

THE OLD ENGLISH BEDE

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THE homilist Ælfric in his homily on St. Gregory, in the second volume of his *Catholic Homilies*, issued in 992, refers to Bede's history as the *Historia Anglorum* 'which King Alfred translated from Latin into English'.¹ From that day until the appearance of Henry Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* in 1876 no one, to my knowledge, called this attribution in doubt. Sweet questioned Alfred's authorship because of the over-literality of the translation.² A stronger attack appeared in 1890, when Thomas Miller published the first volume of his edition of the Old English Bede,³ a work to which all subsequent scholars in this field are greatly indebted. In the introduction he claimed that much of the vocabulary was not West Saxon, but Mercian, and that the work 'shows some familiarity with Scotch localities and circumstances' as well as 'a tender regard for things of Scotland'. He held that such sympathies were likely in the churches of Mercia, an area originally converted by the Scots from Iona, and he tentatively suggested Lichfield as the place where the translation was made.⁴ From this date the war has been on.

There have been writers who simply ignored Miller's views, but from the first linguists appreciated the force of Miller's linguistic argument. I do not intend to reopen the question of the Anglian nature of the work. A number of subsequent studies in Old English vocabulary have supported Miller's claim for non-West-Saxon origin and have shown that the affinities lie with works surviving from Mercia and Northumbria.⁵ Some of the evidence seems to point specifically to Mercia.⁶

But among those who have accepted Miller's claim, there are current several explanations of the presence of Mercian features in a work attributed to Alfred. We can dismiss that view which airily accounts for them as the alterations of later scribes, for Miller was undoubtedly right in claiming that such features were present in the common original of all surviving manuscripts, each of which, in greater or less degree, sporadically replaced

Anglian words and forms by West Saxon equivalents. If the work had originally been written by a West Saxon, we should then have to suppose that his version was lost and that all our manuscripts come from an Anglian copy of it⁷. It would be odd if no later copyist, eager though they all were to remove non-West-Saxon features, could find a West Saxon text as his exemplar. The Otho manuscript was written at Winchester:⁸ it is inconceivable that even there only an Anglian copy was available of a West Saxon work.

Similar difficulties lie in the way of Deutschbein's suggestion in 1901, that two independent translations of Bede were made, one by an anonymous Mercian, one by King Alfred, and that the extant version is the former, whereas Ælfric is referring to the latter.⁹ Why should all the later West Saxon copyists have chosen to reproduce the Mercian work, rather than Alfred's version? A further objection to this view is the fact that Ælfric does not merely refer to a vernacular version which he attributes to King Alfred; he actually uses it, and his phraseology shows clearly that he had our extant version in front of him.¹⁰ Surely, then, it is this which he assigns to King Alfred.

Alfred's Mercian helpers, Werferth, Plegmund, Athelstan, and Werwulf, have often been called in, to account for the dialect colouring of the Old English Bede. This explanation assumes that a translation of Bede formed part of Alfred's scheme for educating his people, and hence the work was later attributed to the king himself. His precise connexion with it can be variously conceived: he could have commissioned it from a single Mercian scholar, as he did Gregory's *Dialogues* from Bishop Werferth; he could have laid the task on a team of helpers. In either case, he might have done no more than commission the work; or he might have given general instructions on what to omit and what to retain; he might have exercised some supervision in the course of production, either reading parts of it, or revising the whole.

This does not exhaust the possibilities. In 1898 Schipper suggested that Alfred had a text of Bede's Latin which had been provided with an interlinear gloss,¹¹ and Professor Kuhn developed this view in 1941.¹² He held that a text with frequent double glosses supplies the reason for the translator's practice of rendering one Latin word by two English equivalents. This is not the only way of accounting for this feature,¹³ but even if it were, it is difficult to assume that this postulated gloss fully explains Mercian vocabulary and Mercian sympathies in a work

by Alfred. Leaving aside for the present the alleged Mercian sympathies, can one suppose that Alfred, by no means a slavish translator, would use words which were alien to his own speech, even for simple conceptions like 'go', 'ask', 'call', 'thing', 'cause', 'manner', or for conjunctions and adverbs like 'unless', 'yet', 'almost', merely because they were in a gloss to the text?¹⁴ Whether or not the translator was working from a glossed manuscript, this would not explain the use of these non-West-Saxon words in a work by Alfred.

Another theory was advanced by Hecht in 1907, that the translation was made by a Mercian teacher at Alfred's palace school, with omission of parts unsuitable for his pupils' reading, i.e. learned material, documents, citations, epitaphs, religious discussions, &c. He suggests that an improved version was later made at the king's request; but he does not develop his theory.¹⁵

So we have a wide choice. Yet there is still another possibility, which has received little attention:¹⁶ that King Alfred had nothing whatever to do with the Old English Bede. It was attributed to him almost a century after his time. One could find parallels for a wrong attribution of a work at this distance of time. Alfred left a reputation as the translator of Latin works. Ælfric's contemporary, the chronicler Æthelweard, says he translated *volumina numero ignoto*.¹⁷ Can one dismiss the possibility that translations which owed nothing to him could have been assigned to him, and that the Old English Bede could have been one of these? Not, I think, without looking more closely at the evidence for this attribution. This is the more necessary, because, if we cannot safely connect the work with Alfred, we must re-examine the evidence for its date.

Ælfric, who believed the work to be by Alfred himself, had access to at least a part of it, the section on St. Gregory.¹⁸ It is, of course, possible that he saw a manuscript which had some indication of authorship, such as a preface by Alfred; but, since no extant manuscript has any such indication, we have no right to assume this. Ælfric's attribution is supported by William of Malmesbury, who lists the *Bede* with the *Orosius*, the *Cura Pastoralis*, the *Boethius*, and the *Handbook*, calling them Alfred's principal works.¹⁹ This shows that the belief in Alfred's authorship was not confined to Ælfric, but it does not prove the attribution correct. On the other hand, the Middle English poet Lagamon would hardly have made the blunder of assigning the Old English version to Bede himself if he had been aware of its attribution to Alfred.²⁰

Two other arguments sometimes brought forward in support of Alfred's authorship must be rejected. One can be disposed of easily; Mr. Neil Ker has shown that a couplet referring to Alfred as author in the late eleventh-century Cambridge manuscript is in a hand of the sixteenth century.²¹ Thus it merely represents the opinion of an antiquary, probably based on William of Malmesbury.

To refute the second argument requires some technical discussion. This same Cambridge manuscript inserts between Bede's preface and the list of chapters a West Saxon regnal list, which ends with Alfred, and this has often been used as evidence for an original connexion with the king. But the only other manuscript which has the beginning intact, that at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, known as B (from the old name of the college, Benet), of the early eleventh century, does not contain this regnal list. Moreover, it can be shown that it was also lacking from the Otho manuscript known as C;²² for this manuscript was available to the seventeenth-century editor of the Old English Bede, Abraham Whelock, before it was largely destroyed in the fire of 1731. He took his text from the Cambridge manuscript, giving variants from B and C; but when he prints the regnal list, the variants from what he calls B cannot be from the B manuscript of the Old English Bede, which has not got the list. They are from another Corpus (Benet) manuscript, the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. His readings from what he calls C come from the Cottonian manuscript Tiberius A iii, f. 178, a single leaf which once belonged to the version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Tiberius A vi. They agree with this completely,²³ and include a wrong date, CCCXCIII for CCCXCIIII, which is an easy misreading by Whelock of the figure in Tiberius A iii, where one of the minims has been almost entirely obscured by a small tear.²⁴ Whelock would hardly have referred to this manuscript simply as C, the letter by which he normally refers to the Otho manuscript of the Old English Bede, if the latter had contained the regnal list; and he would surely have referred to its readings if it had.²⁵ A list missing from both the B and the C manuscripts of the Old English Bede is extremely unlikely to have formed part of the original work. There is no evidence that it was inserted earlier than the Cambridge manuscript. The fact that it ends with Alfred is no safe argument that it was added in his reign, for the scribe who inserted it would be likely to copy the version available to him, without troubling to bring it up to date. When in

the early eleventh century the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was copied into Otho B xi, the scribe was content to let the regnal list (which survives as a detached leaf, Additional MS. 34652, f. 2) end with Alfred.²⁶ Thus the regnal list in the Cambridge manuscript of the Old English Bede is valueless as evidence for a connexion of this work with Alfred.

On general grounds, one can argue that Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* would be very likely to be included in Alfred's scheme for providing translations of works 'most necessary for all men to know',²⁷ unless he knew that an English version was already available. If we take his words in the prefatory letter to his *Cura Pastoralis* at their face value, we must assume that when he planned his course of action he was not aware of a translation of Bede; for he says: 'I wondered exceedingly at those good and wise men who formerly were throughout England and had fully studied all those books, that they would not turn *any part of them* into their own language.' Yet the possibility remains that, unknown to Alfred, a translation of Bede had been made by an Anglian scholar. I should like something firmer than an attribution of almost a century later and an argument from general probability before accepting Alfred's connexion with the translation of Bede as an established fact.

It has sometimes been suggested that the Old English Bede can be shown to have formed part of Alfred's scheme because it omits certain matters which are dealt with in the other works translated, and hence that the translation was planned in relation to these. Before we examine these suggestions, we ought first to consider the translator's general practice, rather than argue from this or that omission, judged in isolation. By a selection of evidence one can prove almost anything. It is high time that we looked at the Old English Bede, without prejudging any issues.

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is a very long work. The translation greatly shortens it. In this it differs from the translations of the *Dialogues* and the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, which are given almost complete, perhaps out of reverence for the 'Apostle of the English'. Much is omitted from the Old English translations of Orosius, Boethius, and the *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine. Bede's book has been cut with remarkable care. The translator is anxious not to leave loose ends: he omits cross references to passages which he has left out; on occasion, he supplies information when a passage is no longer clear because of a previous omission.²⁸ Without any of our modern aids, such as an indexed

Bede, he has left a coherent account in spite of much condensation. He was very familiar with the text, for he can avoid repetition by omitting material which recurs later on in the book. There are discernible principles in his selection, consistently carried out. These things, even taken alone, suggest that a single mind was responsible for the form of the work. It does not read like team-work.²⁹ They suggest also that, though certain errors in detail in all manuscripts show that the version from which they descend was not the author's autograph,³⁰ it had not moved far from his intentions on larger matters.

One principle of selection was to omit most of the letters, documents, epitaphs, and poems quoted by Bede. True to this principle, the translator omitted the long document of Gregory's *Responsa* to Augustine's queries from its proper place in book i, and took pains to smooth over the gap by altering the words which follow. Later, however, he added the *Responsa* after the end of book iii. I shall consider the reason for this later.

A second principle of selection is of greater interest. The translator's main concern is with the ecclesiastical history of the English nation. It is significant that when Bede, near the end of his work, calls it *historia ecclesiastica Britanniarum, et maxime gentis Anglorum*, the translator alters to 'the history of the church of the English nation in Britain',³¹ a description which fits the work he has produced better than Bede's words do. His tendency to confine himself to English affairs explains not only the omission of much that concerns the internal affairs of the Celtic churches³² and the dropping of the accounts of the foreign saints Germanus, Columba, Ninian, and Adamnan,³³ but also the omission of most of the Roman history in book i, of the account of the Pantheon,³⁴ of the parts of the chapter on Gregory³⁵ which do not relate to the English church, of the synod of Rome in book iv, ch. 18, of the details about the second synod which dealt with Wilfrid's suit in Rome,³⁶ and of the chapters from Adamnan's *De locis sanctis*.³⁷ Some minor references to foreign affairs are omitted also. Seen in this wider context, the omission of some references to the observance by the Celtic churches of a wrong date for Easter will not bear the weight that has often been placed on it. As the claim to 'a tender regard' towards Scottish susceptibilities mainly rests on the translator's treatment of the Easter controversy, it is necessary to look at this more closely.

If he had omitted all references to it, I should have suggested that he did so because it was an old and dead controversy, and I should have compared his lack of interest in Pelagianism and

Arianism. But he did not omit all the references; he made a significant selection. He retains the parts concerning the efforts of Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, to correct the errors of the British church,³⁸ and of Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, to bring to the proper observance both the British and the Irish churches.³⁹ He retains also the accounts of how the Englishmen, Egberht, Aldhelm, and Ceolfrith, respectively converted from this error the Irish in Iona, the British in Wessex, and the Picts.⁴⁰ He omits the attempts of popes to win the Celtic churches to the truth, and those of the Irishman Adamnan;⁴¹ the English church was not concerned in these efforts. More striking is his omission of all reference to the unorthodox practice of Aidan, the missionary to Northumbria,⁴² and of the statement that the British bishops who helped to consecrate Chad observed the wrong Easter.⁴³ The long chapter on how the question was settled at the synod of Whitby goes out also, and consequently the following chapter on the departure of the defeated Colman,⁴⁴ and we can see how deliberate this omission was when we note that in the chapter on Wilfrid in book v even the few words of Bede mentioning his part at the synod of Whitby are expunged.⁴⁵ In fact, if we did not possess the Latin Bede, we should gather that the Irish missionaries brought their error into England only from the statements that Archbishop Theodore taught the English to celebrate the right Easter,⁴⁶ that Wilfrid on his return to Britain taught orthodox observances,⁴⁷ and that the Scots who preceded him in Ripon did not observe Easter rightly.⁴⁸ Though one cannot claim that the former unorthodoxy of part of the English church has been completely suppressed, it has certainly been robbed of any prominence. If this had been in order to avoid wounding the Scots, why then did the translator fail to expunge the accounts of the efforts of Laurentius and Egberht to reform them? My impression is that he was not deeply interested in this old controversy—he omits all Bede's demonstrations of where the error in calculation lay⁴⁹—nor was he eager to call attention to any previous unorthodoxy in the English church; but he could not forbear to claim for the English church all possible credit for its share in reforming the Celtic churches.

If, then, the view that the translator betrays sympathy for the Irish church has no foundation, we can drop the idea that this sympathy showed him to be a Mercian. By itself, this never was a strong argument, for why should only Mercians feel gratitude to the Irish church, which also converted the Northumbrians and the East Saxons? Any argument for Mercian origin must

stand or fall on linguistics alone, unless stronger evidence than this for Mercian sympathies is forthcoming. If the translator's selection shows special sympathies, they are those of an Englishman more interested in Englishmen than in foreigners, and this is unhelpful in localizing the work.

Miller makes a few minor points to support the thesis he based on the handling of the Easter question, but none is convincing.⁵⁰ The rendering of *transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem* as 'in the moors which are to the north part of the kingdom of the Picts'⁵¹ is claimed as evidence of close familiarity with Scotch localities; it reads more like the mistranslation of a man who did not understand the former divisions of Pictland. Little weight can be attached to the omission of Bede's remark that Iona belonged *ad ius quidem Britanniae*,⁵² in view of the translator's habit of shortening or omitting geographical descriptions. When Bede says Columba was called 'by some' Columcille, and the translator is specific, saying that 'the Scots afterwards called him Columcille',⁵³ this is surely only a natural inference. The claim that the reproach to the Scots implied in *fraudium*⁵⁴ was softened by the use of a milder word, *gestrodo*, suitable to the border foray, is false; it is not a milder word; it renders *rapinis* in the Vespasian Psalter. It is from the verb *strūdan* 'to plunder', and it is an excellent rendering of *fraudium* in the sense in which Bede is using it.

The translator did not trouble to soften the words: 'From that time no king of the Scots dared to come to battle against the English nation up to this present day.'⁵⁵ Nor was he interested enough in Scotland to retain the descriptions of the Firth of Clyde with its city of *Alcluith*⁵⁶ or of the Firth of Forth with its town of *Giudi*.⁵⁷ No safe conclusions regarding his locality can be drawn from his omission or inclusion of geographical data. He omits the accounts of the Antonine Wall, Heavenfield, Lindisfarne, Bangor, Reculver, and the Mevanian Isles,⁵⁸ and greatly shortens the description of Britain in Bede's first chapter. He retains short statements on Thanet, London, Lindsey, Sussex, Ely, and Abercorn, and most of the account of the Isle of Wight and its tides.⁵⁹

Similarly, an examination of the forms of the place-names gives little result.⁶⁰ Many of Bede's forms are left unaltered, and these can be helpful only if we have reason to suppose that they were no longer the current forms and hence their retention may suggest that the place was unfamiliar to the translator. Sometimes he does replace Bede's forms with those current in his time. We can ignore the names of important places like York, Lincoln,

Chester, Winchester, the Thames, Severn, and Trent, where he uses the forms found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere; for no matter what his provenance, he would know of these places. His occasional use of *Lundenceaster* beside *Lundene* and *Lundenburh*, the forms normal in other records, can hardly be used, as Miller uses it, to show he was not a southerner. It is of greater interest that he is familiar with the current names of Bamburgh, Hexham, Whithorn, and Coldingham, which he could not have learnt from the Latin version;⁶¹ but Bamburgh was a place of importance, Hexham and Whithorn were sees, whose names any ecclesiastic might be expected to know, and, though the history of the monastery of Coldingham after Bede's time is obscure, its name might be kept alive by its being the place at which St. Æthelthryth, a popular saint, first took the veil.⁶² Knowledge of contemporary usage seems implied in his rendering of *uicum Cataractam*, *uico Cataractone*, as *Cetreht tune*, *Cetrehtan*, *Cetreht weorþige*.⁶³ On the other hand, he could not recognize Gateshead in *Ad Caprae Caput*, but puts *æt Rægeheafde*;⁶⁴ this is, however, a possible place-name, perhaps the origin of Read, Lancashire.⁶⁵ A man closely familiar with Northumbria might have altered the archaic form *Loidis* for Leeds,⁶⁶ and have used a more modern name than *Lugubalia* for Carlisle.⁶⁷ One cannot tell if his *in Donafelda* is anything more than a translation of Bede's *in Campodono*,⁶⁸ for the name does not survive. In the Midlands, *Teolfingaceastre* for Bede's *Tiouulfingacaestir*⁶⁹ looks like a genuine contraction of this lost name; but since the place is probably Littleborough on Trent, where the Roman road from Doncaster to Lincoln crosses the river, it may have been well known. When mentioning places in the south of England, he did not replace Bede's *Mean-* in *Meanware* by *Meón-*,⁷⁰ nor give the correct form for the important waterway, the Wantsome; he retained the misspelling of his C-type Latin text, writing *want-sama* instead of *wantsuma*.⁷¹ It was left for the common exemplar of manuscripts C, O, and Ca to make the necessary correction.

The work has been shortened also by the leaving out of some explanatory comments, like that on the difference between a wall and a *vallum*,⁷² or on the Latin and Greek names for a peninsula,⁷³ and almost all the interpretations of place-names; also some of Bede's rhetorical flourishes, for example that Oswald's fame spread 'rays of healing light' across the ocean,⁷⁴ or that from Theodore and Hadrian 'rivers of wholesome knowledge daily flowed to water the hearts of their hearers'.⁷⁵ The clause giving the year of the incarnation is often omitted. That this cannot be

put down to scribal carelessness is indicated by a measure of selection of what dates to omit. In nine cases the year of the consecration or death of a bishop is omitted,⁷⁶ though the day and the length of the episcopate are usually retained. The year of the battle of *Degsastan* and of Hatfield⁷⁷ is omitted, and that of the baptism of Edwin and of Ceadwalla.⁷⁸ Accidental omission would not have spared all the dates of royal accessions; nor is it accident which replaces the clause by 'and after this'⁷⁹ or 'and two years later'.⁸⁰ For the purpose of observing an anniversary it is enough to know the day, and the clause by which incarnation dates are given is a lengthy one; yet an author who so often lessens his labours by omitting it cannot have regarded dates as of primary importance, a fact to be borne in mind when considering his omission of Bede's chronological summary.⁸¹ The translator did not share Bede's passion for chronology: he omits the date calculated from the foundation of Rome⁸² or from the coming of the English⁸³ as well as two of the four references to the indiction;⁸⁴ he frequently disregards Bede's cautious use of *ferme* or *circiter* in relation to dates.

Since it is possible to distinguish a high degree of care and consistency in the translator's procedure, it may be worth while to examine his handling of those places where Bede says or implies that persons are living or things surviving until the present day. Where it is obvious that Bede is speaking in his own person, as in the preface, or where it is definitely stated that the conditions of 731 are being described,⁸⁵ these things present no problem and the statements can be allowed to stand. Otherwise, when survival to the translator's day is impossible, he normally omits the statement, or alters the tense of the verbs. There is an exception when Bede's remark that James the deacon lived into 'our time' is retained,⁸⁶ and another when we are told that Daniel still holds the see of Winchester.⁸⁷ But a few lines later when Bede's statement that Forthhere 'is alive to this day' is kept in the translation, it is immediately followed by the words 'so said the writer'. In view of the normal practice of avoiding by some means the depicting of persons as still living, it seems fair to assume that in these two exceptional cases some such saving clause, like 'said Bede',⁸⁸ or 'said the author of this book',⁸⁹ has been omitted. When Bede says that Willibrord is alive, having held his episcopate for thirty-six years, the translator says he held it for thirty-six years and then died.⁹⁰ When Bede predicts that Acca will continue on his virtuous course until he receive

his reward from God, the translator replaces the future tense by the past.⁹¹

In these cases, survival to the translator's day is impossible. In some other places, where he knew that conditions had since changed, he modernized. Thus, when Bede says the see of Selsey ceased 'until to-day', the translation reads 'for many years'.⁹² Both references to the holding by the Jutes of the mainland opposite the Isle of Wight⁹³ are omitted, and so is the mention of a church of the Four Crowned Martyrs at Canterbury,⁹⁴ perhaps because it no longer existed. From the ninth statute of the synod of Hertford, concerning the need for more sees, the final clause 'but this was passed over for the present'⁹⁵ is dropped. More sees had since been created. Are these instances of modernization enough for us to assume that in general, where Bede's statements that conditions survive to the present day are left unchanged, this is because they are still true, or because the translator had no means of knowing that they were not, or because he was not sufficiently interested in the particular matter to go to the trouble of altering them? Or was he simply inconsistent, in which case such passages will not help to date or locate the work?

One can leave out of count claims that saints were being honoured, relics preserved, or miracles performed by relics and at places of martyrdom, at St. Albans or Lichfield or Ely or Lindisfarne,⁹⁶ or at foreign places such as Brie, Péronne, or near the Rhine.⁹⁷ He would be unlikely to question such claims.⁹⁸ He may have known that Edwin's gold chalice was still preserved at Canterbury,⁹⁹ or have had no reason to doubt it. He might be prepared to believe that places still bore the name of James the deacon¹⁰⁰ or of Tunna the priest,¹⁰¹ whether he knew them or not; that the site of the heathen temple at Goodmanham was still being pointed out;¹⁰² or that Aidan's oratory was still visible at Lindisfarne.¹⁰³ But did he omit Bede's statement that the church at Lincoln was roofless in his day¹⁰⁴ because he knew it was so no longer? Was it because he doubted its truth that he omits the mention of Horsa's monument as visible in Kent,¹⁰⁵ or was he uninterested in a monument to a heathen chieftain?

There are some places where Bede's statements are left unchanged when we know they were no longer true. He says that the bodies of all archbishops of Canterbury are buried in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul.¹⁰⁶ Though the evidence for a great conflict between this house (later called St. Augustine's) and Christ Church over burial rights in the mid-eighth century

is post-Conquest and open to suspicion,¹⁰⁷ there seems no reason to doubt that Archbishop Cuthbert was buried in Christ Church in 760, and that after that date the only archbishop to be buried in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul was Jænberht, a former abbot of that house; and it would be unusual if a church had relinquished burial rights without resistance. One would have expected the translator, if consistent in his practice, to have altered the tense and have written 'in which the bodies of all bishops of Canterbury *were* placed'; especially would he have been inclined, one would have thought, to make this little adjustment if he were closely connected with Christ Church. Yet it may be that by the late ninth century the Christ Church claim had been so long and so securely established that even inmates of that church had ceased to be sensitive on the matter.

The translator retains Bede's tirades against the British Church for its clinging to the false date of Easter, though this had been relinquished as early as 768.¹⁰⁸ If he had retained only the remarks in book v, ch. 23, this would be understandable, for here it is explicit that it is the conditions holding in 731 which are being described. But in the preceding chapter he says that the Britons 'hold yet to their old customs and halt from the right paths'. However, he could not have omitted this accusation, false though it was by his time, without relinquishing the contrast which Bede is making to illustrate the divine justice, namely that the Irish, who helped to convert the English, received from them in return the gift of orthodoxy, whereas the British, who refused to take part in the conversion, remain in error.

One may also doubt whether it was still true that in the translator's time English monks were holding Mayo in Ireland,¹⁰⁹ though it is not possible to discover just when this community came to an end. There were English monks there certainly until about 800; Irish records long continue to call it 'Mayo of the Saxons', but the name could survive the presence of the English. In any case, the translator would be unlikely to have means of knowing what was happening there.

Of greater importance is his retention of the present tense when referring to the monasteries of Bardney, Lastingham, Whitby, and Hackness,¹¹⁰ and to his acceptance of the information that remains of the monastic life established by Chad at Barrow in Lincolnshire are still visible,¹¹¹ that St. Cuthbert's relics are at Lindisfarne¹¹² and that East Anglia has two bishops until this day.¹¹³ He nowhere gives a hint that any changes had been wrought in these areas by the Danish invasions and settlements.

If only we could be sure that he was reasonably consistent in his practice of bringing such references up to date, we might offer variant explanations of his failure to give such a hint: that he was writing before these settlements; that, though writing after them, he had no clear idea of what was happening beyond the Danish frontier; or that the Danish settlements were not so completely nor so immediately catastrophic in their effects on the church as we tend to assume.¹¹⁴ Yet perhaps it is safest to suggest that he altered his source only when he could do so with little trouble, and where his interest was specially aroused. The clearest examples of modernization concern the south of England.

There is another alteration which should be considered. When he chooses, the translator can give a competent summary of a letter which he omits. He does so with regard to Pope Vitalian's letter on the provision of an archbishop of Canterbury after the death of Wigheard at Rome.¹¹⁵ This makes one wonder whether the vagueness and inadequacy of the summary he gives of an important letter of St. Gregory is deliberate. From his words: 'he sent Bishop Augustine . . . a letter, in which he signified how he should consecrate other bishops and in what places he should establish them',¹¹⁶ one would not easily recognize that famous letter which makes it clear that Gregory envisaged London, not Canterbury, as the eventual metropolitan see of the southern province, and that he did not intend the southern archbishop to take precedence over the Archbishop of York after Augustine's death. When one recalls that Cenwulf of Mercia, when taking steps to secure the abolition of the archbishopric of Lichfield founded in Offa's reign, tried to transfer the primacy to London,¹¹⁷ relying no doubt on this very letter, it seems understandable that the translator might shrink from spreading more widely a knowledge of its dangerous contents. It is easy to see that a Canterbury writer might have a strong motive for its suppression, but on this matter the letter was equally inconvenient for the claims of Lichfield, or, indeed, of any see except London. It is true that in Alfred's reign some anxiety was being felt for the privileges of Canterbury. Pope John VIII wrote in 877 or 878 to Archbishop Æthelred:

We indeed wish to preserve for you unimpaired and beyond doubt the privilege of your see, in the manner of the blessed Augustine, sent there by St. Gregory for the salvation of many and the conversion of the king, and we enact and command that it is to be observed for ever by all orders, whether ecclesiastical or lay, according to the (statute) of the same St. Gregory.¹¹⁸

He also says that he has written to King Alfred, who, he implies, has been threatening the rights of Canterbury. But he does not specify in what way, and it is unlikely that the threat concerned the primacy of Canterbury.¹¹⁹ There would be many in the southern province besides the Canterbury clergy who would not wish to see the existing arrangement disturbed, or to spread Gregory's views on the equality of the northern archbishop, although this does not appear to have become an issue until much later. Although on general grounds it is tempting to suggest that it was Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was eager that Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* should be one of the works translated, I doubt whether the vagueness of the reference to Gregory's letter, even if this were deliberate, affords strong support to such a view.¹²⁰

The papal correspondence surviving from the ninth century supplies a reasonable explanation of the translator's change of mind with regard to the inclusion of Gregory's *Responsa*. There seems no logical reason for their removal from the proper place in book i to a position between books iii and iv. It would appear that the translator decided to include them after he had already started book iii. Now, between 872 and 874, Pope John VIII complained to Burgred of Mercia that 'many men of your kingdom presume to marry nuns and women dedicated to God, and women of their own kindred, disregarding the statute of St. Gregory, which of necessity was decreed for the newly-converted people'.¹²¹ Writing to Archbishop Æthelred in 877 or 878, the same Pope says: 'Neither are you to permit anyone to marry within his own kindred, by the established decree of our holy predecessor Gregory, the teacher of your race.'¹²² These passages show that in the second half of the ninth century Gregory's *Responsa* could not be dismissed as a dead letter, and this may account for the translator's second thoughts on their inclusion. The diction shows that it was he, and not a later writer, who added them, and he was using the same type of Latin text, a good version of what Plummer calls the C-type,¹²³ as for the rest of the work. It is therefore highly improbable that the omission of the *Responsa* from book i was occasioned by a lacuna in the Latin manuscript he was using.

So far we have found nothing in the translator's alterations that points to Alfred. The rendering of a passage in Bede's preface must next be considered. Bede wrote to King Ceolwulf: 'You desire that the said history should be made more familiar to yourself as well as to those over whom the Divine Authority

has set you to rule, from your regard to the general welfare.' The Old English version has: 'I wrote this for your benefit and for your people; because God chose you as king, it behoves you to teach your people.'¹²⁴ On this change, Klaeber remarks: 'One can in fact hardly avoid the thought that this interpretation of the passage is inspired by King Alfred.'¹²⁵ Alfred certainly acted on this conception of a king's duties; but when one remembers the example of Charles the Great and the interest taken by Charles the Bald in the encouragement of learning, can one be certain that this view was uncommon at a time when Frankish influence was not negligible?

It is now time to examine the claims that the Old English Bede is proved to have been undertaken at Alfred's instigation by its omission of matter which was, or would be, in the other works translated, or, conversely, that these omitted matter which was, or would be, available in the translation of Bede. First, one must note that where there remains any overlap between the Old English Bede and any of the other works, the rendering is independent. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle made no use of the Old English Bede, nor did the translator of Orosius in the material common to both works; Werferth did not use the parts where Bede is based on Gregory's *Dialogues*¹²⁶ and the translation of Gregory's *Responsa* was not consulted when a similar passage occurs in the *Cura Pastoralis*.¹²⁷ The translator of Bede shows no knowledge of the wording in these vernacular works. There is, therefore, no sign of direct influence; all one could hope to establish would be that the translation of Bede was planned in relation to one or more of these works.

Much of what Bede quotes from Orosius in book i is omitted from the Old English version. To assume that this was done because a translation of Orosius had been, or was to be made, is to ignore the similar omission of material drawn from Pliny, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Marcellinus Comes, as well as of the chapters from Constantius's *Life of Germanus*. The selection from Orosius in the two Old English works does not fit well a theory of a concerted plan, for both retain the parts about Severus and his wall, the accession of Marcus Antoninus, Diocletian's persecution, Constantius in Britain and the birth of his son Constantine, and Alaric's sack of Rome. Hence, though it may be strange that the translator of Bede should have omitted all or most of the account of Caesar's invasion of Britain,¹²⁸ it hardly seems an adequate explanation that in this one place he wished

to avoid duplicating a section of the Old English Orosius. Even in the latter, the account is much curtailed. The omission from the Old English Bede of passages from Orosius is otherwise in line with the translator's lack of concern with foreign affairs. As for the omissions by the translator of *Orosius*, he has become very selective indeed by the time he reaches this, the seventh book of Orosius's long work; we need not assume that he left out some things because they were in Bede. There are noticeable differences between the translations. One is that while the Old English Bede retains the statement, based on Orosius, on the mildness of the climate of Ireland, the translator of Orosius replaces the words *sed caeli solique temperie magis utilis* by the remark that Ireland has much worse weather than Britain.¹²⁹ One should also contrast the lack of interest in geography betrayed by the translator of Bede with the remarkable reconstruction of the geography of north-east Europe supplied by the translator of Orosius, surely the most original and constructive addition to the translations of Alfred's reign. It is difficult to see the same mind behind these two works.

The omission by the Old English Bede of much of the chapter on St. Gregory has occasioned comment.¹³⁰ Almost everything that concerns England is kept, and also the date of his death and his epitaph.¹³¹ The rest, including the account of his works, is omitted. But this can hardly be because it was felt redundant when translations of the *Dialogues* and the *Cura Pastoralis* had been provided, for this would be no good reason for omitting also his parentage, his career, his commentary on Job, his *Synodicus Libellus*, and his additions to the canon of the Mass. It is arguable that all this part seemed to the translator irrelevant in a history of the English church.

There remains the question of relationship with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and this must be given careful consideration, partly because it concerns not only the connexion of the Old English Bede with Alfred, but also that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and partly because the view that a concerted plan lay behind these two works has the support of a great scholar with whom I normally find myself in complete agreement. Dr. Sisam writes: 'There is evidence that the two works were regarded as complementary.'¹³² He argues that, while there is no sign of influence of the translation of Bede on the wording of the Chronicle, or vice versa, the omission from the Old English Bede of the chronological summary is to be explained by the presence of most of this in the Chronicle, whereas the tendency of the

chronicler to confine himself to this summary suggests that he knew that the full work was, or would be, available in English. He sees further support for this view in the failure of the chronicler to supply a genealogy of the kings of Kent, a failure which he ascribes to an awareness that it was in two of the most important chapters in Bede.¹³³ One must take these points in order. It has been shown above that the translator of Bede is not greatly interested in chronology;¹³⁴ moreover, he tends to shorten his labours by getting rid of repetitions.¹³⁵ Almost all the entries in the chronological summary repeat what has been related in the body of the work; hence he may have thought it waste of labour to include it. That the chronicler, on the other hand, made great use of the summary requires no other explanation than that he took the shortest route to his goal. An annalist has to be interested in dates. Nevertheless, he did sometimes take matter from the rest of Bede's history, especially in order to add events of West Saxon history not mentioned in the summary. Thus he extracts the account of the expulsion of Cenwealh of Wessex by Penda of Mercia after he had divorced Penda's sister,¹³⁶ and also the information on the division of the West Saxon see.¹³⁷ He repeats Bede's list of kings who had held the *imperium*, in order to add the name of Ecgerht of Wessex.¹³⁸ It is hardly surprising that he passed over the discreditable incident of the sending of a West Saxon assassin to kill Edwin of Northumbria, with its sequel of Edwin's vengeance,¹³⁹ or the atrocities committed by Ceadwalla of Wessex in the Isle of Wight.¹⁴⁰ Otherwise, the only datable event of West Saxon history omitted by the chronicler is the victory over the apostate kings of Essex about 616, and to this Bede has only a brief passing reference.¹⁴¹ The reason why the chronicler made comparatively little use of the text of Bede need not be because a translation was available; it could be because it contained little that was relevant to West Saxon history. For the rest, the chronological summary served him well enough.

There remains the argument drawn from the absence of the Kentish genealogy. Besides the genealogies of the West Saxon royal house, the chronicler supplies those of Bernicia (547, 670, 685), Deira (560), Ceolwulf of Northumbria (731), and the Mercian kings, Penda (626), Æthelbald (716), and Offa (755); but, though he traces the descent of Wihtred of Kent back to Æthelberht I (694), he nowhere takes it farther back. Yet it is unnecessary to assume that he meant his readers to get the Kentish genealogy from the translation of Bede. He obtained all

the Northumbrian and Mercian genealogies from the collection which has come down to us in *Vespasian B vi*¹⁴² and this has the Kentish genealogy. It would therefore have been easy for him to include it, whereas it would have been no light task for his readers to compile it for themselves from two chapters in Bede. But can we be sure that he would have thought it important? For three generations Kent had been ruled by the West Saxon royal house, which based its claim from at least one generation earlier. Why should the chronicler be at pains to demonstrate the descent from Woden of a previous dynasty of kings of Kent? He gives no genealogies for the kingdoms subject to Wessex in his day. It may be that none was known for Sussex, but that of the kings of Essex survives in a text of his time.¹⁴³ Yet he does not include it. It seems to me therefore that one cannot safely claim that the chronicler knew that a translation of Bede existed or was in preparation.

Hence my investigations have failed to find evidence that the translation of Bede was undertaken as part of Alfred's scheme. On the other hand, they have not proved that it was not so undertaken. If we had reason to suppose that there ever was a conference to decide what parts of the proposed works could be omitted, to avoid overlap, then the absence of any trace of concerted planning in relation to the Old English Bede might imply that it lay outside the scheme. But there are no grounds for postulating such a proceeding. So we reach a negative result.

The Old English Bede impresses me as the work of a man of an unusually orderly mind, which he applied carefully to the task before him. He knew his author well. He thought out some general principles of selection, and adhered to them with remarkable consistency. He was singularly exact in his rendering of Bede's terminology.¹⁴⁴ When one has said this, the fact remains that one cannot read his work without being conscious of the great decline of scholarship since the days of Bede. We are in a different intellectual climate. This impression does not depend solely on his inferior Latinity.¹⁴⁵ He lacks Bede's inquiring mind. Not only is there an increased insularity; his interests are narrower in other ways. He lacks Bede's interest in geography, chronology, and etymology. Moreover, he does not share his passion for precision and accuracy, and he is less careful than Bede was always to record the sources of the information. His handling of Bede's preface is careless, betraying a lack of understanding of the importance of evidence or of Bede's aims. In it

he omits Nothhelm's researches into the papal archives at Rome, and he appears to number Chad and Cedd among Bede's informants, thus violating chronological possibility, though it is possible that this error arises from manuscript corruption.¹⁴⁶ He leaves out altogether the words with which Bede ends his preface:

And I humbly entreat the reader, if in these things . . . he find anything not delivered according to the truth, he will not impute this to me, who, as the true rule of history requires, have laboured sincerely to commit to writing such things as I could gather from common report, for the instruction of posterity.

This treatment of Bede's preface suggests that the decision to omit the documents quoted by Bede was not dictated solely by a desire to economize space, but also by a failure to appreciate the value of sources. He found room for all the miracle stories except one.¹⁴⁷ He probably regarded the work as in the first place one of religious edification. Bede's attitude to evidence has sometimes been described as modern; it lay outside the conception of the translator.

Just as he is inferior to Bede, so are those for whom he is writing inferior to the readers Bede had in mind. Hence the need to add explanatory comments, where Bede could count on being instantly understood. Biblical references are expanded with details of the incident referred to: a brief allusion to the lame man in Acts iii. 2-8 is much filled out from the source, to make the intended parallel clear,¹⁴⁸ and a rather subtle argument in Gregory's *Responsa* drawn from the story of John the Baptist's death is replaced by a direct narrative of the incident.¹⁴⁹ The translator adds that references to 'the law' are to the law of Moses,¹⁵⁰ that Genesis is the first book of Moses,¹⁵¹ that it is St. Paul who is cited as 'the distinguished soldier of the heavenly army',¹⁵² that the patriarch cited in book i, ch. 34 is Jacob,¹⁵³ that Caiphias was the chief of the priests,¹⁵⁴ that Constantinople is the chief city of the Grecks,¹⁵⁵ that balsam is 'the most precious spice and sweetest of those which were in the world',¹⁵⁶ and that *eclipsis solis* means 'the falling off of the sun so that it had no light and was terrible to look on'.¹⁵⁷ In short, the Old English Bede supports Alfred's complaints of the decline of scholarship, the justice of which was made clear by Sir Frank Stenton when commenting on the Latin of ninth-century charters.¹⁵⁸

To deal with the style of the translation would require a whole lecture. Only a few points may be made here. The author was

the product of a school of translating similar to that which trained Bishop Werferth. He shares with this author a fair amount of diction, including fixed renderings for a number of Latin words, and a fondness for rendering a single Latin word by two English synonyms. Whatever may be the origins of this practice, in these two writers it amounts to a mannerism. They both often translate over-literally, retaining Latinate constructions and using a word order unnatural to English, to an extent which suggests that they were influenced by the practice of interlinear glossing of a text. Yet the similarities between them can be over-emphasized. There are enough dissimilarities to show that Werferth was not the translator of Bede.¹⁵⁹

Moreover, the Old English Bede is not consistently an over-literal rendering. Beside passages which are stiff and clumsy can be set others which are vigorous and idiomatic. One may cite the account of Gregory's meeting with the Anglian youths for sale in Rome (even the stylist Ælfric did not disdain to borrow from this),¹⁶⁰ or the rendering of the famous simile of the sparrow flying through the royal hall,¹⁶¹ where *paruissimo spatio* is happily translated *an eagan bryhtm*, 'the twinkling of an eye', and the simple 'it rains and snows and storms outside' makes *furentibus . . . foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium* sound heavy. The two accounts of storms are made more vivid,¹⁶² and there are instances of free and terse renderings of Latin phrases.¹⁶³

The translator has a liking for words with a poetic ring:¹⁶⁴ some of his compounds are otherwise recorded only in poetry, e.g. *bædewæg* (*poculum*), *ellenwodness* (*zelum*), *edelturf* (*patria*), *gylpgeorn* (*gloriae cupidissimus*), *wilsip* (*cupido itinere*), and *wilfægen* (*voti compos*). His use of the poetic *iumenn* 'men of old' puzzled the C scribe.¹⁶⁵ Some of his compounds are not recorded elsewhere: e.g. *heofonflod* (*inundantia*), *swiðstreme* (*meatu rapidissimo*), *arþegn* (*hospitium ministerio deseruiens*), *on bearnlufe* (*loco adoptiuo*), *se hwatesta fyrdesne* (*iuenis bellicosus*).¹⁶⁶ Whether or not these are his own coinages, one can talk too much about the over-literality of a writer capable of choosing such terse expressions.

The variation between literal and free translation runs through the work, and words characteristic of this work can occur in passages in either style. One cannot neatly divide the work between two authors of different habits.¹⁶⁷ It might be more difficult to outrule the possibility of a partial revision of a literal translation by a writer of better English. Yet it seems to me that the facts are not incompatible with a view of a single author, perhaps working in haste, unable to shed the habits of a school

of interlinear glossing, who nevertheless was capable of vivid writing when his interest was stirred.

If, however, we wish to postulate a reviser, could that reviser be King Alfred? My own answer would be 'No'. There is too little agreement in diction with Alfred's works; and in these, even in the *Cura Pastoralis*,¹⁶⁸ which is a more faithful rendering than are the *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies*, greater liberties are sometimes taken with the text than in the Old English Bede. In these three works of Alfred, there is a tendency to expand the original, to elaborate—often unnecessarily—the similes and metaphors, and even to add such to make the meaning clearer.¹⁶⁹ These works show little sign of the power of the translator of Bede to reduce a Latin phrase to a single compound. In his prose works Alfred shows no fondness for poetic vocabulary, and neither these nor his verse translation of the *Metra* of Boethius suggest any outstanding ability in the formation of compounds.

To sum up: I see no evidence that Alfred took part in the actual translation of Bede. As regards the general plan, I would doubt whether he would have been willing to sacrifice so many types of interesting information in the interests of a rigid adherence to the main theme. That the translator and the king shared the view that it was the duty of a king to educate his people does not by itself seem to me enough to prove direct influence. That the work was undertaken at Alfred's instigation remains a probability. I have found no evidence against it, and it is the simplest way to explain the belief in 991 that the work was his. A detailed study of the list of chapter-headings, which I hope to publish elsewhere, may suggest, though it stops short of proof, that there was an early multiplication of manuscripts which lends itself to comparison with the circulation of the *Cura Pastoralis* and of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the later years of Alfred's reign.

But if these things do not add up to certainty, how do we date the work? Fortunately, a final date is given by the quotation of three excerpts from it in Domitian ix, in a hand little, if at all, later than the end of Alfred's reign.¹⁷⁰ By the time we get the Otho manuscript, in the mid-tenth century, we are at least three removes from the original work. Unless we are convinced that it could not have been in existence when Alfred made his plans about 890 without being known to him, it is more difficult to establish the earliest limit of date. We are thrown back on linguistic evidence and are then faced with a shortage of comparative

material from the Anglian areas. In any case, linguistic evidence cannot hope to date a work very closely.

I began these investigations in the hope that a detailed re-examination of the Old English Bede might allow of a definite statement on its connexion with Alfred's educational reforms. It has not done so. There is room for further study of this text, and others may find indications of date and authorship which I have missed. Meanwhile, such studies should not be restricted by too firm a faith in 'King Alfred's Bede'.

NOTES

I am indebted to Sir Frank Stenton for reading this paper and giving me valuable advice, and to Professor B. Dickins, Dr. K. Sisam, and Miss Celia Sisam for allowing me to consult them on various topics.

In the following notes, the Old English version of Bede is cited by page and line of Miller's edition (see n. 3 below). The Latin text is cited as H.E., by book and chapter, and if the chapter is long a page reference is added, which refers to the edition by Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. i, Oxford, 1896.

1. *The Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1846, ii, pp. 116 f.: *Manega halige bec cyðað his drohtunge and his halige lif, and eac 'Historia Anglorum', 8a ðe Ælfrid cyning of Ledene on Englisc awende.*
2. H. Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Oxford, 1876, p. 195: 'This passage alone is enough to prove that the translation is only nominally Alfred's.'
3. *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T. Miller, part i, 1, 1890, part i, 2, 1891, part ii, 1 and 2, 1898 (E.E.T.S. Original Series 95, 96, 110, 111), henceforward cited as Miller. The work had been edited twice before: i.e. by Abraham Whelock, in his *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri V*, Cambridge, 1643 and 1644, and by John Smith in his *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri Quinque*, Cambridge, 1722. Another edition was made by J. Schipper, *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte* (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa iv), Leipzig, 1899. Miller gives the text of MS. T (filling the lacunae from C, O, and Ca) with textual variants from all extant manuscripts; Schipper gives the text of O and B, with variants from the other manuscripts. Since then a transcript, made by Laurence Nowell, of the mainly destroyed MS. C has been discovered. It is BM. Addit. MS. 43703, on which see R. Flower, 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxi (1935), pp. 54, 71 ff. I use my own collation of this transcript.
4. Miller, i, pp. lvii-lix.
5. See R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes* (Anglistische Forschungen 17), Heidelberg, 1906; F. Klaeber, 'Zur altenglischen Bedaübersetzung', *Anglia*, xxv (1902), pp. 257-315, xxvii (1904), pp. 243-82, 399-435; G. Scherer, *Zur Geographie und Chronologie des angelsächsischen Wortschatzes, im Anschluss an Bischof Werferths Übersetzung der 'Dialoge' Gregors*, Berlin, 1928; H. Rauh, *Der Wortschatz der altenglischen Übersetzungen des*

- Matthæus-Evangeliums*, Berlin, 1936; R. J. Menner, 'Vocabulary of the OE. Poems on Judgment Day', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, lxii (1947), pp. 583-97; idem, 'The Anglian Vocabulary of the *Blickling Homilies*' in *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, ed. T. A. Kirby and H. B. Woolf, Baltimore, 1949; J. J. Campbell, 'The Dialect Vocabulary of the OE. Bede', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, l (1951), pp. 349-72. Cf. also K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 89, 129. For the Anglian character of the accident see O. Eger, *Dialektisches in den Flexionsverhältnissen der angelsächsischen Bedäubersetzung*, Leipzig, 1910.
6. Certain words used in OE. Bede occur only in Mercian texts, but it must be remembered that there are no comparable Northumbrian texts until nearly a century later. The linguistic features of the archetype from which all extant manuscripts descend need more careful study, with due regard to the Nowell transcript and to the evidence of a connexion between MS. B and those of the other branch of manuscripts (see n. 22 *infra*). Yet it is clear that a Mercian *e* for *æ* has sometimes led later copyists into error, e.g. at Miller, 394. 28, where it must have been a form *lete* for *læte* 'late' which caused them to confuse it with the preterite of *lætan*, or at Miller 382. 6, where *bepinge* (T, B, for *bæpinge* = *fomentis*) leads to the error *bepenum* in C, O, and Ca. A sprinkling of examples of *ea* as back-mutation of *a* occurs in all manuscripts (lists are given by M. Deutschbein, 'Dialektisches in der ags. Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, xxvi (1901), pp. 227 f., and by F. Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxv, pp. 264 f.). The Nowell transcript supplies further examples, and shows how this feature could lead copyists into error; one may assume that it was a form *deagum* for *dagum* which lies behind the error *deaglum*. The archetype included features which differentiate it from the Mercian of the Vespasian Psalter, e.g. *user*, *usse*, &c., where the Psalter has *ur*, and unsmoothed forms like *deagum*, *heago*; *ðassum* for *ðissum* (a form recorded for northern texts) is shown to have occurred in the archetype by its presence in the Zupitza fragment (104. 12), in the original text of O (248. 3) and in T (422. 19). For other indications of a dialect not identical with that of the Psalter see Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxv, pp. 269 f., 297 f., 302, xxvii, pp. 262, 275, 401, 417, 427 f. It must also be borne in mind that the archetype was not the author's autograph (see n. 30 below).
 7. As by Schipper in the introduction to his edition. Its improbability was shown already by Binz when he reviewed this work in *Englische Studien*, xxvii (1900), pp. 122-4. It was a common practice in the later Anglo-Saxon period to turn Mercian writings into literary West Saxon, but not vice versa.
 8. See N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1957, p. 234.
 9. Deutschbein, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
 10. This is clearly shown by the almost identical translation of *candidi corporis, ac uenusti uultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia*. OE. Bede reads: *wæron hwites lichoman 7 fægres ondwlitan men 7 æðellice gefeaxe*; Ælfric has *gefexode*, but otherwise only spelling differences. Compare also *mercatoribus: cypemen* OE. Bede, *cypmenn* Ælfric; *pueros uenales: cypcneohas* OE. Bede, *cypcneohas* Ælfric; *adludens ad nomen ait: plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman 7 cwæð* OE. Bede, *gamenode mid his wordum to ðam naman 7 cwæð* Ælfric. Other

- agreements include the omission by both of the words: *tantaque gratia frontispicii mentem ab interna gratia uacuum gestat*. Ælfric uses the parts of this chapter which OE. Bede omits, but as far as this went he used it. Deutschein recognized this fact, but strangely concluded that for the parts not in OE. Bede he used a lost version by King Alfred. But if he had two Old English versions, why did he mention only one? For the parts not in OE. Bede he presumably went to the Latin text.
11. J. Schipper, *Die Geschichte und der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung über König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte* (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften, cxxxviii, Abhandlung vii, Wien, 1898), p. 8.
 12. S. M. Kuhn, 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xli (1947), pp. 168-76.
 13. There are extant examples of this type of glossing, but it cannot alone account for the use of tautological pairs of words. Many examples of these pairs occur in other works, e.g. in the *Cura Pastoralis*, while in Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, as in OE. Bede, they are so frequent that they are best regarded as a stylistic feature. On this matter, see P. Fijn van Draat, 'The Authorship of the Old English Bede. A Study in Rhythm', *Anglia*, xxxix (1916), pp. 319-46.
 14. The words *leoran* 'go', (*ge*)*frignan* 'ask', (*ge*)*cigan* 'call', *wise* 'thing', *intinga* 'cause', *gemet* 'manner', *nemne* 'unless', *gen*, *ge(o)nu* 'yet', *lytesne* 'almost' are alien to Alfred's usage, as are a great number of other words common in OE. Bede.
 15. H. Hecht, *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, v, Abt. 2), p. 23.
 16. I would now modify my statement in *After Bede* (Jarrow Lecture 1960), p. 11, that 'there can be no doubt' that the translation of Bede was part of the king's scheme.
 17. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 519A.
 18. Ælfric makes use of Bede's history in several other places, but nowhere else does he mention or make use of the vernacular version. Resemblances in his account of Drihthelm's vision (*Catholic Homilies*, ii, pp. 348 ff.), i.e. *saeculi curis absolutus; all weoruldþing forleorte* OE. Bede, *forlet ealle woruldþing* Ælfric; *calesierent et siccaerentur: gewermedon 7 adrugedon* OE. Bede, *wearmodon 7 adruwodon* Ælfric, are the obvious translations of the Latin. When Ælfric tells the story of Imma from H.E. iv. 22 in his *Catholic Homilies*, ii, pp. 356 ff., he mentions no English version, although in the same homily when he refers to Gregory's *Dialogues* he says this has been translated into English. I find no trace of his use of OE. Bede in this homily, nor in those on St. Alban (*Saints' Lives*, no. xix), St. Æthelthryth (ibid., no. xx) or St. Oswald (ibid., no. xxvi). It is perhaps useless to speculate on why he used OE. Bede only once. He may have had access to it only for a short time; he may, after using it once, have preferred to translate from the Latin himself; he may never have seen more than an extract from it. His words in the Gregory Homily: *seo foresæde boc nis eow eallum cuð, þeah ðe heo on Englisc awend sy*, may suggest that copies of OE. Bede were not easy to come by.
 19. *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1887), i, p. 132.
 20. See Miller, i, pp. lviii f. He also calls attention to Giraldus Cambrensis, who, in his *Descriptio Kambriæ*, book i, ch. 6, speaks of *omnes libros Anglicos*

Beda, Rabani, regis Aeluredi. Giraldus may have attributed the OE. Bede to Bede himself, or he may merely have had a vague idea that works written by Bede in English had survived.

21. Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

22. There are five manuscripts of the OE. Bede, in addition to three short extracts in Domitian ix, f. 11 (cited as Zupitza):

T = Tanner 10 in the Bodleian Library, of the first half of the tenth century;

B = Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 41, of the first half of the eleventh century;

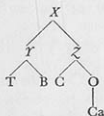
C = Cotton MS. Otho B xi + Otho B x, ff. 55, 58, 62 mainly of the mid tenth century, but with Bede's autobiographical note added some fifty years later;

O = Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 279, part ii, of the beginning of the eleventh century;

Ca = Cambridge University Library, Kk. 3. 18 of the second half of the eleventh century.

(For descriptions of these manuscripts see Ker, *op. cit.*, whose dating I have accepted.)

The current view of their relationship can be expressed as follows:



where *X* is the archetype, and *Y* and *Z* the postulated exemplars of the two branches. There were probably intervening stages. This scheme is true in outline, but it is far too simple. It fails to take into consideration signs of later contamination between the two branches. There are agreements in error between B and C, between B and O (and Ca), and between B and Ca where this differs from its exemplar O. But the arguments in this paper are not affected by this manuscript contamination.

23. A. S. Napier in 'Two Old English Fragments', *Modern Language Notes*, xii (1897), col. 106-14, mistakenly believes that Whelock was not referring to Tiberius A iii by the letter C, because where Ca allots a reign of *sixtyne winter* to Cuthred, Whelock gives *gear* as a C variant for *winter*, and Napier thought that the whole of the passage referring to Cuthred was missing from Tiberius A iii. This is not true. What is missing is the length of the preceding reign, and the mention of Cuthred's accession. The length of his reign is given as *7 heold xvi gear*. This explains Whelock's variant *gear*.

24. The figure was misread as 493 not only by Whelock, but by Nowell, who transcribed Tiberius A iii at the beginning of BM. Addit. MS. 43703, and by Napier in the article cited in the preceding note.

25. Nowell's transcript of C omits all the preliminary matter and begins with book i, 1.

26. In Tiberius A iii the list is continued to the reign of Edward the Martyr.

27. Yet one need not go all the way with J. W. Pearce, *Modern Language Notes*, vii, col. 105: 'Would it not have been passing strange if Alfred had

- translated anything at all, and had neglected the history of his own country?'
28. An example of this occurs in n. 47 *infra*.
29. See, e.g., J. W. Pearce, 'Did King Alfred translate the *Historia Ecclesiastica*?', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, viii (1893), Proceedings, pp. vi-xiii. The great measure of consistency in the rendering of Bede's terminology is an argument against multiple authorship. See n. 144 *infra*.
30. I append only a few examples of error common to all versions which cannot have originated from the translator himself: (i) Miller, 372. 11. All manuscripts read *beran* when either *feran* (sic Miller) or *leoran* (sic Klaeber) is required. Thus *ad eius uidendam gratiam simul transeamus ad caelos* has become *to heofenum beran his gife þær to geseonne*; (ii) 418. 9. *de milite factus . . . monachus* is rendered *wæs he ærest from cyninges þegn 7 þa wæs est munuc geworden*. Here *from* no doubt originally translated *de*, but was mistaken as the adjective *from* 'strong, brave' and the sentence then altered to fit this; (iii) 332. 17. The rendering of *coronam . . . aeternam* as *þone ecan sige* probably conceals an original *þone ecan bige*. For other examples see Miller's notes to 72. 14, 80. 33, 118. 31, and those in Klaeber, *op. cit.* to 100. 4, 118. 31, 190. 27, 268. 29, 384. 8. Whatever may have been the original reading at 400. 21, both branches of manuscripts would hardly have had an almost identical corrupt reading (*on eall ðone T, on eal þane C, &c.*) if the archetype had been correct.
31. Miller, 480. 20: *by stære Ongelþiode cirican on Brytene*.
32. H.E. ii. 19, iii. 4.
33. Germanus in H.E. i. 17-21, Columba and Ninian in H.E. iii. 4, Adamnan in H.E. v. 15. Adamnan's correction of the Easter observance of the churches of Ireland is mentioned in the list of chapters, but the chapter is not in the text. I hope to demonstrate elsewhere that the list of chapters was made to agree with the state of the OE. text by someone other than the translator. This person retains the heading of the missing chapter v, 15 but joins it to the heading of ch. 18, a fact which suggests that he was misled by a reference in ch. 18 to the correction of Easter observance into the belief that this was what the heading of ch. 15 referred to, though, in fact, it is Aldhelm's conversion of the British church which is dealt with in ch. 18.
34. H.E. ii. 4 (p. 88).
35. H.E. ii. 1.
36. H.E. v. 19 (pp. 327 f.).
37. H.E. v. 16, 17.
38. H.E. ii. 2.
39. H.E. ii. 4.
40. Ecgberht in H.E. v. 22, Aldhelm in H.E. v. 18, Ceolfrith in H.E. v. 21. An earlier, shorter passage on Ecgberht's conversion of Iona in H.E. iii. 4 is omitted, probably to avoid repetition.
41. H.E. ii. 19, v. 15.
42. H.E. iii. 3, 17. The mention of Aidan's unorthodoxy is included in the version of H.E. iii. 17 contained in the group of MSS. C, O, and Ca, but this version was not that of the translator, and for the purposes of this paper it can be ignored. I agree with S. Potter, *On the Relation of the Old English Bede to Werferth's Gregory and to Alfred's Translations* (*Mémoires de la Société*

- Royale des Sciences de Bohême. Classes des Lettres, 1930), pp. 30-33, and with J. J. Campbell, 'The OE. Bede: Book III, Chapters 16-20', *Modern Language Notes*, lxxvii (1952), pp. 381-6, that, where in book iii from the second part of ch. 16 to the end of ch. 20 there are two versions of the translation, the one in manuscripts T and B is the work of the original translator.
43. H.E. iii. 28 (p. 195).
 44. H.E. iii. 25, 26.
 45. H.E. v. 19: *detecta et eliminata, ut et supra docuimus, Scottorum secta*.
 46. H.E. iv. 2, Miller, 258. 8 f.
 47. H.E. iii. 28, Miller, 246. 29 f. When in the words which follow immediately Bede only says that, as the Catholic observance increased, the Scots dwelling among the English either conformed or returned home, the translator finds it necessary, since he has omitted the previous account of their false Easter, to say: 'the Scots who dwelt among the English and were opposed to the catholic doctrine both in the observance of the right Easter and in many other things.'
 48. H.E. v. 19 (p. 325), Miller, 456. 18-25.
 49. It is only in the version in MSS. C, O, Ca (see n. 42 *supra*) that one of Bede's passages of explanation is retained.
 50. Miller i, pp. lvii f.
 51. H.E. v. 9 (p. 297), Miller, 410. 20 f.
 52. H.E. iii. 3 (p. 132), Miller, 160. 2 ff.
 53. H.E. v. 9 (p. 297), Miller, 410. 23 f. Cf. *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. G. Herzfeld, p. 92: *pone nemnað Sceottas Columchille*.
 54. H.E. v. 23 (p. 351), Miller, 478. 33.
 55. H.E. i. 33, Miller, 92. 24 f.
 56. H.E. i. 1 (p. 13).
 57. H.E. i. 12 (p. 25).
 58. H.E. i. 5, iii. 2 (p. 129), iii. 3 (p. 132), ii. 2 (p. 84), v. 8 (p. 295), ii. 9 (p. 97).
 59. H.E. i. 25, Miller, 56. 27 ff.; H.E. ii. 3, Miller, 104. 16 ff.; H.E. ii. 16, Miller, 142. 32 f.; H.E. iv. 13, Miller, 300. 30 ff.; H.E. iv. 19 (p. 246), Miller, 324. 6 f.; H.E. iv. 26 (p. 267), Miller, 358. 20 ff.
 60. Many of the conclusions drawn by Miller in *Place Names in the English Bede* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte, lxxviii, Strassburg, 1896), regarding the localization both of the archetype and of individual manuscripts are no longer valid, since more work has been done on comparative sources and on OE. dialects. For my purpose only forms which appear to be in the archetype need be considered.
 61. Bede refers to Bamborough only as a royal town called after Queen Bebb; he uses only the adjective *Hagostaldensis* when speaking of Hexham, whereas the form in OE. Bede, *H(e)agost(e)aldes ea* has the support of the northern recension of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 681 E, 766 D, E) which did not use the OE. Bede; *Candida Casa* would not have been given as *æt hwitan ærne* without knowledge of the current name, for *casa* is otherwise always translated *hus*; with *Coludisbyrig*, *Coludesburg*, for Bede's *Coludanae urbis*, *Coludi urbem*, one may compare *Coludesburh* in the northern recension of the Chronicle, s.a. 679 E, F, and in the CCCC MS. 196 of the *Old English Martyrology*, p. 102.
 62. Hence its occurrence in the *Old English Martyrology*, a work whose composition may have been earlier than the translation of Bede.
 63. H.E. ii. 14, 20, iii. 14, Miller, 140. 19, 150. 28, 194. 18.

64. H.E. iii. 21 (p. 170), Miller, 222. 13.
65. See E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, Manchester, 1922, p. 79. Werferth in Gregory's *Dialogues* translates *caput caprae* as *buccan heafod* (ed. Hecht, p. 232).
66. H.E. ii. 14, iii. 24, Miller, 140. 25, 238. 8.
67. H.E. iv. 29, Miller, 370. 27. It is called *Luel* in the *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert*, and Bede in his prose *Life of St. Cuthbert* says: *ad Lugubaliam ciuitatem quae a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel uocatur*. See B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 116, 122, 124, 242.
68. H.E. ii. 14, Miller, 140. 21.
69. H.E. ii. 16, Miller, 144. 14.
70. H.E. iv. 13, Miller, 302. 6.
71. H.E. i. 25 (p. 45, n. 1), Miller, 56. 29, where B's reading *wantsama* corresponds with Tiberius C ii *uantsamu*. There is a lacuna in T.
72. H.E. i. 5.
73. H.E. iv. 13 (p. 232).
74. H.E. iii. 13 (p. 152).
75. H.E. iv. 2 (p. 204).
76. H.E. ii. 3, 7, 9, iii. 14, 27, v. 6, 8 (*bis*), 11.
77. H.E. i. 34, ii. 20.
78. H.E. ii. 14, v. 7.
79. H.E. ii. 3, Miller, 104. 12.
80. H.E. iv. 12, Miller, 298. 28.
81. See p. 17 *infra*.
82. H.E. i. 3.
83. H.E. ii. 14.
84. He omits those in H.E. ii. 4 (p. 88) and iv. 17 (p. 240). He retains the indiction in the acts of the synod of Hertford, H.E. iv. 5, Miller, 276. 15, and of the synod of Hatfield, H.E. iv. 17, Miller, 310. 17.
85. H.E. v. 23.
86. H.E. ii. 16 (p. 118), Miller, 144. 20.
87. H.E. v. 18, Miller, 446. 19.
88. Miller, 144. 9.
89. Cf. Miller, 216. 23, and also the rendering of *qui nunc usque superest* (H.E. iv. 31) as *cwæð, þæt he ða gena lifgende wære, þa he þis gewrit sette* (Miller, 378. 12 f.).
90. H.E. v. 11 (p. 303), Miller, 422. 16 ff.
91. H.E. v. 20 (p. 332), Miller, 466. 27 f.
92. H.E. v. 18 (p. 321), Miller, 448. 19 f. Note also that when in H.E. iv. 13 Bede says that Wilfrid's successors still hold Selsey, probably meaning that it was a family monastery, the translation says: *ðæt git to dæge his æfterfylgend bisceopas habbað 7 agon* (Miller, 304. 27 f.).
93. H.E. i. 15, iv. 16.
94. H.E. ii. 7.
95. H.E. iv. 5 (p. 216).
96. H.E. i. 7 (p. 21), Miller, 40. 27 ff.; H.E. iv. 3 (p. 212), Miller, 270. 31 ff.; H.E. iv. 19 (p. 246), Miller, 322. 35 f.; H.E. iv. 30, Miller, 378. 5 f.
97. H.E. iii. 8 (p. 144), Miller, 176. 20 f.; H.E. iii. 19 (p. 168), Miller, 218. 30 f.; H.E. v. 10 (p. 301), Miller, 418. 13 ff.
98. The translator replaces Bede's words *usque hodie* in H.E. iv. 6, which refer to the preservation of Eorcenwald's litter, by 'long afterwards' (Miller, 282. 3), probably because Bede said it was preserved by his disciples.

99. H.E. ii. 20 (p. 126), Miller, 150. 12 ff.
100. H.E. ii. 20, Miller, 150. 27 f.
101. H.E. iv. 22 (p. 250), Miller, 326. 26 f.
102. H.E. ii. 13 (p. 113), Miller, 138. 12 ff.
103. H.E. iii. 16, Miller, 202. 12 f.
104. H.E. ii. 16, Miller, 144. 4.
105. H.E. i. 15 (p. 31), Miller, 52. 11.
106. H.E. v. 8 (p. 294), Miller, 406. 24 f.: *in ðære alra ðara biscopa lichoman Contwara burge gesette seondon.*
107. Eadmer, the Christ Church historian, in his *Vita Bregwini (Anglia Sacra, ii, p. 186)*, says that Archbishop Cuthbert had a church built in honour of John the Baptist to the east of the main church, partly in order that the archbishops should be buried in it, abrogating the ancient custom of burying them in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, p. 15) tells a story that Cuthbert ordered his own illness to be kept quiet, so that when the monks of St. Peter and St. Paul came for his body, he had already been buried in his own church. More developed forms of this tale appear in later Canterbury writers, e.g. Gervase of Canterbury in his *Actus Pontificum (Opera, ed. W. Stubbs, ii, p. 345)*, and William Thorne in his *Chronica de rebus gestis abbatum S. Augustini Cantuarie* (ed. R. Twysden, *Scriptores Decem, ii, col. 1772 f.*, translated by A. H. Davis, *William Thorne's Chronicle*, pp. 26-28). The quarrel on other matters between the two houses in Lanfranc's time (on which see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 115 f.) would cause grievances to be revived or even invented, but as the tombs of the archbishops were identifiable, we can accept the claim that after Cuthbert, Jænberht was the only archbishop to be buried in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul.
108. *Annales Cambrie: Pasca commutatur apud Brittones . . . emendante Elbodugo homine Dei.* J. E. Lloyd in *A History of Wales* (3rd edit. i, p. 203) regards as a later invention the claim of the Gwentian Brut that South Wales did not yield without a conflict; and even in this, the dispute is not referred to after 809.
109. H.E. iv. 4, Miller, 274. 15 ff.
110. Bardney in H.E. iii. 11 (p. 148), Miller, 182. 15; Lastingham in H.E. iii. 23 (p. 176), iv. 3 (p. 206), v. 19 (p. 326), Miller, 232. 13 f., 260. 26 f., 458. 11; Whitby in H.E. iv. 23 (pp. 252, 254), Miller, 330. 28, 334. 5, 342. 1; Hackness in H.E. iv. 23 (pp. 257 f.), Miller, 338. 33, 342. 1.
111. H.E. iv. 3 (p. 207); Miller, 262. 9 f.
112. Though the chapters on Cuthbert's translation and miracles do not actually say that the body is still at Lindisfarne, this is implied by the retention in H.E. v. 1 of the statement that his successor Oidelwald 'is buried in St. Peter's church in Lindisfarne beside the bodies of the aforementioned bishops' (Miller, 386. 22 f.).
113. H.E. iv. 5 (p. 217), Miller, 280. 19 f.
114. One should compare the evidence of the *Liber Eliensis* which shows that a monastery could survive the Danish invasions and attract the benefactions of early Danish converts. See D. Whitelock, 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, xii (1941), p. 169.
115. H.E. iii. 29, Miller, 248. 17-27.
116. H.E. i. 29, Miller, 90. 4 ff.

117. See F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edit., Oxford, 1947), pp. 216, 223-7.
118. Best edition by E. Caspar, *Mon. Germ. Hist.: Epist. Karol. Aevi*, v, pp. 71 f.; translated by D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042*, pp. 811 ff.
119. It is far more probable that Alfred had been demanding more help from the church for the defence of his kingdom than it thought in accordance with its privileges.
120. G. F. Browne, *King Alfred's Books*, p. 204, suggested that the omissions in H.E. i. 29-32 were because Alfred did not wish to make known to the unlearned how far short of Gregory's forecast the development of bishoprics had been; or, alternatively, that these passages were regarded as only of antiquarian interest.
121. D. Whitelock, *op. cit.*, pp. 810 f.; Latin text in E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
122. This is from the letter cited above; see n. 118.
123. For some of the peculiarities of the C-type text see Plummer, *op. cit.* i, pp. xciv f., and for his comments on the OE. version see pp. cxxviii f. Many examples could be added to his list of agreements with Tiberius C ii. A close connexion is suggested by the name *Berhtuini*, Miller, 308. 1, for Professor Mynors has informed me that the other C-type texts, Kassel Landesbibliothek Theol. Q 2 and Hatton 43, do not share the Tiberius C ii reading *Berchtuuini*, but have that of other early manuscripts, *Bernuuini*; moreover the erroneous *per x et nouem annos* (Plummer, i, p. 201, n. 10) which is the source of *anes wonde twentig wintra*, Miller, 252. 9, occurs in Tiberius C ii, with *x et* on erasure, but not in other C-type MSS. Nevertheless, the manuscript used by the translator was free from many of the errors of Tiberius C ii. It had correctly *consonanter*, which is translated *geþwærellice*, Miller, 312. 2, when both Kassel and Hatton share the Tiberius error *constanter* (Plummer, i, p. 239, n. 9), and *quia liquido*, rendered *forþon hlutturlice*, Miller, 330. 24, when all these three manuscripts have the error *qui aliquando* (Plummer, i, p. 252, n. 1). With Kassel, it read *descendere*, rendered *astigan*, Miller, 270. 24, when Tiberius and Hatton have *descendentium* (Plummer, i, p. 211, n. 8); yet it agreed with Hatton in the correct reading *renitens*, rendered *widwinnende*, Miller, 368. 16, when Tiberius and Kassel have *paenitens* (Plummer, i, p. 272, n. 6). Hence it was a good text, but not superior in all respects to the common original of Tiberius C ii, Kassel and Hatton, and not siding consistently with any one of them. I am indebted to Professor Mynors for information on the Kassel and Hatton readings.
124. Miller, 2. 12 f.: *For þinre dearse 7 for þinre deode ic þis awrat; forþon ðe God to cyninge geceas, þe gedafenað þine þeode to læranne.*
125. *Anglia*, xxv, p. 264: 'Man kann sich in der that kaum des gedankens erwehren, daß diese fassung der stelle vom könig Ælfred inspiriert sei.'
126. See H. Hecht, *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, Einleitung* (1907), pp. 16 ff., where the use in H.E. ii. 7 and iv. 22 of *Dialogues*, i. 6 and iv. 57 is pointed out. The extent of the borrowing, however, is too slight for either translator to be likely to notice it.
127. *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, p. 417, ll. 19-36, should be compared with H.E. i. 27 (p. 61), Miller, 86. 25-34. Here again, neither translator need have noticed the connexion.

128. Bede's chapter on Caesar, H.E. i. 2, is missing from MS. B; a brief mention of the invasion is in Ca, and in Nowell's transcript of C. Since T is defective at the beginning, it is impossible to tell whether this sentence was added to the C, O and Ca branch, or whether B omitted it. Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, Oxford, 1902, p. 158, assumed the former alternative, and argued from the omission that Alfred had already translated Orosius.
129. Compare H.E. i. 1 (p. 12), Miller, 28. 30 ff., with *King Alfred's Orosius*, ed. H. Sweet, p. 24, ll. 17 ff. Other differences include the avoidance by the translator of Orosius of the erroneous translation of *creatus* as 'born' instead of 'created'; his tendency to use contemporary instead of Latin names of places; his form *Alrican* where OE. Bede retains *Alaricum*; and his addition of English inflexions to Latin nominatives. One small point of contact between the printed texts of OE. Bede and the *Orosius*, the form *Bellica* for *Belgica*, is not supported by the Nowell transcript of C, which has *Belgica*. It is only the late MSS. B and Ca which agree with the *Orosius*.
130. e.g. G. F. Browne, op. cit., p. 207, calls it 'curious', but considers that to explain it by the existence of translations of the *Dialogues* and the *Cura Pastoralis* would imply unfamiliarity with literary conditions of the time; P. G. Thomas, *English Literature before Chaucer*, London, 1924, p. 46, says it is 'still unexplained'; S. Potter, op. cit., pp. 11 f., suggests that the omission is from motives of literary economy, and that the passages where Bede's language is reminiscent of the Latin of Gregory's *Dialogues* were perhaps omitted because 'the translator saw no need to repeat what had already been given to the people in their birth tongue'.
131. This is the only verse passage of the original to be retained. The only omission relating to the English church is that of the passage on Gregory's joy at the conversion, and as in book i the translator has included the mention of letters and gifts sent by Gregory when he received the good news, he may have felt it redundant.
132. K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxix (1953), pp. 335 f.
133. H.E. i. 15 gives the line from Hengest back to Woden, ii. 5 that from Æthelberht I to Hengest.
134. See *supra*, pp. 65 f.
135. e.g. he omits the first reference to the conversion of the monks of Iona to the true Easter in H.E. ii. 4, since it is described in H.E. v. 22; he omits the quotation from Gregory's *Responsa* at the end of H.E. iv. 27, presumably because it occurs earlier in the work.
136. H.E. iii. 7 (p. 140), ASC 658.
137. H.E. v. 18, ASC 709.
138. H.E. ii. 5, ASC 827.
139. H.E. ii. 9.
140. H.E. iv. 16.
141. H.E. ii. 5 (p. 92).
142. On this see K. Sisam, op. cit., pp. 289, 291, 308 f., 323 ff., 328.
143. BM. Addit. MS. 23211, ed. H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, p. 179.
144. See H. R. Loyn, 'The Term *Ealdorman* in the Translations prepared at the Time of King Alfred', *English Historical Review*, lxxviii (1953), pp. 513-25, and 'Gesiths and Thegns in Anglo-Saxon England from the Seventh to the Tenth Century' *ibid.* lxx (1955), pp. 534-7. One should note also the

- consistent or almost consistent rendering of several Latin words, e.g., *celebrare* as *mærsian*, *congruus* as *gerisen*, *custodia* and *observatio* as *gehælde*, *eruditio* as *gelærednes*, *feruor* as *wylm*, *incuria* as *ungemen*, *industria* as *georn* (*fulnes*), *ingenium* as *gleawnes*, *operatio* as *wyrncnes*, *profanare* as *aidlian*, *ratio* as *riht*, *regimen* as *gerece*, &c. This list, which could be much longer, excludes renderings which on the evidence of Werferth's and Alfred's writings appeared to represent a fixed practice.
145. Glaring errors, like Miller, 152. 23 in *municipe þære byrig* for H.E. iii. 1 in *oppido municipio* (i.e. York), are not common. The word *tragicus* seems to have puzzled the translator, for in the same chapter he renders *tragica caede* as *on gelicnesse þæs traiscan wæles* (where in B *troianiscan* has been written above *traiscan*), and in H.E. iv. 16, where early manuscripts read *tragica caede*, but some later manuscripts *tragica caede*, we get *gelice þy troiscan* (sic T; *treiscan* B, *treoiescan* O and Nowell, *troiescan* Ca) *wæle* (Miller, 306. 20 f.). He occasionally chooses a wrong meaning of a word in its context, e.g. *persona* rendered *hæde*, Miller, 78. 28, when it means 'person', and *habitant* rendered *eardodon* when it means 'were situated', Miller, 120. 4. It is not always possible to distinguish between misunderstandings and deliberate alterations, but some examples of the former occur at Miller, 30. 4 ff., 74. 11 ff., 218. 15, 292. 19 f., 296. 26 f., 316. 4 f., 334. 7 f., 394. 23 ff., 468. 28.
146. The preface survives only in the late MSS. B and Ca of OE. Bede. Ca reads: *7 þurh Cædde þone arweorðan Myrcna bisceop 7 Cæddan ymbe Myrcna peode 7 Eastseaxena*; B reads: *7 ðurh Cædde þone arweorðan Myrcna bisceopes ymb Myrcna ðeode 7 Eastseaxena*. Since the Latin has *per ministerium Cæddi et Cædda religiosorum Christi sacerdotum*, it is possible that the original began: *7 þurh þegnunge Cæddes þæs arweorðan Myrcna bisceopes 7 Cæddan* and that an accidental omission of *þegnunge* led to the corruption of the whole passage. But it is also possible that the translator misunderstood the passage by failing to construe *per ministerium* with *ad fidem Christi . . . peruenerit*.
147. He omits the short second miracle in H.E. iv. 23 recording how the soul of St. Hilda was seen to ascend to heaven.
148. H.E. v. 2 (p. 284), Miller, 390. 6-11.
149. H.E. i. 27 (p. 51), Miller, 70. 21 ff.
150. H.E. i. 1 (p. 11), iv. 29 (p. 276), Miller, 26. 27, 374. 12.
151. H.E. iv. 24 (p. 261), Miller, 346. 7.
152. H.E. i. 27 (p. 61), Miller, 88. 16 f.
153. Miller, 92. 11.
154. H.E. v. 14, Miller, 442. 29 f.
155. H.E. i. 13, Miller, 48. 14.
156. H.E. iii. 8 (p. 144), Miller, 174. 30 ff.
157. H.E. iii. 27 (p. 191), Miller, 240. 20 f.
158. *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 39-43.
159. On the relation of Werferth's *Dialogues* to the OE. Bede see Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxvii, p. 264; Hecht, op. cit., *Einleitung*, pp. 122-6; P. Fijn van Draat, op. cit., pp. 319-46; S. Potter, op. cit. Professor Potter overstates the case for agreement when he says that 'no word has a consistently different rendering' in the two works (p. 19). Yet he does not claim identity of authorship. One should note the following differences. Werferth mistranslates *gratia* in the sense 'for the sake of' (e.g. *Dialogues*, 170. 1 f. *mid geneosunge gife* = *visitationis gratia*, cf. 75. 35 f.); the translator of Bede renders it correctly, *for intingan*. Werferth is puzzled by the expression (*quidam*

nostrī prouectōris aetatis, and puts (*ure freond*) *manige* (43. 27; the reviser corrects to *ure yltran freond*); it and the variant *aetate prouectae* appear in OE. Bede as *gelyfdre ylde* (Miller, 174. 1, 342. 20). On the other hand, Werferth understands the phrase *beatæ memoriæ*, which OE. Bede mistranslates up to H.E. iv. 19, where he says 'from the blessed memory of Pope Agatho' instead of 'from Pope Agatho of blessed memory' (Miller, 314. 11). There are also consistent differences of rendering. Werferth translates *rusticus* as *ceorl*, *ceorlice man* (and *verbo rustico* as *ceorliscum wordum*); OE. Bede as *folclic man* (*rustica loca* as *folcstowa*, *plebem rusticam*, as *ðæt ungelærede folc*); Werferth translates *barbarus* as *elreordig* 'of different speech' only once, when it refers to language, using otherwise *elpidodig*; OE. Bede always uses *elreordig*. *Per culpam incuriae* is *purh gymealasnesse* in Werferth, always *purh ungemenne synne* in OE. Bede. The latter translates *aptus* as *gepungen* when it refers to persons, *gescrepe* (a word not in Werferth) with reference to things, whereas Werferth uses *gecoplic* (a word not in OE. Bede). *Mons* is *mor* in OE. Bede, *munt* in Werferth; *verax* is *aruyrðe* or *soðfest* in OE. Bede, *soðsagol* in Werferth; and *devotus* is *wilsum* in OE. Bede, *estful* in Werferth. This list could be extended. Words common in OE. Bede but absent from Werferth include *instæpe* (*statim*, *confestim*, *extemplo*, *continuo*), *lytesne* (*pene*, *prope*), *swæsendu* (*prandium*, *epulae*, *dapes*, *caenum*, *esca*), *bensian* (*benedicere*), &c.; less common are *feoung* 'hatred', *gelis* as one rendering of *studium*, *risan* 'to seize', *hloþ* (*praeda*) and its derivative *hloþian*. Some of Werferth's words never occur in OE. Bede, e.g. *wenunga* 'perhaps', *wyrd* in the sense of 'deed', *ymbhogra* (*cura*, *negotium*), *teolone* or *teolung* (*studium*), *ymbhygdlic* (*sollicitus*), *arod*, *arodlice*, *arodness* (*promptus*, *constanter*, *instante*, *constantia*). Though one may expect an author to vary his vocabulary to some extent at different periods of his life, the cumulative evidence that Werferth did not translate OE. Bede is strong.

160. See n. 10 *supra*.

161. H.E. ii. 13 (p. 112), Miller, 134. 24-136. 5.

162. H.E. iii. 15, v. 1, Miller, 200. 9-19, 384. 19-386. 14.

163. Note for example: 7 *hine þider wel gescryple*, Miller, 454. 10 = *cunctis simul, quae necessitas posebat itineris, largiter ministratis*; and the replacement of the long clause, *Quae ne facile a quopiam posset contemni, in transgressores dignas et competentes punitiones proposuit*, by two words, *bi witerædenne*, Miller, 172. 9.

164. Klaeber, *op. cit.*, *Anglia*, xxv and xxvii, often calls attention to the use of words found mainly in poetry, e.g. *dogor*, *rodor*, from 'strong', *bestryðan* 'to heap up', *leod* 'man', *genge* 'effective', *uðgenge* 'fleeing', *til* 'good'. Some of these may have been current in the translator's dialect. In *Anglia*, xxvii, p. 256 he points out that *feorh(h)yrde* 'protector of life' occurs otherwise only in the poetic *Gloria*.

165. Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxvii, p. 433.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 257: 'Die kühne composition ist ganz im stil der Bedaübersetzung.'

167. The attempt of J. W. Pearce, 'Did King Alfred translate the *Historia Ecclesiastica*?', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, viii (1893), Proceedings, pp. vi-xiii, to distinguish different authors does not convince me.

168. On Alfred's connexion with the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* see S. Potter, *op. cit.*, and also *idem*, 'The Old English "Pastoral Care"',

Transactions of the Philological Society, 1947, pp. 114–25. In the former work, p. 52, he claims that it stands apart in style of translation from the *Orosius*, *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine, yet on p. 55 he allows some share to Alfred. Alfred's own words, as Professor Potter realizes, are unambiguous: after mentioning help from Plegmund, Asser, Grimbald, and John (three of them foreigners) the king says, 'I translated it into English'. There are in my opinion a number of agreements in vocabulary and stylistic features between this work and the *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies* to prove that this was no empty boast.

169. As this feature has often been demonstrated from the *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies*, I confine my examples to the *Cura Pastoralis*. For the expansion of similes, compare *ut ad lectoris sui animum ordinatis allegationibus quasi quibusdam passibus gradiatur* with *ðætte ðeos spræc stigge on ðæt ingeðonc ðæs leorneres, suæ suæ on sume hlædre, stæpmælum near 7 near, oððæt hio fæstlice gestonde on ðæm solore ðæs modes ðe hi leornige* (ed. Sweet, p. 23); or note how Gregory's comparison of the mind with a ship going upstream, which *uno in loco nequaquam stare permittitur, quia ad ima relabitur, nisi ad summa conetur*, is spun out to *Ðæt scip wile hwilum stigan ongean ðone stream, ac hit ne mæg, buton ða rouend hit teon, ac hit sceal fleotan mid ðy streame; ne mæg hit no stille gestondan, buton hit ankor gehæbbe, oððe mon mid roðrum ongean tio; elles hit gelent mid ðy streame* (p. 445). Concrete illustrations are added, e.g. where Gregory speaks of the surface and depths of the mind, this is rendered the rind and the pith (p. 55); St. Paul, cultivating the vineyard of the church, is compared to the *ceorl* in his orchard (p. 293); and *praeconis officium* is defined as *friccan scire 7 foreryneles ða her iernað beforan kyningum, 7 bodigeað hira færelt 7 hiera willan hlydende (sic)* (p. 91). On pp. 121 f. the parable of the wicked servant (Matthew xxiv, 48 ff.) is expanded with four lines to point a contemporary moral. There are places in Bede which would have lent themselves to this type of expansion, but the opportunity is not taken. On the differences in rhythm between the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* and that of the *Dialogues* and of Bede, see P. Fijn van Draat, *op. cit.*, pp. 321 ff.
170. This single leaf, first published by J. Zupitza, 'Drei alte Excerpte aus Ælfreds Beda', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxx (1886), pp. 185 f., has on its recto the last two statutes of the synod of Hertford (Miller, 278. 28–280. 6), the beginning of H.E. i. 27, mentioning Augustine's consecration in Arles and his return to Britain (Miller, 62. 26–30), and the beginning of H.E. ii. 3, which describes his consecration of Mellitus to London and Justus to Rochester, altered to confine it to Mellitus (Miller, 104. 12–19). These excerpts may have been made at Canterbury, or London. Ker, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 f., dates it 's.x in.'