The Representation of the Book in the Visual and Textual Culture of Southern Anglo-Saxon England: mid-ninth to mid-eleventh centuries

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Appendix 1: Texts and Translations of Key Sources: Chapter One

§1.1) The Prose Preface to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Sweet, ed. *Pastoral Care,* 3-9)

ÐEOS BOC SCEAL TO WIOGORA CEASTRE

Ælfred kyning hateð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice & freondlice; & ðe cyðan hate ðæt me com swiðe oft on gemynd, hwelce wiotan iu wæron giond Angelcynn, ægðer ge godcundra hada ge worul[d]cundra; & hu gesæliglica tida ða wæron giond Angelcynn; & hu ða kyningas ðe ðone onwald hæfdon ðæs folces [on ðam dagum] Gode & his ærendwrecum hersumedon; & hie ægðer ge hiora sibbe ge hiora siodo ge hiora onweald innanbordes gehioldon, & eac ut hiora eðel gerymdon; & hu him ða speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdome; & eac ða godcundan hadas hu giorne hie wæron ægðer ge ymb lare ge ymb liornunga, ge ymb ealle ða ðiowotdomas ðe hie Gode [don] scoldon; & hu man utanbordes wisdom & lare hieden on lond sohte, & hu we hie nu sceoldon ute begietan gif we hie habban sceoldon. Swæ clæne hio wæs oðfeallenu on Angelcynne ðæt swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hiora ðeninga cuðen understondan on Englisc, oððe furðum an ærendgewrit of Lædene on Englisc areccean; & ic wene ðæt[te] noht monige begiondan Humbre næren. Swæ feawa hiora wæron ðæt ic furðum anne anlepne ne mæg geðencean besuðan Temese ða ða ic to rice feng. Gode ælmihtegum sie ðonc ðæt[te] we nu ænigne on stal habbað lareowa. & forðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu do swæ ic geliefe ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm geæmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God sealde ðær ðær ðu hiene befæstan mæge, befæste. Geðenc hwelc witu us ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum monnu*m* ne lefdon: ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt[te] we Cristne wæren, & swiðe feawe ða ðeawas.

Ða ic ða ðis eall gemunde ða gemunde ic eac hu ic geseah, ærðæmðe hit eall forhergod wære & forbærned, hu ða ciricean giond eall Angelcynn stodon maðma & boca gefyldæ ond eac micel men[i]geo Godes ðiowa & ða swiðe lytle fiorme ðara boca wiston, forðæmðe hie hiora nan wuht ongiotan ne meahton forðæmðe hie næron on hiora agen geðiode awritene. Swelce hie cwæden: Ure ieldran, ða ðe ðas stowa ær hioldon, hie lufodon wisdom & ðurh ðone hie begeaton welan & us læfdon. Her mon mæg giet gesion hiora swæð, ac we him ne cunnon æfterspyrigean, & forðæm we habbað nu ægðer forlæten ge ðone welan ge ðone wisdom, forðæmðe we noldon to ðæm spore mid ure mode onlutan.

Ða ic ða ðis eall gemunde, ða wundrade ic swiðe swiðe ðara godena wiotona ðe giu wæron giond Angelcynn, & ða bec eallæ befullan geliornod hæfdon, ðæt hie hiora ða nænne dæl noldon on hiora agen geðiode wendan. Ac ic ða sona eft me selfum andwyrde & cwæð:

§1.1) Preface to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Keynes and Lapidge, eds., *Alfred the Great,* 124-6):

[THIS BOOK IS FOR WORCESTER]

King Alfred sends words of greeting lovingly and amicably to [Wærferth]. And I would have it known that very often it has come to my mind what men of learning there were formerly throughout England, both in religious and secular orders; and how there were happy times then throughout England; and how the kings, who had authority over this people, obeyed God and his messengers; and how they not only maintained their peace, morality and authority at home but also extended their territory outside; and how they succeeded both in warfare and in wisdom; and also how eager were the religious orders both in teaching and in learning as well as in all the holy services which it was their duty to perform for God; and how people from abroad sought wisdom and instruction in this country; and how nowadays, if we wished to acquire these things, we would have to seek them outside. Learning had declined so thoroughly in England that there were very few men on this side of the Humber who could understand their divine services in English, or even translate a single letter from Latin into English; and I suppose that there were not many beyond the Humber either. There were so few of them that I cannot recollect even a single one south of the Thames when I succeeded to the kingdom. Thanks be to God Almighty that we now have any supply of teachers at all! Therefore I beseech you to do as I believe you *are* willing to do: as often as you can, free yourself from worldly affairs so that you may apply that wisdom which God gave you wherever you can. Remember what punishments befell us in this world when we ourselves did not cherish learning nor transmit it to other men. We were Christians in name alone, and very few of us possessed Christian virtues.

When I reflected on all this, I recollected how – before everything was ransacked and burned – the churches throughout England stood filled with treasures and books. Similarly, there was a great multitude of those serving God. And they derived very little benefit from those books, because they could understand nothing of them, since they were not written in their own language. It is as if they had said: 'Our ancestors, who formerly maintained these places, loved wisdom, and through it they obtained wealth and passed it on to us. Here one can still see their track, but we cannot follow it'. Therefore we have now lost the wealth as well as the wisdom, because we did not wish to set our minds to the track.

When I reflected on all this, I wondered exceedingly why the good, wise men who were formerly found throughout England and had thoroughly studied all those books, did not wish

Hie ne wendon ðætt[e] æfre menn sceolden swæ re[c]celease weorðan & sio lar swæ oðfeallan; for ðære wilnunga hie hit forleton, & woldon ðæt her ðy mara wisdom on londe wære ðy we ma geðeoda cuðon. Ða gemunde ic hu sio æ wæs ærest on Ebr[e]isc geðiode funden, & eft, ða hie Creacas geliornodon, ða wendon hie hie on hiora agen geðiode ealle, & eac ealle oðre bec & eft Lædenware swæ same, siððan hie hie geliornodon, hie hie wendon eall[a] ðurh wise wealhstodas on hiora agen geðiode. Ond eac ealla oðræ Cristnæ ðioda summe dæl hiora on hiora agen geðiode wendon. Forðy me ðyncð betre, gif iow swæ ðyncð, ðæt we eac sumæ bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne, ðæt we ða on ðæt geðiode wenden ðe we ealle gecnawan mægen, & ge don swæ we swiðe eaðe magon mid Godes fultume, gif we ða stilnesse habbað, ðæt[te] eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste, ða hwile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit arædan: lære mon siððan furður on Lædengeðiode ða ðe mon furðor læran wille & to hieran hade don wille.

Ða ic ða gemunde hu sio lar Lædengeðiodes ær ðissum afeallen wæs giond Angelcynn, & ðeah monige cuðon Englisc gewrit arædan, ða ongan ic ongemang oðrum mislicum & manigfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc wendan on Englisc ðe is genemned on Læden Pastoralis, & on Englisc Hierdeboc, hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgi[e]te, swæ swæ ic hie geliornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscepe & æt Assere minum biscepe & æt Grimbolde minum mæsseprioste & æt Iohanne minum mæssepreoste. Siððan ic hie ða geliornod hæfde, swæ swæ ic hie forstod, & swæ ic hie andgitfullicost areccean meahte, ic hie on Englisc awende; ond to ælcum biscepstole on minum rice wille ane onsendan; & on ælcre bið an æstel, se bið on fiftegum mancessa. Ond ic bebiode on Godes naman ðæt nan mon ðone æstel from ðære bec ne do, ne ða boc from ðæm mynstre: uncuð hu longe ðær swæ gelærede biscepas sien, swæ swæ nu Gode ðonc wel hwær siendon; forðy ic wolde ðæt[te] hie ealneg æt ðære stowe wæren, buton se biscep hie mid him habban wille oððe hio hwær to læne sie, oððe hwa oðre biwrite.

to translate any part of them into their own language. But I immediately answered myself, and said: 'They did not think that men would ever become so careless and that learning would decay like this; they refrained from doing it through this resolve, namely they wished that the more languages we knew, the greater would be the wisdom in this land'. Then I recalled how the Law was first composed in the Hebrew language, and thereafter, when the Greeks learned it, they translated it all into their own language, and all other books as well. And so too the Romans, after they had mastered them, translated them all through learned interpreters into their own language. Similarly all the other Christian peoples turned some part of them into their own language. Therefore it seems better to me – if it seems so to you – that we too should turn into the language that we can all understand certain books which are the most necessary for all men to know, and accomplish this, as with God's help we may very easily do provided we have peace enough, so that all the free-born young men now in England who have the means to apply themselves to it, may be set to learning (as long as they are not useful for some other employment) until the time that they can read English writings properly. Thereafter one may instruct in Latin those whom one wishes to teach further and wishes to advance in holy orders.

When I recalled how knowledge of Latin had previously decayed throughout England, and yet many could still read things written in English, I then began, amidst the various and multifarious afflictions of this kingdom, to translate into English the book which in Latin is called *Pastoralis,* in English 'Shepherd-book', sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, as I learnt it from Plegmund my archbishop, and from Asser my bishop, and from Grimbald my mass-priest and from John my mass-priest. After I had mastered it, I translated it into English as best I understood it and as I could most meaningfully render it; I intend to send a copy to each bishopric in my kingdom; and in each copy there will be an *æstel* worthy fifty mancuses. And in God's name I command that no one shall take the *æstel* from the book, nor the book from the church. It is not known how long there shall be such learned bishops as, thanks be to God, there are now nearly everywhere. Therefore I would wish that they [the book and the *æstel*] always remain in place, unless the bishop wishes to have the book with him, or it is on loan somewhere, or someone is copying it.

§1.2) The Verse Preface to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Sweet, ed., *Pastoral Care,* 8-9)

Þis ærendgewrit
ofer sealtne sæ
iegbuendum,
adihtode
Rome papa.
Gregorius
ðurh sefan snyttro,
Forðæm he monncynnes
rodra wearde,
monna modwelegost
Siððan min on Englisc
awende worda gehwelc,
sende suð & norð;
brengan bi ðære bisene,
sendan meahte,
ða ðe Lædenspræce

Agustinus
suðan brohte
swa hit ær fore
dryhtnes cempa
Ryhtspell monig
gleawmod gindwod
searoðonca hord.
mæst gestriende
Romwara betest,
mæðum gefrægost.
Ælfred kyning
& me his writerum
heht him swelcra ma
ðæt he his biscepum
forðæm hi his sume ðorfton,
læste cuðon.

§1.2) The Verse Preface to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Godden and Irvine, eds. and trans., *Old English Boethius*, 408-9):

> St. Augustine brought this message from the south over the salt sea to the island-dwellers, just as the Lord's champion, the pope at Rome, had previously composed it. The wise Gregory explored many true texts thoroughly through his mind's intelligence, his hoard of clever thoughts. Therefore he, best of all Romans, most wealthy in mind amongst men, most renowned for his glorious deeds, won the greatest number of humankind for the guardian of heaven. Afterwards King Alfred translated every word of me into English and sent me south and north to his scribes; he ordered them to produce more such copies according to the exemplar, so that he could send them to his bishops, because some of them who knew very little Latin needed it.

§1.3) The Epilogue to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Sweet, ed., *Pastoral Care,* 467-9)

Ðis is nu se wæterscipe, ðe us wereda God
to frofre gehet foldbuendum.
He cwæð ðæt he wolde ðæt on worulde forð
of ðæm innoðum a libbendu
wætru fleowen, ðe wel on hine
gelifden under lyfte. Is hit lytel tweo
ðæt ðæs wæterscipes welsprynge is
on hefonrice; ðæt is Halig Gæst.
Ðonan hine hlodan halge & gecorene,
siððan hine gierdon ða ðe Gode herdon
ðurh halga(n) bec hider on eorðan
geond manna mod missenlice.
Sume hine weriað on gewitlocan,
wisdomes stream, welerum gehæftað,
ðæt he on unnyt ut ne tofloweð.
Ac se wæl wunað on weres breostum
ðurh Dryhtnes giefe diop & stille.
Sume hine lætað ofer landscare
riðum torinnan. Nis ðæt rædlic ðing,
gif swa hlutor wæter hlud & undiop
tofloweð æfter feldum, oð hit to fenne werð.
Ac hladað iow nu drincan, nu iow Dryhten geaf
ðæt iow Gregorius gegiered hafað
to durum iowrum Dryhtnes welle.
Fylle nu his fætels, se ðe fæstne hider
kylle brohte. Cume eft hræðe,
gif her ðegna hwelc ðyrelne kylle
brohte to ðys burnan, bete hine georne,
ðylæs he forsceade scirost wætra,
oððe him lifes drync forloren weorðe.

§1.3) The Epilogue to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Godden and Irvine, eds. and trans., *Old English Boethius,* 410-13):

> This is now the body of water which the God of hosts promised for the comfort of us as earth-dwellers. He said that he wished ever-living waters to flow continually in the world from the hearts of those under the sky who fully believed in him. There is little doubt that the source of the body of water is in the kingdom of heaven, that is, the holy ghost. From there saints and the elect drew it; then they, being obedient to God, directed it by means of holy books here on earth in various ways through the minds of men. Some guard the stream of wisdom within their minds, keep it captive with their lips, so that it does not flow away useless, but the pool remains deep and still in the man's breast through the Lord's grace. Some let it run away over the land in small streams. It is not advisable for clear water thus to flow away loud and shallow across the plains until it becomes a marsh. But draw yourselves water to drink, now that the Lord has granted you that Gregory has directed the Lord's stream to your doors. He who has brought here a watertight pitcher may now fill his vessel, and may come back quickly. If any man has brought here a leaky pitcher to this stream, let him repair it speedily, so that he may avoid spilling the clearest of waters or losing the drink of life.

§1.4) The Preface to Alfred's *Soliloquies* (Carnicelli, ed., *Soliloquies,* 47-8)

Gaderode me þonne kigclas, and stuþansceaftas, and lohsceaftas, and hylfa to ælcum þara tola þe ic mid wircan cuðe, and bohtimbru and bolttimbru, and, to ælcum þara weorca þe ic wyrcan cuðe, þa wlitegostan treowo be þam dele ðe ic aberan meihte. Ne com ic naþer mid anre byrðene ham, þe me ne lyste ealne þane wudu ham brengan, gif ic hyne ealne aberan meihte. On ælcum treowo ic geseah hwæthwugu þæs þe ic æt ham beþorfte. Forþam ic lære ælcne ðara þe maga si and manigne wæn hæbbe, þæt he menige to þam ilcan wuda þar ic ðas stuðansceaftas cearf, fetige hym þar ma, and gefeðrige hys wænas mid fegrum gerdum, þat he mage windan manigne smicerne wah, and manig ænlic hus settan and fegerne tun timbrian and þær murge and softe mid mæge on-eardian ægðer ge wintras ge sumeras, swa swa ic nu ne gyt ne dyde. Ac se þe me lærde, þam se wudu licode, se mæg gedon þæt ic softor eardian (mæge) ægðer ge on þisum lænan stoclife be þis wæge ða while þe ic on þisse weorulde beo, geo eac on þam ecan hame ðe he us gehaten hefð þurh sanctus Augustinus and sanctus Gregorius and Sanctus Ieronimus, and þurh manege oððre halie fædras; swa ic gelyfe eac þæt he gedo for heora ealra earnunge ægðer ge þisne weig gelimpfulran gedo þonne he ær þissum wes, ge huru mines modes eagan to þam ongelihte þæt ic mage rihtne weig aredian to þam ecan hame, and to þam ecan are, and to þare ecan reste, þe us gehaten is þurh þa halgan fæderas. Sie swa.

Nis hit nan wundor þeah man swilc ontimber gewirce eac on þa(ra) lade and eac on þære bytlinge; ac ælcne man lyst, siððan he ænig cotlyf on his hlafordes læne myd his fultume getimbred hæfð, þæt he hine mote hwilum þar-on gerestan, and huntigan, and fuglian, and fiscian, and his on gehwilce wisan to þere lænan tilian, ægþær ge on se ge on lande, oð þone fyrst þe he bocland and æce yrfe þurh his hlafordes miltse geearnige. Swa gedo se weliga gifola, se ðe egðer wilt ge þissa lænena stoclife ge þara ecena hama. Se ðe ægþer gescop and ægðeres wilt, forgife me þæt me to ægðrum onhagige, ge her nytwyrde to beonne, ge huru þider to cumane.

Agustinus, Cartaina bisceop, worhte twa bec be his agnum ingeþance; þa bec sint gehatene *Soliloquiorum,* þæt is, be hys modis smeaunge and tweounga; hu hys gesceadwisnes answarode hys mode þonne þæt mod ymbe hwæt tweonode, oðþe hit hwæs wilnode to witanne þæs þe hit ær for sweotole ongytan ne meahte.

§1.4) The Preface to Alfred's *Soliloquies* (Keynes and Lapidge, eds, *Alfred the Great,* 138-9):

[...] I then gathered for myself staves and props and tie-shafts, and handles for each of the tools that I knew how to work with, and cross-bars and beams, and, for each of the structures which I knew how to build, the finest timbers I could carry. I never came away with a single load without wishing to bring home the whole of the forest, if I could have carried it all – in every tree I saw something for which I had a need at home. Accordingly, I would advise everyone who is strong and has many wagons to direct his steps to that same forest where I cut these props, and to fetch more for himself and to load his wagons with well-cut staves, so that he may weave many elegant walls and put up many splendid houses and so build a fine homestead, and there may live pleasantly and in tranquility both in winter and summer – as. I have not yet done! But He who instructed me, to whom the forest was pleasing, may bring it about that I may abide more comfortably both in this temporary dwelling by this road as long as I am in this life, and also in the eternal home that He has promised us through the writings of St Augustine and St Gregory and St Jerome, and through many other holy fathers: as I believe He will, through the merits of all these saints, both make this present road easier than it was before, and in particular will illuminate the eyes of my mind so that I can discover the most direct way to the eternal home and to eternal glory and to the eternal rest which is promised to us through those holy fathers. So may it be!

Nor is it any wonder that a man should work with such materials, both in transporting them and in building with them; but every man, when he has built a hamlet on land leased to him by his lord and with his lord's help, likes to stay there some time, and go hunting, fowling and fishing; and to employ himself in every way on that leased land, both on sea and land, until the time when he shall deserve bookland and a perpetual inheritance through his lord's kindness. May the bounteous benefactor, who rules both these temporary habitations as well as those eternal abodes, so grant! May He who created both and rules over both grant that I be fit for both: both to be useful here and likewise to arrive there.

St. Augustine, bishop of Carthage [*recte* Hippo], produced two books through his own meditations; these books are called *Soliloquia,* that is, they concern the reflections and doubts of his mind, how his reason answered his mind when his mind was in doubt about something or wished to know something which previously it had been unable to comprehend clearly.

§1.5.1) Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* (Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life,* 19-22) [Chapters 22-25]

Nam, cum communi et ingenti patris sui et matris amore supra omnes fratres suos, immo ab omnibus, nimium diligeretur, et in regio semper curto inseparabiliter nutriretur, accrescente infantili et puerili aetate, forma ceteris *suis* fratribus decentior videbatur, vultuque et verbis atque moribus gratiosior. *Cui ab incunabulis ante omnia et cum omnibus praesentis vitae studiis, sapientiae desiderium cum nobilitate generis, nobilis mentis ingenium supplevit;* sed, proh dolor! *indigna* suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria usque ad duodecimum aetatis annum, *aut eo amplius,* illiteratus permansit. *Sed* Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor, relatu aliorum saepissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat. In omni venatoria arte *industrius venator incessabiliter laborat non in vanum; nam* incomparabilis omnibus peritia et felicitate *in illa arte,* sicut et in ceteris omnibus Dei donis, fuit, *sicut et nos saepissime vidimus*.

Cum ergo quodam die mater sua sibi et fratribus suis quendam Saxonicum poematicae artis librum, quem in manu habebat, ostenderet, ait: 'Quisquis vestrum discere citius istum codicem possit, dabo illi illum'. Qua voce, immo divina inspiratione, instinctus < Ælfredus>, et pulchritudine principalis litterae illius libri illectus, ita matri respondens, *et fratres suos aetate, quamvis non gratia, seniores anticipans,* inquit: 'Verene dabis istum librum uni ex nobis, scilicet illi, qui citissime intelligere et recitare *eum* ante te possit?' Ad haec illa, arridens *et gaudens atque affirmans*: 'Dabo', infit, 'illi'. Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua, magistrum adiit et legit. Quo lecto, matri retulit et recitavit.

Post haec cursum diurnum, *id est celebrationes horarum, ac deinde* psalmos quosdam et orationis multas <didicit>.; quos in uno libro congregatos in sinu suo die noctuque, *sicut ipsi vidimus, secum inseparabiliter,* orationis gratia, inter omnia praesentis vitae curricula ubique circumducebat. Sed, proh dolor! quod maxime desiderabat, liberalem scilicet artem, desiderio suo non suppetebat, eo quod, *ut loquebatur,* illo tempore lectores boni in toto regno Occidentalium Saxonum non erant.

Quod maximum inter omnia praesentis vitae suae impedimenta et dispendia crebris querelis et intimis cordis sui suspiriis fieri affirmabat: id est, eo quod illo tempore, quando aetatem et licentiam atque suppetentiam discendi habebat, magistros non habuerat; quando vero et aetate erat provectior et incessabilius die noctuque, immo omnibus istius insulae medicis incognitis infirmitatibus, internisque atque externis regiae potestatis sollicitudinibus, necnon et paganorum terra marique infestationibus occupatus, immo etiam perturbatus,

§1.5.1) Asser's *Vita Alfredi* (Keynes and Lapidge, eds., *Alfred the Great,* 74-6) [Ch. 22-25]:

Now, he was greatly loved, more than all his brothers, by his father and mother – indeed, by everybody – with a universal and profound love, and he was always brought up in the royal court and nowhere else. As he passed through infancy and boyhood he was seen to be more comely in appearance than his other brothers, and more pleasing in manner, speech and behaviour. From the cradle onwards, in spite of all the demands of the present life, it has been the desire for wisdom, more than anything else, together with the nobility of his birth, which have characterized the nature of his noble mind; but alas, by the shameful negligence of his parents and tutors he remained ignorant of letters until his twelfth year, or even longer. However, he was a careful listener, by day and night, to English poems, most frequently hearing them recited by others, and he readily retained them in his memory. An enthusiastic huntsman, he strives continually in every branch of hunting, and not in vain; for no one else could approach him in skill and success in that activity, just as in all other gifts of God, as I have so often seen for myself.

One day, therefore, when his mother was showing him and his brothers a book of English poetry which she held in her hand, she said: 'I shall give this book to whichever one of you can learn it the fastest'. Spurred on by these words, or rather by divine inspiration, and attracted by the beauty of the initial letter in the book, Alfred spoke as follows in reply to his mother, forestalling his brothers (ahead in years, though not in ability): 'Will you really give this book to the one of us who can understand it the soonest and recite it to you?' Whereupon, smiling with pleasure, she reassured him, saying: 'Yes, I will'. He immediately took the book from her hand, went to his teacher and learnt it. When it was learnt, he took it back to his mother and recited it.

After this he learnt the 'daily round', that is, the services of the hours, and then certain psalms and many prayers; these he collected in a single book, which he kept by him day and night, as I have seen for myself; amid all the affairs of the present life he took it around with him everywhere for the sake of prayer, and was inseparable from it. But alas, he could not satisfy his craving for what he desired the most, namely the liberal arts; for, as he used to say, there were no good scholars in the entire kingdom of the West Saxons at that time.

He used to affirm, with repeated complaints and sighing from the depths of his heart, that among all the difficulties and burdens of his present life this had become the greatest: namely, that at the time when he was of the right age and had the leisure and the capacity for

magistros et scriptores aliquantula ex parte habebat, legere ut non poterat. Sed tamen inter praesentis vitae impedimenta ab infantia usque ad praesentem diem [et, ut credo, usque ad obitum vitae suae] in eodem insaturabili desiderio, sicut nec ante destituit, ita nec etiam adhuc inhiare desinit.

learning, he did not have the teachers. For when he was older, and more incessantly preoccupied by day and night with – or rather harassed by – all kinds of illnesses unknown to the physicians of this island, as well as by the cares (both domestic and foreign) of the royal office, and also by the incursions of the Vikings by land and sea, he had the teachers and scribes to some small extent, but he was unable to study. Nevertheless, just as he did not previously desist from the same insatiable desire, among the difficulties of the present life, from infancy right up to the present day (and will not, I dare say, to the end of his life), so too he does not yet cease to yearn for it.

§1.5.2) Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* (Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life,* 59-62) [Chapter 76]

Interea tamen rex, inter bella et praesentis vitae frequentia impedimenta, necnon paganorum infestationes et cotidianas corporis infirmitates, *et* regni gubernacula regere, *et* omnem venandi artem agere, aurifices et artifices suos omnes *et* falconarios *et* accipitrarios canicularios quoque docere, *et* aedifica supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem venerabiliora et pretiosiora nova sua machinatione facere, *et* Saxonicos libros recitare, et maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere, aliis imperare, *et* solus assidue pro viribus *studiosissime* non desinebat. *Divina quoque ministeria* et missam *scilicet* cotidie audire, psalmos quosdam et orationes *et* horas diurnas et nocturnas celebrare, et ecclesias nocturno tempore, *ut diximus,* orandi causa clam a suis adire solebat et frequentabat. Eleemosynarum quoque *studio et largitati indigenis et advenis omnium gentium, ac maxima et incomparabili contra omnes homines* affabilitate atque iocunditate, *et* ignotarumr rerum investigationi solerter *se iungebat.* Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli, pagani, Britones, et Scotti, Armorici sponte se suo dominio subdiderant, nobiles scilicet et ignobiles; quos omnes, sicut suam propriam gentem, secundum suam dignitatem regebat, diligebat, honorabat, pecunia et potestate ditabat. *Divinam quoque scripturam a recitantibus indigenis, aut etiam, si casu quodam aliunde adveniret, cum alienigenis pariter preces audire sedulus et sollicitus solebat.* Episcopos quoque suos et omnem ecclesiasticum ordinem, comites ac nobiles suos, ministeriales etiam et omnes familiars admirabili amore diligebat. Filios quoque eorum, qui in regali familia nutriebantur, non minus propriis diligens, omnibus bonis moribus instituere et literis imbuere solus die noctuque inter cetera non desinebat.

Sed quasi nullam in his omnibus consolationem haberet, et nullam aliam intrinsecus et extrinsecus perturbationem pateretur, ita tamen cotidiana et nocturna anxius tristitia ad Dominum et ad omnes, qui sibi familiari dilectione adsciti forent, querelaretur et assiduo gemebat suspirio, eo quod Deus Omnipotens eum expertem divinae sapientiae et liberalium artium fecisset: in hoc pium et opinatissimum atque opulentissimum Salomonem Hebraerorum regem aequiparans, qui primitus, despecta omni praesenti gloria et divitiis, sapientiam a Deo deposcit, et etiam utramque invenit, sapientiam scilicet et praesentem gloriam, sicut scriptum est, 'Quaerite ergo primum regnum Dei et institiam eius, et haec omnia praestabuntur vobis'. Sed Deus, Qui est semper inspector internarum mentium, meditationum et omnium bonarum voluntatum instigator, necnon etiam, ut habeantur bona desiderata, largissimus administrator, neque enim unquam aliquem bene velle instigaret, nisi et hoc, quod bene et iuste quisque habere desiderat, largiter administraret, instigavit mentem eius interius, non extrinsecus: sicut

§1.5.2) Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* (Keynes and Lapidge, eds., *Alfred the Great,* 91-2) [Chapter 76]:

Meanwhile the king, amidst the wars and the numerous interruptions of this present life – not to mention the Viking attacks and his continual bodily infirmities – did not refrain from directing the government of his kingdom; pursuing all manner of hunting; giving instruction to all his goldsmiths and craftsmen as well as to his falconers, hawk-trainers and dog-keepers; making to his own design wonderful and precious new treasures which far surpassed any tradition of his predecessors; reading aloud from books in English and above all learning English poems by heart; issuing orders to his followers: all these things he did himself with great application to the best of his abilities. He was also in the invariable habit of listening daily to divine services and Mass, and of participating in certain psalms and prayers and in the day-time and night-time offices, and, at night-time, as I have said, of going (without his household knowing) to various churches in order to pray. He similarly applied himself attentively to charity and distribution of alms to the native population and to foreign visitors of all races, showing immense and incomparable kindness and generosity to all men, as well as to the investigation of things unknown. Wherefore many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, Vikings, Welshmen, Irishmen and Bretons subjected themselves willingly to his lordship, nobles and commoners alike; and, as befitted his royal status, he ruled, loved, honoured and enriched them all with wealth and authority, just as he did his own people. He was also in the habit of listening eagerly and attentively to Holy Scripture being read out by his own countrymen, or even, if the situation should somehow arise, of listening to these lessons in the company of foreigners. With wonderful affection he cherished his bishops and the entire clergy, his ealdormen and nobles, his officials as well as all his associates. Nor, in the midst of other affairs, did he cease from personally giving, by day and night, instruction in all virtuous behaviour and tutelage in literacy to their sons, who were being brought up in the royal household and whom he loved no less than his own children.

But as if he derived no consolation from all these things, and suffered no greater distress of any kind inwardly and outwardly (and he did, to the extent that he would cry out in anguish by day and night to the Lord and to all those who were known to him on terms of intimacy), he used to moan and sigh continually because Almighty God had created him lacking in divine learning and knowledge of the liberal arts. In this respect he resembled the holy, highly esteemed and exceedingly wealthy Solomon, king of the Hebrews, who, once upon a time, having come to despise all renown and wealth of this world, sought wisdom from God, and thereby achieved both (namely, wisdom and renown in this world), as it is written, 'Seek ye

scriptum est, 'Audiam, quid loquatur in me dominus Deus'. Coadiutores bonae meditationis suae, qui eum in desiderata sapientia adiuvare possent, quo ad concupita perveniret quandocunque posset, acquireret; qui subinde - velut apis prudentissima, quae primo mane caris e cellulis consurgens aestivo tempore, per incerta aeris itinera cursum veloci volatu dirigens, super multiplices ac diversos herbarum, holerum, fruticum flosculos descendit, probatque quid maxime placuerit atque domum reportat – mentis oculos longum dirigit, quarens extrinsecus quod intrinsecus non habebat, id est in proprio regno suo.

therefore first the kingdom of God, and his justice, and all these things shall be given to you' [Matthew vi, 33]. But God, who is ever the observer of our internal desires and the instigator of all our thoughts and good intentions, and also – so that these good intentions may be fulfilled – a most generous overseer (for He never initiates any good intention, nor does he bountifully bring it to fulfilment, unless the person appropriately and rightly desire it to be so), stimulated King Alfred's intelligence from within, not from without, as it is written, 'I will hear what the Lord God speaks in me' [Psalm lxxxiv, 9] so that he could acquire helpers in this good intention of his, who would be able to help him attain to the desired wisdom and enable him to fulfil his wishes whenever possible. Accordingly, just like the clever bee which at first light in summertime departs from its beloved honeycomb, finds its way with swift flight on its unpredictable journey through the air, lights upon the many and various flowers of grasses, plants and shrubs, discovers what pleases it most and then carries it back home, King Alfred directed the eyes of his mind far afield and sought without what he did not possess within, that is to say, within his own kingdom.

§1.5.3) Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* (Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life,* 73-5) [Chapters 87-89]

Eodem quoque anno saepe memoratus Ælfred, Angulsaxonum rex, divino instinctu legere et interpretari simul uno eodemque die primitus inchoavit. *Sed, ut apertius ignorantibus pateat, causam huius tardae inchoationis expedire curabo.*

Nam cum quodam die ambo in regia cambra resideremus, undecumque, sicut solito, colloquia habentes, ex quodam quoddam testimonium libro illi evenit ut recitarem. Quod cum intentus utrisque auribus audisset et intima mente sollicite perscrutaretur, subito ostendens libellum, quem in sinum suum sedulo portabat, in quo diurnus cursus et psalmi quidam atque orationes quaedam, quas ille in iuventute sua legerat, scripti habebantur, imperavit, quod illud testimonium in eodem libello literis manderem. Quod ego audiens et ingeniosam benevolentiam illius ex parte, atque etiam tam devotam erga studium divinae sapientiae voluntatem eius cognoscens, immensas Omnipotenti Deo grates, extensis ad aethera volis, tacitus quamvis, persolvi, Qui tantam erga studium sapientiae devotionem in regio corde inseruerat. Sed, cum nullum locum vacuum in eodem libello reperirem, in quo tale testimonium scribere possem – erat enim omnino multis ex causis refertus – aliquantisper distuli, et maxime quia tam elegans regis ingenium ad maiorem divinorum testimoniorum scientiam provocare studebam. Cui, cum me, ut quanto citius illud scriberem, urgeret, inquam: 'placetne tibi, quod illud testimonium in aliqua foliuncula segregatim scribam? Incognitum est enim, si aliquando aliquod taliter aut plura reperiamus, quae tibi placuerint, testimonia; quod si inopinate evenerit segregasse gaudebimus'. Quod ille audiens, 'ratum esse consilium' inquit. Quod ego audiens et gaudens festinus quaternionem promptum paravi, in cuius principio illud non iniussus scripsi, ac in illa eadem die non minus quam tria alia sibi placabilia testimonia, illo imperante, in eodem quaternione, ut praedixeram, scripsi. Ac deinde cotidie inter nos sermocinando, ad haec investigando aliis inventis aeque placabilibus testimoniis, quaternio ille refertus succrevit, nec immerito, sicut scriptum est 'super modicum fundamentum aedificat iustus et paulatim ad maiora defluit', velut apis fertilissima longe lateque gronnios interrogando discurrens, multimodos divinae scripturae flosculos inhianter et incessabiliter congregavit, quis praecordii sui cellulas densatim replevit.

Nam primo illo testimonio scripto, confestim legere et in Saxonica lingua interpretari, atque inde perplures instituere studuit, ac veluti de illo felici latrone cautum est, Dominum Iesum Christum, Dominum suum, immoque omnium, iuxta se in venerabili sanctae Crucis patibulo pendentem cognoscente; quo subnixis precibus, inclinatis solummodo corporalibus oculis, quia aliter non poterat, erat enim totus confixus clavis, submissa voce clameret:

§1.5.3) Asser's *Vita Ælfredi* (Keynes and Lapidge, eds., *Alfred the Great,* 99-100) [Ch. 87-89]:

It was also in this year that Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, first began through divine inspiration to read [Latin] and to translate at the same time, all on one and the same day. But in order that this process may be understood more clearly by those who are uninformed, I shall take pains to explain the reasons for this late start.

One day when we were sitting together in the royal chamber discussing all sorts of topics (as we normally did), it happened that I was reading aloud some passage to him from a certain book. As he was listening intently to this with both ears and was carefully mulling it over in the depths of his mind, he suddenly showed me a little book which he constantly carried on his person, and in which were written the day-time offices and some psalms and certain prayers which he had learned in his youth. He told me to copy the passage in question into the little book. When I heard this and realized his natural good-will on the one hand as well as his devout enthusiasm for the pursuit of divine wisdom, I stretched out my palms to the heavens and gave mighty (albeit silent) thanks to Almighty God, who had sown such great enthusiasm for the pursuit of learning in the king's heart. But, when I could find no empty space in the little book in which I might copy the passage – for it was completely filled with all manner of things – I hesitated slightly, mainly because I was eager to draw the king's excellent intelligence to a fuller understanding of passages of Holy Scripture. When he urged me to copy the passage as quickly as possible, I said to him: 'Would it meet with your approval if I were to copy out the passage separately on another sheet of parchment? For we don't know whether we might at some point find one or more similar passages which you would like; and if this were to happen unexpectedly, we'd be glad to have kept it separate'. He listened to this and said that he agreed with my advice. When I heard his reply I was delighted, and quickly prepared a quire for the purpose, and copied the passage near the quire's beginning – not without some prompting from him! And that very same day I copied into the same quire at his request no fewer than three other passages pleasing to him, just as I had foreseen. Thereafter during our daily discussions, while searching to this end, as we found other equally pleasing passages the quire grew full, and rightly so, just as it is written, 'The just man builds on a modest foundation and gradually proceeds to greater things', or like the busy bee, wandering far and wide over the marshes in his quest, eagerly and relentlessly assembles many various flowers of Holy Scripture, with which he crams full the cells of his heart.

Now as soon as that first passage had been copied, he was eager to read it at once and to translate it into English, and thereupon to instruct many others, just as we are admonished

‘Memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum, Christe’, qui Christianae fidei rudimenta in gabulo primitus inchoavit discere. Hic aut aliter, quamvis dissimili modo, in regia potestate sanctae rudimenta scripturae, divinitus instinctus, praesumpsit incipere in venerabili Martini solemnitate. *Quos flosculos undecunque collectos a quibuslibet magistris discere et in corpore unius libelli, mixtim quamvis, sicut tunc suppetebat, redigere, usque adeo protelavit quousque propemodum ad magnitudinem unius psalterii perveniret. Quem enchiridion suum, id est manualem librum, nominari voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque solertissime habebat; in quo non mediocre, sicut tunc aiebat, habebat solatium*.

by the example of that fortunate thief who recognized the Lord Jesus Christ – his Lord and indeed Lord of all things – hanging next to him on the venerable gallows of the Holy Cross, and petitioned Him with earnest prayers. Turning his fleshly eyes only (he could not do anything else, since he was completely pinned down with nails), he called out in a reverential voice: 'Christ, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom' [Luke xxiii, 42]. This thief first began to learn the rudiments of Christian faith on the gallows; the king likewise (even though in a different way, given his royal station), prompted from heaven, took it upon himself to begin on the rudiments of Holy Scripture on St. Martin's Day [11 November] and to study these flowers collected here and there from various masters and to assemble them within the body of one little book (even though they were all mixed up) as the occasion demanded. He expanded it so much that it nearly approached the size of a psalter. He wished it to be called his *enchiridion* (that is to say, 'hand-book'), because he conscientiously kept it to hand by day and night. As he then used to say, he derived no small comfort from it.

§1.6) The Poem *Rex pius Æðelstan* (Lapidge, ed., "Some Latin Poems", 95)

Rex pius Æðelstan, patulo famosus in orbe,
cuius ubique uiget gloria lausque manet,
quem Deus Angligenis solii fundamine nixum
constituit regem terrigenisque ducem,
scilicet ut ualeat reges rex ipse feroces
uincere bellipotens, colla superba terens.
quisquis amore fluens rutilans hoc luce uolumen
perspicis, eximia dogmata sacre lege -
quod rex aureolis sacro spiramine fusus
ornauit titulis gemmigerisque locis,
quodque libens Christi ecclesiae de more dicauit
atque agiae sophiae nobilitauit ouans.
hoc quoque scematicis ornarier ora lapillis
auxit ubique micans floribus ut uariis.
quisque sitit ueniat cupiens haurire fluenta:
dulcia mella gerens inueniat latices.
ergo greges pastorque sacrae Dorobernicus aulae
se caueant, ne quid fraus inimica gerat:
hunc quisquis textum diuino fonte refertum
tollere praesumat, finetenus pereat!

§1.6) The Poem *Rex pius Æthelstan* (Lapidge, ed., "Some Latin Poems", 95-6):

Holy king Athelstan, renowned through the wide world,
whose esteem flourishes and whose honour endures everywhere,
whom God set as king over the English, sustained by the foundation
of the throne, and as leader of [His] earthly forces,
plainly so that this king himself, mighty in war, might be able
to conquer other fierce kings, treading down their proud necks.
Whosoever you are who look into this book abounding in [divine]
love, shining with light, read its excellent divine doctrines -
[this book] which the king, filled with the holy spirit,
adorned with golden headings and places set with jewels,
and which, in his manner, he gladly dedicated to Christ Church
and joyously made it accessible to sacred learning.
He also embellished it by having its covers adorned with patterned jewels,
[so that it would be] resplendent as if with various flowers.
Whosoever thirsts, desiring to drink from streams [of learning], let him come:
let him, bearing sweet honey, discover [these] waters.
Therefore let the flock and pastor of the holy court of Canterbury
be on their guard, lest envious deceit perpetrate something [untoward]:
whosoever dare to take away this book, filled from the sacred fount,
may he perish utterly!

§1.7) Æthelstan's Donation Inscriptions (Keynes, ed., "King Athelstan's Books", 149-76)

No.	Manuscript Name and Shelfmark	Date	Provenance	Inscription	Translation
1	**London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A.ii (with London, BL, Cotton Claudius A.iii, ff. 2-7 and 9 + Faustina vol. i, f. 95 and 98-100)**	s. ix/x or x^{in}	Lobbes, Belgium; English royal court (before 939); Canterbury CC, s. x^{1}	Volumen hoc euuangelii. AETHELSTAN. Anglorum basyleos. et curagulus totius Bryttannie. deuota mente. Dorobernensis cathedre primatui. tribuit ecclesie Christo dictae. quod etiam archiepiscopus. huius ac ministri ecclesie. presentes successoresque. curiosis affectibus perenniter agnoscant. scilicet et custodire studeant prout Deo rationem sunt reddituri. ne quis in aeternum furua fruade [sic] deceptus. hinc illud arripere conetur. Sed manens hic maneat. honoris exemplumque cernentibus. perpetue sibi demonstret. Vos etenim obsecrando postulo. memores ut uestris mei mellifluis oraminibus. consonaque uoce fieri prout confido. non desistatis.	"Athelstan, king of the English and ruler of the whole of Britain gave with a devout mind this gospel-book to the primatial see of Canterbury, to the church dedicated to Christ. And may the archbishop and the community of this church, present and future, for ever regard the donation with diligent feelings, and in particular may they take pains to safeguard it, in as much as they are to render account to God, lest anyone hereafter, misled by dark deception, should try to steal the book from this place. But may it remain here in safe custody, and may it in perpetuity provide an example of glory for those looking at it. For I beseech you in prayer that you will not cease to be mindful of me in your mellifluous orations, as I trust will take place with harmonious voice"
2	**London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1370 (with London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B.iv, f. 87)**	s. ix^{2}	Ireland (prob. Armagh); Canterbury CC by 924x939	Maeielbrithus MacDurnani istum textum per triquadrum Deo digne dogmatizatast Æthelstanus Anglosaexna rex et rector Doruernensi metropoli dat per aeuum.	"Mael Brigte mac Tornain propounds this gospel-book throughout the world, in a manner worthy of God; but Æthelstan, king and ruler of the Anglo-Saxons, gives it for ever to the metropolitan see of Canterbury".
3	**London, BL, Royal 1. A. xviii**	s. ix/x or x^{in}	Brittany; English royal court (?); prob. Canterbury StA by 924x939	Hunc codicem AETHELSTAN rex deuota mente Dorobernensi tribuit ecclesie beato Augustino dicate et quisquis hoc legerit omnipotenti pro eo proque suis fundat preces.	"With a devout mind King Æthelstan gives this book to the church at Canterbury dedicated to St. Augustine, and may whoever reads this make prayers to the Almighty for him and for his [friends]".
4	**London, BL, Cotton Claudius B. v.**	s. ix^{1}	W Germany; English royal	Hunc codicem Æthel[s]tanus rex tradidit Deo et alme Christi genetrici sanctisque Petro et Benedicto in Bathonie ciuitatis coenobio ob remunerationem suae	"King Athelstan gave this book to God and to the holy mother of Christ and to the saints Peter and Benedict in the monastery of the city of Bath, for the salvation of his soul. And whoever

			court by s. x^1; Bath by s. x^1	animae. Et quisquis hos legerit caracteres, omnipotenti pro eo proque suis amicis fundat preces.	reads these letters make prayers to the Almighty for him and for his friends".
5.1	**London, BL, Cotton Otho B. ix [lost]**	s. ix^2 or $ix^{4/4}$	Brittany; English royal court s. x^1; Chester-le-Street prob. 934	SCO CUDBERHTO EPIS EATHELSTAN ANGLORUM PIISIMUS REX HOC EVVANGELIUM OFFERT.	"Athelstan, the pious king of the English, gives this gospel-book to St. Cuthbert, the bishop".
5.2				In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Ic Æthelstan cyning selle þas boc into sco Cudberhte 7 bebeode on Godes noman 7 on þaes halgan weres þaet hio naefre nan monn of þisse stowe mid nanum facne ne reaflace ne afirre ne nane þara geofona þe ic to þisse stowe gedoo. Gif thonne hwelc monn to þaem dyrstig beo þaet he þisses hwaet breoce oððe wende beo he scyldig wið God 7 wið menn 7 dael neomende Iudases hletes Scariothes 7 on Domes daege þaes egeslican cwides to geheranne 7 to onfone discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum et reliq.	"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I King Athelstan, give this book to St. Cuthbert's and enjoin in the name of God and of the holy saint, that no one remove it from this foundation by any fraud or robbery, or any of the gifts which I bestow on this foundation. If, however, anyone is so presumptuous as to violate or change this in any particular, he shall incur the wrath both of God and of men, and shall participate in the fate of Judas Iscariot, and on the Day of Judgement shall hear and receive the dread sentence, "Depart from me, ye accursed, into everlasting fire, etc.".

§1.8.1) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 60) [ll. 1-20]:

Saturnus cwæð:

Hwæt! Ic iglanda eallra hæbbe
boca onbyrged þurh gebregdstafas,
larcræftas onlocen Libia and Greca,
swylce eac istoriam Indea rices.
Me þa treahteras tala wisedon
on þam micelan bec ***
M<e>ces heardum, swylce ic næfre on eallum
þam fyrngewrytum findan ne mihte
soðe sam<n>ode. Ic sohte þa git
hwylc wære modes oððe mægenþrymmes,
elnes oððe æhte <oððe> eorlscipes:
se palmtwigoda Pater Noster.
<Sille ic þe ealle sunu Dauides,
þeoden I<s>raela .xxx. punda
smætes goldes and mine suna twelfe,
gif þu mec gebringest þæt ic si gebrydded
ðurh þæs cantices cwyde, Cristes linan,
gesemesð mec mid soðe, and ic mec gesund f<erie>,
wende mec on willan on wæteres hrigc
ofer Coferflod Caldeas secan.

§1.8.1) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 61) [ll. 1-20]:

Saturn said:

Listen, I have tasted the books of all the islands, the woven letters, unlocked the sciences of the Libyans and the Greeks, likewise also the history of the empire of the Indians. The commentators instructed me about stories in the great book *** by a bold sword, such as I never could find in the ancient writings truly gathered together. Then I still sought the thing that would be for the mind or virtue, or courage, or power, or nobility: the palm-twigged Pater Noster.

I will give you everything, son of David, prince of Israel, thirty pounds of pure gold, and my twelve sons, if you bring it about for me that I am overawed through utterance of the canticle, of Christ's line, you satisfy me with truth, and I will depart safe and sound, turn myself willingly onto the water's height over the river Chobar to seek out the Chaldeans.

§1.8.2) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn*, 62) [ll. 38-62]:

SALOMON cwæð: Þæt gepalmtwigude Pater Noster
heofnas ontyneð, halie geblissað,
Metod gemiltsað, morðor gefilleð,
adwæsceð deofles fyr, Dryhtnes onæleð.
Swilce ðu miht mid ðy beorhtan gebede blod onhætan,
þæs deofles dr<os>, þæt him dropan stigað
swate geswiðed, sefan intingan,
egesfullicra þane seo ærene gripo,
þonne for twelf fyra tydernessum
ofer gleda gripe gifrost weallað.
Forðan hafað se cantic ofer ealle Cristes bec
widmærost word; he gewritu læreð
stefnum stereð, and him stede healdeð
heofonrices, heregeatowe wegeð.
Saturnus cwæð: Ac hulic is se organan ingemyndum
to beganganne þam þe his gæst wile
miltan wið morðre, merian of sorge,
asceaden of scyldum? Huru him Sceppend geaf
wundorlicne wlite. Mec þæs on worulde full oft
fyrwet frineð, fus gewiteð,
mod geondmengeð. Nænig monna wat,
hæleða under heofnum, hu min hige dreogeð,
bisi æfter bocum; hwylum me bryne stigeð,
hige heortan <neah> hearde wealleð.

§1.8.2) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 63) [ll. 38-62]:

Solomon said:

The palm-twigged Pater Noster opens up heaven, blesses the holy, makes the Lord merciful, strikes down murder, extinguishes the devil's fire, kindles the Lord's.

So you may with bright prayer intensely heat the blood, the devil's dross, so that in him the drops climb, forced with blood because of the mind's faults, more awfully than the brass cauldron, when because of the twelve weaknesses of men it seethes most greedily over the grip of flames. Therefore the canticle has the most widely famed words, above all Christ's books; it teaches scripture, guides through voices, and holds for them a place in the kingdom of heaven, it carries war-gear.

Saturn said:

But how is the organ to be practiced in memory by him who should wish to smelt against murder, to purify from sorrow, (be) separated from sin? Indeed the Lord gave him a wonderfully fair countenance. Very often my curiosity asks me about that in the world, it moves eagerly, thoroughly mixes up the mind. No man knows, among men under the heavens, how my spirit strives, busy in pursuit of books. At times a burning rises in me, the spirit near the heart surges severely.

§1.8.3) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn*. 68) [ll. 94-102]

T. hine teswað and hine on ða tungan sticað
wræsteð him ðæt woddor and him ða wongan brieceð.
E hiene yflað swa he a wile
ealra feonda gehwane fæste gestondan.
Ðonne hiene on unðanc R ieorrenga geseceð,
bocstafa brego bregdeð sona
feond be ðam feaxe, læteð flint brecan
scines sconcan; he ne besceawað no
his leomona lið ne bið him læce god.

§1.8.4) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn*, 70) [ll. 161-9]

Awriteð he on his wæpne wællnota heap,
bealwe bocstafas bill forscrifeð,
meces mærðo. Forðon nænig man scile
oft orðances ut abredan
wæpnes ecgge ðeah ðe him se wlite cweme -
ac symle he sceal singan, ðonne he his sweord geteo,
Pater Noster, and ðæt palmtreow
biddan mid blisse, ð<æ>t him bu gife
feorh ond folme, ðonne his feond cyme.

§1.8.3) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 69) [ll. 94-102]:

> T injures him [the devil], and stabs him in the tongue, twists his throat and shatters his jaws. E afflicts him, as he ever will stand against each and every enemy. Then to his irritation R will angrily seek him, the prince of letters, immediately shake the fiend by the hair, make the flint break the spectre's shanks; never will he behold the joints of his limbs, nor will any physician do him good.

§1.8.4) *Solomon and Saturn I* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 71) [ll. 161-9]:

> [The devil] etches on his weapon a multitude of fatal marks, harmful letters, curses the blade, the glory of the sword. Therefore no man must draw out the weapon's edge without forethought, though its appearance is pleasing to him. But ever he must sing, when he draws his sword, the Pater Noster, and pray to that palm-tree with bliss, that it might give him both life and limb, when his enemy should come.

§1.8.5) *Solomon and Saturn II* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn*, 78) [ll. 1-23]:

HWÆT! IC FLITAN GEFRÆGN on fyrndagum
modgleawe men, middangeardes ræswum,
gewesan ymbe hira wisdom. Wyrs deð se ðe ðe liehð
oððe ðæs soðes ansæceð. Saloman was bremra,
ðeah ðe S<at>urnus sumra hæfde
bald breosttoga, boca cæg<a>,
<le>ornenga locan. Land eall geondhwearf,
Ind<e>a mere, <E>ast Corsias,
Persea rice, Palestinion,
Niniuen ceastre, ond Norð Predan,
Meda maððumselas, Marculfes eard,
Saulus rice, swa he suð ligeð
ymbe Geallboe ond ymb Geador norð,
Filistina flet, fæsten Cre<t>a,
wudu Egipta, <w>æter Mathea,
<cludas> Coreffes, Caldea rice,
Creca cræftas, cynn Arabia,
lare Libia, lond Syria,
Pitðinia, Buðanasan,
Pamhphilia, Pores gemære,
Macedonia, Mesopotamie,
Cappadocia Cristes <eðel>
Hieryhco, Galilea Hierusa<lem>
***

§1.8.5) *Solomon and Saturn II* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 79) [ll. 1-23]:

Listen! I have heard of a dispute in ancient days between sagacious men, mentors of middle earth, debating about their wisdom. Worse does he who lies or contradicts the truth.

Solomon was more famous; however, Saturn, the bold strategist, had the keys of certain books in which learning was locked. He wandered through all the lands: the land of India, the East Cossians, the kingdom of the Persians, Palestine, the city of Ninevah, and the North Parthians, the treasure halls of the Medes, the land of Marculf, the kingdom of Saul – where it lies south by Gilboa and north by Gadara – the halls of the Philistines, the fortress of the Cretans, the forest of the Egyptians, the waters of the Midians, the cliffs of Horeb, the kingdom of the Chaldeans, the skills of the Greeks, the race of the Arabians, the learning of Libya, the land of Syria, Bythinia, Bashan, Pamphilia, the border of Porus, Macedonia, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Christ's homeland – Jericho, Galilee, Jerusalem ***

§1.8.6) *Solomon and Saturn II* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn*, 80-2) [ll. 52-68]:

SATVRNVS CVÆÐ:

Ac hwæt is se dumba, se ðe on sumre dene resteð?
Swiðe snyttrað, hafað seofon tungan,
hafað tungena gehwylc .xx. orda,
hafað orda gehwylc engles snytro,
ðara ðe wile anra hwylc uppe bringan,
ðæt ðe ðære gyldnan gesiehst Hierusalem
weallas blican ond hiera winrod lixan,
soðfæstra segn. Saga hwæt ic mæne.

SALOMON CVÆÐ:

Bec sindon breme, bodiað geneahhe
weotodne wil<l>an ðam ðe wiht hygeð,
gestrangað hie ond gestaðeliað staðolfæstne geðoht,
amyrgað modsefan manna gehwylces
of ðreamedlan ðisses lifes.

Saturnus cwæð:

Bald bið se ðe onbyregeð boca cræftes,
symle bið se wisra ðe hira geweald hafað.

SALOMON CVÆÐ:

Sige hie onsendað soðfæstra gehwam,
hælo hyðe, ðam ðe hie lufað.

§1.8.6) *Solomon and Saturn II* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 81-3) [ll. 52-68]:

Saturn said:

But what is the mute thing, which rests in a certain valley? It is very wise, has seven tongues, each tongue has twenty tips, each tip has the wisdom of an angel; each of these will carry you up, so that there you will see the golden walls of Jerusalem gleaming, and their chorus shining, the standard of the righteous. Say what I mean.

Solomon said:

Books are famous, they abundantly proclaim the ordered mind to the one who thinks at all. They strengthen and establish resolute thought, make merry the mind of each man against the mental oppressions of this life.

Saturn said:

Bold is who tastes the power of books, he will always be the wiser who has control of them.

Solomon said:

They present victory to each of the righteous, a harbour of safety for those who love them.

§1.8.7) *Solomon and Saturn II* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn*, 90-2) [ll. 247-64]:

Saturnus cwæð:

Full oft ic frode men fyrn gehyrde
secggan ond swerian ymb sume wisan,
hwæðer wære twegra butan tweon stren<g>ra,
wyrd ðe warning, ðonne hie winnað oft
mid hira ðreamedlan, hwæðerne aðreoteð ær.
Ic to soðan wat sægdon me geara
Filistina witan, ðonne we on geflitum sæton,
bocum tobræddon ond on bearm legdon,
meðelcwidas mengdon, moniges fengon –
ðæt nære nænig manna middangeardes
ðæt meahte ðara twega tuion aspyrian.

SALOMAN CWÆÐ:

Wyrd bið wended hearde, wealleð swiðe geneahhe;
heo wop weceð, heo wean hladeð,
heo gast scyð, heo ger byreð;
ond hwæðre him mæg wissefa wyrda gehwylce
gemetigian, gif he bið modes gleaw
ond to his freondum wile fultum secan,
ðehhwæðre godcundes gæstes brucan.

§1.8.7) *Solomon and Saturn II* (Anlezark, ed., *Solomon and Saturn,* 91-3) [ll. 247-64]:

Saturn said:

Very often of old I heard wise men speak and avow concerning a certain matter, whether without doubt either of two things was stronger – fate or foresight – when they struggle often with each other, with their mental oppression, which of the two becomes tiresome first. I truly know (the wise men of the Philistines told me formerly, when we sat in debate, we opened up books and spread them in our laps, we exchanged speeches, seizing on many matters) that there is not any man in this middle-earth who is able to appreciate the ambiguities of these two.

Solomon said:

Fate is turned with difficulty, it surges up very often; it calls forth weeping, it loads up woe, it harms the spirit, it carries the years; and nevertheless the one wise in mind can moderate each fated event, if he is prudent in mind and will seek help from his friends, and moreover enjoy the divine spirit.

Appendix 2: Texts and Translations of Key Sources: Chapter Two

§2.1) “Aldhelm” (Whitbread, ed. and trans., “The Old English Poem Aldhelm”, 195-7):

	Þus me gesette	*sanctus et iustus*
	beorn boca gleaw,	*bonus auctor,*
	Ealdelm, æþele sceop,	*etiam fuit*
	ipselos on <æðele>	Angolsexna,
5	byscop on Bretene.	*Biblos* ic nu sceal,
	ponus et pondus	*pleno cum sensu,*
	geonges geanoðe	geomres *iamiamque*,
	secgan soð, nalles leas,	þæt him symle wæs
	euthenia oftor	on fylste,
10	æne on eðle	ec ðon ðe se is
	yfel on gesæd.	*Etiam nusquam*
	ne <sceal> ladigan	*labor quem tenet*
	encratea, ac he	<ealneg> sceal
	boethia biddan georne	
15	þurh his modes gemind	*micro in cosmo*,
	þæt him drihten gyfe	dinams on eorðan,
	fortis factor,	þæt he forð simle …

§2.1) “Aldhelm” (Whitbread, ed. and trans., “The Old English Poem Aldhelm”, 197):

> In this fashion has the saintly and righteous Aldhelm, sound scholar, excellent author, noble poet, and eminent bishop in Britain the land of the Angles and Saxons, assembled me. Now, as a book, I must relate in its full content this laborious and weighty work, (which has been) repeatedly the cause of (my) new-found sorrow, (I must relate) the truth, not invention, that he (Aldhelm) always had a good reputation for aid, likewise fame, more frequently in his native land than one who is evil in his reputation. Nowhere, moreover, shall restraint provide excuses for (one) whom toil possesses, but he shall always in this little world pray wholeheartedly for aid, that the Lord, the strong Creator, may grant him inspiration on earth, that he ever after …

§2.2) The Proem to the *Regularis concordia* (Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis concordia,* 2-4) [Sections 4-6]:

Regulari itaque sancti patris Benedicti norma honestissime suscepta, tam abbates perplurimi quam abbatissae, cum sibi subiectis fratrum sororumque collegiis, sanctorum sequi uestigia una fide, non tamen uno consuetudinis usu, certatim cum magna studuerunt hilaritate. Tali igitur ac tanto studio praefatus rex magnopere delectatus, arcana quaeque diligenti cura examinans, synodale concilium Wintoniae fieri decreuit; illucque uerba exhortatoria ac pacifica pitacio luculentissime caraxata humillimus detinauit, cunctosque Christi compunctus gratia monuit ut concordes aequali consuetudinis usu, sanctos probatosque imitando patres, regularia praecepta tenaci mentis ancora seruantes nullo modo dissentiendo discordarent; ne impar ac uarius unius regulae ac unius patriae usus probrose uituperium sanctae conuersationi irrogaret. Huius praecellentissimi regis sagaci monitu spiritualiter compuncti non tantum episcopi, uerum etiam abbates ac abbatissae, quod *talem ac tantum meruerunt habere* doctorem *erectis ad aethera palmis immensas* celsithrono *grates* uoti compotes referre non distulerunt.

Nam ilico eius imperiis toto mentis conamine alacriter obtemperantes, sanctique patroni nostri Gregorii documenta, quibus beatum Augustinum monere studuit ut non solum Romanae uerum etiam Galliarum honestos ecclesiarum usus <in> rudi Anglorum ecclesia decorando constitueret, recolentes; accitis Florensis beati Benedicti necnon praecipui coenobii quod celebri Gent nuncupatur uocabulo monachis, quaeque ex dignis eorum moribus honesta colligentes, uti apes fauum nectaris diuresis pratorum floribus in uno aluerio, ita has morum consuetudines ad uitae honestatem et regularis obseruantiae dulcedinem, ut ab his qui uiam regiam mandatorum Domini absque iactantiae uitio lactei adhuc humiliter incedunt, depulso nausiae taedio, sine querela legitime haustu degustari libentissimo ac auidi amabili possent impleri deuotione, temperate cum magna ac subtili rationis discretione, Christi mundi Saluatoris opitulante gratia, hoc exiguo apposuerunt codicello.

Ne igitur singuli, si suam, quod absit, adinuentionem suapte praesumptuosi eligerent, excellentissimum sanctae oboedientiae fructum, alicuius arrogantiae fastu inopinate seducti, miserabiliter amitterent, ac Sarabaitae uel ferae potius quam monachi aut homines uiderentur legitimi, uotum Domino nostro Ihesu Christo unanimes uouerunt pactoque spirituali confirmuaerunt se uita comite iugo regulae deditos has annotatas morum consuetudines communi palam custodire conuersatione. Ceterum unusquisque secretis oratorii locis, in

§2.2) The Proem to the *Regularis concordia* (Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis concordia*, 2-4) [Sections 4-6]:

When therefore the Rule of the holy Father Benedict had been accepted with the greatest goodwill, very many of the abbots and abbesses with their communities of monks and nuns vied with one another in following in the footsteps of the saints; for they were united in one faith, though not in one manner of monastic usage. Exceedingly delighted with such great zeal the aforesaid king [Edgar], after deep and careful study of the matter, commanded a Synodal Council to be held at Winchester. To this assembly he most humbly sent a letter, set forth magnificently on parchment and couched in encouraging and peaceable terms, in which, moved by the grace of Christ, he urged all to be of one mind as regards monastic usage, to follow the holy and approved fathers and so, with their minds anchored firmly on the ordinances of the Rule, to avoid all dissension, lest differing ways of observing the customs of one Rule and one country should bring their holy conversation into disrepute. Deeply moved by the wise advice of this excellent King, the bishops, abbots and abbesses were not slow in raising their hands to heaven in hearty thanksgiving to the throne above for that they were thought worthy to have so good and so great a teacher.

Straightway, then, they obeyed his commands with the utmost gladness; and calling to mind the letters in which our holy patron Gregory instructed the blessed Augustine that, for the advancement of the rude English Church, he should establish therein the seemly customs of the Gallic Churches as well as those of Rome, they summoned monks from St Benedict's monastery at Fleury and from that eminent monastery which is known by the renowned name of Ghent, gathered from their praiseworthy customs much that was good and thus, even as honey is gathered by bees from all manner of wild flowers and collected into one hive, so also the said monastic customs, tempered by great and subtle judgement of reason were, by the grace of Christ the Saviour of the world, embodied in this small book. Now the said customs are such as will tend to uprightness of life and sweetness of regular observance; they may be tasted rightfully and with the fullest enjoyment and eagerness, and may be fulfilled with affectionate devotion by those who would walk humbly and like little ones in the royal way of the Lord's commandments, putting away all wickedness of boasting, weariness or grumbling.

Lest therefore they should all, which God forbid, prefer to act according to their own devices, and thus wretchedly lose the most excellent fruit of holy obedience, helplessly seduced by the pride of arrogance, as Sarabaites or wild beasts rather than as monks and rational beings,

quantum Sancti Spiritus gratia clementer instiguaeuerit, *peculiaribus* teste Deo cum bonorum operum uigilantia consulte utatur *orationibus*.

the assembly as one man made a solemn vow to our Lord Jesus Christ, confirming their oath with a spiritual pact, that, living all their life under the yoke of the Rule, they would carry out these selfsame monastic customs openly and with one uniform observance. For the rest, all shall be free to give themselves voluntarily to private prayer in the secret places of the oratory, with God as their witness, and to be watchful in good works according as the grace of the Holy Ghost in His mercy shall inspire them.

§2.3) Extracts from "King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries" (Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, eds., *Councils & Synods,* 147-52):

Hwa is monna on angelcynne wuniende þæt nyte hu he godes rice, þæt is, godes cyricean, ægþer ge mid gastlicum gode ge mid woruldcundum eallum mægene fyrþrode & friþode? Witodlice sona swa he to his cynedome gecoren wearþ, wæs swiþe gemundige his behates þe he on his æþelicncghade cildgeong Gode behet & sancta Marian, þa se abbod hine gelaþode to þæm munuclife. Ealswa we wiþufan cwædon, þurh þæs gehates myngunge, swiþe geþancol on anginne his rices began þa stowe to fyrþrienne ealswa he ær behet on his cildgeogoðe, & mid eallum þingum godode to þan swiþe þæt heo næs na neoþor ne waccere þonne formænig þara þe his yldran ær gefyrþredon on langsumum fæce. He þær sona getimbrian het mærlic mynster on þreora geara fæce. Þæt wile þincan ungeleaflic eallum þæm þe þa stowe on uferum tidum geseoð & þis ne gemunaþ. He þæt ilce mynster þus gehradod het sancta Marian gehalgian Gode [to lofe] & to weorþunge, & þærto muneca micele <geferrædene> gesomnode to þæm þæt hy Gode hyrsumedon æfter tæcinge þæs halgan regules.

Ær þæm lyt <muneca> wæs on feawum stowum on swa miclum rice þe be rihtum regule lifdon. Nęs þæt na fealdre þonne on are stowe, seo is Glæstingabyrig gehaten, ðær his fæder Eadmund cynincg munecas ærest gestaþolode. Of þære stowe wæs se foresprecena abbud genumen & gehadod to þæm foresædan mynstre þe Eadgar cyning gestaþolode & mid munecum gesette. He þearle swiþe wearþ gegladod þurh þæt gastlice munyca angin, & geornlice angan to smeagenne ærest þinga hu he his agen lif gerihtlæcan meahte mid rihtre æfęstnesse. Hit eac swa on bocum awriten is: 'Se þe god beginnan þence, he þæt angin on him sylfum astelle'. Æfter þam þe he sylf geriht wearð, began georne mynstera wide geond his cynerice to rihtlæcynne, & Godes þeowdom to arærenne [...]

He began mid geornfulre scrudnunge smeagan & ahsian be þam gebodum þæs halgan regules, & witan wolde þæs sylfan regules lare, þurh þa biþ gegearwod rihtes lifes gewuna & arwyrþe gewilnung, & þa gesetednessa þe to halgum mægenum wæmaþ. He wolde eac swylce þurh þone regul oncnawan þa wislican gefadunge þe snotorlice geset is be incuþra ðinga endebyrdnesse. Þurh þises wisdomes lust he het þisne regul of lædengereorde on englisc geþeodan. Þeah þa scearpþanclan witan þe þone twydæledan wisdom hlutorlice tocnawaþ -- þæt is andweardra þinga & gastlicra wisdom -- & þara ægþer eft on þrim todalum gelyfedlice wunaþ -- þisse engliscan geþeodnesse ne behofien, is þeah niedbehefe ungelæredum woroldmonnum þe for helle wites ogan & for Cristes lufan þis earmfulle lif forlætaþ & to

§2.3) Extracts from "King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries" (Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, eds., *Councils & Synods,* 147-52):

What man is there dwelling in England who does not know how he advanced and protected God's kingdom, that is, God's church, with benefits both spiritual and worldly, with all his strength? Certainly, as soon as he was elected to his kingdom, he was very mindful of the promise which he had made as an atheling in his childhood, to God and to St. Mary, when the abbot had invited him to the monastery. As we have said above, admonished by that promise, he began in the beginning of his reign to be very intent on advancing that place just as he had promised in his childhood and he endowed it so greatly with all things that it was not inferior to or meaner than many of those which his ancestors had advanced over a long period. He immediately ordered to be built there within three years' time a glorious minster. That will seem unbelievable to all men who see that place in later times and do not remember this. He ordered that same minster thus speedily built to be consecrated to St. Mary for the praise and honour of God, and assembled there a great company of monks to the end that they should serve God according to the teaching of the holy rule.

Before that there were only a few monks in the a few places in so large a kingdom who lived by the right rule. This was in no more places than one, which is called Glastonbury, where his father, King Edmund, first established monks. The aforementioned abbot had been brought from that place and consecrated to the aforesaid monastery which King Edgar established and set with monks. Edgar was greatly gladdened by that spiritual beginning with monks, and began eagerly to inquire first of all how he could rectify his own life with true piety. It is also written in books: 'He who plans to begin a good work, let him make a beginning with himself'. After he had been amended himself he began zealously to set monasteries in order widely throughout his kingdom, and to set up the service of God [...]

With earnest scrutiny he began to investigate and inquire about the precepts of the holy rule, and wished to know the teaching of that same rule, by which is laid down the practice of a right life and honourable vocation, and the regulations which attract men to holy virtues. He wished also to know from the rule the wise disposition which is prudently appointed concerning the ordering of unfamiliar matters. Out of a wish for this knowledge he commanded this rule to be translated from the Latin speech in to the English language. Although keen-witted scholars who understand clearly the two-fold wisdom – that is, the wisdom of things actual and spiritual – and each of those again admittedly consists of three divisions – do not require this English translation, it is nevertheless necessary for unlearned laymen who for fear of hell-

hyra Drihtne gecyrrað & þone halgan þeowdom þises regules geceosaþ; þy læs þe ænig [u]ngecyrred woroldman mid nytnesse & ungewitte regules geboda abræce & þære tale bruce þ[æt] he þy dæge misfenge þy he hit selre nyste. Ic þ[onne] geþeode to micclan gesceade telede. Wel mæg dug[an hit naht] mid hwylcan gereorde mon sy gestryned & to þan soþan geleafan gewæmed, butan þæt an sy þæt he Gode gegange. Hæbben forþi þa ungelæredan inlendisce þæs halgan regules cyþþe þurh agenes gereordes anwrigennesse, þæt hy þe geornlicor Gode þeowien and nane tale næbben þæt hy þurh nytennesse misfon þurfen.

Forþi, þonne, ic mid ealre estfulnesse mine æftergengan bidde & þurh Drihtnes naman halsige, þæt hy þyses halgan regules bigenc a þurh Cristes gife geycen, & godiende to fulfremedum ende gebrencgen.

-torment and for love of Christ abandon this wretched life and turn to their Lord and choose the holy service of this rule; lest any unconverted layman should in ignorance and stupidity break the precepts of the rule and employ the excuse that he erred on that day because he knew no better. I therefore consider translation a very sensible thing. It certainly cannot matter by what language a man is acquired and drawn to the true faith, as long only as he comes to God. Therefore let the unlearned natives have the knowledge of this holy rule by the exposition of their own language, that they may the more zealously serve God and have no excuse that they were driven by ignorance to err.

Therefore, then, I pray my successors with all devotion and implore in the Lord's name, that they ever increase the observance of this holy rule through the grace of Christ, and may, improving it, bring it to full perfection.

§2.4.1) The "Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi" (Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis,* 75-6) [II.4]:

Quomodo beatus Ædelwoldus totam insulam de Ely emit a rege Ædgaro.

Haut multo post hec pontifex beatus Edelwaldus, cum reverentia sepe nominandus, repletus Spiritu Sancto, previdens et precavens in fulturum dolosa mala que per vicissitudines rerum et per mutationes regnorum et pullulare et oriri solent in terra, iterum accessit ad regem Ædgarum et, facta cum eo conventione, de integro emit ab eo totam adiacentem regionem predicte insule, scilicet viginti hidas terre quas rex infra insulam habuit, sed et dignitatem et socam vii hundredorum et dimidii, duorum videlicet infra insulam, quinque vero et dimidii in provincia Orientalium Anglorum et quinque hidas apud Meldeburne et iii hidas cum dimidia apud Ærningeforde et xii hidas apud Northwolde, datis mutuo lx hidis, quas ipse de dono domini sui Ædelstani regis apud Hertingeham habuerat, datoque insuper centum librarum pretio cum aurea cruce mirifico opera polita reliquiisque referta quam gloriosus rex in munimentum donorum suorum et loci libertatem cum texto mirifico super altare sancta Æðelðrede in Hely gratanter optulit. Has igitur terras a rege emptas cum omnibus regiis consuetudinibus et cum privilegio eterne libertatis coroboratas sanctus Ædelwoldus Deo et sancta Æðeldreðe optulit, sicut subsequens regis privilegium declarabit. Quod iccirco hic ponendum videtur, ut cunctis liqueat quanta firmitate domus Dei fundamento suo innitatur.

§2.4.1) The "Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi" (Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis,* 99) [II.4]

How the blessed Æthelwold bought the whole Isle of Ely from King Edgar.

Not long afterwards, the blessed Bishop Æthelwold – a man worthy to mentioned by name frequently and with reverence – was filled with the Holy Spirit, and, as he had foresight and foreboding for the future, with regard to the evils of treachery which on earth have a way of being spawned and of rising up, he approached King Edgar a second time and, at a meeting held with him, bought from him the whole neighbouring region of the aforesaid Isle, namely twenty hides of land which the king possessed within the Isle and additionally the honour and soke of seven-and-a-half hundreds: specifically, two within the Isle and, on the other hand, five-and-a-half in the province of the East Angles, and five hides at Melbourn and three-and-a-half hides at Armingford and twelve hides at Northwold. In exchange [Bishop Æthelwold] gave sixty hides which he had held at Harting as a gift from his lord, King Æthelstan, and, in addition, the sum of one hundred pounds, together with a golden cross, embellished with marvelous workmanship and filled with relics. The glorious king made a free-will offering of this cross, along with a wonderful gospel-book, upon the altar of St. Æthelthryth in Ely, as a safeguard for his grants and in furtherance of the liberty of the place. And thus St Æthelwold offered to God and St Æthelthryth the lands mentioned above, bought from the king with all customary royal rights, and confirmed with a privilege of eternal liberty, as the following privilege of the king will make clear. It needs to be set down here in order that it may be clear to all with what stability the house of God rests upon its foundation.

§2.4.2) The "Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi" (Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis,* 80-1) [II.8]:

Quomodo beatus Ædelwoldus emit Lindune et Hylle et Wicham et Wilbertune.

Quoniam, sicut veritas testatur, siquis volens turrim edificare sedens prius computat sumptus qui necessarii sunt, si habet ad perficiendum, ne, posteaquam posuerit fundamentum et non potuerit perficere, omnes qui vident incipiant ei illudere dicentes, quia hic homo cepit edificare et non potuit consummare, venerabilis presul Æðelwoldus veritatis discipulus, fiduciam habens non in auro nec in argento sed in domino Iesu Christo, opus quod cepit consummare diligenter studuit et, ut prefatum monasterium dilataret, terras innumeras adquirere curavit […] Sed quod ex subsequente privilegio in virtutis incitamentum et facti sui testimonium rex iam dictus omni posteritati proposuerat, ne aliqua potestas contra eius constitutum aliquid auderet, quod non tantum Latina sed et publica lingua scribi et verenda inprecatione voluit roborari, quod utrumque presenti placuit inserere volumini, quia nec omnibus ipsam regiam cartam vacabat ostendi nec ab omnibus decebat abscondi, sed quod per illam de illa fieri non potuit, per istud de ipsa innotescere debuit.

§2.4.3) The "Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi" (Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis,* 111) [II.37]:

De Suðburne.

Ædgarus rex et Alftreð dederunt sancto Æðelwoldo manerium, quod dicitur Suðburn, et cyrographum quod pertinebat, quod comes, qui dicebatur Scule, dudum possederat, eo pacto ut ille regulam sancti Bendicti in Anglicum idioma de Latino transferret. Qui sic fecit. Deinde vero beatus Æðelwoldus dedit eandem terram sancta Æðeldreðe cum cyrographo eiusdem terre.

§2.4.2) The "Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi" (Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis,* 104-5) [II.8]:

How the blessed Æthelwold bought Linden with its appendages, Hill and Witcham and Wilburton, and the privilege of the king on this vill.

[Since, as Truth bears witness, anyone wishing to build a tower first sits down and calculates the expenses which are inevitable – whether he has what is needed to complete the work – lest after he has laid the foundation and cannot complete it, all who see it will begin to ridicule him, saying, 'This man began to build and could not complete his work,' so] the venerable Bishop Æthelwold, the disciple of Truth, having faith [not in gold or in silver] but in the Lord Jesus Christ, sought diligently to complete the work which he undertook and, in order to expand the aforementioned monastery, took pains to acquire many properties […] But as for the provision that the aforementioned king had made for posterity by means of the privilege which follows, the provision which he desired to have set down in writing not only in Latin but also in the language of the people and to be reinforced by a fearful curse, and which it has been decided to set down in both versions for the present volume: in view of the fact that leave used not to be given for the royal charter to be shown to everyone and it ought not to be hidden away from everyone, it has been needful that there should be made public, through this present work, information about that charter which it has not been possible to obtain by means of the charter itself.

§2.4.3) The "Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi" (Fairweather, trans., *Liber Eliensis,* 134-5) [II.37]:

About Sudbourne.

King Edgar and [Queen] Ælfthryth gave St. Æthelwold an estate called Sudbourne, together with the charter for the land, [which the earl who was called Scule had once held], on condition that he, Æthelwold, translate the *Rule of St. Benedict* from Latin into the English language. And he did so. But then the blessed Æthelwold gave the land in question, with the charter of this same land, to St. Æthelthryth.

§2.5.1) Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Ecgwini* (Lapidge, ed. and trans., *Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine,* 248) [Book II, Chapter 11]:

DE VISIONE SVBVLCI. Ille autem, cum hac illac sollicitos emitteret uisus, uidit quod dici mirum est: quondam uirginem stantem cum aliis duabus psallentem et librum in manu prepulchrum tenentem. Erat autem tam speciosa que in meditullio stabat, ut non solum species excellebat omnes omnium uirginum, uerum etiam – ut ipsi uisum est – pulchrior erat quam iubar solaris globi, splendidor liliis, rubicundior rosis. Quam pre pulcrhitudine non audebat respicere; sed, uocata porcella, domi redit et uilico retulit que uidit. Ille autem introduxit ad me subulcum. Qui, cadens ad pedes meos, subrigitur ad genua mea; quem percontatus sic ad eum exorsus sum.

§2.5.1) Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Ecgwini* (Lapidge, ed. and trans., *Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine,* 248) [Book II, Chapter 11]:

THE SWINEHERD'S VISION. While he was casting his anxious gaze here and there, he saw something which is marvelous to relate: a virgin standing with two other virgins, singing psalms and holding an exceedingly beautiful book in her hand. The one who was standing in the middle was so beautiful that her beauty surpassed that of all young women but – as it seemed to him – she was more beautiful even than the splendor of the solar orb, more brilliant than lilies, redder than roses. Because of her beauty he did not dare to stare at her; but, having called his sow, he went home and reported the things he had seen to the reeve. The reeve then introduced me to the swineherd. Falling at my feet, he raised himself to my knees; after questioning him thoroughly I addressed him as follows:

§2.5.2) Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Ecgwini* (Lapidge, ed. and trans., *Lives of Oswald and St. Ecgwine* 248-50) [II.12]:

DE EO QVOD EPISCOPVS VOLEBAT PER SEMETIPSVM VISIONEM AGNOSCERE SICVT GESTVM EST. "Sunt uera an falsa que uidisti et narrasti?" Respondit illi compellenti domino et ait: "Etiam, domine, uera sunt". At tunc modesta taciturnitate cogitaui que uisa sunt, atque depuli a me ambiguitates totius caliginis – relinquens "turbidem Austrum" et recordans uisionem quam Moyses in montem cernere promeruit – ne forte et huic aliquid secreti reuelare sit dignatus auctor omnium rerum. Mane adueniente et illucescente aurora sequentis diei, surrexi concite et discalciatis pedibus perrexi cum tribus sociis ad locum de quo mihi dixerat Euoes. Cumque comminus essem, precipiens <illis> eminus sistere – quoadusque certius scirem rem seruo demonstratam et mihi ab eo relatam – reuolui sollicitos uisus hinc inde, mecum tacitus ruminans psalmos sacros, Deum enixius obsecrans sanctamque eius genitricem ut pandere mihi dignarentur que dicta sunt. Prostraui me in orationibus ibique diu Deum oraui cum gemitibus, ut meis perplurmis delictis miseresceret et rem ostensam demonstraret. Surgens autem tacite ab oratione, ecce pene quo steti apparuerunt tres sacre uirgines, quarum una erat sublimior ceteris, crucem habens et librum in manibus, niueo splendore candidior et roseo flore uenustior. His perspectis cogitaui tacitus quod sancta Dei genitrix uirgo perpetua Maria potuisset esse quam cernebam. Tum illa eleuata manu consignauit me benedictione sancta crucis et euanuit. Ego autem oratione completa promisi Deo et sue sancta genitrici inibri oratorium edificari, si mihi prosperam Christus dare dignaret uitam. Vocaui dehinc ad me socios qui non longe erant a me, et omnia eis nuntiaui que uidi. Qui hec audientes gauisi sunt tripudio inedicibili. Eodem die precepi purgare locum quem et propria signaui manu, eum Deo commendans; in quo post pauca tempora ecclesiam erexi et consecraui. Postea uero in eodem loco maiora erexi arcisteria, quia ualde dilexi habitationem propter demonstratam uisionem.

§2.5.2) Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Ecgwini* (Lapidge, ed. and trans., *Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine,* 248-51) [II.12]:

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT THE BISHOP WISHED TO KNOW FOR HIMSELF WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN THE VISION. "Are the things which you have seen and reported true or false?" The swineherd replied to his insistent lord, and said: "They are quite true, my lord". And then I reflected in discreet silence on the things which he had seen, and I expelled from me all doubts of utter blindness – leaving "the wild south wind" and recollecting the vision which Moses had been found deserving to see on Mt Sion – in case the Creator of all things might have deigned to reveal something secret even to this man. When morning came and dawn of the following day was breaking, I got up excitedly and set out barefoot with three friends to the place which Eoves had told me about. And when I was near it, I asked them to stay at a distance, until I could learn for certain what had been revealed to the servant and told to me by him; I cast my anxious gaze here and there, repeating silently to myself the holy psalms, earnestly beseeching God and His Holy Mother that they might reveal to me what I had been told. I threw myself to the ground in prayer, and there I prayed to God for a long time with lamentation that He might have mercy on my many sins and show to me what had been revealed. As I got up silently from my prayers, suddenly three holy virgins appeared almost where I stood, of whom one was taller than the others, having a cross and a book in her hands, whiter than the brilliance of snow and more beautiful than a rose in bloom. Having observed them, I thought silently that the one at whom I was looking could be the holy Mother of God, Mary, the perpetual Virgin. Then with her hand raised she signed me with the blessing of the Holy Cross and vanished. I for my part, when my prayers were over, promised to God and His Holy Mother to build there an oratory, if Christ should deign to grant me a prosperous life. I thereupon called to my companions who were not far with me, and I reported to them all the things which I had seen. At hearing these things they were filled with inexpressible joy. On that same day I ordered the place to be cleansed and I blessed it with my own hand, committing it to God. After some small time I built there and consecrated a church. Subsequently I erected in the same place larger monastic buildings, since I greatly loved the place because of the vision I had been vouchsafed.

§2.6) Godeman's Poem (Lapidge, ed., *Hermeneutic Style*, 105-6):

Presentem biblum iussit perscribere presul
Uuintoniae Dominus quem fecerat esse patronum
magnus Aþeluuoldus, uere gnarus bene Christi
agnos uelligeros ab demonis arte maligna
conseruare; deo fructum quoque reddere plenum
iconomos clarus, uenerabilis atque benignus
hic cupit, arbiter ut uenerit qui discutit orbis
totius factum – quid quilibet egerit – atque
mercedem reddet qualem tunc forte merentur:
aeternam iustis uitam iniustis quoque poenam.
Quendam subiectum monachum circos quoque multos
in hoc precepit fieri libro bene comptos,
completos quoque agalmatibus uariis decoratis
multigenis miniis pulchris necnon simul auro.
Craxare hunc sibi prescriptus fecit boanarges
idcirco ut soteris populum in biblo potuisset
sanctificare, deoque preces effundere sacras
pro grege commiso, nullum quo perdat ouilis
agniculum paruum, ualeat sid dicere laetus:
'memet ego adsigno ecce tibi pueros quoque quos tu
seruandos mihi iam dederas; nullum lupus audax
exillis rapuit lurcon temet faciente.
Sed simul adstamus uitam cupimusque manentem
percipere, in caelisque frui cum principe summo

§2.6) Godeman's Prefatory Poem (Warner and Wilson, trans., *Benedictional,* pp. 7-8):

A bishop, the great Æthelwold, whom the lord had made patron of Winchester, ordered a certain monk subject to him to write the present book – truly knowing well how to preserve Christ's fleecy lambs from the malignant art of the devil; illustrious, venerable and benign, he desires also to render, as a steward, full fruit to God, when the judge who sifts the actions of the whole world, what each has done, shall come and give reward as they deserve, to the just eternal life, and punishment to the unjust. He commanded also to be made in this book many arches well adorned and filled with various figures decorated with manifold beautiful colours and with gold. This book the Boanerges aforesaid [i.e. Æthelwold] caused to be indited for himself in order that he might be able to sanctify the people of the Saviour by means of it and to pour forth holy prayers to God for the flock committed to him, and that he may lose no little lambkin of the fold, but may be able to say joyfully,

'Lo, I present to thee myself and the children whom thou didst give me to keep; by thy aid none of them has the fierce ravening wolf snatched away, but we stand together and desire to receive abiding life and to enjoy it in the heavens with the supreme sovereign whose members we are, who by right is the head or salvation of those baptised in the dear-sounding name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Ghost, so that, if they wander not astray but hold the faith, and by their deeds also perform the commands of salvation and repel all heresy from their hearts, ever striving to overcome the evil of sin, they may be joined to the Lord in heaven without end'. May Christ the Saviour, who is the good king of the world, mercifully grant this to all who are sprinkled with holy baptism; and to the great father who ordered this book to be written may he grant an eternal kingdom above. Let all who look on

cuius membra sumus, caput est qui iure salusque
baptizatorum in patris et natique flaminis almi
nomine clarisono, si non per deuia uergant
sedque fidem teneant factis quoque iussa salutis
perficiant, heresimque omnem de corde repellent;
peccat<i>que malum semper superare students
coniuncti domino sint in caelis sine fine.'
Hoc cunctis Clemens tinctis baptismate sacro
concedat Christus soter est qui rex bonus orbis,
atque patri magno iussit qui scriber librum hunc
aeternum regnum concedat in arce polorum.
omnes cernentes biblum hunc semper rogitent hoc
post metam carnis ualeam caelis inherere:
obnixe hoc rogitat scriptor supplex Godemannus.

this book pray always that after the term of the flesh I may abide in heaven – Godeman the writer, as a suppliant, earnestly asks this.

§2.7.1) Advent Benediction I (CBP 1544):

Unigeniti Adventum

a) Omnipotens Deus, cuius unigeniti adventum et praeteritum creditis et futurum exspectatis, eiusdem adventus vos illustratione sanctificet, et sua benedictione locupletet. Amen.
b) In praesentis vitae stadio vos ab omni adversitate defendat, et se vobis in iudicio placabilem ostendat. Amen.
c) Quo a cunctis peccatorum contagiis liberati, illius tremendi examinis diem exspectetis interriti. Amen. Quod ipse praestare dignetur, qui cum patre et spiritum sancto uiuit et gloriatur deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

§2.7.2) Advent Benediction I Alia (CBP 37):

Item Alia.

a) Aperi, Domine, ianuas caeli et visita plebem tuam in pace; emitte Spiritum tuum de alto et irriga terram nostram, ut germinet nobis spiritum alem fructum. [Amen].
b) Sanctifica plebem tuam, Domine, qui datus es nobis ex virgine et benedic hereditatem tuam in pace. [Amen].
c) Praesta eis semper tempora salutis, quae ante tuum adventum praedixit sanctus propheta Ioannes, ut hic fideliter accipiant et in futuro cum sanctis et electis tuis vitam et regnum consequantur aeternum. [Amen]. Quod ipse.

§2.7.1) Advent Benediction I (Prescott, trans., *Benedictional,* 11):

The Advent of the Only-Begotten [Son]

a) May Omnipotent God, the advent of whose only begotten Son you believe to have happened in the past and expect to occur in the future, sanctify you by the illumination of the same [Son's] advent, and enrich you with his blessing.
b) May he protect you from all adversity in the contest of the present life and show himself mild to you in judgement. Amen.
c) So that you, freed by him from all contagions of sins, might await the day of that terrible examination unafraid. Amen. May he deign to grant us this [grace], who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns world without end. Amen.

§2.7.2) Advent Benediction I Alia (Prescott, trans., *Benedictional,* 11):

Also another.

a) Open, O Lord, the gates of heaven, and visit your people in peace, and send your spirit from above, and irrigate our earth, so that it might bring forth spiritual fruit for us.
b) Sanctify your people, O Lord, and bless your inheritance, who has been given to us in peace from a Virgin.
c) Grant to them the salvation, which had been promised with the advent of the prophet Saint John, and may the faithful receive in future, with your saints and elect, eternal life in the heavenly kingdom.

§2.7.3) Benediction for Many Virgins (CBP 1742):

Benedictio in Natali Plurimarum Uirginum

a) Omnipotens Dominus, intercedentibus sanctis virginibus suis uos dignetur benedicere qui de antique hoste, non solum per uiros, sed etiam per feminas uoluit triumphare. Amen.
b) Et qui illis uoluit centesimi fructus donum decore uirginitatis et agone martyrii conferre, uos dignetur et uitiorum squaloribus expurgare et uirtutem lampadibus exornare. Amen.
c) Quatenus uirtutum oleo ita pectorum uestrorum lampades possint repleri, ut cum eis caelestis sponsi thalamum ualeatis ingredi. Amen. Quod ipse.

§2.7.4) Benediction for the Dedication of a Church (CBP 123):

Benedictio in dedication ecclesiae

a) Benedicat et custodiat uos omnipotens Dominus, domum que hanc sui muneris presentia illustrare atque suae pietatis oculos super eam die ac nocte dignetur aperire. Amen.
b) Concedatque propitius, ut omnes qui ad dedicationem huius basilicae devote convenistis, intercedente beato ill. et ceteris sanctis suis quorum reliquiae hic pio venerantur amore, uobis cum hinc ueniam peccatorum uestrorum reportare ualeatis. Amen.
c) Quatenus eorum interventu ipsi templum sancti Spiritus in quo sancta Deus Trinitas iugiter habitare dignetur efficiamini, et post huius vitae labentis excursum ad gaudia aeterna feliciter pervenire mereamini. Amen. Quod ipse.

§2.7.3) Benediction for Many Virgins:

Benediction for the Feasts of Many Virgins

a) Almighty God, deign to bless your holy, interceding virgins, through whom, and not through men alone, you wish to triumph against the ancient enemy.
b) And who wishes to suitably confer as a gift the fruit of virginity and the battle of martyrdom on those thousands [of virgins]; [may he] deign to purge them from the squalor of vices and adorn them with lamps of virtue. Amen.
c) To the extent that those lamps of your breast may thus be refilled with oil, so that they may be able to enter the bridal chamber of heaven. Amen.

§2.7.4) Benediction for the Dedication of a Church (Prescott, trans., *Benedictional,* 19):

Benediction for the Dedication of a Church

a) May the omnipotent God bless and keep you and this house [and] may he deign to illuminate you and this house by the presence of his gift, and deign to open the eyes of his kindness over it day and night. Amen.
b) And may he beneficently grant that all you who devoutly gather at the dedication of this basilica might be worthy, through the blessed intervention of N [the saint to whom the church is dedicated] and those other saints, whose relics here are devoutly venerated with love, to obtain the forgiveness of your sins. Amen.
c) Since with their intervention, you yourselves might be made the temple of the Holy Spirit, in which God, the Holy Trinity, might deign to dwell continuously, and alter the running out of the excursion of this life of labouring, you might merit to come successfully to eternal joy. Amen.

§2.8.1) B's *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 14-6) [Chapter 4]:

Postea uero religiosi iam dicti pueri Dunstani parentes sacris eum litterarum otiis curiose contulerunt. Cui confestim Dominus tantam in his largitatis suae conferre dignatus est gratiam, ut coetaneos quosque precelleret, et suorum tempora studiorum facili cursu transiliret.

Sed quod contulerat sibi signum summa maiestas
In studiis ipsis paruo pro posse patebo.
Contigit hunc laborare diu nam febribus artis,
In tantum ut frenesis morbum pateretur amarum,
Inmemor atque sui per deliramenta nugarum
Plurima uerborum uacua iactasset ab ore.
Cladibus his fessus committitur et mulieri
Cuidam, quae tenero tunc suppeditaret alumpno
Et curam gereret sub ea ne peste periret.
At memorata lues puerum superaucta premebat,
Vt uelut exanimis iacuisset ad ultima stratus
Omnibus et membris fieret quasi iam moriturus.
Cumque diu sic mole mali grauaretur operti,
Ecce repente mouens saliit propereque resurgit,
Fustem ac surculeum rapuit tunc forte repertum;
Quocum percutiens ambabus partibus auras,
A canibus rabidis quasi se defenderet, ibat,
Sic quoque nocte (ferunt) ut adusque peribula templi
Soliuagus properaret, et inde ueniret ad altos
Ascensus graduum, quo scandere summa solebant
Artifices operum, qui cum discrimine grandi
Ipsius (heu!) timidi texere cacumina templi.
Illic ut ualidus summam conscendit in arcem,
Et nimis incaute super hac stetit atque meauit.
Sed Domini pietas rapuit de fastigiorum
Casibus insontem, ponens quoque inde deorsum
Incolumem membris saluum sanumque locatum

§2.8.1) B's *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 15-7) [Chapter 4]:

Later his devout parents took care to give the boy Dunstan the leisure to devote to holy scripture. At once the Lord was pleased so to bless him with the grace of His largesse in these studies that he came to excel all his peers, easily racing through his student days.

Now, as far as my small capacities allow, I shall reveal the sign that the Supreme Majesty sent him during his studies. It happened that for a long time he suffered from a constricting fever, so much so that he fell prey to the bitter affliction of delirium; forgetting who he was, he talked raving nonsense, hurling many a word from a mouth devoid of sense. Wearied by this calamity, he was entrusted to a woman who was from then on to attend to her young charge and ensure that he did not die of this plague. But it got worse, and overwhelmed the boy. In the end, he lay prostrate, apparently lifeless, seeming to be on the point of death in all his limbs. After being long weighed down like this by the mass of the invisible ill, lo and behold! He suddenly moved, leapt up, rose briskly, and snatched a thin stick that he chanced to find at that moment. Away he went with it, slashing at the air on either hand as through defending himself from mad dogs. Indeed (they say) he even hurried alone by night to the precincts of the church, and came to the high ladder up which workmen used to climb, as, taking their lives in their hands, they fearfully roofed the very topmost parts of the church. Like someone untouched by illness, he came to this route to the highest point, and stood and walked about all too daringly there. But God in his mercy snatched him down unscathed from the perils of the roof, and deposited him below, safe and sound of limb, inside the church. He found himself making a third, resting between two watchmen, who were sleeping side by side as was their custom. Ye *he* could not imagine how he had got there, nor could any living soul. For the church doors stood upon to no visitor; tough iron under a shell of wood barred them fast. Good reader, now, tell me the truth quickly: what do you make of this lad? Have you any doubt that such a man climbed to the top of the temple, who lies here in the church behind closed doors, to bring salvation from disaster, in after time to redeem from evil corruption a host of men and send troops of them heavenward, showing by teaching and example how the humble sufferer rises and the proud man falls headlong?

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Intus in hoc eodem templo, de culmine vexum
Quo duo custodes pariter de more cubabant,
Vt simul inter eos pausaret tertius ille.
Ipse tamen nesciuit qua ratione ueniret
Excogitare modum uiuensue sub aethere quisquam.
Hostia nam templi nulli patuere meanti,
Arcuit ast eadem ferrum sub cortice durum.
Optime nunc lector, celeri sermone fatere
Quid tibi ueridicio uideatur in hoc pusione,
Si talem dubites superum conscendere templum,
Qui hic clausis foribus pro saluatione ruinae
Conditur in templo, <ut> redimat de labe maligna
Postea perplures et mittat ad aethera turmas,
Dogmata distribuens necnon exempla relinquens
Vt surgat patiens humilis ruat atque superbus.

Nam quanto erat crescendo sublimior, tanto acuitatis ingenio locupletior; quantoque roticulis annorum maturior, tanto Dei dilectione ferventior; quanto vero in divinis laudibus assuetior, tanto perseveranti animo instantior.

The taller he grew, the richer he became in sharpness of intellect; the riper he became, as the years rolled by the more ardent was he in his love of God; the more he grew accustomed to praising God, the more earnest and assiduous his mind became.

§2.8.2) B's *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 16-20) [Chapter 5]:

Videntes itaque parentes prenominati tantam sui excellentiam filii, dignam sibi clericatus inposuere tonsuram inque famoso Glæstoniensis aecclesiae sociauerunt coenobio, quatenus ibidem die noctuque Deo Deique genitrici deseruiret Mariae tempore continuo. Iamque disciplinis deificis innexus florentes suae pubertatis annos euicta iuuuentute calcavit;
et iustus in domo Dei sui, sicut cedrus Libani, uigoribus uirtutum floruit, inque diuinis artriis plantatus incrementi sui robora singulis diebus protendebat ad sidera. Interea namque magna suae constantiae fama regis in palatio patuit, adeo nempe ut longe lateque magnificis rerum laudabilium diuulgaretur indiciiis: non tamen ut huius mundi uanos ipse captaret fauores, sed ut copiis uirtutum preuentus omnem aeterni regis gloriam abintus gestaret, quam sibi pollens sapientia docto digito donorum spiritualium, uarietate etiam studiorum, necne gemmante nitore aureorum ornatuum dictauit et neuit.

Nam multa sacrorum et diuinorum uoluminum prata uelut apis ingeniosa rapido cursu capacis ingenii peruolauit, eo uidelicet tenore ut mentem potius quam corpus diuinis reficeret lectionibus, et ut receptaculum casti pectusculi, sancti Spiritus flatu perfusum, gustu nectareo deuote suppleret. Porro Hibernensium peregrini locum quem dixi, sicut et ceterae nationes, magno colebant affectu, maxime tamen ob beati Patricii senioris honerem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quieuisse narratur. Horum etiam libros rectae fidei tramitem philosophantes, diligenter excoluit, aliorumque prudentum, quos ab intimo cordis aspectu patrum sanctorum assertione solidatos esse persenserat, solubili semper indagauit scrutamine, et ita uitae suae studium cohercens, ut quotiescumque huiusmodi libros enucleauerat Deus cum eo pariter loqueretur, quoties autem curis saecularibus solutus orationum otiis insudauerat, ipse cum Domino pariter fari uideretur.

§2.8.2) B's *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 17-21) [Chapter 5]:

Dunstan's parents observed their son's high qualities, and quite properly made him take the tonsure that marks out clerical office, attaching him to the well-known monastery of the church of Glastonbury. There, night and day without remission, he was to serve God and Mary, Mother of God. Bound to godly learning, he conquered his youth, trampling underfoot the flower of his early manhood. Righteous in the house of his God, he flourished like the cedar of Libanus in the strength of his virtues. Planted in God's courts, he every day extended his vigorous growth towards the stars. Meanwhile, the king's palace became familiar. With the high repute of his steadfastness; far and wide spread flattering reports of his praiseworthy deeds. But he was not concerned to court the empty favour of this world for himself. Rather, escorted by his abounding virtues, he bore within himself all the glory of the eternal king, which potent wisdom prescribed and wove for him by the learned finger of spiritual gifts, by the variety of his studies, and by the glittering brilliance of his golden distinctions.

Many were the meadows of sacred and divine volumes which, like some bee of genius, he flew over on the swift wings of his able nature. It was his intention to refresh his mind, not his body, with his readings from scripture, and devoutly to keep supplied with the taste of nectar the chaste chambers of his heart, suffused as it was by the breath of the Holy Spirit. Now Irish pilgrims, like men of other races, felt special affection for Glastonbury, not least out of their desire to honour the elder St Patrick, who is said to have died there happily in the Lord. Dunstan carefully studied their books, which teach the way to the true faith, and conducted a constant problem-solving inquiry into the works of other wise writers, whom he realised deep in his heart to have been given solidity by the affirmations of the holy fathers. He disciplined his life's study in such a way that, whenever he examined books of this kind, God talked with him face to face, and that whenever he freed himself from the cares of this world and concentrated on untroubled prayer he (as it seemed) spoke in person with the Lord.

§2.8.3) *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 20-22) [from Chapter 6]:

Igitur dum haec exercitia bonorum operum secum agerentur, nonnulli propriorum sodalium, immo saecularium, maxime uidelicet ipsi consanguinei sui, qui salutiferis actibus eius inuidebant, sanctae uineae uitem palmitemque ad caelestia regna tendentem, beatum uidelicet Dunstanum in Christo pollentem, linguis serpentium acutis morsibusque dirorum dentium, uti hyrci setigeri, rodere uel precidere conati sunt. Conflabant enim sub liuido antro neuosi pectoris inopinata mendacia, dicentes illum ex libris salubribus et uiris peritis, non saluti animarum profutura sed auitae gentilitatis uanissima didicisse carmina, et histriarum friuoleas coulisse incantationes. Huic quippe morbo mendacii ipse necessario adhibendus est Christus, qui omnia antequam fiant nouit, cum teste suo, Dauid scilicet fideli, qui in persona ipsius sancti Spiritus preuentus oraculo de falsis testibus tempore Dominicae passionis ita inquiens ait: 'Insurrexerunt in me testes iniqui, et mentita est iniquitas sibi'. Et iterum, 'Qui querebant' inquit 'mihi mala locuti sunt uanitatem, et dolos tota die meditabantur'. […]

§2.8.3) *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 22-3) [from Chapter 6]:

While Dunstan was engaged in these good works in their midst, certain of his comrades at court, lay persons, and particularly his own kinsmen, who looked askance at his devout behaviour, tried to gnaw and cut down the vine of the sacred vineyard, the shoot making its way towards the kingdom of heaven, the blessed Dunstan, powerful in Christ. They employed the sharp tongues of snakes, and their teeth inflicted fearful bites as though they were bristly goats. From deep in the malign caverns of their flawed breasts they concocted lies he did not expect, saying that from those healthful books, from those wise men, he had learned not things that would help to save souls but the vain spells of ancestral heathendom, and had cultivated the empty incantations of wizards. Against this plague of falsehood the essential remedy is Christ, who 'knowest all things before they come to pass', together with His witness, the faithful David, who, in His person and inspired to prophecy by the Holy Spirit, says of the false witnesses at the time of Our Lord's Passion: 'Unjust witnesses have risen up against me, and iniquity hath lied to itself'. And again: 'They that sought evils to me spoke a vain thing, and studied deceits all the day long'.

§2.8.4) *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 102) [from Chapter 37]:

Nunc ergo, quoniam uniuersa bonorum actuum suorum exercitia, si die noctuque in summa meditationis sagacitate, somno naturali priuatus immorarer, nequeo explanare, aequum tamen esse arbitror ut ea saltim quae uel egomet uidi uel audiui, iusta Dei ammonitione stimulatus, pro posse capacitatis enodem.

Huic etenim, dum tediosum huius uitae incolatum laboriose incoluit, summum studium fuit ut uidelicet sacris in orationibus et in Dauiticis decem chordarum psalmodiis iugi frequentia insisteret, aut in uigiliis suauem somnum superando pernoctaret assiduis, aut in aecclesiasticis feruidus semper insudaret operibus; aut etiam mendosos libros, dum primam orientis diei lucem contueri potuit, erasa scriptorium falsitate corrigeret; aut ut uera et falsa inter uirum et uirum sagaci ingenio iudicando discerneret; aut inpacatos quosque uel rixantes placido sermone concordes efficeret et quietos; aut uiduis, orfanis, peregrinis et aduenis in suius necessitatibus pio profuisset adminiculo; aut ut iusta sequestratione inepta uel iniusta dissociaret coniugia, aut omnem humanum ordinem trifarie partitum in proprio solidatatis proposito uerbo uitae firmaret uel exemplo, aut de iusto conquisitionis suae censu, cis uel citra aecclesias Dei placida probitate subleuaret ditandas, aut enim utriusque ordinis inperitos, uiros uidelicet uel feminas, quoscumque die noctuque poterat caelesti sale, id est, salutaris sapientiae documento condiret.

§2.8.4) *Life of Dunstan* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Early Lives of St. Dunstan,* 103) [from Chapter 37]:

I could not recount all the good deeds he performed were I to spend night and day, sleepless, plunged in the wisest meditation. But I think it only right at this point to reveal at least what I personally saw and heard. I do this at the just prompting of God, and to the best of my ability.

While he was engaged in the wearisome toil of this life's exile, it was the height of his ambition to take part constantly in holy prayers and in the psalms of David played on ten strings; to conquer sweet sleep and spend whole nights in devoted vigil; ever to labour enthusiastically at works for the church; to correct mistakes in books, as soon as he glimpsed the earliest light of dawn, by getting rid of false readings; to use his keen intellect to judge what was true and what false in disputes between one man and another; by soothing words to make the quarrelsome and contentious come to calm agreement; to bring merciful support to widows, orphans, pilgrims, and strangers in their various needs; to make a just divorce where marriages were ill-advised or illegal; by the word of life [i.e. the scriptures] and his own example to strengthen and duly maintain the whole human order, in its threefold division; with unostentatious uprightness to support and enrich the churches of God near and far out of his legitimately acquired wealth; and day and night to flavour with the salt of heaven, that is, the teaching of the wisdom that brings salvation, all the uneducated men and women he could, whether lay or religious.

§2.9.1) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 8-11) [Chapter 6]:

QVOD STVDIOSE ET DILIGENTER IN IPSA PVERITIA SACRIS LITTERARVM STVDIIS ANIMVM DEDERIT. Igitur cotidiano profectu creuit puer bonae indolis, et in ipsa mox pueritia sacris litterarum studiis est traditus, ut qui aliis uiam salutis erat ostensurus ipse cum Maria secus pedes Domini humiliter sederet et uerbum ex ore illius salubriter audiret. Erat enim agilis natura atque acutus ingenio, ita ut quicquid maiorum traditione didicerat non segniter obliuioni traderet sed tenaci potius memoriae commendaret. Studebat etiam teneros pueritiae annos morum honestate et uirtutum maturitate uincere, diuinis semper obsequiis omnia membra sua mancipare et ad Dei implendam uoluntatem totam mentis suae intentionem dirigere, sicque perceptis Christi muneribus recte uiuendo gratias exhibere ut ad maiora percipienda dignus mereretur existere.

§2.9.2) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 14) [from Chapter 9]:

QVOMODO ÆTHELWOLDVS GLASTONIAM PERVENIT ET MONACHVS FACTVS QVALITER IBI DEO SERVIENS VIXERIT. Ætheluuoldus autem Christi famulus, nomine, mente et opera benuiolus, artam uiam quae ducit ad uitam recto itinere gradiens, cotidiana Deo cooperante studuit melioratione succrescere, dans operam diligenter doctrinis et exemplis Ælfeagi susceptoris et ordinatoris sui. Aput quem praecipiente rege quo Melius imbueretur aliquandiu commoratus est, ac postmodum Glastoniam perueniens magnifici uiri Dunstani, abbatis eiusdem monasterii, discipulatui se tradidit. Cuius magisterio multum proficiens, tandem monastici ordinis habitum ab ipso suscepit, humili deuotione eius regimini deditus. Didicit namque inibi liberalem grammaticae artis peritiam atque mellifluam metricae rationis dulcedinem, et more apis prudentissimae, quae solet boni odoris arbores circumuolando requirere et iocundi saporis holeribus incumbere, diuinorum carpebat flores uoluminium. Catholicos quoque et nominatos studiose legebat auctores, insuper uigiliis et orationibus perseueranter insistens, et abstinentia semet ipsum edomans, et fratres ad ardua semper exhortans.

§2.9.1) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans. *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 8-11) [Chapter 6]:

HOW EVEN AS A CHILD HE DEVOTED HIMSELF STUDIOUSLY AND INDUSTRIOUSLY TO STUDYING HOLY LITERATURE. And so every day this gifted child advanced. Soon, while still a boy, he was set to study religious literature; thus one who was destined to show others the 'way of salvation' was himself with Mary able to sit humbly at the feet of the Lord, listening to the words of salvation from his lips. He was naturally quick and sharp of mind, so that he did not lazily consign to oblivion what he learnt from the elders' teaching, but rather stored it in a retentive memory. Further, he was keen to overcome his tender boyhood years by good conduct and maturity in virtue; always to devote his whole body to the service of God, and give his mind undividedly to fulfilling the wishes of God; and by his correct life to show his gratitude for the gifts he had received from Christ, and to deserve to receive yet greater.

§2.9.2) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 15) [Chapter 9]:

How ÆTHELWOLD CAME TO GLASTONBURY, AND HOW HE LIVED THERE AS A MONK SERVING GOD. Æthelwold, servant of Christ, and 'well-intentioned' in name, mind, and deed, proceeded straight along 'the narrow way which leadeth unto life'. He was anxious, with God's help, to grow better with every day, and he studiously attended to the teaching and example of his patron and ordainer Ælfheah. With him he stayed for some time at the king's wish to improve his education. Later he went to Glastonbury and became a disciple of the distinguished Dunstan, abbot of that monastery. He profited greatly by Dunstan's teaching, and eventually received the habit of the monastic order from him, devoting himself humbly to his rule. At Glastonbury he learned skill in the liberal art of grammar and the honey-sweet system of metrics; like a provident bee that habitually flits around looking for scented trees and settling on the greenery of pleasant taste, he laid toll on the flowers of religious books. He was eager to read the best-known Christian writers, and was in addition constant in vigils and prayer, taming himself by fasting and never ceasing to exhort his fellow monks to strive for the heights.

§2.9.3) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 46-8) [Chapter 31]:

QVOD IVVENES DOCERE SEMPER DVLCE HABVERIT. Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et iuuenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglice eis soluere, et regulas grammaticae artis ac metricae rationis tradere, et iocundis alloquiis ad Meliora hortari. Vnde factum es tut perplures ex discipulis eius fierent sacerdotes atque abates et honorabiles episcopi, quidam etiam archiepiscopi, in gente Anglorum.

§2.9.4) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 52-4) [Chapter 35]:

DE MONACHO QUI SE VIRO DEI IN LEGENDO ASSIMILARE PRAESUMPSIT. Tempore quodam hiemali, cum fratres secundum regulae edictum temperius ad uigilias surgerent et nocturno interuallo psalmodiae et lectioni inseruirent, quidam monachus, nomine Theodricus, ad Dei hominem perrexit, uolens indiciis de quadam necessitate ei indicare, eumque luminis candelabrum manu tenentem repperit et legentem et sedula agilitate palpebrarum seniles obtutus acuentem: ibique diutius stetit, adtendens quam studiose oculos paginae infigeret. Surrexit tandem uir sanctus a lectione, et ille frater residens accepit candelam coepitque legere, probans utrum et ipse posset oculos suos sanos ad legendum tam diligenter acuere sicut episcopum suos caligantes fecisse uiderat. Sed illa temeritas non inpune euenit illi. Nam sequenti nocte, cum membra sopori dedisset, apparuit ei quidam uultu incognitus, terribili comminatione dicens ad eum: 'Qua temeritate praesumpsisti exprobrare episcopum praeterita nocte in legendo?' Cumque tremefactus se hoc fecisse negaret, ille toruis intuens in eum luminibus 'Non potes' inquit 'me fallendo ludere, sicut aestimas; sed hoc signum tuae praesumptionis habeas': et haec dicens incussit uiolenter ictum oculis eius digito suo, statimque dolor oculorum ualidus secutus est, qui eum multis diebus uehementer affligebat, donec satisfactione culpam deleret quam incaute in sanctum uirum commisit.

§2.9.3) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 47-9) [Chapter 31]:

THAT HE ALWAYS FOUND IT PLEASANT TO TEACH YOUNG MEN. It was always agreeable to him to teach young men and the more mature students, translating Latin texts into English for them, passing on the rules of grammar and metric, and encouraging them to do better by cheerful words. Many of his pupils accordingly became priests, abbots and notable bishops, some even archbishops, in England.

§2.9.4). Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 53-5) [Chapter 35]:

ON THE MONK WHO PRESUMED TO VIE WITH THE MAN OF GOD IN READING. One winter's day, when the monks, as the Rule lays down, 'rose earlier for Vigils' and gave themselves over to singing psalms and reading in the night interval, a monk named Theodric came to the man of God wanting to tell him by signs about some important matter. He found him with a candlestick in his hand, reading, and sharpening his aged sight by keeping his eyelids hard at work. There he stood for some while, watching how closely Æthelwold fixed his eyes on the page. At length the holy man rose from his reading, and the monk sat down, took the candle, and started to read, testing whether he could make his healthy eyes as sharp at reading as he had seen the bishop do his dim ones. But such presumption did not go unpunished. The following night when he had given his body up to sleep, there appeared to him someone whose face he did not recognise, who asked with fearful menace: 'With what temerity did you dare to reproach the bishop last night in reading?' The monk trembled and said he had not done this. But the other glared at him and said: 'You cannot play with me or deceive me, as you imagine: take that as the mark of your presumption.' With these words he jabbed his finger sharply into Theodric's eyes. Severe eye pains followed at once, and troubled him badly for many days, till his penance removed the guilt which he had unwittingly incurred towards the holy man.

§2.9.5) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 54) [Chapter 36]:

DE CANDELA QUAE EPISCOPO OBDORMIENTE SUPER FOLIUM LIBRI ARDENS IACUIT ET TAMEN PAGINAM MINIME LAESIT. Item accidit, cum famulus Christi nocturno tempore lectioni operam daret, eum ob nimiam uigilantiam obdormisse, et candelam ardentem de candelabro super librum in quo legerat cecidisse. Quae tandiu ardens super folium iacebat donec unus frater, nomine Leofredus, adueniret. Qui festinus accepit candelam adhuc flammantem de libro, et intuitus aspexit fauillas ipsius candelae *per multas lineas iacentes*, *et exsufflans eas* inuenit paginam inlaesam. Qua in re meritum sancti uiri patuit, quia ardentem candelam flamma consumpsit et tamen uim uirtutis suae ne paginam laederet amisit.

§2.9.5) Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Lapidge and Winterbottom, eds. and trans., *Vita S. Æthelwoldi,* 55) [Chapter 36]:

ON THE CANDLE THAT LAY BURNING ON THE PAGE OF A BOOK WHEN THE BISHOP WAS ASLEEP AND YET DID IT NO HARM AT ALL. It also happened that, when the servant of Christ was devoting himself to reading at night, he fell asleep because he had stayed awake too long, and that a burning candle fell from the candlestick on the book in which he had been reading. It lay alight on the page until a brother, whose name was Leofred, came along. He quickly removed the candle, still alight, from the book. On examination he saw hot ash from the candle lying across many lines of the writing. Blowing them away he found the page undamaged. Here the merit of the holy father was made obvious: the flame wore away the candle as it burned, but it lost its force and could not harm the page.

Appendix 3: Illustrations



Figure 1: Christ in Majesty with the *Liber Vitae* in the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Laurenziano Amiatino 1, f. 796v). © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



Figure 2: Mark Dipping his Pen in the Judith of Flanders Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.708, f. 26v). © Pierpont Morgan Library.



Figure 2a: Luke Preparing to Write in the Judith of Flanders Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.708, f. 42v). © Pierpont Morgan Library.



Figure 3: Hrabanus Maurus, with Alcuin, Dedicating a Book to Archbishop Otgar of Mainz (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 652, f. 2v). © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.



Figure 4: Charles the Bald Receiving the Book in the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Lat. 1, f. 423). © BnF.

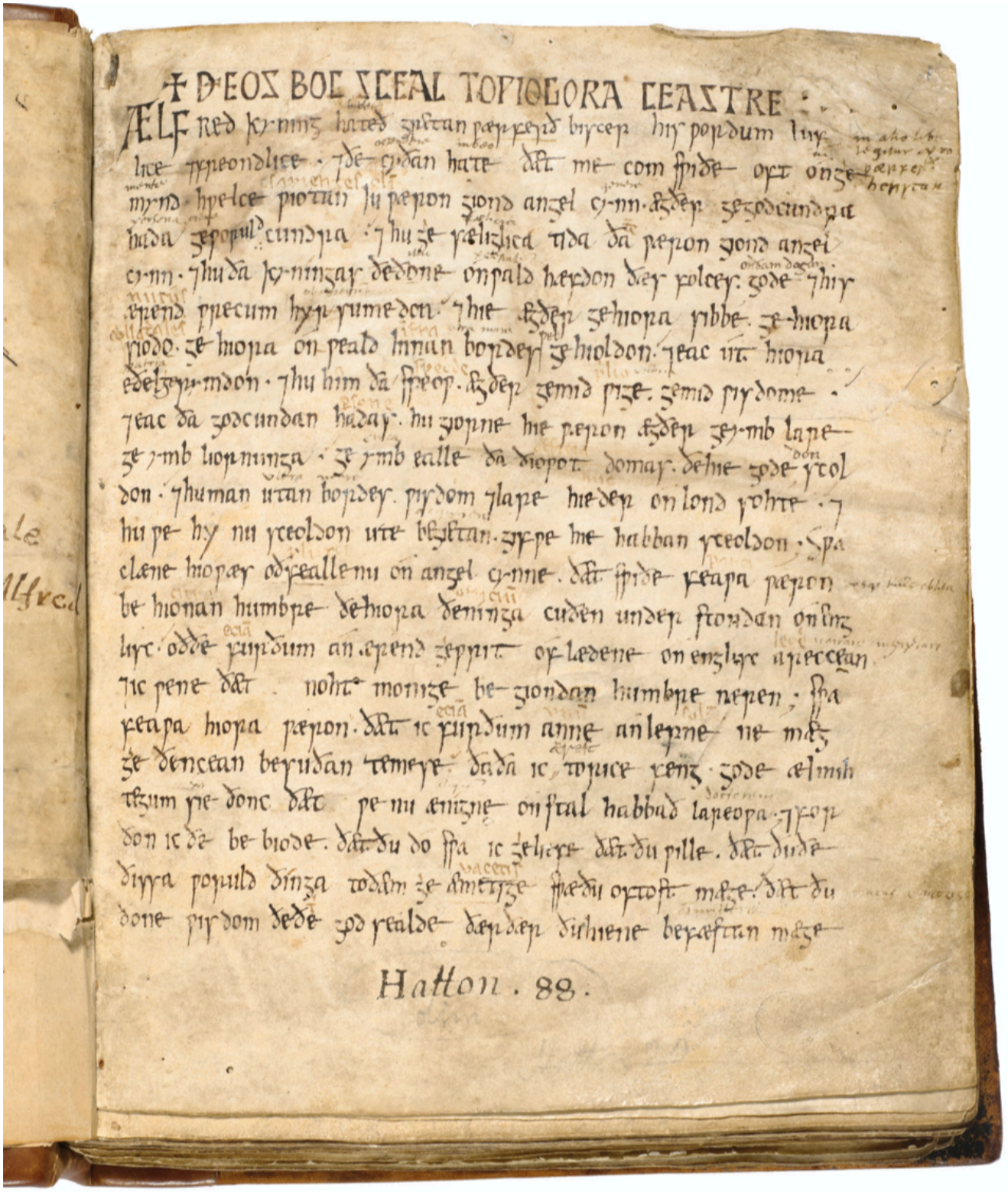


Figure 5: The Opening of King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20, f. 1r). © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

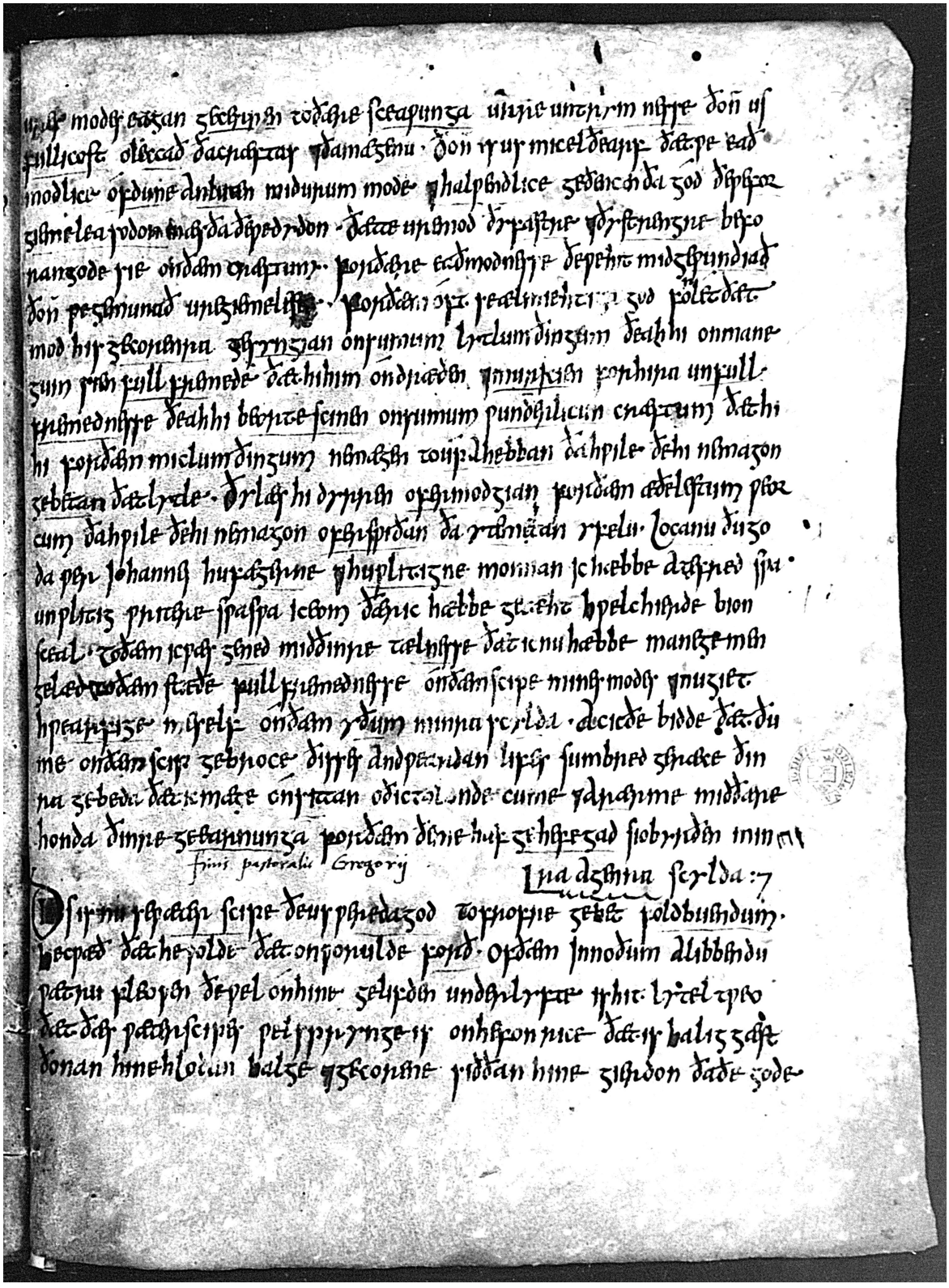


Figure 6: The Opening of the Epilogue to King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20, f. 98r). © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

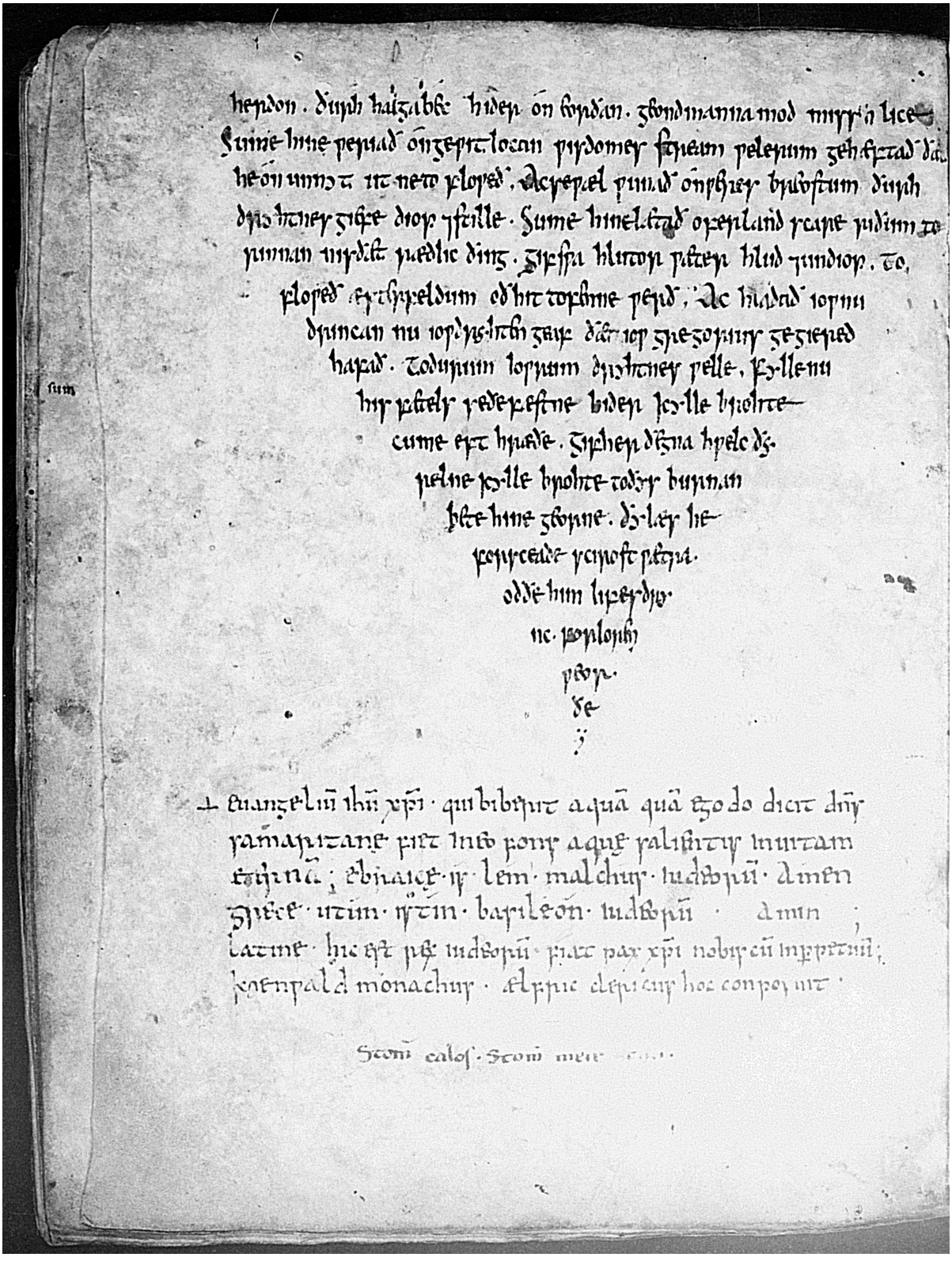


Figure 7: The Conclusion of the Epilogue to King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20, f. 98v). © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

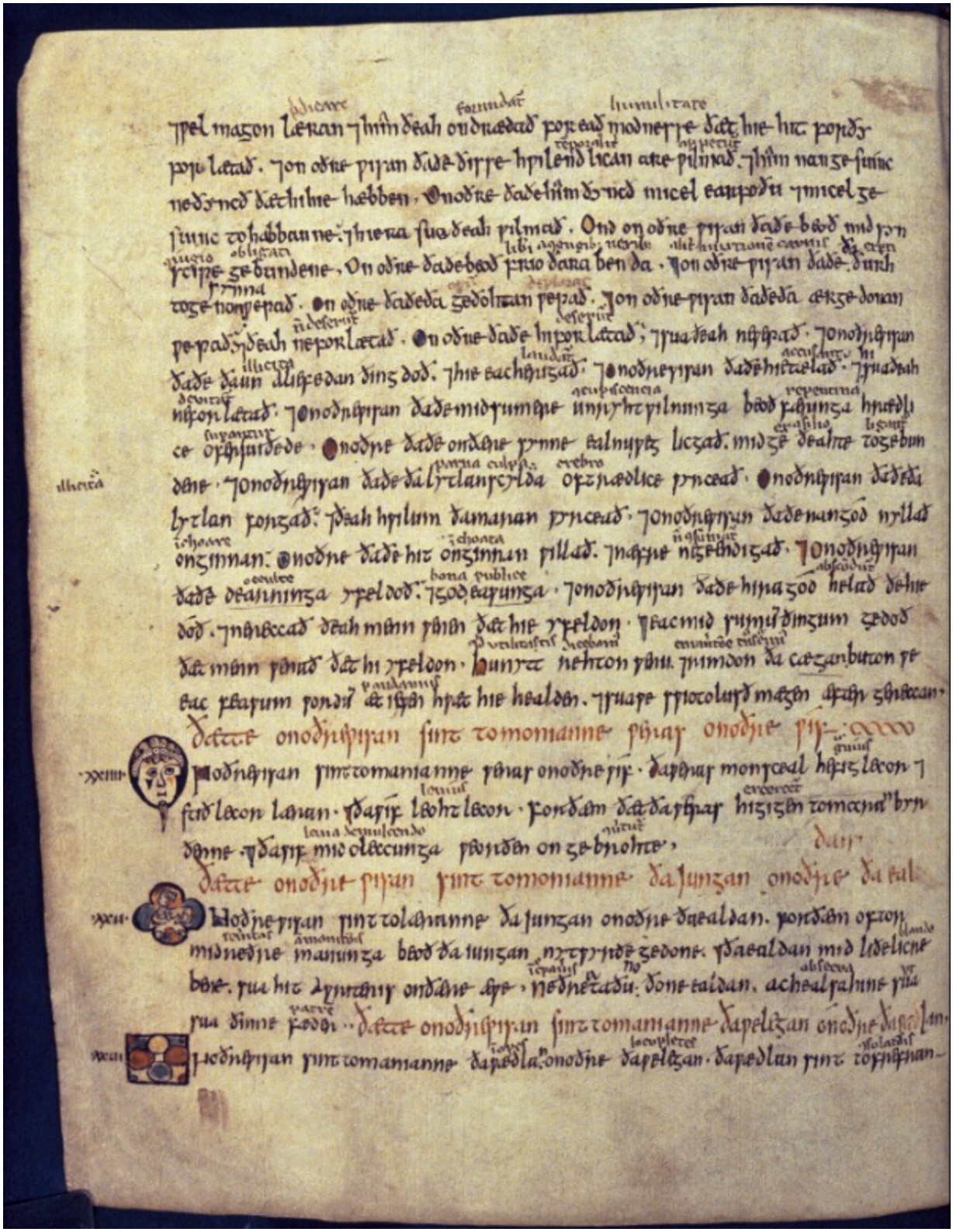


Figure 8: A Historiated Initial Face in King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20, f. 34v). © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

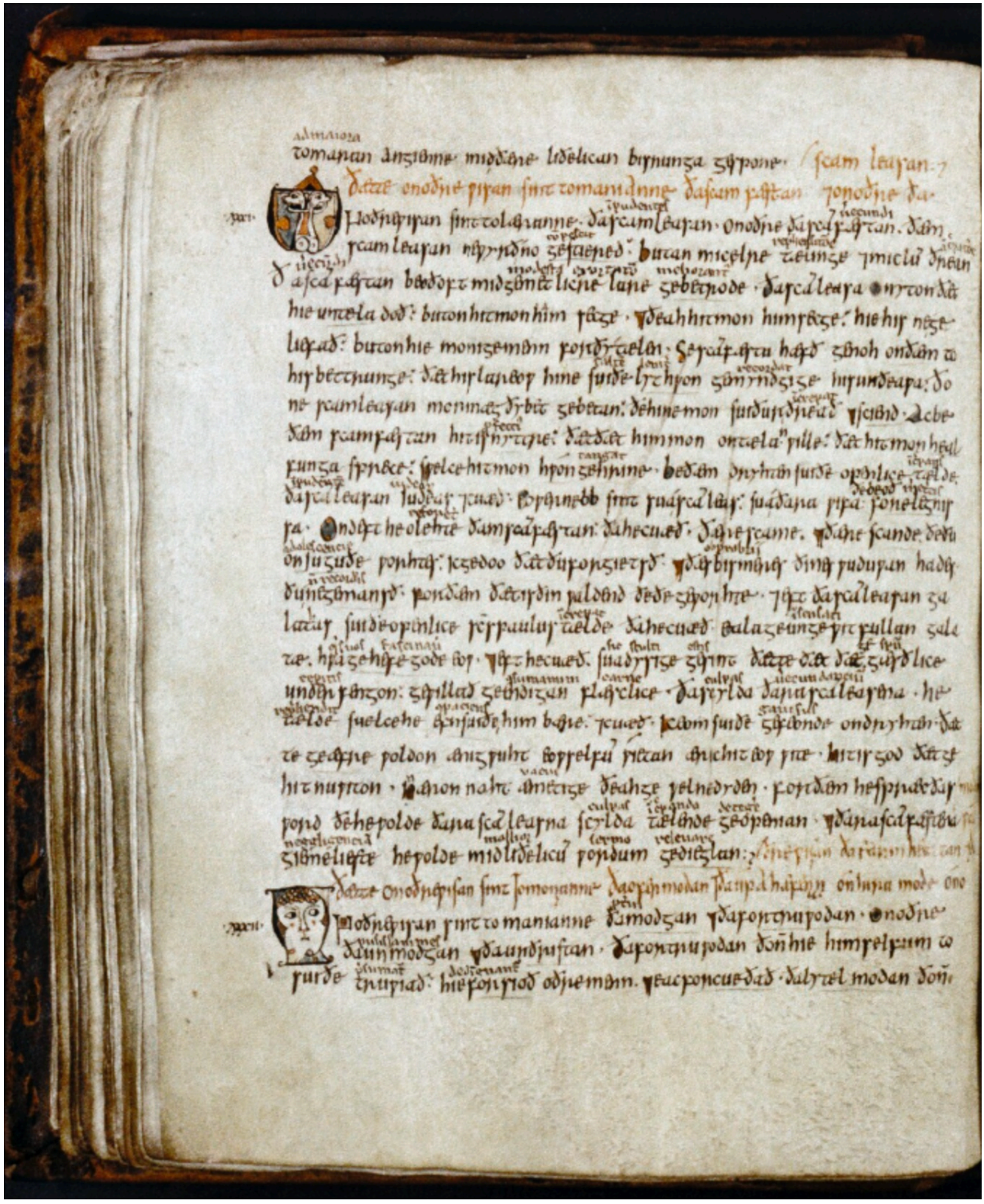


Figure 9: A Historiated Initial Face Looking at the Text of King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20, f. 39v). © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Figure 10: The Figure of "Sight" on the Alfred Jewel. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 11: Foliate Designs on the Reverse of the Alfred Jewel. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 12: King Æthelstan Donating a Book to St. Cuthbert; the Preface to Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, ff. 1v-2r). © The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



Figure 12a: Detail of Ruling of the Corpus "Donation" Portrait (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, f. 1v) © The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

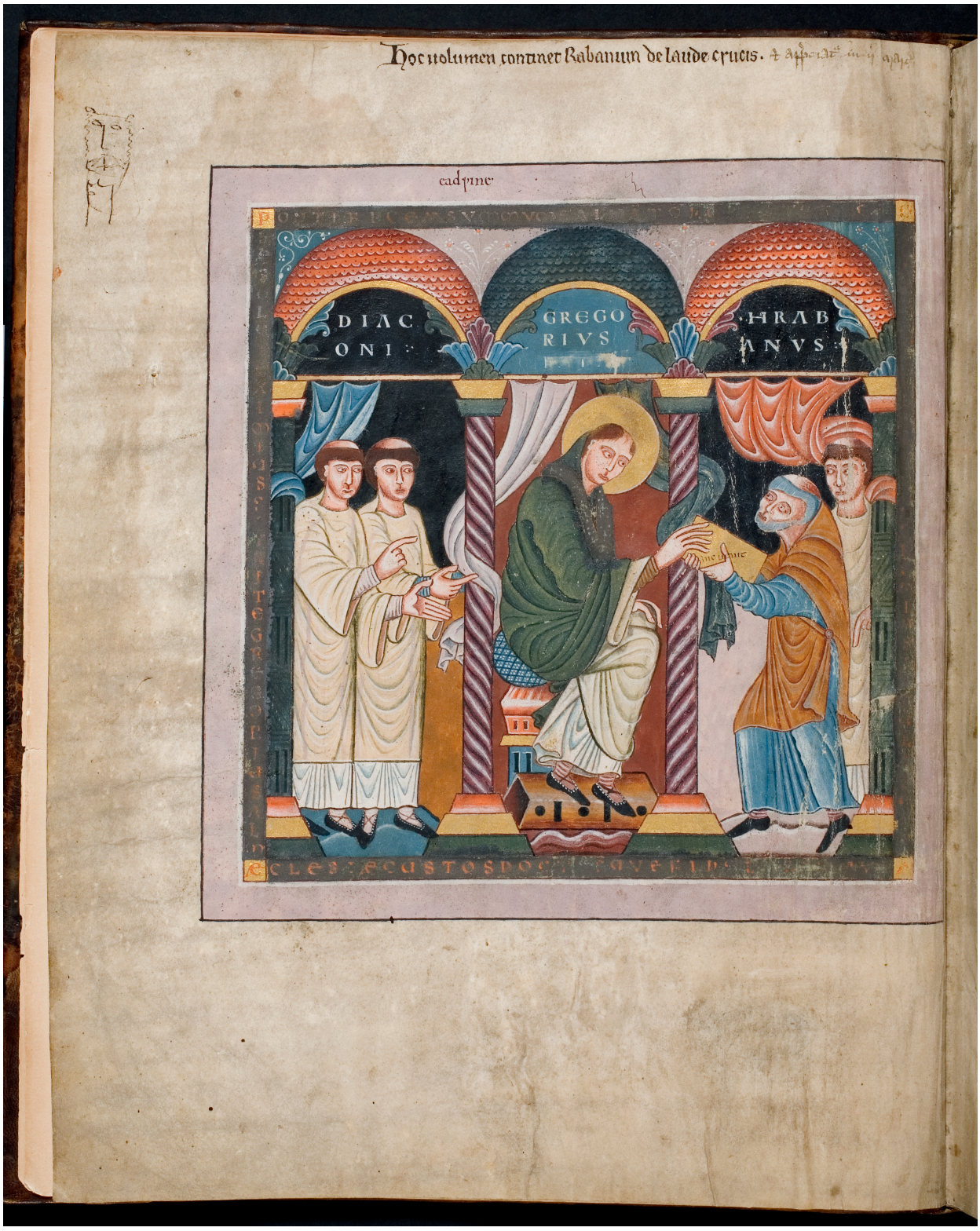


Figure 13: Hrabanus Maurus Presenting a Copy of *De laude sanctae crucis* to St. Gregory (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.16.3, f. 1r). © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

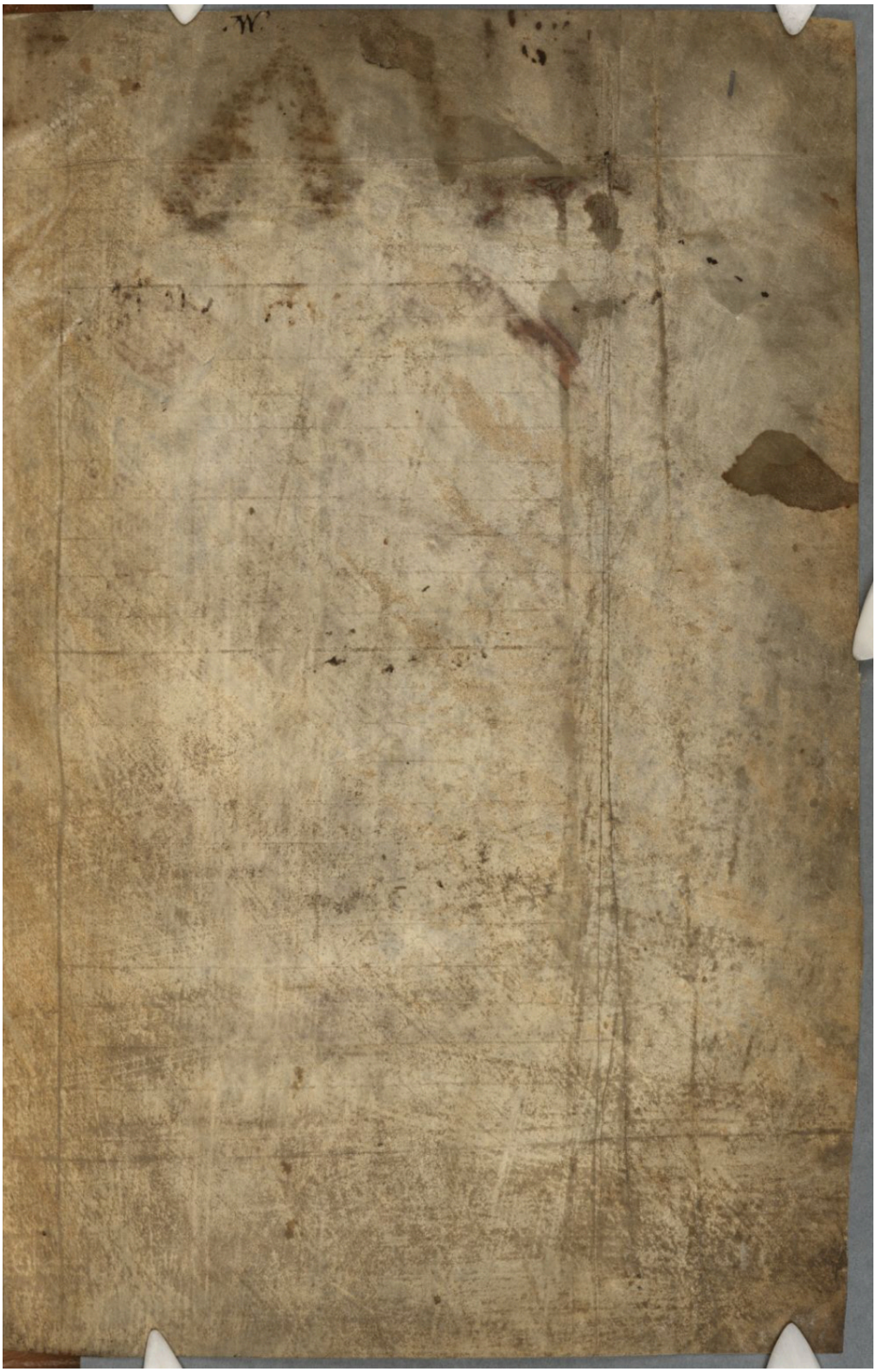


Figure 14: Ruled Guidelines on the Recto of the Æthelstan "Donation" Portrait (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, f. 1r). © The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

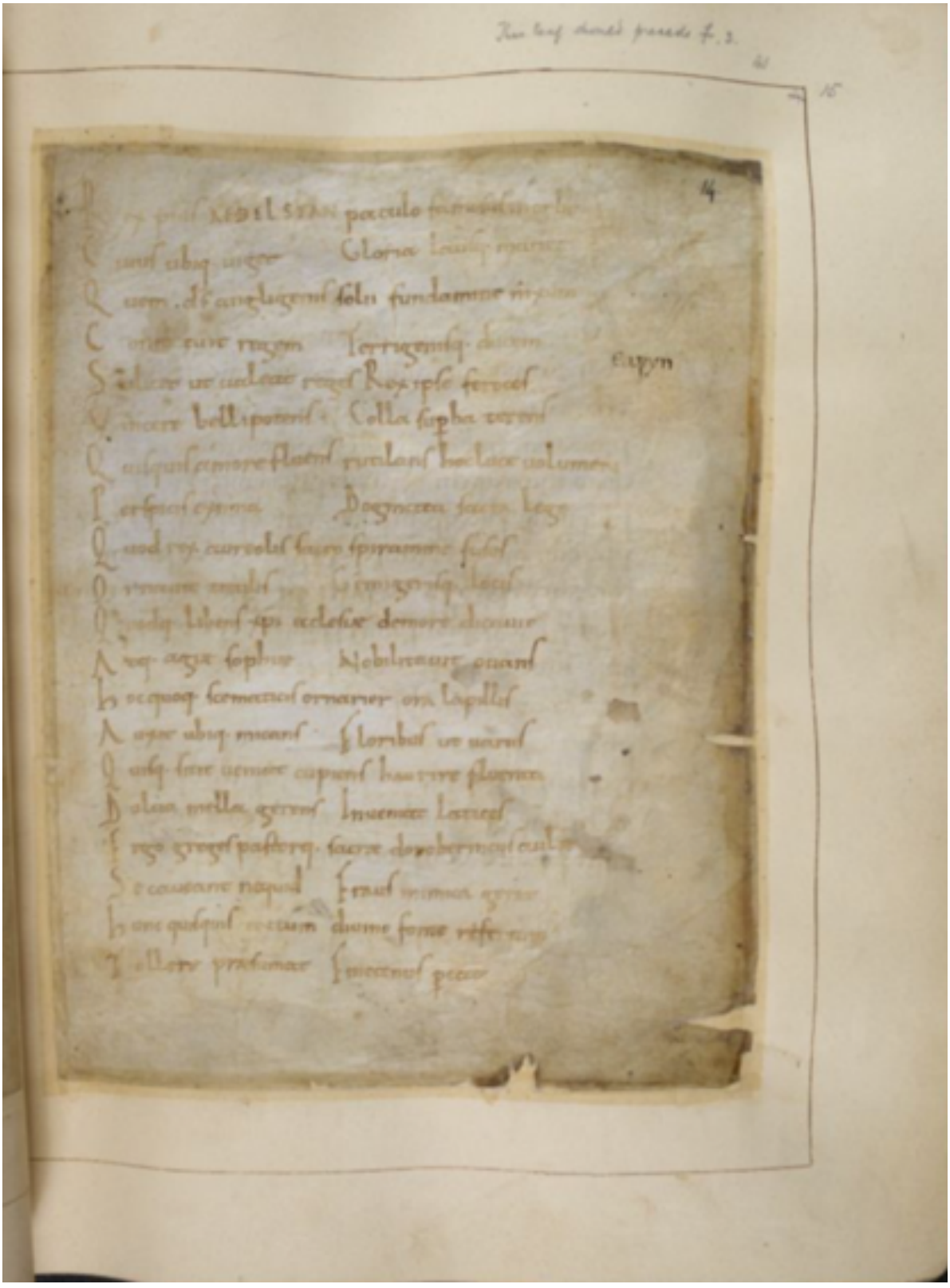


Figure 15: Æthelstan's Donation Inscription in the Poem *Rex pius Æthelstan* (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.ii, f. 15r). © British Library Board.

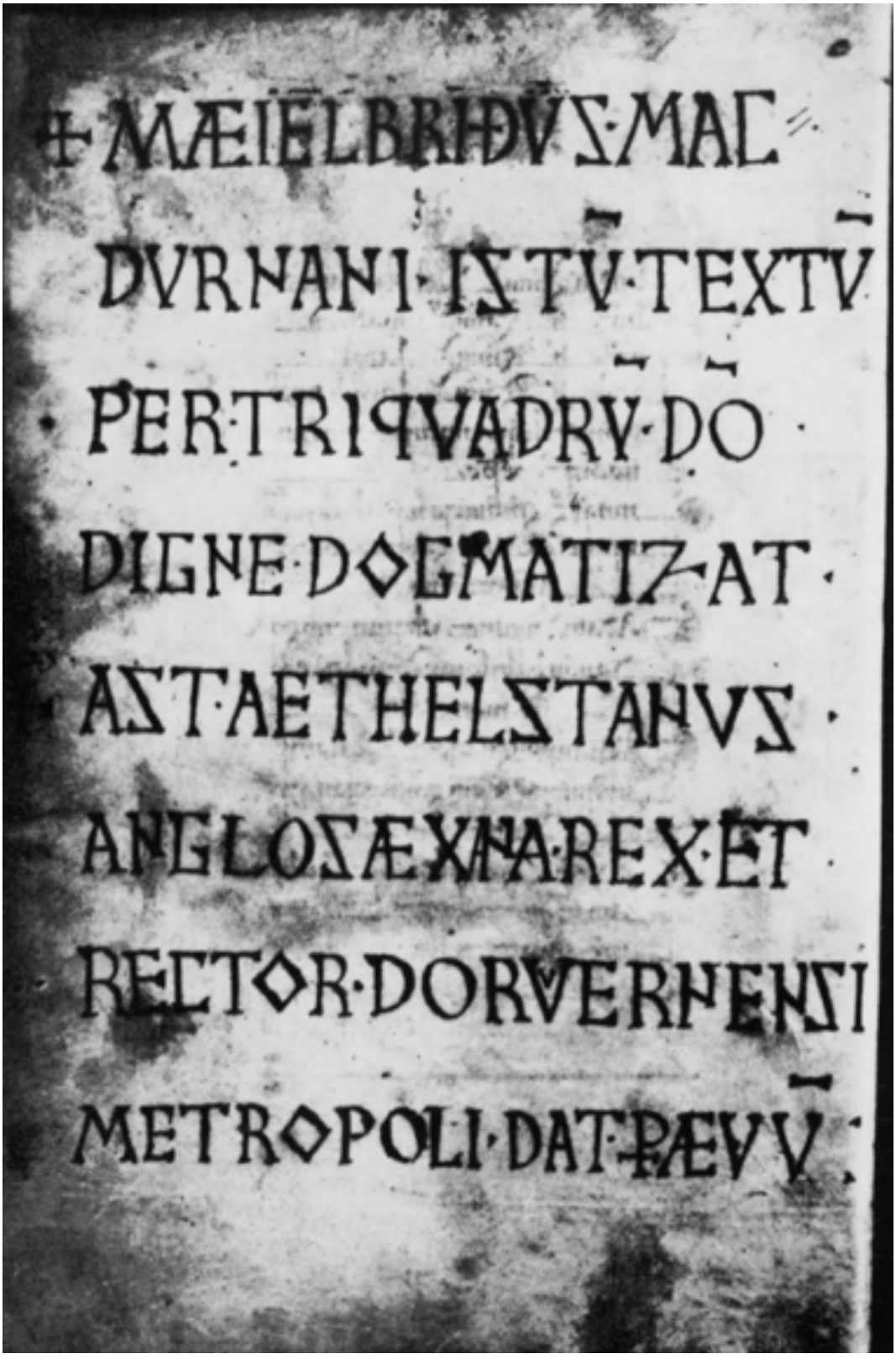


Figure 16: Æthelstan's Donation Inscription in the *MacDurnan Gospels* (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370, f. 3v). © Lambeth Palace Library, London.

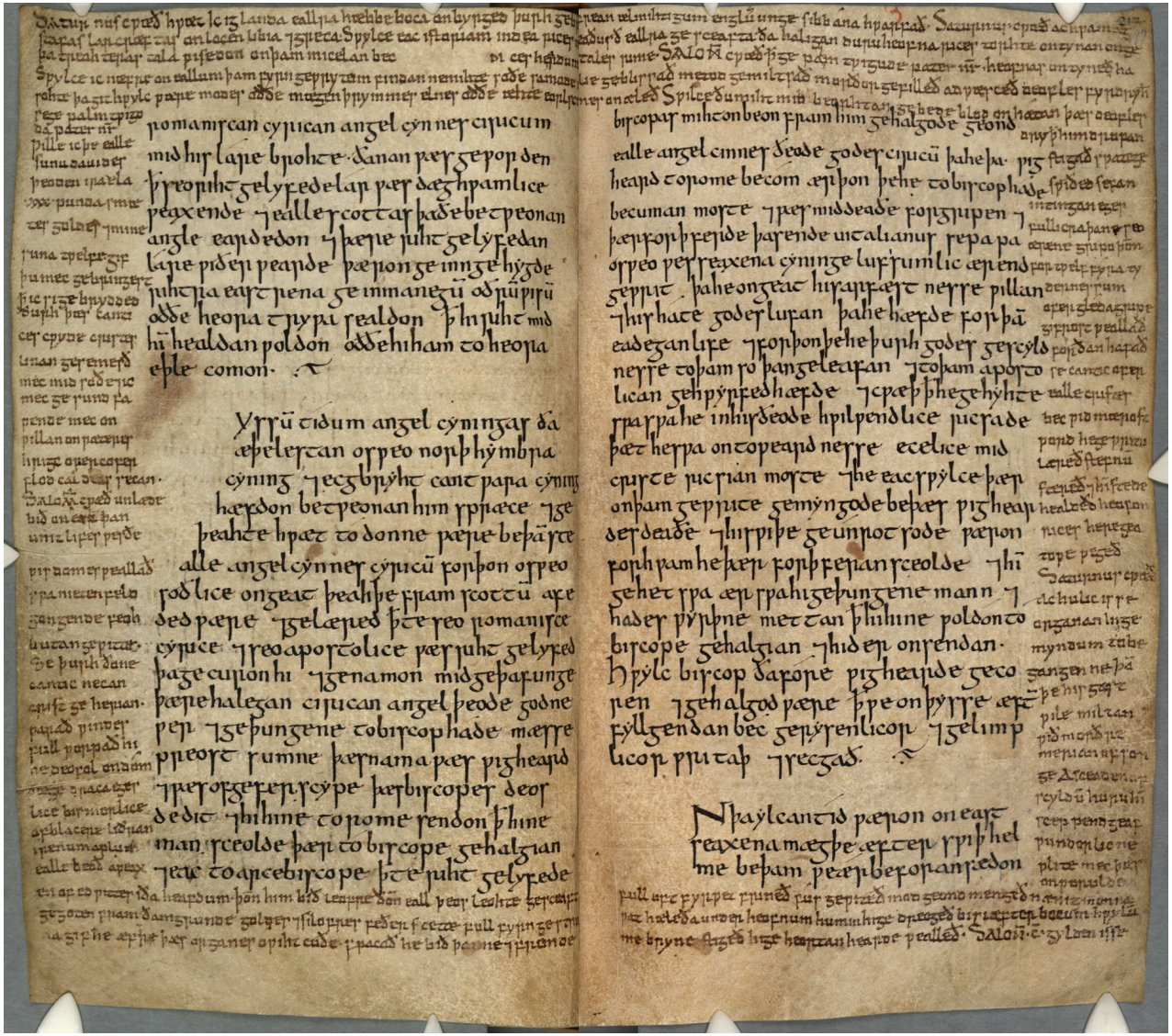


Figure 17: The Text of *Solomon and Saturn I* in the Margins of the *Old English Bede* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, pp. 196-7). © The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



Figure 18: Aldhelm Writing a Book in the "Royal Aldhelm" Codex (London, British Library, MS Royal 7 D.xxiv, f. 85v). © British Library Board.



Figure 19: Christ with an Inscribed Book of St. Benedict's Rule in "St. Dunstan's Classbook" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 4.32, f. 1r). © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Figure 20: St. Benedict, his Acolytes and a Book of the Rule in the "Arundel Psalter" (London, British Library, MS Arundel 155, f. 133r). © British Library Board.



Figure 21: St. Benedict and his Acolytes with Multiple Books and a Scroll of the Rule (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius, A.iii, f. 117v). © British Library Board.



Figure 22: Dunstan, Edgar and Æthelwold with a Scroll of the *Regularis concordia* (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius, A.iii, f. 2v). © British Library Board.



Figure 23: King Edgar with a Codex of his Charter in the "New Minster Charter" (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.viii, f. 2v). © British Library Board.

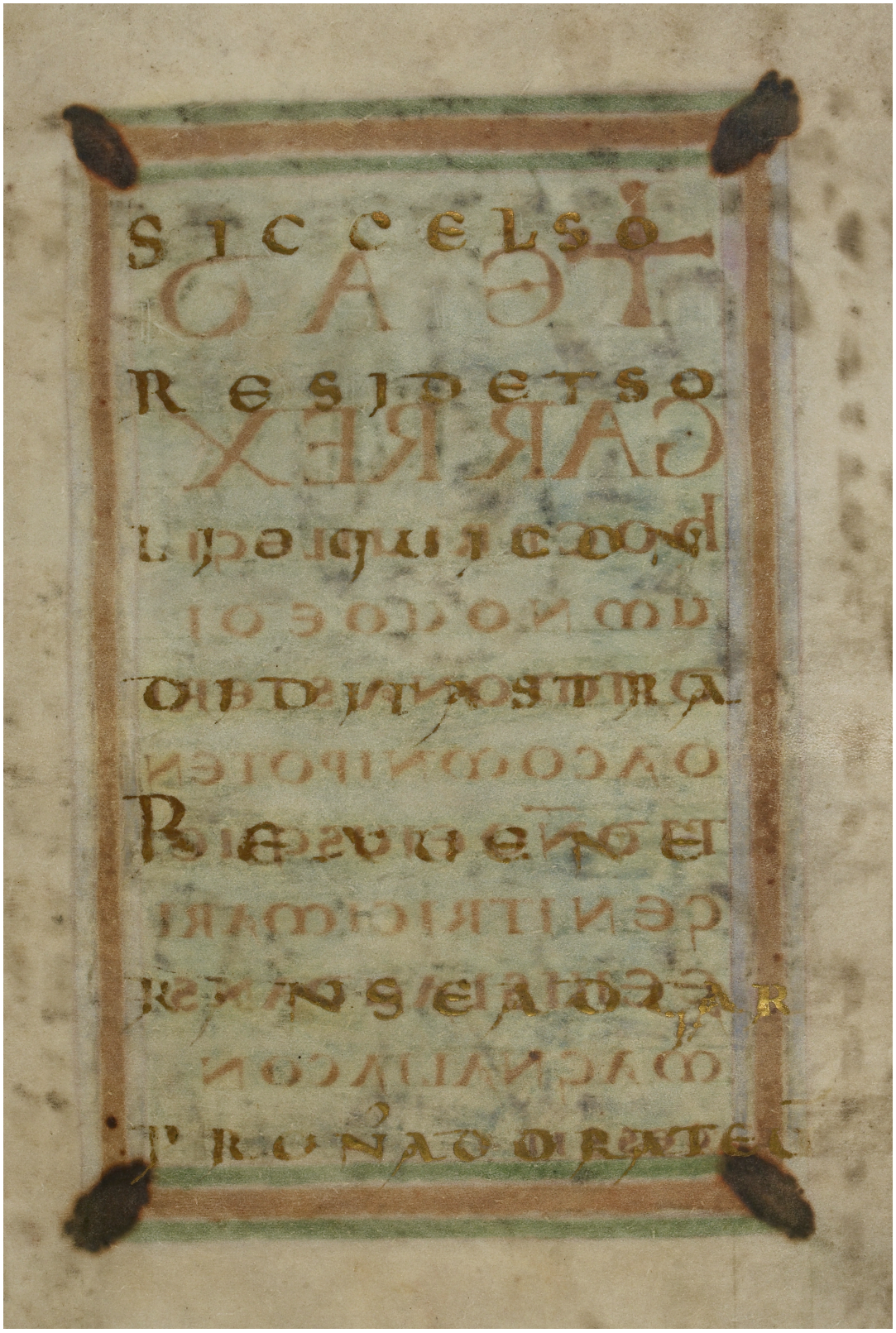


Figure 24: The Inscription Opposite the Frontispiece of the "New Minster Charter" (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.viii, f. 3r). © British Library Board.



Figure 25: Otto III and the Veil of the Tabernacle as a "Banderole" in the "Liuthar Gospels" (Aachen, Aachener Domschatzkammer Inv. Grimme Nr25, f. 16r). © Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 26: The Gospel of St. Mark as a Book-Scroll in the "Royal Bible" (London, British Library, MS Royal 1. E.vi, f. 30v). © British Library Board.



Figure 27: An Iconographic Adaptation of the Tiberius Book-Scroll Portrait (Durham, Cathedral Library, B.III.32, f. 56v). © Chapter of Durham.



Figure 28: St. Æthelthryth with a Book and Flowering Plant and an Initial of Christ Enthroned with a Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, ff. 90v-91r). © British Library Board.



Figure 29: The Seal Matrix of Edith of Wilton (London, British Library, Harley Charter 45 A 36). © British Library Board.

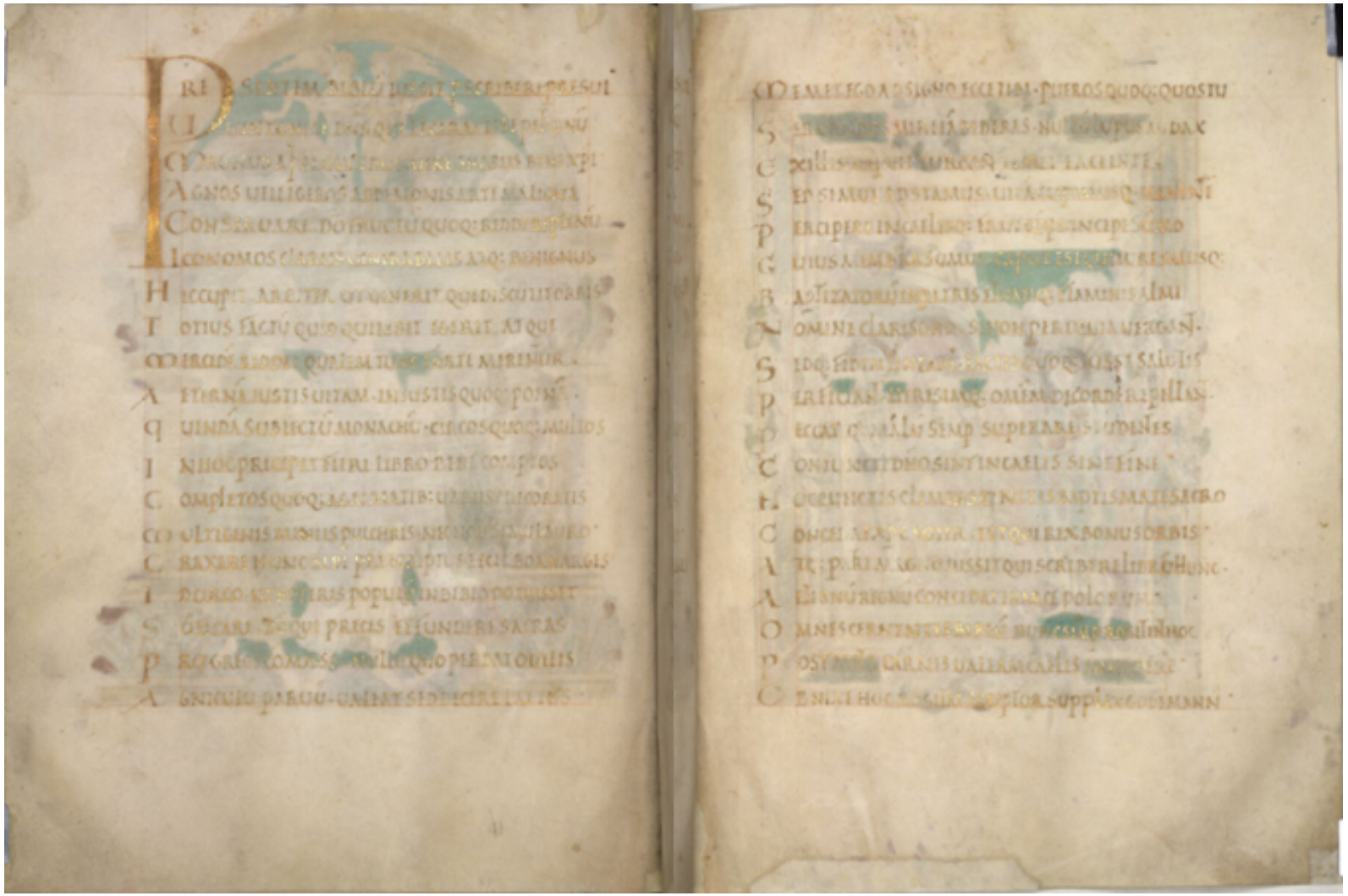


Figure 30: Godeman's Poem in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, ff. 4v-5r). © British Library Board.



Figure 31: Crowned Virgins with Golden Books in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 1v). © British Library Board.



Figure 32: Apostles with Decorated Volumes in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 3r). © British Library Board.



Figure 33: Apostles with Golden, Patterned Volumes in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 4r) © British Library Board.



Figure 34: The Binding of the "Stoneyhurst (or "Cuthbert") Gospels" (London, British Library, MS Add. 89000). © British Library Board.



Figure 35: St. Æthelthryth and St. Mary Holding Books in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 2r). © British Library Board.



Figure 35a: The Name of Æthelthryth Inscribed on her Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 2r). © British Library Board.



Figure 35b: Letters from St. Mary's Name Inscribed on her Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 2r). © British Library Board.



Figure 36: St. John the Evangelist with a Large, Golden Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 19v). © British Library Board.



Figure 36a: Detail of the Inscription on St. John the Evangelist's Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 19v). © British Library Board.



Figure 37a: Detail of the Tooled Decoration on St. Swithun's Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 97v). © British Library Board.



Figure 37: St. Swithun with a Tall, Golden Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 97v). © British Library Board.



Figure 38: St. Benedict with a Large, Oblong Book in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 99v). © British Library Board.



Figure 39: The Annunciation Scene in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 5v). © British Library Board.



Figure 40: The Inscription Facing the Annunciation Portrait and the Advent Initial in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 6r). © British Library Board.



Figure 41: The Annunciation Scene on the Brunswick Casket (Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig) © Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.



Figure 42: The "Bishop Blessing" Scene in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold" (London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, f. 118v). © British Library Board.