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THE ANGLO-LATIN POETIC TRADITION

SOURCES, TRANSMISSION, AND RECEPTION, ca. 650–1100

Edited by

COLLEEN M. CURRAN

ARC HUMANITIES PRESS

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A NOTE ON THE CLASP PROJECT

THIS VOLUME is an output of A Consolidated Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (CLASP) which was a European Research Council-funded project based in the Faculty of English Language and Literature at the University of Oxford from September 2016 through to August 2022, under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under grant agreement No. 695262 and led by Andy Orchard, the project's Principal Investigator. The CLASP database (http://clasp.ell.ox.ac.uk) is a digital library that presents, for the first time, all surviving Old English and Anglo-Latin poetry (ca. 650–1100) in one consolidated entity. Users are able to search the database for metre, spellings, formulae, genres, themes, and manuscripts, as well as access a select number of Anglo-Latin translations, some for the first time. The database also includes a digitized version of Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge's *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, with comprehensive and detailed manuscript information for both Old English and Anglo-Latin poems.

This collection's sister volume, *Tradition and Innovation in Old English Metre*, edited by Rachel A. Burns and Rafael J. Pascual, comprises thirteen essays that focus on the role of metrical study in Old English literary criticism and manuscript studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Blanche Boyer, whose scholarship contributed greatly to our knowledge of Insular and Continental intellectual exchanges, Anglo-Latin poetry, and Insular manuscript traditions.

I am thankful to Ciaran Arthur, who proofread these chapters. Any and all errors remain my own.

ABBREVIATIONS

CPL	*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*. Edited by E. Dekkers and A. Gaar. 3rd ed. Steenbrugge: Brepols, 1995.
CUF	Collection des Universités de France, série latine.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 221 Vols. Paris, 1844–1864.
PLAC	Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Medii Aevi, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini. Edited by Ernst Dümmler, Ludwig Traube, and Paul von Winterfeld. 4 vols. 1881–1899.
SK	Schaller, Dieter and E. Könsgen. *Initia Carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo Antiquiorum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.

INTRODUCTION

COLLEEN M. CURRAN

IN 1971, W. F. Bolton opined, "Why, in fact, has so little work been done on Anglo-Latin?"[1] For context, Bolton was arguing on behalf of working with Anglo-Latin literature within an English department setting, as well as a focus on the relationship between Anglo-Latin literature and language with Old English. At the time Bolton wrote his article, very few Anglo-Latin poems had been recently edited. Those works that had been edited were by the prolific and better-known authors, such as Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin, for example.[2] These authors were considered to be of significance for the larger realm of Medieval Latin poetry, as opposed to the distinct and smaller Insular sphere of influence.

However, Bolton's cry perhaps seems unfounded, given the amount of scholarship that had already been done at the time of his article's publication. One notable oversight in Bolton's article is the work of Alistair Campbell, whom Bolton cited but only for his *Old English Grammar*.[3] Campbell's contribution to Anglo-Latin literature—both poetry and prose—was immense; one might even say foundational. In his 1953 article, Campbell explained how Anglo-Latin poetry is 'imitative' and cannot be studied diachronically.[4] Instead, Campbell argued, each author and each work must be approached individually and studied thoroughly for their Classical and Late Antique influences, as well as observing what other idiosyncratic imitations each author might bring to their text. Ultimately, Campbell observed two main stylistic distinctions (or imitations, one might say) in Anglo-Latin poetry: the more classically inclined, as exhibited by Bede, and what Campbell labelled the "hermeneutic," as demonstrated by Aldhelm. Campbell noted that those so-called hermeneutic authors (e.g., Aldhelm, Frithegod) employed words that are rare in Classical works as well as Greek-derived words from glossaries. Further, Campbell argued that Anglo-Latin poets were, by far, more influenced by Christian Late Antique poets (e.g., Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator) than Classical authors, with the major exception being Ver-

1 Bolton, "Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin," 165.

2 Aldhelm, *Aldhelmi Opera*; Bede, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*; Alcuin, *Carmina*.

3 Bolton, 'Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin,' 159n35.

4 Campbell, "Some Linguistic Features," 1.

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gil. Lastly, Campbell showed how the Anglo-Latin poets attempted to imitate Classical metrical standards, while Late Antique metrical conventions were already embedded within the Anglo-Latin poetic standard from an early date, thus resulting in a number of abnormal scansions.[5] From these studies there emerged the desire to distinguish Anglo-Latin poetry from Carolingian and medieval Hiberno-Latin poetry and present this tradition as a separate entity in its own right.

Campbell published editions of Anglo-Latin poems, including Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus* (1967) with an English translation, Frithegod's *Breviloquium vitae Beati Wilfridi*, and Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (1950).[6] Additionally, he edited and translated the Latin prose text, *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (1949).[7] These editions, especially his translations of *De Abbatibus* and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, made Anglo-Latin literature far more accessible to scholars of early medieval England.

Since Campbell's foundational work, scholarship on early medieval Anglo-Latin literature—both prose and poetry—has increased exponentially, led predominantly by Michael Lapidge. Whereas Campbell predominantly produced editions, Lapidge has contributed significantly to the literary criticism of Anglo-Latin poetry in addition to editions of Anglo-Latin texts. His literary criticism of the genre includes two seminal volumes, *Anglo-Latin Literature: 600–899* (1996) and *Anglo-Latin Literature: 900–1100* (1993), both of which contribute significantly to our understanding of the style, sources, and reception of key Anglo-Latin authors and poems from different centuries. These major works have enabled subsequent scholars to observe not only how Anglo-Latin poets were inspired by Classical and Late Antique traditions, but also how they deviated from conventions and created their own rules of poetic composition. Lapidge's published editions and translations of critical Anglo-Latin poetical works include the *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (2003)[8] and *Bede's Latin Poetry* (2019).[9] The latter presents, for the first time, all Latin poetry attributed to Bede, as well as reconstructed versions of Bede's *Liber epigrammatum* and *Liber hymnorum*.

Michael Lapidge's scholarship perhaps heralded a new era of research on Anglo-Latin poetry. Whereas Campbell produced editions based meticu-

5 Campbell, "Some Linguistic Features," 14.

6 Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*; Frithegod, *Frithegodi monachi Breuiloquium uitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani cantoris Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno*.

7 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*.

8 Wulfstan of Winchester, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*.

9 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*.

lously on philology, sources, and manuscript transmission, Lapidge treated Anglo-Latin poetry as poetry in of itself, with its own literary qualities: much like how Old English scholars had long been approaching contemporary vernacular poetry. Ultimately, Lapidge was able weave together textual and poetic criticism, manuscript transmission, and philological discourse with literary analysis. In this particular way, Lapidge was able to make Anglo-Latin poetry equal to its Old English counterpart.

Andy Orchard has contributed significantly to the field of Anglo-Latin poetry, primarily through his extensive publications on Aldhelm and the Riddle traditions. In particular, Orchard's scholarship has bridged both the Old English and Anglo-Latin poetic traditions to demonstrate how the two were interconnected, as seen in his monographs *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (1994) and *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, and culminating in his paper, "Alcuin and Cynewulf," the published version of his 2019 Sir Israel Gollancz lecture.[10]

Other significant contributions to the field of Anglo-Latin poetry include Carin Ruff and Neil Wright on metrics,[11] and David Howlett on connections between Anglo-Latin and Hiberno-Latin traditions.[12] Also of note are Patrizia Lendinara and Mary Garrison's work on Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Alcuin, respectively, for establishing connections and exchanges between the Anglo-Latin poetic tradition with that of the Continent.[13] Additionally, while Rosalind Love has published extensively on Anglo-Latin prose, particularly that of Bede, she has also analysed a Maundy Thursday hymn attributed to Frithegod, which has made a significant contribution to scholarship on the poetic tradition.[14]

Emily Thornbury's *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (2014) weaves together analysis of both Old English and Anglo-Latin poets. Her edited collection of essays, *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, co-edited with Rebecca Stephenson, explores both Anglo-Latin prose and

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10 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*; Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*; Orchard, "Alcuin and Cynewulf."

11 Ruff, "The Place of Metrics in Anglo-Saxon Latin Education"; Wright, *History and Literature*.

12 Howlett, "Bede, Lutting and the Hiberno-Latin Tradition."

13 Lendinara, "Alcuin's 'O vos, est aetas'"; Lendinara, "A Difficult School Text in Anglo-Saxon England: The Third Book of Abbo's Bella Parisiacae Urbis;" Lendinara, "The Third Book of the 'Bella Parisiacae Urbis' by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss"; Garrison, "The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature."

14 E.g., *Bede: On First Samuel*; Love, "Frithegod of Canterbury's Maundy Thursday Hymn."

poetry. Particularly significant contributions to our understanding of Anglo-Latin poetry in this volume include Thornbury's on Æthelwulf's distinctive style, Leslie Lockett's on Oswald the Younger of Ramsey's retrograde verses, and Elizabeth Tyler's on connections between the Cambridge Songs manuscripts and the Exeter Book. In more recent years, Rob Gallagher has published on Anglo-Latin acrostic poetry,[15] Erica Weaver on the *opus geminatum* tradition in early medieval England,[16] Benjamin Saltzman on Old English and Anglo-Latin hermeneutic writings,[17] and Tristan Major on interplay between Old English and Anglo-Latin literary traditions.[18]

Another significant advancement of the field of Anglo-Latin poetry is the publication of the Consolidated Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (*CLASP*) database.[19] The *CLASP* database presents, for the first time, all poetry purported to be Anglo-Latin, nearly 30,000 lines of verse in one single entity. The database also includes all known Old English verse, too. The database also features metrical scansions for every Anglo-Latin poem, translations for Frithegod's *Breviloquium*, Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus*, Aldhelm's *Carmen de Virginitate*, *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, *Carmen rhythmicum*, and the *Miracula Nyniae Episcopi*, among others. The database also allows users to search for metrical patterns and rare words, while also providing a concordance for both Old English and Anglo-Latin. Lastly, the database also includes manuscript information for over 1,500 manuscripts that contain Anglo-Latin verse, as well as transcriptions from select manuscripts. With the Anglo-Latin poetic corpus (and initial analyses) now more readily available than ever, it is hoped that future scholarship in this field will continue to flourish.

This edited collection aims to contribute to the advancement of this field with eight chapters on Anglo-Latin poetry, ca. 650–1100. The volume emerged from a conference held at Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford, in March 2022, having been delayed significantly by the Covid-19 pandemic; it was organized by me with assistance from Claire Selby. The conference featured thirteen papers from fifteen speakers, and seven of those are represented within the present volume, with one later addition. Rachel Burns' paper on layout of Latin texts written in early medieval Eng-

15 Gallagher, "Latin Acrostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon England: Reassessing the Contribution of John the Old Saxon."

16 Weaver, "Hybrid Forms."

17 Saltzman, *Bonds of Secrecy*, 161–241.

18 Major, *Undoing Babel*.

19 CLASP. "A Consolidated Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry." August 31, 2022. https://clasp.ell.ox.ac.uk/db-latest/.

land will be published in her forthcoming monograph.[20] Christine Rauer's paper on Mercian literature will be likewise published as part of her next monograph.[21] Megan Cavell and Jenny Neville's paper on Boniface's Latin riddles will be published as part of their AHRC-funded project, "Group Identity and the Early Medieval Riddle Tradition."[22] At the conference, Nicholas Stone presented considerable statistical evidence concerning metrical structure in Anglo-Latin poetry, especially compared against Classical conventions. Likewise, Samuel Holmes presented a paper on a little-known praise poem written on behalf of Archbishop Wulfstan. Both authors intend to publish these papers in the future. Additionally, Nick White, the IT expert on the *CLASP* project, gave a paper with me that explored how the *CLASP* database was constructed and what features users could anticipate. I am also grateful to Ciaran Arthur, Sarah Corrigan, Rob Gallagher, Patricia O'Connor, Rafael Pascual, and Daniel Thomas for chairing the conference panels. Lastly, I am very thankful to Rosalind Love for delivering the keynote address that deftly summarized each of the papers and their place within furthering the study of Anglo-Latin poetry.

The papers in this volume speak to Anglo-Latin poets and poetry in general, but also to these poets' positions within the wider medieval Latinate poetic tradition. Claudia Di Sciacca explores Isidore of Seville's influence on the riddle and elegiac traditions in early medieval England, both from the Old English and Anglo-Latin corpora. In particular, Di Sciacca focuses on the tension between the oral and written word and the blend of grammar and encyclopaedic knowledge in Anglo-Latin and Old English poetry, while also focusing on the manuscript transmission of these materials. Richard Hillier examines the circulation and manuscript transmission of Arator's *Historia Apostolica* in early medieval England. Through intertextual readings, Hillier demonstrates that Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Ædiluulf (Æthelwulf), and Wulfstan of Winchester were familiar with the Vigilius letter; however, only Alcuin knew of the Parthenius letter, and no writer in pre-Conquest England was familiar with the Florianus letter until the tenth century. Using a critical manuscript, Hillier proposes an enticing theory about the transmission of the Arator dossier between the Continent and pre-Conquest England.

While both Di Sciacca and Hillier focus on connections between the Continent and pre-Conquest England, Grace Attwood considers the connections

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20 Burns, *A History of Old English Verse Layout*.

21 Rauer, *A Literary History of Mercia*.

22 "Group Identity and the Early Medieval Riddle Tradition," https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH%2FS013202%2F1.

England and another neighbour across a body of water: Ireland. Attwood explores the use of "marked diction" in *Adelphus Adelpha Meter* and provides a philological exploration of several key Grecisms in the text. In particular, Attwood considers the practice of glossing this text (especially these Grecisms) in the English manuscript in which it survives, and suggests that the glossator was not making mistakes as previous scholarship has argued, but instead was reading Patristic sources alongside this text.

Cameron Scott Laird begins the series of specific case studies on Anglo-Latin authors with an essay on the metrical program in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*. Laird demonstrates that Aldhelm commences his *Aenigmata* by exemplifying a variety of metrical structures in shorter riddles, but ultimately ends the collection with longer, metrically uniform riddles. Rather than see the *Aenigmata* as a stand-alone metrical pedagogical tool, Laird suggests that Aldhelm's complete program of metrical pedagogy is three-fold: *De Metris* as a text to instruct the principles of Latin metre, *De pedum regulis* to instruct in metrical values of Latin vocabulary, and the *Aenigmata* to illustrate applications of techniques found within the previous two works.

Following the recent publication of Michael Lapidge's *Bede's Latin Poetry*, it is perhaps no surprise that Bede is the most represented Anglo-Latin author in this volume. John Joseph Gallagher focuses on the Classical and Late Antique styles and formulae that are present in Bede's metrical versions of certain Psalms. Christopher Scheirer examines the influence of epigraphic poetry on Bede's verse. Rounding out the papers interested in Bede is Frederick Biggs' re-examination of Bede's *De die iudicii*, which has significant ramifications for our understanding of the poem. While there is a chronological jump in this volume between Bede and the tenth century, Tristan Major deftly explores how Frithegod used but also embellished (and even deviated from) his eighth-century source, Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Wilfredi*. I would like to express my gratitude to all the authors in this volume for their participation in both the volume and the conference, and for their faith and trust in my editing.

While the chapters in this volume provide stimulating new approaches to a range of topics within early Anglo-Latin poetry, it must be noted that not every Anglo-Latin author is covered, and there are chronological gaps, as well. But rather than see this as a flaw, I hope that readers of this volume will be inspired by the many different methodological approaches that these authors utilize, and perhaps will be inspired to use some of these approaches within their own studies of, say, Latin poetry from Alfred's court, or apply it to Wulfstan of Winchester and beyond, or maybe even begin to look at those women represented in the corpus, such as Berhtgyth.

But most importantly, I hope that these essays demonstrate the potential of working with the *CLASP* Anglo-Latin databases and what research might come from them. Indeed, these eight essays display the major areas of research that the Anglo-Latin *CLASP* databases allow users to do throughout the Anglo-Latin corpus: intertextuality, sources, transmission, manuscript collections, rare words and intense philological scrutiny, formulae, and metrical analyses, amongst many others. It is my sincerest hope that both this volume and the Anglo-Latin databases available on the *CLASP* website will generate further interest in and scholarship on the Anglo-Latin tradition, now with the entire corpus being readily accessible, so that Bolton's lament might indeed have been in vain.

And now, to quote Alcuin:

> Heia age, carta, cito naveum conscende paratam...
> Sed fuge, rumpe moras, propera, percurre volando
> Incolomes sanos gaudentes atque vigentes
> Invenies utinam nostros gratanter amicos.[23]
>
> Right, now, letter, board the ship; it is ready to leave...
> But fly, do not delay, speed ahead, you must take flight.
> I hope you find our friends in good health,
> enjoying life and in good spirits.

23 Alcuin, *Carm.* 4, 1.

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Chapter 1

"I" IS FOR ISIDORE
ISIDORE OF SEVILLE AND EARLY ENGLISH POETRY

CLAUDIA DI SCIACCA

AN ESSAY ON Isidore of Seville in a volume dedicated to poetry must sound like a practical joke or a contradiction in terms, as Isidore was very much a prose author, or, rather, a *compilator*, perhaps *the compilator* per excellence of the early Middle Ages.[1] Yet, as I hope to show, Isidore is not *that* out of place here, as he was both a reader of earlier poets and a source for many subsequent generations of poets. Some first-hand evidence as to his poetic preferences is provided by one of the very few verse texts that can be attributed to Isidore himself, the *Versus in bibliotheca*—a series of elegiac couplets modelled on Martial's epigrams originally intended as inscriptions placed in Isidore's library beneath the portrait of the author to whom they referred.[2] The *Versus* sketch out a remarkably well stocked library, including both pagan and Christian authors. Notably, the only pagan authors identified by name are poets: Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Lucan, and Statius. Admittedly, they are named in some apparently polemical lines where Isidore invites his readers to give up pagan poetry and points to Christian alternatives, namely the Christian poets Prudentius, Avitus, Juvencus, and Sedulius.[3] However, rather than as a condemnation of pagan poetry *tout court*, these lines should be read in view of the project inspiring the vast Isidorean output, especially his *Etymologiae*, that is the merging of the vast classical heritage with Christian culture. As an aside, Isidore's *Versus* concerning the Church Fathers and Christian poets are echoed in Alcuin's description of the York library in his York Poem,[4] and

1 On the modes of authorship in the Middle Ages, see Kraebel, "Modes of Authorship"; Patridge and Kwakkel, eds., *Author, Reader, Book*; Bolduc, "The Author in the Middle Ages"; and D'Angelo and Ziolkowski, eds., *Auctor et auctoritas*.

2 *CPL* 1212; SK 15860; Isidore of Seville, *Versus in bibliotheca*.

3 Isidore, *Versus in bibliotheca*, 11.1–10, 223.

4 Alcuin, *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis*, lines 1541–46 and 1551–54, 122–25.

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Bede's epigram on Jerome borrows verbatim from the corresponding lines by Isidore.[5]

Rather than a poet himself, Isidore was essential reading for generations of early medieval poets, both for content (because he dealt with virtually every field of human knowledge), and for style (because, as the heir of the antique schools of grammar and rhetoric, Isidore dealt with virtually every aspect of literary language).[6] In his monumental task of linguistic analysis and encyclopaedic synthesis, Isidore effectively relied on four grammatical categories, inherited from antiquity: *analogia* (analogy),[7] *ethimologia* (etymology),[8] *glossa* (gloss),[9] and *differentia* (difference),[10] which he

5 Bede, *Liber epigrammatum*, § 18 (a), 348–49. Also, at least one manuscript witness of the *Versus in bibliotheca* circulated in pre-Conquest England: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 304 [*s*. viii[1], Italy; prov. *s*. ix[ex] or x[in], England (Canterbury, Christ Church? Malmesbury?)], Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 87.

6 See Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, 241–43 and Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 53–55.

7 "Analogia Graece, Latine similium conparatio siue proportio nominatur. Cuius haec uis est ut quod dubium est ad aliquid simile quod non est dubium referatur, et incerta certis probentur"; Isidore, *De grammatica*, 28.1, 121–23. ("The Greek term 'analogy'(*analogia*) is called in Latin the comparison (*conparatio*) or 'regular relation' (*proportio*) of similar things. Its force is that something doubtful is compared to a similar thing that is not doubtful, and uncertain things are explained by means of things that are certain"; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 54].

8 "Ethimologia est origo uocabulorum, cum uis uerbi uel nominis per interpretationem colligitur…Nam dum uideris unde ortum est nomen, citius uim eius intellegis. Omnis enim rei inspectio ethimologia cognita planior est"; Isidore, *De grammatica*, 29.1–2, 125. ("Etymology (*etymologia*) is the origin of words, when the force of a verb or a noun is inferred through interpretation…for when you have seen whence a word has originated, you understand its force more quickly. Indeed, one's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known"; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 54–55).

9 "Glossa graeca interpretatione linguae sortitur nomen. Hanc philosophi aduerbium dicunt quia uocem illam, de cuius requiritur, uno et singulari uerbo designat. Quid enim illud sit in uno uerbo positum declarat, ut conticescere est tacere"; Isidore, *De grammatica*, 30.1, 127. ("'Gloss' (*glossa*) receives its name from Greek, with the meaning 'tongue.' Philosophers call it *adverbium*, because it defines the utterance in question by means of one single word (*verbum*): in one word it declares what a given thing is, as *contiscere est tacere* ('to fall still' is 'to be silent'")"; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 55).

10 "Differentia est species definitionis quam scriptores artium de eodem et de altero nominant"; Isidore, *De grammatica*, 31, 129. (A differentiation (*differentia*) is a type of definition, which writers on the liberal arts call "concerning the same and the different"; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 55).

defines in the opening book of the *Etymologiae*, *De grammatica*, dedicated to the foundational discipline of the Isidorean system of knowledge.[11] On the one hand, these categories represent the main means to establish a *pura latinitas*, that is, the linguistic and semantic precision which Isidore saw as the main support of orthodoxy;[12] on the other, they serve as veritable epistemological tools, which Isidore applies even to crucial matters of Christian doctrine.[13]

This chapter will assess the impact of Isidore and his pan-grammatical system on the poetry of early medieval England, considered in its bilingual dimension. The survey will inevitably be selective, and will focus on two genres of poetry, the elegy and the riddle tradition, and on the two Isidorean texts which had the most impact on them: the *Synonyma*[14] and the *Etymologiae*.[15]

Isidore in Pre-Conquest England

The question of the transmission of Isidore's works to the Insular world is a controversial one, with the role of the Irish as the chief and earliest intermediaries being a particularly contentious point.[16] Be that as it may, as regards England we can rely on the evidence of the Biblical Commentaries and the Leiden corpus of glossaries which attest to the circulation of at least four of Isidore's texts—*Etymologiae*, *De natura rerum*, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, and *De differentiis verborum*—at the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian by the late seventh century, a few decades after Isidore's death

11 Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 1:27–56, and 2:869–71.

12 Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, 220–23.

13 Elorduy, "S. Isidoro. Unidad orgánica," 293–95, and Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, 211–41.

14 Isidore, *Synonyma*.

15 The current complete edition of the *Etymologiae* is the early twentieth-century one by Lindsay (Isidore, *Etymologiae siue Origines*), which is not, however, a critical one, as Lindsay himself admitted; Isidore, *Etymologiae siue Origines*, ed. Lindsay, 1.v–vi; cf. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 1:112n1. A project for the critical edition and translation of the individual books of Isidore's encyclopaedia started in the 1980s under Fontaine's supervision for the series Auteurs latins du Moyen Âge of the Parisian publishers Les Belles Lettres and is now nearing completion; where available, I have consulted these more recent editions.

16 For the most recent scholarship on this long-debated matter, see Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 37–76; Di Sciacca, "Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England"; Smyth, "Isidorian Texts"; and Ryan, "Isidore Amongst the Islands."

(636).[17] Isidorean works apparently enjoyed sustained popularity up to the Conquest and beyond, exerting a significant influence on virtually every field of early English literary culture. As Lapidge has pointed out, Isidore was, together with Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory, one of the four major Patristic authorities in pre-Conquest England, and his *Etymologiae*, *De natura rerum*, *Synonyma*, and *De ecclesiasticis officiis* belonged to the "small core of staple patristic texts" housed in a typical library.[18]

The *Synonyma*

Generally classified among Isidore's minor works, the *Synonyma* enjoyed a wide and long-lasting success in early medieval England and its diffusion was also actively promoted by the Bonifatian missions in their continental foundations.[19] The main reason of the popularity of the *Synonyma* with early English *literati* can be pinpointed in the peculiar combination of, in Isidore's own words, *eloquium* and *uotum*—a distinctive style employed to express devotional and penitential effusion.[20] As to the *eloquium*, the *Synonyma* are eponymous with the figure of speech of synonymy, with which Isidore deals in the second book of the *Etymologiae* devoted to rhetoric.[21] In turn, synonymy became synonymous—with apologies for the obvious pun!—with Isidore himself, since the so-called *stilus isidorianus* is a style where synonyms and *homoeoteleuta* are systematically employed and where sentences are broken into short *commata*; these are in turn often isosyllabic and juxtaposed asyndetically, but linked by sound effects such as assonance and rhyme.[22]

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17 Di Sciacca, "Isidorian Scholarship," 76–91 and Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 47–48.

18 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 127, and Jones, "The Book of the Liturgy," 667.

19 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 51–52 and 72–74; Hussey, "The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma*"; Hussey, "Ascetics and Aesthetics," 77–140; and Hussey, "*Transmarinis litteris*." On the *Fortleben* of the *Synonyma* in general, see Elfassi, "Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville"; Elfassi, "Los centones de los *Synonyma*"; Elfassi, "Trois aspects inattendus"; Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*"; and Elfassi, "Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville (VIIe s.)."

20 Isidore, *Synonyma*, 5, line 21. See Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 23–34.

21 "Synonymia est, quotiens in conexa oratione pluribus uerbis unam rem significamus" (*Synonymia* occurs when in one context we use several words to signify the same thing); Isidore, *De rhetorica*, 21.6, 78–79.

22 Fontaine, "Théorie et pratique du style"; Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville auteur

One might consider the following examples:

> euadendae calamitatis indicia non comprehendo, minuendi doloris argumenta non colligo, effugiendi funeris uestigia non inuenio (*Synonyma* 1:5, 6)
>
> I do not understand the hints to eschew my misfortune, I do not gather the arguments to lessen my pain, I do not find the vestiges to escape death (my translation)

> Quaeso te, anima, obsecro te, deprecor te, imploro te, ne quid ultra leuiter agas, ne quid inconsulte geras, ne temere aliud facias (*Synonyma* 2:1, 63)
>
> I ask you, soul, I beseech you, I entreat you, I implore you, that you shall no further do anything lightly, that you shall not do anything unreasonable, that you shall not do anything rash (my translation)

> Omi ope, omni ui, omni arte, omni ratione omni consilio, omni ingenio, omni uirtute, omni instantia, sume luctamen contra temporales molestias (*Synonyma* 1:24, 20)
>
> With every deed, with every strength, with every device, with every argument, with every resolution, with every wit, with every virtue, with every vehemence, take up the fight against worldly nuisances (my translation)

The *stilus isidorianus* was one of the four major kinds of Latin *Kunstprosa* in the Middle Ages and the *Synonyma* can be considered its ultimate handbook.[23] This idiosyncratic style coexists with the *uotum*, that is contemplation on worldly transience as well as devotional and penitential elements, which made the *Synonyma* and their epitomes a popular read in monastic circles throughout the Middle Ages.[24] The distinctive combination of rhetorical flourish and devotional meditation proved greatly influential on early English literary culture. On the one hand, the *stilus isidorianus* aptly interacted with native stylistic devices such as alliteration, echoic repetition, and patterned syntax, as well as with the lexicographic indulgence which appealed to different generations of English *literati*, from the baroque Latinity of Aldhelm and his epigones up to the tenth-century Latin hermeneutic style.[25] Finally, it was also congenial to the principles of word selection

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'ascétique'"; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 24–31; Elfassi, "Genèse et originalité"; and Botturi, *I "Synonyma" di Isidoro di Siviglia*.

23 Fontaine, "Les trois voies," 7 and 12.

24 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 34–36 and Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*," 112–17.

25 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 105–52. On Aldhelm's style, see Orchard, *The*

implemented by Æthelwold's Winchester school,[26] and by the scholastic colloquies—the Late Antique conversational exercises which were revived in the wake of the Benedictine Reform.[27] Indeed, the structure of the *Synonyma* as a virtual dialogue between *Homo* and *Ratio* may have represented a further enticement for the pedagogues of the Reform movement.[28] On the other hand, the meditation on human fleetingness was fully consonant with the pervasive elegiac inspiration of early English literature,[29] as expressed in particular in the *ubi sunt* topos.

The *Synonyma* and the *ubi sunt* Topos in Early English Poetry

A universal elegiac motif, the *ubi sunt* topos has been defined as an "obsession" for the early English authors,[30] and, as J. E. Cross demonstrated over sixty years ago, the *Synonyma* were "quite the favourite individual source" of the *ubi sunt* in both Anglo-Latin and Old English and in both prose and poetry.[31] The *ubi sunt* passage from the *Synonyma* reads:

> Breuis est huius mundi felicitas, modica est huius saeculi gloria, caduca est et fragilis temporalis potentia. Dic, ubi sunt reges? ubi principes? ubi imperatores? ubi locupletes rerum? ubi potentes saeculi? ubi diuites mundi? Quasi umbra transierunt, uelut somnium euanuerunt (*Synonyma* 2:91, 138]
>
> This world's happiness is short, this world's glory is scanty, secular power is fleeting and temporary. Tell [me], where are the kings? Where the princes? Where the emperors? Where the rich in possessions? Where the powerful of this world? They passed away as if they were a shadow, they vanished like a dream (my translation)

Poetic Art of Aldhelm, 8–18; Orchard, "Artful Alliteration," 451–58; and Winterbottom, "Aldhelm's Prose Style." On hermeneutic Latin, see the classic study by Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style."

26 Gneuss, "The Origin of Standard Old English"; Gretsch, "In Search of Standard Old English"; Gretsch, "Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English"; Hofstetter, "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary"; and Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch*.

27 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 164–69. On the scholastic colloquies, see Lapidge, "Colloquies."

28 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 17–18.

29 Fell, "Perceptions of Transience" and Greenfield, *Hero and Exile*.

30 Koch, trans., *Beowulf*, xxvii.

31 Cross, "'Ubi sunt' Passages in Old English," 25.

The earliest English formulation of this motif is attested within the conclusion of Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Acircium* (685×695), an extensive, composite text—including an arithmological tract on the number "seven," two treatises on Latin metre (*De metris*) and scansion (*De pedum regulis*), and a collection of one hundred *aenigmata*[32] that has already been shown to be indebted to both authentic works by Isidore and some of the vast array of pseudoepigrapha which circulated in the Insular world under Isidore's name.[33] Aldhelm explicitly mentions the *Synonyma* in the *De metris*, 10, as an example of a text employing a dialogical structure.[34] Incidentally, Aldhelm associates the *Synonyma* with Augustine's *Soliloquia*, itself a popular text in early medieval England,[35] and he is not alone in establishing this link.[36] I quote Aldhelm's *ubi sunt* passage (along with the relevant translation), reproducing the lay-out proposed in a dedicated study by Andy Orchard, with alliteration highlighted in bold and rhyme and/or assonance underlined:[37]

> **Q**uae est enim labentis mundi **p**rosperitas aut **f**allentis **u**itae **f**elicitas? Nonne **s**imillima **c**ollatione ut **s**omnium e**u**anescit, ut **f**umus **f**atescit, ut **s**puma marcescit? *Diuitiae, inquit psalmigrafus, si adfuerint, nolite cor apponere*!
>
> Utinam nobis **p**raesentium rerum **p**ossessio non **s**it **f**uturarum remuneratio! Utinam **c**aducarum copia **s**ecutarum non **s**it inopia! Utinam lenocinantis mundi oblectamenta aeternae beatitudinis non gignant detrimenta!

32 Aldhelm, *Opera*, 33–204.

33 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 48–49.

34 Aldhelm, *Opera*, 81, lines 11–16.

35 Augustine's *Soliloquia* are attested in no fewer than three manuscripts written or circulating in pre-Conquest England: London, British Library, MS Royal 2. A. xx, Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 173, and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8558–63 (2498); see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 450, 752, and 808. An Old English version of the *Soliloquia* is attested in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv, Part I (the so-called Southwick Codex) and, fragmentarily, in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols. 2–173: see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 215, art. 1 and no. 186 art. 9(g). Notably, the Salisbury manuscript contains the *Soliloquia* and the *Synonyma* as its only two items, whereas the Tiberius manuscript contains an Old English epitome of the *Synonyma*, as well as an excerpt of the Old English version of the *Soliloquia*; see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186 art. 24. For a recent edition and translation of both the Latin and Old English *Soliloquia*, see Augustine, *Augustine's Soliloquies*. See also Szarmach, "Augustine's *Soliloquia*"; Szarmach, "Alfred's *Soliloquies*"; and Lockett, "Towards an Understanding."

36 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 16–18 and 24.

37 Orchard, "Artful Alliteration," 457, translation at n92.

> **Q**uin **p**otius transacto **fr**agilis **u**itae inter**u**allo **s**u**cc**edant **s**u**ffr**agante **Ch**risto **p**erpetua **p**raemia meritorum! **Q**uod ipse **pr**aestare dignetur, **q**ui **pr**o nobis in **p**atibulo **pep**endit, **c**um aeterno **p**atre uiuens ac regnans una **c**um **s**piritu **s**ancto per infinita **s**emper **s**aecula **s**aeculorum! AMEN.
>
> For what is the prosperity of the transitory world, or the happiness of a failing life? Does it not, by a most apt comparison, vanish like a dream, disperse like smoke, fade like foam? 'Do not,' says the psalmist, 'set your heart on riches, if they are to be had.' Would that the possession of present goods were not recompense for those of the future! Would that a wealth of transitory possessions does not prove a dearth of those to come! Would that the blandishments of the fading world do not produce risks to eternal blessedness! Much rather, when the brief span of fragile life is passed, should, with Christ's help, the perpetual prizes of just deserts appear! And may He himself deign to grant this, He who hung for us on the Cross, who lives and reigns with the eternal Father, together with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever, age upon age, amen.

Though strictly speaking in prose, the passage is a rhetorical *tour de force*, embellished with rhyme, rhythm, patterned syntax, and alliteration—all features which Aldhelm probably derived from his skills as a versifier. What is more relevant here, however, is that Isidore's *Synonyma* are not just the ultimate source of this particular passage—though radically recast and ingeniously supplemented with echoes from Aldhelm's vast memorised reading—but could themselves have played a role in Aldhelm's idiosyncratic style in general.[38]

Two of the most poignant early English *ubi sunt* passages feature in the two iconic vernacular elegies *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, and both are ultimately indebted to the *Synonyma*.[39] The relevant lines (80b–85b) from *The Seafarer* read:

> Dagas sind gewitene,
> ealle onmedlan eorþan rices;
> næron nu cyningas ne caseras
> ne gold-giefan swylce iu wæron,
> þonne hi mæst mid him mærþa gefremedon
> ond on dryht-licestum dome lifdon.
>
> The days have departed, all splendour of the kingdom of earth;
> there are not now kings nor caesars nor gold givers as there once

38 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 149–51.

39 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 138–44.

> were, when among themselves they performed the greatest of glorious deeds and lived in magnificent fame.[40]

In fact, *The Seafarer* does not feature any proper *ubi sunt* rhetorical questions, but the reference to the kings and Caesars immediately recalls the *Synonyma* questions "Dic ubi sunt reges? ubi principes?" though the phraseology and imagery of the Isidorean source-text are embedded within a wider passage (lines 80a–102), where they are creatively combined with echoes from a variety of other sources—biblical, Patristic, homiletic—both Latinate and vernacular.[41]

The *ubi sunt* passage of *The Wanderer* reads (lines 92–96):

> Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom maþþum-gyfa?
> Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon sele-dreamas?
> Eala beorht bune! Eala byrn-wiga!
> Eala þeodnes þrym! Hu seo þrag gewat,
> genap under niht-helm, swa heo no wære!

> Where has the horse gone? Where the warrior? Where the treasure? Where the seats of feast? Where are the hall joys? Oh, the bright cup! Oh, the mailed warrior! Oh, the prince's glory! How that time departed, grew dark under the night helmet, as if it hadn't been![42]

The closest analogue to these lines has been identified by Stephen Pelle in an anonymous Latin homily attested in a ninth-century Bavarian manuscript, which in turn expands on the *Synonyma*.[43] The synoptic table on the following page shows the relevant three *ubi sunt* passages, with the most stringent overlaps highlighted in bold, although laxer parallels are also detectable.

The homily *ubi sunt* passage is a lengthy one, combining a long sequence of questions and a varied imagery, but the first questions and the concluding similes clearly overlap with those of the *Synonyma*. In turn, the series of rhetorical questions in the Old English poem, while evoking the distinctive context of the early Germanic aristocratic society and its mead-hall rituals, seem to echo the corresponding questions in the homily, especially when mentioning the steed. Thus, *The Wanderer* can be said to rely on the same kind of Latinate material as *The Seafarer*, though probably at more removes and via earlier vernacular elaborations. In turn, both Old English poets

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40 *Old English Shorter Poems*, 2.32–35.

41 Cucina, *Il Seafarer*, 279–330 and Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 138–41.

42 *Old English Shorter Poems*, 2.8–9.

43 Pelle, "Contextualizing the Anglo-Saxon Composite Homily."

Synonyma II, 91	Anonymous Homily in ms. Munich, BSB, Clm 14364 (*s.* ix$^{2/4}$, Bavaria), fol. 39v	*The Wanderer*, lines 92–96
Breuis est huius mundi felicitas, modica est huius saeculi gloria, caduca est et fragilis temporalis potentia. ***Dic, ubi sunt reges? ubi principes? ubi imperatores?*** ubi locupletes rerum***? ubi potentes saeculi?*** ubi diuites mundi? Quasi ***umbra transierunt, uelut somnium euanuerunt***[.]	***Dic*** mihi: Ubi sunt qui in seculo aliquando gloriati fuerunt? ***Ubi sunt reges, ubi imperatores, ubi principes, ubi potentes seculi?*** Ubi superbi, ubi luxoriosi, ubi ebriosi, ubi rapaces, ubi fures? Ubi mali consiliatores? Ubi detractores; ubi inuidia et nequitia eorum? Ubi aurum, ubi argentum, ubi splendor gemmarum? Ubi pretiosissima uestimenta? ***Ubi equi*** et equitatus illorum? Ubi pompę et ornamenta, uel cursus equorum uelocissimus? Quomodo omnia ***tamquam umbra transierunt, uelut somnium euanuerunt!***	***Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago?*** Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa? / Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon seledreamas? / Eala beorht bune! Eala byrnwiga! / Eala þeodnes þrym! ***Hu seo þrag gewat, / genap under nihthelm, swa heo no wære!***
(This world's happiness is short, this world's glory is scanty, secular power is fleeting and temporary. Tell [me], where are the kings? Where the princes? Where the emperors? Where the rich in possessions? Where the powerful of this world? They passed away as if they were a shadow, they vanished like a dream.) (my translation)	(Tell me: where are those who had once vaunted their worldly glories? Where are the kings, where the emperors, where the princes, where the powerful of [this] world? Where [are] the proud ones, where the wanton ones, where the drunkards, where the greedy ones, where the thieves? Where [are] the evil counsellors? Where [are] the detractors, where their envy and wickedness? Where [is] the gold, where the silver, where the splendid gems? Where [are] the costliest garments? Where [are] the steeds and their riders? Where [are] the parades and the decorations, or the swiftest riding of the horses? Alas, everything passed away as if a shadow, it vanished like a dream!) (my translation)	(Where has the horse gone? Where the warrior? Where the treasure? Where the seats of feast? Where are the hall joys? Oh, the bright cup! Oh, the mailed warrior! Oh, the prince's glory! How that time departed, grew dark under the night helmet, as if it hadn't been!)

freely adopted and adapted such material in accordance with poetic diction and alliterative measure.[44]

Indeed, the artful conflation of different antecedents, the creative recycling and repurposing of vocabulary and imagery, and the ingenious tension between Latinate Christian material and rhetorical devices typical of the vernacular literary tradition can be pinpointed as the hallmark of the vast

44 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 141–42.

and varied *ubi sunt* tradition in early England,[45] which incidentally makes the *ubi sunt* passages perfect case studies of the very "art and craft" of early English verse, as highlighted by Andy Orchard's Gollancz lecture of 2019.[46]

The two key, interdependent components of the *ubi sunt* motif are transience and wisdom or, in other words, the elegiac and the gnomic. *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* have been said to "occupy…a 'hinge' position between the…'elegies' and the…'wisdom poems,'"[47] and Richard North has interpreted *The Wanderer* as a riddle within which the poet concealed "the essence of *De consolatione philosophiae*."[48] This association with *De consolatione* is most intriguing, in that *De consolatione*, the *Soliloquia*, and the *Synonyma* can be considered to make up a key triad of sapiential *Trostbücher* in early medieval England.[49]

Indeed, Isidore did prove a major source, or rather *the* key source for gnomic poetry, especially for the vast riddle tradition of early medieval England, but for that we have to turn to his most famous work, the *Etymologiae*.

The *Etymologiae* and the Riddle Tradition

Of the four grammatical categories, etymology was the most prominent, as the most effective heuristic tool, according to the principle that *in origine veritas*. It was also the most economic, because the principle that the name of a thing or creature can explain its nature[50] allowed Isidore to collect and systematize a great mass of lore in his encyclopaedia, the *Grundbuch des ganzen Mittelalters*, according to Ernst Curtius's famous definition.[51] In early medieval England, the impact of Isidorean etymology has been detected at all levels of literary culture:[52] it offered a way from designation to essence—from

45 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 105–59; Di Sciacca, "Il topos dell'*ubi sunt*"; Di Sciacca, "An Unpublished *ubi sunt* Piece"; and Pelle, "Continuity and Renewal," 52–53 and 181–83.

46 Orchard, "Alcuin and Cynewulf."

47 Shippey, "*The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*," 146–49, quotation at 146.

48 North, "Boethius and the Mercenary," 98.

49 Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 142–44. On *De consolatione* in pre-Conquest England, see at least Szarmach, "Boethius's Influence in Anglo-Saxon England."

50 See Isidore's definition of etymology, above, note 8.

51 Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 487.

52 See, for example, the comments by P. Hunter Blair ("the works of Isidore of Seville were a major influence on the development of Anglo-Saxon intellectual life in the age of Bede"), or R. Frank ("Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* charmed the literati of Anglo-

verba to *res*.[53] And knowledge of the etymon (whether putative or not) of a word, as well as Isidore's teaching that a word could be divided into smaller units as a means of determining its meaning, proved instrumental to the ornamental sound- and word-play of both literary languages of early England.[54]

Borrowings and echoes from the *Etymologiae* have long been identified in a wide range of early English verse,[55] but the genre where the impact of Isidore's etymology and *Etymologiae* was most pervasive is undoubtedly the riddle one. In spite of their deceptively frivolous name, riddles are the most bookish genre of early English poetry,[56] practised by the most learned and renowned *literati*, such as Aldhelm,[57] Boniface,[58] Bede,[59] and Alcuin.[60] However, as I hope the following discussion will show, many other poets from pre-Conquest England, whether named or anonymous, writing in Latin or the vernacular, earlier or later in the period, composed riddle-like verse "in their manner of simultaneously giving and withholding information."[61] Indeed, it has been argued that riddles can be considered a microcosm of the macrocosm of early English poetry, in that the latter fundamentally "relies on its audience ability to decipher metaphorical language, to fill out many details that remain unexpressed, and to savour whatever satisfaction resides in the solving of upscale crossword puzzles."[62] (In this regard, the

Saxon England from Aldhelm, Bede, and Boniface to Ælfric, Byrhtferth, and beyond"); Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede*, 293 and Frank, "Reading *Beowulf*," 245.

53 Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 487.

54 Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 38–39.

55 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 137–38 and 148–49, and Robinson, "The Significance of Names," 197 and 201. Recently, Roberta Frank has argued that the *Beowulf*-poet must also have been familiar with Isidore's *Etymologiae*: "Whenever *Beowulf* was composed, Isidore was in the neighbourhood, relentlessly channelling the words and things of classical antiquity into the medieval present"; Frank, "Reading *Beowulf*," 245.

56 Defined as "catalogue poetry" composed by "the literary elite," riddles "[control] nature on the page, [organize] human knowledge into manageable form and show us the created world reshaped by human hands"; Lerer, *Literacy and Power*, 101–2.

57 *OEALRT*, 2–93 with notes at 610–11 and 639–73; and *COEALRT*, 1–112.

58 *OEALRT*, 182–221 with notes at 612 and 715–22; and *COEALRT*, 230–57.

59 *OEALRT*, 94–109 with notes at 611 and 673–81; and *COEALRT*, 113–31.

60 As well as authoring verse riddles, Alcuin included a number of (prose) riddles in his *Disputatio Pippini*: see *OEALRT*, 222–65 with notes at 623 and 722–34; and *COEALRT*, 257–89. See also Bayless, "Alcuin's *Disputatio Pippini*."

61 Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 4.

62 Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*. In fact, Niles refers specifically to the

very etymology of the verb "to read" in both literary languages of early England, Lat. *legere* and OE *rædan*, is intriguing,[63] and, on the vernacular front in particular, the frequency of figures such as *kenningar* is again revealing of this enigmatic quality of early English poetry.[64])

At the same time, riddles possess a distinctive didactic potential.[65] Riddles are a genre where encyclopaedism, grammar, and glossography often converged.[66] The most influential encyclopaedia of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages was the *Etymologiae* and indeed they proved the single most influential source of the early English riddles, as the sheer extent of Orchard's recent "Concordance of Parallels with Isidore's *Etymologiae*" startlingly shows.[67] Moreover, Mercedes Salvador-Bello has argued that the early English *aenigmata* collections derived from the *Etymologiae* also structural criteria and organizational patterns.[68]

Isidore himself deals with the *aenigma* in the *Etymologiae* and revealingly includes it among the grammatical tropes of the first book:

> Enigma est quaestio obscura quae difficile intellegitur, nisi aperiatur...Inter allegoriam autem et enigma hoc interest quod allegoria uis gemina est et sub res alias aliud figuraliter indicat; enigma uero sensus tantum obscurus est et per quasdam imagines adumbratus. (*Etymologiae* 1:37, 26, in Isidore, *De grammatica*, 181–83)

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vernacular context of the Old English riddles and poetry, but I think his acute observation can equally apply to Anglo-Latin *aenigmata* and poetry. On the bilingual nature of the early English riddle tradition "and on the perils of perceiving it in a merely monoglot manner," see the monumental two-volume study by Orchard, *OEALRT* and *COEALRT*, esp. *OEALRT*, vii–xviii, quotation at xviii. On the complex intertextuality linking Latin and vernacular riddles, see Aldhelm, *The Poetic Works*, 67 and Orchard, "Enigma Variations," 294–99.

63 Scardigli and Gervasi, *Avviamento*, *s.u. to read*; Orel, *A Handbook*, *s.u. rēðjanan*; and Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, I, 59-60 and II, 658. See also Rudolf, "Riddling and Reading," 502–3; Parkes, "*Rædan*, *areccan*, *smeagan*"; and Weaver, "Premodern and Postcritical," 46–50.

64 For a recent discussion of *kenningar* and *heiti*, see Battaglia, *Snorri Sturluson: Edda*, 85–90. For illuminating comparisons between the early English and Old Norse riddle traditions, see *OEALRT* and *COEALRT*.

65 Lerer, *Literacy and Power*, 101–2; Rudolf, "Riddling and Reading," 499–500; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 52–60; and Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order*, 448.

66 Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order*, 74–87.

67 *OEALRT*, xx–xxi and *COEALRT*, 697–700.

68 *Isidorean Perceptions of Order*.

> A riddle is an obscure question that is difficult to solve unless it is explained [...] Between allegory and the riddle there is this difference, that the force of allegory is twofold and figuratively indicates one subject under the guise of other subjects, while a riddle merely has an obscure meaning and its solution is hinted at through certain images. (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 63)

Following Donatus and his commentators—his major sources throughout the first book of the *Etymologiae*—Isidore defines the *aenigma* as one of the seven types of allegory, particularly, as a linguistic device to contrive images capable of disclosing an obscure meaning.[69] In turn, the association between *aenigma* and grammar is very much intrinsic to the early English riddle tradition: all the major authors of riddles—Aldhelm,[70] Boniface,[71] Tatwine,[72] Bede,[73] Alcuin[74]—also wrote grammatical handbooks, manuals of orthography, and/or metrical treatises.

Aldhelm, the earliest, most prolific, and most influential English author of *aenigmata*, composed riddles that are essentially "linguistic exercises," according to Nicholas Howe's fitting definition,[75] though I would prefix that "linguistic" with a "meta." In other words, Aldhelm's *aenigmata* are not so much investigations on the *res* or the object of the riddle, as an exploration of the linguistic possibilities of its *nomen*.[76] Aldhelm's collection of one hun-

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69 Isidore, *De grammatica*, 372–73. On the sources of *Etymologiae* I, see Isidore, *De grammatica*, cvii–cxiii and 452–63. In keeping with his pan-grammatical system, Isidore provides a purely grammatical definition of *aenigma*, whereas Bede, in the wake of Cassiodorus, will highlight that the obscurities of *aenigmata* ultimately convey spiritual meanings: see Bede, *De schematibus*, ed. Kendall, 162–63, lines 191–98.

70 Aldhelm authored two metrical treatises *De metris* and *De pedum regulis* included in the *Epistola ad Acircium*.

71 Boniface authored an *Ars grammatica* and an *Ars metrica*; see *CPL* 1564*b* and 1564*c*, and Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers*, no. 166.

72 Tatwine authored an *Ars grammatica (de viii partibus orationis*); see *CPL* 1563 and Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers*, no. 1681.

73 Bede authored *De arte metrica*, *De orthographia*, and *De schematibus et tropis seu de arte metrica libri ii*; see *CPL* 1565–67 and Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers*, no. 152.

74 Alcuin authored the *De dialectica*, the *Dialogus Franconis et Saxonis de octo partibus orationis*, and the *Orthographia*, as well as editing Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (*CPL* 1546); see Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers*, no. 87.

75 Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 38.

76 However, Howe's argument that Aldhelm's *aenigmata* did not pose any challenge content-wise as they regularly circulated with their solutions ("Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 37), has been convincingly challenged by Orchard, "Enigma Variations," 285–87.

dred *aenigmata* was apparently composed early in his career and is embedded between the two metrical treatises, *De metris* and *De pedum regulis*, of the *Epistola ad Acircium* to illustrate and purportedly exemplify the various metrical principles discussed.[77]

According to Orchard's "Concordance of Parallels with Isidore's *Etymologiae*," no fewer than fifty-seven out of Aldhelm's one-hundred *aenigmata* are indebted to the *Etymologiae*.[78] But beside or beyond any specific thematic or stylistic debts to Isidore's encyclopaedia, Aldhelm's *aenigmata* collection shares the cosmographic scope of the *Etymologiae*,[79] as well as the very Isidorean concept and practice of etymology as an epistemological tool establishing an "equivalence between the name and the thing it signifies."[80] And if the etymological method is pervasive, the other categories of *analogia*, *differentia*, and *glossa* skilfully interlace in the intricate fabric of associations and/or contrasts that make up both a given riddle collection as a whole,[81] and individual *aenigmata*, as they try to establish analogies between objects or beings belonging to different categories and to convey them via polysemic words.[82] A fitting case in point is Aldhelm's *Aenigma* 91, relying on *Etymologiae* 18.12.1–6, where the solution "palm tree" gradually emerges only after the reader has worked through the analogies and differences between the meanings of the polysemic Lat. *palma*: "palm (of the hand)" > "hand," "palm tree," "leaf of the tree" > "wreath of victory (made from the leaves)," the latter meaning in turn interpretable in both a secular and a Christian sense, as the palm leaf is the distinctive attribute of worldly as well as spiritual fighters, that is, martyrs.[83]

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77 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 6; OEALRT, xx–xxi and COEALRT, 697–700.

78 See *aenigmata* nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12–18, 20, 23–25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35–37, 39–43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 56, 60, 61, 63–65, 70, 77, 78, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95–100. Throughout the essay, the numeration of *aenigmata*, both in Latin and Old English, follows the one assigned by Orchard in *OEALRT*.

79 Weaver, "Premodern and Postcritical," 50–51.

80 Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 58: "the linguistic practice of the *Enigmata* reveals the decisive influence of Isidore on Aldhelm's habits of thinking and composing." On the etymological principle in the early English riddle tradition in general, see Bitterli, *Say What I am Called*, 35–56 and Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 54–55 and 59–60.

81 On the thematic groupings of *aenigmata* collections, see Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order*, 88–283.

82 Rudolf, "Riddling and Reading," 499–500.

83 Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 44–45, though he does not consider the palm leaf as a symbol of martyrs' victory; *OEALRT*, 76–77 with notes at 670, and *COEALRT*, 94–95.

Aldhelm's *aenigmata* also exhibit his penchant for the synonymous style and the *copia verborum*, in that "some of [his] *aenigmata* may be read as exercises in synonymy,"[84] as is the case with *Aenigma* 70, the solution of which, *tortella* "loaf of bread," is couched in militaristic terms as various kinds of shield (*pelta*, *scutum*, *clipeus*, *umbo*, *parma*), all of which occur in the dedicated chapter of *Etymologiae* 18.12.1–6.[85] And yet, Aldhelm's greatly varied and erudite, at times even arcane, vocabulary does not just consist of a mere combinatory divertissement or of a smug piling-up of ever longer lists of synonyms, but it ultimately inspires a meditative, experimental reading and provokes interpretation.[86]

The Manuscript Tradition

The manuscript tradition also affords revealing evidence as to the contiguity between Isidore and the early English riddle tradition. The southern English codex Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS Q. v. I. 15[87] contains almost exclusively Isidorean texts (including *De differentiis rerum* and the *Synonyma*), alongside the second-earliest extant copy of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*,[88] as well as an acrostic poem on St. John attributed, though not universally, to Boniface,[89] an author of Latin *aenigmata* himself[90] and a keen and experimental practitioner of acrostics.[91]

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84 Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 56n56.

85 *OEALRT*, 56–59, and *COEALRT*, 77.

86 Weaver, "Premodern and Postcritical," 50–56. Indeed, according to Weaver, Aldhelm's role as the key model of the hermeneutic style can be put down precisely to his *Aenigmata*, which, "combined with his signature style and formal gamesmanship…provided the framework for the self-conscious cultivation of a register of written Latin and English that was explicitly designed to cultivate hermeneutic responsiveness": "Premodern and Postcritical," 54.

87 The manuscript has been dated to *s*. viii^2 (prov. Corbie, *s*. viii): Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 845. See also *CLA* 11:1618 and Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 68–70 and 72.

88 The Saint Petersburg manuscript contains the following texts by Isidore: *In libros ueteris et noui Testamenti prooemia*, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *De differentiis rerum*, and the *Synonyma*. Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* occur as the last item of the codex, whereas their solutions are sandwiched between Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *De differentiis rerum*.

89 The acrostic poem is SK no. 8331. On the questioned authorship, see Howlett, "A Possible Author."

90 OEALRT, 182–221 with notes at 612 and 715–22; and COEALRT, 230–57.

91 Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 202–9 and Thornbury, "Boniface as Poet and Teacher," 106–8 and 115–17.

Riddle collections often co-occur with grammatical works, as well as with scholia and glosses of grammatical and encyclopaedic content.[92] Indeed, the major pre-Conquest manuscript witness of *aenigmata*, Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (*s*. xi^{med}, Canterbury, St. Augustine's?; prov. Canterbury St. Augustine's), also contains curriculum texts, most of which intensely glossed, and has therefore been considered, though controversially, a 'classbook.'[93] Somewhat disappointingly, none of the twenty-two manuscript witnesses of the *Etymologiae* included in Gneuss and Lapidge's *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* also features riddle collections,[94] but evidence of the close interplay between early English riddles and encyclopaedic lore is afforded by another major manuscript witness of the riddle tradition, London, British Library, MS Royal 12. C. xxiii (*s*. x^2 or x/xi, Canterbury, Christ Church), where sizeable quotes from the *Etymologiae* gloss Aldhelm's *aenigmata*.[95]

Aenigmata and *litterae*

The peculiar blend of grammatical and encyclopaedic lore in riddles is also evident in their fascination with the very activity of writing as well as with the material and iconic quality of the written word. Riddles about the objects of the scriptorium abound,[96] and so do those concerning the very basic ele-

92 Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order*, 74–87 and *OEALRT*, xviii–xx. On the relationship between the *Etymologiae* and early English glossaries, see Lazzari, "Isidore's *Etymologiae* in Anglo-Saxon Glossaries" and Lazzari, "Isidore's *Etymologiae* and the Bilingual Antwerp–London Glossary."

93 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 12. On the contents and structure of this vast volume, see Rigg and Wieland, "A Canterbury Classbook," and on its glosses, see Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius*. On the allegedly didactic role of glossed manuscripts, see Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England, I"; Page, "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England, II"; Page, "On the Feasibility of a Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Glosses," 80–93; Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript"; Wieland, "Interpreting the Interpretation"; and Stanton, *The Culture of Translation*, 9–54.

94 Cf. items nos. 154.5f, 173e, 176e, 185e, 188.8e, 311e, 391e, 460e, 469, 497.2e, 498.1e, 524.4f, 561, 682e, 690e, 749e, 784.5e, 808.0e, 821f, 885f, 889, and 919.3e.

95 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 478. The codex contains the *Aenigmata* of Aldhelm, Symphosius, Eusebius, Tatwine (all with glosses and scholia), as well as an anonymous Hiberno-Latin poem, the *Versus cuiusdam Scotti de alphabeto* (SK 12594), which can be associated with the early English riddle tradition; see *OEALRT*, 548–61 with notes at 635 and 844–50, and *COEALRT*, 607–23.

96 See below, Appendix A. See also Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 135–50.

ments of script, that is the letters of the alphabet,[97] which are explored in both their graphic dimension and their symbolic and spiritual meanings as *signa*.

Notably, the *Etymologiae* open with an (Augustinian) definition of letters precisely as *signa*, that is as token of things (*indices rerum*), with the power (*uis*) to convey and preserve the voice of those who are now absent.

> Primordia grammaticae artis litterae communes existunt…Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa uerborum, quibus tanta uis est, ut nobis dicta absentium sine uoce loquantur…Litterae Latinae et Graece ab Hebreis uidentur exortae. Hebreorum litteras a Lege cepisse per Moysen. (*Etymologiae* 1. 3, 1–5, in Isidore, *De grammatica*, 5–9)

> The common letters of the alphabet are the primary elements of the art of grammar…letters are token of things, the signs of words, and they have so much force that the utterances of those who are absent speak to us without a voice…The Latin and Greek letters seem to be derived from the Hebrew… the Hebrew language is the mother of all languages and letters…The letters of the Hebrew started with the Law transmitted by Moses. ([Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 39)

Thus, writing is "a memory system and a precondition for knowledge,"[98] since it transcends generations—a point that must have powerfully resonated with the earliest English *literati*, such as Aldhelm, Boniface, Bede, who were leading the momentous transition from orality to literacy and laying the foundations of the textual culture of England.[99] Also, letters and writing are assigned an ultimate divine origin and sacred function, in that Hebrew is said to be the mother of all languages and letters, and in turn, the letters of Hebrew themselves started with the Law transmitted by Moses, according to a theory validated by no less Fathers than Jerome and Augustine.[100]

The very shape of a letter can convey a deep and complex symbolism, as shown in particular in Isidore's discussion of the five mystical letters of the Greek alphabet in *Etymologiae* 1.3.7–9.[101] Indeed, Isidore is aware of the twofold physical dimension of letters as both sounds and graphemes, the relationship between which is explained in pre-Saussurian terms as causal rather than arbitrary (*Etymologiae* 1.4.17).[102] Incidentally, the causal rela-

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97 See below, Appendix B.

98 Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, 102.

99 On this transition, see the classic study by O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*.

100 Isidore, *De grammatica*, 222–24.

101 Isidore, *De grammatica*, 10–13 and 227–29, and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 40.

102 Isidore, *De grammatica*, 24–27 and 241, and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 41.

tionship between sound and grapheme is in line with the principle that the etymology of a word reveals the nature of the object or being it signifies, since it ultimately establishes a causal relationship between words and objects or beings.[103]

The Isidorean account of letters seems to underlie what has been defined a distinctively English focus on spelling and an equally distinctive "belief that knowledge of individual letters provides understanding of the nature of the words that they form [or] that the value of an object can be explored through the very letters that comprise the spelling of its name."[104] Such a belief proved an especially effective and resourceful tool in the hands of the early English riddle authors, for whom an Isidorean background can therefore be detected not just in their entrenched grammatical *Weltanschauung*, but also in the logographic streak with which they explored the rich symbolism of letters, their iconicity, their combinatory ability, and their duality as both aural/oral and written/visual objects.[105]

The significance of letters also inspired both playful and highly sophisticated formats of *aenigmata* and other early English verse in general. Acrostics were a constant favourite with early English poets, both in Latin and the vernacular, throughout the pre-Conquest period,[106] from Aldhelm to Cynewulf,[107] from Boniface to Dunstan of Glastonbury († 988),[108] from the debated author of the ninth-century acrostics verses in praise of King Alfred[109] to Wulfstan Cantor (fl. 996).[110] Indeed, early English *literati* also contributed to the popularization of acrostic verse on the other side of the Channel: Boniface may have introduced cryptography on the Continent,[111] and he and Alcuin likely triggered the Carolingian vogue of *carmina figurata*, the ultimate form of acrostic verse, the most accomplished practitioner of which was Hrabanus Maurus, a monk at the Bonifatian foundation of

103 See *Etymologiae* 1.29.2–3: Isidore, *De grammatica*, 124–25 and 318–19, and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 55.

104 Gallagher, "Latin Acrostic Poetry," 266. See also *The Old English Dialogues*, 30 and 52.

105 Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called*, 114–31 and Rudolf, "Riddling and Reading."

106 Lapidge, "Acrostics," and Burns, "The Visual Craft," 110–15 and 122–24.

107 Roberts, "Cynewulf," and Orchard, "Alcuin and Cynewulf," 324–45.

108 Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style," 133–35 and 146–49, and Lapidge, "St Dunstan's Latin Poetry."

109 Gallagher, "Latin Acrostic Poetry" and Gallagher, "King Alfred and the Sibyl."

110 Lapidge, "Wulfstan *Cantor*," and Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 209–23.

111 Levison, *England and the Continent*, 290–94.

Fulda, disciple of Alcuin, and eventually successor of Boniface an the Archbishop of Mainz.[112] As "potent statements of the power of etymology and orthography,"[113] acrostics, like *aenigmata*, are conceived and thrive at the intersection of grammatical, logographic, and etymological lore. Hence the penchant that early English poets, in general, and riddle authors, in particular, consistently nurtured for acrostics clearly strikes a very pertinent chord.

The fascination with the symbolism of letters and the metalinguistic engagement with them also shows in the use of runes.[114] Because of their graphic alterity, runes served well cryptographic and/or riddling aims, and because of their multivalence, they required that kind of metalinguistic reasoning and decoding exercise which was key to the early English riddle authors and poets in general.[115] Indeed, "creative runography"[116] has been detected in a wide range of Old English poems, from the *Rune Poem*[117] to *The Husband's Message*,[118] from Cynewulf's acrostic signatures[119] to a few vernacular riddles,[120] and also in one of the most sophisticated and intriguing artefacts of pre-Conquest England, the Franks Casket.[121]

Similarly, the logographic penchant of the early English is evident in their interest for other alphabetic systems besides the Latin and runic ones, that is the Greek and Hebrew alphabets,[122] in the use of gibberish and pho-

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112 On the *carmina figurata* and Hrabanus Maurus's figured poems on the cross, see Hewett, "The Encounter of Art and Language." The current edition of Hrabanus Maurus's figured poems is *In honorem sanctae Crucis* by Perrin.

113 Gallagher, "Latin Acrostic Poetry," 266.

114 Page, "Runes."

115 Birkett, *Reading the Runes*, 82–83; Symons, *Runes and Roman Letters*, 193–98; and Burns, "The Visual Craft," 323–26.

116 Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 262; see also 234–47.

117 *OEALRT*, 420–35 with notes at 632–33, 788–95, and *COEALRT*, 489–501. See also Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 251–79.

118 Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 213–50.

119 Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 285–306; Burns, "The Visual Craft," 122–24; and Birkett, "Runes and *Revelatio*."

120 See, for example, the Exeter Book Riddles 17, 22, 40, 73, and 74: *OEALRT*, 322–23, 330–31, 360–61, and 394–97 with notes at 626, 628, 630, 751–52, 754–55, 763, and 779–80; and *COEALRT*, 367–70, 377–78, 412–14, and 460–62. See also Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 85–100 and Dewa, "The Runic Riddles of the Exeter Book."

121 *OEALRT*, 294–95 with notes at 741, and *COEALRT*, 315–17. See also Webster, "Franks Casket" and Burns, "The Visual Craft," 241–42.

122 On the knowledge and use of Greek letters in pre-Conquest England, see at least

netic spellings of exotic words made in charms,[123] or in the personification of the letters of the *Pater Noster* in the Old English wisdom poem *Solomon and Saturn I* and the subtle and varied management of script in the fellow poem *Solomon and Saturn II*.[124]

Sapientia and *Grammatica* in *Solomon and Saturn I* and *II*

In *Solomon and Saturn I*, Saturn, the champion of pagan learning, challenges Solomon, representative of Judaeo-Christian wisdom, to impress him with the virtues of the key Christian prayer, the *Pater Noster*, and Solomon responds by describing how the anthropomorphized letters of the first two words of the prayer make their assault on the devil.[125] The technique of personification and the figure of prosopopoeia were favourite rhetorical devices among the early English, from epigraphy to poetry in general, but especially in riddles.[126] And with the riddle tradition *Solomon and Saturn I* also shares a logographic twist, in that the letters of the prayer are written out in pairs of Latin and runic graphs.[127] Each letter is then described analytically, argu-

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Burns, "The Visual Craft," 307–22 and Griffiths, "Some Curious Glosses on Letters of the Greek Alphabet." On the knowledge and use of Hebrew letters in pre-Conquest England, see at least Fleming, "Christian Hebrew in England" and Griffiths, "The Canterbury Psalter's Alphabet Glosses." On the genealogical relationship between the three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as outlined by Isidore, see above, and on their interdependence see *Etymologiae*, 9.1.3: Isidore, *De linguis*, 32-33 and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 191.

123 Arthur, *'Charms,' Liturgies and Secret Rites*, 169–214 and Olsan, "Latin Charms of Medieval England."

124 For an overview of the Old English Solomon and Saturn texts, see O'Neill, "On the Date, Provenance, and Relationship of the 'Solomon and Saturn' Dialogues" and *The Old English Dialogues*, 41–49. Editions and translations of *Solomon and Saturn I* and *II* can be found in *The Old English Dialogues* at 60–71 and 78–95, respectively. For a reassessment of the boundaries between the Solomon and Saturn texts, see Burns, "The Visual Craft," 294–98.

125 Cf. the *Prose Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Dialogue*, lines 9–33, where the prayer as a whole creature experiences a series of transformations to counter the opposite transformations of the devil; *The Old English Dialogues*, 72–73.

126 Orton, "The Technique of Object-Personification"; Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems*, 53–54 on personification, and 211, esp. n6, on prosopopoeia in both Old English poetry, particularly riddles, and epigraphy; Schlauch, "The 'Dream of the Rood'"; and Edlich-Muth, "Prosopopoeia."

127 The runes are attested, alongside their Latin counterparts, in one of the two manuscript witnesses of the poem, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, while they are absent in the other witness, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41. For a

ably trying to touch upon the four characteristics (*accidentia*) that Isidore had attributed to letters, namely their name (*nomen*), shape (*figura*), function (*potestas*), and order (*ordo*).[128] This detailed description of the Latin letters and the metalinguistic exercise it triggers are in turn further developed by the presence of the runic letters pairing the Latin ones, since runes, as polysemic graphemes, were "particularly adept at…expressing ideas about signification, interpretation, and the ability of written language to convey meaning."[129]

As Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has pointed out, the combat that the letters take up against the devil echoes Isidore's conception of letters as signs retaining the power of speech of those absent: if this is applied to the *Pater Noster*, originally uttered by Christ Himself and addressed to God the Father, the individual letters obviously acquire a divine power.[130] Moreover, the apparent Isidorean paradox of letters as entities that, though being voiceless themselves, speak the speech of those absent, repeatedly plays out in *Solomon and Saturn I*, in that the *Pater Noster* is alternatively presented in both its verbal, voiced expression and in its written, voiceless one. Indeed, *Solomon and Saturn I* itself is presented as a dialogical exchange, yet it is conveyed silently, in written form.[131] The tension between the oral and the written word permeates the early English riddle tradition,[132] as well as marking much of the pre-Conquest textual culture at large as the product of a "transitional literacy,"[133] and I would argue that this tension finds a theoretical foundation in Isidore's *grammatica*.

Solomon and Saturn II, the twin poem of *Solomon and Saturn I*, is a wisdom contest, where the two opponents debate a wide range of topics, with a distinctive focus on Middle Eastern culture and setting.[134] Saturn shows off

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comparison between the two codices and a reassessment of the possibility of the use of runes in the original *Solomon and Saturn I*, see Burns, "The Visual Craft," 291–94.

128 Isidore, *De grammatica*, 4.16, 24–25 and 241 n2; translation in Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 41. See also Burns, "The Visual Craft," 331–39.

129 Symons, *Runes and Roman Letters*, 195.

130 O'Brien O' Keeffe, *Visible Song*, 50–51.

131 O'Brien O' Keeffe, *Visible Song*, 48, and Burns, "The Visual Craft," 328–30.

132 See, e.g, Aldhelm's *Aenigma* 30 (esp. lines 1 and 5–6), an *aenigma* indebted to *Etymologiae* 1.4.10; here, the letters of the alphabet introduce themselves as voiceless creatures, yet ready to offer words, though in silence, to those eager to listen: *OEALRT*, 24–25 with notes at 619 and 651, and *COEALRT*, 39–40. See also Orchard, "Performing Writing and Singing Silence."

133 O'Brien O' Keeffe, *Visible Song* and Orchard, "Oral Tradition."

134 Burns, "The Visual Craft," 300–6.

his learning by listing a long sequence of east European, Asian, and North African places he has visited, thereby charting a virtual map of the learned context of composition of the poem.[135] Notably, the scribe manipulates the letters to create exotic-looking graphemes that match the exotic contents and contexts evoked, resorting to that evocative and iconic use of letters so frequently attested in the riddle tradition.[136] Also, the upper-hand in the debate and ultimate victory of Solomon, the champion of Biblical learning, is also signalled graphically by the scribe about half-way through the dialogue by writing Solomon's name in ornamented capitals, while Saturn's name is spelled in plain small capitals instead.[137]

Finally, at least two of the exchanges between the two contestants in *Solomon and Saturn II* are formulated as two riddles proper, about books and old age, for which "many parallels in sense or style or solution" have been pointed out within both the early English riddle tradition and the Old Norse wisdom contests.[138]

Conclusions

Early English *aenigmata* and related texts convey a "profoundly logocentric view of the world,"[139] which ultimately runs through all early English literary culture. From Aldhelm's *Aenigma* 30 to Ælfric's *Grammar* to Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, language, even in its most basic components—letters—is the medium that conveys knowledge of the natural world and encodes the mysteries of the supernatural one. This logocentric view arguably owes much to Isidore's pan-grammatical system and to the distinctively Isidorean "fascination with linguistic [detail, which] became 'a whole climate of opinion,' surrounding and touching even those without access to his books."[140] The four grammatical categories at the core of Isidore's encyclopaedia—difference, analogy, gloss, and, above all, etymology—functioned as linguistic categories but also as categories of thought. Furthermore, a figure of speech much cherished by Isidore, synonymy, artfully interplayed with native

135 O'Brien O'Keeffe, "The Geographic List."

136 Rudolf, "Riddling and Reading," 505–8.

137 O'Brien O'Keeffe, "The Geographic List," 126. See also see Powell, "Orientalist Fantasy," 119 and 143.

138 The two riddles are ed. and trans. in *OEALRT*, 436–39, with notes at 633 and 795; commentary in *COEALRT*, 501–5, quotation at 503.

139 Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 55.

140 Frank, "Reading *Beowulf*," 258.

stylistic devices to craft what has long been acknowledged as the most distinctive tenet of early English poetry, "repetition of thought with variation of expression,"[141] a tenet which shows its virtually endless possibilities in the vast range of subtle permutations of the *ubi sunt* motif.

The Isidorean import on early English *grammatica* could easily be dismissed by pointing out the undeniably derivative nature of anything Isidore wrote. But in this case a *reditus ad originem* focusing on the ultimate *auctoritates* would risk missing the point: because it was the *compilator*'s distinctive synthesis and his categorization of knowledge and of the language expressing it that contributed to the definition and subsequent development of the English textual culture.

141 Tolman, "The Style of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," 23–33. For a more recent discussion of "the art and craft'" of early English poets, see Orchard, "Alcuin and Cynewulf."

Appendix A

Aenigmata About the Objects and/or Activity of the Scriptorium

(based on the "Index of Solutions," *OEALRT*, 877–93)

Aldhelm	§ 32 (*pugillares* "writing tablets") § 59 (*penna* "pen") § 89 (*arca libraria* "book chest")
Tatwine	§ 5 (*membranum* "parchment") § 6 (*penna* "pen") § 10 (*recitabulum* "lectern")
Bern Riddles	§ 24 (*membranum* "parchment") § 27 (*papyrus*)
Lorsch Riddles	§ 9 (*penna* "quill pen") § 12 (*atramentum* "ink")
Ps-Bede	§ 11 (*penna* "quill pen")
Eusebius	§ 30 (*atramentorium* "ink horn") § 32 (*membranum* "parchment") § 33 (*scetha* "book satchel") § 35 (*penna* "pen")
Exeter Book Riddles (OE)	§§ 15†,16† (inkwell) §§ 17†, 29†, 49 (pen and fingers) §§ 24, 46†, 65 (Gospel book) § 19† (feather pen) §§ 2†, 49†, 91† (quill pen) § 45 (book-moth) § 47† (book-chest) § 58† (reed pen) §§ 71†, 72† (pen) §§ 84, 89 (ink horn) § 88 (book and/or beech-tree) § 91† (book or riddle or riddle-book)

Appendix B

Aenigmata About the Letters of the Alphabet

(based on the "Index of Solutions," *OEALRT*, 877–93)

Aldhelm
§ 30

Tatwine
§ 4

Eusebius
§§ 7, 9, 14, 19, and 39

Bede
§§ 2 (*f*), 7 (*a*), 8 (*i*), 9 (*o*), 10 (*u*/*w*)

Alcuin
Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi Pippini cum Albino scholastico § 1

Bern Riddles
§ 25

Versus cuiusdam Scotti de alphabeto

Exeter Book Riddles (OE)
§ 11 †
§ 55

The Rune Poem (OE)

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Chapter 2

"IBIMUS AMBO SIMUL QUO PAGINA UENERIT ISTA"

THE TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF ARATOR'S VERSE-LETTERS IN PRE-CONQUEST ENGLAND

RICHARD HILLIER

"THE TWO OF us shall travel together wherever this page goes." So writes Arator at the end of the verse-letter to his childhood friend Parthenius. Clearly Arator intended the letter to be attached to and circulated alongside the *Historia apostolica* (hereafter *HA*), his epic retelling of the Acts of the Apostles, first declaimed in Rome in 544.[1] But what do we know about the transmission and reception not just of this letter but of all three of Arator's verse-letters (to Vigilius, Florianus, and Parthenius), in particular in pre-Conquest England?[2]

Arator's popularity in pre-Conquest England, especially in the seventh and eighth centuries, is well documented and hugely significant,[3] for, aside from Venantius Fortunatus at the end of the sixth century and Paul the Deacon in the eighth, with a few significant exceptions, there is sparse surviving evidence of familiarity with the *HA* in Italy or the Frankish kingdoms until the ninth century, the era of the first surviving complete manuscripts and its frequent imitation in the poems of Carolingian writers.[4]

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1 On Arator's life, including the public recitation of the *HA*: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 1–33; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, vii–xxii; Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 251–59. Quotations from Arator follow the edition of Bureau and Deproost, unless otherwise stated.

2 Beyond the scope of this study are both the later glosses which became attached to the text and the prose *capitulationes* (chapter headings) and *tituli* (summaries) which, although included in the majority of the surviving manuscripts, were certainly not written by Arator and unlikely to have been a feature of the first copies of the *HA* to reach England. On the suggestion that an English centre or centres played a key role in their editing: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxxxiv–vii.

3 See e.g. Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 83–87, 111–14; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 178–79, 195–96, 232, 240, 248, 267, 281; and McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 226–28. Further reading on Arator's influence on individual authors follows below at the relevant point.

4 Fortunatus: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 79–80, 259–60; Paul the Deacon: Arator,

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That popularity is evident not from the survival of manuscripts written in English centres, for the earliest of the six codices probably copied in pre-Conquest England dates from no earlier than the tenth century,[5] nor from Arator's presence in surviving booklists of English libraries, with the earliest dating only from the early eleventh century.[6] Our evidence instead comes from the words of the Anglo-Latin writers themselves. Occasionally this is in the form of direct quotation: in their treatises on poetic metre, both Aldhelm and Bede illustrate their points with lines of Arator's verse,[7] whilst in his commentary on Acts Bede quotes with approval Arator's exegesis and states explicitly, in its prefatory letter, that he found Arator's poem particularly helpful.[8] In the late eighth century, Alcuin reveals, in his poem on the

Historia Apostolica, 80–81, 258. However, Arator was clearly known more than surviving evidence suggests. The earliest Italian manuscript fragments, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 66 (**B**), were written, probably in northeast Italy, at the turn of the seventh century (see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 475–76, no. 620.6); a verse mass-preface from the second half of the eighth century contained in the so-called *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, an early source for the Ambrosian Rite as celebrated in Milan, also quotes *HA* 1.338–39. Frankish kingdoms: the preface of another mass text (one of the so-called Mone-Messen), written probably in the middle of the seventh century, incorporates *HA* 1.338–69. Evidence from Spain is particularly lacking: Arator is absent from Isidore of Seville, *Versus in bibliotheca*, which otherwise lists Prudentius, Avitus, Juvencus, and Sedulius. For details and references: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 78–82.

5 London, British Library, MS Add. 11034 (beginning of the tenth century: **V**), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 570 (second half of the tenth century), Cambridge, University Library, Trinity College MS B. 14. 3 (end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century: **C**), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8092 (second quarter of the eleventh century: **Γ**), Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35 (mid-eleventh century), London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 17 (last quarter of the eleventh/first quarter of the twelfth century). See also London, British Library, MS Royal 15. A. v. (late eleventh/early twelfth century). On these manuscripts (respectively): Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 215–216 (no. 280), 505–6 (no. 660), 151–52 (no. 175), 642–43 (no. 890), 25–28 (no. 12), 419 (no. 523.5), 394–95 (no. 488). The offset fragments contained in Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 66 (**B**: see above n4), must also have been in England at least some time before the twelfth century when they were reused as cover binding. Sigla used here and elsewhere in this paper are those used in Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxci–cxcii.

6 Two copies appear in a booklist probably from Worcester; see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 140–43. For evidence from post-Conquest booklists: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 112.

7 Aldhelm: *De metris* (70–71, 80, 92–93, 153); Bede: *De arte metrica* 2, 3, 11.

8 *Expositio actuum apostolorum*, *praefatio*. lines 18–23. For a detailed examination of Arator's influence on this commentary: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 262–76.

bishops, kings and saints of York (*Carmina* 1), that Arator's work was in the library there.[9]

However, the information we need comes most frequently in the form of intertextuality, whether intentional and dynamic or unconscious incorporation of remembered reading.[10] All forty-four episodes into which the continuous narrative of the *HA* was divided at some point before the beginning of the ninth century contain unique line-starts or cadences or expressions or word-combinations which were copied and incorporated, whether wittingly or not, by the Latin writers of pre-Conquest England.[11]

But the poetry of Arator consists of more than just the *HA*, for the manuscripts attach to the poem one, two, or three accompanying letters, written in highly allusive and literary elegiac verse.[12] First there is a letter of gratitude and dedication to Pope Vigilius, which serves as the preface to the poem, included in every manuscript which contains the *HA* in its entirety.[13] The remaining two letters are, in effect, sophisticated promotional pamphlets, intended to secure their recipients' assistance in the circulation of the work itself.

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9 *Carm*. 1.1551.

10 For a nuanced discussion of intertextuality in late antiquity: Kaufmann, "Intertextuality in Late Latin Poetry," 149–75.

11 The index of quotations and allusions at Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 249–61 suggests intertexts from every episode except XXIII (*HA* 1.966–1006). However, "processit in altum" (*HA* 1.986) is incorporated into prose by Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Wilfridi I episcopi Eboracensis* 13; "gurgite Petrus" (*HA* 1.992) is the likely source of Aldhelm, *Enigmata praefatio* 20 "gurgite Cephal" (where Aldhelm substitutes Peter's alternative name to secure the letter L as the last as well as the first letter of the line in his double-acrostic poem); "placida statione" (*HA* 1.997) inspires Alcuin, *Carm*. 65.4a.14 "placida uobis statione." I have conservatively excluded any possible intertext found in an Anglo-Latin writer which (a) Arator could himself have copied from an earlier author, or (b) had already been copied from Arator by another author. The only exception to this rule is if an intertext occurs in an author (either before or after Arator) whom the Anglo-Latin poet is unlikely to have known, or if the number of corroborative intertexts is so great as to make it likely that they were drawn from Arator rather than an earlier or later source. These criteria inevitably risk underestimating the influence of the *HA* by excluding *bona fide* intertexts drawn from Arator rather than from his models and his intervening imitators.

12 For discussion of the letters: McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 174–86; Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 259–66; Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, 87–92.

13 For a list of manuscripts: McKinlay, *Arator: The Codices*. For more up-to-date descriptions of the most important manuscripts: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxiii–clxvi; Arator Subdiaconus, *Historia Apostolica*, 24–94. On the *Ep. ad Vig.* as preface: esp. Deproost, *L'apôtre Pierre dans une épopée du VIe siècle. L'*Historia apostolica *d'Arator*, 58–73. Against: Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 265–68.

The first of these, found almost as frequently in the manuscripts as that addressed to Vigilius,[14] is written to Florianus, abbot of the unknown monastery of Romenum,[15] and purports to be a request for his help in checking Arator's poem for errors. It is a perfect example of the literary *topos* of false modesty: the poet's aim is merely to flatter his reader and elicit his support in the promulgation of his poem.[16]

The last letter, found in only two manuscripts,[17] is that addressed to Parthenius, nephew of the writer Ennodius (Arator's early mentor), kinsman of Ruricius of Limoges, and later *maior domus* of the Austrasian King Theudebert I.[18] Arator begins by lauding Parthenius's rhetorical abilities and recalling the highlights of his career to date. After describing Parthenius as the one who had first encouraged him to write poetry on a religious theme, Arator reveals his true reason for writing, asking his old friend to bring his epic, approved by the pope himself, to the attention of the leading clergymen in Gaul,[19] and voicing his hope that the letter be considered an essential companion to the poem.

By the time the first complete surviving manuscripts were written, therefore, the verse-letters (usually two, but occasionally just one, and very

14 Only Chartres, Médiathèque l'Apostrophe, MS 70 (completed by Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 15), written in the first third of the ninth century (**Y**: see Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 1:194 (no. 883)), Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 86, written probably before 876 (**Z**: see Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxxii–cxxiii), and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 1665, written in the eleventh century (see Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, 3:139–40), contain just the *HA* and the *Epistola ad Vigilium*. This last manuscript is particularly interesting: unless a folio containing the *Epistola ad Florianum* has disappeared from the beginning of the manuscript, it would imply that the "original" version of the Arator dossier was still circulating as late as the eleventh century.

15 Variously identified as Romainmôtier in the Swiss canton of Vaud, an unknown monastery in the diocese of Milan, or Romeno in the northeast-Italian region of Trentino; Radiciotti, "Note su Floriano abate di Romeno e la cultura intellettuale in Italia alla metà del VI secolo."

16 Arator's most recent editors take the request at face value and deduce that the letter was sent to Florianus with an earlier draft of the poem, genuinely asking for his approval; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, xx, cvi–cvii.

17 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2773 (**Θ**) and 9347 (**R**) (respectively Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 3:81 (no. 4226), 148 (no. 4570)).

18 On Parthenius: Bureau, "Parthenius, et la question de l'authenticité de la *Lettre à Parthenius* d'Arator," 387–97; Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 18–22.

19 Notably Firminus, bishop of Uzès (d. 553), who was related to Parthenius by marriage; Bureau, "Parthenius," 394.

rarely all three) were considered as essential components of the Arator dossier.[20] But was this the case in the two and a half centuries which separate the poem's publication and the first complete surviving manuscript? And, in particular, is it possible to establish whether any or all of the letters were known to the writers of pre-Conquest England?

As a quasi-scientific control, we can at least establish, from the evidence of intertexts, that all three letters were known to Venantius Fortunatus, probably from the time of his education in Ravenna in the middle of the sixth century, but potentially also in Aquitaine where he was living by the 570s, no more than thirty years after the poem's publication.[21]

Certainly, at least one copy of the Arator dossier containing the letters to Vigilius and Florianus must have reached England by the tenth century when the first manuscripts already mentioned began to be compiled.[22] But, in order to answer the question, we have no alternative but to turn to the evidence of quotation and intertext, looking at writers from Aldhelm in the seventh century to Wulfstan at the turn of the eleventh.

As one would expect, the *Epistola ad Vigilium* (hereafter *Ep. ad Vig.*) appears, from the witness of citation and intertext, to have been well known throughout the pre-Conquest period. The earliest evidence comes in Aldhelm's *De metris*, where he quotes two lines from the Vigilius-letter as examples of elision:

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20 The "authorial paratext" as opposed to the "editorial paratext," which comprised the *capitulationes*, the *tituli*, and the *relatio* (an account of the presentation of the poem to Pope Vigilius and its first public readings); Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cv–cx.

21 Venantius Fortunatus cites Arator explicitly as an author known to him at *Vita s. Martini* 1. 22–23 (CUF 336:7). See Appendix A below for a list of unique parallels between Fortunatus's verse and Arator's verse-letters.

22 Three or four of them at Canterbury: two at St. Augustine's (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg. 5. 35 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 570) and one or two at Christ Church (**C** and possibly London, Westminster Abbey, MS 17: thus Robinson and James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, 74). It has been argued that the five earliest manuscripts of probable English origin are interrelated (thus Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, clix–clxv): the putative lost manuscript **π** (see below 00) was the model for **V**, which also, however, shares characteristics with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16700 (**H**), written perhaps in Brittany in the mid-ninth century (Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 3:221 (no. 4983)); **V** then provided the text for **C**, which, however, drew its glosses from the same (English?) source as **Θ**, written in Reims in the mid-ninth century; **Γ**, written in England but taken to France by the eleventh century, is related to both **V** and **C**. In addition, both Gg. 5. 35 and Rawlinson C. 570 contain a poem attributed to a "John of Fulda," otherwise found only in **V**: see Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 108 with n622, 286–87.

> et Arator subdiaconus primo uersu terminalem genitiui sillabam displodit dicens "moenibus undosis bellorum incendia cernens" et infra elegiaco uersu subiunxit "inque humeris ferimur te releuante piis"[23]
>
> And the subdeacon Arator in the first line elides the final syllable of the genitive, saying "When I watched the blazing battles from the resounding walls" and later in a pentameter line he added "And, as you relieve us of our burdens, we are carried on your loving shoulders."

The first line quoted is the very beginning of the letter (*Ep. ad Vig.* 1), which he describes as "the first line," meaning the first line of the Arator dossier which he had read or had in front of him. In other words, the Arator dossier began with the Vigilius-letter, clearly regarded as an indispensable introduction to the poem.[24]

The second line quoted by Aldhelm (*Ep. ad Vig.* 6) is of equal interest, this time with regard to the transmission of the text of the Vigilius-letter, for "releuante" is found in not a single surviving manuscript of Arator, all of which give "reuocante," the poet describing Vigilius as "calling back" his sheep, rather than "relieving their burden." Yet the evidence of the *De metris* is more than one hundred years older than the earliest surviving text of the Vigilius-letter.[25] In addition, no manuscript of Aldhelm gives "reuocante" as an alternative reading.[26] It is an interesting textual puzzle. The decision of the most recent editors of Arator to replace the vulgate "reuocante" with "releuante" is certainly a bold one.[27]

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23 Aldhelm, De metris (80).

24 Aldhelm similarly uses "primo uersu" to indicate the first line of Phocas, *Ars de nomine et uerbo* (79) and Paulinus of Nola, *Natalicia* 4 [*Carm*. 15] (96). See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 181.

25 Probably Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 74 sup. (**A**; Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 2:158 (no. 2630)), copied at Saint-Denis for Dungal, who died in 828, the *terminus ante quem*: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxiv–cxv.

26 According to Ehwald's 1919 edition (80), still the standard text, although it should be noted that his source-tracing is far from exhaustive. With regard to this current study, Ehwald lists only the two citations from the Vigilius-letter referred to here.

27 Thus Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 2 (with 188), following Licht, "Aratoris fortuna," 178–79. It is possible that Aldhelm's memory failed him, leading him instead to recall the start of Paulinus of Nola, *Natalicia* 4 [*Carm*. 15]. 21 (CCL 21:305) "te releuante iugum Christi leue noscimus" (we know that Christ's yoke is light, since you relieve us of it), a poem from which he quotes elsewhere in *De metris* (see above n. 24) and four times in his *Carmen de uirginitate* (see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 183). If "releuante" is correct, the intertext is the work of Arator himself. He certainly knew Paulinus's poetry in detail; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 483–84.

These two citations clearly indicate that the Arator dossier in the manuscript to which Aldhelm had access contained the Vigilius-letter. But there are also a number of possible intertexts in Aldhelm's verse which, whilst perhaps insufficient in themselves, when taken together point to Aldhelm's assimilation of the Vigilius-letter into his poetic armoury. In particular, we should note the influence of *Ep. ad Vig.* 23–24

> **metrica** uis sacris non est incognita libris:
> psalterium lyrici composuere pedes
>
> The potency of poetic metre is not unknown in sacred texts:
> it is lyric feet which make up the Psalter

in which Arator adduces the presence of poetry in the Bible, specifically in these lines the Psalms, as justification for rewriting scripture in verse. Thus in the preface to Aldhelm's *Enigmata* "metrica" is placed at the beginning of the line

> **metrica** nam Moysen declarant carmina uatem
> iamdudum cecinisse prisci uexilla tropei
>
> For metrical poems show that the prophet Moses long ago sang of the banners carried at his ancient victory

not found thus in earlier Latin apart from in Arator, as he similarly identifies the presence of poetry in the Old Testament, including in the Psalms.[28] At *Carmen de uirginitate* (hereafter *CdV*) 2769, Aldhelm writes "quin potius **sacros** uersant sub pectore **libros**" (rather they ponder holy books in their heart), with "sacros…libros" appearing with the same metrical quantity and in the same position in the line as Arator (and not found thus elsewhere in earlier verse).[29]

It is this same couplet which Bede incorporates and adapts near the end of *De arte metrica*, declaring to the deacon Cuthbert "ita et in **metrica** arte, quae **diuinis non est incognita libris**, te solerter instruerem" (so that

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28 Aldhelm, *Enigmata praefatio* 17–18, referring to the song of Moses at Exod. 15:1–19 and (21–24) the Psalms, specifically Ps. 109:3. See also *Carmina ecclesiastica* 3.54, where Aldhelm places "psalterii" first in the line ("**psalteri**i melos fantes modulamine crebro"), a position otherwise unique to Arator (*Ep. ad Vig.* 24), but influenced too by Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm*. 2.9.53 (CUF 315:65) "stamina **psalteri**i lyrico modulamine texens," a line itself influenced by Arator.

29 Paulinus of Nola pairs "sacris" and "libris" three times, but with "sacris" following rather than preceding the third-foot caesura: *Ep*. 32.16 (CSEL 29:291), *Epistola ad Iouium* [*Carm*. 16] 1, *De obitu Celsi* [*Carm*. 31] 405 (CCL 21:566, 620). Prudentius also pairs the words but scanned as "săcris" rather than "sācris": *Apotheosis* 312, *Hamartigenia* 777 (CCL 126:87,142).

I may skilfully instruct you in the art of metrics, which is not unknown in sacred books): Bede's use of Arator here is typical of the way he adapts and assimilates rather than copying wholesale, thus for example his substitution of "diuinis" for "sacris," adding the implication that the poetry is not just sacred but divinely inspired.[30] The same couplet is cited again by Alcuin in his collectaneum *De laude Dei* as part of a lengthy quotation from the Vigilius-letter (lines 11–26).[31]

A second couplet also caught the imagination of the Anglo-Latin poets. The penultimate couplet (lines 27–28) of the *Epistola ad Vigilium* runs:

> hoc tibi, magne pater, cum defero munus amoris,
> respice quod meritis debita soluo tuis.
>
> As I deliver this gift of love to you, noble father, have regard for the fact that I am paying you what your merits are owed.

The fact that in these lines Arator himself includes a couple of intertexts, from Ovid[32] and Paulinus of Nola,[33] makes tracking their influence particularly haz-

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30 *De arte metrica* 25. See also, Bede, *Liber epigrammatum* 18b, the second *titulus* from the Codex Amiatinus, where the line-start "codicibus sacris," uniquely in Bede's verse, places "sācris" rather than "săcris" just before the third-foot caesura, whether recalling *Ep. ad Vig.* 23 directly or Aldhelm, *CdV* 2769. See also *Vita metrica s. Cudbercti (VMC)* 811 "praescius et **lyric**o resonabat ut ordine **psal**mus." The description of the psalms as "lyric" and the position of "lyrico" just before the third-foot caesura could suggest the influence of the Vigilius-letter here. On Bede's use of "unobtrusive allusion": Lapidge, *Bede the Poet*, 13 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*, 333). However, the description of the Psalms as "lyric" stems originally from Jerome, *In Hieremiam* 5.3 (25:1) (CCL 74:237) and *In Ezechielem* 9 (29:17–21) (CCL 75:415).

31 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Misc. Patr. 17, fol. 152v. In the absence of a printed edition, Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 231–33, gives a summary. Alcuin also uses the phrase "**non est incognita**" at *Ep*. 132.7, albeit in a different context, describing truth (*ueritas*); the litotes is not common in literary texts, but see Ambrose, *Ep*. 1.6.1 (CSEL 82.1:39) "non est incognitum." See also Israel the Grammarian, *De arte metrica super nomen et uerbum* 5–6 "sed quia **metrica uis** nonnullis docta magistris/naturam retinet," where "metrica uis," as well as the litotes "nonnullis docta" (compare Arator's "non…incognita"), stems from *Ep. ad Vig.* 23. However, although Israel's poem may have been compiled in England, he probably received his education on the continent, perhaps in Rome, where he is likely to have encountered Arator's poem and its accompanying letters: Lapidge, "Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England," 97–114 (=Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, 87–104).

32 Ovid, *Fasti* 4.720 "Iunone inuita **munus amoris** habet," used as a cadence before Arator only by Optatianus Porphyrius, *Carm*. 3. 34 and after by Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm*. 11.17.1 (CUF 374:125).

33 "**meritis debita** soluo **tuis**": see *Natalicia* 3 [*Carm*. 14].125–26 (CCL 21:303) "**meritis**que redonet/**debita** nostra **tuis**.": Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 191.

ardous. We need therefore to exercise caution when tracing sources and look for a combination of features, rather than a simple parallel expression.

However, Alcuin starts one of his poems "suscipe, rex, paruum **magn**i modo **munus amoris**" (receive, o king, the gift, albeit small, of my great love).[34] The combination of the cadence and the inclusion of the addressee ("rex") may indicate the influence of Arator. A generation later, influenced by both Arator and Alcuin, Ædiluulf wrote "suscipe, doct**e pater**, dilecti **munus am**ici" (receive, learned father, the gift of a beloved friend),[35] which, when taken with a number of other less obvious allusions, similarly indicates his knowledge of the Vigilius-letter.[36] But the clearest intertextual use of this couplet comes in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Epistola specialis* which prefaces his *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno* (hereafter *Narr*.) and in which he dedicates the poem to Bishop Alfheah. He alludes to the couplet, once near the start, at lines 15–16,

> **hoc** tamen exiguum, quod **defero, munus amoris**
> commendare **tibi, magne pater**, studui
>
> Yet I was eager, noble father, to commend to you this small gift of my love which I offer you.

and again near the end, at lines 323–24:

> suscipe, queso, **tibi** quae **defero mun**era patri
> atque ea **qu**ae **meritis debita soluo tuis**
>
> Receive, I pray, the gifts which I offer you my father, as well as the debts owed to your merits which I am paying you.)

Even given the additional influence of Alcuin's "suscipe," the debt to the Vigilius-letter is self-evident. Wulfstan is one of Arator's most prolific borrowers, with two other unique intertexts taken from the Vigilius-letter:

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34 Alcuin, *Carm*. 71.2.1. See too *Carm*. 62.186 "iam **magn**um reddes modico tu **munus am**ico."

35 Ædiluulf, *De abbatibus* (*De abb*.) 19. The cadence "munus amici" is found at Martial 8.28.1 and various cognates elsewhere but none in a similar context to *Narr*. Ædiluulf may well have known Arator from the manuscript in the library at York, where the *Miracula Nyniae Episcopi* (MNE) may also have been written (see below n. 50). The *MNE* includes a unique near-repetition of the half-line "**carmina uera loqu**a**r**" (*Ep. ad Vig.* 20) at 284 "**carmina uera loqu**o**r**."

36 Ædiluulf, *De abb.* 251 "uitare periclum," is a cadence which has no model and may be an adaptation of *Ep. ad Vig*. 7 "euasisse periclum"; *De abb*. 157 "non cesso reddere grates" recalls *Ep. ad Vig*. 15 "grates si reddere cessem"; there seems to be no other model for the combination of *cessare* and *reddere*.

illius ut meritis queat **euasisse periclum** (*Narr*. 2.110)[37]

corporeum satis est sic **euasisse periclum** (*Ep. ad Vig*. 7)[38]

and

post nec apostolicos **quos Lucas retulit actus** (*Narr. praefatio* 185)[39]

uersibus ergo canam **quos Lucas rettulit actus** (*Ep. ad Vig*. 19).[40]

From the evidence of citation and intertextual allusion, it is clear that the *Epistola ad Vigilium* was an integral part of the Arator dossier in the manuscripts which reached England from the middle of the seventh to the end of the tenth centuries.

By contrast, when we turn to the *Epistola ad Parthenium* (hereafter *Ep. ad Parth*), given its survival in only two manuscripts, both from a single centre, Reims, our expectations are understandably low, the absence of the letter from the vast majority of manuscripts always having been taken as an indication of its limited circulation.[41]

So, is there any indication that Aldhelm, the first real witness to the arrival of the Arator dossier in England, knew the Parthenius-letter? There are two tantalizing hints, both involving the imitation of words ascribed "incorrect" vowel quantities by Arator, or perhaps, more accurately, where Arator's witness to the gradual evolution and flexibility of Latin vowel quantities is imitated by Aldhelm. Given his interest and expertise in Latin metrics, Aldhelm would certainly have been alert to such features. However, in both cases it is possible that Aldhelm's model was a different author. Thus Aldhelm writes "uerĕcundia" rather than "uerēcundia" (*CdV* 1471), just as Arator, for the first time in Latin, writes "uerĕcunde" (*Ep. ad Vig.* 6), at the same place in the line. However, the same quantity was used frequently by Venantius Fortunatus, a poet well known to Aldhelm.[42] Similarly, Aldhelm writes "mănauit" (*CdV* 1833) instead of "mānauit," just as Arator uses the

37 "So that through his merits she might be able to escape the danger."

38 "It is enough that I thus escaped a danger to my life."

39 "Nor since the apostolic Acts which Luke related."

40 "Accordingly I shall sing in verse the Acts which Luke related." For a full list of likely intertexts, see Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 261.

41 See, most recently, Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cvii–cviii, and Niskanen, *Publication and the Papacy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 37–40.

42 Thus e.g Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm*. 6.1.56 (CUF 346:45); also at Maximian, *Elegies* 3.23, 61, 5.55, poems seemingly not known in pre-Conquest England. The "error" was therefore not first made by Aldhelm, *pace* Lapidge, *Bede's Latin Poetry*,

same word with the same scansion (*Ep. ad Parth.* 47).[43] However, the same quantity is also found in Caelius Sedulius's *Paschale carmen*, a work which Aldhelm knew well.[44] On balance, one must conclude that there is insufficient evidence to prove Aldhelm's knowledge of the longest of Arator's verse-letters.

So, what about Bede, who, as we have seen, explicitly cites the Vigilius-letter? If we look in his writings for evidence of knowledge of the Parthenius-letter in eighth-century Northumbria, we do so in vain.[45] We should, however, at this point note one expression in Bede which has been seen as influenced by the Parthenius-letter.[46] In his letter to Bishop Acca, Bede refers to the "flowers of allegory" (*flores allegoriae*) which he has taken from Arator's poem. Does this suggest knowledge of *Epistola ad Parthenium* 75–76?

65n207. For Fortunatus in Aldhelm: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 187–88. Bede similarly writes "uĕrĕcundans" at *Versus de die iudicii* 70, presumably influenced by Aldhelm.

43 This is the reading of all the manuscripts. However, Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 153 (with 454–55), contains the conjectural "micauit" (and "gemino uergentibus" for "geminoque mănantibus" at *HA* 2.545).

44 1.156 (CSEL 10:27). Alcuin, who certainly knew the *Ep. ad Parth*., also follows Arator's scansion (although he also knew Sedulius and Aldhelm) at *Carm*. 17.9 and 45.40. The "faulty" quantity appears too in Ps.-Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm*. 2.3 (MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 14:271), unknown in pre-Conquest England, however. Interestingly, Fortunatus uses *mānare* consistently, e.g. *Carm*. 3.9.49 (CUF 315:101).

45 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 193, suggests *Ep. ad Parth.* 85–86 as a potential parallel for *VMC* 36–38. The sentiment contained in these lines undoubtedly shows knowledge of *HA* 1.226–27. However the phrase "digne fari" (*VMC* 36) seems more likely to be a reminiscence of exactly the same expression at Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 23.19.36 (CCL 143B:1171), a work known well by Bede (Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 210–11), than "digna loqui" (*Ep. ad Parth*. 86); similarly "tua dona canenti" (*VMC* 38) is closer to Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon* 17 (CSEL 16:292) "tua dona canentem" than to "noua uerba canenti" (*Ep. ad Parth*. 86). If editors have not yet found evidence for Bede's knowledge of Paulinus of Pella, it is possible that he was known by Aldhelm: Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 218. In addition, "te sine nam…tua" (*VMC* 36) echoes Paulinus of Nola, *Natalicia* 2 [*Carm*. 13].15 (CCL 21:296) "te sine, nam tua." Other potential parallels in Bede's verse can be accounted for similarly: *Versus de die iudicii* 91 "dudum fuerant" could imitate *Ep. ad Parth.* 49 "dudum fuerat," but more probably Avitus, *Historia spiritalis* 2.38 (SC 444:192), a work which Bede quotes several times, including the three preceding lines (2.35–37: thus Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 204); at *VMSC* 39, *Ep. ad Parth*. 5 is suggested as a parallel for "ab aeuo" (Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 194); however, its presence at Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 2.2.97 (also referenced by Lapidge) with "primo" similarly earlier in the line (absent in Arator), makes this the certain model.

46 See McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 227–28.

> cumque simul uiolas et lilia carpere mallem
> quae uetus atque nouus congeminauit odor
>
> And since I preferred to pick at the same time the violets and lilies which the old and new perfume combined

There are two problems with this suggestion. First, there is not the slightest verbal parallel between the two passages, merely the possibility that Bede's "flowers" refer to Arator's "violets and lilies." Secondly, the argument depends on Arator's "violets and lilies" referring to the opportunities for allegorical interpretation presented by both the Old and New Testament. However, it is not at all clear that this is Arator's intention. He means that he wants to deal with both Old and New Testament themes ("uetus atque nouus…odor"). Although it is true that most of his references to the Old Testament feature as part of his allegorical exegesis, the mention of flowers here does not in itself refer to the use of allegory.[47] This seems to be insufficient grounds for concluding that Bede was acquainted with the Parthenius-letter.[48]

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47 McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 185, links this passage with two fleeting images in Sedulius, *Pasch. carm.* 1.41–42 (the perfume of the Law, that is the OT) and 1.277–78 (his poem as soft lilies and purple violets) (CSEL 10:18, 36). However, Arator's reference to the perfume of both the OT and the NT suggests that he is remembering *Physiologus* 9.15 (*Physiologus Latinus*, 20), a work he knew well (see Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles*, 180–93): the phoenix represents the Saviour who, "descending from heaven filled both his wings with the sweetest perfumes ("odoribus"), that is the narratives ("sermones") of the New and Old Testament." And, although violets and lilies are regularly juxtaposed in the classical poets, if usually included with other flowers as part of a list (thus e.g. Virgil, *Ecl*. 2.45–48, Ovid, *Fasti* 4.437–42), there are two well-known passages which may have been in Arator's mind: Augustine, *Conf*. 10.8.13 (CCL 27:162), describes being able to distinguish between the different scents of violets and lilies, even when merely imagining them; even more pertinently Ovid, *Met.* 5.392, has Proserpina playing in an idyllic grove where it is perpetual spring: "ludit et aut **uiolas** aut candida **lilia carp**it." Like Proserpina, Arator can pluck in turn both violets and lilies: he does not need to choose between OT and NT themes.

48 Compare the prologue of the ninth-century *Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica* 9–10 (MGH PLAC 3:5), where the author refers to a previous biblical poet: "hic uetus atque nouum mira permiscuit arte,/floribus ornatum composuitque librum" (the former [poet] mingled old and new with amazing skill and composed a book which was decorated with flowers). Although this immediately precedes his reference to Arator and must therefore refer to either Juvencus or Sedulius, the terminology is borrowed from *Ep. ad Parth*. 75–76. Allegory is neither mentioned nor implied: the floral decoration is the poetic embellishment of the biblical text.

For convincing evidence, we need to turn to York at the end of the eighth century and the poems of Alcuin, first his verse account of the destruction of Lindisfarne (*Carmina* 9) and his assertion that those who gain the prize of martyrdom through their defeat in war,

stemmate iam gaudet belli, qui **stemmat**e **uinci**t (*Carmina* 9.225)

He now rejoices in the nobility of war whose nobility is the cause of his victory."

Alcuin is influenced here by Prudentius, who uses *stemma* to mean the glory of martyrdom near the beginning of his *Peristephanon*.[49] However, the cadence itself reproduces, only slightly modified, the cadence of line 3 of the Parthenius-letter, a line-ending which appears nowhere else in Latin verse, "tu stemmata uincis," where Arator declares that Parthenius surpasses his noble birth in his personal qualities. Another line of Alcuin's verse proves conclusively that Arator was his inspiration. In *Carmina* 1, as the poet introduces St. Cuthbert to his narrative for the first time, he declares that, as the saint moved from boyhood to manhood

moribus et meritis statim succreuit honestis (*Carmina* 1.648)

he "increased in the honourable nature of his character and of his merits." The first half of Alcuin's line is taken directly from the Parthenius-letter in the line immediately following the cadence quoted above. Having mentioned briefly Parthenius's grandfathers and great-grandfathers, Arator declares:

tu **stemmat**a **uinci**s
moribus et meritis cedit origo tuis (*Ep. ad Parth*. 3–4)

You surpass your own pedigree in your character and your lineage retreats before your merits.

There can be no doubt that Alcuin was thinking of Arator's verse-letter in both cases.[50] And, while the date of the other poems may be uncertain, it is agreed that *Carmina* 1 was composed at York, before Alcuin left England for

49 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, 1.4 (CCL 126:251) "pollet hoc felix per orbem terra Hibera stemmate."

50 As with *stemma*, discussed above, Alcuin repurposes his borrowing: "moribus" and "meritis," first juxtaposed by Seneca the Elder (*Controv*. 1.6.8), originally in separate clauses now form the single unit "in character and merit." Elsewhere the cadence of *Carm.* 62.28 "**forte mere**tur" is probably adapted from *Ep. ad Parth.* 59 "**forte mere**rer" (whilst "**forte mere**bor" is also found as the cadence of Dracontius, *Romulea* 8.516 (CUF 337:34), Alcuin may not have known more than the *De Laudes Dei*: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 232).

the first time.[51] It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Alcuin encountered it in the manuscript which was in the library at York, which must therefore have contained both the Parthenius-letter and the Vigilius-letter, as well as the *HA* itself.[52] However, there is scant evidence to suggest that the Parthenius-letter was known elsewhere in pre-Conquest England.[53]

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51 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 228–29.

52 It is possible but far from certain that the author of the *MNE*, who knew the *HA* well (see Hillier, "Dynamic Intertextuality"), also knew the Parthenius-letter: *MNE* 150 "presbiter interea baptiste **munere functus**" shares with *Ep. ad Parth.* 21 "quo directus eras legati **munere functus**" a cadence not found in classical verse (although the words occur earlier in the line at Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.9.12 and *Metamorphoses* 10.273); however, it is perhaps more suggestive of a mid-fifth-century *titulus* from a cemetery on the Via Latina in Rome (Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo*, 210–11 (no. 104:1–2)) "praefixo moriens naturae **munere functus**,/hic mea Tigrinus **presbyter** ossa loco," preserved in the "Fourth Lorsch Sylloge," a collection which seems to have been circulating in England from the seventh century (Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 54–56). I am very grateful to Christopher Scheirer for this observation. My previous observation ("Dynamic Intertextuality," 167) that *MNE* 155 "late per **populos** prouulgans ore **loquela**s" imitates *Ep. ad Parth*. 29 "exiit in **populo s**olidae pinguedo **loquela**e" is unlikely to be correct, since the first half of *MNE* 155 (as well as of 10, 71 and 98) clearly copies the line-start of Aldhelm, *Aldhelm, Aenigmata/Enigmata*, *praefatio* 19. If the Ninian-poet did know the *Ep. ad Parth*. (from the same manuscript known by Alcuin), this might support the argument that his poem was written in York: esp. Orchard, "Wish You Were Here," 21–43. Similarly, the opening line of the preface of Ædiluulf, *De abb*. 1 "sume, pater, **placid**us modulantis uota **poet**e" contains a reminiscence of *Ep. ad Parth*. 41, "cantabas **placid**o dulcique lepore **poet**as": nowhere else in earlier Latin literature do these two words fall similarly in the hexameter line. If Ædiluulf received his education at York, he too may have had access to the same MS. For Ædiluulf's knowledge of Arator: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 249. On his familiarity with works at York: Lapidge, "Ædiluulf and the School of York," 161–78 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*, 381–98).

53 Wulfstan, *Narr*. 2.833 "uenerabilis ille sacerdos" is identical to the second half of *Ep. ad Parth*. 93 and occurs nowhere else in Latin literature. However, the cadence "ille sacerdos" originates in Ovid, *Fasti* 3.699 and 6.231 and had already been copied at Dracontius, *Laudes Dei* 3.105 (CUF 284:21). See also Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm*. 5.16.1 "**uenerabilis** arce **sacerdos**." It is thus likely that Wulfstan alighted on the phrase independently, also writing at *Narr.* 1.455 "sacer ille sacerdos." From the middle of the tenth century, Frithegod, *Breuiloquium* 483 "lingua pudorem" copies exactly a cadence which is previously found only at *Ep. ad Parth.* 7; in addition, *Breu*. 328 "Hesp**eriumque decus**" hints at *Ep. ad Parth*. 102 "Parth**en**i**umque decus**," but see Bede, *VMC praefatio* 31 "aeth**ereumque decus**," itself possibly modelled on Claudian, *Carmina minora* 11.4 "egr**egiumque decus**," as well as *Carm maiora* 7.175 "o **decus aetherium**." Frithegod's poem has been insufficiently sourced to know whether he was acquainted, as was Bede, with Claudian, although there would appear to be no evidence of knowledge of Claudian's *Carmina minora* (as opposed to the

By contrast, when we turn to the *Epistola ad Florianum* (hereafter *Ep. ad Flor*.), we find a very different situation. From the evidence of citation and intertext it would appear that no writer in pre-Conquest England was familiar with this letter, despite its presence in almost all the manuscripts from the ninth century onwards.[54]

Perhaps the Florianus-letter did not contain poetic diction which was considered worthy enough of citation, attractive enough to imitate, or sufficiently memorable to give rise to unconscious emulation; or perhaps it was simply too short, consisting of only twelve elegiac couplets, for many reminiscences to be likely. However, the evidence from continental Europe would suggest the contrary. We have already mentioned the example of Venantius Fortunatus, who appears to have known all three letters, and whose poems contain very close parallels with two line-starts from the Florianus-letter.[55] In addition, there are a number of clear references to the letter in the verse and prose of continental Latin writers, from the end of the eighth century to the eleventh.[56] I would suggest, therefore, bearing in mind that absence of

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Carmina maiora) in pre-Conquest England: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 113–14, 205 (Bede), 175 (Frithegod). However, if Frithegod is the Frankish Fredegaud, he may have encountered the Parthenius-letter in Francia: Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England," 45–65 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, 157–81).

54 The line-start of Aldhelm, *CdV.* 2800 "**e quibus in** praelo plantis contunditur uua" is too mundane to be a convincing echo of *Ep. ad Parth*. 4 "**e quibus in** caelum uita pararet iter" (Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 149 (with 448) replaces "pararet" (found in the majority of MSS) with the conjectural "paretur"). Aldhelm, *Aenigmata/Enigmata*, 96.1 "**ferratas acies** et denso milite turmas" is adduced by Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 235, as a possible parallel with *Ep. ad Flor*. 21 "et qui **ferratas acies** atque agmina rumpunt." However, a more likely influence would be the earlier line-starts of either or both of Prudentius, Cathemerinon 5.48 (CCL 126:24) "**ferratas**que **acies** clangere classicum" (thus Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 231) and Cyprianus Gallus, Heptateuch*: Iudices* 203 (CSEL 23:186) "**ferratas**que **acies** nongentis curribus implet." See too Dracontius, *Romulea* 5.28 (Collection des Universités de France 323:148) "inter **ferratas acies** lituosque sonantes." Wulfstan, *Narr. praefatio* 128 "**ferratas acies** et quae strauere feroces" is again more likely to be a direct citation of Aldhelm. In addition, Aldhelm's use of "in the first line," when quoting the opening of the Vigilius-letter in *De metris* (80), would make no sense if the Arator dossier began with the Florianus-letter (see above n. 24).

55 See Appendix 1 below: *Ep. ad Flor.* 15–16.

56 See Appendix B below. However, two examples deserve discussion, both of which independently cite *Ep. ad Flor*. 7–8: "ieiuno sermone quidem sed pinguia gesta/ scripsimus" (Undernourished, admittedly, is my style, but rich are the exploits about which I have written). The first, from the ninth century, comes at *Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica* 2.6 (MGH PLAC 3:25) "arenti **sermone quidem, sed pinguia**

citation does not prove absence of the text, that the Florianus-letter was not known to writers in England in the pre-Conquest period.[57]

In summary, the evidence of citation and intertext suggests that the Arator dossier which reached England in the seventh century and remained the standard form in which the poet was known throughout the pre-Conquest period contained only the *Epistola ad Vigilium*, preceding the *HA* to which it formed the preface. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that there was a tradition, albeit represented by only three surviving manuscripts, whereby the Arator dossier contained only the Vigilius-letter, even as late as the eleventh century.[58]

At some point in the eighth century another manuscript also containing the *Epistola ad Parthenium* was brought to York, where it influenced those writers who had access to it. But there is no evidence that the *Epistola ad Florianum* was known in England at all until the tenth century, when the first surviving manuscripts were copied in Canterbury, all of them containing the Florianus-letter before the Vigilius-letter (but none of them the Parthenius-letter).[59] And even then there is no evidence that the letter was known by

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gesta." The poet changes only the first word, from "undernourished" to "parched," in the process losing Arator's antithetical play between "ieiuno" and "pinguia" (lit. "fat"). The same line is cited in the middle of the eleventh century by Bertha, abbess of Vilich in Franconia, in the opening chapter of her life of the abbotess Adelheid, this time in full, if slightly reordered and subsumed into her prose: "**ieiuno quidem sermone, sed pinguia gesta** me pronuntio **scripsi**sse" (*Vita Adelheidis abbatissae* 1 (MGH SS 15.2:756)). The contexts are very similar, both writers employing the *topos* of false modesty to excuse the inadequacy of their speech to describe acts of such significance. In addition, there are major illustrations accompanying the Arator dossier in just three manuscripts: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 412 (319 bis) (**U**), late-ninth-century (fol. 43r); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm MS 19451 (Tegernsee 1451) (**M**), eleventh-century (p. 16); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 3552 (McKinlay, *Arator: The Codices*, 37–38 (no. 62)), twelfth-century (fol. 2v). All three depict Arator presenting his work, not to Vigilius, as one might expect, but to Florianus. The letter clearly caught the imagination. For more detail: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 96–97 with n. 546.

57 The situation had changed by the twelfth century. The *Vita anonyma s. Aedwardi uersifice* 6.17–18, dating from the first half of the century, based on Ælred of Rievaulx's prose life and dedicated to Abbot Lawrence of Westminster, contains an unmistakable imitation of *Ep. ad Flor*. 10 "max**ima cum teneas**," in a not dissimilar context, discussing the reading habits of Abbot Lawrence, who cannot get his fill of reading about the saint: "plur**ima** cum teneas, tibi pauca uidentur, abundant/**scrip**ta, sed ardenti non satis ista siti."

58 See above n. 14.

59 *Ep. ad Flor*. is in every case at the start of dossier, except in **Θ**, where *Ep. ad Parth*. precedes it.

later Anglo-Latin writers, not even by Wulfstan of Winchester, who otherwise imitates Arator frequently at the end of the tenth century.[60]

We must turn now to the question of where in England the earliest copies of the Arator dossier were located. Where, for example, did Aldhelm encounter Arator? Wherever he first studied Virgil, whether it was in Ireland or Iona, there is nothing to suggest that Arator was already known there.[61] The most likely answer must be that Aldhelm first read Arator in Canterbury during his period of study at the school of Theodore and Hadrian, for an unknown period between 670 and 680.[62] Did Theodore and Hadrian bring the copy of Arator with them? Or did it arrive earlier in the century, in the wake of the Augustinian mission? Bede explicitly states that books were sent out from Rome to support Augustine's work in 601.[63] Whenever it arrived, it is highly probable that the copy or copies came directly from Rome. This fact would explain why the dossier contained only the Vigilius-letter: the other two letters would not have formed part of the original codex, published in Rome, and deposited in the papal archives.[64]

At the beginning of the eighth century, it would seem equally clear that the copy or copies available in Northumbria to Bede were also likely to have come from Rome, probably brought by Benedict Biscop on returning from

60 The fact that the *Ep. ad Flor*. is glossed in manuscripts of pre-Conquest English origin does not indicate that it was studied in England. The glosses originated in ninth-century France and travelled with the text as it was copied: Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in Anglo-Saxon England," 116–27 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*, 483–98).

61 For discussion of the alternatives: Ireland, "Where Was King Aldfrith of Northumbria Educated? An Exploration of Seventh-Century Insular Learning," 29–73.

62 The uncertainty over how long Aldhelm spent in Canterbury makes it difficult to assess how much he could have read there. It was certainly where he undertook the study of metrics which enabled him to write *De metris*: Ruff, "The Place of Metrics in Anglo-Saxon Latin Education: Aldhelm and Bede," 153–54. The longer the period, the more explicable the breadth of his reading: Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 48.

63 *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.29.1 "necnon et codices plurimos."

64 Did Aldhelm know Arator before going to Canterbury? Burginda, writing in the south-west, possibly Bath, at the turn of the eighth century, also knew Arator: Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 218–19. Aldhelm might have brought a copy back with him from Canterbury; it might have been acquired by someone such as Oftfor, bishop of Worcester at the end of the seventh century and a famous traveller, or of course by someone else of whom we know nothing: Dumville, "Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England," 103; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 193–94.

one of his trips there in the 670s and 680s.[65] Again, if they came direct from Rome, this would explain the absence of the Parthenius- and Florianus-letters.[66]

The situation changes in the second half of the eighth century when a manuscript must have arrived in York, containing the Parthenius-letter. Although Alcuin records the contents of the extensive library as having belonged to Archishop Ælberht, from whom he was to inherit it, it is equally possible that many of the volumes were acquired by Ecgberht, Ælberht's predecessor.[67] Both would have travelled to Rome to receive the *pallium* and could have collected books there.

But why was there suddenly a copy containing the letter to Parthenius? The logical conclusion would be that the York manuscript was acquired somewhere in the Frankish kingdoms, if not in Reims itself, where the two surviving manuscripts appear to have been copied.[68] Bede records the fact that Benedict Biscop bought books in the Frankish town of Vienne, to be collected on the return leg of his trip to Rome.[69] It is quite possible, therefore, that Ælberht or Ecgberht could have done the same or similar en route to or from Rome.

How does this theory accord with current thinking about the complicated transmission of Arator's text? The most recent editors of the *HA* surmise that the oldest and most accurate witnesses of the text stem from a putative archetype (α), possibly sent to Parthenius himself, containing all three letters, deposited in the area of Reims.

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65 *Historia abbatum* 4, 6, 9, 11, 15.

66 Bede, *De octo quaestionibus* 1.1 (= *Aliquot quaestionum liber* 2), also famously refers to having seen an illustrated book belonging to Cuthwine (Cuduini) of Dunwich (in Suffolk) in the first half of the eighth century, which, on the basis of its inclusion of a picture of the scourging of St. Paul (Acts 22:24–25), has sometimes been thought to have been a copy of the *HA*, possibly because Cuthwine is known also to have possessed an illustrated copy of Sedulius's *Paschale carmen* and thus perhaps a taste for biblical epic, or perhaps just for illustrated manuscripts. The suggestion was first made by Traube, "Palaeographische Anzeigen III," 277–78, and has often been repeated; thus Dumville, "Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England," 104n56, 111. Bede's reference to Paul's "passiones siue labores," however, not dwelt on by Arator, makes the suggestion unlikely. Love, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," 1:616, refers to the various possibilities.

67 Dumville, "Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England," 104.

68 On the arrival in England of manuscripts from Reims a century later: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 49 with n. 87.

69 Bede, *Historia abbatum*, 4.

The editors further suggest that this archetype (α) gave rise to two separate transmissions: α' resulted in the two manuscripts containing all three letters; α" was represented by a lost manuscript which made its way, at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, to England where it was copied and subjected to scholarly "correction" before returning to France as the lost manuscript π, which contained both the Florianus- and Vigilius-letters but not that to Parthenius, this last dropped from the dossier, perhaps because it was not contained in other manuscripts of equal antiquity.[70] A copy of this lost manuscript survives as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12284 (**P**), written in the first quarter of the ninth century, at or near Corbie, in the north of the Frankish kingdoms.[71]

The big mystery remains the lack of evidence for knowledge of the Florianus-letter in England, given its presence in all but two of the complete manuscripts which survive from the ninth century onwards. However, there are two more pieces of evidence which I would like to consider in this regard.

First, looking again at the Paris manuscript (**P**) just mentioned, the Arator dossier would appear to begin with the Florianus-letter, followed by the Vigilius-letter. However, on closer inspection, it is clear that the Florianus-letter was inserted afterwards, added in a different and much later Carolingian minuscule and observing "normal" verse lines, as opposed to the *sermone plano* layout (as if in prose) of the Vigilius-letter which follows it. It is also written, clearly an afterthought, on a conveniently empty page.[72] Undoubtedly, therefore, the original version of the dossier in this manuscript began with the Vigilius-letter, mirroring the form of the Arator dos-

70 See Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxxx–cxl, who also (cvii–cviii) suggests that it might have slipped out of the dossier accidentally, being placed either before or after the rest of the Arator dossier and therefore not recognized as an authentic part of the corpus. I am unsure of the likelihood of this assumption. In **R** the Arator dossier is written by at least three hands, with the *Ep. ad Parth*. at the end; in **Θ** the *Ep. ad Parth*. is clearly a later addition, added to the front of the dossier. Neither manuscript gives firm grounds for thinking that they are the product of a transmission which included all three verse-letters. Significant variance between the two texts could suggest that they were copied from separate manuscripts and added to the dossier.

71 Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 3:196 (no. 4818). For description: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxv–cxvi; McKinlay, *Arator: The Codices*, 20–21 (no. 28).

72 Fol. 55v, the reverse of the folio containing the end of Bede's *Expositio actuum apostolorum*: see Figure 2.1. I am very grateful to Colleen Curran for her palaeographic advice. The omission of the prose salutation ("domino sancto, uenerabili et in Christi gratia spiritaliter erudito Floriano abbati, Arator subdiaconus") at the head of the letter is of no great significance: although some Insular manuscripts also omit it, namely **V** (fol. 3r), **C** (fol. 5r), and Rawlinson C. 570 (fol. 1v), the others do not (see also the apparatus criticus at Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 149).

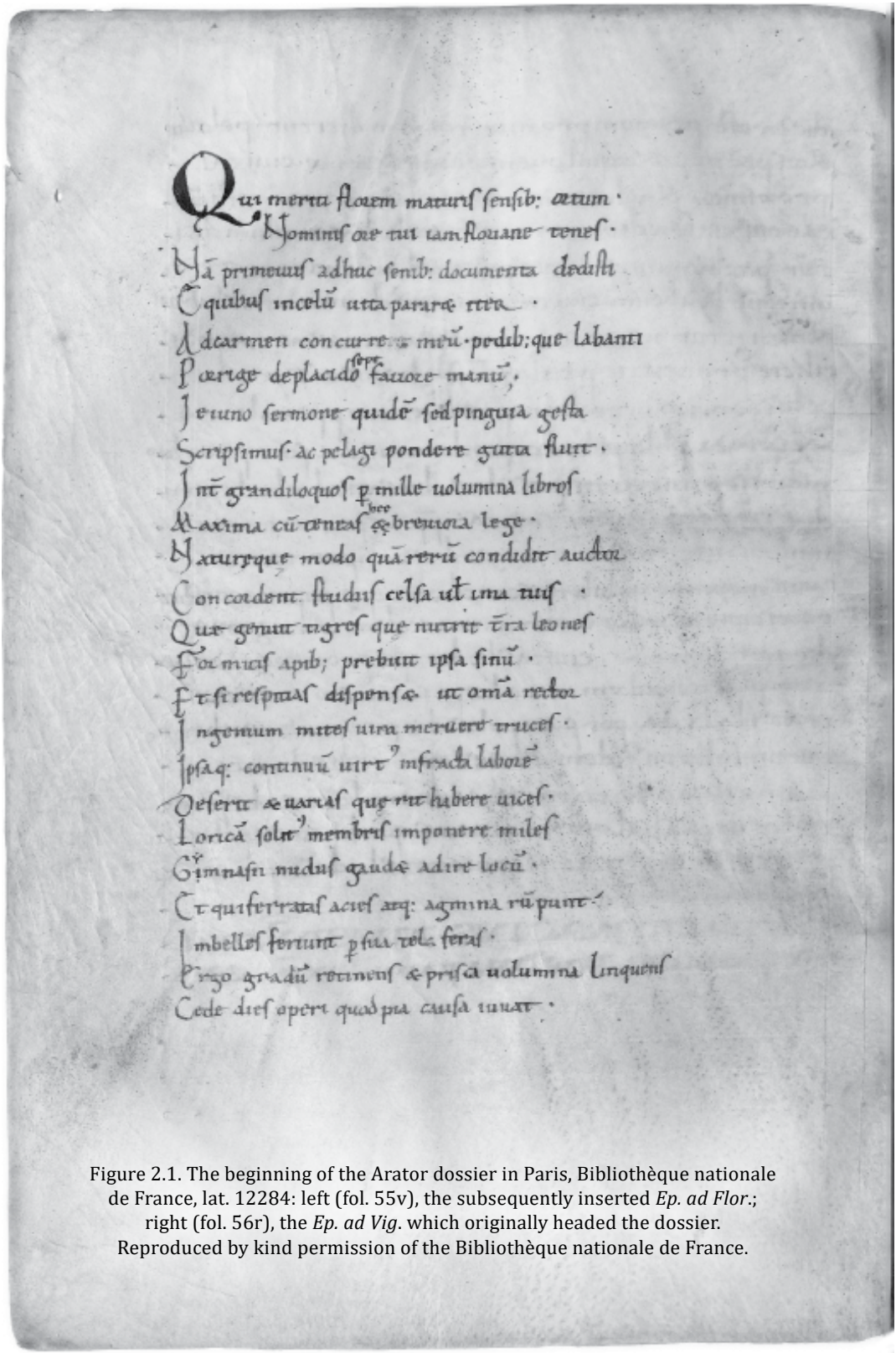

Figure 2.1. The beginning of the Arator dossier in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12284: left (fol. 55v), the subsequently inserted *Ep. ad Flor.*; right (fol. 56r), the *Ep. ad Vig*. which originally headed the dossier. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Domino sco beatissimo atq; apostolico in toto orbe primo omnium sacerdotum pape uigilio arator subdiac;

Moenib; undosis bellorum incendia cernens.
Pars ego tunc populi tela pauentis eram.
Publica libertas sanctissime papa uigili aduenis inclusos
soluere uincla gregis. Inq; humeris ferimur te reuocante tuis.
Dum gladiis rapiunt oues pastore ministro
Corporeum satis est si euasisse periculum; at mihi plus animae
nascitur inde salus uel afreui.
Ecclesiam sub eo dimisa naufragus aula perfida mundanis deserere
Transferor [illegible] portus sine turbine caulas & fruor
optatam statione soli. discutiunt sic ea ferunt.
Litoris ille sinus ad caerula saeua parauit fluctibus in me
Esse reus potero grates si reddere cessem iniunxi officio
displicuere nouem; fide obtinuere orbis
Sensib; ardor inest hominum celebrare labores quorum
Uersib; [illegible] quos lucas rettulit actus historiam.
quae sequens carmina uera loquar. mihi [illegible]
[illegible] quo diu [illegible]
[illegible] incognita libris [illegible]
[illegible] pectora [illegible]
[illegible] sanguine [illegible]
Haec tibi [illegible] offero munus amantis [illegible]
quod meritis debita solue tuis; placeat [illegible]
[illegible] prologos [illegible] dogmata [illegible] magistro [illegible]
Explicit prologus; Incipiunt capitula libri [illegible]
[illegible] II. De ascensione [illegible]
[illegible] III. De aduentu spiritus sancti super apostolos
[illegible] ad baptismum hortatur. V. De [illegible]

sier which I have suggested was the most common one in circulation in pre-Conquest England.

The second consideration is *the* relationship between **P** and the offset fragments of the *HA*, preserved as **B**, copied at least two hundred years earlier.[73] **B** was reused as book binding in Canterbury in the twelfth century but presumably came to England much earlier than that, to be read and studied, not merely to be recycled. Both manuscripts are written *sermone plano* and contain identical errors in several places. Arator's first modern editor concluded that **P** was copied from a source closely related to **B**, which suggests that if the early fragment were complete, it too might have contained only the Vigilius-letter.[74]

I would propose, therefore, that there were three different Arator dossiers from the very beginning: one attaching to the *HA* just the Vigilius-letter, one the Vigilius-letter and the Florianus-letter, and one the Vigilius-letter and the Parthenius-letter.[75] The version of the Arator dossier which arrived in England at some point in the seventh century, probably from Rome, contained the *Epistula ad Vigilium* and the *HA*, but not the two "covering letters." This version was then "corrected," with reference to other copies making their way mainly from Italy. The "English" version then returned to the continent to become the source of **P**, to which the Florianus-letter was later added by another hand from a continental source on a spare page.[76]

If this theory is correct, then the assumption of Arator's latest editors that the two manuscripts written in Reims (**R** and **Θ**) bear witness to an archetype which contained all three letters may need to be reconsidered. The evidence from pre-Conquest England suggests that it is more likely that the two manuscripts merely brought together for the first time the letters to Florianus and Parthenius, adding them to the core dossier of the Vigilius-letter and the *Historia apostolica* itself. Until then, there never was a "complete works of Arator." And certainly not in pre-Conquest England.

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73 See nn. 4–5 above.

74 McKinlay, "Studies in Arator, II," 96.

75 If this is correct, then Venantius Fortunatus knew two different copies, one with the Florianus- and another with the Parthenius-letter.

76 It is significant that **P** contains only the Arator dossier, sandwiched between Bede's *Expositio actuum apostolorum* and his *Expositio apocalypsis*, perhaps arguing for it having been copied from an English manuscript.

Appendix A

Remembered Reading: Evidence for Knowledge of Arator's Letters in Venantius Fortunatus[1]

Arator	Venantius Fortunatus
Ep. ad Vig. 8 at mihi **plus animae** nascitur **inde salus**	*Carmina* (henceforth *Carm*.) 2.16.124 membraque restituens **plus animae** tribuis *App*. 2.78 **plus animae** credant quod cruce teste probant *Carm*. 1.9.22 euocat hic populos hinc decus, **inde salus**
Ep. ad Vig. 22 et res **si qua mihi** mystica corde datur	*Carm*. 8.16.1 **si qua mihi** ueniet quotiens occasio dulcis
Ep. ad Vig. 24 **psalterium lyric**i composuere pedes	*Carm*. 2.9.53 stamina **psalterii lyric**o modulamine texens
Ep. ad Vig. 26 Cantica, Hieremiam, **Iob quoque** dicta ferunt	*Carm*. 9.2.24 **Iob quoque** seu geniti sic abiere sui
Ep. ad Vig. 28 respice quod meritis **debita soluo** tuis	*Carm*. 10.12.c.3 more mihi solito, dulcis, tibi **debita soluo** *Vita Mart.* 4.481 fenore vel minimo tolerans dum **debita soluo**
Ep. ad Flor. 15 et **si respicias** dispenset ut omnia rector	*Carm*. 7.17.5 nam **si respicias** uotum per uerba canentis[2]
Ep. ad Flor. 16 **ingenium mite**s uim meruere truces	*Carm*. 4.26.15 **ingenium mite**m torua de gente trahebat[3]

1 Where an example from Fortunatus falls in the exactly the same place in the line as in Arator, only that example is given; when it falls elsewhere, a range of examples is supplied. The text of Fortunatus is that given in Collection des Universités de France 315, 336, 346, 374.

2 But see, in prose, Valerian of Cimiez, *Homiliae* 8.2 (PL 52:717C) "nam si respicias."

3 "ingenium mitius" is found, but not as a line-start, at Ovid, *Amores* 1.10.26 and Martial, *Spectaculorum* 12 (10).6.

Arator	Venantius Fortunatus
Ep. ad Parth. 1 si tibi, magn**e, uelim** fasces **memorare parentum**	*Carm*. 6.2.29 nam quoscumqu**e uelim** ueterum **memorare parentum**
Ep. ad Parth. 2 uix daret in tergo **pagina lecta** modum	*Carm*. 8.3.222 scripta suis lacrimis **pagina lecta** fuit
Ep. ad Parth. 10 nam tibi quisque datur, mox sibi **crescit honor**	*Carm*. 3.6.24 ecclesiae iuncto corpore **crescit honor**
Ep. ad Parth. 21 quo directus eras **legati** munere **functu**s	*Carm*. 4.20.3 quem sensu, eloquio **legati** nomin**e functu**m
Ep. ad Parth. 50 uersibus assiduum **concelebrare** mel**os**	*Carm*. 7.14.40 et ualeas dulces **concelebrare** ioc**os** *Carm.* 8.3.182 festinat festos **concelebrare** tor**os**[4]
Ep. ad Parth. 53 quae cum nostra tibi fragilis cecin**isset arundo**	*Vita Mart.* 3.290 Parthica ceu timidum si transfod**isset harundo**
Ep. ad Parth. 57 ut quia nomen habes quo **te uocita**mus Arator	*Carm*. 9.1.29 non fuit in vacuum sic **te uocita**re parentes[5]
Ep. ad Parth. 58 non abstrusa tibi **sit** sed aper**ta seges**	*Carm*. 5.10.8 et mihi uel reliquis **sit** tua ui**ta seges**
Ep. ad Parth. 60 ingenii **fructu**s ad **meliora** sequi	*Carm*. 9.6.12 si saturer **fructu**, fors **meliora** cano
Ep. ad Parth. 66 et licet **exiguas** suscipe gratus **aquas**	*Carm*. 1.21.2 si non **exiguas** alter haberet **aquas**[6]
Ep. ad Parth. 70 ecclesiae **tons**o **uertice** fact**us ouis**	*Carm*. 2.16.146 enituit Christi **uertice tonsus ouis**

4 Note the position, sandwiched between adjective and noun. The infinitive is also found in this position (but unsandwiched) at Maximianus 3.76 "et totum ludo **concelebrare** diem."

5 But see also Juvencus 1.26 (CSEL 24:4) "nomine Iohannem hunc tu uocitare memento."

6 But see Ovid, *Tristia* 5.11.28 "sic solet **exigu**ae currere riuus **aqu**ae."

Arator	Venantius Fortunatus
Ep. ad Parth. 76 quae uetus atque nouus congemin**auit odor**	*Carm*. 11.10.10 quorum blandifluus me satur**auit odor**[1]
Ep. ad Parth. 77 **incidit** ille **mihi** quem regula nominat actus	*Carm*. 6.10.39 **incidit** und**e mihi**, fateor, te sorte uidendi
Ep. ad Parth. 78 messis apostolicae plen**us in orbe** lib**er**	*Carm*. 8.1.14 natus in urbe fuit, not**us in orbe** pat**er**
Ep. ad Parth. 85 largius auxilio qui fert noua **uerba canenti**	*Carm*. 7.17.5 nam si respicias uotum per **uerba canenti**s
Ep. ad Parth. 91 **sunt quia** pontific**es** in relligione magistri	*Carm*. 8.2.13 **sunt quia** corde par**es**, iussus non ire recuso[2]
Ep. ad Parth. 93 est ubi Firminus, **uenerabilis** ill**e sacerdos**	*Carm*. 5.16.1 pastor honoris apex, **uenerabilis** arc**e sacerdos**[3]
Ep. ad Parth. 94 pascere qui **popul**um **dogmatis ore pote**st	*Vita Mart*. 3.502 **dogmatis ore** pares et sedis honore curules *Carm*. 7. 5.42 et maneas **popul**i semper in **ore pote**ns[4]
Ep. ad Parth. 101 ibimus **ambo simul** quo pagina uenerit ista	*Carm*. 7.12.103 qualiter **ambo simul** paucis habitauimus horis

1 But see, as line-start rather than cadence, Claudian, *Carmina maiora* 10.290 "sollicit**auit odor,** tumidus quatiensque decoras."

2 But see Aratus (trans. Germanicus Caesar), Phaenomena 376 "**sunt quia** totius sparsi sine nomine mundi."

3 See too Paulinus of Perigueux, *Vita s. Martini* 5.359 (CSEL 16:120) "obfulsit claro **uenerabilis** or**e sacerdos**."

4 But see Martial 9.86.2 "Silius, Ausonio non semel **ore pote**ns."

Appendix B

Remembered Reading: Evidence for Knowledge of the *Epistola ad Florianum* in Continental Writers from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century

Arator	Continental Writers
Ep. ad Flor. 1–2 qui **meriti florem maturis sensibus** ortum **nominis ore** tui iam, Floriane, tenes	Paul the Deacon, *Carm*. 44.13 (MGH PLAC 1:76) tu **florem meriti** sequeris ad ardua regna Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Vita s. Mansueti*, *Metrum* 7 (CCM 198:132) cumque subit teneros **maturis sensibus** annos Wolfher of Hildesheim, *Vita s. Godehardi* I, *Pref. Metrum* 19–20 (MGH SS 11:170) sanctorum more praelibat **nominis ore** et **merit**o digni praefert hec munia signi
Ep. ad Flor. 3 nam, **primaeuus adhuc**, senibus documenta dedisti	*Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica* 1.50 (MGH PLAC 3:7) dum **primeuus adhuc** tenero pubesceret euo
Ep. ad Flor. 5 ad carmen **concurre** meum, pedibusque labanti	Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita s. Amandi* 3.209 (MGH PLAC 3:593) huc, fraterna cohors, precibus **concurre** canenti Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita s. Amandi* 3.321 (MGH PLAC 3:595) hic mecum, lector, laudum **concurre** relatu[1]
Ep. ad Flor. 7-8 **ieiuno sermone quidem, sed pinguia gesta** **scripsi**mus, ac pelagi pondere gutta fluit.	*Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica* 2.6 (MGH PLAC 3:25) arenti **sermone quidem, sed pinguia gesta** Bertha, *Vita Adelheidis abbatissae* 1 (MGH SS 15.2:756) **ieiuno quidem sermone, sed pinguia gesta** me pronuntio **scripsi**sse.

1 The imperative is found nowhere else in verse; the context too, the poet asking the reader to "rally to his poem/singing/recital" makes the intertext likely. On Milo's knowledge of Arator: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 96–97.

Arator	Continental Writers
Ep. ad Flor. 9 inter **grandiloquos** per mille uolumina libros	Heiric of Auxerre, *Vita s. Germani metrica* 1.191 (MGH PLAC 3:444) et te **grandiloquos** uellem nutrisse poetas Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita s. Amandi metrica* 3.332 (MGH PLAC 3:595) et iam **grandiloquos** superat ratione sophistas[2]
Ep. ad Flor. 12 concordent studiis **celsa uel ima** tuis	Angilbert, *Carm*. 5.1.1 (MGH PLAC 1:365) omnipotens dominus, qui **celsa uel ima** gubernas[3]
Ep. ad Flor. 23 ergo gradum retinens et **prisca uolumina** linquens	Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* 18.46 (MGH PLAC 2:364) fraude in amicitiae per **prisca uolumina** fasti
Ep. ad Flor. 24 **cede dies** operi quod pia causa iuuat	*Ecloga Theoduli* 296 (Teodulo, *Ecloga: Il canto della verità et della menzogna*, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997), 22) **cede, dies**, caelo quia nescit cedere uirgo

2 *grandiloquus* does not appear in verse either before Arator or in the seventh and eighth centuries.

3 It is likely that Angilbert is also remembering Sedulius, *Pasch. carm.* 5. 426–27 (CSEL 10:145): "totumque **guberna**t/iure suo, qui cuncta tenens ex**celsa uel ima**."

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Chapter 3

BLEBOMEN AGIALOS

BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND MARKED DICTION IN *ADELPHUS ADELPHA METER*

GRACE ATTWOOD

IT IS WELL KNOWN that during the early Middle Ages regular cultural exchanges took place between the scholars working in Irish and English foundations.[1] As early as 635 CE, Irish missionaries were dispatched from Iona to Northumbria at King Oswald's request, which resulted in the Irish playing a significant role in the conversion of the early medieval English.[2] Moreover, many English students spent considerable time studying in Ireland, as is noted by both Bede[3] and Aldhelm.[4] Indeed, English foundations were even established in Ireland.[5] Yet, despite this deep connectivity, the stylistic links that emerge between the Latin texts written in Ireland and England during this period must be placed back into a broader context still. In particular, Patristic sources and their accompanying interpretations influenced not only the contents of early medieval poetry, but sometimes also the style in which they were written.[6] This study examines the relationship

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1 A good overview of these exchanges is found in Wright, "The Irish Tradition."

2 Bede, *Historica Ecclesiastica*, III.3–5.

3 Bede, *Historica Ecclesiastica*, III.27.

4 Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Heahfridum*, in *Opera*.

5 On the English foundation, which was possibly established near modern-day Clonmelsh, Co. Carlow, see Ó Cróinín, "Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts." On an English foundation in Co. Mayo, see Ireland, "Seventh-century Ireland as a Study Abroad Destination."

6 For example, some of the lexical choices made in *Primo deus caeli globum* can only

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between Patristic biblical exegesis and marked diction found in *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*, an early medieval text with links to Hiberno-Latin and Anglo-Latin materials. This study is accomplished through a philological study of key marked terms (*agialos* and *dodrans*) and a re-examination of glossarial evidence contained in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35.

Here, the term marked diction is used to refer to words that might have stood out to their medieval readers since they are outside the usual *Latin* vocabulary, including certain Hellenisms, Hebraicisms, neologisms, or rare Latin words. However, a word of caution. Naturally, there is a certain fluidity to the concept of marked diction. Indeed, the perception of marked diction would have been determined by several factors, including the knowledge and training of the reader. For this reason, lexical items found in medieval Latin texts which might be described as marked today may not in fact have been perceived as marked by the early medieval *literati*. Rather, it is possible that the modern evaluation of their so-called markedness might instead reflect modern training and biases.[7] For instance, the understanding of word distribution is shaped by the accident of survival, whereby certain terms may have been much more frequently employed in a collection of analogous texts that are now lost to time. Yet, even if such textual features were less unusual than has been suggested, this does not necessarily mean that those who produced them and those who engaged with them were not aware that they were marked in some way, as difficult or rare, even if they had been trained to engage with such vocabulary.

Adelphus Adelpha Meter

Adelphus Adelpha Meter (or *St Omer's Hymn*; hereafter *AAM*) is a Latin homily that may have been known in Anglo-Latin circles as early as 934 CE.[8] It explores significant Christian themes, including the finite nature of human

be understood with knowledge of the interpretations provided in Bede's *On Genesis*, 1.2.3 and *De temporum ratione*, 10, as is shown by Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 180–84. In other words, the stylistic decisions taken in early medieval poetry can sometimes be driven by a desire to capture exegetical nuances.

7 This issue is set out very well by Carin Ruff, "The Perception of Difficulty in Aldhelm's Prose."

8 The rare word *tanaliter* (translated as "in a deadly manner?" by Lapidge "The Hermeneutic Style," 100n2) found in the Æthelstan A charter of 934 CE may have been known through *AAM*. See Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, and Lapidge, "Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England," 105.

existence and the importance of abstaining from wrongdoing in order to attain eternal reward.[9]

AAM has attracted attention due to noteworthy stylistic features. In addition to an abecedarian structure and several instances of alliteration, much of the lexicon is marked. This includes the use of Greek and Hebrew, sometimes with Latin endings.[10] There are also several lines of continuous Greek, much of which is drawn from the Greek New Testament. For example, *Quirius* [*apemon*] *anomias u/apollit agion autu:/soson me,/o theos mu* (The Lord does not absolve [from us] the sins of his saints; save me, O my God).[11]

AAM appears to be copied in full in two manuscripts. The first is Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 666 (fol. 43r–v), which is dated to the first half of the tenth century. In this manuscript, *AAM* contains thirteen Brittonic glosses, which are probably Old Breton. Some of these glosses display linguistic corruption, which led Jacopo Bisagni to suggest that it may have been copied from a Breton exemplar in a Northern Frankish scriptorium, possibly at Montreuil-sur-Mer or Saint-Bertin.[12] The second witness is the well-known, mid-eleventh century manuscript, Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35 (hereafter **C**), which was most likely written in Canterbury.[13] In this manuscript, *AAM* is found on fol. 420r–v, directly after the *Rubisca*, another abecedarian poem with unusual vocabulary, including Hebraicisms, Hellenisms, and neologisms. It is also copied in the same section as a Greek alphabet and several transliterated Greek prayers. Therefore, by the eleventh century, *AAM* is clearly being associated with other texts that display marked diction. In **C**, both *AAM* and the *Rubisca* contain Latin and Brittonic glosses, and it has been suggested that these texts may derive from Breton exemplars.[14] Finally, a single stanza of *AAM* (stanza-O) is also found

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9 Editions have been completed by Stowasser, "De Quarto Quodam Specimine Scoticae Latinitatis"; Thurneysen, "Glosses bretonnes"; Jenkinson, *The Hisperica Famina*; and Howlett, "Five Experiments in Textual Reconstruction and Analysis." The critical edition and translation of *AAM* that are used in this article are by Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 104–11.

10 *AAM* also includes Hebraicisms, such as *asmon* (faithful), *asarum* (blessed), and *lamech* (low-lying).

11 *AAM* 46–48. Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 108–9.

12 See "Saint-Omer, B.M., MS 666," A Descriptive Handlist of Breton Manuscripts, c. AD 780–1100 (DHBM), https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/210.

13 For more on this manuscript, see Rigg and Wieland, "A Canterbury Classbook" and Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript."

14 For Bisagni's discussion of this, see "Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35," DHBM, https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/40.

in the margin of fol. 54r of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 13043, a manuscript of Virgilian texts, which is dated to the start of the eleventh century.[15] This manuscript has a Corbie provenance, a centre to which other texts with marked diction, such as the *Libellulus sacerdotalis* by Liosmonocus, may have also been transmitted.[16]

AAM: Date and Place of Origin

As a result of its unusual vocabulary, *AAM* is frequently grouped with early medieval Latin texts thought to have associations with Ireland that also contain noteworthy lexica (e.g., rare vocabulary and Greek and Hebrew coinages). These texts include the *Hisperica famina* (*A-Text*, *B-Text*, *C-Text*, and *D-Text*), *Lorica of Laidcenn*, *Leiden Lorica*, and *Rubisca*.[17] However, of these, only two texts, which both probably date to the seventh century—*Hisperica famina: A-Text* and *Lorica of Laidcenn*—provide convincing evidence for an origin in Ireland.[18] The remaining texts, including *AAM*, may be the products of Irish scholars working either in Ireland or on the Continent, perhaps at a later period; they might also have been written by non-Irish scholars who were influenced by Hiberno-Latin materials.

Based on current evidence, the most plausible explanation is that *AAM* was written by a scholar working on the Continent (possibly in Brittany), who was either Irish or responding to Hiberno-Latin trends.[19] The date is

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15 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 21; cf. Gautier-Dalché, "Mappae mundi antérieures au XIII^{e} siècle," 160.

16 See Lemoine, "Note sur *Les Hisperica Famina* et La Bretagne," 219, and "Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 13386," DHBM, https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/158.

17 In 1908, Jenkinson first implied a connection between these texts when he edited *AAM* alongside *Hisperica famina* (*A-Text, B-Text, C-Text, and D-Text*), *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and *Rubisca*. The idea that these texts might find a corpus has persisted in subsequent editions, such as Herren, *Hisperica famina: II*, although he was careful to highlight the fact that even though *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*, *Leiden Lorica*, *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and *Rubisca* display an overlap in stylistic features, "it cannot be demonstrated that they emanate from a single milieu and time," 2.

18 On the date and origin of *Hisperica famina: A-Text*, see Grosjean, "Confusa Caligo"; Roth, "Observations on the Historical Background of the Hisperica Famina"; Smyth, *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, 16. On the date and origin of the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, see Herren, "The Authorship, Date of Composition and Provenance of the So-Called 'Lorica Gildae.'"

19 For an overview of the question, see Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 54–56, and Stevenson, "Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*," 203–4.

uncertain and could range from the seventh to the early tenth century.[20] Nevertheless, this text does much to suggest a Continental context of the ninth or early tenth century and perhaps a Breton origin.

Its use of continuous Greek and knowledge of Greek syntax support the idea that *AAM* was written on the Continent. As noted by Pádraic Moran, early medieval Latin texts localized to Ireland tend to use individual Greek or Greek-derived words rather than continuous Greek.[21] In contrast, Irish scholars based on the Continent during the ninth century, such as Sedulius Scottus and Johannes Scottus Eriugena, are known for their facility in Greek. Furthermore, *AAM* derives much of its Greek vocabulary from the Septuagint and Greek New Testament.[22] Greek-Latin interlinears of the Psalter,[23] Gospels,[24] and Pauline Epistles[25] were certainly available to scholars working on the Continent in the ninth century.

In addition to the Breton glosses mentioned above contained in Saint-Omer, MS 666,[26] a few other pieces of evidence point to a possible Breton origin.[27] *AAM*'s closest lexical ties are with the Echternach Glosses (also known as the *Hisperica Famina C-Text*) with which it shares six noteworthy terms: *tona*, *mansia*, *gibra*, *dusmus*, *soma*, and *pelta*.[28] This word list in Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 89[29] originated in Echternach, but has clear con-

20 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 54–56. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the inclusion of stanza-O in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 13043 (IX^{ex} or X^{in}).

21 Moran, "Greek in Early Medieval Ireland," 175–76.

22 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 42. Indeed, as noted by Stevenson, "Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*," 204, many of the Greek words found in *AAM* are not in the *Hisperica famina*.

23 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS A VII 3 was written in Irish minuscule in the last quarter of the ninth century, possibly in Saint Gall. See "Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A VII 3," Manuscripts with Irish Associations (MIrA), www.mira.ie/171.

24 Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 48 was written in Irish minuscule in the second half of the ninth century, possibly in Saint Gall. See "Codex Delta: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 48," MIrA, www.mira.ie/274.

25 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS A.145.b was written in Irish minuscule in the middle of the ninth century, possibly at Saint Gall. See "Codex Boernerianus: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, A.145.b," MIrA, www.mira.ie/48.

26 See Thurneysen, "Glosses bretonnes."

27 For the influence of the *Hisperica famina* on Breton scholars, see Lemoine, "Maniérisme et Hispérisme en Bretagne," and "Paléographie et philologie médiévales."

28 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 42n9.

29 For more on this manuscript, see "Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 89," DHBM, https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/83.

nections with Brittany, as is shown through the inclusion of 104 entries written in Old Breton. Moreover, Michael Lapidge demonstrated that Israel the Grammarian (ca. 900–ca. 970 CE), a scholar who was probably from Brittany, could plausibly either be the author of *AAM* or at least involved in its transmission to England.[30] Taken together, it appears that *AAM* was probably produced in a Continental centre during the ninth or tenth century and may indeed be a Breton composition.

In many ways, therefore, *AAM* is an ideal subject for the study of the ongoing (and perhaps second-hand) influence of early medieval Hiberno-Latin texts outside of Ireland, including in Anglo-Latin circles. This is because *AAM* contains a distinctive lexicon that is strongly associated with the Hiberno-Latin tradition. Moreover, it was transmitted from the Continent to Anglo-Latin circles, where it is found alongside glosses that provide insight into its reception.

Marked Diction in *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*: B-stanza

A case study of the B-stanza and the associated glossing tradition contained in **C** suggests that an early audience of *AAM* aligned its marked diction with established interpretations found in biblical exegesis.[31]

> Blebomen agialos, nicate dodrantibus: sic mundi et vita huius
>
> We see how the shore is overcome by the tide: so too the life of this world.[32]

The first two lines of the B-stanza contain striking lexical features: three words are Greek-derived; the fourth is a relatively rare technical term with an uncommon meaning. Furthermore, there is a noteworthy shift to unremarkable Latin in the final line of the stanza.

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30 Lapidge, "Israel the Grammarian." See Stevenson, "The Irish Contribution to Anglo-Latin Hermeneutic Prose."

31 As noted by Gernot Wieland in "The Glossed Manuscript," it would be wrong to assume that the glosses contained in this manuscript were produced by the glossator. Indeed, the same hands (Hands A and B) that wrote the main texts found in Part III of CUL Gg. 5.35, which includes *AAM*, also copied most of the associated glossing; see Rigg and Wieland, "A Canterbury Classbook," 115. This suggests that the glosses were possibly carried over from the exemplar.

32 *AAM*, 4–6.

In particular, this stanza contains the following marked lexical items:

1. *Blebomen* from βλέπομεν "we see" or *blebomenon*.[33] βλέπομεν is a very common form in Greek overall; however, it is not found frequently in the Greek New Testament, and it is of course very rare in a Latin context. This term occurs five times in the Greek New Testament, including 1 Cor. 13:12a: βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι, δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι (For now *we see* through a glass dimly).
2. *Agialos* from αίγιαλός (sea-shore).[34] This word is found six times in the New Testament.[35]
3. *Nicate* from the middle-present indicative of νικάω (I conquer, prevail): νικάται.[36] This word is often found in the New Testament, where it tends to arise in eschatological contexts.[37]
4. *Dodrans* means "three quarters" of a unit in Classical sources. However, in Irish computistical materials it is often used as a synonym of *quadrans* (one quarter).[38] In an important article, Alan Brown argued that a semantic shift from "three quarters" to "flood-tide" or "wave" in Insular sources resulted from a misunderstanding of Philippus Presbyter's commentary on Job 38:16, which describes the daily retardation of the flood by a quarter-hour.[39] In addition to *AAM*, *dodrans* occurs in several other non-computistical contexts, including Columbanus's *Epistula* 5, *Hisperica famina: A-text*, *Altus Prosator*, Aldhelm's *Letter to Heahfrith* and *Carmen rhythmicum*.[40]

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33 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 172.

34 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 172.

35 Matthew 13:2; Matthew 13:48; John 21:4; Acts 21:5; Acts 27:39; Acts 27:40.

36 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 70.

37 νικάω and its derivatives are found seventeen times in Revelation alone. For example, Revelation 3:12: "Ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτὸν στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι, καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν" (Him that *overcometh* will I make a pillar in the temple of my God and he shall go no more out and I will write upon him the name of my God and the name of the city of my God which is new Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven from my God and I will write upon him my new name).

38 See Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, 18–19; Bisagni, "A New Citation," 118.

39 Brown, "Bede, a Hisperic Etymology, and Early Sea Poetry."

40 For Hiberno-Latin attestations of *dodrans*, see Bisagni, "A New Citation," For

The Glosses of Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5.35

The glosses to stanza-B in **C** suggest that the glossator whose work is copied into the Cambridge manuscript was recalling Christian interpretations of the shoreline and the sea while reading this passage.

On fol. 420v, *agialos* is glossed *omnes sanctos* and *dodrantibus* is glossed *morientibus*. Herren suggested that these glosses may reflect errors on the part of the glossator. In particular, he noted that the influence of ἅγιος (holy) might have resulted in the gloss on *agialos*.[41] Furthermore, he suggested that the gloss on *dodrans* could be an error, in which the glossator was wrongly influenced by a gloss on *dedronte*, which occurs a few lines earlier in *AAM*.[42] Since *dedronte* is glossed *moriuntur* in **C** and there is a superficial similarity between *dedronte* and *dodrans*, the glossator might have assumed these words were related and thus applied the gloss *morientes* to *dodrans*. However, when one reads these glosses alongside biblical commentaries, they begin to look less like errors, and instead, they reveal the dynamic reading practices of the early medieval *literati*.

The Patristic Context for the Themes in the Cambridge Glosses

As noted above, the author of *AAM* may have encountered some of the Greek vocabulary through Greek-Latin interlinear glosses rather than relying solely on glossary lists. For example, Josef Stowasser identified Matthew 12:50 as the source of the phrase *adelphus adelpha meter*.[43] The Greek version of this verse might have been encountered in interlinear glosses such as those found in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Sang. 48,[44] which was copied in the ninth century by Irish monks working on the Continent. This manuscript contains the Greek gospels with the interlinear translation into Latin. For example, Matthew 12:50 is found on p. 56: "Ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν" (For whosoever shall do the will of my Father that is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother). Here, the interlinear paral-

dodrans in Aldhelm, see Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm." For attestations of *dodrans* in Old English glossaries, see Hayden, "Old English in Irish Charms."

41 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 172. Indeed, the glossator may have interpreted *agialos* as a compound constituted by ἅγιος (holy) and ὅλος (whole, all) (whence *omnes sanctos*).

42 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 172. This can be seen on fol. 420r.

43 Stowasser, *De quarto quodam Scoticae*, ix.

44 "Codex Delta: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 48," MIrA, www.mira.ie/274.

lels provided for ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ are *frater et soror et mater*. Given this context, in which the author of *AAM* is mining language directly from the Greek Scriptures, it is tempting to think that not only would early readers recognize the application of biblical language within the text, but they might also have considered the biblical exegesis that had been applied to those very biblical passages.

Patristic Interpretations of the Sea

In the writings of the Church Fathers of Late Antiquity, references to the sea in Scripture were often interpreted as the present age of the world.[45] For instance, the widely circulated Psalm commentaries of Jerome,[46] Augustine,[47] and Cassiodorus[48] had all suggested that the sea represented the *saeculum*, a term which, in ecclesiastical Latin, was often used to contrast the present world with the eternal, heavenly realm.[49] This interpretation of the sea was connected to a set of complex overlapping metaphors. For instance, the Church was sometimes represented as a ship sailing towards the afterlife;[50] the ship's wood was the cross of Christ;[51] and the savage storms at sea that beat against the ship were heretics.[52] Such interpretations are found in many Patristic sources and would certainly have been familiar to the early medieval reader.

Patristic Interpretations of the *Agialos*

In the Cambridge manuscript, *agialos* (seashore) is glossed with *omnes santos* (all saints). Here, it appears the glossator may be drawing upon well-known interpretations of biblical shorelines. Since the sea was interpreted as the age of the world, the shoreline came to be associated with the conclusion of the world. This interpretation has its origins in the Parable of the

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45 On the metaphorical sea of the world in Patristic sources, see Radner, *Symbole der Kirche*; Compare McGinn, "Ocean and Desert as Symbols of Mystical Absorption in the Christian Tradition."

46 Jerome, *Tractatus LIX in Psalmos*, 96.

47 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 39.9; 95.12.

48 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 64.9; 88.12.

49 "Saeculum." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.8233.

50 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 92.7.

51 Augustine, *Sermo* 75.

52 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, *Preface* XVII. This passage directly connects these set of interpretations to the ark of Noah, which stood as a symbol of the Church.

Dragnet (Matthew 13:47–52), a parable explicitly described by Jesus as an illustration of the Kingdom of Heaven:

> iterum simile est regnum caelorum sagenae missae in mare et ex omni genere piscium congreganti quam cum impleta esset educentes et secus litus sedentes elegerunt bonos in vasa malos autem foras miserunt. sic erit in consummatione saeculi exibunt angeli et separabunt malos de medio iustorum et mittent eos in caminum ignis ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium[53]

Here fish, which represent mankind, are caught into the net and brought to the shore. However, the wicked fish (i.e., non-Christians) are separated and cast back into the sea, while the good fish (i.e., Christians) are placed into vessels. As a result of this passage, the shoreline became a symbolic location where the Final Judgement would take place.[54]

However, since the Christians remain in the vessels on the shore, in some texts the shoreline is explicitly associated with the Christian afterlife. One such direct association between the shoreline and the destiny of Christians can be seen in the *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*, a collection of glosses likely written in southern France (ca. 600 CE), which may have been known in Ireland by the end of the seventh century.[55]

The relevant comment occurs on the lemma *pisces maris*, a phrase found in Psalm 8:9, "volucres caeli et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris" (The birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, that pass through the paths of the sea):

> Sed in alio sensu per pisces maris possunt martyres intellegi, quia martyres istud mare saeculum transnatantes ad altiora petunt, unde Gregorius ait: "Mare omnia corpora in se uiua retinet, mortua uero ad litus mittit." Sic et mundus iste illos homines retinet qui in carnalibus desideriis uiuunt et qui in peccatis permanent. Nam qui propter deum se mortificant ad litus id est ad deum transmittit. Uel per hoc quod "extremum maris" dicit, pro fine mundi huius constituisti me, quia tunc se scit resurgere ecclesia plenissime, cum ista transiret id est cum terminum maris huius mundi transierit.[56]

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53 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. Matthew 13:47–50: "Again the kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together of all kind of fishes. Which, when it was filled, they drew out, and sitting by the shore, they chose out the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth. So shall it be at the end of the world. The angels shall go out, and shall separate the wicked from among the just and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." All translations of biblical passages are Challoner's, taken from *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 1749–52.

54 Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, 13.47–49.

55 McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, 306–7.

56 *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*, 8.9; *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum*

Here, the shoreline is identified as the place where Christians will remain until the whole Church moves beyond the boundaries of the sea, which will occur after Judgement Day. Moreover, *ad litus* (to the shoreline) is equated to *ad Deum* (to God). Thus, the transition from the sea of the age to the shoreline represents the transition from life on earth to the afterlife. A similar idea occurs in a gloss on Psalm 138:9,[57] in which the shoreline is a symbolic location that must be crossed in order to attain eternal rewards.[58]

Most importantly, however, in the Parable of the *Dragnet* and its subsequent interpretations, the wicked fish (i.e., non-Christians) do not remain on the shore, but they are cast back into the sea to await eternal punishment. This Patristic context suggests that a possible reason *agialos* is glossed with *omnes sanctos* in **C** is because the original glossator recognized the seashore as a symbolic location where Christians alone would gradually be gathered until Judgement Day.

Transition from Marked to Non-Marked Diction in *AAM*

Of course, it would be difficult to prove that the author of *AAM* intentionally used marked diction to allude to this biblical passage and its subsequent interpretation. Nevertheless, it is striking that within stanza-B not only do we find a clear transition from marked to non-marked diction, but also *sic* is used to signal that transition.

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ex traditione seniorum, 39: "But in another sense, the martyrs can be understood as the fish of the sea, because martyrs swimming that sea of the world reach towards higher things; whence Gregory says: 'The sea keeps all living bodies in itself, but it sends the dead to the shore.' In this same way, too, that world retains those men who live in carnal pleasures and who remain in sin. On the other hand, those who destroy themselves for the sake of God, **he transmits to the shore, that is, to God**. Or through this because he says, 'the end of the sea', you have appointed me for the end of this world, because then the Church knows that she herself will be completely risen when she has crossed, that is, when she has crossed the boundary of the sea of this world."

57 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Psalms 138:9: *si sumpsero pennas meas diluculo habitavero in novissimo maris* (If I take my wings early in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea).

58 *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*, 138.9: "'Et habitauero in extremis maris': ecclesia in fide firma, quae est pro fine mundi istius conlocata, quia tunc se scit ecclesia remunerari pleniter, cum terminos maris huius mundi transierit" ("And I will dwell in the ends of the sea": the Church is firm in faith, which is assembled for the end of that world, because then the Church knows she will be rewarded abundantly, when she will cross over the boundaries of the sea of this world).

The importance of this adverb is seen in a set of glosses found in the Würzburg Saint Matthew, a fragmentary manuscript of Matthew's Gospel that was written in Ireland during the second half of the eighth century.[59] The glosses and commentary on Matthew 13:47–52, which re-elaborate interpretations found in Jerome's commentary on Matthew, are thought to have been added by an Irish *peregrinus* at the beginning of the ninth century.

> "Elegerunt" i.e. sanctos in regnum; "uasa" in mansiones caelestes; "foras" i.e. peccatores in infernum; "sic" nunc soluit parabolam.[60]

Notice that not only is the shoreline once again associated with the destiny of Christians, but the glossator identifies *sic* as a transition word, marking a shift from a figurative plane to a literal interpretation.

This is precisely the same construction found in stanza-B of *AAM*. The first two lines contain marked diction, which the glossator appears to read figuratively. In contrast, the final line of stanza-B uses *sic* to mark a transition back to unmarked diction: *sic mundi et vita huius*. This unmarked line solves the puzzle: it provides a literal explanation of the figurative, marked diction contained in the preceding two lines.[61] Indeed, according to Augustine, the intermingling of literal and figurative language is a hallmark of prophetic language.[62]

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59 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.61. For more on this manuscript, see "Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.61 [palimpsest new]," MIrA, www.mira.ie/95.

60 *Commentarius Wirziburgensis in Matthaeum necnon et glossae*, 13.48, 89: "'They have chosen,' i.e. the saints in the kingdom; 'vessels' in the heavenly dwellings; 'outside' i.e., sinners in hell; 'thus' now he solves the parable."

61 This transition from non-marked lexicon, which appears to operate at a literal level, to marked diction, which appears to be figurative, is found in other stanzas in *AAM*. An example of such a transition can be seen in *AAM*, stanza-D: *Didaxon, sapisure,/ toto biblion acute;/ non debes reticere* (Teach us, Master, this text in sagacious fashion; you must not keep silent).

62 Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei,* 20.16: "quamuis et nunc, sicut amat prophetica locutio propriis uerbis translata miscere ac sic quodam modo uelare quod dicitur, potuit de illo mari dicere: et mare iam non est, de quo supra dixerat: et exhibuit mortuos mare, qui in eo erant. iam enim tunc non erit hoc saeculum uita mortalium turbulentum et procellosum, quod maris nomine figurauit" (However, just as the prophetic speech loves figurative things to be mixed with literal words and thus to veil in a certain way what is being said, he was able to say about that sea: 'and there is no longer a sea,' about which he had said before 'and the sea presented the dead, which were in it.' For then this age, which was symbolised by the name of the sea, violent and stormy in the life of mortals, will not exist).

Patristic Interpretations of *Dodrans* (Flood-Tide)

Another example of the application of interpretative glossing to marked diction in *AAM* occurs in relation to *dodrans* (flood-tide), which is glossed with *morientes* (the dying ones) in **C**. Here, it appears the glossator may have been familiar with a tradition where *dodrans* was equated to the Noahic Flood. This equation can be seen in Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 342 bis (fol. B), a fragment written in Insular script, which was probably written at the end of the seventh or early eighth century in Ireland or Wales,[63] from where it travelled to Saint-Bertin in Northern Francia.[64] This fragmentary manuscript contains glosses to Amos that are largely drawn from Jerome's *Commentarii in Amos*. One gloss, however, which does not follow Jerome's tradition is particularly relevant here: "'Effudit eas' id est ut in Dilu<u>io fecit uel in dodran<te>" ("He pours them [the waters of the sea],"[65] that is, as he did in the Diluvium or in the flood-tide).

This gloss provides a direct parallel between *dodrans* and the Noahic Flood (Genesis 6–9). However, in Patristic interpretations, the Noahic Flood was a multivalent symbol. For example, it was associated with the cleansing waters of baptism.[66] It also represented the world's activities, including the persecution of the Church. The Flood, moreover, had strong eschatological associations[67] and was sometimes used to represent the final punishment of

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63 "Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 342 bis (fol. B)," MIrA, www.mira.ie/41.

64 The provenance in Saint-Bertin is, of course, interesting in light of the possibility that Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 666 may have been produced there. If this is true, perhaps the writer of *AAM* might have been influenced by this gloss.

65 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Amos 9:6: "Qui aedificat in caelo ascensionem suam, et fasciculum suum super terram fundavit; qui vocat aquas maris, et effundit eas super faciem terrae: Dominus nomen ejus" (He that buildeth his ascension in heaven, and hath founded his bundle upon the earth: who calleth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth, the Lord is his name).

66 For a particular focus on baptism, see Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale*, 64–72, who observes that baptism or being 'buried' in the sea represented the death of sin, and rising to the surface represented the start of a new sinless life.

67 The association with Judgement Day was based on statements found in Matthew 24:37–39 and Luke 17:26–27, which equated the days of Noah to the Coming of the Son of Man. For example, Origen-Rufinus explained this connection in *Homilies in Genesis*, 2.3. "In quo evidenter unam eandemque formam diluvii, quod praecessit, et finis mundi, quem venturum dicit, designat" (In which he clearly signifies one and the same form of the Flood, which went before, and the end of the world, which he says will come).

sinners.[68] This multivalence is captured by Bede, "designet diluuium fontem baptismi quo abluitur, designet fluctus mundi temptantis quibus probatur, designet finem in quo coronatur" (the flood may signify the font of baptism by which it is washed clean, or it may signify the waves of the tempting world by which it is tested, or it may signify the end in which it is crowned).[69] Since the *dodrans* is equated with the Noahic Flood, it appears feasible that the term *dodrans* might be used to signal these spiritual interpretations.

The Context of *Dodrans* in Columbanus, *Epistula* 5

Indeed, as early as the start of the seventh-century, *dodrans* was already used in Hiberno-Latin texts to represent established interpretations of the Noahic Flood. This is important as it adds weight to the idea that the author of *AAM* used the term *dodrans* to signal an established spiritual interpretation, which they would have expected their audience to recognize. In particular, Columbanus (ca. 543–615 CE) uses *dodrans* not just to refer to a "flood-tide," but rather to signal the exegesis of the flood waters as representative of worldly behaviours and activities.[70]

Dodrans occurs in a heavily stylized passage in a letter (*Epistula* 5) sent by Columbanus to Pope Boniface IV (ca. 613 CE), which dramatizes the spread of the Christian message to Ireland. Here, Columbanus signals the important position of the Insular world in the providential growth of the Church, whereby the gospel must spread to all nations—in line with the injunctions of Luke 24:47 and Acts 1:8; 13:47—before the end of time is realized.[71] Importantly, Columbanus depicts the gospel message as overcoming three hurdles in order to reach Ireland: *euriporum rheuma* (the

68 For an overview of Patristic links between the Flood, baptism, and Judgement Day, see Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 69–114, and Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 38–39.

69 Bede, *In Genesis*, 2.1127–1129 (trans. Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, 174). Compare Bede, *In Genesis*, 2.1061. "Primo quidem quod, sicut Dominus ipse ostendit, per inundationem diluuii repentinam improuisa nouissimi examinis hora designator" (First of all, just as the Lord himself declared, the unexpected hour of Last Judgment is signified by the sudden inundation of the flood) (trans. Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, 172).

70 See Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah*, 167–73, on the Patristic exegesis of the flood waters, which were sometimes interpreted as a flood of impiety (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43), the waters also represented the peril of the Church in the world (Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 15.26), including the persecutions and trials caused by those outside the Church or the heretics within.

71 O'Reilly, *History, Hagiography, and Biblical Exegesis*, 36–64.

channels' surge), *delfinum dorsa* (the dolphins' backs), and *turgescentem dodrantem* (the swelling flood).

There have been several suggestions on the purpose of these three poetic *trans* phrases. For example, Christine Mohrmann suggested that Columbanus used them to craft a "powerful description of irresistible speed of the divine charioteer."[72] Johannes Smit, who provided a useful examination of the Patristic background to this allegorical passage, suggested that they emphasize the spread of the gospel throughout the world.[73] However, a close philological examination raises a third possibility: the clauses correspond to the three temptations overcome by Christ in Christian theology.

The New Testament contains three accounts of the temptation of Christ (Matthew 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13). In Matthew and Luke, Satan tempts Jesus to transform stones into bread, to jump from a pinnacle, and to worship Satan. These three temptations soon came to represent three categories of sins.[74] There is some variance in Patristic accounts on the identification of the three precise sin categories associated with Christ's temptation, however, they generally correspond to desire for worldly knowledge or power (i.e., the world), fleshly desire (i.e., the flesh), and pride (i.e., the Devil).[75]

Early Christian writers saw a parallel between Christ's temptation and Adam's temptation in the Garden of Eden. Adam responded to the temptation, bringing forth destruction and death; Christ overcame temptation, bringing forth resurrection and life. Therefore, the three temptations of Christ became explicitly tied to the triumph of salvation, as in the writings of Gregory the Great:

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72 Mohrmann, "The Earliest Continental Irish Latin," 223.

73 Smit, *Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger*, 190–97.

74 In *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 8.13, Augustine drew a direct correlation between the temptation of Christ and the threefold categorization of vices listed in 1 John 2:16: the lust of the flesh (*concupiscentia carni*), the lust of the eyes (*concupiscentia oculorum*), and the pride of life (*superbia vitae* or *ambitio saeculi*).

75 For example, in the context of the temptation of Christ, Augustine describes three main types of sin from which all others stem: *uoluptas carnis*, *superbia*, and *curiositas* (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 8.13.). A similar categorization is found in Cassian's *Conlationes* (5.5–6), where Christ is presented as the archetype of victory over temptation. For Cassian, the temptations that Christ overcame were *gastrimargia*, *cenodoxia*, and *superbia*. In Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in euangelia* (16.2.), the temptation categories are *gula*, *uana gloria*, et *auaritia*. However, in the *Moralia in Iob*, 33.15.30.22–31.31, Gregory states that are three specific sins associated with temptation: *luxuria*, *malitia*, and *superbia*.

> Sed quibus modis primum hominem strauit, eisdem modis secundo homini temptato succubuit. Per gulam quippe temptat cum dicit: Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. Per uanam gloriam temptat cum dicit: Si Filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum. Per sublimitatis auaritiam temptat cum regna omnia mundi ostendit dicens: Haec omnia tibi dabo si procidens adoraueris me. Sed eisdem modis a secundo homine uincitur, quibus primum hominem se uicisse gloriatur, ut a nostris cordibus ipso aditu captus exeat, quo nos aditu intromissus tenebat.[76]

Here, Satan conquers Adam through the three temptations, leading to the Fall of Man; however, Satan is also conquered by Christ through the three temptations, opening the door to salvation for mankind.[77]

This idea was re-elaborated in early medieval texts, where Christ's temptation often stands as a demonstration of his victory over Satan and the coming of salvation. For example, this tradition is found in Recension 1 of *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* by Pseudo-Hieronymus, which may have been written by an Irish *peregrinus* at the end of the seventh century.[78] This text states that when he overcame the three temptations to which Adam fell, Christ demonstrated that he would also overcome Satan.[79] A similar concept

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76 Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, 16.3: "But by the same means that he [Satan] overcame the first man, he was himself overcome when tempting the second man. Through gluttony he tempted Him when he said, 'Command that these stones be made bread.' [Mt. 4:3] Through **vainglory** he tempted Him when he said, 'If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down.' [Mt. 4:6] Through **avarice** of high place he tempted Him when he showed Him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' [Mt. 4:9] **But he [Satan] was conquered by the second man [Christ] through the same means by which he prided himself to have conquered the first man [Adam]**; so that being captured, he may come out of our hearts by very way by which, having been let in, he was holding us"; Cf. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, 16.1: "Quid ergo mirum si se ab illo permisit in montem duci, qui se pertulit etiam a membris illius crucifigi? Non est ergo indignum Redemptori nostro quod temptari uoluit, qui uenerat occidi. Iustum quippe erat ut sic temptationes nostras suis temptationibus uinceret, sicut mortem nostram uenerat sua morte superare" (Why, therefore, be surprised if [Jesus] permitted himself to be led onto the mountain by that one [Satan], he who also endured his own crucifixion by the members of that one? Therefore, it was not shameful of our Redeemer to wish to be tempted, he who had come to be killed. **On the contrary, it was right for him to triumph over our temptations with his own, just as he had come to overcome our death by his death**).

77 Compare Ambrose, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam*, 4.33.

78 For the potential Hiberno-Latin background to this text, see Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," 236. However, see also the reservations expressed by Stansbury, "Irish Biblical Exegesis."

79 *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* (recensio I) (PL 30.542A): "Has tres tentationes

occurs in the Old Irish text *Aipgitir Chrábaid* (The Alphabet of Piety), which is attributed to Colmán mac Beógnai (d. 611 CE). In this text, three elements which correspond to the three temptations—the world, the flesh, and the Devil—are renounced through the act of baptism, which itself is a representation of salvation.[80]

This established tradition suggests that a reference to overcoming the three temptations would not be out of place in Columbanus's account of the triumphal spread of the gospel message to Ireland. In fact, a reference to Christ's temptation in the context of the victory of salvation might be part of the horizon of expectation of an early medieval audience trained in biblical exegesis.

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in Adam prius diabolus exigit: per gulam dixit, 'gusta': per uanam gloriam, 'eritis sicut dii': per auaritiam, 'scientes bonum et malum'; sed per has tres iterum tentauit Christum: gula, de petra fieri panem: per uanam gloriam, 'mitte te deorsum': per auaritiam, 'omnia tibi dabo', et reliqua. Sed qui eum in abyssum, uerbo praedicationis, ducit: ostendit per has tres uincere diabolum. (The devil first tested these three temptations in Adam: through gluttony, he said, "taste:" through vain glory, "you will be like gods:" through avarice, "knowing good and evil;" but by these three he again tempted Christ: through gluttony, to become bread from the rock; through vainglory "send you down," through avarice, "I give all things to you" and so on. But he who leads him into the abyss by the word of preaching **shows that by these three things he overcomes the devil**).

80 *Aipgitir Chrábaid* §30: "Inna teora tonna tīaghtai tar duine a m-bathis trē fretiuch fristoing indib .i. fristoing don domun cona adbclossaib, fristoing do demon cona indtledoib, fristoing do tolaib collæ. Iss ed in so imefolngi dvine dendī bes mac bāis co m-bī mac bethad, dendii bes mac dorchoi co m-bī mac solse. Ochōn abbaing inna trī fretiuch so isna teura tonnaib tiaghta tairis! Mani tudchaid tre drilind afrithisse docōi i flaith Dē .i. lind dēr aithrige, lind tofaiscthi folai hi pennaind, lind n-aillse hil-lebair" (A man pronounces three renunciations in the three waves which go over him at baptism: **he renounces the world with its splendours; he renounces the Devil with his traps; he renounces the desires of the flesh. This is what changes a man from a son of death to a son of life**, from a son of darkness to a son of light. If he breaks these three vows, [made] in the three waves which go over him, he cannot enter the kingdom of God unless he pass again through three fluids: the fluid of the tears of repentance, the fluid of blood shed in penance, the fluid of the sweat of toil') (trans. Carey, King of Mysteries, 243). I thank Paula Harrison for drawing this example to my attention.

Furthermore, Patristic writers, such as Cassiodorus[81] and Caesarius of Arles,[82] had directly associated the three temptations with sea imagery, which is very striking in circumstances where Columbanus provides the three *trans* phrases within a passage that uses sea imagery in an allegory for the gospel spread. The writings of the Church Fathers suggested that the three temptations can be overcome by the Church, which is sailing across

81 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 123.5: "Intolerabilis ergo aqua dicitur, quando nostra infirmitas cogitatur. Nam peccatorum gurges criminum que tempestas tolerari non potest, quando se a defensione domini segregata inuenerit. Econtra omnia tolerabilia fiunt, cum deus in sanctis suis habitat; tunc enim nec error subripit, nec luxuria trahit, nec superbia uentosa praeualet, nec hostis antiqui suggestio maligna grassatur" (Intolerable water is being spoken of, since our weakness is being considered. For the whirlpool of sins and the storm of guilt cannot be tolerated, when it will have found itself removed from the protection of the Lord. In contrast, all things are made tolerable when God dwells in his own saints; then truly neither errors will steal, **nor indulgence drag away, nor vain pride prevail, nor the wicked influence of the ancient enemy advance**).

82 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 56.2: "et si aliqua crimina vel peccata capitalia necdum elemosynis et orationibus purgata in nobis adhuc dominari cognoscimus, portum paenitentiae, devictis peccatorum fluctibus, christo gubernante festinemus intrare: et si quid in navicula animae nostrae multis tempestatibus peccatorum, aut per superbiam fractum, aut per avaritiam ruptum, aut per luxuriam resolutum esse cognoscimus, conponere vel reparare bonis operibus festinemus" (And if we know of some crimes or deadly sins that still master us and are not yet cleansed with alms and prayers, let us, with Christ steering, hasten to enter the harbour of repentance, with the subdued waves of sin: and if we know that there are many storms of sins in the little ship of our mind, **either having been broken through pride, or having been destroyed through greed, or having been released through luxury**, let us hasten to build or renew with good works). cf. Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 97.4: "Istas tres vias obsidet inimicus, sicut de pharaonis exercitu legimus: electos ascensores ternos stantes demersit in rubrum mare. Qui sunt isti electi ascensores? electi utique a diabolo ad luxuriam, ad malitiam, ad omnium malorum caput superbiam. Et hi ergo terni stantes istas tres obsident vias: ut aut ille hominem ad opera mala subvertat, aut ille sermonem malum eliciat, aut ille iniquam cogitationem extorqueat" (The enemy occupies those three ways, just as we read about Pharaoh's army: he plunged the chosen charioteers, standing threefold, into the Red Sea. Who are these chosen charioteers? By all means, the ones having been chosen by the Devil **for luxury, for malice, for pride, the source of all evil**. And therefore these, standing threefold, occupy those three ways: so that either that one subverts mankind to evil works, or that one provokes evil speech, or that one extorts unjust thought); Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 103.4.5: "naues ecclesias intellegimus, commeant inter tempestates, inter procellas tentationum, inter fluctus saeculi, inter animalia pusilla et magna. gubernator est christus in ligno crucis suae" (We understand the ships as churches, they travel among the storms, **among the storms of temptation**, among the waves of the age, among the tiny and large animals. The helmsman is Christ on the wood of his own cross).

the sea of the world towards the shoreline (i.e., the safe harbour of the afterlife), since Christ had already triumphed over those very same temptations.

Moreover, the hypothesis that the three poetic phrases found in Columbanus's *Epistula* 5 could potentially represent the three temptations of Christ and mankind is supported by a closer examination of each individual phrase:

a. *trans euriporum rheuma* ("over the channels' surge"): the flesh

The first collocation describes Christ reaching Ireland *trans euriporum rheuma*. This phrase pertains to the temptation of the flesh (i.e., *luxuria, uolputas carnis*, *gula*, or *gastrimargia*).

Euripus (channel) provides twenty-seven results on the Brepolis Cross Database Search Tool.[83] *Euripus* often had negative connotations in Late Antique and early medieval Christian texts.[84] There are clear indications that Columbanus recognized the negative semantic range of this term. In *Epistula* 1 (written to Gregory the Great), Columbanus uses the term *euripus* to refer to a precarious, metaphorical strait that requires careful navigation. Here, this is because it carries with it a potential risk of falling into obstinacy.[85]

Rheuma (mucus or discharge) provides seventy-six results on Brepolis. Potential sources for Columbanus's use of *rheuma* include Jerome's *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, Jerome's *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, and

83 My methodology for the Brepolis Cross Database Search Tool throughout this article has been to use the similarity search function, to restrict the search criteria to results found between ca. 200–735 CE, and to exclude any instances where results were duplicated.

84 For example, in Tertullian's *De spectaculis* (§8), *euripus* is used in the Classical sense to describe the water channel that surrounds the track in the Circus Maximus, however, the context is made demonic: "Frigebat daemonum concilium sine sua matre magna; ea itaque illic praesidet euripo" (The great assembly of demons has lacked vigour without its own mother; and so she presides over the *euripus* there). In *Epistula* 3.4, Jerome describes the monk Bonosus, who seeks Christ on a desert island. In this text, *euripi* are associated with worldly pleasures and directly contrasted to the water of salvation: "nulla euriporum amoenitate perfruitur, sed de latere domini aquam uitae bibit" (He [Bonosus] enjoys no delights of the *euripi*, but he drinks the water of life from the side of the Lord).

85 Columbanus, *Ep.* 1.4: "Sed haec magis procaciter quam humiliter scribens, scio euripum praesumptionis difficillimae me inuexisse, enauigandum fore ignarus" (But writing these things more brashly than humbly, I know that I have brought myself to **the *euripus* of grave obstinacy**, ignorant of what must be sailed). cf. Smit, *Studies on the Language*, 97–8; Stanton, "Columbanus, Letter 1: Translation and Commentary," 165-66.

Origen-Rufinus's *In Numeros*. In each of these texts, *rheuma* is directly associated with lust.[86]

The context in which *rheuma* appears in Jerome and Origen-Rufinus and its status as a relatively rare noun indicates that Columbanus selected this term because of this close association with the sin of lust (i.e., sin of the flesh). Moreover, the context of *euripus* in Patristic sources could have primed Columbanus's contemporary audience to expect *euriporum rheuma* to signal a dangerous or precarious context, as is supported by the example of *euripus* in Columbanus's *Epistula* 1. Therefore, a more appropriate translation for *trans euriporum rheuma* would perhaps be "across the [precarious] straits of the streams [of lust]."

b. *trans delfinum dorsa* ("over the dolphins' backs"): the Devil

The second collocation describes Christ's message reaching Ireland *trans delfinum dorsa*. This phrase pertains to the temptation of pride (i.e., *superbia*), which is often linked directly to Satan.

In Patristic traditions, the biblical Leviathan, described as the "king of the children of pride" in Job 41:25,[87] was often interpreted as Satan. For example, in Philip the Presbyter's *Commentarii in Librum Iob*, the Leviathan is described as the Devil, who is marked by the sin of pride.[88] Likewise, the

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86 Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, 4.16: *fluentia lumborum reumata* ('the flowing rheum of the loins); Jerome, *In Michaeam*, 2.7: "erit seditio usque ad eos qui saeculi huius rheumate delectantur, et libidines generant in hominibus" (strife will exist for those ones, who are being lured by the rheum of this age, and they produce lusts in men); Jerome, *In Malachiam*, 4.4: *et ad radios solis iustitiae, libidinis rheuma siccatur* (and by the rays of the Just Sun [i.e., Christ], the rheum of lust is being dried); Origen-Rufinus, *In Numeros*, 15.1: "si quis rheumatibus libidinis inundatur" (if anyone is being flooded by the rheum of lust).

87 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Job 41:25: "Omne sublime videt ipse est rex super universos filios superbiae."

88 Philippus Presbyter, *Commentarii in Librum Iob* (PL 26.786D–787A): "Commutavit figuram aenigmatis, ut diabolum quem superius Behemoth translato nomine dixerat, eumdem nunc Leviathan appellet; sed illic eum quasi bestiam dicit, quae terras inhabitet; hic vero ita illum nominat, qui velut in aquis maris consistat…Quia ergo in veritate non stetit, et excedens praesumptionis modum addit sibi superbiam, quasi supra naturae bonum in tumorem et morbum elationis excedit" (He changed the figure of the enigma, so that the Devil, whom he had called by the translated name 'Behemoth' above, the same will now be called 'Leviathan,' but there he speaks of him as a beast, which occupies the earth; however, here he calls that one thus, who stands as if in the water of the sea…Because he did not stand in truth, and he, going beyond the limit of obstinacy, adds pride to himself, as if he goes beyond the good of nature into the swelling and sickness of exaltation).

pride of Satan, whose characteristics are revealed through the Leviathan, is a central theme in book 41 of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. This association between certain sea creatures and pride is re-elaborated in early medieval writings, such as Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate* (10), in which he refers specifically to the *superbiae balena* (whale of pride). Important to the Columbanus passage, pride was often specifically localized to the head[89] or the neck[90] of the sea creature. Moreover, in the Latin *Physiologus* tradition,[91] the sin of pride is associated with the sailors landing on a whale's back.[92]

In *Epistula* 5, Columbanus uses the Latin term *delfin* to describe the sea creature. However, this does not negate the possibility that he is referring to the biblical sea creature that represents Satan, since many different terms describe that sea creature in Late Antique and early medieval texts.[93] Therefore, Columbanus may have used the collocation *delfinum dorsa* to signal the sin of pride, one of the three temptations that Christ overcame.

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89 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 73.14: "Cum superius dixerit plurali numero capita draconum, significare uolens nequitias spiritales, modo singulari numero ponit draconem, ut ipsum satanam indicare uideatur, qui quantum fortior…Confractum est enim caput eius, quando superbia ipsius de caelo deiecta est" (Whereas above he said the 'heads of the snakes' with a plural number, he is wishing to signify the spiritually wicked, now instead he puts 'snake' in a singular number, so that it seems to indicate Satan himself, who is so much stronger…for the head of him had been crushed, when by his pride he had been driven down from heaven).

90 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 34.2: "Quid enim collo leuiathan istius, nisi elationis extensio designatur? Qua contra deum se erigens, cum simulatione sanctitatis etiam tumore potestatis extollitur" (What is the 'neck' of that Leviathan, if not the swelling of exaltation? Which raising itself against God, it is being lifted up with a pretense of holiness and with the swelling of power).

91 In the *Physiologus*, the *aspidochelon* (asp-turtle) or *cetus* (sea creature) is described as intentionally remaining along the surface of the water. Sailors who see the whale mistake it for an island. Once lured to the apparent "island," the unwitting sailors anchor on its back and build a fire. The creature then plunges into the abyss, dragging the sailors and their boat to ruin. This behaviour of the sea creature was allegorized in the *Physiologus* as a snare of the Devil. Like the *aspidochelon*, the Devil can disguise sin, causing mankind (through the sin of pride) to let down their guard, before he captures and drags them down into the fires of Gehenna. Several early medieval texts featured a motif of a sea creature's back that was mistaken for an island. In the early medieval Insular world, this motif is found in the eighth century Hiberno-Latin text, *Nauigatio Brendani* (15.31–33), and in the Old English poem *The Whale*. However, there is no evidence that the *Physiologus* was known by Columbanus.

92 DeAngelo, "*Discretio spirituum* and *The Whale*."

93 For example, in Augustine and Cassiodorus, the term *draco* is used; in Gregory the Great *cetus*, *Leviathan*, and *Behemoth*; in Aldhelm *balena*; and in the *Nauigatio Brendani belua*.

c. *trans turgescentem dodrantem* ("over the swelling flood"): the world

The final collocation describes Christ reaching Ireland *trans turgescentem dodrantem*. This clause pertains to the temptation for worldly power, knowledge, or wealth (i.e., *curiositas*, *malitia*, or *auaritia*).

Turgesco provides eighty-one results on Brepolis. In Patristic sources, *turgesco* often refers to the rise of human emotion that is associated with investment in the world, rather than things pertaining to God (e.g., Augustine[94] and Cassiodorus[95]). It occurs on one further occasion in Columbanus's *corpus* where it again describes a swelling sea. Most interestingly, in this passage, Columbanus describes a dangerous and turbulent sea that is threatening the ship of the Church:

> Ideo libere eloquar nostris utpote magistris ac spiritalis nauis gubernatoribus ac mysticis proretis dicens, Uigilate, quia mare procellosum est et flabris exasperatur feralibus, quia non una sola minax unda, quae, etiam per motum pontum, semper cautis spumosis concauae uorticibus hyperbolice, licet de longe turgescens, extollitur, et ante se carbasa sulcatis Orco molibus trudit, sed tempestas totius elementi, nimirum undique consurgentis et undique commoti, mysticae nauis naufragium intentat; ideo audeo timidus nauta clamare, Uigilate, quia aqua iam intrauit in ecclesiae nauem, et nauis periclitatur.[96]

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94 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 103.3.16: "quis enim pauper non turgescit in spem saeculi huius? quis non quotidie cupit augere quod ha"bet? (Is there any poor person who does not begin **to swell** with hope for this age? Is there anyone who does not long every day to increase what he has?).

95 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 91.5: "Intuere hanc regulam ueritatis ubique servari, ne humanis uiribus applicetur quod fuerit diuina largitate collatum. Tunc enim elatio noxia provenit; tunc superbia Deo inimica turgescit, quando aliquid infirmitas humana de sua possibilitate praesumpserit" (See that this rule of truth is maintained everywhere, lest it, which has been conferred by divine abundance, be attributed to human strength. Then, indeed, harmful exaltation comes into being; then pride hostile to God **begins to swell**, when human weakness presumes somewhat about its own power). Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 106.25.

96 Columbanus, *Epistula* 5.2: "Therefore, I will speak out freely, namely to our masters and to the helmsmen of the spiritual ship and the mystic watchmen, saying, Watch, because the sea is stormy and it is made rough by deadly blasts, because **threatening the shipwreck of the mystical ship**, there is **not only one single wave**, which rises up even out of a rough sea growing to an extraordinary height from the ever-foaming whirlpools of the hollow rocky bottom, that wave, **swelling** up from afar drives before it the sails, the waves having been furrowed by Death like a plough, but **it is a storm of the whole element**, that truly rises up on all sides and is equally rough in all directions. For this reason, I, although being a shy sailor, dare to shout: Watch! because the water has already entered the ship of the church and this same ship is in danger."

In this passage, the *minax unda* and *tempestas* both represent threats to the Church (here, from doctrinal error). In this context, *turgescens* (swelling) describes the "swell" of hostile forces. This is in keeping with Patristic sea symbolism, where "swelling" waves often correspond to the arrogance of persecutors.[97] Related interpretations, in which the "swell" of waves cause threat to the Church, are contained in other Patristic sources, such as Gregory the Great, where "swelling waves" are associated with the temptation of worldly cares.[98] In this way, "swelling waves" can represent either direct and open attacks on the Church or more subtle forms of attack, such as the attractions of the world, which might lure away those within the Church. In both instances, however, "swelling waves" are associated with the world itself. This broader context suggests that in *Epistula* 5 the phrase *turgescens dodrans* might be used to represent the final temptation which Christ was able to overcome, which is the world itself.

This suggestion is supported by a return to the original context through which *dodrans* was known to the early medieval Irish *literati*: Philippus Presbyter's *Commentarii in Iob*. As already noted, *dodrans* arises in an interpretation of Job 38:16: *numquid ingressus es profunda maris* (Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea?). The defining features of the *dodrans* (flood-tide) are described thus in Philippus's commentary: the flood-tide is an *immensa effusio* (enormous outflow) of *tantarum aquarium* (immeasurable waters) that *in superficiem profundantur* (pour forth onto the surface) before returning to the *profundissimus sinus* (most deep curves), which are also described as the *matrix maris* (womb of the sea). Most importantly, Philippus's commentary provides not only a "scientific" account of this flood-tide, but he also provides a moral interpretation:

> Possumus et moraliter hunc locum ita sentire, ut quia mare per figuram, hoc saeculum dici novimus: profunda eius super omnes iniquos et peccatores, qui quantum illud diligent, tamen in eius obscurissimam profunditatem demergunt, ut omnino non videant lumen Evangelii et gloriae Christi.

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97 Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, XIV.51.15: "qui conturbari faciat mare, et intumescere fluctus eius, ut adversum servos suos persecutorum infletur superbia, quae iterum, auxiliante Domino, conquiescat" (Who makes the sea to be disturbed, and **its waves to swell up**, so that the pride of the persecutors might be blown against his own servants, which may settle down again with the Lord's help).

98 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, XXVI.xiv.24: "Absconditum quippe tempestatis est, cum in corde contrito cogitationum temptantium fluctus intumescunt, cum contra amoris sancti studia curarum saecularium se tumultus illidunt" (It is 'the hidden part of the storm' when in the penitent heart **the waves of tempting thoughts are swelling** when the **confusions of worldly cares** beat themselves against the eagerness of holy love).

> Novissima vero abyssi sint omnes impii et sacrilegi, qui in profundiores peccatorum tenebras descendentes, lasciviarum nimio fluxu, velut aquarium multitudine deprimuntur.[99]

The *profunda maris*, which is the location from which the *dodrans* rises, is here clearly associated with the sinful and wicked. Moreover, Philippus' account chimes with Patristic interpretations of large volumes of sea-water, which were sometimes believed to represent the attack of Satan and his agents.[100] Furthermore, in Augustine's interpretation of Job 38:16, he identifies the *fons maris* as the source from which all evil springs up.[101] Taken together, this supports the idea that *trans turgescentem dodrantem* might be interpreted as the third temptation, the lures of the world itself. Thus, in Columbanus's *Epistula* 5, *dodrans* appears to relate to an established interpretation of the Noahic Flood (i.e., the flood waters represent, in the words of Bede, the "waves of the tempting world by with [the Church] is tested").

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99 Philippus Presbyter, *Commentarii in Iob*, XXXVI (PL 26.753B): "And we can understand this passage morally because we know the sea to be designated 'this age' through a figure of speech: its depths are above **all the wicked ones and sinners**, who, however much they love that [world], so much they sink into its darkest depth, so that they do not see at all the light of the Gospel and the glory of Christ. Truly, the utmost places of the abyss are **all the impious and sacrilegious ones**, who, flowing down into the deepest darkness of sins, are weighed down by an excessive flow of lasciviousness like a multitude of waters."

100 e.g., Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos*, 123.6: "torrentem pertransiit anima nostra, forsitan pertransisset anima nostra aquam immensam. ecce diaboli et suorum inruentes impetus et ex turbidis motibus concitatos furentesque procursus et tempestatis temporariae torrentes; sed haec intolerabilis aqua animam non transit, in qua deus habitat" ("Our soul has crossed a torrent, perhaps our mind has crossed immeasurable water." [Psalm 123:6] Behold there are headlong attacks of the devil and his own ones, and agitated and raging outbreaks, from turbulent commotions, and rushing streams of temporary storms. But this unendurable water does not pass through the soul, in which God dwells).

101 Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob*, 3: "aut uenisti ad fontem maris? sicut ille, cui uenienti patuit confitendo quidquid occultum erat in cordibus inpiorum, qui credendo in eum iustificati sunt. nam quem fontem maris melius accipimus nisi secretum, unde erumpit omnis haec amarissima inpietas, quae ingentes fluctus iam manifestorum malorum operum concitat, quae uident homines in apertis factis, qui fontem ipsum uidere non possunt?" (Or have you come to the source of the sea? Just like that one to whom, upon coming, it was revealed by declaration whatever was hidden in the hearts of the impious, who were justified by believing in him. For what **source of the sea** do we accept more fittingly if not the secret one, **whence all this most bitter impiety gushes forth**, which already stirs up the enormous waves of obvious evil deeds, which people see in open deeds, but they are not able to see the fountain itself?).

The Context of *Dodrans* in *AAM*

Returning to *AAM*, we find that *dodrans* appears to relate to the eschatological interpretation of the Noahic Flood:

> Blebomen agialos, nicate dodrantibus: sic mundi et vita huius
>
> We see how the shore is overcome by the tide: so too the life of this world.[102]

Here, stanza-B immediately suggests an apocalyptic scenario, since the flood-tide crossing the shoreline is compared to the life of this world drawing to a close.[103]

Moreover, as noted above, the gloss on *agialos* (*omnes sanctos*) ties very closely with the Parable of the Dragnet, which itself was a parable that was believed to have eschatological relevance. The glossator, whose work is contained in **C**, might have recognized this particular nuance of *dodrans* and have chosen to gloss it with *morientes* precisely because of established Patristic traditions in which the *morientes* are those who have not received salvation, which itself represents a rebirth from death to life:

> Et vos, cum essetis mortui delictis et peccatis vestris, in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis aeris huius.[104]
>
> Thus, the *morientes* are those who remain dead in the offences of their sins.

Therefore, the glossator of **C** appears to interpret both *agialos* and *dodrans* as locations associated with the dead awaiting the Final Judgement. On the shoreline (*agialos*), Christians (i.e., *omnes sanctos*) have been placed into vessels awaiting their final transition into heaven, while in the *dodrans*, the non-Christians (i.e., *morientes*), who have been tossed back into the sea, are awaiting their day of punishment. This is noteworthy since the heart of the sea (*cor maris*) referenced in Jonah 2:4 was interpreted as Hell.[105] Indeed, Gregory the Great (*Moralia in Iob*, XXIX. xii) suggested that the depth of the

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102 *AAM*, 4–6.

103 It might not be insignificant, therefore, that when *dodrans* is used by Aldhelm in *Carmen rhythmicum*, it comes precisely at the point when the sea appears to be achieving victory over the land (until Christ intervenes): "Oceanus cum molibus/ Atque diris dodrantibus/Pulsabat promontoria/Suffragante Victoria" (and the ocean with its mighty strength and savage flood-tides was pounding the promontories with the support of victory).

104 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Ephesians 2:1–2: "And you, **when you were dead** in your offences, and sins, Wherein in time past **you walked according to the course of this world**, according to the prince of the power of this air."

105 Cf. Jerome, *In Ionam*, 2.4a: "porro cor maris significatur infernus, pro quo in

sea (*profundum maris*) was the allegorical location Jesus visited during the Harrowing of Hell. Moreover, Gregory only specifies that Christ rescued the faithful during this trip, which suggests is the non-faithful (i.e., *morientes*) remained in the depths of the sea.

Furthermore, *dodrans* may not only relate to the allegorical location where the *morientes* are held, but it might also signify the approaching judgement of the *morientes*. For example, Bede stated that the Flood represents the end of the world or the Final Judgement.[106] Yet, as a result of the Noahic Covenant (Genesis 9:9–17), in which God promised never to flood the world again, the apocalyptic flood was sometimes presented not as a flood of water, but one of fire.[107] For example, Augustine provided a parallel between the Flood and the coming destruction of the world by fire.[108] A flood was often used as a portent of Judgement Day in Anglo-Latin and Old English sources.[109] This suggests that the *dodrans* might not only be associated with the location of the *morientes*, but also their coming judgement.

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euangelio legimus: in corde terrae" (again the 'heart of the sea' signifies Hell, for which we read in the Evangelist: in 'the heart of the earth').

106 Bede, *In principium Genesis*, 2.6: "Sicut autem, facta arca et inlatis in eam omnibus quae erant saluanda, uenit diluuium et tulit omnia quae extra eam erant, sic ubi omnes qui praeordinati sunt ad uitam aeternum ecclesiam intrauerint ueniet finis mundi, et peribunt omnes qui extra ecclesiam fuerint inuenti. Et iuxta hunc sensum manifeste arca ecclesiam, noe dominum qui ecclesiam in sanctis suis aedificat, diluuium finem seculi uel iudicium designat extremum" (And just as, after the ark was made and all those creatures that were to be saved were brought into it, the flood came and carried off all those that were outside it, so when all the people who have been predestined for eternal life have entered the Church, the end of the world will come, and all the people who are found outside the Church will perish. And in this sense, the ark plainly signifies the Church, Noah signifies the Lord who builds the Church in his saints, and the flood signifies the end of the world or Last Judgement). (trans. Kendall, *On Genesis*, 173).

107 Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 39.

108 Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 20.16: "iudicatis quippe his, qui scripti non sunt in libro uitae, et in aeternum ignem missis (qui ignis cuius modi et in qua mundi uel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui spiritus diuinus ostendit), tunc figura huius mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione praeteribit, sicut factum est mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluuium" (For these judged ones, who are not written in the book of life, and have been sent into the eternal fire (which fire, of what kind, and in which region of the world or things it is going to be, I believe that no man knows, except perhaps the one to whom the divine spirit reveals [it]) then the image of this world will pass away with a burning of worldly fire in the same way the Flood has been made in the flood of worldly waters); cf. Bede, *In principium Genesis*, 2.9.

109 See Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 174–240, and Hawk, "The Fifteen Signs before Judgment."

Typologies of Glossing in C

The typology produced by Gernot Wieland suggests that five main types of glosses occur in the writings of Arator and Prudentius found in **C**: glosses on prosody, lexical glosses, grammatical glosses, syntactical glosses, and commentary glosses.[110] Of particular note, Wieland showed that some of the interpretative glosses applied to Arator and Prudentius were based on principles of biblical exegesis.[111] This suggests that the two interpretative glosses discussed above could very well have been recognized by the mid-eleventh-century audience of **C**, who would have been familiar with the gloss typologies found within the same manuscript.

Conclusion

This chapter began with the tentative suggestion that marked diction used within *AAM* might relate to interpretations found in biblical exegesis. In this way, what seems to be an irregularity of Latinity could sometimes instead be an attempt to adequately signal established spiritual interpretations. In order to provide adequate contextualization of marked lexical items in *AAM*, this study was limited to an extremely small sample size. Therefore, it is unclear whether this research is generalizable to marked diction found in other early medieval poems. However, there is reason to believe that the findings could be replicated for other glosses. For example, *equonomicum* (reward) is glossed *coronam* (crown), which immediately draws to mind Patristic discourses on the crowns found in Revelation. Yet, despite this concern, this study suggests that the early audience of *AAM* read the text in a very different manner than modern scholars. Their training in biblical exegesis shaped their understanding of the meaning of marked diction in *AAM*. In particular, they aligned marked lexical items with established Patristic discourses on the sea and the shoreline. The *agialos* was interpreted as the location of the Church before Judgement Day, while the *dodrans* was associated both with the moral condition of unbelievers, who were believed to be dead in their sin, and the coming judgement of the unbelievers.

Whether these particular interpretations of the figurative passages in *AAM* were the intention of the original author is impossible to say with certainty. However, it is striking that *AAM* shows clear and intentional transitions between marked diction and unmarked diction (in line with the transition

110 Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius.*

111 Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius*, 147–59.

found, for instance, in the Parable of the Dragnet). This is particularly true when a glossator later applies spiritual interpretation to the rare and noteworthy vocabulary that seems to intentionally suggest a figurative message.

The use of *dodrans* in other contexts adds weight to the idea that the author of *AAM* might intentionally be signalling a spiritual interpretation. As we have seen, *dodrans* was explicitly equated to the Noahic Flood in Saint-Omer, MS 342 bis (fol. B), which itself was the basis of a range of complex, overlapping spiritual interpretations. Moreover, in *Epistula* 5, Columbanus used *dodrans* to signal one of the temptations that Christ overcame: the world itself. This is striking when the flood waters of the Noahic Flood were often interpreted as worldly forces, who test the Church.

This study has several implications for Anglo-Latin poetry. In particular, it raises questions about the function of marked diction in the poems of authors who were influenced by Hiberno-Latin sources, such as Aldhelm. Moreover, even if it is determined that marked diction is not ever (or not always) used in this way in Anglo-Latin materials, it is still worth reconsidering whether difficult texts (including not only Hiberno-Latin materials but also the works by authors such as Odo of Cluny and Abbo of St. Germain) received into Anglo-Latin circles could have been studied for potential hidden spiritual interpretations. Finally, and most importantly, this study highlights the importance of studying early medieval poetry, including both Hiberno-Latin and Anglo-Latin poetry, alongside Patristic sources, including biblical commentaries, which set the tone for much of what was composed during this period.

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Chapter 4

ALDHELM'S *AENIGMATA* AND THE TEACHING OF LATIN PROSODY

CAMERON SCOTT LAIRD

IT IS A curious fact that so much of the earliest Anglo-Latin poetry should have been riddles. Some 270 verse riddles were composed, mostly during the late seventh or eighth centuries, and their authors were some of the most learned and esteemed men of the age, including Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne (ca. 705–710/11), the Venerable Bede (ca. 672–735), Tatwine, Archbishop of Canterbury (ca. 731–34), Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz (ca. 745–54), and Alcuin of York (ca. 735–804).[1] The immediate and immense popularity of the riddle as a poetic genre in England arose out of the first Anglo-Latin collection: Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*, which was probably also the first major metrical work by someone who learned Latin as a distinctly foreign language.[2] Aldhelm sent his *Aenigmata*, together with his own metrical treatises, to Aldfrith, King of Northumbria (r. 685–705).[3] His purpose was apparently to help others understand Latin metre by exemplifying the rules of versification expounded by the metrical tracts in a series of short, memorable poems in the form of riddles.

The traditional chronology of Aldhelm's works does not seem to support the idea that he intended his *Aenigmata* to be teaching texts. Aldhelm probably composed his riddles long before either metrical treatise, even circulating a version of them before their publication alongside these didactic works.[4] This early version has in fact survived in a few continental manu-

1 For all these Latin riddles, see Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 1:1–291, 2:1–313.

2 For Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, 97–149. On Aldhelm's place in the literary tradition, see Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 597–1066*, 1:68–100; Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 19–24; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 1–8.

3 For this composite work, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, 33–204; Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 12–13, 31–47; Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 61–94, 183–221.

4 See Lapidge and Rosier, *The Poetic Works*, 61; Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 2:2.

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scripts, and it is virtually the same as the final version that appears alongside the metrical treatises.[5] It is not clear therefore that Aldhelm initially composed his riddles to serve what turned out to be their ultimate pedagogical function. Nor does Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* form an obvious didactic program to learn the scansion or composition of metrical verse. On its surface, Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* is simply a collection of learned, literary riddles composed in dactylic hexameters.

In what follows, I should like to examine the evidence for a metrical program in the text of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* itself. Several riddles do in fact refer to some aspect of Latin metre or versification, most obviously in Riddle 84 *Scrofa pregnans* (Pregnant Sow). In others, metrical allusions are hidden in the solutions to the riddles themselves, as in Riddle 10 *Molossus* (Mastiff) and Riddle 75 *Crabro* (Hornet). These isolated allusions attest to Aldhelm's didactic interest in metre, but they hardly form a coherent pedagogical program to teach it to others. The best evidence for this is to be found rather in the metres that Aldhelm used in his *Aenigmata* and can only be revealed by scanning the verses themselves. In this way, I shall show that the collection progresses from metrical diversity to metrical uniformity. This progression coincides with the gradual increase in the length of the riddles throughout the collection, so that Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* begins with short, metrically diverse riddles and ends with longer, more uniform ones. I contend that this hidden design forms a kind of poetic program that demonstrates first the construction of the hexameter by giving an example of every possible combination of metrical feet and caesurae, and then displays Aldhelm's regular poetic style in action. Seen in this light, Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* also dramatizes the growing prowess of its author as a poet, starting with the composition of individual verses and progressing to larger units of versification.

More importantly, this design anticipates Aldhelm's approach to versification in his two metrical works. In the first of these works, *De metris*, Aldhelm showed the various ways a hexameter might be constructed and gave examples of every possible combination.[6] Aldhelm's other treatise, *De pedum regulis*, consists of lists of words arranged by their metrical quantities, so that the vocabulary may be easily incorporated into the various verse patterns described in the first treatise.[7] As we shall see, this concern for poetic vocabulary corresponds to the later part of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*,

5 See Lapidge, "Aldhelmus Malmesberiensis Abb. et Scireburnensis Ep.," 19–26.

6 For Aldhelm's *De metris*, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, 77.19–96.24 (cited by page and line number); and see Neil Wright's translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 191–211, 265–65.

7 For Aldhelm's *De pedum regulis*, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, 150.1–201.20;

where the riddles are metrically more uniform but rich in poetic diction. Scanning Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* thus reveals a hidden design within the collection, which prefigures the author's approach to teaching metre in his later metrical tracts. This might have been a product of Aldhelm's experimental use of a new medium rather than an intentional didactic plan, but it nonetheless reveals how his *Aenigmata* was composed to express the author's own techniques for metrical versification.

Aldhelm and Latin

Latin metrical poetry was especially difficult for non-native speakers of Latin such as Aldhelm. This was due to the strangeness of Latin prosody and the lack of suitable guides for those who learned Latin as a second language. Metrical poetry works differently from the vernacular poetry that Aldhelm and other Anglo-Latin authors would have been familiar with.[8] Whereas Old English verses are composed according to rhythmical patterns of stressed syllables, Latin metrical verses are arranged by the length or quantity of syllables; that is, how long it takes to pronounce them. Syllables can be either long (¯) or short (˘), where two short syllables are equal in length to one long.[9] The various combinations of long and short syllables are called metrical feet, the two most important types of which in dactylic hexameter are the dactyl (D), which consists of one long and two short syllables (¯ ˘ ˘), and the spondee (S), which consists of two long syllables (¯ ¯). Since two short syllables have the same quantity as one long, these two types of feet occupy the same amount of space in the verse. As its name suggests, a hexameter contains six feet, and most of these are either dactyls or spondees, although the final foot may in fact be either a trochee (¯ ˘) or a spondee (¯ ¯). This system of arranging verses by vowel quantity was utterly foreign to Aldhelm and the other early Anglo-Latin poets, who would have been familiar with the accentual rhythm of their native Old English poetry.

Nor were there suitable guides at the time to explain the rules of Latin metre.[10] Although metrical treatises did exist then, they had been written by

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and see Wright's partial translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 212–19, 265.

8 For a comparison of Aldhelm's Latin verse and Old English poetry, see Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry," 247–69; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 119–25.

9 On medieval Latin metrical poetry, see Rigg, "Metrics," 106–10; Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, 58–80; and Ruff, "The Place of Metrics," 149–53.

10 See Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, 92–101; Ruff, "The Place of Metrics,"

and for those who already knew how to pronounce Latin words correctly; they did not provide a systematic guide to the scansion of Latin vocabulary. Aspiring poets had to read vast quantities of Latin verse by reliable authors, such as Virgil and Sedulius, and to study each word in context to determine its metrical value.[11] Moreover, the available metrical tracts did not explain the essential rules of composition, such as elision, which had been obvious to native speakers of Latin. These difficulties meant that ostensibly no non-native speaker of Latin in north-western Europe successfully composed a major metrical work before Aldhelm.[12]

Aldhelm's knowledge of Latin metre was made possible by the arrival in England of two Mediterranean masters: Theodore of Tarsus and Abbot Hadrian.[13] Writing a few decades later, Bede described both men as fluent speakers of Latin and Greek and mentioned prosody explicitly in his account of the curriculum at Canterbury during this time.[14] We know that Aldhelm studied at Canterbury, and it is likely that he learned Latin metre there from Hadrian himself.[15] His first metrical work was probably his riddles, because he described their composition as preliminary exercises to hone his new metrical craft:

> Nostrae exercitationis sollicitudo … centenas enigmatum propositiones componere nitebatur et velut in quodam gimnasio prima ingenioli rudimenta exercitari cupiens, ut venire possit deinceps ad praestantiorem operis materiam.[16]
>
> (The purpose of my study was to try to compose a hundred riddles, and I wanted to exercise the first rudiments of my talent as if at school, so that it might later be turned to work of more substantial matter.)[17]

149–53; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 40–46.

11 On the Latin verse curriculum, see Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 353–63; Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*, 16–19; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 46–50; McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 210–30.

12 For the oldest Anglo-Latin metrical verse, see Lapidge, "The Earliest Anglo-Latin Poet."

13 For Theodore of Tarsus, see Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 1:58–62; and Lapidge, "The Career of Archbishop Theodore," 93–121. For Abbot Hadrian, see Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 82–132.

14 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV.2.

15 On Aldhelm's education at Canterbury, see Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 31–34; and my "The Poetic Tradition of Anglo-Saxon Riddles," 42–59. For Hadrian's role in Aldhelm's metrical training, see Law, "The Study of Latin Grammar," 50–52; and Lapidge and Rosier, *The Poetic Works*, 189.

16 Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Acircium*, 76.5–7. See also Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 61; Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 2:2.

17 All translations mine.

This comment suggests that Aldhelm's first foray into metrical composition was his *Aenigmata*, presumably the early version known as the First Recension.[18] Then at some time before the end of the reign of King Aldfrith (r. 685–705), Aldhelm corrected certain metrical errors in his riddles (creating the so-called Second Recension), wrote the two metrical treatises, and sent them all together to Aldfrith.[19] Aldhelm thus associated his own riddles with metrical education, including them to exemplify the rules of versification expounded by the two treatises. It is likely, however, that he composed these riddles long before the other works, so it is unclear whether he initially intended them to serve this pedagogical purpose.

Aldhelm's two metrical works nonetheless reveal his approach towards metrical versification.[20] Taken together, the *De metris* and *De pedum regulis* form a pedagogical program that begins with the various ways a hexameter might be constructed and ends with vocabulary that might be fitted into these different patterns. Aldhelm's main concern in his *De metris* was the relationship between the number of syllables in a verse and its metrical feet, a problem immediately faced by any non-native speaker of Latin. The treatise therefore begins with an explanation of elision; the rule that describes when two syllables are elided or pronounced as one in a verse and so do not count separately.[21] This is followed by a description of the hexameter and then a section in which Aldhelm gives an example of every possible combination of metrical feet that can form a hexameter, all arranged according to the number of syllables in the verse.[22] Aldhelm made most of these verses

18 On Aldhelm's First Recension, see Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, 43–44; Lapidge, "Aldhelmus Malmesberiensis," 19–26; Laird, "The Poetic Tradition of Anglo-Saxon Riddles," 123–42; but compare O'Brien O'Keeffe and Journet, who could not confirm the existence of two distinct recensions, in "Numerical Taxonomy," and Stork, *Through a Gloss Darkly*, 10–11.

19 See Lapidge, "Aldhelmus Malmesberiensis," 19–26; Laird, "The Poetic Tradition of Anglo-Saxon Riddles," 123–42.

20 See Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 183–90. See also Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, 93–101; Ruff, "The Place of Metrics," 149–53; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 40–46.

21 See Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 78.10–81.8; and Wright's translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 191–94. For Aldhelm's use of elision in his verse, see Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 184–85; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 79–83; Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry," 249–55.

22 For Aldhelm's description of the hexameter, see Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 81.9–84.8; and Wright's translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 194–97. For the sample hexameters, see Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 84.5–92.23; and translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 197–207.

repeat the same basic sense, that "Christ saved the world," thereby showing his command over a group of interchangeable, synonymic words to fit any metrical space required by a verse.[23] This was a formulaic technique that Aldhelm used throughout his poetry.[24] Turning again to the relationship between words and feet in a verse, Aldhelm concluded his *De metris* with a section on caesurae; the natural pauses in a verse that coincide with wordbreaks.[25] Aldhelm's *De metris* therefore concerns all the possible ways that a hexameter might be composed, both with a varying number of syllables, and with different relationships between the wordbreaks and the metrical feet; that is, with different types of caesurae.

Aldhelm's other metrical work, *De pedum regulis*, complements the previous work by including lists of words arranged by their metrical quantity, so that the vocabulary can be readily incorporated into the patterns described in the first treatise. To arrange this vocabulary, Aldhelm used the twenty-eight types of metrical feet in poetry and gave a list of words fitting each type. But because only three of these types occur in dactylic hexameter, this arrangement is distracting and reveals Aldhelm's tendency towards theoretical completeness at the expense of practical advice.[26] Yet Aldhelm's *De pedum regulis* nonetheless filled a need in metrical education by providing a large amount of vocabulary, ready to fit into various metrical situations, a kind of practical, metrical handbook.[27] If Aldhelm's *De metris* considered how syllables and words fit variously into verses, then his *De pedum regulis* took the opposite approach, starting at the level of individual words and showing how the metrical feet mapped onto them. Aldhelm arranged these lists according to their metrical shapes, without any regard for the mean-

23 See, for example, Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 84.27: "in cruce confixus mundum Christus salvavit" (nailed on the cross, Christ saved the world); and Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 84.29: "Christus filius aeterni salvavit mundum" (Christ, son of the Eternal One, saved the world).

24 On Aldhelm's formulaic style of versification, see Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 19–24; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 84–125; Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry," 247–56, esp. 250–51; McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 231–44.

25 Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 92.24–96.24; and Wright's translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 207–11.

26 See Ruff, "The Place of Metrics," 155–64; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 42–45. The three types are the dactyl, spondee, and trochee.

27 See Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 188–89; Laird, "The Poetic Tradition of Anglo-Saxon Riddles," 145–47, 184–85.

ing of the words.[28] But their metrical shape was precisely what a non-native speaker of Latin needed to know.

Aldhelm's two metrical tracts reveal his approach to versification: he imagined the hexameter as a grid to be filled with varying combinations of syllables.[29] Aldhelm's *De metris* confronted directly the relationship between the number of syllables in a verse and its metrical feet, including how elision works and where caesurae should appear. His *De pedum regulis* provided a large amount of vocabulary, arranged by its metrical value, so that it might be easily fitted into the various verse patterns described in *De metris*. Aldhelm's two treatises were thus pioneering attempts to explain Latin metre from the perspective of a non-native speaker of the language and filled several gaps in metrical education.

Aldhelm composed his *Aenigmata* when the study of Latin metre was newly available in England. In it, he overcame the serious challenge posed by an utterly foreign poetic system, and he wrote his own metrical treatises to help teach it to others. Although the practical value of such tracts has sometimes been doubted, they actually do form a coherent pedagogical program, which presents both the various metrical patterns that must be filled and a large amount of poetic diction ready to be incorporated into them.[30]

Metrical Lessons in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*

Despite having apparently been composed before the metrical treatises, Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* contains a few references to metre and metrical versification. The only explicit reference appears in Riddle 84 *Scrofa pregnans* (Pregnant Sow), where Aldhelm mentioned how many types of *syzygies* (a type of metrical unit) exist in Latin prose. Other references do appear, hidden in the solutions to the riddles, for Aldhelm evidently chose certain solutions to demonstrate some rule or technique pertaining to metrical poetry in the text of the riddle itself. This is the case in Riddle 10 *Molossus* (Mastiff), the solution to which refers to a type of metrical foot, and Riddle 75 *Crabro* (Hornet), which alludes to a form of metrical license. Both riddles provide examples of the thing alluded to in their respective solutions, which sug-

28 See Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 44.

29 See Ruff, "The Place of Metrics," 169; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 44.

30 On the usefulness of Aldhelm's treatises for learning to compose metrical poetry, see Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 187–89; Ruff, "The Place of Metrics," 153–65, 170; Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry," 251; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 42–45.

gests that Aldhelm composed at least some of his riddles either as teaching texts or as exercises in some metrical technique.

The clearest example of a metrical lesson occurs in Aldhelm's Riddle 84, *Scrofa pregnans* (Pregnant Sow), which states explicitly that there is a total of ninety-six different types of syzygies (a metrical unit similar to the foot but consisting of five or more syllables).[31] Aldhelm embedded this piece of information in the text of the riddle itself, which was otherwise drawn from folk tradition. The text of Riddle 84 is as follows:

> Nunc mihi sunt oculi bis seni in corpore solo,
> bis ternumque caput, sed cetera membra gubernant.
> Nam gradior pedibus suffultus bis duodenis,
> sed decies novem sunt et sex corporis ungues,
> sinzigias numero pariter similabo pedestres.
> Populus et taxus, viridi quoque fronde salicta
> sunt invisa mihi, sed fagos glandibus uncas,
> fructiferas itidem florenti vertice quercus
> diligo; sic nemorosa simul non spernitur ilex.[32]

> Now in my body alone are twice six eyes, and twice three heads, but other limbs control me. For I walk supported by twice two and ten feet, but there are ten times nine and six nails to my body; altogether I am equal in number to the types of metrical syzygies. The poplar, yew, and willow with its green foliage are hateful to me, but I love the beech, bending with nuts, and similarly the fruit-bearing oak with its blossoming canopy; likewise, the shady holm oak is not despised.

This riddle falls neatly into two halves, with the first ending after line five. In the opening verses, the speaker says how many eyes, fingers, and other body-parts that it has. In the final four verses, the speaker mentions several types of trees, some of which bear nuts. The first part describes a pregnant sow and requires one to determine how many piglets it will bear, and was clearly drawn from folk tradition, for the pregnant sow is an ancient and widespread riddle topic, with examples in ancient Greek, Old Norse, and other languages.[33] But although the traditional version of the riddle always described the litter as containing nine piglets, Aldhelm increased the size of the litter to eleven piglets. The reason for this change becomes clear by line five, which says that the resulting ninety-six fingers and toes equals the

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31 On the ninety-six types of metrical *syzygies*, see Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I.xvii.1.

32 Aldhelm, *Aenigmata*, 136.

33 See Heusler, "Die altnordische Rätsel," 141–42; Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, 155; Ohlert, *Rätsel und Rätselspiele*, 29–30; Taylor, *English Riddles from Oral Tradition*, 28–31, 696 (no. 56); Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise*, 90.

number of types of metrical *syzygies* (*sinzigias…pedestres*).[34] This is something that Aldhelm discussed in his *De pedum regulis*, where he said that there were ninety-six types of metres in prose (or *syzygies*) in addition to the twenty-eight types of metrical feet in verse.[35] Riddle 84 thus includes an obvious piece of metrical information, which might prompt a teacher to explain the various types of metrical feet and syzygies or simply what these two things were. But the practical value of this information to an aspiring Anglo-Latin poet might be doubted, especially since the syzygy pertains to prose composition and not to verse. Riddle 84 nonetheless attests to Aldhelm's interest in conveying—or at least alluding to—metrical knowledge in his *Aenigmata*.

Another two riddles include poetic or metrical lessons hidden in their solutions. The solution to Riddle 10, for instance, is the species of hunting dog called *molossus* (mastiff), a word that also refers to one of the twenty-eight types of metrical feet in poetry. But this connection is not mentioned directly in the text of the riddle, which rather describes only the behaviour of the dog:

> Sic me iamdudum rerum veneranda potestas
> fecerat, ut domini truculentos persequar hostes;
> rictibus arma gerens bellorum praelia patro,
> et tamen infantum fugiens mox verbera vito.[36]

> Long ago, the awesome power of things had made me such that I pursue my lord's hostile enemies; bearing weapons in my jaws, I fight the battles of his war, and yet I avoid the beatings of children by fleeing immediately.

Here Aldhelm described the mastiff as a loyal servant that goes bravely into battle alongside his master but flees from little children. The subject is thus portrayed as a suffering servant, a motif found in many Anglo-Latin and Old English riddles.[37] The riddle revolves around the antithesis of the subject's power and weakness, for it is both brave and cowardly. But why did Aldhelm choose the solution *molossus* (mastiff) in particular? To be sure, Aldhelm would have been familiar with Molossian dogs from Virgil's *Georgics*, where

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34 Note that pigs have four digits on each foot (my thanks to Leslie Lockett for pointing out this zoological fact to me).

35 See Aldhelm, *De pedum regulis*, ed. Ehwald, 150.10–14; and Wright's translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 212.

36 Aldhelm, *Aenigmata*, 102.

37 On the suffering-servant motif see Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 2:144, note to TAT 5.

they are singled out as fierce protectors of the flock.[38] But there is no reference in Aldhelm's riddle to guarding sheep or other livestock. Moreover, Aldhelm was very particular about the solutions to his riddles, and he even considered their etymologies (or what he understood to be their etymologies).[39] There is no allusion here, however, to the derivation of *molossus* (mastiff) from Molossia in Greece.[40] Nor is there any other reason why this riddle might not be solved by some other breed of dog or simply by the word *canis* (dog) in general.

However, as Aldhelm explained in his *De pedum regulis*, the word *molossus* is also the name for a metrical foot consisting of three long syllables (¯¯¯).[41] Although dactylic hexameters do not admit such feet, Riddle 10 nonetheless contains several words that scan as Molossian (¯¯¯) either by nature or by their position in the verse: *iāmdūmdūm*, *bēllōrūm*, and *īnfāntūm*.[42] These words may be compared with several other trisyllabic words in Riddle 10 that are not Molossian, so that the text of the riddle makes a convenient teaching text; one can imagine a classroom exercise to correctly identify all the Molossian words. Riddle 10 thus describes a generic guard dog, but Aldhelm chose the solution *molossus* in particular because it was also the name for one of the types of metrical feet.[43] Aldhelm then ensured that several examples of this metrical foot were included in the text of the riddle itself, which thereby becomes a kind of teaching text on the subject.

Another lesson may be hiding in Aldhelm's *Aenigma* 75, Crabro (Hornet). This is one of the longer riddles, coming towards the end of the collection and describing the war-like behaviour of the titular insect at length:

> Aera per sudum nunc binis remigo pennis,
> horridus et grossae depromo murmura vocis,
> inque cavo densis conversor stipite turmis
> dulcia conficiens propriis alimenta catervis,
> et tamen humanis horrent haec pabula buccis.
> Sed quicumque cupit disrumpens foedera pacis
> dirus commaculare domum sub culmine querno,

38 See Virgil, *Georgics*, III.404–408.

39 See Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and Isidorian Etymology."

40 For the etymology of *molossus*, see Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I.xvii.6; Lewis and Short, s.v. *molossus1*.

41 Aldhelm, *De pedum regulis*, ed. Ehwald, 162.18–163.5.

42 See Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 2:22, note to ALD 10.

43 But compare Erhardt-Siebold, *Die lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen*, 173–74.

extemplo socias in bellum clamo cohortes,
dumque catervatim stridunt et spicula trudunt,
agmina defugiunt iaculis exterrita diris.
Insontes hosti sic torquent tela nocenti
plurima, quae constant tetris infecta venenis.[44]

I row through the clear air with double wings, bristling I emit the humming of a coarse voice, and in a hollow trunk I gather in dense throngs, preparing sweet nourishment for our band, and yet this food repulses human mouths. But whosoever cruelly desires to defile our home under its oaken roof, breaking the bonds of peace, I immediately call our allied forces to battle, and when they resound in their companies and thrust their sharp points, the terrified column flees from our cruel javelins. So the guiltless throw at guilty strangers many spears, which were infected with foul venom.

Here Aldhelm disguised the hornet in martial imagery, as though its hive were a fortification and its sting a spear. Aldhelm's main source for this sort of topic was Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, which does not describe the hornet but rather the bee in this way: "apes…innumera prole castra replent, exercitum et reges habent, proelia movent, fumum fugiunt, tumultu exasperantur" (bees fill their fortresses with innumerable offspring, they have an army and kings, fight battles, flee smoke, and are provoked by commotion).[45] Isidore's description of *crabro*, however, does not mention the hornet behaving in this manner,[46] and Pliny the Elder—Aldhelm's other major source of encyclopaedic information—said that hornets do not form swarms at all.[47] Why then did Aldhelm choose the solution *crabro* (hornet) for Riddle 75 rather than *apis* (bee)? One reason, of course, was that he had already used the solution *apis* for Riddle 20. But he also likely had in mind the metrical license known as *sphecodis* (hornet-like), a Greek-derived word that Aldhelm used in his *De metris*.[48] As Vivien Law noted, Aldhelm probably learned this word from Hadrian himself, and it properly pertains to Greek

44 Aldhelm, *Aenigmata*, 131–32.

45 See Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII.viii.1; Erhardt-Siebold, *Die lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen*, 208–10.

46 Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII.viii.2.

47 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, XI.xxiv.73: "nec crabronum autem nec vesparum generi reges aut examina, sed subinde renovatur multitudo subole" (neither hornets nor wasps have kings or swarms, but rather their multitude is continually renewed by offspring); but compare Lapidge and Rosier, who suggested that Aldhelm's "comment on the taste of the hornet's 'sweet food' may derive from personal experience," in *The Poetic Works*, 253n68.

48 See Aldhelm, De *metris*, ed. Ehwald, 94.15, 95.6–7.

poetry not Latin verse.[49] But Aldhelm nonetheless attempted to apply it to Latin, defining it thus in his *De metris*:

> D: Quid adstruis esse spicodin?
>
> M: Spix dicitur graece crabro, unde derivatur spicodis, et tamen miurus vel spicodis ad unam significationis regulam pertinere noscuntur, quia utraque animalia tenui et gracili membrorum extremitate terminantur: ita et versus, qui pirrichio clauditur, terminatur.[50]
>
> Student: What do you think *spicodis* to be?
>
> Teacher: In Greek *spix* means "hornet," from which *spicodis* is derived, and so both *miuros* (mouse-like) and *spicodis* (hornet-like) are understood to have the same meaning, since the limbs of both animals end in a thin and slender tail; so too ends the verse, which concludes with a pyrrhic foot.

Here Aldhelm explained how the final foot of a hexameter could be shorter than the other feet, insofar as a trochee (¯ ˘) is permitted there, whereas the other feet must be either dactyls (¯ ˘ ˘) or spondees (¯ ¯), both longer than a trochee. Although Aldhelm was mistaken to claim that a pyrrhic foot (˘ ˘) could constitute this final foot in Latin hexameters, he nevertheless correctly included a few examples of these short "hornet-like" verses in Riddle 75, each concluding with a trochaic word: *vōcĭs*, *pācĭs*, and *quērnŏ*. Calling attention to these words, no fewer than eight verses in Riddle 75 terminate with a word ending in *-is*, just like the genitive *vōcĭs* and *pācĭs.* The other words, however, are all dative or ablative plural, so that they form spondees in the final feet. Aldhelm therefore likely chose to compose a riddle about *crabro* (hornet) with a lengthy, descriptive text, because it provided him the chance to show this metrical license in action. It is thus possible that Riddle 75 served as a prompt for a teacher to expound this poetic license, hidden in its solution.

As we have seen, then, Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* includes several teaching opportunities that might have prompted a teacher to expound an aspect of metrical prosody. One such lesson was embedded in the text of Riddle 84 *Scrofa pregnans* (Pregnant Sow), but several others were concealed in the solutions to the riddles, as in Riddle 10 *Molossus* (Mastiff) and Riddle 75 *Crabro* (Hornet). Aldhelm thus provided his readers not only with a collection of short, memorable poems on diverse topics, but also with the occasional piece of metrical information. It is possible that Aldhelm meant this information to provide pedagogical opportunities for a teacher to expound

49 Law, "The Study of Latin Grammar," 50–52.

50 Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 95.5–9.

on the relevant topic. But the seemingly random assortment of facts about metrical prosody in the *Aenigmata* do not form a coherent program, even though they show a poet eager to share what he knows about a new and mysterious artform. To get a fuller understanding of the role that Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* played in his program for teaching Latin prosody we must scan the verses themselves.

Metrical Diversity in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*

Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* is metrically unlike his other works, insofar as it is much less monotonous in its use of metrical patterns. As Andy Orchard has shown, Aldhelm's regular poetic style was very uniform in its use of the same few metrical patterns; that is, the patterns of dactyls and spondees in a verse.[51] But Orchard also noticed that Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* was less uniform in this respect than his other poetic works.[52] As I shall show, this greater metrical diversity is not evenly distributed across the *Aenigmata*, but rather predominates at the beginning, where most of the shorter riddles occur. At the end of the collection, the riddles become both longer and more metrically monotonous. The collection therefore begins with short, metrically diverse poems, which show the various ways that a hexameter might be constructed, and it ends with longer, more uniform poems in the author's mature poetic style. Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* thus concentrates first on the construction of individual hexameters and then progresses to larger units of versification. This design, I contend, is a kind of pedagogical program that dramatizes the growing prowess of its author as a poet.

That Aldhelm's poetry is metrically uniform is easy to show. As we have said, each hexameter contains six feet, but only the first four of these feet were variable in medieval Latin, because the fifth foot was regularly a dactyl (D) and the sixth either a spondee (S) or a trochee.[53] This means that there are sixteen different combinations of dactyls and spondees available to a poet in the first four feet of every verse. Aldhelm, however, largely relied on the same few metrical patterns, as Orchard's statistics, summarized in Table 4.1, show.[54] It can be seen there that Aldhelm's four favourite metrical patterns together account for nearly three quarters (74.39%) of his entire

51 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 84–91.

52 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 88.

53 See Aldhelm's own comments in Aldhelm, *De metris*, ed. Ehwald, 83.6–12; and Wright's translation in Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, 196.

54 See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 85 (Table 4).

metrical output: DSSS (29.54%), DDSS (19.02%), SDSS (13.12%), and SSSS (12.71%). I therefore refer to these four types as Aldhelm's common metrical patterns, because they occur so much more frequently than do the next most popular combinations: DSDS (5.83%), DDDS (3.45%), DSSD (3.29%), SDDS (2.66%), and SSDS (2.49%). As a group, these five uncommon patterns only account for 17.72% of Aldhelm's total metrical corpus, in contrast to the 74.39% of his four common patterns. The remaining 7.9% of Aldhelm's verses use one of the remaining seven metrical patterns, which Aldhelm only used very rarely: DDSD (1.80%), SDSD (1.63%), SSSD (1.34%), DSDD (1.18%), DDDD (1.01%), SSDD (0.48%), and SDDD (0.46%). Given the scarcity of these patterns in Aldhelm's poetry, they are called rare in Table 4.1. Orchard compared these statistics with that of other Latin poets and found that Aldhelm stood out as one of the most metrically uniform poets, re-using the same few patterns to compose most of his poetry.

Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* is, however, much more metrically diverse than his other poems. This is immediately obvious from a comparison of the frequencies of Aldhelm's common, uncommon, and rare metrical patterns to his general practice described above. From left to right in Table 4.1, Orchard's statistics for the frequency of metrical patterns can be compared to Aldhelm's average usage in his *Aenigmata* alone. The four common metrical patterns, which represent about three quarters (74.39%) of his total poetry, only account for 61.89% of the *Aenigmata*. In their place occur a higher ratio of uncommon (24.90%) and rare (13.21%) metrical patterns. It is thus clear that Aldhelm's riddles are more metrically diverse than his other quantitative poems.

The distribution of this diversity reveals a hidden design within Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*. The collection is more metrically diverse at the beginning and gradually becomes more monotonous towards its end. This change corresponds to the collection's progression from short to long poems, since Aldhelm arranged his collection to progress roughly from the shortest to the longest riddles. To illustrate this progression, it is helpful to divide Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* into groups to compare the metrical diversity within the various parts of the collection. The precise placement of these divisions is arbitrary, but they nonetheless show that there is an incremental progression in metrical diversity within the *Aenigmata*. In Table 4.2, the riddles are divided into five groups, each containing roughly the same number of verses (but without dividing a riddle between two groups). Group 1 includes the verse preface and Riddles 1–26, which have an average length of 4.4 verses; group 2 comprises Riddles 27–50, which have an average length of 6.5 verses; group 3 is Riddles 51–70, with an average length of 7.9 verses; group 4 is Riddles 71–91, with an average length of 7.9 verses; and group 5 is Riddles 92–100,

Table 4.1. The Metrical Diversity of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata.*

Metrical Pattern		Average Frequency in Aldhelm's Poetry[55]		Occurrences in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*	Average Frequency in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*	
COMMON	DSSS	29.54%	74.39%	217	27.02%	61.89%
	DDSS	19.02%		130	16.19%	
	SDSS	13.12%		82[56]	10.21%	
	SSSS	12.71%		68	8.47%	
UNCOMMON	DSDS	5.83%	17.72%	58	7.22%	24.90%
	DDDS	3.45%		44	5.48%	
	DSSD	3.29%		45	5.60%	
	SDDS	2.66%		28	3.49%	
	SSDS	2.49%		25	3.11%	
RARE	DDSD	1.80%	7.90%	25	3.11%	13.21%
	SDSD	1.63%		15	1.87%	
	SSSD	1.34%		15	1.87%	
	DSDD	1.18%		21	2.62%	
	DDDD	1.01%		21	2.62%	
	SSDD	0.48%		6	0.75%	
	SDDD	0.46%		3	0.37%	

with an average length of 19.1 verses. There is, then, a persistent increase in the average length of the riddles across these five groups.

This increase in length corresponds with a gradual decrease in metrical diversity towards the end of the collection. In group 1, the four common patterns only account for 49.01% of the verses, which is significantly lower than the average across the *Aenigmata* as a whole (61.89%), not to mention Aldhelm's entire corpus (74.39%). This is due to the scarcity of two common patterns, in particular DSSS and SSSS, which occur only as 13.25% and 2.65% of feet in group 1, but as 27.02% and 8.47% of feet in the *Aenigmata* as a whole. Group 1 also contains a higher proportion of uncommon (32.45%) and rare patterns (18.54%) than the other four groups within the *Aenigmata*.

In the subsequent groups, the proportion of common metrical patterns gradually grows larger, while that of the uncommon and rare patterns

55 For the figures in this column, see Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 85 Table 4.

56 This total includes the two acrostic and telistic verses embedded in the preface.

Table 4.2. The Distribution of Metrical Diversity in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata.*

	Metrical Pattern	Group 1 (Pref., Riddles 1–26)		Group 2 (Riddles 27–50)	
COMMON	DSSS	13.25%	49.01%	20.51%	56.41%
	DDSS	19.21%		19.23%	
	SDSS	13.91%		10.90%	
	SSSS	2.65%		5.77%	
UNCOMMON	DSDS	9.93%	32.45%	7.05%	30.13%
	DDDS	7.95%		10.90%	
	DSSD	1.99%		8.33%	
	SDDS	8.61%		3.21%	
	SSDS	3.97%		0.64%	
RARE	DDSD	1.99%	18.54%	4.49%	13.46%
	SDSD	3.97%		0.64%	
	SSSD	3.31%		1.28%	
	DSDD	3.31%		2.56%	
	DDDD	5.30%		3.21%	
	SSDD	0.67%		1.28%	
	SDDD	—		—	

shrinks. As we have seen, Aldhelm's common patterns only occur at a rate of 49.01% in group 1, but they compose 56.41% of his verses in group 2. This ratio continues to rise in the subsequent groups, where we find common patterns accounting for 61.39% of group 3, 68.68% of group 4, and 72.09% of group 5. Aldhelm's uncommon and rare patterns, in contrast, occur at lower and lower rates in each successive group of riddles. Uncommon patterns fall from 32.45% in group 1 to 30.13% in group 2, 24.68% in group 3, 19.28% in group 4, and 19.19% in group 5. Similarly, Aldhelm's rarely used patterns become gradually more infrequent towards the end of the collection. Whereas group 1 includes rare patterns at a rate of 18.54%, group 2 uses them at a rate of 13.46%, group 3 at 13.92%, group 4 at 12.05%, and group 5 at 8.72%. In fact, the ratios of common, uncommon, and rare patterns in group 5 are virtually the same as Aldhelm's regular practice, making this section of the *Aenigmata* as uniform as his other metrical works.

Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* are thus more metrically diverse than his other poems, but this diversity is not evenly distributed across the collection. Aldhelm composed his shorter riddles such that they contain a much higher frequency of rare and uncommon metrical patterns. But as he began to compose the longer riddles, he relied more and more on his mature, metrically

Group 3 (Riddles 51–70)		Group 4 (Riddles 71–91)		Group 5 (Riddles 92–100)	
29.75%	61.39%	28.92%	68.68%	40.70%	72.09%
15.19%		12.65%		15.12%	
8.86%		10.84%		6.98%	
7.59%		16.27%		9.30%	
5.70%	24.68%	7.23%	19.28%	6.40%	19.19%
3.17%		2.41%		3.49%	
10.13%		3.62%		4.07%	
0.63%		2.41%		2.91%	
5.06%		3.62%		2.33%	
4.43%	13.92%	1.21%	12.05%	3.49%	8.72%
2.53%		1.21%		1.16%	
1.90%		1.81%		1.16%	
2.53%		3.62%		1.16%	
0.63%		3.01%		1.16%	
0.63%		0.60%		0.58%	
1.27%		0.60%		—	

monotonous poetic style. This design suggests that Aldhelm was primarily concerned with the construction of individual hexameters in his shorter riddles, carefully including an example of every possible type in the first half of his collection. Group 1 alone contains examples of fifteen of the sixteen possible combinations, leaving only one very rare pattern unattested there (SDDD).

Aldhelm may also have been interested in another aspect of metrical verse; the placement of caesurae (that is, the pauses that naturally occur at the wordbreaks in each hexameter). His regular use of caesurae was repetitive. Orchard's analysis of caesura patterning throughout all of his poetry reveals that Aldhelm was primarily concerned with the so-called B caesura, which occurs in the third foot, effectively dividing the line into two halves.[57] If the wordbreak falls after the first long syllable of the third foot (¯ || ¯ or ¯ || ˘ ˘), then the caesura is classified as B1 or masculine. If the division occurs between the two short syllables of a dactyl (¯ ˘ || ˘), it is called B2 or feminine. As Orchard showed, Aldhelm's favourite caesura was B1, with

57 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 92–97.

roughly 97.5% of his B-caesura verses constructed this way.[58] Conversely, only about 2.5% of his B-caesura verses have a feminine B2 caesura, a disparity arising from the general scarcity of dactyls in Aldhelm's verse. Indeed, none of Aldhelm's four common metrical patterns (DSSS, DDSS, SDSS, SSSS) has a dactyl in the third foot, thereby precluding the possibility of a B2 caesura.[59] As with his metrical patterns, then, Aldhelm's caesurae reveal him to be a very monotonous poet (Table 4.2).

Unlike his other poetry, Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* has a relatively high proportion of verses with a B2 caesura. This is due to the general prevalence of dactyls in the *Aenigmata*, where certain uncommon, dactyl-heavy patterns, such as DSDS, DDDS, and SDDS, occur at relatively high rates. As Table 4.2 illustrates, these three patterns account for 9.93%, 7.95%, and 8.61% of the verses in group 1; more than double their average usage by Aldhelm (5.83%, 3.45%, and 2.66% in Table 4.1). It is not surprising, then, that Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* contains a much higher rate of B2 caesurae than his other works. Of the 148 verses in group 1 with a B caesura, fourteen include the B2 variety (9.3%), which is significantly higher than what Orchard reported was Aldhelm's average usage (2.5%). In Riddle 4 *Natura* (Nature), Aldhelm clustered these unusual caesura patterns into one short, metrically diverse poem:

Crēdĕ mĭ|hī, rēs| nūllă ‖ măn|ēt sĭnĕ| mē mŏdĕ|rānte	DSDD
ēt frōn|tēm făcĭ|ēmquĕ ‖ mĕ|ām lūx| nūllă vĭ|dēbit.	SDDS
Quīd nĕscĭ|āt dĭcĭ|ōnĕ ‖ mĕ|ā cōn|vēxă rŏ|tāri	DDDS
āltă pŏ|lī sō|līsquĕ ‖ iŭ|bār lū|nāequĕ mĕ|ātus?	DSDS[60]

> Believe me, nothing exists outside of my control, and yet no light will see my face and form. Who does not know that upon my order rotate the lofty dome of the heavens, the splendour of the sun, and the motions of the moon?

Every verse in this riddle is a different metrical pattern, none of which Aldhelm regularly used. All four lines include a B2 caesura, which is marked above with a double vertical line, splitting the verse into two halves at the third foot. Riddle 4 therefore demonstrates this type of caesura concisely, making it a helpful teaching text to the student of Latin prosody. Even if this were an accident of Aldhelm's deliberate use of so many metrical combinations in the early part of his *Aenigmata*, it nonetheless shows how his short riddles concentrate on the construction of individual hexameters, including elements such as caesurae.

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58 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 92.

59 See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 94.

60 Aldhelm, *Aenigmata*, 100.

Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* is more metrically diverse than his other poems, but this diversity only characterizes the beginning of the collection. There Aldhelm was primarily concerned with the composition of individual hexameters, making sure to include an example of every possible type. He also experimented with different kinds of caesurae, again revealing his interest in composition at the level of individual verses. These short poems therefore provide fitting teaching texts to be read alongside the metrical tracts, even if they are the product of the author's own experimentation in a newly learned medium.

Metrical Uniformity in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*

At the end of the collection, the metrical diversity that characterized the beginning of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* gives way to the author's regular poetic style. This corresponds to the gradual increase in the length of the riddles, so that the longer riddles at the end of the collection are also more metrically uniform. Why did Aldhelm do this? Using his favourite metrical patterns, Aldhelm was able to versify at length in his longer riddles at the end of his collection. The extra verses of these riddles rarely contribute to their enigmatic quality; in fact, they include verbose passages that provide more details than necessary to solve the riddle. Such passages tend to be on a particular poetic theme or *topos*, such as the martial imagery in Riddle 75 *Crabro* (Hornet), where the subject is portrayed as a warrior guarding a fortress. In such passages, Aldhelm included as many different words that fit the theme as possible, each made to fit into Aldhelm's grid-like pattern of the hexameter.[61] With so many thematically related words, these riddles serve as a kind of prosodic dictionary or versified *gradus*, which might be scanned and studied by an aspiring poet who wished to compose verses on the same theme. If the metrically diverse riddles at the beginning of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* concentrate on the construction of individual hexameters, the more uniform ones at the end are concerned with poetic images, themes, and topoi.

The convergence of Aldhelm's uniform metre and verbose diction can be seen best in Riddle 92 *Farus editissima* (Very Tall Lighthouse). Here Aldhelm described the lighthouse (*pharos*) in a long, narrative passage about sea-travel, a common subject in poetry.[62] To illustrate the relative uniformity

61 For the idea that Aldhelm imagined the hexameter as a grid, see Ruff, "The Place of Metrics," 169; Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 44.

62 For the sea and sea-travel in poetry, see, for example, Ashley, "Poetic Imagery in

of this text, the caesurae and cadences are marked with vertical lines, all finite verbs are underlined, and the metrical patterns are noted on the right:

	Rupibus in celsis, || qua tundunt | caerula cautes,	DSSS
	Et salis undantes || turgescunt | aequore fluctus,	DSSS
	Machina me summis || construxit | molibus amplam,	DSSS
	Navigeros calles || ut pandam | classibus index.	DSSS
5	Non maris aequoreos || lustrabam | remige campos	DDSS
	Nec ratibus pontum || sulcabam | tramite flexo,	DSSS
	Et tamen immensis || errantes | fluctibus actos	DSSS
	Arcibus ex celsis || signans ad | litora duco,	DSSS
	Flammiger imponens || torres in | turribus altis,	DSSS
10	Ignea brumales || dum condunt | sidera nimbi.	DSSS[63]

> On high cliffs where blue water beats the rock and a waving flow swells the salty sea, ingenuity built me large with tall masses, so that as a guide I can show boat-bearing paths to fleets. I never traversed the marine expanses of the sea by oar, nor did I plough the ocean by boat on a winding course, and yet those who wander, driven by immense waves, I lead to shore, directing from my lofty stronghold, as a flame-bearer setting up torches on high towers, when wintry clouds conceal the fiery stars.

This riddle describes the location and operation of a lighthouse in detail. Nine of the ten verses follow the same metrical pattern (DSSS), which is the one that Aldhelm used most often. This uniformity extends to the caesura patterning in Riddle 92, where every verse admits a B1 caesura (||) before the final cadence (|) of the last two feet. And it persists in the placement of finite verbs (underlined above), which Aldhelm regularly placed in the middle of the verse. When medial verbs separate adjectives from the nouns they modify, the verses resemble the golden-line construction.[64] This was Aldhelm's favourite way to construct a hexameter, as seen in the many narrative passages of his *Carmen de virginitate*.[65]

Into this grid-like pattern, Aldhelm versified at length about the lighthouse, providing more details than were necessary. He could have ended the riddle after the fourth verse if its enigmatic quality were his main concern. Instead, he repeatedly described the maritime setting of the lighthouse,

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Homer and Virgil," 26–27; Rahner, "Antenna Crucis II: Das Meer der Welt"; Holton, "Old English Sea Imagery."

63 Aldhelm, *Aenigmata*, 140.

64 On the golden-line construction, see S. E. Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, 219–24; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 15, 96–97; Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*, 26.

65 See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 12–16, 84–125.

using many different words for the sea: *caerulum* (dark blue, sea), *aequor* (level surface, sea), *fluctus* (wave), *mare* (sea), *campus* (plane surface, sea) and *pontum* (sea).[66] Aldhelm also included several words related to ships—*classis* (fleet), *remex* (oarsman, oar), and *ratis* (raft)—as well as several verbs relevant to sea-travel: *tundo* (beat); *undo* (rise in waves); *tugesco* (begin to swell); *lustro* (traverse); *sulco* (plough); and *erro* (wander). To these may be added several special poetic words, namely the following adjectives: *aequoreus* (marine); *brumalis* (wintry); *flammiger* (flame-bearing); *igneus* (fiery); and *naviger* (ship-bearing), most of which also pertain to the maritime theme.[67] Riddle 92 is thus a versified *gradus* of vocabulary related to the sea and sea-travel, all contained in an extremely monotonous metre. Whatever lessons are here, they pertain to poetic imagery and diction, not to the various ways a verse might be constructed.

This study of the patterns of metrical diversity in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* reveals that it was designed both to display the growing prowess of its author as a poet and to illustrate the principles of Latin prosody. The collection progresses from short, metrically experimental poems to longer, more descriptive ones. This design may be symptomatic of a novice poet, eager to exercise his skill in a new medium, rather than the product of a genuine didactic plan to teach metrical poetry. But the distribution of metrical patterns in the collection shows rather how Aldhelm was thinking self-consciously about metre when he composed his riddles. It is no accident that the early riddles use so many different metrical patterns nor that the later riddles use so few. Those at the beginning seem to be the product of Aldhelm's experimentation with different ways of constructing hexameters, whereas the longer riddles at the end provide the reader with a rich source of poetic words, arranged by the various topics and themes of the riddles themselves. Understood in this way, the *Aenigmata* combined with the *De metris* and the *De pedum regulis* constitute a fairly complete program for the teaching of Latin prosody. The *De metris* contributes the structural principles of Latin metre, the *De pedum regulis* scans the Latin vocabulary for its metrical values, and the *Aenigmata* illustrates the application of both in a series of poetic riddles.

Although Aldhelm probably composed the riddles before the metrical tracts, he was nonetheless interested there in conveying metrical information. As we have seen, several of Aldhelm's riddles refer to metre, either

66 See Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 2:96–97.

67 For Aldhelm's use of these compound adjectives, see Lapidge, "Old English Poetic Compounds," at 25–26; Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, 2:5–6; Laird, "The Poetic Tradition of Anglo-Saxon Riddles," 162–91.

directly or indirectly, such as Riddle 84 *Scrofa pregnans* (Pregnant Sow), Riddle 10 *Molossus* (Mastiff), and Riddle 75 *Crabro* (Hornet). Although these scattered allusions to metre hardly amount to a coherent pedagogical program, they nevertheless attest to Aldhelm's concern for conveying metrical knowledge through his riddles. The best evidence of his metrical interests, however, can be seen only by scanning the verses of the *Aenigmata* themselves. This reveals a hidden design within the *Aenigmata*, with the first half concentrating on the construction of individual hexameters and the second half progressing to larger units of versification. The collection as a whole therefore displays the growing prowess of its author as a poet, and forms a kind of pedagogical program for aspiring poets to follow.

Aldhelm was fully aware of his pioneering place in the Anglo-Latin literary tradition. In the letter to King Aldfrith that accompanied the *Aenigmata*, Aldhelm characterised himself as the first of the Germanic peoples to master Latin poetry and compared himself to Virgil, who was the first Latin author to compose agricultural poetry.[68] Aldhelm thus imagined his own literary legacy as the forefather of the Anglo-Latin poetic tradition. His *Aenigmata* was ostensibly the first major metrical work by someone who learned Latin as a distinctly foreign language. It not only inspired the composition of more riddles in Latin verse, but also the Anglo-Latin metrical tradition as a whole. In the generation following Aldhelm, many Anglo-Latin authors could now follow his precepts and examples and compose their own metrical verses. Since many of them first learned prosody from Aldhelm's metrical treatises as illustrated by his *Aenigmata*, it is not surprising that they should adopt for their own exercises the form of the master and exercise their newly-learned craft by composing their own riddles in Latin verse. This, I think, accounts for the popularity of the genre in the generations after Aldhelm.

68 Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Acircium*, 202.4–17; and translation in Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 45–46.

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Chapter 5

REWRITING THE PSALTER

CLASSICAL POETICS AND LATE ANTIQUE STYLISTICS IN BEDE'S METRICAL PSALMS

JOHN JOSEPH GALLAGHER

THE VENERABLE BEDE'S achievements as an Anglo-Latin poet have been overshadowed by his reputation as an historian, computist, and biblical exegete. Michael Lapidge, in his 1993 Jarrow Lecture "Bede the Poet," lamented that the lecture series until that point contained little to no indication that Bede was a Latin poet or, indeed, that he would have spent a good deal of his time teaching students the art of poetry.[1] Stephen Harris observed that "Bede's poetry, with a handful of exceptions, has escaped the attention of critics."[2] Classical and Late-Antique Latin poetry was a commonplace element of the early medieval monastic curriculum, so it is not surprising that Bede would have dedicated himself to studying, composing, and teaching Latin poetry.[3] Bede and poetry are not synonymous despite his handbook, *De arte metrica*, functioning as one of the most prominent instructional works in this field from the eighth century up until the end of the sixteenth century.[4] Harris emphasizes this point, indicating that "Generations of poets studied Bede's virtually flawless Latin verses. His hymns were incorporated into liturgies that to this day echo off the walls of Saint Paul's Church at Jarrow."[5] Recent scholarly developments invite a reassessment of Bede's contribution to the traditions of Latin poetry, namely the publication of *Bede's Latin Poetry* by Michael Lapidge and the launch of

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1 Lapidge, "Bede the Poet," 1. Compare Ward, Bede and the Psalter.

2 Harris, "Bede," 152.

3 See Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 174–274 and 274–342.

4 Heikkinen, "Vergilian Quotations in Bede's *De arte metrica*."

5 Harris, "Bede," 152.

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the digital database, *A Consolidated Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (*CLASP*).[6] The complete corpus of Bede's extant poetry has been edited and translated in Lapidge's edition, while the innovative digital tools incorporated into the *CLASP* database enable Bede's poetry to be analysed in greater detail than before.

Bede is best known as an historian, computist, and exegete, but there is generally a great deal of overlap between these genres, and it is no different with his substantial body of poetic works: his verse frequently intersects with his practice as a biblical textual critic and exegete. This chapter focuses on a short series of metrical adaptations of the Psalms by Bede. The decision to reformulate certain psalms in the style of classical and Late-Antique verse indicates anxieties on the part of Bede and his culture about the linguistic and literary character of the Latin Psalter. His psalm paraphrases are an exercise in biblical textual criticism and exegesis, but are also motivated by aesthetic concerns. The Psalter is the Bible's most important book of poetry, but, strikingly, none of its different Latin versions adhere to the classical and Late-Antique conventions of Latin prosody. This chapter analyses how Bede's metrical Psalms reformulate biblical texts in terms of classical poetics and Late-Antique Christian stylistics.

Bede's Versions of the Psalms

Bede produced a series of Anglo-Latin poetic revisions of a number of psalms. The complete adaptations that are extant include metrical reworkings of Psalms 41 (*Sicut cervus*, "As the hart"), 83 (*Quam amabilia sunt tabernacula tua Domine uirtutum*, "How amiable are Your tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts"), and 112 (*Laudate pueri Dominum*, "Praise the Lord, ye children").[7] The complete adaptations are largely faithful to the biblical psalms they revise. Bede's Psalm 41 consists of forty-six lines and is composed in dactylic hexameters. Psalm 83 is made up of twenty-one verses written in elegiac couplets (where a line of dactylic hexameter is followed by a line of dactylic pentameter). Psalm 112 is formed of twelve lines of dactylic hexameters.[8] Single-line fragments have survived of Bede's poetic revisions of Psalms 3

6 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*; *CLASP*, https://clasp.ell.ox.ac.uk/db-latest/.

7 On which, see Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 59–64. Psalms are identified by the Greek Septuagint numbering system. Titles are given according to the *Psalterium Romanum* on which the revisions are based. For the texts, see Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 340–47; Bede, *Bedae Venerabilis, opera*, pars IV, 447–50. Lapidge and Fraipont number the poems differently in their editions.

8 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, XIV, XV, XVI, 340–47.

(*Domine quid multiplicati sunt*, "Why, O Lord, are they multiplied [that afflict me]?"), 66 (*Deus misereatur*, "May God have mercy on us"), and 70 (*Deus in te speraui*, "In Thee, O Lord, I have hoped").[9] The three complete texts were edited by Johannes Fraipont, alongside Bede's Breviate Psalter, and again most recently by Lapidge.[10] All versions are based on the *Psalterium Romanum*, the standard text of the Latin Psalter used in the liturgy and throughout early medieval England at this time. It is unclear if Bede's psalms represent occasional compositions or whether they form part of a larger project that was never fully realized. The three surviving fragmentary lines were probably once part of longer adaptions such as those of Psalms. 41, 83, and 112.[11]

A distinction must be made between the metrical revisions at hand and Bede's Breviate Psalter, which is—as its title suggests—a condensed reworking of the Psalter in Latin, and much more widely known.[12] In the Breviate Psalter, most of the one hundred and fifty psalms are summarized in a few lines of verse with some longer exceptions.[13] The Breviate Psalter is based on the *Psalterium Hebraicum* of Jerome, which was the least common Psalter version in circulation.[14] Bede's condensed Psalter served both

9 For these fragments, see Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–46; Bede, *Bedae Venerabilis, opera*, pars IV, 451. No precise dates can be adduced for any of Bede's psalm adaptations. Lapidge is unsure whether these lines are complete or incomplete fragments of longer texts, Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 107. The latter seems most likely in light of the three complete psalm versions that survive.

10 On other printed editions of the metrical Psalms, see Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 106–7.

11 The most comprehensive examination of Bede's use of the Psalter is Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*. Note also that it was the Roman Psalter that Bede used from his youth, not the Gallican. The discussion of Bede's Psalm 83 in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 59–64 is one of the most detailed analyses of any item in the series. Lapidge briefly discusses the texts but concludes that the metrical Psalms and the *Versus de die iudicii* are unprepossessing compared to the *Liber Hymnorum*. Lapidge, *Bede the Poet*, 3–5.

12 For the Latin text, see Bede, *Bedae Venerabilis, opera*, pars IV, 452–70; Bede, *Collectio Psalterii Bedae Venerabili adscripta*, ed. Brown. For a translation, see Browne, *The Abbreviated Psalter of the Venerable Bede*.

13 Roughly 76 per cent of the abbreviated texts consist of one to two lines in Browne's Latin edition, while the rest are longer at around three to ten lines. The longest abbreviation, at twenty-four lines, is that of Psalm 118, which is itself the longest psalm.

14 Bede, *Collectio Bedae Psalterii*. There is some debate as to whether or not the Breviate Psalter can confidently be attributed to Bede. Compare McNamara, "Review: Benedicta Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*," 126. Several works have erroneously been

mnemonic and devotional purposes; it distilled the essence of each psalm and provided a "key" to recalling each psalm *ex corde*.[15] Although the Breviate Psalter is metrical, its devotional function places it more strongly in the realm of prayer rather than poetry.[16] The artistry of the Breviate Psalter deserves consideration, but it is not the focus of the present study.

In terms of categorization, the metrical Psalms have been placed within Bede's *Liber epigrammatum*, one of two collections of shorter poems mentioned in the catalogue of works in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.[17] No intact work has survived that satisfies the description given by Bede. There are a number of short texts preserved in disparate and scattered manuscripts bearing Bede's name or which can be attributed to his authorship that are thought to be part of the *Liber epigrammatum*. Lapidge has attempted to reconstruct the *Liber epigrammatum* by assembling twenty-two short and fragmentary poems.[18] The series includes inscriptions, epitaphs, dedicatory *tituli* for church buildings and furnishings, prefatory manuscript or textual poetic epigraphs, *aenigmata* (riddles), logogriphs, prayers, and other poetic works such as versified psalm adaptions. Traditional Latin epigrams such as those of the fourth-century Pope Damasus (r. 366–384) constitute purely dedicatory works. The *Liber epigrammatum* as reconstructed by Lapidge includes dedicatory verse of this kind in addition to other poems that do not conform to this designation. Given the length of Bede's psalm paraphrases

attributed to Bede, notably *In Psalmorum librum exegesis*, a commentary concatenated from different sources on the Psalms. The commentary consists of an *argumentum*, *explanatio*, and *commentarius* for each psalm. It was first assembled and attributed to Bede by his early modern editors. Of note, too, are the *Tituli Psalmorum* that were also erroneously attributed to Bede, but are now thought to be Irish. See Gorman, "The *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* on the Psalms;" McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, 37–39. McNamara has argued, in personal correspondence, that the Breviate Psalter might be Irish, since there are a number of such abbreviations of Irish origin. The abbreviation of the scholarly and neutral *Hebraicum* differs from the poetic adaptation of the *Romanum*, which communicates issues of identity and ecclesiology. Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* were well-known by Bede and cited throughout his oeuvre, see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 201. Given the disconnected nature of the devotional reflections offered in the *Enarrationes*, it is not surprising that Bede would have devised his own succinct summary of the psalms in the form of the Breviate Psalter.

15 Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 55; Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*, 10.

16 *CLASP* uses the title "Oratio metrica," which captures the text's poetic and devotional functions.

17 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.24, 570–71.

18 *Liber epigrammatum*, in Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 315–51.

(the adaptation of Psalm 41 is 46 lines in total and cannot be regarded as an epigram), these works do not naturally belong in this collection. The *Liber epigrammatum* clearly represents a broader category that is used by editors as a catch-all for Bede's miscellaneous poetic works. Some items in the reconstructed collection are early, while others are late, indicating that the collection developed over Bede's career. Whether these works ever travelled together as a single collection is unclear. Given their different dates of composition, this seems unlikely. In whatever form it was transmitted, it was not treated as a cohesive collection by early medieval authors who drew on these works. Milred, Bishop of Worcester (d. 744), selected and repurposed certain poems from this group, demonstrating the collection's disparate nature.[19] We can only be certain that Bede thought of these various poems cohesively as a collection by the time he completed the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Whether or not he included the metrical Psalms in this collection is another question.

Vernacular Verse and the Spiritual Practice of Poetry

Bede's appraisal of vernacular verse provides pertinent context for understanding his practice as an Anglo-Latin poet. Bede's poetic output was not limited to Latin: Cuthbert the Deacon relates that Bede composed poetry "in our own language, for he was familiar with English poetry, speaking of the soul's dread departure from the body."[20] Cuthbert informs us that shortly before his death, Bede repeatedly recited a poem he composed about the soul's departure from the body (Bede's Death Song), as well as various psalms and antiphons.[21] Unlike Bede's recording of "Cædmon's Hymn" in Latin, Cuthbert relates "Bede's Death Song" in its vernacular form within his Latin letter to Cuthwin.[22] The five-line epigram circulated with some manuscript copies of Cuthbert's letter. The Northumbrian version reads as follows:

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19 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 112.

20 Cuthbert the Deacon, *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 580–81

21 Cuthbert relates that Bede was ill from before Easter until Ascension Day, 735 CE. We are told that Bede continued to teach, instruct, and direct those who nursed him during his illness. The parallel with Christ who remained to instruct His apostles intermittently during the period from His Resurrection to His Ascension must have resonated with the community and its hagiographers given that Bede's demise occurred in the liturgical season of Easter.

22 For the text, see Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 553–55.

> Fore them neidfaerae naenig uuiurthi
> thoncsnotturra, than him tharf sie
> to ymbhycggannae aer his hiniongae
> huaet his gastae godaes aettha yflaes
> aefter deothdaege doemid uueorthae.
>
> Before the inevitable journey [i.e. death] no man shall become wiser in thought than he has need in order to reflect, before his going hence, what in respect of good or evil is to be judged of his soul after this death-day.[23]

According to Cuthbert, Bede persisted in his scholarly endeavours up until his final moments, working on a vernacular prose translation of the Gospel of John on his deathbed, which he supposedly dictated to Wilberct, and on a translation of Isidore's *De natura rerum* (referred to as the "*Liber Rotarum*").[24] The vernacular translation projects that Bede was engaged in on his sickbed were part of a larger program of vernacular work, which included translations of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, for the benefit of those less proficient with Latin.[25] "Bede's Death Song" is generally thought to be authentic, although the obvious parallels with the miracle of "Cædmon's Hymn" could suggest that Bede's vernacular poetic output was the invention of his hagiographers. Bede's skills as an Anglo-Latin poet and native speaker of Old English indicate that he would have been able to compose Old English verse, too. As Lapidge suggests, "there is no need to deny Bede the authorship of this modest little poem."[26] If genuine, the poem is arguably part of Bede's vernacular program of writing, although the supposedly spontaneous conditions of its composition and its overall religious and artistic purposes differentiate it from the vernacular pedagogical and catechetical works that Bede is said to have produced. The poem is a sobering and simple meditation on Judgement and the fate of the soul after death, which is unknowable to man in this life; an implicit reminder to the faithful to face death with humility and contrition.

While "Bede's Death Song" adheres to the conventions of Old English alliterative poetry, its language and style is more prolix than that of classical, copybook Old English verse such as "Cædmon's Hymn." Bryan Weston Wyly

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23 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 554–55.

24 Cuthbert the Deacon, *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 582–83. On this point, see Rauer, "The Earliest English Prose," 489–91. The article discusses the suggestion that Bede's deathbed translations might have been into poetry not prose.

25 Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum*; Bede, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*.

26 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 555.

remarks that "Bede swamps his salutary message in a quagmire of adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, and conjunctions. From the little this poem gives us of his vernacular work, it appears that Bede has modelled his Old English syntax on the devices of Latin rhetoric."[27] Bede presents a particularly favourable picture of vernacular poetry in his account of Cædmon, an uneducated layman who produced "the most melodious verse," although Bede chose to record only a Latin translation of "Cædmon's Hymn" in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.[28] Despite the high esteem in which he held Cædmon and the early Northumbrian practice of vernacular religious poetic composition, Bede's only surviving Old English poem is more indebted to Latin style than to vernacular poetic diction.[29]

Bede's approval of Cædmon's divinely inspired creativity rests not in his admiration of native literary forms *per se*, but in the modest cowherd's ability to present the grand schemes of biblical and salvation history in an elevated poetic diction. The difference between the artistic projects of Cædmon and Bede is linguistic: the highest artistic register known to Cædmon was the vernacular alliterative poetry of the hall and the feast; for Bede, it was the strict prosody of Latin verse that he was exposed to and mastered throughout his education and subsequent career.

Latinity and the Classical Background to Bede's Metrical Psalms

Classical and Christian Latin poetry figured prominently in the development of an Anglo-Latin poet. Beyond quotidian liturgical use, facility with the Latin language would have been consolidated through the academic study of biblical exegesis and treatises on Latin grammar, rhetoric, and the mechanics of writing.[30] Understanding the strict rules of Latin poetry played a part in the mastery of Latin for more advanced scholars.[31] Sarah Foot sug-

27 Wyly, "How Did OE Literature Start?"

28 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 4.24, 418–19.

29 On vernacular poetry, see Ireland, *The Gaelic Background of Old English Poetry*, 49–86; Ireland, "Vernacular Poets in Bede and Muirchú."

30 See Cornelius, "Grammars and Rhetoric;" Gneuss, "The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England;" Knappe, "Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England;" Law, "The Study of Latin Grammar," Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*.

31 In his discussion of Aldhelm's technique, Lapidge remarks on the difficulty of composing poetry in a foreign language according to foreign rules. While Aldhelm might not have mastered these rules fully (at times his verse resembles Old English poetics), the rules of the craft nevertheless were strict and required meticulous study. See Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry."

gests that "Once a student had mastered sufficient Latin, he would go on to read the wisdom books of the Old Testament and then start to explore the more demanding poetic texts of the school curriculum in Late Antiquity together with examples of Christian Latin poetry."[32] Although Bede's use of the non-Christian classical poets is not as wide-ranging as that of his predecessor Aldhelm, a representative selection can be detected in his works. The pagan classical poets whom Bede cites, alludes to, or possibly drew on in his work include Cicero, Claudian, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Martial, Ovid, Persius, and Vergil.[33] Some of the Late-Antique and early medieval Christian Latin poets that Bede drew on in his work include Aldhelm, Arator, Avitus, Claudius Marius Victorius, Dracontius, Juvencus, Licentius, Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius, Paulinus of Nola, Prosper of Aquitaine, Prudentius, Sedulius, and Venantius Fortunatus.[34] From among these, Vergil is the poet whom Bede cites most frequently.[35] This is closely followed, unsurprisingly, by the Christian poets Arator, Juvencus, and Sedulius.

It is important to be cautious when discussing Bede's classical sources; some might have been known first-hand from the library of Wearmouth-Jarrow and beyond, while some works might have been used as indirect sources that were accessed second-hand through grammatical materials, Patristic authors, and Carolingian or Irish works that drew heavily on the classics.[36] For example, Vergil is cited widely in the work of Jerome of Stridon, Augustine of Hippo, and Isidore of Seville.[37] It is clear that a range of classical and Late-Antique poets were known to Bede in one way or another, and used in his work. Following Neil Wright, it is reasonable to assume that when Bede drew upon or echoed the verse of a classical poet he knew their work relatively well; recollecting individual lines of classical verse from a mental database of snippets found here and there in secondary material seems like an unnatural way to use sources and a difficult methodology, even

32 Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England*.

33 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 191–228.

34 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 191–228.

35 Wright, "Bede and Vergil." Wright conclusively shows that Bede accessed Vergil's poetry first-hand, in contrast to Peter Hunter Blair's understanding of Bede's second-hand use of Vergil; see Blair, "Bede to Alcuin." Lapidge refutes the idea that Bede recollected lines from treatises on metrics, arguing that Bede knew poets like Vergil directly; see Lapidge, "Bede and the Poetic Diction of Vergil," 740.

36 This also applies to other poets from the period. Rosalind Love shows how Bede used sources from both his own library and a large borrowing network of scholars throughout England; Love, "The Library of the Venerable Bede."

37 See Ziolkowski, "Vergil."

for a scholar with an encyclopaedic mind such as Bede.[38]Given all we know about how Bede remembered and used the Bible and the Church Fathers, however, it follows that he knew his favourite Latin poets like Vergil in the same way: directly, in-depth, and *ex corde*. While acknowledging the arguments of Lapidge and Wright concerning Bede's direct use of sources, it is clear that some Anglo-Latin like Aldhelm—and Bede—did, indeed, recollect and refashion classical and Late-Antique verse from memory. The Bible and the Church Fathers were known because of their ubiquity. It is plausible that a scholar-poet like Bede would also have utilised his capacious memory to commit bits and pieces of formally refined Latin poetry to his mental repertoire to be drawn on and alluded to throughout his creative career.

Grammar is another way in which Bede might have encountered classical poets second-hand. There is good evidence that classical and Christian Latin poets were relatively well-represented in early medieval English libraries.[39] *Grammatica* rely on classical poetic examples and would have provided Bede and other poets in early medieval England with additional access to the classics. Some grammarians known by Bede in one way or another and cited in his works include Aquila, Audax, Flavius Caper, Cassiodorus, Flavius Sosipater Charisius, Cledonius, Consentius Gallus, Diomedes, Donatus, Julian of Toledo, Mallius Theodorus, Martianus Capella, Phocas, Priscian, Sergius, Servius, and Virgilius Maro Grammaticus.[40] Some other grammarians whose work has been detected in the writings of other early medieval English authors include Agroecius of Sens, Comminianus, Caper, Euticius Mallius Theodorus, Maximus Victorinus, and Pompeius Grammaticus.[41] Classical models and examples are presented as archetypal in grammatical texts, which must have engendered a deep appreciation of the "profane" authors among early medieval monastics, even if they sought to offer alternative examples in their own reworkings on the subjects of language, style, and rhetoric.[42] Moreover, the study of earlier treatises would have clearly centred these periods as the highpoint of linguistic and literary achievement in Latin and encouraged positive attitudes towards poets like Vergil.[43] Facility with Latin poetry was achieved through a combination of first- and second-hand knowledge of the classics.

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38 On remembered reading, see Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 126–224.

39 Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England."

40 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 191–228.

41 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 175–274.

42 De arte metrica, 17–19.

43 See Law, "Late Latin Grammars in the Early Middle Ages."

David Knowles discusses the "mental climates" of Cassiodorus and Benedict of Nursia, who differ in their understanding of the value of the classics.[44] In Bede's Northumbria, where copies of classical and Christian Latin poets were available and where classical treatises on grammar were studied and abridged, the "mental climate" was one that admired classical poetry as a model to be emulated. There is also a sense of "cultural aspiration" regarding the use of classical models, especially in the works of Aldhelm and Alcuin.[45] One wonders to what degree *antiquitas* and *ueteres* would have been viewed as prestigious; "classical" was not a term used at this time, and ancient works, although pagan, might have carried a certain pedigree by virtue of their historical pedigree.[46] As Seppo Heikkinen indicates, early medieval poets and metricists expressed anxieties about pagan poetry, but also a strong awareness of the indebtedness of Christian Latin verse to earlier models.[47] In Bede's work, we encounter anxieties about the use of pagan Latin poets: exempla drawn from the sources of his treatises on metre and stylistics, *De arte metrica* and *De schematibus et tropis*, are purged and replaced with alternative examples from the Bible and from Christian Latin poets such as Sedulius and Venantius Fortunatus.[48] The great Christian Latin biblical epics of Late Antiquity were foundational to the early medieval monastic poetic curriculum, but as Calvin B. Kendall remarks, "it seems doubtful that the existence of a new body of poems by Christian authors could have sustained in and by itself the study of poetry and rhetoric," thus necessitating engagement with classical poets and the synthesis of new works such as Bede's *De arte metrica*.[49] There is both a dichotomy and a continuity between classical poetry and its Christian successor.

Overall, Latin poetry seems to have been viewed in the same way as biblical exegesis and commentary: as a direct continuation of earlier learned Christian traditions. Classical Latin poetry is the basis of and, indeed, the apogee of the tradition of Latin verse in terms of form, structure, and technique. The standard is set by Vergil, but best realized for Christian audiences

44 Knowles, "The Preservation of the Classics," 138.

45 Love discusses "cultural aspiration[s]" in her essay, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," 620.

46 See Copeland, "Introduction," 3.

47 Heikkinen, "Re-classicizing Bede?," 2–6.

48 On the tension between classical and Christian poets, see Heikkinen, "Re-classicizing Bede?," 2–6.

49 *De arte metrica*, 18.

by the Late-Antique Christian schoolroom poets. Bede is working within and continuing this mixed inheritance. Rosalind Love remarks:

> There is a sense in which the use of elevated Latin, not merely as a means of communication but with the degree of elegance and sophistication that can be found in some of Bede's prose and certainly in his verse, suggests a desire, even if half-conscious, to be part of a larger continuum than that of the apostles of Rome, St Peter and St Paul.[50]

In the epigram to his reworking of Adomnán's textual geography and gazetteer of biblical locations, Bede writes:

> Descripsi breuiter fines situsque locorum,
> pagina sacra magis quae memoranda refert,
> Baeda, sequens ueterum monumenta, simulque nouorum
> carta magistrorum quae sonat inspiciens.
> Da, Iesu, ut patriam semper tendamus ad illam,
> quam beat aeternum uisio summa tui.

> I, Bede, following the witness of the ancients and likewise the things which the probing writings of more modern masters expound, have briefly described the territories and sites of those places which the Bible says are most memorable. Grant, O Jesus, that we may always strive towards that homeland, which the exalted sight of Yourself enriches eternally.[51]

These verses refer to Bede's methodology in recasting Adomnán's text, but underscore the correlative importance of tradition and continuity to his overall work. Poetry is not only an ornament used to preface scholarly treatises written *sequens ueterum monumenta* (following old traditions) but is itself a tradition to be continued.

The Tradition of Psalm Paraphrases before Bede

The term "paraphrase" is often used in connection with Bede's metrical Psalms, and it is useful with some clarification. The modern English term has connotations of summary, reduction, expansion, departure, or simplification. However, Bede's Psalms are more ornate than their Latin source texts. The term "paraphrase" frequently applies to schoolroom exercises aimed at developing skills in one language or another.[52] Παράφρασις (*paráphrasis*) in Greek denotes an alternative means of expression. Rachel Ricceri

50 Love, "The Library of the Venerable Bede."

51 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 330–31.

52 Faulkner, "Paraphrase and Metaphrase," 211.

notes, regarding the Byzantine context, that μεταφράζω (*metafrázō*) "to metaphrase" is used to designate an alteration in terms of rhetorical beauty, stylistic improvement, a change in genre, and higher linguistic choices compared to "paraphrase," which tended to denote formal equivalence and an alteration in wording.[53] Therefore, Bede's texts might more accurately be described as metaphrases aimed at stylistically improving the biblical text by stylisation and transposition into a higher literary register.[54]

The practice of metrical paraphrases of the Psalms began with Pseudo-Apollinaris of Laodicea's hexametrical *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*.[55] Pseudo-Apollinaris's "Homeric Psalter" is a product of the Late-Antique cultural impulse towards adapting the Bible in verse. The practice of Psalter versifying is first realized in the Latin tradition by Paulinus of Nola in his *Carmina* 7–9, which recast certain psalms into verse in the same way as his poetic version of the Gospel of Luke. The proem to Pseudo-Apollinaris's *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* discusses the text's attempt to recast the Greek Psalter back into the medium of poetry that was used in the original Hebrew version as the "grace" of metre was lost in the process of translation (since the Septuagint Psalter, like its later Latin counterpart, is not poetic).[56] The particular move towards classicizing scriptural poetry including psalm paraphrases does not only derive from anxiety about the contents of pagan literature, but an aesthetic attachment to the form and style of classical literature. The edict of the pagan emperor Julian the Apostate in 362 CE banning Christians from teaching classical literature (if Christians want to learn literature, they have Luke and Mark) would have further motivated this switch to Christian texts in classical clothing, although its influence has been much overestimated. Paulinus of Nola's *Carmina* 7–9 are based on Palms 1, 2, and 137 and are a possible model for Bede's own psalm adaptations. Bede knew the poems of Paulinus and cited them in the *Vita metrica sancti Cuthberti*, *De arte metrica*,

53 Ricceri, "Two Metrical Rewritings of the Greek Psalms," 224–26.

54 Churik, "Greek Explicating Greek," 68–69; see also Constantinou, "*Metaphrasis*: Mapping Premodern Rewriting." See Faulkner, "Paraphrase and Metaphrase," 214 and Ricceri, "Two Metrical Rewritings," 225–26. There is some debate about whether the two terms were used interchangeably alongside other terms such as μεταβολή (metabolé).

55 Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16; Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.18. This text was erroneously attributed to Apollinaris in Late Antiquity, whose father was also reported to have produced scriptural paraphrases in verse.

56 Faulkner, "Paraphrase and Metaphrase," 214.

De orthographia, and the *Commentarius in Lucam*.[57] Bede knew Paulinus' psalm paraphrases and these might have been the original inspiration for Bede's own adaptations, which in their extant form also number three.

Adapting the Language of the Latin Psalter

The Psalms played a preeminent role in the liturgical, devotional, intellectual, and literary cultures of early medieval monasticism.[58] Cuthbert the Deacon provides an account of Bede's devotional activity in his final days, illustrating the centrality of the Psalms: "et nobis suis discipulis cotidie lectiones dabat, et quicquid reliquum fuit diei in Psalmorum cantu prout potuit occupabat" (and he gave lessons to us his students every day, and spent the rest of his day in chanting the Psalter, as best he could).[59] As a poet steeped in classical and Late-Antique poetry, Bede would have been aware that the historical Latin Psalters do not adhere to classical prosody. Bede's versions constitute artful reworkings in classical verse of these important examples of biblical "poetry."

The *Psalterium Romanum* was the standard text used in England and Rome. No version of the Psalter conforms to classical Latin prosody or literary standard. The *Romanum* was used in the daily cycle of the divine office and in the liturgy in early medieval England, although the *Psalterium Gallicanum* and the *Psalterium Hebraicum* were also known and used in other contexts.[60] Bede adapted the *Romanum* in his metrical Psalms. Meditating on novel recastings of familiar psalmic texts would have generated new meaning and understanding, piercing the individual heart and soul, and moving the faithful towards devotion in the tradition of *compunctio cordis* (sting of the heart). As Elena Malaspina notes, the use of the liturgically familiar *Romanum* indicates that these adaptations held a devotional and meditative function and were not simply technical or artistic conceits.[61]

Reworking the Psalms into new metrical forms is ultimately devotional, but it is primarily a linguistic and aesthetic project. From the perspective of

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57 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 221–22.

58 Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 39–93; Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter;" Brown, "The Psalms as the Foundation of Anglo-Saxon Learning;" Atkin and Leneghan, *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*.

59 Cuthbert the Deacon, *Epistola de obitu Bedae*; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 580–81. Translation adapted from 581.

60 See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 23–29; Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England*.

61 Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 978.

a Latin poet, it would be striking that none of the Psalter versions conform to the conventional structures of Latin poetry (similarly with the Greek Septuagint with respect to classical Greek prosody).[62] Vincent Hunink remarks:

> These Latin Psalms, being a literal translation based on a literal translation from another language, present numerous difficulties that reflect their complex genesis. With their uncommon genre and textual structure [Latin Psalms seem unlike either classical prose or classical poetry], vulgate forms, uncommon metaphoric language, Graecisms and Hebraisms, they strike the average reader of Classical Latin as highly curious texts.[63]

The Latin of the *Vetus Latina*—of which the *Psalterium Romanum* is arguably a representative—has variously been described as vulgar Latin, Late Latin, or as a form of Christian *Sondersprache* (subvariety of a language understood only by one group).[64] It might also be described as a type of *Schriftsprache* (a high-level standardized written language), *Fachsprache* (technical language or jargon), *Kirchensprache* (cultivated ecclesiastical language), *Mischsprache* (mixed language), or *Übersetzungsmedium* (translation medium).[65] While its sociolinguistic dynamics are difficult to define, we can conclude that biblical Latin is a particular idiolect that represents the non-literary Latin of the day being applied to translate documents from another language, texts that are themselves littered with solecism and peculiarity of idiom and expression.

Francis Leneghan observes that Jerome utilized prose for both his *Psalterium Gallicanum* and *Psalterium Hebraicum*, the same form that was used by the earlier translator(s) of the *Psalterium Romanum*.[66] While none of these constitute classical prosody *per se*, they present elements that might be regarded as poetic in nature. The *Vetus Latina* and *Psalterium Romanum* utilize a sense-for-sense method of translation that probably precluded the possibility of rendering the Greek text closely into Latin while also adhering to classical metrical forms. Similarly, interest in the sense of the text seems to have taken precedence over any desire on the part of Jerome or earlier translators to realize the *Romanum*, *Gallicanum*, or *Hebraicum* in classi-

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62 On the style of the Greek Psalter, see Jones, *Translation and Style in the Old Greek Psalter*.

63 Hunink, "Review of David J. Ladouceur, *The Latin Psalter*."

64 See Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 151–56.

65 On the sociolinguistic dimensions of Anglo-Latin, see Timofeeva, "Anglo-Latin and Old English."

66 Leneghan, "Making the Psalter Sing," 174. Toswell discusses the difficulties of categorizing Psalter translations and glosses. Toswell, "Genre and the Dictionary of Old English," 239 ff.

cal verse. Bede's metrical Psalms attempt to rectify the formal and stylistic shortcomings of the Latin Psalter. One might argue that poetic translations must adhere to the conventions of poetry in the target language to be regarded as successful.[67] Latin translations of the Psalter do not follow the conventions of classical prosody, because these conventions do not define biblical and liturgical Latin, although these conventions were current in the contemporary literature.

The *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* exhibit all the problems that faithful and literal translations entail, such as Hebrew or Greek solecism and other kinds of lexical, grammatical, and stylistic "translationese."[68] Although it does not constitute prosody, Jerome's *Hebraicum* is the most artful and idiomatic Latin Psalter translation. However, it never eclipsed the other versions despite its dignity and regardless of their deficiencies. Of course, the Latin liturgy is replete with rhythmical prose that is not metrical in classical terms, such as musical chants, tropes, proses (*prosulae*), sequences (*sequentiae*), and commonplace hymns like the *Te Deum* and the *Te decet laus*. Most of the liturgy's chants, introits, propers, graduals, antiphons, and collects are based on scripture. Sometimes these texts are metrical, but frequently they reformulate scripture in a rhythmical style that is not prosodical in classical terms. During the early medieval period, these aspects of liturgy were still in development and such additions were formulated without concern for classical poetic convention.[69] While such texts consciously emulated psalmic and biblical language, the techniques governing their composition were not regulated by the rules of classical verse. It is, therefore, fair to delineate between rhythm, music, and artistry regarding liturgical "poetry" on the one hand, and formal classical verse on the other. It is worth noting that Christian biblical and liturgical Latin, as they developed, were not constrained by classical style; even within the Roman tradition, classical Latin prosody developed from Greek influence on the literature of the late Republic.[70]

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67 Anglo-Latin verse could be idiosyncratic and imperfect in how it realized classical poetics. See Lapidge, "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry," 209–31.

68 Ladouceur, *The Latin Psalter*, 10–11.

69 Iversen, "Vergil, the Psalms, and New Poetic Genres."

70 Catullus and Lucretius had polished the Latin poetic language before Vergil's time. Compare the register and diction of the section on rituals in Cato, *De agri cultura*. Compare also the language of Prudentius and the corpus of Ambrosian hymns. On the development of Early Latin, see Adams, Chahoud, and Pezzini, *Early Latin*. The earliest biblical Latin texts were recorded in a less rigid form than the elevated style of contemporary Roman literature. This is because Latin as a biblical language was a grass-roots movement and deliberately adopted a different style than

The genre of the Psalter is also difficult to define. Translations of the Psalms into (Greek and) Latin maintain features of repetition and parallelism that define the poetic diction of the original Hebrew texts. As such, Latin Psalter versions could be regarded as "poetic" since they mirror in translation the poetic characteristics present in the original Hebrew source texts. It should be noted that just because Latin texts do not adhere to classical Latin prosody, that does not mean they are not poetic, as alternative or new poetic aesthetics might be at work. Many cultures do not distinguish between prose and verse, but between sung texts and spoken texts; sung texts can be lyrical or rhythmical, but do not need to be metrical. The musical application of the Psalter in the Latin liturgy pushes these texts beyond mere prose. However, in Latin, the chanted, non-metrical poetry of the Psalter is the exception; all other poetry in this language conforms to metrical constraints.[71] The early Latin versions are a form of poetry, although it is artificial to have chanted poetry in Latin that is not metrical. The Septuagint Psalter was produced because Hebrew was no longer understandable amongst the Alexandrian Jewish diaspora and this non-metrical version influenced subsequent Latin translations.[72]

The fact remains that early Christian Latin does not follow the elevated literary style of its day and the Latin Psalters do not follow the basic conventions of prosody. This is because the Latin Psalters are constrained by the aim to provide functional translations of the Greek scriptures, which invite features of "translationese" or *Fachsprache*. The *ad verbum* translation methodology of the Greek Septuagint Psalter encompassed features such as formal equivalence, calques, solecism, and textual obscurity, which

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the traditional literary language of the day. See Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 38 ff. That is not to say that biblical Latin was barbarous, but it did not satisfy the norms of classical Latin literature in its register and form, which, in terms of authoritative and literary writing, had become the norm for Christians and non-Christians alike. The evolution of biblical and ecclesiastical Latin into a hieratic language is complex.

71 Chanted non-metrical texts are common in other languages and cultures that value other features in their definition of poetry. Despite traditional objections, there is an argument to be made that the Qur'an is an example of such non-metrical poetry. So too are the Ugaritic hymns and epics. Isidore Okpewho describes how Congolese bards compete to see who could fit the most syllables into a drummed line or stanza, which is a metrical behaviour of sorts, but not at all what westerners think of as "metre." See Okpewho, *African Oral Literature*. However, historically in the west, metre defines verse.

72 Late Greek compositions of Hellenistic Judaism such as Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus lack the main features of biblical poetry except where they borrow from earlier works, which translate these features in Greek.

were repeated in the Latin versions.[73] Christine Mohrmann observes that the early translations of the Latin Bible were viewed with embarrassment by educated Christian Latin elites who were familiar with classical stylistic conventions.[74] Lactantius saw Latin biblical style as an impediment to the religion's advancement. Lapidge remarks that Juvencus's Gospel paraphrase, the *Evangeliorum libri quattuor* (*Evangelia*)—one of the earliest Christian Latin poets to write in an elevated poetic Latin style—came about because "there was a need for a 'new' version of the Gospels—a version cast in an elegant register of Latin rather than the stumbling colloquial prose 'translationese' that is the *Vetus Latina*."[75] Lapidge acknowledges, however, the existence of "elegant Latin prose by highly articulate rhetors" before Juvencus, such as Tertullian and Lactantius.[76] Juvencus began a tradition of ornamented Christian Latin poetry that was continued by Proba, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, Cyprianus Gallus, Sedulius, and Bede.[77] The distance of the biblical Psalters from earlier Latin of poets would have been all too apparent to Bede who sought to revive archaic poetic standards.

Bede's Metrical Psalms

Bede utilized a classical diction as ornament for the biblical texts. An example of embellishment can be seen in Bede's treatment of Psalm 112.1, which reads as follows:

> *Psalterium Romanum* (henceforth PsRom) and *Psalterium Gallicanum*: Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini (Praise the Lord, ye children: praise ye the name of the Lord).[78]
>
> *Psalterium Hebraicum*: Laudate servi Dominum, laudate nomen Domini (Praise the Lord, ye servants, praise the name of the Lord).

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73 Ladouceur, *The Latin Psalter*, 9–11.

74 Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 39.

75 Lapidge, "Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages," 13; McGill, *Juvencus' Four Books of the Gospels*, 1–14.

76 Lapidge, "Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages," 13.

77 See Hardie, *Classicism and Christianity in Late Antique Latin Poetry*.

78 All references to the *Psalterium Romanum* are taken from Weber, *Le Psautier Romain*. All translations are taken from the Douay-Rheims English translation and adapted as required to reflect the *Romanum*. References to the *Psalterium Hebraicum* and *Psalterium Gallicanum* are taken from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Weber and Gryson.

This verse is rendered by Bede as:

> Laudate altithronum, pueri, laudate tonantem!
>
> (Praise the Almighty, you children, praise the Thunderer!).[79]

The term "pueri" is used in the two most prominent Psalter versions, the *Psalterium Romanum* and the *Gallicanum*; the *Hebraicum* has "servi." Bede's retention of "pueri" anchors his metrical adaptation in the biblical-textual tradition. The Breviate Psalter adapts the text of the *Psalterium Hebraicum* 112.1 as follows:

> Sit nomen Domini benedictum, a modo usque in aeternum
>
> Blessed be the name of the Lord from now and forever.[80]

The Breviate Psalter is closest to biblical vocabulary of the Psalter. While retaining a biblical connection, Bede's metrical adaptation augments the principal sense of the verse through the use of classical grand epithets; alternative and more poetic appellations for God that communicate the majesty of the divine more strongly than the familiar wording of the *Romanum* and transposing it into a higher poetic register. Bede's lexical choices clearly communicate his objectives: "Altithronus" derives from Juvencus and Venantius Fortunatus, a designation that was also picked up by Aldhelm in the *Carmina ecclesiastica* (2.25) and the *Carmina de virginitate* (961, 1289, 1695); by Alcuin in the *Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* (632); and by Oswald the Younger of Ramsey in his "Prayer to Christ in retrograde verses" (6), as well as the anonymous Anglo-Latin author of the *Hymnus Nynie eposcipi* (1, 2).[81] The epithet "tonans" derives from both Vergil, Ovid, and Lucan's description of Jupiter and was commonly used as an appellation for the Christian God, first by Juvencus and later by Sedulius, Avitus, and Cyprianus Gallus. By echoing his classical and Christian predecessors' epithets, Bede affords heightened expression to the Latin of the *Romanum*. *Nomina sacra* are used throughout the biblical texts with different implications for style and meaning. Bede's decision to "classicize" the names of the Lord in his revision of Psalm 112 indicates his overall literary aim.

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79 Bede, XVI.1, Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

80 Bede, *Collectio Psalterii*, 112; Browne, *The Abbreviated Psalter of the Venerable Bede*, 73.

81 For editions of these and other texts mentioned for comparison below, refer to *CLASP*.

The decision to adapt Psalm 112 is potentially linked to its role in the liturgy of the hours (it was read in the office of Vespers for Easter), its resemblance to the Magnificat and the angelic *gloria* at the Nativity (Luke 2:14), or its position as a source for Ambrose's hymn, *Te Deum*; the manageable length and straightforward theme of praise make it particularly suitable as a first foray into psalm versification. Its exhortation to praise—like Psalm 148 but on a smaller scale—might also have been seen as a particularly worthy subject for adaptation. Modern biblical scholarship tells us that this might have been one of the psalms that Christ and the disciples sang at the last supper (Mark 14.26). Its simple theme of worship encapsulates Psalmody as a genre. All people at all times, from the rising of the sun to its setting, are called to praise the Lord who is high above all nations:

> Excelsus gentes Dominus supereminit omnes,/
> eius et astriferos transcendit gloria caelos
>
> The heavenly Lord is high above all nations/
> and His glory transcends the starry heavens!.[82]

Bede's vocabulary for "stars" is quite *recherché*: "astriferos" is a particularly poetic term that crops up a handful of times in the corpus of Latin verse. It is used by the classical poet Statius in his *Thebais* (8.83), and by the Late Antique Christian poet Juvencus in his *Evangelia* (3.225); in the Anglo-Latin corpus, it occurs only in Aldhelm (whose diction is famously recondite and classicizing) in his *Aenigmata* (35), and Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (2.14). Bede's use of a highly specialized poetic diction that appeals to classical and Late Antique—Bede certainly knew Juvencus—positions this versification firmly as a "cosmetically classical" versions of PsRom. 112.[83] Etymologically, "astriferos" means "star bearing," which is a particularly poetic as a morphological combination. The lines cited above adapt PsRom.112.4:

> Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus et super caelos gloria eius
>
> The Lord is high above all nations and his glory above the heavens.

The inclusion of the gentiles foreshadows the Christian Gospel and might have been particularly appealing to an early medieval English poet and audience. Bede's Psalm 112 is the metaphrase that follows its biblical source most closely, which is probably connected to its short length. The language of

82 Bede, XVI.5–6, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

83 To adapt a phrase from Heikkinen, "Re-classicizing Bede?," 3.

the biblical verse is poetic and communicates the numinous, but is straightforward—qualities that Bede mirrors in his version.

> PsRom.112.6:
>
> quis sicut Dominus Deus noster qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit in caelo et in terra
>
> Who is as the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high and looketh down on the low things in heaven and in earth?.

> Bede:
>
> Quis Domino est similis, sedes cui perpes in altis?/ Respicit ast humiles caelo terraque benignus
>
> Who is like the Lord, Whose eternal dwelling is on high?/ But He mercifully looks upon the humble citizens in heaven and on earth.[84]

Bede's description of the Lord looking down "mercifully" on humankind penetrates the meaning of the biblical verse and the psalm as a whole: God does not regard the faithful loftily from afar, but humbles Himself and looks mercifully upon His people whom He guides closely. In this instance, Bede stays close to his biblical sources—in both content and language—but with a minor qualification ("benignus") that brings out more strongly the sense of the biblical text. In this way, Bede interprets the psalms and translates these texts for his audience even though he is working within a single language. The immanence of God in this psalmic hymn is contrasted with His position "above the heavens;" the contrast serves to bridge the gap between both domains; God is both elevated and immanent.

Bede's transformation of the sacred text from prosaic biblical Latin into a highly aureate poetic style resembles Juvencus's version of the *Pater noster* from the *Evangelia* (I.589–600): Juvencus's rendering of Matthew 6.9 replaces "in caelis" (in heaven) with the more elaborate "in uertice caeli" (in heaven's starry peak), another Vergilian reference to Jupiter from the *Aeneid*.[85] Both Juvencus and Bede follow the sense of their source text, but in a heightened stylistic fashion. The language of the Bible is elevated by Bede, repositioning the Psalter in the style of the Late-Antique Christian poets who were fundamentally central to the monastic curriculum in this context.[86] By

84 Bede, XVI.7–8, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

85 On Juvencus' imitation of classical models, see McGill, *Juvencus' Four Books of the Gospels*, 5–18.

86 On the curriculum, see Lapidge, "Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages," 11–40; McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 55–61. See also Green, *Latin Epics of the*

echoing the phrasing and diction of his models, Bede is, in essence, writing Latin poetry from early medieval England into this literary history and canon. However, Bede's psalms are not centos (that is, assemblages of lines from other poets, a classical type of "found poetry") nor is Bede an epigone (a less distinguished follower or imitator, from Latin *epigonus*, "successor"). The metrical psalms resemble a sort of pastiche, works that borrow, emulate, and pay homage to earlier Latin verse.[87]

Juvencus's *Evangelia* attempted to transform non-literary biblical Latin into what Scott McGill termed "a culturally prestigious idiom."[88] Bede's project pursues similar aims by recasting the Psalms into classical metre. Bede's Psalms 41 and 112 are presented in canonical dactylic hexameters, the standard metrical form used in epic poetry such as Vergil's *Aeneid*. Bede's Psalm 83 is composed in elegiac couplets, a variety of metre that is less grand than epic hexameters.[89] The use of heroic metre elevates Psalms 41 and 112 to the level of classical epic verse, investing these texts with heightened aesthetic value and appeal. However, the use of elegiac couplets for Psalm 83—alongside its more liberal adaptation of its source text—could be seen as antithetical to the task of elevating the biblical text to the highest possible style and register. Was Bede's version of this psalm a looser adaptation than his other revisions? In a culture that produced poetic texts of all kinds in hexameters and elegiacs, it is difficult to make sharp generic distinctions in how different metres were applied. However, Malaspina makes the point that Bede's deployment of the hexameter exactly follows classical technique (for example, use of the semiquinary caesura and dactyls in the fifth foot).[90] It is possible that Bede specifically chose the hexameter for his more faithful psalm revisions because of its associations with classical epic, notwithstanding its various contemporary applications.

The formal and stylistic interplay between metrical forms is more complex, however. Malaspina points to *De arte metrica* in which Bede presents the idea that the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 and other Psalms were

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New Testament; Lapidge, "Bede and the Poetic Diction of Vergil," 739–48; Heikkinen, "Virgilian Quotations in Bede's *De arte metrica*," 69–94; Wright, "Bede and Vergil," 361–79.

87 Green argues that psalm paraphrases are neither centos nor pastiche, but the latter term is useful and need not suggest that Bede's Psalms are entirely derivative, Green, "Poetic Psalm Paraphrases," 461.

88 McGill, *Juvencus' Four Books of the Gospels*, 9.

89 Bede's innovation as a metricist is discussed in Lapidge, "Bede and Vergil."

90 Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 975.

written in elegiac verse whereas Job was written in "plain hexameters."[91] Indeed, as Malaspina notes, Bede includes a hymn on virginity in elegiac couplets in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, contending that the Bible contains texts in similar verse and metre.[92] As such, Bede's Psalm 83 does not reject the metrical tradition of classical epic poetry and heightened style, but, rather, gestures to the biblical tradition of elegiac couplets that he believes is ultimately the original source of this form. One wonders, however, whether Bede is really imitating "original" biblical style or the Vergilian epic verse he so clearly admired. It is, of course, the assertion that the Bible contained similar poetic styles that legitimised the continued study of classical Latin prosody.[93]

Bede's metrical style is not rigidly classical, however, in that he deploys leonine verse (where the final syllable of a dactylic hexameter or pentameter rhymes with the final syllable before the caesura in the same verse); classical poets generally avoided rhyme, but the Leonine verse became popular in Late Latin and the medieval period, and was adopted by Bede in imitation of schoolroom poets such as Sedulius and Arator. For example, leonine verse is used in the following two verses of Bede's Psalm 83:

> "Spiritus hoc me**us**, hoc ipsi laetantur et art**us**"
> My heart and my very limbs rejoice in this.[94]
>
> "Da modo, summe, tu**i**, genitor, mihi lumina uerb**i**"
> Grant to me now, mighty Creator, the illumination of Your Word.[95]

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91 Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 974. Bede points to the Hieronymian idea that Job and other biblical texts like the Deuteronomy 32 (*Canticum Moysis*) and Psalms 118 and 143 were written in comparable verse forms in Hebrew: "When the pentameter is joined with the hexameter, the verse is called 'elegiac.' For scholars speak of elegiac poetry as sad, and the modulation of this verse, where the first line is a hexameter and the next a pentameter, is suited to the lamentations of the miserable. It is said that the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy [32] and Psalms 118 and 144 were written in this meter in Hebrew, while the book of the blessed Job was written in plain hexameters," Bede, *De arte metrica*, 10.41–44, ed. and trans. Kendall, 99. Kendall discusses how, for early Christians "the schemes and tropes of rhetoric could be found in the Bible. Neither the real nature of Hebrew poetry nor the rhetorical practices of the Evangelists had much to do with this conviction. Christians of the first centuries A.D. found hexameters and Sapphics, schemes and tropes in the Bible because they wanted to find them. It was a part of their quest for intellectual respectability," Kendall, *The Art and Rhetoric of Poetry*, 18.

92 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 4.20, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 396–97.

93 On which see *De arte metrica*, 17–19.

94 Bede, XV.3, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

95 Bede, XV.17, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

Bede utilizes this metrical flourish throughout his works, although it is not a classical form of adornment. This embellishment indicates that Bede uses formal techniques to render the biblical text into recognizably poetic and prosodic language. While greatly indebted to classical poets like Vergil, Bede found the Late-Antique and medieval poets equally admirable. Sedulius was his gold standard, according to the examples provided in *De arte metrica*. Indeed, appreciation of the "profane" poets is motivated by the esteemed in which they are held by the Christian Latin poets. Again, it can be observed that Bede's aim seems to have been to render the psalm in question into conventional Latin verse.

Bede's version of Psalm 112 is sophisticated in its poetic language, techniques, and rhetorical devices. His adaptation follows the biblical text verse-for-verse and sense-for-sense, indicating an intention to elevate the psalm in terms of language, style, and poetic technique. Synchysis is used where the word order of the source text is scattered or disrupted to create bewilderment and closer engagement with its meaning. This can be seen, for example, in Bede's version of Psalm 112.2. The *Psalterium Romanum* reads as follows:

> Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum
>
> Blessed be the name of the Lord, from henceforth now and for ever.

Bede refashions this verse in the following way:

> Sit magnum Domini benedictum in saecula nomen
>
> Let the mighty name of the Lord be blessed forever.[96]

The object of veneration in the biblical psalm—the Lord's name—is moved to the end of the line in Bede's version. The effect, for readers or hearers familiar with the *Romanum*, invites pause and contemplation over what the text is asking us to venerate. This organization mimics the syntax of classical poetry and stands in contrast to the plain diction of the Bible. Bede achieves a similar affect with his revision of PsRom.112.3:

> A solis ortu usque ad occasum laudate nomen Domini
>
> From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same,
> praise the name of the Lord.

96 Bede, XVI.2, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

The somewhat prosaic biblical verse is rendered more elegantly into two hexameters as:

> Solis ab exortu Dominum laudate potentem;/
> solis ad occasum in hymnis persistite laudum
>
> From the rising of the sun praise the omnipotent Lord;
> persevere in your hymns of praise up until the setting of the sun.[97]

These lines follow the sense of the biblical verse, but in more sophisticated and poetic language. The addition of "persevere in your hymns of praise up until the setting of the sun" augments the sense of the biblical text and mirrors the poetic technique of the Hebrew psalms where ideas are repeated over successive verses for emphasis.

A further example of ornamentation occurs in the case of Psalm112.4. The text of the *Romanum* reads:

> Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus et super caelos gloria eius
>
> The Lord is high above all nations; and his glory above the heavens.

This Psalm verse is realized by Bede in a heightened style as:

> Excelsus gentes Dominus supereminit omnes,/
> eius et astriferos transcendit gloria caelos
>
> The heavenly Lord is high above all nations,
> and His glory transcends the starry heavens.[98]

"Excelsus…Dominus" (heavenly…Lord) is a descriptive appellation for God in the biblical text that emphasizes His divinity; "excelsus" adds to the general usage of "Lord" and further communicates God's divine sovereignty. Bede builds upon the Psalmist's language through the collocation "astriferos…caelos" (starry…heavens), which further emphasizes the divine aspect through adjectivisation. The description poetically elevates the unadorned biblical text, which simply reads "caelos."[99]

The strategy throughout this poetic adaption is to augment the style of the biblical psalm. Bede recrafts the slightly prosaic and repetitious (a feature of Hebrew poetry) language of PsRom.112.8, which reads:

> Ut collocet eum cum principibus cum principibus populi sui
>
> That he may place him with princes, with the princes of his people.

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97 Bede, XVI.3–4, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

98 Bede, XVI.5–6, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

99 PsRom. 112.4; Bede, XVI.5–6, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

The verse is recast more elegantly as:

> primates inter populi sublimat opimos
>
> and sets them up with the lofty leaders of the people.[100]

The poetic version frequently amplifies the sense of the biblical text and emphasizes its core themes. Throughout Bede's paraphrase, single biblical verses are expanded into two hexameters, such as PsRom. 112.3 (XVI.3–4) and 112.9 (XVI.11–12). Thus, we see that Bede's version seeks to recast biblical text in terms of language and style, but not content. The close of PsRom.112 reads:

> qui habitare facit sterilem in domo matrem filiorum laetantem
>
> Who maketh a barren woman to dwell in a house,
> the joyful mother of children.[101]

The verse is elaborated upon in a highly expansive manner and cast into a more poetic diction following the style of the Late-Antique Christian poets.

> In sterilemque habitare domo miseratur et amplo/
> laetari tribuit natorum germine matrem
>
> And in His mercy He permits the barren woman to dwell in the house,
> and grants that,/ having become a mother, she may rejoice in the abundant reproduction of children.[102]

The sophistication of these lines compared to the style of the biblical text illustrates that Bede's Psalms were an aesthetic-linguistic project aimed at achieving an *interpretatio classica* of the Latin Psalter.

Of the three complete adaptations, Psalm 83 is the least rigid. Bede's version does not mirror the biblical text line by line. This rearrangement resembles the use of synchysis in Psalm 112, but in terms of verse order rather than syntax; the effect is similar, encouraging the audience to engage more closely with the text by trying to discern how the two versions correspond. Bede embellishes the text stylistically without reservation. A similar strategy can be observed with PsRom. 83.2:

> "Quam amabilia sunt tabernacula tua Domine uirtutum.
>
> How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts.[103]

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100 Bede, XVI.10, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

101 PsRom. 112.9.

102 Bede, XVI.11–12, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 346–47.

103 PsRom. 83.2.

This verse of the *Romanum* is refined, elevated, and reordered into classical poetic style as:

> "Quam dilecta tui fulgent sacraria templi"
>
> How the delightful sanctuaries of Your temple gleam.[104]

Bede uses the verb "flugere" in order to make the beauty of the Lord's dwelling place tangible in physical terms. The beauty is reflected and amplified in more a lyrical cadence than the biblical text provides. In this line, anastrophe is also used to subtly alter the traditional word-order of the psalm; thus, "How lovely are thy tabernacles" becomes "How the delightful sanctuaries of your temple glean," the effect of which causes us to pause and consider these lines in comparison to the *Romanum*.[105] Further embellishment occurs with PsRom. 83.3, which reads:

> Concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini, cor meum et caro mea exultauerunt in Deum uiuum
>
> My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord, my heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God.[106]

The verse is elevated and expanded into three poetic lines as:

> atria cuius amor flagrat ad alma meus!/ Spiritus hoc meus, hoc ipsi laetantur et artus,/ uiuentem ut liceat mente uidere Deum
>
> for whose holy courts my love burns!/ My heart and my very limbs rejoice in this/ that it might be possible to see in spirit the living God.[107]

The passion of the Psalmist's desire for God is amplified with particularly poetic expression that contrasts with the more prosaic biblical diction. Bede's Psalm 83.3 is markedly Vergilian in colour: "Spiritus hoc meus, hoc ipsi laetantur et artus" consciously echoes "… dum spiritus hos regit artus" in the *Aeneid*, once again illustrating Bede's classicizing poetic and linguistic aims.[108] Compared to the straightforwardness of the biblical verse, the language of Bede's version is highly ornate, florid, and somewhat overblown with one verse spun into three effusive lines. The soul, heart, and flesh of the psalm becomes the heart, limbs, and sight in Bede's version, which com-

104 Bede, XV.1, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

105 Ps. 83.2; Bede, XV.1, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 345.

106 PsRom. 83.3.

107 Bede, XV.3–4, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

108 Vergil, *Aeneid*, 3.336.

bine to create a burning love that consumes the worshipper's whole being. Bede employs specifically poetic vocabulary such as "artus," a term used in this specialized sense by Corippus, Lactantius, Livy, and Cyprianus Gallus. Although it is does not have a biblical referent, Bede's synecdochical use of "polus" for "caelus" ("poli pax" [peace of heaven], 83.15) again constitutes an appeal to classical and Late-Antique poetic language, since "poli" is used by Vergil and a range of Late-Antique Christian poets, as also noted by Malaspina.[109] Thus, it can be seen that in his metrical Psalms, Bede strives for more elegant expression than the biblical text offers. Through the conscious use of language that echoes classical and Late-Antique models, Bede positions his metrical version in this literary milieux.

Elaboration is a common technique in Bede's metrical Psalms, though contraction is also deployed regarding PsRom. 83.5–6:

> Beati qui habitant in domo tua Domine in saeculum saeculi laudabunt te. Beatus uir cuius est auxilium abs te Domine ascensus in corde eius disposuit
>
> Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord, they shall praise thee for ever and ever. Blessed is the man whose help is from thee, in his heart he hath disposed to ascend by steps.[110]

These lines—which are echoed in the beatitudes of Matt. 5:3–12 and Luke 6:20–22—are collapsed and recast in classicizing poetic language as:

> Felices, habitant qui illius in aedibus aulae/
> laus in saecula pios qua tua perpes alit
>
> Blessed are those who dwell in the chambers of that hall/
> where Your eternal praise nurses the virtuous forever.[111]

The distinction in the psalm between the priest who dwells in the Temple and the pilgrim worshipper who approaches God in Temple become one and the same in Bede's text. The blessings of the faithful declared in PsRom. 83:5–6 (and later at 83.13) are collapsed into a single blessing upon all the faithful who are nurtured through their love and worship of God.

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109 Bede, XV.15, ed Lapidge, 344–45; Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 979.

110 PsRom. 83.5–6.

111 Bede, XV.7–8, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

The reference to "alteria" at PsRom. 83.4 is developed into two verses that meditate on the salvific aspect of worship:

> Dulce tua redolet quod dextera condidit altar,/ turicremo purgans crimina cuncta lare
>
> The altar which your right hand established is sweetly fragrant/ cleansing all sins with its incense exuding flame.[112]

These lines reformulate the biblical verse:

> Etenim passer inuenit sibi domum et turtur nidum ubi reponat pullos suos **alteria** tua Domine uirtutum rex meus et Deus meus
>
> For the sparrow hath found herself a house, and the turtle a nest for herself where she may lay her young ones, thy altars, O Lord of hosts, my king and my God.

Apart from the mention of altars, these two lines are without biblical precedent and represent Bede's own extrapolation on the psalm. Bede passes over the avian image and uses synecdoche to convey the sense of the verse: the "incense exuding flame" of God's altar, which "cleans[es] all sins" stands for the Church and righteous practice as the route to salvation.[113] Bede eschews the literary image of the Hebrew psalm to deftly bring together the text's two groups, the priestly and general believers.

Aside from the lexical shifts he made, Bede felt at liberty to reduce the text of the psalm to its essential meaning. The sparrow is a recurring image throughout the Psalter and in this psalm signifies the soul of the faithful finding consolation in the house of its Father.[114] As noted by Toswell, Bede's version omits the sparrow, focusing on the Psalmist's relationship with God.[115] Bede refines the psalm by clarifying and focusing the biblical metaphor of the sparrow on its meaning; the soul spiritually encountering the living God in His temple. Psalm 83 was often used in the dedication of church buildings. This is one of the "Zion songs," psalms glorifying God's presence in Jerusalem. The psalm alludes to the priestly caste of the Temple, the pilgrim worshipper, and the rejoicing praise (PsRom. 83.3, 83.4) offered by both. The periphrastic prose of the biblical verse is reduced and refocused into succinct and stylistically elevated elegiac lines of dactylic pentameter. Similarly, other figures and images in the psalm are omitted such as the vale of tears (verse 7), the law-

112 Bede, XV.5–6, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

113 Bede, XV.6, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 345.

114 Toswell, "Bede's Sparrow and the Psalter in Anglo-Saxon England."

115 Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 59.

giver (8), the divine epithet "God of Jacob" (9), the Christ or "anointed one" (10), and the tabernacle of sinners (11). Although the sparrow provides a creative opportunity (sparrows are common and that even they find a home in God emphasizes the Lord's capaciousness), Bede instead fastens in on meaning, namely the relationship between the believer and the divine. While Psalm 41 (which Bede adapted) expresses the Psalmist's yearning for God's presence and laments the Lord's separation from His temple, Psalm 83 resounds with joy in God's proximity to His people through the Temple. The exultation of the psalm is amplified in Bede, Psalm 83.5–6, cited above. Bede would have viewed the sacramental life of the Church as God dwelling fully among His people. Bede's elision of the sparrow metaphor and focus on the cleansing flame of the altar emphasizes the divine presence in the world and, in lines 13–14, gestures with eschatological hope towards seeing the living God.[116] Bede's refocusing of the sacred text draws out the meaning and relevance of the psalm for a contemporary Christian audience while remaining close to the devotional-liturgical context of the original Hebrew psalm. Thus, it is clear that the metrical Psalms are not simply literary transpositions, but are also examples of interpretation and exegesis.

As Toswell observes, Bede engages in world-play between "Solyma" (the historical name for Jerusalem) and "sole" (sunlight).[117] Bede's use of alliteration and consonance draws our attention to these lines:

> **C**erneri**s** inque **S**ion **c**astri**s**, **D**eu**s** alme **d**eorum/
> **c**el**s**a tuo **S**olymae moenia **s**ole replen**s**
>
> You are seen among the chaste in Sion, Holy God of gods,/
> filling the ramparts of heavenly Jerusalem with Your sunlight.[118]

The turning point in the text between the exposition of the value of the house of the Lord and the anagogical meditation on the world to come is marked alliteratively.

Bede's aim is not to Christianize the psalm explicitly, however, despite the prominence of Christological exegesis as a hermeneutic for the Psalms. PsRom. 83.10 reads:

> Protector noster aspice Deus et respice in faciem Christi tui
>
> Behold, O God our protector, and look on the face of thy Christ.[119]

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116 Bede, XV.13–14, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

117 Bede, XV.10, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

118 Bede, XV.9–10, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

119 PsRom. 83.10.

The verse is omitted by Bede in his version, which excludes this mention of the *prosopon* or "divine persona." The "tabernacula" of PsRom. 83 is replaced with *sacraria* (sanctuaries), subtly shifting the sense of text from Old Testament Temple worship to a more recognizable Christian context. An extended Christian doxology (lines 15–20) is provided at the close of his poetic paraphrase that extends beyond the psalm text. The doxology mentions Christ twice *nominatim* and is a meditation on the transience of life and the eternity of heaven that entreats the Creator to grant the speaker of the text "the illumination of Your Word."[120] Bede's paraphrase omits the rubric of PsRom. 83, "In finem pro torculabius filiis Core psalmus" (Unto the end, for the winepresses, a psalm for the sons of Core), although such titles and subscriptions accompany the Psalms in the medieval manuscript tradition and were regarded as integral. The extended doxology and prayer Bede offers at the end of his version replaces this function by providing a gloss on what he understands to be the psalm's overall meaning; the ascription to the Corites is less meaningful to an early medieval audience. The inclusion of a prayer compelling God indicates the devotional function Bede believes interpreting and recasting the Psalter holds. It also demonstrates that his metrical Psalms are both devotional and literary.

It is noteworthy that both 41 and 83 both focus on praise.[121] There is a clear correspondence between the two: the first expresses yearning for the Temple, while the second celebrates it. Bede's revision of Psalm 41 is, by far, the most elaborate in terms of linguistic ornamentation.[122] Eleven psalm verses are expanded into forty-six elegant and tightly wrought classical hexameters. Each psalm verse is expanded into a minimum of two and maximum of six lines. For example:

> PsRom. 41.2:
>
> Sicut ceruus desiderat ad fontes aquarum ita desiderat anima mea ad te Deus
>
> As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God.
>
> Bede Ps. 41.1–2:
>
> Ceruus ut ad fontes sitiens festinat aquarum,/ sic mea mens ardet te, conditor alme, requirens
>
> As the thirsting hart hastens to the water-fountains,/ so does my soul burn in longing for You, merciful Creator.[123]

120 Bede, XV.17, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 345.

121 In biblical studies, Ps. 83 is considered a hymn or pilgrimage Psalm.

122 Bede, XIV, *Bede's Latin* Poetry, 340–41.

123 Bede, XIV.1–2, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 340–41.

In a similar vein to Bede's Psalm 112, his Psalm 41 introduces the Christian epithet "conditor" (Creator) to replace the "Deus" of PsRom. 41.2. "Conditor" is a term used by Avitus, Arator, Boethius, Caelius Sedulius, Cyprianus Gallus, Dracontius, and Prudentius, among others. This terminology brings the text firmly into the ambit of Late-Antique Christian poetry. The adjective "alme" here and later in at line 21 ("alme Creator" [kindly Creator]) is not in the biblical lexicon and represents a conscious decision to emulate the language of the Christian poets.[124]

Bede's version heightens the intensity of the Psalmist's desire for God by connecting thirst with burning. Hebrew poetry depends upon repetition; Bede creates a more elegant Latin line by removing the repetition and enriching the biblical metaphor.

> Bede Ps. 41.4–6:
>
> O quando **optati ueniat mihi tempus** amoris,/ quando **tuam liceat faciem** speciemque tueri?/ Namque diu lacrimis pastor, **noctemque diemque**…
>
> O when will the fulfilment of my loving desire come to me,/ when it will be possible to gaze on Your face and beauty?/ For I am long fed on tears; my lamentation accompanies me day and night…[125]

In these lines, Bede draws on a range of models to recast the psalm in classical and Late-Antique clothing: his verses draw on the line "opato ueniat dum tempo in anno" by Cyprianus Gallus; "tuam faciem" is used by both Paulinus of Nola and Venantius Fortunatus; while "noctemque diemque" is used twice in Vergil's *Aeneid* (5.766 and 8.94).[126]

> Bede Ps. 41.10:
>
> …afficior, totusque anima exsultante resoluor…
>
> …am buoyed up by my joyful prayers, and with my soul exulting I am wholly liberated.[127]

The line contains two lines that directly echo Prudentius ("ne totus eam resolutus inane" and "exultante anima carnis ad exitium").[128] The level of inspiration taken from Prudentius in this single line indicates that Bede's agenda is

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124 See also "alme deorum," Bede, XV.9, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344. Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 980.

125 Bede, XIV.4–6, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 340–41.

126 On which see Lapidge's apparatus, Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 340.

127 Bede, XIV.10, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 340–41.

128 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 340.

to present a Late-Antique Christian poetic version of his biblical source. In his linguistic choices, Bede also positions the text within the milieu of Late Latin Christian hymnography: the use of "spes unica uitae" (one hope of my life) at line 31 and "tibi sit spes unica Christus" (let Christ be your sole hope) again at 43 echo Venantius Fortunatus' hymn, *Vexilla regis proclami*.[129] The repetition of "lacrima" (tears) in different forms (XV.6, 18) emphasizes the biblical usage (PsRom. 41.4) and subtly hints at, or is analogous to, famous uses outside Christian literature such as the *Aeneid* (1.462, "lacrimae rerum" [tears of things]). A wealth of other classical, Late-Antique, and Christian allusions are made throughout the remaining thirty-six verses of Bede's adaption, but the examples outlined above serve to illustrate his working methodology.

Moving away from language, however, it is possible to make some suggestions about the program overall. Psalms 41 and 83 were possibly chosen to complement one another, as meditations on the Psalmist's distance from and closeness to God. The correspondence between both texts suggest that they were chosen by Bede for contrast. Psalm 112 was selected as a straightforward praise psalm, a text that exhibits the primary function of the Psalms; songs that praise God and give thanks. It is possible, therefore, that Bede selected three representative psalms as an experiment in producing classicizing Anglo-Latin metrical psalms. For whatever reasons, Bede did not attempt to recast the entire Psalter, although he had produced an abbreviated version. Benedicta Ward outlines the centrality of the Psalms in Bede's religious and intellectual life, but the fact remains that Bede never produced a complete commentary on the Psalter. Bede's metrical Psalms might constitute a foray into an area of biblical scholarship and textual criticism that did not arrest his full attention and which did not compel him to produce a complete poetic revision.

Other Metrical Psalter Traditions

Taking the Late-Antique Christian poets as the model, Bede's versifications respond to earlier debates about style and the differences between classical, biblical, and Late Latin poetry. No other Latin metrical Psalmic revisions survive from early medieval England. Examples can be found from the Continental context that exhibit the same impulse towards reimagining the Psalms in classical Latin poetic diction and form.[130]

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129 Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 983–84.

130 See Orth, "Metrische Paraphrase als Kommentar"; Stotz, "Zwei unbekannte metrische *Psalmenparaphrasen*." A versification of Psalm 1 from the twelfth or

After Bede's day, the language and form of the Psalter continued to be revised. Old English poetic versions of the Psalms survive as glosses in the *Royal Psalter* (London, British Library, Royal 2. B. v) and the *Eadwine Psalter* (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1), as individual poetic translations such as Kentish Psalm 50, and as more comprehensive versions of complete quinquagenes in the case of Metrical Psalms 51–150 of the *Paris Psalter* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 8824). In each of these cases, the Psalms are not only translated into Old English, but also into the medium of alliterative verse. The diglot *Paris Psalter* is significant because it contains a complete vernacular translation of the Book of Psalms (with the Roman Psalter *en face*) at a time when scriptural translations were rare.[131] The first quinquagene of the *Paris Psalter* is a vernacular prose paraphrase. It is supplemented with versions of the two further quinquagenes in the pattern of alliterative verse; the supplementary quinquagenes were clearly part of a complete vernacular poetic Psalter that is no longer extant.[132] The interest in recasting the Psalms into the more familiar structure of vernacular alliterative verse suggests that the style of the Latin Psalter was still an issue of dispute in the tenth century.

The combination of prose and poetry is curious and raises questions that are beyond the scope of the present examination. However, the stylistic gulf between the two parts of the *Paris Psalter* might not be as great as it appears at first. As Patrick O'Neill contends,

> knowing that the original Psalms were poetic compositions, the author of the Prose Psalms attempted to convey something of their literary character in his work. Although restricted by both medium (prose) and strategy of translation (exposition), his efforts to embellish the style are evident throughout.[133]

Given the multiple variants of the Metrical Psalms which survive as glosses to the *Eadwine Psalter*, quotations in the *Menologium*, and as fragmentary texts in the *Old English Office*, Toswell concludes that the Old English

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thirteenth century is the subject of Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Samuel Presbyter and the Glosses to his Versification of Psalm 1," 154–74.

131 No comparable works survive from medieval Ireland where the Psalms do not seem to have inspired vernacular versions or even Latin metrical revisions.

132 See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 126–28, 307–19. Metrical fragments of Psalms 1–50 survive in the *Old English Office*. See Anlezark, "The Psalms in the *Old English Office* of Prime;" Jones, *Old English Shorter Poems*, 1.284–343. A variant of the Metrical Psalms, Psalm 117.22, appears in the *Menologium*, suggesting both versions are descended from shared sources. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 314.

133 O'Neill, *Old English Psalms*, xiv.

Metrical Psalter was available in multiple libraries in the later part of the period.[134] The circulation of the Metrical Psalms indicates a broader culture of interest in reinvigorating the Psalter with the beauty and elegance of poetry, albeit vernacular.

The practice of paraphrasing the Psalms became particularly popular following the rise of Humanism and the renewal of interest in the classics.[135] However, these were not classroom exercises, nor were they translations or simplifications, and did not generally have any liturgical use. Roger Green contends that paraphrases operate with an effect of defamiliarization whereby "the biblical language is made less familiar, but the style, for the Latinate reader, more so."[136] As Green observes, "poetic Psalm paraphrases were written for a sophisticated audience" capable of appreciating these reworking in light of their classical and Late-Antique models.[137] Although separated by over seven-hundred years from Humanism, Bede's metrical Psalms function on precisely the same basis. These are not texts produced for the purposes of readability, but compositions with aesthetic aims directed at a literate audience with a sensibility for a dignified literary Latin medium.

The Metrical Psalms and Adaptation Theory

How can we categorize the style and methodology of Bede's Psalm versions? Reworking the Psalms is a creative literary endeavour as well as a profound devotional and meditative act. Bede's Psalm versions might be seen as classroom exercises, aimed at reformulating known texts into classical metrical forms for practice. However, the sophisticated literary quality of these versions indicates that they are more than trivial pedagogical or practical tasks; the importance of the scriptural source and the central position of the Psalter in the monastic practices of *ruminatio* and *lectio continua* imbue any adaptations with authority.[138] It is natural that an early medieval

134 Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 314.

135 See Green, "Poetic Psalm Paraphrases," 461–69; Green, "George Buchanan and Arthur Johnston;" Wursten, "Tracing Marot's Psalm Paraphrases." On vernacular interest in the Psalms after the early Middle Ages, see Costley King'oo, *Miserere Mei*; Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*; Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature*.

136 Green, "Poetic Psalm Paraphrase," 462.

137 Green, "Poetic Psalm Paraphrase," 462.

138 See Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 974. See also Green, "Poetic Psalm Paraphrases."

scholar such as Bede, with expert knowledge of the mechanics of classical Latin poetry, would turn their hand to rendering biblical Latin texts into elevated classical forms. The revisions constitute a form of adaptation and appropriation that reimagines familiar biblical texts in different, unfamiliar, or new formats. It is a process by which a series of prose or prosimetric texts are rendered into Latin verse and metre. This manner of adaptation is relatively straightforward, as the relationship to the source text is apparent and the intertextual purpose is obvious.[139] It is also a highly specific form of adaptation involving a transition from one genre to another, from prose to poetry.[140] This process is not necessarily linear since there is a degree of mutation, change, evolution, expansion, recycling, reduction, and variation inherent to Bede's versions.[141] The recasting of texts that deliberately do not adhere to classical prosody into classicizing forms can be regarded as appropriation—that is, borrowing, reworking, reuse, acculturation or transculturation, and hybridization of an existing text into a form that differs substantially from the intended purpose and original conditions of the source text.[142] Here, one is reminded of the literary versions of the Psalms created by Phillip and Mary Sidney, George Herbert, and Robert Alter, among many others. Given that it is hard to define whether the Latin Psalters constitute poetry or not, it is unclear whether Bede's Psalm versions comprise intramedial adaptation within the same medium (poetry) or intermedial transposition from one medium (prose) to another (poetry).[143] Whether we regard Bede's versions as intramedial or intermedial, both processes result in a new and fresh artistic creation. However, the status of the texts as either corrected versions of inspired scripture or simply literature of a religious nature is opaque. If we view Bede's Psalms as transformations from prose scripture into poetry of a creative and devotional nature, then the evolution is transformative, but not necessarily radical. If seen as intramedial, then Bede's versions are not recontextualized, but constitute revised and embellished scriptural texts. This process is radical as it implies that the translation and form of the Latin Psalter could be improved.

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139 On the various ways in which texts can be reimagined, see Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*; Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*.

140 Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 24.

141 Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 52.

142 Mike Ingham's essay on song provides the most pertinent framework for understanding how biblical poetry is adapted, Ingham, "Popular Song and Adaptation."

143 Ingham, "Popular song and Adaption," 325.

Conclusions

Why did Bede bother to reformulate the Psalms in this way and for whom? One audience for Bede's Psalms, presumably, were the monastic students who figuratively sat at his feet to learn the techniques of Latin prosody and the particulars of different Latin literary registers. However, it must be remembered that Bede was singularly the most luminous and accomplished Latin poet of his generation. His activities in the field of Latin poetry were not part of an everyday classicizing culture that existed around him; the poets his work responded to were part of an earlier literary movement from which he was removed in terms of time, geography, and culture. While the Psalter—and, indeed, the Bible as a whole—is irreproachable as a record of divine revelation, in terms of literary Latin style, standards existed which it does not follow. To glorify God and the scriptures, the Late-Antique Latin poets recast biblical texts into a culturally prestigious idiom to achieve a positive effect on educated and artistically literate audiences. Emily Thornbury explains how Bede's poetic standards were deduced from his reading of historical literature, grammar, and stylistics, rather than his experience as part of a contemporary poetic community or movement—Bede is, in this sense, an "autodidact," a term used by both Brown and Thornbury—which gives his poetry a particularly archaic flavour.[144] The elaborate Latinity of these metaphrases could indicate the work of a young scholar experimenting with his knowledge of classical and Late-Antique poetics (*De arte metrica* and *De orthographia* were both written at the very start of his career between 691 and 703, so the psalm paraphrases might be linked to this stage of production). Bede criticized pagan poetics in *De arte metrica*, but although some Late Latin linguistic developments are present in his metaphrases, his estimation of the Christian poets of Late-Antiquity as the paragon of literary excellence is undeniable. It is these poets to whom Bede's paraphrases respond and appeal. The technical skills exhibited in the metaphrases and their interest in elaborating the register of biblical Latin are unparalleled for this time and make an important contribution to the tradition of Latin scriptural poetry. It is, however, Bede's metrical and rhythmical hymns in imitation of Ambrose that remain his most enduring poetic legacy. Malaspina argues that Bede's descriptions of Jordan and Hermon (Bede Psalm 41.21–27; PsRom. 41.7–8) are closer to Bede's Northumbria by the North Sea than the Holy Land and the Mediterranean, particularly the description of the swelling sea (*aestus*).[145] This is, perhaps,

144 Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, 183–98.

145 Malaspina, "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile," 986–87.

the only hint we get of the individual poet behind these texts. Overall, Bede's scriptural poems represent an attempt to translate and locate the Psalms of the Latin Bible, not in early medieval Northumbria, but the world of the Late-Antique Mediterranean from which he drew so much creative, intellectual, and spiritual nourishment.

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Chapter 6

CARMINA SPOLIATA

LATE-ANTIQUE INSCRIPTIONAL VERSE IN THE POETRY OF BEDE

CHRISTOPHER SCHEIRER

PERHAPS SENSING THE imminence of his own mortality, at the end of his *magnum opus*, the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, the Venerable Bede took stock of his accomplishments with a list of the works he had completed over the course of an enormously productive lifetime. Among the many surviving exegetical and theological texts included in this list, Bede also numbered a *librum epigrammatum heroico metro siue elegiaco* (book of epigrams in hexameter or elegiac verse).[1] It had long been assumed that this *Liber Epigrammatum* was utterly lost. In 1975, however, Michael Lapidge argued convincingly that several items likely belonging to this work were included in a collection of inscriptions compiled by or for Milred, Bishop of Worcester (d. 774/5).[2] We know of Milred's epigraphic sylloge thanks to the antiquarian curiosity of John Leland (d. 1552), who partially transcribed its contents out of an *antiquissimum codex epigrammaton* he found at Malmesbury,[3] and to the discovery of a fragment in the University of Illinois Library at Urbana of the very codex that Leland consulted (the so-called "Urbana Sylloge").[4] In his transcript, Leland listed a number of poems attributed explicitly to Bede, including an epigram on Jerome's treatise on Isaiah, various *aenigmata*, dedicatory *tituli* for a church of St. Michael and a church of St. Mary, verses inscribed on the portico of the church of St. Mary at Hexham, and a *titulus* for an apse in a church erected by Bishop Cyneberht. Although Leland recorded only the headings to the majority of these poems,

1 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.24.2.

2 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 798–820.

3 Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus britannicis collectanea*, 114; Leland, *Commentarii*, 134. For an edition of Leland's transcript, see Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 802–20.

4 For the contents of this fragment, see Wallach, "The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge," 138–47.

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their titles alone demonstrate that Bede, like Aldhelm a generation earlier in the *Carmina Ecclesiastica*,[5] was interested in the production of native verse modelled consciously on an earlier tradition of Roman epigraphic poetry.

Bede's interest in this genre of poetry raises the question to what degree he was himself familiar with individual examples of Roman and Roman-style inscriptions. His inclusion in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of the epitaphs of Wilfrid, Bishop of York, Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, Cædwalla, King of the West Saxons, and Pope Gregory the Great, show that he was acquainted with several such examples.[6] But how broad was his knowledge of this body of verse, and in what ways might it have exerted an influence upon his own compositions? Such a question has never been directly addressed. In seeking to answer it, this chapter argues that Bede both knew and utilized a range of Roman inscriptions more substantial than hitherto suspected. Moreover, and perhaps most significantly, it will show that he did so in a way that revises prior assumptions about how early medieval English authors encountered and appropriated Roman epigraphic verse for their own purposes. Far from resulting in the genre-constrained production of yet further epigrams or inscriptions, Bede's engagement with this material reveals how it flowed into his larger poetic world to generate broader possibilities and relationships.[7]

In contrast to some of the work conducted on Aldhelm,[8] the extent of the influence of Roman epigraphic poetry on Bede's metrical works remains almost entirely unstudied. Scholars have so far identified only a very small number of cases where Bede demonstrates knowledge of such sources. In his important edition of the metrical life of St. Cuthbert, for instance, Wer-

5 For the suggestion that Aldhelm was inspired by the monumental *tituli* of Pope Damasus when composing the *Carmina ecclesiastica*, see Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 53–58.

6 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.19.14, 5.8.2, 5.7.2, and 2.1.10.

7 In identifying discreet correspondences between various Roman inscriptions and Bede's Latin poetry, I have adopted a methodology that privileges overall at least three distinct lexical points of contact. Where only two points of convergence are witnessed, I supply additional evidence supportive of the suggested relationship. I have excluded outright from consideration examples of textual influence or borrowing where the elements concerned are shared by a plurality of texts across the broader Latin corpus and are thus too diffuse to be of merit to the present study. In short, I have tried to be careful in pairing texts whose relationship with one another is unique or at most shared with a very small number of other sources.

8 On Aldhelm's knowledge of Roman inscriptions, see Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 203–12; Story, "Aldhelm," 8–20; and Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 53–64.

ner Jaager observes that Bede incorporates at various points elements from two of Pope Damasus' *epigrammata*.[9] Yet Bede's debt to Roman epigraphic verse extends beyond the monumental poetry of Damasus, and it is possible to detect both in the *Vita Metrica S. Cudbercti* (hereafter *VMC*) and elsewhere correspondences to at least seven further inscriptions.[10]

While narrating Cuthbert's posthumous healing of Felgild, an anchorite of Lindisfarne, for example, Bede draws from the mosaic *titulus* of Felix IV (d. 530) for that pope's dedication of the basilica of Cosmas and Damian:[11]

Titulus of the Basilica of Cosmas and Damian	*VMC* 46.952
Martyribus medicis populo *spes certa salutis*.	Partiri docuit fide *spes certa salutis*.[12]

In this dedication, still extant *in situ* today, Felix plays subtly and effectively upon the multiple identities of his titular saints. On the one hand, the brothers Cosmas and Damian were indeed physicians (*medicis*), serving during their mortal life to heal disease and restore the sick to health. Now, through their holy merits as saints and martyrs, they bear to the people (in Felix's church) the sure hope of health (*spes certa salutis*), which in its realest form is Christ's salvation, an eternal healing that far surpasses the remedy of any earthly doctor.

Bede, clearly alive to the conceit at work in his source, likewise casts his subject in the role of physical and spiritual healer, albeit from the inverse perspective. Previously, he had described how Cuthbert laboured during his earthly ministry to apply the eternal salve of Christ's redemption, throwing open for the people the way to the celestial kingdom through admonitions and the healing waters of salvation, that is, baptism: "iussis limphisque salutis / Pandit iter populis coeli per regna vocandis" (Cuthbert, by means of admonitions and the waters of baptism, reveals the way for the people to be called to the kingdom of heaven).[13] Now, in death (as Cosmas and Damian did in life), Bede associates him with the certain hope of health (*spes certa*

9 Jaager, *Bedas Metrische Vita*, 68, note to line 140; 112, note to line 708.

10 All references to the *Vita Metrica S. Cudbercti* (hereafter *VMC*) are from the text as edited by Lapidge in Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 184–314.

11 de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2:6.41.3

12 This phrase is found in Ausonius, *Versus paschales* 22, but Bede is almost certainly drawing upon the Roman epigram here, as both verses operate explicitly in the context of martyrs and saints healing people of their physical ailments through proximity to their holy bodies and relics.

13 *VMC* 10.309–10.

salutis), showing the way to corporeal healing to those in his community.[14] Cuthbert's figuration as a physio-spiritual physician is compounded further here by the description of his instructions to Felgild as *salutiferi documenta vigoris* (lessons of healing strength),[15] which in its immediate context might be read as a doctor's instructions to his patient, as well as by the characterization of his relics as medicine (*medicamina*), which drive illness from the body.[16] Both Felix's and Bede's verses thus operate in the context of the martyrs' and saints' healing of the faithful through proximity to their numinous bodies and relics, of saints who are physicians not only of the soul but of the body as well.

Bede may also be playing with this same source and its theme of spiritual health in his *Versus de Die Iudicii*:

> Haec est sola salus animae et spes certa "olente:
> uulnera cum lacrimis medico reserare superno,
> qui solet allisos sanare et soluere uinctos.
>
> This is the only salvation of the soul and the certain hope for someone in mourning: tearfully to open up the wounds before the heavenly Physician Who is accustomed to cure those in danger and to release those in bonds.[17]

There, instead of *spes certa salutis*, Bede writes *sola salus animae et spes certa "olente*, referring to the laying bare of one's sins before Christ, the *medico superno* (Heavenly Physician) who heals the broken and sets free the bound. Of course, it is not always possible to detect a clear intention in Bede's engagement with his epigraphic sources. But this example is particularly illustrative of how his remembered reading is capable of lending itself to conscious and dynamic adaption of material thematically and contextually suited to his purpose.

Into his metrical life of Cuthbert Bede appears to have incorporated two further inscriptions, both of which survive in the so-called Cambridge Sylloge,[18] a collection with strong English connections that may have circu-

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14 It is the personified *spes certa salutis*, whether to be identified here with Cuthbert himself or Christ as grace operating to glorify Cuthbert's merits, that inspires the anchorite Felgild to remove a wall covering belonging to the saint and teaches him how to prepare it for medicinal application.

15 *VMC* 46.945.

16 *VMC* 44.906. The relics in question here are strips of the same calfskin veil from which Feldgild received healing of a facial tumour in *VMC* 46.944–59.

17 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 160, ll. 22–24.

18 For an edition of this collection, see Silvagni, "La silloge," 84–112.

lated as part of the eighth-century sylloge attributed to Milred of Worcester,[19] and which derive ultimately from Old St. Peter's in Rome. The first of these, the epitaph of Benedict II (d. 685),[20] he adapted to describe Cuthbert in terms very similar to the late Roman pontiff:

Epitaph of Benedict II
Fulguris in specimen *mentis* splendore *coruscas*.

VMC 22.557
Mente manu *fulget* Cuthbertus et ore *coruscus*.

Like Benedict, Cuthbert appears resplendent (*coruscus*), shining forth in the virtue of his mind (*mente*). Where Bede has altered his source, moreover, it is to multiply the spheres of action in which Cuthbert's virtue so brilliantly gleams, adding deed and word (*manu et ore*) to the saint's panoply of distinction. Strengthening the case for Bede's knowledge of this inscription, a further lexical correspondence with Benedict's epitaph can be observed in the description of the fame of Cuthbert's character (*Virtutum titulis*) that concludes this same section of Bede's poem:

Epitaph of Benedict II
Virtutum titulis o decus atque dolor.

VMC 22.562
Virtutum titulis auget miracula mentis.

Here the *Virtutum titulis* with which Cuthbert enlarges the work of his miracles strongly echoes that which Benedict is said to leave as a lasting memorial for his people.[21] It may be that Bede was inspired by Benedict's example to think of Cuthbert's virtue in similar terms, as a durable monument strengthening the testimony of his miracles and setting a pattern for his own flock.

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19 See below, pp. 186–89.

20 Silvagni, "La silloge," 104, no. 31.3. This line of Benedict II's epitaph was also known to the author(s) of the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*. See *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* 4.86 and compare the following correspondences: "Fulguris in specimen *mentis splendore coruscas*"; *MNE* 4.86: "Quo pater omni evo *mentis splendore coruscans*."

21 Silvagni, "La silloge,"104, no. 31.1–2: "Magne tuis benedicte pater monimenta relinquis / Virtutum titulis o decus atque dolor."

Bede appears to have employed the second inscription, an epigram of Symmachus in elegiac distichs pertaining to the Vatican baptistery,[22] as follows:

Epigram of Symmachus
Iam cui siderei commisit *limina regni*.

VMC 30.644
Aurea ne rutili penetres cum *limina regni*.

While Bede's verse demonstrates only limited correspondences to Symmachus' poem, sharing here only the two words and their terminal positioning in common, his knowledge of the Roman inscription is rendered more probable by the fact that the phrase *limina regni* appears only once elsewhere prior to Bede, in the *Thyestes* of Seneca, a work that does not appear to have been known in early medieval England.[23] Moreover, both verses are concerned with the same object, that of entry through the threshold of the heavenly kingdom.

It is just possible that Bede also knew the epitaph of John II (d. 535), an inscription likewise preserved in the Cambridge Sylloge and originating from Old St. Peter's:[24]

Epitaph of John II
Qui gratus *populis* et celso dignus *honore*
Sumpsisti meritis *pontificale decus*.

VMC 37.812
*Pontificale decus plebis*que instaurat *honorem*.

Here he appears to have collapsed the original elegiac distich of his source into one compact hexameter and substituted the word (*populis*) for one of comparable meaning (*plebis*). The appearance of the signal phrase *pontificale decus* in these lines of John's epitaph is not sufficient alone to show that Bede knew and used this source, as it is a term that may be found in a number of other earlier works. Taken together with the additional occurrence of *populis* and *honore*, however, it is clear that he would have found in this couplet most of the elements which populate his own verse, a circumstance which makes his knowledge of the inscription at least plausible.

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22 Silvagni, "La silloge," 92, no. 13.7.

23 Evidence for knowledge of Seneca's tragedies in this period is extremely slight and limited to Aldhelm's quotation of two lines from the *Agamemnon* in his *De pedum regulis* (see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 93–95).

24 Silvagni, "La silloge," 101, no. 28.5–6.

Far less ambiguous is Bede's incorporation, in the opening line of his metrical paraphrase of Psalm 83,[25] of a rare inscription preserved in the Urbana Sylloge and belonging to an unidentified basilica of St. Paul:[26]

Urbana Sylloge
Serva, Paule, *tui* veneranda *sacraria temple*.

Metrical Version of Psalm 83.1
Quam dilecta *tui* fulgent *sacraria templi*.

The first two words of Bede's line belong, of course, to the opening of Psalm 83 in the Vulgate, but most of what remains he has taken from the Roman inscription. De Rossi conjectured that this inscription had been set beneath an image of the Apostle Paul,[27] but the heading in the Urbana Sylloge identifies it as belonging to an altar. Interestingly, it is witnessed only once elsewhere outside of the Urbana fragment, in the now lost Saint-Bertin manuscript from which André Duchesne edited a great many poems of Alcuin in 1617.[28] Patrick Sims-Williams has suggested that the Saint-Bertin manuscript (consisting both of Alcuin's genuine poems and others that were known to him) was put together shortly after his death in the early ninth century.[29] If it indeed contains material that Alcuin knew and drew upon in composing his own poetry,[30] it is tempting to imagine that the inscription under consideration came to him through a copy of Milred's sylloge, of which the Urbana fragment is a tenth-century copy.[31] On the other hand, Bede's knowledge and use of the same inscription confirms that some of the materials included in Milred's collection were available in Northumbria no later than 735.[32]

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25 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 344–45.

26 Wallach, "The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge," 142, no. 10.3.

27 de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2, 285n.3–4.

28 Sims-Williams, "William of Malmesbury," 23.

29 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 35.

30 Schaller, "Bemerkungen," 15.

31 Alcuin's use in *Carmen 99* of Bishop Cuthbert's epitaph for the common tomb of the nobles of Hereford, a text transmitted uniquely in Milred's sylloge, in fact makes this scenario quite plausible. See Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 813, no. 21.5, and compare the following correspondences in Alcuin, *Carmina* 99.13.17: "*Hos* ego Cudbertus sacri *successor honoris*"; (*Carm*. 99.13.7) "*Hoc* Ato non suffert, Aperi *successor honoris*."

32 This reality makes it at least possible that the inscription came to Alcuin's notice

Finally, Bede appears to have known a small handful of inscriptions otherwise unattested in the early medieval syllogae. In the space of fewer than two hundred lines near the end of his metrical life of Cuthbert, he appears to quote from two such poems, the epitaph of the martyr Abbot Vincentius of León (d. 630),[33] and the epitaph of St. Florentinus (d. 553),[34] first abbot of the monastery founded by St. Aurelian at Arles:

Epitaph of Vincentius, Florentinus
Raptus aetereas subito sic venit *ad auras*.

VMC 31.679
Quo sacer *aetherias raptum* cernebat *ad auras*.

In the prefatory epigram to his *Expositio Apocalypseos*,[35] Bede may have also drawn from the now lost epitaph of Aurelius, Bishop of Riditio in Armenia (d. 475),[36] who spent the rest of his days in Milan after returning Bishop Dionysius' remains to that city:

Epitaph of Aurelius
Aurelius penetrans *regna beata poli*.

Exp. Apoc., praefatio 10
Cum duce percipiet *regna beata polo*.

The burden of proof is arguably much heavier in these cases where evidence for transmission in medieval syllogae is lacking. The case for Bede's knowledge of these verses can be strengthened, however, by noting the thematic context which many of them share with the relevant lines in his own poetry. It is significant, for example, that Bede employs the line of Vincentius' epitaph, originally describing the martyr's rapture at death to the spiritual realm, to likewise depict the rapture of a soul into heaven. Similarly, in both Florentinus' epitaph and line 815 of Bede's metrical life of Cuthbert, the phrase *de sede beati* functions in the context of deposited or exhumed funereal remains. This is certainly not the only time, moreover, that an Anglo-Latin poet demonstrates knowledge of such obscure inscriptions. As Orchard has shown, Aldhelm clearly knew at least two inscriptions that

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and thence into the Saint-Bertin manuscript through channels other than those emanating from Milred's circle in the middle of the eighth century.

33 Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, 1:1645.8.

34 Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, 1:1644.25.

35 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 326–29.

36 Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, 1:1043.2

have left no trace in the extant medieval syllogae, one from the church of St. Felix near Nola and the other from a church in Spoleto,[37] though it cannot be known whether his documented trip to Rome took him to these sites where he might have seen them firsthand,[38] or whether he accessed them through a now lost collection. Certainly, no one can suppose that the surviving syllogae represent the totality of what would have been available to either Aldhelm or Bede.

Unlike Aldhelm, though, Bede never left his community at Wearmouth-Jarrow to travel abroad. This means that he could not have experienced any of the inscriptions so far discussed as a firsthand witness. How, then, did he come to know them? Perhaps the simplest explanation is that he encountered these texts in one or more of the collections of Roman inscriptions that were circulating both on the Continent and in England at the time. Such collections represent the coalescence of smaller clusters of pilgrim-sourced inscriptions taken from a broad variety of Rome's holy sites, including the major intra- and extra-mural basilicas, numerous catacombs, and prominent areas of St. Peter's in the Vatican. While some were compiled as late as the ninth or tenth century, most of these compilations first took shape in the course of the seventh century. One of the earliest and most important of these is known as the *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV*, one of four distinct groupings of Roman and Italian inscriptions (collectively known as the *Corpus Laureshamensis*) preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 833, fols. 55v–82r.[39] Copied at Lorsch in the first half of the ninth century, its robust gathering of some one-hundred and four inscriptions belongs to a lost *libellus* originally compiled no later than the seventh century.[40] Another early collection, enlarged at Tours ca. 670–676 and thus known as the *Sylloge Turonensis*,[41] contains a group of forty-two items, the first thirty-seven

37 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 210. To these two identifications a third may be added: the sixth-century epitaph of one Petrus, *vir clarissimus*, from Salerno. See Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, 1:170.3, and compare the following correspondences in Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1962: "clausisti subito *crudeli funere vitam*"; (*CdV* 1962) "Nam dicto citius *crudeli funere vitam*."

38 Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 52.

39 de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2:8. For a detailed argument on the dating of each of the four epigraphic collections in the *Corpus Laureshamensis*, see Franklin, "The Epigraphic Syllogae," 975-90.

40 de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2, 97; Trout, *Damasus of Rome*, 64.

41 de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2:6. This collection now survives in two late-medieval witnesses, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 723 (saec. xii), fols. 264^{v}-269^{r}, and Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 64 (saec. xiii), fols. 163^{v}–169^{v}.

of which represent a topographically arranged booklet of inscriptions from Roman churches similarly put together before the middle of the seventh century.[42]

Writing in 1921, Angelo Silvagni controversially argued that these two syllogae are not in fact independent compilations, but rather contain each in part the contents of a single unified seventh-century collection. Moreover, he ascribed the assembly of this prototypical collection to a learned early medieval English pilgrim.[43] While Silvagni's thesis has been seriously questioned,[44] it is nevertheless true that the early medieval English were aware of and maintained a definite interest in epigraphic collections from a very early period. Nor, indeed, is the list of pilgrims or travellers capable of producing such syllogae lacking in names. Aldhelm's presence in Rome, combined with his demonstrable interest in epigraphic verse, has rendered him to some a very attractive candidate for the transmission of several important inscriptions.[45] Another likely vector might be the London priest Nothelm, who later served as Archbishop of Canterbury from 735–739. Bede tells us that it was Nothelm who obtained for him in Rome copies of the letters of Gregory the Great and of other popes.[46] There is no reason why it could not also have been this same source that provided Bede with copies of Gregory's epitaph and that of Cædwalla for inclusion in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in addition to other inscriptions from Rome's holy sites. However, the reality is that there were many early medieval English travellers, men and women alike, who could just as easily have brought these collections of inscriptions back from Italy.[47]

Regardless of who brought them back, there is material evidence that coherent collections of inscriptions were circulating in England by at least the eighth century. As demonstrated by the epigram which prefaces it, one of the earliest such collections was compiled by or for Milred, Bishop

42 Sharpe, "King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph," 1:173.

43 Silvagni, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 1, xxv–xxvii; Silvagni, "Nuovo ordinamento delle sillogi epigrafiche di Roma."

44 Sharpe, "King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph," 1:175.

45 See Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 60–61; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 211–12.

46 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Praef. 2.

47 See Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.7. Writing in the context of the death of King Cædwalla of Wessex (d. 689), Bede records that at this time a great many English men and women from all ranks and walks of life alike eagerly desired to make the pilgrimage to Rome.

of Worcester from 745–775.[48] As noted above, Milred's collection survives largely thanks to the antiquarian John Leland, who made a transcript of it during his larger quest for British antiquities in the libraries of England.[49] Writing in his *Collectanea*, Leland describes the book as an "antiquissimum codex epigrammaton,"[50] and elsewhere notes that he discovered it at Malmesbury.[51] Leland's transcription is unfortunately not complete, giving in some cases only the titles or headings of certain poems, but it is sufficiently full to give us a picture of some of Milred's poetic interests. In addition to the epigrams attributed to Bede, its contents include several dedicatory epigrams and a series of epitaphs for early medieval English clerics. Except for a few outliers, such as an epigram commemorating the gift of a veil by the Visigothic King Chintila to St. Peter's,[52] or a poem on an oratory to St. Patrick attributed to Cellanus of Péronne,[53] Leland's excerpts give the impression of a collection focused largely along local, English lines of interest.[54]

Among these items, Milred's sylloge also contained two rare poems by Cuthbert, Bishop of Hereford (736–740), one celebrating the completion of a cross-cloth begun by his predecessor Walhstod,[55] and the other an epitaph for the common tomb of bishops and nobles of Hereford.[56] These poems, together with another epigram bearing the title *Epitaphium Bedae*,[57] are of special interest insofar as they appear elsewhere only in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* and *De gestis regum Anglorum*.[58] In quoting the Cuthbert poems in his *Gesta pontificum*, William remarks tellingly that he "saw the verses recently" (*uersus isti, nuper michi uisi*). The phrasing of this note suggests that he must have originally encountered them while visiting another library, perhaps at Worcester or Canterbury.[59] It is possible

48 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 799.

49 Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus britannicis collectanea*, 114–18.

50 Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus britannicis collectanea*, 114.

51 Leland, *Commentarii*, 134.

52 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 808, no. 15.

53 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 804, no. 9.

54 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 26.

55 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 812, no. 20.

56 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 813, no. 21.

57 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 819-20, no. 29.

58 William quotes the two Cuthbert poems in full in the *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* 4.163. The *Epitaphium Bedae* may be found in his *De gestis regum Anglorum*, 1.62.

59 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 24. Writing

that William then brought the source of these verses back to Malmesbury at some other date, where they subsequently remained for Leland to find several centuries later. Significantly, when Leland again quotes these poems later on in his *Collectanea*, this time based on William's reading in the *Gesta pontificum*,[60] he once more explains how he found the same verses in an extremely old volume of sacred poetry at Malmesbury:

> hos uersus, sed corruptos, alias legi in uetustissimo codice sacrorum carminum Melduni, sed sine auctoris nomine.
>
> I saw these verses, corrupt as they were, elsewhere in an extremely old book of sacred poetry at Malmesbury.[61]

On the basis of these connections and the Malmesbury provenance of Leland's exemplar, Lapidge and Sims-Williams have both strongly argued that William had at his disposal a copy of Milred's sylloge.[62]

Until 1975, it was presumed that Leland's transcript in the *Collectanea* was the only surviving witness to this collection of Milred's.[63] In that year, however, Luitpold Wallach published an edition of sixteen epigrams from a then uncatalogued manuscript fragment in the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (now Urbana, University of Illinois Library, MS 128).[64] The fragment, a bifolium measuring 375 × 320 millimetres and written over twenty-four ruled lines in English Square minuscule, has been dated on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century.[65] Of the sixteen poems witnessed in this fragment, two of them, the epigram for an oratory to St. Patrick attributed to Cellanus, and an epigram of Bede for Cyneberht, were also among the verses that Leland copied at Malmesbury *ex antiquissimo codice epigrammaton*.[66] The epigram by Cellanus survives elsewhere only in a ninth-century manuscript from Monte Cassino (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS lat. plut. LXVI. 40), while the epigram by Bede

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earlier, Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 820, also assumes a Worcester origin for the codex and suggests it was there that William saw it.

60 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 23.

61 Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus britannicis collectanea*, 265.

62 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 813–14, 820; Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 21-24; Sims-Williams, "William of Malmesbury," 11–14.

63 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 24.

64 Wallach, "The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge," 134–51.

65 Wallach, "The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge," 134; Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 26.

66 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 804–5, nos. 9 and 10.

is otherwise totally unknown outside of the Urbana fragment and Leland's transcript.[67] The appearance of these exceedingly rare poems in both the Urbana fragment and Leland's copy of Milred's sylloge, though supportive *prima facie* of some relationship between the two sources, would perhaps be insufficient by itself to establish a connection were it not for the fact that Leland's own annotating hand also appears in the left-hand margin on fol. 2v of the Urbana bifolium.[68] Taken together, these points of contact constitute strong evidence that the Urbana fragment is indeed a remnant of the very same ancient book of epigrams that Leland saw at Malmesbury.[69]

The revelation that the Urbana fragment belongs to a tenth-century copy of Milred's sylloge has significant implications for understanding both the collection as a whole and the range of epigraphic verse circulating in England at the time of its creation, as its contents, in contrast to the apparently local focus of the poems excerpted by Leland, have almost entirely to do with the churches and bishops of Rome. By approaching Leland's transcript and the Urbana fragment as pieces of a larger whole, the misleading polarization of the individual witnesses vanishes, showing rather a collection whose organizing principle is balanced by both local and Italian interests.[70] The resulting picture gives us a collection not very dissimilar from other composite syllogae compiled at around this time.[71]

A second English collection of inscriptions, the so-called Cambridge Sylloge, containing the epitaphs and *tituli* of forty-one popes up to John VII, was added in the twelfth century to the edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 4. 6, fols. 224–80. Levison was the first to suggest that these interpolated inscriptions belong to an early eighth-century sylloge put together by an English pilgrim to Rome.[72] Later scholars, notably Silvagni and Thompson, have broadly endorsed Levison's

67 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 24–25.

68 Sheerin, "John Leland," 173–74. Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 24n20, also notes the presence of what may be Leland's marginalia on fols. 1v–2r.

69 Sheerin, "John Leland," 173–74; Sims-Williams, "William of Malmesbury," 11.

70 Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 26–27.

71 See for example Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8071, fols. 60r–61v (= de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2.5; 2:21), which contains both epigrams and epitaphs from Carolingian circles as well as inscriptions from the city of Rome. On the character of this sylloge and its potential relationship to Milred's collection, see Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams," 32–35.

72 Levison, *Aus englischen Bibliotheken*, 364–65.

dating and provenance.[73] The collection cannot, at any rate, be older than the epitaph of John VII, which being the most recent in the series gives a *terminus post quem* of 707. As Thompson has cogently argued, it is possible that the compiler of the Cambridge *Liber Pontificalis* is in fact William of Malmesbury himself.[74] The fact that William had already likely used a copy of Milred's sylloge as a source in his *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* and *De gestis regum Anglorum*, moreover, led him to conclude that the poems interpolated into this edition likewise derive from a copy of Milred's collection, represented by the Urbana fragment.[75]

Whatever their origins, collections such as Milred's and the Cambridge Sylloge have frequently been described as "model books,"[76] a term which denotes "models or manuals of epitaph composition," that "were to the medieval world what the stone-cutters' manuals had been in Roman times."[77] This term, while not inaccurate, nevertheless requires some qualification. On the one hand, although they do exist,[78] examples of unambiguous model books are exceedingly rare, and it is by no means clear that theirs was the use to which early medieval collections of inscriptions were most commonly put.[79] On the other hand, and perhaps most importantly, the term only captures one out of the many ways in which authors like Bede encoun-

73 Sims-Williams, "William of Malmesbury," 10; Silvagni, "La silloge," 82; Thompson, *William of Malmesbury*, 126; Duchesne, "Le Recueil épigraphique," 279.

74 Thompson, *William of Malmesbury*, 119–38.

75 Thompson, "William of Malmebsury's Edition of 'The Liber Pontificalis,'" 101–4. Such a conclusion is attractive, though it is hampered by the absence of overlap between any of the poems in the Urbana fragment and Leland's transcript and those in the Cambridge Sylloge. Sims-Williams, "William of Malmesbury," 16–33, has more recently sought to bolster Thompson's hypothesis by demonstrating the Cambridge Sylloge's affinities with various "congeners of Milred's" collection.

76 See Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 800, who cites Wallach, "Alcuin's Epitaph," 144. See also Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm*, 35–36; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 348; Keynes, "King Athelstan's Books," 162–63.

77 Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 800.

78 Le Blant, *L'Epigraphie chrétienne*, 70–71, demonstrated many years ago that a model book had been in use at Briord in the seventh century for the production of epitaphs. Bischoff, "Epitaphienformeln für Äbtissinen," 150–53, similarly identified another model book in use in the late seventh and eighth centuries at Jouarre. Most recently, Handley, "Epitaphs, Models and Texts," 47–56, has argued that a subset of epigrams in a ninth-century sylloge from Lyon belonged originally to a "Burgundian" model book, centred around inscriptions from the church of SS. Peter and Paul in Vienne.

79 Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 6.

tered and engaged with Roman epigraphic poetry. It implies that the utility of collections of such verse was limited to the production of generically identical compositions.

There are, to be sure, identifiable instances of early medieval English authors adapting parts of earlier epigraphic verse for use in their own attempts in the genre. Aldhelm, for example, certainly appears to have been inspired by a wide variety of Roman inscriptions,[80] not least the famous monumental epigrams that Damasus erected to commemorate the saints in Rome, lines and phrases from some of which he incorporated into his own *Carmina Ecclesiastica*.[81] Other near contemporaries of Bede, such as Cuthbert of Hereford and the anonymous author of the epitaph of Berhtwald of Canterbury, also adorned their own epigrams with selections from earlier Roman inscriptions.[82] It is therefore legitimate to see collections such as Milred's or the Cambridge Sylloge as serving at least in part an exemplary function, providing a reservoir of antique epigraphic poetry worthy of emulation and adaptation for the commemoration of venerable subjects in the present.

However, as has just been observed, Bede's engagement with Roman epigraphic poetry did more than simply beget further examples of this genre of verse. The rich inheritance of Late-Antique and early medieval Roman inscriptions transmitted in collections like Milred's and the Cambridge Sylloge not only likely provided him with models for his own forays into a venerable Roman poetic tradition, they also became part of the very literary stock with which he learned to write and think. Indeed, the available evidence suggests that early medieval English authors like Bede could engage with Roman epigraphic verse both as generic models for their own epigrams and inscriptions, as well as a genuine variety of Christian Latin poetry to be learned and internalized together with the rest of the literary patrimony of Rome.[83] Such verse, particularly in the case of epitaphs, excelled at merg-

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80 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 203–12.

81 Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 204–5, 236–37.

82 See de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2:23.2.3 and Silvagni, "La Silloge," 107, no. 35.15, and compare the following correspondences in Lapidge, "Some Remnants," 813, no. 21.15–16 (Cuthbert's epitaph of the bishops and nobles of Hereford) and 810, no. 17.19 (epitaph of Berhtwald of Canterbury): "*Hoc* tibi pro meritis *successor honorius* amplis"; "Ianitor *aeternae* recludens *lumina vitae*"; (Epitaph of the bishops and nobles of Hereford) "*Hos* ego Cudbertus sacri *successor honoris*"; (Epitaph of Berhtwald of Canterbury) "*aeternae*que frui per secula *lumine vitae*."

83 Aldhelm's diverse integration of epigraphic verse into many of his poems beyond the *Carmina Ecclesiastica* demonstrates that Bede is not unique in his appropriation of this material for use outside its original generic boundaries.

ing the genres of panegyric, elegy, and consolation to both elevate the one commemorated and praise their merits, as well as reflect on the sorrow of death through the lens of Christian hope. The exploration of these themes in many Roman inscriptions produced a vibrant store of formulae and phrases, themselves seasoned with echoes of the pagan epic poets, which could then be creatively adapted and repurposed for a given need. Such expressions, of course, most easily find their home in the poetic contexts that organically resemble their original, where both praise and commemoration occupy chief functions. It is scarcely surprising, then, that references to several Roman epitaphs should be found in Bede's metrical life of Cuthbert, in which the praise of the saint, the commemoration of his heroic merits, and the hope of his spiritual victory are all placed front and centre. Bede so dynamically integrated Roman epigraphic verse into his larger poetic world precisely because it equipped him to talk about such concerns in a naturally eloquent and compelling way.

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Chapter 7

BEDE'S ADDRESS TO ACCA IN THE *VERSUS DE DIE IUDICII*

ALSO INVOLVING, PERHAPS, ALDHELM, BERHTWALD, PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, AND BYRHTFERTH

FREDERICK M. BIGGS

EVEN THOUGH BEDE'S address to Acca at the end of the *Versus de die iudicii* survives in manuscripts from only the middle of the ninth century and later, its different forms as well as its omission from some of the poem's earliest witnesses point to several stages in the work's transmission. Indeed, the version of the dedication most familiar to readers, which is found in only one manuscript, was probably created through the substitution of "serui" for the final word of its seventh line by Byrhtferth of Ramsey from a similar eight-line address also made during the Benedictine Reform.[1] It is thus discussed near the end of this chapter, making its inclusion here useful for comparison throughout:

> Incolumem mihi te Christus, carissime frater,
> protegat, et faciat semper sine fine beatum!
> En, tua iussa sequens, cecini tibi carmina flendi;
> tu tua fac promissa, precor, sermone fideli
> commendans precibus Christo modo meque canentem.
> Vive Deo felix et dic uale fratribus almis,
> Acca pater, trepidi et pauidi reminiscere serui
> meque tuis Christo precibus commenda benignis.

Dear brother, let Christ protect you safely for me and may He always make you blessed without end! Look: following your requests I have sung these songs of weeping for you; you keep your promises, I beseech you, made in trustworthy speech, now commending me the poet in your prayers to Christ.

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1 Byrhtferth included the Versus in his discussion of Bede in the Historia regum (for the address, see 50), a work first published by Roger Twysden (1652); Historiae, see col. 98.

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> Live blessedly in God, and give my regards to the good brothers, Father Acca, and remember your fearful and trembling servant, and commend me to Christ in your kindly prayers.[2]

A stylistic infelicity, the overlap of four words—three in the same form—in verses five and eight, weighs against attributing this version to Bede, especially because it is compounded by the failure of "meque" in its first appearance to join similar syntactic elements. Line five stands out as from a later revision.[3] It is thus significant that this verse is not in the version presented here as Bede's original.

Bede's Seven-Line Address

By also naming Acca and surviving in five manuscripts, the seven-line version of the address has from the outset no less claim to descend directly from Bede's autograph than the one with eight verses. The four readings which Michael Lapidge considers unique to it[4]—the last is found in place of "serui" in the other eight-line witnesses—are marked here in bold along with the correction of "berne" attributed here to Bede:

> Incolumem mihi te Christus, carissime **pastor**,
> protegat, et faciat semper sine fine beatum!
> En, tua iussa sequens, **scripsi** tibi carmina **luctus**.[5]
> Tu tua fac promissa, precor, sermone fideli,
> Acca pater, trepidi et pauidi reminiscere **b**$^{\text{u}}_{\text{o}}$**erne**
> meque tuis Christo precibus commenda benignis.
> Viue Deo felix et dic uale fratribus almis.

> Dear shepherd, let Christ protect you safely for me and may He always make you blessed without end! Look: following your requests I have written for you these verses of mourning. Keep your promises, I beseech you, made in trustworthy speech, Father Acca: remember your fearful and trembling son and commend me to Christ in your kindly prayers. Live blessedly in God and give my regards to our nourishing brothers.

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2 From the edition and translation of Lapidge, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 178–79. Lapidge's lineation includes a verse which Bede did not compose and so will not be used here.

3 In addition, the preceding word, "modo," is metrical filler uncharacteristic of Bede.

4 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 59.

5 The argument that these manuscripts reflect what Bede wrote is strengthened by Alcuin's use of "carmina luctus" at the end of line 49 in a conclusion similar in other ways to Bede's *Versus de cuculo*, 269–70.

The readings "pastor" and the correction of "berne" to "uerne" are significant, because the one establishes that this version is indeed the original and the other provides a first indication that Bede and Acca had discussed a topic which might seem well outside the intellectual fields of their time, phonological change within languages.[6] Two more features of the address, the metrical mistake in the use of "commenda" and a possible rhyme between "felix" and "almis" support these claims and with them point to the address as a profound if unexpected conclusion to an eschatological poem.

Before turning to these readings, it will be helpful to set out the five witnesses of this version followed by Lapidge's descriptions for each. One which he identifies as part of this group is less relevant to the current argument because its address both lacks the verse which names Acca and is part of the text written in an early modern hand:

1. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.31 (1135) (saec. X/XI, Christ Church Canterbury), fols. 41r–43v, 45r.[7]

It shares, however, the readings "pastor," "scripsi," and "luctus," with four manuscripts which contain all seven verses. Their descriptions are followed by the readings for the last word of the fifth line and in one case a marginal gloss on it:

2. Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, MS Wallraf 137 (saec. XII; provenance Niederwerth), fols. 93r–95r; "bede";
3. London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.i, fols. 2–55 (saec. $X^{med.}$ and X^{2}, St. Augustine's, Canterbury), fols. 51r–54v; "berne/uerne";[8]

6 The Tower of Babel (Genesis 11.1–9) might have encouraged their interest in the topic. See Bede's allegorical interpretation of these verses in his *Commentarius in Genesim*, 157–62.

7 The folios for the poem are now out of order. The text in the medieval hand ends on fol. 41v with line 146. An early modern hand has added lines 147–53 in the lower margin, and then completed the work on a separate paper sheet, fol. 45r. A facsimile is available through the Wren Digital Library, shelfmark O.2.31, https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.2.31, accessed May 30, 2023.

8 Although Lapidge records the reading as "uerne," the original is "berne." Caie records "uernae," commenting, "MS has *bernae* later changed to *uernae*"; *Old English Poem*, 133. While there are corrections in several hands in this section, it appears that the *u* written above the *b* is contemporary with the main scribe. It is a possible source for the dedication in the Trinity College, Cambridge manuscript, although it should be noted that an early modern hand has added line 155, indicating that it belongs before 154. See Brown and Biggs, *Bede*, 1:211.

4. Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 116 (saec. IX$^{2/3}$, W. Germany, possibly St. Maximin, Trier), fol. 11v; "bede";[9]

and

5. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 115 (saec. XII/XIII, Clairmarais), fols. 90r–91r; "berne" with ".i. bonus natus heres" above.[10]

Although the reading "bede" and the gloss are not accepted as authorial, both are revealing responses to the passage. So too is the substitution of "committe" in place of "commenda" in the sixth line of the Manchester manuscript, correcting as it does a metrical mistake so "glaring" that Lapidge "is loath to attribute it to Bede."[11]

"Pastor," the first of the three readings which appear consistently and exclusively in this version, provides conclusive evidence that it is Bede's original; indeed, it identifies the event, Acca's ordination to the priesthood around 700, which led him to write the poem. The background for these assertions appears at the end of Bede's *Epistola ad Pleguinam* (708), his response to an accusation of heresy, where he asked Plegwine to have "our religious and very learned brother David" read the letter to Bishop Wilfrid and then added:

> Ipsum quoque Dauid prae caeteris rogo ut, iuxta exemplum sibi cognominis pueri, furorem spiritus nequam a fratre disipiente hortatu sanorum uerborum quasi dulci psalmodiae modulatione sedulus effugare contendat.[12]
>
> Also I ask this same David, above all others, to follow the example of the boy whose namesake he is, and to exert himself sedulously to expel the madness of spirit from the unreasonable brother by the exhortation of healthful words, as if by the sweet modulation of psalmody.[13]

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9 A facsimile is available through the Manchester Digital Collections at https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/view/MS-LATIN-00116/1, accessed May 30, 2023. The manuscript, the Psalter of St. Maxim, has been described by M. R. James, *Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts*, 211–17.

10 A facsimile is available through the IRHT at https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md848p58qj13, accessed May 30, 2023.

11 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 64.

12 Bede, *Epistola ad Pleguinam*, 626.

13 Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning*, 415.

Citing Bede's description of Acca as a musician and theologian in *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.20, Faith Wallis has identified him as this "David."[14] Bede's wording also reveals the friendship between the two, which, as I have argued elsewhere, probably began when they studied together under John the Arch-chanter at Monkwearmouth in 679/80.[15]

The use of "pastor" in the *Versus de die iudicii* not only supports Wallis's claim that Acca was also called David in Bede's circle but also shows that as in the *Epistola ad Pleguinam* the poet employed a detail from the Bible to contextualize an event in Acca's life, his ordination to the priesthood. Chapters 16 and 17 of 1 Samuel introduce the future king as a shepherd, most significantly when Samuel is sent by God to anoint Saul's successor only to find that Jesse's youngest son was "among the sheep" (16.11–13). In his *Commentarius in primam partem Samuhelis* Bede explained this event as foreshadowing Christ's incarnation, quoting among other verses, John 10.4: "I am the good shepherd. I know my own and my own know me."[16] In the address, Bede bound these themes together, first asking Christ, the anointed, to protect Acca and then requesting his friend in his new role as priest to do the same by praying for him.[17] The change of "pastor" to "frater" loses the allusion to the specific event which led to the poem and obscures its meaning.

Like "pastor," the correction of "berne" to "uerne," which would of course normally be the work of a scribe, can be attributed to Bede confidently only if its unusual form plays a role in the message of the address. Yet the diversity of the readings as well as their later corrections also point to this conclusion. The two words are different spellings of the same lexeme, recorded in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* as *uerna* but in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin* as *verna*. The difference reflects the well-known development of Classical Latin /w/, the voiced labial-approximant, into Medieval Latin /v/, the voiced labial-dental fricative, which became standard in the Carolingian schools of the ninth century.[18] As the opening chapter of *De arte metrica*

14 Wallis, "Why did Bede Write a Commentary on Revelation?," 28–29.

15 See Biggs, "Bede, John the Arch-chanter and Acca," which discusses *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV.16.

16 Bede, *Commentarius in primam partem Samuhelis*, 140; see also *Bede: On First Samuel*, 62, 324–25.

17 Bede was ordained in 703.

18 See Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 104–18; and Ruff, "Latin as an Acquired Language," 50–51.

indicates, Bede favoured the classical pronunciation.[19] Here he separated the five vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*) from the consonants, which he then divided into the "semivocales" (*f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and *x*) and the "mutę" (*b*, *c*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *k*, *p*, *q*, and *t*).[20] Excluding *u* from the semi-vowels and then stating that it has the ability, *potestas*, to act as a consonant indicate that he used /w/ instead of /v/. As a common pronunciation in sub-elite dialects of Latin which spread throughout the Empire and which is often referred to as Vulgar Latin,[21] the fricative, however, would have reached England by Bede's day through a variety of routes. The pronunciation of *u*, then, was an issue for John the Archchanter to address as he regularized Monkwearmouth's choir in 679/80.

The manuscript readings, however, point back not to "uerne" but rather to "berne." Cotton Domitian A.i, which has a "u" written above the "b," provides the reading accepted here as authorial. Saint-Omer 115 has "berne," which is also found in the eight-line version now in Damascus. The reading "bede" attested in the Cologne and Manchester manuscripts is more likely to have been inspired by "berne" than "uerne," perhaps at a time when the first was not recognized by the scribe.[22] "Berue," which probably reflects a misinterpretation of minims, in the eight-line version in Worcester supports the claim that *berna* became less common over time. Only the eight-line addresses now in Salisbury and the British Library's Cotton Cleopatra C.ii offer "uerne," which is also the gloss on "serui" in the version attributed here to Byrhtferth.[23] And of course there is the gloss in the Saint-Omer manuscript. While an occasional mistake proves nothing, if the letters *b* and *u* were regularly confused when writing Latin in eighth-century Northumbria or by the later scribes who copied this work, one would expect to find variants of "beatum" and "benignis" in verses two and six, and of "uiue" and

19 See Lapidge, however, who proposes that while working on the Codex Amiatinus Bede followed the classical practice of not assimilating the consonants of prepositions prefixed to verbs, but later advocated the Late-Antique system of doing so; Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 68–70.

20 Bede, *Libri II*, 36–39. He also discussed the Greek letters used in writing Latin.

21 See "Sub-Elite Latin in the Empire" and "Latin in Late Antiquity and Beyond" in Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History of the Latin Language*, 229–304.

22 It is an intelligent guess, drawing on the identification of Bede as the author of the poem found in twenty-eight of the thirty-nine manuscripts that might provide an opening rubric; see Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 40–41. It also balances Acca's name at the beginning of the line.

23 It is in the hand of the second corrector, who according to Lapidge worked before the end of the twelfth century and "at times attempted to correct the content of Byrhtferth's text"; Byrthferth, *Historia regum*, lxxxix.

"uale" in seven. Lapidge records only the unrelated "diue" as the first word of line seven in an eight-line witness now in Worcester, and I have not found any other variants in the digitized manuscripts that I have consulted. An authorial correction appears, then, to be the source for subsequent scribal activity.

This reading draws attention to what modern scholars recognize as a confusion of *b* and *u* in some antique inscriptions, informal communications such as letters, and later manuscripts caused by the pronunciation of both letters in some forms of Vulgar Latin as /v/. According to József Herman it occurred in "wide areas of the Empire—in Italy, the Balkans, North Africa; much less so in Hispania, and hardly at all in Gaul."[24] The claim here is that Bede also recognized this moment in Latin's history and used it to note a confusion in his own time, the two pronunciations of consonantal *u*.[25] He was aided in this discovery by the work of an obscure late-antique grammarian, Martyrius's *De B muta et V vocali*, which Cassiodorus incorporated into his *De orthographia*.[26] Indeed, *berna* is the subject of a memorable comment:[27]

> ver et vir syllabae longae vel breves v vocalem loco positam consonantis habebunt, ut vertex, vergiliae πλειάδες, verbum, vir, virga, virgo, virtus, Virbius. excipitur ab hac regula tantummodo berna, quod nomen licet ego invenerim per v scriptum, tamen, quia inlustris memoriae audivi Memnonium, hominem omnis facundiae iudicem, se dicentem de hoc reprehensum a Romano quodam disertissimo, quod per hanc enuntiaverit litteram, nos quoque notamus ac temptamus rationem reddere quasi diversitatis causa. si enim berna domi genitum significet, id est οἰκογενής, commune est duum generum secundum veteres, trium vero secundum meam sententiam, et per b mutam scribitur. si vero temporale quoddam denuntiet, erit mobile: a vere namque vernus verna vernum fit, ut si quis dicat vernus sol, verna hirundo, vernum tempus, et v sicut prototypon eius in scriptura tenebit. his ita se habentibus possumus etiam intellegere bernam dictum esse eum qui in bonis hereditariis natus est: bona vero per b literam supra dicta demonstrant.[28]
>
> The long or short syllables *ver* and *vir* have vocalic *v* used as a consonant, as in *vertex* [whirlpoo], *vergiliae* πλειάδες [the Pleiades], *verbum* [word], *vir* [man], *virga* [branch], *virgo* [virgin], *virtus* [strength], and *Virbius*. *Berna* is

24 Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, 45–46.

25 Bede may also have been drawn to this problem by a similar confusion in early Old English between *f* and *b*; see Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 21–24 and 179–80.

26 Both are edited by Heinrich Keil in volume 7 of *Grammatici Latini*, 143–216 and 165–99.

27 See Pugliarello, "Lingua scritta."

28 Cassiodorus, *De orthographia*, 175–76.

> the only exception to this rule, although I have found it written with a *v*. However, because I have heard Memnonius of illustrious memory, a judge in all matters of eloquence, say he was censured by a learned Roman for pronouncing it with the letter *v*, I too censure it, and will try to explain as if there were a reason for this variation. If indeed *berna* means "one born of the house," that is οἰκογενής, it is [a noun] common to two genders according to the ancients, but common to all three in my opinion, and is written with the mute *b*. Indeed, if the word refers to a time of year, it changes gender: from *ver* comes *vernus, -a, -um* [as in *vernus sol*, the spring sun], *verna hirundo* [the spring swallow], *vernum tempus* [springtime], and in writing it keeps the *v* of its origin. Given this, we also understand *berna* to mean someone born into inherited wealth [*bona*]; the discussion above demonstrates that *bona* is written with *b*.

Judging by his name, Memnonius was a speaker of Greek, and yet in a reversal of roles he is corrected by a learned Roman for adopting the classical pronunciation of *uerna*. The explanation undercuts itself further by asserting—against traditional grammarians—that *uerna* referred not just to male and female slaves ("common to two genders") but to anything associated with a household, permitting neuter endings as well. Finally, this mistake is compounded with an incorrect association of this word with spring and an implausible etymology, characterizing slaves as "born into inherited wealth." A speaker such as Bede who followed the classical pronunciation of *u* might well have questioned Martyrius's guidance.

While Bede did not discuss *berna* or *uerna* in his work on orthography,[29] he certainly knew *De B muta et V vocali* and selected other examples which indicate his interest in the confusion.[30] Two entries concern examples within words: "excubiae per ·b·, exuuiae per ·u· scribendae" (*excubiae* [vigils] is written with a *b*; *exuuiae* [spoils] with a *u*);[31] and "libidinosus a libidine per ·b·. Liuidus a liuore per ·u· proferendus. Larba per ·b̎· (*libidinosus* [licentious], from *libido* is written out with a *b*; *liuidus* [grey] from *liuor* with a *u*; *larba* [spectre] with a *b*).[32] Two more specifically concern initial sounds: "baluae, id est thyrae, per ·b· incipient" (*baluae* [double doors], that is *thyrae*, begins with a *b*);[33] and "uerbex, id est ouis, ab ·u· littera incipiendum" (*uerbex*, that is a sheep, begins with the letter *u*).[34] Moreover, the seven uses of *uernacu-*

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29 Alcuin did, summarizing Martyrius's story; Alcuin, *De orthographia*, 298.

30 For his knowledge of the work see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 205.

31 Bede, *De orthographia*, line 416.

32 Bede, *De orthographia*, lines 612–13.

33 Bede, *De orthographia*, line 161.

34 Bede, *De orthographia*, line 1221.

lus (Genesis 14:14, 15:3, 17:12, 17:23, 17:27; Leviticus 22:11; and Jeremiah 2:14) in the Codex Amiatinus, the pandect made in Bede's monastery for St. Peter's in Rome,[35] all have an initial *u*.[36]

The use of *uernaculus* in the Bible also raises the possibility that *uerna*, like *pastor*, had a particular resonance for Bede which could also have influenced his treatment of the word in the address. As he entered his covenant with God, Abraham feared that he had no natural heir: "addiditque Abram: mihi autem non dedisti semen et ecce vernaculus meus heres meus erit" (Genesis 15:3; "and Abram added, 'But to me thou hast not given seed, and lo: my servant born in my house shall be my heir'"). In commenting on this verse Bede contrasted the servant (*uernaculus*), Dammesek Eliezer, with Abraham's son and true heir, Isaac, but then explained that at the end of time the saved will be "not only of those elect who were going to be born of the flesh from his stock, but also of us to whom the Apostle says, 'and if you be Christ's, then are you the seed of Abraham' (Galatians 3:29)."[37] It is in this context that he then interpreted the command to circumcise all male offspring (Genesis 17:12) as a sign of the new covenant:

> *Omne masculinum in generationibus uestris, tam uernaculus quam emptitius circumcidetur, et quicumque non fuerit de stirpe uestra*. Significat gratiam regenerationis et inmortalitatis ad omnes pertinere fideles, siue ex stirpe Abraham seu aliunde carnis originem ducant.[38]
>
> *Every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house as well as the bought servant, shall be circumcised, and whoever is not of your stock*. This signifies that the grace of rebirth and eternal life applies to all the faithful, whether they derive in the flesh from the stock of Abraham or from elsewhere.[39]

Although Bede apparently did not accept Martyrius's etymological suggestion, which associated slaves with inherited wealth, he might well have been sympathetic to its underlying theology.[40]

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35 See Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 825, 589–90.

36 Fols. 19r, 19r, 20v, 20v, 20v, 104r, 539r; available online through the Wodl Digital Library, www.loc.gov/item/2021668243/, accessed July 17, 2024. Bede again quoted Genesis 15 in his *Nomina locorum* when he explained the etymology of Damascus as related to Abraham's slave Dammesek; Bede, *Nomina locorum*, 277.

37 Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, 272–73. On the date of this work, see Brown and Biggs, *Bede*, 2:43–45.

38 Bede, *Commentarius in Genesim*, 205.

39 Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, 284.

40 The theme appears again in 1 Corinthians 12:13, Galatians 3:28 and Colossians 3;11, although here *seruus* is used.

The next reading, "commenda," which shifts the reader's attention from a beginning consonant to a final vowel, plays a part, albeit in a surprisingly light-hearted way, in the address's discussion of salvation. It is also linked to the corrected "berne" as part of the second promise which Bede asked Acca to fulfil, "commend me to Christ." Yet here the mistake is not scribal but metrical. With its three long vowels the last two syllables of "commenda" cannot begin the dactyl required in the fifth foot of a hexameter;[41] its *a* must be short for the verse to scan. This mistake is, as Lapidge calls it, "glaring" because unlike the vowels in the stems of words whose length must be learned unless they are long by position,[42] those in inflections remain constant. In this case as he learned to conjugate this class of verbs Bede would have been told that its imperative singular was formed with a long vowel. Indeed, he covered this point in *De arte metrica*, explaining to his students, "in verbis primę coniugationis producuntur A et AS, ut *ama amas*" (in verbs of the first conjugation the final syllables A and AS are long, as, *ama amas*).[43]

Yet Bede also included a chapter in this introduction to metrics entitled "Concerning the fact that the rules of the prosodists are often broken both by authority and from necessity."[44] The use of "commenda" does not involve necessity, situations, for example, where a poet must use a word with four short syllables or a short one between two that are long. Instead, it fits with examples he provided from Sedulius that disregard, *contermno*, "the rules of grammarians."[45] Although concerning a different ending,[46] Bede's comment about a line from the *Paschale Carmen*, "clarifica, dixit, nomen tuum. Magnaque cęlo" (glorify your name, he said. And a great voice resounding from Heaven), is revealing: "in quo ut veritatem Dominici sermonis apertius commendaret, postposuit ordinem disciplinę secularis" (in this verse, in order to commend more clearly the truth of the Lord's Word, he set aside the order of worldly learning).[47] As the poet asked for prayers in the address at the end of the *Versus de die iudicii*, he provided the new priest with a mistake for his

41 For Bede's explanation of this rule, see Bede, *Libri II*, 96-97.

42 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 64.

43 Bede, *Libri II*, 82–83.

44 Bede, *Libri II*, 132–33.

45 Bede, *Libri II*, 134–35.

46 As Calvin B. Kendall notes, "the final syllable of *tuum* is long by position, where a short syllable is required'; Bede, *Libri II*, 137n62.

47 Bede, *Libri II*, 134–37.

petition to God so childish that it recalled their own first steps in learning to obey rules.

Moreover, as in the correction of "berne," Bede may have intended the metrical problem involving "commenda" to draw attention to a development in Vulgar Latin, in this case the loss of the distinction between long and short vowels which had indeed been at the core of classical versification.[48] His mistake in other words was not caused by this change but exploited it as part of the address's message.[49] Herman dates the merger of these phonemes "in particular [to] the two centuries preceding the end of the empire," noting that it "probably…happened most rapidly in those areas where the language of the recently colonized population did not itself contain phonological length oppositions of this type."[50] Indeed, the comment he quotes from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* (IV.10) to support this point, "Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant" ("African ears do not make a distinction between long and short vowels), might well have alerted Bede to the problem.[51] In any case, because Old English had both, he would have recognized the system and expected his students to do so as well, as is shown by his extensive guidance on this issue in *De arte metrica*.[52]

By focusing in the case of "commenda" on an inflection, however, he pointed to a simple solution: find a metrically similar third conjugation verb since its imperative singular would end in a short *e*.[53] Indeed, he may have hinted again at this remedy in the use of "uale" in the following verse if, as Richard Hillier has pointed out to me, it too is faulty due to an imperative involving the second conjugation *ualeo*.[54] In any case, "committee," the

48 Bede might also have used "berne" to illustrate this problem since as a genitive singular its ending in Classical Latin would be the diphthong *-ae*, which forms a long syllable. The *-e* of the manuscripts reflects the shortening of Medieval Latin.

49 Richard Hillier has identified examples of first conjugation imperatives with a short final syllable in works by Cyprianus Gallus (*Heptateuchos*, Exodus lines 962 and 1242; and Leviticus lines 135 and 160; 90, 100, and 109) and Ennodius (*Hymnus sancti Ambrosi* (*Carmen* 1, 15), line 25; 253); private email. He explains that the first example in Cyprianus's paraphrase of Leviticus, "neu sexum deturpa tuum," is particularly significant because "as in the case of "commenda" there is no 'necessity' to shorten the vowel." For Bede's knowledge of Cyprianus see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 206.

50 Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, 28–29.

51 For his knowledge of this work, see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 199.

52 Bede, *Libri II*, 42–91.

53 Bede, *Libri II*, 82–83.

54 We are preparing a separate paper on this topic.

imperative of a third conjugation verb, appears in the Manchester manuscript in place of "commenda."[55] Following Leslie G. Whitbread, who places the monastery where this manuscript was copied within the missionary activity of Willibrord, and recalling that Acca and Wilfrid had stayed with the archbishop of the Frisians on their journey to Rome (*c*. 703),[56] it is possible that the new priest prayed for Bede, corrected his metre, and presented a copy of the poem to their host, which was later recopied in the ninth century.

Further evidence for the claim that Bede referenced the phonological changes of Classical into Vulgar Latin appears in "felix" used at the caesura in the final hexameter. This double consonant /ks/ in the elite form of the language, which as Bede explained makes a preceding vowel long by position,[57] was often reduced in speech to the sibilant /s/.[58] The remarkable effect of this change is to transform the verse into one with leonine rhyme between "felix" and "almis."[59] Indeed, Coena's *Vive deo felix, Christi laurate triumphis* confirms this result by placing a partial borrowing from Bede into a six-line poem which uses one-syllable leonine rhyme.[60]

Moreover, without naming the feature,[61] Bede alluded to it in *De arte metrica*, through a discussion of a more complicated construction which, because of overlapping of endings in Latin, often results in leonine rhyme: "optima autem versus dactylici ac pulcherrima est positio, cum primis penultima ac mediis respondent extrema" (he best and most beautiful arrangement of a dactylic hexameter verse is when the next to the last word agrees

55 Lapidge considers this correction "an inspired conjecture"; Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 65.

56 Whitbread, "After Bede," 258; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III.13.

57 Bede, *Libri II*, 242-45.

58 Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, 47.

59 The *i* in each is long by nature, although establishing what constitutes rhyme might well have been part of Bede's reason for composing the line. In an edition of the prose and metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* by Hulduin of Saint-Denis (c. 785–c. 860), Lapidge defines leonine rhyme as "involving identical vowels (or vowels + consonant(s)), which occur between the final syllable of a hexameter and the sound which immediately proceeds the strong, or penthemimeral, caesura in the third foot"; Lapidge, *Hilduin*, 173–74.

60 It is included in a letter to Lull; *Vive deo felix*, 262. *CLASP* offers two possible identifications for the author: Cyneheard, Bishop of Winchester (d. 778) or Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne (d. 782/3).

61 The name leonine rhyme does not appear until the twelfth century; see Lapidge, *Hilduin*, 173.

with the first word and the final word agrees with a word in the middle).[62] Only two of the five examples which he cited from the *Paschale Carmen* involve the first and penultimate words, but all rhyme the one proceeding the caesura and the last. The example, however, in the final line of the *Versus de die iudicii* might still be unexceptional because, as Lapidge notes, Bede used this device in 12 per cent of the verses in the poem.[63] What makes it significant is that it appears in the first verse, "Inter florigeras fecundi caespitis herbas," which prompts Lapidge to comment, "note the leonine rhyme… an intentionally striking effect at the beginning of the poem."[64] Involving a phonological development, both the last line of an eschatological poem, which was part of the Latin of his day, it is more striking at its end.

The conclusions to be drawn from these four readings are many, but most important is that together they confirm the seven-line version as Bede's. They also work together to create what might seem a surprisingly playful conclusion to a poem on the Last Judgement. This unexpected juxtaposition may be explained in part by noting that at this point in his life Bede would not have expected his audience to be wider than Acca and their close friends, the "nourishing brothers" of the last line. In *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.24, he dated the beginning of his writing to after his ordination to the priesthood (702), but a more significant change took place in 709 when Acca became Bishop of Hexham and so responsible for Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Bede suddenly had greater claims on the scriptorium.[65] Yet the address is not an inside joke. Instead, it expresses Bede's confidence, which he shared with his friends, in God's plan for salvation, a plan in which they would play a part through their own lives as monks and priests. Through his writing, moreover, he established a distinct role for himself, explaining God's plan, which included not only studying the Bible but also, for example, the relationship between the natural world and time.[66] The address reveals another of his topics of inquiry, phonological change within languages.

62 Bede, *Libri II*, 102-3.

63 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 21. See also Lapidge's list of the percentages of leonine rhymes in twenty-five works from the *Aeneid* through the *Carmina* of the Carolingian poet Audradus Modicus; Lapidge, *Hilduin*, 177.

64 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 58.

65 For evidence in support of this claim, see Brown and Biggs, *Bede*, 2:248–50.

66 See Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning*, lxiv.

Aldhelm's Six-Line Address

Bede's seven-line address became one with six through three kinds of changes: verbal substitutions ("frater" replaced "pastor"; "cecini," "scripsi"; and "flendi," "luctus"); the deletion of Bede's fifth verse; and the rewriting of his sixth. Because these revisions appear together in five manuscripts as well as in the first six verses of the eight-line address they almost certainly happened as the work of one person. This individual, moreover, seems likely to have had the ability to disseminate his revision not only in England but also on the Continent where most of its copies survive. As Abbot of Malmesbury and later Bishop of Sherborne, Aldhelm (d. 709) had scriptoria where the poem could be copied and a circle of friends with whom to share it. Moreover, as the author of a work on metrics, he might have been drawn to correcting the mistaken scansion of "commenda." The main reason, however, to assign this version to him is his knowledge of Martyrius's work and his use of *bernaculus* in personal epithets. It is on these points this discussion focuses, following the text and its manuscripts.

The six-line address cannot be the original because it lacks the verse which names Acca. A translation can be found at the opening of the one with eight lines:

> Incolumem mihi te Christus, carissime frater,
> protegat, et faciat semper sine fine beatum!
> En, tua iussa sequens, cecini tibi carmina flendi.
> Tu tua fac promissa, precor, sermone fideli,
> commendans precibus Christo modo meque canentem.
> Vive Deo felix et dic uale fratribus almis.

Like the seven- and eight-line versions, it also survives in five manuscripts:

1. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS BPL 190 (saec. X/XI, Saint-Bertin), fols. 27r–30r;[67]
2. Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire (Section de médecine), MS 413 (saec. XII), fols. 7r–8r;
3. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. 8° 51 (saec. $X^{2/4}$, Zwiefalten), fols. 89v–93v;[68]

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67 The manuscript is available through the Library's digital collections: https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1613061, accessed May 30, 2023. The reading "uel pastor" appears above "frater."

68 The manuscript is available at https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=6&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=10296&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1, accessed May 30, 2023. It lacks the second line.

4. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio S. Pietro, MS D. 171 (saec. XIII), fols. 182r–84r;[69] and
5. York, Chapter Library, MS XVI. Q. 14 (saec. XII/XIII; provenance York), fols. 48v–49r.

It should be noted here that other than its location in York, there is no indication that the last manuscript has a direct tie to Bede.

Aldhelm knew that *De B muta et V vocali* advised spelling *uerna* as *berna* and followed this practice in at least some of his writings. After listing both masculine and feminine first declension nouns in *De pedum regulis*, he provided a summary Martyrius's discussion, adding a detail significant here, that *berna* is related to *bernaculus*: "communia ut advena, berna, unde bernaculus, quod melius per .b. quam per digammon scribi veterum auctoritas orthograforum testatur, quia ver, unde vernum dirivativum ducitur, per .v. constat"[70] (common [to all three genders], like *advena* [stranger], is *berna* which the authorities on ancient orthography attest is better written with a *b* than with the digammon because [the noun] *ver* [spring], from which [the adjective] *vernum* is derived, is generally agreed to be written with *v*.) Indeed, Rudolf Ehwald uses this comment to justify printing *bernaculus* at the end of the salutation which begins the prose *De virginitate*: "Aldhelmus, segnis Christi crucicola et supplex ecclesiae bernaculus, optabilem perpetuate prosperitatis salute" (Aldhelm, dilatory worshipper of Christ and humble servant of the Church, [sends his] best wishes for perpetual prosperity).[71] In this case, all the manuscripts read "vernaculus." Support for his decision, however, appears in two readings for the next use of the word, a description of the "subservient tranquillity" (bernacula quiete) which characterizes the life of bees and nuns.[72] In New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 401 (4r), the original *b* has been erased and a *u* written in its place; [73] and in

69 Lapidge is mistaken when he provides the shelf mark as "D. 117." D. 171 is available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.D.171, accessed May 30, 2023.

70 Aldhelm, *De pedum regulis*, 185.

71 Aldhelm, *Prosa de virginitate*, ed. Gwara, 29 (ed. Ehwald, 229); translated by Lapidge, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 59.

72 Aldhelm, *Prosa de virginitate*, ed. Gwara, 71 (cf. ed. Ehwald, 233); translated by Lapidge, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 63.

73 The manuscript is available online at https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2015174, accessed May 30, 2023. Gneuss and Lapidge date it to the beginning of the ninth or perhaps the end of the eighth century; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 857, 616–17. For this and the following manuscript, see also Gwara's descriptions and stemma; Aldhelm, *Prosa de virginitate*, 74–187.

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. th. F. 21 (fol. 4v), a *u* has been written above the *b*.[74] These corrections show Aldhelm's spelling being replaced by the conventional one.[75] Similarly, in Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Mbr. I. 75 (fols. 23–69), an eighth-century copy of Aldhelm's *Carmen de uirginitate*, all three readings involving this word use *b* (lines 136, 1451, and 2409; fols. 28r, 47v, and 61v).[76]

It is possible that Aldhelm not only used the spelling *berna/bernaculus* but adopted the pronunciation of *b* as /v/ more generally. In doing so, he might have been influenced in his early education by an Irish teacher or later by Theodore, who became archbishop in 669, and Hadrian during his studies in Canterbury.[77] If doing so was viewed as an affectation by the Northumbria clergy, the corrected "berne" in the *Versus de die iudicii* could have been directed at him.[78] Another possibility is that if Aldhelm become Abbot of Malmesbury before 679,[79] he might have sent students to Monkwearmouth to study with John the Arch-chanter. A letter of introduction read aloud to the monastery with the distinguished Roman abbot pausing over an unexpected spelling of *bernaculus* might well have been the moment Bede recalled in the address.[80]

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74 The manuscript is available online at http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf21/ueber.html, accessed May 30, 2023.

75 See Gwara's explanation of his editorial practice on this point; Aldhelm, *Prosa de virginitate*, 316–17*.

76 The manuscript is available online at https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00014774/Memb-I-00075_00051.tif, accessed May 30, 2023. It is described by Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 8:51 (no. 1207).

77 See Gwara's summary of his life (Aldhelm, *Prosa de uirginitate*, 19–34) and Rudolf Thurneysen's *Grammar*, 74–77. Gwara sees no way to resolve this question; 316–17. A further indication of confusion at Canterbury on this point appears in the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* where in the a-order section "berna" is glossed "higrae" (*b* 8). Apparently the first word of "verna hirundo" in *De B muta et V vocali* had been corrected to "berna," and the second glossed with an Anglo-Saxon word for "bird." The compiler then associated the correction with the gloss. On Aldhelm's relationship to this glossary see Lapidge, "Aldhelm and the 'Epinal-Erfurt Glossary,'" 141. The entry also appears in the *Corpus Glossary* separated by several entries from one which glosses "berna" as "seruus"; ed. Georg Goetz, 402. This confusion of *berna* with *higera* is perpetuated in Latham, Howlett, and Ashdowne, eds., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*.

78 Some support for Bede having mixed views on Aldhelm appears in Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.18.

79 Lapidge posits this happened c. 680; "Aldhelm."

80 In addition to the letter already cited, he used *bernaculus* in three others; *Epistulae*, 1, 2, and 3 (476, 478, and 479). It also appears in his letter to Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, at the beginning of *De metris* (61).

The Eight-Line Address: Changes from perhaps Berhtwald to the Benedictine Reform

The eight-line version of the address quoted at the start of this chapter was created from the two earlier ones by someone who failed to recognize Bede's sixth verse, which uses "commenda," as the source of Aldhelm's fifth, and so added it and the line he had omitted to the end of his revision. The compilation must have taken place before Byrhtferth included the poem in the *Historia regum* and seems likely to have been done in the spirit of the Benedictine Reform—an effort to preserve everything Bede had written. Its five manuscripts support this claim by having been made in England, although they also introduce a complication because some include a spurious line written to conclude the poem after the address had been removed: "ac Dominum benedicere saecla per omnia Christum" (and to bless Christ the Lord through all time).[81] The version Byrhtferth placed in the *Historia regum* did not contain the new verse, but it was added by a later scribe:

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139 (c. 1170, Durham), fols. 57r–58v; "serui" with "uel uerne" above.[82]

It appears in two other manuscripts containing the eight-line address:[83]

2. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 168 (saec. XI$^{ex.}$, Salisbury), fols. 85v–87r, "uerne"; and
3. Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F. 57 (saec XIII$^{med.}$, Worcester), fol. 70r–v; "berue."[84]

It is not, however, in the final two:

4. Damascus, Great Mosque, MS CGS 161/I and 162/I (saec. XII, England [?]): "berne";[85]

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81 The scribe who added the line marked his incorrect placement of it. For the reasons not to attribute this verse to Bede, see Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 176–77 and 60–61.

82 The description follows Lapidge's in his edition of the *Historia regum*, xvii. A facsimile is available through the Parker Library on the Web, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qj220gv8417, accessed May 30, 2023.

83 In the absence of digital versions of the next four manuscripts, I have reproduced Lapidge's readings.

84 Whitbread notes that the Worcester manuscript is a close copy of the one in Salisbury; Whitbread, "After Bede," 258.

85 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 54. Because the beginning of the poem has been lost, Lapidge does not assign this text to a group, but states it probably "belongs to the English recension"; 58n197.

and

5. London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C.II, fols. 166–72 (saec. XII, Peterborough [?]), fols. 167v–170v; "uerne."

Unlike the manuscripts of the eight-line address that contain the spurious line, none of those with either seven or six verses do, a further indication that these are earlier.

The new line, moreover, opens the question of who removed the address, which happened either at the same time as Aldhelm's revision or following it but before the earliest of the ninth-century manuscripts in which it survives. Lapidge has claimed that the decision was made by someone preparing the poem for Continental audiences unfamiliar with Acca.[86] Yet it would have also removed information about an author of obvious interest to the English missionaries of the eighth century and the Carolingian authors of the ninth.[87] Indeed, Alcuin, who seems likely to have played a significant role in the poem's transmission from Northumbria to Charlemagne's court,[88] clearly valued it as he quoted from it often.[89]

Moreover, a three-line version preserved in both Nicholaus Mameranus's edition of Paschasius Radbertus's *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (1550) and Georg Cassander's *Hymni ecclesiastici* (1556) may indicate that Bede's address and Aldhelm's revision were compared in Carolingian classrooms.[90] It contains three new readings identified here in bold and offers in its third line further evidence of the circulation of Bede' text on the Continent:[91]

> Incolumem mihi te Christus, carissim**a proles**,
> protegat, et faciat semper sine fine beat**am,**
> meque tuis Christo precibus commenda benignis.

Dear daughter, let Christ protect you safely for me and may He always make you blessed without end; [and] commend me to Christ in your kindly prayers.

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86 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 59.

87 For the eighth century, see the correspondence of Boniface and Lull discussed in Brown and Biggs, *Bede*, 1:27–33.

88 See Lendinara, "Alcuino e il *De die iudicii*"; and Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 52.

89 See Brown and Biggs, *Bede*, 1:207–8 and 213–14.

90 Mameranus knew of two manuscripts but specified that he used one from the monastery of St. Pantheleon in Cologne, which may have linked the poem specifically to Paschasius. This manuscript was probably also Cassander's source since he lived in Cologne. His wider knowledge of medieval verse may have led to his correct attribution of the *Versus de die iudicii* to Bede. My thanks to Andrew Dunning and Matthew Holford for help in sorting out this material.

91 Mameranus, *Paschasii*, fol. 5v; and Cassander, *Hymni*, 344.

Like Aldhelm's revision this one distances the address from Bede by removing the verse with Acca's name, but then goes further in specifying a female addressee, specifically a daughter. While this change might show Paschasius adapting the *Versus de die iudicii* for his own use, it could also be a schoolroom exercise, demonstrating how a further development of Aldhelm's substitution of "frater" for "pastor" would lead to other changes. If so, the class may also have been asked to evaluate the relative merits of Aldhelm's revision of Bede's sixth line, which led to the syntactically problematic "meque canentem." A final point of discussion could have been the length of the last syllable of "commenda."

In this context, a more likely explanation for dropping the address is that Archbishop Berhtwald (690–731) attempted to remove a source of discord between Aldhelm, whom he appointed Bishop of Sherborne (705/6), and the Northumbrian clerics around Wilfrid, Acca's patron.[92] A comparison of the numbers of witnesses of the different versions provides some further support for this claim. Lapidge's descriptions of the manuscripts reveals that there are four times as many texts of the poem without either an address or the spurious concluding line as there are of either Bede's or Aldhelm's versions.[93] These seem likely to have emanated around the same time as the original and Aldhelm's revision. Indeed, the decision may have been made in some haste since the abrupt conclusion the removal had caused was recognized only later. In contrast to the twenty manuscripts without this new line, only ten contain it. Canterbury would of course also be a likely place for a compiler or compilers during the Benedictine Reform to have found the previous versions of the *Versus de die iudicii*.

92 See Stephens, "Berhtwald." I am writing elsewhere on Aldhelm's letter to Wilfrid's abbots, which has not been firmly dated; see *Epistola* 9 (12), 500–502, in Adhelm, *Epistolae,* and Aldhelm, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 168–70.

93 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 45–56.

Conclusion

These suggestions do not, of course, rely on a full collation of the manuscripts and so are preliminary. They do, however, draw attention to the version of the address which is almost certainly Bede's and use it to identify some likely stages in the poem's transmission. Out of the argument a final point emerges: the early circulation of the *Versus de die iudicii* occurred through letters, which as was usual for the time were discarded or lost after some, luckily, had been copied into volumes for libraries.[94] In the months leading up to Acca's ordination, Bede wrote the poem and then sent it to his friend and perhaps to other members in their circle. When Aldhelm received a copy, he concluded that the correction of "berne" was at his expense, leading to a revision which he circulated again through letters. The result was that a respectable number, five, of each survive. The fact to be explained, then, is the survival of some thirty manuscripts without either form of the address. Perhaps Berhtwald not only had them removed but used his authority as archbishop to discourage their circulation. This history had been forgotten by the time of the Benedictine Reform when a new admirer of Bede combined the previous versions into one which survives in four manuscripts and a fifth included by Byrhtferth in *Historia regum*. With its elimination of "berne" from the text this final version has done much to obscure our understanding of Bede's intent: he celebrated Acca's ordination and their shared faith in God's plan by recalling their earlier discussions which had included, perhaps, phonological developments within languages.

94 See Brown and Biggs, *Bede*, 2:229–34.

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Chapter 8

FRITHEGOD AND STEPHEN

ADAPTING THE *VITA SANCTI WILFRIDI*

TRISTAN MAJOR

THE LITERARY PHENOMENON of the so-called *opus geminatum* or *geminus stilus* has been well documented in late-antique and early medieval Latin literature.[1] In sum, this genre produces two texts of essentially the same content but of different form: one in prose and the other in poetry. Though it is common for both texts to be by the same author—*opera geminata* of Caelius Sedulius, Aldhelm, and Bede are good examples[2]—the poetic companion piece to a prose work was also often composed by a different author, sometimes centuries apart, and even sometimes in a different language. So Alcuin, who incidentally has his own poetic and prose lives of Willibrord, composed a kind of poetic version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in his poem on York;[3] and, to stretch the genre to its limits, some Old English poetry can be read as "twinning" Latin prose sources.[4]

One of the more elaborate of these *opera geminata* was composed in the mid-tenth century, after Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury, probably taking advantage of military expeditions in Northumbria, was able to acquire the relics of Saint Wilfrid, which apparently were withering away, unkept and

1 Godman, "The Anglo-Latin *Opus Geminatum*," 215–29; Wieland, "*Geminus stylus*," 113–33; and Friesen, "The *Opus Geminatum* and Anglo-Saxon Literature," 123–44.

2 Caelius Sedulius, *Opera omnia*; Aldhelm, *Opera*; Bede, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*; and Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*. See, especially, Brooks, *Restoring Creation*, 69–76.

3 Godman, "The Anglo-Latin *Opus Geminatum*," 215. For the lives of Willibrord, see Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi Archiepiscopi Traiectensis*, 81–141; and "De vita sancti Willibrordi episcopi," in *Alcuini Carmina*, 207–20.

4 For example, the Old English *Guthlac A*, in Roberts, *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, is an Old English, versified form of the Latin life, in *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*. See Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, 52, who locates the Old English literary tradition in the closely related genre of biblical verse paraphrase. Scholars have also read the two versions of the Old English Boethius as an *opus geminatum*; see Irvine, "The Protean Form of the Old English *Boethius*," 4; and Weaver, "Hybrid Forms."

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dishonoured by all too timid priests. To celebrate the restoration of these bones to a respectful place in Canterbury, Oda commissioned Frithegod, a continental scholar who was presently sojourning with him, to compose a poetic life of Wilfrid, as a sort of literary parallel to the material reliquary that would now hold Wilfrid.[5] The result is the *Breviloquium vitae beati Wilfridi*, a hallmark of the difficult and esoteric Latin of England in the tenth century.[6]

At the time of its composition, two prominent prose works on Wilfrid's life were in existence: Bede's account in Book IV of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, and Stephen of Ripon's *Vita sancti Wilfridi* (hereafter *VSW*).[7] Frithegod used Stephen over Bede and the result is that Stephen's *Vita* and Frithegod's *Breviloquium* come to function as a sort of literary diptych; they become an *opus geminatum*. But Frithegod was not one to stand aside and simply render the prose life into poetic form. He does follow, more or less, the order of the life as given by Stephen, and certain strategies, from copying words and phrases verbatim to retelling a sentence or two in his own baroque fashion, are clear. More interestingly, he occasionally uses a word or a phrase as a springboard to take the narrative in a completely different direction. But because the *Breviloquium* is an original work that is also occasionally dependent on its source text for comprehension, the poem demands reflection on itself and almost simultaneously on the *VSW*, especially under the guiding principle of holy rumination.[8] As an elaborate rhetorical piece, the *Breviloquium* features many mnemonic devices typical of poetry, such as rhyme, alliteration, and unusual vocabulary, which in turn allow for easier memorization and reflection. The poem provides much opportunity for sustained thinking in order

5 The prose preface to the *Breviloquium* reads: "Itaque tantae tamque Deo dignae affinitatis delectatus uicinitate, et editiore eas entheca decusare et excerptis de libro uitae eius flosculis nouo operae pretium duxi carmine uenustare" (And so, as I was delighted by the nearness of his presence, which was so great and so worthy to God, I thought it worthwhile not only to decorate these bones with a more exalted reliquary but also to adorn them with a new poem derived from flowers plucked from the book of his Life). The standard edition of the *Breviloquium* is *Frithegodi monachi Breuiloquium uitae beati Wilfredi*; however, I use my own unpublished edition throughout. Line numbers of my edition are the same as in Campbell's up to line 1328, when Campbell's numeration erroneously jumps to 1330. All translations are also mine unless stated otherwise.

6 Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style," 116–19; Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar"; and Lapidge, "Frithegodus Cantuariensis diac."

7 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; or Bede, *Storia degli inglesi*; and *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. Colgrave. For the relationship between the two, see Kirby, "Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the 'Life of Wilfrid.'"

8 See Brooks, *Restoring Creation*, 74–75.

to tease out the meaning of individual words, as well as whole sentences. It facilitates and demands its audience to ruminate. Furthermore, since rumination tends to focus on teasing out the meaning of individual words or short phrases, an author who aims to produce a work worthy of rumination, must be a master of the language. Frithegod certainly was, even if his style is sometimes too ambitious in its impenetrability.[9] But so also the subject of his poem was a master of language. Wilfrid's eloquence is stressed again and again by Frithegod throughout the *Breviloquium*.[10] And so, by analogy, Wilfrid's mastery of expression mirrors Frithegod's mastery of expression developed out of reading and ruminating over Stephen's *Vita*. Both Wilfrid *and* Frithegod reveal the potential of words to reflect divine mysteries, and by doing so they provide *exempla* for the reader not only to use as a model for spiritual improvement, but also as complex and difficult material that requires much contemplation. For this reason, a close study of how exactly Frithegod read Stephen—how he ruminated over that text—can shed light on the *Breviloquium* as a product of monastic reading and teaching.

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9 The *Breviloquium* signals an awareness of language and expression right from its opening lines:

> Inscius egregios aegris conatibus actus
> ordior, insipidum quo fert fiducia sensum,
> ausibus infidis aderit sed calculus ignis
> forcipe uatidicum solitus purgare labellum:
> cunctipotens Opifex, archani pandulus Index,
> Spiritus internis animans dulcoribus antra
> cordis amara mei, ne quid displodat inepti
> lingua tenax iusti. …
> Namque, fatebor enim, tua me pellexit honestis
> scilicet indulcanda modis odisque canoris
> caelo uita micans, terris oratio praestans.
> Ergo age, deciduas precibus suppleto loquelas.
> Affer praesidium, ne sit sub fasce ruendum. (1–8, 26–30)

Ignorant and with a feeble effort, I undertake to write distinguished deeds wherever boldness bears my slow understanding, but a coal of fire, handled with tongs and accustomed to purge prophetic mouths, will assist my hesitant presumption, this coal which is the omnipotent Creator, the clearly pointing Revealer of the mysterious, the Spirit who blows life into the bitter caves of my heart with inner sweetness, so that my tongue, clinging to what is just, should not blurt out anything unseemly. … Truly—I will confess it indeed! —your life, which shines in heaven, and your eloquence, which excels on earth, have captivated me; they should really be sweetened with a worthy meter and melodious song. Go then! And with your prayers furnish what is lacking in my failing words. Give protection, so that there should not be a collapse under this burden.

10 See, for example, lines 135–46, 642–43, 823–25, 970, and 1095.

The Version of the *Vita sancti Wilfridi* Used by Frithegod

Before moving into the specifics of adaptation, a brief discussion on the textual witnesses is needed. The three surviving witnesses of the *Breviloquium* produce two distinct versions of the poem. Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, O.v.XIV.1, contains an earlier version of the *Breviloquium*;[11] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8431, contains the revised version of the poem;[12] and London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.i, contains the earlier version which has been corrected and altered to reflect the later, revised version. The latter was apparently a copy of the earlier draft which a scribe, possibly Frithegod himself, went over and updated with the more recent version.[13] In sum, Frithegod seems to have composed his poem, circulated it at least among his peers in Canterbury, but then decided to go through and make revisions to a final version that then circulated more widely. Most, though not all, of the changes are improvements on the meter of the line. Other changes clarify or replace some particularly difficult word with another sometimes equally difficult word, and in a few instances, the rationale for the alteration is not at all clear. For the purposes of this study, a reading from the earlier version, represented best by the Saint Petersburg manuscript (**L**) gives only a single instance of an alteration that removes a word shared by the *VSW*. At line 724 the participle "degens" has been altered to "dolens," against its source (similarities in italics):

> *sub* pagano quodam *rege* Hunorum *degens* (*VSW* 28.27–28)
>
> externo *sub rege* dolens [**L**: *degens*] sensi cicatrices (*Brev.* 724).

In this instance, the change from *degens* to *dolens* improves the meter, and for that reason, not much can be said about Frithegod's use of the *VSW* while

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11 Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar," 169–71; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 92–94; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 843.

12 Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar," 171–72; Ebersperger, *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften*, 88–92; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 92–93; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 890.5.

13 For the manuscript, see Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar," 163–69; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 92–93; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 140; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 312. For the possibility of the manuscript being an autograph, see Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar," 177; and Lapidge, "Autographs of Insular Latin Authors," 127–28. While Campbell believed that the version in the Saint Petersburg manuscript is authoritative and that the differences in the version of Claudius A.i are the result of scribal tinkering (, *Frithegodi monachi Breuiloquium*, viii), Young, "Author's Variants," conclusively demonstrated that the differences are actually corrections improving the poem.

revising. On the contrary, in one instance, the reading of **L** is altered in the later version to match closer the reading of the *VSW*:

> Nam et per *tres annos* simul cum eo *mansit* (*VSW* 6.5–6)
>
> Tarde quidem rediit, uerum *tres mansit*at *annos* (*Brev*. 172)
>
> Sero quidem rediit, uerum *tr*ia lustra peregit (*Brev*. 172 **L**).

Young notes, but does not explain, the alteration from "tria lustra peregit" to "tres mansitat annos" at line 172.[14] Although the evidence from a single example is slight, at the very least this one instance suggests that Frithegod consulted the prose life while revising his work.

As for Stephen's *VSW*, there are two surviving witnesses: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D.vi, fols. 78–125 (**V**);[15] and Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 223 (**S**), formerly in Oxford as part of the Fell Collection.[16] While the Vespasian manuscript was held at Canterbury during the period when Frithegod was present, its life of Wilfrid was added later in the eleventh century, and therefore could not have been consulted by Frithegod. Similarly, the Salisbury manuscript, which was produced in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, is of too late a date for Frithegod to have had at hand. But with these two witnesses available, it is clear that the Vespasian manuscript is, indeed, closer to Frithegod's actual source than the Salisbury manuscript. However, as will be discussed below, the *Breviloquium* does share enough overlap with the Salisbury manuscript to determine that Frithegod's copy of the *VSW* must have shared readings from both. The evidence accumulates mainly in similarities of English place names and chapter rubrics that are closer in Frithegod's *Breviloquium* and the *Vita* of Vespasian D.iv than Salisbury 223.

In almost all instances, the spelling of the names in the *Breviloquium* are closer to the spellings of the Vespasian manuscript over the Salisbury manuscript (see Table 8.1[17]). Generally, Vespasian and the *Breviloquium* prefer the use of /d/ over /th/ and of /i/ over /e/. The *Breviloquium* and Vespasian also prefer /E/ to /Ae/, though Vespasian does have "Aethelredi"; and the

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14 Young, "Author's Variants," 79.

15 Pulsiano, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, 4:14–18; Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, xiii–xiv; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 390. The manuscript is composite due to a later rebinding.

16 Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, xiv–xv; and Madan, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, 2: no. 8687. I here use the sigla of my edition, which is different than Colgrave who uses **C** for the Vespasian manuscript and **F** for the Salisbury manuscript.

17 References are to lines of the Breviloquium and chapters of the *VSW*; R = rubric.

Salisbury manuscript tends to use /g/ where the *Breviloquium* and Vespasian do not. Furthermore, the final chapter of the *Vita* has a chapter division in Vespasian that is not in Salisbury, and such separation is reflected in the *Breviloquium* by means of a rubric at line 1374: "Quomodo fratribus signum in caelo apparuit" (How a sign appeared in the sky to the brothers). However, the rubric here differs from that of the Vespasian manuscript, which has "De signo circuli" (Of the sign of the arc).[18] Furthermore, along with the final rubric of Vespasian, just mentioned, the rubric at 954 of the *Breviloquium* reads "Suðsaxonum" where Vespasian has "Selaesia" (and Salisbury has only the letters "se"). Later in this chapter, the form "Suthsexun" does appear in Vespasian where Salisbury has "Australia Saxones" (41), but it cannot be known if that instance influenced the rubric of the *Breviloquium*. With such evidence, it is safe to conclude that Frithegod was using a copy of the prose *Vita* of the same textual family as Vespasian, even though the differences between them indicate that Frithegod's copy was at some distance from the Vespasian manuscript. But there is also one instance where the *Breviloquium* agrees with the Salisbury reading against that of Vespasian. At line 979, the *Breviloquium* has "Aediluualch," where Vespasian has "Ethelwalhc" and Salisbury has "Aetheluualch." The /Ae/ of the *Breviloquium* is uncommon, especially when Vespasian has an /E/, although this is not the only example in the *Breviloquium* when /Ae/ appears when Vespasian has /E/.[19] The /d/ over /th/ in the *Breviloquium* also follows an expected pattern. The consonant cluster of Vespasian, /lhc/, is unusual and probably an error introduced in this manuscript and not seen by Frithegod. The most probable scenario, also taking into consideration the date and provenance, is that Frithegod's copy of the *Vita* was the exemplar or very closely related to the exemplar of Vespasian. Vespasian made a few alterations to the spelling of names, and the one error. The discrepancies in the rubrics at lines 954 and 1374 may also have occurred after the copying of Frithegod's exemplar, but since one of the rubrics in the *Breviloquium*, immediately before line 599, matches content with the *Vita* that does not appear in Frithegod's poem,[20] it is also certainly

18 Unless stated otherwise, all translations of the *VSW* are from Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*.

19 Compare 638: Aelfuuine; *VSW* 24: Elfwini (**V**), Aelfwini (**V**).

20 The rubric in the *Breviloquim* reads "Quomodo Ermenburgis reginae insidias passus est" (How he suffered the treachery of Queen Iurminburg), the following narration borrows from chapter 24 of the *VSW*, which mentions Iurminburg as Wilfrid's adversary. The *Breviloquium*, however, leaves Wilfrid's adversaries vague, and Iurminburg is not mentioned a part of the narrative until a short section beginning at line 681, which again borrows from chapter 24 of the *VSW*.

possible that the rubrics of the *Breviloquium* were added very shortly after the poem's composition and may not be authorial. Moreover, in one instance, the rubric of Salisbury (*VSW* 48) matches that of the *Breviloquium* (1106) against Vespasian: the rubric at 1106 is from Salisbury.[21]

Table 8.1. Select names found both in the *Breviloquium* and the two witnesses of the *Vita sancti Wilfridi.*

Breviloquium	***VSW* V**	***VSW* S**
185: Brunhild	6: Brunechild	Baldhild
106/192: Daluuinus (**L**)[22]	4/6: Dalfinus	Dalfinus
231: Aegilbertus	9: Aegilbehrtus	Aegelberchtus
580R: Inagustaldaesae	22: Inhagustaldensae	Inhaegustaldesei
671: Adalgisum[23]	27.2: Aldgislum	Aldgelsum
672: Efruinus	27.2: Eferwine	Efyruinus
928R: Berhtuualdus	40: Beorhtuald	Birhtwald
934: Berhtuualdus[24]	40: Berhtuald	Bergtwald
940: Edilredi	40: Ethilredus[25]	Aethelredus
942: Ekfridi	40: Ecfridi	Ecgfrithi
949: Ermenburgis	40: Irmenburgae	Irminburgae
952: Centuuini	40: Centwini	Centwine
979: Aediluualch	41: Ethelwalhc	Aetheluualch
1002: Erchenuualdus	43: Ercenvoldum	Erconwaldum
1036: Aldfridus	44: Aldfridus	Aldfrithus
1041: Euuroica	44: Euroica	Eboraca
1271: Alhtfrido	59: Aldfridi	Aldfrithi

21 The rubric at line 579 presents ambiguous evidence. The *Breviloquium* has the name "Inagustaldaesae," **C** has "Inhagustaldensae," and **S** has "Inhaegustaldesei" (*VSW* 22).

22 **C** and **P** erroneously read *Maluuinus*.

23 In this instance, the line seems to be corrupt and the added syllable may be the result of a later scribe attempting to fix the meter. Line 671, which reads in the manuscripts, "quiret Adalgisum collatis subdole regem," likely originally read: "quiret [ut Aldgislum] collatis subdole regem"; I am grateful to Drew Jones for proposing this emendation.

24 Cf. 1265, Berthuualdo, which is erroneous for Berhtuualdo; *VSW* 57 correctly has Berchtwaldo (V) and Bergtwaldo (S).

25 But *VSW* 4 has Aethelredi (**VS**).

Additionally, in two instances not involving names, the variant in the Vespasian manuscript may lie behind the reading in the *Breviloquium*. The first is straightforward: both the Vespasian witness (*VSW* 43.35) and the *Breviloquium* (1019) read the word "primus" over "prius" of the Salisbury witness. But the second is more complex. In chapter 21 of the *VSW*, Colgrave prints "inter secularesque undas" of Salisbury 223 (*VSW* 21.7), translating "amid the tossing billows of the world." For *seculares*, however, Vespasian D.vi reads "spiculares," a word not attested elsewhere, but apparently to be understood as "thorny" or "prickly," or alternatively as a reading for "specularis," that is, "like a mirror," or "reflective." Neither is exactly nonsensical: Wilfrid steers the ship of the Church either through waves of thorns or through sparkling waves. With that said, Colgrave is probably right to prefer Salisbury's reading of *seculares* here over Vespasian's, as the simplest and most straightforward. But Vespasian's reading of *spiculares* does seem to underlie the description of waves in line 565 of the *Breviloquium*: "corpus perspicuis castum purgabat in undis" (he would wash his chaste body in clear waves), a conflation of the waves of *VSW* 21.7 and a description of Wilfrid's unstained body of *VSW* 21.14: "corpus quoque ab utero matris suae integrum" ([He kept] his body…pure from his mother's womb). Although *perspicuus* in the *Breviloquium* rightly means "clear" and is not etymologically or semantically connected to the *spicula* of the Vespasian reading, it is difficult to ignore the connection between *spiculares undas* of the *Vitae* and *perspicuis undis* of the *Breviloquium*.[26] All evidence considered, Frithegod likely had a version of the *VSW* closer to that in the Vespasian manuscript, but with some readings that eventually found their way into the Salisbury copy.

Adapting the *Vita sancti Wilfridi*: Word Sounds

With relative confidence that Frithegod's copy of the *VSW* looked similar to that of the Vespasian manuscript, it is possible to begin to see how he specifically used the text for his own composition. For the most part, his adaptation of Stephen is fairly straightforward. Almost each chapter is represented with a few direct verbal correspondences in roughly the same order of the prose account. The same general narrative is related in many instances, although with much abridgement due to the epitomizing tendencies of the *Breviloquium*. And yet, naturally, there are discrepancies between the two

26 The construction using *perspicuis* in the second foot and in the ablative modifying the final word of the line also appears in line 64: "... perspicuis…plantis" (a rift of Vergil, *Aeneid*, 11.718: "pernicibus…plantis"). Line 274 has "perspiciant" in the same position. See below for further discussion on this method of adaptation.

texts. A minor instance has the *Breviloquium* stating that Wilfrid and his crew were victorious four times in a battle with barbarous pagans (392: "Unde quater victi remeant"), whereas the *VSW* (13.36) describes them as victorious only three times and ultimately saved by the incoming tide while the pagans prepared themselves for a fourth skirmish (13.40–41). Another example can be seen in an anecdote about a certain Winfrid who, according to Stephen, was left naked and desolated with his companions killed (*VSW* 25.11–16), but who, according to Frithegod, seems to fare worse: he is described as *perditus*, which admittedly may simply mean "undone" and not murdered (654–56). A last example, again minor, is the shift from "Iesu Nave," that is Joshua, Son of Nun, in *VSW* 13.33–34 ("Iesu Nave ... pugnante") to Jesus Christ in the *Breviloquium* (391: "Iesu uigilante," with the change in participle for the sake of meter).

These examples point to a kind of playfulness of the text that Frithegod seems to be engaging with throughout. For there are numerous instances when Frithegod will take a single word from Stephen's text or sometimes even part of a word and modify it for his own purposes. The change from "spiculares" to "perspicuis" discussed above is one example, but there are others that demonstrate that this practice was a general strategy of adaptation and composition. For two other clear examples: whereas the *VSW* (23.4–5) describes an accident that causes a man to put all his limbs out of joint ("membris desolutis"), in the *Breviloquium* the limbs become constricted and so unable to move: "Cruscula gressutos non norunt soluere tractus" (His legs were not able to slacken to make the movements for walking, 588); and whereas the *VSW* has two bishops stating that the regulation of the Church "pendet" (hangs, 29.18) on the judgement of Apostolic authority, Frithegod has the Pope instructing an assembly to "pendite" ("weigh," "consider," 748) the matter under trial. In these fairly minor examples, Frithegod is not misreading, but rather using words of the prose life more like prompts for his own composition. Interestingly, instead of choosing new words or continuing to use those of his source (along with their original meanings), Frithegod retains the relicts of his source but transforms them ever so slightly.

This strategy of adaptation clusters particularly in the composition of two rubricated sections based on chapters sixteen and seventeen of the *VSW*.[27] Chapter sixteen describes the restoration of the church at York:

27 For a good, alternative reading of these chapters and how Frithegod adapted them, see Lapidge, "Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography," at 250–51. Lapidge describes how Frithegod introduces arcane vocabulary and Grecisms, while remaining fairly close to the *VSW*.

> Igitur supradicto rege regnante, beatae memoriae Wilfritho episcopo metropolitano Eboracae civitatis constituto, basilicae oratorii Dei, in ea civitate a sancto Paulino episcopo in diebus olim Eadwini christianissimi regis primo fundatae et dedicatae Deo, officia semiruta lapidea eminebant. Nam culmina antiquata tecti distillantia fenestraeque apertae, avibus nidificantibus intro et foras volitantibus, et parietes incultae omni spurcitia imbrium et avium horribiles manebant. Videns itaque haec omnia sanctus pontifex noster, secundum Danielem horruit spiritus eius in eo, quod domus Dei et orationis quasi speluncam latronum factam agnovit, et mox iuxta voluntatem Dei emendare excogitavit. Primum culmina corrupta tecti renovans, artificiose plumbo puro detegens, per fenestras introitum avium et imbrium vitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiabat. Parietes quoque lavans, secundum prophetam super nivem dealbavit. Iam enim non solum domum Dei et altare in varia supellectili vasorum intus ornavit, verum etiam, deforis multa territoria pro Deo adeptus, terrenis opibus paupertatem auferens, copiose ditavit. Tunc sententia Dei de Samuhele et omnibus sanctis in eo implebatur: Qui, inquit, me honorificat, honorificabo eum; erat enim Deo et omni populo carus et honorabilis. (16.1–16.20)[28]

In the *Breviloquium*, the general account and details remain the same:

> Redditus ergo suis, instabat promptius illis.
> Ecclesiae uero fundamina cassa uetustae.
> Culmina dissuto uiolabant trabe palumbes.
> Humida contrito stillabant assere tecta.

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28 "Now during the reign of the above-mentioned king, after Wilfrid of blessed memory had been appointed metropolitan bishop of the city of York, the stone buildings of the church in that city were obviously in a ruinous condition. This church of God had been first founded by the holy Paulinus the bishop and dedicated to God in the days of Edwin, that most Christian king. But now the ridge of the roof owing to its age let the water through, the windows were unglazed and the birds flew in and out, building their nests, while the neglected walls were disgusting to behold owing to all the filth caused by the rain and the birds. When our holy bishop saw all this his spirit was vexed within him, as Daniel's was, because he saw that the house of God and the house of prayer had become like a den of thieves; so, forthwith, in accordance with the will of God, he made a plan to restore it. First of all he renewed the ruined roof ridges, skilfully covering them with pure lead; by putting glass in the windows he prevented the birds or the rain from getting in, although it did not keep out the rays of light. He also washed the walls, and, in the words of the prophet, made them 'whiter than snow.' Furthermore, not only did he adorn the inside of the house of God and the altar with various kinds of vessels and furniture, but outside he richly endowed the church with many estates which he had acquired for God, thus removing its poverty by endowing it with lands. Then the word of the Lord concerning Samuel and all saints was fulfilled in him: 'Them that honour me,' He said, 'I will honour'; for he was beloved and honoured both by God and by the whole nation," Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 33, 35.

Liuida nudato suggrundia pariete passa,
imbricibus nullis. Pluuiae quacumque uagantur.
Pendula discissis fluitant laquearia tignis.
Fornice marcebant kataractae dilapidato.
His ita contuitis, exhorruit. Ilicet alti
uiribus ingenii reparare peribula templi
incumbunt fessi uasto sudore ministri,
nec minus approperant opicizi emblemata proni,
arcus incultos hialino claudere uelo.
Pondus et informes Athlantes ferre priores
iussit, et expletum. Limphis perfunditur absis,
albanturque suis lustrata altaria peplis.
Exin glorifico persoluit munia Christo. (437–53)[29]

As with the examples given above, the same sort of adaptation is apparent here. The *basilicae* founded ("fundatae") by Paulinus (*VSW* 16.4) are the basis of the Church's foundations ("fundamina") in the *Breviloquium* (438); the nest-building birds ("avibus nidificantibus") (*VSW* 16.6) are the basis of the bare wall ("nudato…pariete") (441); the same birds described as flying ("volitantibus") (16.6) are the basis for the defiling pigeons ("uiolabant…palumbes") (439); and two sentences of the prose life describing the washing of the walls and the furnishing of the altar (16.14–15: "Parietes... dealbavit…altare…ornavit") become a single, much altered sentence in the *Breviloquium*, describing the covering of the altar with a white cloth: "albanturque suis lustrata altaria peplis" (452). Frithegod is reading Stephen closely at this point, but his adaptation surpasses Stephen's words by using their sounds and specific components to help build the foundations of his own terminology.

29 "Once he was restored to what was his, he therefore turned all the more quickly to it. Specifically, the foundations of the old church were useless. Since the roof had been opened, pigeons defiled the vaults. A damp roof was dripping from rotten planks. The black eaves hung over the bare wall, since the shingles were gone. Rain trickled in every which way. The ceiling, suspended by split rafters, wavered unsteadily. The windows were falling apart under the dilapidated arch. Upon seeing these things in such a state, he shuddered. Straightaway, the labourers, through the ability of their craftsmanship, set upon repairing the enclosure of the lofty church, working to fatigue with immense effort. No less did the workers, who were keen to add mosaics, hasten to enclose the unadorned arch with a glass pane. He commanded that the previously unshaped pillars bear their weight and it was done. He poured holy water over the apse and covered the holy altar with its own white cloth. Thereafter, he fulfilled his duties to glorious Christ."

The next section of the *Breviloquium* continues this trend. The corresponding chapter of the *Vita sancti Wilfridi* describes a *de luxe* production of the gospels, written in golden letters and held in a case made of purest gold and most precious gems:

> Addens quoque sanctus pontifex noster inter alia bona ad decorem domus Dei inauditum ante seculis nostris quoddam miraculum. Nam quattuor evangelia de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis, pro animae suae remedio scribere iussit: necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum, omnem de auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam, compaginare inclusores gemmarum praecepit; quae omnia et alia nonnulla in testimonium beatae memoriae eius in ecclesia nostra usque hodie reconduntur, ubi reliquiae illius requiescunt, et sine intermissione cotidie in orationibus nominis eius recordantur. (17.35–17.44)[30]

With Stephen, the case for the gospels is sumptuously constructed: "omnem de auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam" (17.40–41) and described in the same terms as the golden letters of the gospels themselves ("auro purissimo"). With Frithegod, the book is described, but with a significant change:

> Optima quaeque dedit libens exenia miris
> efflorata modis: capsacibus atque gemellis
> codex aurato consaeptus grammate scriptus,
> auctus, euuangelicum seruans in corpore textum.
> Cumque benigniuolo persolueret omnia corde,
> inflatur nullo, Iesu moderamine, tipho. (471–76)[31]

In accordance with Stephen's account, Frithegod has the book written in golden letters, although he alters the detail on the case which here encloses the book in twin covers instead of gems: "capsacibus atque gemellis / codex

30 "Our holy bishop also provided for the adornment of the house of God, among other treasures, a marvel of beauty hitherto unheard of in our times. For he had ordered, for the good of his soul, the four gospels to be written out in letters of purest gold on purpled parchment and illuminated. He also ordered jewellers to construct for the books a case all made of purest gold and set with most precious gems; all these things and others besides are preserved in our church until these times as a witness to his blessed memory; here too his remains rest, and daily, without any intermission, his name is remembered in prayer," Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 37.

31 "He gladly donated the best gifts, every one picked for their marvellous features. Among these was a book bound in twin covers, and enhanced by golden letters of a scribe; within it the Gospel text was preserved. And when Wilfrid completed all these things with a benevolent heart, he did not become swollen with pride, but Jesus kept him restrained."

aurato consaeptus grammate scriptus / auctus" (a book bound in twin covers, and enhanced by golden letters of a scribe, 472–73). Frithegod leaves out Stephen's detail of the gems (*gemmis*) and replaces it with two similarly sounding, but different, terms: *capsacibus gemellis* and *aurato grammate*. As with the previous chapter, Frithegod's method of adaptation based on word sounds rather and the words themselves continues. He forgoes any mention of "gems," but extracts the sequence, /g/ + vowel + /m/, to form his own aurally similar expressions. And here, the alteration from *gemmis* to *gemellis*, though admittedly convenient for the meter, helps to point outward to the "twin" relationship created by the *Breviloquium* alongside the prose life. Just as the gospels were contained by two covers, so also is the life of Wilfrid now "twinned" by prose and poetic versions, which, while serving a similar function of veneration, remain significantly distinct.

Earlier in this same chapter, Frithegod reaches the extreme limits of this strategy with an obscure pun on the two words spelt *populus*—that is *pŏpulus*, people, and *pōpulus*, the poplar or, occasionally, birch tree. In the prose life, Wilfrid has the Church at Ripon decorated as sumptuously as the gospel books, which shine before the sight of the people:

> beatissimus Wilfrithus episcopus thalamum veri sponsi et sponsae in conspectu populorum, corde credentium et fide confitentium, auro et argento purpuraque varia mirifice decoravit. (17.10–17.13)[32]

Frithegod's account, while retaining the general narrative, varies much from Stephen's. He does not mention the gold, silver, or purple, and decides to include a longer description of the actual process of building the church whose careful, thorough, and well-balanced portrayal appropriately fits form to content:

> Theosopho spirans animo cognata sinergus
> oppida diffuso Hripis amplificare colurno,
> illic planata triuiatim uomere terra,
> simmetriis perpendiculo perfecte libratis
> ecclesiam statuit, thalamum Christoque dicauit. (458–62)[33]

32 "The blessed Bishop Wilfrid wondrously adorned the bridal chamber of the true Bride-groom and Bride with gold and silver and varied purples, in the sight of the multitudes who believed in their hearts and made confession of their faith," Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 35, 37.

33 "Our fellow worker was eager with a soul of godly wisdom to build up Ripon, the town of his birth, with hazel planted all around. After the ground there was made level everywhere by the plough, he raised a church with all its parts symmetrically and perfectly balanced by a plumb-line, and then consecrated it to Christ as a bridal chamber."

Most of what Frithegod writes here can be understood as an imaginative, realistic expansion of what he read in Stephen, with the exception of the oddly specific detail on the surrounding hazel grove ("diffuso…colurno") (459). The mention of these trees, which only seems to serve to add a bit of colour, is striking. It is, however, less confusing when read next to Stephen's account which describes the procession occurring "in the sight of the multitudes" ("in conspectu populorum," 17.11). In this case, Frithegod seems to have deliberately (mis)read the phrase as something along the lines of *conspectu pōpulorum*, that is "in the sight of the poplars or birches." While the assumption is that Frithegod would have understood *populus* as birch instead of poplar, and that he would have known somehow that birch and hazel trees are genetically related, the oddity of this detail can only really be explained in this way. Frithegod also would certainly not have misunderstood Stephen here, and the change must be a deliberate play on words, despite how deeply it is hidden.

The high concentration of such unusual alterations in these two chapters can be explained by their content: both chapters depict the restoration of churches, which in both cases receive sumptuous additions and further decoration. So also, these two sections of the *Breviloquium* are, in a sense, restorations of the prose life, with their own sumptuous additions and decorative flourishes. Frithegod has taken the verbal foundations of the *VSW* and refashioned them as Wilfrid did physical buildings.

Looking Back to the *Vita sancti Wilfridi*

While aural similarities between the words of the *VSW* and the *Breviloquium* give some indication of Frithegod's compositional methods, they also show the importance of reading his poem alongside his source, very much within the deliberate scope of the meditative strategies behind the *opus geminatum*. But if so, how could Frithegod actually expect his audience at Canterbury to be so attentive to such a level of minutia as to appreciate this method of adaptation? For one, it really does seem as though Frithegod expected his readers to be familiar with the *VSW*, either by frequent reading and meditation over the text or by having a physical copy of the book open on the desk for easy consultation. Indeed, the *Breviloquium* can be so obscure in some places that it is almost impossible to understand it without familiarity with the prose text, and occasionally, recourse to Stephen's account serves as a kind of answer key for the perplexed.

Especially coming to the end of the poem, some passages become extremely difficult, verging on incomprehensibility. Line 1212, for example, has eluded modern scholarship. The manuscript reads: "Quis duo quidecies

denos pariter quoque quinos / elogio archontes queat infamare maligno." Since *quidecies* is not a word, all editors as early as Mabillon emend to "quindecies" and punctuated it to align with *duo*.[34] The line could then be rendered as: "Who can defame [(2 × 15) + (10 × 5) =] eighty bishops with an evil utterance." The problem with this emendation is that the number then changes drastically from the prose account. In the corresponding chapter of the *VSW*, Stephen writes that there were not eighty but 125 bishops whose decree would need to be defamed (53.70: "cum centum xxv orthodoxis episcopis"). With this figure at hand, the manuscript reading of the *Breviloquium* actually becomes sound; it is just that the number *duodecies* is obscured by tmesis and the interfering *qui* is to be understood as the adverb: "Quis duo- qui -decies denos pariter quoque quinos" (Who in what way is able to defame [(12 × 10) + 5 =] 125 bishops…). It seems hardly possible that this riddle is capable of being solved without consulting the prose life.

While this example may be the most obscure, there are other allusions in the *Breviloquium* for which their meaning is understood only with assistance from the *VSW*. Line 1261, "cum numero uitae meruisti praemia summae" reads bafflingly as "you have earned the rewards of the highest life with a number (*cum numero*)." Chapter 53 of the prose life clarifies the sense by listing biblical figures who lived longer lives because of intercession (56.31–35). Frithegod's phrase "cum numero" is evidently meant to reflect that Wilfrid earned a longer life; the word *uitae* is a genitive of both *numero* and *praemia*: "you have earned the rewards of the highest life along with a few more years of this life." Similarly, only eight lines later, Frithegod uses the adverb *cessim* (1269). In its only entry for this headword, the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (*DMLBS*) hesitantly defines it as "(?) in return." In the context, Wilfrid has sought the halls of King Æthilred, who "retulit cessim," that is, following the *DMLBS*, "received him in return." But the prose account gives a hint on the probable meaning of this word; for Æthilred prostrates

34 Before Campbell, the text saw two printed editions: Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, 3,1:171–96, supplemented in 4,1: 722–6 (and later appearing in *PL* 133, 979–1012), which is an edition of the Saint Petersburg manuscript; and Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, 1:105–59, which is an edition of the Cotton manuscript with variants from the Saint Petersburg and Paris manuscripts. See Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar," 158n7. Each of these editions edits lines 1212–13 as: "Quis duo-quindecies, denos pariter quoque quinos / elogio archontes queat infamare maligno?" The text in *CLASP: A Consolidated Library of Anglo Saxon Poetry* is also taken from Campbell, and lines 1212–13 are translated as "Who could defame rulers of forty-five years' service / with a malicious pronouncement?" "FRITHEGOD.BrevVWilfred," *CLASP*, https://clasp.ell.ox.ac.uk/db-latest/poem/FRITHEGOD.BrevVWilfred, accessed May 30, 2023.

himself on the ground and "oboedienter spopondit" (57.22), that is, following Colgrave, "obediently made a promise." The adverb *cessim*, which is likely connected to the verb *cedere* in the sense "yield, submit," could be rendered as "submissively" and correspond to Stephen's *oboedienter*. Admittedly, none of these examples require a readership intimately familiar with the prose life to make at least some sense of the meaning. But the prose life certainly does help—it provides an aid that Frithegod may have expected his readers to have read or to have at hand to untangle some of the more complex passages of his poem; it performs in reverse to the earliest stated goals of the *opus geminatum*: the poetry is deliberately obscured to require clarification in the pre-existing and much clearer prose life.

The most apparent similarities between Stephen's *VSW* and Frithegod's metrical version are unsurprising for any rendition of a new work based on its previous source. The general narrative remains the same and there are many instances of relatively uninteresting verbal overlap. But what is remarkable between two is the degree to which the prose life continues to function as an almost necessary text for interpreting the *Breviloquium*. Despite its very idiosyncratic nature, the *Breviloquium* remains reliant on the *VSW* for its interpretation. And by doing so, Frithegod has composed not just a poem, but rather a new composition that forces the reader back to his source. The two works become an *opus geminatum* that emerge as a single work of two equally significant parts.

Beyond the *Vita sancti Wilfridi*

Although Stephen's prose life is the "twinned" part of an *opus* joined to the *Breviloquium*, it is also possible to glimpse comparable methods of composition and Frithegod's high expectations for his readers in at least two other minor instances in the poem, which reveal oblique allusions that make better sense when the wider context of the source is known (or even at hand). My first example appears fairly early in the narrative, when Wilfrid is elected to a bishopric:

> Auxit, rorigeri per quem micat astrea caeli,
> uictoris specimen, quem iam transuexerat, Alpem.
> Nam postquam dicto sedes uiduata patrono,
> consulto regis necnon hortamine plebis,
> lactea suspensis qui praebeat ubera mandris,
> Vuilfridum patria creuerunt uoce legendum. (305–10)[35]

35 "This paradigm of a champion, through whom the starry light of the dew-bearing heaven shines, extended the Alps, which he had just carried across to Britain. Indeed,

Line 309 can be read as a colourful metaphor for Wilfrid's pastoral duties: he spiritually nourishes those under him, like a ruminant giving milk to his young. But when the line is read in the wider context of this source, it begins to carry more weight. Line 309 borrows a line from the end of Virgil's second *Georgic*: "ubera uaccae / lactea demittunt" (2.524–25, "cows let down their milky udders"). Its allusive potential comes forth in light of the previous sentence, where Frithegod mentions how Wilfrid, by successfully arguing the Roman reckoning for Easter, has extended the "Alps" further, into Britain; he has, in other words, gained a victory for the "Roman" Catholic Church. With Frithegod's methods of adaptation in mind, it is almost certainly no coincidence that at the end of the second *Georgic*, only a few lines after the mention of the "milky udders," Virgil concludes the book with a description of the power and beauty of pre-historic Rome:

> sic fortis Etruria creuit
> scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
> septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. (2.533–35)[36]

Virgil could not have imagined his most beautiful (though pagan) Rome extending as far as the Catholic Church has; rather, it and its seven hills become enclosed literally within its walls. But this is exactly what Frithegod seems to have had in mind when quoting the *Georgics* at this moment. Wilfrid's ability to provide "pastoral" care of sound doctrine to his Northumbrian flocks, described using Virgil's language about ancient Roman pastoral life, connects and, more importantly, undermines Virgil's idyllic depiction of an enclosed Rome by showing that Rome through the Catholic Church extends beyond its seven hills right up to the edges of the world. Frithegod certainly risks losing this connection between Virgil's depiction of Rome and Wilfrid's extension of it in the depth of the *Breviloquium*'s allusiveness. And yet, the connection is there, revealing how Frithegod read and used this section of the *Georgics*, which in turn demands his readers to perform equivalent close reading and reflection.[37]

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after the seat was abandoned by the aforementioned bishop [*sc.* Coleman], at the advice of the king and the encouragement of the people, they decreed in their native language that Wilfrid should be chosen as the one to offer udders of milk to the sheep dependent on him."

36 "In this way Etruria grew powerful and without a doubt Rome became the most beautiful of all things; it enclosed its seven hills within a single wall."

37 See also Dronke, "Functions of Classical Borrowing in Medieval Latin Verse," who discusses similar interpretative potential of Virgilian allusions in the *Waltherius*.

My second example can be found again in Frithegod's use of pagan literature. Near the end of the narrative, Wilfrid, now aged, falls into a four-day illness after which he is visited by the angel Michael:

> Demum cum quintae spirarent lumina solis,
> mittitur e summo, dictu mirabile, caelo
> archanus Michahel nitido lampabilis ore,
> quem pater intendens non ut phantasma repellens,
> ceu Stilbonta, nouum lumen, ueneratur amicum. (1243–47)[38]

Stilbon ("Stilbonta" in the accusative) is a rare Grecism for the planet, and by extension the god, Mercury, which makes the sentiment of the sentence odd. For one, the sentence falls within the stylistic device of ambiguity, which was often shunned by the grammarians but embraced by the poets.[39] Due to its position here, the phrase "ceu Stilbonta," placed immediately after *phantasma repellens* and immediately before *nouum lumen*, can be read two ways: either Wilfrid is not looking at Michael as if he were an evil spirit like Mercury ("non ut phantasma repellens, ceu Stilbonta"), or he is venerating Michael with reverence due to a deity ("ceu Stilbonta, nouum lumen, ueneratur amicum").[40] With that said, the line remains problematic. If "ceu Stilbonta" is in apposition to "phantasma," the specificity of the line is unusual; what is there to fear of Mercury in particular? Alternatively, if it is part of the clause governed by "ueneratur," why would Wilfrid be interested in venerating Michael as if he were a god, and a pagan god at that? In this case, Frithegod's source helps clear the matter. The word *stilbon* could have been picked up in Isidore, where he notes the Greek term for the planet Mercury;[41] or if Frithegod had access to a bilingual, Greek–Latin gospel, he may have learned the word from Mark 9:3, which refers to the gleaming clothing of Jesus after the resurrection.[42]

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38 "In the end, when the light of the fifth day had beamed forth, Michael was mysteriously sent from the highest heaven—it is amazing to say—shining with a radiant face. Our father looked at him not as if he were a repellent ghost, but venerated him as if he were *Stilbon*, the new light, and a friend." I wish to thank Drew Jones for urging me to rethink my earlier reading of this section.

39 See the succinct discussion of ambiguity in Virgil in O'Hara, "Virgil's Style," 249–50; and Thomas, "A Trope by Any Other Name," 381–407. The grammarians employ the terms *ambiguitas* and, from the Greek, *amphibolia*.

40 The phrase "phantasma repellens" is also ambiguous since *repellens* may be modifying Wilfrid: "he [Wilfrid] looked at him and did not reject him as a ghost." But homoeoteleuton of participles modifying a masculine subject and neuter noun in the same line fits Frithegod's convoluted style.

41 Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 3.70.20–21.

42 For bilingual gospels, see Berschin, "Greek Elements in Medieval Latin Manu-

But the surrounding language of the *Breviloquium* provides some further evidence that the word has been taken from Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, and is used to align Mercury (the messenger of the gods) with the angel Michael (the messenger of God).[43] In a list of planet names, Martianus states that *Stilbon* is the name for Mercury: "Mercurium Stilbonta nominarunt";[44] but this information is too brief and banal to shed light on line 1247 of the *Breviloquium*. The early medieval glossators, however, are a bit more helpful. For Remigius and John Scotus Eriugena gloss *Stilbon* as *splendens* (which is also how the word is glossed in the Cotton manuscript of the *Breviloquium*).[45] With these glosses in mind, the word in the *Breviloquium* seems to mean nothing more than "shining": "Our father looked at him not as if he were a repellent ghost, but venerated him as if he were a shining light newly arrived and a friend." But its connection to Mercury is reinforced in two further obscure references from the *De nuptiis*. In the first, after Michael has departed back to heaven, Frithegod interjects with an apostrophe to Wilfrid himself:

> O defesse sagax, curat quem caelica pinax,
> et quia pellacis uitasti gaudia saecli,
> cum numero uitae meruisti praemia summae. (1259–61).[46]

The meaning of *pinax* at line 1259 is unclear. The *DMLBS* understands the word here to mean a "person of high rank" (s.v. 2), perhaps because its primary meanings "board, table" and "writing-tablet" (s.v. 1a–b) do not seem to make much sense in this instance. This definition, however, is an error; the word here does in fact mean some sort of tablet at line 1259, connected to Michael through his association with "Stilbon." For in the *De nuptiis*, the

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scripts," 91–94.

43 Frithegod's dependence on Martianus Capella is almost certain, but is difficult to determine in the specifics. Young, "Author's Variants," 98, concludes his essay by suggesting that closer comparative study of the *De nuptiis* and the *Breviloquium* would illuminate much of Frithegod's own vocabulary. I wish to acknowledge that Andy Orchard first pointed me towards Martianus Capella and his glossators for this section of the *Breviloquium*.

44 *Martianus Capella*, ed. Willis, 322, line 15.

45 *Remigii Autissodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. Lutz, 448.10, 272: "MERCURIUM STILBONTA id est splendentem vel celerem"; and Iohanneis Scottusi, *Annotationes in Marcianum*, 448.12, 177: "STILBONTA id est splendentem." The gloss in Claudius A.i, fol. 33v, reads "splendens."

46 "Oh you exhausted prophet, who was healed by heavenly *pinax*, because you avoided the joys of this deceitful world, you have earned the rewards of the highest life along with a few more years of this life."

pinax is a magical tablet presented to Philology, which she recognizes as associated with Mercury:

> spicas manu caelatumque ex hebeno pinacem argumentis talibus afferebat… hanc tabellam cum ingestam sibi cognosceret virgo venerata, licet sponsi agnosceret argumentum, tamen non ausa est sine supplicatione transire.[47]

Frithegod's *caelica pinax*, which restores Wilfrid from his illness, echoes the *caelata pinax* of Mercury.

The second connection between Martianus and this section of the *Breviloquium* is more tenuous: Frithegod's description of Michael as "Archanus" (1245). Angels certainly do fall within the realm of the secret and, most often, the hidden, but the description of "secret Michael" is jarring, even if taken adverbially as in the translation provided above. The *DMLBS* is probably correct in its suggestion that there is here a "play on archangelus" (s.v. "arcanus"). But as with so many other examples in the *Breviloquium*, an unusual phrase can be clarified by Frithegod's sources. In the second book of *De nuptiis*, in a discussion on spirits, Martianus connects the *arcana* to *Angelus*: "et quoniam cogitationum arcana superae annuntiat potestati, etiam Angelus poterit nuncupari" (because he announces the secret things of deliberations by a higher power, he could also be called an "Angel"); before clarifying that the *Angelus* refers to those whom "Graeci daemones dicunt" (the Greeks call *daemones*.)[48] The intertextual connection between Martianus's angel and Frithegod's Michael could not be cogently sustained by this instance alone. But in consideration of Frithegod's use of *Stilbon* and his *pinax* elsewhere in this passage, "Archanus Michahel" does seem to be another hint towards Frithegod's close reading of the *De nuptiis* and a desire to use these allusions to associate Michael with Mercury. If Frithegod's Michael does find his literary form in inspiration from Martianus's Mercury, the archangel becomes more than a simple messenger to a comatose Wilfrid. He is now, like Mercury for the pagans, the Christian symbol of eloquence, a trait as cherished by Frithegod's Wilfrid as by Frithegod himself.[49]

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47 *Martianus Capella*, ed. Willis, 50.17–18 and 51.1–3. "She [*sc*. Themis] presented in her hands a bushel of grain and a *pinax* engraved in ebony with these such designs… Although the worthy maiden knew that this tablet had been brought for her, she dared not approach it without supplication, even though she saw that its subject was her husband." See Lenaz, *Martiani Capellae de nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii liber secundus*, 213; and the abridged information in Cristante et al., *Martiani Capellae de nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii libri I–II*, 327.

48 *Martianus Capella*, ed. Willis, 46.21–22.

49 For the allegory of Mercury as eloquence, see Nuchelman, "Philologia et son marriage."

Conclusion

While these examples from Virgil's *Georgics* and Martianus' *De nuptiis* may seem to stretch interpretative limits in their extremely allusive manner, they are not so inconceivable in light of Frithegod's treatment of Stephen's *VSW*. As a whole, they reveal the connections Frithegod seems to have had developed from his own reading, as well as the potential for the *Breviloquium* to extend meaning from often brief, seemingly insignificant utterances outward to the deep fount of the poem's sources. By doing so, Frithegod creates an expectation that the poem be read alongside the prose text. Like a diptych on an altar, like two covers on a single book, Frithegod's *Breviloquium* is profoundly connected with Stephen's prose life; they are not two separate works but a single *opus geminatum* that requires reading, and rumination over, both parts. And this practice of composition makes huge demands of its readers to be deeply familiar with, probably even to the point of memorization, not only the original hagiographical source, but also the literary texts of the monastic curriculum. Such attentive reading, however, could have occurred in a tenth-century monastic setting when monks not only could study whatever was available in the library during periods of private reading, but would also hear saints' lives read regularly in the refectory. Although it is difficult today to comprehend such intense demands on the reader, especially for those without the benefit of centuries of modern scholarly resources and electronic corpora accompanied by sophisticated digital tools, the rigorous rule of living followed by Frithegod's monastic readers would have prepared them better to be able to discover parallels between texts. The intertextual connections formed in Frithegod's *Breviloquium* reveal how truly different were the monastic reading practices of the tenth century, where social and ideological contexts permitted a life devoted to rumination in hopes of discovering truth.

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