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ABBREVIATIONS

ANQ	*American Notes and Queries*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
Brit. ser.	British Series
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
BEASE	*The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (Oxford, 1999)
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout)
CGL	G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum a Gustavo Loewe inchoatum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1888–1923)
CMCS	*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
Keil, *GL*	*Grammatici latini*, ed. H. Keil, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1857–80)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Auct. antiq.	Auctores antiquissimi
Epist.	Epistolae
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989)
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1841–64)
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Section C)
SM	*Studi Medievali*

PREFACE

This publication is the outcome of an initiative taken in 1999 by members of the post-graduate community in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic. That they have brought their venture so successfully to fruition is testimony not only to their commitment and enthusiasm, but no less importantly to the professionalism which they have displayed at every stage of the process. The Department is proud indeed to be associated with the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, and wishes it every success in the future.

Professor Simon Keynes
Head of the Department of ASNC
University of Cambridge

COLLOQUIUM REPORT

The third Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic took place on Thursday, 30 May 2002, in the Winstanley Lecture Theatre, Trinity College, Cambridge. Papers on the theme of 'Educating the Barbarian' were presented in four sessions:

Session I *(Chair: Bridgitte Schaffer)*
Patrizia Lendinara, 'Was the Glossator a Teacher?'

Session II *(Chair: Tim Bolton)*
Andrew Rigby, 'Classical Lore in Old Icelandic Otherworlds'
Claudia di Sciacca, 'Isidorian Scholarship at the School of Theodore and Hadrian: the case of the *Synonyma*'
Antje G. Frotscher, 'Teaching the Art of Invective: Quarrels and Insults in Early Medieval Latin Didactic Dialogue'

Session III *(Chair: Emily Thornbury)*
Harriet Thomsett, 'Meeting on Whose Terms? The Equation of Latin and Vernacular Literary Terminology in Old Irish Glosses'
Caroline Smith, 'A Barbarised Coinage? Copper Alloy in Pre-Viking Northumbrian Coinage'
Verity Allan, 'Bede: Educating the Educators of the Barbarians'

Session IV *(Chair: Elinor Teele)*
Kaele Stokes, 'The Educated Barbarian? Asser's *Life of King Alfred* and Welsh learning'
Alaric Hall, 'Monster-fighting, Christianisation and *Guthlac A*'

The members of the colloquium committee for 2001–2 were:
Bee Smyth (Chairman), Tim Bolton, Katherine Didriksen, Malasree Home, Catherine Jones, Bridgitte Schaffer, Flora Spiegel, Elinor Teele and Bev Thurber.

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Quaestio 3 was edited by Catherine Jones with the assistance of Emily V. Thornbury (to whom the editor wishes to give particular thanks), Malasree Home, Andrew Rigby, Bridgitte Schaffer, Kaele Stokes and Elinor Teele. Editorial design is by Alistair Vining, and the *Quaestio* logo was drawn by Katharine Scarfe Beckett.

Was the Glossator a Teacher?

Patrizia Lendinara
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The Modern English term *gloss* 'gloss' was borrowed from Latin *glōssa*, which in turn is a loan-word from Greek γλῶσσα 'tongue (of men or animals), language, provincialism, obsolete or dialectal word'. Latin *glōsa*, *glōssa* means 'obscure term requiring an interpretation',[1] and was used to signify both a 'rare or difficult word, in a text, for which an explanation is needed',[2] and the explanation itself. The Latin word

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[1] From Greek, Latin has borrowed not only γλῶσσα , but also γλῶσσημα , with semantic interference of the latter on the former. For Latin *glōssēma* 'obsolete or foreign word needing an explanation', see Quintilian, 'circa glossemata etiam, id est voce minus usitatas, non ultima eius professionis diligentia est', *Institutio oratoria* I, 8,15, ed. L. Radermacher, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1965), I, 54. See also Late Latin *glōssēmaticōs* (adverb) 'obscurely' (of words needing an explanation) in Pomponius Porphyrius, 'Praesenti. Viventi, sed splendidus hoc est quia glossematicos', *Commentum in Horatium Flaccum* 2, 1, 15, ed. A. Holder (Hildesheim, 1967), p. 370, 10; and Late Latin *glōssēmaticus* (adjective) 'characterized by the use of rare words', for example, in Diomedes, 'Genera locutionum sunt quinque, rationale artificiale historicum glossematicum commune', *Ars grammatica*, ed. Keil, *GL* I, 440, 1–2. A semantic interference between Latin *glōssa* and *glōssēma* is also attested: see 'Glosema: interpretatio sermonum' in the First Erfurt Glossary, *CGL* I, 1–2; V, 367, 7.

[2] See also Late Latin *glōssula* 'peculiar word' occurring in Charisius, 'Glossulae multifariae idem significantes', *Ars grammatica*, V. 25, tit. B, ed. F. Kühnert, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1964), p. 408, and in Diomedes, 'exquisitio per quam unius cuiusque rei qualitatem poeticiis glossulis exsolvimus', *Ars grammatica*, ed. Keil, *GL* I, 426, 25–26.

eventually came to signify 'interpretation of a word'[3] as well as 'explanation added to a word' (and henceforth excerpted from its context along with the word it referred to).[4] Finally, *glōsa* also designated a 'collection of glosses'[5] and a 'commentary'.[6] Nowadays *gloss* is used to mean a marginal or interlinear annotation to a text, typical of medieval scribal practices. Such annotations are not always or necessarily juxtaposed with difficult words, but rather with words that the author himself, the scribe or a later annotator chose to accompany with an interpretation or a further comment. Glosses could be written in the same language as the text or in a different language.

As far as Medieval Latin *glosare*, *glossare* 'gloss' is concerned, Niermeyer records the earliest occurrence in the year 1156,[7] whereas

[3] 'Glosa: congregatio sermonum vel interpretatio', *Abavus* Glossary, *CGL* IV, 597, 53.

[4] For this meaning, see rubrics such as that at 43rb of Bern, Burgerbibliothek 16 (*s.* ix) which contains an incomplete version of the *Liber glossarum*: see G. Goetz, 'Der *Liber Glossarum*', *Abhandlungen der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse* 13 (1893), 213–88, at 223. The rubric 'Incipit liber glosarum' is found in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 166 (*olim* P. II. 33), dated to the second quarter of the ninth century. See H. Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, MGH Schriften 39 (Hannover, 1995), 14, 66–67, 69, 86, 97 and 164. The *Liber glossarum*, one of the largest medieval glossaries, is ed. W. M. Lindsay *et al.*, *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1926–31, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), I, 15–604; excerpts in *CGL* V, 161–255.

[5] See, for example 'Glosa: congregatio sermonum' in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 912: *CGL* IV, 242, 32.

[6] For these definitions, see G. Loewe, *Prodromus Corporis Glossariorum Latinorum, Quaestiones de glossariorum latinorum fontibus et usu* (Leipzig, 1876), 1–23, and *CGL*, I, 1–2.

[7] J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v. *glosare*. See also C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–87), s.v.

the first occurrences of *glosarium*, *glossarium* 'glossary' date back to the ninth century. This word is used to mean a collection of lexical items, each followed by an interpretation,[8] listed – though not necessarily and not exclusively - in alphabetical order. Three different types of glossaries, not always alphabetized, were in circulation in the Middle Ages and their typology does not depend on chronological factors: the so-called *glossae collectae*, the subject glossaries[9] and the alphabetical glossaries, which show an ever-increasing degree of alphabetization.[10]

glōssa, and *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–), VI, 2, col. 2108 (*glōssa, glōssarium*, and *glōssēma*) and col. 2109 (*glōssēmaticōs, glōssēmaticus*, and *glōssula*).

[8] An earlier Latin *glōssārium* 'rare and futile word' is also attested. This word – which is analogue to Greek *γλωσσάριον* – is formed with the diminutive suffix *-ārium*; it has a limited number of occurrences and is found, for example, in Aulus Gellius, 'Ego enim grammaticus vitae iam atque morum disciplinas quaero, vos philosophi mera estis, ut M. Cato ait, "mortualia"; glossaria namque colligitis et lexidia, res taetras et inanes et frivolas tamquam mulierum voces praeficarum', *Noctes Atticae* XVIII, 7, 3, ed. P. K. Marshall (Oxford, 1968).

[9] The *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana* already contained words grouped by subject, lists of verbs, etc. The *Hermeneumata*, traditionally attributed to the grammarian Dositheus, are a bilingual school-book aimed at Greeks who wanted to learn Latin. In the Middle Ages they were no longer used to teach grammar, but became a source of lexicographical material, which often found its way into glossaries: see G. Goetz, 'Dositheos' and 'Glossographie', in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. A. F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa, 34 vols. in 63 (Stuttgart, 1894–72), V, cols. 1606–7, and VII, cols. 1437–8; Keil, *GL* VII, 370ff.; and *CGL*, III, vii–xxxvi, where the *Hermeneumata* are published. See, *i.a.*, A. C. Dionisotti, 'From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and its Relatives', *Jnl of Roman Stud.* 72 (1982), 83–125, and 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: the Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. W. Herren, King's College London Medieval Studies 2 (London, 1988), 1–56.

[10] Such studies as those by P. Bierbaumer, 'Aspekte der Altenglischen Glossenforschung', in *Festgabe für H. Pinsker zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Acobian (Vienna, 1979), pp. 33–50, and 'Research into Old English Glosses: a Critical

Medieval glossaries – whether monolingual or bilingual – are now known by their first *lemma*, such as *Abstrusa*,[11] *Abolita*,[12] *Abrogans*,[13] and so on. Some have been given a title by later editors or publishers: such is the case, for example, with the *Vocabolarius St. Galli*, the *Kassel glosses*, etc. Like most medieval works, glossaries are hardly ever accompanied by a contemporary title; the rubrics found in the manuscripts were sometimes written by a later hand. As already remarked, the word *glossarium* 'collection of glosses' is attested starting from the ninth century;[14] Ainard's Glossary, an alphabetical glossary compiled in

Survey', in *Problems of Old English Lexicography*, ed. A. Bammesberger, Eichstätter Beiträge 15 (Regensburg, 1985), 65–77, do not deal with theoretical issues, but rather provide an overview of research on the subject. Some works such as G. Stein, *The English Dictionary before Cawdrey*, Lexicographica, Series maior 9 (Tübingen, 1985), tend to consider glossaries in a simplistic way as the first form of modern dictionaries. Issues concerning the nature and typology of glosses are dealt with in the first chapter of P. Lendinara, *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 622 (Aldershot, 1999).

[11] *CGL* IV, 3–198: the *Abstrusa* Glossary occurs in a composite form (known as *Abstrusa-Abolita*) in a manuscript dating to the middle of the eighth century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3321. The two manuscripts used by Goetz in his apparatus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7691 (a codex of the ninth century from Rheims) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2341, as well as Bern, Burgerbibliothek A 92. 3, contain only the *Abstrusa* Glossary.

[12] *CGL* IV, 3–198: the items of the *Abolita* Glossary (see above, n. 11) are included within square brackets, following an editorial practice which produced a series of misunderstandings and errors in subsequent research.

[13] The *Abrogans*, so called from its first lemma, dates back to the second half of the eighth century and was compiled in Freising, Bavaria. Like most Old High German glosses, the *Abrogans* was published by E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1879–1922, repr. Dublin, 1968–9), I, 1–270 (henceforth S-S).

[14] P. Gatti, *Un glossario bernense (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, A. 91 [18]). Edizione e commento*, Labirinti 55 (Trento, 2001), 8, has recently pointed out an occurrence

France in 969, begins with the words 'Incipit Glosarium ordine elementorum agregatum ab Aynardo'.[15]

Three types of glossary were in circulation in Anglo-Saxon England: those consisting of one or more sections of *glossae collectae*, class glossaries, and alphabetical glossaries. In all types a Latin *lemma* was followed by one or more *interpretamenta* in Latin or Old English.[16] These compilations had a different typology, but there was, behind each kind of glossary, also a different approach to texts from which the glosses were taken which conditioned their lay-out. At the same time Classical, Late and Medieval Latin works (including Anglo-Latin ones) were provided with glosses, which could either be excerpted and gathered as *glossae collectae* or make their way in alphabetical glossaries.

In the *glossae collectae* the entries were not rearranged in alphabetical order, but appear in the same order as they occurred in the text from which they were drawn. The best known representative of this kind of collection is the Leiden Glossary, which is preserved in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. Q. 69, 7r–47r (written at St. Gall c. 800).[17] Class glossaries (whether subject or

of the word in the title of a glossary in Bern, Burgerbibliothek A 91 (18), 2r.

[15] P. Gatti, *Ainardo, glossario*, Millennio medievale 23, Testi 9 (Florence, 2000), 3.

[16] With the exception of a few subject glossaries, where all the entries have a vernacular interpretation, English compilations are characterized by the unpredictable distribution of Latin and Old English interpretations.

[17] Independent from the Leiden family are a number of *glossae collectae* occurring in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The glosses copied on the margins of 11r–19r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 are also drawn from Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*; glosses from the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* by Bede were copied on 5r, 34v, 60v and 124v in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. ii. Other glossaries are made up of small batches of different origin: in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. C.144, 153v, glosses from Priscian and Donatus alternate with entries whose origin is still unidentified; those in Oxford,

encyclopaedic) collected, in separate batches, lists of words in 'dictionary form', belonging to specific semantic fields such as the names of animals and plants, or words pertaining to man and his relatives, common objects and parts of the house.[18] Alphabetical compilations were to become the most common type of glossary in England. In such compilations entries could either occur in the nominative form, as in class glossaries, or could retain the same grammatical case which they had in the original text, as in the case of *glossae collectae*, which were one of the sources of alphabetical glossaries. Alphabetical glossaries drew part of their entries from the above-mentioned compilations (by reshuffling the entries under each letter of the alphabet and combining batches from different sources). It is often possible to identify the origin of a gloss (if, for example, the *lemma* occurs in an inflected form), but in general, sources of alphabetical glossaries are difficult to determine.

In the so-called *glossae collectae*, the various series of glosses are each drawn from a different work (such as the Bible, the *Benedictine Rule* or widespread literary, hagiographic or historical works such as Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* or Insular texts such as Gildas' *De excidio Britanniae*) and are listed according to the order in which they occurred in the original text.[19] Each batch is introduced by rubrics

Bodleian Library, Bodley 163, 250r, have been traced to various sources by P. Lendinara, 'Il glossario del ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163', *Romanobarbarica* 10 (1988–9), 485–516 (repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, pp. 329–55).

[18] Further subject fields represented in Anglo-Saxon subject glossaries are the names of members of the family and society, and names of animals, birds, fishes and plants; other glosses pertain to common objects, parts of the house, furniture or seafaring implements. Akin to the class glossaries are the lists of plant or animal names, provided with glosses in Old English, which are found in several manuscripts. Plant names were listed in large compilations, such as the Durham and the Laud Herbal glossaries.

[19] There exists a close relationship between *glossae collectae* and glossaries which

such as 'Glosae[20] verborum de canonibus', 'Interpretatio sermonum de regulis', 'Verba de Sancti Martini storia', 'In libro Isaie prophete' or 'De dialogorum'.[21] These rubrics are characterized by expressions such as, for example, *verbum* or *interpretatio* and prepositions such as *in* or *de*, which are alternative to each other. Thus, they betray an awareness of the selective process carried out beforehand by the author of the compilation, as well as a persistent and influential connection with the original text.[22]

The *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana*,[23] which served as a model for a number of glossaries, contained several sections, including a subject glossary, made up of different *capitula* (for example 'De caelo', 'De duodecim signis', 'Quae in theatro', and 'Quae in stadio'). Subject

are alphabetized to a greater or lesser extent: the sequences of words which in the first case kept the order in which the lemmata occurred in the original text were subsequently arranged in alphabetical order, and, finally, at an even more advanced stage were fused with batches of words of different origin.

[20] The space of one letter is left between *o* and *s* in the manuscript.

[21] All the examples are drawn from the Leiden Glossary, *An eighth-century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Ms no. 144)*, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1890). The above mentioned rubrics are those of chs. i, ii, iii, xiii and xxxix which contain, respectively, entries from the church canons, the *Benedictine Rule*, the *Life of St. Martin* of Sulpicius Severus, the Biblical book of Isaiah and the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory. The Leiden Glossary is made up of forty-eight chapters of *glossae collectae*.

[22] Glosses can help us to follow the transmission of a text, as they repeat corruptions or variants that were particularly common or typical of the branch of the tradition circulating in England.

[23] The *Hermeneumata* enjoyed wide circulation in the British Isles in the Middle Ages, where they were introduced very early, although the only surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1828–30, 36r–109r) is late and incomplete. Its version is partly printed in *CGL* III, 393–8: it contains one alphabetical glossary and a few sections of the class glossary ('Nomina volucrum', 'De membris hominum', and 'Nomina piscium').

glossaries also show a conscious and thoughtful structuring of the gathered material, insofar as they are divided into sections and their entries are arranged hierarchically. The *lemmata* of the subject glossaries[24] never occur in inflected form (see, for example, 'Rex *kyning*, sceptrum *cynegyrd*, regina *cwēn*')[25] and, among their sources, there are, beside the *Hermeneumata*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*. The Second Cleopatra Glossary (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii)[26] and Ælfric's *Glossary*[27] belong to this type of glossaries. In Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M 16. 2 and London, British Library, Add. 32246 there is a glossary with more than 3000 entries,[28]

[24] An early circulation of subject glossaries in the British Isles is witnessed by the First Corpus Glossary, which includes a few entries representative of several subject fields: one bird name ('Tantalus: *aelbitu*', no. 325), five plant names (e.g. 'Ferula: *hreod*', no. 135), two names of members of the family and society (e.g. 'Gemellus: *getuin*', no. 142) and glosses pertaining to common objects, house implements, and tools. At least one chapter of the Leiden Glossary (ch. xlvii) – which bears the rubric 'Item alia' – does not go back to *glossae collectae*, but has been drawn from the topical lists of a glossary of the kind of those included in the *Hermeneumata*. In S-S III are printed subject glossaries with *interpretamenta* in Old High German, such as the *Kassel glosses* and the *Summarium Heinrici*.

[25] The three entries occur in Ælfric's *Glossary*: J. Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben 1 (Berlin, 1880, repr. with introd. by H. Gneuss, 1966), 300, 12. The entries belong to the first of the eight sections of the glossary, which is entitled 'Nomina membrorum', where the names of the limbs of the body and the members of society are listed. As is evident from this example, the combination of lemmata was based on mental associations, as well as on lexical and cultural hierarchies.

[26] T. Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. and collated by R. P. Wülcker, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1884) (henceforth W-W), I, 258–83 and 474–77, 27.

[27] See also W-W, I, 536–53.

[28] W-W, I, 104–91 and L. Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32,246' (unpubl.

arranged in nine sections ('De instrumentis agricolarum', 'Nomina omnium hominum communiter', 'De nominibus metallorum',[29] 'Nomina vasorum', 'Nomina herbarum', 'Nomina arborum', 'Nomina armorum', 'Nomina XII ventorum', and 'Omnia nomina tritici sunt'). A late subject glossary is that in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1828–30, which also contains an unrubricated section on ships and their parts.[30]

Minimal collections of glosses were in circulation, which were characterized by a well defined identity. They can be considered autonomous compositions ruled by an internal logic, where it is easy to find out the relationship among the different entries, despite their apparent incongruity. A good example of such batches of entries is provided by a short subject glossary made up of twelve *lemmata* referring to the names of Roman buildings and their parts.[31] This glossary is found in several continental manuscripts,[32] and in one of

Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1955). On this glossary, see L. Lazzari, 'Il canto liturgico nel glossario in latino-inglese antico del ms. Antwerpen, Plantin-Moretus Museum M 16. 2 (47) + London, B.L., Add. 32246', *Linguistica e Filologia* 2 (1996), 193–221. For the manuscript, which might have been written at Abingdon, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957, reissued with Appendix, 1990), no. 2, and H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Tempe, AR, 2001), no. 775.

[29] The word *metallorum* of the rubric was erased and the word *muscarum* written above. The section contains the names of insects and some birds, which are often combined in the Middle Ages.

[30] The Brussels Glossary is only available in W-W, I, 284–303.

[31] The original batch contained the following lemmata: *proaulum*, *salutatorium*, *consistorium*, *trichorum*, *zetae hiemales*, *zetae aestivales*, *epicastorium* (*triclinia*), *thermae*, *gymnasium*, *culina (coquina)*, *colymbus*, *hypodromus*: see C. Huelsen, 'Die Angebliche Mittelalterliche Beschreibung des Palatins', *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich deutschen Archaeologische Instituts. Roemische Abteilung/ Bullettino dell'imperiale istituto archeologico germanico, sezione romana* 17 (1902), 255–268, at 266.

[32] See *CGL* I, 100 and 301, and Huelsen, 'Die Angebliche', at 255–68.

these it is introduced by the rubric 'De domiciliis'.[33] In England, the glossary survives in its entirety within a vast collection of glosses from different sources, still largely unpublished, in London, British Library, Harley 3826.[34] It also occurs twice in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M 16. 2,[35] once on the external margin of 43v and a second time within a subject glossary, where the entries are accompanied by Old English *interpretamenta* and preceded by the archilexeme 'Domus: *hus hywræden*'.[36] This is the only bilingual version of the glossary attested.

The long sequence of glosses, which I believe was added to leftover blank sheets in the final part of Harley 3826, does not follow any apparent order, whether alphabetical or content-based. Only two rubrics interrupt the sequence of the *lemmata*, one at the beginning of 150r and the other at 161r, showing how two autonomous compilations were merged into a larger collection. The former, which bears the title 'Grammaticae artis nomina grece et latine notata', is one of the versions of a glossary which occurs in several manuscripts. Such a glossary consists of grammatical, prosodic and rhetorical

[33] In Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 651 (*olim* B. IV, 18 and D IV, 30) (*s.* ix.), 93r.
[34] The manuscript was probably written at Abingdon and is dated to the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh: see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 241 and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 438. The glosses are copied on 70v–71r, 84r–86v and 150r–167v: see P. Lendinara, 'L'attività glossatoria del periodo anglosassone (con in appendice l'ed. del Glossario alle Satire IV-VIII di Giovenale del ms. London, BL Harley 3826)', in *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge, Actes du Colloque international organisé par le 'Ettore Majorana Centre for Scientific Culture' (Erice, 23-30 septembre 1994),* ed. J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-neuve, 1996), pp. 615–55, repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, pp. 289–328.
[35] D. W. Porter, 'On the Antwerp-London Glossaries', *JEGP* 98 (1999), 170–192, at 172.
[36] W-W, I, 183, 37–184, 15.

terms and begins with the entry 'Poeta: vates'.[37] Another rubric, at 161r 'Ex libro Iuvenalis' is followed by 169 entries which are traceable to the *Satires* of Juvenale (IV–VIII).[38] It is interesting to remark how the series of glosses is broken twice to point out the nature of two sequences of *glossae collectae* drawn from a literary work.

Something similar happens with alphabetical glossaries. The First Cleopatra Glossary is a large compilation, whose entries follow the *A*-order.[39] The entries of this glossary are drawn from previous compilations, such as the Second Corpus Glossary, or from literary works, such as Aldhelm's prose and verse *De virginitate* as well as his riddles.[40] Under each letter of the alphabet there are at least four

[37] As the title points out the majority of the *lemmata* are either loan-words or mere transcriptions from Greek. The version of Harley 3826, which is the only Insular witness, has been recently printed by H. Gneuss, 'A Grammarian's Greek-Latin Glossary', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. Godden *et al.* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 60–86; see also L. Munzi, 'Spigolature grammaticali in una silloge scolastica carolingia', *Bollettino dei classici. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. III, XIV (1993), 103–32. Fifty *lemmata* belonging to this glossary are found in the First Corpus Glossary, where they maintain their original order in each of the alphabetical sections where they occur.
[38] The glossary is printed by Lendinara, 'L'attività glossatoria', pp. 642–55 (repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, pp. 316–20).
[39] See Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 143, and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 319. The First Cleopatra Glossary has been printed by W. G. Stryker, 'The Latin-Old English Glossary in ms. Cotton Cleopatra A III' (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1951) and in W-W, I, 338–473; the manuscript contains three glossaries of a different kind, which extend to cover the entire volume and have a share of their items in common.
[40] It is reckoned that the First Cleopatra Glossary contain about 2100 Aldhelm glosses (over 5000 *lemmata*). The Third Cleopatra Glossary has 1718 *lemmata* all drawn from Aldhelm. Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* was the most heavily glossed work from Anglo-Saxon England, with approximately 60,000 glosses

different sequences of *lemmata* drawn from Aldhelm's works and, in three instances, the glosses from the prose *De virginitate* are followed by glosses from the verse *De virginitate*; one of the batches also contains *lemmata* drawn from the riddles and the *Carmina ecclesiastica*. The first batch (marked by the marginal notation *dł*, which stands for *De laudibus*) is found under every letter except *B*.[41] The largest batch of entries is marked by the notation *eał* (*ex aliis libris*) and occurs second after the first Aldhelm batch. The entries of the latter batch are arranged in *AB*-order, in contrast with the rest of the entries of the First Cleopatra Glossary. The third Aldhelm batch (made up of glosses from both the prose and verse *De virginitate*) is found toward the latter part of each alphabetical section. Such glosses are followed by the notation *nigł*, whose meaning is still unknown. This is one of the few cases in which a large share of the components of a glossary is highlighted by the scribe himself at the time of its compilation. Not all the sources of the glossaries are pointed out by the use of marginal notations written on the border of the folios. In a recent study Kittlich has identified and studied twenty-three different layers, or rather sequences, of glosses that make up the First Cleopatra Glossary.[42] A similar practice is witnessed by some manuscripts of the *Liber glossarum* where, for example, the Isidorean component was signalized in the margin by the words 'Esidori', 'Esydori', 'Ysidori', 'Ethimologiarum', and, sometimes, by a longer remark 'Esidori ex libris ethimologiarum' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11529 + 11530, 27v).[43]

preserved in fourteen manuscripts (the oldest from c. 800, the latest from c. 1350). No estimate has been done of the number of Aldhelm entries in the alphabetical glossaries and the *glossae collectae*.

[41] It is the first under all the alphabetical sections, except *C*, *D*, and *E*.

[42] W. Kittlick, *Die Glossen der Hs. British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. III: Phonologie, Morphologie, Wortgeographie*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XIV, Angelsächsische Sprache und Literatur 347 (Frankfurt, 1998).

Another rubric which yields good evidence of the contemporary attitudes toward glossarial activity is that in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183.[44] The small glossary at 70r–71r consists solely of *lemmata* drawn from Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*.[45] A version of Bede's poem is contained in the manuscript – whose contents are more or less connected with St Cuthbert, his life and his cult – and is immediately followed by the glossary under examination. The entries are arranged in two columns, one for the Latin *lemmata* and the other for the corresponding *interpretamenta*, nineteen of which are in Old English. The glosses are preceded by the heading 'Haec sunt quae in libello sequenti caraxata sunt atque archana'. Latin *charaxare*[46] means 'cut upon, carve, write, paint' and occurs, for example, in the prose *De virginitate* of Aldhelm 'cuius mentionem infra caraxabimus'.[47] The

[43] D. Ganz, 'The *Liber Glossarum*: a Carolingian Encyclopaedia', in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. L. Butzler and D. Lohrmann (Basel, 1993), pp. 127–35.

[44] For a description of the manuscript, which was one of the gifts bestowed by King Æthelstan on the community of Chester-le-Street and was written between 934 and 939, the year of the king's death, see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 42; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 56; S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201, at 180–5; D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases', *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–179, at 177–78.

[45] *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, ed. W. Jaager, Palaestra 198 (Leipzig, 1935).

[46] A. Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1965), I, s.v. *characatus* 'supported with props', from *characare* 'prop' (with reference to the props used by wine-dressers to support the branches and the shoots), Late Latin *charaxare* 'carve, write', borrowed from Greek χαρακοῦν (Greek *χάραξ* 'stake').

[47] *Aldhelmi opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH Auct. antiq. XV (Berlin, 1919), 299, 16–17. The verb has a number of occurences in Anglo-Latin literature: see

choice of this verb to refer to the glosses which originally accompanied one version of the *Vita S. Cuthberti*, together with the use of the adjective *arcānus*, connotes the following *lemmata* as something needing a clarification, an elucidation. Such a choice is at the same time appropriate and correct, because all the entries of the glossary are words which Bede used figuratively in his poem.[48]

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144 contains two glossaries, one at 1r–3v and another, much larger, at 4r–64v.[49] The latter is the so-called Corpus Glossary, which has aroused so much interest, while the former, though available in Hessels' edition,[50] has hitherto been neglected. Both glossaries are alphabetical, but the first one is less advanced in the rearrangement of the entries in each alphabetical section, so that it is easy to identify its components. The entries mostly consist of 'glosses to biblical names', that is both *lemmata* and *interpretamenta* can be traced back to Jerome's *Liber interpretationis*

Aethilwald's letter to Aldhelm ('cursim calamo perorante caraxatum') and the *De transmarini itineris peregrinatione* ('Stilo calamo stridulo caraxante persedulo'), *S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, in *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, I, MGH Epist. III (Berlin, 1957), at 239 and 242 respectively.

[48] See P. Lendinara, 'Le glosse secondarie', in *Studi linguistici e filologici offerti a G. Caracausi,* Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani Bollettino: Supplementi 12 (Palermo, 1992), 269–81 (repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, 71–86, at 73–5).

[49] W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge, 1921). The manuscript was written in Southumbria at the beginning of the ninth century: see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 36; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 45, and *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries. Épinal Bibliothèque Municipale 72 (2). Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Amplonianus 2° 42. Düsseldorf Universitätsbibliothek Fragm. K. 19 : Z 9/1. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cgm. 187 III (e. 4). Cambridge Corpus Christi College 144*, ed. B. Bischoff, M. Budny, G. Harlow, M. B. Parkes and J. D. Pheifer, EEMF 22 (Copenhagen, 1988), 25.

[50] J. H. Hessels, *An Eighth-century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Ms no. 144)* (Cambridge, 1890), pp. 3–8.

Hebraicorum nominum or to Eucherius' *Instructiones* (in several occasions his interpretations overlap Jerome's) or, in some instances, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (which often repeats the words of Jerome and Eucherius verbatim). The titles of the two glossaries are noteworthy. Both the former 'Interpraetatio nominum ebraicorum et grecorum' (1r) and the latter 'Incipit glosa secundum ordinem elimentorum alphabeti' (4r), classify not only the kind of glossarial compilation, but also the nature of the *lemmata* of the compilations themselves. The first rubric also emphasizes the 'interpretative' function of the *interpretamenta.*

Another glossary which circulated in the British Isles bears an interesting title. It is the *Scholica Graecarum glossarum*,[51] a compilation of about 500 *lemmata*, which are mainly Greek loan-words or simply

[51] One version of the *Scholica* is found in London, British Library, Royal 15. A. xvi, at 74v–83v: Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 267; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 489. The manuscript is possibly of Continental origin (*s.* ix/x), but by the second half of the tenth century it had reached England (St Augustine, Canterbury). Another manuscript of the *Scholica*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35, was written on the Continent in the tenth century and moved to England at the beginning of the eleventh century, as is shown by two Old English glosses and the additions in the last folios: Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 298; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 541. For both manuscripts, see F. A. Rella, 'Continental Manuscripts acquired for English Centers in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries: a Preliminary Checklist', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 107–16. The Royal manuscript contains an Old English gloss to the *Scholica*. This gloss as well as the several corrections of the spelling of Greek loan-words and false word-division suggests that another copy of the glossary was kept in the *scriptorium* of St Augustine's: see P. Lendinara, 'An Old English Gloss to the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*', *ANQ* n.s. 6 (1993), 3–7 (repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, 149–56). Further versions of the *Scholica* occur in Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 74; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4883A, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 215. Excerpts from the glossary are found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1461 and Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. O. 88.

transcriptions of Greek words, followed by *interpretamenta* of varying length with etymological (or pseudo-etymological) explanations, taken for a large part from Isidore's *Etymologiae*. For a long time the glossary has been considered a work by the ninth-century scholar Martin of Laon, or rather notes taken from his lectures. More recently the *Scholica* have been regarded simply as a product of the Laon cultural milieu, but according to Contreni the ultimate home of the compilation must be sought in Spain.[52] In the Oxford manuscript, the rubric on 44r reads 'Incipiunt scholia grecorum glosarum'. On the other hand, both in the Royal and the Vatican manuscript, the word *scholica* occurs in the title of the glossary. Once again the main component of the glossary, that is loan-words and transcriptions from Greek, is pointed out from the very beginning. Moreover the glosses are presented as notes gathered at classes. The adjective *scholicus*, here used as a noun, means 'scholastic, belonging to the school',[53] and is also one of the *lemmata* of the glossary 'Sc<h>olica dicuntur causae summatim excerptae et propriae' (S 7).[54] A similar

[52] J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), p. 114; 'The Formation of Laon's Cathedral Library in the Ninth Century', *SM* 3rd ser. 13 (1972) 919–39, 938 n. 76; 'À propos de quelques manuscrits de l'école de Laon au IXe siècle', *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 21–29 and n. 9; 'Martin Scottus (819–875) and the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*; a New Look at the Manuscripts', *Manuscripta* 19 (1975), 70–1, and 'The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena', *Speculum* 51 (1976), 411–34, 413 n. 18 and 426 n. 57.

[53] Latin *schola* (a loan-word from Greek *σχολή*) means 'free time devoted to the study, lecture, discourse, treatise', 'place where teaching takes place', 'a corps or college of professional men' (from the end of the fourth century), etc.: see Walde and Hoffman, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 493 and, for the later meanings, Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, 945.

[54] There is no complete edition of the glossary; excerpts from the Vatican manuscript have been printed in *CGL* V, 583–6, and the edition of Laistner is

entry occurs in Ainard's Glossary 'Scolicę sunt causę summatim exce<r>pte' (S 63).[55]

Another rubric which is worth mentioning can be read in Vatican City, BAV, Barberini Lat. 477.[56] 51r–51v of this manuscript contain a glossary (some glosses of which have a counterpart in the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*) which bears the title 'Sententię disficiles'.[57] Such a title shows still further how strong the awareness of the specific nature of the entries of glossarial compilations was. In other words, entries were distinguished according to their lexical peculiarity, both as far as the origin (loan-words, transcriptions) and frequency (hard words, *hapax legomena*) of the *lemmata* was concerned.

Contemporary readers were also in a position to appreciate the relevance of glossaries as a specific genre of text. A list of books and ecclesiastical vestments, added on blank folios at the end of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 3 (189v–190r),[58] names three glossaries: one

also based on a collation of this manuscript with London, British Library, Royal 15. A. xvi: W. L. Laistner, 'Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth-Century Monastery Teacher', *Bull. of the John Rylands Lib.* 7 (1923), 421–56. I have a new edition of the *Scholica* in preparation.

[55] Gatti, *Ainardo*, 118.

[56] P. Lendinara, 'On John Scottus's Authorship of the Biblical Glosses', *SM* 3rd ser. 33 (1992), 571–79 (repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, 139–48).

[57] For a description of the manuscript and its content, see K. Hallinger, 'Der Barberinus Latinus 477', *Studia Anselmiana* (= *Mélanges offerts à Dom J.-P. Muller O.S.B.*) 63 (1975), 21–64. The first part of the manuscript, that is fols. 4–123, is dated to the beginning of the eleventh century by Hallinger, who quotes a personal communication by Bernhard Bischoff (at 40–1). As to the origin of the manuscript, Bischoff suggested southern France (at 40).

[58] This codex is dated to the end of the eleventh century and comes from an unidentified centre, possibly Worcester: see M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 33–89, at 69–73; see also O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 3 British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*

'Glosarius' (no. 5), another 'Glosarius' (no. 17) and a 'Glosarius per alfabetum' (no. 44).

The process through which glossaries came into being can sometimes still be traced and studied in surviving manuscripts, and in such cases it provides a valuable index to the way in which Latin texts were studied in medieval schools. This is the case with a glossary in London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. i. The glossary is mainly made up of words taken from book III of the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, a work which was widely studied in English schools in the tenth and eleventh centuries, above all because of its unusual vocabulary.[59] We know that Abbo drew the obscure vocabulary of his poem from pre-existing glossaries such as the *Liber glossarum* and the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*. However, he also took from these works the interlinear glosses which he provided for the difficult words in book III of his poem. Under the rubric 'Incipiunt glosę diersę' in Cotton Domitian A. i some two hundred *lemmata* from book III are collected and each of them is followed by one or more glosses. These glosses are identical with those which accompany the text in other manuscripts. The all-Latin entries of the glossary in Domitian A. i thus provide a working model of how a glossary was compiled, and they represent a further witness to the popularity of Abbo's poem in Anglo-Saxon England.[60]

(Oxford, 1973), no. 45, where it is dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century.

[59] See P. Lendinara, 'The Third Book of the *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss', *ASE* 15 (1986), 73–89 (repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, pp. 157–75).

[60] A later glossary in London, British Library, Royal 7. D. ii also contains entries drawn from the third book of Abbo's poem. In both instances the glosses were copied from the version of the poem which is found in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35.

If we now turn to examine the vernacular terminology which was used to refer to the activity of a glossator, it will become evident that only a limited amount of data from a few Germanic traditions is available. However, they all witness an interest in the glossarial activity, as well as an acknowledgment of its importance.

As far as Old English is concerned there are three occurrences of the verb *glēsan*, which is a loan-word from Latin. It is a weak verb belonging to the first class (as the majority of borrowings), where the *–jan* suffix has produced *i*-mutation of the root vowel. Beside OE *glēsan* the compound verb *oferglēsan* occurs once and it is used to refer to interlinear glosses, that is words which were written above the text they were meant to elucidate. Finally, the noun *glēsing* occurs in the definition of gloss provided by Ælfric in his *Grammar*: 'Sum ðǽra is GLOSSA, þæt is glēsing, þonne man glēsð þā earfoðan word mid ēðran lēdene' (that is gloss, when hard words are glossed with other words in Latin, which are easier).[61] This interpretation is based on the juxtaposition of two adjectives: OE *earfoðe*, which means 'difficult, hard' (the noun *earfoðe* means 'difficulty, affliction'), and OE *ēðe*, *ēaðe*, here in the comparative, which means 'easy'.[62]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 2. 19[63] contains the so-called

[61] *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Zupitza, 293, 13–14. The source of this passage of Ælfric's *Grammar* is found in the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* 'Glossa est unius nominis uel uerbi interpraetatio' (X, 17): D. W. Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano, The Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar*, Anglo-Saxon Texts 4 (Cambridge, 2002).

[62] Such a definition was included in the *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* by E. Somner (Oxford, 1659).

[63] See Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 292; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 531; and Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, no. 1269. The manuscript in Irish majuscule, is also known as the MacRegol Gospels or the Rushworth Gospels, from the name of Rushwort, who gave it to the Bodleian Library, perhaps in 1681. The gloss was added by Farmon and Owun in the

MacRegol Gospels and is dated, as far as the Latin text is concerned, to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. On 50v, at the end of the Gospel of Matthew, there occurs the following colophon 'Farman presbyter þas boc þus gloesede dimittet ei dominus omnia peccata sua si fieri potest apud deum'.[64] Farmon is the author of the gloss in Mercian dialect[65] which was added to the Gospel of Matthew, to some parts of the Gospel of Mark (I–II, 15) and of the Gospel of John (XVIII, 1–3) in the tenth century.[66] At the end of the Gospel of John, on 168v–169r, there is another colophon: 'Đe min bruche gebidde for Owun ðe ðas boc gloesde [...]'.[67] In the colophon, which is one of the few written in vernacular, Owun, besides entrusting himself and Farmon to the prayers of future readers, also adds a comment on the use of the book and some further remarks.

The importance and the role of the glossator is underscored by Aldred who wrote the vernacular interlinear glosses to the Lindisfarne

tenth century.

[64] 'Priest Farmon has glossed this book in this way. May the Lord release him from all his sins, if he may be with God.' W. W. Skeat, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and according to Saint Mark in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions* (Cambridge, 1871 and 1887), 245.

[65] The gloss written by Owun is in Northumbrian dialect and may have been copied from the Lindisfarne Gospels: see U. Lindelöf, *Die südnordhumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts. Die Sprache der sog. Glosse Rushworth²*, Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, 10 (Bonn, 1901) and *Glossar zur altnorthumbrischen Evangelienübersetzung in der Rushworth-Handschrift (Die sogenannte Glosse Rushworth²)*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae XXII, 5 (Helsingfors, 1897).

[66] The gloss to the Gospel of Mark is influenced, in its word choice, by the gloss of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

[67] 'Who makes use of me, may he pray for Owun, who glossed this book.' Skeat, *The Gospel according to Saint Luke and according to Saint John*, 188. At 169r there occurs Macregol's colophon.

Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv).[68] The long colophon at the end of the Gospel of John, which is written almost entirely in Old English, reads 'Aldred presbyter indignus [...] hit ofergloesade on englisc' ('glossed it interlinearly in English').[69] Aldred added several glosses and marginal annotations in the manuscript.[70] He is also responsible for the interlinear gloss and for some sections of the so-called *Durham Collectar* (Durham, Cathedral Library, A. IV. 19).[71] In the colophon at 84r of this manuscript, he refers, once again, to his work, in particular to the four collects which occur in the same folio: in this instance Aldred employs the verb *awrītan* 'write'.

Old English features a large number of verbs for 'translate'[72] and 'interpret',[73] but borrowed the verb 'gloss' from Latin. The borrowing

[68] Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 165; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 343: the Latin text is dated to the end of the seventh century, the continuous interlinear gloss (in Northumbrian dialect) to the second half of the tenth century. The vocabulary of the interlinear gloss is examined and compared to the rest of the Old English corpus by F. Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums*, Anglistische Forschungen 132 (Heidelberg, 1979).

[69] Skeat, *The Gospel according to Saint Luke and according to Saint John*, 188.

[70] W. J. P. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia* (Exeter, 1975).

[71] Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 106; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 223: the manuscript was written at the beginning of the tenth century; the continuous interlinear gloss and the remaining parts written by Aldred, including the colophon, were added in the second half of the tenth century.

[72] See also M. B. Parkes, '*Rædan, areccan, smeagan*: How the Anglo-Saxons Read', *ASE* 26 (1997), 1–22.

[73] The OE verbs for 'translate' are *āreccan, āwendan, gecierran, gehwierfan, oferlǣdan, reccan, getraht(n)ian, gepēodan, gewendan*; the OE nouns for 'translation' are *gepēode* and *gepēodness*; finally, the OE verbs for 'explain' are *āreccan, ātellan, fulfealdan, ofertrahtnian, geopenian, gereccan, gerecenian, gescēadan, gesecgan, togescēadan, getrahtnian, unfealdan, unlīesan*: see J. Roberts, C. Kay and L. Grudny, *A Thesaurus of Old English*, 2 vols., King's College London Medieval Studies 11 (London, 1995).

of *glēsan* has no counterparts in Germanic languages, with the sole exception of Old Norse and Old Frisian, whose documents are much later that those of Old English. It is worth remarking the semantic value of the Middle English verb *glōsen*. This verb is a borrowing from Old French *glōser* and is used not only in the meaning 'gloss, explain', but also in that of 'flatter', with negative connotations.[74] Also Modern English *gloze* (archaic) means 'flatter, deceive with smooth talk or specious words'.[75] As far as the substantive is concerned, in the fourteenth century the word *glōse* is attested, which is also a borrowing from Old French[76] and means 'comment, gloss', but also 'flattery' and 'falsity'.[77] Modern English *gloss* is a refashioning of *glōse*, with a readjustment to the Latin model.

The word for 'gloss', as well as the corresponding verb, are not attested in Old High German and their occurrence dates from the Middle High German period when both the word *glōse*, and the verbs *glōsen* and *glōsieren* (which were all borrowed from Latin) are attested.[78] Beside the forms *Glos*, *Gloß* and *Glose*, the form *Glosse* is first recorded

[74] See F. H. Stratmann, *A Middle-English Dictionary*, rev. ed. by H. Bradley (Oxford, 1891), 298; in Middle English there occurs also *glōsare* 'flatterer', whence English *glosser*, *glozer*, and *glōsinge* 'explanation, comment', but also 'flattery, deceit'.

[75] English *gloze* (obsolete) means 'flattery'.

[76] Old French *glōse* means 'gloss, explantion, commentary', and, in a figurative sense, 'comment, criticism'; the verb *glōser* means 'gloss, explain', but also 'censure, criticize': see W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn, 1928–), IV, 167b.

[77] All these meanings of the verb and the noun, including the negative ones, are attested in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer.

[78] Neither the Middle High German substantive nor the verbs have negative connotations: see B. Hennig, *Kleines Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen, 1993), 130, and G. F. Benecke, W. Müller and F. Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1990), I, 551.

in the sixteenth century, which also shows a readjustment to the Latin model; *Glosse* and *glossieren* are the only forms still in use dating from the seventeenth century.[79] It should be remarked that German *Glosse* has negative connotations and, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, it also acquired the meaning of 'ironic marginal annotation', '(verbal) remark (which is generally either critical or malicious or ironic)'.

In Old Norse three relevant words are attested: the substantive *glósa* 'explanation, comment' and, in the plural, 'cutting remark, malicious hint'[80] (which is regarded as a loan-word from Old French *glōse*),[81] as well as two verbs, namely *glósa* 'explain by means of a gloss', but also 'gossip', and the verb *glósera* 'interpret, explain'.[82] Both the verb *glósa* 'comment'[83] and the substantive *glósa*[84] are attested in the *Konungs skuggsjá* or *Speculum regale*, a Norwegian work of the second half of the thirteenth century, as well as in the saga of the bishop Arni.[85] An extremely interesting occurrence of the word *glósa* is found in the *Fourth Grammatical Treatise*. In a passage commenting on a

[79] See F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 21st ed. rev. by W. Mitzka (Berlin, 1975), s.v., and W. Pfeifer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1993), I, s.v.

[80] J. de Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, 1977), s.v. and R. Cleasby, G. Vigfusson and W. A. Craigie, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1957), s.v.v.

[81] See also Á. B. Magnússon, *Íslensk orðsifjabók* (Reykjavík 1989), p. 258.

[82] According to A. Jóhanneson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1951–6), 1014, the verb acquired this meaning 'nach dem Vorbild von mnd. **glôséren* (mhd. *glôsieren*)'.

[83] L. Holm-Olsen, *Konungs Skuggsjá* (Oslo, 1945, 2nd rev. ed., 1983), p. 2.

[84] Holm-Olsen, *Konungs Skuggsjá*, p. 84.

[85] *Árna biskups saga Þorlákssonar*, 42: *Biskupa Sögur*, 2 vols. (Kaupmannahöfn, 1856–78), I, 737.

rhetorical figure,[86] it is said 'Er þessi figvra kǫllvt af alþyðv glosa, ok er sv greín þar i millvm at þessi figvra ex-flexigesis glosar eðr skyrer sanna frasǫgn'.[87]

In the Middle Ages glossing acquired a significant meaning and an important role, becoming one of the most widespread forms of literacy in the Germanic West. The reasons behind the vernacular and Latin glosses to Latin texts is still an open question. The Anglo-Saxon glossarial production is large, and as remarked above, includes a number of glossaries, some of which are very large, as well as a high number of occasional[88] and continuous interlinear glosses (including twelve interlinear versions of the Psalters, some of which are fragmentary).[89] Continuous interlinear glosses also accompany the Gospels and religious texts (such as the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Regularis concordia*) as well as a few texts which belonged to school curriculum both on the Continent (such as the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés) and in England (such as Ælfric's *Colloquy*). Works such as the Distichs of Cato, Prosper's *Epigrammata* and Prudentius' *Psychomachia* were also provided with occasional interlinear glosses.

[86] See H. Lausberg, *Elemente der literarische Rhetorik* (Munich, 1967, Ital. transl., *Elementi di retorica*, Bologna, 1969), § 413.

[87] 'This figure is called "gloss" by the people because, among other things, this figure – the epexegesis – glosses or explains the true tale'. B. M. Ólsen, *Den tredje og fjærde grammatiske afhandling i Snorres Edda* (Copenhagen, 1884), p. 132.

[88] For a catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon glossarial production, listing both continuous and occasional glosses (C), as well as glossaries (D), see A. Cameron, 'A List of Old English Texts', in *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. R. Frank and A. Cameron, Toronto Old English Series 2 (Toronto, 1973), 25–306.

[89] See Cameron, 'A List of Old English Texts', C 7.1–13, and F.-G. Berghaus, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der altenglischen Interlinearversionen des Psalters und der Cantica* (Göttingen, 1979).

Syntactical glosses or 'construe marks', a special kind of diacritic marks and letters,[90] were used to point out the word-order of the Latin texts (and the Old English interlinear glosses). These glosses were intended to facilitate the analysis and to provide a better understanding of the Latin texts.

The family of glossaries of which the Leiden Glossary is one of the representatives, is connected with the Canterbury school of Theodore of Tarsus and Hadrian.[91] The original collection, which probably dates from that time, is lost, but a vast family of glossaries is preserved in manuscripts written in Germany and other neighbouring countries.[92] Were *glossae collectae* and alphabetical glossaries used in the schools? Were the entries excerpted and assembled to provide an aid for the teacher or his students? Questions such as these are difficult to answer and we are still far from a complete understanding of the significance of glosses and their role.

The *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana* undoubtedly served as a model for a number of Anglo-Saxon glossaries which were used as teaching instruments. Class glossaries, as well as the *Hermeneumata*, furnished ready-made lists of words to be memorized and used for more or less practical aims, including teaching. Former all-Latin class

[90] See F. C. Robinson, 'Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance', *Speculum* 48 (1973), 443–75, and P. P. O'Neill, 'Syntactical Glosses in the Lambeth Psalter and the Reading of the Old English Interlinear Translation as Sentences', *Scriptorium* 46 (1992), 250–6. Patterns analogous to those of syntactical glosses are provided by the prose versions; for the rules underlying prose versions, see M. Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und altenglische Wortstellung', *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 18–58.

[91] See *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994).

[92] Several batches of biblical glosses, which were apparently omitted by the compiler of the Leiden Glossary, are found in continental glossaries.

glossaries, as well as Greek-Latin ones, were supplied with Old English renderings and reshaped to meet new needs. From the time of the tenth-century Benedictine reform movement, class glossaries were widely used in schools. Ælfric's *Glossary*,[93] which is made up of eight sections, enjoyed a large circulation and is attested in several manuscripts, some of which are quite late,[94] as well as excerpts (for example, those in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35).

One share of the glossing activity should undoubtedly be seen as a reflex of Medieval English schooling. However, our knowledge of medieval schools is still scarce.[95] As far as the Anglo-Saxon milieu is concerned, the didactic role of the manuscripts containing Latin texts accompanied by glosses has been questioned a number of times.[96] Glosses, as well as commentaries and *accessus*, represent important evidence for the circulation of a text, but whereas commentaries and accessus are undoubtedly pedagogical devices, glosses might also stem from the hand of a lonely reader intrigued by a text he was perusing for his own study or entertainment. Their copying and bringing together may be dictated by a sort of collector's penchant. The wish to assemble series of synonyms, to preserve a variant reading of a

[93] See Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik*, 297–322. One version was ptd by W-W I, 304–37.

[94] See, for the version in Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 174 (s. xiii[1]), W-W I, 536–53.

[95] P. Lendinara, 'The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 264–81.

[96] See M. Lapidge, 'The Study of the Vernacular Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. N. Brooks (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99–140, at 124–25 and 127. For the following debate and the positions held by R. Page, S. Lerer, N. Porter Stork and M. Irvine, see G. Wieland, 'Interpreting the Interpretation: the Polysemy of the Latin Gloss', *Jnl of Med. Latin* 8 (1998), 59–71.

text or just someone else's cherished notes, should also be taken into consideration. It should also be remarked that glosses were not necessarily entered in a manuscript with the aim to clarify the corresponding *lemmata* and even less to 'translate' them.[97]

[97] P. Lendinara, 'Glosse o traduzioni', in *Tradurre testi medievali: obiettivi, pubblico, strategie*, ed. M. G. Cammarota and M. V. Molinari (Bergamo, 2002), pp. 249–77.

Bede: Educating the Educators of Barbarians

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Bede was born in Northumbria in about the year 672, and joined the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow as a boy.[1] At his death in the year 735, he was one of the most learned men in northwest Europe. He had fluent Latin, some Greek, and was widely read in Biblical exegesis and history, as well as in computus, grammar and metrics.[2] He wrote many books, most of which survive, the most famous of which now is *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.[3] However, most of his books were Biblical commentaries and textbooks, both of which show us different aspects of Bede the educator.

In this paper I wish to analyse whom he was educating – who was Bede's projected audience? He probably did not go out teaching local people the Creed in Old English, though he believed most fervently that this must be done.[4] The extent to which Wearmouth-Jarrow was

[1] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* (hereafter *HE*), V.24: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 568–71.

[2] B. Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (London, 1990), pp. 6–7.

[3] For Bede's list, see *HE*, V.24.

[4] The *Epistola ad Ecgberhtum*, in *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), I, 405–23, shows that Bede wanted the Creed to be taught to people. However, he seems to have stayed very close to Wearmouth-Jarrow throughout his life, and may not have gone out teaching himself (see Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, pp. 5–6 for some evidence that Bede did not travel).

engaged in preaching to the surrounding countryside is unknown. We know that other English monasteries thought that this was part of their mission – Bede tells of Cuthbert going on a preaching tour when he was prior of Melrose.[5] Fulda, one of the many monasteries set up in Germany by the English missionary Boniface,[6] was also an active preaching centre. However, Wearmouth-Jarrow perhaps adhered more strictly to the Benedictine Rule, which discourages activities outside the cloister, since the monks take a vow of stability.[7] Whether Bede was engaged in proselytizing the countryside or not, he certainly taught, as we have the description of him teaching from his deathbed,[8] and we have his own words from the last chapter of the *Historia ecclesiastica*: 'semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui.'[9] So I shall describe some aspects of the school at Wearmouth-Jarrow, how Bede's works were written to help his pupils – their style and structure in other words – and how they were distributed across the Continent, as all these things tell us about his audience; both the audience which had direct personal contact with the master, and those who could only access him second-hand through his writings, whether those writings were read in private, or analysed in the school-room.

If we take Bede's own works as evidence, we gather that the

[5] 'Bede: Life of Cuthbert' (prose version), chs. 12–15: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge, 1940), ed. B. Colgrave, pp. 194–206.

[6] For a brief summary of his life and works see A. Orchard, 'Boniface', in *BEASE*, pp. 69–70.

[7] J. McCann, *The Rule of St Benedict* (London, 1976), ch. 58.

[8] 'Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 580–7.

[9] 'It has always been my delight to learn, to teach and to write.' *HE*, V.25 (translations mine unless otherwise stated).

curriculum at Wearmouth-Jarrow was similar to that at Canterbury: grammar, metrics, *computus* and Biblical study.[10] After John the Archcantor came over from Rome to teach them Roman chant, presumably singing joined the curriculum.[11] The only notable differences when compared to Canterbury were that Roman Law, music theory and the Greek language do not appear to have been taught.[12] Though Bede knew Greek, it appears that he largely taught himself, and it is not known whether he taught it to his pupils.[13] If he knew any Roman law, he did not write about it. However, it occurred to me that there was something missing from the curriculum: where was the doctrinal teaching? Presumably, these schools were producing some priests, so where was the writing about how to perform the mass and other necessary information? Here we gain clues from the *Historia ecclesiastica*, and Boniface's letters, written when he was preaching in Germany from 716 to 754. Both these sources show that

[10] Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, p. 8.

[11] *HE*, IV.18.

[12] M. Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600-899* (London, 1996), pp. 141–68. On pp. 148–9, he summarises source material indicating the nature of the curriculum at Canterbury. A more complete discussion of the texts and teaching methods used at Canterbury may be found in the introduction to *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994), esp. 249–74, on the scholarly concerns and classroom techniques of the masters.

[13] See P. Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 40–79, at p. 50, for evidence that he knew Greek. He was probably largely self-taught, as it appears that his knowledge of Greek increased in his lifetime, presumably through private study. If he had had a teacher with excellent Greek, there seems little doubt that such an exceptional student as Bede would have been able to take advantage of this, and we would not see the same kind of development in his knowledge.

when people were in doubt as to whether baptisms were licitly administered, whom people were allowed to marry, how to carry out the Eucharistic rite and things of that sort, they wrote to other people.[14] Boniface wrote to English bishops; Augustine wrote to Pope Gregory for guidance. Church councils could also rule on such details as the correct method of calculating Easter, and other theological matters.[15] The actual administration of the sacraments was probably taught orally, rather than from texts (though this is arguing from the lack of evidence, rather than anything more definite).

If we look at a list of Bede's works, we can see two kinds of teaching texts, the most obvious being the school or reference texts demonstrating how to write well, calculate Easter accurately and gain a working knowledge of the lunar and solar cycles, including eclipses.[16] These have been discussed by other scholars, and I shall not discuss them here, save to note that these were standard types of texts for schools.[17] The other kind is the group of commentaries, teaching people how to understand the Bible and giving ideas for preaching through allegorical and spiritual interpretations. I believe that this knowledge was of especial importance to his students, since many of them would have to preach to less learned people. In this context, it is interesting to note that several of Bede's works were commissioned by Bishop Acca, who must have been a preacher, and had been in charge of preachers. The Carolingian clergy also had to

[14] For examples, see *S. Bonifatii et S. Lulli epistolae*, ed. M. Tangl, MGH Epist. select. 1 (Berlin, 1916), letters 17, 23 (between Boniface and Daniel, Bishop of Winchester), and *HE*, I.27.

[15] For examples, see the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Hadden and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869-78), vol. III.

[16] See below, pp. 32–3.

[17] Discussed by C. W. Jones, 'Bede's Place in Medieval Schools', in *Famulus Christi*, ed. Bonner, pp. 261–85.

preach extensively, a point to which I shall return later.

Bede's extant works:

a) Biblical Commentaries:
- *On Genesis* : Bishop Acca asked for a commentary, so Bede sent him a revised version of his commentary on Genesis, begun several years earlier.
- *On Samuel* : commissioned by Acca.
- *30 Questions on Kings* : Nothelm sent Bede the questions.
- *On the Tabernacle* : no prologue.
- *On the Temple* : commissioned by Bishop Albinus.
- *On Ezra and Nehemiah* : commissioned by Acca.
- *On Tobit* : no prologue.
- *On Proverbs* : no prologue.
- *On the Song of Songs* : no prologue, though there is an introductory book refuting the theology of Julian of Eclanum.
- *On Habakkuk* : an unidentified nun requested this commentary.
- *On Luke* : commissioned by Acca.
- *On Mark* : commissioned by Acca.
- *Exposition of Acts* : commissioned by Acca.
- *Retraction on Acts* : no commission is mentioned. Bede felt the need to set some things straight.
- *On the Seven Catholic Epistles* : no commissioner mentioned in the prologue.
- *On the Apocalypse* : dedicated to Eusebius.

b) Hagiographies, histories, hymns and homilies:
- *Homilies* : no prologue.
- *Hymns* : no prologue.
- *Ecclesiastical History* : dedicated to King Ceolfrith (the only lay recipient of Bede's writings).
- *The History of the Abbots* : for his own house of Wearmouth-Jarrow.
- *Prose Life of St. Cuthbert* : commissioned by the monks at Lindisfarne.
- *Verse Life of St. Cuthbert* : dedicated to priest John (as yet unidentified).

c) School texts:
- *On orthography* : no introduction.
- *About the art of metre* : for a monk named Cuthbert.
- *About schemes and tropes* : no introduction.
- *About the nature of things* : no introduction.
- *On times* : no introduction.
- *On the reckoning of time* : Hwætbert, abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, is mentioned in the prologue.

I shall now consider the language of instruction at the school. As at Canterbury, the pupils were probably taught in Latin. In Canterbury, this was because Theodore and Hadrian probably did not speak very much Old English. At Wearmouth-Jarrow, Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith had both travelled extensively on the Continent, presumably using Latin as the Church's *lingua franca*.[18] On returning home, it would make sense to teach in Latin, to allow their pupils the same linguistic advantages as they had had, and also because the liturgy was entirely in Latin, as were the texts from which they taught. They may also have realised that the 'direct method' of teaching is often very successful. The evidence to support this is in two forms: firstly, the excellent Latin produced by people from Wearmouth-Jarrow, from Ceolfrith and Bede to Abbot Cuthbert (and contrast their competence with the anonymous author of the *Life of Gregory the Great* from Whitby,[19] also a notable school, which produced several

[18] 'Bede: Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow', chs. 2–6 for the travels of Benedict and ch. 15 for mention of Ceolfrith's travels: 'Historia Abbatum Auctore Baeda', in *Venerabilis Baedae: Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), pp. 365–70 and 379–80; *The Age of Bede*, ed. and trans. Webb and Farmer, pp. 45–51 and 61–2.

[19] *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. B. Colgrave (Lawrence, KA, 1968), pp. 55–6, gives examples of the grammatical peculiarities of the text.

bishops);[20] secondly, there is Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede. In his description of Bede's last hours, Cuthbert states that Bede sang many Psalms, translated the beginning of John's Gospel into Old English, and finally 'in nostra quoque lingua', he spoke his famous death song.[21] Since Cuthbert felt the need to say that Bede spoke in Old English, not Latin, this suggests to me that Latin was the normal language of intercourse, at least among the monastery's top scholars, and that Latin conversation and teaching were more widespread than we might expect.

However, once we step outside Wearmouth-Jarrow or move a little further down the monastery, we have to ask ourselves how well people understood Bede's writings. Much is made of his *sermo simplex*, or simple style, but it is not actually so easy.[22] True, it is easier than Aldhelm or Livy, but there is not much that is more difficult. However, one has to be reasonably proficient at Latin to understand Bede. We know that some of his works, especially the commentaries and the *Historia ecclesiastica*, were intended for people outside his monastery. As can be seen from the list of Bede's works on pp. 32–3, six of the surviving sixteen commentaries were commissioned by Acca, and four more by other people (including Nothelm, from Canterbury).[23] Now Acca was evidently a learned man with excellent

[20] The excellent standard of Latin found in manuscripts from the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium also testifies to the high standard of Latin learning in the monastery. See *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. xxxix–xli, for mention of the high level of accuracy in copying.

[21] 'in our own tongue', 'Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 580.

[22] A phrase originally coined by Alcuin. The style is discussed by R. D. Ray, 'Bede, the Exegete, as Historian' in *Famulus Christi*, ed. Bonner, pp. 125–40, at pp. 134–6.

[23] See D. Whitelock, 'Bede and his Teachers and Friends', in *Famulus Christi*, ed. Bonner, pp. 19–39, at pp. 29–30.

Latin,[24] but Bede must have been aware that other readers were not as able as Acca. We know from the introduction to his commentary on Luke (commissioned by Acca) that Bede was asked to provide a commentary that would be easier than Ambrose's.[25] Now one ought to ask: is it really easier than Ambrose? I came to the conclusion: yes and no. The concepts are easier, but the Latin is not significantly easier. It is of about the same difficulty. In Bede, the sentences are long, with a variety of sub-clauses requiring a good grasp of grammar. Ambrose uses much shorter sentences, which makes it seem somewhat easier to read. So I wondered whether Bede had devised some way of helping students through his works. We know that he provided source references, from the prologue to the same work.[26] Might he have done anything else?

To test this out, I decided to look at Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819 (*s.* viii[1]). Malcolm Parkes, in his Jarrow lecture, identified this manuscript as coming from the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium

[24] Witness his commissioning letter, included at the beginning of Bede's commentary on Luke, *In Lucae evangelivm expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), pp. 5–6.

[25] 'Volo…in Lucam scribere rogatum ut qui ob teneritudinem ingenii sublimia uel difficilia intellectu capere nequeant haec simpliciori stilo exposita facilius apprehendant … Et quia sanctus Ambrosius quaedam indiscussa praeteriit quae illi … uiro plana nec quaesitu digna uidebantur haec quoque perspectis aliorum patrum opusculis diligentius uel tuis uel eorum dictis explanare curato.' *In Lucam*, ed. Hurst, p. 6, lines 48–59.
'I want … you to write the requested [commentary] on Luke … so that those people, who cannot capture in their understanding lofty or difficult things because of the tenderness of their minds, might apprehend those things more easily when explained in a simpler style … And because St. Ambrose left undiscussed those things which seemed to him plain to people and unworthy of inquiry, take care to explain those things too, having looked at the works of other fathers, either in their words or your own.'

[26] *In Lucam*, Prologue, ed. Hurst, p. 7, lines 105–15.

in the decades following Bede's death. It contains part of Bede's commentary on Proverbs. This is the only surviving manuscript of Bede's commentaries to have been produced by his own monastery and therefore it was the most appropriate manuscript that I could study, along with the St Petersburg Bede. Unusually, this manuscript contains extensive punctuation, some of which was discussed by Parkes in his lecture.[27]

The punctuation comes in several forms: *hedera*, which look like leaves; *diple*, which look like a bass clef in music; a *punctus elevatus*, which looks like an inverted semi-colon; a *punctus versus*, which looks like a semi-colon, and a point, which looks like a full stop. Unlike the punctuation in some medieval manuscripts, the punctuation here is used systematically and accurately. The *diple* in the margins mark the quotations from the Biblical text. The *hedera* also mark the beginning and end of the quotation. The *punctus elevatus* is used to mark the ends of sentences, much as we would use a full stop or a semi-colon today. Of the other two marks, the point is the weakest, something like our comma, while the inverted semi-colon is somewhat stronger. These two mark the end of clauses within sentences, as can be seen in the transcription below.

> 'NEC SINT ALIENI PARTICIPES TUI ♠; Immundi spiritus participes fiunt doctori . si eius mentem uel fastu elationis dum praedicat . uel heresi uel alio quolibet uitio corrumpunt; solus autem aquas possidet / cum membris ecclesiae fideliter conexus ab extraneorum se consortio liberum seruat;~
> 'SIT UENA TUA BENEDICTA ET LAETARE CUM MULIERE ADULESCENTIAE TUAE;~ sit doctrina tua . et quicumque nascuntur ex ea in benedictione ecclesiae . et laetare cum ea cui ab adulescentia id est a primo credendi tempore coniunctus es;~[28]

[27] M. B. Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow* (Jarrow, 1982).

[28] The / mark represents the *punctus elevatus*, which cannot be adequately

The example allows us to detect that all these marks tend to come at the end of a clause in which there is a main verb. They are not used to mark out participles. The only exception is in the use of the point, which can be used to mark parallel constructions governed by the same verb.

While the St Petersburg Bede also contains extensive punctuation, the editor of the facsimile sounded a cautionary note: 'to what extent the punctuation is original, or how far it is due to later insertion, cannot be decided from the photographs.'[29] There are many forms of punctuation, including points, commas and semi-colons. Scriptural quotations are often marked, though not using the *diple*. The punctuation is not as widespread, nor as consistent, as that found in Bodley 819. This may be because a number of scribes worked on this particular text.

So what does this show us? I think that at Wearmouth-Jarrow, the teachers were fully aware of the difficulty of reading these long Latin sentences, and that either Bede himself, or possibly a pupil of his, used the punctuation to help the reader in analyzing the text. Though the punctuation of Bodley 819 is systematic and consistent, the fact

represented using standard fonts. Bodley 819, 16r: 'Do not let your partners [children] be among strangers. The children become unclean of spirit from the teacher, if they corrupt their mind either with shameful pride, or with heresy or with any other sort of vice while he preaches; However, he alone may posses the waters when faithfully joined to the limbs of the church he serves the fellowship freely, far from extraneous things; Let your fountains be blessed and rejoice with the wife of your youth; let your teaching and whoever is born from it be in the blessing of the church and rejoice with her to whom from youth, that is from the first time of believing, you have been joined.'

[29] *Leningrad Bede: An Eighth Century Manuscript of the Venerable Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum in the Public Library, Leningrad*, ed. O. Arngart, EEMF 2 (Copenhagen, 1952), 22.

that the St Petersburg Bede does not share in that consistency perhaps renders it slightly less likely that the system was devised by Bede himself.[30] However, before we dismiss this possibility altogether, it should be remembered that the punctuation of the St Petersburg Bede may have been subject to extensive alteration, and that the scribes at Wearmouth-Jarrow may not have faithfully copied every mark of punctuation in their exemplars, especially if they were under great pressure. It should also be remembered that the St Petersburg Bede cannot be the author's autograph: it stands at least one remove from the exemplar. Bodley 819 may be closer to the authorial copy. The grammar of the *Historia ecclesiastica* is also somewhat easier than the grammar used in most of Bede's commentaries. As it is the only work Bede dedicated to a lay person, presumably he saw fit to make his Latin more straightforward than usual. The more complex grammar found in his commentaries perhaps encouraged a more precise use of punctuation for maximal student benefit. At the very least, the very presence of punctuation in these manuscripts suggests that punctuation was commonly used in the scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow, and that either Bede or one of his pupils deliberately set out to punctuate a text in order to help the student, even if there was no one coherent system in use.

To return to the 'easier concepts' mentioned above.[31] I think that *simplicior stylus* refers to a simpler method of exposition – not style. So the grammar can be more difficult than in the source, but the argument is easier for students to follow. This is particularly true of Bede's homilies. These are written in Latin, and I think that they were delivered in Latin, partly because there was evidently an active Latin

[30] It is not helpful to examine *Codex Amiatinus*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1 (s. viii^{in}), since it is a text of the Vulgate, and laid out *per cola et commata*, which renders punctuation unnecessary.

[31] See above, n. 25.

culture at Wearmouth-Jarrow,[32] and partly because they are set out in an easy-to-understand manner which would aid comprehension. Firstly, Bede repeats important points.[33] Secondly, he often sets up oppositions, so that even if one misses most of the rest of the sentence, one may grasp the contrasting image, and retain it. So you may have the 'temptation of the devil' contrasted with the 'teaching of the angel'.[34] If the reader can pick up how it relates to the Biblical text, all well and good — if not, he or she can think about how to avoid the devil's temptations. Obviously, one would want to comprehend more when reading through a commentary, but Bede's technique remains similar; even if the reader did not understand every sentence or every word, he should be able to glean enough to get started on his sermon. This is true if we examine the above extract from the *Commentary on Proverbs*: Bede mentions the blessing of the Church, so even if one doesn't understand the rest of the phrase, one can connect the Church to the 'wife of your youth', or the 'blessedness of [your] fountains', and start working from that point.

As may be deduced from the discussion above, I am principally considering Bede's role in educating students distant from him in either time or place. Even if they are reading this material in private, it is still functioning as educational material, in the broadest sense. Alcuin, in his letters, describes Bede as his master; though he could not have known him in person, nevertheless he revered Bede as one of his teachers.[35]

[32] See above, pp. 33–4.

[33] For example in Homily II.10, lines 133–73 (*Bedae Venerabilis Homeliarum Evangelii: Libri II*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955)), he talks of the two deaths, of the body and the soul, repeating his points over the space of forty lines.

[34] *Ibid.* lines 177–9.

[35] For example, see Letter 16, in Alcuin's *Epistolae*, PL 100, col. 168A.

The distribution of Bede's works will be discussed finally. Who copied them and where? The 'where' may shed light on the who – who was reading Bede? Briefly, the school texts were leapt upon by the Carolingians, and they were copied widely throughout Europe, attracting extensive commentaries, as described by Charles Jones.[36] It is interesting to look at the Biblical commentaries: how were they distributed across the continent before the year 1000?[37] Of 961 copies of the Biblical commentaries in total, 190 (nearly 20% of the total) are from before 1000.[38] 54 of these have no provenance, and therefore are not considered here. The others are distributed across Europe as shown in Figure 1. It is apparent that the major sites of production with surviving manuscripts are Corbie, Fleury, Reichenau, St Emmeram and St Gall. All of these centres except St Emmeram were copying Bede's works by the end of the eighth century. Apart from them, scribes at St Omer (which was then known as St Bertin) also began copying at that date. Corbie and Fleury were both Carolingian foundations, but the Swiss monasteries also had strong connections with the Irish missions. If we look at the general distribution, it is centred most strongly on the Carolingian heartlands, with another large cluster in Switzerland. The Carolingian connection is easy enough to understand: Alcuin was a devotee of Bede, and presumably brought texts of the great master with him when he

[36] Jones, 'Bede's Place in Medieval Schools', pp. 261–85.

[37] I used the year 1000 (or thereabouts) as my cut-off date, as I wished to ensure that all manuscripts copied during the Carolingian period were included, but without including much later copies. By the year 1000, the Carolingian empire had fallen, yet the Ottonian empire was only just rising.

[38] This information is derived from M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-list of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, NY, 1943). Gerald Bonner is currently preparing an updated version of the list, so this information may soon require revision.

Manuscripts of Bede c. 750-1000: Surviving Copies

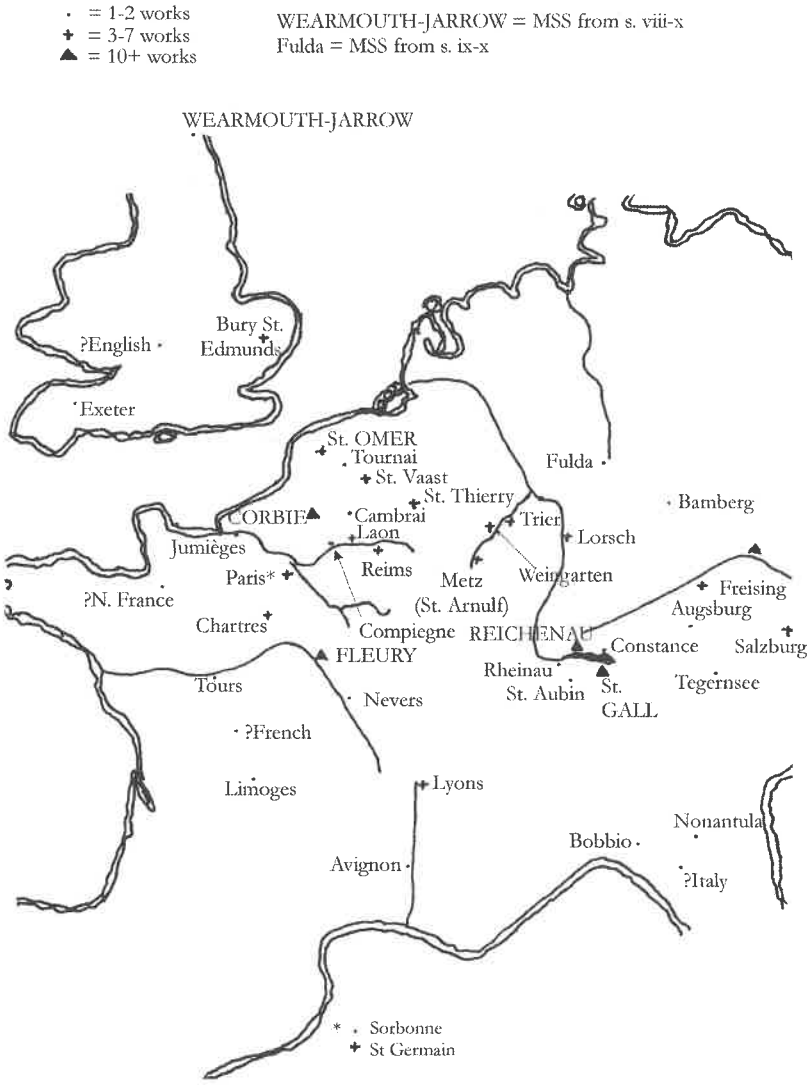

Figure 1

joined Charlemagne's court in the year 782 or thereabouts.[39] This leaves us to explain how the original exemplars reached the Continent. One of the most promising lines of transmission is through Irish monks travelling to the Columbanian foundations on the Continent. This Irish connection is not immediately obvious: Bede's writings do not appear to have been read in Ireland, and there are certainly no Irish manuscripts from before 1000.[40] One can only just explain how Corbie, Fleury and St. Bertin obtained Bedan manuscripts from around the same date, since Alcuin only arrived in the last years of the eighth century. It is possible that they obtained these texts from Alcuin, but the timing is very tight. It is also possible that they were obtained through contact with the Bonifatian mission: however, this suggestion should be treated with caution, as we have very few texts of Bede from Bonifatian monasteries, even Fulda. In that case, we have to suppose that the monks there passed these manuscripts on without copying them, or that their copies were all destroyed. However the vast majority of the manuscripts were copied during that time and in the bounds of the Carolingian empire. While the evidence should be treated with due caution, since our pictures of scriptoria are necessarily biased by the coincidence of survival, the broad picture is clear: Bede was being enthusiastically copied, and presumably read, throughout the Carolingian empire and perhaps

[39] For a brief summary of his life and works, see M. Lapidge, 'Alcuin', in *BEASE*, pp. 24–5.

[40] A possible solution is that Irish monks may have travelled through Northumbria on their way to the continent, and they may have collected manuscripts along the way. Patrick Wormald notes in his 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in *Famulus Christi*, ed. Bonner, pp. 141–69, at pp. 145–6, that both Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop had contacts in Northern France; if those contacts were maintained, this would provide another route of transmission to the continent.

beyond. Bede's works must have been read in England at least until the time of the Viking invasions: Canterbury certainly received copies of his books, since Bede wrote some of his works at the request of Canterbury monks.[41] Likewise, Boniface directed his inquiry for copies of Bede's homilies and the work on Proverbs to Archbishop Ecgberht of York:[42] the fact that no copies survive from these libraries merely demonstrates how much material has been lost through the centuries.

The Carolingian empire at that time was hungry for teaching books. As Rosamund McKitterick has shown, Charlemagne actively demanded that the priests should be educated, and that they should preach to the people.[43] Charlemagne ordered this in his *Capitulae*.[44] This meant that the priests had to know enough to be able to preach, so Biblical commentaries were especially useful as they gave information about the readings people would be hearing in church. As explained previously, the concepts were simple (far simpler than Augustine's in particular), even if the Latin was not always easy to follow. So Bede's books were used then to teach the priests who were sent to teach the people, just as may have happened in Northumbria about a century earlier, when Bishop Acca was commissioning Bedan works.

So what do we know about Bede as an educator? He did not go out educating barbarians, but he was writing books that were used to educate priests. This is seen most clearly by the distribution of his works throughout the Carolingian Empire, but it is also suggested by Bishop Acca's role in commissioning Bedan commentaries. We can

[41] See above, p. 34.

[42] *Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, ed. Tangl, Letter 91, pp. 206–8.

[43] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms* (London, 1977), pp. 6–7.

[44] *Ibid.* p. 5.

deduce that Bede was part of an active Latin-speaking community, as witnessed by his homilies, and Cuthbert's account of his deathbed. And we can tell that he was teaching the standard Anglo-Saxon curriculum, which, to judge from the distribution of Bedan manuscripts, seems to have become a Carolingian staple also.[45]

[45] I would like to thank Professor H. Mayr-Harting and Ms. Juliane Kerkhecker for their advice while I was writing this paper: any mistakes which remain are my own.

The Educated Barbarian? Asser and Welsh learning in Anglo-Saxon England

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English public discourse has long cast the Welsh, along with other Celtic-speaking peoples, in the role of barbarian within the British Isles. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for example, has a number of references to countless 'Britons' being massacred in battles against the English, and in one case, the militarily inferior Britons were said to have fled the scene 'as one flees from fire'.[1] Medieval Welsh political and social structures have similarly been characterised, by medieval and modern historians alike, in terms of their weaknesses and their differences from centralised kingdoms, most particularly neighbouring England. The image of a single, united Welsh kingdom, wrote J. E. Lloyd in the early twentieth century, 'afforded future ages an instance of what could be achieved … and set before ambitious princes [of the Middle Ages] a goal towards which their efforts might be directed'.[2] Furthermore, despite the richness of vernacular texts which do survive, the general scarcity of native Welsh sources from the earlier Middle Ages has sometimes been taken to indicate (or at least implied) a level of cultural backwardness. As Giraldus Cambrensis commented in the twelfth century, 'their minds are as fickle as their bodies are agile'.[3]

[1] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition*, ed. D. N. Dumville and S. D. Keynes, 23 vols (Cambridge, 1983-), *s.a.* 473, 491, 552, 614, 753, 852.
[2] J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London, 1939), I, 324.
[3] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Kambriae*, II.1: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S.

On the other side of the cultural divide, various Welsh texts of the Middle Ages present a mirror image of this neighbourly barbarity by portraying, not themselves, but the English, as the unrefined inhabitants of the island of Britain. According to the author of the *Historia Brittonum*, '*barabri*, barbarians [English] multiplied in number'.[4] Vernacular panegyric poetry also frequently reveals this kind of anti-English sentiment. The poems of Taliesin, supposedly of the sixth century but which survive in a later medieval manuscript,[5] as well as the prophetic poem *Armes Prydein Vawr*, composed sometime between 935 and 950,[6] highlight the negative qualities of the English. *Armes Prydein* describes how British warriors would scatter the 'foreigners', so that 'shame will befall the *Saeson* on all sides: their time has passed, they have no country'.[7]

Images of English savagery also permeate Welsh narrative texts of the ninth and tenth centuries, and it is on these that I wish to focus today. The bulk of my discussion will concern The *Life of King Alfred*, written by Asser, a member of the community of St David, in

Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91), VI, 207; L. Thorpe, *Gerald of Wales: the Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 256.

[4] *Historia Brittonum*, §36: *La Légende Arthurienne: Études et documents*, ed. E. Faral, 3 vols. (Paris, 1929), III, 27; A. W. Wade-Evans, *Nennius's 'History of the Britons" Together with "The Annals of the Britons" and "Court Pedigrees of Hywel the Good"* (London, 1938), p. 58.

[5] *The Poems of Taliesin*, ed. I. Williams and J. E. C. Williams (Dublin, 1968).

[6] For a discussion of the dating of the poem, see D. N. Dumville, 'Brittany and "Armes Prydein Vawr"', *Études Celtiques* 20 (1983), 145–59 (also in his *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), ch. XVI); A. Breeze, '*Armes Prydein*, Hywel Dda, and the Reign of Edmund of Wessex', *Études Celtiques* 33 (1997), 209–22.

[7] *Armes Prydein Vawr: the Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and trans. I. Williams and R. Bromwich (Dublin, 1972), pp. 12–13, lines 155–6.

893. But his work is chronologically framed by two other compositions, which also undermine English superiority. The first, and earliest, example is a tract contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32, an early ninth-century (817 x 835) Welsh manuscript.[8] It begins with the disclaimer 'Nemniuus invented these letters, when a certain English scholar jeered at the Britons for not having an alphabet of their own. So he suddenly devised them out of his own head, in order to refute the charge of stupidity brought against his nation.'[9] What follows is an alphabet, adapted, in fact, from the Old English runic 'futhorc', and with accompanying Welsh names translated from the Old English names.[10] The British author Nemniuus, therefore, not only displayed the extent of his own learning, but also seemed to highlight the lack of education of the English, who may have been unable even to comprehend their own runic letters.[11]

It is in this context that we should view Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, for Asser was another educated Welshman who had a knowledge of English language and culture. In addition to Nemniuus, however, he found himself in the role of teacher at the English court. It should be noted at this juncture that I am in agreement with those scholars who treat Asser's text as genuine. It is true that we no longer have an extant manuscript of the text, for the only known medieval

[8] There is a facsimile of this codex in R. W. Hunt, *St Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury* (Amsterdam, 1961).

[9] I. Williams, 'The Nennian Preface: a Possible Emendation', *BBCS* 9 (1937–9), 342–4, at 342.

[10] R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: the English Tradition* (Brugge, 1954), pp. 157–9.

[11] For further discussion of the author, Nemniuus, see D. N. Dumville, '"Nennius" and the *Historia Brittonum*', *Studia Celtica* 10–11 (1975–6), 78–95 (also in his *Histories and Pseudo-histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1990), ch. X); I. Williams, 'Notes on Nennius', *BBCS* 7 (1933–5), 380–9.

copy of Asser's *Life* was in MS. Cotton Otho A. xii, written about 1000. It was destroyed by fire in 1731 and what we have now are early modern transcripts of that manuscript, as well as printed editions published in 1574 and 1722.[12] However, much of the information provided by Asser can be corroborated by a range of independent, contemporary sources,[13] and the arguments advanced against Asser's authenticity by some scholars (most recently Alfred P. Smyth)[14] seem unnecessarily elaborate and flawed.[15]

Despite the reputation of King Alfred 'the Great' (who ruled 871–99) as a learned and scholarly man, as well as a powerful king,[16] Asser described the way in which Alfred requested – or rather pleaded for – his company so that the land of the *Saxones* would 'benefit in every respect from the [*rudimenta*] of St David'.[17] The word *rudimenta* is interesting. In his edition, W. H. Stevenson took the word to be corrupt.[18] Keynes and Lapidge, however, have suggested that the word is the plural of *rudimentum*, in the sense of 'teaching' or 'learning', which, they have argued, is attested elsewhere in Cambro-

[12] *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with The Annals of Saint Neots*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904; rev. imp., by D. Whitelock, 1959), pp. xii–lv.

[13] See S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 51.

[14] A. P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995); also see his *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great: a Translation and Commentary on the Text Attributed to Asser* (New York, 2002).

[15] For the full arguments in favour of the authenticity of the text, see D. Whitelock, *The Genuine Asser* (Reading, 1968); S. Keynes, 'On the Authenticity of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*', *JEH* 47 (1996), 529–51.

[16] R. H. C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth', *History* n.s. 56 (1971), 169–82.

[17] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §79: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 1; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 94.

[18] *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 65.

Latin texts, most notably in the preface to the aforementioned Nemniuus alphabet.[19] Even if we take the dictionary-meaning of *rudimentum*, 'beginnings, rudiments, first principles', we still have the implication that Asser was joining Alfred's court in order to 'teach the basics'. His statement, then, seems to counter the more popular historical notion that King Alfred and the English were bastions of education and culture, while the Welsh were more concerned with civil warfare and destruction. In the remainder of this paper, therefore, I shall examine the historical and cultural context of Asser's Life of King Alfred and conclude with a further, tenth-century, example of Welshmen educating their (barbaric?) English neighbours.

Before I turn to Asser's text itself, it is necessary to place his work in a historical context, for it may explain how and why Asser arrived at some of his perspectives. According to Asser, Alfred was 'ruler of all the Christians of *Brittanniae insulae*' (the island of Britain) and 'king of the Angles and Saxons'.[20] As such he 'directed the government of his kingdom', as well as 'showing immense and incomparable kindness … to all men … [so that] many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, pagans (that is, vikings), Britons, Irishmen and Armoricans (that is, Bretons) subjected themselves willingly to his lordship … and he ruled, loved, honoured and enriched them all with his wealth and authority, just as he did his own people'.[21] Asser

[19] Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 261, n. 177.

[20] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, prologue: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 1; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 67; see also S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45.

[21] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §76: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 59–60; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 91.

therefore conveyed a strong impression of a Christian, English king whose sway extended throughout Britain and indeed beyond. Furthermore, he added that 'all the districts of *dexteralis Britanniae* ['right-hand Britain', in this case meaning what is now southern Wales] belonged to King Alfred',[22] by way of the submission of the rulers of the Welsh kingdoms of Dyfed, Glywysing, Gwent, and Brycheiniog. Later, North Wales, that is, Gwynedd (by which time Venedotian dynasts had incorporated Powys and presumably Ceredigion into their kingdom) was added.[23] This establishes, in the modern reader's mind at least, a dichotomy between an increasingly centralised kingdom of England and the multiple, warring Welsh kingdoms.

Yet we should be wary of falling prey to nationalistic anachronisms.[24] I would suggest that, while Asser may have given voice to a burgeoning vision of a single kingdom of England headed by Alfred, the political reality of such a kingdom was not in evidence until the tenth century. It was during this later period that the conjoined concepts of 'Britannia' and English overlordship became dominant in the styles of English royal diplomas, and it is only in the reign of Æthelstan (924–39), and more specifically from his conquest of Northumbria in 927, that we can truly state there were no other kings in England.[25] That is not to say that Alfred may not have been

[22] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §80: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 66; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 96.

[23] Ystrad Tywi is not accounted for, but it may have been part of Dyfed. See D. N. Dumville, 'The "Six" Sons of Rhodri Mawr: a Problem in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*', *CMCS* 4 (1982), 5–18 (also in his *Britons*, ch. XV).

[24] K. Davis, 'National Writing in the Ninth Century: a Reminder for Post-colonial Thinking about the Nation', *Jnl of Med. and Early Mod. Stud.* 28 (1998), 611–37.

[25] D. N. Dumville, *Wessex and England From Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 154.

responsible for instigating or supporting a growing sense of English solidarity in which his subjects could be defined in opposition to the vikings who had settled within Britain.[26] Certainly it would seem that Æthelred of Mercia regarded Alfred as his overlord by 883, thus extending Alfred's rule over much of central and southern Britain (excluding viking-controlled East Anglia).[27] But Alfred's power was not as secure or comprehensive as has sometimes been portrayed. Neither Asser nor the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers, for example, to the internal dynastic politics of Wessex during Alfred's kingship,[28] and there is no attempt on Asser's part to deny the existence of kingdoms in ninth-century Britain which were governed by rulers other than Alfred. By far the most important distinction drawn by Asser is between the Christian inhabitants of Britain and the *pagani*, the anti-Christian vikings. It is precisely within the context of the on-going battles against viking forces that Asser more regularly begins to use the phrase *Angulsaxonum rex*, or variants thereof, meaning 'king of the Anglo-Saxons', to refer to Alfred.[29]

In this context, the capitulation of various Welsh rulers mentioned in chapter 80 of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* can be seen by us, not as a simple Welsh acknowledgement of English political superiority, but perhaps as the choosing of the lesser of two evils.

[26] But see the opinion of J. L. Nelson, 'Reconstructing a Royal Family: Reflections on Alfred, from Asser, Chapter 2', in *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500-1600*, ed. I. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 47–66, at 52.

[27] Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 227–8, n. 1.

[28] A. Scharer, 'The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court', *EME* 5 (1996), 177–206.

[29] See, for example, Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §§64, 67, 71; see also Dumville, 'The "Six" Sons'; Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians'.

Submission to Alfred ensured that Æthelræd of Mercia would be inhibited from attacking the southern Welsh rulers, who would also be defended from attacks of the vikings and their Venedotian ally, King Anarawd, son of Rhodri Mawr. Asser himself makes it explicit that the Welsh kings were 'driven by the might of the … sons of Rhodri to seek Alfred's lordship and protection'. Anarawd himself later yielded, Asser reports (as a hostile witness) because he received *nihil nisi damnum*, 'nothing but harm' from his alliance with the Scandinavian kingdom of York.[30] Whatever the political status of the English kings in Wales, however, there is no reason to think that the Welsh would have simply shared Asser's conception of the English king as a ruler of all Christians in Britain, including those who were Welsh, that is to say, an island which was politically and religiously unified.[31]

It should also be noted that Asser's portrayal of Anglo-Welsh relations was influenced by a different agenda. In Chapter 79, he stated: '… our people were hoping that, if I should come to Alfred's notice and obtain his friendship … they might suffer less damaging afflictions and injuries at the hands of King Hyfaidd [of Dyfed] who often assaulted that monastery and the jurisdiction of St David'.[32] Furthermore, he added, both his kinsman and he himself had been expelled from the region on different occasions by this aggressive king of Dyfed.[33] From a purely political perspective, then, both Asser and Alfred had something to gain from Alfred's summons to a

[30] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi* §80: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 66; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 96.
[31] Keynes, 'On the Authenticity', 540.
[32] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §79: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 65–6; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 94–6.
[33] *Ibid.* For context, see J. R. Davies, 'Church, Property and Conflict in Wales, AD 600–1000', *Welsh Hist. Rev.* 18 (1996–7), 387–406.

member of the community of St David; for the one, protection; for the other, a way into the complicated machinations of the various Welsh polities. Nor, it should be added, did Asser lack material rewards for his loyalty. He was granted the bishopric of Sherborne at some time between 892 and 900, as well as being given two minsters and 'an extremely valuable silk cloak and a quantity of incense'.[34] On that occasion Alfred was purported to have added that 'the giving of these trifles would not prevent him from giving … greater gifts at a future time'.[35] Such blandishments may have been a way for Alfred to ensure that he had learned, as well as reliable, dependants in positions of power.[36]

Yet, as the example of Asser so ably demonstrates, if Alfred was set on teaching the Welsh a political lesson of submission, it was nevertheless a Welshman, Asser, who aided Alfred in his drive for literacy and religion within his kingdom. Alfred's love for books and learning was particularly praised by Asser. Indeed he wrote that, when he realised Alfred's 'natural good-will on the one hand as well as his devout enthusiasm for the pursuit of … wisdom, I stretched out my palms to the heavens and gave mighty (albeit silent) thanks to Almighty God'.[37] On another occasion he made reference to the king's 'excellent intelligence' and his increasing 'desire for knowledge', which was so great that Alfred would 'cry out in anguish … because Almighty God had created him lacking in divine learning and

[34] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §81: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 68; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 97.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] J. Campbell, 'Asser's *Life of Alfred*', in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900*, ed. C. Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter, 1986), pp. 115–35, at 123.
[37] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §88: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 86; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 99.

knowledge of the liberal arts'.[38] What is more significant, given the theme of this colloquium, is that Alfred was willing to seek teachers from other English, Celtic, and Continental kingdoms and apparently saw no problems in so doing. Asser described the way in which Alfred, after bemoaning the lack of good scholars in his kingdom (§24), sought the services of learned men from Mercia (§77), then from Gaul (§78), and then Asser himself was summoned from Wales (§79).

We know relatively little about Asser's background. He was clearly brought up, educated, and ordained in the church of St David and still resided there when Alfred requested his aid. It is possible that Asser was a bishop when he first came to England, but contemporary sources, other than his own text, contain only a few, fleeting references to him. Alfred himself acknowledged the help of Asser in translating the *Regula pastoralis* of Gregory the Great,[39] but we have no way of knowing whether Asser's status was a catalyst in drawing Alfred's attention to him. What we can deduce, however, even from Asser's somewhat modest phrasing, is that a reputation for learned scholarship had developed by the late ninth century, attaching either directly to Asser or to the community of St David. There are good reasons for thinking that the Cambro-Latin annals, *Annales Cambriae*, were kept in the community of St David from the late eighth or early ninth century to at least 954; and that community may have been responsible for starting the chronicle in the first place.[40] It is not inconceivable, then, that the church of St David represented a

[38] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §76: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 60; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 92.

[39] PL 77, cols. 13–128; H. Davis, *St Gregory the Great: Pastoral Care* (London, 1950).

[40] See K. Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources* (Woodbridge, 1980), p. 68.

long-standing tradition of Latin learning. In fact, it may have been one of a number of monastic schools of high standard in the western, British-speaking parts of the island.[41] Given Alfred's own lamentation that there were few people south of the Humber who could understand Latin, Asser and his fellows in the community of St David were therefore in a privileged (and well-educated) position indeed.

Certainly, it has been suggested that Asser, and, by extension, the community of St David, were familiar with cultural and educational developments on the Continent, most particularly in Carolingian Francia. It is quite possible that the various figures attracted to King Alfred's court represented the different intellectual traditions being developed in the ninth century. Asser was obviously familiar with Frankish political affairs (as demonstrated in §§15, 61–3, 70, and 82), and his notion of Alfred as a 'suffering king', which formed part of the intellectual milieu of the English court, derived from Carolingian political thought.[42] Similarly, the subject-matter of his closing chapters (§§99–106) touched on themes of the *speculum principis*, 'Prince's Mirror', that is, the relationship between a ruler and God, the Church, his subjects, and his sense of justice, ideas which had already been raised in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*.[43] The benefits

[41] M. Lapidge, 'Introduction: the New Learning', in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900*, ed. L. Webster and J. Backhouse (London, 1991), pp. 71–3; see also R. L. Thomson, 'British Latin and English History: Nennius and Asser', *Proc. of the Leeds Philosophical and Lit. Soc., Lit. and Hist. Section* 18 (1982), 38–53.

[42] J. L. Nelson, 'The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex', in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 125–58; Scharer, 'The Writing of History', 190.

[43] Scharer, 'The Writing of History', 204; but, for differences between Einhard's biography and Asser's, see M. Schütt, 'The Literary Form of Asser's "Vita Alfredi"', *EHR* 72 (1957), 209–20, esp. 219 n. 1, in which she suggested that

of Asser's learning were not, however, simply channelled to the English court. If he was exposed to other educational influences while he was with King Alfred, then it is possible that this learning filtered back to his native Welsh community. Asser himself wrote that he spent only part of the year with the king and the remainder of his time with his community.[44] One historian has even suggested that the education to which Asser was exposed while he was at the English court might have influenced, directly or indirectly, the style of government of native Welsh rulers.[45] It is true that similarities between the intellectual activities at the Carolingian court and those at Alfred's are evident; so it would not be far-fetched to suggest that the Welsh also contributed to, and were affected by, Continental educational activities.[46]

Asser therefore played an important role in the development of learning in Alfred's court. But, as I have already suggested, he was not the last Welshman to make an impact on Anglo-Saxon England, academically speaking. Michael Lapidge has drawn attention to three Anglo-Latin poems, surviving in Cambridge, University Library, Kk.5.34, poems which, he has argued convincingly, originated from the school of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester in the later tenth century (963–84). Two of the poems, *Altercatio magistri et discipuli* and *Responsio discipuli*, seem to have been written in conjunction and form a continuous dialogue in which there is a series of interchanges between a disgruntled student and his pompous teacher. The student

Asser's style shows an affinity with Celtic vernacular epic narratives.

[44] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, §79: *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, p. 65; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 94.

[45] D. P. Kirby, 'Asser and his Life of King Alfred', *Studia Celtica* 6 (1971), 12–35, at 35, n. 1.

[46] See Campbell, 'Asser's *Life*', pp. 115–16, for the link between the English and Carolingian courts.

in the *Altercatio*, for example, claimed of his teacher, 'He does not desist from praising poetry to us such as not even schoolboys would deign to look at. He craves to praise his poetry in vain bragging and he longs to extend his fame – the windbag! – beyond here … he glorifies his own muddy composition.'[47] To this the *magister* replied, 'Be humble, I pray you; close your foul mouth right now. And if you don't yet wish to cease, tell me what you know, please.'[48] This is a form of commentary, which seems to have originated in Late Antiquity. It is also possible that the poems reflect the idea of *flyting*, a style of writing particularly popular in Norse and Irish works, in which there were exchanges of personal abuse and invective; Lapidge has shown that there are similar, roughly contemporary, tenth-century Irish examples.[49] In the case of the *Altercatio* and *Responsio*, the master's reply became a vehicle with which to convey new vocabulary to the student.[50] '…since you fancy yourself a musician and a sage', stated the *magister* in the *Altercatio*, 'tell us boys, uncultivated in wisdom's doctrine, what is the *diatesseron*, what the *diapente* and what the *diapason*. Tell what is the *epogdous* and the *hemiolius* or the *epitrius*.'[51] What is most significant about the poems is that they are both addressed to the same *magister*, namely one 'Ioruert', Iorwerth. This name occurs four times within the two works and is clearly Welsh. In the *Altercatio*, the over-confident student sneered, 'those inflated with rubbish and barren of fruit … are tortured with the flames of hell … with these flames, Ioruert, unless you desist from your depraved contentiousness, you'll burn, you poor wretch … stop abusing the

[47] M. Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *ASE* 1 (1972), 85–137, at 112–13.

[48] *Ibid.* pp. 116-17.

[49] *Ibid.* p. 97.

[50] *Ibid.* pp. 98-9.

[51] *Ibid.* pp. 116-17.

ancient poets right now!'[52] (But note that, in his *Responsio*, the student is more moderate, referring to 'excellent Ioruert'.)[53] Here we have evidence that Welsh scholars continued to contribute to English education, in this case grammar and poetry, after the time of Asser, for Iorwerth was evidently a master in Æthelwold's school at Winchester.

To conclude, we can be certain that, far from being an unusual example of an 'educated barbarian', Asser was not the only Welshman to educate the English. The trend seems to have begun by the ninth century at least and continued well into the tenth. Whether Asser was the first Welshman to transmit his learning to an English audience is uncertain, but it is clear that King Alfred valued his contributions as a scholar. If Asser bolstered the ideological foundations of Alfred's kingship in his Life, he also, more importantly, ensured that the educational influence of the community of St David, and even of the Welsh in general, would leave its mark in English history.

[52] *Ibid.* pp. 112-15.
[53] *Ibid.* pp. 122–3.

A Barbarized Coinage? Copper Alloy in Pre-Viking Age Northumbrian Coinage

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The main focus of this paper will be the so-called *styca* series of coins issued in the kingdom of Northumbria in the ninth century. These coins, characterized by low or negligible silver content and based on alloys of copper, have been regarded as the degraded and, indeed, barbarous products of a kingdom on the slippery slope towards collapse. In fact, their very name is indicative of this attitude. Nineteenth-century numismatic scholarship balked at the suggestion of referring to these wretched pieces of metal as *sceattas*, the usual descriptive term applied to Anglo-Saxon coins of their size. The term *styca* was adopted from the Lindisfarne Gospels, originally the term the glossator of that manuscript, Ealdred, used for the 'widow's mite' of the Gospel parable.[1] The fact that the gloss, *styca*, was the Old English for 'a small piece', and dated to the tenth century, at least a hundred years after the coins being classified were last issued, has not affected the popularity of the term, then, or in more recent times.

While it is true that many numismatic labels do not have contemporary justification, and are used in modern scholarship to distinguish between coins in ways that may not have been necessary

[1] See J. Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria', in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent: the Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. D. Hill and D. M. Metcalf, BAR Brit. ser. 128 (Oxford, 1984), 71–111, at 72, n. 8, for a summary of the difficult history of the term *styca*.

to contemporaries,[2] the term *styca* is a particularly unfortunate example of the practice in that, for the vast majority of the time it has been used, it has never been clearly defined. The characteristic feature of the *styca* series, as mentioned, has been taken to be the 'debased silver' of the coins' alloy; a typical *styca*, when subjected to metallurgical analysis,[3] recorded a silver value of just 3.29%, compared with a copper value of 66.4% and a zinc value of 17.4%. This is exactly the sort of issue that has given pre-Viking Age Northumbrian coinage a bad name. Since the traditional interpretation of medieval coinage is that its value resided largely in its precious metal content, it is hard to see how this coin was much more than worthless, the desperate attempt of a kingdom to make some show of civilisation to disguise its fall beyond retrieve into barbarianism.

The metal of the coin is not the only apparently retrograde feature. This coin's flan, that is, the piece of metal onto which the design was struck, is relatively small and thick. While flans of this size are seen in other early Western European coinage, by the late eighth century many areas, including, in England, Offa's Mercia, had adopted a larger, thinner flan, initially introduced as a coinage reform in Merovingian Francia. Northumbrian use of the smaller flan has been seen as one of the many ways in which the kingdom distanced

[2] The term *sceatta* is another example of a general Old English word, with a semantic range across 'property', 'treasure', 'general wealth' and 'coin', used by modern scholars to refer to a particular numismatic series.

[3] This particular coin is one of the *stycas* of Rædwulf discussed by G. R. Gilmore and E. J. E. Pirie in 'Consistency in the Alloy of the Northumbrian *stycas*: Evidence from Rædwulf's Short Reign', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria: the Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. D. M. Metcalf, BAR Brit. ser. 180 (Oxford, 1987), 175–85. The coin is identified as number one, and illustrated on p. 185.

itself from the developing civilised world.[4]

Negative perceptions of the kingdom of Northumbria have been reinforced by the fact that this 'sub-standard' coinage was no short-term aberration, but lasted from the reign of Eanred at the start of the ninth century until the end of Northumbrian independence with the Viking conquest of York in 867. Quite frankly, the Vikings could be seen as having done the Northumbrian economy a great service. Elsewhere they were merely barbarian raiders, but the economic and political chaos that was ninth-century Northumbria could only seem to benefit from their rule. The silver coinage they eventually introduced was of a good quality silver and a standard flan size: the Northumbrian barbarians had been educated, or, as Michael Dolley put it, when the Vikings took York, 'they overthrew a kingdom that had long been bankrupt, economically, if not spiritually as well'.[5]

However, this received opinion may be in need of some revision. Recent scholarship has suggested that the *styca* series may represent rather more than simply helplessly debased *sceattas*. Firstly, the problem of an exact definition of the series must be addressed. The term *sceatta* is used throughout the kingdoms of pre-Viking Age England to refer to a silver coin of the pre-reform, smaller, flan size. But *stycas* were issued only in Northumbria, and the change in Northumbrian practice between a majority-silver coin-medium and one based on copper and containing little silver is gradual; steps can be identified, but no one moment of transition. So when, exactly, did

[4] For example James Booth comments: 'Thus the isolation of the Northumbrian coinage, begun with the failure to adopt the larger "penny" module in the later eighth century, was completed by the reduction of the coinage to base metal', in 'Northumbrian Coinage and the Productive Site at South Newbald', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), 15–38, at 21.

[5] R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *Nordisk Numismatisk Arsskrift* 1957–8, 13–85, at 38.

the issue of *sceattas* stop and the issue of *stycas* begin? There have only been two attempts, and both within the last two decades, to provide a definitive answer to this question. Perhaps the clearest has been by Elizabeth Pirie, who has worked extensively with this Northumbrian coinage in recent years.[6] She noted an important typological change in Northumbrian *sceattas* around the turn of the eighth century. The obverse of the coin continued to show a cross surrounded by the king's name, but the reverse, which had previously borne an inscription of a fantastic beast, was replaced with a cross surrounded by the moneyer's name. Pirie has suggested that this change in typology should define the start of the *styca* series.[7] This definition does bring a welcome level of clarity, but it means that coins must be classified as *stycas* which have a reasonably high silver content, which is confusing given the traditional definition of the term, and may give a misleading impression of economic developments in Northumbria in the period.

James Booth, on the other hand, attempts to establish a start for the *styca* series by postulating a dramatic break between the eighth- and ninth-century coinages.[8] Noting the continuous coinage of the predecessors and successors of Eardwulf, but the absence of a coinage for Eardwulf himself, who is thought to have ruled from about 796–808 (the chronology of this period in Northumbria is

[6] Particularly important contributions include 'Phases and Groups within the *styca* Coinage of Northumbria', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, and her comprehensive catalogue of pre-Viking Age Northumbrian coinage, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria c. 700–867* (Llanfyllin, 1996).

[7] See E. J. E. Pirie, 'Phases and Groups', pp. 109–112 for a summary of her opinions about the earliest phases of the *styca* coinage.

[8] J. Booth, 'Coinage and History c. 790–c. 810' in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, 57–89, at 72–6.

highly contentious),[9] Booth suggested that the Northumbrian mint was inactive for the twelve years of Eardwulf's reign. Thus, the 50–60% silver coins of Eardwulf's predecessor, Æthelræd I, are separated from the 40% silver coins of his successor, Eanred, and should be regarded as quite distinct numismatic entities. Booth suggests that the Northumbrian economy may have been undermined by the large number of tax-exempt monastic institutions described in Bede's letter to Archbishop Ecgberht in the first half of the eighth century,[10] and that the mint was finally pushed into collapse by the devastating Viking raids of 793–4.[11]

However, there are several problems with this theory. Two recent finds, each of a single coin, in Eardwulf's name do not destroy Booth's case for an extreme slow-down at the Northumbrian mint, [12] but emphasises the problems with his model of complete discontinuity between Æthelræd I and Eanred; more finds may perhaps suggest a continuous coinage through Eardwulf's reign. Also,

[9] See S. D. Keynes' summary of evidence from textual sources for the period in E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 19–20; see D. P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the Ninth Century', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, 11–25, at 16–18, and S. Lyon, 'Ninth-Century Northumbrian Chronology', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, 27–41 for discussion.

[10] Bede, 'Letter to Ecgbert, Archbishop of York': *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), I, 405-23; *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, Eng. Hist. Documents 1, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), pp. 799–810.

[11] See Booth, 'Coinage and History', 74–6.

[12] For reports of these coins see E. J. E. Pirie, 'Earduulf: a Significant Addition to the Coinage of Northumbria', *Brit. Numismatic Jnl* 65 (1995), 20-31 and M. Blackburn and A. Gillis, 'A Second Coin of King Eardwulf of Northumbria and the Attribution of the Moneyer Coins of King Ælfwald', *Brit. Numismatic Jnl* 67 (1997), 97-9.

as the initial coins of Eanred do maintain a silver standard, albeit the relatively low standard of 40%, they do not fit the traditional definition of a *styca*. As discussed below, Eanred's coin medium changed further, first into a brass with silver added as a significant constituent, and later an entirely brass alloy.[13] Either of these later media could mark the moment of transition between the *sceatta* and *styca* series as it is usually understood, but it might be misleading to label as *stycas* coins that maintain a silver standard, however low.

A more fundamental problem with Booth's hypothesis may be the very notion of a twelve year hiatus in mint activity, particularly as the coin-output for Eardwulf's predecessors is considered to have been very large. The original size of a coinage is estimated from the number of dies attested in surviving coins. Each coin was produced by laying a blank flan on one die and hitting it with a hammer in which was embedded a second die, so both sides of the coin were pressed into their respective designs.[14] The debate still rages on the potential and actual output of each die before it wore out or was discarded, but the basic principle is that the more dies are attested in surviving coins, the greater the initial output.[15] In the case of the Northumbrian *sceattas*, many of the surviving coins attest a unique pair of dies. Thus a reliable estimate of the size of the coinage is impossible, as it is unclear what proportion of it survives. The relatively large number of dies attested does, however, indicate a low survival rate for the coins; it seems reasonable to suppose that, having

[13] See below, p. 68.

[14] See R. Hall, *The Excavations at York: the Viking Dig* (London, 1984), pp. 60–3, for discussion and illustrations of the die found on that site, which remains a rare artifact and illustrates the same principle as earlier dies, although it was used after the Viking conquest of York.

[15] See Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria', p. 74, for a summary of the main issues.

gone to the trouble of producing a coin-die, a minting agency would use it for a significant proportion of its possible life-span, which is, by anyone's estimate, several thousand coins.

It is therefore hard to know what survival rate could be expected for Northumbrian *sceattas*. Booth himself notes that while the six-year second reign of Æthelræd I (790–6) is attested by 63 surviving coins, the earlier six-year reign of Æthelwold Moll is represented by only two, and the five-year first reign of Æthelræd I (774–9) by a similar number.[16] It may be that Eardwulf's coinage has been particularly unfortunate, although the two coins found are enough to deny the idea of a complete collapse of the mint. If the Northumbrian kings traditionally issued significant coinages, presumably at no small profit to themselves, it is unclear why Eardwulf would abandon the practice. The very disruption caused by Viking raids would presumably make it even more urgent that the royal finances were in the strongest possible position; it would not have been a time to turn away from any money-raising opportunity. Contemporary sources, including a letter of Alcuin and records in the Frankish annals, present Eardwulf as a vigorous and resourceful king.[17] However bad the Viking attack, or perhaps precisely because of the severity of Viking raids, it is hard to imagine Eardwulf was completely unable to exercise his minting privileges, especially when this would imply an anomalous collapse in the otherwise continuous, apparently thriving, record of Northumbrian mint-output.

Returning to the traditional model, then, the implicit moment of transition between *sceattas* and *stycas* is the point at which the silver content of the Northumbrian coins was so low that non-

[16] Booth, 'Coinage and History', pp. 72–3.

[17] See Booth, 'Northumbrian Coinage', pp. 19–20, for a summary of Eardwulf's career.

Northumbrian contemporaries would not have recognized the coins as a valid currency. Hence they become not mere economic products, but an illustration of the barbarity of the Northumbrian nation, reflecting the story of civil war and chaos told in the A text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Asser's *Life of Alfred*.[18] However, as D. P. Kirby notes, these West Saxon sources have their own 'primary didactic purpose of warning against the dangers of civil war, whether in Northumbria or elsewhere'.[19] Detailed classification of numismatic series is a recent construct rather than a medieval reality; it may be more productive to leave the problems of modern numismatic terminology aside and consider the development of coin-media in Northumbria in its own terms, rather than second-guessing what impression the coins may have made on their medieval contemporaries.

The move from a higher-status coin-medium to a lower-status, but more available, one was not without precedent, both in Northumbria and more widely throughout Western Europe. In Northumbria, and Anglo-Saxon England generally, the gold series known as *thrymsas* had been replaced by the silver *sceattas* in the seventh century.[20] In Northumbria this earlier transition had been accompanied by the first appearance in England of the issuing king's

[18] See the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 3: MS. A: a Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. J. M. Bately (Cambridge, 1986) and *Asser's Life of King Alfred: Together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904; rev. imp., by D. Whitelock, 1959) for editions of these texts. They are translated in *English Historical Documents*, ed. Whitelock, and S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983) respectively.

[19] D. P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the Ninth Century', p. 12.

[20] See Booth, 'Northumbrian Coinage', pp. 15–20, for a summary of the gold and silver series of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria.

name on coins. Royal assent to (and presumably profit from) a coinage in a lower status metal would seem to imply that the concept of coinage retained its prestige, although the change in coin-medium could be expected to have had an impact on the value of individual coins. However, the whole of western Europe moved from gold to silver; Northumbria was alone (in the West) in continuing the move down to base metals.[21] But G. R. Gilmore and D. M. Metcalf have questioned the assumption that copper alloy was necessarily understood as base in the medieval period:

> We tend to view brass in twentieth-century terms as a base alloy. Was this so in the ninth century? Consider its preparation – we take copper, a zinc ore such as calamine, cover with charcoal and heat for a long time and 'Hey presto!' we have increased the amount of metal and it now has a desirable golden colour. Was brass indeed regarded as base? The medieval alchemists thought of it as a half-way stage in turning base metal into gold. In the context of a shortage of silver might brass have been an acceptable coinage substitute?[22]

If metallurgical analysis could show that the Northumbrian coin-smiths took their copper alloy as seriously as silver coin-media, rather than just throwing any suitably-coloured scrap into the furnace, this suggestion could be important for the understanding of the last years of native Northumbrian coinage. Considerable numbers of the later *styca* series survive, notably in *styca* hoards, the most significant of which are the Ripon hoard of 1695, two nineteenth-century hoards found in York itself and two hoards found respectively in 1847 and 1967 in Bolton Percy, near York.[23] Various specimens within the *styca*

[21] See D. M. Metcalf and J. P. Northover, 'Debasement of the Coinage in Southern England in the Age of King Alfred', *Numismatic Chronicle* 145 (1985), 150 for more discussion of the wider trend towards debasement.

[22] G. R. Gilmore, 'Metal Analysis of the Northumbrian *stycas*: Review and Suggestions', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, 159-73, at 169.

[23] For more discussion of the *styca* hoards see H. E. Pagan, 'Some Thoughts on

series have been analysed by modern spectroscopic techniques, and a considerable amount of metallurgical data has been published, especially for the later series. This has revealed the composition of the coins in some detail, and the results do not indicate a coinage spiralling into barbarian chaos.

After the dearth in coinage under Eardwulf at the turn of the ninth century discussed above, the coinage reappears under Eanred. Whereas the last analysed coinage of Æthelræd I indicated a silver standard approaching 60%, the 'restored coinage', if that is how it is to be understood, of Eanred apparently maintains a silver standard of *c.* 40%. This is clearly severely debased, if it was ever intended to be understood as primarily silver at all. G. R. Gilmore, in his review article of the metallurgy of the Northumbrian *styca* series, describes it rather as 'a silver-copper alloy with a substantial addition of tin'.[24] Gilmore goes on to describe how at some later point in Eanred's reign, there is another shift in coin-medium to 'a silver-containing brass with a generally low level of tin'. If it is assumed that silver is the major factor determining the value of the coin, this is the point of no return for the native Northumbrian coinage. However, this analysis of Eanred's coinage indicates that the abandonment of silver had not taken place in an uncontrolled way, as supplies dwindled; rather it is possible to identify moments when clear decisions were taken about the coin medium. Nevertheless, after the initial silver/bronze alloy (bronze being an alloy of copper and tin) was replaced by the silver/brass alloy, Gilmore notes that the fluctuation in silver levels makes the possibility that a silver standard was being maintained extremely remote.

the Hoard Evidence for Northumbrian *styca* Coinage', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, 147–158.

[24] Gilmore, 'Metal Analysis', p. 160.

Metcalf and Northover's analysis of the coinage of the later kings Æthelræd II and Osberht is also instructive.[25] They found no real evidence of a silver standard, with a variation in silver content in the coins of the first reign of Eanred's successor, Æthelræd II, between 2% and 10% silver.[26] Metcalf and Northover highlight the variation of silver in the coinage further by illustrating the often significant differences in silver content between die-linked or die-duplicate specimens,[27] that is, coins that either had one die in common or were produced from the same pair of dies. Their figures also make clear that the situation was more complex than a gradual debasement over time, as some coins of Eanred have a lower silver content than later coins of Æthelræd.

Æthelræd II's reign was interrupted for an unknown time by a usurper Rædwulf, whose coinage has been analysed in detail by Gilmore and Pirie.[28] Even within the timeframe of Rædwulf's reign, which was probably less than a year, the silver content of the coins he issued varies significantly, between 0.1% and 6.1%. The analysis published by Gilmore and Pirie shows that, once again, even die–duplicates could vary by 50% in silver content.[29]

After Æthelræd was restored, all the coins issued in his name are minted by one moneyer, Eardwulf. The silver content of these coins is negligible, with most of the coins analysed containing between 0.04% and 0.08% silver; Metcalf and Northover suggest that this

[25] D. M. Metcalf and J. P. Northover, 'The Northumbrian Royal Coinage in the Time of Æthelred II and Osberht', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, pp. 187–233.

[26] Metcalf and Northover, 'The Northumbrian Royal Coinage', p. 196.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Gilmore and Pirie, 'Consistency in the Alloy'.

[29] *Ibid.* p. 179, Table 1.

silver would have entered the alloy as an impurity in the copper ore.[30] The minority of coins that contain a higher level of silver, up to 2%, are regarded as the products of a coinage-metal which had been bulked up in production by the addition of old, silver-containing coins. The coins of Æthelræd's successor, Osberht, show silver to have remained a trace constituent of the coinage alloy until the Viking conquest.[31]

If these Northumbrian coins had any value at all, then, it was not due to their silver content. Perhaps, as Gilmore suggests, 'it is time to leave silver aside and consider the implications if we assume that it is the zinc, or rather brass, which is the important component of the alloy.'[32] In the face of the variance, and decline, of the level of silver in the *styca* series, all commentators have noted the constancy of the zinc content, that is, the consistent quality of the brass from which the coins were made. Metcalf and Northover comment that the zinc-in-brass ratio, which defines the quality of the brass, shows a 'compact distribution, mostly between 19 and 24% zinc: copper+zinc' in the coins of Æthelræd II and Osberht, and Gilmore and Pirie show a similar pattern for the coins of Rædwulf, again with

[30] Metcalf and Northover, 'The Northumbrian Royal Coinage', p. 208.

[31] The exact chronology of the later *styca* series is as contentious as the historical chronology; in particular it is unclear whether the *styca* coinage continued to be issued right up to the Viking conquest of York in 867 or whether it had ceased to be issued at some earlier point, perhaps in the 850s. See H. E. Pagan, 'Northumbrian Numismatic Chronology in the Ninth Century', *Brit. Numismatic Jnl* 38 (1969), 1–15; C. S. S. Lyon, 'Ninth-Century Northumbrian Chronology' in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, pp. 27–41; and D. N. Dumville, 'Textual Archaeology and Northumbrian History Subsequent to Bede', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. Metcalf, pp. 43–55 for further discussion.

[32] Gilmore, 'Metal Analysis', p. 169.

a clear cluster at 19–23%.[33] The coins of Æthelræd II's second reign, as a whole, maintain a similarly high quality of brass, with a median value of 22.7% zinc-in-brass, although some examples have a lower zinc content.[34]

To understand the true significance of these results, it is necessary to understand a little of the chemistry of the Anglo-Saxon smithing process. Brass was formed by heating finely divided fragments of copper with a zinc-containing ore; this is known as the cementation process. As Gilmore and Metcalf envisaged in the quote above, the copper and a zinc ore such as calamine (the white powder found as a suspension in calamine lotion) would probably simply have been covered with charcoal and heated. However, zinc becomes a gas at a lower temperature than copper melts. This makes it difficult to incorporate much zinc into the molten copper to form the alloy (brass) before the zinc is carried away, as a gas, in the fumes of the furnace. The percentage of zinc in the coins analysed approaches the maximum that would be theoretically possible with the technology the Anglo-Saxon smiths were using, which has been estimated at 22–28% zinc in the finished brass.[35] Such high levels of zinc imply considerable skill and experience on the part of the medieval metalworkers producing the coin medium.

The consistency of the level of zinc is particularly surprising given the variation in the silver content of the coins. The amount of silver in the coin-medium would have been much easier to control as, unlike zinc, it was available in pure form to the Anglo-Saxon smiths,

[33] Metcalf and Northover, 'The Northumbrian Royal Coinage', p. 197 and Gilmore and Pirie, 'Consistency in the Alloy', p. 183, fig. 3.

[34] Metcalf and Northover, 'The Northumbrian Royal Coinage', pp. 208–9.

[35] See P. T. Craddock, 'The Composition of the Copper Alloys used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilisations 3: the Origins and Early Use of Brass', *Jnl Archaeol. Science* 5 (1978), 1–16, for further discussion.

so could simply have been added to the molten alloy in the amount desired.[36] The fact that the Northumbrian smiths could exercise such skilful control over the more technologically challenging zinc levels suggests that it would be unwise to assume that the silver content of the *styca* series varied simply because it was beyond the control of the medieval metalworkers. However, if silver remained a valuable metal, but was not giving the coin its value, why was it allowed to remain in the coin as an impurity rather than collected and re-used? Gilmore suggests that this may have been because the process of cupellation that would have recovered the silver would have involved the loss of some of the brass.[37] The fact that silver was not recovered, even in a time when the change of coin-medium would imply a shortage of silver in the Northumbrian economy, seems to be more evidence that brass was a valuable quantity in itself; too valuable indeed to destroy, even in order to recover the more valuable silver to which it had been alloyed.

The constancy of the levels of zinc-in-brass suggest that it might be more useful to analyse the Northumbrian *styca* coinage in terms of its adherence to a brass standard rather than a silver standard. A century after the change from gold to silver as a coin medium, it appears that problems again arose with the supply of coin-metal, perhaps due to an unreliable or fluctuating silver supply caused by the Viking impact on the sea-routes on which the major trading centres of Northumbria relied. Following the earlier precedent, the decision was taken to introduce a lower-status metal, first as an alloy, and then as the major component in the coin-medium, to ensure a constant supply of coin to a potentially thriving economy.[38] Once silver was no

[36] See Gilmore, 'Metal Analysis', p. 169 for discussion of the relative ease of control of the concentration of silver compared to zinc.

[37] Gilmore, 'Metal Analysis', p. 171.

[38] The extent to which the decision was conscious is hard to prove definitively;

longer the metal determining the value of the coin, the amount in which it was present naturally declined, as it could be used for other purposes, but the silver level was not closely controlled as this would have involved an uneconomical amount of effort.

That this may have been the case is further suggested by a final change in coin-metal which may have taken place in the reign of Osberht, the penultimate king of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria.[39] Only a very few of his coins have been analysed, but the results are striking. Three of the coins analysed show a very low level of zinc, just 10%. The most recently analysed, however, show only traces of zinc, the coin-metal being almost pure bronze, that is, copper and tin. Interestingly, the level of a trace impurity, antimony, is also anomalous with the rest of the *styca* series, being almost absent from the Osberht coins, where it had previously been consistently present, although in quantities of under one per cent. This raises the interesting possibility that Osberht's bronze may have had a different source from previous copper alloys. This could perhaps be interpreted as another change in coin-medium when a previous medium became unavailable, although further analysis of the coinage of Osberht would be needed to confirm such a suggestion. The three coins that have been identified so far as pure bronze can, however, be shown to be genuine through die-links with other specimens,[40] so the

the author follows Metcalf and Northover's assessment in 'Northumbrian Royal Coinage' that Æthelræd's abandonment of the attempt to maintain a silver content in his coin alloy was 'a political decision' (p. 212) and that Osberht's coins 'reflect further changes in the coinage alloy which can hardly have been made other than as a matter of policy, and under royal control' (p. 213).

[39] See Metcalf and Northover, 'Northumbrian Royal Coinage', pp. 211–2, for the full analysis.

[40] Metcalf and Northover, 'Northumbrian Royal Coinage', p. 218.

change of coinage-metal must be real, and it is hard not to see it as another deliberate shift in royal policy.

Removing the focus from silver then, it is clear that the native ninth-century rulers of Northumbria maintained a significant level of control over their coin-medium.[41] It does not fit the normal pattern of Western Europe, but it displays a level of sophistication that makes it hard to describe it as barbarian. After all, copper alloy coin had circulated in Britain once before: under the definitively civilised rule of the Roman empire. The introduction of a standard silver coinage by Viking invaders can perhaps be seen as rather ironic. Although conquering York as pagan barbarians, the first coin issues of their kingdom of Jorvík suggest that Viking rulers there adopted the norms of the civilized west that their Northumbrian predecessors had ignored. Nevertheless, despite first appearances (perhaps epitomised in Michael Dolley's dismissal of the copper alloy *stycas* as 'wretched') [42] the last native Northumbrian coinage displays a level of control of its coin-medium that makes it, also, hard to describe as merely barbarian. Perhaps the educating of the barbarian took place in between the conquest and the first Viking issues,[43] and the

[41] This would not necessarily imply that effective royal control was maintained over the entire coinage. Indeed, the detailed study of the later *styca* dies by E. J. E. Pirie in her *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria*, pp. 50–62, which revealed a large number of apparently unofficial issues in the later *styca* series and the die-linking between these and apparently official issues, may suggest a weakness in royal control. A full examination of the historical implications of the study of the *styca* dies is, however, outside the scope of this discussion; see Pirie, 'Phases and Groups', p. 126, for some discussion of these issues.

[42] Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage', p. 16.

[43] The first Viking coins issued at Jorvík are dated to the 890s, some thirty years after the conquest of York; see M. Dolley, 'The Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Norse Coinages of York' in *Viking Age York and the North*, ed. R. A. Hall, CBA Research Report 27 (London, 1978), 26–31, for general discussion of the

educators would have been the native Northumbrians, teaching their conquerors the potential of their highly monetarized economic infrastructure.[44]

Viking issues of Jorvík.

[44] I am extremely grateful to Mark Blackburn for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper; any errors in this version are entirely my own.

Isidorian Scholarship at the School of Theodore and Hadrian: The Case of the *Synonyma*

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In this essay I will review the evidence for the knowledge of the works of Isidore, bishop of Seville from 599 or 600 to 636,[1] at the late seventh-century school of Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian at Canterbury.[2] In particular, in the second part of this paper I intend to focus on Isidore's so-called *Synonyma* or *Lamentatio animae peccatricis*.[3] This text has generally been classified among Isidore's minor works and it has been one of the most neglected and

[1] For an annotated bibliography on the life and works of Isidore of Seville, see J. N. Hillgarth, 'The Position of Isidorian Studies: a Critical Review of the Literature since 1935', in *Isidoriana: colleción de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz (León, 1961), pp. 11–74; and 'The Position of Isidorian Studies: a Critical Review of the Literature 1936–75', *SM* 3rd ser. 24 (1983), 817–96 (repr. in his *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium and the Irish* (Aldershot, 1995), 817–96). For a general introduction to Isidore, see J. Fontaine's entries 'Isidore de Séville' in *Catholicisme Hier Aujourd'hui Demain*, ed. G. Jaquemet *et al.*, vol. 1– (Paris, 1954–), VI, 154–66, and *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, ed. M. Viller *et al.*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1932–95), VII. 2, 2104–16; see also his 'Isidor von Sevilla', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. G. Avella-Widhalm *et al.*, 10 vols. (Munich, 1980–99), V, 677–80. See also Fontaine's fundamental monographs *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1959–83), and *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout, 2000). A complete list of Isidorian works, including those of dubious and certainly spurious authorship is given in E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clauis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1995), nos. 1186–229, and in M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum latinorum medii aeui hispanorum*, Acta Salmaticensia. Filosofía y Letras 13. I and II (Salamanca, 1958–9), nos. 101–34. On the numerous writings spuriously ascribed to Isidore in the Middle Ages, see L. Robles Carcedo, *Prolegómenos a un «Corpus Isidorianum». Obras apócrifas, dudosas o espúreas* (Valencia, 1971); and J. Machielsen, *Clauis patristica pseudoepigraphorum medii aeui*, 4 vols, CCSL IA/B; IIA/B (Turnhout, 1990–4), IB, 803–11; IIA, 286–96 and 596–615; IIB, 772–81 and 862–3. With particular regard to the Isidorian pseudoepigrapha of Irish origin, see R. McNally's 'Isidoriana', *Theological Stud.* 20 (1959), 432–42, and 'Isidorian Pseudoepigrapha in the Early Middle Ages', in *Isidoriana*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, pp. 305–16.

[2] For a thorough introduction to Theodore and Hadrian, their life and culture and their activity in England, see *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994), 5–189. See also M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, ed. M. Lapidge, CSASE 11 (Cambridge, 1995) (repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London, 1996), pp. 93–121, addenda p. 501); his 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *ASE* 15 (1986), 45–72 (repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, pp. 141–68, addenda p. 502–3); and his 'Hadrian' and 'Theodore', in *BEASE*, pp. 225–6 and 444–6.

[3] The current edition of the *Synonyma* is still in *S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. F. Arevalo, 7 vols. (Rome, 1797–1803), VI, 472–523 (repr. in PL 83, 825–68). A new critical edition of the *Synonyma*, however, has recently been completed by J. Elfassi as part of his doctoral thesis. For a thorough analysis of the structure, content, and style of the *Synonyma*, and a detailed survey of their sources, see J. Fontaine, 'Théorie et pratique du style chez Isidore de Séville', *Vigiliae Christianae* 14 (1960), 65–101, and 'Isidore de Séville auteur "ascétique": les énigmes des *Synonyma*', *SM* 3rd ser. 6 (1965), 163–94 (repr. in his *Tradition et actualité chez Isidore de Séville* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 163–94). For a general introduction to the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England, see my 'I *Synonyma* di Isidoro di Siviglia nell'Inghilterra anglosassone', *Antichità Germaniche*. I, ed. V. Dolcetti Corazza and R. Gendre, Bibliotheca Germanica. Studi e Testi 10 (Alexandria, 2001), 235–57.

misunderstood.[4] In fact, the *Synonyma* enjoyed wide and long-lasting circulation in the medieval West, and they can indeed be considered one of the classics of medieval spirituality.[5] Anglo-Saxon England was to prove particularly receptive to the *Synonyma*, which represented a rich source of devotional and penitential motifs, as well as a model of style.[6] What is more interesting to point out here, however, is that the *Synonyma* was widely employed for a didactic purpose in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and there is evidence that the text played a significant role in the teaching of the Benedictine Reform.[7] It then

[4] See Fontaine, 'Isidore auteur "ascétique"', pp. 164–5, esp. n. 6, and 173.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 164.

[6] For a recent assessment of the popularity of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England, particularly their use as a source in anonymous homilies and private prayers, see my 'The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville as a Source in Anglo-Saxon England' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 2002), esp. chs. III and IV and relevant bibliography.

[7] We know that a copy of the *Synonyma* was sent by Æthelwold (904 x 909–984), abbot of Abingdon and bishop of Winchester as well as one of the fathers of the English Benedictine Reform movement, to the monastery of Medehamstede (now Peterborough), which Æthelwold himself had restored and endowed after the disruption of the Viking raids: see M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33–89, at pp. 52–5; and 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4 (1975), 67–111 (repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, pp. 105–49, addenda pp. 474–9, at 126–7, esp. 126, n. 2). Eventually, in the eleventh century, the *Synonyma* were drawn on in one of the most important pedagogical texts in pre-Conquest England, namely the *Colloquia* by Ælfric Bata: see S. Gwara and D. W. Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge, 1997), and S. Gwara, 'Ælfric Bata's Manuscripts', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 27 (1997), 239–55. Ælfric Bata was a pupil of Ælfric of Eynsham, who also composed a *colloquium*, *Aelfric's Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway, 2nd ed. (Exeter, 1978). For a comparative study of Ælfric and Ælfric Bata's texts and on the possible role of Ælfric Bata as editor of Ælfric's

would be of paramount interest to investigate whether this text could have been known and used in the earliest and most prestigious of England's medieval schools, namely that of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury.

According to Bede,[8] throngs of students gathered around Theodore and Hadrian, and the subjects taught at their school were metrics, astronomy, *computus* and biblical exegesis. Furthermore, since both Theodore and Hadrian were native speakers of Greek – Theodore was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia and Hadrian was a native of Libya[9] – the study of Greek was also part of their curriculum at Canterbury, and Bede told us that their students were fluent in Latin and Greek as well as their own mother tongue. Bede also named a few of Theodore and Hadrian's students.[10] The most prominent of them was Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne

Colloquy, see P. Lendinara, 'Il Colloquio di Ælfric e Il Colloquio di Ælfric Bata', in *Feor ond neah*, ed. P. Lendinara and L. Melazzo (Palermo, 1983), pp. 173–249 (English version with addenda in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 207–87); and D. N. Porter, 'Ælfric's *Colloquy* and Ælfric Bata', *Neophilologus* 80 (1996), 639–60, and his 'Introduction', in *Anglo-Saxon Conversations*, ed. Gwara and Porter, pp. 4–7, 29–34, 57–70.

[8] *Historia Ecclesiastica* (hereafter *HE*) IV.2: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 332–4.

[9] See above, n. 2. See also the dedicated study by M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury in the Seventh Century', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. W. Herren, King's College London Medieval Studies 2 (London, 1992), 169–94 (repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, pp. 123–39).

[10] They are Albinus, who succeeded Hadrian as abbot of the monastery of SS Peter and Paul, later St Augustine's, at Canterbury (*HE* V.20); Oftfor, later bishop of Worcester (*HE* IV.23); Tobias, later bishop of Rochester (*HE* V.23); and probably also John of Beverly, later bishop of York (*HE* V.3): *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 530, 408, 556, 458–60.

as well as the 'first English man of letters'.[11] In fact, Aldhelm is not named as a student by Bede, but from the evidence of a letter addressed by Aldhelm to Hadrian,[12] we know that he too attended the school at Canterbury for at least a couple of years around 670.[13] What is more, Aldhelm is the only student of Theodore and Hadrian's to have left a substantial corpus of Latin writings.[14] As we shall see, Aldhelm will prove to be of paramount importance in this discussion because he provides the earliest testimony to the knowledge of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England.[15]

Unfortunately, very few texts survive which can be considered to be the direct product either teacher: indeed, in the case of Hadrian, no writing at all has come down to us.[16] As far as Theodore is

[11] M. Herren and M. Lapidge, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 1. For an introduction to Aldhelm's life and works, see M. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm', in *BEASE*, pp. 25–7, and A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (Cambridge, 1994), 1–18.

[12] For the letter in question see *Epistola* 2, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH Auct. antiq. 15 (Berlin, 1919), p. 478; trans. Herren and Lapidge, *The Prose Works*, pp. 153–4.

[13] According to Herren and Lapidge (*The Prose Works*, pp. 7–9, esp. p. 8), Aldhelm's tuition at Canterbury must be dated c. 670 and have lasted for a 'period of few years'; Orchard (*The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, p. 4) has thought that Aldhelm was in Canterbury 'for perhaps two years, most probably at some time between 670 and 675'; more recently, Lapidge ('Aldhelm', in *BEASE*, p. 25) has argued that Aldhelm may have spent as much as a decade from 670 onwards in Canterbury. A letter of 675 which Aldhelm addressed to his bishop, Leuthere, has also been taken to refer to Aldhelm's studies at Canterbury (Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 148–9).

[14] *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 267–8.

[15] See below, pp. 99-101.

[16] Hadrian, however, has been associated with the Campanian pericope-lists found in several early English gospel-books: see Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 142, n. 7; and especially *Biblical Commentaries*, ed.

concerned, a small surviving corpus can be attributed to the archbishop,[17] and an eclectic group of texts has ultimately been connected with Theodore as indirect witnesses of the archbishop's concerns and vast scholarship.[18]

Given the paucity of texts directly attributable to Theodore and Hadrian, the closest records available of their classroom teaching,[19] as well as of the subjects and texts studied at their Canterbury school,[20]

Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 155–60. An *antidotum adrianum* [*sic*] *quod est optimum multis infirmis* immediately follows an *antidotum teodori* in a ninth-century St Gall manuscript: see Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 146.

[17] For a survey of the texts attributed to Theodore, see Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 142–5; *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 136–8, 150–5, 180–4 and 186–9; Lapidge, 'Theodore', in *BEASE*, p. 446 and relevant bibliography.

[18] See Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 145–8, and *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 134–50, 160–73 and 185–6.

[19] *Ibid.* pp. 177–8 and 269–74, and Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 154–62.

[20] The two masters arguably brought with them to England a vast library of Greek and Latin books: see *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 190–242, esp. 240–2. Furthermore, Theodore is likely to have been familiar with Syriac biblical exegesis, and it has been suggested that he must have known at least some works by the Syriac Father Ephraim (*ibid.* pp. 233–40). The evidence for the knowledge of Ephraim's (or Ephraimic) works by Theodore is discussed by J. Stevenson in 'Ephraim the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England', *Hugoye: Jnl of Syriac Stud.* 1 (1998) http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol1No2/HV1N2Stevenson.html. On the knowledge and influence of Ephraim in Anglo-Saxon England in general, see T. H. Bestul, 'Ephraim the Syrian and Old English Poetry', *Anglia* 99 (1981), 1–24, and P. Sims-Williams, 'Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 205–26 (repr. in his *Britain and Early Christian Europe: Studies in Early Medieval History and Culture* (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 205–26). An Ephraimic source has most recently been discovered for the introductory passage shared by two anonymous homilies, namely the so-called

are represented by a set of *Biblical Commentaries*[21] and a collection of glosses. This collection – which Michael Lapidge has defined as 'the original English collection' of glosses[22] – is preserved in the so-called 'Leiden Family' of glossaries.[23] In both the *Biblical Commentaries* and the 'Leiden Family' glossaries Theodore and Hadrian are quoted *nominatim* as authorities,[24] and there are many verbal parallels linking the commentaries and the Leiden corpus of glosses, which suggests that they share a common origin.[25]

Here, I will focus on the role played by Isidore as a source of the

'Macarius Homily' and Vercelli iv: see C. D. Wright, 'The Old English "Macarius" Homily, Vercelli Homily iv, and Ephrem Latinus, *De paenitentia*', in *Via Crucis: Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of James E. Cross*, ed. T. N. Hall, T. D. Hill and C. D. Wright, Medieval European Studies 1 (Morgantown, WV, 2002), 210–34.

[21] *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 298–423. This edition concerns the text of the Canterbury biblical commentaries as preserved in the main witness, namely Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., but extracts are preserved in a number of earlier manuscripts, on which see Bischoff and Lapidge, *ibid.*, pp. 275–94 and 533–60.

[22] Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 153; see also Lendinara, *Glosses and Glossaries*, p. 10.

[23] See Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 152–4 and 163–8 for a provisional list of the Continental glossaries belonging to this family; the English manuscripts of the family are discussed in J. D. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, 1974), pp. xxviii-li. This family of glossaries is so called because its main representative is found in a Leiden manuscript, on which see below, pp. 83ff.

[24] See *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 177–8, and Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 154–5.

[25] See *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 173 and 177–8. Moreover, it may be worth noting that the same manuscript as the one which contains the Leiden glossary also contains 'a series of biblical glosses which correspond nearly verbatim to the biblical glosses in the Milan manuscript' of the *Biblical Commentaries*: see *ibid.* pp. 545–8 and 386–95, quotation at 545–6.

Biblical Commentaries and of the 'Leiden Family' of glossaries, and I will thereby try to assess the extent of Isidorian scholarship at the Canterbury school.

The *Biblical Commentaries* concern the Pentateuch and the Gospels.[26] As Bischoff and Lapidge have noted, their 'overall debt to Latin patristic sources is minimal'.[27] Only two Latin Fathers are quoted explicitly, and these are Augustine and Jerome. Isidore is a quoted third Latin patristic authority, but, unlike the other two, is never cited by name.[28] His *Etymologiae*, however, are quoted verbatim and at length on at least two occasions, namely in the comment on the ephod and other priestly garments,[29] and in the comment on the description of Eden in Genesis II. 8–10.[30] The *Etymologiae* seem to have been the only Isidorian work drawn on by the author (or

[26] *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, p. 294.

[27] *Ibid.* p. 201.

[28] *Ibid.* pp. 201–5.

[29] The comment in question is in the 'First Commentary on the Pentateuch', 295, concerning the lengthy description of the ephod and other garments in Exodus XXVIII. 6–34 and 36v8, and XXXIX. 2–24 and 28: see *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 354–6 and 476–7. For at least four items, namely the ephod, the *poderis*, the *tiara*, and the *logium*, the commentator relies on Book XIX of the *Etymologiae*, especially chapters xxi. 1, 3, and 5–6. For the passages in question from the *Etymologiae*, see *Isidoro de Sevilla. Etymologías. Libro XIX De naves, edificios y vestidos*, ed. and trans. M. Rodríguez-Pantoja (Paris, 1995), pp. 162–7. The commentary in question also depends on *Etymologiae* XVI. xiii. 2 for a description of diamonds: for the relevant passage, see *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum siue Originum libri xx*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), II, XVI. xiii. 2.

[30] The comment in question is in the 'Supplementary Comment on Genesis, Exodus and the Gospels', 9: see *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 388–9 and 499. The description of Eden is taken verbatim from *Etymologiae* XIV. iii. 2–4: see *Isidori Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, II, XIV. iii. 2–4.

authors) of the *Biblical Commentaries*.[31] However, the distinction between *fur* and *latro* in the comment on John X.1 closely echoes the corresponding distinction drawn by Isidore in the first book of his *De differentiis*.[32]

The evidence provided by the 'Leiden Family' of glossaries with regard to the Isidorian scholarship at Canterbury is, however, wider. This group of glossaries is named after its chief member, namely a glossary contained in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijkuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69.[33] It is a Continental manuscript, written at St Gall c. 800, but its exemplar or its sources very likely came from England. This English collection of glosses reached the Continent by the beginning of the ninth century, where it was intensively drawn on in more than twenty-five Continental glossaries, especially in the area of the Anglo-Saxon missions.[34] However, the collection also stayed in England and

[31] In addition to the extensive borrowings from the *Etymologiae* discussed above, the Commentator also derived from Isidore's encyclopaedia a number of etymologies: see *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, p. 204.

[32] The comment in question is in the 'Second Commentary on the Gospels', 136: see *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 421 and 532. The passage from *De differentiis*, I. 433 is found in *Isidorus Hispalensis: De differentiis.*, ed. and trans. C. Codoñer-Merino, I (Paris, 1992), 278–9.

[33] The glossary in question is found on 20r–36r. For an introduction to the manuscript and its contents, see *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 545–6 and relevant bibliography. There are two complete editions of it, namely *A Late Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of the Leiden University (Ms. Voss. Q° lat. N°. 69)*, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1906), and *Das Leidener Glossar*, ed. P. Glogger (Augsburg, 1901–8); the Old English glosses of the Leiden glossary were also edited by F. Holthausen, 'Die Leidener Glossen', *Englischen Studien* 50 (1916–17), 327–40. On the Leiden glossary and Anglo-Saxon glossarial production in general, see also P. Lendinara, 'Was the Glossator a Teacher?', *infra*, 1–27.

[34] See above, n. 23. See also *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 173–9, and Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 152–5.

was drawn on in the now lost archetype of the 'Épinal-Erfurt' glossary in the last quarter of the seventh century, and by the compiler of the Second Corpus glossary in the second quarter of the ninth century.[35]

The Leiden glossary consists of forty-eight chapters of glosses to a variety of texts, including Church canons and papal decretals, the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, the Bible, a number of Fathers of the Church etc.[36] Interestingly, two chapters, xxvii and lxiv, are made up of glosses

[35] Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 154. The Épinal glossary (Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale 72, 94r–107r) and the first glossary in Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianus 2° 42, 1r–14v, both descend from a lost archetype, which, according to Pheifer, was compiled at the school of Aldhelm at Malmesbury in the last quarter of the seventh century ('Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries', pp. 18 and 44, and *Old English Glosses*, p. lvii). The most recent edition of the Épinal glossary and the First Erfurt glossary is *Old English Glosses*, ed. Pheifer. The same source as that of the Épinal and First Erfurt glossaries was also drawn on in the Second Corpus glossary. The latter is the second and longer glossary in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144, 4r-64v; it too has been published more than once, but the standard edition is *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Cambridge, 1921). For a facsimile edition of the three glossaries in question, see *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries. Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale 72 (2). Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Amplonianus 2° 42. Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek Fragm. K 19: Z 9/1. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cgm. 187 III (e. 4). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144*, ed. B. Bischoff, M. Budny, G. Harlow, M. B. Parkes and J. D. Pheifer, EEMF 22 (Copenhagen, 1988). For the dating of the Second Corpus glossary, see B. Bischoff and M. B. Parkes, *ibid.* p. 25; the Second Corpus glossary shares entries with the Épinal and the First Erfurt glossaries, but it is independent from both and also from their common original: see Pheifer, *ibid.* pp. 50–4. For a palaeographical description of the manuscripts containing the Épinal, First Erfurt, and Second Corpus glossaries, see Bischoff and Parkes, *ibid.* pp. 13–20 and 22–5; and finally, for a detailed analysis of the relationship between these three glossaries, see Pheifer, *ibid.* pp. 49–54.

[36] For a list of the forty-eight chapters in the Leiden glossary, see Lapidge, 'The

drawn from Isidore's *De natura rerum*,[37] a treatise of cosmographical content, which was known to both Aldhelm and Bede.[38] Aldhelm quotes *De natura rerum* in his *Epistola ad Acircium* (685 x 695).[39] Bede himself composed a treatise also entitled *De natura rerum* which can be considered a recasting of the Isidorian text,[40] and it is possible that he was still working on a translation of Isidore's treatise in the last days of his life.[41] Indeed, the most recent editor of Isidore's *De natura*

School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 150–1. With the exception of only the first two chapters, the entries of which were re-arranged alphabetically, and of chapter xlvii, which was drawn from the *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana*, all the glosses of the Leiden glossary are *glossae collectae*, that it to say the *lemmata* are arranged in the same order as they occur in the text from which they are extracted. On the *glossae collectae*, see Lendinara, *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, pp. 9–11. On the *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana*, a Greek-Latin schoolbook, see Lendinara, *ibid.* pp. 11–12 and 221 and relevant bibliography; see also her 'Was the Glossator a Teacher?', *infra*, 1–27.

[37] *Isidore de Séville. Traité de la nature*, ed. J. Fontaine, Bibliothèque Hautes Études Hispaniques 28 (Bordeaux, 1960).

[38] *Ibid.* pp. 73–5.

[39] *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 35–204; partly trans. Herren and Lapidge, *The Prose Works*, pp. 34–47, notes pp. 187–91. The *Epistola ad Acircium* is a lengthy text, consisting of a tract on the arithmological significance of the number 7; two treatises on Latin metre (*De metris*) and scansion (*De pedum regulis*); and a collection of 100 verse *Enigmata*, where Aldhelm illustrated the rules and principles of prosody given in the two above-mentioned treatises. The dating of the *Epistula* is the one suggested by Herren and Lapidge, *ibid.* p. 12. The *Epistola* was addressed to Aldfrith, king of Northumbria between 685 and 705: see Lapidge, 'Aldfrith', in *BEASE*, p. 25.

[40] *Bedae Opera Didascalica*, ed. C. W. Jones, 3 vols., CCSL 123A, 123B, 123C (Turnhout, 1975–80), I, 174–234.

[41] According to Cuthbert's *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, Bede was still working on Isidore's *De natura rerum* on his deathbed: see E. van Kirk Dobbie, *The Manuscripts of the Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song* (New York, 1937), pp. 117–29, esp. 122–3. Of what this last effort by Bede consisted is not clear:

rerum, J. Fontaine, has argued that this text must have been *the* handbook of cosmography in South English ecclesiastical schools from the second half of the seventh century,[42] and that the longest of the three extant recensions of this text must have originated in Anglo-Saxon England, precisely Northumbria, between the end of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth.[43]

Another chapter of the Leiden Glossary, xxvi, consists of glosses from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*,[44] a work which can be considered to be a comprehensive handbook of the liturgy and ecclesiastical discipline within the seventh-century Visigothic Church.[45] Although again no first-hand evidence has survived, we know that Theodore

Fontaine (*Traité de la nature*, p. 79) has thought that Bede might have been working on a translation of *De natura rerum* into Northumbrian for the use of those clerics ignorant of Latin.

[42] *Ibid.* p. 75. In fact, judging from the antiquity of the manuscript tradition of the *De natura rerum* – no fewer than twelve witnesses date from before 800 – this text must have been extraordinarily popular in the period 650–800. According to Baker and Lapidge, 'in the early Middle Ages, the standard handbooks for teaching cosmology were Isidore's *De natura rerum* and Bede's treatise of the same name'; Isidore's *De natura rerum* was eventually a source of Byrthferth's *Enchiridion*, although probably at second hand: see *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. P. Baker and M. Lapidge, EETS s.s. 15 (Oxford, 1995), lxxxiv and lxxxviii–ix, at lxxxiv.

[43] Fontaine, *Traité de la nature*, pp. 38–45 and 79–80. According to Fontaine (*ibid.* p. 80), it is within the milieu of Aldfrith's court and among the learned ecclesiastics close to the king that the longest of the three recensions of the *De natura rerum* must have originated: cf. above, n. 39.

[44] *S. Isidori Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C. M. Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout, 1989).

[45] On Isidore's interests in matters of liturgy and ecclesiastical discipline as well as on his possible authorship of the *Collectio canonum hispana*, the most comprehensive and influential of Spanish medieval canon law collections, see my 'The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville', pp. 12–14.

himself acted as a conscientious reformer of the English Church and that he was concerned to establish and teach canon law and penitential discipline.[46] Unfortunately, it is a matter for speculation whether Theodore knew the canon material attributable to Isidore. However, in M. Brett's words, 'the range of books from which Theodore might in principle have taken his texts was remarkably wide ... and there was a wide circulation of Merovingian, African and *Spanish* legislation throughout Gaul and even Italy',[47] both countries

[46] See Lapidge, 'Theodore', in *BEASE*, pp. 445–6, and 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 144-8. See also *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 134–55, and M. Brett, 'Theodore and the Latin Canon Law', in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, 120–40. A collection of *iudicia* or *canones* on penitence and ecclesiastical discipline has come down to us under Theodore's name through at least two subsequent intermediaries, namely a disciple of Theodore, Eoda, who was responsible for assembling the collection, and an anonymous *discipulus Umbrensium*, who rearranged the canons into two books (*Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen*, ed. P. Finsterwalder (Weimar, 1929)). For a study on the Anglo-Saxon penitential tradition, see A. J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), esp. pp. 62–78. See also the recent dedicated study by T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, 141–74. In addition to this third-hand collection of *iudicia*, three chapters from the Leiden glossary, namely chapters i, xxxix, and xli, concern Church canons and papal decretals. Two more chapters (xxxiv and xlviii) contain glosses to Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum*: *Iohannis Cassiani De institutibus coenobiorum et De octo principalium uitiorum remediis libri xii*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17 (Vienna, 1888), 3–231. Chapter xxxix also contains glosses to Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis*: *Règle pastorale*, ed. F. Rommel, trans. C. Morel, with introduction, notes and index by B. Judic, 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes 381 and 382 (Paris, 1992). Gregory's *Cura pastoralis* was translated into Old English by King Alfred: see *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet (London, 1871–2).

[47] 'Theodore and the Latin Canon Law', p. 124 (my italics); see also Brett's conclusions at pp. 136-8.

where Theodore either spent part of his life (Italy) or travelled through on his way to England (Gaul).[48]

Perhaps surprisingly, the Leiden glossary does not include glosses to the *Etymologies*. However, that the Isidorian encyclopaedia was known and used at the school of Canterbury is shown, as we have seen, by the Biblical Commentaries. Further evidence in this regard is also provided by an epitome of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, which was first edited by Lapidge.[49] This epitome, called by the editor *De diuersis rebus*, is preserved in a composite continental manuscript, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1750, which was written somewhere in Northern France – possibly Fleury – c. 800. On palaeographical grounds and because of the presence of eight Old English glosses, it has been demonstrated that this French manuscript must have been copied from an exemplar written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule. In turn, the Old English glosses have been identified as Mercian and dated close to or not long after c. 700. The interesting implications suggested by these glosses is not just that they provide 'valuable evidence that in Anglo-Saxon England the [*Etymologiae*] were excerpted, studied and glossed in the vernacular from as early as *c.* 700', but also that they can be related to the 'Leiden Family' of glossaries.[50]

Two of the Old English glosses to *De diuersis rebus* are also found in the above-mentioned Épinal-Erfurt glossary.[51] Furthermore, the

[48] *Ibid.* pp. 121–4; see also the comprehensive account of Theodore's biography in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 5–81.

[49] 'An Isidorian Epitome from Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Romanobarbarica* 10 (1988–9), 443–83 (repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, pp. 183–223). In the following discussion I rely on Lapidge's introductory study of the epitome, pp. 443–59.

[50] *Ibid.* p. 445.

[51] The two glosses in question are (line 277) *merula* : *oslae* = Épinal-Erfurt 665,

Isidorian epitome shares some Latin-Latin glosses and at least one Old English gloss with yet another glossary of the 'Leiden Family', namely 'Werden I'.[52] The latter is one of three alphabetical glossaries which were originally contained in a manuscript written at Werden c. 820–30,[53] and of which only fragments survive scattered in at least two libraries.[54] Because of the rarity of the three *lemmata* in question,[55]

and (line 278) *bufo* : *uuf* = Épinal-Erfurt 161: see Lapidge, *ibid.* p. 450. The relevant entries of the 'Épinal-Erfurt' glossary are quoted following the numeration in *Old English Glosses*, ed. Pheifer.

[52] The gloss in question is (line 176) *torques* : *halsberigold* = Werden I, 234 *torques* : *halsberigolth circuli aurei sunt*: see Lapidge, 'An Isidorian Epitome', p. 452.

[53] The three Werden glossaries are conventionally referred to as 'Werden I', 'Werden II', and 'Werden III'; for a paleographical description and dating of the manuscript which once contained them, see Bischoff and Parkes, *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, ed. B. Bischoff *et al.*, pp. 20–2.

[54] Fragments equivalent to twenty-six leaves have been reported, but only twelve of the leaves can now be located and attributed to two extant manuscripts, namely Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 187 III (e. 4) and Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. K 19: Z 9/1. See Bischoff and Parkes, *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, ed. B. Bischoff *et al.*, p. 20; on the lost portions of the three Werden glossaries, see G. Harlow, *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, ed. B. Bischoff *et al.*, pp. 66–78. The fragments making up 'Werden I' were published by J. H. Gallée, *Altsaechsische Sprachdenkmäler* (Leiden, 1894), pp. 336–46; an English translation of Gallée's book was published in the same year in Oxford and the pages with the 'Werden I' fragments have recently been repr. by Bischoff *et al.*, in *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, pp. 75–8. The fragments making up 'Werden II' were published by Gallée, *Altsaechsische Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 346–57, and *CGL* I, 156–7. Finally, the fragments making up 'Werden III' were published by Gallée, *Altsaechsische Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 357–64. On the relationship between the Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus glossaries, see Pheifer, *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, ed. Bischoff *et al.*, pp. 49–63.

[55] For example, the OE *interpretamentum oslae*, glossing the Latin *merula* in both the Isidorian epitome and in the 'Épinal-Erfurt' glossary, represents the only

and because of the identity of the three entries, Lapidge concluded that both the individual responsible for the epitome *De diuersis rebus* and the compiler of the Épinal-Erfurt glossary as well as the compiler of Werden I drew on one and the same glossed manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and that such a manuscript must have belonged to the same library which contained also the glossary materials.[56] In sum, the Isidorian epitome can be considered to be 'a reflection, perhaps at one or more removes, of the scholarly activity engendered at late seventh-century Canterbury by Theodore and Hadrian'.[57]

I would now like to attempt a similar analysis of the Old English glosses to the *Synonyma*, to see whether they could throw some light on a possible use of this Isidorian text at the school of Theodore and Hadrian.[58] No fewer than eight manuscripts attest to the circulation

two occurrences of this word in the extant Old English corpus: see Lapidge, *ibid.* p. 450.

[56] *Ibid.* pp. 450–3.

[57] *Ibid.* p. 453. Lapidge has also argued that 'it is not inconceivable that the compiler of the epitome *De diuersis rebus* may have belonged to the same milieu as Boniface': see *ibid.* pp. 454–5. This is a point worth stressing, since Boniface and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent in general seem to have played an important role in the manuscript tradition of the *Synonyma*: on this point see below, pp. 96–9. On the Anglo-Saxon manuscript tradition of the Isidorian text and its Continental offspring, see my 'The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville', pp. 75–86.

[58] The possible role of glossed manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon schools has engendered an animated scholarly debate: see M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England, I: The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. N. Brooks (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99–140 (repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, pp. 455–98, addenda p. 516); R. Page, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England, II: the Evidence of English Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages*, ed. Brooks, pp. 141–65; G. R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *ASE* 14 (1985), 153–73. Wieland's arguments

of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England and they are listed in Table 1 (see Appendix).

Two of these eight manuscripts, namely Harley 110 and Tiberius A. iii, are indeed Canterbury books, but their date is far too distant from the days of Theodore and Hadrian to allow room for a direct connection with the two masters. The Vespasian manuscript, itself Continental, reached South England at the beginning of the tenth century, possibly finding in Christ Church, Canterbury, its *Bibliotheksheimat*, but the unsound evidence in this regard and again the chronological gap exclude any links with the school of Theodore and Hadrian.

Interestingly, however, the Vespasian manuscript contains a great number of dry-point Old English glosses, and at least thirty-two of them have been identified as glosses to the text of the *Synonyma*.[59] The Vespasian glosses have been edited in different phases by Neil Ker,[60] H. D. Meritt,[61] and R. I. Page,[62] who have all agreed, however,

have been rebutted by R. Page in his 'On the Feasibility of a Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Glosses: the View from the Library', in *Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. R. Derolez (Brussels, 1992), pp. 79–95, esp. pp. 80–93. The debate has been been further pursued by G. R. Wieland in his 'Interpreting the Interpretation: the Polysemy of the Latin Gloss', *Jnl of Med. Latin* 8 (1998), 59–71. More recently Lendinara (*Glosses and Glossaries*, pp. 5–6) has argued that admittedly '[the] Anglo-Saxon scriptoria and classrooms [are] the two likely place whence glosses could derive'. However, 'it remains unclear whether glosses were produced by a single scholar trying to master a Latin work in the silence of his room, [or they] were a crib either for the teacher … or for the student'. See also her 'Was the Glossator a Teacher?', *infra*.

[59] The glosses in the Vespasian manuscript occur in sections of the *Synonyma* corresponding to columns 829.30–832.6 of the PL edition.

[60] *Catalogue*, no. 210. Ker ascribed these glosses to the tenth century and perhaps to Christ Church, Canterbury.

[61] 'Old English Glosses, Mostly Dry Point', *JEGP* 60 (1961), 441–50, at 449.

[62] 'New Work on Old English Scratched Glosses', in *Studies in English Language*

that many more glosses in the manuscript remain to be deciphered.[63] Equally, one of the two oldest Anglo-Saxon witnesses of the *Synonyma*, namely the Würzburg manuscript, also contains thirty-nine Old English glosses.[64] Finally, the Harley manuscript contains fifteen Old English glosses.[65]

It can be stated immediately that the glosses in the three manuscripts are unrelated: although they often occur in the same portion of the text of the *Synonyma*, they all refer to different Latin *lemmata*, with only two exceptions. Two Latin words, namely *ablata* (*Synonyma* I.7) and *compedibus* (*Synonyma* I.16), have been glossed in both the Würzburg and the Vespasian manuscript, albeit differently, because the Würzburg glossators translated them as *ginoman* and

and Early Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen, ed. P. M. Tilling, Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Learning 8 (Coleraine, 1981), 105–15, at 111–13.

[63] See *Catalogue*, no. 210; Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', 449 ('Even on days when the light was most propitious I found it impossible to read some dozen glosses of which traces are visible'); Page, 'New Work', 112 ('many glosses remain which I think could be deciphered with more suitable lighting'). Presumably because of the difficulty in reading these glosses, none of the three editors has specified how many hands were at work in glossing this manuscript.

[64] Ed. J. Hofmann, 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen aus Würzburg und dem weiteren angelsächsichen Missionsgebiet', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 85 (1963), 27–131, at 57–61, esp. 60–1. These glosses are scattered throughout Book I and Book II, 1–14 of the *Synonyma* (PL 83, 828–48); Hofmann has dated them to the eighth century and has attributed them to several hands ('Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', 58–9).

[65] *Old English Glosses*, ed. H. D. Meritt (New York, NY, 1945), pp. 24–5, no. 21; according to Meritt these glosses are 'about contemporary with the text', but he does not specify how many hands were responsible for them (*ibid.*, p. xiv). The glosses of the Harley manuscript occur in sections of the text of the *Synonyma* corresponding to columns 830.18–842.25, 859.49–860.7, and 865.14–22 of the PL edition.

bendum respectively,[66] while the Vespasian glossator(s) rendered them as *onweg* and *mid cospum* respectively.[67] More relevant to this discussion, however, are some correspondences between a few Old English glosses to the *Synonyma* in the Würzburg and Vespasian manuscripts and a number of *interpretamenta* in the Épinal-Erfurt glossary and, above all, the Second Corpus glossary.

Hofmann, the editor of the glosses in the Würzburg manuscript, has suggested a comparison between six glosses to the Würzburg *Synonyma* and six entries in the Second Corpus glossary, and four of these six are also paralleled in the Épinal-Erfurt glossary. I quote them below:[68]

1) *in(h)orrescunt* : *anrururon* (cf. Épinal-Erfurt 520 and Corpus I 149 *ingruerit* : *anhriosith/onhrisit* and *onhriosed*);
2) *(ex)tabesco* : *suand* (cf. Épinal-Erfurt 1036 and Corpus T 26 *tabuisset* : *asuand/assuant* and *asuond*);
3) *contempnunt* : *hierodon* (cf. Épinal-Erfurt 186 and Corpus C 532 *contemptum (-im)* : *heruuendlicae/haeruendlicae* and *he(r)uuendlice*);
4) *telis tuis* : *pinum flanum* (cf. Épinal-Erfurt 937 and Corpus S 454 *spiculis* : *flanum*);
5) *obriguit* : *gefreas* (cf. Corpus O 28 *obriguit* : *gefreos*);
6) *inseruire* : *getiolian* (cf. Corpus P 336 *perstant* : *tioludun*).

[66] The two glosses in question (Hofmann's nos. 48 and 62) are probably due to two different glossators; the gloss to *conpedibus* (note the different spelling from PL) has been attributed to a very old hand responsible for around half of the Old English glosses of the Würzburg manuscript: see Hofmann, 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', pp. 58–9.

[67] Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', p. 449.

[68] The glosses in question are Hofmann's nos. 55, 57, 60, 71, 74, and 81: see his 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', pp. 60–5. The relevant entries in the 'Épinal-Erfurt' glossary are quoted following Pheifer's numeration in his *Old English Glosses*, and they are found *ibid.* pp. 28, 54, 12, and 49. The relevant entries in the Second Corpus glossary are quoted following Lindsay's numeration in his *The Corpus Glossary*, and they are found *ibid.* pp. 94, 88, 42, 166, 123, and 136.

The Old English glosses to the Würzburg *Synonyma* seem *a priori* to be the most promising, because they have been classified as Kentish-Mercian, a dialect which could well be associated with the Canterbury area, and have been dated to the eighth century.[69] As can be seen, however, only two *lemmata* and *interpretamenta* in the Würzburg manuscript are identical or very similar to the corresponding entries in the relevant glossary, namely *obriguit*, glossed as *gefreas/gefreos* in both the Würzburg manuscript and the Second Corpus glossary; and *extabesco/tabuisset* glossed as *assuant/asuond* in both the Würzburg manuscript and the Épinal-Erfurt as well as the Second Corpus glossaries. In both cases, however, the two *lemmata* do not seem to me to be so rare or unusual to suggest a link between the glosses to the

[69] Hofmann, 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', p. 60. Furthermore, Hofmann has noted some close correspondence of three Old English glosses to the Würzburg *Synonyma* (Hofmann's nos. 62, 75, and 80) with three *interpretamenta* in the continuous gloss to the Vespasian Psalter, a Canterbury book (*ibid.* pp. 63–4). The Vespasian Psalter is a copy of the *Psalterium Romanum* with an Old English continuous interlinear gloss and is in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. i. This manuscript was probably written at St Augustine's, Canterbury, *s.* viii$^{2/4}$ (where it remained until at least *s.* xv) and glossed in the ninth century (*Handlist*, no. 381, and *Catalogue*, no. 203). Cf. M. Brown, 'Vespasian Psalter', in *BEASE*, p. 460: Brown has dated the manuscript to 'around 720–30' and the gloss to the mid-ninth century. The gloss of the Vespasian Psalter is Mercian; nevertheless it is also been attributed to Canterbury: 'the fact the OE gloss is Mercian and not Kentish does not conflict with this identification, in view of the close relations between Mercia and Kent in *s.* viii, ix' (*Catalogue*, p. 267). The gloss has been ed. by S. M. Kuhn, *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1965); for a facsimile edition see *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. D. H. Wright, EEMF 14 (Copenhagen, 1967).

Würzburg *Synonyma* and the two glossaries.

I have also looked for possible correspondences between the Old English glosses to the *Synonyma* in the Vespasian manuscript and the same two glossaries, and have found that four glosses can indeed be compared with four entries in the Second Corpus glossary, and one of these four is also paralleled in the Épinal-Erfurt glossary. I quote the relevant glosses below:

1) *ablata* : *onweg* (cf. Corpus A 908 *auehit* : *onweg aferide*);
2) *praemia* : *lac* (cf. Corpus E 139 and 451 *elogia* and *exenium* : *laac*);
3) *addictus* : *geðreataþ* (cf. Corpus U 291 *urguet* : *ðreatade*);
4) *compedibus* : *mid cospum* (cf. Épinal-Erfurt 766 and Corpus P 865 *puncto* : *cosp*).[70]

In this case, none of the four glosses in the Vespasian manuscript are identical to the corresponding entries of the Second Corpus and Épinal-Erfurt glossaries and the correspondences are limited to the Old English *interpretamenta*. However, the four *lemmata* considered are not rare words, and therefore even a closer correspondence with the entries in the glossaries would not, I think, substantiate a hypothetical connection between the glosses to the Vespasian *Synonyma* and the Second Corpus and Épinal-Erfurt glossaries.

There is another witness of the *Synonyma* which, although not Anglo-Saxon, deserves to be included in this discussion, because it

[70] The relevant glosses to the Vespasian *Synonyma* are found in Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', 449; those from the Épinal-Erfurt glossary are found in Pheifer, *Old English Glosses*, p. 41; and those from the Second Corpus Glossary are found in *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. Lindsay, pp. 22, 63, 71, 186, and 148. The *interpretamentum* to *addictus* is read as *gedrestaþ* by Page, 'New Work', 113; I have, however, followed Meritt's reading.

features Old English glosses and is associated with Boniface.[71] The manuscript in question is Fulda, Landesbibliothek S. 8, more commonly known as *Codex Bonifatianus* 2,[72] and according to tradition it is the very book used by Boniface to defend himself when he was stabbed to death in Friesland in 754 (the manuscript still shows 'two violent incisions in the upper and lower margins').[73] It is a Continental

[71] See above, n. 57. As the table above shows, at least two Anglo-Saxon witnesses of the *Synonyma* are connected with the activity of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent, namely the Würzburg and the St Petersburg manuscripts: see below, Appendix nn. 1 and 2. In particular, it has been argued that one of the hands at work on the St Petersburg manuscript was that of Boniface himself (R. McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the Implications of the Manuscript Evidence', in *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 á 850*, ed. H. Atsma, 2 vols., Beihefte der Francia 16/17 (Sigmaringen, 1989), II, 395–432 (repr. in her *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms 6th-9th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), at pp. 412–3)). However, Lapidge has hesitated to identify the scribe of the St Petersburg manuscript with Boniface, and is in general sceptical of the existence of autograph manuscripts from the earliest phase of English learning: see his 'Autographs of Insular Latin Authors of the Early Middle Ages', in *Gli autografi medioevali: problemi paleografici e filologici. Atti del convegno di studio della Fondazione E. Franceschini, Erice, 25 settembre – 2 ottobre 1990*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Pinelli, Quaderni di cultura mediolatina 5 (Spoleto, 1994), 103–36, at 108–15. Furthermore, another four manuscripts of the *Synonyma* exist which were all written between *s.* viii^{ex} and *s.* ix^{1} in an Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent, presumably in the Würzburg area or in Würzburg itself: see my 'The *Synonyma* of Isidore of Seville', pp. 84–5.

[72] E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols + supplement (Oxford, 1934–71, 2nd ed. of Vol. II, 1972) (hereafter *CLA*), VIII.1197. I am grateful to Prof. R. McKitterick for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

[73] See also Hofmann, 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', pp. 52–7. The manuscript is also known as *Ragyndrudis Codex* from the name of the still unidentified lady who ordered the book to be made; an entry in French uncial of *s.* viii^{1} with her name is now on 143v, and according to Lowe she probably is

manuscript, which was written in Luxeuil minuscule in the first half of the eighth century, but it features corrections and Old English dry-point glosses in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule.[74] Apparently, the Old English glosses are numerous, but because they are extremely difficult to read,[75] only six have so far been published by Hofmann, and four of them are to the text of the *Synonyma*.[76] Unfortunately these four Old English glosses too are not related to the ones in the other three Anglo-Saxon witnesses glossed in the vernacular, namely the Würzburg, Harley, and Vespasian manuscripts. Interestingly,

that *Raegenthryth filia Athuolfi* whom Bishop Lull mentions in one of his letters (*Epistola* 110) as a wealthy benefactor of the churches in the Mainz area (*CLA* VIII.1197). Eventually the manuscript came in the possession of a certain Aodulf, whose name was entered in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon script on the title page (2v), and whom Hofmann thinks may have been a younger relative of Ragyndrudis: see his 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', p. 55.

[74] It has been pointed out that the Luxeuil minuscule of the *Codex Bonifatianus* 2 betrays Insular symptoms and that it may therefore be the hybrid result of the co-operation or mutual influence between an Insular scribe and a Continental one trained at Luxeuil. The scriptorium where these two hypothetical scribes could have worked side by side has been suggested to be Corbie, which after the sack of Luxeuil in 732 would have been one obvious haven for the refugees from Luxeuil: see McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture', p. 415, and G. Haseloff, 'Der Einband des Ragyndrudis Codex – Codex Bonifatianus 2', in *Von der Klosterbibliothek zur Landesbibliothek: Beiträge zum zweihundertjährigen Bestehen der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, ed. A. Brall (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 1–46. It may be worth remembering that Corbie is also the *Bibliotheksheimat* of the St Petersburg manuscript of the *Synonyma*: see below, Appendix, n. i.

[75] 'Leider ist wegen der außergewöhnlichen Schwierigkeiten, die diese Hs. bietet, das Ergebnis wiederholter Bemühungen um die Glossen sehr bescheiden ... So konnte ich zwar eine außerordentlich große Zahl von Griffelspuren feststellen ... und eine Anzahl sicher oder anscheinend volkssprachlicher Glossen erkennen, aber kaum je ganz vollständig entziffern' (Hofmann, 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen', p. 53–4, n. 1).

[76] *Ibid.* pp. 52–7, esp. 56.

however, Hofmann has pointed out three correspondences with the Second Corpus glossary and one of these three also with the First Erfurt glossary. I quote them below:

1) *adminiculum* : *fultum* (cf. Erfurt 360 and Corpus E 154 *emolumentum* : *fulteam* and *fultum* respectively);
2) *latebras* : *holun* (cf. Corpus C 240 and 264 *cauerniculis* and *cauernas* : *holum* and *holu* respectively);
3) *lasciuiam* : *unstiln:* (cf. Corpus A 399 *agitatio* : *unstilnis*).[77]

In this case the association is based on the correspondence between the Old English *interpretamenta* which, however, gloss different Latin *lemmata* in the *Codex Bonifatianus* and in the two glossaries. Therefore, I think that in this case too no connection can be established between the vernacular glosses to the *Synonyma* and the two members of the 'Leiden Family' of glossaries considered, namely the First Erfurt and Second Corpus glossaries.

The evidence provided by the Old English glosses to the *Synonyma* seem therefore to lead to essentially negative conclusions concerning the presence of this Isidorian text at the Canterbury school. However, it might be worth, in conclusion, considering Aldhelm's testimony. In the *Epistola ad Acircium*,[78] at least three Isidorian texts, namely the *Etymologiae*,[79] *De natura rerum*,[80] and the

[77] The relevant glosses to the *Synonyma* in the *Codex Bonifatianus* 2 (Hofmann's nos. 39, 40, and 41) are found *ibid.* pp. 56–7; those from the Second Corpus glossary are found in *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. Lindsay, pp. 63, 35, and 10; and the one from the First Erfurt glossary is found in Pheifer, *Old English Glosses*, p. 20.

[78] See above, n. 39.

[79] In particular, it has been argued by N. Howe that Aldhelm made extensive use of the *Etymologiae* in his *Enigmata* ('Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and Isidorian Etymology', *ASE* 14 (1985), 37–59). Interestingly, one Anglo-Saxon witness of

Synonyma,[81] are mentioned or drawn on. The Aldhelmian epistle, therefore, confirms the evidence of the Biblical Commentaries and Leiden corpus of glosses as to the arrival and circulation in Anglo-Saxon England of Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum* by the late seventh-century. With regard to the *Synonyma*, however, Aldhelm offers the earliest testimony to their presence in England.

The *Synonyma* are mentioned in one of the two metrical treatises included in the *Epistola*, namely in Chapter x of *De pedum regulis*, as an example of text employing a dialogue structure.[82] Moreover, it could be speculated that Aldhelm drew on the *Synonyma* in the *ubi sunt* passage which concludes the same *Epistola ad Acircium*.[83] As J. E.

the *Synonyma*, the St Petersburg manuscript, contains a copy of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* alongside Isidorian texts: see above, n. 58.

[80] See Fontaine, *Traité de la nature*, pp. 74–5.

[81] See M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39–76, at 61.

[82] 'Uideor itaque mihi hoc planius et apertius patefacere posse, si per interrogationem et responsionem pauxillulum reciprocis uicibus stilus uarietur, quemadmodum beatus Augustinus per multa librorum corpora hoc est soliloquiorum et de libero arbitrio et eo, quem de magistro praetitulauit, et sex libris de musica fecisse comprobatur, uel Isidorus duobus uoluminibus, quae sinonima uel polionima praetitulantur' ('It then seems to me that this can be shown more clearly and openly, if the style may be varied by means of question and answer arranged in reciprocal succession, just as St Augustine is acknowledged to have done in many collections of books, that is the *Soliloquia*, and *De libero arbitrio*, and that book which he entitled *De magistro*, and the six books *De musica*; or also Isidore, in the two volumes which are entitled *Sinonima* or *Polionima*'): *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 81, lines 11–16; my translation. As we can see, Aldhelm too associates Augustine's *Soliloquia* with Isidore's *Synonyma*: see below, Appendix, n. vi.

[83] *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 204. This passage has recently been reprinted by A. Orchard showing a division into three sections according to different alliterating sounds ('Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story', *Anglia*

Cross demonstrated as early as 1956, Isidore's *Synonyma* was the standard source of the *ubi sunt* motif in Anglo-Saxon England.[84] Cross did not include Aldhem's *ubi sunt* passage in his study: in fact the latter has been recently pointed out by A. P. M. Orchard as the earliest *ubi sunt* passage in Anglo-Saxon England.[85] It would certainly be tempting to prove that Aldhelm's *ubi sunt* passage is indebted to the corresponding one of the *Synonyma*.[86] However, in view of the 'extraordinary alliterative pyrotechnics' of Aldhelm's passage,[87] any attempt to identify a specific source seems likely to fail. If Aldhelm, then, really drew on the Isidorian text, he recast its rhetorical framework so radically that the possibility of his borrowing from the *Synonyma* for his *ubi sunt* passage remains a matter for speculation.

In conclusion, the final and most important question facing us at the end of this discussion is whether the fact that a student of Theodore and Hadrian's such as Aldhelm knew the *Synonyma*, may allow us to infer that the *Synonyma* were present in the library of the Canterbury school or found some use in Theodore and Hadrian's classroom. I would tend to say that the answer is, unfortunately, no. Although Aldhelm might have spent as long as a decade in Canterbury,[88] he certainly reached Theodore and Hadrian's school in his late youth, after receiving his first education in Irish-influenced

113 (1995), 429–63, at 457); a translation of the Aldhelmian passage is *ibid.* p. 457, n. 92.

[84] J. E. Cross, '"Ubi sunt" Passages in Old English: Sources and Relationships', *Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund Årsbok* (1956), 25–44. For an updated discussion of the *ubi sunt* topos in Old English literature, see my 'The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville', pp. 114–48 and 179–84.

[85] 'Artful Alliteration'.

[86] PL 81, 865. For a comparative analysis of the two *ubi sunt* passages, see my 'The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville', pp. 146–7.

[87] Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration', p. 456.

[88] See above, n. 13.

circles and indeed from at least one Irish master, Maíldub.[89] Aldfrith, the most likely addressee of the Aldhelmian *epistola*, had strong Irish connections, as he was the natural son of Oswiu, king of Northumbria (†670), and of an Irish mother; he was fluent in Irish and had spent some time in exile in Ireland or perhaps at Iona. In turn, Aldhelm was the recipient of a letter addressed to him by a certain *Scottus* eager to become one of his students.[90] Aldhelm could, therefore, have first known the *Synonyma* through his Irish connections, especially in view of the special popularity that Isidore and indeed the *Synonyma* seem to have enjoyed in early medieval Ireland.[91] Besides, as Bischoff and Lapidge have pointed out, Aldhelm is a problematic source concerning the school of Theodore and Hadrian and 'one must exercise care in assuming that the knowledge of any book which Aldhelm quotes was necessarily acquired at their Canterbury school.'[92]

In the light of this warning, we too must exercise care in reaching positive conclusions concerning the presence of the

[89] See Orchard, *The Poetic Art*, pp. 3–5; see also D. Ó Cróinín, 'The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computus', *Peritia* 2 (1983), 229–47, at 244. Aldhelm's Irish tuition is, however, not universally accepted: cf. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style', pp. 46–62; Herren and Lapidge, *The Prose Works*, pp. 6–7; Lapidge, 'Aldhelm', in *BEASE*, pp. 25–7.

[90] *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 494, trans. Herren and Lapidge, *The Prose Works*, p. 164. Ehwald dated the letter 695 x 705 and, following the rubrication in the only surviving manuscript, attributed it to *Scottus ignoti nominis*; Herren and Lapidge (*The Prose Works*, pp. 146–7) thought instead that both the dating of the letter and the identification of the sender were uncertain; but Orchard (*The Poetic Art*, p. 4) has confirmed the 'high authority' of the manuscript.

[91] For a reassessment of the diffusion and impact of Isidore's scholarship in Ireland, see my 'The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville', pp. 44–50 and 67–73 and relevant bibliography.

[92] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 2, n. 6.

Synonyma at the school of Theodore and Hadrian. It is no small thing, however, that, thanks to Aldhelm's testimony, we are able to date the arrival of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England by the end of the seventh century, that is to say in the same years in which Theodore and Hadrian were teaching at Canterbury. The didactic use that the *Synonyma* were to find in the late Anglo-Saxon period,[93] as well as their devotional elements, which have often been associated with the Syriac Father Ephraim (who, it must be recalled, was known to Theodore),[94] are further hints which should encourage further research on this topic. Personally, I am inclined to think that a thorough study of both the Old English and Latin glosses to the *Synonyma* may shed further light on the relevance of this text in the early Anglo-Saxon period.[95]

[93] See above, n. 7.

[94] See above, n. 20.

[95] I am grateful to Profs. P. Lendinara and A. Orchard for their help in the writing of this essay.

Appendix

Table 1: Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of the *Synonyma*

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Provenance
St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q. v. I. 15	*s.* viii[1]	SW England	Corbie (*s.* viii[med])[i]
Würzburg, Universitäts-bibliothek, M. p. th. f. 79	*s.* viii[1]	S England or Mercia	Germany (*s.* viii[ex])[ii]
London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv (fols. 170–224)	*s.* ix[1/4]	N or NE France	S England *ante* 912 (Canterbury, Christ Church?)[iii]
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 448 (fols. 1–86)	*s.* x[1] or x[med]	Worcester?	Winchester[iv]
London, British Library, Harley 110	*s.* x[ex]	Canterbury, Christ Church[v]	
Salisbury, Cathedral Library 173	*s.* x[ex]	Continent	England (prob. Salisbury)[vi]
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii	*s.* xi[med]	Canterbury, Christ Church[vii]	
London, British Library, Royal 5. E. xix	*s.* xi[ex]	Salisbury[viii]	

[i] H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001), no. 845 (hereafter *Handlist*); *CLA* XI.1618. See also O. A. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja and W. W. Bakhtine, *Les ancien manuscripts latins de la bibliothèque publique Saltykov-Ščedrin de Leningrad* (Paris, 1991), pp. 63–8, esp. p. 66, but for *Differentiarum* read *Synonymarum*; according to Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja and Bakhtine this manuscript was written at Corbie by Anglo-Saxon scribes. As well as the *Synonyma* I–II, 33, the St Petersburg manuscript contains other Isidorian texts and Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and their respective solutions.

[ii] *Handlist*, no. 946; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957; rev. ed. 1992), no. 400 (hereafter *Catalogue*); *CLA* IX.1426. See also B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 6 (1952), 95–6; and H. Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1970-90), III.1, 66; see also P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600–800*, CSASE 3 (Cambridge, 1990), 202–3. This manuscript contains the *Synonyma* only.

[iii] *Handlist*, no. 392; *Catalogue*, no. 210. See also J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), pp. 476–7. This manuscript also contains a collection of theological texts, such as creeds and Pelagius' *Expositio fidei catholicae.*

[iv] *Handlist*, no. 114. See also M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), II, 360–3. Like Harley 110, this manuscript also contains two texts by Prosper of Aquitaine, the *Epigrammata* and *Uersus ad coniugem.*

[v] *Handlist*, no. 415; *Catalogue*, no. 228. See also R. Nares, *Manuscripts in the Harleian Collection*, 4 vols. (London, 1802–12), I, 34. For the content of this manuscript, see above, n. iii.

[vi] *Handlist*, no. 752; *Catalogue*, no. 381. See also S. M. Lakin, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (London, 1980), p. 34. This manuscript also contains a text with which the *Synonyma* were often associated, if not mistaken for, in the Middle Ages – Augustine's *Soliloquia.* The content and size of this codex (19.5 x 14cm) suggest that it must have been meant for private reading.

[vii] *Handlist*, no. 363e; *Catalogue*, no. 185. For an updated study of this manuscript, see H. Gneuss, 'Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: the Case of Cotton Tiberius A.III', in *Of the Making of Books*, ed. P. R. Robinson and R. Zim (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 13–48. See also Planta, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, pp. 31–2. This manuscript can be described as a monastic collection, since it contains some of the fundamental texts of the Benedictine reform movement in England. Moreover, as P. E. Szarmach has noted ('A Return to Cotton Tiberius A. III, art 24, and Isidore's *Synonyma*', in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, ed. H. Conrad-O'Briain *et al.* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 166–81, at 176), one of the minor pieces of this miscellaneous manuscript is an extract from the Old English version of Augustine's *Soliloquia* by Alfred. Cf. also *Catalogue*, no. 185 art. 9g, and above, n. v.

[viii] *Handlist*, no. 461. See also G. F. Warner and G. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1921), I, 118. The content of this manuscript is mainly homiletic, featuring fourteen homilies as well as Alcuin's *In canticum canticorum* and a commentary on it.

Meeting on Whose Terms? The Equation of Latin and Vernacular Literary Terminology in the Old Irish Glosses

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In medieval Latin literary theory, since the time of Cicero, *narratio* was said to proceed by *fabula*, *argumentum* or *historia*. Each of these labels implied a different 'truth value' for the material contained in the text.[1] The fifteenth century section of the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.512 contains a passage which articulates these ideas in Irish:

> <F>oillsighter na forcail ar tri coraib .i. scel 7 arramainte 7 <s>tair. In scel imorro ni firinne e, 7 is ni is cosmail re fi<r>inne do reir mar adeir Macrobius; 7 do dicuir in <f>eallsamlacht e 7 do dichuir in diacht amail adeir Pol ad Timo<th>eum inaines fablus duita .i. sechain na sceoil dim<>ainecha. An arrmainti imorro innisidh na neche do fetfidhe <d>o denam gen go ndernadh iat; 7 ni diultann fellsamlacht na diacht in cinel sin. An stair imorro foillsiugad na <n>ethedh do reir firinne do-rinnedh; et in stair imorro ata <di>acht 7 feallsamlacht le 7c.[2]

[1] See P. Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 9 (Leiden, 1974); M. Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 19 (Cambridge, 1994), 234–41; *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c.1375: the Commentary Tradition*, ed. A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott with D. Wallace, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1991).

[2] '*Scél*: *Arramainte*: *Stair*', ed. and trans. B. Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 11 (1964–6), 18. 'The

The triad *fabula: argumentum: historia* has been translated by the vernacular terms *scél: arramainte: stair*. In this paper I hope to illustrate that the association between these two sets of terminology has a considerable history in Irish, as an example of how medieval Irish scholars sought to relate ideas they encountered in Latin to those expressed by their 'barbarian' vernacular vocabulary.

The Old Irish glosses represent 'the earliest substantial body of "ordinary" Old Irish which exists'.[3] The evidence to be examined in this essay is taken from two of the three major collections of glosses which are conventionally named after the libraries in which the manuscripts containing them are now found, the Würzburg glosses on the Pauline Epistles and the Milan glosses on a Commentary on the Psalms.[4] The standard dating of this material has been c. 750 for

words are revealed in three ways, i.e. *scél, arramainte* and *stair*. *Scél*, indeed, is not the truth, but it is something like truth as Macrobius says; and philosophy has rejected it and theology has rejected it as Paul says to Timothy "avoid idle tales". *Arramainte*, moreover, relates things which could be done although they have not been done; and neither philosophy nor theology rejects that sort. *Stair*, however, is the revelation of things which in truth were done; and theology and philosophy both accept *stair*'. It is notoriously difficult to date prose on a linguistic basis because it is impossible to determine whether forms have been updated in the course of transmission. There is nothing in this passage which would necessarily date it as other than late Middle Irish, but equally there is nothing to exclude the possibility that it is a modernised version of something composed somewhat earlier.

[3] D. F. Melia, 'Glossing St. Paul, Glossing Pelagius: MS Würzburg M. P. TH. F. 12 and Early Irish *Schriftsprache*', abstract in *11th International Congress of Celtic Studies: Celtic Cultures and the Millenium* conference handbook (Cork, 1999), p. 48. For a brief overview discussion of glosses in Irish, see E. G. Quin, 'The Irish Glosses', in *Irland und Europa, Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter: Ireland and Europe, the Early Church*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 210–17.

[4] *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, ed. and trans. W. Stokes and J. Strachan, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1901–3), I, 7–483,

the Würzburg corpus (with the *prima manus* writing perhaps up to half a century earlier), and c. 800 for Milan, the language of which, in the words of Rudolph Thurneysen, is 'appreciably later'.[5] However, Kim McCone demonstrated that linguistic developments found in the Milan corpus may not simply indicate a linear chronology: rather, they may reflect a greater interference of forms from a contemporary non-literary register of language.[6] In addition, in both collections there are signs that some glosses have been copied from another manuscript, so in neither case is the material linguistically homogeneous. Nevertheless, for the current purpose, it is sufficient to state that the evidence dates from the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries.

Glossing was a common didactic practice throughout medieval Europe and took a number of forms, which fulfilled various functions: obscure words or difficult constructions could be glossed with an easier Latin form, or vernacular equivalents of individual words or phrases, or even a complete running gloss, could be provided to aid comprehension of the text, or comments could be

499–714 (henceforth *TP*). For the Würzburg corpus, see also S. Kavanagh, *A Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistle of St Paul*, ed. D. S. Wodtko, Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 45 (Vienna, 2001). Of necessity this study is based on *TP* and is therefore limited by the attendant problems of that edition, most notably the lack of Latin context provided. On the limitations of the *TP* edition, see D. N. Dumville, 'A *Thesaurus Palaeoanglicus*? The Celtic Experience', in *Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. R. Derolez (Brussels, 1992), pp. 59–76.

[5] R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946), pp. 4–6, at p. 5, §6; see also *TP*, I, xiv–xx, xxiii–xxv; J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, Records of Civilization Sources and Studies 9 (New York, 1929; rev. ed. by L. Bieler, 1966), 200–3, 635–6.

[6] K. McCone, 'The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: Our Earliest Sources of "Middle Irish"', *Ériu* 36 (1985), 85–106, at 104.

added to indicate how a passage should be interpreted.[7] In early medieval Insular manuscripts, the employment of vernacular glosses reflects the fact that Latin had never been the everyday spoken language of Empire to the Irish and Anglo-Saxons.[8] On the other hand, on the basis of the fluency and style with which Insular scholars wrote in Latin, and the ease with which Irish scribes in particular appear to have been able to transfer between the vernacular and Latin within even a single sentence, it seems probable that scholars became more or less bilingual in Latin alongside their own vernacular.[9] Nevertheless, glosses would have been of great assistance to those less advanced scholars who were still in the process of learning Latin. Furthermore, we should not assume that the glosses would have been completely ignored by those competent in Latin: many Insular glosses provide far more information than simply the

[7] For glosses from other early medieval northern European cultures see K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages First to Twelfth Century AD*, Edinburgh University Publications Language and Literature 4 (Edinburgh, 1953), 42–67; C. Evans and L. Fleuriot, *A Dictionary of Old Breton/Dictionnaire Du Vieux Breton: Historical and Comparative*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1985), I, 1–11; A. Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*, Buchreihe der Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie 18 (Tübingen, 2000), xiv–xvii; *Anglo-Saxon Glossography*; ed. Derolez, pp. 59-76; H. Gneuss, '*Anglicae linguae interpretatio*: Language Contact, Lexical Borrowing and Glossing in Anglo-Saxon England', *PBA* 82 (1992), 107–48, at 144–8 (repr. in his *Language and History in Early England* (Aldershot, 1996), essay V).

[8] It was for similar reasons that Insular scribes were responsible for developing the 'grammar of legibility' employed when they copied manuscripts; see M. B. Parkes, 'The Contribution of Insular Scribes of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries to the "Grammar of Legibility"', *Grafia e interpunzione del latino nel medioevo*, ed. A. Maierù (Rome, 1987), pp. 15–29 (repr. in his *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), pp. 1–18).

[9] D. Ó Crónín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200* (Harlow, 1995), p. 174.

'meaning' of a Latin word.[10]

Undoubtedly, vernacular glosses which do simply 'translate' the Latin word or phrase are an invaluable linguistic source in the study of medieval languages, but I would suggest that in these 'lexical glosses', and also in the added phrases which comment on the text, medieval glossators drew associations between their vernacular and Latin on more than just a lexical level. I would argue that they made equations between the concept expressed in the Latin which was being glossed and that which was represented by the vernacular term employed. In this paper I will consider to what extent this can be seen to be the case in one particular example; that is, why *scél* was the vernacular term consistently related with *fabula* in the Old Irish glosses.

Clearly, it is first necessary to demonstrate that the scholars responsible for the Old Irish glosses were aware of the relevance of the distinction between *fabula*, *argumentum* and *historia* as expressed in medieval literary theory, if the argument that this was consciously related to ideas found in the context of their vernacular is to be valid. That the Irish enthusiastically received the works of Isidore of Seville, very soon after they were written in the seventh century is well documented.[11] The following passage from Isidore's *Etymologiae* sets out clearly the relationship between *fabula*, *argumentum* and *historia*:

[10] For two excellent discussions which attempt to establish the role of Latin glosses in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts see M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England [1]: the Evidence of Latin Glosses' in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. N. Brooks (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99–140, and G. R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *ASE* 14 (1985), 153–73.

[11] M. Herren, 'On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville', in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980), pp. 243–50; J. N. Hillgarth, 'Ireland and Spain in the Seventh Century', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 1–16.

> Item inter historiam et argumentum et fabulam interesse. Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt; argumenta sunt quae etsi facta nonsunt; fieri tamen possunt; fabulae vero sunt quae nec factae sunt nec fieri possunt; quia contra naturam sunt.[12]

Given the apparent popularity and prestige that the *Etymologiae* held in medieval Ireland, it is not unreasonable to assume that the glossators of the Milan and Würzburg manuscripts, or of the manuscripts from which they were copying, may have been familiar with it. I would therefore suggest that they were aware of the rhetorical scheme of *fabula: argumentum: historia* from this source: it is certainly not necessary to envisage the far more unlikely scenario that they knew of it directly from Macrobius or Cicero.[13] Another possible source is either the *De civitate Dei* or the *Soliloquia* of Augustine, both of which Erich Poppe has demonstrated were known in Ireland from the seventh century,

[12] *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum siue originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), I, I.xliv.5. 'Between history, argument and fable there is this difference. For histories are true matters that happened; arguments are matters which although they did not happen, could have happened; fables however are matters which neither happened nor could have happened, since they are contrary to nature'.

[13] The literature discussing knowledge of classical and other Latin authors in medieval Ireland is considerable. See, for example, W. B. Stanford, 'Towards a History of Classical Influences in Ireland', *PRIA* 70 (1970), 13–91, and *Ireland and the Classical Tradition* (Dublin, 1976); M. Esposito, *Latin Learning in Medieval Ireland*, ed. M. Lapidge (London, 1988); J. Brown, 'An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Authors in the British Isles from the Fifth to Eleventh Century', in his *A Palaeographer's View: the Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M. P. Brown and J. Roberts (London, 1993), 141–77 and 276–84. That Isidore's *Etymologiae* was well known to the glossator of the St Gall Priscian has been demonstrated in R. Hofman, 'Isidore in the St Gall Glosses', in *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages, Bildung und Literatur: Learning and Literature*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 173–86.

but the scheme is not set out so clearly in these works.[14] However, there is a considerable need for analysis of the nature of the material contained in the Old Irish glosses, in particular the sources which were used. Until such further investigation has been carried out, the naming of any specific source must remain tentative.[15]

I will dispense fairly briefly with the evidence for the relationship of the terms *historia* and *argumentum* with *stair*, earlier *stoir*, and *arramainte*, or in its Old Irish form, *argamaint*. In both the Würzburg and the Milan manuscripts this association is a consistent one, as demonstrated in the following, selective, examples from the Milan corpus:

> sed non audiendi sunt qui ad excludendam psalmorum ueram expossitionem falsas similitudines ab historia[a] petitas conantur inducere.
>
> [a].i. tiagait hofirinni innastoir dochom innatoimten togaitach.[16]

Note here that *stoir* is stressed to be *fír*, 'true', as *historia* is *verus*.

> etiam huius carminis idem est argumentum[b] quod superioris est
>
> [b]is innunn argument doib.[17]
>
> titulus[c] quoque instar[d] argumenti est;
>
> [c] file ressind argumint seo.
>
> [d].i. gaibid mod nargumint.[18]

There are two points which need to be noted in relation to these

[14] E. Poppe, '*Grammatica, Grammatic*, Augustine and the *Táin*', in *Ildánach, Ildírech: a Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*, ed. J. Carey, J. T. Koch and P-Y. Lambert, Celtic Studies Publications 4 (Andover, MA, 1999), 203–10.

[15] For an initial investigation of the sources of the Würzburg glosses see A. Breen, 'The Biblical Text and Sources of the Würzburg Pauline Glosses', in *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, pp. 9–16.

[16] *TP* I, 11 (Ml. 14a5) 'i.e. they pass from the truth of the *stoir* to deceptive imaginings'.

[17] *TP* I, 210 (Ml. 62c25) 'their argument is the same'.

[18] *TP* I, 217 (Ml. 64c11-12) '[c]which is before this argument;
[d]it takes the fashion of an argument'.

two terms which do not arise in the case of the equation of *scél* and *fabula*. *Stoir* and *argamaint* are the loan forms of Latin *historia* and *argumentum* into Old Irish.[19] It is difficult to assess how aware the Milan glossator would have been of the lexical relation between these words.[20] Given the close physical resemblance of *argumentum* and *argamaint* in particular, in relation to a medieval interpretation of etymology which was heavily based on words which looked similar, it surely would have been a factor in his choice of terminology in composing the glosses. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that the semantic range of these terms in Irish would be the same as that of the words from which they are borrowed in Latin.[21] Furthermore, these terms are both part of the vocabulary of exegesis, hence their frequent occurence in the Milan corpus.[22] That this is the sense in

[19] D. McManus, 'A Chronology of the Latin Loan-Words in Early Irish', *Ériu* 34 (1983), 21–71; 'On Final Syllables in the Latin Loan-Words in Early Irish', *Ériu* 35 (1984), 137–62.

[20] See U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, Linguistic Circle of New York Publications 1 (New York, 1953), 11–12 on the degree of a speaker's (or writer's) perception of the exchange between languages.

[21] The nature of semantic changes which occur when a word is borrowed is a field which would bear much further study, especially in relation to medieval languages; see Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, pp. 53–6.

[22] For an overview of the Hiberno-Latin tradition of exegesis see B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 189–281, rev. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien: Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 205–73, trans. as 'Turning-points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages', in *Biblical Studies: the Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. M. McNamara, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 1 (Dublin, 1976), 73–160; J. F. Kelly, 'Hiberno-Latin Exegesis and Exegetes', *Annuale Mediaevale* 21 (1981), 46–60. On the Psalter specifically, see R. L. Ramsay, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia in England and Ireland', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 8 (1912), 452–97; K. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora: Being a Fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter*, (Oxford, 1894); M.

which they are being used is particularly apparent in the latter two examples above, and in the following passage, where *stoir* meaning 'literal sense' is used in apposition to *rún* 'mystical sense':

> Domini ultima in cruce oratio docuit ad quem debeat hic psalmus refferri qui tamen suis temporibus[e] habuit figuram illius historiæ quæ narrat Dauid coniuratione Abisolon in erumnas coactum, in quibus possitus[f] hoc carmen uice orationais cecinit.
>
> [e].i. intan citaroichet insalmsa is immaircide do duaid oc eregim re abisolon mad dustoir.
>
> [f].i. crist madurúin.[23]

It therefore seems likely that *stoir* and *historia* and *argamaint* and *argumentum* were seen by the glossator to correspond as much on the basis of their meaning in the framework of exegetical terminology as in the rhetorical scheme. Either way, the consistent association of terminology demonstrates that the Irish scholars were keenly aware of how concepts they encountered in Latin should be expressed in their vernacular.

The case of the relationship of *scél* and *fabula* is a rather more complex one. There are a number of problems in attempting to assess the way in which this correlation was based on what each word represented in its own lexicon. Primarily, we know very little about the semantic range of native literary terms in medieval Irish. In particular, to quote the words of Erich Poppe, 'medieval Irish literati have left us hardly any explicit critical or meta-literary comments on

McNamara, 'Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600–1200)', *PRIA* 73 (1973), 201–98 and 'Tradition and Creativity in Early Irish Psalter Study', in *Irland und Europa, Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, pp. 338–89.

[23] *TP* I, 125 (Ml. 44b4, 6) '[e]i.e. when this psalm was first sung it is appropriate to David when he complained to Absalom, according to the *stoir*;

[f]Christ according to the *rún*'.

the native perception of the function of narrative texts'.[24] Therefore, there is a strong risk of circularity, in using the 'meaning' of *fabula*, as characterised for example by Isidore, to define *scél*, then using the definition so established to demonstrate why these two terms in particular are associated. *Scél* is conventionally translated as 'story', a term which has a very broad meaning in English.[25] Although in medieval Irish *scél* similarly seems to have a wide application – Poppe described it as a 'narrative umbrella category'[26] – it should not be assumed that the two words are completely semantically equivalent. I intend therefore to compare what we know of what *fabula* represented with some of the evidence for the semantic range of *scél* and to see in what respects this data corresponds.

There is one further point that should be made. The definition of *fabula*, as given in the outline of the rhetorical scheme from the *Etymologiae*, unambiguously describes it as something that was not true and could not be true. However, Isidore goes on to demonstrate how a *fabula* could contain truth when interpreted, or present an 'image of truth', a fiction which resembled life.[27] To quote Poppe again, 'a strict dichotomy between history and fiction, and between the related narrative genres ... is perhaps not helpful for an understanding of the medieval perception of the representational functions of texts'[28] and

[24] E. Poppe, *A New Introduction to Imtheachta Aeniasa, the Irish Aeneid: the Classical Epic from an Irish Perspective*, Irish Texts Society Subsidary Series 3 (Dublin, 1995), 3.

[25] *Dictionary of the Irish Language Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*, gen. ed. E. G. Quin, Compact Edition (Dublin, 1983), S.83.43–85.56; OED XVI, 797–9.

[26] E. Poppe, 'Reconstructing Medieval Irish Literary Theory: the Lesson of *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise*', *CMCS* 37 (1999), 33–54, at 35.

[27] Dronke, *Fabula*, pp. 15–32; Irvine, *Grammatica*, pp. 237–9.

[28] *A New Introduction*, p. 16 n. 53.

this needs to be borne in mind as the evidence for the nature of the connection between *scél* and *fabula* is examined.

In the Milan corpus, *scél* glosses *fabula* only in collocation with a negative adjective, which suggests that to the glossator *scél* alone did not convey the sense of *fabula*:

> et ab hoc non ueritatem rerum sed fabulas[a] in suis expossitionibus adtullerunt
> [a].i. inna scel togaitacha.[29]
> omnis fabula[b]
> [b].i. cech ndrochscél són.[30]

In Würzburg, *fabula* is interpreted by the glossator as refering to Jewish narratives,[31] possibly, but not necessarily, the canonical Old Testament, and is subsequently glossed by *scél*:

> Non intendentes Iudaicis fabulis,[c] et mandatis hominum auersantum se a ueritate
> [c] scéla et senchaissi et forbandi.[32]
> Et a ueritate quidem auditum auertent, ad fabulas autem conuertentur[d]
> [d] doscélaib et senchassib fetarlice.[33]
> Neque intenderent fabulis et genelogis[e] interminatis
> [e] .i. genelcha et bunadsi scél.[34]

The pairing of *scél* and *senchas* in two of these examples would seem to further support the view that *scél* alone was not equivalent to

[29] *TP*, I, 84 (Ml. 35b20) 'i.e. the deceptive *scéla*'.

[30] *TP*, I, 288 (Ml. 86b3) 'i.e. every bad *scél*'.

[31] This is explicit in the first example and is established by the context of the other two passages.

[32] *TP*, I, 699 (Wb. 31b25; Titus I.14) '*scéla* and histories and superstitious commands'.

[33] *TP*, I, 696 (Wb. 30d10; II Tim. IV.7) 'to *scéla* and histories of the Old Law'.

[34] *TP*, I, 679 (Wb. 27d21; I Tim. I.4) 'i.e. genealogies and origins of *scéla*'. The association of *scél* with the Old Testament is also found in Milan: *dorimther hí libur essaiae áscelso* (Ml. 16d10; *TP* I, 18); *dorimther ascelsa hí lebraib rígh* (Ml. 23b8; *TP* I, 38); *ised scél foraithminedar is indisiu dia luid duaid forlongais re saul...* (Ml. 55c1; *TP* I, 178).

fabula in the eyes of the glossators. Moreover, there is one other instance of *fabula* in the Latin text in the Würzburg manuscript that I have noted, again apparently referring to Jewish narratives and in this case it is glossed by *senchas* alone:

> Ineptas autem et inanes fabulas deuita, exerce autem teipsum ad pietatem
> .i. senchassa rechta adfiadat sáibapstil.[35]

This adds a another dimension to the investigation. *Senchas* is conventionally translated 'history' and is derived from the adjective *sen* 'old', but perhaps should be understood more in the sense 'tradition'. Kim McCone demonstrated that *senchae*, the related agent noun, etymologically means 'old witness', and in court the *senchae* was expected to provide evidence from the past which was relevant to the case.[36] Erich Poppe suggested that 'the various attested usages of *scél* in the glosses would point to something like "material that is worth transmitting" as a core meaning',[37] and I would propose that the same basic concept lies behind the use of *senchas*.

I would suggest that it is this idea that *scél* and *senchas* were 'worth transmitting', that is, had some 'value', that led to them being associated with *fabula* in the glosses. Macrobius described the function of *fabula* thus:

> Fabulae, quarum nomen indicat falsi professionem, aut tantum conciliandae auribus voluptatis, aut adhortationis quoque in bonam frugem gratas repertae sunt.[38]

[35] *TP*, I, 684 (Wb. 28c23; I Tim. IV.7) 'i.e. *senchas* of the Law which false apostles declare'; note that this is the Biblical verse referred to in the passage from Rawlinson B.512 in connection with *scél*.

[36] K. McCone, 'OIr. *Senchae*, *Senchaid* and Preliminaries on Agent Noun Formation in Celtic', *Ériu* 46 (1995), 1–10 at 8–9; F. Kelly, 'An Old-Irish Text on Court Proceedure', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 74–106.

[37] Poppe, 'Reconstructing', p. 36.

[38] *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii: Commentarii In Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1994), Book I, §2.7. 'Fables, whose name itself provides a declaration of their falsity, are invented either for delight alone, to please the ear, or also to encourage men to good virtue'.

A very similar comment is made by Augustine in his *Soliloquia*.[39]

It can likewise be demonstrated that a *scél* could both entertain and educate. A particularly illuminating example of this is found in *Acallam na Senórach*. Throughout this work, the anecdotes which the Fenian warriors tell to Patrick about the places through which they pass on their journey around Ireland are described as *scéla*. The pleasing effect of the telling of these *scéla* is explicitly stated, both by Patrick himself and by his guardian angels:

> Adrae buaid ocus bennacht a Cháilte ar Pátraic: is urgairdiugad menman ocus aicenta dhúinn sin.[40]
>
> Ocus fiafraighios díob in bud móid le rig nime ocus talman beith dosom ag éisdecht re scéla na féinne. Frecait na haingil dosom co comnart cubaid: a anam a naeimchléirigh ar siat ní mó iná trian a scél innisit na senlaeich útar dáig dermait ocus díchuimne. Ocus scríbthar letsa i tamlorgaib filed ocus i mbriatraib ollaman. Ór bud gairdiugad do drongaib ocus do degdáinib dirid aimsire éisdecht frisna scélaib sin.[41]

However, since each of the narratives is told in response to a question from Patrick, we can presume that they also fulfil an

[39] Poppe, '*Grammatica, Grammatic*', p. 209.

[40] *Silva Gadelica: a Collection of Tales in Irish with Extracts Illustrating Persons and Places*, ed. and trans. S. H. O'Grady, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1892), I, 97. "'May victory and blessing be yours Caílte," said Patrick, "that is a lightening of mind and spirit to us"'.

[41] O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 100–1. 'And he enquired of them whether it was the will of the king of heaven and earth that he listen to the *scéla* of the *fían*. The angels answered with one voice: "O dear, holy cleric," they said, "it is not more than a third of their *scéla* these warriors tell to you because of forgetfulness and lack of memory. And write them down on poet's tablets and in masterly language. For it will be a shortening of time for companies and nobles of a later time to listen to these *scéla*"'.

educational function, providing the information which he seeks.

To sum up: I think it can be demonstrated that the association between the Latin triad *fabula: argumentum: historia* and Irish *scél: arramainte: stair* was not created by the author of the passage in Rawlinson B. 512. The Old Irish glossators of both the Milan and Würzburg manuscripts consistently matched these two sets of terminology. In the case of *scél* and *fabula* in particular, I would suggest that this was because the two narrative genres were perceived to hold a similar semantic position in their respective lexicons. Such an equation is characteristic of what Dáibhí Ó Crónín has described as the 'juxtaposition of vernacular and Latin learning [which] is a constant theme throughout early Irish scholarship'.[42]

Finally, it is perhaps illuminating to very briefly consider a couple of examples of how scholars of other medieval cultures sought to reconcile Latin rhetorical terminology with that of their vernacular vocabulary. In the Old English translation of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, *fabula* is rendered *leas spell*, 'an idle, false tale'.[43] In medieval Welsh, there is a distinction made between *chwedl*, *ystoria* and *hanes* that invites comparison with the triad *scél*, *stair* and *senchas* in Old Irish.[44] The problem of equating concepts expressed in Latin with those of a barbarian vernacular which was so successfully solved by the Old Irish glossators was not theirs alone.

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[42] *Early Medieval Ireland*, p. 202.

[43] *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899), p. 98 line 27; see also P. Ó Néill, 'The Latin Colophon to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Book of Leinster: a Critical View of Old Irish Literature', *Celtica* 23 (1999), 269–75, at 273.

[44] B. Roberts, '*Ystoria*', *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 13–20; P. Sims Williams, 'Some functions of Origin Stories in Early Medieval Wales', in *History and Heroic Tale: a Symposium*, ed. T. Nyberg, I. Piø, P. M. Sørensen and A. Tromer (Odense, 1985), pp. 97–131.