects aptly covered by *sibb* and *wær*. Nevertheless, the use of synonym pairs does not necessarily testify to a state of insecurity but can be regarded as an assertion of authority in that the Old English language demonstrates that it is able to render the complex thought and polysemy of the high-prestige Latin language. The synonym pairs thus show the power of English and may be an attempt by the translator to enrich its lexicon.[267]

In conclusion, the synonym pairs do not betray a certain dialectal penchant. Neither are all of them poetic and/or alliterative. Finally, their character as gloss words cannot be ascertained beyond doubt. It is more likely that the translator wanted to be very precise when rendering the semantic range of a given Latin word. Moreover, the synonym pairs might have been a memory aid for a reading of the text as well as aural reception. Therefore, they do not appear to have gen-

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[263] See PONS, s.v. *foedus*.

[264] See C-H, s.v. *sibb*.

[265] *Ibid.*, s.v. *wær*.

[266] Cf. Knappe, *Tradition der klassischen Rhetorik*, pp. 35 n.4, 210 n.1, 341, 356, 360, 377ff., 389 n. 8, 489-90. Knappe asserts that the aim of the Alfredian translations differed from classical translation in that the translators focused on the correct and clear rendering of their textual authorities as well as thein interpretation thereof.

[267] The assertion of authority by adopting Latin to the native tongue and enriching the vocabulary to express complex thoughts hitherto expressed in Latin or Greek is a process which the English language also underwent during the Early Modern period. See Barber, Beal and Shaw, *The English Language*, ch. 8 and Baugh and Cable, *History of the English Language*, chs. 8-9 and C. Barber, *Early Modern English*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 2006).

erically come from a Mercian gloss. However, as Lucia Kornexl has shown, it cannot be ruled out that the translator did not seek for the *mots juste*, but mechanically rendered the Latin lemma with the synonyms he had learned during his monastic glossing training.[268]

The Influence of Rhetoric

The assumption that the doublets may have been used for stylistic reasons as hinted at by Waite, Hart and Van Draat, probably grounded in the rhetorical training the translator had undergone in the monastery, gives rise to the question of whether the translation was generally influenced by Bede's stylistic devices, that is, if the *OEHE* emulated the Northumbrian's "rhetoric of faith."[269] Kendall showed how important rhetoric (esp. "figures") was in Bede's endeavour to conciliate the political and ecclesiastical history in order to point to "a level of meaning beyond the confusion of the physical world."[270] My aim will be to find out whether the translator applied the same stylistic devices, schemes and tropes in order to emulate Bede's Latin rhetoric in the *HE*. If this was the case, it would not only testify to the translator's excellent rhetorical training, but also would manifest how the authority of the Latin original exercised influence on the style of translation. The present analysis will briefly relate the points Kendall raised and compare his findings regarding the *HE* to the corresponding passages in the *OEHE*.

Kendall identifies *hyperbaton* (artificial word order) as Bede's favourite stylistic device. His examples are the following:

1) (II.1) "ad aeternam (regni caelestis) sedem" (*HEGA*, I, 164)
   - "to þam ecan setle þæs heofonlican rices" (*OEB*, I.1, 94)

2) (IV.24) "unde et pulchro (uitam suam) fine conclusit" (*HEGA*, II, 280)
   - "Ond he forðon fægre ænde his lif betynde ⁊ geendade" (*OEB*, I.2, 346)

In both cases the *hyperbaton* construction is 'rectified' by the Old English translator.

3) (III.7) "in episcopatus (consecratus est) gradum" (*HEGA*, II, 36)
   - "hine to biscope gehalgian" (*OEB*, I.1., 166)

4) (IV.24) "caelestem (ei) (a Domino) (concessam esse) gratiam" (*HEGA*, II, 278)

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268 Cf. Kornexl, *Regularis Concordia*, pp. ccxxiii-ccxxv.
269 C.B. Kendall, "Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica" , pp. 145-172.
270 *Ibid.*, pp. 145-47. Kendall analyzed the rhetoric of the *HE* following Bede's own oeuvre, namely, *De Schematibus et Tropis*.

- "þæt him wære from Drihtne sylfum heofonlic gifu forgifen" (*OEB*, I.2, 344)

Here are some more added examples from *HE* III.16-17:

5) (III.16) "Aliud (eiusdem patris) memorabile miraculum" (*HEGA*, II, 74)
   - "oðer gemyndelic wundor þæs ilcan fæder" (*OEB*, I.1, 200)

6) (III.17) "et cum magno (utique) miraculo" (*HEGA*, II, 78)
   - "˥ mid micle wundre" (*OEB*, I.1, 204) (MS T)
   - "ac swiðe wunderlice" (*OEB*, II, 224) (MS O)

These few examples suffice to show that the Old English translator did not emulate Bede's frequent use of hyperbaton but rendered the sentences in a plain style.

Another prominent feature of Bede's style is *paroemion*, or alliteration. Kendall concedes that as alliteration occurs naturally in language, the evidence for it being explicitly used as rhetorical device is difficult to assess. His examples are the following:

1) "*A*uctor *a*nte *o*mnes *a*tque *o*mnes *a*diutor *o*pusculi huius Albinus, *a*bba reuerentissimus,"[my italics],[271] which shows vocalic alliteration on [a] and [o].

   - "*Æ*rest me wæs fultumiend ˥ lareow se *a*rwurða *a*bbad *A*lbinus" [my italics].[272]

The Old English translation also has vocalic alliteration ([æ] and [a]) in which *arwurða abbud Albinus* stands out.

2) (II.3) "*D*efunctus est autem *D*eo *d*ilectus pater Augustinus"[my italics],[273] a specimen of consonantic alliteration.

   - "þa *for*ð*f*erde Gode leofa *f*æder Agustinus"[my italics][274]

Again, the Old English passage shows an alliterative pattern (on [f]).

3) (III.7) "[Q]ui consecratus est in ipsa ciuitate multis annis episcopatum Geuissorum ex *s*ynodica *s*anctione *s*olus *s*edulo moderamine gessit"[my italics],[275] with a consonatnic alliterative pattern on [s].

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[271] *HEGA*, I, 8. *My principal authority and helper in this modest work has been the reverend Abbot Albinus.* (Translation: C&M, p. 3).

[272] *OEB*, I.1, 2. *First was my helper and teacher the venerable abbot Albinus.*

[273] *HEGA*, I, 190.

[274] *OEB*, I.1, 104.

[275] *HEGA*, II, 70.

- "[G]e*h*algode *h*ine in þære ilcan ceastre; ond *h*e *a*na *æ*fter *a*lles seonoðes dome *m*onig ger þone biscophad *m*id *m*icle gerece heold ⁊ ræhte Westseaxna þeode."[my italics].[276]

Here we have multifold vocalic and consonantic alliteration ([a; æ], [m]). Furthermore, alliteration of [h] is discernible.

4) (III.5) Quo *a*udio *o*mnium qui considebant *a*d *i*psum *o*ra *e*t *o*culi conuersi, *d*iligenter quid *d*iceret *d*iscutiebant, *e*t *i*psum *e*sse *d*ignum *e*piscopatu, *i*psum *a*d *e*rudiendos *i*ncredulous *e*t *i*ndoctos mitti *d*ebere *d*ecernunt, qui gratia *d*iscretionis, quae uirtutum mater est, *a*nte *o*mnia *p*robabatur *i*nbutus; sicque *i*llum *o*rdinantes *a*d *p*raedicandum miserunt[my italics].

(*All eyes were turned on Aidan when they heard these words and all present carefully considered what he had said. They agreed that he was worthy to be made a bishop and that he was the man to send to instruct those ignorant unbelievers, since he had proved himself to be pre-eminently endowed with the grace of discretion, which is the mother of all virtues.*)[277]

This passage is a good example for vocalic alliteration, crossed by alliterating *d*'s (and perhaps *p*'s). The translation runs as follows:

Ða *h*eo þa *w*eotan þas *w*ord ge*h*yrdon, þa gecerdon *h*eo *h*eora *e*agan ⁊ *h*eora *o*ndwlitan *e*alle to *h*im, ⁊ geornlice smeadon hwæt he cwæde. Ond þa heora ealra *d*ome ge*d*emed wæs, þæt he *w*ære biscophade *w*yrðe, ⁊ þæt he to lareowa *s*ended wære Ongelcynne, *s*e ðe mid *G*odes *g*ife *s*wylc gescead funde in heora geþeahte. ⁊ *h*eo swa dydon: *h*ine to biscope ge*h*algedon, *o*nd Oswalde þam cyninge *h*eora freonde to lareowe *o*nsendan [my italics].

(*Now when the council heard these words, they turned their eyes and faces all to him, and earnestly considered what he said. And it was decided by the judgment of all, that he was worthy of the episcopate, and that he should be sent as teacher to the English, as he by God's grace had exhibited such discretion at their deliberations. And they did so: they consecrated him bishop, and sent him as teacher to their friend king Oswald.*)[278]

Again, we have alliterative patterns in the Old English version, e.g. vocalic alliteration (*eagan/ondwlitan/ealle, ond/Oswald/onsendan*) and consonantic alliteration (*weotan/word; dome/gedemed; (ge)hyrdon/heo/heora/; wæs/wære/wyrðe; Godes/gife; sended/se/swylc; heo/hine/(ge)halgodon*). There are futher examples in the passages from III.16-

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[276] *OEB*, I.2, 170 and 172.
[277] *HEGA*, II, 32; trans.: C&M, p. 229.
[278] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 164-65.

17: "his *h*ondum to *h*eofon *h*ofe" or "asetton *æ*fter *a*rwyrðnesse"[my italics] in the TB version.[279] In both cases there is no alliteration in the Latin. In case of alliteration in the Latin, the Old English usually does not seek to reproduce it. The following example may suffice: "Nam tempore *e*piscopatus *e*ius hostilis Merciorum *e*xercitus Penda duce […]"[my emphasis][280] is rendered as "þa gelomp in þa tid his biscophada, þætte Penda Mercna cyning gelædde here on Norðanhymbra lond,"[281] which does not have any alliteration.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the 'main' translator applied alliteration for stylistic reasons, given that it is a feature of natural speech and is common in Old English poetry or in preaching discourses. Therefore, *paroemium* was probably applied by the translator in order to imitate oral speech patterns or as a mnemonic aid for the audience (readers/hearers).

Another device used by Bede is *polyptoton*, the use of one word in several cases:

1) (Pref) Siue enim historia de *bonis bona* referat, ad imitandum *bonum* auditor sollicitus instigatur [my italics].

(*Should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitat the good.*) [282]

Forðon þis gewrit oððe hit *god* sagað be *godum* mannum, ⁊ se þe hit gehyreþ, he onhyreþ þam[my italics].

(*For this book either speaks good of the good, and the hearer imitates that*).[283]

2) (III.2) Vocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum *Hefen*feld, quod dici potest Latine *Caelestis* Campus, quod certo utique praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit; significans nimirum quod ibidem *caeleste* erigendum tropeum, *caelestis* inchoanda uictoria, *caelestia* usque hodie forent miracula celebranda [my italics].

(*This place is called in English Heavenfield, and in the Latin Caelestis Campus, a name which is certainly received in days of old as an omen of future happenings; it signified that a heavenly sign was to be erected there, a heavenly victory won, and that heavenly miracles were to take place thre continuing to this day.*)[284]

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[279] *OEB*, I.1, 202 and 204; cf. Appendix I. MS O has "to *h*eofonum his eagan ⁊ *h*is *h*anda a*h*ofe" [my italics](*OEB*, II, 221).
[280] *HEGA*, II, 74.
[281] OEB, I.1, 200.
[282] *HEGA*, I, 6; trans.: C&M, p. 3.
[283] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 2-3.
[284] *HEGA*, II, 16; trans.: C&M, p. 217.

Is seo stow on Englisc genemned *Heofon*feld. Wæs geo geara swa nemned fore tacnunge ðæra toweardan wundra, forðan þe þær þæt *heofonlice* sigebeacen aræred beon scolde, Ᵹ þær *heofonlic* sige þam cinge eald wæs, Ᵹ þær gen to dæge *heofonlic* wundor mærsode beoð[my emphasis].

(*The place is called in English 'Heavenfiled.' It was of old so named, foreshadowing the future wonders, because there the heavenly trophy should be reared, and there victory from heaven was given to the king, and still at the present day heavenly miracles are celebrated there.*)[285]

The latter case is a faithful rendering of the Latin passage with three distinct cases of *heofonlic* (nom./acc. sg., nom. pl.). However, the variety of inflectional endings is more impressive in terms of rhetorical effect than the Old English version. There is sparse evidence for that rhetorical device in the passage from III.16-17. The closest one gets to the use of *polyptoton* are the following lines:

(III.16) dicissisque uiculis quos in uicina *urbis* inuenit, aduexit illo plurimam congeriem trabium, tignorum, parietum uirgeorum et tecti fenei, et his *urbem* in magna altitudine circumdedit a parte, qua terra est contigua, et dum uentum oportunum cerneret, inlatio igne coburere *urbem* nisus est [my italics].

(*He pulled down all the steadings which he found in the neighbourhood of the town and brought thither a vast heap of beams, rafters, walls of wattles, and thatched roofs, and built them up to an immense height around that side of the city, which faced the land; then when a favourable wind arose, he set it on fire in an attempt to burn the town.*)[286]

We have three instances of *urbs* 'city' here, but there are five in the *OEHE*:

Aslat þa þa tunas ealle ymb þa *burg* onwæg, ðe he þær on neaweste gemette, Ᵹ to þære *byrig* gewæg, Ᵹ micelne ad gesomnade on beamum Ᵹ on ræftrum Ᵹ on wagum Ᵹ on wætelum Ᵹ on ðeacon; Ᵹ mid þissum þa *burg* mid micelre heannisse ymbsealde from þæm dæle, þe heo londe geþeoded is. Þa hit þa wæs wel gewinde in þa *burg*, þa onbærnde he þone aad Ᵹ þa *burg* forbærnan wolde [my emphasis].

(*So he pulled down all the villages around the city, which were to be found in the neighbourhood, and conveyed to the city and collected a huge pile of beams, rafters, partition walls, wattles and thatch. With these he surrounded the city to a great*

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height, on the side where it adjoins the land. And when the wind blew fair on to the town, he kindled the pile, intending to burn down the town.)[287]

The two additional items in the Old English passage might have been inserted for the sake of clarity in order to make the narration more explicit. There may be a more explicit use of *polyptoton* in the pair *onbærnde/forbærnan*.

A related device is *paronomasia* ('punning'). The most famous example in Bede's *HE* is without a doubt the story of Gregory the Great and the Anglian slave-boys in the market-square in Rome (*HE* II.1). It is worth quoting the passage in full here:

> Responsum est quod Angli uocarentur. At ille: «Bene», inquit, «nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes. Quod habet nomen ipsa prouincia, de qua isti sunt allati?». Responsum est quia Deiri uocarentur idem prouinciales. At ille: «Bene», inquit, «Deiri, de ira eruti et ad misericordiam Christi uocati. Rex prouinciae illius quomodo appellatur?». Responsum est quod Aelle diceretur. At ille alludens ad nomen ait: «Alleluia, laudem Dei creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari».

> (*He was told that they were called Angli. 'Good', he said, 'they have the face of angels and such men should be fellow-heirs of the angels in heaven.' He asked: 'What is the name of the kingdom from which they have been brought?' He was told that the man of the kingdom were called Deiri. 'Good. Deiri', he replied, 'snatched from the wrath of Christ and called to his mercy. And what is the name of the king of that land?' He was told that it was Ælle. And playing on that name, he said: 'Alleluja! The praise of God the creator must be sung in those parts.*)[288]

The Old English aptly emulates Bede's punning:

> Onswarede him mon þæt heo Ongle nemned wæron. Cwæð he: Wel þæt swa mæg: forðon heo ænlice onsyne habbað, ꝛ eac swylce gedafonað, þæt heo engla æfenerfeweardas in heofonum sy. Þa gyt he furðor frægn ꝛ cwæð: Hwæt hatte seo mægð, þe þa cneohtas hider of lædde wæron. Þa ondswarede him mon ꝛ cwæð, þæt heo Dere nemde wæron. Cwæð he: Wel þæt is cweden Dere, *de ira eruti*; heo sculon of Godes yrre beon abrogdene, ꝛ to Cristes mildheortnesse gecegde. Ða gyt he ahsode hwæt heora cyning haten wære: ꝛ him mon ondswarade ꝛ cwæð, þætte he Æll haten wære. Ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman ꝛ cwæð: Alleluia, þæt gedafenað, þætte Godes lof uses scyppendes in þæm dælum sungen sy.

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[287] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 202-203.
[288] *HEGA*, I, 178; trans.: C&M, pp. 133 and 135.

> (*Again he asked what the people was called from which they came; they answered that they were called English. He said, 'That my well be; for their look is angelical, and also it is fit that they should be joint-heirs with the angels in heaven.' Then he further asked and said; 'What is the people called, from which the youths were brought here?' They answered that they were named Deiri. He said, 'Deiri is well said, de ira eruti; they shall be rescued from God's wrath and called to the mercy of Christ.' Further he asked their king's name; and they answered and said that he was called Ælle. And then he played on the name in his words and said, 'Alleluja, 'tis fit that the praise of God our creator should be sung in those parts.'*)[289]

The Old English translator follows Gregory's authoritative words closely and thus copies Bede's application of *paronomasia* with the means of Old English. Moreover, the translator even commented on this rhetorical device: *Ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman*. When the translator had to copy the Latin phrase *de ira eruti* in order to transfer the punning rhetoric of the original into the vernacular, he showed an apt understanding for the stylistic device as he would otherwise just have translated the Latin phrase. It further shows that the translator worked with the sound effects of language, which can be regarded as further proof that the *OEHE* was designed for an aural context.

Bede also makes uses of *homoioptoton* (use of similar cases):

> (I.23) [N]e tam periculos*am*, tam laborios*am*, tam incert*am* peregrinationem adire deberent [my italics].

> (*that they would not have to go on such a dangerous, toilsame and uncertain journey.*)[290]

> [Đ]æt heo ne þorfte in swa frecne siðfæt ⁊ in swa gewinfulne ⁊ in swa uncuðe elþeodignesse faran.

> ([*T*]*hat they might not undertake an expedition so dangerous and toilsome, to a barbarous race so utterly unknown.*)[291]

The Old English tries to emulate the style, although the inflectional ending of *uncuð* does not fit to the preceding *–ne*-endings. Moreover, the *asyndeton* of the Latin is not reproduced. Instead the elements are connected by the conjunction ⁊.

Kendall's analysis thereafter turns to tropes. He points out that rhetoric mediated between "the contradictions of human experience and the harmony of the divine plan by imposing, as it were a higher order on the flux of language, and thereby pointing the way to the vision of God."[292] Although this is valid for schemes, it is even more pronounced in tropes, or verbal metaphors, which need

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[289] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 96-97.
[290] *HEGA*, I, 94.
[291] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 56-57.
[292] Kendall, "Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica", p. 162.

to be understood in an allegorical sense.[293] Kendeall gives the following example: in the *LR* Gregory elaborates on how the teaching of the Old Testament should be understood allegorically by means of a trope. Hereby, events in the physical world function as starting point for a spiritual understanding:

> Perpende autem, frater carissime, quia omne, quod in hac mortali carne patimur ex infirmitate naturae, est digno Dei iudicio post culpam ordinatum; esurire namque, sitire aestuare algere lassescere ex infirmitate naturae est.
>
> (*Consider then, most beloved brother, that all that we suffer in this mortal flesh through the infirmity of nature is ordained by the just judgment of God as a result of sin. For hunger and thirst, heat, cold, and weariness are the result of the infirmity of our nature.*)[294]

Hunger, cold, thirst and sickness are a corporeal allegory of God's judgment of man. The passage is faithfully reproduced in the *OEHE*:

> Ono geþenc, broþor þu leofesta, þætte eal, þe we þrowiað in þissum deaðlican lichoman, is of untrymnesse þæs gecyndes rehte Godes dome geendebyrdad. Wæs æfter synne þæs ærestan monnes, forðon hyngran, þyrstan, hatian, calan, wærigian, – al þæt is of untrymnesse þæs gecyndes.
>
> (*Think now, my dearest brother, that all which we suffer in this mortal body, is ordered by the just judgment of God from the infirmity of nature. It followed on the sin of the first man, for hunger and thirst, fever, chill, fatigue, all come from the infirmity of nature.*) [295]

It is small wonder that the translator reproduced this passage, as it is part of the authoritative text on some fundamentals of Christian instruction, which the apostle of the English, Gregoy the Great, sent to Augustine. Nevertheless, he deemed it worthy of inclusion and did not abbreviate it or cut it out, thus retaining the physical allegory which corresponds to Bede's application of tropes.[296] Moreover,

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[293] *Ibid.*, cf. also Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis*, ch. 1.

[294] *HEGA*, I, 122.; trans.: C&M, p. 93.

[295] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 78-79.

[296] The importance of this passage becomes clearer when we consider that the translator did not back down when it came to the exercise of authority. Apart from the papal letters he omits, even St Gregory falls victim to his editorial policy. In the story of the Mercian thegn in *HE* V.13, Bede remarks on the torments of hell that will befall the sinner and then adds the following passage: "De quo constat quia, sicut beatus papa Gregorius de quibusdam scribit, non pro se ista, cui non profuere, sed pro aliis uiderit, qui eius interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum uacat, timerent, ne improuiso mortis articulo praeuenti inpaenitentes perirent."(*HEGA*, II, 390); *From this it is clear, as the blessed Pope Gregory writes about certain people, that he saw this vision not for his own benefit, because it did not profit him, but for the sake of others; so that they, hearing of his fate, may fear to put off their time of repentance while they still have the opportunity, and not to be cut*

the translator deemed this passage important enough for the audience that the content is made more explicit. *Culpam* is rendered as *synne þæs ærestan monnes*, therefore ensuring that any reader or hearer would understand it as a reference to original sin.

The *HE* abounds with further examples of allegorical metaphors and numerological symbolism, some of which are covered by Kendall's survey.[297] These testify to the allegorical reading of Bede's work as the story of the Anglo-Saxons in God's historical plan of salvation. The Old English translator adheres to Bede's mode and reproduces his tropes, therefore encouraging an allegorical reading of the *OEHE*. It appears that the translator of the *HE* has an adroit understanding of Bede's rhetorical strategies with regard to the schemes. However, he does not slavishly reproduce the rhetorical strategies, as is most clear with regard to *hyperbaton*, for which Bede appears to have a certain penchant, whereas the translator rectifies the word-order in almost every case. The rhetorical devices may be the result of a conscious imitation of Bede's sytle, but at the same time they may be the result of the mechanisms of natural speech (esp. with regard to *paroemion*, or alliteration). In the case of alliteration, we may detect a mnemonic device which adds to the aural context of the translation. The above analysis has shown that some rhetorical devices are discernible in the *OEHE* and that in sum the Latinity of the translator does not leave much to be desired. What we see is by no means pedestrian Old English but is rather a purposeful and deliberate approach to translation, which gives regard to the authority of the source text and at the same time asserts its own authority and the authority of the vernacular.

The Audience

Editorial agenda and style of translation provide useful evidence for the intended audience of the *OEHE*. First of all, we need to take into consideration that 'audi-

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by sudden death and die impenitent; trans.: C&M, p. 503. This is cut out in the *OEHE*. It is difficult to ascertain why the translator chose to do so, but it may be to bolster Bede's authority. Bede basically paraphrases this passage, directly following this statement. Therefore, the above passage may have ben omitted due to redundance. It seems also possible that the translator put the massage, which had been quoted from Gregory before, in the mouth of the authoritative figure that seems to address directly the reader in the *OEHE*, therefore, elevating his authority even more. The audience would have listened not to the voice of Pope Gregory the Great, but the the voice of their own English kinsman. The excised passage refers to Gregory's *Dialogi*, IV.40 and finds it way in the *OE Dialogues* as well. It may worth regarding the omission of these lines as deliberate as the translator may have been familiar with the *OE Dialogues* (which are likely to have been translated by someone from the same school of translation, if not the same monastic center) and did choose to omit this bit as it found its way in another Old English prose translation. This would streghthen the links between the *OE Dialogues* and the *OEHE* on one side, and the *OEHE* and the Alfredian programmeme on the other.

[297] Kendall, "Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica", pp. 165-72.

ence' in a medieval context means both readers and listeners.[298] Although there were instances where reading meant silent reading in private, the usual context for reading had a strong aural and communal element.[299] To whom then was the *OEHE* addressed?

A first clue might be Alfred's famous complaint on the state of learning in England. Although we should not take his account at face value, the need for vernacular translations for edifying and educational purposes seems to have applied to both the clergy and laymen as Latin literacy (i.e. comprehending Latin in both a reading and a listening context) does not appear to have been particularly widespread. Therefore, it stands to reason that the translation might be primarily directed at those who did not know the *HE* or at a minimum could not read it in the Latin original.

The translation, like the *HE*, addresses King Ceolwulf in the preface. It appears that *OEHE* may primarily have been directed at a king.[300] Furthermore, the preface claims that the knowledge contained in this book should be copied and distributed to provide *exampla* for right livelihood. This is wrapped in an open appeal to the king as has been shown.[301] Thus the work appears primarily addressed to a royal recipient, but only as a mediator of knowledge, whose duty it was to instruct his subjects with the help of the good examples that were assembled in the *OEHE*. But this instruction was also contigent upon the royal persona. He should peruse the work before imparting the knowledge to others. Thus the *OEHE* takes the royal figure up on his duty to study the book carefully and to instruct his subjects accordingly. It is difficult to ascertain to what extend the *OEHE* was used to instruct the Anglo-Saxons, but five extant copies – and potentially a lot more which may not have survived – testify to its appeal to Anglo-Saxon copyists. In any case, access to the *OEHE* appears to have been a top-down process, with the king at the top, imparting the knowledge contained in the book to his subjects. It may be worthwhile to assume that the *OEHE* was designed – at least to some degree – at a *speculum principum* 'a mirror for princes'. This becomes clear from the preface, which urges the reader/listener, including the king, to learn from the good *exampla* and shun the bad *exampla*, the "ealdra

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[298] For a good overview on literacy, reading and audience see Schaefer, *Vokalität*; Gneuss, "Bücher und Leser", pp. 102-30, Lerer, *Literacy and Power*, M.B. Parkes, "Rædan, areccan, smeagan", pp. 1-22, S. Kelly, "Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word", in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 36-62, Keynes, "Royal Government and the Written Word", in *Uses of Literacy*, pp. 226-56, K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Literacy", *BEASE*, pp. 289-90 and Magennis, "Audience(s), Reception, Literacy".

[299] Cf. Gretsch, who remarks with regard to the prose translations of King Alfred's circle: "Certinly not all the students will have mastered these texts, but there is no difficulty in imagining, for example, Ealdorman Ordlaf turning the pages of the Old English Bede after he had dispacthed his Fonthill Letter to King Alfred." ("Uses of the Vernacular", p. 286).

[300] *OEB*, I.1, 2.

[301] *Ibid.*

manna cwidas �7 dæda �7 ealra swiþost þara mærena wera ure þeode."[302] The work teems with royal protagonists whose way of life is either depicted as examplary or despicable, which would make the *OEHE* an apt instruction manual for royal readers. We can speculate whether the recipient was King Alfred himself, his sons Edward and Æthelweard, or even his grandson Athelstan. With regard to his sons, we have an interesting passage in Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*. In chapter 75 the Welshman comments on Alfred's palace school and the education of Alfred's children:

> In qua schola utriusque linguae libri, Latinae scilicet et Saxonicae, assidue legebantur […]Eadwerd et Ælfthryth semper in curto regio nutriti cum magna nutritorum et nutricum diligentia […]. Nec etiam illi sine liberali disciplina inter cetera praesentis vitae studia, quae nobilibus conveniunt, otiose et incuriose <vivere> permittuntur, nam et psalmos et Saxonicos libros et maxime Saxonica carmina studiose didicere, et frequentissime libris utuntur.

> (*In this school books in both languages – that is to say Latin and English – were carefully read; […]Edward and Ælfthryth were at all times fostered at the royal court under the solicitous care of tutors and nurses […]. Nor, amid the other pursuits of this present life which are appropriate to the nobility, are these two allowed to live idly and indifferently, with no liberal education, for they have attentively learned the Psalms, and books in English, and especially English poems, and they very frequently make use of books.*)[303]

This account of Alfred's school leaves one to wonder whether among English learning the *OEHE* had a fixed place in the curriculum. If the royal children learned English poetry, just as Asser relates with regard to Alfred elsewhere in his work (ch. 23), we should not rule out the possibility that for example *Cædmon's Hymn* was part of the instruction, given the popularity of the poem in Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest England.[304] At the same time, the work does not focus on kings and queens alone, but provides spiritually edifying accounts and hagiographical stories. These accounts would have appealed rather to a clerical

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[302] *OEB*, I.1, p. 2; *The sayings and deeds of old men, and in particular of all the renowned men of our nation.*

[303] *VÆ*, pp. 58-59; trans.: K&L, pp. 90-91.

[304] We find ten copies of it in the blank spaces of Latin MSS from the eighth to the twelfth century: Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5.16 (s.viii), (Ker. 25), Hereford, Cathedral P.V.1 + Bodleian, E MUs. 93 (3632) (s.xii) Ker 121; Leningrad, Public Library, Lat. Q.v.i.18 (s.viii) Ker 122; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163 (2016) (s.xi Ker. 304), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 43 (4106) (s.xi), Ker 326, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 243 (s.xii) Ker 341, Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 31, fols. 14-113 (s.xii), Ker 356), Oxford, Magdalen College, Lat. 105 (s.xii) Ker. 357. Winchester Cathedral 1 + London, British Museum, Cotton Tiberius D.iv, vol. 2, fols. 158-66 (s.xi), Ker. 396, Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale 134 (s. xii) Appendix 8 (available online from http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de.); cf. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Orality and the Developing Text of Caedmon's Hymn", in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M.P. Richards (New York and London, 1994), pp. 226-250 [originally published *Speculum* 62.1 (1987), 1-20]; *OEB*, I.1, pp. xxi-xxii.

environment. Therefore, judging from its contents alone, the *OEHE*, not unlike the *OE Pastoral Care*, appears to have served as edifying manual for men and women who were set to rule or guide in worldly as well as spiritual matters and instruct their subjects or their flock.

Some features of the translation hint at an aural context and are suggestive of audience, whose basic scriptural knowledge could not be taken for granted and which may not have been interested in or familiar with the details of religious dissent, or the Easter computus. The aural context and the allegedly 'moderate' audience (in a sense of no high-ranking members of the clergy with a profound knowledge of Latin) are hinted at when we consider the rectified syntax, the increased explicitness, the sometimes poetic and alliterative synonym pairs, the addition of explanatory comments and the streamlined narration with the omission of documents.

Moreover, the translation itself shows that it may have been designed to be received in an aural context. The Old English preface stresses the fact of aural reception:

> Forðon ðis gewrit oððe hit god *sagað* be godum mannum, ⁊ se ðe hit *gehyreð*, he *onhyreð* þam, oððe hit yfel *sagað* be yfelum mannum, ⁊ se ðe hit *gehyreð*, he flyhð þæt ⁊ onscunað. Forþon his is god godne to herianne ⁊ yfelne to leanne, þæt se geðeo se þe hit *gehyre* [my italics].

> (*For this book either speaks good of the good, and the hearer imitates that, or it speaks evil of the evil, and the hearer flees and shuns the evil. For it is good to praise the good and blame the bad, that the hearer may profit*) [305]

The Latin similarly stresses the focus on an audience:

> Siue enim historia de bonis bona referat, ad imitandum bonum *auditor* sollicitus instigatur; seu mala commemoret de prauis, nihilominus religiosus ac pius *auditor siue lector* deuitando quod noxium est ac peruersum, ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae bona ac Deo digna esse, cognouerit, accenditur.[…]Vt autem in his quae scripsi uel tibi uel ceteris *auditoribus siue lectoribus* huius historiae occasinonem dubitandi subtraham, quibus haec maxime auctoribus didicerim, breuiter intimare curabo [my italics].

> (*Should this history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good; should it record the evil end of wicked men, no less effectually the devout and earnest listener or reader is kindled to eschew what is harmful and perverse, and himself with greater care pursue those things which he has learned to be good and pleasing in the sight of God.* […] *Now, in order to remove all occasions of doubt about those things I have written, either in your*

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[305] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 2-3.

mind or the minds of any others who listen to or read this history, I will make it
my business to state briefly from what sources I have gained my information.) [306]

Despite the apparently similar approach, the Latin accentuates the bifold nature of
the reception *auditor siue lector* and *auditoribus siue lectoribus*, whereas the *OEHE*
omits the *lector* in the first case and the second phrase altogether. The question of
audience is taken up again in the towards the end of the Latin preface:

> *Lectoremque* suppliciter obsecro ut, siqua in his quae scripsimus aliter
> quam se ueritas habet posita reppererit, non hoc nobis in-
> putet[…][my italics].
> (*So I humbly beg the reader, if he finds anything other than the truth set down in*
> *what I have written, not to impute it to me.*) [307]

The Old English version renders it as follows:

> ⁊ þone *leornere* ic nu eadmodlice bidde ⁊ halsige, gif he hwæt ymbe ðis
> on oðre wisan *gemete* oððe *gehyre*, þæt he me þæt ne otwite [my italics].
>
> (*And I now humbly beg and entreat the reader that, if he find or hear anything*
> *different about this, he will not blame me.*) [308]

The Latin is more explicit with regard to the mode of reception as it uses *lector*,
whereas the Old English *leornere* is more neutral and can refer to anyone who
learns, be it through reading or listening. Moreover, the Latin *repperire* 'to meet, to
encounter, to discover'[309] is faithfully translated in Old English but supplemented
by *oððe gehyre*, which again is more explicit with regard to the mode of perception.

Another cue for the audience in the *HE* is the prayer *praeterea omnes.* The Latin
version runs:

> Praeterea omnes, ad quos haec eadem historia peruenire potuerit
> nostrae nationis, legentes siue audientes suppliciter precor […].
>
> (*Furthermore, I humbly beseech all who either read this history of our nation or*
> *hear it read.*) [310]

The Old English follows suit:

> Eac þonne ic eaðmodlice bidde þætte to eallum þe þis ylce stær to
> becyme ures cynnes to rædenne oþþe to gehyrenne.
>
> (*Now also I humbly pray of all to whom this history of our race may come, either*
> *as readers or hearers.*)[311]

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[306]   *HEGA*, I, 10; trans.: C&M, p. 3.
[307]   *HEGA*, I, 12; trans.: C&M, p. 7.
[308]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 4,6,7.
[309]   See PONS, s.v. *repperire*.
[310]   *HEGA*, I, 12; trans.: C&M p. 7.

The narrative voice of Bede in the Latin and the Old English version seems to promote the work to be read and listened to. Therefore, the vernacular translation appears to be directed at both readers and with slightly more emphasis, at listeners. There is other evidence that points to the mode of reception of the *HE* and the *OEHE*. The following example is illustrative:

> Hanc historiam, sicut a uenerabili antistite Pecthelmo didici, simpliciter ob salutem legentium siue audientium narrandam esse putaui.

> (*I thought I ought to tell this story simply, just as I learned it from the venerable Bishop Pehthelm, for the benefit of those who read or hear it.*)[312]

Bede tells us that he had learned the story (*didici*) from Pehthelm, which assumes a story-telling context, i.e. direct oral transmission. At the same time he uses the verb *narrare*, which can refer to both written as well as oral narration.[313] If the text was read out, however, the boundaries were permeable in any case. The intended audience appears to have encompassed readers and listeners (*legentium siue audientium*). The Old English version adheres closely to the Latin:

> Þis spell ic leornade fram Pehthelme ðæm arwyrðan biscope, ond ic hit for þære hælo, ðe hit leornade oðþe geherde, hluttorlice awrat ⁊ sægde.

> (*I heard this story from the venerable bishop Pehthelm, and I have written it down and related it plainly for the saving of those, who should read or hear it.*)[314]

It is interesting to see the polysemic nature of *leornade* here. In the first case it renders *didici* which might denote an oral conversation, whereas in the second case it seems to translate the Latin *legere*, which implies a reading context. The Old English thus does not seem to make a difference between learning-as-listening and learning-as-reading. Furthermore, the Old English translator stresses the double nature of the transmission process, which technically may be regarded as two sides of the same coin with the doublings *awrat ⁊ sægde* instead of the ambiguous *narrandum*. In the latter case, however, the Old English translation may be seen as another proof of the translator's excellent knowledge of Latin semantics, as he knew that *narrare* could refer to both oral and written medium and thus chose to pay heed to that when he translated it.

Latin Passages in the *OEHE*

The dual nature of the audience is also underscored by the retention of some Latin passages in the *OEHE*. We have already seen that in one instance the Latin

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[311] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 486-87.
[312] *HEGA*, II, 392; trans.: C&M, p. 503.
[313] Cf. PONS, s.v. *narrare*.
[314] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 442-43.

was probably retained in order to make Gregory's pun on *Deira/de ira* intelligible to the purported audience. But there are seven other instances where the translator chose to keep the Latin wording together with an Old English translation. The first three occur in the *Libellus Responsionum* (*HE* I.27):

1) On Augustine's first question, how the offerings of the faithful shall be apportioned, Gregory's answer includes the following:

> Mid þy eall, þætte ofer bið to lafe on heora weoruldspedum, arfæstum ꝧ godum is to recenne ꝧ to sellenne, swa swa ealra magister Drihten Christ lærde ꝧ cwæð: *Quod superest, date elemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt uobis*: ðætte ofer seo ꝧ to lafe, sellað ælmesse, ꝧ eow beoð eal clæno[my italics].

> (*For all that remains over of their wordly goods is to be devoted and given to the pious and good, for so Christ the Lord and teacher of us all directed, saying, 'Quod superest, date elemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt nobis', 'What is over and above, give as alms, and all things are clean unto you.'*) [315]

The Latin quotation is from *Luke* 11:41,[316] where Jesus berates the Pharisees for their exterior cleanness but interior corruption. The passage relates to the laity and has a strong appeal to temperance – the common man shall only have enough according to his needs. Otherwise he will be stained by the sin of greed. Therefore, right Christian livelihood is nothing which can only be displayed on the outside but has to come from the heart within. The passage can be read as a warning against false pretences and hypocrisy. In the Latin as well as in the *OEHE*, the citation is preceded by an catechetical exhortation, which warns the minor clerics to keep their heart, tongue and body clean from unlawful things, meaning that they should not sin in mind, word or deed. The themes of almsgiving and abstaining from sin in thought, word and deed are common features of exhortatory addresses, as we find them in sermons or homilies, e.g. *Vercelli Homily* III, which may orignally have been addressed at a monastic audience.[317] In a contemporary con-

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[315] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 66-67.

[316] We find this Latin passage together with a direct Old English translation in three Old English texts. Apart from the *OEHE* we have it in the Rushworth and Lindisfarne glosses to Luke (*DOEC*) In the following the number of occurrences in the *Old English Corpus* for every Latin passage retained in the *OEHE* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[317] Cf. Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 70-86. The address in the homily is without exception *broðor þa leofestan* or *broðor mine*. The homily is a close translation of of a popular Latin penitential homily for Lent, whose popularity in Latin and English is evident to the end of the Middle Ages in England (Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 70 and notes). The homily delineates fundamentals of the Christian faith. With regard to confession it is said "Sio andetnes is to donne be eallum þam sinnum þe man awðer þurhtyhð, oððe an geþohte oððe on spræce oððe on worce." (Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 74); *This confession is to be done for all those sins which one carries out anywhre, whether in thought or in speech or in deed* (trans.: Nicholson, *Vercelli Book Homilies*, p. 31). After having

text, this theme strongly reminds the reader of King Alfred's lament in the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*, where he mourns that the English had been Christian only in name but lacking all the virtues which eventually brought the Viking depredations upon them.[318] Maybe the translator included the Latin quotation from the Scriptures in order to give the statement a particular force. With the Scandinavian onslaught, Christian standards seem to have dwindled in Anglo-Saxon England as the abovementioned papal and episcopal correspondence confirms. Therefore, the need to give alms and to be a Christian from one's innermost heart may have been worthy of deserving special stress by the translator. It is interesting that MS A of the *ASC* records for the years 887-890 that the alms of the West Saxons and of King Alfred were taken to Rome, with the annal for 889 explicitly mentioning that no alms were taken to Rome.[319] It has been argued that the annals were an expression of an English identity which stressed the links to Rome, and at the same time sought to answer the vehement criticism of apparent indulgence towards heathen practices among the English from the papacy and the archbishopric of Rheims.[320] The explicit statement in the *ASC* shows that almsgiving appears to have been an important issue, important enough to be inserted in the common-stock of the *ASC* which might indeed present us with the official historiography of the West Saxon court. There is no explicit recording of the alms being carried to Rome in the following years. This, in turn, may indicate, that alms-collecting and their dispatch to Rome might have come to an end or were temporarily interrupted. It is interesting to note that alms-giving is not prescribed in King Alfred's law-code. Therefore, there appears not to have been seen the need by the secular authorities to force their subjects by law to give alms.[321] The special emphasis in the *LR* may be read as expressing concern with the contemporary practice, but in any case elucidating the spiritual importance of alms-giving.

2) On Augustine's fifth question, on the degree to which marriage is allowed among kindred, Gregory responds:

Hefig maan is ⁊ godfrecnis þæt mon hine menge mid his steopmeder, forðon in Godes æ is awriten: *Turpitudinem patris tui no reuelabis*: Ne onwreoh ðu scondlicnesse þines fæder. Ac forðon þe awriten is: *Erunt duo in carne una*: wer ⁊ wiif, heo tu beoð in anum licho-

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treated the Christian virtues faith, hope and charity it considers apart from confession penance, vigils, fasting, prayer and almsgiving.

[318] Cf. *OEPC*, p. 5.

[319] Cf. S. Irvine, "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature", in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 63-77.

[320] See *ibid.*, pp. 75-77.

[321] It is only in *V,VI,VIIa Æthelred*, part of the so-called 'Enham legislation', which were drawn up in similar but yet worse political circumstances and religious crisis due to Viking onslaughts, that the giving of alms was prescribed by law. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

man, ono se ðe geðyrstigað onwreon þa sceondlicnesse his step-
meder, seo an lichoma mid his fæder wæs, hwæt se soðlice onwriið
his fæder scondlicnesse [my italics].

(*It is a grievous sin and offence against God for a man to wed his stepmother, for
it is written in God's law, 'Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis', 'Thou shalt
not uncover thy father's shame.' And as it is written, 'Erunt duo in carne', 'Man
and wife they two shall be in one body', then he who dares to uncover the shame of
his stepmother, who was one body with his father, in very truth he uncovers his fa-
ther's shame*). [322]

The first quotation is from *Leviticus* 18:7[323] and the second from *Matthew* 19:5.[324]
Both proclaim fundamentals of the Christian faith in a textual typology which
combines a passage from the Old Law with one from the New Law. Again, the
Latin lends the account a particular authority. This quotation too is embedded in a
catechetical passage. It is interesting to see that the translator feels the need to
explicate the *Erunt* as *wer 7 wiif*, instead of translating it literally as *hi(e)*. This hints
at an audience which was not entirely familiar with this Latin quotation and
needed more explicitness. The theme of unlawful marriage in the *LR* seems to
have had some contemporary relevance, as the problems of similar issues played a
role in papal and episcopal correspondence in the last quarter of the ninth century.
Moreover, as seen in Asser, its contemporary relevance is underscored by the fact
that King Alfred's brother Æthelbald married his widowed step-mother Judith of
Flanders after King Æthelwulf, their father, had died.[325]

3) On Augustine's eighth question, on when sexual intercourse shall be per-
   mitted after giving birth, Gregory relates the following:

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[322] *OEB*, I.1, 70-71.

[323] This is the only occurrence in the Old English corpus. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[324] The *DOEC* gives eight hits: *OEHE*, Byrthferth's *Enchiridion*, *Liber Scintillarum*, Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses to Matthew and Mark and the *Durham Ritual*. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[325] See K&L, p. 238 n. 38. See *VÆ* ch. 17. Asser's verdict is quite harsh: "Defuncto autem Æthel-wulfo rege <sepultoque apud Wintoniam>, Æthelbald, filius eius, contra Dei interdictum et Christianorum dignitatem, necnon et contra omnium paganorum consuetudinem, thorum patris suis ascendens, Iuthittam, Karoli, Francorum regis, filiam, cum magna ab omnibus audientibis infamia, in matrimonium duxit, effrenisque duobus et dimidio annis Occidentalium Saxonum post patrem regni gubernacula rexit." (*VÆ*, p. 16); *Once King Æthelwulf was dead (and buried at Win-ton), Æthelbald his son, against God's prohibition and Christian dignity, and also contrary to the practice of all pagans, took over his father's marriage-bed and married Judith, daughter of Charles [the Bald], king of the Franks, incurring great disgrace from all who heard of it; and he controlled the government of the kingdom of the West Saxons for two and a half lawless years after his father*, trans.: K&L, p. 73); Æthelbald's marriage to Judith is also recorded in the *Annals of St Bertin* s.a. 858 (*EHD*, no. 23; pp. 342-44, at p. 343) and would surely have been known to Grimbald, one of Alfred's scholars. The *ASC* is silent about the matter.

Ne wæs acenned of unrehthæmde ne þurh dyrne forlegenesse, ac acenned wæs of ælicum gesinscipe, se ðe cwæð: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum et in delictis peperit me mater mea*: ic wat þæt ic wæs in wænessum geeacnod Ᵹ in scyldum me cende min modor [my italics].

(*He was not born of adultery nor fornication, but of lawful wedlock, who said, 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea;' 'I know that I was conceived in iniquity, and in transgression did my mother bear me.'*) [326]

This passage is from *Psalm* 51:7,[327] followed by a long passage on righful intercourse. Gregory goes on to elaborate that there was permission to have intercourse that was born of desire and not in order to beget offspring:

Forðon se apostol S(an)c(tu)s Paulus mid ðy cwæð, *Qui se continere non potest, habeat uxorem suam*, se ðe hine ahabban ne mæg, hæbbe his wiif, he ða sona se apostol underðeodde Ᵹ cwæð: *Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium*: ðis ic cweðo æfter forgifnesse, nales æfter bebodo. Forþon ne bið þæt forgifen, þætte alefed bið, ac þæt bið riht [my italics and emendation].

(*Therefore when the apostle St. Paul says, 'Qui se continere non potets, habeat uxorem suam,' 'he who cannot contain, let him have his wife', at once the apostle subjoined and said, 'Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium,' 'but this I speak by permission, and not of commandment.' For that is not conceded which is lawful, but it is right*). [328]

Both passages are from *I Corinthians* (7:2 and 7:6, respectively) on the doctrinal basics of the early Church and wedlock.[329] These lines are preceded in the *HE* and the *OEHE* by a catechetical passage, which condemns non-procreative sex as something sinful, but which is allowed within certain limits due to the individual nature of men. Again, this fits well with apparent religious concerns between 875 and 900. The fact, that these four biblical quotations are given in Latin is conspicuous with regard to their importance and purported scriptural authority, backed by David and the Old Law, and by the New Law of St. Paul, respectively. They stand out even more as there are fourteen other scriptural quotations in the *LR* included in the *HE,* which are either omitted or only translated into Old English without giving the Latin text in the *OEHE*. This leaves one to wonder why the three examples above were given a special status. Apparently, they all had a

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[326] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 82-83.
[327] Thirteen occurrences. Apart from the *OEHE* it occurs in psalter glosses. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.
[328] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 82, 83 and 85.
[329] This is a unique occurrence in the Old English corpus. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

contemporary relevance and needed special re-enforcement through the Latin wording, which was authoritative as the Word of God.

4)   In the otherwordly vision of Fursey (III.19) Bede relates how Fursey reported on his journey:

Wæs his gewuna þæt he sægde, þæt he openlice heo gehyrde betweoh monig oðer hleoðrian ꝸ singan: *Ibunt s*(an)*c*(t)*i de uirtute in uirtutem; uidebitur D*(eu)*s Deorum in Sion*: halige gongað of mægene in mægen; bið gesegen haligra God in wlite sceawunge [my italics and emendation].

(*He was wont to affirm, that he clearly heard them, among many other things, cry aloud and sing, 'Ibunt sancti de virtute in virtutem, videbitur Deus Deorum in Sion:', 'The saints shall go from virtue to virtue, the God of saints shall be seen in bright vision.'*) [330]

The passage is from *Psalm* 84:8, referring to joy in the House of God.[331] The abbreviations in the MSS <s(an)c(t)i> and <D(eu)s> suggest that the passage could only have been read by someone who had a basic knowledge of Latin and knew the common Latin abbreviations for the *nomina sacra*.[332] Even more interesting is the fact, already related, that Ælfric used this account of St. Fursey for his homily 2.20 (*Feria III in Letania Maiore*) in his explication of the gospel pericope for a passage from *II Corinthians* 12:2.[333] Apart from the Latin pericope, it is common practice to intersperse Old English homilies with biblical quotations in Latin, which are duly translated to enhance their authority. They also function as touchpoints for further exegetical reading to assist the explication of the gospel pericope.[334]

5)   In a passage from the account of St. Chad (IV.3) we find the following passage:

Ac ge ne leornodon: *Quia intonuit de celo d*(omi)*n*(u)*s et altissimus dedit uocem suam: misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit et contur-*

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[330]   *OEB*, I.2, 212-13.

[331]   Eleven matches: Psalter glosses, *OEHE* and Ælfric (*CH* 2.20). *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[332]   This chapter is only in TB. I have cited T as in Miller's edition. MS B has the same wording except for another abbreviation: *deor*(um), cf. *OEB*, II, p. 229.

[333]   See *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, ed. Godden,* pp. 190-98.

[334]   Cf. *ibid.*, p. 191; this practice is not to be confused with the initial pericope given in Latin (in full or abbreviated), followed by an exegesis; cf. M. Swan, "Preaching past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A.XXII", in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice and Appropriation*, ed. A.J. Kleist (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 403-24. Swan identifies Latin insertions in Lambeth 487, which "provide authoritative statements for translation into English or are the subject for exegesis in English" (p.407). Swan remarks further that the insertion of Latin snippets into reused Old English homiletic material was a rare phenomenon in Old English and more common in Middle English (pp. 407-08).

bauit eos: ðætte Drihten hleoðrað of heofonum ⁊ se hehsta seleð his stefne; he sendeð his stræle ⁊ heo toweorpeð; legetas gemonigfealdað ⁊ heo gedrefeð [my emphasis and emendation].[335]

('Have you never learnt, "Quia intonuit de celo dominus et altissimus dedit uocem suam misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos; fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos:" The Lord makes a sound from heaven and the Highest utters his voice; he sends out his arrows and scatters them; he multiplies his lightnings and confounds them?')[336]

This quotation is from *Psalm* 18:15, which is David's praise for having been delivered by divine power from his heathen enemies.[337] In the *HE* and the *OEHE,* Bede reports on St. Chad, in order to embark on an explication of the passage, i.e., that the Lord sends those heavenly signs to remind the faithful to fear him and to remember the Last Judgement in order to make them entreat his compassion and cast away their vices:

Forþon us gedafenað, þæt we his hefonlicre monunge mid gedenfenlice ege ⁊ lufan ondswarige; þætte, swa he lyft onstyrge ond his hond swa swa us to sleanne beotiende æteawerð, ne hwæðre nu gyt slæð, þæt we sona cleopien ⁊ bidden his mildheortnesse.

(Therefore it behoves us to answer his heavenly admonition with due fear and love; that, as he stirs the air and displays his hand threatingly, as if to slay us, and still does not even yet slay us, we may at once cry and entreat his compassion). [338]

The contemporary relevance and interest in such a passage during Alfred's reign is obvious. The Viking depredations were seen as a sign of divine wrath and it must have seemed as if the last days had approached, with divine anger raining down on those whose faith had dwindled. This passage from St. Chad's story may have entreated any reader or listener towards repentance. At the same time it conveys the message that worldly manifestations of God's anger were not to be taken as a sign that the Almighty had forsaken his flock, but rather as a reminder to recognize the error of their ways, repent and embrace His teachings. Again, we have an abbreviation (<d(omi)n(u)s>) which affords adequate knowledge to be read aloud. The story of St. Chad as found in the *HE* and the *OEHE* found its way into the Old English *Homily on St. Chad.* However, the homilist does give an *improptu* English translation before explicating the passage as the *OEHE* does (following St.

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[335] *OEB*, I.2, 268. The text is from T. The other manuscripts follow T in their wording except for minor differences. MS B has inverted word-order: *d(omi)n(u)s de celo* and *&* for *et*. OCa abbreviates *uocem suam* as *uoce(m) sua(m)*. Ca has *&* for *et*. See *OEB*, II, p. 301.

[336] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 268-69.

[337] Four matches: *OEHE* and psalter glosses. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[338] *OEB*, I.2, 270-71.

Chad's words in the *HE*). Nevertheless, the way this passage in the *OEHE* bears resemblance to homiletic material and the recycling of the material for the *Homily on St. Chad* stands out. Keeping the Fursey passage in mind, one cannot do away with the idea that some passages of the *OEHE* were well fit for catechetical/exhortatory (sermon) or exegetical (homily) reading, with the Latin quotations invigorating this assumption.

6)   The vision of the Mercian thegn mentioned earlier (V.13) also includes a scriptural quotation:

Þær he ða wið þon ða gedwolan his cneohtahde gereccan gemde in giguðhade ꝺ ða þurh gode dæde from gode dæde from Godes eagum ahwerfan, þonne meahte he ðara rime geðeoded bion, be ðam se sealmscop cwæð: *Beati quorum remisse sunt, et cetera.* Þa beoð eadge þe heora wonnesse forlætne beoð ꝺ þara þe synna bewrigene beoð [my italics].

 (*If he then on the contrary had been careful to correct the errors of his boyhood in youth and divert them from the sight of God by good deeds, then he might have been added to the number of those to whom the psalmist says: 'Beati quorum re- missae sunt, et cetera', 'Blessed are they whose transgressions are pardoned and whose sins are covered'*). [339]

In this case the quotation is from *Psalm* 32:1 ('On the joy of forgiveness').[340] What is remarkable here is that the translator abbreviates the Latin, which runs "Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata."[341] He then goes on to translate the passage in the *HE* meticulously, rendering even the bits which are left out. Why did the translator abbreviate the Latin quotation? Again, this might add to the evidence of the *OEHE* being used for preaching purposes. The abbreviated Latin quotation served as a mnemonic aid for the priest or monk who referred the passage to his congregation. Old English homilies in their written form were not designed to be read aloud word by word. The text on the page rather served as a beginning point for the performance by the preacher. Anyone being trained in the religious orders would have learned and known this psalm by heart and therefore amended the missing bit with ease. The practice that the gospel pericope is not rendered in full and is abbreviated with *et cetera* or *et reliqua* is a common phenomenon in homilies. This practice is also not unusual with the Latin quotations with which the homilies are interspersed. More often than not, the Latin quotation is not given in full, but is followed by an Old English translation

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[339]   *OEB*, I.2, 442-43.
[340]   Twelve hits in the *DOEC*: *OEHE* and psalter glosses (<accessed: 01/10/2014)>).
[341]   *HEGA*, II, 392.

that renders the missing bits as well.[342] It might also be that the Latin quotation could be read out loud to the audience if this was desired, depending upon the caprice of the preacher and his audience, which might have been different on different occasions. In any case, the account of the otherworldly journey of the Mercian thegn was apt edifying material. When we recall that Bede included this story in the *HE* for the profit of those who may read or hear it, it is not inconceivable that this chapter was used as preaching material. Unfortunately, the *FAS* database does not give this particular story as the source of any of the Old English homilies.[343] Though this assumption is alluring, a caveat must be inserted here. The abbreviated Latin quotation is found in O (from which Miller takes his passage) and Ca only. B quotes the Latin passage in full: "Beati quorum remisse sunt & (et) tecta sunt peccata,"[my emendation],[344] which does not follow the practice of abbreviating Latin quotations in sermons or homilies, but which also does not necessarily speak against it, as we also encounter the practice of giving a full Latin quotation followed by an Old English translation.[345]

But even if we assume that those passages to be read aloud as either a sermon or a homily, we need to be careful to hypothesize about the intended audience. First, we have to distinguish between a homily (an exegetical reading of a gospel pericope) and a sermon (a more generally exhortative and catechetical address). Although the boundaries between those two genres are not always clear, it might tell us more about the intended audience. When we consult the list of pericopes from Anglo-Saxon England, it is noteworthy that only the passages from *Luke* 11:41 and from *Matthew* 19:5 seem to have been read as gospel pericopes in Anglo-Saxon England.[346] What do we make of the Old Testament quotations, then? Mary Clayton describes different kinds of homiliaries that developed in the Carolingian period, but which spread to Anglo-Saxon England as well. There were homiliaries designed for recitation in the monastic night office, homiliaries for private reading and homiliaries for preaching to the laity.[347] The use of homiliaries in the night office of both monks and the secular clergy "was probably the princi-

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[342] Cf. *Vercelli Homily* IV, which is replete with examples where the scribe abbreviated scriptual quotations in Latin (Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 90-104).

[343] *FAS* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[344] (*OEB*, II, p. 560). MS O has *& (et) cet(era)* and MS Ca has *& (et) ce(te)ra*. The passage is lacking in both C and T due to loss of quires at the end.

[345] This is for example the case in most of the Vercelli Homilies. See Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, *passim*.

[346] Cf. U. Lenker, *Die Westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England* (München, 1997), nos. #187 (Luke 11:37-41) and # 406 (Matthew 19:1-) in the temporale cycle and nos. ‡ 37 (Matthew 19:3-), ‡ 40 (Matthew 19: 3-11) and ‡ 322 (Matthew 19: 1-6) in the temporale cycle; cf. also H, Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre: authenticité - inventaire – tableaux comparatifs – initia* (Citta del Vaticano, 1962), who lists Mt 19:3-11 (Fer. IV Pasc. IV) and Luke 37-41 (Feria VI Dom. XXVI. p. Pent). There is no reference to those scriptural passages in A. Chavasse, "Les plus anciens types du lectionaire et de l'antiphonaire Romains de las messe.", *RB* 67 (1952), 3-94.

[347] M. Clayton, "Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England.", in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (New York and London, 2000), pp. 151-99.

pal function of these collections throughout the Middle Ages," which is corroborated by the manuscript evidence.[348] Readings for the first nocturn of the night office were usually taken from the Old Testament.[349] Therefore, the Latin passages in the *OEHE* just outlined might have been intended to be read out during the night office. However, the use of homiliaries in Anglo-Saxon England despite a tendency to be subsumed under one of the three categories (monastic office, private devotional reading, preaching to the laity) is oftentimes obscured. Even a collection designed for preaching to a lay congregation might not have been used for that purpose only. Clayton illustrates the problem with regard to Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*:

> Ælfric's texts, written by him as "munuc and mæssepreost" in a monastic church that cared also for the laity, must be understood, I think, in term of this context and the possibilities it opened up. It allowed Ælfric to write for a mixed audience and, while still aiming primarily at instructing the lay people, to include passages and sometimes whole texts that relate more or to the religious elements in the congregation.[350]

Therefore, drawing conclusions about the intended audience on basis of those Latin quotations is questionable as we may be talking about a mixed audience. The possibility of the *OEHE* (or at least passages of it) being read aloud during the night office cannot be ruled out. Then again, we have no hardening proof that the night office was ever conducted in the vernacular.[351]

7) The last two examples are found in V.17 which deals with the Council of Hatfield (679):

In nomine D(omi)ni n(ost)ri Ih(es)u X(Ch)r(ist)i Saluatoris: in noman usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes […] ætgedere we wæron smeagende rehtne geleafan ⁊ rehtwuldriende. We asetton, swa swa usser Drihten Hælende Crist in menniscum lichoman sealde his discipulum, ða ðe

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[348] Clayton, "Homiliaries and Preaching", pp. 152 and 189.

[349] *Ibid.* pp. 152-53. Clayton remarks that the Second Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* bears "monastic features" in more distinct way than the First Series (pp. 184-85). It is interesting to note, therefore, that the passage on Fursey from *HE* III.19 (my example no. 4) was included in his Second Series and thus may have been intended for a monastic congregation, possibly in the night office.

[350] Clayton, "Homiliaries and Preaching", p. 189.

[351] Cf. Rowley, pp. 164-173 who argues for a use of the *OEHE* in an oral performative context, e.g. the chapter or the vernacular office, judging from the medieval signs of use in MS B. Rowley's assumption, however, does pertain to the chapter of secular canons at Exeter in the eleventh century, who lived according to the *Rule of Chrodegang* and whose office differed from the Benedictine office. According to *The Rule of Chrodegang* chapter was more open and varied in the readings of texts for Sundays, Wendesdays and Fridays, with non-cathedral clergy being welcome to attend it (Rowley, p. 168).

hine ondweardlice gesegon ᵹ gehyrdon his word. Ond he sealde haligra fædra herebeacan, *id est Credo*; ond gemænelice ealle halige ꞃ eall seonoðas ꞃ ealle þreat gecorenra lareowa þære rehtgelefdan ciri- can [my italics and emendation].

(*'In nomine Dnī nrī Ihū Xrī Saluatoris: in the name of our Lord and Savior Christ* […] *we jointly considered about the right and orthodox faith. We set down, as our Lord and Savior Christ, being in a human body, delivered to his disciples, who there saw him face to face, and heard his words. And he delivered to them the watchword of the holy fathers, "id est Credo"; and so do in common all saints and all synods, and all the company of the approved doctors of the or- thodox Church* […].*'*) [352]

Both of these Latin passages are non-biblical. The first is a quotation from the chapters of Hatfield. The abbreviations suggest that it was intended to be read from the page (whether in private or to an audience) and required some basic knowledge of Latin and typical Latin abbreviations. The Latin *intitulatio* conveys authority as it is written in Latin and resembles the original text of the synod, pre- sided over by Theodore.[353] This synod was convened in direct response to the heresy of Eutychus, which had troubled the Church at Constantinople. Theodore wanted to ascertain and preserve the orthodoxy of the English church and there- fore summoned the kings of Northumbria (Ecgfrith), Mercia (Æthelred), East Anglia (Ealdwulf)[354] and Kent (Hlothere) and "þreate arwyrðra biscopa ꞃ monigra lareowa."[355] They decided and agreed to keep the premises of the orthodox faith as laid down by the Church Fathers and the provisions of the major councils and synods of the Church.[356] The *id est credo* is particularly interesting as the passage shows differences to the Latin text:

[P]ariter tractantes fidem rectam et orthodoxam exposuimus, sicut Dominus noster Iesus Christus incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis, qui praesentialiter uiderunt et audierunt sermones eius, atque sanctorum

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[352] *OEB*, I.2, 310-11.

[353] "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris[…]". Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesias- tical Documents*, III, p. 141. The full text runs from p. 141-44.

[354] The passage "ꞃ Ealdulfe Eastengla cyninge þy seofonteogeðan geare his rices" (*OEB*, I.1, 310) is missing in T.

[355] *OEB*, I.2, 310.

[356] The councils in question are Nicea (325), which was directed against Arianism, Constantinople (381), directed against Arianism as well, Ephesus (431), directed against Nestorism (which prac- tically denied to two-fold nature of Christ), Chalcedon (451), directed against Monophysitism, Constantinople (553), which condemned the teachings of Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia, Bishop Theodoret of Cyrus and Bishop Ibas of Edessa, who all were associated with nestorism and finally, the first Lateran Council (649), directed against the Monothelites (a heresy related to Monophysitism); cf. C&M, pp. 386-387, n. 1-3 and *HEGA*, II, 611-14; cf. also C. Cubitt, *Church Councils*, pp. 252-258 and Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 71-76.

patrum tradidit symbolum et generaliter omnes sancti et uniuersales synodi et omnis probabilium catholicae ecclesiae doctorum chorus.

(*We united in declaring the true and orthodox faith as our Lord Jesus Christ delivered it in the flesh to the disciples who saw Him face to face and heard His words, and as it was handed down in the creed of the holy fathers and by all the holy and universal councils in general and the whole body of the accredited fathers of the catholic Church.*)[357]

From the Latin text, we do not have the wording *id est credo* (although *symbolum* refers to the creed) and also the subject of the second *tradidit* is not Jesus. Looking at the Old English version, little sense is made in the context of the sentence, which makes it appear as if Jesus had transmitted the words of the Holy Fathers to his disciples. There may be different explanations for this. First, it might have been a gross misunderstanding by the translator as he took the second *tradidit* to refer to Jesus. This could have happened if the translator rendered the passage mechanically in Old English without paying heed to the context of the sentence. His usual style of translation, however, does not betray such imprecisions, except for a few instances.[358] Furthermore, we would have to to assign to him complete ignorance of Church history and biblical knowledge if we assume that he mixed up the origin of the creed. If this tweaking was not intended, it could have only happened due to mechanical translation. This mistranslation, linking Jesus with the *haligra fædra herebeacan*, was retained in all manuscripts.[359] The *id est credo* seems to be another explicatory note, as the *herebeacan* is a rather poetic and allegorical translation of *symbolum*. It is unusual, however, that the explicatory addition is in Latin, and not in Old English.[360] This means that the translator was probably distracted and wrote a note in Latin, or that he assumed the existence of an audience which was at least familiar with the term *credo*, referring to the creed. As the Lord's prayer and the creed were taught to the lay congregation in their native tongue, in accordance with the Council of Clofesho in 747,[361] with knowledge of the Latin version no longer assumed, this reference was directed at an audience which at least knew some Latin basics, i.e., minor clergy or high-ranking secular officials,

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[357] *HEGA*, II, 238; trans.: C&M, p. 385.
[358] Cf. Potter, "Old English Bede", p. 13-16.
[359] See *OEB*, I.2, 310 and critical apparatus; and II, 364-365.
[360] The *id est credo* is not in OCa, which hints at a difference in manuscripts transmission in that branch as opposed to TB, which both have the Latin insertion. We may assume that the translator of the copy from which OCa stem corrected this bit as it did not fit the general style of translation with additional notes only in Old English. He found the Latin insertion odd at this point and subsequently checked it against a Latin copy of the *HE*, where and did not find this addition and consequently omitted it.
[361] Cf. Liuzza, "Religious Prose", p. 234 and Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, 366; cf. also Bede's *Letter to Egbert*, where the Northumbrian urges the Archbishop of York that if priests did not know the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer* in Latin they should be taught them in English in order to preach to the faithful (cf. Plummer, II, 409).

such as royal thegns or ealdormen. An imprecision due to mechanical translation is unlikely given the otherwise thoughtful translation approach. If we keep the general idea that Latin commanded a special authority, the translator might have tweaked the passage intentionally, to invigorate the orthodoxy as laid down by the Church fathers by a direct connection to Jesus's authority when speaking to his disciples. However, it seems quite unlikely that anyone with a basic religious and biblical knowledge would not see the odd connection made here. The tweaking would only have worked with a lay audience, not familiar with the reference *hæligra fædra herebeacan* as referring to the Church Fathers and the creed. The *Symbolum Apostolicum* or Apostolic Creed was based on the Old Roman Creed, which itself was derived from texts based on *Matthew* 28:19 ('The Great Commission').[362] Therefore, there exists a connection between Jesus talking to his disciples and the *Apostolic Creed.* The question, however, is whether the translator was aware of this connection and tried to reconcile his source with his knowledge of the origins of the creed. It is difficult to come to a conclusion with regard to this passage. The only aspect we may pronounce with confidence was that the translator added an explicatory note to bestow special authority upon the orthodox teachings, which were embraced at Hatfield by the representatives of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Why would the provisions of Hatfield have been of special importance? Referring back to the chapter on Cotton Domitian, it appears that the Anglo-Saxon Church was exposed to vehement criticism on various church matters by the papacy and the Archbishop of Rheims. The inclusion of the councils of Hatfield and Hertford in the *OEHE* and in the Domitian excerpts might have been done in an attempt to counter such accusations and to prove that the English Church had held councils and synods which were in line with the orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time, the inclusion of accounts might have served exhortatory ends, as in the vernacular version, where they could have served as a reference in order to inculcate right Christian norms among the audience. The Latin bits may have been retained (or inserted) in order to bolster this endeavor with the necessary authority.

Taking all the evidence into consideration, it seems as if the Latin passages in the *OEHE* served the purpose of specially authorizing the statements. In some contexts, the Latin quotations and their immediate context are reminiscent of homilies or sermons and might thus hint at the *OEHE* (or a least bits of it) being used as preaching material. However, as shown above, the audience of homiletic material may have been mixed, so no final conclusion can be drawn. Finally, passages 1-3, 5 and 7 seem to pertain to matters of contemporary concern, which needed emphasis and authority by means of Latin quotations.

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362 See F.L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (New York, 2005), s.v. *Old Roman Creed* and *Apostles' Creed.*

Tracing the Audience of the *OEHE*: a Tentative Summary

The analysis of the translation techniques has shown that the intended audience may have encompassed *illiterati* and people who lacked detailed biblical knowledge. The stylistic elements of the translation suggest that the text had a strong aural component to make it intelligible and comprehensible to its audience. This may have been a lay audience at the Winchester court, including Alfred and his family, and the rank-and-file of the West Saxon government. At the same time, there are elements which are suggestive of a context which rather fits with the monastic night office, or perhaps the chapter of secular canons, if indeed texts in the vernacular were read there. Consequently, it is difficult to make any clear-cut decisions about the intended audience of the *OEHE*. It must be assumed, at present, a mixed audience and different contexts in which the work might have been disseminated. The audience might have included monks, secular clergy and laymen--ranging from a congregation during mass to thegns, high-ranking officials like reeves or ealdormen, and even the royal family itself.

Nevertheless, after having analyzed the translation techniques and tracing the intended audience, a final question remains: was the translator the first to translate the *HE* in part or in full? There are interlinear or marginal Old English versions of *Cædmon's Hymn* in the oldest Latin manuscripts of the M-recension (Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5.15 and Leningrad, Public Library Lat. Q.u.I.18, both eighth century), but evidence for an attempted full-blown translation prior to the manuscript evidence we have is hard to accumulate. Glossed manuscripts seem to be a good point of departure if we want to find evidence for attempts at translating Bede's *HE*. This returns us once again to Kuhn's hypothesis that the *OEHE* evolved out of an interlinear gloss. We actually have a heavily glossed manuscript of the *HE*, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II, which has both scratched and ink glosses. Consequently, the next chapter will have a closer look at these glosses and analyze them with regard to their being a potential 'proto-translation of Bede's monumental work.

VI. The Scratched Glosses in British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II

Kuhn's hypothesis of an extant interlinear gloss as a crib for the *OEHE* translation is an intriguing idea. However, it is highly unlikely as my analysis has shown sofar. Nevertheless, we cannot pass by the glossing tradition in our search for the prerequisites for vernacular translation in early Anglo-Saxon England, as it presents a significant step towards full-blown translations.[1] This issue, however, is complicated and there is no need to deem glosses as a necessary intermediate stage towards translations of Latin texts, although it is without question that glossaries were used in that process.[2] But even where influence of glossed manuscripts could be assumed, it can rarely "be proven for a certainty."[3] Nonetheless, discarding Kuhn's idea of an extant interlinear gloss does not rule out that the translator of the *OEHE* had recourse to some preliminary Old English renderings of the *HE*.

In his meticulous study on the *OEHE* vocabulary, Greg Waite came to the conclusion that the translator probably used devices such as glossaries or word-lists to cull words from.[4] Waite compared the lexical choices of the translator with various glosses and glossaries such as the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss*, the *Aldhelm Glosses* in the Brussels Royal Library 1650 and Digby 146 manuscripts, as well as the *Cleopatra Glossaries*.[5] In each case he came to the conclusion that the works shared remarkable features in their lexicon with the *OEHE*--or at least showed affinities without yielding a direct link.[6]

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[1]   See Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, p. 14.
[2]   *Ibid.*
[3]   *Ibid.* and n. 11.
[4]   See Waite, "Vocabulary", p. 193.
[5]   *Vespasian Psalter Gloss*: London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.I (Ker no. 203); *Aldhelm Glosses*: Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 1650 (1520) (Ker no. 8), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 146 (1747) (Ker no. 320); *Cleopatra Glossaries*: London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III (Ker no. 143).
[6]   Waite, "Vocabulary", pp. 193-200.

Waite further analyzed a set of chiefly interlinear scratched glosses found in a Latin manuscript of the *HE*, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II, dating to mid ninth-century Canterbury (St. Augustine's?).[7] The most authoritative study to date had been undertaken by H.M. Merritt in 1933.[8] Merrit identified 401 scratched glosses and traces of thirty others too faint to read. The occurrence of scratched glosses as such is not remarkable as there are twenty-one manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period that contain scratched glosses in the vernacular.[9] Merrit was especially intrigued by the number of glosses, as it exceeded that of any other manuscript he had scrutinized.[10] The glosses appear to be the work of two glossators, a conclusion which Merrit ascribed to a difference in script and some double-glossed lemmata (interlinear and marginal), but he does not elaborate on the criteria for their distinction.[11] The actual number of glossators is difficult to ascertain. For the time being, the current analysis will turn to the character of the glosses to shed light on the issue. With regard to the dating of the glosses, Merritt admitted difficulties but set the *terminus ante quem* for the scratched glosses to the end of the tenth century on grounds of some ink glosses that are to be found in the manuscript.[12]

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7   Ker, no. 198; Gneuss, no. 377; Charles Plummer was the first to mention the scratched glosses and they were first edited by Napier; see Plummer, I, xciii; A.C. Napier, ed. *Old English Glosses* (Oxford, 1900), no. 4.

8   H.M. Merrit, "Old English Scratched Glosses in Cotton Ms. Tiberius C.ii", *The American Journal of Philology*, 54.4 (1933), 305-22.

9   Ker nos. 7* (Gospel-book, s.x., 5 items), 12 (Aldhelm, *De Laude Virginita*tis (prose), s. x²), 24 (Boethius,*De Consolatione Philosphiae*, s. xi), 40 (Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, s.x-xi (?)), 54 (Aldhelm, *De Laude Virginitatis* (verse), s. xi in., 41 items), 94 (*Rule of St. Benedict*, s.xi, 3 items), 121* (Ege-sippus, s. viii), 131 (Gospel-book, s. x¹), 145 (Prudentius, *Psychomachia*) s.xi), 198 (Bede, *HE*, s.ix-x), 210 (Isidore, *Synonyma*, s.x¹), 252 (Aldhelm, *De Laude Virginitatis* (prose) s.xi, 268 items), 266 (Felix, *Vita Guthlaci*, s.xi¹, 19 items), 287*(Gospel-Book, s.viii), 293 (Gospel-book, s.x), 313 (Latin conversation lesson in dialogue probably for a Welsh monastic school, s.x-xi, 7 items), 320 (Aldhelm, *De Laude Virginitatis* (prose), s.x/xi-xi med.), 349 (Aldhelm, *De Laude Virginitatis* (verse), s. x², 21 items), 362 (Ælfric, *Colloquies*, s.xi in.), 369 (Gregory, *Regula Pastoralis*, s.x (?), 50 items), 400 (Isidore, *Synonyma*, s.viii). Listed are only manuscripts with scratched glosses in Old English. Those containing scratched glosses in Latin only are discarded.

10   Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", p. 307. He mentions also a few scratched glosses in Latin.

11   The glosses in question are nos. 79 (*actuali peccato* . a) *wyf ð*, b) *wyfcinde* (bottom margin preceded by the insertion mark ħ 'autem'), 132 (*rogus* . a) *bel*, b) *ðes beel* (bottom margin)), 139 (*heremiticam* . a) *westenselte*, b) **westenlicum* (lower margin)) and 148 (*coenobiorum* . *munstra* (twice, second gloss in bottom margin). The scratched glosses are referred to according to my numbering of the items in Appendix II; Waite suggests that the glosses were inserted by one or more readers of the Cotton MS in the course of their studies in the tenth century ("Vocabulary", p. 201). Unfortunately, I did not happen to scrutinize the original manuscript with my own eyes, only on microfilm. Therefore, I am incapable of arguing for or against differences in script.

12   Annotations and corrections in ink in Tiberius C.II by a hand contemporary with the text and by a second hand of the tenth century made him argue that at least some of the scratched glosses had been put in by one of the two. Meritt, "Scratched Glosses", p. 307 n.8. About half the corpus of manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England contains vernacular glosses or glossaries, cf. Pulsiano, "Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries", p. 213.

The sheer number of glosses and their alleged attribution to Canterbury for the period c. 850x1000 gives rise to the question of whether or not there was a connection between them and the initial translation of the *OEHE*. As has been noted, the Latin *HE* as transmitted in Tiberius C.II is closest to the Latin text which underlies the Old English version. It cannot be ruled out that the translation was undertaken at Canterbury, perhaps under the auspices of Archbishop Plegmund, drawing also upon Mercian know-how. Any objections to this *OEHE* Canterbury claim based on dialectal grounds (i.e. that we have a strong Anglian/Mercian element in the *OEHE*) can be refuted by the fact that one of the key monuments of the Anglian/Mercian dialect, the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* (*VPG*), originated at Canterbury.[13]

In the following analysis the date and possible origin of the scratched glosses will be examined as well as the glossing techniques and lexicon of the glossator (or glossators). In a second step, the glosses will be analyzed with reference to their similarity or difference compared to the *OEHE*. Apart from the linguistic and lexical features, the thematic interest(s) of the glossator(s) will be taken into consideration and checked against the *OEHE*. The goal of this chapter is to gather evidence for the scratched glosses being a 'proto-translation' of Bede's *HE* and its link to the *OEHE* manuscripts. Thus, the analysis aims at the most pressing questions surrounding the glossing process: dialect features, word-formation, sources for the interpretamenta, intellectual background of the glossator(s), attitude towards the stylistic level of the source text and target audience.[14] In order to establish a link between the scratched glosses and the *OEHE*, origin and date of the former are two essential parameters, which are intractably connected, as will be seen.

Origin and Date

Merrit's survey identified spellings typical of the Kentish dialect, i.e. <e> instead of <æ> and <y> but it does not go into detail.[15] In her landmark study of the *Kentish Glosses,* Ursula Kalbhen argued that the Kentish dialect was clearly discernible from Anglian and West Saxon on the level of phonology, with features that could unambiguously attributed to the South-east. Apart from phonology, it

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[13]   Budny, I, 504.

[14]   M. Gretsch, "Glosses", *BEASE*, p. 210. This analysis omits the seven scattered scratched glosses which occur at the end of books III and IV, where we also find batches of ink glosses, which are listed at the end of Table 1 (Appendix II). For a discussion of the items see Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", pp. 321-22 and notes.

[15]   Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", p. 307 and n. 9; cf. also ns. 63 and 74 for other dialect features identified by Merrit. The loss or addition of initial <h> (cf. *hele = ele, herne = erne, hellenbogan = ellenbogan, lide = hlide, luttran = hluttran*) is not a distinct dialect feature as Merrit correctly points out n. 15; cf. *SB* §§ 217-223.

is problematic to distinguish Kentish features on the level of morphology or lexis.[16] Accordingly, the present analysis will deal with the phonological properties of the Kentish dialect as evident in the gloss material.

Merrit was certainly right in identifying numerous incidents of <e> for <æ>, probably the most prominent Kentish dialect feature:[17] nos. 53:[18] *fegernesse* (WS *fæger*), 67: *wete* (WS *wæte*), 105: *wepnedmon* (WS *wæpnedmonn*), 119: *mere* (WS *mære*), 125: *unwerig* (WS *unwærig*) 166: *foresprec* (WS *spræc*). Moreover, incidents of Second Fronting ([a] > [æ])[19] occur in nos. 49: *gedæfenestan* (WS *gedafenest*), 50: *afæd* (WS *afed*) and 184: *hæra* (WS *har*), whereas <e> instead of <y> as the result of i-mutation (*heran* instead of eWS <ie> and lWS <y> is evident in no 122: *embsald* (WS *ymb-*).[20] Other Kentish dialect features are <io> for <eo> as in nos. 12: *hiowes* (WS *heowes*) and 81: *niosian* (WS *neosian*),[21] back-mutation (/e/>/i/) in no. 121: *genixsume* = *genihtsume* (WS *genyhtsumian*).[22] Finally, there are also instances of <ea> as the result of breaking before a consonant cluster, but this feature is shared with the West Saxon dialect in comparison to the Anglian, which tarnishes a clear-cut attribution.[23] This is further complicated by other West Saxon and Anglian dialect features.[24] The preponderance of <e> for <æ> as the most prominent feature of the Kentish dialect is striking, but the regular occurrence of Anglian and West Saxon dialectic features and the absence of Kentish dialectical orthography should prevent us from making foregone conclusions. The major problem with the Kentish dialect is that Kent had been subject to the political hegemony of both Mercia and Wessex in the eighth and ninth centuries, which naturally affected the written documentation of that dialectical area.[25] Another fact that should make us aware that origin of a dialectally charged specimen might be misleading is the aforementioned *VPG*. Finally, the dialectical mix is a common phenomenon given the early

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[16] U. Kalbhen, *Kentische Glossen und Kentische Dialekt im Altenglischen. Mit einer kommentierten Edition der altenglischen Glossen in der Handschrift London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.vi.*, Münchener Universitätsschriften: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 28 (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), esp. pp. 241-271.

[17] *Ibid.*, 7.3.1.

[18] The item numbers refer to the numbering of the glosses in Appendix II. The analysis follows Merrit rather than Waite, whose alternative numbering Appendix II gives in brackets. Merrit treated glosses containing more than a word but being semantic/syntactical units as one item, whereas Waite subdivides those elements which in my view runs counter to the glossing practice. Moreover, Waite's analysis of the scratched glosses shows imprecision in some areas in his comparison with the *OEHE*, details of which are found in Appendix II.

[19] See Kalbhen, *Kentische Glossen*, 7.3.4.

[20] *Ibid.*, 7.3.10.3

[21] *Ibid.*, 7.3.9

[22] *Ibid.*, 7.3.11.

[23] *Ibid.*, 7.3.2.

[24] E.g. retraction of <ea> as the result of breaking to <a> (no. 140: *patricio . aldermen*), which is an Anglian dialect feature (cf. *SB* § 85), or <ie> (no. 94: *progenitoribus . ieldrum*) as a typical eWS representation of the i-mutation of <ea> (lWS <y>) (cf. Kalbhen, *Kentische Glossen*, 7.3.6.1).

[25] See Keynes, "England, 700-900".

date and the absence of an orthographic standard. An argument in favor of the glosses being inserted at Canterbury is that it was a major centre for glossing activity in the ninth century for the A-type Psalter gloss.[26] Moreover, the tradition of Anglo-Saxon glossing had its origin with the students of Theodore at his Canterbury School.[27] Regarding the *VPG,* the lexis of the scratched glosses is of interest as well. A high degree of similarity between the glosses in Tiberius C.II and the *VPG* may indicate a mutual dependence, and may make a stronger case for the Canterbury origin of the former. Consequently, *VPG* needs to be checked against the scratched glosses for lexical similarities. Furthermore, the scratched glosses have to be compared with the entries in the most important Old English glossaries in order to ascertain that the correspondences between the Tiberius glosses and *VPG* were not commonplace entries.[28] For this point, the Latin lemmata as

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[26]   Cf. Gretsch, "Uses of the Vernacular", p. 281, and *idem*, "Junius Psalter Gloss", pp. 85-89.

[27]   Cf. *idem*, "Uses of the Vernacular", pp. 277-78; Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, pp. 23-27.

[28]   These are the *Leiden Glossary* (Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, MS Vossianus lat. 4° 69, Werden, Pfarrhof + Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Paulinianus 271 (719) + Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 187 (e.4); Ker, Appendix nos. 18 and 39), the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossaries* (Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 72, fols. 94-107 (Ker no. 114, Gneuss no. 824; Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, MS Amplonianus F.42; Ker no. 10) and the and *Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 144; Ker no. 36). The intention behind the cross-checking is to find out whether correspondences between the scratched glosses and the *VPG* indeed harden a mutual dependence, which would substantiate the claim for Canterbury as origin of the Tiberius glosses, or whether those correspondences could have been coincidental, as those lemmata and glosses were readily available to the glossator(s) when he(they) had recourse to a glossary. Those three glossaries (Leiden, Erfurt-Epinal, Corpus) were chosen as they not only represent three of the most important glossaries of Old English, but also the early glossing tradition which originated at Canterbury and was continued by various scholars who are the intellectual children and grandchildren of Theodore's school, such as Aldhelm of Malmesbury, abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, who was a student of Theodore's himself. He possibly contributed to the glosses that went into the Leiden glossaries and the Erfurt-Epinal collection is thought to have been compiled at Malmesbury. As glossators commonly drew an the work of their predecessors an intricate textual relationship among the individual gloss corpora and glossaries evolved (Pulsiano, "Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries," pp. 218-220). Therefore, any glossaries the glossator(s) used probably resembled Leiden, Erfurt-Epinal and Corpus to a not inconsiderable degree. The *Corpus Glossary* might be of special interest in this regard as it was made in the first half of the ninth century in southern England and might have been the most obvious choice for the glossator to cull from (cf. T. Graham, "Glosses and Notes in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts", in Working with Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, ed. G.R. Owen-Crocker (Exeter, 2009), pp. 159-204, at pp. 180-81). The *Cleopatra Glossaries* (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii; Ker no. 143, Gneuss no. 320) were excluded from the analysis as they date to the mid-tenth century, which would be too late a date for this work to be a source for the scratched glosses. I am planning on expounding the relation between the Cleopatra Glossary and the scratched glosses in an upcoming article. The editions of the glossaries which were used are the following: *A Late Eigth-Century Latin Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of the Leiden University (MS. Voss. Qº Lat. Nº. 69)*, ed. J.H. Hessels*, (Cambridge, 1906), Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, ed. J.D. Pheifer (Oxford, 1974) and *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. Nº. 144)*, ed. J.H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1890). For the *VPG* Kuhn's edition was used (*The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, MI, 1965)).

well as the vernacular entries will be taken into consideration to find out whether the glossator(s) of Tiberius could have used any of those as sources for their work, and if their lexical choices were extraordinary or corresponded to the bulk of words as we find them in the glossaries and the *VPG*.

An analysis of the vernacular entries yields the following results.[29] In general, all the glosses are lexical rather than grammatical or interpretative glosses. There does not seem to be a predilection for a particular word class or semantic field. 191 Old English interpretamenta in Tiberius C.II have a precedent in at least one of the four texts that were chosen for comparison: 118 Vespasian (*VPG*), 109 Corpus (*Cp*), 52 Épinal-Erfurt (*É-E*), 26 Leiden (*Ld*).[30] One preliminary result might be of special interest. If there is disagreement between the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* in the choice of vernacular glosses, we have 71 precedents from *VPG*, 64 from *Cp*, 33 from *É-E*, and 13 from *Ld*. Apparently, there is no strong evidence which favors either *Cp* or *VPG* as a source. It cannot be assumed with certainty that the glossator used one of the glossaries or the *VPG* as a crib. If he did, *Cp* and *VPG* are the primary candidates, with a probability of 50%. However, there are 189 cases where we lack vernacular precedent in the aforementioned texts. In those cases, the glossator had to resort to other sources and his monastic training. With regard to the Latin lemmata, there are 234 cases in the scratched glosses where the glossator(s) seem to have taken the Latin item from elsewhere.[31] In 102 cases the Latin lemmata the glossators chose have vernacular glosses, but there are only 63 occurrences where the choice in the scratched glosses matches the pairs (lemma+gloss) in at least one of the texts. Interestingly 37 of these 63 correspond to those in the *VPG*. Thus, there is a chance that the glossator(s) relied on the *VPG*, but the evidence is not conclusive.[32] Nonetheless, the percentage

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[29] Cf. Appendices II and III.

[30] The discrepancy between the total number and the sum of individual figures from the four texts is explained by the occurrence of an interpretamentum in more than one text. With regard to the comparison, allowances for variation concerning affixation and inflection and word class were made. The main focus is on lexical choices. In case an item in the list consists of more than one word in the lemma and/or gloss, the list records parallels if one of the words is found in the other texts. Therefore, the list indicates a parallel/precedent in another text, not necessarily the whole item but also single words can be referenced. This policy was applied for all the tables on gloss comparison.

[31] Cf. Appendices II and III.

[32] Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, p. 21 points out an interesting similarity between the Old English homily of St Chad, the *OEHE* and the *VPG* in ll.168-69 of his edition. Both the Old English homily and the *OEHE* add a passage, which translates the Latin quotation from *Psalm* 18 in the *HE*. The text of the Chad homily runs: "Þet drihten leoðrað of heofone. ⁊ se heste seleð his stefne. he sendeð his stræle ⁊ heo toweorþeð; legetas gemonigefealdað ⁊ heo gedrefeð." (p. 176). The *OEHE* has almost the same wording: "ðætte Drihten hleoðrað of heofonum ⁊ se hehsta seleð his stefne; he sendeð his strelas. ⁊ he hio tostenceð. he gemonigfaldað legato. ⁊ he heo gedrefeð." (*OEB*, I.2, 268). The version in Vespasian closely resembles the wording and the grammatical sense of the two versions just mentioned: "⁊ hleoðrað of heofone dryhten ⁊ se hehsta salde stefne his sende strele his ⁊ tostencte hie ⁊ legite gemonigfaldade ⁊ gedroefde hie."

of Kentish dialectical features and the fact that Tiberius C.II is not known to have left Canterbury make it probable that the scratched glosses were inserted there. The connection to the *VPG* is obfuscated, since the lexis speaks both in favor and against a direct connection to the same degree.

The date of the scratched glosses is even more difficult to ascertain. There are some indicators that favor a rather early date (pre-900). First, the occasional retention of <a> before <l+C> (as the result of retraction after breaking of <æ>) is a general feature of southern texts during the ninth century, as a result of the Mercian hegemony. The <ea> becomes dominant in the tenth century as the Mercian influence on Canterbury ebbs away.[33] Therefore, this feature as we find it in the scratched glosses might point to an early date (before the tenth century) when the vacillation between <a> and <ea> had not been overruled by the preference of the latter. Second, the glosses display some conspicuous orthographic idiosyncrasies; for example, the digraph <ae> instead <æ>, <u> instead of <ƿ> and <t,th> instead of <ð>; þ> alongside their more common orthographic equivalents, which came to be used during the Old English period. In her treatment of the earliest Northumbrian version of *Cædmon's Hymn* (found in Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5.16, the 'Moore Bede') Mechthild Gretsch identified those orthographic features as evidence for what she called "a precocious confidence in the potential of the vernacular" with the special characters commonly used in Old English texts for which the Latin alphabet had no letters.[34] These archaic orthographic remnants point to a date for the glosses in which the vernacular had not fully matured as a written medium, and with Latin still featured as an auxiliary and a benchmark. This is also corroborated in part by the glossing techniques.

Glossing Techniques

Twelve of the scratched glosses are not attested to elsewhere in the Old English Corpus. This may disclose a need (and possibly desire) for innovation, which could have been fostered by a lack in generally established lexical precedents in other well-disseminated texts or glossaries from which the glossator(s) could draw from. As seen above, 234 of the Latin items he glossed had no precedent in the early glossaries and the *VPG*. In several cases these *hapax legomena* glosses are

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(H. Sweet*, ed., *The Oldest English Texts. Edited with Introductions and a Glossary*, EETS os 73 (London, 1885; repr. 1938), p. 206). Vleeskruyer points out that it was highly probable that the translators of the *OEHE* and the *Chad Homily* both knew a Psalter version closely resembling the *VPG* (*St Chad*, p. 199). This in itself is remarkable. It leaves one to wonder whether the translators of the *Chad Homily* and the *OEHE* either knew the *VPG* or a Psalter version similar to it, or whether there is a greater interdependence of the three OE works than has been acknowledged hitherto. Given the remarkable similarities in some passage of the Chad homily and the *OEHE*, a direct dependence appears to be more than likely.

[33] Cf. Kalbhen, *Kentische Glossen*, p. 261.

[34] Gretsch, "Uses of the Vernacular", pp. 276-77.

calques (i.e. loan translations).[35] This process is evident in no. 28: *obtentu .
fore[f]engnisse. This is a literal translation of *ob = fore* and *tentu = fengnisse*. The glos-
sator was apparently not aware of the original meaning of the Latin word.[36] This
calque approach can also be seen in no. 75: *subrogare*, where the glossator aptly
rendered the <sub> by <under>, with the rest of the gloss missing.[37] There is no
Old English equivalent for *subrogare* beginning with <under> as Merrit points
out.[38] Usually, *rogare* is glossed/translated by *biddan* in Old English texts. Perhaps
the glossator was not familiar with the word *subrogare*, could not find a precedent
elsewhere and thus resorted to an element-by-element translation from the Latin.
This might be explained by either the novice state of the glossator and/or the
precocious state of Old English as a written medium. He probably did not finish
the gloss as the application of *biddan* to render *rogare* would have given
underbiddan, which may have appeared odd to the glossator. The glossator is at
pains to make the glosses correspond to Latin as closely as possible. We see a
habit of adding prefixes which reproduce their Latin equivalents.[39] In no. 24: *ab-
didere . *adaeglad*, the <a> corresponds to the Latin <ab->, while the verb *diglian* is
attested elsewhere with the prefixes <be> and <ge> only.[40] The same holds true
for no. 91: *propagata . *forþatyddrede*, where <for> corresponds to Latin <pro>,
while *tydran* itself confers the Latin meaning 'to propagate', which makes the
<for> semantically redundant.[41] In no. 219: *excerpsimus . *atuccedan* the OE. *twiccian*
'to pluck, catch hold of' renders Latin *carpere*. The glossators renders
<ex><carpere> with <a><twiccian> to give the meaning of 'select, pick out, ex-
cerpt' to match the Latin lemma *excerpere*. Whether or not the glossator knew both
carpere and *excerpere* cannot be ascertained. In any case, the glosses testify to some-
one who knew his trade and showed an apt understanding for word-formation
processes in Latin and Old English.

Judging from the calques, it seems that the glossator worked mechanically,
which could point to an educational environment where glossing techniques (in

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[35] The gloss translates the Latin lemma morpheme by morpheme. Old English glossators often
apply the process of loan rendition to clarify the morphological and semantic structure of the
lemma by close imitation (See Gretsch, "Glosses", p. 209).

[36] The lemma is *obentus, -us* (m) 'concealment, hiding', in this case referring to a 'protective skriting
of woods', but the glossator takes it as a form of *obtinere* (ppt. *obtentum*) 'to seize, to grasp, to
own', which corresponds to OE. *fon* (verb) and *feng* (noun) respectively; cf. A. Napier, ed., *Old
English Glosses: Chiefly Unpublished* (Oxford, 1900), n. 28.

[37] See also nos. 117 and 123.

[38] See Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 35: "I know of no OE. equivalent for *subrogare* to complete
this gloss." A survey of the *DOEC*, *BT* and *C-H* confirms Merrit's claim.

[39] Cf. R. Quirk and C. L. Wrenn, ed., *An Old English Grammar. With a Supplemental Bibliography by
Susan E. Deskis* (DeKalb, 1994), pp. 107-119, for a brief but well-informed and comprehensive
overview of OE affixes.

[40] Cf. Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 20.

[41] The Old English meanings were taken from *C-H*. When in doubt *BT* and *DOE* were consulted.
For the semantics of the Latin the PONS dictionary was consulted. When in doubt *GHW* and
MG were drawn upon.

this case: loan translation), learned in the monastic classroom, were applied regularly. Nonetheless, the scratched glosses are not only morphologically correct renderings of their Latin counterparts. This becomes clear if we take a closer look at no. 79: *actuali peccato . wyfcinde.* This gloss is not a direct translation but rather an interpretation or comment of the glossator on the passage dealing with Adam and original sin. [42]   Another apt interpretation of the Latin lemma can be found in no. 106: *stramine . ō ðy sadele.*[43] The glossator's interpretative skill is also evident in no. 266: *suscepto negotio . ðy bibode.* Merrit points out that *suscepto negotio* referred to an urgent demand that has been made, which in turn was perfectly translated by *bibode.*[44] With no. 258 *luerent . a[þ]wogan,* the glossator appears to have misunderstood the word , i.e. Latin *luere* 'to suffer (a punishment), to repent', and taken it as a form of *lavare* 'to wash'. This however, shows his good general knowledge of Latin as *–luere, -luo, -lui, -lutum* is common in the compounds of *lavare,* e.g. *ablavare, abluo, ablui, ablutum.*[45] This also sees the process of loan translation at work as *aðwean* 'wash away, cleanse' is a perfect rendering of *ablavare.* Moreover, on a metaphorical level the glossator has interpreted the suffering, which is literally implied by *luerent* rather well and stresses the process of spiritual cleansing, the washing away of sins, hence *apwogan.* Given the interpretative character of the given examples the glossing process appears to have included allegorical renderings, for which Bede's *HE* surely would have been a primary text.

No. 139: *heremeticam . *westenlicum* provides us with another specimen of interpretative skill. *Westen* is a suitable translation for 'desert, destitute', whereas the <lic> stresses the adjective character of *heremiticam.* The glossator skillfully interpreted the lemma to stress the solitude and the origins of hermitage and anchorism as known from the desert fathers, rather than giving a loan translation that is grammatically and morphemically exact. This becomes clearer when we take into consideration that this lemma is glossed twice. We find **westenlicum* in the lower margin while the lemma in the text is glossed *westensetla.* The latter was a common gloss for *eremita* 'hermit, anchorite' as Merrit points out.[46] Here its application shows the negligence of the word class, which in turn is correctly represented in the other gloss **westenlicum.* Napier regards the gloss "to approximate the semantics of the lemma sufficiently to be an acceptable gloss."[47] He is probably right in that this gloss was not only 'acceptable' but at the same time an adequate loan translation. The hypothetical **westensetlalic* as the logical adjective to *westensetla*

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[42]   Cf. Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 38 and Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 79.

[43]   See Merrit n. 53; cf. Plummer, who argues that *stramen* is used incorrectly for *stragulus* 'saddle, horse-cloth' (Plummer, II, 154). The glossator thus glosses the apparently incorrect word with the fitting OE equivalent, which shows a deep understanding and skill of abstraction on his part.

[44]   Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 113.

[45]   *PONS*, s.v. *–luo*[2].

[46]   Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 72.

[47]   Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 140.

would have appeared too cumbersome and circuitous – and a clever interpretation stressing the solitary life of the desert fathers. So far, this analysis has applied the term glossator in the singular for the sake of convenience. Now, the question of the multiple glossators will be addressed.

The general nature of the glosses is ambiguous in some ways. The problematic gloss no. 235 (*exortum est . wæs lidene*) will help us tackle that problem. The gloss was inserted in the bottom margin with an arrow scratched to the line which contains the lemma. Merrit argues that the glossator mistook *exordium est* for *exortum est*.[48] Napier, however, admitted that he also had mistaken it for a misinterpreted lemma at first but then suggested that it was to be read *wæs slitene* for *esse turbatam*, which would fit the context.[49] This, however, cannot be aligned with the evidence of the arrow which connects the gloss and lemma. [E]*xordium est* and *esse turbatam* go into two different lines on the folio. *Exordium est* in the present context means 'this is the beginning' (i.e. of the council of Hatfield, *HE* IV.15). The gloss *wæs lidene* (OE *liðan* I. '(to) move, go, travel, sail, II. soothe, soften, mitigate, III. to be deprived of, love')[50] does not fit the present context and does not corresponded to *exortum est*, the third person perfect passive of *exoriri* (I. 'to rise, to get up', II. 'to make way', III. 'to appear, to emerge', IV. 'to come to pass, to happen').[51] Therefore, the motivation for *wæs lidene* on part of the glossator is unclear. We have other instances where the *interpretamentum* indicates a misunderstanding of the Latin lemma. Exemplary are nos. 34: *in prouectum . in ða gescildnisse* where the Latin lemma appears to have been mistaken as a form of *protectio*[52] and 170: *elminatis . asuorbem*, where *elimino* and *elimo* are confused.[53] There are other cases where polysemic lemmata are translated correctly, whilst neglecting the meaning in the particular context as in no. 84: *reumate . ðam gebrece*. Here the glossator has correctly translated the lemma but taken the wrong meaning for this situation. In this particular context it does not refer to a 'catarrh' but to 'tide'.[54] In one instant the glossator does seem to have disregarded syntax and grammar as he translates *in commessationum* with *in *oferwesnesse*, neglecting that the *in* governs a following *cubilia* and that *commessationum* is in the genitive.[55] Then again, the correct comprehension of the context would have commanded a different gloss.

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[48] Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 111.

[49] Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 238.

[50] C-H, s.v. *liðan*.

[51] Cf. *PONS*, s.v. *exoriri*.

[52] Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n 23.; cf. Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 34, who argues that the gloss suited the general sense of the context; cf. also no. 334: *suspecti sunt habiti . wæron onmunenne*, where the glossator apparently mistook *suspecti* for *respecti* (cf. Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 145).

[53] Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 175.

[54] See Appendix II, nos. 84, 283.

[55] Both meanings are attested in *Ép-Erf* and *Cp*; cf. Merrit, "Scratched Glosses", n. 121.

The translational skills of the glossator can be further questioned as he does not appear to have a general geographical and classical knowledge. In *HE* IV.1 *ciliciae* is glossed *ealonde* when referring to Archbishop Theodore's homeland. Cilicia is not an island but a coastal region, and this might either show the glossator's lack in geographical knowledge or his mistaking of Cilicia for Sicily. This in turn would reflect badly on the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon church and the archdiocese the glossator worked, as he apparently did not know Theodore's biography. Seen in a different light, *ealond*, however, is a viable choice as the term in *Beowulf* l. 2334a may mean 'land by the sea.'[56] Glosses no. 168 and 169: *africam . suut* and *assiam . east* could also be interpreted as evidence for the lack of geographical knowledge. On the other hand, those are appropriate glosses concerning the general conception of which parts of the earth those particular continents are situated. If this was the intent of the gloss, we cannot argue with certainty regarding the glossator's ignorance.[57] That particular glossator seems to lack general knowledge in some regards, but there is one gloss which is more than striking: no. 324: *pelasga . ā grecisce.* Although the gloss *grecisc* is a common word in Old English (175 occurrences according to the *DOE*)[58] its selection as a translation for *pelasga* is conspicuous. The term *Pelasgians* was used by writers in ancient Greek to refer to the ancestors of the Greeks or their predecessors in Greece. To wit, "It is a hold-all term for any ancient, primitive and presumably indigenous people in the Greek world."[59] During the classical period, enclaves under that name survived in several locations of mainland Greece, Crete and other regions of the Aegean. Populations identified as 'Pelasgian' spoke a language or languages that at the time Greeks identified as 'barbaric', even though some ancient writers described the Pelasgians as Greeks.[60] The choice of the glossator thus lets us glimpse his classical knowledge.

As shown, the nature of the glosses is ambiguous. In general they reflect a sound knowledge of Latin and Old English. Some of the glosses are excellent loan translations, which give credit to the glossator, who precisely renders the Latin morphemes into Old English. Other glosses are rather skillful interpretations of the lemmata. Apart from that, there are some interpretamenta whose general meaning does not fit the particular context, or others that were simply misread in the glossing process. Finally, the glossator seems to display a general knowledge that leaves much to be desired and sound classical learning at the same time. What are we to make of that? The majority of the glosses share a similar character, but the frequent heterogeneity makes it likely that they were inserted by more than

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[56] See Napier, n. 199; cf. G. Jack, *Beowulf: A Student Edition* (Oxford, 1997), p.164, who translates *ealond* with 'coastal land' in the vocabulary notes.

[57] Cf. Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 170.

[58] *DOE*, s.v. *grecisc* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[59] A. Rhodios and P. Green, ed. and transl., *The Argonautika* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2007), p. 223.

[60] Latin writers used *pelasgus/pelasgi* in a general sense to refer to the Greeks.

one glossator. Merrit argued for two glossators on the grounds of double-glossed lemmata, usually interlinear and in the margins. We may thus identify one glossator who inserted the bulk of the glosses between the lines, and whom for the sake of convenience we may call 'main' glossator. In addition, we may have an undisclosed number of further glossators, one of whom we can identify by the additional gloss to already glossed items. The marginal glosses might help us to identify other glossators at work. There are twenty-two occasions where the gloss is not interlinear but rather is in the top or bottom margin, or in the margin between the two text-columns.[61] It could be argued that the divergent marginal glossing can generally be identified as the work of a second glossator, who found the interlinear glosses of the 'main' glossator and resorted to the margins. In the case of the double-glossed lemmata this would make sense. However, sixteen of the marginal glosses might be explained by the position of their corresponding lemmata in the text, which favors glossing in the margins rather than between the lines, due to what we may call economy of space.[62] The text is written down in two columns separated by a middle margin. Five glosses are inserted in the middle-margin in case the lemma is in the left text-column (nos. 63, 225, 230, 267 and 349). This can be explained by the narrow space between the lines and the fact that the left margin barely exists. Only in one case is the gloss to a lemma squeezed into the left margin (no. 76). Here the lemma is the second word from the left margin, preceded by the abbreviation <qd> (*quod*). The glossator may have decided to put the gloss close to the lemma, but given the ample space in the left margin and the usual treatment of left text-column glosses it might have been inserted by another glossator. Other instances of marginal glossing can be explained by the position of the lemmata as well. There are instances where the gloss is in the top margin with the lemma being in the first line (no. 97) or where the gloss is in the bottom margin with the lemma in the last line of the page (no. 99). With regard to no. 271, where the lemma is in the left-column in line thirteen, one would have expected the gloss to be in the center margin, but due to a decorated initial in the right text-column the column is too narrow, limiting the space for the insertion of the gloss, which leaves the glossator to use the bottom margin. The same could be argued for nos. 95 and 142. Gloss no. 68 is also inserted into the bottom margin. The position of the lemma is the right column, in the middle of line seven. Why does the gloss go into the bottom margin despite the ample space of the middle margin left to the line of the lemma? This does not necessarily have to be the work of a second glossator. For once, the right margin is too narrow to insert a gloss, and the middle margin is used to insert glosses to the lemmata in the left text-column. For the sake of reference, a gloss in the middle would have confused the reader as

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[61] Nos. 63, 68, 71, 76, 79, 94, 95, 97, 99, 102, 132, 133, 139, 142, 148, 156, 225, 230, 244, 267, 271, 349.

[62] E.g. nos. 97 (lemma in first line from the top, gloss in top margin) and 99 (lemma last word in the last line of the right column, gloss in bottom margin).

he would be accustomed to find the lemma for this gloss in the left column, not the right. This holds true for nos. 71, 79, 102, 132, 139 148 and 244. The confinements of space might also account for the insertion of a runic character. In no. 165, *confligens . [feoh]tende*, the glossator uses the runic character 'feoh' (ᚠ) in sound but not in meaning. The lemma is in the left text-column, line nine, in the middle. The center-margin is quite narrow at this point on the folio and the descending <s> of *ueritatis* in the above line limits the interlinear space for the gloss. Thus, the runic abbreviation makes sense given the spatial limitation.

In the case of the double-glossed no. 79, we have one gloss (*wyfcinde*) in the bottom margin preceded by a reference mark <ħ> 'hic' with the lemmata being in the right column in the middle of the line twelve. There is no reference mark attached to the line to correspond with the gloss in the bottom margin, but there is an interlinear gloss *wyf ð* right above the Latin. Two possibilities arise. First, one glossator could have put the gloss in the bottom margin, attaching the reference mark and left it to another glossator to fill in the scratched gloss in the corresponding line. Alternatively, glossator no. 2 might have read the interlinear gloss, which appears unfinished and then amended it in the bottom margin, possibly to be corrected interlineally later. In both cases two glossators are likely. With regard to nos. 94 and 156 the position of the lemmata does not justify the insertion of the corresponding gloss in the bottom margin, as there is ample space in the center margin with the lemmata both in the left text-column. Again, this might indicate the work of a different glossator.

Concluding from the evidence, it seems likely that more than one glossator was at work. The double-glossed items are perhaps the most solid proof. The heterogeneity and partial ambiguity displayed by the glosses are another. With regard to the marginal glosses no incontrovertible evidence can be gathered. The fact that we have marginal glosses alone does not built a convincing argument for a second glossator as the constraints of space may have triggered the 'main' glossator to resort to the margin occasionally. Yet, the marginality of some items may be explained by having a different glossator. It appears that the 'main' glossator put in the bulk of the glosses, while the other glosses were inserted later. Whether the glossators worked in tandem as master(s) and amanuensis/es cannot be ascertained.

The Scratched Glosses and the *OEHE*

The more pressing question is perhaps whether the scratched glosses betray any sign of a proto-translation of the *OEHE*. The present analysis will approach the problem from two different angles. First, the distribution of the glosses can give valuable insight into the thematic interests of the glossator(s) as well as the scale of the glossing enterprise. Second, the lemmata and the corresponding vernacular interpretamenta need to be analyzed to gauge any correlation with the *OEHE*. If

the scratched glosses are linked to the *OEHE* in the sense of a proto-translation, it is to be expected that chapters which are not glossed in Tiberius C.II correspond to omitted chapters in the *OEHE* and that omitted chapters in the *OEHE* had not undergone intensive glossing in the Tiberius MS. Furthermore, if the scratched glosses represented a proto- or intermediary stage to the *OEHE*, one would expect that the glossing is evenly distributed, beginning with the preface or at least *HE* I.1 and ending with Bede's *recapitulatio* at the end of Book V. A caveat must be inserted here. As Patrizia Lendinara pointed out:

> [t]he frequency of the glosses in unpredictable, as is the choice of the words needing explanation. Unpredictability is one of the principal features of medieval glosses: they often accompany Latin words which were not difficult, and often occur in texts which were not particularly difficult. However, in the Middle Ages, when the vocabulary of Latin had to be mastered through memory, it was not easy to differentiate between what was commonplace and what was hard.[63]

Nevertheless, the distribution of the glosses in the present case reveals some interesting results. It is evident that there is no even distribution or a continuous wire-to-wire approach, as 182 of the 314 pages (58%) of Tiberius C.II are not glossed.[64] Likewise, 58 of 140 chapters (41.4 %) of the *HE* escaped the glossing process altogether. Although these overall numbers let us glimpse general tendencies, the analysis of the particular books can help to refine the results and get a better understanding of the glossator's approach.

A total of twenty-three of thirty-four chapters (67.6 %) in Book I are not glossed. Of these, only ten have been left out in the *OEHE* as well. The other thirteen find their way into the Old English translation. The bulk of the glosses (59 of 69 = 85.5%) gloss items in *HE* I. 1-7, whereas the remaining ten glosses are scattered over the final twenty-seven chapters. The *adventus Saxonum,* as well as the greater part of Augustine's mission and the life of the early Church in Kent, are not glossed. Six papal letters are left out, which corresponds to the general editorial policy of the *OEHE* translator. Interestingly also the *Libellus Responsionum* is not glossed, which is paralleled in the *OEHE* where it has been removed from Book I. Even so, it is not omitted from the *OEHE* for good but purposefully shifted to the end of Book III.[65] Lack of interest or a dire respect for the text may have prevented the *LR* from being glossed. Probably the most prominent omis-

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[63] P. Lendinara, "Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries: an Introduction", in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 27-70, at p. 4.

[64] The longest intermission runs thirty-one pages (fols. 22v-37v). 1r-5r (Preface, Capitula: 9 pages), 15v-17v (I.16-I.19: 5 pages), 22v-37v (I.27-I.34: 31 pages), 38v-49r (II.1-10: 21 pages), 52v-55v (II.12-16:7 pages), 58v-60v (II.20-III.1: 5 pages), 111v-115v (IV.20-23: 9 pages), 147r-157v (V.21-end: 24 pages).

[65] Cf. my chapter 'Mission and Conversion', *infra.*

sion in the *OEHE* – *HE* I.17-22 – finds its parallel in the non-glossing in Tiberius C.II (except for one gloss in I.20), but given the overall impression of the glossing of Book I this appears negligible. The glossator(s) appear to be interested in the *Descriptio Britanniae* (I.1), which carries nineteen glosses and the passion of St. Alban (I.7), which carries 23. The preoccupation with the almost Edenic opening of the *HE*, which evokes notions of Britain as a 'Promised Land', might let us glimpse important aspects which are central to both Bede and his translator, namely, questions of religious identity, as well as of the *gens Anglorum* – being a chosen people like the Israelites and having the promise of a promised land to inherit.[66] The interest in St. Alban illustrates the general interest in edifying literature and saints' lives in particular. However, St. Alban, as Britain's proto-martyr, is of interest for the question of religious and political identity in the *OEHE* as well.[67]

Book II is the least glossed. The twelve items account for only 3% of all the scratched glosses in Tiberius. Fourteen of twenty chapters (70%) are un-glossed, including three letters, which in turn are only summarized or mentioned in the *OEHE*. There is no connection to the vernacular rendering of the *HE,* as it includes all fourteen chapters which are not glossed in Tiberius. No distinct interest of the glossator can be ascertained as the few glosses are spread quite evenly throughout the book. Thus, the early history of conversion and especially the Christianization of Northumbria under Paulinus do not appear to have attracted the interest of the glossator(s). As a Southener, it is possible that northern affairs were of secondary importance to him.

Book III stands in stark contrast to its predecessor. The 112 items account for 29% of all scratched glosses, which makes Book III the most heavily glossed. Only four of thirty chapters (13%) are left without glosses. All of them, however, find their way into the *OEHE*. The most conspicuous choices are *HE* III.17, which includes Bede's lengthy comment on Aidan's spiritual life, including his position on the dating of Easter, which is not glossed. This might pertain to the disinterest in northern affairs and/or the person of Aidan. If we look more closely, we might detect another item of interest for the vexing question of the apparently difficult textual criticism of Book III, chs. 16-20.[68] This must remain a matter of speculation, though. The chapters which carry the greater part of the glosses are III.19 (on St. Fursey: twenty-four glosses) and III. 25 (Synod of Whitby: seventeen glosses). Regarding the latter, this shows an interest in one of the most important events in the history of the Anglo-Saxon church as well as in

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[66]   Those aspects are treated at length later in my chapters 'The Role of the Britons' and 'Reinventing the *gens Anglorum*?: Identity and *Angelcynn*', *infra*.

[67]   Cf. my chapter 'The Role of the Britons', *infra*.

[68]   Then again, the fact that it was left un-glossed does not necessarily relate to our text-critical problem. Thus, any surmise of a direct connection between to non-glossing in Tiberius C.II and the omission in T and B would be far-reaching but unsubstantiated.

questions of orthodoxy and computus. The *OEHE* neglects the Synod of Whitby as such but puts a premium on the questioning of orthodoxy. Therefore, we cannot establish a direct link between the thematic interest expressed by the scratched glosses and the *OEHE*. What can be said is that apparently the Synod of Whitby and/or the issue of the correct reckoning of Easter still occupied the minds of the monks at mid-ninth century Canterbury.[69] The story of Fursey, which Bede took from the *Vita Sancti Fursei*, is interesting in his streamlining of the account.[70] He shortens the account significantly but summarizes the key details. The focus of the version in the *HE* is now clearly on scriptural teachings and the advice of the celestial figures. The account centers on Fursey's experience, his learning process and his dissemination of the knowledge to others, meticulously recounting the dialogues between Fursey and his angelic guides and also between himself and the demons.[71] The spiritual didacticism of the story might have made the story appealing to the glossator for private reading as well as recitation during the monastic night office. Moreover, the text is of general interest to a monastic audience as it combines themes of pilgrimage, mission, conversion and judgment. In addition, the passage also foreshadows not only the missionary activities on the continent, which are central to Book V, but also the destruction of Fursey's monastery by heathen invaders. This surely would have found interest among ninth-century readers who had witnessed the recent Viking invasions.[72] The glossator(s) possibly had experienced the events first-handed as Canterbury was sacked by the Vikings in 851.[73]

Book IV has 85 glosses. Eleven of the thirty-two chapters are not glossed, and only two of these are not in the *OEHE* (IV.20 and 23). Chapter 25 has twelve glosses. It deals with Adamnan's story of the fire which destroyed the monastery of Coldingham. It is an edifying account, and warns against being lackluster in one's faith as the vile behavior of the monks brought the fire as expression of God's vengeance upon them. A story like this is quite likely to have caught the

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[69] Cf. S. Rowley, "Translating History: The Paschal Controversy in the Old English Bede", in *Bède le Vénérable*, pp. 297-308. She argues for a lively interest in matters of computus in the ninth century.

[70] For the *Vita* as a source cf. *HEGA*, II, 533-8 and *FAS* database <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[71] See Rowley, pp. 140-41.

[72] See Rowley p. 145.

[73] "AN. . dcccli. [...] ⁊ þy ilcan geare cuom feo`rðe´ healf hund scipa on Temese muþan ⁊ bręcon Contwaraburg ⁊ Lundenburg ⁊ gefliemdon Beorhtwulf Miercna cyning mid his fierde ⁊ foron þa suþ ofer Temese on Suþrige."(*MS A*, p. 44). *And the same year came 150 ships into the mouth of the Thames and sacked Canterbury and London and put Beorhtwulf the King of the Mercians to flight and journeyed then south over the Thames to Surrey.* The glossator(s) were not alone with the interest in the *Life of Fursey*, which Bede used as a source. According to the *FAS* database, it was used as source material in the eighth (*HE* and Felix of Crowland's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*), ninth (*Old English Martyrology*), late tenth (Ælfric, *CH* 2.20) and late eleventh (*Vision of Leofric*) centuries by authors all over England (*FAS* <accessed: 01/10/2014>); cf. also Rowley, for a brief comparison of Bede's and Ælfric's different approaches towards their source (Rowley, p. 150).

attention of a monastic glossator or be the subject of study in a monastic class-room. It was probably not a special interest in the Irish strand of Christianity (Adamnan was Irish by birth and monastic training), but rather an interest in Adamnan as prominent figure in insular Christianity, who wrote an important treatise on the Holy Land (*De Locis Sanctis*).

Book V ranks second with regard to the number of glossed items (110 = 28.3%). Six of the twenty-four chapters are not glossed, all of them are in the *OEHE*. The aforementioned interest in Adamnan is revived as chs. 16 and 17, which deal with his treatise *De Locis Sanctis* and carry eighteen glosses. These chapters are of importance in the *HE* as Bede inserts them to relate Britain firmly to the Holy Land and Christian eternity. Interestingly, those chapters are left out by the translator of the *OEHE*.[74] *De Locis Sanctis* is a text which was seldom used as a source in Anglo-Saxon England.[75] The most important chapter as far as the gloss-ing is concerned is the *Vision of Dryhthelm* (V.12: nineteen glosses). Interest in Dryhthelm's vision during the Anglo-Saxon period is discernible in Ælfric's oeu-vre, who uses Bede's account as a source for his *Alio Visio*.[76] Dryhthelm's vision was popular during the Middle Ages and was of interest to readers from the elev-enth to the fourteenth centuries as the signs of medieval use in our manuscripts confirm.[77] The episode might have been appealing to them for two reasons. First, because of Dryhthelm's vision and his penance and second, because of Dry-hthelm's low status as a layman, who could provide "a useful example for preach-ing to the laity."[78] It cannot be ruled out that the glossator(s) of Tiberius had a

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[74] Cf. Rowley, who argues that the omission of those chapters as well as Bede's final annalistic recapitulation are made good for by the heightened importance of the otherworldly visions in Book V, which relate Britain "to heaven hell and Christian eternity." (Rowley, p. 135)

[75] Apart from the *HE* it was only used by the compiler of the *Old English Martyrology*. *FAS* <ac-cessed: 01/10/2014>.

[76] see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden, pp. 199-203.

[77] Dryhthelm's story was decorated, glossed and annotated in three manuscripts of the *OEHE inter alia* by Coleman and the 'Tremulous Hand'. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B) p. 422 we find neumes (musical annotations) in the top margin above the first line which resemble eleventh-century neumes of Exeter origin (Rowley, p. 165). Rowley comes up with the tantaliz-ing suggestion that given Dryhthelm's status as a layman this might be good evidence for the story being read to a lay audience but admits that this must remain speculative. Coleman anno-tated Dryhthelm's story in Cambridge, University Library, Kk.3.18 (Ca). This section was also glossed by the 'Tremulous Hand'. The interest in Dryhthelm's story is also evident by the anno-tations in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, possibly by Coleman as well. The interaction with Dryhthelm's account fit well Coleman's and Tremulous's preoccupation in their work with the patterns of sacrifice, pilgrimage and penance (see Rowley, pp. 184-5). Finally, a later hand (or hands) probably from the late thirteenth to the third quarter of the fourteenth century has added three drawings on fols. 127v and 131r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10 (T). On fol. 131r we find a four-headed dragon-like creature which marks the beginning of Dry-hthelm's vision. This is all the more remarkable as the Thorney glossator of T did not gloss that chapter. Rowley concludes that the drawings might have served as place-markers for that reader or readers after him (or her) (Rowley, pp. 192-93).

[78] See Rowley, p. 193.

similar interest as there are various examples of heavy glossing of edifying material (stories of St. Alban, Fursey etc.). A miracle by John of Beverly (V.6) has raised the interest of the glossator as twelve items are glossed, whereas the preceding four miracles of his are sparsely glossed.[79] The reasons for the last miracle being in the center of attention may be the following: the story is about obedience to bishops, the duties of the clergy and the rejection of youthful temper. Herebald, living among Bishop John's clergy, disregards his command not to join a horse-race of youngsters, most of them layman.[80] The narration also deals with unorthodox baptism.[81] Finally, the chapter ends with the death of John. Obedience towards the bishop, the realization that God determines the course of everyone's life and the question of orthodoxy are appealing themes, which also play a role in the *OEHE*. Accounts of John of Beverly as one of the most distinguished figures in Anglo-Saxon Church history would naturally have been read with eagerness among the clergy. This is also corroborated by the fact that the fourteenth-century annotator of T has called marked attention to outstanding figures of Anglo-Saxon (church) history. He dedicates his most elaborate running-title to John: <Incipit vita sci' Joh(an)is archiesp(iscop)i de Beverlaco> (fol. 116v/12-13).[82] One of the annotators's marginal additions is <\\Ceadwalla reg//>, which appears in brackets (fol. 87r).[83] The West Saxon King Cædwalla appears to be a man of interest, not only for the annotator 400 years later, but also for the glossator(s) of Tiberius C.II Cædwalla renounces the crown and leaves England for Rome to become a monk. His epitaph (V.7) in the *HE* carries fifteen glosses. Presumably, the glossator had a special interest in the story of the West Saxon king, who had been won over for the love of Christ and entered the heavenly realm.[84] The glossator's interest might be owed to the fact that either the House of Wessex was on the rise and had extended its influence onto Kent when the glosses were inserted, or because Cædwalla's story is a microcosm of the conversion process, as Cædwalla had acted like a savage before, when (re-) conquering Wessex (IV.15) and ravaging the Isle

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[79] *HE* V.2 (4 glosses), *HE* V.3 (3 glosses), *HE* V.4 (1 gloss), *HE* V.5 (1 gloss).

[80] Herebald's horse trips and he is gravely wounded. Eventually, he is cured by the prayers of the bishop after he had realized that his fate depended on the bishop's deprecations and God's will: "Potes" inquit "uiuere?" Et ego, "Possum" inquam "per orationes uestras, si uoluerit Dominus." *HEGA*, II, 346,348. *'Will you live', he asked. And I responded, 'I will trough your prayers if the Lord wants it.'*

[81] Herebald had been unduly baptized and recovers his full strength only after his catechizing by John. "Tantumque mox accepta eius benedictione conualui, ut in crastinum ascendens equum cum ipso iter in alium locum facerem; nec multo post plene curatus uitali etiam unda perfusus sum."; *HEGA*, II, 348. *And soon after I had received his blessing I recovered tremendously, so that I mounted a horse and made a journey to another place; not long after I had recovered fully, I was then washed in the water of life.*

[82] Cf. Rowley, p. 192.

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] It is explicitly stated that Cædwalla was not yet baptized when he ravaged the Isle of Wight: "uoto se obligans quamuis necdum regeneratus, ut ferunt, in Christo." *HEGA*, II, 232.

of Wight (IV.16), struggling for worldly power. Thus, this epitaph carries some weight, as the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England, Christian salvation history, and England's close connection to Rome in church matters are concerned.

The glossing process focuses on books III and V, which is also corroborated by the number of glosses. Book I has sixty-nine glosses (17.73%), Book II twelve (3.08%), Book III has 112 (29.05%), Book IV eighty-five (21.85%) and Book V 110 (28.28%). Books I and II account for 20.82% of the glosses, whereas the remaining three books combine to 79.18%. 57.35% of the glosses go into Books III and V. The glossator(s) did show much interest in the early history of the Anglo-Saxon Church neglecting Augustine's mission, as well as the *adventus Saxonum* in Book I, Bede's chapter on Gregory, and most of the conversion history of Northumbria in Book II and in the conclusion to Bede's work in Book V. Edifying material, which could have been used for private reading and/or preaching, appears to be one of the important issues, as are questions of orthodoxy and salvation history. In general, an interest in the changing fortunes of the Anglo-Saxon Church and religious debate (Book III), the reorganization of the Church under Theodore, the completion of the conversion process in England, the life of exemplary characters (Book IV), the mission on the continent and stories of the otherworld (Book V) is apparent. The glossator(s) did not gloss 58 of 140 chapters, only fifteen of which do correspond with omissions or synopses in the *OEHE*. Regarding the treatment of the papal letters, which are left out or only summarized in the *OEHE*, it can be stated that eleven of fifteen are not glossed.[85] As four letters are glossed, it is hard to argue that the non-glossing of most of the letters does correspond to the editorial practice as we find it in the *OEHE*.

When we turn to the similarities in lexis between the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* we get similar results. In the choice of the vernacular items we have disagreement in 256 cases – 121 of which are due to the fact that those passages are left out or paraphrased in the *OEHE*. There are thirty-one cases where the Tiberius glosses disagree with the *OEHE,* but where we have an OE precedent in the glossaries or *VPG* that matches the choice in the scratched glosses (sixteen times *VPG*), whereas in sixteen cases there is disagreement, but it is the *OEHE* that has a precedent gloss (fifteen times *VPG*). There is agreement between the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* in 144 cases (eighty-nine for which there is no precedent, twenty-three a different precedent, i.e., a different Latin lemma, thirty-two the exact precedent, i.e., Latin lemma + Old English gloss; in twenty-one cases matching entries from *VPG*). In cases the glosses agreed with the *OEHE,* we have forty-seven precedents from *VPG*, forty-five from *Cp*, nineteen *É-E*, thirteen *Ld*, although there is not necessarily an exact correspondence in the Latin lemma. The 112 incidents where we have agreement but no or a different prece-

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85   We find glosses in the letters of Boniface to Æthelburgh (*HE* II.11: 2 glosses), Honorius to Edwin (*HE* II.17: 2 glosses), Honorius to the Irish clergy (*HE* II.19: 4 glosses) and Vitalian to Oswiu on the death of Wigheard (*HE* III.29: 8 glosses.

dent do not yield conclusive results. We cannot discern a general tendency that those are very rare words, which had escaped glossing in other texts. It would be haphazard to conclude that in those 112 cases, the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* were mutually dependent and thus closely connected. In a lot of cases those are commonplace words where the similarity might be coincidental.[86] Therefore, we cannot assume a close and exclusive relationship between the *OEHE* and the scratched glosses on the basis of that evidence. Nevertheless, there are interesting correspondences which might help us to locate precedents for the *OEHE*. In 21 of 32 cases where the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* agree, we have a 100% match with the *VPG* and – even more interesting – that in 15 of 16 cases (93.8%) where the *OEHE* and the scratched glosses disagree but the former has a precedent for the OE gloss, we have agreement with the *VPG*. We are well-advised not to overstate such figures, as the sample is relatively small but they are nonetheless worth noting.

Given the evidence outlined above, it is hard to find a direct connection between the scratched glosses and the *OEHE*. The evidence rather speaks against it. We can certainly rule out that they represent an intermediary stage on the road to a full-blown translation. Although the number of scratched glosses is remarkable, it is only a trifle compared to the overall number of words in the *HE* and the uneven distribution. Greg Waite in his analysis has argued for a possible connection and claimed that the glosses were inserted by one or more readers of the Tiberius MS in the course of the tenth century. This is difficult to ascertain, as the precise dating of the glosses is almost impossible. Yet, the present analysis favors an early date, probably even pre-tenth-century. This would undermine Waite's argument that if there was a connection, the *OEHE* would have been a source for the gloss and not vice versa.[87] Waite further argues that the distribution of the glosses can be explained by the fact that the glossator(s) did not gloss chapters where the Old English translation was available. He admits, however, that the glossator also glossed sections where the Old English translation was available, which is confirmed by my analysis. He further states that some correspondences of commonplace words might be coincidental, but there were batches of correspondence that went beyond the "limits of probability in this respect."[88]

However, he lists several words which are used in both texts to translate the same Latin word and occur in no other English texts.[89] His first example is *afæd/afed* (no. 50),[90] which translates *depictus* in the Latin original, in sense of 'adorned'. In the passage in question it refers to the hill where Alban faces his

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[86] Cf. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

[87] Waite, "Vocabulary", p. 200.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] The first Old English item is the gloss in Tiberius and the second the corresponding word from the *OEHE*.

martyrdom, which is "uariis herbarum floribus *depictus* [my italics]."[91] Waite is right in that this prefixed participle does occur nowhere else in Old English. However, the process of its composition might have been a common reflex, combining the prefix <a-> to render the Latin <de-> with the participle <fæd>/<fed> to render <pictus>. The word itself is difficult though as *fæd/fed* as participle is ambiguous. Waite argues that it stems from the infinitive *fægan*, which however occurs as an adjective only and does not carry the meaning of 'adorned', but rather 'glad, rejoicing, joyful'.[92] Another option would be a form of *fadian* in a sense of 'arrange'. This could be translated as "arranged with various flowers of every kind." However, the participle of *fadian* would be *fadod* so that a form such as **afadod* is to be expected. The problematic nature of *afæd/afed* and its occurrence in the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* only, favors a link between the two. With regard to *imo . nyðernesse/niperness* (no. 131) Waite is right in that this word occurs only twice in Old English and strongly suggests a connection between the *OEHE* and the glosses. On the other hand, *imo* occurs in the *VPG* and is glossed *niðerlic*, which in turn is not a rare word in old English.[93] Waite's other pairs *secundi . gesyngan/gesyndge* (no. 285) and *et in cumulum . ō in heapunga / ꝝ in heapunge* (no. 355) are unparalleled elsewhere. In addition to those unique words, Waite finds a number of rare words which he regards as being probably of Anglian origin. These are *fylacteria . lyfesne/lyfesne* (no. 259) *scrupulo . hincan/incan* (no. 305) *intercapedine . firstmearce/fyrstmearce* (no. 334) and *uiror . growines/grownes* (no. 155). With regard to *firstmearc* and *grownes*, some modifications are necessary. Waite suggests that *firstmearce* is an interesting lexical choice. First, it was a relatively rare word. According to the *DOE* it appears as *first(ge)mearc* thirty-one times in Old English.[94] Second, both the scratched glosses and the *OEHE* translate *intercapedine* alternatively with *firstmearc* on one occasion and later with *first/fyrst* on its second occurrence. Although this appears to be more than a coincidence, the word *fyrst* as an alternative to *fyrst(ge)mearc* is used commonly in Old English.[95] Therefore, both items might just have been viable choices without any direct connection, which however cannot be ruled out. [G]*rownes* as such is a rare word.[96] If we consider common word-formation processes at work here, it is not unthinkable that two monks formed the word independently, as *growan* is a common word in Old English,[97] of which to form a noun corresponding to *uigor* the use of *–ness* as a ubiquitous suffix would be the logical step.

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[91]   *HEGA*, I, 46. *Adorned with flowers of every kind.*
[92]   *Ibid.* He further argues that the gloss occurs in *ClGl*, *Cp*, *Ép-Erf* This is misleading, however, as it glosses the Latin word *conpos* 'to be overwhelmed by sth.', 'to be immersed', which does not fit the context of the *HE* passage.
[93]   Cf. *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.
[94]   See Waite, "Vocabulary", p. 203 and *DOE*, s.v. *firstmearc*, *firstgemearc* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.
[95]   c. 350 occurrences in Old English. *DOE*, s.v. *first* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.
[96]   Two occurrences in Old English. *DOE*, s.v. *growness* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.
[97]   Ninety occurrences. *DOE*, s.v. *growan* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

A direct dependence of the scratched glosses on the *OEHE* due to the given evidence is an intriguing idea, but not based on conclusive evidence. What seems more likely is the point that Waite raises at the end of his discussion. He suggests that if the *OEHE* was not used as a source for the scratched glosses, both translators may have come from the same dialectal backgrounds or from similar monastic literary traditions. If there was a link, he argues, we would get a unique glance of Anglo-Saxon learning for the use of vernacular texts side by side with its Latin original.[98]

In sum, taking all aspects into consideration, it is not possible to argue in favor of a direct connection between the Tiberius glosses and the *OEHE* – at least not in the sense of the former being a proto-translation of the latter. In addition, the evidence for both texts being used simultaneously in a monastic classroom or scriptorium does not yield conclusive results. It cannot be ruled out completely given the admittedly few items which ought to catch our attention. We could speculate about the *OEHE* and the scratched glosses being written at Canterbury by King Alfred's Mercian helpers and a possible connection between those two. The glosses, then, might have resembled an experimental stage towards a full-blown translation, which was discarded to a high degree in the final translation process of the *OEHE*. But given the lack of strong evidence to underscore this hypothesis, it remains wishful thinking if not a wishful fantasy. It is also not clear to what end the scratched glosses were inserted. In general, it is quite difficult to elucidate the original purpose of scratched or dry-point glosses.[99] In the present case, the items could have been gloss trials by novices in the scriptorium, which served as placeholders to be filled by ink glosses.[100] The same might be true for senior monks who scratched the glosses and gave them to their inferiors to be filled in. Both possibilities must remain conjectural, however. Graham raises the interesting point that scratched glosses have been inserted in order to avoid interference with or distraction from the main text, or that they were entered by instructors who did not wish their pupils to know that they used such 'teaching aids'.[101] As the *HE* was not a typical text for the monastic classroom it could have been "the hand of the lonely reader intrigued by a text he was perusing for his own study or entertainment,"[102] who inserted the glosses, although it appears that it was more than one reader who set himself to this text.

The only conclusion we can safely draw is that we see a lively interest in the *HE* at Canterbury, probably between 850 and 900. The text underwent heavy glossing either for the sake of glossing practice in the monastic classroom or intensive study of certain aspects such as the edenic *Descriptio Britanniae*, edifying

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[98] Waite, "Vocabulary", p. 204.
[99] See Gretsch, "Glosses", p. 209.
[100] We have traces of ink in no. 70: *eruti . generede*.
[101] Graham, "Glosses and Notes", p. 177.
[102] Lendinara, "Glosses and Glossaries.", p. 2.

material for devotional reading and/or praying, questions of orthodoxy or aspects of mission and salvation history. Those aspects also play an important role in the *OEHE*. We should be aware of this fact, but not assign it any more or any less value.

The Ink Glosses in British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.II

In addition to the scratched glosses, we find four batches of Old English glosses together with their lemmata, added in the blank spaces at the end of the table of chapters of books I, II and III and at the end of Book IV (fols. 5r, 34v, 6ov, 124v), which encompass eighty-nine items. They were written in two hands in the late ninth century or the beginning of the tenth-century.[103] They were subsequently edited by Sweet, Holthausen and Zupitza, who identified the Latin items to come from *HE* I.10-22.[104] Sweet states that they were apparently written in the Kentish dialect without procuring evidence for that statement.[105] Indeed, we see Kentish dialectical features at work such as <e> for <æ> (nos. 10: *erendwrica*, 67: *gefegan*, 63: *mehte*).[106] If we regard this as the most distinct feature of the Kentish dialect, we have to concede that it is not applied with rigor in the glosses. Better evidence is provided by the preponderance of <io> spellings instead of <eo> (e.g. nos. 12: *ðiostrum*, 17: *burgliod*, 19: *wæstembiornis*, 23: *bioð stiocod*e, 33: *nior*, 40: *geðioded*), which is also a criterion for assigning a text to the Kentish dialect. Another point in favor of a Kentish touch is no. 42: *genihtsumra*.[107]

The ink glosses do not appear to be directly connected to either the scratched glosses or to the *OEHE*.[108] With regard to the scratched glosses, there are only a few lexical matches. Similar Latin lemmata are *edax, reliquia, infestis, adcelerauit, inprobis, conspicui*.[109] We also find similarities in some Old English glosses: *utende* (read *etende*),[110] *erendwrica, bærnde, upahebban, foldan, lafe, genihtsumra*.[111] Except for *edax* .

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[103] See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 261. He argues that batches I-III were written in one hand and batch IV in another. Merrit ("Scratched Glosses", p. 308) specifies "late ninth-century" and H. Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, pp. 179-82, at p. 179) states "end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century."; cf. also Graham, "Glosses and Notes", p. 179.

[104] Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 179-82; F. Holthausen, "Die altenglischen Beda-Glossen", *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* 136 (1917), 290-292; J. Zupitza, "Altenglische Glossen zu Beda.", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 31 (1887), 28-31.

[105] See Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 179.

[106] The numbers refer to Appendix IV (available online from http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de.).

[107] See Kalbhen, *Kentische Glossen*, 7.3.11; for an different attribution of the glosses (Mercian dialect), see Vleeskruyer, *Life of St. Chad*, p. 52.

[108] See Zupitza, "Altenglische Glossen", p. 31 and Waite, "Vocabulary" , p. 200.

[109] Scratched glosses nos. 60, 189, 73, 64, 130, 61. Ink glosses nos. 6, 25 29, 32, 38, 62.

[110] Cf. Zupitza, "Glossen zu Beda", p. 29.

etende and *reliquia . laf* there are no exact matches in the pairs, i.e., Latin lemmata are glossed differently in the scratched glosses and vice versa. These examples do not refer to the same passage in the text but rather point out the use of those items at some point in the text. There is actually only one instance where the Latin lemma is glossed with the same vernacular term at the same point in the manuscript: *edax . utende* (*read* etende), which refer to the same passage in *HE* I.10. The Latinity of the glossator leaves much to be desired, as there are numerous occasions where he misread or misunderstood the lemmata.[112] This points to a novice rather than an experienced scholar.

There are some interesting lexical matches with the *VPG*, yet the sample is too small to draw final conclusion: nos. 10: *legatis . erendwrica* (*VPG legatus . erendwrece*), 12: *obscuris cauernis . ðæm ðiostrum holum* (*VPG obscurare . aðeostrian*), 13: *miserum anguiculum . ða earman nedran* (*VPG miser . earm*), 15: *tollere . upahebban* (*VPG tollere . onhebban, uphebban*), 22: *funerum . hra* (*VPG funis . rap*), 25: *paupercula reliquia . ða earman lafe* (*VPG reliquiae . laf*), 32: *adcelerauit . geratade* (*VPG accelerare . hreðian*), 56: *pelagi . ðæs sæs* (*VPG pelagus . widsæ*), 66: *evulsam . on[we]g alocene* (*VPG euellere . alucan, utalucan*), 67: *exultant . gefegan* (*VPG exultare . gefian*), 71: *tegebatur . wæs bewrigen* (*VPG tegere . biwrean*), 76: *spolia . herereaf* (*VPG spolium . herereaf*), 86: *exterminia . ðara abreotnissa* (*VPG exterminare . abreotan*), and 87: *recente memoria . neowre gemynde* (*VPG recens . niowe, memoria . gemynd*). However, this congruence in fifteen of eighty-nine cases is not sufficient to make a strong point. Nevertheless, the idea that the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* was used as a crib for the ink glosses while both were at Canterbury in the late ninth century is quite intriguing, but lacks more conclusive evidence than this study can come up with at the present.

If we compare the ink glosses with the *OEHE,* the results show that sixty-two out of eighty-nine items do not occur in the vernacular translation, as the chapters which include them have been left out. Only nine items agree with the *OEHE* on the level of lexis, disregarding inflectional endings. Those are nos. 8: *pontes . brycg* (*OEHE brycge* 44.5),[113] 10: *legatis . erendwrica* (*OEHE ærendwrecan* 44.11 or *ærendracan* 44.24), 19: *fertilitas . wæstembiornis* (*OEHE wæstmbærnysse* 50.27), 23: *iugulamur . we bioð stiocode* (*OEHE we* […] *sticode beoð*), 32: *adcelerauit . geratade* (*OEHE gehradode* 48.28), 35: *litigia . gecid* (*OEHE geciide* 48.31), 40: *adiuncta . to geðioded* (*OEHE togædere gepeodde* 50.29), 46: *de miserandis reliquiis . of ðæm earmum lafum* (*OEHE ðære earman lafe* 54.1), and 48: *nunc . wilum* (*OEHE hwilum* 54.17). Thus, a direct connection between the ink glosses and the *OEHE* can probably be ruled out.

The glossator seems chiefly interested in the Pelagian heresy, especially in Prosper of Aquitaine's rhyming couplets on the matter (*HE* I.10: twelve glosses, *HE* I.17: fourteen glosses), the domestic struggle and moral corruption of the

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[111] Scratched glosses nos. 60, 190, 134, 98 (*ahefen*), 264, 189, 121. Ink glosses nos. 6, 10, 11, 15, 16, 25, 42.

[112] See Zupitza's comments, "Altenglische Glossen", *passim*.

[113] The reference is to page and line number in Miller's edition.

Britons (*HE* I.14: thirteen glosses), the *adventus Saxonum* (*HE* I.15: eleven glosses) and Germanus's 'Allelujah' victory over the Germanic invaders (*HE* I.20: seventeen glosses). This choice is quite interesting as it shows a preoccupation with heretical accounts, the moral corruption of the Britons, Germanus as the one who eradicates heresy and aligns the British to the Roman Catholic Church, and the coming of the Germanic tribes. It appears as if there is a glossator at work who wants to follow Bede's argumentation about the morally corrupted Britons and their supersession by the Germanic invaders.

Apart from these things, there are old English items of which one is of interest concerning the correspondence to the *OEHE*.[114] On fol. 73r *beneath x ferme milia passuum contra solstitialem occasum* (Plummer, I, 155) we find the gloss *x mila westrihte* in a tenth-century hand.[115] The corresponding passage in the *OEHE* also gives *tyn milum westriht* (194.18). Given the rarity of the word *westriht* in the Old English Corpus (nine instances),[116] one might wish to argue that there is a connection between the *OEHE* and the ink glosses in Tiberius. However, such a commonplace rendering of a geographical note could be ubiquitous in style and also could be incidental. At best it reflects a similar monastic training of the glossator and the translator of the *OEHE*. The evidence for a mutual dependence and the romantic vision of the glossator using the *HE* and the *OEHE* side by side is not given, and seems even less so if we keep in mind that this is a sole gloss.

In summation, neither the scratched glosses nor the ink glosses show close ties to the *OEHE* although there are some interesting similarities, especially between the Tiberius glosses and the *OEHE*, which however, await further research. Similarities with the *VPG* are evident but not entirely conclusive. It remains a matter of speculation whether or not there is any textual connection between the glossing processes of the *VPG*, the scratched glosses, and the ink glosses. If there is, we have a brilliant glimpse of monastic training, in particular centers and the (re-)use of texts for study and manuscript production. Despite some intriguing similarities, neither the scratched glosses nor the ink glosses appear to be conscious intermediary steps in a planned scheme towards the full-blown *OEHE* translation. At best, both sets of glosses show that the *HE* attracted continuous interest for study at Canterbury between 850 and 900. The text was ostensibly regarded as a quarry of knowledge in various aspects. It cannot be ruled out that this interest in the *HE* had any connection to the *OEHE*'s translation in the wake of the Alfredian program. Given the incessant glossing activity and the interest of the glossators (that overlaps to some degree with the *OEHE* translator) and the value of the work it appears to be a work of high interest.

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[114]   See Ker, p. 261. His articles *b* and *c* both refer to geographical length specifications.
[115]   *Ibid.*; cf. Napier, *Old English Glosses*, n. 112.
[116]   *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>.

VII. The Two Bedes:
Differences and Similarities between the *OEHE* and its Latin Source

After having considered theoretical questions on textuality and translation, author-ship and authority, dealt with the material evidence of the manuscripts and signs of medieval usage and delineated the cultural and historical context against which the *OEHE* needs to be measured, the present study will now turn to a close-reading analysis of the similarities and differences between the *HE* and its Old English translation. This includes treating some major thematic issues that appear to have been important for both Bede and the Old English translator: the Roman history in Book I, mission and conversion, the role of the Britons and questions of identity. This part of the study aims at analyzing how the Old English translator imitated or reshaped his Latin source in matters of content and thematic correla-tions. As the analysis proceeds, the findings will be categorized and measured against the theoretical, cultural and historical background and tentative results, which have been outlined. This, in turn, will facilitate our understanding of the interdependencies between the *OEHE* and the context in which its initial transla-tion may have been undertaken.

The Role of Rome

One of the most remarkable editorial changes in the *OEHE* is the reshaping of Roman history in Book I. Long passages of Bede's account in the *HE* are omitted in the vernacular translation. Although this fact has already been noted by Anglo-Saxonists, their analyses have seldom gone beyond the point of mere observation. The omissions have been regarded as making the *OEHE* specifically Anglo-centric, ridding itself of all matters not primarily concerned with Anglo-Saxon England, or highlighting the ineptitude of the Britons and their dependence on

Rome's military strength.[1] Without questioning the correctness of these observations, this study wishes to argue that a meticulous analysis of the accounts of Roman history in both the *HE* and the *OEHE* reveals more of the translator's attitude and editorial agenda than has been previously acknowledged. Based on a close-reading comparison, it proposes new and more detailed aspects of the driving principle behind the modified account of imperial Roman history in the *OEHE*. The most simple explanation for this editing-out of substantial passages of Roman history may be a disinterest and insufficient relevance for the translator, who worked c.890x930 and therefore was chronologically and spatially detached from Rome. Despite its plausibility, this assumption does not seem to be sufficient. Rome loomed large in the mind-frame of the Anglo-Saxons and is a recurring theme in the corpus of Old English literature. The city of Rome has even been termed "The capital of Anglo-Saxon England."[2] Therefore, it would be haphazard to readily assume a wholesale disinterest in the affairs of (imperial) Rome on part of the *OEHE*'s translator or the implied audience. In the course of this chapter it will become clear that the translator had a overtly didactic focus towards his audience with regard to the *res gestae* of imperial Rome.

The Roman Legacy

Despite the general tendency that the Roman history in Book I is abbreviated to foreshadow Anglo-Saxon matters in an attempt to separate the history of the English from the Roman Empire, we can see a thoughtful editorial agenda behind the omissions, which reveals an accentuation of Rome's specific role with regard to the Anglo-Saxons. Even though the *OEHE* streamlines Bede's account considerably, imperial Rome continues to loom large on the mind of the Old English translator.

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[1] Cf. Discenza, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", pp. 77-78; Whitelock, "Old English Bede"; Rowley, pp. 71-92.

[2] N. Howe, "Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.1 (2004), 147-72; cf. Y. Coz, who argues that Roman history and ancient history in general never seem to have had a similar impact on Anglo-Saxon intellectual and political life, as in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian age on the continent, basing his argument on scarce manuscript evidence. He admits, however, that "the translation and compilation of works dealing with Roman history made under King Alfred's reign imply that at least some historical works were available."("The Image of Roman History in Anglo-Saxon England", in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. D.W. Rollason and W. Levison (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 545-58, at pp. 545-47. The fact that the Anglo-Saxons harkened back to Rome is not at least shown by poems such as *Elene*, the early entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and the fact that until the mid-twelfth century the *Psalterium Romanum* (as opposed to the *Psalterium Gallicanum* and the *Psalterium Hebraicum*) was popular in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the version in almost universal use in England before the Benedictine Reform, which is also testified by the extent glosses; cf. Gretsch, "Junius Psalter Gloss", pp. 85-89 and notes.

From the very beginning, the *OEHE* is set in what can be described as tradi-tional Roman geography.[3] Bede's Latin opening, modeled on Orosius's account of Britain in his *Historia Adversum Paganos*, is followed by the Old English translator almost verbatim and situates Britain firmly in a Romano-centric world view:

> Breoton ist [sic!] garsecges ealond, ðæt wæs iu geara Albion haten: is geseted betwyh norðdæle and westdæle, Germanie ⁊ Gallie ⁊ His-panie þæm mæstum dælum Europe myccle fæce ongegen.

> (*Britain is an island in the ocean, formerly called Albion, lying between the north and the west, opposite, though far apart, to Germany, Gaul and Spain.*)[4]

This viewpoint, which situates Britain in the northwest, and the assessment of Germania, Gaul and Hispania as the chief divisions of Europe (and therefore neglecting Scandinavia and Eastern Europe) is clearly Roman. In the same vein, Britain's location in *garsecges ealond*, which translates Bede's *Oceani insula*, despite its poetic ring, is closely associated with *romanitas* and takes up the classical image of the personified *Oceanus*.[5] Thus, Bede as well as his translator stressed Britain's initially marginal role in a Rome-centered European geography. This shows their perception of the island's history as intricately connected to and shaped by Rome.[6] From a Anglo-Saxon Christian viewpoint, the mapping of the world stretched from England through Rome to the Holy Land. For Bede, Jerusalem was the cen-ter of the world. Within the political and conversion history of the Anglo-Saxons, however, Rome was the 'Capital of England'.[7] When we take into account that the *OEHE* drops the account of Adamnan's *De Locis Sanctis* in *HE* V.16-17, the Old English translation becomes even more Rome-centered than the Latin, as it edits out the account of the Holy Land.

Finally, the inclusion of the Roman term *Albion* (a Greek word but applied by Roman writers with regard to Britain) links Britain's history firmly to its Roman legacy. Even though the island adopted the name of its first settlers – as Bede and his translator relate later on – the audience is confronted with the distant past of their homeland, which harks back to classical antiquity and Rome in particular. Moreover, Bede's description of the five languages of Britain elevates Latin to the status of a unifying language, since it is the language of Christian knowledge. Apart from this spiritual dimension, Latin is the unifying language of imperial Rome, although Classical Latin as the elite *koine* had been long superseded by Vulgar Latin and then its daughter languages in the former provinces of the Ro-

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[3]   The spiritual meaning of this *descriptio Britanniae* will be elaborated on in the next two chapters.

[4]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 24-25.

[5]   Cf. Rowley, pp. 71-72 and Scully, "Location and Occupation" and *idem*, "'Proud Ocean Has Become a Servant': A Classical Topos in the Literature of Britain's Conquest and Conversion", in E. Mullins and D. Scully (ed.), *Listen, o Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Hon-our of Jennifer O'Reilly* (Cork, 2011), pp. 3-15.

[6]   Howe, "Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England", pp. 150-52.

[7]   *Ibid.*, pp. 150-56.

man Empire by the time that Bede and his translator worked. The perception of Rome in the *HE* and its translation appears to be one of past glory and veneration at the same time. The translator remarks a little further on:

> Wæs þis ealond eac geo gewurðad mid þam æðelestum ceastrum, anes wana þrittigum, ða þe wæron mid weallum ⁊ torrum ⁊ geatum ⁊ þam trumestum locum getimbrade, butan oðrum læssan unrim ceastra.

> (*Formerly this island was also embellished with the noblest of towns, twenty-nine in number, furnished with walls, towers, gates and the strongest of locks, besides other towns of smaller size.*)[8]

The splendor of the buildings with which Britain was adorned seems to come from a bygone age. The cities are venerated or at least presented as ancient to the point of being half-mythical. The past tense *wæs gewurðad* conveys the impression that Britain was devoid of such outstanding cities and towns by the time the translator worked. These lines are reminiscent of the poem *The Ruin*, where the *ubi sunt*-motif of Old English poetry is combined with a sensation of being over-awed by the works of the Romans, now in ruins but yet unmatched and glorified:

Wrætlic is þes wealstan,	wyrde gebræcon
Burgstede burston,	brosnað enta geweorc.
Hrofas sind gehrorene,	hreorge torras,
hrimgeat berofen,	hrim on lime,
scearde scurbeorge,	scorene, gedrorene,
ældo undereotone.	Eorðgrap hafað
waldendwyrhtan	forweorone, geleorene,
heardgrip hrusan,	oþ hund cnea
werþoda gewitan.	Oft þæs wag gebad,
ræghar ond readfah,	rice æfter oþrum,
ofstonden under stormum,	steap geap gedreas.[9]

The poem probably refers to the ruined city of Bath. It suggests what we may call a 'larger-than-life' view of the Romans, who are called *enta* 'giants' and *waldend-wyrhtan* 'powerful makers' and whose work, though decayed, nevertheless has survived the centuries and the rise and fall of kingdoms, to bear witness to the splendor of an age unattained and wondrous in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxons, that en-

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8   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 26-27.

9   *Wondrous is this stone wall, smashed by fate. The buildings have crumbled, the work of giants collapsed, the towers in ruin, the frosted gate is unbarred, hoar-frost on mortar, the storm-protection mutilated, cut down, declined, undermined by age. The earth's grip holds the powerful makers, decayed, passed-away, the hard grasp of the earth, until a hundred generations of the nation of men have passed away. Often this wall has survived, grey with lichen and stained with red, one kingdom after another, endured under storms, high and arched, it perished* (Text and translation E. Treharne, E. Treharne, *Old and Middle English c. 890-c.140: an Anthology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2004), pp. 84-85).

dured after one hundred generations of men have passed away. These edifications seem almost supernatural and unreal. The same holds true for the cities with which Britain was once adorned. Their endurance is even heightened in the *OEHE* as the passage in *HE* I.3, which recounts that during Nero's time, two very noble cities were captured and destroyed, which is omitted in the *OEHE*.[10]

We find other references to buildings from the Roman period which have survived the ages. In *HE* I.5 it is related how Emperor Severus built a wall from sea to sea. Roman architectural legacy is also emphasized in *HE* I.11. When relating the sack of Rome by the Goths the Old English translator, following Bede, remarks:

> Of þære tide Romane blunnun ricsian on Breotene. Hæfdon hi Breo-tona rice feower hund wintra ꝺ þæs fiftan hundseofontig, ðæs ðe Gaius, oðre naman Iulius, se casere þæt ylce ealong gesohte. ꝺ ceastre ꝺ torras ꝺ stræta ꝺ brycge on heora rice geworhte wæron, þa we to dæg sceawian magon. Eardædon Bryttas binnan þam dice to suðdæle, þe we gemynegodon þæt Seuerus se casere het þwyrs ofer þæt ealond gedician.

> (*From that time the Romans ceased to have dominion in Britain: they had dominion for 47[5] years, since Gaius, also called Julius, the emperor landed on the island. Cities, towers, roads and bridges had been constructed under their rule, which may be seen at the present day. The Britons dwelt to the south within the dyke we spoke of, built by order of the emperor Severus right across the island.*) [11]

Although the Romans ultimately ceased their political and military dominion of Britain, their material legacy survives their withdrawal as a kind of timeless witness of their civilization, which endured into the present of the Anglo-Saxons. The same holds true for the wall (i.e. the Antonine Wall) which the Romans advised the Britons to built, "ðone man nu to dæg sceawian mæg."[12] The buildings mentioned in the first passage and the wall built at Roman instigation have endured the sands of time apparently unharmed. In the second case, it is even more pronounced in the *OEHE* than in the *HE,* as the Latin implies the ruined state of the monument: "usque hodie certissima *uestigia* cernere licet [my italics]."[13] Materially, the Roman legacy is still discernible in England. There is an interesting passage in the *ASC*, which links this material legacy of the Romans to the Anglo-Saxons as their rightful successors. In 418 the annal relates:

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[10] "[N]am duo sub eo nobilissima oppida illic capta atque subuersa sunt." (*HEGA*, I, 36); *For two very noble cities were captured and destroyed there during his reign*; trans.: C&M, p. 25.

[11] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 44-45. Miller mistranslated the date, which was amended by me.

[12] *OEB*, I.1, 46.

[13] *HEGA*, I, 58. *It is possible to see the clearest remnants until this present day.*

> Her Romane gesomnodon al þa goldhord þe on Bretene wæron Ꟈ
> sume on eorþan ahyddon þæt hie nænig mon siþþan findan ne
> meahte Ꟈ sume mid him on Gallia lęddon.[14]
>
> (*Here the Romans gathered all the goldhoards which were in Britain and some
> they hid in the earth so that no man thereafter could find them and some they
> took with them to Gaul*).

This metaphorical import stresses the worth of Britain and at the same time implies that the Romans buried part of their legacy in the island.[15] It further shows that whoever would find the gold could lay claim to Britain through a chain of authority when excavating the Roman heritage. Although it is not explicitly mentioned that the Anglo-Saxons excavated the gold, this passage is embedded in a greater narrative which downplays the role of the Britons in the history of Britain as presented in the *ASC*, in whose early annals they become somewhat shadowy figures. Only the Roman history is highlighted in the chronicle, which creates a narrative that presents the Anglo-Saxons as the direct successors of Rome. The burial of the gold-hoard is situated within a "wider pattern that strives both to associate the Anglo-Saxons with their prestigious Roman predecessors and to link them to the land of Britain."[16] The importance of Rome for Anglo-Saxon history can be gauged by the fact that the first entry in the *ASC* following the genealogy and the *origo gentis* of the house of Wessex is Julius Cesar's attempt to conquer the island:

> AER Cristes geflæscnesse .lx. wintra, Gaius Iulius, se casere ærest
> Romana Bretenlond gesohte Ꟈ Brettas mid gefeohte cnysede Ꟈ hie
> oferswiþde Ꟈ swa þeah ne meahte þær rice gewinnan.[17]
>
> (*60 years before the incarnation of Christ, Gaius Julius, the emperor of the Ro
> mans went to Britain and overcome the Britons by battle and defeated them and
> nevertheless could not win their kingdom*).

This is a synopsis of chapter I.2 in the *HE*. It generally follows Bede's account in the Latin but abbreviates it massively due to the laconic nature of annals. The *OEHE* also begins with Cesar's attempted conquest, yet abridges the account even more:

> Wæs Breotene ealond Romanum uncuð, oððæt Gaius se casere, oðre
> naman Iulius, hit mid ferde gesohte Ꟈ geeode syxtygum wintra ær
> Cristes cyme.

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[14] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 16.

[15] Cf. F. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest. Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford, 2006), p. 264.

[16] Michelet, *Migration and Conquest*, p. 264.

[17] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 2.

> (*The island of Britain was unknown to the Romans, till the Emperor Gaius,
> also called Julius, came with an army and overran it, sixty years before the advent
> of Christ.*)[18]

This is an interesting modification of the chapter in the *HE*, which is longer and
more detailed. There, Bede expounds the reasons why Caesar was drawn into
Britain, and that his attempts (not just one) at conquering the island were thwarted
by weather conditions and by defeats at the hands of the Britons. Caesar finally
triumphed, but the Romans were pestered by partisan attacks, which inflicted
severe losses on his army. Only after heavy fighting and the defection of some
British tribes did Caesar capture the town of the British chieftain Cassebelaunus
and return to Gaul. The account ends with a remark that after he had sent his
troops to winter quarters, he was surrounded by insurgences and tumults.[19] Al-
though Bede does not specifically refer to Britain as the area of upheaval, it ap-
pears as though Caesar left Britain in an uncertain political condition and did not
succeed in his attempts to conquer the island, let alone to bring it under lasting
Roman dominion. The *OEHE* thus portrays Caesar's expedition as a smooth
conquest without any resistance, which excels his military stratagem and also the
superior martial power of the Romans.[20] The beginning of the Old English pas-
sage is also of great interest. The wording in the *HE* runs "usque at Gaium Iulium
Caesarem inacessa atque incognita fuit."[21] The Latin, besides its rendering that the
island was unknown to the Romans, stresses that it was *inacessa* 'unaccessed',
which heightens the exotic if not barbarous character of the island and the re-
moteness from the rest of the Roman civilization. This inaccessibility is left out in
the *OEHE*, which shows a paradigm shift in the vernacular narration. Britain is no
longer the barbaric and remote island in the sea but a natural part of the *orbis terrae*
of the Roman empire. Moreover, the fact that Bede and his translator begin the
entry with Britain entering the spatial awareness of the Romans, gives a special
significance to the island. To be recognized by the dominating world empire (and
the last empire before the coming of the Anti-Christ) and deemed worthy of being
subsumed in their *oikomene*, charges the island with a particular significance. Al-
though other tribes had settled in Britain before, it is the Roman conquest which
is seen as important. From now on in Bede's narration and in the *OEHE,* the

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[18]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 30-31. This chapter is wanting in B. Thus it is only transmitted in Ca.

[19]   Cf. *HEGA*, I, 30 and 32.

[20]   It therefore is similar to the account in the *OE Orosius*, which records that the expedition was by
no means an easy enterprise with setbacks, but ends on a victorious note, leaving the uncertainty
und unstable political situation out of its account. The last sentence is especially telling: "Æfter
þæm gefeohte him eode on hond se cyning ꝥ þa burhware þe wæron on Cirenceastre, ꝥ siþþan
ealle þe on þæm iglonde wæron" (Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p. 126). *After that battle the king and
the citizens who were in Cirenchester did him homage and then all who were in that island.* This sounds as if
the Romans had conquered Britain for good.

[21]   *HEGA*, I, 30; [*which*] *until Gaius Julius Cesar had been unaccessed and unknown.*

history of the island is intricately connected with the rise (and decline) of the Roman Empire.

Two other aspects are noteworthy with regard to this chapter in the *OEHE*. First, Bede dates Julius Caesar's expedition as follows: "[A]nno ab urbe condita sescentesimo nonagesimo tertio, ante uero incarnationis Dominicae tempus anno sexagesimo."[22] In contrast, his translator gets rid of the *ab urbe condita dating* and gives just the AD date, similar to the compiler of the *ASC*.[23] This seems to be part of his editorial agenda as he deletes the *ab urbe condita* date in I.3 as well. The only case where he retains this dating formula is in the chapter on the sack of Rome: "Fracta est autem Roma a Gothis anno millesimo CLXIIII suae conditionis,"[24] which is translated as "Wæs Romaburh abrocen fram Gotum ymb þusend wintra ⁊ hundteontig ⁊ feower ⁊ syxtig ðæs þe heo geworht wæs."[25] In *HE* I.3 Bede and his Old English translator give the date according to three formulae: A.D., *ab urbe condita* and after Caesar had come to Britain. The retention of the *ab urbe condita* date together with the 'Caesarian' dating is surely due to the Roman focus in this passage. Both events (Caesar's invasion and the sack of Rome) mark

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22   *Ibid..* [*I*]*n the year of the foundation to Rome 693, that is, in the year 60 before our Lord's incarnation.*

23   The manuscripts of the *ASC* in general apply the AD dating, which is not surprising given their origin in the Easter tables of the Church. However, there is an interesting addition for the year 409 in MS A. The original entry "AN. .ccccviiii. Her Gotan abręcon Romeburg, ⁊ næfre siþan Romane ne ricsodon on Bretone." is extended by "þæt wæs embe .xi. hund wintra ⁊ .x. wintra þes heo getimbred was. Ealles hi ðær rixodon on Brytene feower hund wintra ⁊ hund seouanti wintra syþþan ærost Gaius Iulius þæt land ærost gesohte."(*MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 15). This addition was made by Hand 8, which Bately identifies as an interpolator who can be identified as the principal scribe of MS F (*MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xl). This addition, although erring in the *ab urbe condita*, reproduces the dating formulas as we have it in the *OEHE*. MS F has the entry as follows: ".ccccix. Her was tobrocen Rome seo burh fram Gotum, ⁊ siððan ouer ðæt ne rixodan Romana cingas on Brytene. Quadringentos & .lxx. geara hi rixodan syððan Gaius Iulius ærost ðæt land gesohte. Romani a Gothis fracta est. Ex quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessarunt; .cccclxx. annis regnabant postquam Gaius Iulius primus uenit in Brittanniam."(*MS F*, ed. Baker p. 18). As the scribe of F, working at Christ Church, Canterbury around 1000, made extensive use of the archetype of MS E 'Peterborough Chronicle' as a source, he might have drawn that reading from that copy. This archetype was at Canterbury by the middle of the eleventh century. It (or a copy of it) was sent to Peterborough, apparently to make good the loss of the house's chronicle due to the fire in 1116. Its twelfth-century copy is MS E (Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xiv-xvi). The text of MS runs as follows: "AN.ccccxix. Her wæs tobrocen Romana burh fram Gotum ymb .xi. hund wintra ⁊ .x. wintra þæs þe heo getimbred wæs. Siððan ofer þet ne rixodan leng Romana ciningas on Brytene. Ealles hi ðær rixodan .iiii. hund wintra ⁊ hundseofenti wintra siððan Gaius Iulius þet land erost gesohte." (*MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. 14). It is interesting that the F scribe does not have the *ab urbe condita* dating, which he interpolates in MS A but he appears to have taken that from the archetype of MS E as MS E shows exactly the same wording. The question is why the compiler of F chose to omit the *ab urbe condita dating* for his own account, but adding it, probably after he had read it in the archetype of MS E, into MS A.

24   *HEGA*, I, 56. *And also Rome was destroyed by the Goths in the year 1164 of its foundation.*

25   *OEB*, I, 42 and 44. The *OE Orosius* has "Æfter þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs m wintra ⁊ c [⁊] iiii ⁊ siextigum" (Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p. 156); *1163 years after the city of Rome was built.*

the beginning and end of the Roman influence in Britain. The translator might have found it worthwhile to show how long the city of Rome prevailed, contributing yet again to the Romans as larger than life, and their chief city to be the work of giants as in *The Ruin*.[26] Other than that, the translator does not omit the dating because he did not share Bede's penchant for computus.[27] Rather, he wanted to stress – even more than Bede – that the story of the English and their Church was not to be seen primarily with regard to the rise and fall of Rome. It needed to be embedded in Christian salvation history, as the AD dating places the events recorded as being a part of God's plan from the incarnation of Christ to Doomsday, the sixth age of the world. In reference Augustine, it was not the *ciuitas terrena* (Rome) mattered, but the *ciuitas Dei*. This also marks a shift in importance from secular Rome to spiritual Rome, represented by the pope as Christ's vicar on earth, for the history of the Anglo-Saxons. The importance of the Rome of the papacy becomes clear in the developing narration in the *HE* and the *OEHE,* as will be shown in the next chapter.

The second noteworthy aspect, although it is not limited to *HE* I.2, is illustrated by the following example. When Bede relates to Julius Caesar he writes: "Qui […], functus gradu consulatus cum Lucio Bibulo, […]."[28] The *OEHE* passes over Caesar's co-consul in silence. There are similar omissions in I.13, where the

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[26]   It may be worth speculating whether there was a close connection between the *OEHE* and the archetype of MS E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* as they share a conspicuously similar wording for the year 409. "AN.cccxix. Her wæs tobrocen Romana burh fram Gotum ymb .xi. hund wintra ꝥ .x. wintra þæs þe heo getimbred wæs. Siððan ofer þet ne rixodan leng Romana ciningas on Brytene. Ealles hi ðær rixodan .iiii. hund wintra ꝥ hundseofenti wintra siððan Gaius Iulius þet land erost gesohte." (*MS E*, ed. Irvine, p. 18) and "Wæs Romaburh abrocen fram Gotum ymb þusend wintra ꝥ hundteontig ꝥ feower ꝥ syxtig ðæs heo geworht wæs. Of þære tide Romane blunnun ricsian on Breotone. Hæfdon hi Breotona rice feower hund wintra ꝥ þæs fiftan hundseofontig, ðæs ðe Gaius, oðre naman Iulius, se casere, þæt ylce ealong gesohte." Although the wording is not exactly the same it is nevertheless remarkable, as MSS ABC *s.a* 409 only mention the fact that Rome was sacked, but not the rest, MS F omits the *ab urbe condita dating* and MS D does not have that entry at all. Thus, there may have been a close connection between the archetype of MS E and a copy of the *OEHE*, which would testify for its authoritative importance, which apparently overshadowed that of the *ASC* as a historiographical source. The compiler of the MS E archetype may alternative have consulted a copy of the *HE* and translated the passage himself, but given the fact that there existed a full-blown translation of that episode (the *OEHE*), this seems unlikely.

[27]   It is worth noting that in fact the translator is more accurate in his account, as he writes that this happened 475 years after Julius Caesar had come to Britain, instead of 470 years as the Latin *HE* states. The 470 years is broadly correct if we assume the sack of Rome to have occurred in 409/410 given the preceding statement in I.2 that states that the Romans came to Britain in 60 B.C. In fact, the *OEHE* is more correct with the 475 years, as Julius Caesar invaded Britain in 55/54 B.C. and not 60 B.C. MS Ca displays an incongruence here as it adheres to the date of 60 B.C. in the vernacular version, but at the same time dates the sack of Rome to 475 years after that. MS B, in contrast, omits chapter I.2 altogether and thus rectifies this apparent incongruence.

[28]   *HEGA*, I, 30. *Who* […] *while he was consul together with Lucius Bibulus.*

vernacular translation mentions Aetius's consulship but omits his co-consul Symmachus,[29] and in I.15, where Bede records: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini CCCCXLVIIII Marcianus cum Valentiniano quadragesimus sextus ab Augusto regnum adeptus VII annis tenuit,"[30] whereas the *OEHE* has: "þæt Martianus casere rice onfeng ⁊ VII gear hæfde."[31] Shared reigns are omitted by default in I.9 (Gratian/Valens/Valentinian) and I.10 (Arcadius/Honorius) as those chapters are omitted in the *OEHE*. Another related omission occurs in I.5, where the *HE* says that upon his death Emperor Severus left two sons: "Bassanium et Getam, quorum Geta hostis publicus iudicatus interiit, Bassanius Antonini cognomine assumto regno potitus est."[32] The *OEHE* laconically notes: "⁊ Basianus his sunu feng to Breotenrice,"[33] without making mention of Geta. The translator might have chosen to omit Geta as he was judged an enemy of the state and therefore was not worthy of being mentioned. At the same time, he may have wanted to avoid the impression that the Roman emperors had unworthy or evil offspring, thus elevating the position of the Caesars. Quite another explanation is probably inspired by the contemporary context of late ninth-century England. Male royal succession was an important contemporary issue, which had brought about severe consequences for the House of Wessex and England. Upon Æthelwulf's death, his sons had struggled for the West Saxon inheritance, a problem that was also relevant during his lifetime.[34] The problem of succession and inheritance appears to have troubled Alfred as well, as his will is a modified version of a now-lost earlier version, which imbues that something made or possibly forced him change his mind. According to Asser, Æthelwulf had drawn up a similar document in order to prevent any struggle over his succession amongst his sons. Alfred's eldest brother Æthelbald, however, violated that will.[35] Both documents testify to a deep concern with succession (and peace and prosperity of the realm being contingent upon it) in Æthelwulf's and Alfred's times. Moreover, Alfred's reign was troubled from the start as his nephew Æthelwold, son of Alfred's elder brother Æthelred, put forth his claim to the West Saxon throne and rose in rebellion against Alfred's son Edward.[36] Thus, Anglo-Saxon England had experienced woe from unsettled

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[29]   *Ibid.*, 62.

[30]   *HEGA*, I, 68; *In the year of our Lord 449 Marcian, forty-sixth from Augustus, became emperor with Valentinian and ruled for seven years*; trans.: C&M, p. 49.

[31]   *OEB*, I.1, 50.

[32]   *HEGA*, I, 38; *Bassianus and Geta. Of these Geta perished, having been judged an enemy of the state, while Bassianus, who assumed the surname of Antoninus, gained the empire; trans.*: C&M, p. 27.

[33]   *OEB*, I.1, 32; *And Basianus his son received dominion over Britain.*

[34]   Cf. *VÆ*, chs. 12, 16-21, corroborated by entries from the *ASC*.

[35]   See K&L, pp. 173-178 and 313-326 for King Alfred's will and *VÆ* ch. 16 for Æthelwulf's provisions.

[36]   The *ASC* records s.a. 900 that after immediately after Alfred's death and Edward's Æthelwold rose in rebellion and made a treaty with Danes in Northumbria. Only in 904 Edward succeeded in subduing the rebellion in the Battle of Holme (Cf. *MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. 61-62); cf. Keynes, "England, 900-1016", pp. 460-63.

questions of succession first-hand. If the translator was aware of that fact, he possibly deemed it better to portray a smooth, uncontested succession in this case. The same might be true for the omission of the co-rulers in the narration of the *OEHE*. The translator's intention may have been to excise cases of shared rule, as this had negative connotations in his own day. At the same time, accounts of shared rule may have been regarded by the translator as setting an unwanted precedent that bolstered the claim of other pretenders or strongmen to important offices or even to the throne. In times of turmoil, due to the Viking onslaughts and the ill-health of Alfred, such a scenario was to be avoided in order to hold the English together against the common foe. The *ASC* MS A, however, does retain the joint rule: "Her Ma[uricius] ʒ Ualentines onfengon rice ʒ ricsodon .vii. winter."[37] The compiler apparently did not make use of the *OEHE*, but rather referred to the *HE*. The motivation to omit the second ruler in the Old English translation cannot always have been due to political reasons, as we have positive evidence for shared rule in I.4 (Marcus Antonius/Aurelius Commodus) and I.6 (Diocletian/Maximianus). A different explanation might be sought in the fact that the translator was not familiar with the complex political system of Rome, which underwent changes during the times of the republic, the empire and the tetrarchy. The confusion of the foreign cultural concepts is shown in the British plea to Aetius, about whom the *OEHE* says: "se wæs iu ær heah ealdorman, ʒ þa wæs þriddan siðe consul ʒ cyning on Rome." Aetius is further addressed "ðriga cyninge."[38] The corresponding Latin terms in the *HE* are *patricius*, *consulatum* (signifying the office) and *consul*. The translations *cyning* and *ealdorman* are feasible in an Anglo-Saxon context, although *cyning* refers to a concept which is the opposite of what *consul* as a representative of the non-monarchial republican system of Rome originally meant. The omission of Symmachus in this case can be accounted for by the absence of shared rule with regard to kingship in Anglo-Saxon England.[39] He was lost due to *cultural substitution* if we may put it that way.[40] But the fact that

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[37] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 17. <Mauricius> was later altered to <Martianus>, probably by the interfering Hand 8 (*ibid.*)

[38] *OEB*, I.1, 48; *He had been a high ealdorman for a long time before, and then was for the third time consul and king in Rome.*

[39] Flavius Aetius (390-540) was *magister militum* of the Western Empire and three-time consul (432, 437, 446). Apart from his military achievements, he was one of the dominating figures in Roman politics in the 430s, which made him the factual ruler in the Roman west. Therefore, the translator's choice of *cyning* to refer to Aetius is acceptable. On Flavius Aetius see H. Börm, *Westrom. Von Honorius bis Justinian* (Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 64–93 and A. Demandt, „Magister militum", in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Supplementband XII (Stuttgart, 1970), cols. 653–790, at cols. 654–59 and J.R. Martindale, "*Aetius*", in *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A.H.M. Jones *et al.*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971-) vol. II: *A. D. 395 - 527* , ed. J.R. Martindale (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 21–29.

[40] The term is found in Sauer, "Language and Culture", p. 439. In his survey of glossaries he also treats words which refer to the world and culture of classical antiquity (pp. 442-43 and pp. 459-63). A prime example with relevance for us is the rendering *cynedome* for *res publica*, two cultural

there had been shared rule in Rome is acknowledged elsewhere in the *OEHE* as has been outlined. Moreover, the translator keeps the account of the polycratic Old Saxons in *HE* V.10, who did not have permanent kings: "[N]æfdan agene cyning; ah monige aldormenn wæran þeode foresette," of whom in case of one was marked out as *heretogan* and *lattowe* by casting lots.[41] If the translator of the *HE* wanted to avoid the notion of shared kingship and put everything behind the claim of one king (be it Alfred or Edward), this may be seen as counter-evidence. It appears that the question of omission or retention of shared rule and/or succession with regard to the Roman history in the *OEHE* is difficult to answer, since the evidence is ambiguous.

Related to the question of shared rule is the translator's habit of retaining the line of Caesars. Whenever Bede makes mention of a Roman emperor he assigns him a place in the line going back to Augustus, telling his audience which position the emperor in question assumes in that line with the notation *ab Augusto*.[42] This practice, however, does only apply to the 'principal' emperor at the beginning of the particular entry. The co-ruler is never assigned his place in the line of Caesars, nor are the emperors who are mentioned in the course of the chapters. This bestows a special importance on the emperor, according to whose reign the entry is dated. Even though there was shared rule, Bede (following Orosius) singles out one of the Caesars to have pre-eminence. The *OEHE* faithfully reproduces Bede's procedure. Why did the translator choose to do so? There are various explanations. First, he had to rely on Bede's authority and did not want to alter the dating formulae more than necessary. Second, the line of Caesars closely resembles a genealogical succession. The importance of genealogies in Anglo-Saxons England hardly needs to be stressed here.[43] Therefore, despite the different cultural spheres, the translator retained a means which appealed and related to the cultural capital of his (probably chiefly) English audience. At the same time it set a precedent for uninterrupted rule. The fact that the Caesars came from different lines/families is not evident in the *HE*, nor is it in the *OEHE*. It appears as if the Roman emperors all sprung from the same genealogical line. This may have been of interest to the *OEHE*'s translator, who wanted to bolster the claim to rule of a

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concepts represented by a king and a consul respectively. Thus the translator's choice of *cyning* for *consul* is apposite.

[41] *OEB* I.2, 416; [*They*] *did not have their own king, but many ealdorman were set to rule above this people.*

[42] I.3 (Claudius, 4th), I.4 (Marcus Antonius Verus, 14th), I.5 (Severus, 17th), I.6 (Diocletian, 33rd), I.9 (Gratian, 40th), I.10 (Arcadius, 43rd), I.11 (Honorius Augustus, 44th), I.13 (Theodosius the Younger, 45th), I.15 (Martian, 46th), I.23 (Mauritius, 54th).

[43] For the importance of royal genealogies see Sisam, "Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies"; D.N. Dumville "The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists", *ASE* 5 (1976), 23-50; *idem*, "Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists", in *Early Medieval Kingship*, e.d. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds, 1977), pp. 72-104; A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis. Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin, 2006); and F. Lenegham, "The Alfredian Context of *Cynewulf and Cyneheard*", *ASE* 39 (2011), 71-104, at pp. 80-82.

particular house. In a politically unstable situation, the retention of the caesarian line from Augustus might mirror the genealogical interest of the translator and his implied audience. Similarly, it may be an expression of a desire for stable political circumstances when it comes to royal succession, which, due to genealogical discourse, should be undisputed and smooth. There is more than one example in the *HE* and the *OEHE* where the division of rule after the death of a king entails chaos and woe for the kingdom and the subjects.[44] Against this backdrop, retaining the line of succession may be an example or even political statement concerning how power should pass on in order to make a people prosper. For Bede, Israel was the archetype of a kingdom divided against itself and which subsequently is superseded due to divine wrath.[45] To him, the inner struggle of the Britons was one reason for their downfall and will be focused on in more detail in the chapters to come. Bede pursued a didactic aim, with his narration having a strong exegetical drive, so his translator tried to follow in his footsteps.

Using the emperor Augustus as point of reference has yet another important connotation. The reign of Augustus marks a turning point in the history of Rome, with a long-lasting *pax romana* after almost 100 years of revolution and civil war that finally brought an end to the republic. The reign of Augustus became a *locus amoenus* of historical consciousness. The other important fact concerning his reign is marked out in Orosius's *Historia Adversum Paganos*. For Orosius "the pacific condition of the Roman Empire was ordained by God to be amenable to his Son's entrance into human history," as Stephen Harris remarks.[46] The birth of Christ, as the focal point of Christian salvation history, happened during the reign of Emperor Augustus, with Jesus being born in the Roman province Judea. The *OE Orosius* re-shapes Orosius's Latin *Historia* and de-centers Rome in the historical perspective and in God's plan for salvation. Instead, the translation's main theme is a "historical validation of Germanic Christendom,"[47] an ethno-religious identity, which decentralizes the Roman Empire and shifts the focus to the Germanic tribes, united by a common descent and religion as successors of Rome in Europe. This 'germanizing' of Orosius's *Historia*, based on a reinterpreted concept of Bede's *gens Anglorum*, fits the apparent Anglo-centrism of the *OEHE*, where the account of historical Rome is distinctively abbreviated. Nevertheless, the image of Augustus's peaceful reign and the fact that Jesus Christ was born in a Roman province during his time, certainly did loom on the translator's mind and would fit his story of the Anglo-Saxons in salvation history. Retaining Augustus while similarly cutting out most of Roman history in the *OEHE* is no paradox when we see

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44 E.g. III.1 (Northumbria)
45 P. Wormald, "The Venerable Bede and the 'Church of the English'", in *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism*, ed. G. Rowell (Wantage, 1993), pp. 13–32, at pp. 23-26.
46 S. Harris, "The Alfredian World History and Anglo-Saxon Identity", *JEGP* 100 (2001), 483-510, at p. 490.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 509.

a distinct Anglo-Saxonization at work in the editorial process of the translator. Let us now consider the other omissions in more detail.

Despite the important aspects just outlined, chapter I.2 omits almost everything on the difficulties during Caesar's expedition to Britain. This exalts the emperor's strength even more. The Romans conquer Britain with relative ease, which highlights their military superiority and implicitly the weakness of the Britons in the *OEHE*.[48] In the following chapter (I.3) the account of Claudius is abbreviated significantly. The personal account of the Roman emperor is omitted in the *OEHE* as well as his motif for invading Britain, i.e., a punitive expedition due to a rebellion. The translator further omits Bede's remark that no-one had dared to conquer the island before and after Julius Caesar until Claudius's attempt: "quam neque ante Iulium Caesarem neque post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat."[49] In the Old English translation, Claudius appears to have met with even less resistance, which portrays him as a man of extraordinary power. The translator also omits that Claudius assigned his son the honorary title of 'Britannicus.' This omission can be explained by the translator's attempt to diminish the notion of Roman dominion of Britain, since by the time he was translating his agenda was to de-emphasize the role of Rome and assert an Anglo-Saxon dominion of the island. Keeping this epithet, which denotes the successful subjugation of a certain geographical area by the bearer of the honorary title, would have run counter to this endeavor, as the title alone invokes claims for Roman dominion over Britain. Despite the omissions, both Bede and the *OEHE* make mention of Emperor Vespasian, who – dispatched by Claudius to Britain – conquers the Isle of Wight quickly and without blood-shed. In contrast to those exceptional emperors, who wielded considerable power and overcame Britain and the Britons – without bloodshed, we learn about Nero, who was of no service to Rome: "ac bewtuh oðera unrim æwyrdleana Romwara rices, þæt he Breotone rice forlet."[50] This is not only a good example for the juxtaposition of good and bad emperors in the *HE* and the *OEHE*, but also highlights Nero's faults, since the Latin makes him lose dominion over Britain *paene* 'almost'. Due to his wickedness, Rome lost worldly dominion – a topic which is prominent in the prose translation of the Alfred circle such as the *Preface to the Pastoral Ca*re or the *OE Boethius*.

The next chapter (I.4) is left almost untouched content-wise. It recounts the reign of Marcus Antonius Verus and his brother Aurelius as the narrative frame into which the first coming of Christianity to Britain is to be found. The British king Lucius pleas with Pope Eleutherius in order to be Christianized. This request

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[48]   A detailed analysis of the Roman history with regard to the Britons will be given in my chapter 'The Role of Britons', *infra*. For the time being this study will limit itself to brief remarks in this chapter.

[49]   *HEGA*, I, 34. *Which neither anyone before Julius Cesar nor after him had dared to undertake.*

[50]   *He did no service to the state, but among other countless disasters to the Roman empire, he also lost the dominion of Britain*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 30-31.

is granted and the Britons, who ardently keep the faith ("onwealhne ⁊ unwemmende on smyltre sibbe")[51] until the time of Emperor Diocletian, who is called *yfel* 'wicked' by the OE translator. This chapter shows the initial coming of Christianity to Britain but also foreshadows its downfall. It is interesting that the chapter is kept unchanged. Apparently, the account of the Christian faith coming to Britain was of overriding importance to the translator, just as the fact that it was not long-lasting Christianity, but rather a fleeting success. This in turn not only foreshadows the mission of St. Augustine to the English, but also highlights the fact that the Gregorian initiative was successful and long-lasting. This fist episode of the Christian faith was bound to fail due to both the Britons themselves and to the Romans, as Diocletian is portrayed as an opponent of Christianity in this and the chapters to come.

In chapter I.5 on emperor Severus, the internal struggles of his reign are omitted, probably as they pertained to domestic Roman policy and were of no interest to an Anglo-Saxon audience. Again, the punitive character of his expedition to Britain (due to the defection of the federate tribes) is not mentioned. Severus recovers after many hard-fought battles the greater part of the island, which we have seen was lost due to Nero's ineptitude, and fortified it with a wall from sea to sea. The translator omits the description of a turf wall from Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*, as it was of no narrative value and possibly no interest to him and/or the intended audience.[52] The *OEHE* retains the fact that he died at York and that his son Basianus received the dominion over Britain ("feng to Breotonrice").[53] Here we have a distinctive Rome-Britain connection as the wall is one of the visible remnants of Roman rule at the time of the translation, Severus's death at York, and the continuation of father-son rule. Therefore, the chapter was deemed worthy of being retained by the translator.

In chapter I.6 the translator mentions that Diocletian ascended to the empire for twenty years and chose Maximianus as his co-ruler, both also mentioned as part of Bede's narrative. However, the translator makes slight modifications. Bede recounts that Diocletian was made emperor by the acclamation of the army: "imperator ab exercitu electus."[54] This is omitted in the *OEHE*. The translator may have chosen not to mention this fact as his own lifetime had seen the trouble caused by a ruler who proclaimed himself king with military support, namely Æthelwold, who raised the Viking army in Northumbria in revolt against Edward. The translator probably wanted to avoid precedents for assumption of power, that challenge the genealogical royal succession. He is likely to have seen this matter cause trouble to the extent of civil war. We might deduce a possible date for the translation of Bede's *HE* from this strategy, i.e., after Alfred's lifetime. However,

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51 *OEB,* I.1, 32. *Unimpaired and undefiled in quiet and peace.*
52 Cf. C&M, p. 26 n.1 and *HEGA*, I, 296.
53 *OEB*, I.1, 32.
54 *HEGA*, I, 38. *After he had been elected emperor by the army.*

the translator may have been aware of the impending troubles caused by Æthelwold's claim already during Alfred's reign. In that case the omission would have been a plea against such a *coupe-d'etat*. With regard to Maximianus the translator adds that he was assigned to be co-ruler over the Western Empire: "ge sealde him westdæl middaneardes."[55] This explicatory note shows how Diocletian and Maximianus shared the rule. After this, the translator cuts out a considerable chunk of Bede's chapter. The *HE* includes a long passage on Carausius, whose duty it was to guard the British shores ("ad obseruanda oceani litora"),[56] and his *socius* Allectus, who in turn had seized the power in Britain for nine consecutive years before the Roman prefect Aclipiodotus, in the name of Maximianus, put an end to that rebellion and restored Britain to the Roman Empire. The Latin passage does not shed a favorable light on the Saxons, as it states that the they raided the seashores.[57] The Saxons are termed *hostes* 'enemies', with whom Carausius plotted. Neither would have pleased the ears of an Anglo-Saxon audience at the end of the ninth century. Furthermore, the omitted rebellion of Carausius and Allectus fit with the translator's agenda. As with the expeditions of Claudius and Severus, where Bede wrote that the emperors were drawn to Britain because of rebellions or defections of federate tribes, this episode in the Latin contributed to the picture of Britain as an unruly island, poised to rebel and therefore opposed to the Roman Empire. The *OEHE* does systematically remove this aspect from the narration and portrays Britain as less belligerent and more under the control of the Roman Caesars. Finally, leaving out this passage makes smooth reading from the opening lines of the chapter about Diocletian and Maximianus to its conclusion, dealing with the persecutions of Christians under those emperors in the East and the West of the Roman Empire. From a narrative point of view, the modified narrative sequence does emphasize the aspect of Christianity and paves the way for the subsequent chapter on St. Alban, Britain's proto-martyr. It appears as if the *OEHE* wanted to highlight aspects of Christianization (including persecutions and martyrdom) and thus omitted aspects which rather concerned the domestic affairs of imperial Rome, even though Britain sets the stage for the story. This factor, combined with the rather negative picture of the Saxons and the notion of Britain as anti-Roman, appears to be the trigger for the omission in the Old English translation. It is interesting to note that the translator mistranslated the Latin. Right after making mention of Maximianus assuming the western half of the empire, the *OEHE* adds: "ꝸ he onfeng cynegewædum ꝸ com on Breotone."[58] In Bede's Latin, however, this passage pertains to Carausius: "quam ob rem a Maxi-

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[55]   *OEB*, I.1, 33. *And assigned him the western part of the world.*

[56]   *HEGA*, I, 38. *To guard the shores of the ocean.*

[57]   *Ibid.,* "[T]unc Franci et Saxones infestabant." *Which then the Franks and the Saxons attacked.*

[58]   *OEB*, I.1, 32; *And he received royal vestment and came to Britain.*

miano iussus occidi, purpuram sumsit ac Britannias occupauit."[59] Apparently, the translator did not see the participle construction and was confused about who actually assumed the purple. Nonetheless, it seems strange that the translator chose to retain that passage, given the fact that it was embedded in a passage which had been omitted. It is possible that the Latin MS was defective and only had the *purpuram sumsit ac Britannias occupauit*, which, depending on the length of the lacuna, could have followed Bede's account that Maximianus was created *socium imperii*. This is unlikely, as we would have to assume that the Latin MS was defective after this sentence, and that therefore the translator omitted the rest of the passage because the subsequent part no longer made sense in the light of the omission of the previous lines. These are a lot of assumptions. Therefore, the attribution to Maximianus may have been intended. This establishes a direct link between Britain and the Western Empire since this is Maximianus's sphere of influence. With the next chapter on St. Alban's martyrdom, the stage is set and the narration becomes more vivid, as now the audience was enabled to imagine these events to have happened while Maximianus had direct sovereignty over Britain. Diocletian was far removed from the island, ruling the eastern half of the empire as mentioned. The chapter (in the *HE* and the *OEHE*) ends with the account of Diocletian and Maximianus's persecutions of Christians. Both emperors, in contrast to the other Caesars of the *ab Augusto* line, are embedded in a very ignominious 'genealogy': "Onfengon hi ða teoþan stowe on ehtnysse Godes cyrcena æfter Nerone casere."[60] This is a remarkable point, as for the first time we get a negative portrayal of Roman emperors. They appear to be anti-Christian, a character trait which is depicted as having some tradition, as it is already the tenth persecution since Nero. The positive impression of the Romans, which the audience has been presented with so far, is tainted to a certain degree as they are guilty of crimes against Christendom. The kings are portrayed as even more wicked in the *OEHE* than in the *HE,* as the vernacular translation has an addition that presents the persecutions as just one aspect of the emperors' evil deeds ("Þa betwyh ða monigan yfel þe hi dydon […]")[61] and singles them out as *arlesan* 'impious', which the *HE* does not do.[62] The persecution of Christians is condemned with more emphasis than in Bede's Latin. These evil emperors fit well the gallery of 'bad' exempla that Bede and his translator wanted to present to their audience. At the same time, the inclusion of these evil characters and their role in the persecutions is integral to the narrative. Keeping in mind that both the *HE* and the *OEHE* are part of unfolding salvation history on an exegetical level, the persecutions are

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[59]   *HEGA*, I, 38 and 40. *Although he because of that had been sentenced by Maximianus to be killed, he assumed the purple and occupied Britain.*

[60]   *HEGA*, I, 34; *They received the tenth place in the persecution of God's churches after the emperor Nero.*

[61]   *OEB*, I.1, 32; *Then among the many evil things which they did* […].

[62]   Ca omits the passage "in eastdæle middangeardes ⁊ Maximianus on westdæle." This is a mere explicatory note and may not have been deemed worthy of copying by the Ca scribe.

necessary as they provide Britain with martyrs in the process of Christianization. This is most evident in the *OEHE* as well as the *HE* in chapter I.7, which narrates the martyrdom of St. Alban. This hagiographic account thus becomes a pivotal point in the early narration of the *HE/OEHE,* as it provided a touchstone for all Christians in Britain. Thus, in the *OEHE* the focus of chapter I.6 is not so much on the treason and defection of Carausius and Allectus, as it is in the *HE*, but rather on the early history of Christianity in Britain, which confirms the island as part of the universal Church. This aspect seems even more important to the translator than it was to Bede given the omissions and additions. The redaction of the Latin chapter followed a narrative purpose and was not just undertaken because it was not relevant to the translator.

Chapter I.8 deals with the Arian heresy and its condemnation at the Council of Nicaea. It further narrates that Emperor Constantius died in Britain and bestowed his power on his son Constantine. But whereas the *HE* relates that he was elected in Gallia ("imperator creatus in Galliam"),[63] the *OEHE* seems to stress the handover of a sphere of influence, which probably included Britain: "ꓶ Constantinus his sunu þam godan casere, se wæs of Elena þam wife acenned, his rice forlet."[64] Constantinus is portrayed as a child of Britain as the *OEHE* continues: "Writeð Eutropius þæt Constantinus se casere wære on Breotone acenned, ꓶ æfter his fæder to rice feng."[65] The chapter concludes with the condemnation of the Arian heresy during the reign of Constantine. Constantine and Diocletian are juxtaposed by the translator, who added the adjective *god* to the former and the *yfel* to the latter. Moreover, it appears as if Constantine's father, who is also portrayed as a man of clemency and goodness ("wæs se mon monðwære ꓶ for weorulde god"),[66] upon his death in Britain has passed on the rule to his son, who was born in Britain and who displays similar qualities and is presented as a champion of Christianity right from the start, as the Nicaean Council was held during his reign. The fact that "on Constantinus dagum"[67] is actually an addition by the translator strengthens that impression. This chapter was clearly retained as it refers to the first Roman emperor who helped Christianity become the state religion of Rome (although that did ultimately only happen sixty years after his death in the reign of Theodosius II) and who also had a strong connection to Britain. Constantine and his mother Helena are important figures in Anglo-Saxon literature.[68]

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63   *HEGA*, I, 52.
64   *OEB*, I.1, 42; *And left his realm to his son Constantine, who was born of the wife Helen.*
65   *Ibid.*; *Eutropius writes that the good emperor Constantine were born in Britain, and after his father assumed the power.*
66   *Ibid.*
67   *Ibid.*
68   117 hits according to the *DOEC* <accessed: 01/10/2014>. Apart from the *OEHE* and the Old English poem *Elene* Constantine finds mention in *Metrical Charm* 3, Napier 50, *Vercelli Homily 18*, *OE* Orosius, *OE Dialogues*, Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* and the *OE Martyrology* but most frequently in Ælfric: Catholic Homilies II, 19, 31-32, the *Lives of Saints* (Agnes, Abdon and Sennes

The following chapters (I.9 and I.10) are omitted entirely from the *OEHE*. Chapter nine deals with the emperors Gratian and Theodosius, who tried to engage the problems which endangered the empire. Within this narrative frame Bede tells the story of Maximus, who rose to the rank of dictator and was elected emperor by the army in Britain ("ab exercitu creatus imperator").[69] Thereafter he crossed the channel to Gaul, murdered Gratian and drove his brother Valentinian to Italy before he was finally trapped and killed in Aquilea.[70] Again, the chapter may have been left out as the account of a rebellion. Assuming power by military force and killing the rightful ruler may have been regarded as undesirable by the translator and his audience who were confronted or had been confronted with a similar situation in Anglo-Saxon England. Chapter I.10 chiefly deals with the Pelagain heresy. There is not much about the history of Rome in this chapter, except for the two rulers who are mentioned (Arcadius and Honorius). Therefore, it will be dealt with later when this study focuses on the Britons and the Pelagian heresy in the penultimate chapter.

A side effect of the omission of these chapters (I.9 and I.10) is that Bede's narration is sped up in the *OEHE*. The chapter on Constantine and the defeat of the Arian heresy (I.8) is immediately followed by the sack of Rome by the Goths and the subsequent loss of Roman dominion over Britain in *HE* I.11. The presentation of these events is more concise than in the *HE*, with a new quick succession of events being established. Similarly, the translator abbreviates I.11 significantly. The *HE* relates that a certain Gratian became tyrant in Britain and was killed: "apud Britannias [...] tyrannus creatur et occiditur."[71] This happened in the same year when Germanic tribes defeated the Franks and ravaged Gaul. The *HE* then mentions that after Gratian, a man called Constantinus was elected in his place, who crossed into Gaul and was tricked by the barbarians into making dubious treaties. Bede comments on this issue: "detrimento magis reipublicae fuit."[72] Constantinus then was killed by Constantius, his *comes* 'officer,' on the orders of Emperor Honorius. Furthermore, Constans, the son of the Constantinus, whom the latter had created as a Caesar, was killed at Vienne by Gerontius, also "comes suus"[73] 'his own officer'. The streamlining of the chapter may have been due to the general agenda of the translator to edit out accounts of defection, rebellion and opposition to the Roman empire in Britain. Furthermore, these details could have been omitted, as they mainly concerned the domestic policy of imperial Rome. Finally, the passage is quite confusing. We have Constantinus, Constantius

and St Martin), his homilies *Wyrdwriteras* and *Dominica XII post Pentecosten* and his pastoral letter to Wulfstan and the *Old English Heptateuch*).
[69] *HEGA*, I, 52.
[70] This chapter is taken almost verbatim from Orosius (vii. 34,45) except for the year of grace; cf. C&M, p. 37 n. 4 and *HEGA*, I, 302-03.
[71] HEGA, I, 54. *Is made tyrant and is killed.*
[72] *Ibid.*, *He did great harm to the state.*
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

and Constans within a few lines, which are difficult to tell apart, especially if we are to assume an aural context for the *OEHE*. These similar sounding names surely would have confused an audience. Therefore, the omission could be owed to pragmatism. Furthermore, given the fact that the chapter on Constantine the Great, whom the translator portrayed in a very favorable light, preceded this chapter, the audience was endangered of getting lost while listening to the account. Abbreviating the account in I.11 had the further advantage that the picture of Constantine could not be besmirched due to an misunderstanding of the passage because of those who have similar names.

The Sack of Rome and the Declining Power of Rome

This chapter on Constantine and the Arian heresy is immediately followed by the passage on Alaric sacking Rome and dwindling Roman power in Britain. From an allegorical point of view, this event foreshadows the coming of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in Bede's narration. At the same time, it legitimizes the Germanic Conquest of Britain, as the passage shows that even the 'half-mystical' powerful Romans could not muster the resources to hold Britain, as they were overpowered by a Germanic tribe. The passage in Bede, together with the accounts of the sack of Rome in the *OE Orosius* and *OE Boethius,* are blunt re-writings of Orosius's original account.[74] The Old English accounts all have in common – despite slight differences – that they herald the end of Roman dominion in Britain and exalt the role of the Goths, with whom the Anglo-Saxons appear to have identified as their ancestors or at least as partakers of a shared Germanic imperial identity. This identity had a strong ethno-religious character, as it portrayed the Christianized Germanic peoples as rightful heirs to the heritage of the Roman empire after its fall.[75] The *OE Orosius* depicts the settlement of the Goths as a peaceful process of transition and negotiation rather than conquest:

> Æfter þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs m wintra ⁊ c [⁊] iiii a siextigum, God gedyde his miltsunge on Romanum, þa þe he hiora misdæda wrecan let, þæt hit þeh dyde Alrica se cristena cyning ⁊ se mildesta, ⁊ he mid swa lytle niþe abræc Romeburg þæt he bebæd þæt mon nænne mon ne sloge, ⁊ eac þæt man nanuht ne wanade ne ne yfelade þæs þe on þæm ciricum wære, ⁊ sona þæs on þæm þriddan dæge hie aforan ut of þære byrig hiora agnum willan, swa þær ne wearð nan hus hiora willum forbærned. þær genom Hettulf, Alrican mæg, Onorius swostor þæs cyninges ⁊ siþþan wið hine geþingade ⁊ hi him to wife nam. Siþþan sæton þa Gotan þær on lande, sume be

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[74]   Cf. Harris, "Alfredian World History" and M. Godden, "The Anglo-Saxons and the Goths: Rewriting the Sack of Rome," *ASE* 31 (2002), 47-68.

[75]   Cf. Harris, "Alfredian World History" and Godden, *Misappropriation of the Past*, pp. 6-16.

þæs caseres willan, sume be his unwillan; sume hi foron on Ispanie ⁊ þær gesæston, sume on Affrice.[76]

(*1164 years after the foundation of Rome, God showed mercy on the Romans, when he let their misdeeds be avenged, that it though did Alaric the Christian king and the mildest, and he conquered with so little hatred the city of Rome that be decreed that no man should be killed, and also that no one should neither steal nor befoul those things which were in the churches, 7 soon after that on the third day they left the city because of their own will, so that no house was burned because of their intent. There took Hettulf, Alaric's uncle, the king Honorius's sister and with him bound and him took as wife. Then the Goths settled there in the country, some by the will of the emperor, some against his will; some went to Spain and settled there, some in Africa*).*

Godden remarks that given the fact that in the 890s the Carolingian Empire was in disarray, it may be possible that this account of peaceful transition in the *OE Orosius* was designed to invigorate the idea that Rome has been transferred to the Anglo-Saxons, assuming that Harris was correct with his assumption of the Goths to be related to the them. Moreover in the preceding chapter (VI.XXXVII), Orosius criticized the Romans for complaining about the Goths, and insisted that those were not destroying Rome. This is difficult to imagine not having had considerable resonance in the translator's time as Godden suggests.[77]

The sack of Rome in the *OEHE* stands at the beginning of a narrative, which on the one hand stresses the military dominion and protector function of the Romans over and for the Britons, but on the other tells of the decline of Roman power, which we find in chapters I.12-I.14. The military superiority of Rome with regard to the Britons is expressed by depicting them as unable to resist the onslaught of the Picts and the Scots after the withdrawal of the Roman forces. The Britons thrice call on the Romans for help. Their reverence for the Romans becomes most clear in their second petition:

And hi ða eft sendon ærendracan to Rome ⁊ wæpendre stefne him fultumes bædon, þæt þæt earme eðel mid ealle ne fordiligad ne wære, ne se nama ðære Romaniscan þeode, se ðe mid him swa lange scean ⁊ bryhte, fram fremdra ðeoda ungeþwærnesse fornumen ⁊ fordilgad beon sceolde.

(*Then once more they sent messengers to Rome and in plaintive tones begged for aid, that their poor country might not be utterly destroyed, nor the name of the Roman people, which so long was bright and shining among them, be overcast and obscured by the violence of foreign nations*). [78]

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[76]   Bately, *Old English Orosius*, p. 156.
[77]   Cf. Godden, *Misappropriation of the Past*, pp. 7-10.
[78]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 44-45.

What is implied in this passage is an esteem for the Roman rule, which appears (from a British point of view) as glorious and long-lasting. The Old English translation of this passage has a peculiar translation. The Latin stands as follows: "ne nomen Romanae prouinciae, quod apud eos tam diu claruerat, exterarum gentium improbitate obrutum uilesceret."[79] The *nomen Romanae prouinciae* is rendered as *nama ðære Romaniscan þeode* in the *OEHE*. Whereas the Latin formulation seems to refer to Britain as the Roman province *Britannia*, the Old English appears not to refer to the fact that indeed Britain was once under Roman dominion and administration, being an integral part of the empire. The phrase *nama ðære Romaniscan þeode* rather implies a reference to the fame and reputation of the Romans, which seems to be at the brink of fading away. This passage, which shows the Roman legacy endangered by foreign nations, reads like yet another foreshadowing of the Germanic conquest of Britain. We can also discern an interesting Germanization of Bede's Latin, which is reminiscent of Old English heroic poetry. The wording of the *HE* stresses the esteem of the Roman province, which, however, is transitory. The *OEHE*, in contrast, seems to focus on the reputation and fame of the Romans and their past deeds in general, which is more sustainable but could yet be endangered. This underscores the semi-heroic image the *OEHE* seeks to give of the Romans. In any case, this passage shows the decline of the Roman power in Britain, with foreign peoples trying to assume its place. This clearly foreshadows the *adventus Saxonum* in *HE* I.15.

Nonetheless, the Romans prove their capability to defend their former province and to bestow their military knowledge upon the Britons. These in turn show a blatant ineptitude in construction works and military craftsmanship in comparison to the Romans. This aspect lessens the claim that the Britons – in succession to the Romans – are true successors, as they are not able to hold and defend their own territory. The account of declining Roman power, however, continues as the final British attempt to seek help from Rome goes awry. Their petition to the Roman *magister militum,* Aetius, is unsuccessful as he apparently had overstretched his resources:

> Ðeah ðe hi þas ðing sædon, ne mihton hi nænigne fultum æt him begitan, forþon on ða ylcan tid he wæs absgayd mid hefigum gefeohtum wið Blædlan ⁊ Attilan Huna cyningum.

> (*Though they pleaded thus, they could not get any help from him, for at that time he was engaged in severe struggles with Blaedla and Attila, kings of the Huns*).[80]

It becomes clear that it was not so much Aetius's unwillingness to help the Britons, but rather his inability to do so, as he had to cope with the Huns. The fact

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[79] *HEGA*, I, 60; [*T*]*he name of a Roman province, long renowned amongst them, might not be obliterated and disgraced by the barbarity of foreigners*; trans.: C&M p. 43.

[80] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 48-49.

that Rome apparently had overstretched its military resources had been hinted at before. Right after the Britons had petitioned to help uphold their once shining legacy, the Romans embarked on a final expedition to fight against the Picts and Scots. After having won the victory against the northern foes, they reveal to the Britons that they no longer could help them:

> Ða gesægdon Romane on an Bryttum þæt hi no ma ne mihton for heora gescyldnysse swa gewinnfullicum fyrdum swencte beon.

> (*Then the Romans said to the Britons once for all, that they could no longer exhaust themselves in such toilsome expeditions for their defence*). [81]

Despite their previous fame and military power, Rome seems to in decline. It could no longer safeguard all its boarders and provinces. On a figurative level, the old order of the Roman empire gives way to the new order, in which the successor states emancipate themselves under the aegis of the (Germanic) barbarian tribes, i.e., the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, the Vandals, the Franks etc., all to be united in what Harris has termed 'Christendom', or Germanic imperial identity. Rome's tragic flaw in Bede's narration and the *OEHE* seems to be that they had wielded unprecedented military power, owned the most efficient administration and displayed unmatched building skills, but failed in the end as they lacked divine backing. The decline of Roman power is portrayed as being part of the Almighty's plan of salvation. The story of Rome in Britain draws to an end, and the story of the Germanic invaders, who will become the dominant force instead, is about to begin. This rhetoric of change is discernible in both the *HE* and the *OEHE*. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes assume the role of protectors and military role-models for the British, just as the Romans did:

> Þa gesomnedon hi gemot ⁊ þeahtedon ⁊ ræddon, hwæt him to donne wære, hwær him wære fultum to secanne to gewearnienne ⁊ to wiðscufanne swa reðre hergunge ⁊ swa gelomlicre þara norðþeoda. ⁊ þa gelicode him eallum mid heora cyninge, Wyrtgeorn wæs haten, þæt hi Seaxna þeode ofer þam sælicum dælum him on fultum gecygdon ⁊ geladedon. Þæt cuð is þæt þæt mid Drihtnes mihte gestihtad wæs, þæt yfell wræc come ofer ða wiþcorenan, swa on þam ende þara wisena sweotolice ætywed is.

> (*Then they gathered an assembly and took counsel together, as to what should be done, and where they should look for help to avoid and repel such savage and repeated devastations of the northern nations. Then it seemed best to all, and to their king, Vortigern by name, to invite and call into their aid the people of the Saxons from the parts beyond the sea. It is evident that this was so arranged by*

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[81]   *OEB*, I.1, 44-45.

*the divine power, that heavy vengeance should come on these outcasts, as is clearly
shown by the issue of events).*[82]

Not only do the Britons choose the Saxons as their new protectors, but it be-
comes clear that the coming of the Germanic tribes in order to fill the void caused
by the withdrawal of the Roman forces was part of the divine plan for humankind.

By condensing the chapters I.8-11 and the portrayal of the gradually diminish-
ing power of Rome in Britain the Roman history in the *OEHE* becomes more of
a prelude to the Germanic conquest in I.15. Imperial secular Rome had ceased to
exert power in Britain, but spiritual Rome, the Rome of the papacy, was to play
the overriding role in the *HE* and the *OEHE*. The last vestiges of Roman military
power are embodied by the Briton Aurelianus Ambrosius, under whose leadership
the Britons rise up against the Germanic tribes:

> Wæs in ða tid heora heretoga ⁊ latteow Ambrosius, haten oðre no-
> man Aurelianus. Wæs god mon ⁊ gemetfæst, Romanisces cynnes
> mon.

> (*Their general and leader in that time was Ambrosius, also called Aurelianus.
> He was a good man and moderate, a man from the stock of the Romans.*)[83]

It is then related how the fortunes of war swayed between the Britons and the
Saxons until the Battle of Mount Badon:

> oð þæt gear ymbsetes þære Beadonescan dune, þa heo micel wæl on
> Ongolcynne geslogon, ymb feower ⁊ feowertig wintra Ongolcynnes
> cymes in Breotone.

> (*Until that year of the siege of Mount Badon, when they made great slaughter
> among the English, about 44 years after the arrival of the English in Britain.*)[84]

This episode has the air of a final moment of glory of an otherwise diminishing
Roman power in Britain. Ambrosius is depicted as the last survivor of the once
mighty and venerated Roman people in Britain. This notion is somewhat miti-
gated in the *OEHE* as the Latin portrays as the sole Roman survivor of the tur-
moil caused by the Picts, Scots and Germanic tribes:

> [Q]ui solus forte Romanae gentis praefata tempestati superfuerat, oc-
> cisis in eadem parentibus regium nomen et insigne ferentibus.

> (*Who as the only one of the Roman nation survived the force of the aforemen-
> tioned storm, in which his parents who carried a noble name were killed.*)[85]

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[82]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 50-51.
[83]   Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 54.
[84]   Text and trans.: *ibid.*
[85]   *HEGA*, I, 72.

It stands to reason that the translator would omit such a passage, as it referred to the slaughter which the treacherous Germanic mercenaries had made among the Britons. This may hint at the intended audience. In front of an Anglo-Saxon or a mixed Anglo-Saxon/British audience, such a reference would have been troublesome, especially if we read Ambrosius's campaign as feud-like vengeance, given that his parents had been murdered. It is not hard to imagine a context where some (British) members of the audience may still carry a grudge against the Anglo-Saxons as their kingdoms had just been subdued by King Alfred. In the light of this significant omission, this assumption deserves serious consideration.

The consequence of the Battle at Mount Badon is that the Germanic invasion of Britain was repelled for the moment. What sets in is a narrative silence, as the translator does not elaborate further on the repercussions of the story. The victory of the Britons under Roman leadership is recorded, but the consequences are taken out. The narrative sequence which follows omits chapters I.17-22 in the *OEHE*. We have no further records of enmities between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons, let alone Ambrosius Aurelianus. Consequently, the Mount Badon episode is immediately followed by the dispatch of the Augustinian mission from Rome in I.23. The last account of Roman military strength in Britain fades away and gives way to the emergence of the spiritual power of Rome. The martial power of the once most powerful empire in the history of mankind gives way to the universality of the Church with its message of peace and the eternal kingdom.

The episode on the mission in *HE* I.23 is of great importance as only with their conversion are the Anglo-Saxons entered the community of the faithful, in what can be described as the story of the heathen peoples at the outer ends of the world converting before the Second Coming of Christ. The *OEHE* nicely portrays this transition from secular imperial Rome to spiritual papal Rome:

> Ða wæs æfter forðyrnendre tide ymb fif hund wintra ⁊ tu ⁊ hundniontig wintra from Cristes hidercyme; Mauricius casere feng to rice ⁊ þæt hæfde an ⁊ twentig wintra. Se wæs feorða eac fiftegum frim Augusto. Ðæs caseres rices ðy teoðan geare Gregorius se halga wer, se wæs on lare ⁊ on dæde se hehsta, feng to biscophade þære Romaniscan cyrican ⁊ þæs apostolican seðles: ⁊ þæt heold ⁊ reahte þreotteno ger ⁊ syx monað ⁊ tyn dagas. Se wæs mid godcundre inbryrdnesse monad þy feowertegeðan geare þæs ylcan caseres, ymb fiftig wintra ⁊ hundteontig Ongelcynnes hidercymes in Breotone, ðæt he sende Agustinum ⁊ oðre monige munecas mid hine Drihten ondredende bodian Godes word Ongolþeode.

> *(Then, as time went on, about five hundred and ninety-two years after Christ's advent, the emperor Mauricius succeeded to the throne, and occupied it for twenty-one years. He was the fifty-fourth from Augustus. In the tenth year of this emperor's reign the holy Gregory, foremost both in learning and in active life, suc-*

ceeded to the bishopric of the Roman church and of the apostolic see, which he held and directed for thirteen years six months and ten days. In the fourteenth year of the same emperor, about one hundred and fifty years after the Angles came into Britain, he was directed by divine inspiration to send Augustine and many other monks with him, men who feared the Lord, to preach the word of God to the Angles). [86]

Although the account acknowledges that Rome and its emperors were still of some importance, the reign of Mauritius appears to be a mere footnote. However, it seems to be an apt point of transition from a Britain dominated by imperial Rome to a Britain under the influence of papal Rome. The transition appears even smoother in the *OEHE* due to another omission. In *HE* I.21, which did not find its way into the *OEHE*, a miracle of Germanus of Auxerre is recounted, after which he returned to Ravenna. There he was received by the co-emperor of Marcian, Valentinian. After Germanus's death Bede then relates:

> Nec multo post Valentinianus ab Aetii patricii, quem occiderat, satellitibus interimitur, anno imperii Marciani sexto, cum quo simul Hesperium concidit regnum. [87]

> (*Not long after this was Valentinian murdered by followers of the patrician Aetius, whom he had murdered, in the sixth year of the reign of Marcian, with which then the Western Empire collapsed*).

This passage is significant in many ways. First, it testifies to the domestic strife and power struggle of the Roman Empire, a fact which the translator subsequently tries to obfuscate in his narrative. This is done with all probability in order to rid the *OEHE* of notions of political instability and disputed claims to power. Second, the omission fits the editorial agenda of the translator. Valentinian is omitted from chapter I.15, and the translator paves over a loose end without reference. Finally, making mention of the fall of the Western Empire carried important implications. The medieval mind-frame recognized the succession of world empires, of which the last and present empire was the Christian Roman Empire, which was to endure until the coming of the Antichrist. [88] Highlighting of the fall of the Roman Empire – although it was only a part – could have stirred anxieties among the readers that the coming of Antichrist was near. In a time of constant Viking onslaughts, the Scandinavians may have been perceived as signs denoting the last days before the Antichrist's coming, which consequently would have evoked notions of the impending end of the world in this passage. It is interesting that the fall of the Empire is neither mentioned in the *OEHE* nor the *ASC*. Malcolm Godden therefore remarked that is was difficult to say whether Alfredian readers

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86 Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 54-55.
87 *HEGA*, I, 90.
88 Cf. Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis*, p. 35.

perceived Rome as still flourishing in their own time.[89] With the Western Empire not having fallen in the narration of the *OEHE,* and the embedding of the Gregorian mission in the context of Mauritius's reign, the Christianization of England appears to have happened while the fourth world empire, Christian Rome, had not yet ceased to exist.

Through Gregory's initiative and the Augustinian mission, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons entered a new era within the course of salvation history. The balance of power in Britain had shifted already. Imperial Rome had lost its influence and was superseded by the English. This is underlined by the introduction of a new dating formula: *ab adventum Saxonum.* Moreover, as with the coming of the Germanic tribes, their conversion is also willed by God ("mid godcundre inbryrdnesse").[90]

Conclusion

The present chapter has shown that the streamlined account of imperial Roman history was governed by a specific editorial agenda and was by no means haphazard.[91] The Romans are portrayed as powerful figures, sometimes larger than life, whose military power was unmatched and who left a visible material legacy to the Anglo-Saxons through edifices and buildings. Much of the domestic strife of Rome is left out even if it pertained to Britain. This can be explained by the effort on part of the translator to get rid of the image of Britain as an unruly country, which is prone to rebellion and opposed to the Roman Empire. Furthermore, questions of usurpation combined with states of political turmoil might have been avoided by the translator, who had either witnessed the West Saxon succession crisis firsthand, or at least saw it coming in his or her own time. However, the Romans were not able to hold Britain, as the sack of Rome by the Visigoths heralds the historical turning point when the Germanic tribes supersede the Roman Empire and start their own ascension in Europe. The Anglo-Saxons in turn succeeded to the vacuum the Romans had left in Britain. They share the military strength of the Romans and therefore appear as rightful heirs to them. In contrast to the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons established a lasting rule in Britain, as they have one advantage over the Romans: their Christianization is embedded in God's plan of salvation. The Anglo-Saxon claim to Britain is willed by God. In contrast, Roman Christianity is nowhere explicitly mentioned. On the contrary, Diocletian,

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[89]   Godden, *Misappropriation of the Past*, p. 9.
[90]   *OEB*, I.1, 54.
[91]   After having consulted the *OE Orosius*, any claim that the passages in question were left out in the *OEHE* because they had complementary accounts in the *OE Orosius* cannot be upheld. Its historical account from 60 BC to 410 AD differs from the *HE* as well as the *OEHE*, but does not necessarily provide the narrations of the latter. For details see Bately, *Old English Orosius*, chs. V.xii, VI.xv, VI.xxx, Vi.xxxv, VI.xxxvi, VI.xxxvii, VI.xxxviii.

Maximianus and Nero are singled out for their persecutions of Christians, which, however, are necessary to provide Britain with martyrs, an important point in the medieval self-understanding of being part of universal Christianity. The Romans pose as role models for the Anglo-Saxons, but only insofar as they displayed extraordinary military power and left their mark on Britain. But the *OEHE*, even more than the *HE*, reduces the Roman history to the status of a prelude for the coming of the Germanic tribes, who follow in the footsteps of imperial Rome, but exceed it as their dominion of Britain was divinely ordained. The English had taken over the secular power of Rome in Britain but their connection to the eternal city is not severed, it is rather of another nature. The secular Rome, Augustine's *civitas terrena*, is superseded by the spiritual Rome, representing the *civitas Dei*. And it is with the latter that the Anglo-Saxons cast their lot.

Mission and Conversion

Although imperial Rome had left its mark on the minds of the Anglo-Saxons in general and obviously on Bede in his *HE* in particular, the accounts of Roman history serve as a mere prelude to the coming of the Germanic tribes to Britain and its subsequent evangelization. It was not so much the Rome of the Caesars that preoccupied Bede, but it was rather the Rome of the papacy, with Pope Gregory I – 'the Apostle of the English' – being the central figure. Gregory himself celebrates Britain's conversion in his *Moralia in Iob*:

> Ecce lingua Britanniae, quae nihil aliud nouerat, quam barbarum frendere, iam dudum in diuinis laudibus Hebraeum coepit Alleluia resonare. Ecce quondam tumidus, iam substratus sanctorum pedibus seruit Oceanus; eiusque barabaros motus, quos terreni principes edomare ferro nequiuerant, hos pro diuina formidine sacerdotum ora simplicibus uerbis ligant; et qui cateruas pugnantium infidelis nequaquam metuerat, iam nunc fidelis humilium linguas timet.

> (*Lo the mouth of Britain, which once only knew how to gnash its barbarous teeth, has long since learned to sing the praises of God with the alleluia of the Hebrews. See how proud Ocean has become a servant, lying low now before the feet of the saints, and those barbarous motions, which earthly princes could not subdue with the sword, are now, through the fear of God, repressed with a single word from the lips of priests; and he, who, as an unbeliever, did not flinch before troops of warriors, now, as a believer, fears the word of the humble.*)[92]

Gregory is harping on a classical topos here, namely, the conquest of the indomitable *Ocean* and the victory over the barbarous peoples at the ends of the world,

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[92]   *Moralia in Iob*, ed. Adriaen (Turnhout, 1985), III, 1346; trans.: Scully, "'Proud Ocean", p. 3.

which in the tradition of Roman historians and poets is linked with the *pax terra marique*, i.e. the Roman global dominion of the world. Gregory, however, as earlier patristic authorities before him, subverts Roman imperial claims by showing that peace and tranquility can be found in Christianity exclusively, as Diarmuid Scully has shown.[93] In contrast to Orosius's claim that the Roman Empire was coterminous with Christianity, Gregory emphasized the limitations of Rome's worldly rule, contrasting it with the limitless and eternal rule of Christ and the all-encompassing character of the Church.[94] This spiritual conquest of Britain is also evident in Bede's *HE*. The book's overriding issue is the coming of Christianity to Britain, its subsequent development and dissemination and finally the questions of unity and missionary endeavor on the continent. To the mind of the Northumbrian scholar, history clearly was ecclesiastical history, the history of salvation first presented to the Israelites in the Old Testament and subsequently bestowed upon the Church as Israel's successor.[95] When writing his *HE* Bede applied his idea of building a house for God – expounded in his Old Testament commentaries *On the Tabernacle* (*De tabernaculo*) *On the Temple* (*De templo*) and *On Ezra and Nehemiah* (*In Ezram et Neemiam*), where he likens the tabernacle to the present Church and the temple to the future Church in heaven – [96] to the foundation and development of the *ecclesia gentis Anglorum,* as Scott DeGregorio argued. According to DeGregorio, the cooperation among different *gentes* in the building of the Temple found fulfillment in the foundation of the English Church by the cooperation of different races, who had built the Church through their missionary efforts, and the Church itself due to its Anglo-Celtic amalgam.[97] From the very beginning Bede makes clear that the unifying element to all peoples in Britain is the Christian faith. When he enumerates the different languages spoken in Britain he states:

> quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summae ueritatis et uerae sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum uidelicet Brettonum Scottorum Pictorum *et Latinorum, quae meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis.*" [my italics]

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[93]   Scully, "'Proud Ocean", pp. 3-15.

[94]   *Ibid*, pp. 13-14. The commonplace for the limitations of worldly rule and the boundless and eternal rule of Christ is Augustine's dichotomy of the two *civitates* in his *De Civitate Dei*: the *civitas terrena*, i.e. worldly Rome, which will eventually come to an end, and the *civitas dei*, which is the eternal heavenly kingdom.

[95]   S. De Gregorio, "Bede and the Old Testament", in *CCB* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 127-41, p. 135.

[96]   Cf. *Bede: On the Tabernacle*, ed. and transl. A.G. Holder (Liverpool, 1994), p. 45; cf. De Gregorio, "Bede and the Old Testament", p. 136; standard editions of the commentaries are the following: *De Tabernaculo*, ed. D. Hurst, in *Opera Exegetica Pars II*, CCSL 119 A(Turnhout, 1969), pp. 1-139; *De Templo*, ed. D. Hurst, in *Opera Exegetica Pars II*, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 141-234; *In Ezram et Neemiam libri III*, ed. D. Hurst, in *Opera Exegetica Pars II*, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 235-392.

[97]   De Gregorio, "Bede and the Old Testament", p. 137.

> *There are five languages* […]*, all devoted to seeking out and setting forth one and the same kind of wisdom, namely the knowledge of sublime truth and of true sublimity. These are the English, British, Irish, Pictish, as well as the Latin languages; through the study of the scriptures, Latin is in general use among them all.*[98]

To Bede – as to Gregory the Great and others – the conversion of the barbarian *gentes* in Britain was seen as a prerequisite for the Second Coming of Christ. Continuing the labors of the Apostles was part of the ministry of Christ to convert the gentile nations before the end of the world, even in the remotest corners of the known world. Given the remoteness of Britain displayed in classical and patristic sources and the opening chapter of *HE,* the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons would have been perceived as part of this providential scheme.[99] Thus, Bede placed the story of the *ecclesia gentis Anglorum*, with the pivotal moment of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, firmly within the course of salvation history.[100] Richard Gameson has gone so far as to deem the Roman mission to the Anglo-Saxons "the most important event of their history during that period,"[101] a notion that is evident in Bede's *HE*. This chapter, in turn, will elucidate the significance

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[98] *HEGA*, I, 26; trans.: C&M, p. 17. The passage is faithfully rendered in Old English: "fif ðeoda gereordum ænne wisdom þære hean soþfætnysse ꟲ þære soðan heanesse smeað ꟲ andetteaþ; þæt is on Angolcynnes gereorde ꟲ Brytta ꟲ Scotta ꟲ Peohta ꟲ Ledenwara: þæt an is, þæt Leden, on smeagunge gewrita eallum þam oðrum gemæne."; *Studies and acknowledges one and the same science of sublime truth and true sublimity in the tongues of five nations,* […]*, that is in the tongues of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts and Latins. This one, the Latin, is common to all others, in the study of the Scriptures*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 26-29.

[99] For the remoteness of Britain and the British archipelago and its association with the conversion of the gentiles at the far corners of the earth before the Second Coming see Scully, "Location and Occupation", pp. 243-72; *idem*, "'Proud Ocean'", pp. 3-15; and Merrills, *History and Geography,* esp. pp. 235-81.

[100] Cf. Plassmann, (*Origo Gentis*, pp. 69-72), who argues that the disembarkation of Augustine on Gregory's behest marks the beginning of Anglo-Saxon Christian identity. Important for her is the 'market-place story', where the identity is created by the connection between Angli and Angeli, and the names of King Ælle and the kingdom of Deira, who could be both interpreted in terms of salvation history. Plassman stresses that the name-giving process does not create an identity which is connected to the past, but which is a promise for the future. The interesting thing is this regard is that – as Plassman correctly remarks – this implies an identity in the making ('Identität im Vollzug'), which has to be validated by a Christian course of action – e.g. synods, but also missionary activity – to ensure to cohesion of the Christian *gens* and its adherence to Rome.

[101] Georg Jenal, exalts the significance and remarks that the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and its repercussion can be deemed as one of the most important developments in Western Europe during the Early Middle Ages ("Gregor d. Grosse und die Anfänge der Angelsachsenmission (596-604)", in *Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare*, Raoul Manselli, 2 vols. (Spoleto 1986), II, 793-894, at 793); Moeller opines that the Anglo-Saxons were singular in their rapid acceptance of the faith, which did not take root so quickly or profoundly in any other Germanic people (B. Moeller, *Geschichte des Christentums in Grundzügen*, 10. Aufl. (Göttingen, 2011), p. 127.

of the themes of mission, conversion and Christianization in the *OEHE* in order to gauge the importance of the issue to the translator.[102]

The rapid spread of the faith in the aftermath of St. Augustine's mission to Kent in 597, the Irish effort by Aidan and others, and finally, the missionary zeal of the Anglo-Saxons themselves, testify to the importance of Christianity as a newly adopted faith for the once pagan Germanic invaders.[103] The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons features prominently in Bede's *HE*. Molyneaux remarked that Bede's work "can be understood as being fundamentally concerned with conversion, mission and the fulfillment of the prophecy that the Gospel would be preached to all the Gentiles before the Second Coming."[104] Towards the end of the *HE* the English themselves engage in missionary activities among their ancestral tribes on the continent, and in correcting non-Roman practices among the Irish and Picts – depicted as part of God's unfolding plan – which brings Bede's narration full circle.[105] Molyneaux, however, downplays the relevance of the con-

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[102]   The terms *mission*, *conversion* and *Christianization* are sometimes used interchangeably in this chapter as their meaning is not clear-cut. All signify the encompassing process of the coming and acceptance of the Christian faith (disregarding the various strands of Christianity) by peoples who had adhered to non-Christian belief systems before. To specify the terminology: *mission* denotes the planned and organized effort of evangelization by agents (missionaries), either on behalf of an institution, e.g. the papacy, on their own behalf, as is the case with the Irish model of the *peregrinatio pro amore dei* (cf. C. Stancliffe "British and Irish Contexts", in *CCB*, pp. 69-83, at p. 80). With *conversion* and *Christianization* we might distinguish between a short-term process and a long-term acceptance as L. Abrams pointed out. ("Conversion and Assimilation" in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 135-53, at pp. 135-37). *Conversion*, in her reading, might signifies an initial superficial and external acceptance, demonstrated through ritualized baptism, whereas *Christianization* denotes the eventual approval of the doctrines, rituals and way of life of the Christian faith. It might alternatively be used as an umbrella term to describe the complete process from the genesis of the conversion enterprise, the organizational pre-requisites of the mission, the missionary endeavors, baptism of the converted, the institutionalization (e.g. religious infrastructure, offices, liturgy etc.) and wholesale acceptance of the Christian faith by the coverts. We have to distinguish further between the collective acceptance of the Christian faith and the individual's choice to convert as we do not have records for the individual's motives to convert. This links well to another useful model is provided by Ludo Mills, who identified three phases of the conversion process: control of external collective behavior, control of external individual behavior and control of internal individual behavior and consciousness. ("La conversion en profandeur: un process san fin", *Revue du Nord* 68 (1986), 187-98). More often than not, conversion processes in the early Middle Ages were top-down processes, with the king/duke/war-leader converting with his leading men and magnates, gradually imposing the Christian faith upon his subjects, whose personal choices were not taken into account.

[103]   We have to be careful, however, as the sources are mainly by Christian writers and therefore biased. The *HE* provides us with accounts of relapses into paganism in certain kingdoms after the baptized king had died and was succeeded by his sons. In addition, the correspondence this study has referred to in the chapter on Cotton Domitian should raise serious doubts about the steadfastness of the new faith even 300 years after the initial conversion.

[104]   Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", pp. 1306-7.

[105]   The important chapters are *HE* V.19 (Ceolfrith's letter to Naitan King of the Picts) and *HE* V.20 (The reform of the monks of Iona through Ecgbehrt). The acceptance of Roman practices

version theme in the Old English translation of Bede's work. He argues that most of the papal letters that were closely connected to missionary activities in Bede's Latin account and played an important role in establishing papal (Roman Catholic) authority for the whole enterprise, had been omitted or summarized. Their omission in turn would have shifted the focus away from the Roman mission and decentered Roman authority.[106]

Despite the fact that personal correspondence between ecclesiastical figures and missionaries in the field was indeed a central characteristic of early medieval mission,[107] the omission of those documents does not necessarily testify to a diminished role of conversion as the present study claims. At least not in the general sense that Molyneaux's statement may suggest. In contrast, this study wishes to argue that mission and conversion are central features of the Old English rendering. There are three aspects that may support the argument.

First, we need to consider the retention of an important papal document, namely, Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum* (*LR*) It is cast in the form of a dialogue between archbishop Augustine of Canterbury and Pope Gregory on various matters of Church organization, the liturgy and essential questions of the Christian faith, such as ritual purity and matrimony.[108] The issues were originally designed to address the context of the Anglo-Saxons' conversion, yet, generally, they also fit a

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by Iona is praised by Bede: "Wæs þæt mid wunderlicre stihtunge þære godcunan arfestnesse swa geworden, þæt, forðan seo þeod þone wisdom, ðe heo cuðe, þære godcundan arfestnesse swa geworden, þæt, forðan seo þeod þone wisdom, ðe heo cuðe, þære godcundan cyððe lustlice butan æfeste Angelfolcum cyððe ⁊ gemænsumede, hi ða swylce æfter fæce þurh Angelþeode, on þam þingum þe hi won hæfdon, to fulfremedum gamete rihtes lifes becom."; *It was so ordered* by a wondrous dispensation of the divine goodness [my emphasis]*, that, as the people cheerfully and without jealousy made known and imparted to the nations of the English the wisdom of the divine knowledge which they possessed, so then they after a time through the English should attain to the perfect measure of a right life, in those matters in which they were deficient*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 472-73. The religious harmony of all the tribes in Britain is immediately contrasted with the obstinacy of the Britons in church matters.

[106] See Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", pp. 1306-07; cf. Rowley, pp. 98-113, esp. p. 104. The adherence to Roman authority was a central element of any Anglo-Saxon missionary enterprise from the time of Gregory the Great onwards. The missionaries thus could fashion themselves as representatives of the curia. Moreover, the *familiaritas* (adherence to the Roman apostolic Church) was paramount to the missionaries in order to uphold the *unitas* 'unity' of the Christian church. This unity of the Church was seen as fundamental to Christian salvation history in the unfolding sixth age of the world and at the same time provided a powerful political tool, to overcome political boundaries and make the Roman Catholic faith a means of unification; see L.E von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 2. überarbeitete Aufl. (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 210-12.

[107] von Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas*; pp. 210-12. Besides the letter evidence in the wake of the Gregorian mission, another good example is the correspondence between bishop Daniel of Winchester and Boniface; see *EHD* nos. 174 and 175.

[108] Those issues appear to be a recurring feature in the correspondence between missionaries and the papacy in early medieval missions (von Padberg, *Christianisierung*, pp. 210-11).

context of any newly-converted people, which is inexperienced in matters of the Christian faith or was in the need of correction as a result of spiritual negligence.

Unlike the *HE*, its Old English translation places the *LR* at the end of Book III instead of Book I. Although Dorothy Whitelock considered it an afterthought to the translation, she admitted that the translator retained it because of its historical relevance in the ninth century.[109] Rowley has suggested that the Old English translator shifted the document on purpose. Book III chiefly narrates the changing fortunes of the Christian faith and the re-Christianization of England after acts of apostasy during the seventh century. Through this re-location of the *LR,* the translator seems to emphasize the similarity of the historical situations and the re-establishment of a specifically Roman orthodoxy, as Rowley argues.[110] The concluding notes of Book III are on Bishop Wigheard's adjourn to Rome to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury and the re-Christianization of Essex. Wigheard, however, died in the Holy City, leaving the English Church without chief prelate. The final relapse of the East Saxons into paganism, reverted by the initiative of King Wulfhere of Mercia, who sent bishop Gearuman as missionary to Essex, is significant in two ways: on the one hand, it shows the fragility of the Christian faith among the Anglo-Saxons, and on the other, it testifies to its ultimate triumph, foreshadowing the 'Golden Age' of the English church during the episcopate of Archbishop Theodore at the beginning of Book IV. The insertion of the *LR* as the final note to book III does not only establish authoritative guidelines in a situation of general uncertainty and doctrinal vacuum, but in connection with the now changed narrative sequence of books III and IV, it also re-establishes the authority of papal Rome, personified by Archbishop Theodore in the following chapters.[111] His episcopate was of paramount importance in matters of doctrine, learning and Church organization.[112] Bede praises his episcopate and remarks that he was the first archbishop to whom all the English owed obedience. Apparently, towards the end of the ninth/beginning of the tenth century, the Anglo-Saxons needed basic instruction in religious matters and an authoritative source they could rely upon. Both were provided by the inclusion of the *LR*, which carried the authority of Pope Gregory. An interesting footnote regarding the re-Christianization in Book III is that missionary activity in seventh-century Anglo-

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[109] Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 244. She bases her suggestion mainly on a letter of Pope John VIII to Eðelred, archbishop of Canterbury, who recommends Gregory's advice to him; cf. *EHD*, no. 222.

[110] Rowley, "Shifting Contexts", pp. 83-92, *passim*.

[111] This authority is further hardened by commemoration of Gregory and Augustine in final sentence of Book III: þis seondon ondsware þæs eadigan papan S(an)c(tu)s gregorius to geþahtunge ⁊ to frignesse þæs arwyrðan bioscopes augustinus. [my transcription from MS T (fol. 66v)]. *These are the replies of the blessed pope Saint Gregory to the inquiries and questions of the venerable bishop Augustinus*.

[112] Cf. Lapidge, *Archbishop Theodore*; Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, pp. 71-76; and Cubitt, *Church Councils*, pp. 8-21.

Saxon England is first and foremost an Irish activity. Thus, the inclusion of the *LR* for the sake of asserting Roman authority and orthodox practice may at the same time have counterbalanced the Irish influence. After the impression of the Irish agency in the conversion process, the arrival of Theodore marks a fresh start in the development of the English Church, now firmly grounded in Roman authority. The insertion of the *LR* at the end of Book III makes clear that the story of the *ecclesia gentis Anglorum* was not an Irish-Catholic but a Roman-Catholic one. We can say with confidence that the re-location of the *LR* was purposeful and underscored the text's instructive power with its inherent link to Rome and the papacy. Its importance is also shown by the conspicuous decoration in the oldest extant manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10.[113] Fourteenth-century glosses in Tanner may not accidentally attest a selective interest in passages dealing with the conversion, but indicate that the issue had been of continuous interest.[114]

Secondly, in addition to the retention of this document, the omission or abbreviation of the other letters might have followed an editorial principle to facilitate the readability of the *OEHE*.[115] Despite the letters' undisputed importance in terms of ecclesiastical authority and Bede's obsession with quoting his sources, those letters are minor digressions from the main account and might have been rather tedious to read or to listen to.[116] The same holds true for the correspondence addressed at historical figures like Æthelberht of Kent (*HE* I.32), bishop Vergilius of Arles (*HE* I.28), Edwin of Northumbria (*HE* II.10) or Æthelburgh (*HE* II.11) – Edwin's wife – all of which have a very specific and personal focus and may have been less relevant to a late-ninth/early-tenth-century audience.[117]

Finally, some of the letters might have been left out on account of controversial political and doctrinal issues. With regard to Gregory's letter to Augustine in *HE* I.29, the fact that it was his original plan to create two archbishoprics, at London and York, is tacitly omitted in the Old English version. It may be understand-

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[113] The text can be found on fols. 58r-66v; cf. Rowley, "Shifting Contexts", pp. 86-88. She argues that the letter's authority triggered its colorful treatment, which in turn displayed the thematic centrality to the Old English Bede; cf. also *idem*, "The Paschal Controversy", p. 306 and n. 47; Gameson ("Decoration", p. 150), who remarks that the amount of decoration was unusual for an early tenth-century manuscript.

[114] See Rowley, "Glosses"; and Rowley, pp. 186-94.

[115] Dorothy Whitelock has noted that the omission followed an editorial principle to focus on English history ("Old English Bede", p. 240).

[116] This holds especially true for Ceolfrith's monumental letter to Nechtan, king of the Picts, which reads like a well-informed treatise on the reckoning of Easter (*HE* V.19). This issue, of paramount importance to Bede, may have been less relevant to a late ninth-early/early tenth audience. See Rowley, for the alleged importance of the paschal controversy in the *OEHE* ("The Paschal Controversy"). She argues that Easter remains symbolically important to Christian unity in the Old English translation, displaying a " 'triumph of right'-mindset" (*ibid.*, p. 308).

[117] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 232, where she initially sees the omission as removal of irrelevant material. The letters in question are *HE* I.28, I.32, II.10, and II.11.

able that the translator wanted to avoid a discussion of the primacy of the See of Canterbury and refute possible Mercian claims to an archbishopric. Set in a late ninth-/early tenth-century context, the suppression of such an issue, would make sense in expressing anxieties about the leading role in the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons. Alfred's son-in-law, *ealdorman* Æthelred of Mercia, appears to have acknowledged the West-Saxon overlordship, but nevertheless saw himself in a powerful position displayed by his ambitious charter *intitulationes*.[118] Whether or not this points to a Canterbury origin for the translation, duly influenced by the West Saxon overlords, is an intriguing claim, which, however, cannot be substantiated. Furthermore, the intermittent inclusion of papal letters that give advice and exhortations to the missionaries and kings might have conveyed the wrong impression. Their number could suggest that the conversion process had been more toilsome than expected, with the papacy seeing a need to intervene and re-direct the mission since it met with unexpected setbacks. Their omission in the Old English turns the Roman mission into a smooth and successful undertaking, a 'blue-print' of conversion. The omission of the letters to Mellitus (*HE* I.30) and Æthelberht (*HE* I.32) might be explained by their contradictory approaches in dealing with heathen worship and idols. Gregory uses a diplomatic approach in the former, while in the latter exhorting the Kentish king to be more relentless towards pagan idolatry. Similar issues can be detected in the letters to Edwin and Æthelburh, where Pope Boniface's harsh language does not paint a favorable picture of King Edwin. Therefore, the translator might have omitted those letters exactly because the conversion of Edwin was to stand as an unquestioned landmark of the conversion of the English, and was charged with Christian symbolism. Edwin is portrayed as being initially reluctant to embrace Christianity, but after intensely pondering upon the Christian faith and various divine signs, he becomes a steadfast Christian ruler, who promotes the faith, shows eagerness to evangelize other kingdoms and is rewarded with a thereto unprecedented earthly rule. Moreover, he is the very link whereby the Gregorian mission – initially limited to Kent – takes root in northern and central England. Edwin's conversion heralds the triumph of Christianity in the whole of Britain, prefiguring to a certain extent the rule of Oswald, who is explicitly linked to Edwin.[119] Edwin's portrait shows that the Christian faith prevails in the long run, overcoming obstacles, and that the deep rumination of Edwin, rather than an external superficial acceptance of the faith,

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[118]   See Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians".

[119]   The story of Oswald is narrated in *HE* III.3-13. We are told that because of his piety Oswald gained an earthly kingdom unprecedented in scale (*HE* III.6). Bede makes the connection to Edwin clear: "Wæs he Oswald Eadwines nefa þæs æðelan cyninges, his sweostor sunu. Wæs þæt þæs wyrðe þæt swa æðele foregenga swylcne yrfeweard his æfæstnisse Ᵹ his rices hæfde of his seolfes mægsibbe." *This Oswald was nephew of the noble King Eadwine, being his sister's son. It was meet that so noble a predecessor should have out of his own kindred such an inheritor of his piety and dominions* translation; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 166-67.

was most desirable. The reprehensions of Pope Boniface could have tainted that image.

The accounts of heathen worship may have been dropped for a different reason. Judging from the papal and episcopal correspondence already mentioned in the course of this thesis, Anglo-Saxon England was suffering from insufficient pastoral care, the dwindling of Christian faith and even relapses into paganism. Stressing the heathen tradition of the English in combination with accounts of occasional victories of pagan kings against Christian kings (Edwin is slain by the Briton Cædwalla, Oswald by the Mercian Penda), might have stirred anxieties, that given the current predicament due to the Viking onslaughts, worshipping the old gods rather than the Christian god might be worth considering. Thus, leaving out those passages in the letters served to obfuscate the pagan past of the Anglo-Saxons, which they might have found appealing if and when they sensed that the Christian god had forsaken them.[120]

It has been shown that the omission of the papal letters does follow a specific editorial agenda designed to uphold the reader's focus and enhance the readability and receptivity of the *OEHE*, while at the same time rendering the Gregorian mission as a smooth enterprise, and probably responding to contemporary political issues. Consequently, their omission or synopsis in no way diminishes the importance of mission and conversion, nor would it undermine the authority of papal Rome.[121]

A second argument for the importance of mission and conversion in the *OEHE* may be seen in the fact that it retains most of the conversion narratives and provides us with numerous accounts of venerable characters, who exhibit a relentless zeal for evangelizing. The work is replete with depictions of pious men and women, who lead an exemplary Christian life, spreading the Word of God, and thus saving the people from eternal damnation and winning them over for the

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[120] It is worth considering that Alfred had Orosius's *Historia Adversum Paganos* translated in order to show the English that Christianity was the only viable religion. Orosius's work was commissioned by his teacher Augustinus in the aftermath of the Visigothic sack of Rome to counter the anxieties of the Romans that their shunning of the old gods and the adoption of the Christian faith had brought about the barbarian invasion.

[121] The account of the early conversion process in the *OEHE* shows that it was closely connected to Rome. This picture does not vanish even in Book II, where in the vernacular rendition of *HE* II.4 the translator omits the details of Boniface's letter, but faithfully translates the rest of the chapter, in which Mellitus' adherence to and reliance on the papacy is stressed. He is said to have gone to Rome to ascertain certain points pertaining to English church matters. Moreover, we are told that Pope Boniface sent letters to Archbishop Laurence, his clergy, King Æthelberht of Kent and all the English people: "to frofre Ᵹ to trymnisse rihtes lifes." 'as comfort and encouragement of the rightful life' (*OEB*, I.1, 108). To argue for a de-centered Roman authority with regard to the *ecclesia gentis Anglorum* misses the point.

Kingdom of Heaven.[122] The visions of the afterlife in books III and V might be understood in the same way.[123] These otherworldly visions seem to be designed to inculcate right Christian living, as they establish a direct connection between this world and the next, by showing the readers that adherence to the Christian faith is rewarded in the afterlife, whereas impious behavior will lead to damnation. These stories place Britain in the universal context of Christian salvation history, at the same time stressing the immediacy of the end and utter a warning of the limitations of human knowledge. Bede and his translator show the permeability of worldly existence, by placing those visions not in Rome or in the Holy Land, but in Northumbria, East Anglia or Mercia. Regarding the vision of the drunken brother in *HE* V.15, Rowley remarks that through the retention of Bede's first-person voice in the present tense, the translator "pulls the vision forward, rendering it in the present of the text, and bringing the window into hell that opens up before the drunken brother on his deathbed into the living history of the Old English translation."[124] These visions clearly have a didactic focus, as Bede (and his translator) point out explicitly.[125] The inculcation of Christian norms and the education and constant admonishing and correction in order to save the souls of the people can also be subsumed under the concept of conversion. Gregory the Great is an adroit reference in this respect, as for him conversion also included the inculcation of Christian norms and the correction of dwindling piety.[126]

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[122] Cf. *inter alia HE* I.7 (Passion of St. Alban), II.8-12 (Paulinus converts the Northumbrians), III.3 (Aidan), III.5 (Birinius converts West Saxons), III.15 (Cedd and his companions convert the Mercians), Iv.17 (Wilfrid converts South Saxons).

[123] For a comprehensive and well-informed survey of the otherworldly visions, see Rowley, "Otherwordly Visions", pp. 163-81; cf. Rowley, pp. 134-55.

[124] Rowley, p. 148.

[125] Bede (and his translator) comment on the vision of the Mercian thegn in V.13: "Þis spell ic leornade fram Pehthelme ðæm arwyrðan biscope, ond ic hit for þære hælo, ðe hit leornade oðþe geherde, hluttorlice awrat ꝺ sægde."*I heard this story from the venerable bishop Pehthelm, and I have written it down and realted it plainly for the saving of those, who should read or hear it*; text and trans: *OEB*, I.2, 442-43). Similarly Bede comments on on Adamnan's story of the destruction of Coldingham monastery (*HE* IV.26): "Ðis spel we forðon setton in ure bec, þæt we men monede, ðæt hio gesege Dryhtnes weorc, hu egesfullic he is on geðeahtingum ofer monna bearn, ðy læs we ænige tide ussum licumilcum unaledfednessum sion þeowiende, ꝺ læs Godes dom forhtige ꝺ we us ondræde, ðonne we scylen, ꝺ his yrre semninga us eac ðreage ꝺ usic oððe hwilwendlicum yrmðum rihtlice swence ꝺ wecce, oððe to ecre forwyrde heardwendlice gedeme.";*This story we have inserted into our book, with a view to warn men to regard the work of the Lord, how terrible he is in his counsels for the children of men, least at any time we become slaves to bodily licence, and have less dread of God's judgment and less fear, than we should, and his wrath suddenly overpower us and justly afflict and bring us low with temporal miseries, or severely adjudge us to eternal perdition*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 356-57). These are just two examples among many by which Bede's Christian didacticism becomes evident in the *HE*, duly adapted by his translator.

[126] Jenal, "Gregor der Grosse", p. 813.

A third aspect which testifies to the importance of conversion is that most of the miracle stories are retained in the *OEHE*.[127] In the history of Christianity, miracle legends are valuable rhetorical tools in missionary activity to facilitate the conversion of pagans. Pope Gregory himself had attributed the successful conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the efficacy of miracles and to the preaching of the missionaries in his *Moralia in Iob*.[128] Apart from their relevance in a pagan conversion context, miracles also help to strengthen the belief of Christians who have become lackluster in their faith. If we consider papal and episcopal correspondence and the accounts of edifying stories and miracle accounts as important factors in any process of mission and conversion, the miracle legends are given an even greater share in the narration of the *OEHE* as the role of the letters (except the aforementioned *LR*) is marginalized. Bede himself – following Gregory – regarded the primary purpose of miracles as apologetic: as signs that strengthened the faith through the establishment of Christ's teaching and the revelation of his divine power.[129] Similarly, Bede was convinced that the abundance of miracles was important for at the beginning of the Church, when the faith was nascent and precarious.[130] Therefore, the relevance of miracles to inspire the faith in the English may have been a decisive factor in retaining the miraculous accounts in the *OEHE*.

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[127] The miracles performed by bishop Germanus of Auxerre (*HE* I.17-21) are omitted. I will discuss the reason for the omission of these chapters in my next section. Cutting out the account of Germanus calming the sea on his passage to Britain, recalling the power of Christ over the wind and waves of Lake Galilee (*Matthew* 8:23-27; *Mark* 4:35-41; *Luke* 8:22-25), Aidan (*HE* III.15) and Oethelwald (Cuthbert's successor on Farne Island; cf. *HE* V.1) are the sole agents of Christian mastery of the waves (cf. Scully, "'Proud Ocean'", p. 15). Thus the translation removes the precedent in early British times and assigns those powers to two agents (one of them English) of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, for whom such miracles are worked exclusively.

[128] *Moralia in Iob*, ed. Adriaen, XXVII.xi.21; cf. K. Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation", pp. 27-50, at p. 49. We can see the importance of miracles in Gregory's Letter to Augustine (*HE* I.31): "Gaudeas uidelicet, quia Anglorum animae per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur […] pro cuius conuersione etiam faciendorum signorum dona percipisti" (*HEGA*, I, 146); *You should certainly rejoice, because the minds of the English are drawn by out ward miracles to inward grace […] for whose conversion you have therefore received the gift of performing miracles.* The idea that an age of conversion was also an age for the miraculous is as old as the St Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians* (14:22). These stories manifest God's divine power and are evidence for His Kingdom in the midst of the faithful (*Luke* 17:20-25). For the importance of miracles in Gregory's theology of conversion; see Jenal, "Gregor the Große", pp. 841-43.

[129] A.G. Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", in *CCB*, , pp. 142-55, at p. 152.

[130] *In Marci Euangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), p. 645; cf. Holder, "New Testament", p. 152.

The Didacticism of the *OEHE*: an Alfredian connection?

Conversion as a means of inculcating right Christian behavior fits well with the *OEHE*. Molyneaux's argumentation stands to reason when he stresses the didactic purpose of the *OEHE* by suggesting that it was translated "to promote Christian conduct by providing examples for emulation."[131] This didacticism is particularly evident in the transformation of the preface, where the translator made two important additions, as Molyneaux observes.[132] The most significant additions to Bede's Latin are the following: "Forþon hit is god godne to herianne ⁊ yfelne to leanne, þæt se geðeo se þe hit gehyre. Gif se oðer nolde, hu wurð he elles gelæred?"[133] and "For þinre ðearfe ⁊ for ðinre ðeode ic þis awrat; *forðon ðe God to cyninge geceas*, þe gedafenað þine þeode to læranne."[134] These additions stress the role of exempla and address the original dedicatee of Bede's work – King Ceolwulf of Northumbria – in his capacity as a teacher of his people and add to the numerous instances where Bede and his translator comment on the inclusion of particular stories because of their didactic and edificatory nature.

It is likely that emphasizing the teaching aspect, combined with this royal address, provides the crucial link to King Alfred's program. As is widely known, Alfred vents his anxieties about the dismal state of learning in the prefatory letter to the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*. He complains about the decline of learning and refers to a former 'Golden Age' now lost when others sought wisdom and instruction in England, and when pious kings ruled the English. He is particularly anxious about the shortage of teachers and addresses his recipients (the bishops):

> [F]orðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu do swæ ic geliefe ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm gæmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God sealed ðær ðær ðu hiene befæstan mæge, befæste. Geðence hwelc witu us ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon: ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren, & swiðe feawe ða ðeawas.
>
> (*Therefore I beseech you to do as I believe you are willing to do: as often as you can, free yourself from worldly affairs so that you may apply that wisdom which God gave you wherever you can. Remember what punishments befell us in this world when we ourselves did not cherish learning nor transmit it to other men.*

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131   Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", p. 1324.
132   *Ibid.*, pp. 1307-10.
133   *For it is good to praise the good and blame the bad, that the hearer might profit. If your hearer be reluctant, how else will he gain instruction?* ; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 2-3.
134   *I have written this for your profit and for your people; as God chose you out to be king, it behooves you to instruct your people*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 2-3. The italics in the Old English text indicate a passage, where the Latin was reworked; cf. Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", p. 1307.

*We were Christians in name alone, and very few of us possessed Christian vir-
tues.*)[135]

Obviously, Alfred saw the Viking raids as a divine retribution, since the Anglo-
Saxons had neglected their Christian duties. Their shortcomings were as follows.
First, they had neglected learning and the pursuit of wisdom, two essential aspects
of Christian living, in the quest of pursuing the source of all knowledge and wis-
dom, which is God.[136] Connected to this – as a second point – is the aspect of
teaching. Imparting religious knowledge and wisdom is a God-given duty, in par-
ticular for a king or anyone who is set in a leading capacity, be it bishop or secular
officer.[137] Alfred is emulating the Old Testament concept of the *rex et sacerdos* here,
whose genuine duty is to spread the faith and fashions himself as "eloquent
ruler."[138]

To improve the situation, Alfred famously suggests the translation of "sumæ
bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum mannum to wiotonne"[139] for the instruc-
tion of his people. This can be seen as his attempt to create a specific Anglo-
Saxon culture of remembrance or *memoria*. His prefatory letter alone abounds in
examples of what can be called 'cultural memory'. Otto Gerhard Oexle defined
memoria as a religiously motivated ethics of mutual commemoration and action, in
which the actions of the present are influenced by the mindfulness of historical
precedence and a consciousness of setting an example for those to come.[140] This
squares well with what Matthew Innes defined as 'social memory', namely, "the
shared views about the past, which inform the identity of a social group and thus

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[135]   *OEPC*, p. 5; trans.: K&L, p. 125.

[136]   DeGregorio, "Texts, Topoi and the Self", p. 96 and n. 85.

[137]   An apt example in this regard is again an aspect of Gregory the Great's theology of conversion,
        as for him the duty to evangelize was part of the pastoral office. Therefore, the episcopate was
        the leading capacity in any missionary activity (Jenal, "Gregor der Große", pp. 838-40).

[138]   Cf. A. Angenendt, "The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons Considered Against the Background
        of the Early Medieval Mission", in *in Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare,* ed. R. Manselli, 2
        vols. (Spoleto 1986), I, 747-81, at p. 768; Moeller, *Geschichte des Christentums*, pp. 137-40 and von
        Padberg, *Christianisierung*, p. 219 for the concept of the *rex et sacerdos*; see Stanton, *Culture of Trans-
        lation*, pp. 91-96, for Alfred being an 'eloquent ruler'. An ardent role-model for such activity,
        closer to Alfred's own day, would have been Charlemagne, who strove to evangelize to subdued
        peoples as he kept enlarging his regnum; cf. Moeller, *Geschichte des Christentum*, pp. 140-41.

[139]   *OEPC*, p. 7; *Some books that are the most necessary for all men to know.*

[140]   See O.G. Oexle, "*Memoria* in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters", in *Modernes
        Mittelalter*, hrsg. von J. Heinzle (Frankfurt/Main, 1994), pp. 297-323, at p. 297. The importance
        of *memoria* as an epistemological category from a Christian perspective is expounded by
        Augustine in book 11 of his *Confessiones*. To him, *memoria* is the driving force behind the identity
        of the human conscience, the presence of the mind, by which the mind becomes conscious of
        itself and links past, present and future (which are three aspects of the present) in order to find
        God, himself an integral part of *memoria* (cf. Oexle, "Memoria", pp. 303-05; cf. M. Carruthers,
        The Book of Memory : a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture (Cambridge, 1990).

act as a potent guide to action in the present."[141] Both Judaism and Christianity
are 'memory religions' and thus facilitate 'memory cultures'. In this religious con-
text, historical memory defines history as the revelation of God's actions. In Juda-
ism the duty to remember is – to use the words of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi – "a
religious imperative," the adherence to which ensures that in return God will re-
member his people and the covenant made with them.[142] In Christendom the
memory of God's grace in history is part of the faith and is evident in the liturgy –
one only has to remember the words of Jesus Christ during the last supper: "Do
this in remembrance of me"(*I Corinthians* 11: 23-26).[143]

Sarah Foot has cogently argued that the Scandinavian invasions brought about
a disruption of the institutions of *memoria*, namely, the monasteries. This void was
duly filled by the promotion of a constructed golden past, which placed the Eng-
lish into a divine plan.[144] She argues that Alfred was appropriating the separate
Christian identities into a single story, which showed that former disunity was the
precursor of present unity. The advantage, as Foot points out, was that this con-
struction of the past could not be challenged: "The Alfredian historical vision
supplied a post hoc justification for a new political reality achieved by military
prowess and the force of the king's own personality."[145]

With his program Alfred therefore may have created the vehicles to impart a
specific Anglo-Saxon *memoria* culture to his subjects: he had the *ASC* compiled, he
commissioned the translations mentioned above, with the philosophical thought
of Boethius and Augustine adapted to an explicitly Anglo-Saxon Christian con-
text.[146] In addition, his law-code is a monument of *memoria*: its preface begins with
long passages from Exodus, which reiterate the tradition of the Mosaic Law, fol-
lowed by passages from the *Acts of the Apostles* and the advent of the New Law. It

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[141] M. Innes, "Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society", *Past and Present* 158
(1998), 3-36, at p. 5.

[142] Oexle, "*Memoria*", p. 302.

[143] Cf. *ibid.*

[144] Foot, S., "Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: the Attitudes to the Past in England at the
End of the First Viking Age.", *TRHS* 6th ser. 9 (1998), 185-200.

[145] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[146] For the role of the *Royal Frankish Annals* in the formation of a collective memory for the Frank-
ish people under Carolingian rule, see R. McKitterick, "Constructing the Past in the Early Mid-
dle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals", *TRHS* 6th ser. 7 (1997), 101-29. Although
McKitterick stresses that the *Royal Frankish Annals* "created a more comprehensive idea of
Frankish identity than had ever been used before and a notion of the gens Francorum specifi-
cally associated with the Carolingian mayors and kings" contrast that with the Anglo-Saxons
who lack the emphasis on a particular family (pp. 127-28), Sarah Foot convincingly argued for
the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contributing to an Alfredian *memoria* culture, while acknowledging sepa-
rate identities of the different Germanic peoples (illustrated by the different origin myths for the
early kingdoms) invoke the image of a shared past and a common future of the *Angelcynn* 'the
English nation'. (Foot, "*Angelcynn*", esp. pp. 35-36; cf. Innes, "Memory", for the importance of
historiography for immediate political and social functions in the present. For the adaption of
Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Old English translation see Discenza, *King's English.*

continues with an account of its subsequent dissemination through Christian peoples all over the world, including the Anglo-Saxons after their conversion.[147] Through it the English finally entered the truly catholic, i.e. all-encompassing, Christian community and were thus allowed to participate in salvation history. Alfred's legislation is thus presented as a continuation of the Mosaic Law and the New Law, with the conversion of the English as the pivotal moment. This becomes even more clear when Alfred reiterates the legal tradition of his predecessors, starting with Æthelberht of Kent, "þe ærest fulluhte onfeng on Angelcynne."[148] The *HE* and the *OEHE* remark that this very Æthelberht stood out as law-giver (*HE* II.V).[149] It almost appears that the act of conversion had enabled him to become a legislator. This theme is paralleled in the prefatory letter mentioned above. Alfred legitimizes his translation program by recounting the translation of the Mosaic Law by the Greeks, the Romans and other Christian peoples throughout history.[150] Therefore, conversion precipitates the partaking of a religious and intellectual tradition that can be traced back to the Old Testament, as it contains a pre-Christian scenario upon which Alfred could attempt to map England's pre-conversion state.

Against this backdrop, we might see the *OEHE* in a new light: as the narration of a people that had been converted on papal initiative, it fit Alfred's purported *memoria* culture perfectly. The conversion process and its close connection to the papacy is further emphasized by the fact that despite his choice to streamline Bede's extensive chapter on Gregory (*HE* II.1), the translator did not omit the passages that deal with the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, and also translates an epitaph in which the conversion of the English figures as Gregory's only accomplishment deserving specific mention, as Discenza observes:[151]

> To Criste he Ongle gehwyrfde mid arfæstnesse lareowdomes […]Þis gewin ⁊ þissum gelic, þeos gemen þe wæs, ⁊ þis þu hyrde dydest, þæt þu Drihtne brohtest micel gestreon haligra saula: þyssum sigorum þu Godes bysceop blissian miht, forþon þu þinra weorca ece mede butan ende nimest.

> (*By the piety of his teaching h econverted the English to Christ […]. This toil and more like this, this care thou hadst and thou didst as a pastor, so that you broughtest to the Lord a great treasure of holy souls. In these triumphs thou mayest rejoice, thou bishop of God, because thou hast an eternal reward for thy works without end.*)[152]

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[147] See Liebermann, I, 26-46.
[148] *Ibid.*, 46, *Who first received baptism in the English nation.*
[149] *HEGA*, I, 198 and *OEB*, I.1, 110.
[150] *OECP*, pp. 5-7; trans.: K&L, pp. 125-26.
[151] See Discenza, "Anglo-Saxon Authority", pp. 78-79.
[152] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 94-96.

The translator also translates the epitaph of St. Augustine into Old English:

> Her resteð domne Agustinus se æresta ærcebiscop Contwarena burge, se geare hider from þæm eadigan Gregoriæ þære Romaniscan burge biscope sended wæs, ꝺ from Gode mid wundra weorcnesse awreþed wæs. Æþelberht cyning ꝺ his þeode from deofulgilda ongonge to Criste geleafan he gelæde, ꝺ on sibbe gefylldum dagum his þegnunge forðfered wæs, ðy dæge septima Kalendas Iunias in þæs ylcan cyninges rice.

> ('*Here rests the reverend the first archbishop of Canterbury, Augustine, who long ago was sent here by the blessed Gregory, bishop of the city of Rome, and was supported by God with the working of miracles. He led King Æthelberht and his people from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ; and having fulfilled the days of his service in peace, he departed this life on the 26th of May, during the reign of this king.*')[153]

The inclusion of those epitaphs are all the more remarkable as the translator does not bother to translate other epitaphs or hymns that we find in the *HE*.[154] He took great care, however, to render the epitaphs of the 'Apostle of the English' and the first Archbishop of Canterbury into Old English, which testifies to the importance of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and its preeminent protagonists.

At the same time, the *OEHE* is the narration of Christian exempla, of people who are eager to teach the Word of God. This in turn will have reminded the audience of the *OEHE* of their past history as missionaries. They will have read or listened to the accounts of Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Willibrord or Ecgberht, who followed the example of the apostles by carrying out the Great Commission (*Matthew* 28: 16-20). The mission was a duty incumbent on every Christian. What non-compliance with this task meant, was expounded upon in the harsh criticism uttered towards the Britons in the *OEHE*. The translator retains Bede's account of the synod at Augustine's Oak, where Augustine convened with the British bishops to settle religious disputes (*HE* II.2). Among the demands Augustine makes is the explicit order to join the missionaries in preaching the Word of God to the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine then threatens the British with what would happen to them if they opposed the his teachings of him and prophesizes: "ond gif heo Ongelcynnes lifes weg bodian ne woldon, þæt heo þonne wæron þurh heora honda deaðes wræc þrowiende."[155] This prophecy is duly fulfilled by King Æthelfrith of Northumbria's slaughter of 1200 monks at the battle of Chester, who, according to Bede

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[153] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 106-107.
[154] The *HE* includes the epitaphs of Cædwalla (*HE* V.7), Theodore (*HE* V.8) and Wilfrid (*HE* V.19) and a hymn on St Æthelfryth (*HE* IV.20).
[155] [A]*nd if they would not preach the way of life to the English, they would suffer the penalty of death at their hands* ; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 102-103.

and his translator, rightfully perished "forðon heo ða ær lærdon geþeahte heora ecre hælo forhogodon."[156] The translation makes clear that assisting the Roman missionaries in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons would have been for the Britons' own good, that is, it would have secured their eternal salvation. The Britons are therefore actively opposing God's providential plan. This issue is taken up again in the concluding chapters of the *OEHE*, where the Britons are singled out for their reluctance to adopt Roman Catholic orthodoxy, as even the Irish of Iona and the Picts have come to show contrition and adopt the orthodox teaching:

> Swa swa Brittas wiððon, þe næfre woldon þa cyððo þæs cristenan geleafan, þe hi hæfdon, Angelcynne openian ꝼ cyðan, ono þa gely-fendum eft Angelfolcum ꝼ þurh eall well ontimbredum ꝼ gelæredum on reogole rihtes geleafan, hi nu gyt heora ealdan gewunon healdað, ꝼ fram rihtum stigum healtiað.

> (*Just as the Britons, on the contrary, who never would reveal and make known to the English race the knowledge of the christian faith which they had, nay now again when the English tribes believe and are in all points well instructed and trained in the rule of the right faith, they still as now, maintain their old habits and halt from the right path.*)[157]

The consequence of this obstinacy becomes clear in the final chapter, which is a faithful translation of Bede's survey of the state of the nation in 731. Whereas all other tribes live in peace and tranquility with the Anglo-Saxons and enjoy the joys of the orthodox faith, the Britons are reprehended for their wrongful adherence to their old habits, which makes them outcasts in the history of the Christian Church and the faith in Britain. As a result of their religious error, their fragmentary politi-cal independence is fragile as most of them "syndon Ongelcynnes þeowdome betæhte ꝼ underþeodde."[158] These passages clearly show the interconnectedness of missionary activity, orthodox faith, and political fortune. The fate of the Britons will surely have come as a warning to any Anglo-Saxon reader of or listener to the *OEHE*. The incentive to spread the faith was triggered by the poor example of the Britons, who suffered for not evangelizing the Anglo-Saxons despite their Christian obligation to do so. Interestingly, the translator glosses over an impor-tant passage in the Latin text: In the prelude to the coming of the Gregorian mis-sion, Bede again criticizes the Britons with harsh words:

> Qui inter alia inenarrabilium scelerum facta, quae historicus eorum Gildas flebili sermone describit, et hoc addebant, ut numquam genti Saxonum siue Anglorum, secum Britanniam incolenti, uerbum fidei

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[156] [B]*ecause they despised the counsel previously given them for their eternal salvation*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 104-105.

[157] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 472.

[158] *Ibid.*, 480. *Are subjected and given up to the dominion of the English race.*

praedicando committerent. Sed no tamen diuina pietas plebem suam, quam praesciuit, deseruit; quin multo digniores genti memoratae praecones ueritatis, per quos crederet, destinauit.

(To other unspeakable crimes, which Gildas their own historian describes in dole-ful words, was added this crime, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons or Angles who inhabited Britain with them. Nevertheless God in His goodness did not reject the people whom He foreknew, but He had appointed much wor-thier heralds of the truth to bring this people to the faith.)[159]

Although it has been argued that the omission of that passage – or, to be more precise, of six chapters of Book I (17-22) of the *HE* – signified a rewriting of salvation history and diminished the notion of the Anglo-Saxon as 'God's chosen people',[160] the narrative sequence in the *OEHE* may tell another story. Rather than focusing on the civil war among the Britons, their religious error in terms of the Pelagian heresy and their enmities with the Anglo-Saxons in the account of Germanus of Auxerre's 'Alleluia' victory, we are presented with a smooth transi-tion to the coming of Christianity in the *OEHE* as the account of the Battle at Mount Badon (*HE* I.16) is immediately followed by the arrival of Augustine and his missionaries. The chapter begins with "Ða wæs æfter forðyrnendre tide,"[161] which silently fast-forwards the narration about seventy years. The effect clearly is to render the conflicts between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons into a matter of the past. With God's help, the Britons had won this decisive victory against the then-heathen Anglo-Saxons, in what might be the last stand of Romano-British Christian splendor, on which Bede wishes to linger.[162] With the narration moving on to the conversion of the English, the era of Romano-British Christianity that had to be asserted by military force has come to an end, yet a picture of Christian continuity prevails. The account of the Roman mission is the point of departure for the success story of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, which, by means of changing the narrative sequence, is portrayed as part of divine providence, authorized by Rome and making its way to England in a peaceful manner, in stark contrast with the apparent mayhem, war and slaughter of the preceding chapters. The coming of Christianity figuratively appeases and calms Britain, after the island had been exposed to conflict and a decline of Christian norms following the withdrawal of imperial Rome. Thus, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons is a pivotal moment in the salvation history of the island.

Furthermore, Bede's work will have strengthened the audience's conviction that God was still on their side. Anglo-Saxon readers of the late ninth/early tenth century may have read with eagerness the accounts of the miracles and the for-

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[159] *HEGA*, I, 92; trans.: C&M, p. 69.
[160] Rowley, pp. 71-97 and Molyneaux, "Old English Bede".
[161] *OEB*, I.1, 54. *Then it was after time continued.*
[162] The British leader Ambrosius Aurelianus is explicitly referred to as "Romanisces cynnes mon"(*OEB*, I.1, 54) 'a man of Roman origin'.

tunes of Christian rulers and their peoples in opposition to the miseries of pagans or apostates, as the Scandinavian armies and local relapses into paganism could have induced the feeling that God had forsaken them.[163] The story of the triumph of Christianity is not a straightforward one in Bede's account. The new faith suffered from occasional setbacks. The message was clear: the Christianization of Britain was not an untainted success story, but a long and burdensome process in which all the participants needed to have their share, as receiving the faith was one thing, working towards upholding it was quite another. This is also obvious from the open end to the *HE* and the *OEHE*, which reflects Bede's skepticism and uncertainty about the fortunes of the English Church. This appears to be a fortunate strategy, as new chapters in the history of the *ecclesia gentis Anglorum* therefore remain to be written. Bede remains indecisive about the exact story-line, thus allowing for the possibility of unfortunate things to happen to the Church on its course towards the end of time. Hence, the *OEHE* may have kindled hope that the predicaments which the Anglo-Saxons experienced at present were normal as can be seen in the *HE*, but at the same time would have reminded the English that they had to work constantly towards their heavenly Jerusalem. Thus, the explanation of the Viking raids as divine punishment did not only provide the Anglo-Saxons with an explanation for the current predicaments, but at the same time pointed towards the solution to the problem. The English had to recognize the error of their ways and act accordingly. The *OEHE*, in turn, would have provided them with a catalogue of good and bad examples, of people who had lived an

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[163] A rather interesting hint as to what anxieties might have been harbored by the English during the First Viking Age is provided by two unique phrases in two documents connected with ealdorman Alfred (of Surrey). In the inscription commenting on the gift of the 'Golden Gospels' (Stockholm, Royal Library, MS A. 135; Ker no. 385) to Christ Church Canterbury (*EHD*, no. 98, pp. 539-40), Alfred stipulates that masses for himself and his wife shall be read "as long as God has foreseen that the Christian faith shall continue at that place." (p. 497). His will (*EHD*, no. 97, pp. 537-39) has similar wordings: "and the surplus is to be divided among the monasteries of God's churches in Surrey and in Kent, as long as they will last […] and each of the heirs who succeeded to the land after him is to render the same alms to Christ Church for Alfred's soul, as long as the Christian faith lasts[…]. And after Eadred's death this land is to be assigned in writing and without dispute to Alfred's direct maternal kindred, as long as the Christian faith remains on the English island."(p. 496). I am not aware of any similar formulations in contemporary or past and future documents of that kind. Those formulations may give expression to an anxiety that internal corruption will bring an end to the places of God and that there might indeed be an end to Christianity in England, possibly due to the prospects invoked by the Scandinavian invasions; cf. also Irvine, "Religious Context", pp. 141-42, who argues that the *OE Orosius* was translated to counter the fact that the Danish invasions of the second half of the ninth century exposed the English anew to paganism and opened up the possibility of reversion to the old beliefs. According to Irvine, the translator indirectly suggests that "desertion of pagan gods is no more the cause for the attacks by the Danes than it was for the sack of Rome by the Goths."

exemplary Christian life, preached the Word of God and in return were rewarded with peace and tranquility and the prospect of the heavenly kingdom.[164]

It remains a matter of debate as to who actually read or listened to the *OEHE*. From the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care,* it becomes clear that Alfred never envisaged the education of all his subjects.[165] Yet it has been shown in this study that the *OEHE* probably enjoyed a circulation on par with the *OE Pastoral Care*.[166] The fact that we have five extant manuscripts, copied over a period of two hundred years, excerpts copied from the main translation at a date before 900 and clues to manuscripts now lost, testifies to the wide dissemination, vivid textual culture and high esteem in which the Old English Bede was held by the Anglo-Saxons.[167]

The *OEHE* as a Manual for 'Preaching to the Pagans'?

Concerning the theme of mission and conversion there arises another interesting point worth considering. When we take stock of the important issues connected to the conversion process, namely, the contact to Rome, the exchange of ques-

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[164] It is interesting to note that by 716 Bede himself was developing a program of moral and spiritual reform as he regarded the clergy of his own day as idle, ignorant and corrupt. He vents his annoyance in his famous Letter To Egbert. Also his commentaries stress the need for spiritual improvement (cf. Thacker, "Bede and History", p. 183). The didactic spirit and need for spiritual reform thus correlate perfectly with the concern of the Old English translator of the *HE*.

[165] Cf. *OEPC*, p. 7: "[Ð]æt[te] eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynna friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbban ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste, ðe hwile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit aræden." *So that all the free-born young men now in England who have the means to apply themselves to it, maybe set to learning (as long as they are not useful for some other employment) until the time that they can read English writings properly*; trans.: K&L, p. 126. All these modifications make it highly unlikely that Alfred conceived of a large-scale program to educate the multitude.

[166] Cf. my chapter 'The OEHE: the Material Evidence', *supra*.

[167] What is puzzling are two comments by Ælfric of Eynsham. In his attribution of the *OEHE* to King Alfred, in his homily on Gregory the Great, he remarks "Nu wylle we sum ðing scortlice eow be him [Gregory] gereccan. For ðan ðe seo foresæde boc [i.e. the *HE*] nis eow eallum cuð. þeah ðe heo on englisc awend sy"; *Now we will briefly relate something about him to you, because the aforementioned book is not known to all of you, although it has been translated into English.* (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden, p. 72). This statement evokes the impression that despite its vernacularization, the *OEHE* was not widely known among the Anglo-Saxons. What makes it even more confusing is his second comment, where he refers to the *OE Dialogues*: "Seo boc [i.e. the *OE Dialogues*] is on englisc awend. on ðære mæg gehwa be ðison genihtsumlice gehyran, se ðe hi oferrædan wille"; *This book is turned into English. In this everyone may abundantly hear about this topic, who wishes to read it over.* (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden , p. 205). In contrast to the *Old English Bede*, the *OE Dialogues* seem to have been widely available. The Dialogues are transmitted in two manuscripts (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 322; Ker no. 60; London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho C.i., vol. 2; Ker no. 182) and one fragment (Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Add. 25, Ker no. 96), none of which is earlier than c. 1000. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76 (Ker no. 328) preserves a redaction rather than a copy of the text; cf. K&L, pp. 292-93. The standard edition is Hecht, *Bischofs Werferths von Worcester Übersetzung*; see *ibid.*, pp.vii-xi, for the manuscripts.

tions and answers between missionaries and popes and the provision of pious exempla, we do in fact look at recurring features in the processes of mission and conversion in the Early Middle Ages.[168]

Even though there are no manuals for conversion in existence during the Middle Ages – they only came into existence with the foundation of the Jesuit Order in the sixteenth century – the *OEHE* would have provided all that was necessary to spread and to reinforce the Christian faith. If we correlate this with the fact that the Scandinavian settlers of the Eastern Danelaw apparently converted to Christianity at an early stage as Dorothy Whitelock has shown,[169] it might be worth considering if the *OEHE* had any share in this process. Seth Lerer has elucidated the importance of written texts for the process of conversion with regard to Bede's story of the Northumbrian thegn Imma (V.22):

> The central purpose of conversion becomes the reorientation of a culture and its members away from a reliance on the lore of mystical characters and toward an understanding of the symbolism inherent in religious rites. Such a conversion necessitates in turn, a new canon of texts to guide the Christian in the recognition of those symbols. Such texts will appear not in the runic shapes of old epigraphy, but in the alphabet of the new learning, and it is this Roman alphabet, as well as the Roman Church, which Bede and his inheritors celebrate, as the conversion of the English people becomes a conversion to a way of being as well as to a way of reading.[170]

One of the texts to guide the Christians-to-be in their cultural reorientation may have been the *OEHE*. If we consider that the missionary activity of the early English Church must have involved vernacular instruction of some sort, it is highly probable that the vernacular version of the *HE* was yet again used in missionary activity.[171] Apart from giving the English a better understanding of their church history and their position in salvation history in Old English rather than Latin, in times of need and apparently dwindling faith, the same work might have facilitated the Christianization of the Scandinavian settlers.

The idea of preaching to the pagans may have been of renewed relevance to the Anglo-Saxons at the end of the ninth century. The submission of the Viking

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[168] Cf. von Padberg, *Christianisierung*, pp. 201-21.

[169] D. Whitelock, "The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw", *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 12 (1942), 159-76.

[170] Lerer, *Literacy and Power*, p. 60; Isidore of Seville assigns to the letters a magico-mystical concept: "Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa verborum, quibus tanta vis est, ut nobis dicta absentium sine voce loquantur." (*Etymologiae* Bk. I.3.1). *Indeed, letters are tokens of things, the signs of words, and they have so much force that the utterances of those who are absent speak to us without voice*; trans.: Barney, *Etymologies*, p. 39; cf. also Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 313.

[171] See Liuzza, "Religious Prose", p. 233 for the importance of the vernacular in a missionary context; cf. Schaefer, *Vokalität*, p. 26 for a more skeptical view.

leader Guthrum after Alfred's victory at the Battle of Edington in 878 included the – at least symbolic – act of baptism of Guthrum and his leading retainers. The same holds true for Alfred's dealings with the Viking leader Hæsten in 894.[172] The (at least external) conversion to Christianity and baptismal sponsorship features prominently in the history of Christian kings dealing with Viking leaders in the ninth and tenth centuries.[173]

In his survey on the significance of the *OE Dialogues*, Kees Dekker raised the question of whether its miracle stories might have provided the Anglo-Saxon readers – probably monks, but also the secular clergy – with a tool for the conversion of the pagans.[174] He states, however, that there was no evidence of their use in missionary activities in ninth-century England, let alone that the conversion of the immigrants was undertaken with the help of any missionaries at all. Dekker rather argues that a gradual restoration of Church organization was probably the most important instrument in the conversion of the Vikings.[175]

The Scandinavian invasions disrupted ecclesiastical activity in the Danish-controlled parts of England. The diocesan structure was thrown into disarray, with episcopal succession being interrupted or at least not documented.[176] It has been suggested that Church duties, such as pastoral care, might have been administered only from afar.[177] This seems to be corroborated by the reprehension uttered by Pope Formosus in a letter to archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury on the lack of pastors and the insufficient pastoral care in certain parts of England.

The actual process of the Scandinavians adopting the faith remains obscure and is probably irrecoverable. Even so, there are no indications for a continuity of heathen religion in the Eastern Danelaw as early as the first decade of the tenth century.[178] The Christian faith might have been appealing to Scandinavian rulers in various ways. The divine right of kings was a Christian transformation of the sacred kingship common among Germanic peoples. The pagans would have been especially fascinated by the Christian God being presented as a God of victory, unlike the humanlike, fickle gods of the Nordic pantheon.[179] There are further

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[172] *ASC*, s.a. 878 and 894.
[173] Cf. Angenendt, "Conversion", pp. 760-65. Another prime example from Anglo-Saxon England is the baptism of the Norwegian Olaf Tryggvason at the hands of King Æthelred II in 994.
[174] Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation", pp. 47-50.
[175] Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation", pp. 49-50.
[176] The reasons for that are obscure and might have been more complicated than explained by Viking destruction alone, as Julia Barrow and John Blair have remarked; see Barrow, "Ecclesiastical Institutions" and Blair, *Church*, pp. 293-320; and Foot, "Attitudes to the Past", pp. 187-91.
[177] Cf. J. Barrow, "Ecclesiastical Institutions", p. 157-58. The control for Suffolk and probably of all of East Anglia passed under the control of the bishop of London.
[178] Cf. Whitelock, "Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw", p. 175.
[179] Cf. von Padberg, *Christianisierung*, pp. 214-18. 'Pagan' is a comprehensive term for a diversified belief system of non-Christian religions. It has to be applied with all due caution as for example the 'paganism' of the Anglo-Saxons was related, but not identical to that of the Scandinavian invaders; see B. Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain c.600-800*, (Har-

aspects that correlate with what is inherent in Northern Germanic society and features prominently in Germanic heroic poetry. First, the Christian missionaries and pastors (e.g. Gregory, Augustine, Paulinus, Aidan) live up to the precepts of their teaching, setting an example to be emulated. This coherence of word and deed is a striking similarity to the concept of boasting and subsequent fulfillment so prominent in Old English poetry.[180] Second, these Christian role-models are said to gain everlasting fame after their death and eternal life in the heavenly kingdom. Again, these concepts would have been appealing to Germanic warriors, war leaders and even kings who were governed by the ambition of winning fame and glory beyond death and were familiar with the idea of an afterlife.[181] Moreover, the acceptance of Christianity was a tool to secure one's political power. The Scandinavian war-leaders could have drawn on an existing ecclesiastical infrastructure, which would have facilitated the administration of the kingdom.[182] Thus, Scandinavian leaders could have externally accepted the Christian faith in order to legitimize their rule and get accepted by their English subjects. The *OEHE* would have provided ample evidence of the political advantages of a ruler favored by

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low and New York, 2006), pp. 99-109 for pre-Christian religions in early Britain and H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), pp. 22-30, for paganism among the Anglo-Saxons. An excellent survey for the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons as a process of religious change, focusing on continuations and breaks between the popular attachment to traditional values/beliefs and the new faith, is provided by M. Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons c.597-c.700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife* (London and New York, 2009).

[180] A prime example is a passage from the *Battle of Maldon* (ll. 212a-215b), when after the death of Byrthnoth, his retainer Ælfwine encourages his battle-companions: "Gemunaþ þa mæla/þe we oft æt meodo spræcon,/ þonne we on bence beot ahofon, / hæleð on healle, / ymbe heard gewinn;/ nu mæg cunnian/ hwa cene sy." *Remember the words that we often spoke over mead, when we raised a vow at our bench, heroes in the hall, about the hard battle; now it will be tested who is brave*; text and trans.: Treharne, *Old and Middle English*), pp. 150-51. When Beowulf has killed Grendel the poet explicitly utters: "Hæfde East-Denum/ Geat-mecga leod, gilp, gelæsted." (*Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. R.D. Fulk, R.E. Björk and J.D. Niles, 4th ed. (Toronto, 2008), ll. 828b-829b). *The prince of the Geatish nation had fulfilled the boast to the East-Danes.*[my translation]; see also A. Orchard, *A Critical Companion to Beowulf* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 203-37; cf. also Vleeskruyer, *St. Chad*, pp. 20-21, who shows that the translator of the Chad homily had deliberately inserted the phrase *mid wordum* to stress an antithesis, which was common in Old English poetry and at the same time stresses that we have numerous instances of churchmen (e.g. Gregory, Aidan, Cuthbert) who practiced what they preached in the *HE*. This study's author is grateful to Prof. Rudolf, who made him aware of the fact that this concept is a deeply Christian one, too, as can be seen *inter alia* in the opening sequence of *Blickling Homily* III, based on Hiberno-Latin sources, as well as the *Confiteor* formula in the Catholic Mass.

[181] Beowulf himself boasts before he is leaving to fight Grendel's mother: "[W]yrce se þe mote/ domes ær deaþe;/ þæt bið drihtguman/ unlifgendum æfter selest" (*Klaeber's Beowulf*, ll.1387b-89b). *Work he who can glory before death; that be the best for a warrior thereafter.*[my translation].

[182] The Anglo-Saxons' expansion into western Britain after c. 600 acted as a spur for conversion. They appreciated the church infrastructure as an aid in seizing and exercising power in that region, which British ecclesiastical centers passing directly into Anglo-Saxon hands (Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain*, pp. 120-21).

God. It even retains an account that explicitly states that seeking conversion actively was desirable. In *HE* I.4 the vernacular translation faithfully renders the conversion of the British king Lucius:

> Sende to him [Pope Eleutherius] Lucius Breotone cyning ærendge-
> writ; bæd hine ꝺ halsade, þæt he þurh his bebod cristene gefremed
> wære. ꝺ hraðe þa gefremednesse ðære arfæstan bene wæs fylgende. ꝺ
> ða onfengan Bryttas fulluhte ꝺ Cristes geleafan.
>
> (*To him Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter, praying and entreating, that under
> his direction he might be converted to Christianity. And his pious request was
> quickly carried into effect. Then the Britons received baptism and the faith of
> Christ.*)[183]

Lucius is seeking conversion on his own incentive and his plea is deemed a 'pious request'. The effect for his people is that they were also baptized and upheld the faith piously until the Christian persecutions of the Roman emperor Diocletian. Moreover, Lucius explicitly seeks the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Receiving the faith backed by Roman authority is the overriding issue in the early conversion of the English.

However, the baptism of a king did not necessarily bring about the baptism of all his family, let alone all of his subjects. The concept of the un-baptized royal son and therefore religious division within a royal family is a common characteristic of the early phase of conversion during the early Middle Ages.[184] What stands out among the accounts of baptisms with regard to Scandinavian war-leaders is the account of Guthrum's baptism in the *ASC*.

Arnold Angenendt explains this by the difficulties encountered when implementing collective baptism. As the king depended on the support of his nobles and retainers, any compulsory conversion could have generated problems if the counsel of his leading men was not sought.[185] Conversion was not so much changing one ritual for another but to "change the philosophy of nation."[186] Therefore, the un-baptized son can be seen as an instrument of dynastic policy in case of aversion towards the new faith and a reversion to paganism, as Angenendt points out.[187]

The conversion from above is a recurring feature in the *HE*. However, this process, characterized as a 'corporative conversion',[188] obfuscates the individual's choice to convert – or not to. Those processes of top-down conversion have to

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[183] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 32-33.
[184] Cf. Angenendt, "The Conversion", pp. 747-54.
[185] Angenendt, "The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons", pp. 749-54; cf. also Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, p. 64 for Æthelberht of Kent's and Sæberht of Essex' policy of a 'calculated risk'.
[186] Baugh and Cable, *History of the English Language*, p. 83.
[187] Angenendt, "The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons", p. 754.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 749

be gauged in terms of power relations. In what Angenendt has called 'baptismal sponsorship', the sponsor not only became the 'spiritual father' of the baptized ruler, but in return the latter became his political son. Spiritual fatherhood in that case also encompassed obligations to promote conversion, provide the baptized 'son' "with 'spiritual teachers', whose task it was to fortify him in the faith and convert his people."[189] This process, with regard to the Anglo-Saxons, is closely connected to the idea of overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England. Bede in (*HE* II.4) presents us with a list of seven rulers who have wielded extraordinary power--called 'imperium'.[190] Regarding the issue of conversion, it is significant that the holder of this *imperium* had the means to strengthen and extend his hegemony by bringing other kings to accept conversion.[191] From a Christian perspective, the act of baptism was hoped to be an incentive for the former pagan to shun his 'barbarism' and profess his faith and peaceful intentions. The ultimate goal in any conversion process was thus the dual *fidelitas* (*fidelitas dei et regis*), with the prospect of the Christianization bringing about loyalty to the Christian ruler, 'the spiritual father'. This *fidelitas* was no one-way street, as the sponsor had to treat his 'son' respectfully, providing him with a certain degree of freedom and independence.[192] In a late ninth-/early tenth-century context, such processes would have been helpful in the communication between the kings of Wessex and the Scandinavian rulers. A prime example is the baptism of the Viking leader Guthrum, who received baptism at the hands of Alfred, became his sworn ally and was given the kingdom of East Anglia in return. There are indeed no records that would indicate that violated the alleged code of conduct between baptismal father and son. Alfred by then was acknowledged as overlord of southern England and Wales. Therefore, he was in a position to deal with the Vikings from a position of power and to pacify the regions adjacent to the newly-created Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons.[193] It is quite likely that he regarded the mission to the 'heathens' as his duty as a Christian ruler. Moreover, Alfred might have sought to integrate the Vikings into *Christendom*, as an ethno-religious order which articulated Germanic imperial identity, which Harris delineated with regard to the Old English rewriting of Paulus Orosius's *Historia Aduersum Paganos Libri Septem*.[194] Alfred thereby sought to invoke the "familiarity inherent in its ethno-religious identity," not unlike Boniface, who called the Old Saxons to Christianity.[195] With Guhtrum entering this Germanic

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[189] *Ibid.*, p. 756.
[190] The concept of Anglo-Saxon overlordship and its significance for the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons will be discussed in chapter 'Re-Inventing the *gens Anglorum*?: Identity and the *Angelcynn*', *infra*.
[191] Angenendt, "The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons", pp. 757-61.
[192] *Ibid.*, p. 766.
[193] On Alfredian overlorship see, Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians" and *VÆ*, ch. 80 for the submission of the Welsh kings.
[194] Cf. Harris, "Alfredian World History", esp. pp. 491-93.
[195] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

Christendom, Alfred secured his allegiance, assured his pacific behavior in an ethno-religious context and might have sought to establish a "familial identity between Vikings and Anglo-Saxons in the context of Christendom."[196] Harris opines that the historical record of Alfred's leadership was shaped by "this combined sense of Christian kinship and Germanic ethnicity", articulated in the Alfredian texts, that reshaped and appropriated "the kernel of ethnic tradition inherited from Bede."[197] The political implications and advantages of a conversion process such as Guthrum's would surely have been Alfred's primary motivation, but we cannot rule out that he indeed sought to integrate the Vikings into some sort of ethno-religious order. This, however, may have been motivated politically in any case. Viking leaders such as Guthrum, on the other hand, would have seen the political advantages as well. For Guthrum, a loss in battle could be turned into a spiritual victory. Allying oneself with a powerful figure like Alfred (or later Edward and Athelstan), would have secured his position among his own followers as well as his Anglo-Saxon subjects, the key to which was (external) conversion.[198]

Lesley Abrams modifies the idea of the Scandinavians externally converting but keeping their heathen rituals. She rather argues for a syncretism, as the Scandinavians might have failed to accept the exclusiveness of the Christian faith, incorporating the idea of a Christian god into their already polytheistic belief system. Apparently, there was a certain leniency towards the behavior of the pagans, as Abrams deduced from episcopal correspondence. From that perspective, the conversion was not the ultimate goal but rather the trigger of an evolutionary process, in which the faith was implanted on the convert.[199] The process of proscription of pagan rituals and minimal Christian obligations might have been slow in the context of initial conversion, but it might indeed have been the gradual change that promised long-lasting results. The *HE* itself provides a prime example, when we learn that Aidan was dispatched as missionary to the Northumbrians, but only after a predecessor had failed with his apparently holistic and vigorous missionary efforts (*HE*. III.3).[200] Therefore, the acceptance of Christianity might have been appealing to the Scandinavian rulers, who could maintain or even fortify their power, without having to change their belief system and way of life radically.[201]

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[196] *Ibid*. Harris sees the fact that Guthrum minted coins under his West Saxon baptismal name Æthelstan as proof for the force and permanence of his new Christian identity.

[197] *Ibid.*, p. 510.

[198] Angenendt, "Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons" (p. 781), remarks that "The importance of the political effects of the imperial baptismal mode appear to have been recognized in England at the very beginning of the history of the Anglo-Saxon conversion."

[199] Abrams, "Conversion and Assimilation", pp. 143-47.

[200] The ultimate prerogative for a gradual conversion of the gentiles is the Council of Jerusalem and the Council's Letter to the gentiles.(*Acts* 15: 1-35). Consequently, the newly converted should abstain from food polluted by idols, from sexual immorality, from the meat of strangled animals and from blood.

[201] Particularly appealing is the story of King Edwin's gradual conversion (*HE* II.7-11). He needed proof of the superiority of the Christian God and took counsel with his leading men, before he

The Anglo-Saxons in turn might have hoped to pacify the 'barbarian' heathens and at least induce a process, in which the newly converted would shun their pagan belief and gradually accept the Christian faith as their sole value system. To what degree external individual behavior might have entailed whole-hearted acceptance of the new faith is hard to discern. Therefore, we ought to be careful in assuming that the Scandinavians rapidly turned to Christianity in ritual and conscience in the same way that we should not take accounts of mass baptism in the *HE* and the *OEHE* for granted.[202] It took a while for the message to sink in, but the incentive to convert would have brought about a range of advantages for both sides and must have been on the agenda of both the Anglo-Saxon kings of the House of Wessex as well as the Scandinavian power-mongers.[203]

Unfortunately, there are no other contemporary historical or hagiographical accounts of Viking baptisms and missionary activity in the ninth century in Anglo-Saxon England. Even so, as most of the pre-Viking Age churches reemerged after the First Viking Age, there must have been religious activity of some kind.[204] Thus the amalgamation of the two peoples – the Anglo-Saxons and the Danish settlers – may have triggered a gradual infiltration of the Danes, who accepted the Christian faith. Lesley Abrams claims, however, that there must have been some sort of institutional framework to facilitate that process.[205]

Within this framework, a work like to *OEHE* might have encouraged the Anglo-Saxon clergy to carry out their pastoral duty in unfavorable circumstances and emulate former Anglo-Saxon missionaries.[206] A particularly fitting example is the account of the exiled Wilfrid:

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eventually accepted the faith. At the same time, he betrayed leniency in allowing his subjects to accept the faith if they deemed it better for them. This account might have been ideal to convince a Viking leader, since he might have been bothered by the same doubts and inner conflict as was Edwin, but in the end would have been shown that the acceptance of Christianity was the right thing to do. After this long process of deliberation, Edwin became all the more zealous towards spreading the faith and convinced Eorpwald of East Anglia (the son of Rædwald) to receive the faith (*HE* II.12).

[202] Cf. *HE* II.14, where Paulinus is said to have baptized Northumbrians at Yeavering incessantly for thirty-six days. Similarly, Gregory the Great's boast of the baptism of one thousand English converts in a letter to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, in 598 (Ep. 8.29) needs to be taken with a grain of salt (Martyn, *Letters of Gregory*, II, 523-25).

[203] Cf. Tristram, "Bede's 'Historica Ecclesiastica'", p. 213 n. 38, who opines that the translation demonstrated the cultural superiority of the Anglo-Saxons in contrast to the oral culture of the Vikings. This is a very lucid point that also works the other way, namely, to demonstrate the attainable cultural superiority of the English to the Scandinavians.

[204] Cf. e.g. Barrow, "Ecclesiastical Institutions" and Blair, *Church*, pp. 293-320.

[205] See Abrams, "Conversion and Assimilation", pp. 139-41; cf. also Sarah Foot, who makes us aware that there appear to have been priestly congregations who defied the vicissitudes of the Scandinavian raids and might have played an active part in the conversion of the Danish settlers ("Attitudes to the Past", p. 190).

[206] It is interesting to see that some of the converted kings in the *HE,* as sign of their faith, had churches built to establish a religious infrastructure. This precedent might have been of impor-

þeah þe he for feondscipum þæs gemyndgedan cyninges [i.e. Ecgfrið of Northumbria] in his eðel oððe in his biscopscire onfongen beon ne meahte, ne meahte he hwæðre from þære þegnunge beon bewered godspel to lærenne.

(*though, owing to the hostility of the aforesaid king, he could not obtain admission to his native province or his diocese, still he could not be prevented from the service of teaching the gospel.*)[207]

At the same time it might also have appealed to the Viking leaders. They would have found ample evidence of the power of the Christian God and the success of rulers who readily accepted the Christian faith.[208] But how would the Scandinavians have come to understand a work in Old English? Matthew Townend has shown that Anglo-Saxon England in the Viking Age was a bilingual society, where a mutual intelligibility was ensured.[209] Thus, there would not have been an impregnable language barrier, which raises the possibility that the stories, ideas and concepts of the *OEHE* were equally available to the Scandinavian population.

There is also the possibility of pagan converts taking part in the missionary activities, as Abrams remarks. She refers to the Welsh monk and close confidant of Alfred, Asser, who in chapter 94 of his *Vita Ælfredi* tells us that he had seen a young man "*paganicae gentis*"[my italics] at the monastery of Athelney who was living there as a monk.[210] Alfred himself seems to have been generally susceptible to an acculturation of the Scandinavian settlers, as Asser states:

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tance in the process of convincing the Scandinavian war-leaders to accept Christianity (e.g. *HE* II.11 (Edwin), III.2 (Oswald) III.5 (Cynegils)). Even were the kings did not take the lead in church building, they functioned as patrons for their leading bishop in the erection of ecclesiastical buildings and the foundation of monasteries (e.g. II.13 (Paulinus) III.16-17 (Cedd).

[207] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 300-301.

[208] The prime examples in the *HE* are the Northumbrian kings Edwin and Oswald.

[209] M. Townend, "Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society", in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.* ed. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 89-105 and his *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (Turnhout, 2002). Townend claims that there was a societal but not necessarily individual bilingualism (*Language and History*, p. 185). For a more skeptical view see Gneuss, "Bücher und Leser", pp. 122-23.

[210] See Abrams, "Conversion and Assimilation", pp. 142-43. Abrams makes us aware that the frequent exchange of hostages in the peace settlements between the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians might have provided a pool of such potential converts; cf. *VÆ*, p. 81. "In quo etiam monasterio unum paganicae gentis edoctum in monachio habitu degentem, iuvenum admodum, vidimus, non ultimum scilicet eorum." *In that monastery too I saw someone of Viking parentage who had been brought up there, and who, as quite a young man, was living there in the monastic habit – and he was assuredly not the last of them to do so*; trans.: K&L, p. 103. Asser's later remark *and he was surely not the last of them to do so* can be seen as either evidence for an intended scheme, or to raise hope that the Scandinavians will be converted in the near future.

Eelemosynarum quoque studio et largitati indigenis et advenis omnium gentium […] Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli, pagani, Britones, et Scotti, Armorici sponte se suo dominio subdiderant.

([A]pplied himself attentively to charity and distribution of alms to the native population and to foreign visitors of all races […] Wherefore, many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, Vikings, Welshmen, Irishmen and Bretons subjected themselves willingly to his lordship.) [211]

The training of pagan converts to be deployed in the missionary field is attested in the early Middle Ages.[212]

Even if the *OEHE* was not directly used as a tool for the conversion of the Scandinavian settlers, its rich catalogue of exempla and historical accounts nonetheless reminded the audience of the power of Christianity manifested in their own conversion history. It presents those parts of England which were now under Danish control as former centers of Northumbrian Christianity, whose representatives (Chad, Wilfrid, Birinius) had played an important part in the conversion of the southern kingdoms. This might have given the English hope, or even motivated them, that those centers of Anglo-Saxon Christianity in the North could, following the historical example, once again disseminate the Word of God and help to win over the Scandinavians to the Christian faith. It may be noteworthy that the Old English version actually includes a story where the conversion of the Danes plays a role. In its translation of *HE* V.9 we are told about the missionary enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon Ecgbert:

[211] *VÆ*, pp. 59-60 (ch. 76); trans.: K&L, p. 91.

[212] Cf. Ian Wood ("The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English", *Speculum* 69.1 (1994), 1-17, at p. 2), who remarked that such a policy was employed by Anskar of Hamburg-Bremen in the ninth-century conversion of Sweden. One might speculate whether Gregory intended Anglo-Saxons bought as slaves to be educated in a monastery and then dispatched in the missionary field. In a letter of 595 he commissioned Candidus, his agent in Gaul, to buy English boys who could be educated in monasteries (Ep 6.10; see Martyn, *Letters of Gregory*, II, 408-10). Wood argues that Gregory had Frankish monasteries in mind ("Mission of Augustine", p. 2), contradicting Mayr-Harting (*Coming of Christianity*, p. 59, who pledged for monasteries in Rome). Given that the role of monks in the conversion of the English was quite important (Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, p. 7), and the apparent difficulties due to the language barrier - Gregory had directed Augustine to bring interpreters from Francia to Kent to deal with the mission (*HE* I.25) - it may stand to reason that the pope might have deliberated to deploy Anglo-Saxon missionaries, brought up and educated in continental monasteries, for the mission to the English. If indeed the boys mentioned in the letter to Candidus were envisaged to be brought up in Frankish monasteries, it cannot be ruled out that they were among the interpreters from Francia mentioned in the *HE*. However, the passage in Bede's Latin version depicts them as "de gente Francorum interpretes"(*HEGA*, I., 98) which rather points to native Franks (cf. *HEGA*, I, p. 323). As Bede's ethnographic terminology is not always clear and Colgrave and Mynors (C&M, p. 73 n.4) point out that this pertained to the dialect they were speaking rather than their ethnic denomination, their ethnic affiliation remains uncertain. The Old English translates "de gente Francorum interpretes" as "wealhstodas of Franclande"(*OEB*, I.1, 58), which is a geographical rather than an ethnic qualification and would allow for them being of English origin.

[F]oresette he Ᵹ ðohte on his mode, þæt he wolde monigum brycsian, þæt is ðæt he wolde ðæt apostolic wiorc onhyrgan, sumum ðara ðeoda Godes word Ᵹ godspell læran Ᵹ bodigan þæm ðe hit ða get ne geherdan. Ðara cynna monig he wiste in Germanie wesan, þonon Ongle Ᵹ Seaxan cumene wæron, ðe nu Breotene eardiað. Wæran Fresan, Rugine, *Dæne* [my italics], Huna, Aldseaxan, Boructuare.

(*Now proposed and thought in his mind to benefit many, being desirous to imitate the work of the apostles by teaching and preaching God's word and gospel to some of the nations who had not yet heard it. He knew that there were many of those tribes in Germany, from which had come the Angles and Saxons, who now inhabited Britain. These were the Frisians, the Rugini, the Danes, the Huns, the Old Saxons, the Bructeri.*)[213]

We must be careful, however, as we do not know what the term *Dæne* actually referred to. Even if this story might not have been more than a footnote and the reference to the 'Danes' of no particular significance, what we might have here is a historical precedent for the Danes – and maybe any Germanic people outside the British mainland – being envisaged for conversion by the Anglo-Saxons.[214] As Ecgbert does not succeed in his endeavor, this passage could have served as an encouragement to those who in Ecgbert's place would undertake this task and convert the pagans – the gentiles – just as Willibrord and Boniface had done during their missions on the continent, and about whom Boniface reported with regard to the bonds between them and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries: "[T]hey themselves are wont to say; "We are of one blood and one bone.""[215]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that mission and conversion were important issues in the Old English translation of Bede's *HE*. In a late ninth-/early tenth-century context, the accounts of mission and conversion as well as the *exempla* might have featured in a specific Anglo-Saxon *memoria* culture, whose aim was to strengthen the Anglo-Saxons in their belief, correct an apparently dwindling piety and perhaps even

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[213] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 408-409.
[214] Cf. W. Pohl, "Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: a Comparative Perspective", in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the eighth Century. An ethnographic Perspective ; [Papers presented at the second Conference on "Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology" … San Marino from 26th to 31th August 1994]*, ed. J. Hines, (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 7–40, at pp. 11-22, for the problem of ambiguity with a special focus on the term 'Goths'.
[215] *EHD*, no. 174, p. 813. The story of the two Hewalds (*HE* V.10) being dispatched as missionaries to the Old Saxons might have reminded the readers or listeners of the contemporary situation, as the Old Saxons – without a proper king but with many different chiefs leading individual *Stammesverbände* – are similar to their social structure to the Scandinavian settlers in England.

foster a nascent English identity. Therefore, this work is likely to have been among those translated in connection with King Alfred's translation scheme. The *OEHE,* in all probability, was no manual for conversion. It was however, at the very least, a guide-book for right Christian living, by means of imitation of those who had promoted the faith in the past, and might have been a cornerstone of a cultural memory which was shaped to a high degree by the acceptance and subsequent dissemination of the Christian faith by the English. There can be no doubt, however, that the vernacularization of key Latin texts into Old English also made this knowledge potentially accessible to the Scandinavian settlers, no matter whether Alfred ever had intended this or not. If he counted those recently overcome in battle among his subjects, there may perhaps be some reason that he did.

The Role of the Britons

Inextricably connected to the question of mission and conversion in the *HE* and the *OEHE* is the relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons. At the outset Bede does not seem to portray the Britons in a particularly favorable light. He scorns their military ineptitude and cowardice, condemns their religious waywardness to the point of heresy, as well as their neglect of Christian duties and deliberately removes the legacy and contribution of Romano-British Christianity to the growth of the English Church.[216] The Northumbrian distributes his attention to the Britons unevenly. Book I receives the lion's share. After the meeting of the bishops at *Augustine's Oak* (*HE* II.2) and the savagery of the British King Cædwallon (*HE* II.20 and III.1), Bede marginalized the Britons in his narration before returning to them in the concluding chapters of his work (*HE* V.22-23). The Northumbrian's ostensibly derogatory approach cannot be regarded as national antipathy, since Bede often adopts the terminology of the Briton Gildas, who in a prophetic manner denounces his fellow countrymen.[217] Thus, some of

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[216] Cf. W. Trent Foley and N. Higham, "Bede on the Britons", *EME* 17.2 (2009), 154-85, who claim that this was due to the official policy of Abbot Albinus and the Church at Canterbury, shared by the English clerical establishment (at pp. 171-72); cf. N. Brooks, "From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of Conversion", in *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. C.E. Karkov and N. Howe (Tempe, AZ, 2006), pp. 1-30. According to them, the British contributions may have been deliberately forgotten in a program of ethnic and cultural amnesia (p. 4); cf. N. Higham, "Historical Narrative as Cultural Politics: Rome, 'British-ness' and 'English-ness.' in *idem*, *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 68-79, at pp. 72-74 for the classical and late Antique tradition of British inferiority and 'Otherness'.

[217] See T. M. Charles-Edwards, "Bede, the Irish and the Britons", *Celtica* 15(1983), 42-52, at pp. 48-49. This holds particularly true for Book I as Bede used Gildas' *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* as major source until chapter 22. Bede draws on a variety of sources for the compilation of Book I. In addition to Gildas he uses *inter alia* Orosius' *Historia Adversum Paganos*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and Constantius' *Vita Sancti Germani*. For an overview and detailed analysis of the source material see *HEGA*, I, pp. 284-344.

the rhetoric Bede applies is 'Gildasian' in nature. However, whereas Gildas in the manner of an Old Testament prophet utters his displeasure with the sinfulness of the Britons to prompt a change of heart, Bede, in turn, took it as a historical and religious fact to justify the Anglo-Saxon conquest.[218]

The *OEHE* mitigates the charges levied against the Britons without being overtly sympathetic towards them. This is mainly achieved through editorial streamlining of the Latin account. Most importantly the translator utterly omits the Pelagian heresy and removes Bede's famous diatribe in *HE* I.22. This passage, whose forceful rhetoric concludes with the accusation that the Britons did not evangelize the Anglo-Saxons, leading to their marginalization if not displacement as the dominant people in Britain, is not translated.

Why did the translator omit a passage that has been treated as so central to the interpretation of Bede's masterpiece? What agenda governed his streamlining of Book I with regard to the Britons? These questions will be addressed in the present chapter by analyzing the portrait of the Britons in the *HE* and the *OEHE* in order to elucidate their respective roles in both works. The assumption that Bede painted an uncompromisingly negative picture of the Britons will be put under close scrutiny. Starting with a synopsis of the research on the *HE* regarding the Britons and its current tendencies, this chapter will then focus on the Romano-British history in Book I, including the opening chapter with its *descriptio Britanniae*, the Pelagian heresy (or lack thereof in the *OEHE*), the meeting of the bishops at *Augustine's Oak*, the British king Cædwallon and case studies of British protagonists, which are interspersed throughout the text. Finally, the concluding chapters of the *HE* and the *OEB*, in which the accusations levied against the Britons resurface, will be put under close scrutiny. Additionally, the contrast between the Britons and the Irish will be relevant to the current analysis.

Anglo-Saxons, Britons and Salvation History

The *HE* has been read as salvation history by many scholars, who claimed that Bede provided an account of the sin-stained Britons, who are superseded by the Anglo-Saxons, the *gens Anglorum*, as a 'New Israel', chosen by God, who enter the 'Promised land of Britain'.[219] Indeed, the impression that the Britons appear to have a propensity for sin and heretical practices, shun Christian behavior and neglect their duty of evangelizing the Anglo-Saxons cannot be shaken off after a

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[218] Cf. C. Stancliffe, "British and Irish Contexts", in *CCB*, pp. 69-83, esp. p. 78; see also Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*, pp. 36-51; cf. Higham, "Historical Narrative", pp. 74-77, for Gildas construction of 'British-ness'.

[219] R. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1966); H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Bede and the English People", *Journal of Religious History* 11.4 (1981), 501-23; Wormald, "The Venerable Bede", pp. 13-32 and *idem*, "Engla lond"; cf. Rowley, pp. 72-73.

cursory reading. In Bede's narration the Britons – seen by Gildas as "praesens Israel"- have forfeited their claim to divine grace on account of their sins and are superseded by the 'New Israel', the Anglo-Saxons.[220] Wormald articulated this elect status of the Anglo-Saxons in a series of essays.[221] He argued that the Britons had proven themselves unworthy of Roman and Christian civilization and the claim to Britain. At the same time, Wormald contented that the open end of the *HE* conveyed a severe warning: if the Anglo-Saxons were to follow the British in their behavior, they would meet the same fate, for "The *gens Anglorum* too was a people of the Covenant."[222] Wormald makes a very important point here: the Britons are the Anglo-Saxons' alter ego. This may reflect Bede's veiled criticism of the shortcomings of the English (or to be more specific, the Northumbrian) Church during the 730s, which he famously decries in his *Letter to Egbert*.[223] The Celtic neighbors of the English were representatives of an old covenant contrasted with the Anglo-Saxons as representatives of the new order.[224] Recently the tide has turned, and Anglo-Saxonists have suggested proposals that run counter to this traditional interpretation. Molyneaux has mounted a persuasive case against reading the displacement of the Britons by the Anglo-Saxons as a special identification with Israel. Although he admits that it would not be impossible to read the *HE* as an account of the English as recipients of divine favor, this interpretation of the Anglo-Saxons as a chosen people is even less clear in the *OEHE*.[225] Rowley further dismantled the idea that the Old English translator followed Bede's narrative construct of the Britons being replaced by an elect *gens Anglorum*. In a detailed analysis of translator's agenda behind streamlining Book I, she argued that the he

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[220] Gildas assumes the function of an Old Testament prophet who forewarns his people to change their sinful ways. In his view, the cyclic repetition of sin and repentance confirms the Britons as the chosen people in succession to the Israelites. The crucial passage is his lead-in to the Battle at Mount Badon, where the British gain victory against the Saxon invaders under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurellianus: "Ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant, ut in ista gente experiretur dominus solito more praesentem Israelem, utrum diligat eum an non." (*Le De Excidio Britanniae de Gildas : les destinées de la culture latine dans l'Ile de Bretagne au VI siècle*, ed. F. Kerlouégan (Paris, 1987), p. 98). *From then on victory went now to our countrymen, now to their enemies: so that in this people the Lord could make trial (as is his custom) of his latter-day Israel to see whether it loves him or not*. (Translation: Charles-Edwards, "Bede, the Irish and the Britons", p. 45 n.14. Bede accurately adopts this passage for his *HE* but drops all notions connected with the Britons as latter-day Israelites; cf. Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*, pp. 46-47.

[221] See Wormald, "The Venerable Bede", and *idem*, "Engla lond".

[222] Wormald, "Engla lond", p. 14; cf. also Nicholas Howe, who argues that in the Anglo-Saxons' story of place were intertwined acts of possession and dispossessions, which were a historical fact but also a future possibility ("The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined", in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed J. Howe and M. Wolfe (Gainesville, FL, 2002), pp. 91-112, at p. 93).

[223] Cf. Charles-Edwards, "Bede, the Irish and the Britons", p. 44.

[224] The dichotomy of old and new has been most prominently stressed by Hanning, *View of History*.

[225] Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", pp. 1290-1304; N. Brooks , "Bede and the English", *JL* 1999, p. 4, similarly refers the Anglo-Saxons as "*one* of God's chosen people"[my italics].

undertook a conscious re-writing of salvation history. In her view, the omission of the Pelagian heresy considerably changed the account of early English history. The displacement of the Britons was no longer due to a propensity for heresy, which was handed down as a hereditary, uncontrollable contagion affecting subsequent generations of Britons, as we find it in the *HE*. It was rather the British inability to defend themselves, and their pride to not accept the orthodox teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, which effected their displacement by the English.[226] Rowley argues that the de-emphasizing of the Pelagian heresy at the same time heightens the importance of the orthodox observance of Easter and tonsure. She concludes that

> the main translator manipulates Bede's language and layout subtly, but with cumulative effect, introducing 'St. Peter's shears', and emphasizing the pride obstinance and separatism of the Britons. He follows neither Gildas nor Bede in reading their ultimative displacement as divine punishment.[227]

Rowley's argument provides us with a tantalizing new interpretation of the editorial changes undertaken by the Old English translator. She demonstrates that there was no necessary or obvious continuum between Bede's construct of a particularly elected *gens Anglorum* and the concerns of the anonymous translator at the end of the ninth century. This study concurs with Rowley that the Old English translator recast the fall of Britain and put considerable emphasis on questions of orthodoxy. Yet it seeks to modify her hypothesis and add a new perspective to the discussion about the altered picture given of the Britons. First, we have to get rid of the Britons as a monolithic concept. It has been noted that Bede's attitude towards them is full of nuances and even internally contradictory.[228] Concomitantly, except for some rather vitriolic attacks, close reading of the text suggests that the Northumbrian scholar presents the Celtic neighbors of the Anglo-Saxons in a more positive light than has been hitherto acknowledged. Both aspects hold true for the *OEHE*. Finally, the religious arguments put forward by Rowley influenced the translation's re-shaping of Bede's account. There is, however, another aspect which is relevant to the present discussion. Although Rowley correctly states that there is no direct reference to the historical predicaments of the Viking invasions of the First Viking Age the historical and political context of late ninth-/early tenth-century England, it is quite unlikely that the translator, and the discourse in which he was embedded, was not affected by the Scandinavian depredations and the English reaction to them.[229]

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[226] See Rowley, pp. 71-97.
[227] Rowley, p. 92.
[228] Cf. Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on the Britons".
[229] Rowley, p. 76. She acknowledges, however, that the translator was well-aware of the Viking depredations and their symbolic as well as real-life effect on the Anglo-Saxons.

The political situation in England during the alleged period of the translation (c.880x930) had changed dramatically, giving birth to the aforementioned KAS.[230] The political status quo was still fragile and King Alfred's rule was endangered internally (his nephew Æthelwold's claim to the throne) as well as externally (Viking armies occupying the greater part of Eastern and Northern England). Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* furnishes us with useful information concerning Anglo-British relations. We learn from Alfred's close confidant that the Welsh kings had been subjected to Alfred's overlordship before 886 and that he still exercised this authority at the time Asser wrote his work [i.e. 893].[231] Asser presumably had been a key figure in Alfred's dealings with the British, being Welsh by birth and long-time member of the community of St. David's.[232] Given Anglo-British relations and the improbability that Asser journeyed to Alfred's court and into his service alone, we can state with confidence that the court at Winchester was frequented by Britons and that "the Welsh themselves had become a significant group among the king's subjects."[233] In this tense and fragile political situation, Alfred had organized an Anglo-British alliance that was of mutual benefit. The West Saxon king secured the borders of his kingdom and recruited manpower to defend it. Whether or not Alfred was also harboring plans to win back English territory from the Scandinavian settlers cannot be said for certain, but it cannot be ruled out. The Welsh kings in turn won the favor of the rising strongman of Anglo-Saxon England and gained themselves protection against the Scandinavian invaders.[234] An alliance such as this would have needed common cause. The Christian faith and a common history surely were apt features of this alliance. Asser's biography of Alfred may have been the cornerstone of such an enterprise, as there is good evidence that it was written for a Welsh audience.[235] Asser casts the conflict with the Vikings in terms of a holy war. He explicitly uses the terms *christiani* and *pagani*

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[230] See Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians".

[231] *VÆ*, ch. 80.

[232] Cf. K&L, pp. 48-50.

[233] Cf. K&L, p. 41. As stated earlier, British presence is corroborated by evidence of a British involvement in the translation of the *OE Orosius*.

[234] These benefits were apparently realized on all sides, as the events at Buttington recorded by the *ASC* for the year 893 testify to the cooperation between the West Saxons, Mercians and Welsh against the Vikings; see *MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. 57-58; cf. K&L, p. 43; cf. K&L, n. 183. The fact that Anarawd of Gwynned renounced his alliance with the Viking kingdom of York guaranteed Alfred political stability in his struggles against the Vikings, but also benefitted the community of St David's, Asser original see. It is also interesting that the rulers of Glywysing and Gwent turned to Alfred for protection, due to the pressure of Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia (*VÆ*, ch. 80). Thus, Alfred's alliance with the Welsh rulers at the same time held the ambitious Æthelred at bay, further cementing Alfred's role as a leader of the English, as Æthelred would not have dared to displease the king of Wessex by assaulting his allies in Wales.

[235] Cf. K&L, pp. 41-42. They argue that the return of the Vikings to England had triggered the compilation of the *ASC*, which in turn prompted Asser to write his biography.

throughout and eschews ethnic terminology most of the time.[236] The book's dedication gives a fair impression of Asser's alleged agenda: "Domino meo uenerabili piissimoque omnium Britanniae insulae Christianorum rectori, Ælfred, Anglorum Saxonum regi."[237] Here the Welsh priest portrays Alfred primarily as the patron and protector of all the Christians of Britain. He is not exhibited as martial overlord – a clever move to evade national sentiments. Alfred's role is one of a Christian leader in a *bellum iustum* against the pagans who endangered the Christian faith in Britain. This, this study would argue, was the underlying agenda of Asser's work. It was a clever tactical move to tie the Britons to the KAS and unite the Christian peoples of Britain against the Vikings without raising anxieties of political dominion. This close contact between Britons and Anglo-Saxons in Alfred's day and their presence at the court of Winchester and involvement in the king's translation program prompts us to consider that a work like the *OEHE* has come to the attention of a mixed Anglo-British audience.[238] This consideration in turn sheds new light on the portrayal of the Britons in the vernacular rendering of the *HE*. Their depiction and the political and literary discourse of the work might have been mutually informing. This point will be made clear by a close reading the depiction of the Britons in the *HE* and the *OEHE*.

The Overture: the *Descriptio Britanniae*

Following other late antique and early medieval writers, Bede begins his work with a description of Britain based on Pliny, Orosius and Gildas.[239] The island is cast in edenic terms, evoking notions of both the Creation and the Promised Land.[240] This pristine space needs to be seen in relation to its inhabitants, as there is no true existence of space apart from the cultivators and their desires.[241] Bede does not follow his immediate source, Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae,* in portraying the

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[236] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 42 and n. 63.

[237] *VÆ*, p. 1. *To my esteemed and most holy lord, Alfred, Ruler of all the Christians of all the Christians of the island of Britain, King of the Angles and the Saxons*; trans.: K&L, p. 67).

[238] The question of intelligibility to a British audience of a work in the vernacular is answered by Hildegard Tristram, who argues that the Britons gave up their native language (Late British) over a period of 300 years to partake of the elite culture of the Anglo-Saxons. In that process, they 'Brittonized' spoken Old English from the ground up. This influence on the vernacular is manifested in the periphrastic aspect and periphrastic DO ("Why Don't the English Speak Welsh?" in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. N. Higham (Woodbrige, 2007), pp. 192-214.

[239] For his sources see *HEGA*, I, 285-91 and *FAS* database (accessed: 01/10/2014).

[240] Cf. Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest*, pp. 240-42; Speed, "Bede's Creation of a Nation"; C.B. Kendall, "Imitation and the Venerable Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica"; N. Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, NY, 1989); Merrills has argued against a hexameral reading (*History and Geography*, pp. 268-73). Instead he remarked that "the optimistic outlook of Bede's geography might equally be read as a prescriptive statement on the possibilities of a spiritually, if not politically, unified Britain"(*ibid.*, p. 253).

[241] Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest*, pp. 240-42.

Britons as the autochthone inhabitants of Britain. Rather, they are just the first to enter the "poetic space" of Britain, which does not give them a particular claim to this territory.[242] The British migration is the first in a series of subsequent migrations into Britain: the Picts, the Scots, and the Romans follow, culminating in the *adventus Saxonum*.[243] The British initially hold an exalted position, as they gave their name to the island, a fact that is stressed in both the *HE* and the *OEHE*: "On fruman ærest wæron þysses ealondes bigengan Bryttas ane, fram þam hit naman onfeng."[244] However, their mastery of the island – as Rome's – was limited, as both Bede and his translator remark that they occupied only the southern part of the island.[245] Nonetheless, Bede takes care to show that they were an integral part of Britain and the Christian church therein, as they share with the Picts, Scots and English the study of the Scriptures in the Latin language, and their acknowledgment of "ænne wisdom þære hean soþfastnesse ⁊ þære soðan heanesse."[246] This yearning for divine truth is underscored by the fact that the Britons actively sought conversion by the papacy. The British king Lucius appeals to Pope Eleutherius to be converted to Christianity.[247] The British are therefore not an indomitable barbarian people in need of forced conversion, but rather among the first of Gentiles in the remotest corners of the world. They become active agents of their own conversion – apparently driven by religious zeal. This even sets them apart from the Anglo-Saxons. The British do not confide exclusively in the power of imperial Rome, but call directly on spiritual Rome – the Rome of the papacy. The British are proselytized according to the precepts of orthodox Roman doctrine, which gives their admission to Christianity special force and authority.[248]

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[242] Plassmann remarks that the Britons' claim to Britain is not necessarily better, only older, as the standing of a *gens* is dependent on its relation to God. She correctly refutes Higham's argument that the native population's claim was automatically better, as the archetype of a 'chosen people', the Old Testament Israelites had to conquer their promised land by driving away the autochthon population (*Origo Gentis*, p. 60); cf. N. Higham, *An English Empire: Bede, the Britons and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 19-21.

[243] Cf. Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest*, pp. 247-58.

[244] *At the very first the Britons were the sole inhabitants of this island, which received its name from them*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 28-29; "In primis autem insula Brettones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit."(*HEGA*, I, 26); *To begin with, the inhabitants of the island were all Britons, from whom it receives its name*; trans.: C&M, p. 17.

[245] Cf. Scully, "'Proud Ocean'", p. 15.

[246] [O]*ne and the same science of sublime truth and true sublimity*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 26-27; "unam eandemque summae ueritatis et uerae sublimitatis scientiam" (*HEGA*, I, 26); [O]*ne and the same kind of wisdom, namely, the knowledge of sublime truth and true sublimity*; trans.: C&M, p. 17.

[247] *HE* I.4. The source for this story is the *Liber Pontificalis*. Bede however misread his source, as the entry probably referred to King Lucius of Edessa (179-216). *Britanni*a is an error for *Britium* (*Birtha Edissenorum*), situated not too far from that city (cf. *HEGA*, I, 295). The question remains whether Bede deliberately misread his source as a scholar of his acumen and accuracy would hardly mix up two such things. For another slip in Bede's accuracy see C&M, p. 71 n. 2.

[248] This also undermines Rowley's claim that the translator omitted Germanus' 'Alleluja victory' against the Saxons and Picts (I.20) to deny their confirmation as a Christian people and thus focus more on their moral and military shortcomings and their non-observance of orthodox

Although they have become part of the *imperium Romanum*, they nevertheless appeal to a different authority for their spiritual well-being, as Christianity did not become Rome's state religion until the reign of emperor Theodosius I (379-94). Bede remarks that they subsequently observed the faith "usque in tempora Diocletiani principis inuiolatam integramque quieta in pace."[249] The *OEHE* translates this chapter faithfully. The translator adds to Diocletian's depravity by stating that he was an 'evil emperor.'[250] In both cases, the Britons appear as model Christians, who desire their own conversion, appeal to the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope, and uphold the Christian faith in a commendable way. That this state of affairs is about to change is foreshadowed by the translator's making mention of Diocletian. The violation and fragmentation of the faith is explicitly connected with his reign. In the *HE* and even more so in the *OEHE*, one gets the impression that it was rather the circumstances of the emperor's reign, rather than the personal fault of the Britons, that the faith did not longer remain inviolate and entire.[251]

Romano-British History

Diocletian is but one example of the Britons' dealings with the Romans. Bede's depiction thereof gives us valuable insights into his attitude towards the Britons, which is not always shared by his translator. In *HE* I.2, Bede relates that Julius Caesar and his troops suffered at the hands of the Britons in his first attempt to conquer Britain. In response to this heavy resistance, Caesar augmented his second force – six hundred ships instead of eighty.[252] The Britons are presented as fierce opponents who inflict severe losses on the Roman expeditionary force under the Trinovantes' leader, Cassebelaunus. Yet they are presented as inferior in various ways and they are called "barbari", who are eventually unable to resist the Romans. Instead they resort to partisan tactics.[253] Their moral corruption is illus-

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Easter practices (Rowley, pp. 83-84); cf. Brooks, "From British to English Christianity", who identifies Roman imperial and papal authority as the source of legitimacy in the *HE* (p. 6).

[249] *HEGA*, I, 36; *Until the time of the emperor Diocletian they observed* [the faith] *inviolate and whole in quiet and peace.*

[250] "ꝼ ða onfengan Bryttas fulluhte ꝼ Cristes geleafan, ꝼ ðone onwealhne ꝼ unwemmedne on smyltre sibbe heoldon oþ Deoclitianes tide þæs yfelan caseres."; *Then the Britons received baptism and the faith of Christ, and maintained it unimpaired and undefiled in quiet and peace till the time of Diocletian the bad emperor*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 32-33.

[251] Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*, p. 63, argues that they appealed to the papacy and received the orthodox faith directly from Rome at the same time makes their obstinacy and adherence to non-catholic practices more tragic and loathsome.

[252] *HEGA*, I, 30. "Regressus in Galliam legiones in Hibernia dimisit, ac DC naues utriusque commodi fieri imperauit"; *He returned to Gaul, sent the legions into winter-quarters, and then gave orders for the construction of 600 ships of both types*; trans.: C&M, p. 21.

[253] *HE*, I, 32: "[B]arbari legionum impetum non ferentes siluis sese obdidere, unde crebris eruptionibus Romanos grauiter ac saepe lacerabant."; *The Babarians, being unable to resist the charge of the*

trated by the fact that after the chief city of Trinovantes had surrendered, several other towns followed. Those defecting towns helped Caesar to capture Cassebelaunus's stronghold. Thus, British disunity and treachery are components of their downfall. The Old English translator, in contrast, dramatically abbreviates this chapter and portrays Caesar's conquest as a quick and smooth campaign, ridding the narrative of both the military prowess of the Britons and their moral flaws.

In his translation of the subsequent expedition by Claudius (*HE*. I.3), the translator follows Bede in portraying the emperor's conquest of the islands without serious fighting or bloodshed.[254] This peaceful and unproblematic submission of Britain by Claudius prefigures the arrival of the Augustine mission, similarly depicted without strife or bloodshed. Yet the translator makes some modifications which change the picture of the Britons. The *HE* makes mention of Claudius's incentives. Apart from his ambition to augment the glory of the *res publica*, he sets sail for Britain to quell a British insurgence. His expedition is praised as a courageous enterprise, as nobody before or after had dared to do so.[255] Both aspects are dropped in the Old English translation. Thus, the British are portrayed as less belligerent and offensive, as their rebellion is not mentioned and the conquest of Britain does not appear to be a daring enterprise, which in turn attests to the apparent harmlessness of the Britons. Like Claudius, Septimus Severus is also drawn to Britan (*trahitur*) because of the defection of the federate tribes – presumably the Britons – against which he has to fight many great and hard battles (*HE*. I.5). In the Old English rendering, the faithlessness of the British tribes is cut out, as their defection is not mentioned. The following chapter (*HE* I.6) is also significantly abbreviated. The Roman power struggle in Britain (between the strongmen Carausius, Allectus and Asclipiodotus) is dropped and the focus shifted towards persecutions of Christians under Diocletian and Herculius. In both the Latin and the Old English, Britain is put into the context of the universal Church, as everywhere martyrs suffered during those persecutions. This change in narrative focus paves the way for the martyrdom of St. Alban, which is faithfully rendered in the *OEHE*.[256]

Why did the Old English translator retain the story of a British saint? For once, Alban's story is attractive as it is in line with the other *exempla* and conversion accounts of Irish and Anglo-Saxon saints. It was apt edifying material and

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legions, hid themselves in the woods, from which they mad constant sallies and frequently did the Romans great damage; trans.: C&M, p. 23).

[254] *HEGA*, I, 34 and *OEB*, I.1, 30.

[255] *HEGA*, I, 34: "Transuectus in insulam est, quam neque ante Iulium Caesarem neque post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat, ibique sine ullo proelio ac sanguine intra paucissimos dies plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit."; *He crossed the island which no one either before or after Julius Caesar had dared to invade until then, and without any fighting or bloodshed he received the surrender of the greater part of the island within a very few days*; trans.: C&M, p. 23).

[256] Apart from Alban both accounts mention other Romano-British citizens (*inter alia* Aaron and Julius in Chester) who suffer for their faith.

could have reminded the faithful that Christians had to endure successful tests of faith ever since the time of persecution. Moreover, the story stresses universality of the church, regardless of ethnic origin. Neither account presents Alban as explicitly British. Therefore, the translator could adapt him to an English audience without great difficulty.[257] The story of Alban was surely appealing to a late ninth/early tenth-century audience. In the face of the Viking invasions, which apparently provoked a dwindling faith among the Anglo-Saxons, the martyrdom provided a forceful means to strengthen the faith of the Christians. It is not so much his (alleged) 'British-Ness' that attracted the translator, but rather this formulaic account of a conversion process and martyrdom. Moreover, Alban's story filled a void as the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons did not produce English martyrs, since the English Church during its first one hundred years was governed by Roman models in the introduction of church patrons and cults.[258] The Old English translator appropriated Alban as the proto-martyr of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain, but not as an explicitly British saint. Thus, Britain is shown to have received the grace of God through this confessor and martyr of Christ.[259]

This hitherto flawless Christianity is vitiated in the following chapter (*HE* I.8). Bede writes that the "fideles Christi"[260] came out of their hidings when the persecutions had ceased. They re-erect churches, celebrate feast days and earnestly ob-

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[257] Hanning stresses that Bede intentionally recasts Gildas' account, who emphasized elements in Alban's passion which paralleled the Old Testament in order to cast Alban as a national hero and a martyr. In contrast, Bede avoids these tendencies and strikes a more hagiographical chord so that "the great virtue of Alban is not his aid to the nation, but his ability to convert by his example those who had until then denied God."(*Vision of History* p. 77); cf. also Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on Britons", p. 174; In fact, the cult of St Alban was the only one transferred from British to English Christianity. Cf. Brooks, "Canterbury, Rome, and the Construction of English Identity", in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough,* ed. J.M.H. Smith and D.A. Bullough (Leiden, 2000), pp. 221-246, at pp. 238-39 and J. Campbell, "Some Observations on the Conversion of England", in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. J. Campbell (London, 1986), pp. 69-84, at p. 72; cf. Coz, "The Image of Roman History", p. 557, who admits that in late Anglo-Saxon England the cult has faded as Alban's feast day is neither among those of highest rank in the liturgical books nor presented in hagiography as a patron of Britain. Nonetheless, Ælfric of Eynsham saw fit to include the Passion of St Alban in his first series of *Catholic Homilies*, based on Bede's *HE*

[258] See A. Thacker, "In Search of Saints: The English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", in *Early Medieval Rome*, pp. 247–77, at p. 248. Thacker further points out that only two shrines (St Alban and St Sixtus) survived the incoming Anglo-Saxons and remained in existence when the Augustinian mission arrived (*ibid.*, pp. 256-7).

[259] In the Latin account this is corroborated by St. Germanus of Auxerre visiting the cult site to give thanks for the 'Alleluja victory' against the Saxons and Picts. It has been argued further that Bede inserted the story to emphasize how the Britons of his own day had already departed from the virtues and catholic orthodoxy Alban represented (Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on Britons", p. 174). Although there is no overt evidence that British unorthodoxy was an issue in late ninth Anglo-Saxon England, this aspect might nonetheless have harped on notions of necessary unity. There may have been some unorthodox practices in the British church, which met with reservations on the part of the translator.

[260] *HEGA*, I, 48; *OEB*, I.1, 42 :"þa cristenan men ⁊ ða geleafsuman".

serve the liturgy ("mundo corde atque ore").[261] Only now the sound belief of the British seems to crack, as peace is disturbed by the Arian heresy: "quae corrupto orbe toto hanc etiam insulam extra orbem tam longe remotam ueneno sui infecit erroris."[262] Three things are striking here. First, the Arian heresy is not confined to Britain, but a global phenomenon (*toto orbe*). Only after the rest of the world had been corrupted had it spread – perhaps inevitably – to Britain. Second, it is the island (*insulam*) that is infected, not the Britons. The reference of corruption may pertain to the Dal Riadan Scots, the Romans, and the Picts alike. Finally, Bede's remark on the remoteness of Britain is striking (*extra orbem tam longe remotam*). In a similar context (*HE* III.4), he exculpates the Irish for adhering to the wrong reckoning of Easter "utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positis."[263] Although we do not have such an explicit vindication in the present case, the comment on the position of the island does follow the same logic implicitly. Finally, considering the global context of the heresy, those lines need not be regarded as a condemnation of the Britons, although Bede's following statement may suggest otherwise:

> et hac quasi uia pestilentiae trans Oceanum patefacta, non mora, omnis se lues hereseos cuiusque insulae noui simper aliquid audire gaudenti et nihil certi firmiter obtinenti infudit.

> (*This quickly opened the way for every foul heresy from across the Ocean to pour into an island which always delights in hearing something new and holds firmly to no sure belief*).[264]

Again, the reference is to the island as a whole, thus encompassing peoples other than the Britons. The intriguing aspect of this quotation is its echo of a similar passage from the *Acts of the Apostles* (17:21), where Athenians and foreigners indulged in talking about and listening to everything new.[265] What appears as a negative character trait at the same time gives St. Paul the opportunity to preach to gathered people. He is mocked by members of his audience, but at the same time converted some to Christianity. The rest are at least susceptible to his ideas and want him to explain his ideas again on an unspecified occasion (*Acts* 17: 32-34). Against this backdrop, the apparently bitter verdict on Britain is not as reprehensible as it appears at first sight. It rather offers the possibility of future correction for those who are at present not listening to the apostolic words. Taken together, Bede's two statements on the Arian heresy and the apparent waywardness of the Britons do not necessarily condemn them, but present the island of Britain in

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[261] *HEGA*, I, 50; *OEB*, I.1, 42: "clænan muðe ⁊ clænre heortan".
[262] *HEGA*, I, 50; [*W*]*hich corrupted the whole world and even infected this island, sundered so far from the rest of mankind, with the poison of its error*; trans.: C&M, p. 35.
[263] *HEGA*, II, 26. *Since they were so far away at the ends of the world*; trans.: C&M, p. 225; cf. Stancliffe, "British and Irish", p. 72; cf. See Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest*, p. 244 on the role of remoteness in Bede's narration.
[264] *HEGA*, I, 50; trans.: C&M, pp. 35 and 37.
[265] See C&M, p. 36 n. 1.

need of correction. This again can be read as prefiguring the Augustinian mission. Bede goes on to narrate the story of Emperor Constantine, who was made emperor in Britain, succeeding his father Constantius. In this context Bede again refers to the Arian heresy:

> Cuius temporibus Arriana heresis exorta, et in Nicena synodo detecta atque damnata, nihilominus exitiabile perfidiae suae uirus, ut diximus, non solum orbis totius sed et insularum ecclesiis aspersit.

> (*In his time arose the Arian heresy which was exposed and condemned by the Council of Nicaea. Nevertheless, the deadly poison of its evil doctrine, as has been said, tainted the churches of the whole world, including those of our own islands.*)[266]

The heresy had been condemned, but nevertheless spread throughout the world and infected the churches of the islands. The use of the plural *ecclesii insularum* is significant. Bede is not only referring to the Church in Britain but also to the church of other islands, probably Ireland. This would further diminish the charge that the British had a particular susceptibility to heresy.

The Old English translator reshapes the chapter considerably. The initial passage on the global dimension of the Arian heresy is left out, making it a British phenomenon. Additionally, Bede's verdict on the predilection of the island to listen to new things and not adhering to a sure belief is cut out. Both omissions can be explained by the rearrangement of the rest of the chapter. The translator associates the Arian heresy more firmly with Emperor Constantine's reign:

> Þæs cyninges tidum se Arrianisca gedwola wæs upcumen; ⁊ þæt dædbærende attor his getreowleasnysse, nalæs þæt on eallum middangeardes cyricum þæt he stregde, ac hit eac swylce on þis ealond becom. Se gedweola wæs on þam Nyceaniscan sinoþe geniðerad ⁊ afylled on Constantinus dagum.

> (*In this king's time the Arian heresy arose; and the deadly poison of his unbelief he spread not only to all churches in the world, but it also came into this island. This heresy was condemned and crushed in the days of Constantine at the Council of Nicaea.*)[267]

With this passage the initial omission of the global dimension can therefore be explained by the translator's attempt to erase redundancies. Moreover, the metathesis of the final two sentences gives the impression that the Synod of Nicaea extinguished the problem. The *affylled* (from OE *afyllan* 'to fell, to strike or beat down, to overturn, subvert, lay low, abolish, slay')[268] is a stronger semantic choice

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[266] *HEGA*, I, p. 50; trans.: C&M, p. 37.
[267] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 42-43.
[268] *BT* s.v. *afyllan*; *DOE* s.v. *afyllan*.

then *damnata* (from Lat. *damnare* 'condemn', 'find guilty', 'deem unjust', 'reject', 'renounce').[269] As mentioned in the chapter about imperial Rome, the Old English translator makes an interesting addition to the handover of power to Constantine, by claiming that he was "on Breotone acenned."[270] Thus, Britain not only produced the first Roman champion of Christianity, but by connecting the emergence and successful eradication of the Arian heresy with the reign of Constantine (the wording of the Old English makes his reign frame the whole issue), the obliteration has a British contribution as the emperor was born in Britain. The chapter thus ends with the British having fallen victim to the global phenomenon of the Arian heresy, which however, was dissolved by the council of Nicea, in the reign of an emperor born in Britain. Thus a 'son of Britain' appears to have had his share in quelling this heresy. This is what the translator may have wanted to stress in the reworking. The omission of the passage on the predilection for new things follows careful considerations. For once, the translator might not have wanted to stir sentiment in his Anglo-British readership, as this passage, if wrongly understood, could be read as veiled criticism of all inhabitants of Britain. The translator may have intended to present Britain as not susceptible to new beliefs. This aspect makes perfect sense, given the overall agenda of promoting orthodoxy and in the light of the Viking depredations that might have made the Anglo-Saxons think that their renunciation of the pagan gods and acceptance of Christianity had done them more harm than good. In order to shun any anxieties about the Christian faith with the alternative of the new 'old' belief pouring into England in Danish and Norwegian ships, the translator to some degree emulates Orosius.

The Old English then omits the following chapter about the Pelagian heresy (*HE* I.10). The immediate effect is that the successful repudiation of the Arian heresy is put into a narrative sequence with the fall of Rome and the subsequent decline of Roman imperial power in Britain (*HE* I.11). The conquest of Rome by the Goths – a Germanic people – is prefiguring the conquest of Britain by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Bede paves the way for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and the subsequent success story of these groups and their church by prefiguring this event with reference to imperial Rome (Claudius's arrival), spiritual Rome (Britain in need of orthodox teaching), and finally the image of Germanic tribes superseding the empire and setting claim to the heritage of Rome. These are three important elements which characterize Bede's narrative approach and are then copied by his translator.

The withdrawal of the Roman troops brings up the issue of the British military weakness and their dependence on the Empire, which become recurring topoi in the chapters to come. The British incapability to defend their country is another important factor in their forfeiture of the claim to the territory.[271] *HE* I.12 nar-

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[269] *GHW*, s.v. *damnare*; *PONS*, s.v. *damnare*. There is a great semantic overlay.

[270] *OEB*, I.1, 42; *Was born in Britain*.

[271] Cf. Rowley, p. 91; and Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest*, pp. 249-51.

rates the fierce attacks of the Picts and the Scots on the British and the Britons'
petitions to Rome. The language which Bede and his Old English translator apply
testifies to the inferiority of the Britons. Bede describes them as ignorant of the
practice of warfare ("utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara") and as sending
tearful appeals for help ("lacrimosis precibus auxilia flagitabant.")[272] to the Ro-
mans. In contrast, the Picts and Scots are presented as savage and superior in
every regard.[273] The Romans answer two British appeals, drive off their enemies
and help the Britons to build defenses and weapons. The Britons are presented
not only as martially inept (their walls are overrun, their weapons do not help to
fight off the enemies), but also as stricken by cowardice.

The *OEHE* displays conspicuous modifications. The translator deletes the
British ignorance of warfare but keeps the notion of their desperate appeals. In
the Latin text, the Romans admonish the Britons before their final departure,
saying that their enemies were only superior when the Britons were weakened by
their own sloth ("quam si ipsi inertia soluerentur.")[274] The final lines of the chap-
ter then report that the Britons, in their destitute situation, start to rob and plun-
der each other and thus "augentes externas domesticis motibus clades."[275] This
inner strife of the Britons exemplifies Bede's admonition of a kingdom divided
against itself, for which Israel was the prime example for Bede, including the la-
mentable result.[276] The Britons are thus portrayed as morally flawed, as they are
internally divided and are characterized by *inertia*. However, the moral condemna-
tion of the Britons revolves mainly around the Latin term *inertia*. If one translates

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[272] *HEGA*, I, 56 and 58; [B]*ecause the people were so utterly ignorant of the practice of warfare* […]*bearing letters with tearful appeals for help*; trans.: C&M, p. 41.

[273] *HEGA*, I, 58 and 60: "Verum priores inimici, ut Romanum militem abisse conspexerant, mox aduecti nauibus irrumpunt terminos caeduntque omnia, et quasi maturam segetem obuia quaeque metunt calcant transeunt."; *But as soon as their former foes saw the Roman soldiers depart, they took ship and broke into their boarders, felling, trampling and treading down everything they met, like reapers moving ripe corn*; trans.: C&M, p. 43; "Ða þæt ða ongeaton ða ærran gewinnan þæt se Romanisca here wæs onweg gewiten, ða coman hi sona mid sciphere on heora landgemæro, ⁊ slogan eall ⁊ cwealdon þæt hi gemetton; ⁊ swa swa ripe yrð fortreddon ⁊ fornamon, ⁊ hi mid ealla foryrmdon."; *But when their former adversaries saw that the Roman army had gone away, they proceeded at once with a fleet to the British boarders, slew and murdered all they met, and, as if it were a ripe filed of corn, trod them under foot, and made havoc, and utterly ruined all*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 44-45. The battle is cast in terms of wild beasts tearing apart the harmless sheep: "Insequitur hostis, accelerantur strages cunctis crudeliores prioribus. Sicut enim agni a feris, ita miseri ciues discerpuntur ab hostibus."; *The wretched Britons were torn in pieces by their enemies like lambs by wild beasts*; *HEGA*, I, 62; trans.: C&M, p. 45; "Wæs þis gefeoht wælgrimme ⁊ strengre eallum þam ærgedonum. Forðon swa swa sceap from wulfum ⁊ wildeorum beoð fornumene, swa þa earman ceasterwaran toslitene ⁊ fornumene wæron fram heora feondum."; *This contest was more bloody and violent than any before: for as sheep are destroyed by wolves and wild beasts, so the poor townsmen were rent and destroyed by their foes*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 46-47.

[274] *HEGA*, I, 60; [I]*f they themselves were weakened by sloth*; trans.: C&M, p. 43.

[275] *HEGA*, I, 62; *Increased external calamities by internal strife*.

[276] Cf. Wormald, "The Venerable Bede", p. 24. For New Testament parallels cf. Matthew 12:25 and Mark 3:24.

it with 'sloth', the constitution of the British is vitiated by one of the deadly sins. *Inertia*, however, can also mean 'insolence', 'lack of skill' or 'cowardice'.[277] The latter two meanings fit quite well in the present context. The Old English translator renders the passage as follows: "Ac hi [the Romans] manedon ꝛ lærdon þæt hi him wæpno worhton ꝛ *modes strengðo naman* þæt hi compedon ꝛ wiðstodan heora feondum"[my italics].[278] This clearly shows that the translator understood *inertia* in terms of cowardice, which is the most probable meaning in this case. The translator leaves out the account of the inner strife, which Sharon Rowley has interpreted as diminishing their moral corruption.[279] Furthermore, the term *socii* in the Old English version is applied to the Britons twice in the Latin chapter. They are thus not presented as mutually connected with the Romans, but it appears that they are in a one-sided dependence on their Roman liberators. The Britons' failure consists of the fact that they are not able to apply the Roman advice to good effect. They are shown how to build a bulwark and weapons but they fail to learn and thus suffer at the hands of the barbaric invaders. They have squandered the Roman heritage, which proves them unworthy to claim Britain in contrast to the Anglo-Saxons, who are presented as rightful military and religious successors to Rome. Fabienne Michelet has stated that in the *HE* the Britons define themselves as a Roman province and do not display any sense of themselves as an independent or sovereign people.[280] The Old English translation similarly conveys the veneration for the Roman people, but does not reproduce the British self-perception as a Roman province. Despite that apparent emancipation (or just factual updating since Britain no longer was part of the former empire), the veneration for and dependence on Rome is discernible in both accounts. The following chapter (*HE* I.13) in both the Latin and the Old English sees an unsuccessful appeal to the Roman consul Aetius for military help. The almost desperate dependence on Roman help portrays the British as unworthy of possessing the land.

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[277] *GHW*, s.v. *inertia*; *PONS*, s.v. *inertia*.

[278] *But they admonished and instructed them to manufacture arms, and pluck up stout hearts that they might fight and withstand their foes*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I, 44-47. Bede does not present *inertia* as a typically British character trait to single them out as morally inferior to the Anglo-Saxons. In his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Bede recounts: "Nostra siquidem, id est Anglorum gentis inertiae consulendum ratus, quae et non dudum, id est temporibus beati papae Gregorii, semen accepit fidei, et idem quantum ad lectionem tpide satis excoluit, non solum dilucidare sensus, uerum sententias quoque stringere disposui" (*Bedae Presbyteri Expositio Apocalypseos*, ed. R. Gryson CCSL 121A (Turnhout, 2001, p. 233). *For as I think that the indolence of our nation, I mean of the English, ought to be taken into account, which too, not long since, that is, in the time of the blessed Pope Gregory, received the seed of faith, and has cultivated the same remissly enough, so far as reading is concerned, I have arranged my plan so as not only to elucidate the sense but also to compress the sentences.* (transl. E. Marshall, *Explanation of the Apocalypse by the Venerable Beda* (Oxford and London, 1878), pp. 8-9). This study's author is grateful to Prof. Gernot Wieland, whose paper "Bede and Anglo-Saxon Indolence" at the 47th ICMS at Kalamazoo in 2012 made him aware of the passage in question and the semantics of the Latin term *inertia*.

[279] See Rowley, p. 80.

[280] See Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest*, p. 249.

Adding to British misfortune and predicament is a pandemic that worsens their fate and cows them into submission. Despite this dire situation, the narration offers glimpses of hope as some of the Britons take courage and resist the onslaught of the Picts and Scots (*HE* I.14). Bede and his Old English translator make clear that they overcome their enemies for the first time ("tum primum"/ "ærest") and drive them off their lands, because their desperation makes them trust in the divine power.[281] What follows is a depiction of peace and tranquility and abundance, which, however leads to moral corruption, civil war and another severe pestilence.

The narrative sequence is striking here. The Britons relied on the martial power of imperial Rome, which was of no benefit to them in the long run, as they failed to learn from it. Success was only temporary. Aetius's rejection of the British plea leaves them on their own, which compels the British to trust in divine power, which immediately bears fruit. The Britons had a two-channeled connection with Rome: imperial Rome and the Rome of the papacy. In the end, both connections are severed, passively and actively, respectively. The Britons' failure therefore is two-fold as well. First, they are too sluggish to learn from the Romans and emulate their art of defense and warfare. Second, they do not realize that the source of their splendor is God's intervention, so instead they are corrupted by the late abundance. In that, they neglect the two important parameters for Bede. Consequently, they are replaced by the Anglo-Saxons, who are the inheritors of imperial and spiritual Rome in Britain. The sinful Britons appear to be punished by the ensuing pestilence. In this maelstrom of inner strife and epidemic, even the survivors are doomed, as both Bede and his translator depict them as spiritually dead on account of their sins.[282] In their desperation, they make a fateful decision by calling upon the Germanic mercenaries to help them get rid of the Northern enemies. The *HE* and the *OEHE* clearly show that this was willed by divine providence in order to punish the Britons and supplant them by the Anglo-Saxons, who are worthier in every regard:

> Vnde non multo post acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est: initium namque est consilium quid agendum, ubi quaerendum esset praesidium ad euitandas uel repellandas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium irruptiones, placuitque

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[281] *HEGA*, I, 64: "[Q]uin potius confidentes in diuinum, ubi humanum cessabat, auxilium."; *Trusting in divine aid when human help failed them*; trans.: C&M, p. 47; "[A]c, þa him ælc mennisc fultum blonn, þæt hi ma on godcundne fultum getreowodan."; *And as all human help failed them they trusted the more to aid from heaven*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 48-49.

[282] *HEGA*, I, 66: "[S]ed ne morte quidem suorum nec timore mortis hi, qui supererant, a morte animae, qua peccando sternebantur, reuocari poterant."; *Yet those who survived could not be awakened from their spiritual death of their kinsmen or by fear of their own death; trans.*: C&M, p. 49; "Ac hwæðere þa ðe lifigende wæron for ðam ege þæs deaðes noht þon sel woldan, ne fram heora sawle deaðe acigde beon ne mihton."; *And yet the living were not the better disposed for all that terror of death, nor could they be rescued from the death of their souls*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 50-51.

omnibus cum suo rege Vurtigerno ut Saxonum gentem de transma-
rinis partibus in auxilium uocarent. Quod Domini nutu dispositum
esse constat, ut ueniret contra improbos malum, sicut euidentius re-
rum exitus probauit.

(*For this reason a still more terrible retribution soon afterwards overtook this sin-
ful people and their fearful crimes. They consulted as to what they should do and
where they should seek help to prevent or repel the fierce and very frequent attacks
of the northern nations; all, including their king Vortigern, agreed that they
should call the Saxons to their aid from across the seas. As events plainly
showed, this was ordained by the will of God so that evil might fall upon those
miscreants.*)[283]

The *OEHE* reads:

Forðon nalæs æfter myclum fæce grimmre wræc þa þære fyrenfullan
þeode þæs grimman mannes wæs æfterfyligende. Þa gesomnedon hi
gemot ⁊ þeahtedon ⁊ ræddon, hwæt him to donne wære, hwær him
wære fultum to secanne to gewearnienne ⁊ to wiðscufanne swa reðre
hergunge ⁊ swa gelomlicre þara norðþeoda. ⁊ þa gelicode him eallum
mid heora cyninge, Wyrtgeorn wæs haten, þæt hi Seaxna þeode ofer
þam sælicum dælum him on fultum gecygdon ⁊ gelaðedon. Þæt cuð
is þæt þæt mid Drihtnes mihte gestihtad wæs, þæt yfell wræc come
ofer ða wiþcorenan, swa on þam ende þara wisena sweotolice æty-
wed is.

(*Therefore, after no long time direr vengeance for their dire sin overtook this de-
praved people. Then they gathered an assembly and took counsel together, as to
what should be done, and where they should look for help to avoid and repel such
savage and repeated devastations of the northern nations. Then it seemed best to
all, and to their king, Vortigern by name, to invite and call in to their aid the
people of the Saxons from the parts beyond the sea. It is evident that this was so
arranged by the divine power, that heavy vengeance should come on these outcasts,
as is clearly shown by the issue of events.*)[284]

The wickedness of the Britons is rightfully punished by the Anglo-Saxons as Bede
and his Old English translator agree. The Old English passage evokes notions of
negative election *þæt yfell wræc come ofer ða wiþcorenan*. The term *wiþcoren* 'chosen
against' portrays the British as outcasts, not belonging to those nations that have
received the grace of God.[285] This is a recurring theme in Bede's narration, as he
condemns their divergent practices of celebrating Easter and tonsure throughout.
This condemnation becomes especially clear in *HE* V.22 where Bede reprehends

[283] *HEGA*, I, 66; trans.: C&M, p. 49.
[284] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 50-51.
[285] Cf. Rowley, pp. 83-85.

them because they diverge in religious practice: "sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur."[286] The Old English is more specific: "ꟁ Christes symbelnesse rihte Eastran butan geðeodnesse ealra Godes cyricena healdað ꟁ weorþiað."[287] It is the incorrect observance of Easter and of Christ's solemn festivals in general that is the focus of criticism. Rowley argues that the question of Easter is important in both Bede and the *OEHE,* as correct religious practice squares with political unity and peace.[288] In the absence of the Pelagian heresy, the failure of the Britons does not so much lie in their moral wickedness but their non-compliance with the practices of the orthodox Church, as Rowley argues. To her, despite the omission of most of Bede's elaborate comments on the correct reckoning of Easter and the Synod of Whitby, the question of the correct calculation of Easter bears even more narrative weight in the *OEHE.* She interprets the residual references to the Easter controversy, combined with the elimination of the Pelagian heresy and their military ineptitude as the defining factor in the British forfeiture of the claim to Britain.[289] Resistance becomes their primary moral failure. The Old English translator "follows neither Gildas nor Bede in reading their ultimate displacement as divine punishment."[290] Rowley is certainly right with her assumption that the correct reckoning of Easter still bears some weight in the *OEHE.*[291] However, this study wishes to argues that it does not dominate the narration as it does in the *HE.*[292] Paul Dean makes a very lucid point when he claims that one feature of Bede's narrative is the evolutionary process of a distinctively English Church and nation.[293] This involves a systematic process of rejection of error to approximate the orthodox truth. Vital to this systematic process are Bede's discourses on the correct observance of Easter, culminating in the argument between Colman and Wilfrid at the Synod of Whitby (*HE* III.25).

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[286] *HEGA*, II, 462; *They celebrate Christ's solemn festivals differently from the fellowship of the Church of Christ*; trans.: C&M, p. 555.

[287] *And* [they] *observe and solemnize the due festivals of Christ's Easter not in community with all the churches of God*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 472-73.

[288] Rowley, p. 85.

[289] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-91.

[290] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[291] She shows elsewhere that there was evidence for ninth-century interest in matters of computus; cf. *idem*, "Paschal Controversy", pp. 303-05.

[292] Rowley argues that there was a clear statement of the rules for the correct observance of Easter which she interprets as testifying to a special interest in that matter by the Old English translator (Rowley, pp 88-90; and "Paschal Controversy", pp. 305-06). She refers to the retention of the decrees of the Synod of Hertford, whose first decree concerns the question of the correct Easter reckoning. Although the decoration appears as conspicuous as Rowley notes, this does not prove a special significance of the theme in the *OEHE*. The synod's exceptional character is well-known. It was ground-breaking in the process of establishing an all-English church in the wake of Archbishop Theodore's arrival. Its inclusion in the vernacular version as well as the lavish decoration would have self-evident for anybody who wrote/translated a history of the church in Britain.

[293] P. Dean, "Three Episodes in Bede's "History"", *The Durham University Journal* 80.1 (1988), 81-85.

Through this argumentative refutation of unorthodox practices the English Church defines and legitimates itself. Dean correctly observes that "[F]or Bede's translator, however, the English Church and people do not evolve: they exist."[294] This explains why the Easter Controversy is reduced to mere references and the Pelagian heresy omitted completely. The *OEHE* undoubtedly deals with questions of orthodoxy but less so in than the *HE*. Leaving out the Synod of Whitby as the narrative showdown between orthodox and divergent practices bereaves the Old English translation of its strongest argumentative appraisal of orthodoxy. In the *HE* the controversy is ended by means of scriptural authority and the tradition of the Church, built by St Peter and guarded by his successor the pope.[295]

Moreover, Rowley's argument concerning the translator's specification of the tonsure of the monks of Iona as "Scē Petres sceare" should make us skeptical. In Bede's condemnation of the Britons in *HE* V.22 he writes: "ipsi adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis et capita sine corona praetendunt,"[296] which is rendered in the *OEHE* as follows: "hi nu gyt heora ealdan gewunon healdað, ꝺ fram rihtum stigum healtiað; ꝺ heora heafod ywað butan beage Scē Petres sceare."[297] She interprets this as a clear invocation of the authority of Rome and its patristic doctrine.[298] Although this is an intriguing idea, this study wishes to argue that this addition was a mere explicatory note to uphold the reader's focus and should not be overburdened.[299] In the passage in question Bede's *corona* 'crown' is rendered as *beage* with the modifier *Scē Petres sceare*. As this study has already argued, the addition appears to be an explicatory comment in line with other additions to Bede's *HE* in the *OEHE* that ensured that the audience would have understood the references. The Latin *corona* is aptly translated with *beage* in Old English. However, if we assume an audience which was not necessarily proficient in the different practices of the Catholic Church, an explanation seems necessary.[300] Given the nature of the different tonsures (St. Peter's, St. John's, St. Paul's), the OE *beage* would be the most apt as the Peter's tonsure resembled the crown of thorns Christ wore on the cross, whereas the others have no crown-shape. We have to keep in mind that the controversy concerning the tonsure would have been anachronistic, as the orthodox practices of the Anglo-Saxon Church including tonsure were established by the time that the translator rendered Bede's work in Old English. Thus, the

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[294] Dean, "Three Episodes", p. 85.

[295] Dean, "Three Episodes", p. 84.

[296] [T]*hey still persist in their errors and stumble in their ways, so that no tonsure is to be seen on their heads*; *HEGA*, II, 462; trans.: C&M, p. 555.

[297] [T]*hey still as now, maintain their old habits and halt from the right path; and display their heads without the crown of St. Peter's tonsure*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 472-73.

[298] Rowley, pp. 83-86.

[299] Cf. Clement, "Production of the Pastoral Care", pp. 129-52 for the explicatory nature of additions in the *OE Pastoral Care*.

[300] On the different styles of tonsure cf. Plummer, II, 353-54; James, "Bede and the Tonsure Question"; McCarthy, "Insular Tonsure"; and *HEGA*, II, 559.

reference to the *corona/beage,* which would have been unambiguously taken as referring to St. Peter's tonsure at the time Bede wrote his *HE*, may not have been so clear to the audience of the *OEHE*.[301] Moreover, Bede's audience would still have remembered the discrepancies on that matter settled at the Synod of Whitby in 667. The matter of diverging practices was familiar to a Northumbrian audience in 731, since Northumbria had been exposed to both Irish and Roman Catholic practices, due to the different missionary endeavors (Paulinus, Aidan, Cuthbert). In contrast, the other regions in England had not been subject to those contending influences to the same degree. Therefore, an assumed audience of chiefly Midlanders and/or Southerners, listening to or reading the account some 150-175 years later, may not have known another tonsure except for that of St. Peter. That the matter called for qualification, as can be seen in the opening sentences of the same chapter (V.22), Bede says about the monks of Iona: "ad ritum paschae ac tonsurae canonicum Domino procurante perducti sunt,"[302] which is translated: "to regollicum þeawe rihtra Eastrena ⁊ scyre þurh dryhtnes gyfe gelædde wæron."[303] Here the Latin word *tonsura* is translated as *scyre*. The translator probably wanted to disambiguate *corona* and *tonsura* since both referred to the same concept. For the sake of clarity and perhaps for variation he rendered one as *rigollicum þeawe rihtra scyre* and the other as *beage Scē Petres scære*, which are two variants of the same referent and probably shows no more than that the translator wanted to vary the expressions he used during the translation.

Additionally, an audience unfamiliar in detail with the diverging customs of the different Christian churches and with the tonsure in particular, a clarification of the matter would have been important, since apart from the Celtic tonsure (St. John's) and the Roman tonsure (St. Peter's), we have a third custom which is prominently mentioned in the *HE* and the *OEHE*. In *HE* IV.1 Theodore, the archbishop-elect of Canterbury, had to wait for his consecration by Pope Vitalian as his tonsure did not follow the Roman Catholic custom, but adhered to the tonsure of St. Paul that was applied in the Greek orthodox Church:

> Qui subdiaconus ordinatus quattuor exspectauit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tondi posset; habuerat enim tonsuram more orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli.

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301   The same holds true for the second addition of *Scē Petres sceare* in the preceding chapter. When the Picts conform to the Roman Easter Reckoning the translator says that the Northerners received the tonsure "Ða wæron scorene ealle munecas ⁊ sacerdas on ðone beh Scē Petres sceare" (*OEB*, I.2, 470) when the Latin texts only has *corona*.

302   *HEGA*, II, 462; [They], *were brought by the Lord's guidance to the canonical usages in the matter of Easter and of the form of the tonsure*; trans.: C&M, p. 553.

303   [They], were led by the grace of the Lord to the canonical usage of the correct Easter and tonsure; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 470-71.

> (*So he was ordained sub-deacon, waiting for four months until his hair grew, in order that he might receive the tonsure of the holy apostle Paul, after the Eastern manner.*)[304]

The passage is faithfully rendered in Old English:

> Þa wæs he ærest to subdiacone gehalgad; ⁊ þa baad feower monað, oððæt him feax geweoxe, þæt he to preoste bescoren beon meahte, forþon þe he ær sceare hæfde eastleoda þeowe Scē Paule þæs aposteles.

> (*Then he was first consecrated sub-deacon; and waited four months till his hair grew, that he might receive priestly tonsure, for he previously had the oriental tonsure after the mode of the apostle St. Paul.*)[305]

Any reader unfamiliar with the controversy concerning the different customs of tonsure, which was anachronistic to a late ninth-/early tenth-century audience, probably including lay people, would have been in dire need of an explanation of the matter. Consequently, the addition "Scē Petres scære" is unlikely to have carried a significance in the way suggested by Rowley. It was rather added to explicate the differences between the churches, as a contemporary audience probably did not see the problem and was unfamiliar with the intricacies of the different tonsures. The addition of Saint Peter is likewise of an explicatory nature in *HE* II.7. After Eadbald, son of Æthelberht, King of Kent, dies he is buried "in saepe dicto monasterio et ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis."[306] The Old English translation reads: "in þæm of cwedenan mynstre ⁊ cirican Scē Petres."[307] The same holds true for *HE* III.17 where the Latin states that a church, where Aidan worked a miracle, was rebuilt and "in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis dedicata."[308] The Old English renders this as in "Scē Petres noman þæs aldoraposteles wæs gehalgod."[309]

In the same way that the Easter controversy is de-emphasized in the *OEHE*, the sinful behavior of the Britons comes to the fore, even if this aspect is mitigated. The divine punishment for their moral transgression is showered on the Britons as chapter *HE* I.15 explicitly portrays the Germanic tribes as instruments of God's wrath:

> Ne wæs ungelic wræcc þam ðe iu Chaldeas bærndon Hierusaleme weallas ⁊ ða cynelican getimbro mid fyre fornaman for ðæs Godes folces synnum.

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[304] *HEGA*, II, 168; trans.: C&M, p. 331.
[305] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 254-55.
[306] *HEGA*, I, 208; *In the often-mentioned monastery and church of the most blessed prince of the apostles.*
[307] *OEB*, I.1, 118; *In the afore-mentioned minster and church of St. Peter.*
[308] *HEGA*, II, 76; *Dedicated in honor of the most blessed prince of the apostles.*
[309] *OEB*, I.1, 204; *In St. Peter's name, the chief apostle's, was consecrated.*

> (*Their vengeance was not unlike that of the Chaldees, when they burned the walls
> of Jerusalem and destroyed the royal palace by fire for the sins of God's people*)[310]

The reference is of course to the sack of Jerusalem by the Assyrians and the de-
struction of the First Temple.[311] Bede's dramatic account evokes notions of ethnic
cleansing and enslavement of the British population. They recover only after the
invaders returned home.[312] The Britons subsequently (I.16) "unanimo consensu"/
"anmode" confide in the help of God, regain their strength and finally defeat the
Anglo-Saxons at Mount Badon under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurellianus,
"Romanae gentis"/"Romanisces cynnes mon."[313] Bede and his Old English trans-
lator provide the Britons with the solution to their problem: when they trust in
God they can overcome their enemies. This message would also have fallen on
fertile ground among an Anglo-British audience at the end of the ninth century.
The British dependence on Rome is again striking, as Ambrosius is explicitly por-
trayed as being Roman. The Latin dramatizes the narration so that he is the linch-
pin and sole heir of the Roman glory.[314] Both accounts embody not only Rome's
martial but also religious superiority, as the Britons are led into battle by Ambro-
sius and win with God's help. This twofold excellence of Rome contrasts with
British inferiority and puts a premium on keeping the faith in times of distress.

The Pelagian Heresy

What follows in Bede's Latin account is a recounting of the intermittent spread of
the Pelagian heresy and its defeat through the teachings of the Gaulish and Frank-
ish bishops Germanus of Auxerre, Lupus of Troyes and Severus of Trier (*HE*
I.17-22). The *OEHE* omits these chapters, which also tell of Germanus working
miracles and leading the Britons to a miraculous victory against a coalition of the
Saxons and the Picts (*HE* I.20). Upon his departure, the Britons engage in civil
war (*HE* I.21). The omitted section ends with Bede's famous statement on the
sins of the Britons and their unwillingness to convert the Anglo-Saxons. Sharon
Rowley observes that Bede deliberately alters the chronology here by arranging the
disasters so that they culminate with Pelagianism and the British failure to learn
from history. Rowley opines that these chapters portray the Britons as being in-

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[310] Text and translation: *OEB*, I.1, 52-53.; *HEGA*, I, 70: "Siquidem, ut breuiter dicam, accensus
manibus paganorum ignis iustas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit, non illius impar qui
quondam a Chaldaeis succensus Hierosolymorum moenia, immo aedificia cuncta consumsit."

[311] See *II Kings* 25: 8-10. Rowley claims that with the omission of the Pelagian heresy this passage
does not have much to build on symbolically. She does, however, not explain why the transla-
tor chose to keep this powerful image. In my view, the passage as it stands does not allow for
interpretations other than the Britons being punished for their sinfulness, like the Israelites in
the Old Testament (Rowley, p. 81).

[312] *HEGA*, I, 72 and *OEB*, I, 54.

[313] *HEGA*, I, 72; *OEB*, I.1, 54.

[314] *HEGA*, I, 72.

fected by a hereditary weakness, having a penchant for heresy and being in constant need of moral correction from across the sea.[315] In contrast, the Old English translator corrects Bede's break of chronology to foreshadow military disaster and religious obstinacy instead of moral depravity, which makes them unworthy of salvation. Although she has an intriguing point, this study wishes to modify her interpretation of the translator's choice to leave out those chapters and their concomitant effects.

Let us first turn to the correction of Bede's 'distorted' chronology. If we consider the *OEHE* as potentially being read out in the vernacular, a garbled chronology could have caused confusion among the possible audience.[316] Furthermore, the translator's interest in the Pelagian heresy may not have been too strong. The translator could have regarded it as not relevant for a contemporary audience and therefore gratuitous for his account. Consequently, the omission of those chapters makes perfect sense.[317] Moreover, the moral failures of the Britons were established regardless of the omitted chapters. Thus, the translator may not have seen need to emphasize the sinful behavior of the Britons further. In addition, given an alleged Anglo-British audience, overdoing this delicate issue may not have been in the translator's interest.[318]

There are other reasons why chapters I.17-22 may have been left out. Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes are said to have visited the tomb of St. Alban (*HE* I.18) to give thanks to God for the healing of a blind girl. On their return home after the 'Alleluja victory' against the Saxons and Picts (*HE* I.20), the intercession of the blessed martyr Alban won them a quiet voyage. This would run

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[315] Rowley, pp. 77-83; cf. Hanning, who argues that Bede re-arranges the chronology and puts Germanus's deeds last to sharpen the contrast between his evangelizing of the Britons and the refusal of the Britons to Christianize the Anglo-Saxons (*Vision of History*, p. 78).

[316] The distortion of Bede's chronology follows a familiar pattern to be found in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. His dedicatory letters contain seven rules of exegesis, which he has derived from Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*. The sixth rule states that events in Scripture need not occur in chronological order, but are sometimes repeated or 'recapitulated' for the sake of exposition or emphasis, as Arthur Holder has observed ("Bede and the New Testament", p. 144). Therefore, Bede's flashback was surely intended to stress his aversion against Pelagianism. It seems unlikely that the translator's intention was to portray the Britons as having either particular propensity for sin or suffering from a hereditary infirmity on account of that.

[317] Cf. Rowley, pp. 86-87 for a connection between the Pelagian heresy and the Easter controversy, which is central to her argumentation. Bede himself makes the connection clear in Ceolfrith's letter to King Naitan of the Picts (*HE* V.21). The letter is only summarized in the Old English translation. This omission in my view is in line with the general editorial policy of omitting papal documents and shows that he was neither particularly interested in the Easter controversy nor the Pelagian heresy and might not have seen a direct connection; cf. also D. Ó Cróinan, "New Heresy for Old: Pelagianism in Ireland and the Papal Letter of 640", *Speculum* 60.3 (1985), 505-16.

[318] Cf. Whitelock, "Old English Bede", p. 233. She explains the translator's choice by his disinterest in this old controversy and stresses that he wanted to suppress any suggestion of historical unorthodoxy in Britain.

counter to the Old English translator's portrayal of Alban as the proto-martyr of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain, ridding him of his 'British' identity (as opposed to 'English' identity).[319] Additionally, it would convey the impression that the victory of the British against the Saxons and Picts would have been brought about by a man that was under the protection of St. Alban, although the saint's intercession on the battle-field is not explicitly mentioned. If we assume an agenda of Christian reconciliation on the translator's part, stressing the importance of the Church generally and not on national sentiments, these passages would have re-kindled old sentiments in a mixed Anglo-British audience.

Apart from those editorial considerations, Bede's portrayal with regard to the Pelagian heresy is less negative than appears from a cursory reading. A closer look at the Latin reveals that he does not condemn the Britons, nor portray them as suffering from a hereditary contagion.[320] Bede first makes mention of the Pelagian heresy in *HE* I.10:

> Cuius [i.e. emperor Arcadius] temporibus Pelagius Bretto contra aux-
> ilium gratiae supernae uenena suae perfidiae longe lateque dispersit,
> utens cooperatore Iuliano de Campania.
>
> (*In this time the Briton Pelagius spread his treacherous poison far and wide, de-*
> *nying our need of heavenly grace. He had as his supporter Julianus of Cam-*
> *pania.*)[321]

Two things are worth mentioning. First, Pelagius is a Briton. However, this does not necessarily condemn the Britons *per se*, especially because Britain is not explic-itly mentioned as being affected by the heresy. In fact, Pelagius' origin might have been British or Irish and he spent most of his life out of Britain. This does excul-pate the Britons to a certain degree.[322] It is one man, working outside his native land, rather than the whole people that are reprehended here. Moreover, Pelagius is not the sole target of Bede's reproach as he works in tandem with Iulianus of Campania, whom Bede condemns in his commentary on the *Song of Songs*.[323] Con-sequently, this passage is not very expressive of Bede's verdict on the Britons.

When returning to the issue of Pelagianism in *HE* I.17, the Britons are not presented as particularly susceptible to the resurgence of the Pelagian heresy. They appear as untrained and inexperienced in religious disputation and are therefore

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[319] Cf. Coz, "Image of Roman History", p. 557. Coz draws attention to the fact that Alban is called *protomartyris gentis Anglorum* in charters S 888 and 912. He admits however, that it was not clear whether the king abused Alban to unite the peoples of Britain by promoting his cult.

[320] It is interesting to see that Bede treats the issue of Pelagianism differently in his *Chronica Maiora*. He limits the extent to which Pelagianism had affected the Britons (See D. Scully, "Bede's *Chronica Maiora*: Early Insular History in a Universal Context", *PBA* 157 (2009), 47-73, at pp. 64-68.

[321] *HEGA*, I, 52; trans.: C&M, p. 39.

[322] See C&M, p. 38 n. 1 and *HEGA*, I, 303-04.

[323] See *ibid.*

not able to refute the teaching of Agricola, son of a Pelagian bishop. Bede states that they wisely decided to seek help ("salubre consilium"),[324] which is provided by Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes. The Britons actively seek support to banish this faulty teaching, rather than willingly accepting it.[325] After Germanus has worked a miracle on the blind daughter of a tribune the Britons are jubilant and condemn the heresy (*HE* I.18):

> Exultant parentes; miraculum populous contremescit. Post quam diem ita ex animis omnium suasio iniqua deleta est, ut sacerdotum doctrinam sitientibus desideriis sectarentur.
>
> (*Then the parents rejoiced while the people were overawed by the miracle. From that day the evil doctrine was so utterly banished from the minds of them all that they thirsted eagerly after the teaching of the bishops.*)[326]

The same holds true for the resurgence of the heresy (I.21). After a short interval the heresy spawns anew. Germanus, having returned to Gaul, hears news from Britain: "[N]untiatur ex eadem insula Pelagianam peruersitatem iterato paucis auctoribus dilatari, […] intellegunt cupam esse paucorum"[327] It is significant that the Britons as a people are not blamed and that only a few aberrant seem to have spread the heresy, which is corroborated by Bede's statement about Germanus and Lupus: "Recognoscunt populum in ea qua reliquerat credulitate durantem."[328] By performing a healing miracle on the lame son of a British chieftain, Germanus further strengthened the catholic faith: "Implentur populi stopre miraculi, et in pectoribus omnium fides catholica inculcata firmatur."[329] The teachers of the foul heresy were expelled: "Factumque est ut in illis locis multo ex eo tempore fides intemerata perduraret."[330] In sum, the Britons are not singled out as a people with a propensity for heresy, but rather faithful Catholics, whose only fault is the lack in experience with religious disputation. The heretics and 'unorthodox' are the minority, and even their error can be corrected. The physical transformation of the chieftain's daughter implies a future promise of religious orthodoxy, i.e., the Roman Catholic strand. Bede himself regarded physical transformation as inner spiritual conversion as Arthur Holder observes regarding Bede's *Commentary of*

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[324] *HEGA*, I, 74.
[325] Cf. Scully, "Early Insular History", p. 66.
[326] *HEGA*, I, 80; trans.: C&M, p. 58.
[327] *HEGA*, I, 88; *News came from Britain that a small number of people were again spreading abroad the Pelagian heresy, […] on learning of the guilt of a few*"; trans.: C&M, p. 65.
[328] *Ibid.*; *They recognized that the people as a whole had remained true to the faith from the time Germanus had left them*; trans. C&M, p. 65.
[329] *HEGA*, I, 90; *The people were amazed at the miracle, and the catholic faith, already implanted in the hearts of them all, was further strengthened*; trans.: C&M, p. 67.
[330] *Ibid.*; *Thus it came to pass that the faith remained untainted in those parts for a very long time*; trans.: C&M, p. 67.

Mark.[331] Rowley's argument that the infirmity of the children of leading Britons shows a hereditary disease and moral flaw may be appealing. However, apart from the implicit promise of future enlightenment just mentioned, these miraculous accounts are common features of saints' lives and have biblical precedents.[332] This leads to the conclusion that the impression of the overtly negative picture of the Britons with regard to the Pelagian heresy cannot be upheld. The omitted chapters are a far cry from ascribing a hereditary moral depravity and penchant for heresy to the Britons. They rather contribute to a general impression of immaturity and helplessness in religious matters.[333] This paves the way for their correction by the Augustinian mission.

Taking all aspects into consideration, it cannot be upheld that Pelagianism played a major role in Bede's concept of salvation history as displayed in the *HE*. The refutation of heretics and schismatics such as Manicheans, Arians and especially Pelagians was a general concern of Bede's as can be seen in his *Commentray on the Seven Catholic Epistles*.[334] This also explains his focus on the reckoning of Easter, as the wrong practice was symbolic of denying the need for Christ's resurrection.[335] Bede himself was well aware that at his time there were no adherents to those heretical groups. In his view, controversies about heresy were points of ecclesiastical discipline.[336] Bede regarded the account of the heresies and their refutation as didactic material as he "feared that English Christians might fall into doctrinal error as a result of ignorance or be led astray by reading heretical text unawares" as Arthur Holder holds.[337] Bede's inclusion of the Pelagian heresy thus testifies to his zealous orthodoxy rather than being an integral part of his unfolding story of salvation history in the *HE*, where the Anglo-Saxons supersede the Britons as the new 'chosen people'. This obsessive preoccupation with unorthodoxy and religious dissent was no longer relevant to the late-ninth/early-tenth century translator, at least not to the degree to which it was to Bede, who saw the

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[331] In his comment on *Mark* 8:22, Bede opines that the healing of a blind man by the Lord symbolized the process by which the hearts of the foolish, who formerly wandered from the way of truth, are illuminated. *In Marci Euangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, in *Opera exegetica Pars III*, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), pp. 427-648, at. p. 534; see Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", p. 152.

[332] Cf. Jesus healing the blind and the lame in the Temple (*Matthew* 21: 14-17) or the son of the royal officer (*John* 4: 43-54).

[333] Rowley further argues that the Britons are affirmed by the Catholic church through Germanus. Consequently, the omission of these chapters in the *OEHE* deprived them of orthodox authority and made their downfall after the disputation at *Augustine's Oak* (*HE* II.2) a consequence of their pride (Rowley, p. 83). This neglects the conversion of the British king Lucius. Despite the fact that it lacks historicity, the British appear to have joined the community of the orthodox Christians, received the faith directly from the papacy, but have erred, waiting to be corrected by the heralds of the Roman Catholic Church.

[334] See Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", p. 146.

[335] Cf. Rowley, p. 86.

[336] Cf. G.H. Brown, *Bede the Educator*, JL 1996, p. 9.

[337] Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", p. 146.

state of the Church deteriorating around him. The translator copes with heretical dissent by means of avoidance or downplaying it. He might not have wanted to stir dissenting ideas in times of political (and maybe religious) turmoil by excavating long-forgotten concepts among the faithful in Anglo-Saxon England.

That Pelagianism as such might not have been central for Bede in his condescension towards the Britons and their unorthodoxy is underscored by the fact that the narration of the *HE* corresponds to his view of the growth of the Church. Holder's interpretation sums up the issue nicely:

> When Bede considers the early Church from this perspective, he traces a historical development from infancy to maturity, from intolerant narrowness to missionary inclusion, and from a mono-ethnic community to a pluralistic one. In this trajectory, it is possible to see a parallel with the *Ecclesiastical History*'s account of the supplanting of the alleged insular and ingrown British Church by Bede's own Anglo-Saxon Church, which he depicts as being more mission-minded, expansive and in touch with the rest of the world.[338]

Thus Bede's reprehension of the Britons in the *HE* reflects his general admiration for the primitive Church after the admission of the gentiles, as opposed to the Jewish Church.[339] The shift from the British to the Anglo-Saxon Church is the logical development of the Church in Bede's reading of salvation history. This shift is faithfully reproduced in the *OEHE* regardless of the Pelagian heresy. Both the *HE* and its Old English translation have an open ending, which leaves room for the aberrant Britons to join the ranks of the orthodox Christians – like the Jews before the Second Coming. They are not condemned, and the mitigated account of Bede's reprehension in the *HE* in the *OEHE* makes the re-conciliation more likely. Trent Foley and Higham make a fascinating claim about the famous passage in *HE* I.22 where the seemingly elect status of the Anglo-Saxons surfaces. They interpret the wording "Sed non tamen diuina pietas plebem suam, quam praesciuit, deseruit"[340] as referring to the Britons. This passage refers to *Romans* 11:2, where Paul wanted to declare that the gentiles have no reason to boast their elect status and that the Jews (the original elect people) will be corrected and redeemed. Thus, the Britons are portrayed as what Trent Foley and Higham have called the 'late-coming Jews'.[341] The concept of salvation history thus works without making mention of the Pelagian heresy.

The Old English translator indeed had a different perspective from Bede. Even so, his omission of *HE* 17-22 and the Pelagian heresy in particular do not

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[338] Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", p. 151.

[339] *Ibid.*

[340] *HEGA*, I, 92; *Nevertheless, God in His goodness did not reject the people whom He foreknew*; trans.: C&M, p. 69.

[341] Cf. Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on Britons", pp. 169-71; see Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", p. 1299 n. 72 for a skeptical view.

necessarily testify to a "re-writing of salvation history" and a simultaneous eleva-
tion of the Easter controversy in the *OEHE*. Bede's concern for orthodoxy was
shared by the translator, as too was the Northumbrian's attitude of seeing the
history of the English as a series of types related to the Old and New Testament.
Bede's obsessive refutation of heresy and religious dissent, triggered by his specific
historical context, in contrast, was not.

The agenda of the translator may become clear when we consider that the
omission of chapters I.17-22 changes the whole narrative sequence. Consequently,
the *OEHE* no longer mentions the outbreaks of the Pelagian heresy, drops the
account of Anglo-British enmities and glosses over the civil war among the Brit-
ons. The last point may be especially significant, as it is the second instance where
the Old English translator cuts out domestic British strife. As civil war is the very
negation of a people's identity, its obfuscation in the *OEHE* changes the parame-
ters for British identity.[342] It is primarily an identity cast in religious – that is,
Christian – terms. The other effects are that the British are presented as less de-
pendent on religious correction from abroad (Germanus, Lupus, Severus) and less
susceptible to divergent Christian practices. The narrative sequence is also af-
fected: the last event before the arrival of the Augustinian mission is the Battle at
Mount Badon. The Britons win with the help of the Roman Aurelianus after hav-
ing recovered their strength by confiding in God. The arrival of the Augustinian
mission, dispatched on behalf of the papacy, appears as a soothing process by
which the wounds of martial combat are healed. It is the Christian faith, not mili-
tary combat, that gives peace to Anglo-Saxon England. By omitting the 'Alleluja
victory', the British civil war and the harsh condemnation of the British in the
HE, the translator provides a fresh start, which acknowledges the sensibilities of
Britons and Anglo-Saxons. Both now have a common background--despite their
past enmities, they are part of the Roman Catholic Church, having received the
faith directly from the papacy. Nevertheless, the unfolding narration of the
OEHE – as its Latin source – will show that the religious and military primacy lay
with the Anglo-Saxons, as the British clung to unorthodox – i.e., non-Roman –
practices. If the editorial changes were due to a rapprochement it was a rap-
prochement under Anglo-Saxon terms.

Britons and Irish: Two Sides of the Same Coin

Although portraying the Britons in a more positive light, the *OEHE* is far from
being sympathetic towards them. The conclusion of Book I presents the victory
of King Æthelfrith of Northumbria against the British: "Se me allum Ongolcyn-

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[342] See Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest*, pp. 249-50 for the idea of civil war as a negation of
a group's collective identity. In her view, the Britons are presented as unfit for independence
and self-determination, which makes them prone subjects to be ruled, either by Romans or by
Anglo-Saxons.

num ꝺ aldermonnum Bretta þeode fornom ꝺ forhergade."[343] This conveys a natural enmity of English kings towards the British. But this is less a conflict of religious practice but rather of territorial supremacy as it is explicitly stated that he was pagan: "he wæs þære godcundan æfæstnisse unwis."[344] At the same time, the Irish are have a conflict with the English. In what appears as a pre-emptive strike, Ædan, king of the Irish in Britain, marched against Æthelfrith and is defeated in the Battle of *Degsastan*. The *OEHE* – following Bede – lauds Æthelfrith's victory in the concluding sentence: "Siððan of þære tide næning Sceotta cyninga ne dorste wið Angelþeode to gefeohte cuman oð ðysne andweardan dæg."[345] This point is taken up in the last chapter of Bede's *HE* and the *OEHE*, which recount the status quo in Britain in 731. By that point the Irish have not only taken up the orthodox (Roman Catholic) practices, but live in peace and harmony with the English. In contrast, the Britons are still adhering to their wrong religious belief and are politically isolated. The correlation of orthodox religious teaching and political stability and peace is evident. If one considers the end of Book I as a starting point, the Irish and the British share the same fate at an early point in the (church) history of Britain. Yet, the outcome in the ultimate chapter is different. It appears that the *HE,* as well as its Old English translation, include the narration of two Celtic peoples, who both came to Britain before the Anglo-Saxons, who both suffered at their hands, but who pursued two different ways from that point onwards, resulting in a positive and negative conclusion to their story in the narration of the history of the church in Britain. This juxtaposition of the Irish and the Britons is important for Bede. He was facing a dilemma. Bede was fully aware that the Northumbrian church owed much to the Irish of Iona, as the Roman mission had failed there. Given the religious dissent of the Irish, he was uneasy about the credentials of the Church in Northumbria.[346] Therefore, with *HE* V.22, his narration comes full circle. Ecgbert, an Englishman trained in Ireland, but representing the Roman church, converts the monks of Iona to the orthodox faith. He thus repays the spiritual debt of the English as Charles-Edwards had noted. For Bede, Christian peoples had an obligation to preach the Gospel, which in his view was closely connected to the unity of the Catholic church.[347] Bede's positive portrayal of the Irish is owed to his acknowledgment of the Irish role in the conversion of Northumbria, and gives him an opportunity to contrast them with the Britons

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[343] *He destroyed and wasted the Britons more than all the English and their chiefs*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 92-93; *HEGA*, I, 156: "[Q]ui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem uastauit Brettonum."

[344] [H]e was ignorant of the divine religion; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 92-93; *HEGA*, I, 156: "[D]iuinae erat religionis ignarus."

[345] *From that time on no king of the Scots ventured to meet the English in battle, up to this present day*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I, 92-93; *HEGA*, I, 156: "Neque ex eo temproe quisquam regum Scottorum in Britannia aduersus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in proelium uenire audebat."

[346] A. Thacker, "Bede and History", pp. 184-5.

[347] Charles-Edwards, "Bede, the Irish and the Britons", pp. 43-44.

who serve as a prime negative example and warning for his audience.[348] The Old English translator adopts this scheme closely. How closely is seen by the fact that he extends a passage in *HE* III.5, where the Latin is quite laconic about Aidan's dispatch to Northumbria by the Irish episcopate: "sicque illum ordinantes ad praedicandum miserunt."[349] The Old English translator expresses the amicable relationship between Ireland and Northumbria by writing: "hine to biscope gehalgedon, ond Oswalde þam cyninge heora freonde to lareowe onsendan."[350]

Given the fact that he ostensibly was no patriotic Northumbrian like Bede, the dichotomy of Britons and Irish served a more didactic purpose. This is in line with the changes the translator has made to the preface as we have seen. The positive example of the Irish as role models, combined with the story of the 'non-orthodox' choices the Britons made, illustrate the didactic focus, which certainly could appeal to an Anglo-British audience. The key element to the success story of the Irish and the Britons' poor success is Christian orthodoxy – the *unitas* of the universal Church – and missionary activity. It is interesting to note that the Irish engaged in 'missionary activity' even at the end of the ninth century. The *ASC* s.a. 891 records:

> �7 þrie Scottas comon to Ęlfrede cyning on anum bate butan ęlcum gereþrum of Hibernia, þonon hi hi bestęlon forþon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon, hi ne rohton hwær […]. �7 þa comon hie ymb .vii. niht to londe on Cornwalum �7 foron þa sona to Ęlfrede cyninge. Þus hie wæron genemde, Dubslane �7 Maccbethu �7 Maelinmun. �7 Swifneh, se betsta lareow þe on Scottum wæs gefor.
>
> *(And three Irishmen came to king Alfred in a boat without any oars from Ireland, whence they had stolen away because they wished to go on pilgrimage for love of God, they cared not where.[…] And after seven days they came to land in Cornwall, and then went immediately to King Alfred. There names were Dub-*

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[348] In *HE* IV.24, Bede calls the Irish "gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam"; *a harmless race that had always been most friendly to the English*; *HEGA*, II, 290; trans.: C&M, p. 427. Although he was well aware of the fact that they might have been regarded by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church as heretics he glosses over this delicate issue (cf. Stancliffe "British and Irish contexts", p. 77). The Irish are confronted with the charge of heresy (alongside the Britons) in a papal letter (II.19). This is later exemplarily rebutted in Bede's treatment of Aidan in *HE* III.17; The charge against the Irish being heretics is also found in ch. 10 of Eddi's *Vita Wilfredi* (Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfredi*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927); cf. Charles-Edwards, "Bede, the Irish and the Britons," p. 44. The papal letter is not reproduced in the *OEHE*. MSS T and B are lacking the vindication of Aidan's Easter practice (*HE* III.17), whereas COCa has it. However, the passage on Aidan was considered so important that it was retranslated and inserted into the text on which MSS COCa are based. It might not have been part of the original translation; cf. also Rowley, "Paschal Controversy", p. 307.

[349] *HEGA*, II, 32; *So he was consecrated and sent to preach to them; trans.*: C&M, p. 229.

[350] *They consecrated him bishop , and sent him as teacher to their friend king Oswald*; text and trans. : *OEB*, I.1, 164-65.

> *slaine, Macbethath and Maelinmuin. And Suibne, the greatest teacher among the Irish, died.*)[351]

This *peregrinatio pro amore dei* encompassed preaching and teaching by example so that others might be turned more zealously to Christ.[352] This passage, therefore, shows that during King Alfred's reign (and at Alfred's court perhaps)[353] the Irish were venerated for their faith and religious zeal and for their attitude towards bringing the Christian faith in others during their *peregrinatio*. The last sentence pays homage to the learning and erudition of the Irish and shows that the Anglo-Saxons were mindful of their insular neighbors across the Irish Sea. It is remarkable that the death of Swifneh appears so important to the chronicler that he regards it worth noting. We do not find entries in the *ASC* that speak of the Britons in a comparably amiable tone. An Irish element at King Alfred's court is also discernible in the exegetical introduction to the Old English prose psalms and in his law-code.[354] Consequently, the positive picture painted of the Irish in the *OEHE* might have to do with an appreciation of Irish intellectual and Christian tradition at the West Saxon court, which would underscore its purported connection to Alfred's program.

'Augustine's Oak' and British Sentiments

Christian orthodoxy and missionary activity also play a major role at the meeting at *Augustine's Oak* (*HE* II.2), where Augustine of Canterbury summoned a meeting of the bishops in Britain. In the Old English version Augustine's personal authority is enhanced due to the omission of the papal letters, which would have embodied papal backing. In this passage it is Augustine's adherence to the Roman Catholic faith that commands authority. Because the Britons are portrayed as too stubborn to follow orthodox practice and assist Augustine in preaching to the heathen Anglo-Saxons, they suffer at the hands of King Æthelfrith, who made a great slaughter of the Britons at Chester:

> ⁊ he swa þa oðer weorod þare manfullan þeode fornom ⁊ fordilagde, nales buton micelre wonunge his weoredes. Ond swa was gefylled se witedom þæs halgan biscopes Agustinus, þæt heo sceolden for heora treowleasnisse hwilendlicre forwyrde wræc þrowigan, forðon heo þa ær lærdon geþeahte heora ecre hælo forhogodon.

> (*And then he destroyed and cut to pieces the rest of the host of that sinful people, not without great loss to his own army. And so was fulfilled the prophecy of the*

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[351] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 54.

[352] Cf. also K&L, pp. 282-283, ns. 10-14.

[353] See *ibid.*, p, 282 n. 14.

[354] Cf. Pratt, "Authorship and Audience", p. 169 and n. 29.

holy bishop Augustine, that they should suffer the penalty of temporal destruction for their faithlessness. because the despised the counsel previously given them for their eternal salvation.)[355]

Augustine's orthodoxy does prevail and his authority is confirmed by the prophecy fulfilled. The supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church and its highest representative in Britain, the Archbishop of Canterbury, over the Britons is further enhanced later by the inclusion of Gregory's *LR*. Replying to Augustine's questions on the relations with the Gaulish and British bishops Gregory states:

> Alle Bretta biscopas we bebeodað þinre broðorlicnesse, to ðon þætte unlærde seon gelærede, ⁊ untrumne mid þinre trymenisse syn gestrongade, ⁊ unrehte mid þinre aldorlicnesse seon gerehte.

> (*We commit to you, my brother, all the bishops of the Britons, to the end that the unlearned may be taught, and the feeble may be strengthened with your encouragement, and the perverse amended by your authori*ty.)[356]

This is a faithful reproduction of the Latin and shows the inferior status the British church assumed in the eyes of Gregory, and subsequently Bede and his translator. There are people who in the eyes of the papacy are *unlærde*, *untrumne* and *unrehte*, all probably referring to some state of unorthodoxy or ignorance. Yet, through the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, invested by the papacy, those shall be corrected and led to orthodoxy. The supremacy of the English church and the dissenting practices of the Britons are evident and were of relevance to both Bede and his Old English translator. This correctional and didactic focus makes Augustine what Hanning has termed a 'Christian social hero'. He is closely bound to his nation (the English) through his penchant for spreading the gospel. In his capacity as Christian social hero he does not only fight – on a spiritual level – for his people, but keeps up his educational focus.[357] Augustine, not only being a representative of the English but also of another community, namely, the Roman Catholic Church, tries to educate the Britons in order to highlight the gravitational pull of the Roman Church, but the British resist.[358] Ostracizing the British on account of their reluctance to preach to the Anglo-Saxons is an important element in Bede's formation of the Anglo-Saxon Christian identity. The moment of con-

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[355] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 104-05; *HEGA*, I, 291. The *OEHE* omits the treachery of the Briton Brocmail, who was set to guard the monks of Bangor who were killed in that battle. Apparently, the translator wanted to omit another account where the explicit treachery of a Briton was in the forefront in order not to offend his Anglo-British audience.

[356] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 74-75; *HEGA*, I, 116 and 118.

[64] ⁹ See Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 83. Hanning sees the *HE* as "the unique chronicle of an empire built on educational principles", which contrast Bede 'the paedagogue' with Gildas 'the prophet'."

[358] Cf. Rowley, who sees an irony surrounding the British charge of pride leveled against Augustine carefully contrived of by the Old English translator (Rowley, p. 83).

version marks the beginning of the *gens Anglorum*.[359] Therefore, Bede's reprehension of the Britons for not preaching to the English may be grounded in the fact that this similarly meant a negation or inhibition of the latter's identity. In the *OEHE* even the smallest traces of British missionary activity are denied. In *HE* III.4, Bede remarks that the Southern Picts had been evangelized by the Briton Ninian: "qui erat Romanae regulariter fidem et mysteria ueritatis edoctus."[360] By omitting this passage in the *OEHE,* the translator not only deletes the sole reference to the Britons carrying out their Christian duty but also does away with the any connection to the Roman Church. The effect is that the story of the Britons, having once received the faith from Rome through Lucius' appeal but then gradually having wandered off of the path, is even more pronounced in the Old English translation. It is an appeal to recognize the error of their ways and to return to the rightful path. In the Old English translation, the meeting at *Augustine's Oak* is the first instance where the charge of not preaching to the Anglo-Saxons is levied against the Britons, as the famous passage in *HE* I.22 is not reproduced in the Old English translation. This gives rise to the question of whether its significance was as important to the translator as it was to Bede. The Northumbrian counterfactually removes any missionary effort of the Britons with regard to the English.[361] This is a deliberate strategy to undermine their claim to Britain and to deny them any share in the political status quo after the English conquest. The reluctance to evangelize does not surface as an explicit explanation for the English superseding the Britons until the last chapter in the *OEHE*. This shortcoming rather serves to portray them as outside the orthodox church than forfeiting their claim to Britain on account of a moral and religious flaw. The question in both the Latin and the Old English version is does Bede construct an artificial argument to downgrade the Britons? As the Britons are following unorthodox practice, it is technically impossible for them to evangelize as they would not be spreading the word of God according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, in Bede's narration the charge appears as artificial. In the Old English version, Pelagianism is dropped and the audience is kept wondering why exactly the Britons are suddenly accused of adhering to the wrong Easter calculation and apparently being unorthodox, despite their conversion by Pope Eleutherius. The reference to the British failure to proselytize does make more

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[359] Cf. Brooks, "Bede and the English", esp. pp. 11-20.

[360] *HEGA*, I, 24; [W]ho had received orthodox instruction at Rome in the faith and the mysteries of the truth; trans.: C&M, p. 223; cf. Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*, p. 62.

[361] Blair described the different influences on the Anglo-Saxon Church, including the British contribution (*Church*, pp. 10-48); Brooks gathered convincing evidence for a transition of Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Christianity in the West Midlands, remarking that "*Eccles*-Names of northern and western England would appear to indicate churches where (*pace* Bede) Britons had indeed preached to the English." ("From British to Irish Christianity", p. 16); cf. Barbara Yorke for the influence of Frankish churchmen (Agilbert, Leuthere and Birinius) and the alleged British credit to the development of the Western Wessex churches and the education of Aldhelm and Boniface (*Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pp. 171-81).

sense in the *OEHE,* as it lacks the accounts of British unorthodoxy, which Bede presents in *HE* I.17-22. For Bede, the accusation was a means of discrediting the Britons and at the same time elevating the English, although he contradicts himself. The Old English translator, in turn, rectifies this blunder of Bede's. This shows a meticulous editorial policy and his deep understanding of the source. Apparently, the failure to preach weighed more heavily with the translator than the keeping of orthodoxy. This is an interesting point considering the discussion in the previous chapter, where the *OEHE* appears to have been useful in a preaching context. This strong focus on preaching and mission may tell us something about the translator, as he may have been a bishop to whom primary duties like preaching and mission would have counted for much more.

The narrative function of the meeting at *Augustine's Oak* in both the *HE* and the *OEHE* is to establish a stark contrast between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons on a symbolic level. A blind Englishmen is prayed over by the Britons to no avail, whereas Augustine re-establishes his eye-sight. The contrast between the English and the Britons is visible at two levels--on an individual level, the physical cure of the blind man refigures his spiritual cure, i.e., his heart and soul will be opened as his eyes were to the true faith. On a national level, the failure of the Britons clearly shows their 'fall from grace' and juxtaposes the mono-ethnic, backward 'old' (unorthodox) Christianity with the 'new' (orthodox) Christianity of the Anglo-Saxons who are part of the universal Church.[362] The subsequent fulfillment of Augustine's prophecy maps out the British error and the unfolding of God's plan.[363] The Old English translator, however, adds a small detail, which may imply that the British are aware of their error and feel it deep inside, but cannot, for the time being, accept Augustine's superiority in teaching. After Augustine has healed the blind man "Brettones confitentur quidem intellexisse se ueram esse uiam iustitiae quam praedicaret Augustinus."[364] The *OEHE* renders the passage as follows: "Ða ondetton eac Brettas *scomiende* [my italics] þæt heo ongeton, þætte þæt wære soðfæstnesse weg þone Agustinus bodade."[365] The element of shame adds a highly emotional aspect to the error of the Britons which is connected with thorough introspection. The Old English translation therefore portrays the Britons as feeling their error with their inmost heart but yet struggling to abandon their old ways even though they seem to know better. This passage lets us glimpse

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[362] Cf. Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 81.

[363] The meeting at *Augustine's Oak* also symbolically depicts the transition of the church from a Jewish past to a Christian present. The British finding fault with Augustine's proud outward behavior are symbolic of the Jewish devotion to form, whereas the universality represented by Augustine and the English church is the key to heaven (cf. Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on the Britons", p. 155 and Hanning, *Vision of History*, pp. 81-2).

[364] *HEGA*, I, 182; *Then the Britons confessed that they realized that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine preached*; trans.: C&M, p. 137.

[365] *Then the Britons also acknowledged with shame their conviction, that that was the way of truth which Augustine declared*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I, 100-101.

the inner conviction of the Britons. This renders the Britons as not completely obdurate in their hearts but rather already on the right path. The Britons are portrayed as potential recipients of God's grace and right (orthodox) understanding of the Christian faith. This potential for conversion is evident in other passage as well, as will be shown below.

Cædwallon

The meeting at *Augustine's Oak* is followed by a long silence with regard to the Britons. Only towards the end of Book II we are confronted with Cædwallon, king of the Britons. Rebelling against the apparent overlordship of Edwin of Northumbria, Cædwallon joins forces with Penda, the heathen king of Mercia (*HE* II.20). Cædwallon is portrayed in the most abominable and horrific manner. In spite of being a Christian, he is described as barbarian, crueler even than the heathen Penda.[366] He is also condemned for not adhering to the Christian religion, which appears as a recurring feature, as the *OEHE*, following Bede, reads:

> "[S]*wa gen to dæge Bretta þeaw is, þæt heo Ongelcynnes geleafan ⁊ æfæstnisse for noht habbað, ne him in ængum þingum ma gemænsumigan willað þon hæðnum monnum.*"[my italics].

> (*Such is still today the custom of the Britons, that they utterly disregard the faith and the piety of the English, and will not communicate with them in any way more than with the heathen.*)[367]

Cædwallon becomes what we may call an 'anti-Aurelianus'. Although he apparently fights a just war against the aggressive expansion of the Northumbrians (as Aurelianus did against the Saxons), he violates his Christian profession and enters an alliance with the heathens. Both aspects make his behavior even more abominable. The emphasis that he was a Christian by name and profession but nevertheless a barbarian echoes King Alfred's lament in the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care*: "ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren, swiðe feawe ða ðeawas."[368] This parallel would have been obvious for a contemporary audience familiar with both works. Given Alfred's exhortation, this may have been one

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[366] "[H]wæðre he wæs in his mode ⁊ on his þeawum to þon elreordig, þæt he ne furþum wiiflice hade oðþe þære unsceðþendan eldo cilda arede, ac he alle mid wildeorlicre reðnesse þurh tintrego deaðe gesealde. Ond he longre tide ealle heora mægðe mid gewede wæs geondferende, ond on his mode þohte ⁊ þreodode, þæt wolde eall Ongelcyn of Breotone gemærum aflyman."; *Yet in his mind and in his habits he was such a barbarian, that he respected not even the female sex nor the innocent years of children, but put all to death by torture with the savagery of a wild beast. And for a long time he traversed all that district like a madman, and in his heart thought and devised to drive all the English race beyond the borders of Britain*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 148-49; cf. *HEGA*, I, 270.

[367] Text and trans.: *ibid.*

[368] *OEPC*, p. 5; *We were Christians in name alone, and very few of us possessed Christian virtues*; trans.: K&L, p. 125.

reason why the translator saw the need to include the Cædwallon episode in his narration. At the same time, this intertextual parallel might provide evidence for the reception of Bede's work (and perhaps its Old English translation) at Alfred's court and by the king himself. In any case, the intertextuality is striking, as both passages follow a similar discourse. The topic of a British king's alliance with the heathens, although being a professed Christian, is also echoed in contemporary literature. In his *Vita Ælfredi,* Asser reports that King Anarawd ap Rhodri (King of Gwynedd), who had made a pact with the Viking overlords of Northumbria, in the end submitted to King Alfred:

> cum suis fratribus, ad postremum amicitiam Northanhymbrorum de-serens, de qua nullum bonum nisi damnum habuerat, amicitiam regis studiose requirens ad praesentiam illius advenit.

> (*Together with his brothers eventually abandoned his alliance with the Northum-brians from which he had got no benefit, only a good deal of misfortune, and, ea-gerly seeking alliance with King Alfred, came to him in person.*)[369]

Northumbria by that time was firmly controlled by the Vikings, so the alliance of a British king with the heathens would have been meaningful to an Anglo-British audience when reading or listening to the *OEHE*. Cædwallon nevertheless be-comes an instrument of just vengeance, though with excessive violence, on the apostate Northumbrian kings Eanfrith and Osric (*HE* III.1) Bede writes "Cad-walla Bretta cyning mid arleasre hond, ac hwæðre mid rihte wrace heo kwealde."[370] Thus, he parallels the just vengeance the Anglo-Saxons wrought on the Britons on account of their sins. The fact that Cædwallon as a Briton exacts just vengeance on the apostate kings gives rise to two conclusions. First, adherence to the (ortho-dox) Christian faith is more important than ethnic affiliation. Second, it gives the impression that Cædwallon is not yet a lost soul but might be able to recognize the error of his ways. Thus, there is an inherent promise of future improvement, which, as has been pointed out, characterizes Bede's and his translator's portrayal of the Britons. Unfortunately, Cædwallon does not seize the opportunity and change his way of life after he had defeated the Northumbrian kings, apparently with divine aid. Instead, he chooses to occupy the Northumbrian kingdoms: "nales swa swa sigefæst cyning, ac swa swa leodhata."[371] His moral depravity leads to his downfall and destruction at the hands of King Oswald. Therefore, the deeds of Cædwallon, this study wishes to argue, are one of the exempla which need to be

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[369] *VÆ*, pp. 66-67; trans.: K&L, p. 96; 'Northumbrians' refers to the Viking Kingdom of North-umbria, with whose king Guthfrith Anarawd had formed an alliance by the mid-880s, see K&L, ns 183 and 188.

[370] *At once without delay Cædwalla king of the Britons slew both with impious hand, but yet with just vengeance*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 152; *HEGA*, I, 12 and 14: "Nec mora utrumque rex Brettonum Caedualla impia manu sed iusta ultione peremit."

[371] Not as a victorious king, but as a tyrant, text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 154-55; *HE*, I, 14: "[N]on ut rex victor possideret, sed quasi tyrannus saeuiens."

shunned, of which Bede and his translator speak the in the preface. Cædwallon's ignorant behavior, together with the abomination of dealing with the heathens rather than the Christians carries the seed of his personal disaster.[372] It is highly likely that the account of Cædwallon was retained for didactic purposes. The example of the British king's downfall surely was a warning to everyone whose Christian livelihood had declined. Both Bede and his translator appear to have agreed on this. Cædwallon's significance in various regards should not be underestimated. His tyranny gives definition to the power (*imperium*) wielded by the Northumbrian kings Edwin and Oswald. His barbarity and only skin-deep acceptance of the Christian faith makes him incompatible with Christianity and *romanitas* – two defining factors in Bede's portrayal of the Anglo-Saxons.[373] Because Cædwallon kills Edwin, who had been newly converted by the representative of papal Rome, Paulinus, he denies the precepts of papal Rome. At the same time, his behavior elevates the status of both Northumbrian kings as Christian champions and benign rulers. The portrait of Cædwalla thus mainly serves to provide the readership of the *OEHE* with a example not worth emulating. It conveys the need for orthodoxy and right Christian livelihood in word and deed. At the same time it provides the account of an aberrant Christian, who comes to a crossroads but takes the wrong turn. Thus, Bede and his translator conclude that a British Christian who has wandered off the true path gets the chance to change his ways. Through his negative portrayal, the English kings are morally elevated. Oswald's victory over Cædwallon further testifies to God's power being superior to that of any military power who does not follow his commands:

> [C]wom Oswald mid medmicle weorode ac mid Cristes geleafan
> getrymede, þæt he þone manfullan Bretta cyning mid his unmætum

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[372] Rowley (Rowley, pp. 92-97) has made an interesting point. She suggests that through two small lexical changes, the stories of Cadwallon and Cædwalla of Wessex are juxtaposed. The Old English translator renders *tragica cæde* and *stragica cæde* with forms of *troiscan wæle* ('Trojan slaughter'). Both accounts call attention to devastating slaughter and the ongoing warfare between the tribes living in Britain. Rowley concludes that the lexical choices collapse the differences between the virtue of the Anglo-Saxon Cædwalla and the tyranny of Cadwallon, the British king and slayer of Oswald. Rowley concludes that Bede's translator himself "interpreted these moments as being 'like the Trojan disaster'. By doing so, they reflect not merely a glimpse of classical learning, but a pointed simile that interrupts the narrative of salvation history"(97). Rowley's suggestion is indeed intriguing. Even so, the manuscript evidence is ambiguous, as she herself admits. Interpreting the whole issue as an interruption of salvation history is a bit off mark. The translator might simply have taken delight in using similar wording for the two stories on the two kings named Cædwalla. Any reader or listener would have been reminded of the story of the first king when listening to the second story.

[373] Cf. Charles-Edwards, "Bede, the Irish and the Britons", pp. 46-47. The account of Cædwallon's closes the story of the Gregorian missionaries and his death at the hands of Oswald paves the way for the latter's hegemony and the Irish contribution to the growth of the English Church in Britain, portrayed in detail in Book III.

weorode, þæm he gealp, þæt him nowiht wiðstandan meahte, ofslog
ꝺ acwealde in þære stowe, þe Ongle nemnað Denises burna.

*(Oswald marched with a small army but strengthened with the faith of Christ,
and at the place, which in English is called Dilston, he defeated and slew the sin-
ful king of the Britons, along with a monstrous host which he boasted was invin-
cible.)*[374]

This passage likewise provided consolation for and strengthened the faith of all
those who in the face of the Viking depredations had the feeling that God had
forsaken them, and who were overwhelmed by the military power of the Vikings,
who had overrun half of England without meeting forceful resistance.

The references to Cædwallon's only skin-deep belief and his siding with the
heathens instead of taking up arms with his Christian brothers are echoed by in-
tertextual evidence and were of contemporary historical relevance. The story of
Cædwallon was regarded as worthy of translating by the Old English translator,
who had a distinct a didactic purpose. It cannot be ruled out that he addressed a
heterogeneous audience comprising English as well as Britons. At the same time
the focus on kingship, with its didactic take, which especially surfaces in this com-
parison of Cædwallon and Oswald, may indicate that the *OEHE* needs to be seen
as a *speculum regale*. The time of Alfred and his sons may have afforded a new
model of kingship and leadership, which in turn made reflectional literature neces-
sary. The *OEHE* may have been read in Alfred's palace school as a didactic tool
for the next generation of the Anglo-Saxon elite.

The Marginalized Britons

After Cædwallon left the stage, the Britons are almost marginalized in the *HE* and
in its translation. The uneven distribution of Bede's attention concerning the Brit-
ons even has led scholars to propose that he did not view them as particularly
central to his work.[375] Charles-Edwards argued that one reason for their marginal
role was that Bede's account of Cædwallon marks the end of the Gregorian mis-
sion and the beginning of the Irish mission, to which the greater share of Book III
is dedicated. In contrast, the Britons are put in the background from Book III
onwards. They are subject to the power of Edwin, Oswald and Oswiu (*HE* II.5
and II.9) and might have been tributary to the Northumbrian kings.[376] Concerning
the assumed Anglo-British audience of the late ninth century, these passages

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[374] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I, 154-55; *HEGA*, II, 14: "Quo post occisionem fratris Eanfridi superu-
eniente cum paruo exercitu, sed fide Christi munito, infandus Brettonum dux cum immensis illis
copiis, quibus nihil resistere posse iactabat, interemtus est in loco, qui lingua Anglorum Denise-
sburna, id est Riuus Denisi, uocatur."

[375] See Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on Britons", p. 172.

[376] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

evoke the notion that the contemporary status quo had a historical precedent. Just as the Welsh in the seventh century had been under the overlordship of exemplary kings, so too were their successors 250 years later under Alfred's hegemony. Regarding Oswald, the British also bear witness to the saintly status of this Northumbrian king. In *HE* III.10 a man termed "Bretta leod"[377] immediately recognized the holiness of Oswald when he travelled the place where the king had been slain and wraps up some earth. Consequently, the house in the village where he lodged burned down, except for a wooden post on which the cloth with the holy soil hung. The fame of this miracle, as Bede and his translator recount, spread far and wide to those who travel to be relieved from their ailments. This story is significant as it portrays the British man as receptive to God's revelation. He is not ignorant of Oswald's holiness, but on the contrary, becomes a witness to the saint, an intermediary, channeling the fame of God's power worked through his martyr to the English. This appears to be the first step in Bede's more conciliatory approach to the Britons after the meeting at *Augustine's Oak*, the subsequent slaughter of the monks of Bangor and Cædwallon's savagery.

In the following passage, the Britons are portrayed in a more positive light. In III.28 two British bishops assist bishop Wine of the West Saxons in the consecration of St. Chad:

> Nom he twegen biscopas of Bretta ðeode in gesiðscipe þære halgunge. Ne wæs in þa tiid ænig biscop buton þam Wine in alre Breotene þara þe rihtlice gehalgad wære.

> (*He associated with himself two bishops of the Britons. At that time there was no bishop in all Britain, except Wine duly consecrated.*)[378]

Although the British bishops appear to be non-canonically ordained, Wine does not regard them as unworthy of assisting him in the episcopal consecration. Henceforth, Chad is portrayed as a most holy man of excellent behavior. This also reflects positively on those who had assisted in the consecration.[379] The *OEHE* is even more uncritical of the British, as Bede elaborates on their unorthodoxy:

> [E]t ab illo [Wine] est uir praefatus consecratus antistes, assumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brettonum gente episcopis, *qui dominicum paschae diem, ut saepius dictum est, secus morem canonicum a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam lunam celebrant.* [my italics]

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[377] *OEB*, I, 180.
[378] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 246-47; *HEGA*, II, 146: "[E]t ab illo uir praefatus consecrates antistes, asummtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brettonum gente episcopis […]. Non enim erat tunc ullus, except illo Vine, in tota Brittannia canonice ordinates episcopus."
[379] Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on Britons", p. 176.

> (*The latter consecrated Chad with the assistance of two bishops of the British race who as has repeatedly been said, keep Easter Sunday, according to their rule, from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon.*)[380]

Chad's non-canonical ordination surfaces again in *HE* IV.2. In the wake of Archbishop Theodore's arrival and his general survey of Britain, he exhorts Chad because of his irregular consecration. The Archbishop is effected by Chad's humble response, so that he lets him keep his episcopate and ordains him according to canonical precepts. The British unorthodoxy does not explicitly play a role in this regard. It is also noteworthy that Theodore only rectified/completed ("mid ciriclice rihte gefylde")[381] the consecration, which implies that he does not deny its validity completely. These stories do not condemn British unorthodoxy. They are rather expressing the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Roman Catholic Church. Theodore's arrival and reform mark a fresh start and the re-establishment of ecclesiastical *unitas* and order after the changing fortunes of the Church and the Christian faith in Book III. Theodor's arrival initiates a process in which all the churches in Britain come under the umbrella of the archbishop of Canterbury, governed by the primacy and the principles of the Roman Catholic Church and the papacy. Bede and his translator leave no doubt that this future promise of ecclesiastical unity in Britain encompasses the British as well. The British are presented as late-coming Jews. This process of latter-day conversion seems to have already begun, as can be shown by two examples from Book V. We read in *HE* V.15 in the time of Aldfrith, King of Northumbria:

> […] plurima pars Scottorum in Hibernia, et nonnulla etiam de Brettonibus in Britannia, rationabile et ecclesiasticum paschal obseruantiae tempus Domino donante suscepit.

> (*The greater part of the Irish in Ireland and some of the Britons in Britain adopted the reasonable and canonical date for keeping Easter.*)[382]

This chapter is cut out in the Old English translation. The sentence just mentioned sets the frame for the conversion of abbot Adamnan of Iona, who learns the canonical rites while being sent to King Aldfrith. The following two chapters (*HE* V.16 and 17), similarly omitted in the Old English, are a synopsis of Adamnan's book *De locis sanctis*. Apparently, the translator did not deem this synopsis to be relevant to his audience as it did not provide edifying material or was too theoretical to be understood. Possibly due to his audience, the translator drops both chapters. Therefore, the preceding chapter on Adamnan is no longer necessary, and is cut out. Additionally, *HE* V.15 may have been omitted because it included a

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[380]   *HEGA*, II, 146; trans.: C&M, p. 317.

[381] *OEB*, II, 260; *And completed with canonical right*; cf. *HE*, II, "[O]rdinationem eius denuo catholica ratione consummauit."

[382]   *HEGA* II, 394, 396; trans.: C&M, p. 505.

failed attempt by Adamnan to convert the monks of Iona. With this episode being omitted, the conversion of Iona in the penultimate chapter of the *HE* by the agency of the Englishman Ecgbert is highlighted even more. It is a singular event, bringing Bede's narration full circle. The Irish had helped in converting the English, now the English had to pay back that spiritual debt and correct the Irish in their unorthodox practices. Adamnan, however, was an Irishman. If he had succeeded in converting the Iona monks, the concept of repaying the spiritual debt could not have succeeded. Thus, the Old English translator omits this footnote and makes Ecgbert appear in an even brighter light as he is an Anglo-Saxon. The English fulfill their Christian duty as missionaries in the name of the orthodox church and establish their religious primacy in Britain. The translator shows acumen and understanding of Bede's work and makes the points Bede was trying to make clearer. The omissions are therefore motivated by upholding the narrative cohesion and audience focus, which is achieved by dropping Bede's irrelevant digression on *De locis sanctis* and by a desire to present the Anglo-Saxon church and Ecgbert in an even brighter light than Bede had already done.

Another harbinger of the eventual conversion of the Britons, faithfully translated in the *OEHE*, is provided in *HE* V.18. Aldhelm, the bishop of Malmesbury is said to have written

> æþele boc his þeode mid sinoþes bebode wið Brytta gedwolan, þa hi
> rihte Eastran ne weorþedon on heora tide, ge eac oþer monig, þa þe
> hi þære cyriclican clænnesse ך sibbe wiðerword dydon. ך he monige
> þara Brytta þe Westsexum underðeodde wæron to rihte weorþunge
> þære Dryhtenlican Eastrana mid þa leornunge þyssa boca geteah ך
> gelædde.

> (*By order of a synod of his people, an excellent book against the error of the Britons, as they did not celebrate the correct Easter in its season, and did much besides opposed to the purity and peace of the church. And by the reading of these books he drew over and brought to the correct observance of the Dominical Easter many of the Britons who were subject to Wessex.*)[383]

Apparently, there was an official agenda to correct the errors of the Britons, as Aldhelm is acting on behalf of synodal decrees. It would appear, then, that the West Saxon church dealt quite frequently with British Christianity. Otherwise the need for correction would not have arisen. The British are presented as capable of improvement and willing to learn as long as they are provided with the right edifying material. Again, this story would have been received well by a late-ninth-

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[383] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 446-49; *HEGA*, II, 408: "[S]cripsit iubente synodo suae gentis librum egregium aduersus errorem Brettonum, quo uel pascha non suo tempore celebrant, uel alia perplura ecclesiasticae castitati et paci contraria gerunt; multosque eorum, qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Brettones, ad catholicam dominici paschae celebrationem huius lectione preduxit."

century audience at the West Saxon court. The supremacy of the West Saxons over the Britons in political as well as religious matters, achieved by Alfred's over-lordship, was provided with another historical precedent. Keeping in mind that Alfred was a great admirer of Aldhelm, this story surely found his consent. The inclusion of this chapter was deemed appropriate due to the discourse surrounding the translator in the wider ambience of King Alfred's court. Similarly, the translator did not drop the story to provide further didactic material and substantiate the political and religious supremacy of the English (and the West Saxons in particular) and the notion of an interconnectedness of both British and English in religious terms. This last aspect becomes evident in the episode on the Northumbrian cowherd Cædmon (*HE* IV. 24). This apparently marginal character is nevertheless important to the narration of the *HE* and the *OEHE*. Cædmon's story needs to be seen in a wider context, as Hanning has argued. With the arrival of Archbishop Theodore, the English begin to learn sacred music as a sign of prosperous unity, as the art had hitherto been confined to Kent. At the same time it symbolizes the triumph of Roman Christianity as the teachers of sacred music – Eaddi, Putta of Rochester, John of Beverly and Acca of Hexham – all had learned their skill according to the Roman manner. John, who used to be the archcantor of St. Peter, is a direct representatives of the papacy. Hanning claims, "Music was to Bede an expression of the church's teaching function and universality, a field to be cultivated by exemplary Christians and propagators of God's word."[384] Similarly, Cædmon's verse compositions – in Bede's understanding – put the Christian message as found in Scripture in a nutshell as Arthur Holder has argued.[385] The history of human salvation can be found in a few lines that describe Cædmon's poetry:

> Song he ærest be middangeardes gesceape ⁊ bi fruman moncynnes ⁊ eal þæt stær Genesis, þæt is seo æreste Moyses booc; ⁊ eft bi utgonge Israhela folces of Ægypta londe ⁊ bi ingonge þæs gehatlandes; ⁊ bi oðrum monegum spellum þæs halgan gewrites canones boca; ond bi Cristes menniscnesse; ⁊ bi his þrowunge; ⁊ bi his upastignesse in heofonas; ⁊ bi þæs Halgan Gastes cyme, ⁊ þara apostola lare: ⁊ eft bi þæm dæge þæs toweardan domes, ⁊ bi fyrhtu þæs tintreglican wiites, ⁊ bi swetnesse þæs heofonlican rices, he monig leoð geworhte.

> (*He sang first of the earth's creation and the bgeinning of man and all the stories of Genesis, which is the first book of Moses; and afterwards about the departure of the people of Israel from the land of Egypt and their entry into the land of promise; and about many other narratives in the books of the canon of Scripture; and about Christ's incarnation; and about his passion; and about his ascension into heaven; and about the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the*

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[384] Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 88.
[385] Holder, "Bede and the New Testament", p. 143.

apostles: and again about the day of judgment to come, and about the terror of hell torment, and about the sweetness of the kingdom of heaven, he composed many a song.)[386]

Hanning, following C.L. Wrenn, sees in Cædmon's story a hagiographical episode. The Northumbrian cowherd turns the 'old' vernacular poetry to 'new' uses, i.e., the evangelization through music which brings the knowledge of Christianity to his countrymen. He aims through his art "to inculcate in all his listeners a love of virtue."[387] Bede and his translator highlight Cædmon's outstanding position:

Ond eac swelc monige oðre æfter him in Ongelþeode ongunnon æfeste leoð wyrcan: ac nænig hwæðre him þæt gelice don meahte.

(*And also many others after him in England began to compose pious songs: none however could do that like him.*)[388]

Though Cædmon composed his songs in *Engliscgereorde/lingua Anglorum* and is said not to have been surpassed by anyone among the English, his name is of British origin, meaning 'little horse.'[389] There are a few other instances where 'English' protagonists bear a British name (e.g. Cædwalla of Wessex, Chad). These personal names do not necessarily indicate ethnicity and these individuals might not have been considerably 'British' at the time, but it shows that Bede was sympathetic to certain aspects of indigenous British culture.[390] The latent British-ness of Cædmon needs to catch our attention. As opposed to the high-ranked agents – bishops, archbishops – Cædmon is a man of modest rank. Nonetheless, his gift of grace makes him an apt preacher, as he can spread the word of God in a medium which represents the link between ecclesiastical and popular culture in Anglo-Saxon England. His message reaches the common people as well as the clergy, who eagerly listen to his songs and immediately set them to writing. On a symbolical level, Cædmon, a man with a British name but living in an English context, represents the amalgamation of both Britons and English on both an ethnic and a spiritual level. Through his miraculous gift, he manifests the grace of God showered on Britain and through his songs he disseminates the grassroots of Christian

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[386] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 346-47; *HEGA*, II, 280: "Canebat autem de creatione mundi et origine humani generis et tota Genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Aegypto et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacrae scripturae historiis, de incarnatione dominicia, passione, resurrectione et ascensione in caelum, de spiritus sancti aduentu et apostolorum doctrina. Item de terrore futuri iudicii et horror poenae gehennalis ac dulcedine regni caelestis multa carmina faciebat."

[387] Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 88; cf. C.L. Wrenn, "The Poetry of Cædmon", *PBA* 32 (1946), 277-95.

[388] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 342-43; *HEGA*, II, 276: "Et quidem et alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere temtabant, sed nullus eum aequiperare potuit."

[389] It has been argued that it derived from Proto-Welsh *cad\u0175an (from Brythonic *catumandos 'little horse'); see K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 554.

[390] Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on the Britons", pp. 178-180.

teaching and doctrine in English for the benefit of many: "monigra monna mod
oft to worulde forhogdnisse ⁊ to geþeodnisse þæs heofonlican lifes onbærnde
wæron."[391] The story of Cædmon in some way parallels that of Alfred. Just as
Cædmon has miraculously learned to compose Old English religious poetry for
the edification of his fellow countrymen, so Alfred "diuino instinctu" 'through
divine inspiration'[392] learned to read and translate Latin, the prerequisite for carry-
ing out his translation program to teach his people and inculcate Christian norms
and livelihood. It might be worth mentioning also that the royal house of Wessex
appears to have a British admixture, as the *heros eponymos* Cerdic in the genealogies,
has a Celtic name.[393] Therefore, the kings of Wessex might have seen themselves
as natural guardians and supervisors of British Christianity. This may explain why
they were sympathetic towards the Britons, and Asser willfully presents Alfred as
benign Christian ruler whose overlordship the Britons can readily accept without
anxiety. The story of Cædmon would have been a fitting piece to demonstrate that
the English and British went hand in hand, in religious as well as in ethnic terms,
for the benefit all people living in Britain. With the coming of Hengest ('stallion')
and Horsa ('horse') the success story of the Germanic tribes in Britain began.
With the divine grace being showered on Cædmon ('little horse'), the religious and
ethnic unity of the Britons and the English commences. It is not in a top-down
process, but manifested in a simple man of low status, who was raised to the
status of a monk.

A Concluding Note on the Britons

After these case studies of harmonious – or at least cooperative – Anglo-British
relations, the *OEHE* ends with rather disharmonious verdicts on the Britons. The
translator follows Bede's structure closely. The story of the Anglo-Saxon Church
in Britain finds its apex in the correction of the Picts and in the Irish monks of
Iona who agree to observe the orthodox teachings according to the Roman man-
ner (*HE* V.22). The conversion of the latter contrasts with the attitude of the
Britons:

> Wæs þæt mid wunderlicre stihtunge þære godcundan arfęstnesse swa
> geworden, þæt, forðan, seo þeod [i.e. the Irish] þone wisdom, ðe heo
> cuðe, þære godcundan cyððe lustlice butan æfeste Angelfolcum
> cyðde ⁊ gemænsumede, hi ða swylce æfter fæce þurh Angelþeode, on
> þam þingum, þe hi won hæfdon, to fulfremedum gemete rihtes lifes

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[391] *Many men's minds were often fired to disregard the world and attach themselves to the heavenly life*; text and trans: *OEB*, I.2, 342-43; *HEGA*, II, 276: "Cuius carminibus multorum saepe animi ad contem-tum saeculi et appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi."

[392] *VÆ*, p. 73.

[393] Cf. B. Yorke, "Cerdic", *BEASE*, p. 93.

becom. Swa swa Brittas wiððon, þe næfre woldon þa cyððo þæs cris-
tenan geleafan, þe hi hæfdon, Angelcynne openian ꞇ cyðan, ono þa
gelyfendum eft Angelfolcum ꞇ þurh eall well ontimbredum ꞇ gelære-
dum on reogole rihtes geleafan, hi nu gyt heora ealdan gewunon
healdað ꞇ fram rihtum stigum healtiað; ꞇ heora heafod ywað butan
Scē Petres sceare; ꞇ Cristes symbelnesse rihte Eastran butan geðeod-
nesse ealra Godes cyricena healdað ꞇ weorpiað.

*(It was so ordered by a wondrous dispensation of the divine goodness, that, as the
people cheerfully and without jealousy made known and imparted to the nations
of the English the wisdom which they possessed, so then after a time through the
English should attain to the perfect measure of a right life, in those matters in
which they were deficient. Just as the Britons, on the contrary, who never would
reveal and make known to the English race the knowledge of the Christian faith
which they had, nay now again when the English tribes believe and are in all
points well instructed and trained in the rule of right faith, they still as now,
maintain their old habits and halt from the right path; and display their heads
without the crown of St. Peter's tonsure; and observe and solemnize the due festi-
val of Christ's Easter not in community with all the Churches of God.)*[394]

Two aspects are noteworthy. First, the Irish impart the divine religion to the Eng-
lish, whereas the Britons do not reveal it to them. The British are thus likened to
the Jews, who are only concerned with the salvation of their own, as Trent Foley
and Higham have remarked. Here the translator is following Bede's discourse, in
which he frequently applied the opposition of the exclusiveness of the Jews and
the inclusion of the gentiles.[395] This passage, therefore, expresses yet another
stance for universality of the Christian church. Salvation is for all the faithful who
trust in Christ. Bede and his translator display the precepts of the 'Great Commis-
sion' and the history of the church – including the history of the church in Britain
– as continuation of the *Acts of the Apostles*. The duty to evangelize and the inclu-
sion of the Gentiles in the community of the faithful go together and find their
expression in the lines above. Second, this passage further strengthens the primacy
of the English church in Britain, which is firmly built on the precepts of the Ro-
man Catholic Church. The English are repaying their spiritual debt to the Irish, by
whom they had been partially converted. Although Irish Christianity appears to

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[394] Text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 478-79; *HEGA*, II, 462: "Quod mira diuinae constat factum dispen-
satione pietatis, ut quoniam gens illa quam nouerat scientiam diuinae cognitionis libenter ac sine
inuidia populis Anglorum communicare curauit, ipsa quoque postmodum per gentem Anglorum
in eis quae minus habuerat ad perfectam uiuendi normam perueniret. Sicut econtra Brettones
qui nolebant Anglis eam quam habebant fidei Christianae notitiam pandere, credentibus iam
populis Anglorum et in regula fidei catholicae per omnia instructis, ipsi adhuc inueterati et clau-
dicantes a semitis suis et capita sine corona praetendunt et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae
Christi societate uenerantur."

[395] See Trent Foley and Higham, "Bede on Britons", pp. 166-69.

have seniority, the English are now in the position to instruct others in the Christian faith. The *OEHE* as well as the *HE* develop a narrative strategy in which the Roman Catholic faith and the precepts of papal Rome gain prime authority, not by the status of the papacy, but through constant argumentative debate combined with the political dominance of the Anglo-Saxons. Thus the English have the best arguments as their faith has prevailed in religious dispute and has matured. The Irish strand of Catholicism is not condemned as such, but is rather tacitly ignored. This can be seen in the statement that they were corrected in 'those matters in which they were deficient'. This implies a set of common characteristics. Moreover, as Pope Gregory states in the *LR*, the English church was sympathetic towards other customs: "Forþon of syndrigum ciricum gehwylcum þa ðu æfest ʒ good ʒ riht geceose, þa ðu togædre gesomna, ʒ on Ongolþeode mod in gewunan asete."[396] The shifting of the *Libellus* to the end of Book III of the *OEHE* causes this precept to be put into a context where we cannot speak of one English church, but rather two churches, dominated by two strands of Christianity. Gregory's instruction was to synthesize different customs and subsequently generate a normative frame that was both authoritative and mandatory at the same time. This was taken up by Archbishop Theodore, whose aim was to ensure the unity of all the churches in Britain. This is reflected in the Synod of Hertford (*HE* IV.5). The unity and ability to reject and fight non-orthodox practices is confirmed by the Synod of Hatfield (*HE* IV.17), again presided over by Theodore.

The important point of Gregory's statement is that is refers to the infant state of the church in Britain. At the end of Book V, the English church had undergone processes of trial and error, of debate, of acceptance and rejection and had come out as the clear victor in concord with the churches all over the world. The majority of Britons are excluded from this English-dominated church in Britain, and one indeed wonders why. The answer seems to be that the exclusion of the British is a rhetorical strategy applied by Bede. The imperfection of the Britons and their 'fall from grace' effectively highlight the orthodoxy and success of the Anglo-Saxons. The British and their church are portrayed in a negative light in order to exalt the English and their church. At the same time, the Anglo-Saxons were exhorted to stick to orthodox teaching, as digressions and moral failings led to disaster, in religious and political terms, as can be seen in the story of the Britons as Bede narrates it.

The *HE* and the *OEHE* both have an open end because Bede did not dare to predict what the future would bring. This had two reasons. First, he was convinced that history as salvation history was only revealed to God and not to

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[396] *Therefore, whatever you select as pious. good and right from among all the various churches, put together and establish in the minds of the English as a custom;* text and trans.: *OEB*, I.1, 66-67; *HEGA*, I, 108: "Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quae pia, quae religiosa, quae recta sunt elige, et haec quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone."

man.[397] Second, he wanted to make his readers aware that the future of the Church was not carved in stone. Its present peace and tranquility were but a snapshot in time. Bede wished to teach his audience constant vigilance and remind them of their Christian duty to evangelize. The evangelization of the Britons as late-coming Jews, however, is an important element in the concept of salvation history. With their acceptance of the orthodox faith, the process of salvation history would move on to the Second Coming of Christ and the Day of Judgment, whose precise date was unknown to men. Bede made mention of the Saracens in his penultimate chapter, together with his concerns about the dismal state of the church in his *Letter to Egbert,* and might well wish to express his anxiety to regard those disturbances as signs for the beginning of the end of the world.[398] His ostracism of the Britons served as a warning example for the English, a means of highlighting the achievement and authority of the Anglo-Saxons and their church, an appeal to the *unitas* of the Universal Church and a reminder of the process of salvation history, which had not yet come to its end.

The present analysis has shown that Bede neither continuously presents the Britons in a negative light, nor depicts them as a homogeneous group. They appear as his version of the late-coming Jews, who through their stubbornness and transgressions have merited their displacement in salvation history, but who are hoped can recognize their error and be converted to the Universal Church. At the same time, they are juxtaposed with the Irish, who are intimately connected to the Anglo-Saxon church and who assume the role of a successful Celtic people, whereas the Britons lose political dominion and are ostracized in religious terms. However, they are not central to Bede's narration, as they are marginalized after Book II. The Britons serve as an Anglo-Saxon alter ego, in order to highlight English political and religious primacy in Britain and provide an example not to follow for the English.

The *OEHE* alleviates the charges levied against the Britons without being overly sympathetic towards them. The *OEHE* adopts Bede's ideas but reshapes them in a significant way. Those editorial changes can be explained against the backdrop of the political and cultural landscape at the end of the late ninth century, as the discourse of the translator suggests. The charge that the Britons did not evangelize the English may have been intended to remind and admonish the Anglo-British audience of their duty to carry out the 'Great Commission,' as was argued in the previous chapter. Non-compliance with this Christian duty resulted in exclusion from the community of the faithful and also to military and political disaster. The story as presented by the Old English translator might have provided an explanation for the Viking depredations, as it was again God's wrath that was showered on a transgressing people. The translator nowhere explicitly mentions the Viking raids, but the account of assault of the heathen Saracens, with their

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[397] Cf. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, *passim*.
[398] *HEGA*, II, 466 and 468; *OEB*, I.2, 476, for the Saracen campaign in Gaul.

subsequent defeat due to their non-belief, might have been a fitting piece for the discourse prevalent at that time.[399] The contingency of worldly prosperity and prevalence against heathen invaders on correct Christian livelihood and orthodox faith stands out clearly in the *OEHE,* as it does in Alfred's *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care.*

Just as the *HE* may have been presented to a mixed Anglo-British audience, so too was the *OEHE.* The latter's narration is embedded in a discourse dominated by ideas of Anglo-Saxon superiority and Christian unity, governed by the situation at the end of the late ninth/early tenth century and partly controlled by the House of Wessex. The more conciliatory tone towards the Britons in the *OEHE,* as compared to the *HE,* can be explained by avoiding national sentiments when political cooperation was required. Alfred needed not only a strong and unified Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxon, but he also the Welsh as allies against the Scandinavian threat.[400] The *HE* would have provided Alfred with invaluable material to generate a common Christian identity among the Anglo-Saxons and the British, inculcate Christian norms, and bolster the legitimacy of his overlordship without increasing tension between the peoples of Britain. The kings from the House of Wessex might have seen themselves as guardians of British Christianity, but Alfred might have seen need to cajole his neighbors in order to ensure their allegiance. However, if this was a rapprochement, and the *OEHE* part of it was at least shaped by the same discourse, then it was a rapprochement under Anglo-Saxon terms.

The Old English translator was well-aware of the pressing issues of his day. He re-shaped Bede's account of the Britons to strike a more conciliatory chord. The narration in the *OEHE* is one of the church in Britain, with a strong focus on

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[399] *HE* V.23; cf. *OEB*, I.2, 474.

[400] A historical parallel is offered by Alfred's ancestor King Ine (688-726). It has been argued that Ine issued his law-code, which includes the most pronounced legal acknowledgment in Anglo-Saxon legislation, in order to placate the Britons, as he had to deal with a variety of political struggles and could not afford to antagonize his British subjects. Just as Alfred had subjugated the Welsh kingdoms at the end of the ninth-century, so too Ine had expanded the West Saxon heartland westwards and incorporated British areas, which, in turn, made Britons into West Saxon subjects. Martin Grimmer objected that the Britons were not 'appeased' as they were still not equal to West Saxons, but that Ine's law-code rather reflected a desire to work the British subjects into the new social order of multi-cultural Wessex. To Grimmer, the identity of the Britons was engulfed by the dominance of West Saxon culture (political, economical, social) by processes of social categorization and social disadvantage in order to form a more unified West Saxon society. He concludes by remarking that "by the time of King Alfred promulgated his Code, there was no apparent differentiation made between Britons and Saxons."(M. Grimmer, "Britons in Early Wessex: The Evidence of the Law Code of Ine" in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. N. Higham (Woodbrige, 2007), pp. 102-14, at p. 114. Following his argument, the Britons in Wessex had already undergone a process of social and political assimilation by the end of the ninth-century. Cf. also Higham, "Historical Narrative" and Tristram, "Why don't the English Speak Welsh" for the acculturation of the British population in within a dominant Anglo-Saxon society.

religious and political didacticism. The supposed chosen status of the Anglo-Saxons is downplayed and religious unity stressed. In times of turmoil, he may have tried to remind the audience of their common Anglo-British (church) history. Given the political and literary discourse of the translator's time, the *OEHE* would have sent out a clear message to English and Britons alike: be mindful of the road you have travelled so far. Learn from you faults and recollect the good examples. Stand together and forget your enmities, as disunity and fragmentation will lead to disaster. Unity and right Christian livelihood, however, will allow you to prevail against the enemies of the faith, the Scandinavian invaders. You are not Anglo-Saxons and Britons, but Christians within the Universal Church sharing the same fate in salvation history. These aspects of identity, which were touched upon, will now be addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

Re-inventing the *gens Anglorum*?
Identity and the *Angelcynn*

Questions of identity have surfaced in every chapter of this thesis so far, which testifies to the issue's importance in both the *HE* and the *OEHE*. Nonetheless, these questions cannot be answered easily since the term 'identity' is problematic. Perceptions of identity in general and medieval identity in particular are highly complex, which do not permit simplistic answers, as is underscored by the plethora of studies centering on issues of medieval identity and ethnogenesis.[401] The *HE* and the *OEHE* are no exception to this rule. Bede's work is traditionally credited with having contributed to what we might call 'English' identity. The *HE* has triggered questions about what Bede understood concerning the term *gens Anglorum*. What we can state with confidence is that thanks to Bede's promotion in the *HE,* the Germanic inhabitants of Britain were no longer perceived as *Saxones* by writers outside the island but as *Angli* from the eighth century onwards.[402] This chapter will deal with questions of identity in the *HE* and the *OEHE* and expound what concept may have been behind Bede's term *gens Anglorum* and its Old English equivalents *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* as used in the *OEHE*. In a second step, works associated with the wider ambience of the West Saxon court will be

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[401] The number of studies prevents a comprehensive citation. A selection might suffice: Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*; Hines, ed., in *The Anglo-Saxons From the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective; [Papers Presented at the Second Conference on "Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology" … San Marino from 26th to 31th August 1994]*, ed. J. Hines, (Woodbridge, 2003); M. Coumert, "Origines des Peuples. Les Récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550 - 850) (Paris, 2007); Foot, "*Angelcynn*"; W.O. Frazer, ed., *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. W.O.Frazer (Leicester, 2000); Brooks, "Canterbury, Rome".

[402] See Richter, M., "Bede's *Angli*: Angles or English?", *Peritia* 3 (1989), 99–114, at pp. 101-13; and Foot, "Angelcynn", pp. 41-45; cf Pohl's hypothesis that the occurrence of the terms 'Saxons' and 'Angles' are connected with military victories and matters of religion, respectively ("Ethnic Names and Identities", p. 19).

analyzed in order to find traces of conceptual identity along the lines of Bede's *gens Anglorum* and evaluate the degree to which Bede's *HE* had left its mark on the mindset of the Anglo-Saxon intelligentsia towards the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries. Positive evidence will help us understand the complex interdependencies between the *HE*, the *OEHE,* and their political and cultural context.

Bede's *gens Anglorum* and Early Medieval Identity

The concept of a single English people owes much to Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). His plans for evangelizing Britain set this idea in motion. Subsequently, it gained prominence with an overtly spiritual connotation through Bede.[403] Bede

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[403] It is important to note that Gregory and Bede held different views of that concept. In a series of essays Wormald noted that Bede's concept was that of a chosen people, with their own covenant with God, modeled on the Israelites of the Old Testament, and that Englishness was indeed a spiritual ideal ("Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the *gens Anglorum*," in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99-129, at p. 128; "The Venerable Bede", pp. 23-24; "*Engla lond*", p. 14). In contrast, Gregory's usage likely stems from his idea that the Angles ruled the area that corresponded to Roman *Britannia* (Rowley, p. 60). What connected both concepts was the fact that the *gens Anglorum* had received the faith from Rome through Canterbury. Therefore, Bede's perspective, despite his penchant for Northumbria, was Gregorian and pro-Canterbury at the same time. According to Alan Thacker ("Bede and History", p. 185), Bede's view was not primarily driven by Canterbury's wish to establish a single English church, but by "a need to connect up the somewhat unsatisfactory history of the origins of his own people's [i.e. Northumbrian] Church with the blue-chip catholicity of the Church in Kent. […] The axis between the Northumbrians and the men of Kent thus lay at the heart of Bede's concept of Englishness." Brooks argues that Bede's idea of the *gens Anglorum* as a single English people inspired by his tutelage under Abbot Ceolfrith. He draws attention to the fact Bede in *De Temporum Ratione* (c.725) and in the *HE* (c.731) uses similar ethnic terminology and applies the concept of the 'English', whereas in his *De Temporibus* (c.703) he applies the more frequent 'Saxons' terminology (*Bede and the English*, pp. 19-20). The idea of an English people ('*gentem Anglorum*') with a spiritual identity is evident in the *Liber beati Gregorii* written at the end of the seventh/beginning of the eighth century by an anonymous scribe at Whitby, as Anton Scharer has shown. The Whitby scribe therefore established a tradition of the *gens Anglorum* that predates Bede. Scharer also provides evidence for the idea of a spiritual community of all the English in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* ("The Gregorian Tradition in Early England", in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson (Stroud, 1999), pp. 187-201, at pp. 187-90). Lapidge ("Asser's Reading") and Keynes and Lapidge (K&L, pp. 53-53 and n. 105) identify Aldhelm as one of Asser's sources. A copy of his prose *De Virginitate* (London, British Library, MS Royal 5 F.iii fols. 1-40; Gneuss no. 462, Ker no. 253) was produced s.ix[ex] or ix/x in Mercia (Worcester?) and might thus have come to Asser's attention through Alfred's Mercian helpers. Mechthild Gretsch convincingly argued that the roots of the revival of Aldhelm's Latin 'hermeneutic style' are to be found at the court of King Alfred, who is said, according to Williams of Malmesbury, to have greatly venerated the Anglo-Saxon poet (*Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 341-344.); for the hermeneutic features of Asser's style see K&L, pp. 54-5 and 221-2. Given Asser's use of Aldhelm and the *HE*, it appears likely that the concept of a single English people might have come to Alfred courts through different channels.

furthered the idea that the *gens Anglorum* encompassed all Germanic inhabitants of Britain to constitute a Christian community within the Roman Catholic Church.[404] The common continental origin of the rather heterogeneous group of Germanic immigrants is not essential in this regard, but rather their conversion by Rome. The agenda underlying Bede's account of the Augustinian mission to England in 597 is not only to provide imperial and spiritual legitimization from Rome and the papacy, but first and foremost to associate the process of evangelization with the assertion of a common Anglo-Saxon identity.[405] The concept of the *gens Anglorum* hinges upon the idea of the Anglo-Saxons rightfully supplanting the sinful Britons, who had neglected their Christian duties as has been outlined in the previous chapters.

The *gens Anglorum* is then primarily a religious community, a godly people, whose progress in the history of salvation Bede narrates. In these terms Bede's conception of identity is not necessarily one that only harkens back to the past, but at the same time includes a promise for the future.[406] The famous story of Gregory and the Anglian slave-boys testifies to the chosen state and predestination of the Anglo-Saxons, and Bede's narration is at pains to show that the special status of the English is divinely ordained. Much has been argued about the question of whether the *OEHE* adopted the concept just outlined and gave it a new label, *Angelcynn*. In the same way, this term has been heralded by some as the official label of a newly-forged political identity of the English, for which King Alfred can be given credit.[407]

Before we deal with this rather political issue it is necessary to ponder for a moment its relevance. Some general considerations about identity will help with that. First and foremost, identity is an interpretative tool to come to an understanding of oneself, the world, and the correlation of both. Identity can show us the way to understand our nature and our role in the present surrounding us. We avail of subjective perceptions of the past to understand the present and extract at least marginal guidelines and norms for the future. Additionally, identity appeals to one of the deepest human desires, to know about one's place in the world, his history, and to associate oneself with a certain group, regardless of what we exactly mean by 'group'. Man by definition is a *zoon politikon*, a *homo sociale*, and therefore seeks interaction with his fellow man on a number of different levels, as it

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[404] Cf. Wormald ("Venerable Bede", pp. 24-5 and *Engla Lond*, p. 14) ,who interpreted the term *Angli/gens Anglorum* as referring to a religious community of all the Germanic tribes in Britain.

[405] See Brooks, "Canterbury, Rome", pp. 221-246 and *idem*, "From British to English Christianity", pp. 4-5. For a similar line of argument, see Scharer "Die Rolle der Kirche bei der Identitätsbildung der Angelsachsen", in *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des Frühen Mittelalters*, ed. W. Pohl (Wien, 2004), pp. 255-60; on the importance of the conversion for the Anglo-Saxons as a key moment in their history see Gameson, "Augustine of Canterbury: Context and Achievement", in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 1-40.

[406] See Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*, pp. 64-84.

[407] See Foot, "Angelcynn".

provides a feeling of security, of acceptance, of personal worth. This aspect is especially important in times of crisis, be it personal, family or a general normative crisis, which might encompass units as large as supra-national constructs or even transcendental concepts, like religion. On a political level, identity can be a powerful tool of legitimacy. The past is important in that an appropriation and specific interpretation of elements that constitute the past can lead to legitimizing a specific order (political, social, religious, ethic) in the present and in the future.

Second, identity is by no means an objective, monolithic or stable phenomenon. One of its most prominent characteristics is that it is constructed. Wolfram but it poignantly, "Ethnicity is not shaped in the wombs of women but in the heads of men."[408] Although this study wishes to distance itself from Wolfram's blunt and sexist tone, he has essentially defined the issue. Identity does not rest primarily on biological descent (although it can be one of its constituting elements), but depends chiefly on subjective perception. In the same way it is fleeting. Subjective perceptions of identity can change according to different circumstances. This matter becomes important when it is questioned, put to the test, or disintegrates due to interpersonal circumstances. This is an important point, as it shows that identity has a limitation and is sometimes generated in opposition to the Other.

Furthermore, no-one is limited to one specific level of identity but rather harbors multiple layers according to gender, religion, occupation, place of birth, family line, and adherence to specific political, social or cultural groups. The degree of how these particular identities surface at given moments depends upon the specific occasion. It goes without saying that the determiners of identity not only vary on occasion but also differ between individuals. To illustrate this point, it is worth considering that the identity of an Anglo-Saxon peasant in East Anglia was determined by factors different from those of his fellows from Devonshire or York, let alone, of those shaping the identity of a bishop or a king. Therefore, it is advisable not to come up with generalizing conclusions about medieval identity, but pay regard to the complexity of its formative processes.

The present chapter will not embark on a detailed discussion of the different determiners of identity, as this would exceed the scope of this study. Common elements referred to in scholarly discussions on medieval ethnogenesis and identity are a 'kernel of tradition' (*Traditionskern*) encompassing certain customs, clothing, manufacturing, law, social hierarchy, religion, language, etc.[409] Similarly important is what we might call *memoria*, or culture of remembrance (or 'collective amnesia'), which is characterized by a common history (oral or written), including a

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[408]   Quoted in Pohl, "Ethnic Names", p. 35.
[409]   The term was coined by R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: das Werden der Frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*, 2nd ed. (Köln, 1977).

genealogical discourse and an origin legend (*origo gentis*).[410] These last aspects in particular might be of interest when we consider a purported connection between the questions of identity and their interaction with the political and intellectual circumstances in Anglo-Saxon England towards the end of the ninth century.

The Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons and 'English' Identity

In his essay "King Alfred and the Mercians," Keynes has brought the concept of what he termed 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' (KAS) into sharp focus.[411] Based on numismatic and diplomatic evidence as well as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, he cogently argued for a new political order of Anglo-Saxon England. The polity created in this process encompassed Wessex, Sussex, Essex, Kent and those parts of Mercia not under Danish dominion. It outlived Alfred and lasted from c. 880 to 927.[412] Keynes characterized the KAS as primarily a pragmatic military coalition of those kingdoms not under Scandinavian rule, led by the kings of the House of Wessex.[413]

Keynes sought to counterbalance the idea that this period witnessed a nascent national 'English' identity based on a revival of the idea of a pan-English, Christian *gens Anglorum* as presented in Bede's *HE*, which was invoked and officially promoted by King Alfred under the Old English label *Angelcynn*. Although his argument that it was "the more overtly political context of a wish to bring the 'Mercians' and the 'Saxons' together,"[414] stands to reason, this long-lasting coali-

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[410] On the *origo gentis* see Plassmann, *Origo Gentis*; M. Coumert, Origines des peuples: Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge Occidental (550 - 850) (Paris, 2007), S. Reynolds, "Medieval Origines Gentium and the Community of the Realm"; History 222 (1983), 375–390; for genealogies and their importance see Sisam, "Royal Genealogies", 287-346; Dumville, "The Anglian Collection", 23-50 and *idem*, "Genealogies and Regnal Lists", pp. 72-101.

[411] Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians".

[412] In 927 Alfred's grandson Æthelstan conquered Northumbria and paved the way for the 'Kingdom of the English' that emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries after his father Edward 'the Elder' had extended English dominion over the Southern Danelaw. For the emergent 'Kingdom of the English' see Keynes, "England, c.900-1016", pp. 456-84.

[413] Cooperation and close ties between Wessex and Mercia had a long tradition. We can deduce the build-up of a 'working alliance' of both kingdoms in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries characterized by shared military campaigning and peace-weaving marriages. See for example Brihtric's marriage to Offa's daughter Eadburh (*ASC* s.a. 787); Alfred's sister was married to King Burgred of Mercia (*ASC* s.a. 853), Alfred married Ealswith "from the stock of the noble Mercians" (*VÆ*, ch. 73) and Alfred's daughter Æthelfled married *ealdorman* Æthelred of Mercia (*VÆ*, ch. 75). The military coalition is also well-recorded: ASC s.a. 823, 853 and 893. Keynes ("Alfred and the Mercians", pp. 22-23) suggested that the siege of London (*ASC* MSS BCDE s.a. 883) was presumably a combined West Saxon/Mercian operation in which *ealdorman* Æthelred – as in the restoration of London in 886 – might have played a more significant role than allowed for in the *ASC* or by Asser.

[414] Keynes, "Alfred and the Mercians", p. 26.

tion under West Saxon hegemony is clearly remarkable, if not unusual. David Dumville makes an interesting observation:

> An overkingship might be created and held by an individual ruler, but it was difficult to transmit to a successor, since it has no natural unity; only a long, continuous period of enforcement, and the vigorous reduction of factors tending to emphasize the separate identity of the constituent parts, could hope to create a kingdom from an overlordship.[415]

This leaves us to wonder by what means those separate identities, i.e. the West, East and South Saxons, the Mercians as well as the men of Kent, were molded into this new polity that lasted almost forty years. A viable contention might be that the *HE* had a considerable impact on the political and literary climate associated with the wider ambience of the West Saxon court. The reminiscence about and possibly deliberate evocation of a common identity as presented in Bede's work might have been one of the factors which facilitated the creation and maintenance of the KAS. When we want to analyze the influence of Bede's concept of the *gens Anglorum* on the mindset of late ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England and the KAS in particular, it is apposite to scan the literary works commonly associated with King Alfred's famous program of translation and education. The *ASC*, the Old English translations of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Gregory's *Dialogi* and *Cura Pastoralis*, Orosius's *Historia Adversum Paganos*, Augustine's *Soliloquia* or Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* bear witness to what can be called an Anglo-Saxon culture of remembrance, or *memoria*, deeply rooted in Christian thought. At the same time, they were the vessels by which this Christian *memoria*, together with the ethnic heritage of the Anglo-Saxons, was disseminated. We are confronted with the question of whether we are dealing with "Alfred's vision of a chosen people walking upon England's pastures green,"[416] that draws on Bede's concept of the *gens Anglorum* in order to hold the English kingdoms together by generating a precocious 'English' identity, or something else. The potential of an Old English translation of the *HE* in this process would have been enormous, as a vernacular version facilitated the dissemination of Bede's work into a language which not only the educated could understand.[417] Indeed, the importance of Old English as a medium should not be underestimated. Language is not only a reflection of the mindset of an age, but is a constitutive element. As Sarah Foot has argued, "[I]deas are only open to a people as they have the language to express them; in other words, ideas are conditioned by the language in which they can be thought."[418] This aspect will become impor-

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[415] D.N. Dumville, "Essex, Middle Anglia, and the Expansion of Mercia in the South-East Midlands," in his *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 1-30, at p. 28.

[416] Keynes, "Alfred and the Mercians", p. 26.

[417] See Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, pp. 67-71) for the role of the *HE* in Alfred's creation of a specific culture of translation towards the end of the ninth century.

[418] Foot, "Angelcynn", pp. 25-26.

tant in the following terminological analysis. This study concurs with Foot, in that language itself is an important determiner of identity.[419] No matter where Anglo-Saxons would originate from and which local or regional identity they ascribed to themselves, they all would commonly refer to their language as nothing but *eng-lisc*.[420]

This chapter aims at a reassessment of the interdependencies between the KAS and Bede's *HE*. Consequently, this will facilitate our understanding of the intellectual and political climate in which the *OEHE* was carried out. Even if we allow for the possibility that the Old English translation was not directly connected to Alfred's program, the influence of Bede's *HE* on the literary and political discourse will provide us with helpful observations with regard to the initial translation of his Latin masterpiece. The analysis of Bede's *gens Anglorum* and its related Old English terminology is a cornerstone of this endeavor, as these labels can tell us a lot about the self-perception of Bede and his translator with regard to an Anglo-Saxon identity.

This study seeks to analyze the use of the terms *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* in the *OEHE*, as they have played a crucial role in past discussions of a possible transformation of Bede's idea of the *gens Anglorum* by the Old English translator. This requires a preliminary discussion of the significance of the Latin term as applied by the Northumbrian monk. Following that, the focus will turn to the textual witnesses associated with Alfred's program and analyze the occurrence of the term *Angelcynn*, as well as other topoi presented in the *HE* in works such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, Alfred's *Law Code*, the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care* and Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*. A caveat must be inserted here. The fields of early medieval and Anglo-Saxon ethnogenesis and identity are highly complex, fuzzy and in a constant state of flux. Multiple layers of different identities would surely have dominated the landscape of England in the Anglo-Saxon era, much as they do in modern societies. Therefore, seeking a clear-cut terminology is a risky business, but not impossible.[421]

Defining *Angelcynn*

The *DOE* (s.v. *angel-cyn*) identifies the following senses:

- 1. the English race, English people, England
- 1a. in phrases referring to the English people or nation
- 1b. referring to the English language/ the language of the English

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[419] This becomes clear when we recall Alfred's *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care* and Isidore of Seville's remarks on languages and nations.

[420] See Gretsch, "Uses of the Vernacular", p. 273.

[421] Isidore of Seville appears to have used the terms *gens* and *natio* as synonyms preferring both over *populus* (Reynolds, "Origines Gentium", p. 383 and S. Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (New York, 2003), p. 9.

- 1c. referring to the written history of the English
- 1.d referring to various political, social, and ecclesiastical structures of the English people during the Anglo-Saxon period
- 2. specifically of the Anglian people: the Angles
- 3. specifically of Northumbria

It is evident that the term is polysemic and needs to be understood in its particular contexts. The aim of this section, therefore, is to analyze the translator's choice of *Angelcynn* with regard to the question of whether he deliberately attempted to render the Latin term *gens Anglorum* with its apparent ethno-religious implications.

Keynes outlined that the Gregorian idea, modified and promoted by Bede, expressed by *gens Anglorum* or *Angelcynn*, gained momentum in the ninth century as a collective term of identity. Nevertheless, he was skeptical as to how far this ethnic identity adapted or transformed into a political one. He admitted that Alfred and his entourage should be credited with the vision of a new political order, but not without asking whether the driving force was indeed the Gregorian concept, or rather, a formulation reflecting the sensitivities of the agents at the West Saxon court.[422] In both cases Keynes rejected the notion that Alfred and his advisors actively followed the image of the spiritual *gens Anglorum* and envisaged it as a direct model to be realized on a political level.[423] Keynes is certainly right when he down-played its role as a political blue-print for the KAS. Even so, the term *Angelcynn* appears to have been used frequently at Alfred's court. It may have featured prominently in Alfredian political image-building. The terms can be traced in the prose translations and other vernacular documents associated in one way or another with the West Saxon court.[424] Referring to Pierre Bourdieu, we could argue that social realities are both fictitious and real insofar as they are collectively acknowledged. Signifiers like *Angelcynn*, used in a discourse controlled by a powerful

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[422] Keynes, "Edward: King of the Anglo-Saxons", pp. 60-61.

[423] Mechthild Gretsch warned us of overburdening the term. She cogently argues that from a phonotactic point of view, *Angelcynn* was a more elegant choice than the possible alternatives, *Seaxcynn* or *Seaxnacynn*, which in turn would also have caused confusion with the continental Saxons, the *Ealdsaxe*. A possible compound *Angel-Seaxnacynn* would have been likewise unusual and inelegant. Therefore, phonotactic, aesthetic and purely pragmatic considerations might have played a role in coining that term ("Junius Psalter Gloss", p. 106 n. 81).

[424] Such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle(s)*, the *Preface* to the *OE Pastoral Care* and the *OE Martyrology*, cf. Rowley, p. 59, tables 4 and 5). In its first recorded appearance, a charter of King Burgred of Mercia from Worcester (S 207), it distinguished those of English origins from foreigners and was apparently synonymous with Latin *Angli* (Foot, "*Angelcynn*", 29 and n. 25). Even though it was apparently coined in a Mercian (therefore Anglian) context, it still has an 'English' ring to it, as there would have been plenty of terms to indicate a specific Mercian denotation. The term itself might have been channeled to the Alfred-circle either by his Mercian helpers or by cultural transfer during the long-term cooperation between both kingdoms from the middle of the ninth-century onwards.

agency, create their signified, i.e. (social) reality, as they establish consensus with regard to the existence and sense of the signified.[425]

Sharon Rowley has meticulously analyzed the use of *Angelcynn* in the *OEHE*.[426] Her survey shows that the translator of the *HE* rendered the Latin expression *gens Anglorum* in Old English in over twenty different ways. The results show that *Ongolþeod* is the most frequent translation-appearing fifty-two times,[427] followed by *Angelcynn* at forty-eight times. Rowley concludes that "the *OEHE* cannot be said to be a part of any attempt to promote a 'myth' of 'common origins' using the term '*Angelcynn*',"[428] and claims that the anonymous man who translated the *HE* not only varies his terminology, but at the same time differs from both Bede's use of the *gens Anglorum* and the preference for *Angelcynn* among the members of the 'Alfred-circle'. What exactly are the concepts behind those labels? There have been many attempts at specifying what Bede understood by *gens* (*Anglorum*), *natio*, *populus*, or *Angli*, which, however, are inconclusive or even contradictory with regard to Bede's ethnic terminology when analyzed side by side.[429] Rowley is certainly right when she reminds us that the referents of terms like *gens Anglorum* or *Angli* and therefore any Old English equivalents differed according to perspective.[430] What then do the terms give away concerning their referents?

The most obvious common denominator of the terms *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* is that both terms are apposite options to render *gens Anglorum* in Old English. The second element of the compound, *cynn* or *þeod*, appears to be the relevant factor. The crucial questions are whether those elements really made a semantic

[425] P. Bourdieu, *Praktische Vernunft: zur Theorie des Handelns*, translated from French by H. Beister (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), p. 128 and *idem*, *Was heißt Sprechen?: die Ökonomie des sprachlichen Tausches*, translated from French by H. Beister (Wien, 1990), p. 95; cf. A. Landwehr, *Historische Diskursanalyse*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt/Main, 2008), pp. 82-84.

[426] Rowley, pp. 57-70. Rowley also gives an outline of the scholarly debate concerning Bede's usage of the terms *angli* and *gens Anglorum*.

[427] The term *Ongolþeod* is polysemic as well. According to the *DOE* (s.v. *angel-þeod*), it has the following meanings: 1. referring to the invaders from the continent to Britain: the Angles; 2. referring to the Northern English: the Angles; 3.referring to the English generally: the English race. Semantically the term overlaps to a large degree with *Angelcynn*.

[428] Rowley, p. 70. She contrasts the figures *Angelcynn* and *Ongelþeod* with the rather consistent use of *Angelcynn* as apparently designating an imagined polity in the Alfredian texts.

[429] Brooks suggests that a distinction between 'Angles/Anglian' and 'English' is anachronistic (*Bede and the English*, p. 7). He proposed that *Angli* for Bede referred to the English without any qualification. Thacker - referring to Brooks - remarks that the term *Angli* was used to designate all Germanic groups or peoples in England but "not so much to stress their unity under God as to distinguish them from their non-Germanic neighbors, or from those who spoke a different language."("Bede and History", p. 184). Scharer concluded from the use of *Angli* in the anonymous *Whitby Life of Gregory*, that *Angli* was meant as an umbrella term encompassing all Anglo-Saxons or 'English' ("Die Rolle der Kirche", p. 259); cf. also Richter, "Bede's *Angli*"; S. Fanning, "Bede, Imperium, and the Bretwaldas", *Speculum*, 66.1, 1–26.; B. Yorke, "Political and Ethnic Identity: a Case Study of Anglo-Saxon Practice", in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. W.O. Frazer (Leicester, 2000), pp. 69-89; and Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*.

[430] See Rowley , p. 61.

difference to those applying them and if they understood their Old English expression to correlate with the concept of the *gens Anglorum* outlined above. George Molyneaux concludes regarding the specific connotations of the Old English terminology: "The impression one gains is that neither Angelcynn nor 'Anglo-Saxon' terminology had particular resonances for the translator."[431] Based on his reading of a passage from the Old English preface, Molyenaux deduced that the prominence of the idea of the English as a single people is reduced in the *OEHE* and that the *gens Anglorum* is split into *Angelþeod* and Saxons. The phrase in questions is the following: "Historiam gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edideram."[432] This is rendered as "[Þ]æt spell, þæt ic niwan awrat be Angelþeode ŋ Seaxum" in the vernacular.[433] Molyneaux's observation notwithstanding, this study wishes to make some qualifications here. It might be worth considering that the translator's choice reflected a desire to stress the two constituents of the *gens Anglorum*. In that reading, he wanted to stress that the work was not only about the *Angelþeod*, as a reference exclusive of the Angles, but about the common ecclesiastical history and heritage of the Angles and Saxons. This interpretation of *Angelþeod* can be explained if we assume a Mercian – and thus Anglian – background for the translator. To him as an Angle, this term might have been the most appropriate way to render *gens Anglorum* in Old English. But wording of a passage in *HE* I.15, describing the *adventus Saxonum*, shows that the ethnic terminology is rather complex. The Latin phrase "Anglorum siue Saxonum gens"[434] is translated as "Ða Angel þeod ŋ Seaxna."[435] Bede's wording suggests that he himself was struggling when trying to put a label on the Germanic newcomers. They appear as a heterogeneous, yet unified group (*gens*) of *Angli* and/or *Saxones*.[436] The Old English does not distinguish between the *Angelþeod* and the Saxons, but the genitive plural *Seaxna* makes clear that its referent is *þeod*. Therefore, the Angles and the Saxons are two constitutive parts of the same *þeod*. In two key passages of the *OEHE þeod* was given preference over *cynn*. This naturally prompts the question of why the

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[431] Molyneaux, "Old English Bede", p. 1302.
[432] *HEGA*, I, 6; *The church History of the English nation.*
[433] *OEB*, I.1, 2; *The history, which I recently wrote about the Angles and the Saxons.*
[434] *HEGA*, I, 68; *The nation of the Angles or Saxons.*
[435] *OEB*, I.1, 50; *The nation of the Angles and Saxons.*
[436] See Brooks for the difficulties surrounding this passage. The ethnic terminology betrays significant inconsistencies with Bede's usual terminology, giving credence to the hypothesis that it was inserted as an afterthought to the first draft of Book I (*Bede and the English*, pp. 11-12). He further argues that Bede's application of *Anglorum siue Saxonum gens*, is consistent with his idea of the English (*ibid.*, pp. 14-15). After using *Saxones* in chapters 1-14, chapters 15-22 mark a transition towards the consistent use of *Angli* with regard to the English after their conversion in *HE* I.23. The *Anglorum siue Saxonum,* according to Brooks, prepares the reader for a change in nomenclature. In this reading 'Saxons' referred to the Germanic tribes in their pagan past, whereas 'English' testifies to their Christian present. I am highly indebted to my colleague Dirk Schultze, who made me aware of the fact that the *siue* may well stress synonymy as was the case with glosses. Therefore, the focus would be more on a comprehensive label rather than stressing factual origins.

translator did not choose *cynn* instead. One possible explanation could be certain connotations of *cynn* which would have made it less appealing to the translator. *Cynn* according to the *DOE* (s.v. *cynn*) denotes:

- 1. race, people, nation => frequently with defin. genitive.
- 1.a *acoren/gecoren* cynn 'chosen people',
- 1.b glossing *gentes*, *nationes*.[…]
- 2. referring to a family line

Charles-Edwards stresses the association of *cynn* with a pedigree or a line of descent.[437] In contrast, *þeod* primarily refers to 1. *a nation, people*. (BT s.v. *þeod*). Both terms are applied in reference to one of the twelve tribes of Israel (*DOE* s.v. *cynn*: 2.a.ii) or the Jews (BT s.v. *þeod*), thus assuming a religious connotation. In view of the respective lexical meanings, it would seem that the Old English translator may have used *þeod* to stress the identity of the Anglo-Saxons as a people of mixed ethnic backgrounds, rather than an anthropologically homogeneous race. The translator may have intended to avoid cues that were prone to create an image of distinct ethnic groups (i.e. the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, the Frisians), of biologically different descent, possibly implied by the use of *cynn*. The use of *þeod* stressed a newly labeled ethnic unity with an admixture of religious elements. However, this assumption poses a problem since genealogical discourse was of paramount importance for the Anglo-Saxons.

A possible solution may be provided by the almost equal weighting of the terms *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod*. If we assume *cynn* to refer to a line of descent and *þeod* to stress a newly labeled ethnic group – possibly with a religious ring to it – the balanced use of the terms might have been intended to combine the elements of common biological descent and religion. This combining approach is evident in royal genealogies. We find lines of kings going back to a 'semi-mythical' dynastic founding father (e.g. Cerdic for the West Saxons) and to Germanic mythology (Woden), which are combined with Christian elements. The genealogy of Alfred's father Æthelwulf in the *ASC* is apposite in this regard, as his descent is traced back through Woden to Adam.[438] It stands to reason that the genealogy of a whole people, in this case the Anglo-Saxons, can be constructed in a way similar to that of a royal line. The terms *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* in the *OEHE* played a key role in that process.

To shed more light on the issue, we need to consult the Latin text in order to trace the terminological choices Bede and his translator made. Rowley's brilliant

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[437] T. Charles-Edwards, "Anglo-Saxon Kinship Revisited", in in *The Anglo-Saxons From the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective; [Papers Presented at the Second Conference on "Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology" … San Marino from 26th to 31th August 1994]*, ed. J. Hines, (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 171-204, at pp. 182-92.

[438] See *MS A*, ed. Bately, pp. 45-46. Francis Leneghan argued that combining those two elements "privileges Alfred's family above all the Anglo-Saxon royal houses while at the same time pointing to the Christian destiny of his subjects, the *Angelcynn*." ("Cynewulf and Cyneheard", p. 82).

analysis of the ethnic terminology as displayed in her Appendix II ('Forms of 'Ongolþeode' and 'Angelcyn' in the *OEHE*')[439] will be the beginning point of the discussion. After having conducted my survey, the present study comes to the following conclusions. The text of the *OEHE* as edited by Miller displays 133 occurrences of ethnic terminology with regard to the English:[440] *Angelþeod* (48),[441] *Angelcynn* (49),[442] *Angelfolc* (2), *Engle* (22),[443] *Englisc* (12).[444] Forms with *–þeod* and *–cynn* occur with about the same frequency. The Old English terms translate a variety of Latin terms, echoing the fact that the Latin terms *gens*, *natio* and *populus* used in the *HE* have different referents due to their particular context.[445] Of those 133 items, forty-six render *gens Anglorum* and seventy-four *Angli*, while thirteen translate other wordings or have no equivalent in the Latin.[446] It appears that the translator uses the vernacular terms mentioned above to render forms of *Angli* in general, not necessarily with a focus on the expressions *gens Anglorum*. Even where there is no referent *Angli* in the Latin, the translator adds Old English ethnic terms. This triggers the question of what the term *Angli* actually referred to in its particular contexts and why the translator chose to use *Angelþeod* and *Angelcyn* where he did not have a Latin precedent.

For a better understanding of the Latin terminology, Patrick Wormald's analysis of the use of *Angli* in the *HE* provides additional insight.[447] He concluded that of the 179 occurrences of *Angli*, eighty-eight must be read as referring to all the English (in fifty-seven cases connoting a religious entity), whereas in eighty-two cases it would make sense to read 'Northumbrian'. Even so, in sixty-five cases those 'Northumbrian' references were rather ambiguous. According to Wormald,

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[439] Rowley , Appendix II.

[440] The analysis differs from Rowley insofar as it left out the chapter-headings and added an additional item not in her list (see my Appendix V, online from http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de.). The omission of the chapter-headings is based on Dorothy Whitelock's claim that they might not have been translated by the translator of the main text (Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings", p. 277). Miller's edition does not represent any given manuscript of the *OEHE* in its respective material state; nevertheless, the manuscripts are in accordance with regard to the ethnic terminology applied. Occasional variation was accounted for by Rowley, which has been faithfully reproduced in the list.

[441] The sample includes inflected forms and expressions like *Ongelþeode cirice* it ignores the difference between Ong-/Ang-.

[442] The sample includes inflected forms and expressions like *Ongelcynnes cirican* while neglecting the difference between Ong-/Ang-.

[443] The sample includes inflected forms and compounds like *Ongolcirice* while neglecting the difference between Ong-/Ang-.

[444] The sample includes inflected forms.

[445] See Appendix V, *infra*.

[446] The sample includes inflected forms of *gens Anglorum* and *Angli* (e.g. the gen. pl. used as genitive attribute in expressions such as *terras Anglorum*).

[447] Wormald, "The Venerable Bede", pp. 21-23. Wormald drew on the concordance of P.F. Jones, *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* (Cambridge, MA, 1929).

and they may well refer to the 'English'.[448] Given the fact that the *OEHE* stream-lines Bede's work, we are left with the abovementioned 133 items of 'English' *gentes* terminology. Discarding the thirteen items which are genuine to the *OEHE*, the remaining 120 occurrences of *gens Anglorum/Angli* are covered by Wormald's analysis. Applying his parameters, sixty-two cases refer to all English[449] (forty-three specifically to them as a religious entity), [450] ten to the Northumbrians/Angles[451] and forty-eight are ambiguous, referring either to the Northumbrians/Angles or to all English.[452] Therefore, we have 110 items at best that refer to all of the English.

What about the thirteen passages in which an Old English term renders either a Latin wording other than *gens Anglorum/Angli* or having no Latin equivalent at all? The Old English translator shows a certain predilection: ten out of thirteen times (76.9 %), the translator chooses *Angelcynn* instead of *Angelþeod* (1), *Engle* (1) or *Englisc* (1). In my reading of those passages, roughly following Wormald's distinctions, twelve items (92.3 %) refer to 'the English'. Of those twelve, seven refer to them as a religious entity, whereas five have no apparent religious connotation. Only in one case the item refers to 'Northumbrian/Anglian', but could well be ambiguous[453] (see Table 2, no. 10).

The conclusion to be drawn is that whenever the translator did not have a Latin equivalent like (*gens*) *Anglorum/Angli*, he chose *Angelcynn* over *Angelþeod*. In 92.3% of the cases he referred to all English, with a majority (58.3%) having a connotation of a 'religious' *gens Anglorum,* in the Wormaldian sense. With reference to the use of *Angelcynn* in those thirteen examples, it apparently takes that connotation six out of ten times (60%).

What then can be said about the overall use of *Angelcynn* in the *OEHE*? In thirty-four of forty-nine cases, *Angelcynn* is used to refer to 'the English',[454] twenty-one of which to them as religious entity.[455] In contrast, it is never used to refer to the Angles explicitly, leaving fifteen items that are ambiguous.[456] In comparison, of the forty-eight occurrences of *Angelþeod*, only twenty-four refer to all English,[457]

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[448] Wormald, "The Venerable Bede", p. 22.

[449] Appendix V, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9-21 ,25 ,27, 30-39, 41, 43, 48, 49, 60-63, 75-81 ,83-86, 97-100, 111, 112, 118-120, 123-126,132, 133.

[450] Appendix V nos. 1, 3, 10, 13-21, 25, 27, 31, 32, 34-38, 43, 49, 61, 76-78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 98-100, 111, 112, 118, 123-126, 133.

[451] Appendix V nos. 6, 26, 50, 51, 53, 56, 65, 101, 102, 114.

[452] Appendix V nos. 22-24, 33, 40, 44, 46 ,47, 52, 54, 57, 59, 64, 66, 67, 69-74, 87, 88, 90-96, 103-110, 115-117, 121, 122, 127-131.

[453] Cf. Appendix VI, no. 10.

[454] Appendix V nos. 2, 3, 4, 7-9, 12, 21, 28, 30, 32, 34, 42, 45, 48, 49, 55, 58, 61, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84-86, 89, 97, 99, 111, 112, 125, 132.

[455] Appendix V nos. 2, 3, 21, 28, 32, 34, 49, 55, 58, 61, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 89, 99, 111, 112, 125.

[456] Appendix V 1 nos. 22, 40, 44, 46, 69, 70, 73, 88, 95, 96, 104, 105, 110, 115, 131.

[457] Appendix V nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 27, 29, 31, 37, 38, 39, 63, 77, 81, 83, 98, 118, 124, 133.

with twenty used in a religious sense.[458] The present analysis shows that *Angelcynn* for 'all the English' is used more often than *Angelþeod* (34:24), and can thus be considered the preferred umbrella term. Regarding their reference to all the English as a religious entity, both *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* appear with roughly the same frequency (21:20). This stands in contrast to the translation of the actual term *gens Anglorum*: In thirty-five cases it is translated *Angelþeod* (fourteen times probably referring to 'the English' as a religious entity),[459] with eight cases being translated as *Angelcynn*.[460] Even so, as the term *gens Anglorum* does appear to have different referents in the *HE*, we might be well-advised not to put too much weight onto the Latin term itself but rather focus on the underlying concept.

What are we left with at the end of the day? The Old English translator could well have applied *Angelcynn* when referring specifically to 'the English' as a religious community, but we have no definite proof for that, since the results are ambiguous. What is more likely is that the apparent predilection for *Angelcynn* when referring to all the English reflected his understanding of it as a comprehensive term. Nonetheless, the almost equal distribution of -*cynn* and -*þeod* could point in another direction. As mentioned before, Bede appears to use both *Angli* and *gens Anglorum* for different referents (i.e. all the Germanic peoples, the Angles, the Northumbrians). How can we explain that? As Alan Thacker argued, Bede's perspective fused his Northumbrian background with his indebtedness to Canterbury and Gregory.[461] This study wishes to argue that the apparently indistinct usage with regard to ethnic terminology reflects a deliberate application on the Northumbrian's part. Bede may be using ambiguous yet meaningful terminology in order to amalgamate the concepts of the Angles and the English, and to encourage his readers to reconfigure their mindsets with regard their ethnic and religious constructions of identity. If indeed he had this in mind when avoiding a clear-cut application of *gentes* names, the Old English translator might have thought along the same lines.[462] Similar to Bede's *Angli*/(*gens*) *Anglorum* in the *HE*, the referents of both *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* are not clearly distinguishable. The translator may have intended to blur the boundaries between the English in general and the Angles as a particular ethnic group. Whether or not he did this on

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[458] Appendix V nos. 1, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 27, 29, 31, 37, 38, 77, 81, 83, 98, 118, 124, 133.

[459] Appendix V nos. 1*, 5, 6, 10*, 13*, 14*, 15*, 19*, 23, 24, 27*, 31*, 37*,38*, 39, 47, 52, 57, 59, 71, 83*, 87, 90, 91, 103, 107, 117, 118*, 121, 124*, 127-130, 133*. The * marks the religious connotation.

[460] Appendix V nos. 3, 4, 21, 22, 30, 48, 79, 111.

[461] Thacker, "Bede and History", p. 185.

[462] Despite the streamlining of the *HE* it is unlikely that the translator sought to displace Bede's text completely and be genuinely inventive. Given the practice of translation and the theoretical concepts incumbent on medieval translators, it appears that the authority of both author and text played an important role in this process. Derivation and reproduction of ideas with reference to highly venerated authorities were a driving principle in literary production during the Middle Ages.

purpose is something that cannot now be known. His work betrays evidence that at least to him the concept of 'Englishness' – combining a common descent and religious identity – had gained significance. Consequently, one cannot rule out that his choices were a deliberate attempt to change the mindset of his readers, and to inspire a new perception of all the Germanic tribes in England as one people – united through a line of descent as well as through their Christian background. Bede laid the foundation, which the Old English translator in turn transformed for his contemporary context to foster a new understanding of their identity in his readers. This pan-English idea could have been very powerful in times of political turmoil with the Scandinavian threat still not having been overcome. Therefore, the fact that we have a dichotomy of *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* with their respective meanings is not the key issue. It is rather the combined application of both terms which matters. The Old English translator used both terms to express his concept of 'Englishness', which apparently encompassed ethnic and religious elements. In that he draws on ideas and the stylistic variation in reference that was laid out by Bede in the *HE*. What the analysis has shown is that the translator modeled the ethnic terminology of the *OEHE* on Bede's *HE* and its use of *gens Anglorum*. The term *Angelcynn* appears to have played an important role for the translator, but gains its full force only in combination with *Angelþeod*. Both terms testify to the translator's awareness, if not downright promotion of a nascent concept of 'English-ness' along the lines of Bede.

In the semantic survey, this study tried to show that a focus on terminology only can be misleading and that it is rather the underlying ideas and concepts we need to engage. It is reasonable to ask whether the term *Angelcynn* – frequently occurring in textual witnesses associated with the milieu of the Winchester court – echoes the concept just outlined, regardless of the term used as such. The following textual analysis will help to contextualize the application of the term *Angelcynn* in order to establish or discard any connection between Bede's *HE* and the Alfredian program.

Traces of Bede in the Literature of King Alfred's Court

Prominently connected to the establishment of an 'English' and a 'Scandinavian' sphere of influence in late ninth-century England is the so-called 'Alfred-Guthrum Treaty'. This relatively brief legal document, dated approximately 886x890, illustrates aspects of Alfred's political activities.[463] The text of this truce between Anglo-Saxons and the Danes delineates the boundaries between 'English' England and the Danish sphere of influence, regulating the relations between the Danish settlers and the English population. A passage in its prologue deserves further investigation:

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[463] Cf. K&L, pp. 171-72 and notes.

> Ðis is ðæt frið, ðæt Ælfred cyninc ⁊ Gyðrum cyning ⁊ ealles Angel-
> cynnes witan ⁊ seo þeod ðe on Eastænglum beoð ealle gecweden
> habbað […].
>
> (*This is the peace that King Alfred and King Guthrum and all the councilors of
> the English people and the people who are in East Anglia have all agreed on*)[464]

In the given context, I wish to argue for a Christian connotation of *Angelcynn*. Alfred is not acting as King of Wessex, but rather in agreement with *ealles Angel-cynnes witan*, juxtaposed with King Guthrum and the people 'þeod' of East Anglia. In this case, *Angelcynn* appears to connote 'English' in a sense of 'non-East Anglian'. Yet it is conspicuous that the Danish leader Guthrum is not referred to by his Christian baptismal name Æthelstan, as for example in his obituary in the *ASC*,[465] and that the provisions in §2 clearly distinguish *Englisce* and *Denisce* men.[466] The document is undoubtedly charged with expressions that delineate concepts of identity, as Paul Kershaw has remarked. In his discussion of the term *þeod*, he declines associations with the free peasant character of Scandinavian societies, held by conservative Danelaw scholars, and argues that the term denoted a mixed Anglo-Scandinavian population or at least expressed the "vagueness on the part of the English as to the political organization of the Scandinavian settlers."[467] The explicit references to Guthrum and the Danish as opposed to King Alfred, the *Angelcynn* and the English call for a reinterpretation. It would seem that the term *Angelcynn* included the English inhabitants in East Anglia as well, leaving the *þeod* as referring to the non-Christian 'Danish' settlers. Alfred appears to have acted on behalf of an all-English coalition and that his task was not only to negotiate the regulations governing the relations between the native inhabitants and the Danish newcomers, but also to take care of the native English population of East Anglia. The Danes are portrayed as outsiders, in terms that echo the provisions for 'non-English' subjects discernible in previous Anglo-Saxon law-codes, in clear opposition to native English.[468] This seems to underscore the notion that *Angelcynn* in this context refers to English inhabitants of Britain in general. Adding the alleged Christian connotation, *Angelcynn*, shows strong resemblance to the concept of the *gens Anglorum* as promoted by Bede.

This concept of a common ethno-religious English heritage is also discernible in Alfred's *domboc*, his law-code. Issued by him as "Westseaxna cyning",[469] it reit-

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[464] Liebermann, I, 126.

[465] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 54.

[466] Liebermann, I, 126.

[467] P. Kershaw, "The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty: Scripting Accommodation and Interaction in Viking Age England", in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 43-64, at p. 57.

[468] M.P. Richards, "Anglo-Saxonism in Old English Laws", in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. A. J. Frantzen (Gainesville, FL, 1997), pp. 40-59 at p. 49.

[469] Liebermann, I, 46.

erates the legal traditions from early Wessex, Mercia and Kent and connects them to particular Anglo-Saxon kings. Alfred speaks of "ure foregengan",[470] when he refers to the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings Ine (Wessex), Offa (Mercia) and Æthelberht (Kent). In that the King of Wessex blurs the boundaries between the different kingdoms and establishes a chain of authority by embedding his legislation into a continuous Anglo-Saxon legal tradition. A second element which constitutes the law-code's authority and makes it transcend the borders of rival kingdoms is a strong commitment to Christianity.[471] According to Richards, the inclusion of the *halig ryht* 'the laws of the Church' (§ 40.2) furthers the impression that in compiling his collection Alfred "was thinking beyond the boundaries of his kingdom, possibly to canon law as understood in England."[472]

My contention here is that this law-giving tradition as outlined in the *domboc* is intimately linked to the conversion of the English, which is the central issue of Bede's narration in the *HE*. The monumental preface of the law-code comprises the scriptural history of law-giving, including passages from *Exodus* (Prologue: §§1-48) and continues with extracts from the *Gospel of Matthew* and the *Acts of the Apostles* (§§ 49-49.5) Therefore, Alfred's legislation and Anglo-Saxon law in general are preceded by an ostentatious prologue of Christian salvation history. Subsequently, Alfred digresses from the scriptural passages and outlines how the Christian law was disseminated and amended through many synods among Christian peoples all over the earth, and also "giond Angelcynn" after they received the faith (§§ 49.6-49.8). One might think here of the synods of Hertford and Hatfield or Gregory's *LR* for the English context, all featuring prominently in the *HE*. Alfred situates his own law-giving within a Christian framework, with the conversion of the English as the key moment. Both the conversion and the synodal activities are prominent, if not central themes in Bede's work. In line with that, the image of conversion as the pivotal moment in Alfred's law-code is invigorated by the depiction of the Kentish king Æthelberht "[þ]e ærest fulluht onfeng on Angelcynne."[473] Pope Gregory, in a letter included in *HE* I.32, styles him *rex Anglorum*, although Bede calls him *rex Cantuariorum* later on (*HE* II.5). This seems to contribute to the idea that Æthelberht was conceived of as a king of a single English people, at least in the eyes of the papacy. In Bede's story, Æthelberht is the gateway for the Christian faith and the Augustinian mission. Therefore, Bede's reference to him and his law-giving links the tradition of Anglo-Saxon legislation firmly to the conversion of the English and the notion of a single English people. Taking this together with the biblical precedent, Wormald went so far as to deem the law-code an ideological statement. To him, Alfred

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[470] *Ibid.*.

[471] Richards, "Anglo-Saxonism", p. 56.

[472] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[473] Liebermann, I, 46. *Who first among the English people received baptism.*

showed that West Saxon law — and implicitly Mercian and Kentish
law too — belonged from the outset to the history of divine legisla-
tion for humanity. The emergent kingdom of the English was thus
invited, even obliged, to live as a new Chosen People.[474]

Without a doubt, Alfred's legislation can be seen as prescribing to the Anglo-
Saxons a specifically Christian way of life, with the conversion of the English as
the key moment, and Æthelberht as the key figure.

The *translatio studii* of the Old Law remains a preoccupation of Alfred's, as be-
comes clear in the prefatory letter to the *OE Pastoral Care*. In what Discenza reads
as a justification for Alfred's alleged translation program through a chain of au-
thority,[475] the king muses about the tradition of cultural transfer through transla-
tion:

> [H]u sio æ wæs ærest on Ebr[e]isc geðiode funden, & eft, ða hie
> Creacas geliornodon, ða wendon hie hie on hiora agen geðiode ealle,
> & eac ealle oðre bec. & eft Lædenware swæ same, siððan hie hie
> geliornodon, hie hie wendon eall[a] ðurh wise wealhstodas on hiora
> agen geðiode. Ond eac ealla oðræ Cristnæ ðioda sumne dæl hiora on
> hiora agen geðiode wendon.

> (*How the law was first composed in the Hebrew language, and thereafter, when
> the Greeks learned it, they translated it all into their own language, and all other
> books as well. And so too the Romans, after they had mastered them, translated
> them all through learned interpreters into their own language. Similarly all the
> other Christian peoples turned some part of them into their own language.*) [476]

It appears from his words that the pursuit of knowledge and divine wisdom
through translation is intrinsically Christian. Richard Gameson regards the Roman
mission among the Anglo-Saxons as an event of unprecedented singularity and "a
watershed in the history of England."[477] There can be no doubt that King Alfred
and his leading men thought similarly. The obvious choice to read about the con-
version and the subsequent history of the Anglo-Saxon Church was the *HE*, to
which the king most probably had recourse.[478]

The *Preface* contains further hints as to the importance of Bede's work to the
mind-frame of Alfred and his court, intricately connected with the term *Angelcynn*.
Alfred famously mourns the dismal state of learning and lore and reminisces on a
now-lost 'Golden Age' of English learning and lore, invoking the "gesæliglica tida

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[474] Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1999), I,
426.
[475] Discenza, "Alfred's Verse Preface to the Pastoral Care"p. 626.
[476] *OEPC*, pp. 5-7; trans.: K&L, pp. 125-26.
[477] Gameson, "Augustine of Canterbury", p. 1.
[478] Cf. Dekker, "King Alfred's Translation", p. 30.

[…] giond Angelcynn."[479] What is invoked here is likely the 'Golden Age' of seventh-century Northumbria, with kings such as Edwin, Oswald and Oswiu and the renewal and reform of the English church during the episcopate of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (669-690), all comprehensive dealt with in Bede's *HE*. Thus, it is unsurprising to find striking similarities in content and tone between Alfred's *Preface* and Bede's description of Theodore's achievements.[480] What might resonate in Alfred's invocation of a past glory of learning, is celebrated Northumbrian erudition, represented by its figure-heads, Bede and Alcuin.

Angelcynn is used frequently in the *Preface*. Throughout it probably denotes 'English people' and/or 'England'. The fact that the king combines the geographical remarks – which include areas 'beyond the Humber' – with the use of the term *Angelcynn,* underscores this impression. Therefore, Alfred's concept of *Angelcynn* in all probability does not stop with the Southern Danelaw. Alfred seems to refer to areas that were not necessarily part of the KAS. This shows that he had not forgotten what essential role those areas now under Scandinavian control had played in Anglo-Saxon church history and in the history of Wessex as well – one might think here of Oswald's role in the conversion of the West Saxons (*HE* III.7). He was well aware of the global Anglo-Saxon past, Gregory's and Bede's visions of the *gens Anglorum*, i.e., encompassing all the Christian inhabitants of Britain, North and South, united by the Roman Catholic Church.

Notions of such a 'pan-English' awareness are also evident in the *ASC*, the 'common-stock' of which was probably compiled at Alfred's behest in Winchester. Although incorporating earlier historiographical material, the annals up to Alfred's reign and beyond betray a distinct West Saxon bias, appropriating the histories of the different kingdoms into the 'master narrative' of the rise of Wessex to lead the English in their struggle with the Scandinavian invaders.[481] To illustrate that point with regard to the term *Angelcynn*, let us consider two entries from Alfred's reign. The oldest surviving specimen, the 'Parker Chronicle' (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 173, fols. 1-56; Ker no. 39) states that in 886 "gesette Ælfred cyning Lundenburg ⁊ him all Angelcyn to cirde þæt buton deniscra monna hæftniede was."[482] *Angelcyn* here appears to refer to all English inhabitants of Brit-

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[479] *OEPC*, p. 3. *The happy times throughout England/ among the English.*

[480] The passage in the vernacular translation of *HE* IV.2 echoes the tone of Alfred's *Preface*: "Ne wæron her æfre, seoþðan Ongolcyn Breotone gesohte, gesæglicran tide ne fægeran. Wæron her stronge cyningas ⁊ wel cristne ond eallum ellreodum cynnum ut in miclum ege; ond eallra willa hleonade to geheranne þa gefean þæs heofonlecan rices; ond swa hwelce men swa swa wilnadon þæt heo in halgum leorningum tyde wæron, heo hæfdon gearwe magistras, þa ðe heo lærdon ⁊ tydon."; *There never were, since the English race came to Britain, times more prosperous and brilliant. There were in the land powerful kings, thoroughly Christian, and a terror to all barbarous tribes without; and the will of all was inclined to listen to the joys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatever men desired, to be instructed in sacred learning, they had masters at hand to teach and instruct them*; text and trans.: *OEB*, I.2, 258-59.

[481] Foot, "*Angelcynn*", pp. 35-36.

[482] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 53; *Occupied King Alfred London and all the English race turned to him, which was in the captivity of the Danish men.*

ain, judging from the relative clause *þat buton deniscra monna hæftniede was*. The resto-
ration of London and its handover to the Mercians in order to respect Mercian
sentiments was a key move by Alfred to establish and secure his overlordship.[483]
In this moment of triumph the chronicler does not forget about the English in the
territories occupied by the Vikings. Being subject to Scandinavian rule apparently
did not mean to be excluded from the *Angelcynn*. Again, we have the juxtaposition
of *Angelcynn* and 'Danes', clearly establishing – to use Benedict Anderson's coined
phrase – an 'imagined community' of all English people.[484] Alfred's obituary s.a
899 strikes a similar chord: "[S]e wæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcynn butan ðæm dæle
þe under Dena onwalde wæs."[485] The territories under *Dena onwalde* – East Anglia,
parts of Mercia and Northumbria – were clearly outside Alfred's sphere of influ-
ence. Yet, in the political vision of the chronicler, *Angelcynn* appears to comprise all
English inhabitants of Britain, some of them subjected to the Danes. Moreover,
the choice of words – *hæftniede* and *onwald* – betrays notions of English people
under occupation, waiting to be liberated. If indeed the *ASC*'s 'common-stock'
was compiled at the West Saxon court, and the continuations up to 899 stemmed
from the same political environment,[486] we might glimpse some sort of 'official'
ideology, entertained by King Alfred and his court. The religious factor in this all-
English notions is underscored by the fact that the *ASC* adjoins the adjective
'heathen' to the Scandinavian invaders. This might well be suggestive of the
Christian element we can attach to *Angelcynn*. The *ASC* portrays forces from vari-
ous kingdoms uniting as Christians under Alfred's leadership, and we find a simi-
lar notion in Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*, which casts the wars with the Vikings in terms
of a 'holy war' of *christiani versus pagani*. Judging from the vernacular sources asso-
ciated with King Alfred's court, they support the hypothesis that the term *Angel-
cynn* was used to refer to the all Germanic inhabitants of Britain as a religious en-
tity, united in the Christian faith, an idea which is highly reminiscent of Bede's *gens
Anglorum*.

In addition to the vernacular sources we have an important Latin work from
the inner circle of King Alfred's court, the *Vita Ælfredi (VÆ)*, written in 893 by his
confidant, the Welshman Asser. Asser frequently applies the term *rex
Angulsaxonum* and its variations. This terminology is also evident in royal diplomas
from the late 880s, which, according to Simon Keynes, reflects Alfred's overlord-
ship.[487] Asser dedicates his work to Alfred as "omnium Britanniae insulae Chris-

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[483] Keynes, "Alfred and the Mercians", pp. 21-34.
[484] Cf. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed.
       (London, 2006).
[485] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 61; *He was king over all the English except for the part which was under dominion of
       the Danes.*
[486] Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 35.
[487] See K&L, pp. 38-41, 227-28; Keynes, "West Saxon Charters" pp. 1147-1149; *idem*, "Alfred and
       the Mercians", pp. 36-37.

tianorum rectori" and "Anglorum Saxonum regi."[488] The question of Asser's implied audience has given rise to controversy. It is quite likely that he had a Welsh readership in mind. The Welsh kings, who had submitted to Alfred's overlordship by the time Asser wrote his *VÆ*, are prime candidates, although different audiences have been discussed.[489] Consequently, the style might reflect his eagerness to eulogize Alfred and present him as a worthy ruler at the same time. Given the fact that Asser casts the struggle between the English and the Vikings in terms of a 'holy war,' his intention may have been to bring the Germanic Anglo-Saxons and the Celtic Welsh together, united in faith, led by a *rex christianissimus* in a common cause against the heathen adversaries, the Vikings. Despite all due caution not to overburden the Asser's wording, the 'governor of all the Christians of Britain' – formula betrays high-flying ambitions of Alfredian rule – at least in Asser's vision – as this *intitulatio* seems to allude to the concept of the so-called *bretwalda* 'Britain-ruler' or *brytenwalda* 'broad ruler'.[490] This term was crafted by the compiler of the *ASC* and alludes to Bede's list of *imperium* holders (*HE* II.5). The compiler of the *ASC* extends the list in the annal for 827. There, Alfred's grandfather Ecgberht is called *bretwalda* after having conquered the kingdom of the Mercians.[491] Neither Alfred's father Æthelwulf, Ecgberht's son, nor Alfred are awarded this title. This absence is puzzling, as their military achievements surpassed Ecgberht's by far. Whether this epithet is to be regarded as West Saxon propaganda is hard to discern, since the term and its transmission pose some serious methodological problems.[492] Although Wormald confidently states that "by the end of his reign Alfred

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[488] *VÆ*, p. 1. *Governor of all the Christians of the island of Britain' and 'King of the Anglo-Saxons'* [my translation].

[489] Cf. K&L, pp. 56-57 and D. Kirby, "Asser and his Life of King Alfred", *Studia Celtica* 6 (1971), 12-35; Schütt points out that the frequent personal anecdotes would have well appealed to an audience at Alfred's court and the king himself ("The Literary Form of Asser's 'Vita Alfredi'", *EHR* 72 (1957), 209-20, at p. 212, whereas Scharer emphasizes its quality as a *speculum principale* ("The Writing of History at king Alfred's Court", *EME* 5 (1996), 177-206 at pp. 192-95 and 204-05).

[490] This ambition did not reflect political reality. Already Stevenson in his edition of the *Vita Ælfredi* remarked that we lack proof of Alfred's hegemony over the Northumbrian people, let alone Scotland (*VÆ*, pp. 148-52).

[491] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 42.

[492] For a multi-faceted discussion on the *bretwalda* see Wormald, "Bede, the bretwaldas", pp. 99-129; J. Campbell, "The Kingdom of England", pp. 31-47, at pp. 41-43 and 45-46; B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2004), pp. 157-62 and *idem,* "The Bretwaldas and the Origins of Overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England", in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S.D. Baxter and P. Wormald (Farnham, 2009), pp. 81-96; and Fanning, "Bede, Imperium and the Bretwaldas". Fanning later has convincingly shown that the term *imperium* denoted nothing more than 'rule over a plurality of peoples or kingdoms, involving conquest', following usage by Jerome, Eusebius and early medieval writers. Fanning further argues that (similarly to the Latin usage on the continent) in Bede's work several *imperia* could exist simultaneously, leading him to the remark that "the concept of a single *imperium* of Britain held by a succession of hegemonial rulers is not supported in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*"(*ibid.*, p. 20). Dumville remarked that the title was a scribal curiosity and concludes: "The A-text is the

was laying claim to the old status of *bretwalda*"[493] we have to be careful with such assumptions. The interpretation of this title, as well as its transmission, raises many difficulties. It stands to reason that in Alfred's time it probably denoted a 'widely-acknowledged ruler' or just a 'military leader', an apt title for someone who had subjected the Welsh and whose overlordship was acknowledged even in Mercia.

The corollary seems to be that Bede's *HE* was apparently read and received at Alfred's court, and that the concept of a powerful widely-acknowledged ruler was revived in the late 880s/early 890s, and that in a source most probably closely-connected to the West Saxon court, Ecgberht was deliberately put in line with the seven rulers to have wielded *imperium,* according to Bede. The compiler of the *ASC* may have exploited a concept created by Bede, and he depicted Alfred's grandfather as the next in line worthy of being hailed as overlord. Alfred, with his military and political achievement of the day, would have been regarded as natural successor to Ecgberht. He may not have been styled *bretwalda* yet, as he still had his aim to achieve--bringing under his influence and liberating from the Danish rule the English people. At the same time, the absence of the *bretwalda* with regard to Alfred might have dissipated the anxieties of those to whom that concept appeared as tyrannical, and who were afraid of losing their independence to some sort of West Saxon yoke. Apparently, the agents at the West Saxon court were susceptible to the complex diplomatic subtleties and regional sentiments.

The notion that the dedication of Asser's *VÆ* mentioned above is a possible echo of or at least influenced by Bede's *HE*, will become more evident when we put the actual title of his work under close scrutiny. Bede is consistent in his inconsistency when dealing with the title of his book. Apart from *aecclesiastica nostrae gentis hystoria*[494] he refers to it as *Historiam gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam,*[495] *Historia ecclesiastica Britanniarum, et maxime gentis Anglorum,*[496] and *Historiam ecclesiasticam nostrae insulae ac gentis in libris V*.[497] The latter two titles in particular aptly describe what Bede does. He outlines the ecclesiastical history of Britain with a focus on the historical and doctrinal development of the English church, whose aspiration it was to bring to Roman Catholic uniformity the various strands of Christianity in

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corrupt deviant, not the others. We have no reason to allow that *Bretwalda*, in effect a ghost-word, was an ancient title." ("The Terminology of Overkingship in Early Anglo-Saxon England", in *The Anglo-Saxons From the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective; [Papers Presented at the Second Conference on "Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology" … San Marino from 26th to 31th August 1994]*, ed. J. Hines, (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 345-74, at p. 353); cf. Keynes, "Rædwald the *bretwalda*", in *Voyage to the other world: the legacy of Sutton Hoo*, ed. C.B. Kendall and P.S. Wells (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 103-23.

[493] P. Wormald, E. John and J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1991), p. 155.
[494] J. Westgard, "New Manuscripts of Bede's Letter to Albinus", *RB* 120 (2010), 208-15, at p. 214.
[495] *HEGA*, I, 6.
[496] *HEGA* , II, 478.
[497] *Ibid.*, 484.

Britain. It is an interesting footnote that Archbishop Augustine is styled "Britan-niarum archiepiscopus".[498] This all-Britain aspiration of Canterbury, backed by the papacy, is hardened by the documentary evidence of papal letters throughout the *HE*, which give Bede's Latin work a special authorization. The corollary may be that Asser's dedication drew on ideas presented in Bede's work. A Britain unified in church matters was an integral part of Bede's concept. Yet, there still was a long way to go from the spiritual ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Saxons to their political unification in the tenth and eleventh centuries. King Alfred's court seems to be a viable choice when we are looking for a place to begin for this process.

In addition to the dedication, there are two other passages in the *VÆ* that are of interest for the present discussion as they, on the one hand, allude to Anglo-Saxons as a 'people of God' on their way to a promised land, and on the other, remind us of the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church as depicted by Bede in his *HE*. The first passage is Asser's modified account of the Battle of Ashdown in 871 (*VÆ*, chs. 37-39), based on the entry in the *ASC*, and it deserves special attention. Whereas the *ASC* tells a story that Alfred and his brother Æthelred – then king – were fighting the Vikings on the battlefield together,[499] Asser recasts the account in a way that depicts Alfred as the sole contester (at least initially):

> nimirum erat enim adhuc frater suus Æthered [sic!] rex in tentorio in oratione positus, audiens missam, et nimium affirmans se inde vivum non discessurum antequam sacerdos missam finiret, et divinum pro humano nolle deserere servitium; et ita fecit. Quae regis Christiani fides multum apud Dominum valuit, sicut in sequentibus apertius declarabitur.[500]

> (*Indeed his brother king Æthelred was still in the tent, absorbed in prayer, hearing mass and fervently affirming that he would not leave that place living before the priest would have finished mass and that he did not wish to desert the divine service for that of men; and he did so. The faith of the Christian king counted for much with the Lord as will be shown openly in what follows.*)

The ensuing passage describes how victory was achieved by the Christians, as Alfred was inspired and aided by divine counsel and help, which in turn appears to be directly linked to Æthelred's prayer. It is striking that the Anglo-Saxons' fortune in battle is contingent upon the king's prayer. This is a striking allusion to Joshua's victory against the Amalekites (*Exodus* 17: 8-15), where the victory of the Hebrews depended on Moses praying. Stevenson has carefully identified biblical quotations in Asser, and Michael Lapidge has made us aware of various other scriptural allusions in the *VÆ*.[501] The passage in question, however, appears to

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[498] *Ibid.*, I, 188.
[499] *MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 48.
[500] *VÆ*, p. 29.
[501] See *VÆ*, pp. 234-238; Lapidge, "Asser's Reading".

have escaped scholarly attention. Although Asser does not quote verbatim from the *Exodus*, parallels between the two passages are too striking to be neglected.[502] Why did Asser not mention this parallel? One explanation may be that he did not want to put too much direct emphasis on the character of Moses – a very powerful image – which would have outshone Alfred as the central character of Asser's work. This would have thwarted the overall aim of Asser's narration to eulogize Alfred and depict him as courageous warrior-king, wise ruler and judge, pious Christian and patron, and symbol of learning and education. Moreover, the depiction of Alfred throughout the *VÆ* reflects the concept of the just and wise ruler, modeled on Solomon, with the King of Wessex being clad in Solomonic imagery.[503] Asser's allusion to the passage in *Exodus* would not have gone unnoticed by an informed Anglo-Saxon or Welsh ecclesiastical readership.

If Asser indeed paralleled Æthelred/Alfred with Moses/Joshua, the passage might encourage an allegorical reading. The parallels are striking. First, like Joshua, Alfred fights against the enemies of a people under divine protection. Second, it is not Moses who eventually leads the Israelites into the Promised Land, but Joshua (*Deuteronomy* 31: 1-8). The Welshman, we may argue, sees Alfred as succeeding Æthelred, like Joshua succeeded Moses, and consequently, it is Alfred, who leads the Anglo-Saxons into their 'Promised Land'. If this was the case, we might presume that this 'Promised Land' to be a unified Britain. Apparently, Asser followed Bede's and Gregory's ethno-religious ideas of a *gens Anglorum*. But possibly, he went beyond those concepts. For Asser, Britain was the prize. The Welshman probably envisaged Alfred (or his successors) as trying to establish a wide-spread rule over all of the Christians in Britain. The biblical idea of a 'Promised Land' echoes the *descriptio Britanniae* in Bede's *HE*. In his first book (many of whose chs. 1-22 are based on Orosius' *Historia adversum paganos* and Gildas's *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* – to name only two of his sources),[504] he describes Britain and Ireland in a manner that has caused some scholars to detect a deliberate echo of

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[502] For the Vulgate text, see *BS*, I, 101; the significance and popularity in Anglo-Saxon England of this biblical passage are attested to by its occurrence in late tenth-century works by Ælfric and the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*. The question remains whether it was a way of thinking imported with the Benedictine reform movement or whether Asser testifies to a previous occupation with the topic. Cf. Lapidge with regard to the *Vita Oswaldi* ("The Life of St Oswald", in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 51-58, at 53 and n.14; *idem. Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 35 and 157) and Skeat for Ælfric's use of it in 'On the Prayer of Moses.' (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, I, 282-307).

[502] Cf. the Old English poem *Exodus*, where Moses is presented as heroic leader.

[503] Cf. *VÆ*, chs. 76, 99. On Solomonic references in the *Vita Ælfredi*, see Scharer ("The Writing of History", pp. 191-92). Janet Nelson ("Kingship and Royal Government", *NCMH*, vol. II: *c.700-c.900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 383-430, at p. 427) argues for Solomon replacing David as role model of kingship in ninth-century Wessex and Francia, while Pratt examines Solomonic elements in the works attributed to Alfred (*Political Thought*, *passim*).

[504] Cf. *HEGA*, I, 284-285.

the Creation paradigm.[505] This image refers back to a genuine, primordial state, which in an allegorical reading prefigures the end of Christian salvation history, when the perfection of creation is renewed in the Heavenly Jerusalem. Although Merrills has recently argued against this specifically hexameral reading, he remarked that "the optimistic outlook of Bede's geography might equally be read as a prescriptive statement on the possibilities of a spiritually, if not politically, unified Britain."[506] Biblical notions of a Promised Land and political unification seem to go together for Asser, drawing on Bede as his framework. Another scriptural parallel underscoring the idea of a unified Britain as an English 'Promised Land' is offered by the (biblical) fact that Joshua first conquered the South and thereafter the North of Canaan (*Joshua* 10-11). Given the situation that Alfred formed the KAS in the South and possibly hatched aspirations to liberate the occupied North, the allegorical reading of Asser's passage prompts the idea that a biblical/religious and political notion of a unified Britain were not mutually exclusive. Transposing this concept to Anglo-Saxon England at the end of the ninth-century might appear quite ambitious, if not unrealistic. Even so, we should not discard that idea, since within one generation the unthinkable happened and this initially ambitious, even inconceivable political vision came true. Alfred's son Edward had conquered the Southern Danelaw by 918 and his grandson Æthelstan - after his ascension to the Northumbrian throne in 927 – was styled as *rex totius Britanniae* in royal diplomas.[507]

The second passage of interest can be found towards the end of Asser's work. In chapter 102 on Alfred's division of his revenue for the service of God he states:

> [Q]uartam circum finitimis in omni Saxonia et Mercia monasteriis, et etiam quibusdam annis per vices in Britannia et Cornubia, Gallia, Armorica, Northanhymbris, et aliquando etiam in Hybernia, ecclesiis et servis Dei inhabitantibus, secundum possibilitatem suam, aut ante distribuit, aut sequenti tempore erogare proposuit, vita sibi et prosperitate salva.

> (*He gave the fourth portion to neighboring monasteries throughout the Saxon land and Mercia; and also in certain years, by turns, depending on his resources, he either made a grant at once or agreed to make such a grant on a subsequent occasion (given life and favorable circumstances) to churches and the servants of God dwelling within them in Wales and Cornwall, Gaul, Brittany, Northumbria, and sometimes even in Ireland*).[508]

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[505] See Kendall, "Imitation and the Venerable Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica", pp. 178-82; Speed, "Bede's Creation of a Nation", pp. 139-54.

[506] Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 253 and 268-73.

[507] Cf. Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 332 and n. 1.

[508] *VÆ*, p. 89; trans.: K&L, p. 107.

This account is remarkable, as Alfred's sphere of influence and authority was confined to Southern England and the West Midlands, while Northumbria, Eastern Mercia and East Anglia were under Scandinavian dominion. If we believe Asser, Alfred paid grants to churches from areas which had played a vital role in the history of the English church in Britain as laid out in Bede's *HE*, i.e. first and foremost Gaul and Ireland. Mutual contact between the Gaulish/Frankish and Anglo-Saxon England episcopate appears to have been quite intense during King Alfred's reign, as the letters by Archbishop Fulco of Rheims and Grimbald of St Bertin's presence at Alfred's court show.[509] It appears that we have evidence for an awareness of the continuation of inter-cultural relations within Britain and an interaction between Britain, Ireland and the continent.[510]

From the above discussion it becomes evident that echoes of Bede's *HE* abound in different sources associated with the KAS. It cannot be proven that those allusions were part of an official propaganda scheme entertained by the West Saxon court. Moreover, it is methodologically difficult, as propaganda is an anachronistic concept in this regard. The intertextual evidence, however, suggests that Bede's work at the very least exerted considerable influence on the frame of mind of the important literati of late ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England. The *HE*, with its presentation of Anglo-Saxon history, a 'migration myth', and the conversion and dissemination of the Christian faith, would certainly have been a powerful means of unification, helping to shape identity in times of turmoil and change. Displacement and anxieties triggered by the Viking invasions could have been met by the revived idea of a single English people, i.e., Bede's *gens Anglorum*, with its own cultural memory and expressed in the vernacular by the combination of the terms *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod*. As the Scandinavian onslaught was about to change England's history profoundly, Bede's work could provide the touchstone for the Anglo-Saxons to see themselves as one people, united in faith, protected by God, and backed by the See of Canterbury as well as by the papacy, ever since Augustine first came ashore in Kent. This is the context in which the translation of Bede's *HE* must be placed in order to understand its contemporary significance as this study wishes to argue. We might once again refer to Wormald, who argued that Bede's exegesis had informed his way of writing the *HE,* with Israel as the archetype of a kingdom divided against itself.[511] This would have lent much force to a campaign for a united English kingdom, albeit only in its initial stage and only on the minds of those who produced the literary works at the time. When we recall David Dumville's comment on the West Saxon hegemony from the beginning of this chapter and the question of what binding elements were needed to

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[509] *EHD* nos. 223, 224, 225; see K&L (pp. 331-33) for useful notes, esp. concerning the role of Grimbald of St Bertin. For an excellent discussion on Grimbald's career and influence on the intellectual landscape of Anglo-Saxon England see Gretsch ("Junius Psalter Gloss", pp. 113-17 and notes).

[510] Cf. Rowley, pp. 50-51.

[511] Wormald, "The Venerable Bede", pp. 23-25.

hold the separate identities under the overlordship together, Wormald's conclud-ing statement seems an apt reply with regard to the KAS:

> Compliance with unification was not only symbolically proper; it was also a condition of survival. The high costs of allegiance to Alfred's house were paid, because the Anglo-Saxons had already been taught by their historian to accept the terms of their special relationship with the Almighty.[512]

In the context of the KAS, Bede's *HE* might have shown the Anglo-Saxons that their cause was not lost, that God had always been on their side, putting their faith to the test but never forsaking them.

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[512] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

VIII. Conclusion – (Re-)Assessing the *OEHE*

The aim of this thesis was to shed light on the most pressing questions which evolve around the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.* To succinctly phrase the issue-- when, where, by whom, how and to what end was the vernacular English translation of this important work – without question an ambitious and demanding endeavor – undertaken? Was it indeed a cornerstone, or at least a part of, King Alfred's famous program of translation towards the end of the ninth century? Was it intended to strengthen the English in their belief as God's chosen people in the face of the Viking onslaught and forge a precocious 'English' identity? Or similarly, as has been argued, an independent translation, which by no means can be regarded as the grand 'master narrative' of the Anglo-Saxons in their own tongue, but served rather edifying ends as a stock-pile of homiletic and hagiographical material?

This thesis tried to answer these questions by comparing the Latin source and its Old English translation and interpret the similarities and divergences against the backdrop of the text--theoretical, material, inter-textual and historical consid-erations. Most of these aspects have already been treated by Anglo-Saxonists, but never in such a comprehensive way. What I aimed at with this thesis was to com-pile a compendium of *OEHE* studies which would facilitate a multi-perspective approach to the text and help us answer the question I have outlined.

Regarding the material state of the *OEHE,* this study concludes that there must have been a common archetype for all surviving manuscripts. This entails that the *OEHE* was translated at one monastic center at some point between 890 and 930. It was afterwards circulated and copied on a broad scale – similar to the *OE Pastoral Care*, perhaps – as the number of textual witnesses suggests. There-fore, it seems safe for me to speak of 'the' *OEHE* in the singular, rather than the plural. The running text in the manuscripts do not show significant variation as far as the content is concerned. Differences between the manuscripts are minor and

pertain to orthography, lexis and, very rarely, to syntax. What can be ascertained is that the para- and peritextual markers, as well as the fact that the *OEHE* was transmitted as a stand-alone text in the manuscripts, strongly suggests that it was perceived as an authoritative and coherent text from the very beginning. This is underscored by the attachment of 'Bede's' preface, a table of contents, a genealogy of the West Saxon kings and an 'epilogue' as a symmetrical complement to the preface in the youngest manuscripts. Unfortunately, we can only assume that the oldest manuscripts had these items as well, but all of them are defective and have lacunae. Signs of medieval usage (glosses, annotations etc.) underscore that the text was of great importance in Anglo-Saxon England and beyond, displaying the diverse interests of those who read and interacted with the *OEHE*.

The authority of the text is underscored by its use as source text for other Anglo-Saxon authors – alongside or preferred over the Latin original – as is best illustrated by the *Homily on St. Chad*. This authority stems from the fact that the work is not marked as a translation and thus inferior to the Latin masterpiece of a venerated scholar. The preface does not identify a translator, let alone King Alfred, as the creative mind, but it is 'Bede' who speaks to the audience in their native tongue. The status of 'Bede' as Anglo-Saxon legitimizes the vernacular rendition of the text and did not need the authority of the West Saxon King.

The translation techniques testify to a single mind, who undertook the translation of the running text, perhaps working in tandem with at least one amanuensis, whose influence is discernible in the table of contents. This anonymous translator displayed enormous skill as he followed a clever editorial agenda, showed a high-level of Latinity and at the same time understood how to render his authoritative source language into Old English, which neither had a long tradition in the written medium nor had gained authoritative status compared to Latin, Hebrew or Greek. The translator, however, understood how to model his vernacular translation on the Latin source to give credit to it and to its author, but at the same time, he asserted a certain self-confidence and emancipation with regard to his mother tongue.

The translation does not seem to have evolved out of interlinear gloss as has been argued by Sherman Kuhn or Jacob Schipper. The scratched and ink glosses in Cotton Tiberius C.II testify to a lively interest in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* at Canterbury, from the ninth century onwards. They are, however, so selective that it is unlikely that they can be regarded as a planned intermediary stage towards a full-blown vernacular translation. Therefore, an early date for the *OEHE* as has been proposed by Vleeskruyer or Schabram, as well as an earlier school of Mercian translation, from which the *OEHE* could have sprung, can – in all likelihood – be ruled out.

The *OEHE* does streamline its Latin source by about one-third, making it a more condensed narrative, without significant digression and interruptions in the reading/listening process, which suggests a strong audience-oriented focus. The

style of translation hints at a target audience, which does not seem to have been particularly erudite, as we encounter a lot of explanatory comments on issues which would have been commonplace among a learned audience, such as the brethren in a monastery. Moreover, there are certain cues which point to an aural context for the *OEHE*, i.e., that it might have been read out loud to, say, a congregation in church or in chapter during the monastic office. It cannot be ruled out that the *OEHE*, or at least certain passages such as the hagiographical accounts or the otherworldly vision, were read out in a preaching context. It is more likely, however, that the audience of the *OEHE* encompassed laymen. The prime candidates would have been the high-ranking officials, the royal family or King Alfred himself at the court at Winchester. This is corroborated by my historical analysis in the second part of my thesis, in which I was able to show certain links between the editorial agenda of the translator and the historical context of late ninth/early tenth-century England.

All these aspects show that a project such as the translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* needed a scriptorium which could muster the necessary resources, man-power as well as intellectual capacity, to conduct such a huge task. Therefore, monasteries such as Worcester, St. Augustine's, Canterbury or maybe the West Saxon court at Winchester, where the think-tank supporting Alfred in his translation program was gathered, are the most likely candidates. It is impossible to pinpoint a certain center, but it is unlikely that the translation could have been undertaken in isolation and detached from the process in which the other prose translations (*OE Pastoral Care, OE Dialogues, OE Orosius, OE Boethius, OE Soliloquies, OE Prose Psalms*) were undertaken towards the end of the ninth century. It is an intriguing thought to regard it as the coda to Alfred's program, maybe carried out or at least finished only after his death. If I had to take a leap of faith, I would argue that the *OEHE* was produced at Canterbury under the auspices of Archbishop Plegmund, perhaps cooperating or conferring with the other helpers whom Alfred summoned to his court.

The translator re-shaped Bede's account in order to transpose it into his late ninth-/early tenth-century context. Regarding the Roman history in Book I, his aim is clearly to present the Anglo-Saxons as rightful heirs to the Roman Empire in their claim to Britain. Although the translation venerates the martial superiority and extraordinary power of the Romans, it designs the account – by the thoughtful excision of certain chapters – as a mere prelude to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. The sack of Rome prefigures the coming of the Anglo-Saxons and echoes the concept of 'Germanic imperial identity', as Harris has termed it, superseding the hitherto prevalent culture of the Romans. The key factor in this regard is the Christian faith, and the backing of the papacy, which the Anglo-Saxons have, in addition to their martial skill, and the Romans do not have, or at least this is not explicitly stated.

At the same time the Britons, as the dominant tribe to live in Britain before the Anglo-Saxons and also heirs to the Roman tradition, are presented as not being able to live up to their role as successors of imperial Rome in the narration of the *OEHE*. As with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica,* the Britons are presented as following unorthodox doctrine, being unable to defend themselves and being punished on divine behest for their shortcomings, first and foremost their negligence to convert the Anglo-Saxons. The Old English translator, just as Bede, follows a rhetorical strategy, which downgrades the Britons in order to elevate the Anglo-Saxons. Given the modified account of Roman history and the British story of poor success, the Anglo-Saxons are accredited with a double legitimization as rightful inhabitants and dominant group in Britain, in their adherence to the Roman Catholic faith as well as their martial ability. At the same time, the charges levied against the Britons are alleviated in the *OEHE* and enmities between them and the Anglo-Saxons obfuscated or at least mitigated. They are likened to the late-coming Jews, whose future correction to the right path is not impossible. In that aspect, the translator follows Bede's allegorical interpretation of historiography. The *OEHE,* just as the *HE,* encourages an allegorical reading which portrays the Anglo-Saxons as God's chosen people, who were converted at the corners of the known world and whose duty now was to carry out the Great Commission before the Second Coming. At the same time, he follows the precepts of medieval translation theory as he tried to do credit to Bede's authority, while at the same time transposing the text in line with the underlying, transcendent truth, or *sensus spiritualis.* The treatment of the Britons in the *OEHE* hints at a context in which Anglo-British relations were particularly close, with a certain conciliatory tone, but at the same time asserting the moral and military superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, and thus their leading role in Britain. This squares well with the time when the Welsh kings had acknowledged Alfred's overlordship and with the West Saxon king trying to present himself as a Christian champion against the Scandinavian invaders that had almost conquered England. Thus, the *OEHE* appears to be the product of pressing historical issues as well as a mindset that was shaped by textual exegesis and allegorical interpretation.

This point is intricately connected to the *OEHE*'s portrayal of mission and conversion. The edifying accounts in the vernacular translation would have shown the audience that indeed the English had been a heathen Germanic people, but brought to the Christian faith through the toilsome labor of venerable churchmen. Given the contemporary predicaments, the apparent problems with regard to pastoral care and the apparently dwindling faith and relapse into paganism in England, which is corroborated by papal and episcopal correspondence between 875 and 900, the *OEHE* would have been an apt means to remind the English of their history as a Christian people that has overcome certain challenges, but that was never forsaken by the Almighty. At the same time, it might have encouraged the clergy to take example from the missionaries and recommence pastoral care in the

areas of the Danelaw and, in a second step, preach to the pagan Danes, another Germanic people like the Anglo-Saxons, and with good fortune to convince them, with the help of the *OEHE,* to accept Christianity and maybe also Alfred's over-lordship.

Judging from the literary witnesses of the wider ambience of the Winchester court, it is discernible that the *HE* exerted considerable intertextual influence on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, the *OE Pastoral Care*, Alfred's *Law-Code*, the *Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum* and Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*. Apparently, Bede's idea of the *gens Anglorum* as a comprehensive term for all Germanic inhabitants of Britain united by the Christian faith – not unlike the Germanic imperial identity Harris outlined – which was first conceptualized by Pope Gregory and afterwards promoted by Bede in his *HE,* seems to have made a lasting impression on the agents at the West Saxon court. The translator of the *OEHE* seems to have partaken of this discourse on English identity as he presents the *gens Anglorum* as *Angelcynn* and *Angelþeod* in his work, merging the elements of anthropological, genealogical, ethnic descent (-*cynn*), with the religious dimension of all the English sharing their elect status as a people of God (-*þeod*).

Although no definite proof can be ascertained--often a limitation in our field in general--my conclusion is that the *OEHE* perfectly fits the historical and cultural context of late ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England and King Alfred's program of translation in particular. The *OEHE* was purposefully modified by a mindset that wanted to exert a precocious 'English identity'.   This was perhaps part of a *memoria* culture at Alfred's court that highlighted the common history of all the English in Britain in order to legitimize the hegemony of the House of Wessex, and at the same time to inspire the English not to lose their faith in the face of the Scandinavian invasions. At the same time it seeks respect the sentiments in a mixed Anglo-British audience and to provide guidelines for right Christian living – a constant preoccupation of Alfred's.

The manuscripts mirror the importance and the high esteem in which the work was held in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and even much later Angevian England. Its edifying accounts would have been useful in a context of preaching, and the *Homily on St. Chad* seems to show that it was indeed used in this way. The *OEHE* appears to have served a whole range of different functions and inspired different audiences throughout the centuries. What seems undeniable is that it contributed to the self-perception and identity of the Anglo-Saxons to a high-degree because it told their story as Christian people in the unfolding course salvation history, and instructed them in moral and religious matters, whenever necessary. The fact that apparently one of the greatest and most venerable scholars of Anglo-Saxon England told this story would have made the message all the more powerful. That the translation was first undertaken at King Alfred's court or under the auspices of his helpers in Canterbury or Worcester, cannot be ascertained to with certainty, but it seems more than likely.

Unfortunately, the scope of this thesis did not allow me to undertake a meticulous analyses of the textual relations between the different manuscripts. Studies in this direction will certainly be facilitated by the upcoming multi-media edition of the *OEHE*, currently undertaken by Sharon Rowley and Greg Waite, since Thomas Miller's edition does not give sufficient credit to the text in its material state in the different manuscripts. This is a desideratum that will be amended by the new edition. Furthermore, linguistic aspects have been treated with the thoroughness with which they have long deserved. Of particular note is that the analysis of the translator's translation techniques from Latin to Old English was undertaken on a level which has allowed me arrive at a tentative conclusion, but which leaves room for more detailed investigations. I hope that my thesis will instigate further studies in these areas.

What I can say with confidence is that at the very least, the *OEHE* is a text which betrays a deep desire for moral instruction, a search for identity, a desire for self-assertion and an aid to turn to in times of turmoil. Supposedly told by the venerable Bede himself, not in Latin, but rather in the native English, its worth and authority is attested to by the subsequent interaction with the text on many different levels during the English Middle Ages. This indeed makes it one of the books "ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne,"[1] a truism for Alfred's time as well for the centuries to come.

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[1] *OEPC*, p. 7.

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Appendices

Incorporating the appendices into the printed version would have resulted in a considerably longer book. For that reason, the appendices are only available as a separate document in PDF format. Interested readers can obtain them – like the thesis itself – through the printer's website:

http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de

„Göttinger Schriften zur Englischen Philologie": Zum Konzept der Reihe

Frauke Reitemeier

Die Reihe „Göttinger Schriften zur Englischen Philologie" umfasst Schriften zur Forschung aus den Disziplinen englische, amerikanische und postkoloniale Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft, englische Fachdidaktik, englische Sprache, Literatur und Kultur des Mittelalters, Linguistik des Englischen. Veröffentlicht werden können:

- im Rahmen des 1. Staatsexamens für das Lehramt an Gymnasien verfasste Zulassungsarbeiten (Staatsarbeiten), die mit ‚sehr gut' benotet wurden bzw. die mit ‚gut' benotet und entsprechend überarbeitet wurden, so dass sie zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung mit ‚sehr gut' bewertet werden könnten;
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- im Rahmen der einschlägigen MA-Studiengänge (Master of Arts/Master of Education) verfasste Abschlussarbeiten (Master-Arbeiten), die mit ‚sehr gut' benotet wurden bzw. die mit ‚gut' benotet und entsprechend überarbeitet wurden, so dass sie zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung mit ‚sehr gut' bewertet werden könnten.

Zusätzlich können in der Reihe Sammelbände beispielsweise mit den Arbeitsergebnissen aus Kolloquien oder Workshops veröffentlicht werden. Die Werke werden auf Deutsch oder Englisch publiziert.

Entstand die altenglische Übersetzung der *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* des Beda Venerabilis, des wohl bedeutendsten anglo-lateinischen Werkes des Mittelalters, auf Bestreben König Alfreds ‚des Großen' als Teil seines Übersetzungs- und Bildungsprogrammes? War die altenglische *Historia* vielleicht ein Gründungs- manifest des Königreichs der Angelsachsen? Dieses Königreich formierte sich schließlich in einer Zeit, als England sich eines äußeren Feindes zu erwehren hatte, der die politische Ordnung der angelsächsischen Königreiche bedrohte: der Wikinger. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, präsentiert Andreas Lemke ein in dieser Form einzigartiges Kompendium interdisziplinärer Ansätze und wirft ein neues Licht auf die altenglische Beda-Übersetzung, das Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaftler, Philologen und Historiker gleichermaßen anspricht.

Did King Alfred the Great commission the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, probably the masterpiece of medieval Anglo-Latin Literature, as part of his famous program of translation to educate the Anglo- Saxons? Was the Old English *Historia*, by any chance, a political and religious manifesto for the emerging 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons'? Do we deal with the literary cornerstone of a nascent English identity at a time when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were threatened by a common enemy: the Vikings? Andreas Lemke seeks to answer these questions – among others – in his recent publication. He presents us with a unique compendium of interdisciplinary approaches to the subject and sheds new light on the Old English translation of the *Historia* in a way that will fascinate scholars of Literature, Language, Philology and History.

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