Reversing Babel

Translation among the English during an Age of Conquests, c. 800 to c. 1200

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For Soula

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Preface

I think understanding the role of languages is one of the central requirements for understanding a culture. Languages are our surest way inside a culture. They are repositories of much that their speakers loved and hated, valued and disregarded. They preserve memory as well as generate action, present and future. Observing their transformation is one of the best ways to track the forces felt by the people we study. At no point in English history do understanding languages and their transformation appear to be more important than, roughly, from the first Scandinavian attacks to the reigns of the Angevin kings, Henry II, Richard I, and John (c. 793–c. 1216). Not only are languages important evidence for understanding the actions and thoughts of the English during this long age, but translation between English and other languages became a necessity as the kingdom was conquered by, or conquered, a series of people who spoke different languages than the language of the kingdom. These conquests dominate the period: the viking invasions and conquests of the ninth century; the West Saxon conquest of the other formerly independent Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, ruled for the most part by Scandinavians (c. 900–975); the Danish conquest by Cnut and the reign of his sons (1016–42); the Norman conquest and rule (1066–1154); and an Angevin conquest ending the civil war in the Norman empire, followed by invasion and conquests in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (1154–1204). It is out of this period that the kingdom of England, many of its core institutions, law, the distribution of power, settlement patterns, social classes, religion, and languages came.

The invisible catalyst to all of this transformation and development, the inevitable consequence of conquests by people who spoke different languages, was translation. One of the first acts of any of these conquerors must have been to find someone who could convey a message, command, or explanation, someone who would help bridge the linguistic gap between new rulers and subjects. Traditions and trends in translation, then, are critical foundations for contact between peoples and cultures. Knowing where, why, and how translation was done is an important act of due diligence for interpreting many of the sources of the time—from narratives to law codes, from romances to charters. Translation is everywhere. Translation is the place where the negotiation between cultures took place. This book offers a historian's understanding of translation, including its context and consequences, in medieval England.

Reversing Babel has been written over an extended period and has been helped directly and indirectly by too many individuals to list them all here. I would particularly like to thank Richard Abels, Rob Bartlett, Stephen Baxter, Mary Blockley, Charles Burnett, Paul Brand, Michelle Brown, Michael Clanchy, Julia Crick, Richard Dance, Wendy Davies, David Dumville, Robin Fleming, David Ganz, John Gillingham, John Hudson, Tony Hunt, Paul Hyams, Simon Keynes, Chris Lewis, Sara Lipton, David Pratt, Susan Reynolds, Jane Roberts, Ian Short, Alan Thacker, Matthew Townend, Elaine Treharne, Elizabeth Tyler, and the late Patrick Wormald for helpful suggestions over the years. Stefan Jurasinski and Rob Fulk generously shared with me before publication their edition of the *Canons of Theodore*. Two of my undergraduate students, Elizabeth Kuhl and Josephine Fu, conducted research on several key manuscripts in the British Library; the findings of their theses were many times useful and gave me much to think about. I have been able to present ideas and parts of some chapters in a number of forums: the Washington Area Medieval History Colloquium; various annual meetings of the Charles Homer Haskins Society and the Medieval Academy of America; the International Congress of Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo; conferences, seminars, or presentations at the University of St. Andrews; the Centre for Medieval Studies at York; the Earlier Middle Ages seminar at the Institute of Historical Research in London; the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic at the University of Cambridge; the University of Manchester; the University of Pittsburgh; the Catholic University of America; SUNY at Stony Brook; the University of Virginia at Wise; and the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies. Most of the manuscript work was conducted at the British Library, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Fitzwilliam Library and Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. I have also benefited from work in Lambeth Palace Library, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, Trinity College Cambridge, St. John's College Cambridge, and Corpus

Christi College, Oxford. Participation in the "Crossing Conquests" World Universities Networks project based at York, but involving academics from institutions throughout the British Isles and in North America, was especially stimulating. The Institute of Historical Research in London provided me with my base in the UK at several stages of the research and writing, and is where, while I was a Visiting Fellow, the book was finished. Much of this work was funded by a sabbatical fellowship from the American Philosophical Society as well as by my own university. The Library of Congress appointed me a Visiting Scholar in 2000–2001, during which tenure the first sections of the book were written.

At my home institution, I owe a great debt to Simpson Library, and in particular to Carla Bailey, whose dogged services in interlibrary loan turned our small undergraduate library into a world-class resource. I owe also a special debt to Dr. Stephen Hanna of the Department of Geography at the University of Mary Washington and his expert team of cartographers: Lisa Egan, Lyndsey Abel, Stuart Geiger, and James Thomas. They helped me turn my fuzzy ideas about using maps into clear and beautiful images. Eric Gable in the Department of Anthropology sat through my senior seminar on Anglo-Saxon history and read part of this manuscript, while allowing me to participate in his course on theories of culture, for all of which I am grateful; he both enriched my understanding of his subject and offered a critical perspective on my own. He, Julia Crick, and Michael Clanchy have read two or more chapters of the manuscript and offered sharp and insightful comments. Mary Richards, Elizabeth Tyler, Stefan Jurasinski, and Robin Fleming read the entire book and helped me explain my ideas much more intelligibly. My department at Mary Washington has, as always, been supportive. My greatest thanks I owe to my wife, Soula Proxenos, who has encouraged me at every stage of the work, and so it is to her that this book is dedicated.

Abbreviations

Note: All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. Citations to the Bible employ standard abbreviations for individual books. Quotations are from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Francis Aidan Gasquet, et al., 18 vols. (Rome, 1926–95), unless otherwise noted.

Ælfric, *CH Int*	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS SS 18 (London, 2000)
Ælfric, *CH1*	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, ed. Peter Clemoes, EETS SS 17 (London, 1997)
Ælfric, *CH2*	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS SS 5 (London, 1979)
Ælfric, *Gram.*	*Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Text und Varianten*, ed. Julius Zupitza, with a new foreword by Helmut Gneuss (Berlin, 1966)
Ælfric, *Hom sup.*	*Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. C. Pope, 2 vols., EETS OS 259–60 (London, 1967–68)
Ælfric, *LS*	*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols. in 4 parts, EETS OS 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881–1900; repr., London: 1966). Citations to volume and page (with name of saint in parentheses).
AF	Anglo-French
AND	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, ed. William Rothwell et al. (London, 1992)

ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies* 1– (Woodbridge, England: 1978–)
ANTS	Anglo-Norman Text Society
ASC	David N. Dumville and Simon Keynes, eds., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* (Cambridge, 1983–). Individual volumes are designated as follows: A = *MS A*, ed. Janet M. Batley (1986); B = *MS B*, ed. Simon Taylor (1983); C = *MS C*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (2001); D = *MS D*, ed. G. P. Cubbin (1996); E = *MS E*, ed. Susan Irvine (2004); F = *MS F*, ed. Peter S. Baker (2000). All citations are to year of entry unless otherwise noted.
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England* 1– (Cambridge, 1972–)
ASPR	*Anglo-Saxon Poetic Record*, ed. E. V. K. Dobbie and G. P. Krapp, 6 vols. (New York, 1931–1953)
ASSAH	*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1– (Oxford, 1988–)
Asser	Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, in Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ed. William Henry Stevenson (Oxford, 1959). Cited by chapter and page.
Bede, *HE*	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969). Cited by book, chapter, and page.
BL	British Library
Boethius	*The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's "De Consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2009). Citation is to the B-text chapter, and volume and page of the edition, unless otherwise stated.
Borst, *Turmbau*	Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Viefalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 4 vols. in 6 parts (Stuttgart, 1957–1963)
B-T	*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (Oxford, 1898) and *Supplement*, ed. T. Northcote Toller (Oxford, 1921)
Byrht., *Enchirid.*	Byrhtferth, *Enchiridion*, ed. Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS SS 15 (Oxford, 1995)
CCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CHEL	*Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 1: *The Beginning to 1066*, ed. R. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992); vol. 2: *1066 to 1476*, ed. N. Blake (Cambridge, 1992)

Councils 1.1	Dorothy Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, eds., *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church,* vol. 1, *A.D. 871–1204,* part 1, *871–1066* (Oxford, 1981)
CUHB	D. M. Palliser, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 1, *600–1540* (Cambridge, 2000)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Dean	Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts,* ANTS, Occasional Publications Series, no. 3 (London, 1999). Cited by text number.
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham et al. (London, 1975–[2005])
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society. OS (Original Series), SS (Supplementary Series).
EHR	*English Historical Review* 1– (London, 1886–)
GA	Felix Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903–1916). Citations to law codes use Liebermann's now standard abbreviations, as revised by the Early English Laws project at www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk.
Gaimar	Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis / History of the English*, ed. Ian Short (Oxford, 2009). Cited by page (and line).
Gameson	Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999). Cited by manuscript number.
GDB	Great Domesday Book, vol. 1 of *Domesday Book, seu liber censualis Willelmi Primi regis Angli,* ed. Abraham Farley, 2 vols. (London, 1783). Citations are to folio and, when appropriate, to column.
Gneuss	Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Ariz., 2001). Cited by manuscript number.
GP	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford 2007). Cited by book, paragraph, subsection, volume, and page.
GR	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998–99). Cited by book, chapter, subsection, volume, and page.

HRB	Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britannie*, vol. 1, *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568*, ed. Neil Wright (Cambridge, 1984).
Hunt, *TLL*	Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1991).
Isidore, *Etym.*	Isidore of Seville, *Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911).
JW	John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1995–1998).
Ker	N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957). Cited by manuscript number.
Lawman	Laȝamon, *Brut*, ed. G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, 2 vols., EETS OS 250, 277 (London, 1963–1978). Cited by line in the Caligula MS.
LDB	Little Domesday Book, vol. 2 of *Domesday Book, seu liber censualis Willelmi Primi regis Angli,* ed. Abraham Farley, 2 vols. (London, 1783). Cited by folio, recto (a) and verso (b).
LE	E. O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Soc., 3d ser., 92 (London, 1962).
MCOE	*A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, ed. R. L. Venezky and Antonette diPaolo Healey (Newark, Del., 1980).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OE	Old English
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2d ed., ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford, 1989).
OF	Old French
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1982).
ON	Old Norse
Orderic	Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica,* ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–1980). Cited by book, chapter, volume, and page.
Orosius	Janet Bately, ed., *The Old English Orosius*, EETS SS 6 (London, 1980).
Past. Care	*King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. Henry Sweet, 2 vols., EETS 45 and 50 (London, 1871). Citations are to volume and page.
Pelteret	David A. E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge, England, 1990). Citations are to text numbers.

PsalmsAlf	*King Alfred's Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. Patrick P. O'Neill (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841–1866).
RS	Rolls Series
S	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), and updated online at http://www.esawyer.org.uk/. Cited by charter number.
Sanson, *Prov.*	Sanson de Nantuil, *Les proverbes de Salemon*, ed. C. Claire Isoz, 3 vols, ANTS 44, 45, 50 (London, 1988–1994).
Sharpe	Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1997).
Solil.	*King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies,* ed. Thomas A. Carnicelli (Cambridge, MA, 1969).
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.*
VCH	*Victoria History of the Counties of England,* ed. H. A. Doubleday et al. (London, 1900–). Cited by county, volume, and page.
VW	*Vita Wulfstani*, in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002).
Wace, *Brut*	Wace, *Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, ed. and trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter, 1999).
Wace, *Rou*	Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. Glynn Burgess, with the text of Anthony J. Holden, and notes by Glynn Burgess and Elisabeth van Houts (St. Helier, Jersey, 2002).

Introduction

I came to the subject of this book because of a puzzle I could not solve. In the course of research for my last book, I studied the work of several people who in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries had translated Old English laws into Latin.[1] I wondered why someone fifty or more years after the Norman conquest would translate laws that in some cases were over four hundred years old. Even the most recent source used for the translations, the code of King Cnut (1016–1035), was almost a century old (fig. 1). And once translated, who read them (a different question from who was intended to read them)? The works were substantial in size; who cared so much about preconquest English law that they would make the investment of time and materials? The existence of the translations seemed at odds with the common view of the effects of the Norman conquest on English culture—that it induced monasteries to preserve as an act of nostalgia the old texts of preconquest culture, often in the native language; and that otherwise English practices were swept away.[2] This process of effacement was especially true, it appeared, in matters of governance and law; modern histories of postconquest law have mostly been stories of innovation and change, even of revolution, rather than of continuity. The reason legal translations seemed at odds with this view of the cultural imperialism of the conquerors became clearer when I worked on the origins of postconquest laws and the creation of their manuscript witnesses. It was clear that almost all of the postconquest translations represented revised versions of their sources to some degree and for this reason represented much more than a mere preservation of the historical artifacts of English law. These were translations that treated their sources

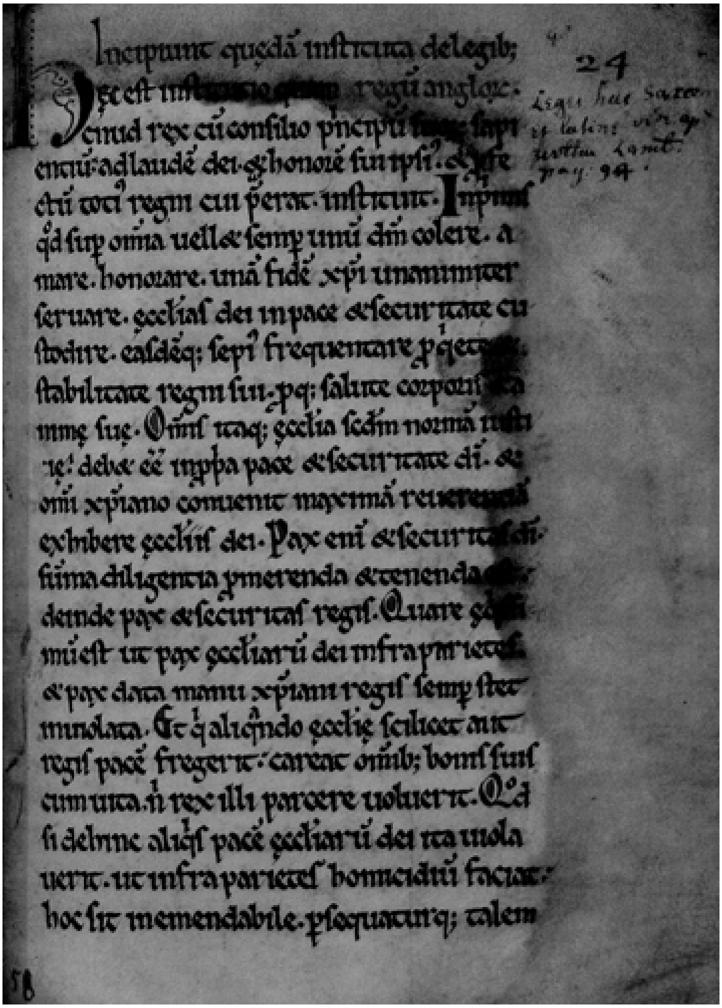


Figure 1. Cnut's laws after 1066. This is the opening folio of the *Instituta Cnuti,* a postconquest translation of a combined selection of laws of Cnut (c.1023), Alfred (late ninth century), and additional material from tenth- and eleventh-century codes. It is the only Latin translation of Anglo-Saxon laws in a Rochester book (*Textus Roffensis,* written c. 1123) that otherwise holds preconquest codes in their original Old English form. The scribe appears to have passed over the original Old English version of Cnut's laws in favor of this recently translated Latin version, even though he took pains to preserve in places the archaic English dialect of the earliest preconquest sources and included later in the manuscript the Old English text of William I's *Asetnysse* **[Law], a postconquest regulation of proof with presumably contemporary relevance, without a Latin translation. Strood, Kent, Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, MS DRc/R1, fol. 58. *By permission of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester Cathedral.***

as the basis for revisions to the law. Further, these new texts had initially been translated by, and multiplied for, French-speaking translators, scribes, and patrons, rather than by or for English-speaking monks, who in R. W. Southern's influential portrait of the fate of Anglo-Saxon culture were the prime preservers of preconquest English texts and traditions.[3]

The conquering people's translation of preconquest law is really not all that surprising. The need to translate must have been tremendous in the aftermath of the conquest if the Normans were not to make a hash of their "acquisition," as the lawyerly writers called it. They had conquered a kingdom that ran on its vernacular. The rights and wrongs were all defined by a legal jargon that had been centuries in the making (fig. 2). The extent of holdings in title deeds was often thought more secure in English than in the Latin used for the rest of the document—thus the

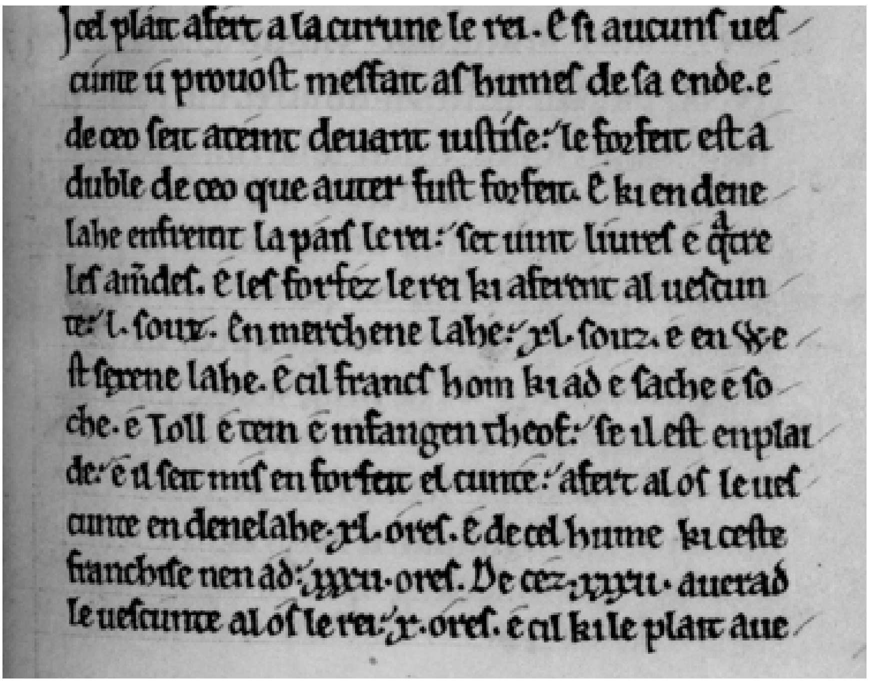

Icel plait afert a la curune le rei. E si aucuns ues-
cunte u prouost meffait as humes de sa ende. e
de ceo seit ateint deuant iustise: le forfeit est a
duble de ceo que autre fust forfeit. E ki en dene
lahe enfreint la pais le rei: set uint liures e quatre
les amendes. E les forfez le rei ki afierent al uescun
te: .l. souz. En merchene lahe: .xl. souz. e en Westse
stsexene lahe. E cil francs hom ki ad e sache e so
che. e Toll e tem e infangen theof: se il est enplai
de: e il seit mis en forfeit el cunte: afert al os le ues
cunte en denelahe .xl. ores. E de cel hume ki ceste
franchise nen ad: .xxxii. ores. De cez .xxxii. auerad
le uescunte al os le rei: .x. ores. E cil ki le plait aue

Figure 2. Anglo-French acquires sake and soke. The Anglo-French treatise known as the *Leis Willelme* [*Laws of William*] shows in this, its earliest manuscript (s.xii 3/4), the absorption of English legal vocabulary into French. In lines 8–9 above (Leis Wl 2.3), the text addresses the free man "ki ád é sache é soche é Toll é tem é infangen theof" [who has sake and soke and toll and team and infangenetheof]; the terms derive from the Old English technical vocabulary describing the basic jurisdictional rights of the privileged. London, BL, Additional MS 49366, fol. 141. *By permission of the British Library.*

lengthy English descriptions of the boundaries of property in many charters. When the king wished to intervene in the courts on matters of law or disputed property, confirm a bishop or abbot in his rights, or simply wished to make a public announcement, he sent a writ to his officials and higher clergy and always (as far as we know) used English. Churchmen wrote and delivered sermons in English and translated into English the Latin rules of Benedict (d. 547) and Chrodegang (d. 766), saints' lives, and histories of religious houses. The Normans would need to be able to understand all this—to read the law of the land, descriptions of property, the legends of local saints, and the traditions and practices of English Christians—to control their new kingdom.

Yet historians almost never discuss this need to translate. They have talked around the issue. For instance, the generations of Anglo-Norman historians working before the 1960s debated whether or to what extent English speakers adopted French after 1066 as the preferred language.[4] More recently, in the final decades of the twentieth century, historians and other scholars have tried to discover how prevalent monolingualism, bilingualism, and trilingualism were, and to chart those conclusions against the various literacies of the kingdom.[5] They debate still the power the language of the conquerors had over that of the conquered—the prestige a conqueror's speech would appear to gain as a result of military victory and political domination.

I knew from the superb work of scholars like Michael Richter, Ian Short, and Cecily Clark that the sociolinguistic understanding of the conquest was important, and that the social and political context of language use was critical to interpreting its evidence. Nevertheless, while many historians had taken note of this work, I felt that the key conduit between conquerors and the conquered, the point of contact between past and present, between teacher and student, lord and peasant, preacher and congregation, when two languages were involved, was left on the margins of the picture. Despite the fact that the act of translation was a historical process and that moments of translation were historically constructed, the phenomenon had suffered neglect in works on English history. Very few historians of the Norman conquest have discussed or cited it.[6] Perhaps translation was so common as to merit no attention—it was the ephemeral act between linguistic states of being, past and future. Orally, for example, a lord's French command in 1090 was moved to English by a bilingual steward and announced, and the peasants obeyed, grudgingly or not. The English recorded their history in their vernacular, but it was later translated into Latin by, for instance, John of Worcester in the early twelfth century, or into French by Gaimar near the middle of that century, and so became something else. The result mattered, not the means or process.

Having, however, like most medieval historians today, learned the thoughts and actions of my subjects by learning to translate their words, I thought there must be more to it. The process of translation must in some way be a product of the times—the attitudes, knowledge, ignorance, and training all would have significantly shaped the results. Assessing translation would mean paying more than lip service to the idea of culture in the broadest sense. In other words, the texts I read that were identified as translations assumed their form because of a complex process involving everything from the abilities of the translator, his or her intentions, access to certain kinds of sources and resources, their quality, the presence of patrons, the possession of supplies—for instance, wax tablets for drafts—the time to do it (well or not), and an audience.

Such concerns mattered not only after 1066, but—I came to recognize—throughout much of the history of English speakers in Britain. The relations between the Romano-Britons, the Irish, and the Germanic-speaking settlers and invaders in the fifth and sixth centuries, the course of the missions in the late sixth and seventh centuries among the descendants of these invaders and settlers, the comprehension of the new religion by the laity, the composition of just about any text, education (excepting perhaps the highest level for the most accomplished scholars and students), trade, pilgrimage outside England, travel, urban life—all would require some degree of translation. Thus, not only were phenomena other than conquest important to translation, but it also became clear that the Norman conquest was not the only conquest that had linguistic consequences. While the Scandinavian settlement of the late ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries may not have raised linguistic barriers that necessitated translation, the wars and conquests by the English, Welsh, Cumbrians, and Scots along their shifting frontiers would have.[7] Even the conquests of other mostly English-speaking kingdoms by the West Saxons and Mercians in the tenth century, and of Norman England and bits of Ireland, Scotland, and much of France by a Sarthe-valley dynast, Henry II (1154–89), had an impact on the movement of texts and spoken words between languages.

Translation then appeared to be as ubiquitous as I imagined, but instead of appearing banal, it helped create the critical juncture between cultures, living and dead, written or oral, throughout the early Middle Ages. I also began to see why historians in particular ignored it. It was a language issue—most suitably dealt with by the linguists and literature specialists. Yet the work of linguists (sociolinguists or historical sociolinguists) and literature specialists in Old English, Anglo-French, or Latin (illuminating, penetrating, and thorough) was spread far and wide in scholarly journals and monodisciplinary books, and, as is the predilection in those (and perhaps most) disciplines, they dealt often with single points of translation: a text, a manuscript, an encounter.[8] For the literary scholars, this made sense, as it was the texts that were important. They were rightly less interested (until recent decades) in translation, oral and written, as acts performed in and conditioned by historical circumstances. The common focus on individual texts, authors, or copies has remained even as the analyses by scholars of literature have expanded to cover in increasingly rich detail and insight the social and historical context of their sources. For this reason I think they were not inclined to produce syntheses of work on the role or impact of language contact that affected relations between peoples over a long span of time, nor portraits of translation that included all aspects of it.[9] There is only one study of translation to which a historian of Anglo-Saxon England could turn to see some of the issues discussed within a longer view of the phenomenon.[10] And if translation was this point of contact between cultures, then a longer and wider view adopted as the perspective—covering several crucial centuries and all languages—might reveal a very different understanding of language and culture than found in the closer, more detailed studies that dominate the scholarship on the subject. A better understanding of the interaction of language contact in England has the potential to change the way we assess some seminal events in English history.

This is not to say that there were no broad studies of the work of medieval translators outside of early medieval England. There were a few, written mostly by specialists in English and Latin. Such works, like L. G. Kelly's *True Interpreter*, Claude Buridant's *"Translatio medievalis,"* Frederick Renner's *Interpretatio*, and Rita Copeland's *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* examined how, for the most part, medieval translators followed, amended, or ignored the standard translation theories of the classical world—often represented as a choice between word-for-word or sense-for-sense translation.[11] Such an approach to medieval translation seemed to me incomplete. The broader studies like Copeland's often dealt not with the social or cultural context of translation, but with intellectual practices and implications. While a consideration of the intellectual antecedents of medieval translation is important and worthwhile, it seemed a rarefied approach to such a common and necessary activity. Understanding how Cicero and Horace's classical Roman dicta on literary translation were understood by Chaucer in the fourteenth century told me nothing about how the Domesday inquest translators in 1086 worked to make intelligible and measurable in Latin the English and French testimony they heard and the records they read. It told me nothing of the physical process of translation—something that must have been uppermost in the minds of translators needing training, time, and resources. It did not even help me understand what my post-1066 legal translators were up to when they turned, for example, Archbishop Wulfstan's alliterative English prose in the legal code he wrote for Cnut into the early twelfth-century Latin argot of charters and courts.

The gaps left by scholarly work on translation are twofold, and these are what this book attempts to begin to rectify. First, there has been a tremendous amount of scholarship on individual translations, translators, issues, or problems surrounding translation, but this work has been produced by several different disciplines and historians have made insufficient use of it in reconstructing and explaining the past. In the last two decades, there have been several notable attempts to begin to gather some of this work—for example Roger Ellis's volumes of *The Medieval Translator* concentrated some, mostly literary, work, and several major conferences have published their proceedings—but even so concentrated, the new work still left the second gap unbridged.[12] I found that many of the questions I thought important to ask about the sources and about translation were more concerned with people than with texts. I was more interested in the material circumstances in which all translation happened, the conditions under which translators worked—the cultural context very broadly construed—than in the aesthetic qualities of the individual products (which are important, but only one aspect of an act of translation). Though this book is in part a work of synthesis—gathering the findings of sociolinguists, anthropologists, and scholars working in translation studies and several disciplines of literature—I have been guided by basic questions about what happened in acts of translation, how and why they transpired, and who was involved. This is a fundamentally historical approach—appropriate, it seems to me, in a book aimed largely at other historians. It is not my intention to debate the historical methodology I employ against that of other disciplines. I raise my point here to apologize for asking what I see as historians' questions. The answers I reach do not supersede or replace the conclusions of other disciplines, but rather, as I see it, supplement them.

This is not, then, a close study of a selection of key writers whose works are used to chart my argument. Ælfric and Gaimar and other well-known and often studied translators are here, but are accompanied by the host of anonymous or lesser-known translators who worked throughout the period. Such an embedding, while perhaps more fair in representing the contemporary context and influence of these writers, nevertheless disarticulates them. The reason such a presentation seemed preferable is that I have tried to produce a different kind of map of translation activity than what is found in much existing work. Instead of describing a small verdant archipelago in a wide ocean, I have striven to focus more on the tides, currents, and weather patterns, as well as the archipelago and other formations both above and below the surface of the water. My focus, then, is on what unites translations throughout the period, without ignoring what makes each individual translation distinct from others.

This book is limited for the most part to attempts to translate whole texts. Some glossed texts survive with glosses for the complete text—some with just a gloss added here and there. Glosses are of fundamental importance for understanding how texts were read and offer what has been construed as evidence for how texts were used in teaching. They also have been seen as signs of the first steps the English made toward full translation, steps that conveyed authority on Old English as a vehicle for interpreting Latin texts. However, the motive behind much of this work is opaque, and the practices varied enough to require significant attention on their own.[13] I do deal occasionally with glosses that translate, as well as include in my evidence as translations texts with complete or nearly complete glosses in another language (usually English glosses of Latin texts).

Now a few words about geography and dates. This book tries to lay out a framework for understanding the role played by translation in a world where a majority of people spoke English. That limitation calls for an explanation, since how a topic is framed determines in many ways the results. It is easy to see that a political entity like a medieval kingdom could not provide my frame. Kingdoms rarely if ever enacted programs of translations or had language policies. To have framed my study with a kingdom would have suggested that they did, thereby cropping the picture artificially and misleading readers.[14] There is on offer a simple remedy. The current alternative among historians is to diminish the kingdom (because of its modern nationalistic resonance) by widening the lens to the entire British Isles.[15] Politics are traded in for geography. With such an approach, it is easier to show mutual interrelationships between the various peoples in Britain and Ireland. It is not, however, any more natural a frame than a polity, and its perspective remains insular (albeit in the plural). For much of the period covered by this book, northern Scotland and the western isles were more integrated with Scandinavia than with England, Wales, or Ireland. England in some periods, like the early eleventh century, was more closely tied to Denmark and, in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, to northern and western France, than to Ireland or Scotland (or even Wales). Such shifting axes of influence, which ought in the best of worlds to provide the interpretative frame for understanding their histories, would have been distorted by the British Isles frame, where an artificial geographic frame is used to limit a subject affected, but not defined, by geography.[16]

This book then takes as its core subject peoples who spoke English—the mutually intelligible west Germanic language whose speakers settled in Britain from Lothian in the north to the Isle of Wight in the south—and who came into direct or indirect contact with speakers or writers of other languages.[17] It also includes translators operating in those cultures that came into contact with these English speakers. Translation is about how people use language, and constitutes an important aspect of the particular experience of their use of a written vernacular. Few people in medieval Europe had as much experience as the English with translation, or drew on it for such a large portion of their written culture, or needed it as much for governance. These English speakers did not all belong to any one political entity. Nor was their experience the same from community to community. So everything that affected translation happened in different ways in different parts of this world at different times—regardless of whether we are discussing the missions, the spread of the Benedictine reform, the Norman conquest, or the reach of Angevin power. The movement of time and events introduced into this world new peoples speaking, reading, and writing many different languages, and drew English speakers into yet other, sometimes even more dramatic, contact situations with speakers of other languages, all of which required translation. The sheer kaleidoscopic variety of languages translated in the English-speaking world as well as of languages known by the English to have been translated by others—English, French, Latin, Old High German, Flemish, Frisian, Frankish, Occitan, Italian, Spanish, Danish (and other Scandinavian dialects), Irish, Welsh, Cumbrian, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic—leaves the focus on the English speakers' world as the necessary point of reference for evaluations and comparison of all this activity (fig. 3).[18] Ideally, this study would have included all the British Isles, Scandinavia, northern and western France, the Baltic coast, and Italy, and made occasional stabs at Portugal, Spain, Byzantium, and the Levant. Some of this I have done; but a book aiming at such a comprehensive goal is too far beyond my linguistic expertise. But I also would not have written this one if I thought that conclusions I could draw from studying this very intensively translating culture were not valid or worthwhile—and, importantly, useful not just for the study of the history of translation, but also for the more terrestrial understanding of the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Scandinavian, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin worlds.

The focus does not often shift far from the England inhabited principally by English-speaking people, so that these greater changes can be watched in a common linguistic space, well defined and known, over which political, intellectual, and cultural waves pass. To study England when it belonged to great empires like Cnut's or Henry II's is to do local history of a sort. England was then only a part of something larger—albeit at times the most important part. This focus on England also includes those who either knew no English or never translated to or from it, but who lived in whatever conglomeration England belonged to then, and who had contact with English-speakers as lords, teachers, students, fellow pilgrims, and exiles, or just as neighbors. Thus, when considering translation in England during the Norman and Angevin periods, I will also cover translators at

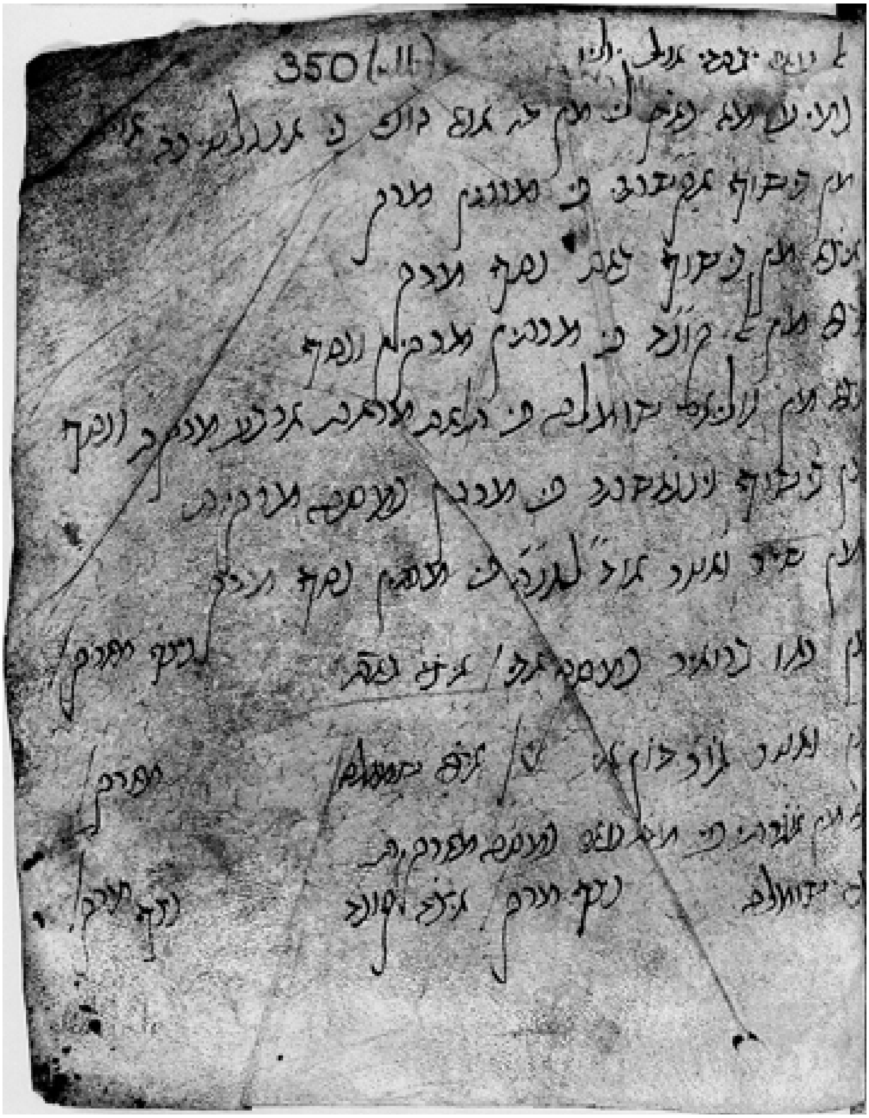


Figure 3. Arabic record of payments to a moneylender in England. This record of debts, likely written around the year 1200 by an Arabic-speaking Jew from Spain, is in Arabic but uses Hebrew letters. It begins: "The year commencing first of July, first all that I have since being here in England; from the bishop of Exeter one mark, twice" (lines 1–4, trans. M. Beit-Arié, *The Only Dated Hebrew Manuscript Written in England (1189 CE) and the Problem of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Hebrew Manuscripts* [London, 1985], 35). Oxford, Corpus Christi College 133, fol. 350. *By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*

work in other parts of the Norman and Angevin worlds, since they help establish the larger context for translation—something particularly important in periods when a significant portion of translation was done for the royal court, or for magnates whose holdings crossed political boundaries, often but not always extending into England.[19]

The second issue is the chosen time span for this study: the ninth-century viking invasions to the late twelfth-century world of the Angevins, roughly c. 800 to c. 1200. Both dates are problematic for a study of translation, and neither is fully respected in the pages that follow. The early date is not firm, since the processes ninth-century translators and Alfred used were derived from those already available to them. Likewise, trends in translation in c. 1200 were still moving and developing throughout the thirteenth century.[20] Nevertheless, between 800 and 1200, it is the intensity of social and cultural influences that is remarkable—from the Scandinavian migrations of the late ninth century, through the West Saxon conquests of the tenth century, Cnut and his sons' empire of the eleventh, and the Norman conquest later that century, to the political readjustments following the Angevin coup of 1154, and later invasions of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. English speakers lived through invasions (suffered and launched), religious reforms, and urban social revolutions, and saw their intellectual, and in some cases geographical, world expand geometrically—all of which led to a tremendous amount of translation not only in markets, ports, courts, minsters, and in border regions, but also in core areas of royal culture. After the Angevin conquest, there was no permanent political conquest of England by invaders speaking a different language. Before Alfred, the English do translate, and I do cover this when it seemed right, but the sources are few and not always susceptible, especially after the initial missions, to interpretation beyond the individual text. Trends are hard to spot, and the presence of negative evidence behind most claims, such as what is implicit in Alfred's prefatory letter to his translation of *Pastoral Care*, is all too recognizable (fig. 4).[21]

Arguing for beginnings and ends to periods of study is essentially negative business. There is also a positive argument to be made for a study that covers such a long period. First, this was a period when translation was done almost continually in response to the historical circumstances in which the English found themselves—more intense than any other before the early modern period. Second, by combining Alfred and his court scholars with the translators patronized by Adeliza of Louvain, Henry I's queen, or those commissioned by Henry II, the continuities, developments, and discontinuities in the royal court's role can be measured in a fairer way than if either one is considered on its own.[22] Placing Ælfric's and Adelard's geographical horizons together is the best illustration for the expanding search for knowledge in the eleventh and twelfth centu-

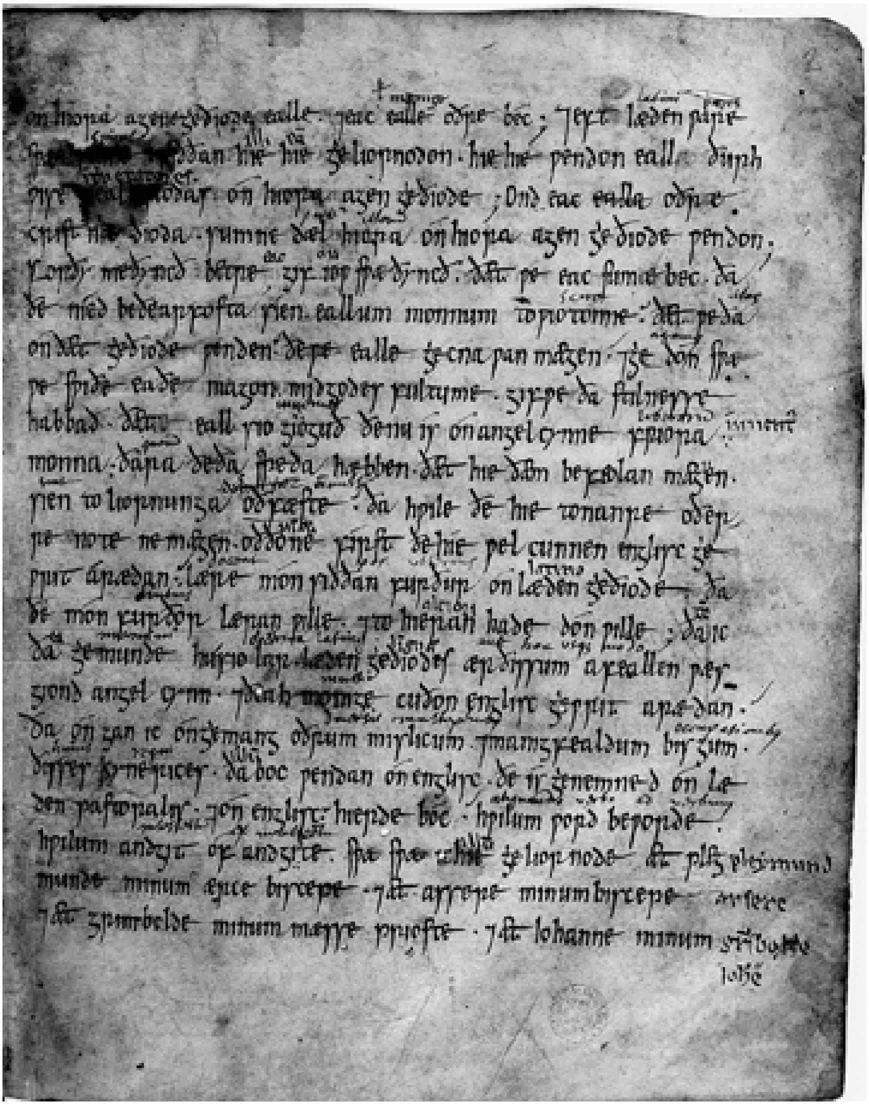


Figure 4. Alfred's prefatory letter to his translation of *Pastoral Care*. On this folio of a late ninth-century copy of his translation of Gregory I's *Regula pastoralis,* Alfred explains some of his motives: Greeks, Romans, and other Christian nations had translated sacred texts; the English, however, could not read necessary texts in Latin but could read English, and learning from vernacular texts would be the first step before learning Latin (lines 1–16). He then states what his translation method was: "hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgi[e]te" [sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense] (lines 19–20), and how he was helped by a number of experts, namely Plegmund, Asser, Grimbald, and John (lines 20–22). There is little evidence other than this letter to support or refute the king's claims about the decayed state of English and Latin learning. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20, fol. 2. *By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.*

ries.[23] Comparing legal translations in English, Latin, and French from the entire period provides insight not only into the methods employed by translators faced with technical sources, but also into the continuity of practices over conquests, regardless of source or target languages.[24] There are many studies of selected works or translators already in print. What is useful at this stage is, among other approaches, the use of a wider historical lens.

Because this study covers over four hundred years of British and continental history, and a core of three languages, with reference to a further eleven, it delves selectively into the contents of individual works. As mentioned, this approach is in contrast to many of the studies of translators and texts on which this book is based. My pace and pattern of presentation of evidence seemed unavoidable if I wanted to ask and answer broad questions involving translation, oral and written, in all languages over these critical centuries. At times I do delve—into Ælfric's method, for example, or biblical translations, or the motives and methods of the legal translators—when it felt like this was the most effective way to make the point without bogging down the analysis. The case study method has its advantages, but also works best in the more restricted focus on texts and their creation, rather than on the social and historical circumstances of all acts of translation and on continuities in practice between languages and over time. One might complain that my approach may connect evidence without sufficiently anchoring any one piece with the necessary contextual analysis. That appearance is partly a result of my dismembering analysis of, say, Adelard's work, and scattering it under different themes throughout the book. Be that as it may, no method will answer all questions, and many of the questions I try to answer could not be approached as well with a limited number of case studies.

There are two things that this book is not. It is not directly a study of identity—though the issue is considered in chapter 1 and elsewhere. My ninth-century starting date, with its Alfredian climax, is not meant to signal the creation of English identity as my theme, or as my conclusion's foil, for that matter. The nineteenth century bequeathed to us a romantic nationalism that celebrated a people's language as not only a necessary element of its independent existence, but also in many cases the key to its culture's values. Recent work has disentangled language from identity and ethnicity.[25] For some medieval societies, language was not a significant identifier of who someone was. In many cases, the contextual meaning attached to the use of this or that language is unknowable. What we can now see, however, is that medieval societies were generally comfortable with multilingualism. They did not disintegrate if two or more languages were spoken within their borders. It is against such an observation that the impact of, in particular, major political events like conquests must be measured. My position is that language and identity do not combine to form a discrete subject for this period. Understanding how they do at times connect is of course important for analyzing translation. But in the long run covered here, it is not often a transparent connection.

This is also not a history of languages. The ninth century is textually but not linguistically important for English, French, Latin, or any of the other languages I will be discussing. As for the end date, the dawn of the thirteenth century was no particular moment in the status of any one language in Britain, nor in the relationships between those languages. It is rather, as just mentioned, an explicitly political date—albeit one with important social and sociolinguistic implications. Both identity formation and language development play a part in the chapters that follow. They look, however, rather different in the long view than either does up close in the heat of an individual conquest, pastoral revival, or intellectual flowering.

The course of the book follows the basic questions I started this study with. In chapter 1, I ask, What did contemporaries think a language was? And when they translated, what did they think they were doing? These are not as easily answered as some scholarship would have us think. Taking the biblical story of the creation of languages after the fall of the Tower of Babel as my starting point, I investigate how for over half a millennium English speakers understood language and dialect, and how their ideas about these things shaped their perception of other peoples' speech and writings. On these matters, it was the biblical translator Jerome (c. 340–420)[26] and the early medieval encyclopedist Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), rather than the classical writers, who provided scholars with an understanding of language as well as some translation methodologies they could try to imitate; but the absence of such methods behind many translations is more striking. English translators often worked freestyle, without visible hierarchies of method, and maintained an independence from their source texts, practices that were pervasive in the work of later medieval translators.

The need to translate, and what was translated, was not driven in most contexts by ideas about language and methodologies for translating but by the real contact situations between the inhabitants of England and people who wrote or spoke other languages. Chapter 2 sketches what seemed to me the most important types of contact; certainly conquests have been the most visible, then and now, but there were other types that mattered. The geography of Britain was important, as it both created barriers and fostered the creation of local networks for trade and travel that concentrated language contact. So also, broader trends in travel and pilgrimage sent English and French speakers abroad. Thus, in Wulfstan's ninth-century trading journey to the Baltic, or Adelard's early twelfth-century search for texts in Sicily, Greece, and the Levant, or English participation in the Second Crusade in 1147, people were bound together by language, but joined as well to a multilingual enterprise. Lastly, communities created their own linguistic contact. Towns here show variety in different regions as well as street by street in certain well-documented examples. Religious communities and their books stand slightly apart from all other entities and had their own patterns of contact that played an important role in shaping most written translation.

Contact created the need to translate, but rarely do translations arising from these contacts tell us why the individual translator, or team of translators, chose to translate a particular work. So against an inferential understanding of what motivated translators, chapter 3 studies the motives of those translators who chose to say why they worked. Their motives can be grouped and analyzed, but reveal as much about what the more learned English translators wanted us to think they were doing as about why they actually translated. Nevertheless, these are the least opaque pieces of evidence about motive and suggest the kinds of pressures and needs that drove many textual translations.

Once the translator had something to translate and a reason to do it, all that was left was the hard work of translating. Chapters 4 and 5 lay out the issues, needs, and processes by which English translators worked. My interests are not restricted to literary productions, which continue to be covered well by scholars of literature, but in the basic historical circumstances—material and mental—within which translators worked. How they were taught, their access to glossaries, grammars, and native speakers, the physical setting, procurement of source texts, and drafting all played important roles. Translators faced with the words of a source had choices to make to replace the source's words with some words in the target language. These choices were sometimes driven by the translator's purpose. More often, translators were directed, it seems to me, by habits of mind, habits that were nevertheless fully enmeshed in their cultural context. The results of such processes are considered in a last section in chapter 5 comparing translators at work on sacred or religious narrative texts, all of whom achieved different results by unique processes.

The final chapter moves from ideas, contact, motives, and methods to consider some larger issues arising from translation activity. It draws on the earlier chapters to define the role played by translation in the course of English culture between the ninth and twelfth centuries. One question in particular draws extended analysis: Why does the political linguistic configuration of the Angevin empire matter for explaining not just the efflorescence of French translation done in England (and throughout the empire), but also the authority of French as a language of governance and law? Most broadly, in what way did translation shape English culture?

The chapter argues for the value of translations as evidence for all levels of historical phenomena.

An appendix listing important and representative translations follows. It is not comprehensive—such a list would dwarf the chapters—but it does direct interested readers to key editions.

NOTES

1. Three Latin translations are extant: *Quadripartitus*, *Instituta Cnuti*, and *Consiliatio Cnuti*. There is also one Anglo-French translation: *Leis Willelme*. On all of these, see the appendix, pp. 230.

2. R. W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing IV: The Sense of the Past," *TRHS*, 5th ser., 23 (1973): 246–56.

3. Bruce R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1999), 133–34.

4. Cf. P. V. D. Shelly, *English and French in England, 1066–1100* (Philadelphia, 1921), 74–92; Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London, 1923), 12–18; R. W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School* (London, 1932); R. M. Wilson, "English and French in England, 1100–1300," *History*, n.s., 28 (1943): 37–60; and M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford, 1963), 364, 370.

5. Ian Short, "On Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England," *Romance Philology* 33 (1979–80): 467–79; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), 200–206, 211–20, and passim; Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), 482–506.

6. For example, neither R. Allen Brown's classic *The Normans and the Norman Conquest* (New York, 1968) nor Hugh M. Thomas's recent *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–c. 1220* (Oxford, 2003) discuss translation, though Thomas does identify some translators as such. However, the importance of translators in the aftermath of the conquest is noted, albeit briefly, by Brian Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: The Normans in Britain, 1066–1100* (London, 1994), 185–86, and by Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, England, 1995), 83–84. Language contact and translation have played a much larger role in studies of the advance of Francophone power from England into Wales and Ireland.

7. See chapters 1, pp. 37–41, and 2, pp. 72–79, (maps 2.1 and 2.2).

8. Though two current projects will gather much of the material by which translation of literary sources produced from c. 600 to c. 1100 might be studied. See Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/; and Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach, eds., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1990–). The first regular volume in the *Sources* project appeared in 2007.

9. For some brief periods and places, there are exceptions—for instance, Constance Bullock-Davies' consideration of oral translation in baronial households in Wales and the Marcher lordships and its influence on written tales of Arthur in the twelfth century: *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff, 1966).

10. The only long study dedicated to translation in the Anglo-Saxon period as a whole, Robert Stanton's *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2002), argues that English-language literary culture was everywhere touched by translation, and selects key translators of Latin into English to illustrate the depth of influence and its interpretation. He does not cover translation into languages other than English or translators beyond glossators, Alfred, Ælfric, and the Bible translators. A brief but perceptive survey of some aspects is Christine B. Thijs, "Early Old English Translation: Practice before Theory?" *Neophilologus* 91 (2007): 149–173. Other works have a narrow scope: *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* is limited to "non-technical work which has made up the reading of the literate public," as long as the translation was into English. See Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins, eds., *Oxford History of Literary Translation*, vol. 3, *1660–1790* (Oxford, 2005), viii; volume 1 (ed. Roger Ellis), which appeared in 2008, follows this course. Similarly, the approach of Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinsson's *Translation—Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader* (Oxford, 2006), addresses premodern translation and centers almost exclusively on theory and a very small selection of literary translators (e.g., Cicero, Jerome, Alfred, and Ælfric), leaving a large gap between Old English biblical translations, which Jonathan Wilcox covers in an interesting and useful way, and John of Trevisa (1326–1412).

11. L. G. Kelly, *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (Oxford, 1979), 134–37, 205–208, 221–23; Claude Buridant, "*Translatio medievalis*: Théorie et practique de la traduction médiévale," *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 21 (1983): 81–136; Frederick M. Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam, 1989); Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), 33–34 and passim.

12. R. Ellis et al., eds., *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1989–2004). See also Jeanette Beer, ed., *Medieval Translators and Their Craft* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1989); Geneviève Contamine, ed., *Traductions et traducteurs au moyen âge* (Paris, 1989); and Jacqueline Hamesse, ed., *Les traducteurs au travail: Leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes*, Textes et études du moyen âge 18 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2001).

13. English glosses receive this attention in Stanton, *Culture*, 9–54.

14. It has been hard, if not impossible, to avoid the use of "England" to cover the space inhabited by English speakers. To justify what might appear to be a teleological anachronism, I want to explain that when it appears it is often intended as a blanket term for the regions where English speakers lived, regardless of who held political power over them and whether or not they considered themselves a nation or people. Context should make it clear when the word refers to the kingdom.

15. This is the frame adopted by Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge, 1989), and the more recently published *Short Oxford History of the British Isles*, particularly the relevant volumes edited by Wendy Davies (2003) and Barbara Harvey (2001) covering from the viking raids to the end of the thirteenth century.

16. See chapter 2, pp. 82–87, on the influence of geography.

17. There are some linguistic loose ends created by this frame: where, for example, should I place the Frisians, Old Saxons, and others living in what became Denmark, the original home of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes? They may not have thought that language distinguished them from the English in 700 or even 900. I have in a few places below considered the issues raised by intelligibility and language definition, especially as they relate to identity.

18. It is often not clear whether Scandinavian invaders and settlers spoke Old Danish, Old Norse, or Old Swedish. For that reason, I have used the term "Scandinavian" to cover all North Germanic languages or dialects used in the period covered by this study. It is far from a perfect label, as Scandinavia is basically a geographic region which also includes non-Germanic languages, most notably Finnish. The more commonly employed label, Old Norse, sows its own confusion among non-linguists as its name is tied to a small geographical part of Scandinavia. When it seems clear that the vikings or settlers were Danes or Norwegians, however, I have used the narrower labels "Danish" and "Norwegian" for their languages.

19. See below, chapter 2, pp. 77–81, and maps 2.2 and 2.3.

20. This is not to weigh in on the debate about the existence of any pre-Alfredian vernacular prose literature in England, but rather a recognition that the practices involved in learning Latin that underlay acts of translation were old and did not disappear in the ninth century: see chapter 3, pp. 131, and chapter 4, pp. 160–61.

21. *Past. Care*, 1: 3–9.

22. See chapter 3, pp. 140–46.

23. See chapter 4, pp. 169–73, and map 4.1.

24. See chapter 5, pp. 197–201.

25. R. R. Davies, "The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400: IV, Language and Historical Mythology," *TRHS*, 6th ser., 7 (1997): 1–5.

26. Dates are all Common Era unless otherwise noted.

1

Language and Translation in Early Medieval England

Medieval translators in England understood language and translation very differently than would a modern translator. They had none of the assets of modern linguistics for analyzing the development and relationships of languages; the work of the one classical Latin grammarian, Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE), who had understood that phonetics was at the heart of understanding the development of languages and their affiliations, was unknown to them.[1] Second-language acquisition in schools was a rough and painful process.[2] The tools with which modern translators work were in the Middle Ages painfully rudimentary or yet to be invented. The dictionary as anything other than a simple glossary of difficult terms in different registers had to await its transformation at the hands of Nathan Bailey in 1721.[3] The effects of these deficiencies were pervasive. If, as Tony Grafton has argued, textual criticism grew fastest in the loamy soil of forgery, then literal and technical translation (in the best sense) needed the rich soil of reference works and language scholarship to grow.[4] Tools, however, do not make the whole product. Even if medieval translators had the advantages of modern translators, they may not have changed methods. Their methods were driven by their goals, and these, although not always easy to perceive, differed from those of modern translators, and were shaped by their ideas about language and translation.

A close consideration of their ideas takes us into the heart of medieval communication. Here we see that contemporaries considered languages to be part of the far distant past before even the time of the patriarchs. Despite being invented by God to punish human ambition, however, languages were not fixed or immutable, but were understood to be subject to change and blending. Medieval writers thought that identity and ethnicity were bound up with language, but not as this bond was conceived in the nineteenth century. Medieval observers weighed different kinds of influence on language and had different expectations for a language's role. For instance, neither languages nor their dialects appear except in the most general sense to have been understood as directly related to political contexts, though scholars in the past two centuries have written as much. Grammarians and scribes in the medieval English-speaking world were among the most curious in western Europe on language issues. Nevertheless, their experiences and observations were almost always filtered through biblical rather than through classical notions of language and translation.

The place to begin to see the goals of translators, however, is in their mental architecture: their conceptions of language; the medium in which they worked; and their ideas about, and practice of, translation, their art or activity.[5] The rest of the chapter will take each topic in turn.

LANGUAGE

Let us begin by asking what learned people—particularly those well instructed in their religion—thought of their own languages. It is clear that they recognized language as a category that could be studied on its own as well as an aspect of who they were.[6] The learned traced the multiplicity of language mostly back to Babel, often through the intermediary of the gift of tongues at Pentecost.[7] Medieval English illustrations of Babel and Pentecost make this clear: the confusion of tongues overcome by the unity of faith (figs. 1.1 and 1.2). Following the narrative of the Bible, medieval writers believed that humans, after the Flood, had in arrogance built a great tower at Babel to pierce the heavens and make them like God, but that God, worried by their presumption, had come down and ended their challenge: "Come, therefore, let us go down and there confound their tongue, so that each one may not understand the voice of his neighbor. And so the Lord from that place distributed them into all lands, and they ceased to build the city. And therefore its name was called Babel, because there the language of the whole earth was confounded; and from that place the Lord scattered them over the surface of all regions."[8]

Medieval commentators traced individual peoples, after Babel scattered over the face of the earth, back to each of the sons of Noah, whose descendants, presumably, had built the tower. From these sons came the seventy-two peoples speaking seventy-two languages.[9] For these seventy-two languages, the Holy Spirit at Pentecost provided seventy-two translators to bring the word of God to all peoples (fig. 1.3).[10]

Figure 1.1. The Tower rises. Babel was the scene of the division of languages as punishment for human arrogance. This illustrated mid eleventh-century copy of an English translation of Genesis, part of the Old English Heptateuch, shows God watching the Tower of Babel rise and pondering his options. London, BL, Cotton Claudius B. iv, fol. 19. ***By permission of the British Library.***

Figure 1.2. The flame of Pentecost. Languages, divided after the fall of the Tower of Babel, reunite in the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. This image from a Winchester Benedictional, copied between 980 and 990, shows the flames of the Holy Spirit reaching from the mouth of a dove down to the tongues of the Apostles at the Pentecost. The flames that bring the power of speaking other languages reach the mouths of all eleven surviving Apostles, but also touch the heads of the highest three, including Peter holding his keys. *Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS Y.7, (396), fol. 29v. Collections de la Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen.* Photograph by Thierry Ascensio-Parvy.

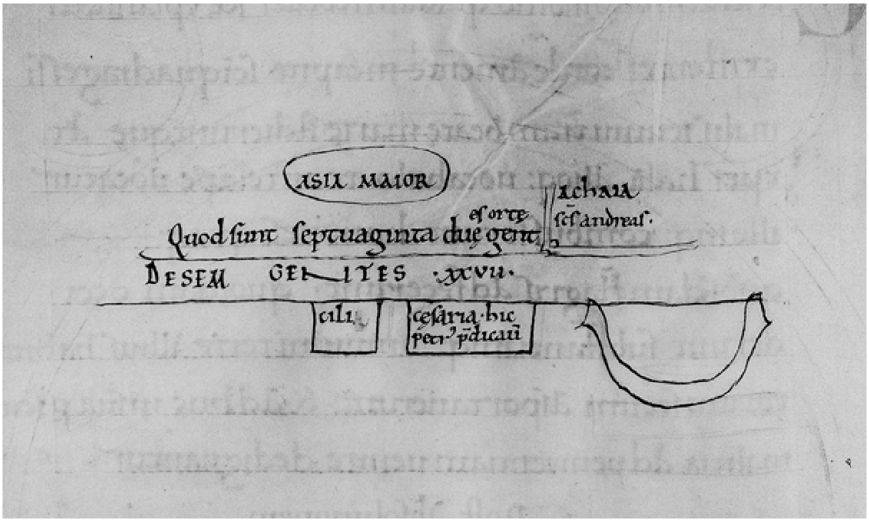


Figure 1.3. Shem's people. An incomplete map in a mid eleventh-century Worcester manuscript of the twenty-seven peoples descended from Shem, son of Noah. On the top, Achaia and St. Andrew. Along the bottom, Cili[ci]a and Caesarea "where Peter preached." The map combines the Biblical Babel with Christian missionary work to reunite the peoples in Jesus, testament to the early Christian belief in the unity of faith replacing the unity of language. Cambridge, CCC 265, p. 210. ***By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.***

So, like other Christians, the English who knew the Bible saw themselves at the end of a linguistic genealogy stemming from Noah, Japheth, and the fall of the tower of Babel.[11] A people named "the English" were, however, missing from the lists provided in antiquity, and only the most creative interpretation could make them into the tribe of Tubal (*Teutones* 'Germans'?) or Javan (*Iutones* 'Jutes'?).[12] In general, they could situate themselves under Japheth, since he was said to have given rise to the peoples of Europe. That vague origin was not enough for some. One frustrated writer tried to fit the English into this grand scheme at its origin by inventing a fourth and previously unknown son of Noah, born on the ark, from whom the West Saxon kings descended. In the genealogy found for the year 855 or 856 in three versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the chronicler writes that King Æthelwulf's forefather "Sceaf, that is the son of Noah, . . . was born on the Ark" (fig. 1.4).[13] The chronicler messily bridges the gap between the Bible and pagan Germanic descent.

Some thought the ageless remnant of language before Babel lived on in Hebrew, considered one of the three sacred languages.[14] Adam and Eve had spoken Hebrew, and it was probably used by God and the angels as well. Jerome's prefaces to his translations weave the web between

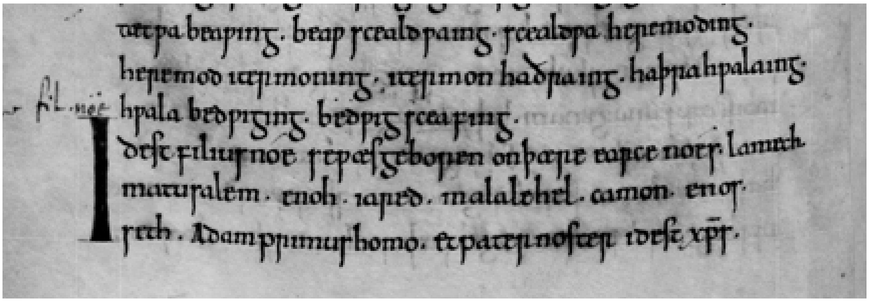
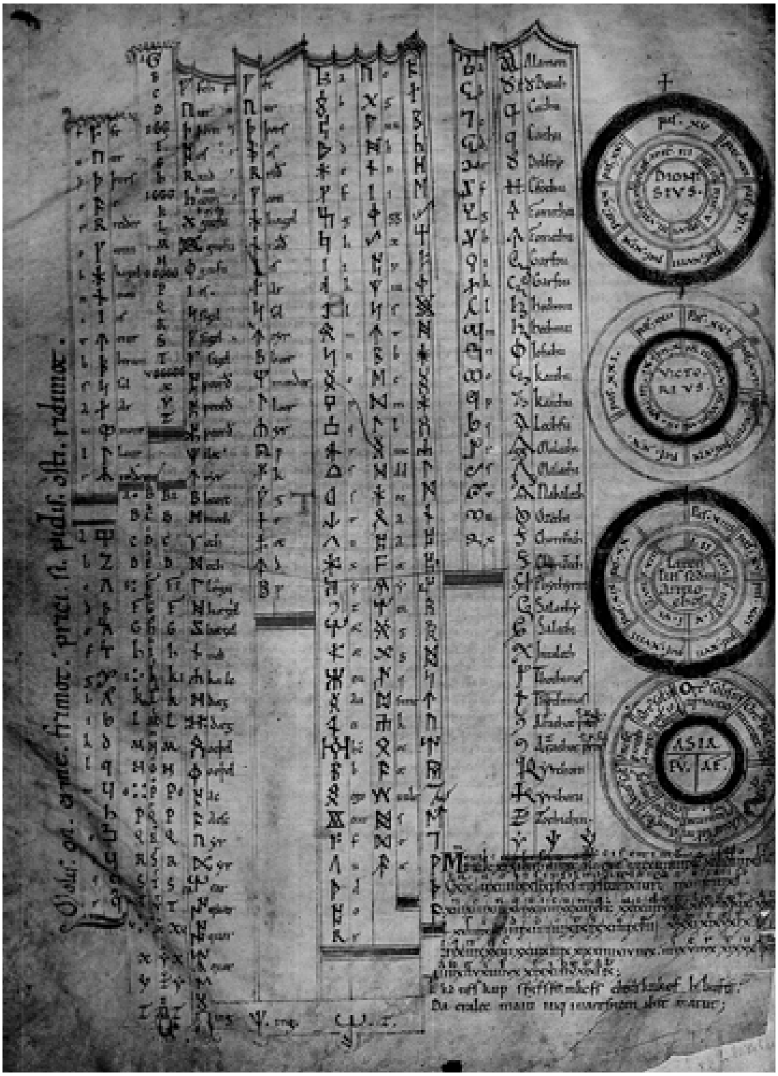


Figure 1.4. Sceaf, son of Noah. The report of the birth of Sceaf on the ark in the Abingdon (C) copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 856 (lines 3–4): "Hwala son of Bedwig, Bedwig son of Sceaf/that is the son of Noah who was born on the ark." The text is macaronic, with all in Old English except for "id est filius Noe" [that is the son of Noah], and the last link of the genealogy, from Seth to Adam, "primus homo et pater noster id est Christus" [the first man and our father, that is Christ]. London, BL Cotton Tiberius B. i, fol. 129v. *By permission of the British Library.*

Hebrew and the other sacred languages, Greek and Latin. "If you are incredulous," Jerome (c. 348–420) says about the quality of his translation of the books of Samuel and Kings, "read the Greek and Latin manuscripts and compare them with these poor efforts of mine, and wherever you see they disagree, ask some Hebrew" which is right.[15] Greek had become an authoritative language of the Old Testament when it was accepted as such by diaspora Jews in the Hellenistic period. This acceptance had a moment of birth according to legend. Josephus in the first century and Augustine in the fifth had both reported that seventy learned Jews had simultaneously and identically translated the Torah into Greek at the behest of King Ptolemy of Egypt in the third century BCE.[16] These Jewish translators, called the Septuaginta Interpretes or Seventy Translators, were known to learned Christians throughout the period because their translation, the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, had been used as authoritative by Christians from the beginning of their religion. Bede, in the early eighth century, read of the Seventy Translators' successes and failures as interpreters of the Bible—as did Lanfranc in the eleventh.[17] In his debate treatise, Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster (1085–1117), puts in the mouth of "the Christian" the claim that the Septuagint has authority because "the Seventy Translators, your most learned teachers, translated the law and prophets from Hebrew into Greek," despite his rabbinical opponent, "the Jew," telling him (quite accurately, it so happens) that the Jews had no common tradition of any Seventy Translators and therefore the Greek translation of the Bible was not official, but a private creation of no special authority.[18] In the West, Latin eventually gained a special, sacred status through the writings of the church fathers (second through sixth centuries) mingled with the perception of Latin as the language of Roman imperial power.

Such a multitude of sacred and profane languages drew the attention of scholars interested in the origins and nature of language. Grammarians in England began their description of language with its smallest component—its *litterae* 'letters'—beyond which it could not be divided. As the *Excerpts from Priscian*, Ælfric's (c. 950–c. 1010) source for his *Grammar*, says: "We divide a book into sentences, sentences into words, words into syllables, and syllables into letters. But letters are indivisible, and so philosophers call them *athomi* ('atoms')."[19] Language, then, was something that could be broken down into its smallest parts to be examined and manipulated. The English showed particular interest in such smallest parts, collecting codes and alphabets, some used to represent numbers, some used to write contemporary languages, others representing no known language.[20] The chart of alphabets in Oxford, St. John's College, MS 17, with its examples of fanciful and better-documented symbols, shows this fascination with the smallest unit of language (fig. 1.5). Also of particular interest were the parts of words that were words themselves or had their own meanings. Grammarians understood etymology—tracing the original meaning of words—and knew that languages borrowed from one another (though mostly in the form of what classical and medieval grammarians labeled "barbarisms"), even if their way of understanding these things led them down strange roads. Before the twelfth century, however, grammarians rarely, if ever, applied their knowledge of Latin to their vernaculars.

The rare instances, however, deserve our attention. Early medieval writers must, as Helmut Gneuss has suggested, have applied the categories of Latin grammar to their vernaculars whenever they glossed a Latin text.[21] Perhaps because they were Germanic speakers entering a Latin-speaking Church, the English early on developed an intense interest in the Latin language. Within a little over a century from the arrival of the missionaries from Rome, Aldhelm (d. 709 or 710), Tatwine (d. 734), and Bede (d. 735) had all produced Latin works on some aspects of Latin grammar.[22] Early English grammarians at times introduce their vernaculars into the discussion. To illustrate barbarism, barbarolexis, and solecism, Byrhtferth in the early years of the eleventh century did not just identify vernacular words that had intruded into Latin, but gave examples of foreign words that had entered English and French.[23] Byrhtferth understood that any language could be transformed by incorrect usage. "He who corrupts his own language," Byrhtferth advised, "commits a barbarism, as if he said *þu sot* ['you (piece of) soot'] where he should say *þu sott* ['you fool']."[24] His comments on language were, however, fragmentary, especially when



compared to the remarkable work of one of his contemporaries, Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham. Ælfric's translation of the *Excerpts from Priscian* created not a grammar of English, but the first grammar of Latin written in any post-Roman, non-Romance, western European vernacular.[25] Ælfric admitted in his English preface that his work would be "an introduction to both languages."[26] Using English to explain Latin grammar inevitably pushed English into the categories used by Priscian and all Latin grammarians. Ælfric even coins a number of English terms, based on etymol-

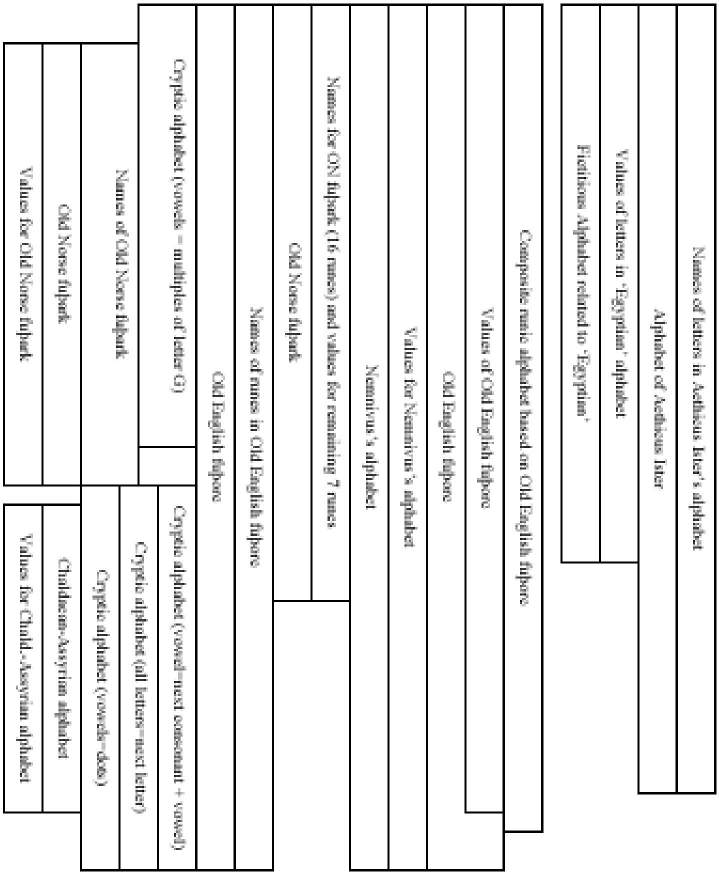


Figure 1.5. Alphabetic Babel. A collection of alphabets and codes in an early twelfth-century book, Oxford, St. John's MS 17, fo. 5v (*facing page*). This collection includes three OE runic alphabets or *fuþorcs* (named after their first six runes), two Old Norse *fuþarks*, four alphabet codes, Egyptian and Chaldaean-Assyrian alphabets, and alphabets attributed to Nemnivus (recte Nennius) and Aethicus Ister. The manuscript is devoted to computus and was written at Thorney abbey between 1102 and 1110 (R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* [Bruges, 1954], 30–34; and Faith Elena Wallis, "MS Oxford St John's College 17: A Mediaeval Manuscript in Its Context" [PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1985], 181ff.). The chart above shows the pattern on the page. The creator of this collection does not distinguish between runic and cryptic alphabets. *By permission of the President and Fellows of Saint John Baptists College in the University of Oxford.*

ogy, in order to translate Latin grammatical terminology.[27] *Praepositio* "preposition" (ultimately from *prae* "before" + position "a placing"), for example, becomes *foresetnys* "before-position."[28] While this is a grammar of Latin, Ælfric's use of Old English examples to illustrate it implies that Old English had similar qualities to the Latin (and some differences he readily acknowledged, such as feet and meter).[29]

His recognition of this similarity is but the harbinger of the debate on the existence of universal grammar. It was generally accepted by the end of the twelfth century that there was a universal grammar that applied to all languages, rather than species of grammar that applied only to single languages.[30] In such an intellectual climate, it was still uncommon to find believers illustrating their contention by applying the rules of Latin to French or English. Following their Roman models, they were happier using Greek than a vernacular to explain discrepancies. William of Conches, a Norman grammarian at work in the first half of the twelfth century, explained that Latin had five vowels and Greek seven as an accidental difference rather than a substantial one.[31] William does not, however, tell us how many vowels were in the French he spoke every day. Nevertheless, these scholars in the course of teaching did become conscious of the relationship of different languages to one another. One twelfth-century grammarian used Romance *apprendre* "to teach, learn" to illustrate by analogy the equivocal nature of the Greek verb διδάσκω "to learn; understand," which might lie behind the Latin *discere* "to acquire knowledge of, ascertain."[32] Even William of Conches recognized the interference of the *materna lingua* "mother tongue," in his case a dialect of French, on his contemporaries' ability to distinguish *plus* from *magis,* two Latin words for "more" used in different ways.[33] The doubters outside England said the rules of Latin could not be applied to any other language; one Parisian illustrated this by suggesting that a number of English nouns, for example, could not be divided into letters—"there are many nouns, for instance, in English or in other languages whose letters [i.e., individual sounds]," wrote the anonymous author of *Breve sit*, "cannot be distinguished."[34] But objectors were a smaller and smaller minority as the twelfth century drew to a close. Here Western European grammarians stood on the brink of linguistic breakthroughs, accepting the principle of a universal grammar and even suggesting the possibility (whether or not they accepted this principle) of writing grammars of vernacular languages. "So," wrote Petrus Helias in his *Summa* of the mid-twelfth century, "the species of this art [of grammar] are able to increase, that is, to be more; for example a grammar might be drawn up for French [*Gallica lingua*], which can be done, or for any other language which has not yet been done."[35]

LABELING LANGUAGES

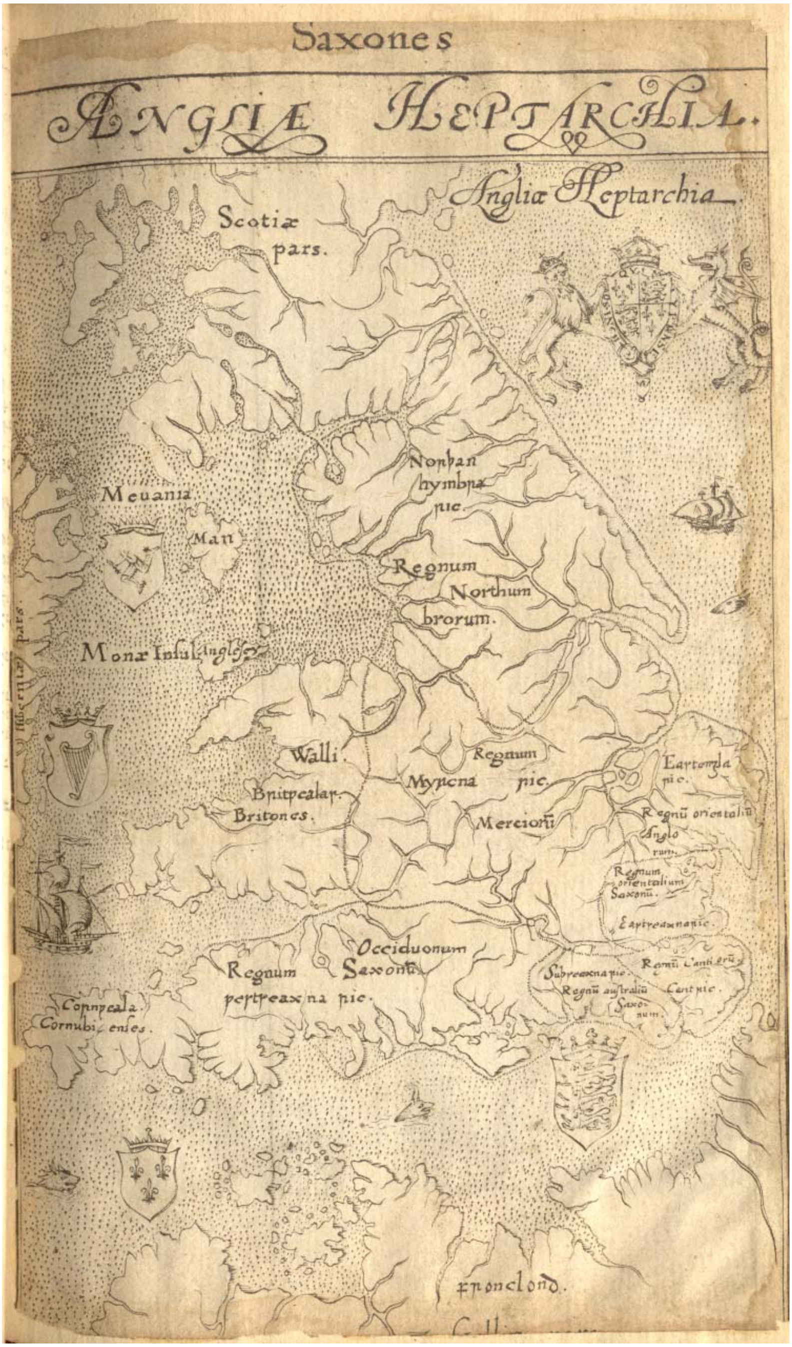
In their world, the English probably did not think they were hearing the related tongues of Japheth's descendents, sacred or profane, which they then understood using the grammatical structures of Latin. Their linguistic world was simpler. There was their own speech, and there were the unintelligible languages of those who lived both nearby and faraway. The labels of the languages varied from place to place, time to time, and text to text. To the English, writing in English, their language was *Anglisc*; in Latin, it might still appear as *Anglice* "in English" or *Saxonice* "in Saxon," but was also commonly referred to as *lingua vulgaris* "common speech" or, with associations both Roman and imperial, *Brittanice* (which could also be Welsh).[36] Neither the English nor Scandinavian settlers in England seem to have labeled any Scandinavian speech as a distinct language, though some of the English knew that Danes had different names for things.[37] Speakers of Romance dialects just across the Channel called their language, among other things, *Gallica lingua* "Gaulish" in Latin, but *Romanz* "Roman" in various forms of Old French, or *Proensal* and *Limousin* in the south after the names for the speech of Provence and the region around the city of Limoges, respectively.[38]

To each group it was a "mother tongue," a phrase invested with problems.[39] Acquisition of a mother tongue or first language was an oral task of those among whom one grew up and learned to talk, and it would be wrong to imagine any real unintelligibility between generations such as sometimes might seem to be implicit in discussions of developments in English after the Norman conquest. A Worcester family whose grandparents had heard Bishop Wulfstan II (c. 1008–1095) preach in the cathedral, and whose children were increasingly losing case distinctions and pronouncing "lord" more like *laverd* than *hlaford*, could all have a conversation, with awareness of difference, but no unintelligibility.[40] The needs of scholars to delimit their fields of study between Old and Middle English should not make us forget how imperceptible such boundaries were to contemporary speakers. Did a woman in twelfth-century Winchester know or care that she no longer had in her culture a standard written language? Twelfth-century laments for the fate of the English do not survive in a pickled Winchester standard—the unusual creation of late tenth-century writers—but in early and slight moves toward a less inflected progenitor of modern English.[41]

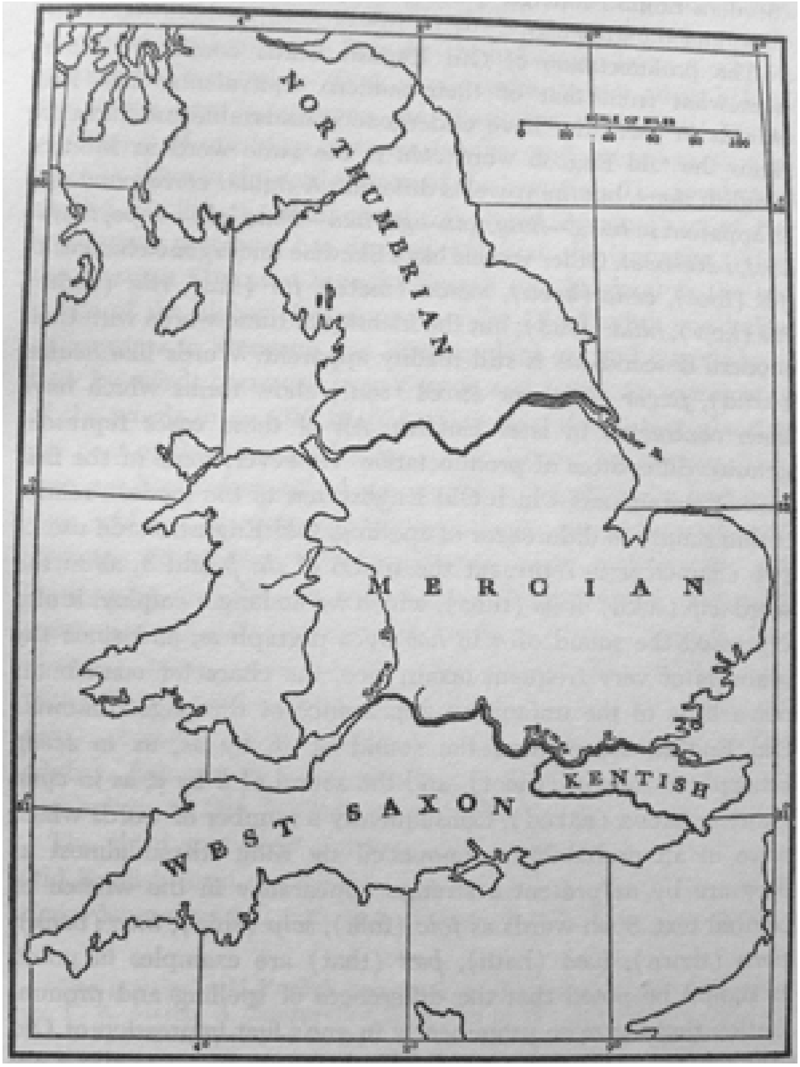
It is difficult to know what sense the English had of the existence of different dialects of their language. Modern linguists have identified what appear to be dialects, but no contemporary witness before 1066 ever acknowledges the existence of Mercian, Northumbrian, East Anglian, or even the broader Anglian to which modern philologists assign these subdialects.[42] There is no Anglo-Saxon label for West Saxon, early or late, or for Kentish. To Bede, except in one place or possibly two, English is one language.[43] Nevertheless, scholars in the nineteenth century saw morphological and lexical differences between texts through the lens of the political geography of England—the so-called Heptarchy—and consequently named the dialects Northumbrian, Mercian, Anglian, West Saxon, and Kentish. The Heptarchy appeared first, but only in William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* in 1576 (map 1.1).[44] Three centuries later, following the development of modern linguistics during the full flush of romanticism, the dialects eventually caught up with their polities, appearing in print between 1844 and 1887.[45] The earliest map of these dialects only showed up in 1935 (map 1.2).[46] Whether political or linguistic, the imagined borders have changed little during those 350 years.

Some recent work has cast doubt on alignments between dialects and polities. In the *Cambridge History of the English Language,* Richard Hogg points out that "kingdoms of the heptarchy and dialect areas are not necessarily isomorphic," and that "[t]wo "Mercian" texts may show as many distinctions as a "Mercian" text and a "Northumbrian" text."[47] Further, the absence in any other region of texts showing dialectal features does not imply the nonexistence of that dialect (e.g., East Anglian).[48] Analyses of texts that have been moved from one dialect to another—a process that has left clues unevenly in the extant literature—have to rely on notions of dialect use in written records that are, if nothing else, conjectural, and do little to explain what are termed "mixed dialect" texts, where forms defined as Anglian, West Saxon, or Kentish are mingled together.[49] Even after the creation of a standard version of the language in Winchester in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, when we would have expected to see a sharpened awareness and criticism of nonstandard varieties of English, there is not a word in the sources.

Ironically, it is only after the Norman conquest that observers of language began to write about differences between English spoken in different regions—just when we might expect the obvious difference between English and the conquerors' French to have reduced the significance of the audible shades of English.[50] William of Malmesbury complained that northerners and southerners spoke very different, almost unintelligible, forms of English.[51] William's lament is the first direct evidence for the recognition of dialects in English; Jocelyn of Brakelond's early thirteenth-century identification of Samson of Bury's dialect as from Norfolk is the first explicit sign of anything more sensitive than a north-south divide in the language.[52] Seen from another perspective, class is a more important association than region. In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, high-status Northumbrians spoke a different kind of English: the prisoner Imma's



Map 1.1. The oldest Heptarchy map



Map 1.2. The oldest English dialect map

speech gave him away as a noble, not as a Northumbrian.[53] Ælfric had to apologize for translating texts into a simple English because, as an educated man and friend of the elite, he would be expected to do otherwise.[54] Alexander Nequam (1157–1217) acknowledged that different levels of English depended on learning or class when he said he spoke to the whole congregation "in a comic and common way of speaking" [comico et vulgari sermone].[55]

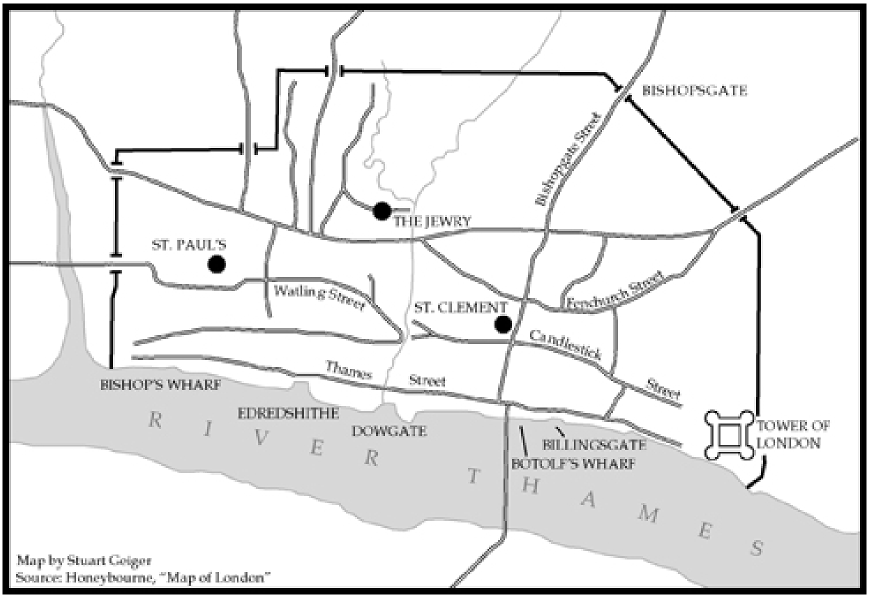
It may be that English up to the ninth century was thought by its speakers to be the same language, with no major differences in sound, syntax, or lexis that would impede intelligibility or strike the listener as significant. If this were the case, then it would partly explain the manuscript copies of texts that exhibit mixed dialects. While patterns in variation, then, reflect real speech communities (e.g., Mercian), the heterogeneity of forms in the same texts that exhibit these patterns suggests little conscious political association of language and hegemony. Instead, such patterns attest to the ability of stronger kings to place their people in positions of power in the church, placements that brought clergy into new regions, where their scribal habits would now be, without conscious ideology or malice aforethought, practiced and taught.[56]

It is in the twelfth-century sources that Francophones describe their own regional varieties, though here, a paucity of earlier works makes it hard to know if they knew the *Romanz* of Normandy as such, or as one region's French, or as nothing in particular, when they heard it before c. 1050.[57] By the late eleventh century and into the twelfth, though, French dialects, unlike English ones, made a greater impression on contemporaries. This does not mean, however, that in written form dialects of French remained distinct in all works. Versatile writers mastered prestige dialects for work even when they spoke something quite different outside of performance.[58] Some writers freely, perhaps even unconsciously, mixed their dialects.[59] Some dialects were indirectly lifted and dropped by their political contexts. The Norman dialect, for instance, rose on the fortunes of the dukes of Normandy. In twelfth-century England those fortunes became increasingly disconnected from French affairs, and it appears the dialect of French spoken in England suffered in reputation as a result. By the late twelfth century, at least, French speakers in the Angevin world as well as in northern France could consider the French spoken in England as nothing more than "raw and crappy."[60]

Armed with biblical and classical learning, the English appeared more comfortable speaking and thinking in categories about language broader than regional dialect. The Encomiast, a Flemish speaker writing for Queen Emma in the early eleventh century, resorted to the large category of Germanic language to explain the etymology of her son Harthacnut's name. *Hardecnutus*, he wrote, was understood to come "in German" (*Theutonice*) from *Harde*, meaning "strong" or "swift" and the personal name *Cnut*; here he gives a Danish etymology identified with a label—Germanic—that was applied to languages as diverse as English, Saxon, Bavarian, and Norse.[61] This is, if nothing else, a sign of the recognition of the similarities of these languages.[62] William of Malmesbury noted the closeness of Frankish and English, but attributed it to a common homeland.[63] More explicit reference to such bonds between languages comes in the late twelfth century from Gerald of Wales, an ecclesiastic, historian, and courtier. In his *Description of Wales*, Gerald says the three peoples who escaped from the wreck of Troy were "the Romans led by Aeneas, the Franks by Antenor, and the Britons by Brutus," but he says nothing here about the Frankish language, which, if he meant *Romanz*, would have shown clear bonds to Latin as well as Greek and British.[64] To demonstrate the descent of Welsh along with Latin and Greek from Trojan, Gerald pointed out that "almost all the words in Welsh agree with either Greek or Latin words."[65] The languages had not stayed still over the ages: Gerald reports (with dissent noted) his contemporaries' view that British is originally Trojan that was affected by time the Trojans spent in Greece. That is when it became "twisted Greek."[66] In another place, Gerald says that southern England has the purest English simply because the region suffered the least invasion. Not only, he writes, is this the dialect chosen by literary luminaries like Bede, Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), and King Alfred, but the speech "in the northern parts of the island has been exceedingly corrupted by repeated invasions of the Danes and Norwegians."[67] Invasion shapes speech, then, like dye colors cloth.

MULTILINGUALISM

Gerald of Wales's comments betray a world where many languages were in use and in contact with one another, whether in daily life, on the pages of books, or in the minds of intellectuals. This is what we casually call a multilingual world, but that label does not describe the specific relationships between languages, spoken and written.[68] Here as well, already complex relations were complicated further by region, status, identity, register, and religion. There would have been bilingualism, trilingualism, and so on, where some were able to use two or more languages.[69] There also may have been dual lingualism, where speakers of different languages successfully use their own languages to communicate to one another.[70] There were also probably pidgins and creoles. Pidgins are languages that arise in contact situations—usually constituting a trading language; some become naturalized by being passed on from generation to generation and are referred to as creoles.[71] The intensity and politics of contact, encouraging everything from trilingualism to pidginization, would vary a good deal, from rural villages in the south where, except for the occasional French of a Norman settler, only English was ever heard, or in the north where French joined Scandinavianized English or Anglicized Scandinavian, mixed with English and the occasional Cumbrian or Gaelic. Exceptional was the kingdom's major southern metropolis, London (map 1.3). In this city, in the year 1150, a visitor might hear English mostly, but



Map 1.3. London under Henry II

depending on where he walked, Rouenaise French, Baltic German, and Flemish by Dowgate on the Thames, Danish and other Scandinavian dialects in the parish of St. Clement Danes and at Bishopsgate, and perhaps Genoese and Spanish where merchants gathered. The visitor could by chance hear Breton, Welsh, and even Irish and Scottish Gaelic, Hebrew behind the closed doors on St. Lawrence's Lane and the Old Jewry, and possibly even Arabic—spoken by the occasional Sephardic or Mozarabic Jew. If the right ship were in, he could hear some Greek as well.[72] In addition, he might hear speech derived from some of these languages, but which were pidgins, the patois of the port.

How would these languages be heard by contemporaries? What were their associations, if any? The sounds of English, Danish, Welsh, French, Hebrew, or Latin may have had some significance for the listener in identifying the people who made them as more than simply speakers of other languages. Classical, patristic, and medieval writers were consistent on this point. Isidore of Seville recognized the significance of the Babel story and wrote that "peoples arose from languages, not languages from people."[73] Language, then, was one of the elements that defined your *gens* "people." The English before the twelfth century seem, however, little interested in such ideas.[74] Bede makes a rather schematic equation in his *Ecclesiastical History*, but he was also well aware that different peoples like the Bernicians and East Angles used the same language.[75] Preconquest writers do not theorize about this, or elaborate on any of the versions of this idea with which they may have come into contact. Alfred knew of it—it seems—and in his translation of Boethius's *Consolation*, he inserts a note about Babel that begins with the observation that there are "very many people of different kinds" who are "very unlike both in speech and in manners, and in customs."[76] A few generations later, Ælfric's sense of his people and kingdom is strong, but his endorsement of English as a defining characteristic of these things is not. He considers the English he writes more a convalescent home for the future good health of Latin than an act of vernacular revolution.[77] There is little of nationalism or national identity here, and much of pastoral concern.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a great deal of evidence about the attitudes toward language that arose from language contact. This is implicit in recent work on language and culture in the British Isles.[78] It also seems to be common sense to imagine that what people think of one another may be reflected in their views about one another's language. Language ought, it seems, to bear special scrutiny as an indicator of identity in a land where most other differences had been effaced or, at least, do not appear in the evidence. Sociolinguists have charted how sensitive the human ear is to the slightest variations in speech, and how willing people are at times to interpret those variations as significant markers of social origins or affiliations.[79] Two of the other usual items on medieval lists of indicators of identity—manners and weapons—are either unknowable or, after the battle of Hastings, are not restricted to any one ethnic group. Descent, usually first on these lists, underwent tremendous manipulation in the hands of postconquest intellectuals, for whom most roads led to Troy, rather than to ancestral homelands in Saxony, Francia, Scandinavia, or Britain.[80] What the common people of any tongue would say about their descent is unknowable. Language and law, the last two items on the lists, then, must bear all the weight as evidence of difference in England. The actual evidence from language, however, is not all that easy to categorize or interpret.

Some scholars use the conclusions of sociolinguists to make sense of what they see. Postconquest England seems to be an unambiguous case where language use can be explained by appeal to notions of language dominance, prestige, and code switching, all driven along perceived channels of power. But the measurement of variables such as these is not a simple task. The protean configurations of all of the variables governing language use in those present-day societies studied by sociolinguists ought to receive more attention from medieval historians. Linguists can be cautious about applying their models. The linguist Harald Haarmann, for example, points out that "language itself is not a stable feature in ethnic identity," and at different times and places ranges from a "crucial" to an "irrelevant" aspect of ethnic identity.[81] This relativism is born of observing the complexities of multilingual societies. According to sociolinguists, the choice of language in a society depends on factors like religion, ethnicity, power, and the associations of the individual languages. This equation is further complicated by the level of competence of speakers in any or all languages, and by the specific domain (e.g., conversations between family members or pleadings in a public court) in which the choice of language is made. As Suzanne Romaine warns, "Due to competing pressures, it is not possible to predict with absolute certainty which language an individual will use in a particular circumstance."[82] Nor is it always or often knowable at this remove what it would have meant to have made such a choice.

LANGUAGE, CONQUEST, AND IDENTITY

In the context of studying conquest, however, sociolinguistic cautions have exerted little influence. Scholars have assumed that the status of languages after the Danish settlement of the late ninth century and later conquest of 1016, the Norman conquest of 1066, and the Angevin conquest of 1154 is especially significant in the attempts to track identity, culture, and nation. These conquests are thought to have eventually created a hierarchy of languages reflecting the domination of new lords speaking something other than English. The results of this realignment of languages are said to be visible throughout the kingdom. In asking such questions about language use, however, it is hard to draw a line between the evidence of language use that modifies our understanding of the culture of postconquest periods and that which serves as a reflection of conclusions drawn principally from political evidence. The difference between the two may lie merely in the questions a scholar chooses to ask about a period, but the end result is often that the messy evidence of language after, especially, 1066 is compelled to conform to the cleaner lines of Anglo-Norman politics.

The issues of language status are even more opaque for the earlier periods of invasion. If Matthew Townend is right that the languages spoken by the Scandinavians who raided and settled in England and the English spoken by the natives were mutually intelligible, then the question becomes: Need there have been much difference in speech for language to still bear the full weight of ethnic identity?[83] The answer of course is no. Æthelweard (d. c. 998), for example, recognized differences even if the two languages, English and Danish, were intelligible.[84] But the limited evidence of Æthelweard's *Chronicle,* as well as of all other witnesses to Scandinavian-

English contact, is no license to believe that language consistently or even sporadically bore much ethnic weight. Positive evidence is simply in short supply. The irrelevance of language to "national" identity is surprising, since this is the time, from Alfred to Edgar, when some historians have claimed that the English kingdom was created in the face of the great Danish Other. In order to help make this case, however, these historians may have to dress this Other in linguistic clothes that do not in fact fit.[85]

Such observations bear directly on the issue of translation, since the magnetism of prestige introduces a force that directs the flow of texts from one language to another, and also supplies its own rationale. This may not be the centripetal force, described by Mikhail Bakhtin, that draws languages and dialects toward a common, usually national, language, a force exuded by institutions or wielded by those who control those institutions.[86] It may instead simply be the result of language use that is less consciously manipulated, where de facto access is easier in a conqueror's speech. If English lost its prestige after the Norman conquest, then it makes a certain degree of sense that the movement of translation is from English into Latin and, in a small way, into French. Latin would be the prestige language of continental intellectuals and courts in the first decades of the classical renaissance of the long twelfth century, while French was the conquerors' spoken tongue, a language of power and, now, patronage.[87] A world where English speakers and writers feel their inferiority, and hunker down in monasteries to watch their standard language decay, throws a particular and, in a medieval setting, peculiarly modern colonial light on acts of translation.

But this last interpretation assumes the hostility of the conquered and the elitism of the conquerors, and evidence for these is in fact mixed at best. Evidence of hostility in particular has been abused. Some of the central pillars of this view have been battered if not torn down in recent years—the murder fine being one onto which I have, if nothing else, at least painted some graffiti.[88] Cecily Clark, whose work has done so much to illuminate language contact after 1066, saw any loss of prestige as narrow and, perhaps, inadvertent. It appears that only in the royal court—and in its functions—did English lose its orthographic way.[89] In the monasteries or on the streets of towns and villages, in contrast, English written and spoken survived and even thrived. Into the 1120s, Clark argues, English writers "remained sure enough of themselves to Anglicize new words, no matter how prestigious their associations in their native [i.e., non-English] speech."[90] If applied to postconquest evidence, work by Itamar Evan-Zohar would suggest that the translation of texts into Latin and French was more the result of a Norman sense of being new in England and, perhaps, of being culturally precarious, than of their cultural arrogance.[91] The preservation and recopying of English texts, then, was no act of nostalgia, as R. W. Southern argued some years ago.[92] If anything drove it, it was its own momentum, built up through the eleventh century, operating unaffected by any sense of a loss of prestige.

The classic case cited by many as evidence of postconquest tensions between conquerors and conquered and for its proof of the power of prestige in language choice is the name-changing by the Northumbrian boy Tostig in the early twelfth century. After being teased about the derivation of his name by young friends, his name was changed around 1110 to William. Later, when "William" entered the Benedictine monastery of Durham, his name was changed yet again, this time to Bartholomew (fig. 1.6).[93] In this story, according to the usual interpretation, the great shift in prestige from English to French is represented. A boy with the now low-prestige native Anglo-Scandinavian name of Tostig is ridiculed by his friends. Tostig countered by changing his name to the high-prestige Norman name of William, a name borne by the first two Norman kings and especially favored by the new Norman nobility. When he entered the church, he shed his Norman name for an evangelical one, Bartholomew.[94] The problem with this interpretation takes us to the heart of the issue of language and power, and the evidence for their relationship. The *Life* that relates the story, written soon after Bartholomew's death (1193 or 1198) by Geoffrey of Coldingham, does not tell us why the name Tostig was considered a fair target for ridicule. The Anglo-Scandinavian "Tostig" is a very uncommon name, even in the Scandinavian-settled regions of England.[95] Furthermore, it is not clear what "William" would have meant to the locals in 1110, so long after the conquest in 1066. Understanding its meaning would require, at the very least, knowledge of the parents' names, something that the sources have not preserved.[96] Neither Tostig nor William is given an ethnic label in the source.[97] It could be that Tostig named himself, or was renamed, for William, the conquering Norman king, but it could also have been for some other more recent, non-Norman, and thoroughly English William.[98] As we are ignorant of the meaning of William, we are also ignorant of the resonances and associations of the name Tostig that brought on the teasing. The most famous conquest-era Tostig, King Harold's brother, was despised in northern England. Angered by a series of political murders and unjust taxes ordered by Earl Tostig, the thegns of York and Northumbria outlawed him in 1065 and murdered his bodyguards.[99] He was rumored to have killed and dismembered Harold's servants.[100] In 1066, he had invaded the north with Scandinavian allies, causing the deaths of many local men of the northern army that fought him outside York. The existence of such an infamous Tostig, along with the local contemporary associations with the name William, on top of the impossibility of knowing who gave him his new name, and with what intent, ought to inject some caution into our ethnic reading of this switch.

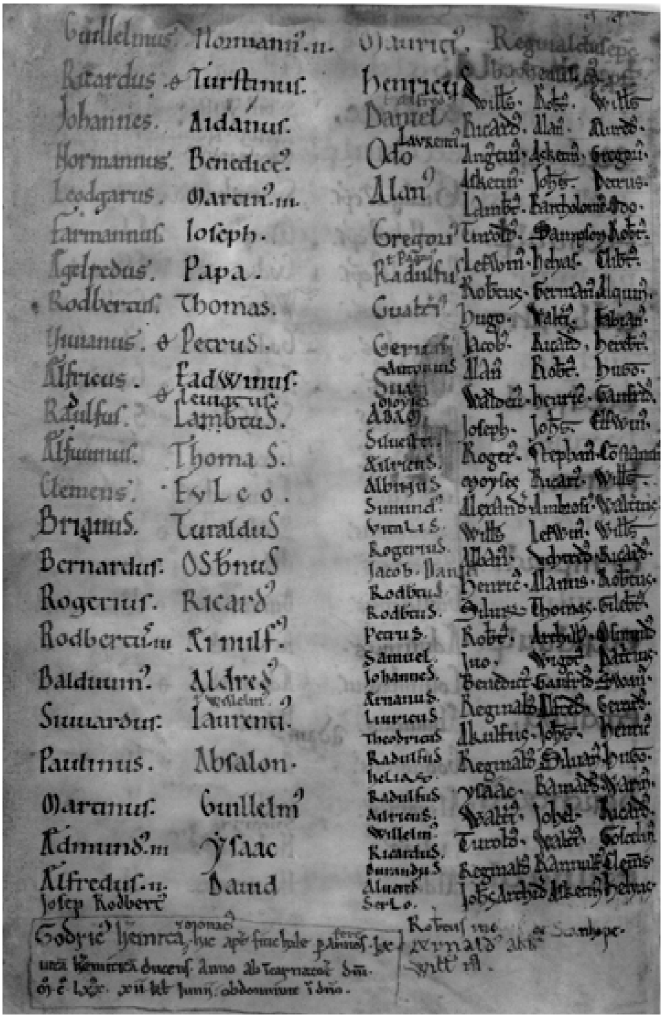


Figure 1.6. Bartholomew (a. k. a. Tostig, a. k. a. William) in Durham's *Liber Vitae*. "Bartholomeus" is in the second column from the right, seven lines from the top in this twelfth-century portion of Durham's record of monks and benefactors. Continental Germanic names predominate on this folio, with Biblical (or Latin Christian) and English or Anglo-Scandinavian names scattered throughout. Around Bartholomew are other monks, named Asketinus (Insular), Lambertus (Continental), Turoldus (Continental), Sampson (Biblical), Robert (Continental), Odo (Continental), Peter (Biblical), and John (Biblical). Given the smattering of Leofwines, Walðeofs, Williams, and Henrys in the list, it seems that either Tostig or William should have been acceptable to the monks at Durham who, nevertheless, chose to rename him Bartholomew. London, BL, Cotton Domitian vii, fol. 45v. *By permission of the British Library.*

Far from being linguistically isolated or uninformed, people in the English-speaking world knew many other languages, many at first hand. Influenced by the Irish and encouraged by their own circumstances, they investigated the structure of one language, Latin, in greater detail in the early Middle Ages than did any continental Europeans. In the twelfth century, English writers were among the first to discuss the relationship between languages. Although they recognized, following a long tradition of medieval scholarship, the potential role of language as a definer of peoples, their own experiences in a multilingual realm were what governed their understanding and determined their attitudes. The Tower of Babel may have toppled long before, but the learned saw the consequences all around medieval English society.

IDEAS ABOUT TRANSLATION

Two intertwined strands of thought on textual translation came to the English with the missionaries.[101] The thickest strand was that generated by the translation of the Bible and other sacred Christian writings. The Latin Bible that Augustine, Mellitus, and most of the missionaries were familiar with—Jerome's Vulgate—had only been translated in that form for two centuries when they set out for England. The work to produce that translation had led to a good deal of discussion by Jerome and his critics about the proper method for translating sacred scripture (fig. 1.7). In these feisty debates, Jerome evaluated the rich history of biblical translation from Hebrew and Aramaic into Greek over the centuries by Hellenized Jews, like the Seventy Translators.[102] Jerome's prefaces and letters, where these evaluations appeared, were in English book collections by Bede's time; they traveled with Bibles almost as a matter of course.[103] Ælfric knew Jerome as "the foremost Latin translator of Hebrew and Greek," while the anonymous author of a homily noted how many books Jerome had translated from Hebrew and Greek.[104]

Jerome's prefaces and exegetical works capture the controversies surrounding the proper translation of the Bible. For Jerome, what was of principal importance was making sure he used the best text as the basis for his translation, and this meant questioning the accuracy of Greek translations by comparing them to the Hebrew and Aramaic originals.[105] The complexities of two books of the Bible—Job and Daniel—compelled Jerome to make his most explicit references to translation method. In the preface to Job, Jerome acknowledges the possibilities of word-for-word and sense-for-sense translation (as well as a combination of the two methods), but goes further in revealing the difficulties he faced: "This translation follows none of the earlier translators, but has echoed at one

Figure 1.7. Jerome at work. This portrait faces the first folio of a late tenth-century copy of Jerome's *Life of St. Paul* from St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Since the divinely inspired work Jerome did was his creation of the Vulgate, then the dove at his ear likely marks this as a portrait of Jerome translating the Bible under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, rather than merely composing the *Life of St. Paul.* CCC 389, fol. 1v. *By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*

time the words, at another the meaning, at another both at the same time of the Hebrew and Arabic, and occasionally the Syriac. In fact the whole book, even in Hebrew, bears an indirectness and slipperiness that the orators call in Greek ἐσχηματισμένος; and while it says one thing, it does another, just as when you want to hold an eel or a little murena fish, the harder you squeeze, the faster it slips away."[106]

In his preface to Daniel (and throughout his *Commentary on Daniel*), Jerome admits the burden of the task of translation of a macaronic book (that is, a text that mixes at least two languages): "Recently I struck into Daniel and I felt such weariness that, with a sudden desperation, I was ready to consider all my previous work contemptible. But since a Hebrew encouraged me and kept saying to me repeatedly in his language that persistent effort conquers all, I, who considered myself a smatterer compared to them, became again a student of Aramaic. I honestly admit that up to today I am more able to read and understand Aramaic than to speak it."[107] Jerome does not dwell on the distinction between word-for-word and sense-for-sense translation; instead, what the early medieval English reader would find would be Jerome's frequent comments on the slipperiness of language, the failures of other translators, the creation of theological error by bad translation, the importance of native speakers as advisers, the importance of knowing the times when the text was made, and the significance of audience.

Isidore was the other major source for this strand of biblical translation. His *Etymologies* is thick with the very idea of translation. This encyclopedic text is organized around the task of finding the original meaning of words, and provides accounts of language, libraries, scripts, and translation—e.g., "Library takes its name from the Greek for where books are stored. For βιβλίων means 'of books,' and θήχη is a 'repository.'"[108] Isidore also lists in his brief chapter on translators the Seventy Translators, who get first place for the Old Testament, followed by later Greek Bible translators of the second century CE: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Origen is credited as the great editor of their work. For the New Testament, the show belongs to Jerome, "learned in three languages," who not only produced a literal and clear translation, but—important for a Christian translator—one that was, according to Isidore, *verior* "truer."[109] Isidore's own Biblical prefatory material came from three of his works: the *Etymologies*, *Introductions to the Books of the Old and New Testaments*, and *The Birth and Death of the Fathers*. Helmut Gneuss records in English collections before c. 1100 nineteen copies, fragments, or excerpts from the *Etymologies* and eight books containing both *Introductions* and *Birth and Death*.[110] These works were among the most common in England before 1066 and maintained their popularity after the conquest.[111]

The classical inheritance available to the English, the second strand of translation, was less directly influential. Roman writers had framed the debate about method by labeling two opposing types of translation: word-for-word and sense-for-sense. But as Rita Copeland reminds us, "this polarity . . . is nothing more than a simple commonplace, even for the Romans who inaugurated it."[112] Copeland places translation at "the intersection of grammar and rhetoric," where it lives uneasily as imitation, interpretation, and commentary, a child of rhetoric and oratory rather than of grammar. Cicero is here the supreme restatement of the classical position. In his *Best Kind of Orators*, he admits that he has translated Demosthenes' and Aeschines' speeches "not as a translator, but as an orator, using the same thoughts and the manners, just as the figures of speech, in fitting words according to our practice. I didn't think it necessary to render them word for word, but instead to preserve all the style and force of the words. For I didn't think I should count them out for the reader, but instead should weigh them."[113]

One point, however, we should remember about the influence in England of classical ideas on translation. There seem to have been very few, if any, copies of Cicero's *Best Kind* or Horace's *Art of Poetry*, another important classical text on translation, available to the English before the twelfth century. Gneuss lists none of either work, for example, in England up to c. 1100.[114] The twelfth century did see these texts in English libraries, but not many copies, not in many libraries, and not all the critical texts.[115] It is likely, then, that the classical ideas known to the English came through the vehicle of Jerome and other Christian commentators, rather than from classical texts themselves.[116]

Leaving aside inheritance and looking at actual translation in England, we can see that there was a wide gap between discussion and practice. The rare writer who discusses his or her translation uses terms derived from the patristic authors and, in the twelfth century, from the classical writers unmediated by Isidore and Jerome. The word-for-word, sense-for-sense commonplaces that marked both traditions appear throughout the period. These two labels we would do well to ignore, however, when looking at the actual practice of medieval translators. Neither method is followed all that often with any fidelity. Translators stray to either side of the path of literal translation and crash frequently through the underbrush of invention, expansion, and commentary.[117] Even Ælfric, whose views on translation methods are the most extensive we have from the period, does not always translate biblical texts word for word, as he had promised, but produces at times a sense-for-sense translation instead.[118] And though Ælfric at least did not import volumes of wholly extratextual foreign material into his translations, others did.

IDENTIFYING TRANSLATIONS

So what did medieval people mean when they called something a translation or said they were translating? These questions will be examined in detail from a different direction in the chapters on method, but let me offer some general remarks here. Sometimes translators meant the same we would mean—that they had produced some sort of lexical equivalence between source and target, between text and translation.[119] This is easiest to see in what are some of the earliest translations—the word-for-word interlinear glosses provided in texts like the Psalms, Gospels, and monastic rules. Sometimes translators meant that they had tried not only to represent the source, but had also tried to make it intelligible by including explanations, by clarifying or simplifying complexities of the prose, or by omitting unnecessary portions.[120] Sometimes they meant the work was an adaptation, a translation whose text is based on or inspired by its source.[121] For some, perhaps for most, it was a claim of authority. This is probably behind Geoffrey of Monmouth's claim in his *History of the Kings of Britain* (c. 1136) to have translated into Latin an old Welsh book.[122] Often statements that a work is a translation (usually of a Latin source) are intended not so much to describe the linguistic relationship between source and translation as to convey the authority of the source to the translation—no matter how loose the linguistic connection between them. This is Peter Damian-Grint's suggestion for twelfth-century historians who work from one perspective as translators, but it applies, I think, to early medieval translation in general.[123]

For those actually attempting to move a real text or tale, how distinct did the languages have to be for a medieval writer to call it a translation? It may not have been Menardian—from Jorge Luis Borges's character Pierre Menard, who translated a book by copying it (despite his denial) word for word in its original language—but a conscious shifting of dialect might have been seen as an act of translation.[124] In some instances on the continent, movement of a text between dialects in the same language was done consciously and may well have been considered a translation.[125] How distant could the one text be from another in one or all aspects and still be called a translation? For example, was biblical verse like the Old English *Genesis* a translation?[126] Compare, for example, the following three related passages, the first of which, Jerome's Latin rendering of the beginning of Genesis, was the principal source for the second and third. Jerome wrote:

> In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi, et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas.

Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona: et divisit lucem a tenebris. Appellavitque lucem Diem, et tenebras Noctem: factumque est vespere et mane, dies unus.[127]

[In the beginning God created heaven and earth. Now the earth was empty and void and darkness was over the face of the abyss. And the spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: Let there by light, and light was made. And God saw that the light was good and He separated light from darkness. And He called the light Day and the darkness Night. And one day—evening and morning—was made.]

The second, done probably between 992 and 1002, visibly replicates the lexical content and, for much of the passage, the word order of the source. The translator, Ælfric, did not add or subtract any passages from the source; his changes were only what were implicit in the differing semantic fields of source and target vocabularies.

On anginne gesceop god heofenan and eorþan. Seo eorðe soþlice wæs ydel and æmtig and þeostru wæron ofer þære niwelnisse bradnisse, and Godes gast wæs geferod ofer wæteru. God cwæþ þa: "Geweorðe leoht," and leoht wearð geworht. God geseah þa þæt hit god wæs and he todælde þæt leoht fram þam þeostrum and het þæt leoht dæg and þa þeostra niht. Ða wæs geworden æfen and morgen, an dæg.[128]

[In the beginning God created heaven and earth. The earth was truly bare and empty; and darkness was over the surface of the abyss; and the spirit of God was borne over the waters. Then God said "Let there be light," and light was made. Then God saw that it was good, and divided the light from the darkness and called the light Day and the darkness Night. Then was made evening and morning—one day.]

Ælfric has here offered what would be called by some a conservative translation, matching his source's *words* with target language equivalents. His challenge was to understand as concisely as possible the semantic fields of his source's words so that his English equivalents would bear the weight, tone, and meaning of Jerome's Latin. Without the addition of glosses or interpretation of any kind, ambiguities in the source remain in the translation.[129]

The third is an early eighth-century poem called *Genesis A* by modern scholars, though it has no contemporary title in its manuscript copy (Junius 11).[130] The passage translated here follows a description of the rebellion of the angels with which the poem *Genesis A* begins (fig. 1.8).

Ne wæs her þa giet nymþe heolstersceado wiht geworden ac þes wida grund stod deop and dim, drihtne fremde, idel and unnyt. on þone eagum wlat stiðfrihþ cining and þa stowe beheold, dreama lease, geseah deorc

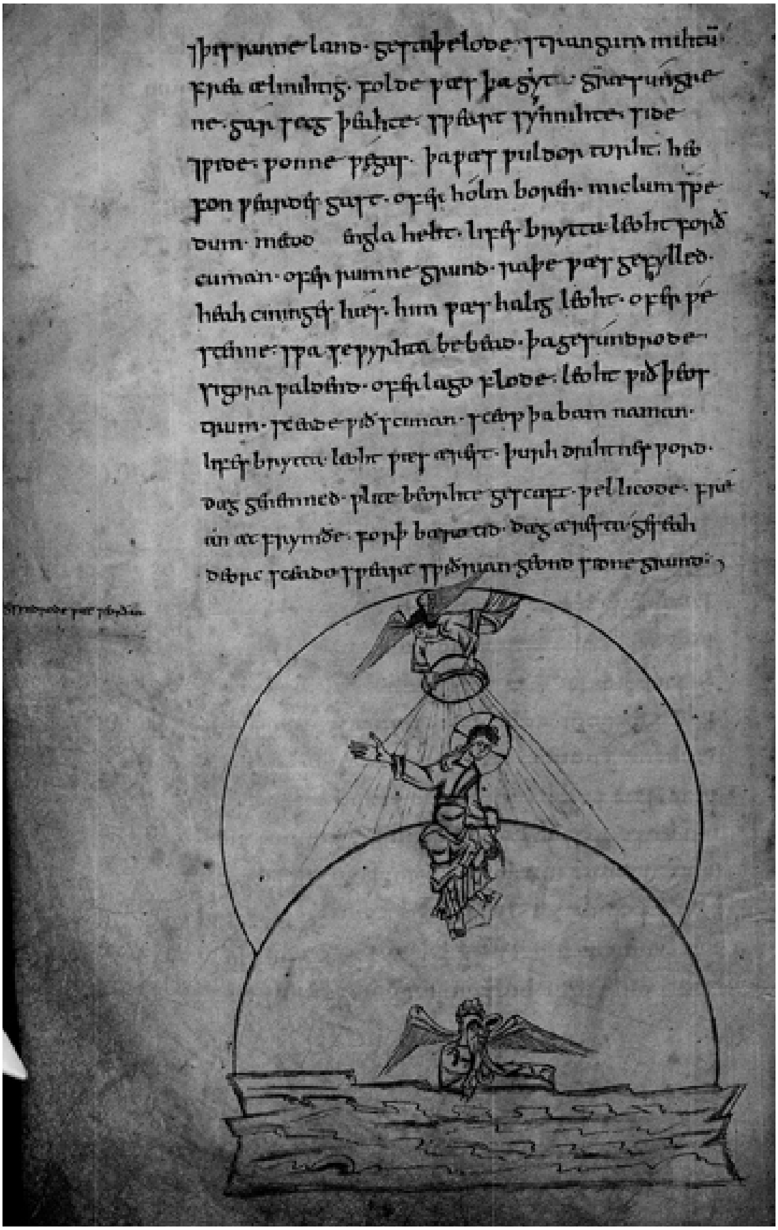


Figure 1.8. The English *Genesis.* The illustration to Genesis A, lines 162–63, placed immediately beneath the description of the first day of creation, shows God creating dry land. The marginal note on the left reads "He divided the water and the earth." The very process of translation pushed the imaginations of the English to make sense—with words and pictures—of the sacred texts of their new religion. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 6. *By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.*

gesweorc semian sinnihte, sweart under roderum, wonn and weste oð þæt þeos woruldgesceaft þurh word gewearð wuldorcyninges. her ærest gesceop ece drihten, helm eallwihta, heofon and eorðan, rodor arærde and þis rume land gestaþelode strangum mihtum, frea ælmihtig. folde wæs þa gyta græsungrene. garsecg þeahte sweart synnihte side and wide, wonne wægas. þa wæs wuldortorht heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren miclum spedum. metod engla heht, lifes brytta, leoht forð cuman ofer rumne grund. raþe wæs gefylled heahcininges hæs. him wæs halig leoht ofer westenne swa se wyrhta bebead. þa gesundrode sigora waldend ofer lagoflode leoht wið þeostrum, sceade wið sciman. sceop þa bam naman lifes brytta. leoht wæs ærest þurh drihtens word dæg genemned, wlitebeorhte gescaft. wel licode frean æt frymðe forþbæro tid, dæg æresta. geseah deorc sceado sweart swiðrian geond sidne grund. þa seo tid gewat ofer tiber sceacan middan geardes. metod æfter sceaf scirum sciman, scippend ure, æfen ærest. him arn on last, þrang þystregenip þam þe se þeoden self sceop nihte naman. nergend ure hie gesundrode. siððan æfre drugon and dydon drihtnes willan, ece ofer eorðan.[131]

[Nothing was yet here except concealing shadow, but this wide country stood deep and gloomy, foreign to the Lord, empty and useless. With his eyes the Steadfast King observed and beheld that joyless place, saw the dark mist hanging in infinite night, black under the sky, dusky and desolate, until the created world came into being through the word of the earthly King. Now, before all, the Eternal Lord, Protector of all creatures, shaped heaven and earth. The sky the Ruler Almighty arranged, and fixed this spacious land by his strong powers. The ground was not yet grass-green. Dark eternal night, covered far and wide the ocean and its dark waves. Then the world-bright Spirit of Heaven's Keeper was borne over the sea with great speed. The Creator of angels, Giver of life, commanded light to come forth over the wide ground. Swiftly was fulfilled the High King's command. There was holy light throughout the waste as the Wright had commanded. When the Judge over victories divided light from darkness, shadows from brightness over the stream, then the Giver of life shaped names for them both. Light, beautiful creation, was first named Day by the Lord's word. He was well pleased with the productive time at the beginning, the first day. He saw dark shadows melt away black over the wide abyss. When the time over the framework of Middle-Earth moved quickly, following the bright rays, Fate, our Creator, set in motion the first evening. In its track, the gloomy darkness spread and pressed forward, for which the Ruler himself shaped the name Night. Our Savior divided them. Ever afterwards they have worked and performed the will of the Lord on Earth.]

There are literal echoes from the Latin in the English; there can be little doubt that the poet of *Genesis A*, just like Ælfric, had the biblical Genesis as his source.[132] It is a question, however, in what form the translator found the biblical source, and what sources (if any) provided the extra-biblical language. Two additional sources, at least, formed a small part of the source, or were incorporated by the translator: Augustine's *The Literal Interpretation of Genesis* and Bede's *Commentary on Genesis*.[133] Because the target is so visibly different from the source, some scholars are uncomfortable calling *Genesis A* a translation of the Latin Genesis; they would prefer to call it a rendition, version, transformation, or renarrativization to distance target from source.[134] By such words do translators recede and poets emerge. While we can accept that if we wish to understand their categories, we need to accept their labels, we can also believe that some then were willing to use the label "translation" for works that neither they nor their contemporaries would actually call a work aiming at lexical equivalence.[135]

The difficulty deciding whether *Genesis A* had written or oral sources warns us that the line between oral transmission and written translation cannot be clearly drawn. Oral transmission has a poet take the structure of an existing tale and use it as the base for his or her own retelling.[136] At times the memory of such poets must have allowed for the preservation of words, phrases, and whole passages of the source. If the tale comes through one language and emerges from a bilingual poet in another, how like a translation is this? The mnemonic techniques used to teach catechumens probably involved having them commit significant passages of scripture to memory, perhaps often in Latin. Turning these remembered passages into written English may be behind some of the looser Old English biblical verses in, for example, the Junius manuscript. Paul Remley's careful study raises this as a distinct possibility.[137]

Principally the problem of delimiting such a broad category of written work as translations is caused by the very concept of translation, which in its most common and traditional Latin guise, *interpretari,* makes clear that it includes much more than any simple verbal equivalence.[138] For the modern notion of linguistic translation is only one of four certain uses, and is the least common. Even here, though, its meaning reflects the other denotations of the word: "to expound, explain, or understand." Synonyms are common: often some form of *verto* "to turn" or "change," occasionally *transfero* "to move across," and rarely something like *do* "to give." Alfred, according to William of Malmesbury, "delivered to the ears of the English" [Anglorum auribus dedit] a library of imported classics.[139] In two adjacent chapters, William uses all of the Latin synonyms I have just listed to describe Alfred's translations.[140] The Latin lexicon used by English authors expands our understanding of what a translation could be, but still imposes no limits on itself—any definition based on definitions would merely beg the question at another level.

No closure comes from the vocabulary of translation in Old English. There are a handful of terms to cover various meanings of "translator," and another, slightly larger group for "commentator" or "interpreter," a related and in some cases equivalent role to that of translator. None occurs all that frequently. [141] The most common word used before the twelfth century for translator, *wealhstod*, occurs a mere fourteen times.[142] *Wealhstod* can also mean a mediator, and in two of our cases, this is what it does mean. Half of the remaining twelve cases occur in Ælfric, leaving one in Alfred's preface to Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, one in the *Old English Bede*, one in Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, and three in glosses.[143] *Wealhstod* is confined to what we might call literary texts—it is a scholarly term. The twelfth century saw the Anglicization of the French word for translator, *latimer*. This loan might reflect the pressing need for, and presence of, some who could translate from English into French, and vice versa, for the smooth functioning of Norman rule and estate management. The verbs used to signify "translation" are *awendan* and, very rarely, *gewendan*. *Awendan* is a fairly common verb and means principally "to turn away" or "turn off," or simply "to turn," "to change," or "to translate" with a fairly broad understanding of that verb.[144] As "to translate," it only occurs five times: twice in Alfred's prefatory letter to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and three times in Ælfric.[145] Only once does it occur in its noun form, *awændednesse*, meaning "translation," in the anonymous English translation of *Apollonius of Tyre*.[146] The noun *geðeode* is used by Ælfric to mean "translation," but is more commonly either "language" or "nation." The related noun *geðeodnes* seems to have moved into "translation" from "joining" and "conjunction," which might be interpreted to mean that a speech community was equivalent to a people. The infrequent use of *wealhstod*, *awendan*, and any other term to mean "translator" or "to translate" is striking, given the role translation played in the creation of the majority of English texts and many Anglo-Saxon books. Only in the prefaces of the most self-conscious translators are these terms imbued with this specific meaning.

The earliest French authors in the twelfth century think of translation as exposition, interpretation, and lexical translation—and use various verbs to mean that.[147] Verbs like *interpreter* and *translater* appear to have covered in French the semantic fields of their Latin ancestors, which is not surprising, given the propinquity of the two languages. These terms meant "translation," "explication," and "adaptation for an audience."[148] When translators move text from Latin into French, they say so—*metre en Romanz* "to put into French."[149] Movement of texts in the opposite direction probably gave birth to the verb *latiner*—"to translate" or "Latinize" a text. If French terms for translation differed at all from the Latin or Old English lexicon, it is perhaps in French's narrower understanding of the direction of translation. While the English moved an appreciable volume of texts in each direction, into both Latin and Old English, from the age of Bede until the Norman conquest, the French had had little experience with translation before the twelfth century, and used it afterward almost exclusively to transfer texts from Latin to French for a mostly Latinless audience.[150]

So in a society of limited literacy and even more limited learning, the role of the translator was to make works accessible to audiences for whom explanations and context had to be included. This is the translator's concern with *acceptability*—in translation studies the "attempt to make the work match standards to which native texts are held."[151] Translation was commentary; it was adaptation.[152] Translators made sources accessible to the audience, which in their terms meant adorning them with *beles paroles* "beautiful words," as the twelfth-century English writer Thomas confessed in his French version of the Alexander legend, meaning he had sought ways of saying things that would be appreciated by the audience.[153]

Some writers were skeptical of either a translator's or audience's abilities, and therefore believed that certain texts were untranslatable—or worried that they might be.[154] Alexander Nequam thought not all Latin could be translated by Old French and that there were potentially insurmountable problems moving texts from Greek to Latin.[155] Ælfric apologized that in his grammar he had not covered prosody because of the difficulty of translating the terminology.[156] One abbot of the Angevin empire, Adam of Perseigne (1188–1221), explained the disadvantages of translation to Countess Blanche of Champagne: "Daughter, you should understand that the meaning of any speech—its taste or composition—will scarcely remain in a foreign idiom if it is translated from one language to another. For when a liquid is transferred from a vessel, it is in some way changed in color, flavor, or scent."[157] Some sought help from the gods; Byrhtferth, evoking the Pentecost with pagan hyperbole, casts away the Sirens and calls for help: ". . . I trust that the sublime Cherub will be present and with his golden tongs bring to my tongue sparks of the embers from the supreme altar, and touch the nerves of my dumb mouth so that I may therefore *argute arguto meditamine fari,* that is, so that I may with wise deliberation wisely translate this cycle into English."[158] Moments later, it is to the Holy Spirit he turns in both Latin and English for "the gift of speech."[159]

CONCLUSION

These worries about translatability seem to have reached only a few. Most translated silently and steadily. Much was produced. From Winchester's scriptoria to London's bustling court, from the abbeys of Normandy to tiny Somerset Benedictine houses, writers of all sorts and abilities moved texts from one language to another. This was not a unified campaign, like that behind the work of several generations in Amalfi during the ninth century, in southern Italy in general during the eleventh, and in northern Spain in the twelfth, though it had occasional programs in this time or that place.[160] Translation was done sometimes in striking isolation to the work of other translators of the same generation. Nevertheless, its consequences were just as significant in not only the development of English literature, but in the shaping of English culture for the rest of the Middle Ages.

Just as the meaning of language and dialect were contingent and, for most of the period, fluid, so also was the meaning of translation. No single idea of what constituted a translation guided translators. Instead, there appears to have been a wide spectrum of ideas. The particular circumstances of where, when, and how a translation was performed was as important as the source text itself for determining a translator's course and the shape of the finished product.

NOTES

1. Marcus Terentius Varro, *On the Latin Language*, ed. and trans. Roland G. Kent, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1951). Grammatical knowledge in the British Isles has been studied by Vivien Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1997), 91–123, 188–223, and Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: Grammatica and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, 1994), 405–60.

2. James J. Murphy, "The Teaching of Latin as a Second Language in the Twelfth Century," in *Studies in Medieval Linguistic Thought Dedicated to Geoffrey L. Bursill-Hall*, ed. E. F. Konrad Koerner et al. (Amsterdam, 1980), 159–75, which ranges more widely than its title suggests.

3. Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (London, 1726). While Bailey's dictionary was descriptive, Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1755), was prescriptive.

4. Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 5, 107–23, and passim.

5. Buridant, "*Translatio medievalis*," 91.

6. The common bond was recognized in England in the early twelfth century between Faricius of Malmesbury and Grimbald, both of whom were Italians: they were "both of one people and one language, and thereby bound together by very great love," according to one observer. John Hudson, ed., *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2002–2007), 2: 74–75.

7. The most comprehensive survey and analysis is that of Borst, *Turmbau*, a work that has been indispensable for this chapter.

8. "Venite igitur descendamus et confundamus ibi linguam eorum, ut non audiat unusquisque vocem proximi sui. Atque ita divisit eos Dominus ex illo loco in universas terras, et cessaverunt aedificare civitatem. Et idcirco vocatum est nomen

eius Babel, quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae: et inde dispersit eos Dominus super faciem cunctarum regionum" (Gen. 11: 7–9).

9. Borst, *Turmbau*, 2.2: 931–52, provides editions of seven late antique and medieval lists of the seventy-two peoples. English lists were brief: there is a note from the twelfth century identifying Noah's three sons, from whom "forð coman . lxxii . þeoda . fra [sic] Lafeðe . xv . 7 fram Chame . xxx . 7 fram Seme . xxvii," in BL Cotton Caligula A.xv, fol. 139v, and a similar list in London, BL, Stowe 944, fol. 61v, framed as a dialogue. On the latter, see Simon Keynes, ed., *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, EEMF 26 (Copenhagen, 1995). For continuing curiosity, see also the glosses on language families in the late twelfth-century Genesis in BL Additional 63077, fols. 25v, 26v, and 27rv.

10. Borst, *Turmbau*, 4: 1989–91.

11. On this issue, see the description and argument of Daniel Anlezark, "Sceaf, Japheth and the Origins of the Anglo-Saxons," *ASE* 31 (2002): 13–46, who traces not only the origin and spread of this fiction, but also its rejection by writers like Ælfric.

12. Two of the sons of Japheth at Gen. 10: 2. This linkage is not made by contemporaries; however, Isidore attempts some preliminary work linking peoples he knew of like the Huns and Goths to their biblical predecessors, but there are no Angles or Saxons on his list (Isidore, *Etym*. 9.2.27 and 66). Borst, *Turmbau*, traces European attempts to link contemporary peoples with the progeny of Noah.

13. *ASC B, C,* and *D*. In *ASC A*, no Sceaf is born on the ark; instead, he is called Hraþa, and is implicitly, but not explicitly, the son of Noah. See T. D. Hill, "The Myth of the Ark-Born Son of Noe and the West-Saxon Royal Genealogical Tables," *Harvard Theological Review* 80 (1987): 379–83.

14. Irven M. Resnick, "*Lingua Dei, Lingua Hominis*: Sacred Language and Medieval Texts," *Viator* 21 (1990): 51–74.

15. "Certe si incredulus es, lege graecos codices et latinos et confer cum his opusculis, et ubicumque inter se videris discrepare, interroga quemlibet Hebreorum, cui magis accommodare debeas fidem, et si nostra firmaverit, puto quod eum non aestimes coniectorem, ut in eodem loco mecum similiter divinarit." *Biblia Sacra*, vol. 5, *Liber Samuhelis* (Rome, 1954), 10 (preface).

16. Flavius Josephus, *De Iudaeorum vetustate; sive, contra Apionem libri II,* in *Opera ex Versione Latina Antiqua,* part 6, ed. C. Boysen, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 37 (Vienna, 1898), 12.11.51; Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford, 1995), p. 80 (2.53).

17. Bede, *Epistola ad Pleguinam*, chap. 5, in *Bedae venerabilis opera*, ed. Charles W. Jones, pars 6, *Opera didascalica* 3, CCSL 123C (Turnhout, Belgium, 1980), 619; Lanfranc, *In omnes Pauli epistolas commentarii* (*PL* 150), col. 109A, on which see Margaret T. Gibson, "Lanfranc's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 22 (1971): 86–112.

18. (The Christian) "Septuaginta interpretes, uestre gentis tunc eruditissimi doctores, legem et Prophetas ex hebreo in grecum interpretati sunt"; (The Jew) "De istis septuaginta doctoribus nichil aliud apud nos habetur." Gilbert Crispin, *Diputatio Iudei et Christiani*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 8 (London, 1986), 41 (c. 122), 42 (c. 125).

19. "Diuidimus namque codicem in sententias, sententias in partes, partes in sillibas, sillibas in litteras. Littere uero indiuisibiles sunt, unde et a philosophis athomi uocantur." David W. Porter, ed., *Excerptiones de Prisciano: The Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar*, Anglo-Saxon Texts 4 (Cambridge, 2002), 44–45 (1.3, trans. Porter). Ælfric translated it closely until the last clause, where he perhaps judged that "philosophers" and "atoms" would not be understood: " þonne beod ða stafas untodæledlice; forðan ðe nan stæf ne byð naht, gif he gæð on twa" (Ælfric, *Gram.*, 4–5). Ælfric may, in fact, have created the *Excerptiones* in order to translate it: see Porter, *Excerptiones*, 23–29.

20. See, e.g., London, BL Cotton Domitian ix, fols. 1, 10*, and 11 (originally representing different manuscripts); London, BL Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, fol. 16v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 572, fol. 40; London, BL Harley 3017, fol. 61; and R. Derolez, "'Ogam,' 'Egyptian,' 'African' and 'Gothic' Alphabets: Some Remarks in Connection with Codex Bernensis 207," *Scriptorium* 5 (1951): 3–19. Some interest was undoubtedly created by new texts on astrology, which required conversion of personal names into numbers via the medium, in one case, of *alphabetum Hebreorum*—Hebrew letters. London, BL, Additional 17808, fol. 90v, discussed by Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*, Panizzi Lectures, 1996 (London, 1997), 7 (fig. 2). A particularly useful analysis of encoded writing in one manuscript is Phillip Pulsiano, "The Prefactory Matter of London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii," in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Aldershot, England, 1998), 97–103.

21. Helmut Gneuss, "The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 7 (1990): 4.

22. For editions of their texts, see Law, *Grammar,* 273–78, and Sharpe nos. 46, 72, and 636.

23. Byrhtferth, *Enchirid.* 2.1, pp. 88–91.

24. "Se ðe his agene spræce awyrt, he wyrcð barbarismum, swylce he cweðe 'þu sot' þær he sceolde cweðan 'þu sott.'" Byrhtferth, *Enchirid.* 2.1, pp. 88–89 (trans. Baker and Lapidge). The difference between the two is the length of the vowel, with the *o* in *sot* long, while that in *sott* is short, signaled by the double consonant.

25. Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano,* pp. 1–2, 31–33.

26. "angyn to ægðrum gereorde" (Ælfric, *Gram.*, 3).

27. Ælfric, *Gram.*, 10; Edna R. Williams, "Ælfric's Grammatical Terminology," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 73 (1958): 453–462.

28. Ælfric, *Gram.*, 10.

29. Ælfric, *Gram.*, 2 (Latin preface); for comparison, the earliest French treatise dealing with a grammatical issue is an early thirteenth-century Anglo-French translation accompanying a brief Latin text on the conjugation of only the two verbs, *amare* "to love" and *sedere* "to sit" (Dean, 294).

30. Karin Margareta Fredborg, "Universal Grammar According to Some Twelfth-Century Grammarians," in *Studies in Medieval Linguistic Thought Dedicated to Geoffrey L. Bursill-Hall*, ed. K. Koerner et al., *Historiographica Linguistica* 7 (Amsterdam, 1980), 82.

31. William of Conches's *Glose* is unedited, but here cited from Paris BN Latin 15130, fol. 8, by Fredborg, "Universal Grammar," 71 and 75.

32. An anonymous twelfth-century commentary cited by Fredborg, "Universal Grammar," 77.

33. William of Conches, *Glose*, quoted by Fredborg, "Universal Grammar," 77. In Old French, *plus* took over many of the functions of Latin *magis* while maintaining its own Latin semantic field. A similar interference has been detected in the Latin of the Francophone author Lantfred of Winchester, who uses Latin *senior* to mean owner or master rather than just "old man," under the influence of French *seignor*. Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St. Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4.2 (Oxford, 2003), 220.

34. "Sed, quia forsitan multa nomina sunt quemadmodum in Anglica lingua vel in aliis linguis quibus non possunt discerni litterae . . ." (*Breve sit* 1.1, edited by Fredborg, "Universal Grammar," 79). This may merely be the response of a Francophone Latinist with no English (for whom the sounds of English were indistinguishable from one another); however, the observation is couched in a grammatical treatise and is concerned here with the smallest units of language—individual letters reflecting individual sounds.

35. "Et possunt huius artis species crescere, hoc est plures esse, ut si gramatica tractaretur in gallica lingua, quod fieri posset, sive in aliqua alia in qua nondum tractata est." Petrus Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. Leo Reilly, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1993), 1: 64.

36. See the *MCOE*, *DMLBS*, *OED*, s.vv. According to the *OED*, "Saxon" is only used for the language from the sixteenth century.

37. Only Ælfric and Wulfstan refer to "Danish" in linguistic terms, but then only in order to distinguish the names of the pagan gods, and Wulfstan is here editing Ælfric's text. *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. C. Pope, 2 vols, EETS OS 259–260 (London, 1967–1968), 2: 139, 2: 176 ("De falsis diis"); Wulfstan, *Homilies*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), 12, 68. See, e.g., Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2002), 94–95, 109, who points out that Ohthere, the traveler who visits Alfred's court, reported on his voyages in what may very well have been Old Norse, since the record of his account exhibits "many Norse features"; there is no reference to the use of an interpreter or recognition that Ohthere's language was called something like Norse or Danish. According to A. Campbell, Æthelweard, who translated the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* into Latin at the end of the tenth century, was interested in the language spoken by the Scandinavians (and may have been considered an expert on Danish language and customs); in his *Chronicon* he changes the Old English forms of Danish names in his source back to Scandinavian forms and adds once the Danish name for a place, "Haithaby" (Hedeby) for Saxon "Slesuuic" (Schleswig). Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), lix, 9 (1.4).

38. See *AND* s.vv.; and Mildred K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman* (Manchester, 1934), 16–22, 486–505. William of Malmesbury calls it "Normannica lingua" [The Norman language], though he is unlikely to have intended to distinguish between the French of Normandy and that of Paris or Angers (*GP* 4.143.3, 1: 432–433).

39. Leo Spitzer, "Muttersprache und Muttererziehung," in his *Essays in Historical Semantics* (New York, 1948), 15–16; Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1995), 19–22.

40. From the sermon "In diebus Dominicis," in *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130–1250*, ed. Joseph Hall, 2 parts (Oxford, 1920), 1: 76; *CHEL* 2: 46. It is likely that the only difference in sound between the two forms would have been the loss of [h]. See also Elaine Treharne, "The Life of English in the Mid-Twelfth Century: Ralph D'Escures's Homily on the Virgin Mary," in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York, 2006), 170.

41. E.g., "The First Worcester Fragment," in Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English,* 1: 1; reedited and interpreted by S. K. Brehe, "Reassembling the First Worcester Fragment," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 530–31. The vitality of twelfth-century English as a written language is one of the important implications of work collected by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, eds., *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2000); in this collection, see especially on this point Roy Michael Liuzza, "Scribal Habit: The Evidence of the Old English Gospels," 143–49.

42. The literature on OE dialects is contentious, large, and growing: see, in general, Richard Hogg, "On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology," in *Luick Revisited: Papers Read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloß Liechtenstein, 15.*—18.9.1985, ed. D. Kastovsky et al. (Tübingen, Germany, 1988), 183–203; Thomas Toon, "Old English Dialects," in *CHEL* 1: 409–51; P. R. Kitson, "On the Margins of Error in Placing Old English Literary Dialects," in *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, ed. M. Dossena and R. Lass (Bern, Switzerland, 2004), 219–39. The latter appeared in published articles from the First International Conference on English Historical Dialectology (ICEHD), which held a further conference in 2007 at the University of Bergamo, Italy.

43. Bede cites a dialect twice: he is discussing in one a place-name, which is not strong evidence of dialect, and in the other a personal name, Ceawlin, whose name was pronounced "Cealin" by the Northumbrians (Bede, *HE* 2.5, p. 148). J. M. Wallace-Hadrill's commentary (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* [Oxford, 1988], 148) asserts that Bede was here characteristically recording both names as they occurred in his sources, and cites D. P. Kirby, "Some Problems of Early West Saxon History," *EHR* 80 (1965): 24. This evidence has led some to argue that the historical dialects developed once the invaders arrived. David DeCamp, "The Genesis of the Old English Dialects: A New Hypothesis," in *Approaches to English Historical Linguistics: An Anthology*, ed. Roger Lass (New York, 1969), 355–68. This argument was stated as early as H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907), 57–69. Bede says only that the language of the invaders was English and that they came from three tribes (Bede, *HE* 1.1, p. 16; 1.15, p. 50). Other scholars disagree with the postmigration thesis, arguing that the dialects have their origins in the preinvasion languages of the invading tribes. M. L. Samuels, "Kent and the Low Countries: Some Linguistic Evidence," in *Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots,* ed. A. J. Aitken et al. (London, 1971), 3–19. See also John Hines, "The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and Language in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *ASSAH* 7 (1994): 49–59.

44. William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London, 1576).

45. The *OED* lists the earliest references to "West Saxon" (1844), "Northumbrian" (1845), "Anglian" (1875), "Mercian" (1875), and "Kentish" (1887). "Saxon" was never used in the nineteenth century for a dialect of Old English.

46. Albert C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language* (London, 1935), 63.

47. *CHEL* 1: 4–5.

48. *CHEL* 1: 4.

49. This is partly a result of aural transcription, where images become sounds before being translated back into images. M. Benskin and M. Laing, "Translations and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts," in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), 66; M. L. Samuels, "Scribes and Manuscript Traditions," in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge, 1991), 1–7, for a slightly later period. Such dialect translation, however, does not fully explain the results: see Liuzza, "Scribal Habit," 164–65. Some early texts in what is labeled "Mercian" were transformed—usually in part—into the Late West Saxon *schriftsprache*, but this itself was no dialect but a literary koiné. Scribes modernized texts, sometimes unconsciously: the scribe who in the early twelfth century copied the over five-hundred-year-old text of Æthelberht's laws "often emends the text when he catches himself modernizing," and so generally, but not always, preserves Kentish archaisms: see Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto, 2002), 22; and Carole Hough, "Palaeographical Evidence for the Compilation of Textus Roffensis," *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 57–79. In the case of the only surviving complete text of Alfred's translation of the *Soliloquies* of Augustine, the early twelfth-century copy preserves little of Alfred's early West Saxon, but mixes late West Saxon with Kentish (and perhaps Anglian) as well as early Middle English. Only a model of dialect contact, influence, and meaning more complex than one linking dialect to political power and identity can explain this (*Solil.*, 3–19).

50. For a survey and analysis of language use after the Norman conquest, see Michael Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunication in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1979), 25–31, 35–104.

51. *GP* 3.99.4, 1: 326.

52. Samson of Bury preached in English, "set secundum linguam Norfolchie, ubi natus et nutritus erat" [but in the dialect of Norfolk, where he had been born and raised]. Jocelin of Brakelond, *Cronica*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (London, 1949), 40. Samson's speech may be evidence not just for dialect but for the existence of something closer to a prestige dialect of English according to A. Trampe Bødtker, "*Anglice Loqui*," in *A Grammatical Miscellany Offered to Otto Jespersen*, ed. N. Bögholm et al. (Copenhagen, 1930), 101–4. Ralph of Coggeshall in the early thirteenth century said the devil spoke with a Suffolk accent—"Loquebatur autem Anglice secundum idioma regionis illius" [He spoke English in the dialect of this region]. Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon Anglicanum*, RS (London, 1875), 121.

53. Bede, *HE*, iv.22 (20), though his status as a prisoner may have made any question of his regional identity moot.

54. Latin preface in Ælfric, *CH1*, 173.

55. R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217)*, ed. and rev. M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1984), 93, n. 46.

56. Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), 95; D. G. Scragg, *A History of English Spelling* (Manchester, 1974), 11–13. For an argument against what I am claiming here, see Thomas E. Toon, *The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change* (New York, 1983), 197, much of which he summarizes in "Old English Dialects," his chapter in *CHEL* 1: 409–51. I am not denying the patterns Toon meticulously documents, just the political interpretation he offers.

57. These dialects were mutually intelligible. Elisabeth Schultze-Busacker, "French Conceptions of Foreigners and Foreign Languages in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Romance Philology* 41 (1987): 34, n. 46. The earliest reference to the recognition that Anglo-French had diverged from continental forms of French is in the *Life of Edward the Confessor* (Dean no. 523, dated 1163 x 1170): Östen Södergård, ed., *La vie d'Edouard le confesseur: Poème anglo-normand du XIIe siècle* (Uppsala, 1948).

58. Paul Zumthor, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1963); William D. Paden, *An Introduction to Old Occitan* (New York, 1998), 4–5. For a text mixing French and Occitan, see W. Mary Hackett, *La langue de Girart de Roussillon* (Geneva, 1970), 7; in Occitania, the Angevin dialect was considered a foreign language, like Breton, English, Greek, and Welsh. Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100–c. 1300* (Cambridge, 1993), 4. Knowing when and how French dialects were distinguished is beset by problems similar to that surrounding OE dialects: see, for instance, Louis Remacle, *Le problème de l'ancien wallon* (Liège, 1948), 140–44. It is only in the fourteenth century that *Francien* becomes the name in Walloon for the literary language (ibid., 162).

59. Thomas of Kent does this: Thomas of Kent, *The Anglo-Norman Alexander (Le Roman de toute chevalerie)*, ed. Brian Foster and Ian Short, 2 vols., ANTS 29–33 (London, 1976–1977), 2: 121–23. A. Dees argues that the manuscript evidence of dialect mixing means we cannot "posit the existence of a stable written koiné in north Gallo-Romance before 1300." A. Dees, "Dialectes et scriptae à l'époque de l'ancien français," *Revue de linguistique romane* 49 (1985): 113.

60. "defecatum rudique": Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Duorum*, ed. Yves Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens, trans. Brian Dawson, History and Law Series 27 (Cardiff, 1974), 56; trans. Short, "On Bilingualism," 468.

61. Alistair Campbell, ed., *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, with a supplementary introduction by Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1998), 34–35 (2.18).

62. Goscelin of St. Bertin noted that different peoples spoke the same language: "*Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of St-Bertin*," ed. C. H. Talbot, *Studia Anselmiana* 37 (1955): 86–87. A recognition of the existence of families of languages based on some reasoning develops from the thirteenth century. See G. Bonfante, "Ideas on the Kinship of the European Languages from 1200 to 1800," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 1 (1954): 679–99.

63. *GR* 1.68.3, p. 98.

64. Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae* 1.7, 1.15, ed. J. F. Dimock, in *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., RS (London, 1861–1891), 6: 193.

65. "verba linguae Britannicae omnia fere vel Graeco conveniunt vel Latino." Ibid., 6: 194.

66. "distorto Graeco". Ibid., 6: 178; see also *Descriptio* 1.15, 6: 194. For analysis, see Helmut Gneuss, "Giraldus Cambrensis und die Geschichte der englischen Sprachwissenschaft im Mittelalter," in *Languages and Civilization: A Concerted Profusion of Essays and Studies in Honour of Otto Hietsch*, ed. C. Blank (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1992), 164–72.

67. "borealibus insulae partibus per crebras Dacorum et Norwagiensium irruptiones valde corruptis." Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio* 1.7, in *Opera*, 6: 177.

68. These need to be teased out of the sources, one by one: see, for example, the chapters by Paul Brand, Tony Hunt, Andres Kristol, Michael Richter, and Herbert Schendl in D. A. Trotter, ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Rochester, 2000), and by Henry Bainton, Richard Britnell, Maryanne Kowaleski, Françoise Le Saux, Ruth Nisse, Geoff Rechter, David Trotter, and Elizabeth Tyler in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–c. 1500* (Woodbridge, England, 2009).

69. For an overview, see Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 11–19, 23–51. Good evidence of expectations for some bilingualism in congregations are surviving mixed-language sermons. Giles Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 25 (1994): 137, citing later evidence (n. 36).

70. Suzanne Romaine, *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2000), 9.

71. R. A. Hall, Jr., "Pidgins and Creoles as Standard Languages," in *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings*, ed. J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes (New York, 1972), 142–53; Suzanne Romaine, *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (London, 1988), 23ff., 154ff. That contact situations in medieval England created pidgins and creoles which have not survived is noted by Thomas Hahn, "Early Middle English," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 64–65, 67.

72. J. de Sturler, "Le port de Londres au XIIe siècle," *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* 42 (1936–1937): 61–77; Christopher N. L. Brooke and Gillian Ker, *London, 800–1216: The Shaping of a City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), 29, 141–42, 223–26, 261–78, and passim.

73. "ex linguis gentes, non ex gentibus linguae exortae sunt" (Isidore, *Etym.* 9.1.14). For the role of language in medieval definitions of ethnicity, see the discussion by Walter Pohl in "Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity," *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800,* ed. Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, 1998), 17–69. Cf. Carol Eastman's arguments "for the notion of an "associated" language which is connected with group identity but which is not used regularly or, indeed, known at all," in "Language, Ethnic Identity, and Change," in *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*, ed. J. Edwards (London, 1984), 259–76; and C. Eastman and T. Reese, "Associated Language: How Language and Ethnic Identity Are Related," *General Linguistics* 21 (1981): 109–16.

74. Although the English have copies of Isidore—nineteen are listed in Gneuss—little in their own writing other than a section of Ælfric's *Grammar* seems to derive from Isidore's views on language.

75. Bede, *HE* 1.1, pp. 16–17 (calling them *gentes* "peoples").

76. "swiðe manega þeoda and mistlice and swiðe ungelice, ægþer ge on spræce ge on þeawum ge on eallum sidum" (Alfred, *Boethius* c.18, 1: 279).

77. Ælfric, *CH1*, 174–75 (preface).

78. Davies, "The Peoples of Britain and Ireland," 1–15; Bartlett, *England*, 482–97, 502–06.

79. See, e.g., William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2006), 265–99.

80. Michelle Warren, *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100–1300* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2000), 9–10 and passim. Such a genealogy was not confined to the inhabitants of Britain: see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Frederic L. Cheyette (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), 235–37, 242–43, and 269.

81. Harald Haarmann, *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations* (Berlin, 1986), 261: "The role of language in ethnicity cannot be determined by a priori weighting (that is, cannot be predetermined as a feature of ethnicity)." See also Harald Haarmann, "History," in *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (New York, 1999), 60–76.

82. Romaine, *Language*, 45.

83. Townend, *Language and History*, 181–85. The linguistic complications as a result of contact and borrowings are considered by Richard Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 246 (Tempe, Ariz., 2003). See the discussion in chapter 2, pp. 72–75.

84. E.g., Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, 37 (s.a. 871), discussed along with other examples by Townend, *Language and History*, 110–28.

85. Consider in this light the argument of Elisabeth Okasha that it is very hard to know with mixed-language inscriptions from the Anglo-Saxon period what the language was identified as. Elisabeth Okasha, "What Language Is This? Language Mixing in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions," *ASSAH* 13 (2006): 118–121.

86. Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michale Holquist (Austin, Tex., 1981), 259–422; Alessandro Duranti, *Linguistic Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1997), 72–83.

87. Bartlett, *England*, 482–502.

88. Bruce R. O'Brien, "From *Morþor* to *Murdrum*: The Preconquest Origin and Norman Revival of the Murder Fine," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 321–57. Many of the key contributions to both sides of the debate are described by Marjorie Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester, 1999). There are many historians open to the possibility of continuity (and hence have a less bellicose view of the Anglo-Norman world): see particularly work by David Rollason, Patrick Wormald, Emma Cownie, Susan Ridyard, and Paul Hyams. Some suggest a middle way: see, e.g., Jay Rubenstein, "Liturgy against History: The Competing Vision of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 279–309.

89. See chapter 2, pp. 78–80.

90. Cecily Clark, "L'Angleterre anglo-normande et ses ambivalences socio-culturelles. Un coup d'œil de philologue," in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe–XIIe siècles: Actes du Colloque International du Centre National de la*

Recherche Scientifique—Études Anselmiennes (IVe Session), ed. Raymonde Foreville, *Spicilegium Beccense* 2 (Paris, 1984): 104–5.

91. Itamar Evan-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory," *Poetics Today* 1 (1979): 237–310, and idem, "Translation Theory Today: A Call for Transfer Theory," *Poetics Today* 2 (1981): 1–7; see O'Brien, *God's Peace*, 17–18, 25–30, and 132–34, on the similar Norman motives for preserving English law and legal texts.

92. Southern, "Aspects," 246–56.

93. Victoria M. Tudor, "St. Godric of Finchale and St. Bartholomew of Farne," in *Benedict's Disciples*, ed. D. H. Farmer (Leominster, England, 1980), 207; Ian Short, "*Tam Angli quam Franci*: Self-Definition in Anglo-Norman England," *ANS* 18 (1995): 161; Bartlett, *England*, 539.

94. A name provided by the other monks: David Rollason and Lynda Rollason, eds., *The Durham Liber Vitae*, 3 vols. (London, 2007), vol. 1, p. 130 and vol. 3, p. 151. According to the editors, the entry with Bartholomew's name must have been recorded after c. 1192.

95. John Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 62 (Uppsala, 1994), 381, with citations of further evidence.

96. One important implication of the work of Dave Postles, *Naming the People of England, c. 1100–1350* (Newcastle, 2006), 25.

97. Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Vita s. Bartholomaei*, c. 3, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols., RS (London, 1882–1885), 1: 296: "Hic primo a parentibus Tostius dictus est, cuius nominis etymologiam sociis ejus adolescentulis irridentibus, Willelmum dixerunt" [At first he was called Tostig by his parents. Because his young friends laughed at the derivation of his name, they called him William]. Note that although the sentence is read with the parents as the renamers, they are not unambiguously the grammatical subject, nor are the young friends. The verb in fact lacks a clear subject.

98. Cecily Clark, "Willelmus Rex? Vel Alius Willelmus?" in *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark*, ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge, 1995), 280–298.

99. JW, 2: 596–598 (s.a. 1065).

100. *HA* 6.25, p. 382.

101. See Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, 73–78, for the most recent analysis. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, misses England as a special case in the early Middle Ages—in fact, she mentions Alfred only once (142) and Ælfric not at all (nor, e.g., William of Malmesbury, Wace, Gaimar, or Philippe de Thaon). Except for Notker, she has little to say about translation work between Boethius and Dante. She is, of course, not writing a history of translation but rather considering a particular aspect of rhetoric and hermeneutics that manifests in translation, and principally looking at late medieval examples and their late antique models.

102. Jerome's most extended discussion is in his letter to Pammachius (*Ep.* 57 in *Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, 3 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 54–56 [Vienna, 1910–1918], 1: 503–26), which Bede quotes; more common if more scattered are his prefaces to his translations of the books of the Bible. These are best edited in the individual volumes of F. A. Gasquet, ed., *Biblia Sacra iuxta*

Latinam Vulgatam Versionem, 18 vols. (Rome, 1926–1995), and in Donatien DeBruyne, ed., *Prefaces de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1920), but most conveniently in *PL* 28. A useful study of Jerome's method is Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Oxford, 1993).

103. Collections of Jerome's letters were quite rare before the Norman conquest, but a copy of Letter 57 survives as part of an eighth-century Northumbrian patristic manuscript (Gneuss no. 832), with Jerome's commentary on Ecclesiastes, inter alia, for company. By the ninth century, this manuscript had left England. It is only from after 1066 that more manuscripts of Jerome's letters with an English origin or provenance survive (see, e.g., Gneuss nos. 2.5, 229, 230, 264, and 845). Aside from two echoes in Ælfric's works, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* is the only Anglo-Saxon text to show use of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, which would have been an additional source on biblical translation (see Bede, *Expl.* 2.34–56, pp. 72–82, and 3.14–19, pp. 138–40). M. R. Godden, "The Sources of Ælfric's *Catholic Homily* 1.31 (C.B.1.1.33)," 2002; Richard Marsden, "The Sources of Ælfric's *Heptateuch,* pref. (C.B.1.7.2)," 2001; and R. C. Love, "The Sources of Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* (L.F.2.16)," 2000, all on Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/. Copies of *De doctrina* were available in the Norman period. Gameson, nos. 364 (extracts), 365 (fragment), 425 (extracts), 481 and 848. In addition, it appears frequently in twelfth-century book lists—e.g., R. Sharpe et al., eds., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London, 1996), B13 (Bury St. Edmunds). The prefaces in Jerome's Vulgate were much more common than Augustine's *De doctrina*. One typical example of these embedded prefaces may be the "Royal" Bible (BL Royal 1. E. VII + VIII) studied recently by Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), chap. 10. The Royal Bible (s.x4/4–xi med.) was likely produced at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. It includes Jerome's prefaces to Genesis, Joshua, Kings, the prophets, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Maccabees, Psalms, Proverbs (but covering here also Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs), and Sirach. Tobit and Judith receive two prefaces—one by Jerome and the other by Isidore. Wisdom receives Isidore's prologue (Marsden, *Text*, 334–36). For comparison, the mid-twelfth-century Gospel collection (BL, Royal 1.B.xi), likely written at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and a typical postconquest Gospel book, includes the Vulgate text and Jerome's prefaces (though imperfectly).

104. "se fyrmesta wealgstod betwux hebreiscum and grecum and ledenwarum." Ælfric, *CH1*, 429. Rubie D.–N. Warner, ed. *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D. xiv*. EETS OS 152 (London, 1917), 41–46.

105. See, e.g., Jerome's prologue to the book of Samuel: Gasquet, *Biblia Sacra*, vol. 5, *Liber Samuhelis,* 10, where omissions in the Septuagint translation are made good by consulting the Hebrew original. In some cases, the clarity of Jerome's method degenerated in the copying, as when somewhere between Jerome's composing his commentary on Psalms and the copy in BL, Royal 4.A.xiv, some scribe decided to omit the Hebrew letters, but retained the explanations of them (e.g., "in Hebraico primum nomen domini his litteris scribitur" [in Hebrew the principal name of the Lord is written with these letters]), which would have made little sense to a reader. Jerome, *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, ed. G. Morin, in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera,* part 1: *Opera exegetica*, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1959), 191.

106. "Haec autem translatio nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem, sed ex ipso hebraico arabicoque sermone et interdum syro, nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonavit. Obliquus enim etiam apud Hebreos totus liber fertur et lubricus et quod grece rethores vocant ἐσχηματισμένος dumque aliud loquitur, aliud agit, ut si velis anguillam aut murenulam strictis tenere manibus, quanto fortius presseris, tanto citius elabitur" (Gasquet, *Biblia Sacra,* vol. 9, *Libri Hester et Iob*, 70–71). ἐσχηματισμένος means "figuratively, artificially, disingenuously, or fraudulently, in a feigned or counterfeit manner." In Jerome's day, this word was a neologism, or at least all of the citations in Liddell-Scott and in Lampe (*Patristic Greek Lexicon* [Oxford, 1961]) date to the fifth century and are confined, as Jerome says, to rhetorical works by Syrianus, Apsines, Hermes Alexandrinus, and in scholia to Aristophanes' *Plutus*.

107. "inpegi novissime in Danihelem, et tanto taedio affectus sum, ut desperatione subita omnem veterem laborem voluerim contemnere. Verum, adhortante me Hebraeo et illud mihi sua lingua crebrius ingerente *labor omnia vicit inprobus*, qui mihi videbar sciolus inter eos, coepi rursum discipulus esse Chaldaicus. Et ut vere fatear, usque ad praesentem diem magis possum sermonem Chaldaicum legere et intelligere quam sonare" (Gasquet, *Biblia Sacra,* vol. 16, *Liber Danihelis*, 6).

108. "Bibliotheca a Graeco nomen accepit, eo quod ibi recondantur libri. Nam βιβλίων librorum θήχη repositio interpretatur" (Isidore, *Etym.* 6.3.1).

109. Isidore, *Etym.* 6.4.

110. Gneuss, see "Isidore," index. Only three copies of the *Etymologiae* were complete: all three are probably from Canterbury (Oxford, Queen's College MS 320 [s.x med]; Paris, BN, Latin 7585 [in England by s.x2], London, BL Royal 6.C.i [s.xi1 or xi2]). *In libros veteris et novi testamenti prooemia* (PL 83, cols. 155–79) is in eight manuscripts in Gneuss (263, 573, 578, 713, 742, 780, 845, and 851.6), all of which also hold the *Liber de ortu et obitu patriarcharum* [*patrum*] (ed. J. Carracedo Fraga, CCSL 108E [Turnhout, Belgium, 1996]). One listing for the *Liber de ortu* in the index, no. 818.5, does not correspond with a listed manuscript.

111. Not only Isidore's original work, but also Hrabanus Maurus's enlarged version of the *Etymologiae*: see, e.g., London, BL Royal 12.G.xiv, which is a twelfth-century copy from St. Albans of Hrabanus's *De uniuerso libri uiginti duo* (*PL* 111, cols. 9–614). The etymological focus was adopted by some twelfth-century writers. R. W. Hunt, "The 'Lost' Preface of the *Liber Derivationum* of Osbern of Gloucester," in *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam, 1980), 151–66.

112. Copeland, *Rhetoric*, 33.

113. "nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere." Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum,* c. 14, in Cicero, *Rhetorica,* ed. A. S. Wilkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1902–1903).

114. The English appear to have had neither text directly: see Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project, ed., Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/.

115. Horace's *Ars Poetica* was available in a number of mid-to-late-twelfth-century manuscripts of English origin or provenance: e.g., London, BL, Burney

179, Oxford, Queen's College 202, and Cambridge manuscripts at Trinity College (O.3.57 and R.3.57), all twelfth century. There is no sign of any copy of Cicero's *De finibus* and *De optimo genere oratorum* between the ninth and early twelfth centuries in England. Gneuss lists none; nor does Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), 297. Gameson's survey finds no copies of Horace's *Ars Poetica* in English libraries before his cut-off date of 1130.

116. Jerome offers brief remarks on Cicero and Horace in, e.g., *Ep.* 57, c. 5, and in *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos,* ed. Paul de LaGarde, in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera,* part 1, *Opera exegetica,* CCSL 72 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1959), 1.

117. Others have made this point, though usually with reference to a shorter period or smaller group of translators: see esp. Janet Bately, *The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?*, Inaugural Lecture, King's College London, 4 March 1980 (London, 1980). Such treatments of sources were the norm, and not considered subversive. Paul Zumthor, "Intertextualité et mouvance," *Littérature* 41 (1981): 3–16. Thijs, "Early Old English Translation," 149–73, has recognized this disjunction and developed the notion of translator-specific and text-specific translation theory for the Alfredian translations.

118. See chapter 4, pp. 138, 175; chapter 6, pp. 221, n. 24.

119. E.g., the postconquest Latin translations of Old English writs in the Abingdon Cartulary (Cotton Claudius C.ix), edited by F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs,* 2nd ed. (Stamford, England, 1989), 131–33, and more recently, along with a will, sale, and one charter bounds, by S. E. Kelley, ed., *The Charters of Abingdon Abbey,* 2 vols., Anglo-Saxon Charters 7–8 (Oxford, 2000–2001), nos. 51 A-B, 115, 133, 143, 148, and 149.

120. E.g., Brigitte Langefeld, ed., *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang,* Münchener Universitätsschriften 26 (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 74–88, dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century. Ellis, *Oxford History of Literary Translation,* 202–3, accepts a wide definition of translation "to include paraphrase and some imaginative renderings."

121. E.g., Gaimar, *Estoire,* 348–50 (lines 6438–82).

122. *HRB* c. 2, p. 1.

123. Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge, England, 1999), 22. The issue of authority is found not just in the new French historical writings of the twelfth century, but in many Latin sources as well. Geoffrey of Monmouth's very popular Latin *Historia* claims a vernacular British source as a play for authority. Between learned languages, there were also authority issues—witness Gilbert Crispin's defense of the Septuagint over its Hebrew source: Gilbert, *Disputatio,* 39–42 (c. 119–nc. 27).

124. Jorge Luis Borges, "Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote,*" in *Ficciones* (1944; rpt., Madrid, 1971), 52, where Menard "did not want to compose another version of *Quijote*—which was easily done—but *Quijote* itself. Needless to say he did not aim for a mechanical transcription of the original; he was not proposing to copy it. His worthy ambition was to produce pages that coincided—word for word and line for line—with those of Miguel de Cervantes." My translation.

125. Hackett, *Langue,* 7. Dialectal translation should be viewed as similar to the revision work on older Latin texts, where the style is brought up to date to make it accessible and authoritative to contemporary audiences. See William of

Malmesbury (*GR* 4.342.1–2, 1: 590–93), who says that Goscelin of St-Bertin did just that. Eadmer says in his *Life of St. Oswald* that the older Latin version of this *Vita* was "burdensome to read." Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Andrew J. Turner and Bernard J. Muir (Oxford, 2006), 216–17, and R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c. 1130* (Cambridge, 1963), 284.

126. Paul G. Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse: Studies in Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel* (Cambridge, 1996), 91–92, would say that the sources for these works are too heterogeneous for them to be called translations, although parts constitute translations (whether of written or oral sources).

127. Gen. 1: 1–5.

128. Ælfric, *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's "Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo,"* vol. 1, *Introduction and Text*, ed. Richard Marsden, EETS OS 330 (Oxford, 2008), 8.

129. Ælfric acts more confidently as editor and translator with other biblical sources—particularly in his homilies: Rachel Anderson, "The Old Testament Homily: Ælfric as Biblical Translator," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), 121–42.

130. The text may, however, be what was labeled "Genesis portrayed in English" in the late medieval catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury (Ker 334).

131. A. N. Doane, ed., *Genesis A: A New Edition* (Madison, Wis., 1978), lines 103–43.

132. See the source attributions by A. N. Doane at Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/; and Jonathan Wilcox, "Old English Translation," in Weissbort, *Translation—Theory and Practice*, 45–46. Doane, the text's most recent editor, writes that "the poet has systematically, virtually phrase by phrase, reproduced in traditional poetry the essential meaning of the Latin Genesis" (Doane, *Genesis A*, 61).

133. According to Fontes Anglo-Saxonici, of the forty-one lines of *Genesis A* in this selection, four lines are derived from Bede's *Commentarius in Genesim*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnhout, Belgium, 1967) and Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, ed. J. Zycha, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 28.1 (Vienna, 1894), while a further seven and a half lines have no identifiable source. The remaining twenty-nine and a half lines represent the Latin text of Genesis.

134. Cf., however, Anne Savage, "Translation as Expansion: Poetic Practice in the Old English *Phoenix* and Some Other Poems," in Ellis, *Medieval Translator*, 1: 123–34.

135. Buridant, "*Translatio medievalis*," 99, points out that the very multiplicity of words in medieval lexicons for changing a text from one language to another shows that medieval writers had no precise or single definition of the act of translation.

136. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990), 1–14, surveys the literature; O'Brien O'Keeffe has similar worries about an assumed binary opposition of oral and written; see also Liuzza, "Scribal Habit," 147–49, and bibliography cited at n. 12.

137. Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, 50, 59–61. It is also an issue for evaluating prose when a translator quotes from memory and is not using a physical text

as a source: see J. E. Cross, "Ælfric—Mainly on Memory and Creative Method in Two *Catholic Homilies*," *Studia Neophilologica* 41 (1969): 135–55.

138. See Copeland, *Rhetoric*, 88-92. *OLD* s. v.; *DMLBS* s. v.

139. *GR* 123.1, p. 192.

140. *GR* 122.4, 123.1–3, pp. 190–95.

141. Jane Roberts, "Anglo-Saxon Translation: Some *Wise Wealhstodas*," in *English Diachronic Translation*, ed. Giovanni Iamartino, Quaderni di libri e riviste d'Italia, 35 (Rome, 1998), 19–23. Other terms listed and analyzed by Roberts are, for "translator," *becweþere*, *þeodend*, *weallstaþol*, and *wendere*, and, for "commentator" or "interpreter," *becweþere*, *bicnigend*, *latimer*, *reccere*, *rihtraciend*, and *trahtnere*. Some are late or appear only once as a gloss. The division between the two groups assumes that the two tasks are distinguishable.

142. *MCOE*, s.v. Beyond the fourteen uses, *Wealhstod* appears twice as the name of a bishop, which may have been used with the meaning of "translator."

143. The preface was actually written not by Alfred but by Wærferth. Malcom Godden, "Wærferth and King Alfred: The Fate of the Old English Dialogues," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 1997), 35–51.

144. Bately, *Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign*, 12.

145. *MCOE*, s.vv. *awendan* and *gewendan*.

146. Peter Goolden, ed., *The Old English Apollonius of Tyre* (Oxford, 1958), 42 (c. 51).

147. Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, 17–18.

148. *AND* s.vv.; A. Tobler and K. Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1925–), s.vv.

149. E.g., Wace, *Brut*, 5 298.

150. Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, 16–32.

151. Nicole Guenther Discenza, "Alfred's Cræft of Translation: The Old English Boethius" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 1996), 25.

152. Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991), 181–82.

153. Thomas of Kent, *Anglo-Norman Alexander*, 120 (c. 194 [P13]).

154. Susan Bassnett-McGuire, *Translation Studies*, rev. ed. (London, 1991), 32–37.

155. Hunt, *Schools*, 94 n. 48.

156. Ælfric, *Gram.*, 2 (Latin preface).

157. "Scito, filia, quod sententia cuiuslibet dicti, si de lingua in linguam translata fuerit, vix in peregrino idiomate, sua ei sapiditas uel compositio remanebit. Liquor enim cum de uase transfuncitur, aut in colore, aut in sapore, et odore aliquatenus alteratur." Adam of Perseigne, Ep. 23, in *Correspondance d'Adam, abbé de Perseigne (1188–1221),* ed. and trans. J. Bouvert, Archives historiques du Maine 13 (Le Mans, 1951–1962), 152 (letter dated to c. 1205), and *PL* 211, col. 692A, discussed by Constable, "Language," 140–41.

158. "and ic hopige þæt Cherubin se mæra ætwesan wylle and of þam upplican weofode mid his gyldenan tange þære gledan spearcan to minre tungan gebringan and þæs dumbes muðes <æ>ddran æthrinan, þæt ic forþam mæge argute arguto meditamine fari, þæt ys, þæt ic mæge gleawlice mid gleawre smeagunge þisne circul on Englisc awendan." Byrhtferth, *Enchirid.* 3.1, pp. 134–35 (trans. Baker and

Lapidge). Consider also the longer prayer by a translator asking God to "reveal the language to me and open my understanding to this man's language, just as he opens the tongue of the child and makes it very talkative," in E. M. Treharne, ed., *The Old English Life of St. Nicholas with the Old English Life of St. Giles,* Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 15 (Leeds, 1997), 83 (OE) and 179 (Latin). The Old English is a translation of John the Deacon's Latin translation (c. 880) of the early-ninth-century Greek life of Nicholas by Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople (ibid., 30–31). As Treharne points out (46), the English translator makes no adjustment to the Latin preface, and so ends up announcing this English translation as a Latin translation of a Greek source.

159. "Munera da lingue, qui das <in> munere linguas," and "Gyf þine gyfe þære tungan, þe þu gyfst gyfe on gereorde." Byrhtferth, *Enchirid.* 3.2, pp. 136–37 (trans. Baker and Lapidge).

160. François Dolbeau, "Le rôle des interprètes dans les traductions hagiographiques d'Italie du sud," in Contamine, *Traductions et traducteurs*, 145–61; and in the same volume, Walter Berschin, "Les traducteurs d'Amalfi au XIe Siècle," 163–68. For the later programs, see Charles Burnett, "A Group of Arabic-Latin Translators Working in Northern Spain in the Mid-Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1977): 62–108; and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 421–62.

2

Language Contact in Conquered England

In 1086, William the Conqueror's sheriffs and other agents summoned representatives of counties, hundreds, wapentakes, towns, and villages to stand before royal commissioners and tell them who held what land, how much the land was worth, who lived there (and with what resources and livestock), and more—so much information, in fact, that one contemporary writer said "that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed . . . one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was there left out and not put down in his record."[1] Although the final record of this inquest was in Latin, the seven thousand to eight thousand men who gathered testified not in Latin but in their vernaculars: English and French for most jurors, but also possibly in some assemblies Flemish and Welsh.[2] The size of the kingdomwide undertaking, the numbers of jurors involved, and its central coordination make the Domesday inquest the most intensive scene of language contact in English history.

It was first and foremost contact brought about through conquest, and it highlighted the class divisions created by the conquest in the languages of those who bore witness. Lords, their stewards, and some jurors testified in French, while the majority of jurors from villages and towns spoke English. The testimony itself reveals geographical differences in customs, but also, here and there where it sneaks into the Latin record, in the mix of languages. Latinized Old Norse terms like *lagemanni* "lawmen" were used only in those areas of the kingdom settled by Scandinavians, and so reveal the surviving lexis from an earlier conquest.[3] The jurors themselves, regardless of language, came to tell what answers their communities had to the questions of the commissioners; the repeated references to the "men of the hundred" or "burgesses" are not just legalese for artificial groups of jurors, but as collective terms signify men who knew one another from long acquaintance and had intimate knowledge of their communities. These jurors and others who testified in 1086 not only provided oral testimony, but also provided written evidence of claims, documents that themselves were in Latin and English and so not comprehensible to all commissioners or to the assemblies. Translators would have been needed to make documents and oral testimony understandable, and there is some evidence that they were there.[4]

What the Domesday inquest brings out is the significance of context for understanding the dynamics of language contact in England. The simple fact of contact is only the starting point for analysis. And if scholars misjudge the dynamics of linguistic situations like these, their analyses of the nature of the social contact that lies behind language contact will be flawed. Contact between linguistically divided cultures is controlled by matters other than the ability of one person to transfer one message into another language with linguistic competence.

One such matter constitutes the world in which translators work: the contact between cultures—of the translator, the source, the target audience, and the people and place where the translating took place. As the Domesday inquest suggests, the larger cultural context in which this translation happens is also a crucial element for interpreting acts of translation and their effects. The ways in which and places where people speaking different languages met would create incentives and pressures on language choice and use. These pressures would differ when contact was brought about by, for instance, trade rather than by war. Political power as a determinant of the nature of contact may always have been present, but could come forward or recede in significance depending on the time, the place, and the people involved. Sometimes geography, trade, travel, or local community stood more in the foreground of the contact situation, reducing political domination to insignificance. Contact situations have always been complex, with multiple factors influencing language use and attitudes.[5]

The translators who were key players in contact situations are commonly analyzed with respect to only the most visible issues of language contact—conquest and domination. Often this contact is painted with so little detail, and applied so generally, that it distorts the actual relationship between the languages as well as the role or significance of translation in that world. For instance, the French language of most of the conquerors in 1066 established a de jure if shaky dominance of that language in court; but that dominance may clearly not have been invested in the language itself. Nor, as importantly, can we move from that assumed dominance to the actual contact situations that had been created throughout the kingdom by the conquest. What was the reaction or what were the mental associations when someone spoke French or English in Lincoln in 1087? Or in Normandy in 1100? Or in Worcester in 1120? What either party thought about language varied with the contours of the contact and the status, experiences, and imagination of the individuals doing the speaking and the listening. Such variables produced a great variety of consequences of contact, from the viking settlements of the ninth century to the Angevin coup of 1154.

This chapter seeks to sketch the kinds of contact situation that constituted the larger context in which translation occurred. The situations have been selected by the frequency with which they occur in the sources, but also based on their likelihood of being liminal loci. They have been sorted into four principal categories. First, the most obvious contact situation, domination and conquest, can bring linguistically distinct cultures into contact as the consequence of military action and the introduction of new rulers.[6] The regions where English was used underwent a series of conquests between the first viking invasions of the early ninth century and the Angevin conquest of the second half of the twelfth century. Each conquest created not only a new political arrangement, but also new contact situations within England and along its land borders and coastline.

Second, conquests themselves often responded to geographical realities that had little to do with politics. The principal factor here is a division between lowland and highland Britain marked by moors, hills, uplands, and mountains stretching from Cornwall to the Firth of Forth near modern-day Edinburgh. This division was nowhere impermeable. River and road networks drew together highland and lowland zones and consequently fostered language contact through regional trade, travel, and pilgrimage. Long-distance trade and travel created a further layer of contact above these local networks, bringing the English speakers into contact with those who used more distant tongues, like Spanish, Greek, and Arabic. Third, within the English kingdoms, conquest, settlement, and trade created communities that were sometimes, and perhaps often, multilingual. So, too, were religious communities. Fourth, and last of the causes of contact, was learning and libraries, things that introduced readers in England to at least ten languages in everything from book collections filled with Latin works of all kinds to a Greek text of the Acts of the Apostles and Scandinavian runic marginalia in a Canterbury manuscript, to a French verse version of the Constitutions of Clarendon and an Arabic astrological primer.

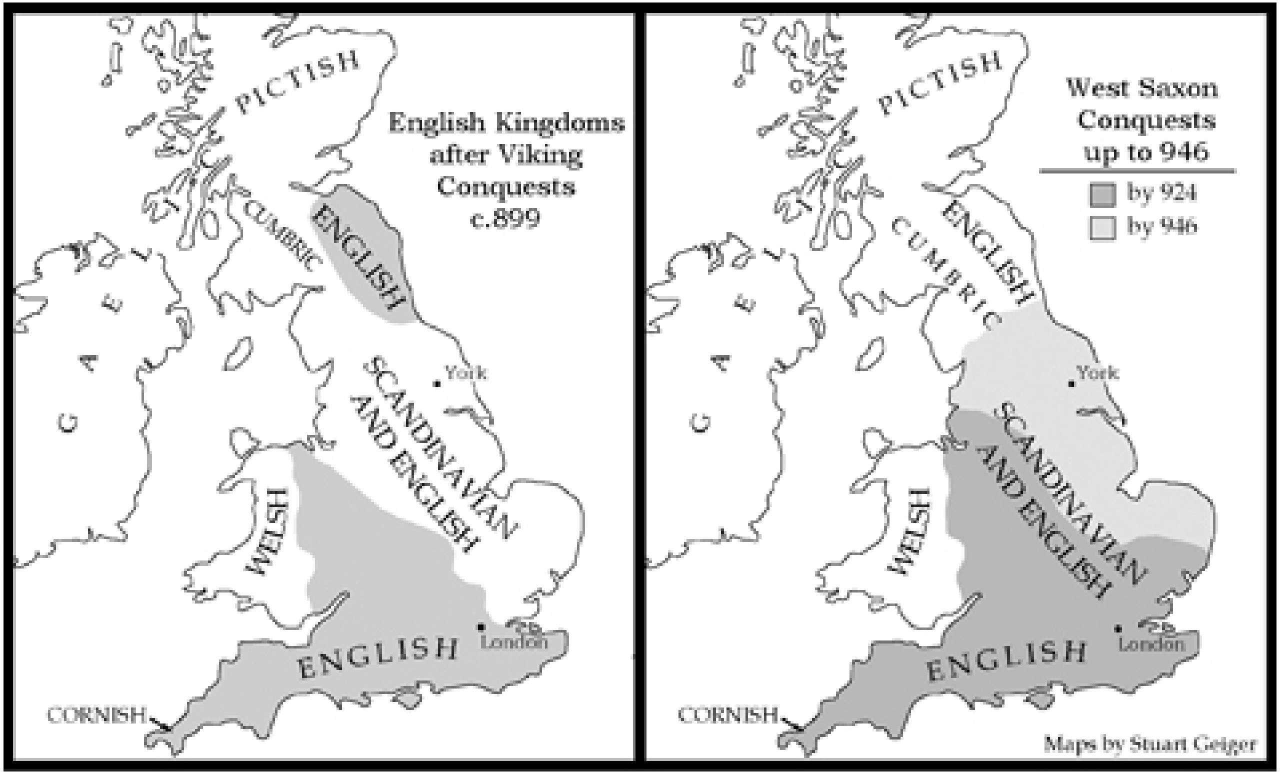
This chapter will consider these points of language contact created by conquest, geography, linguistic communities, and learning, in order to draw out some of the complexities inherent in each. Two important but unsurprising conclusions are that the circumstances of language contact were not uniform, and that the evidence for any contact situations is not transparent.

CONQUEST AND DOMINATION

Although it is usually thought that England on the eve of the viking assaults was a multilingual world really only around its edges and among literate clerics of the highest schooling, the arguments supporting this are mostly speculative and based on negative evidence. A limited number of Latin texts (and the occasional Greek book) were available to studious clerics from the seventh century on.[7] Outside the world of teaching and scholarship, though, the English kingdoms may have been more multilingual than is often argued. Although few British speakers survived within England in the early ninth century, the English were in contact with western British speakers in Wales, Cornwall, and Cumbria. In the north, they had a Gaelic-speaking kingdom in the northwest that was itself spreading across Scotland, and Pictish speakers in the northeast. Along the eastern and southern coasts, and in particular in Kent, contact with speakers of continental Germanic and Romance languages would have been regular.

Most English kingdoms were conquered and settled by Danes and Norwegians during the second half of the ninth century. These Scandinavian conquests left as independent and almost exclusively English-speaking only Wessex and an allied part of Mercia in the south, and northern territory roughly equivalent to the old kingdom of Bernicia, (see map 2.1: English Kingdoms after Viking Conquests).[8] The Scandinavians did not just conquer; they also settled their new territories. Although some of the evidence may be equivocal, the general picture is of significant settlement in the north and east of England, particularly intensive in Yorkshire and surrounding counties.

The Scandinavian invasions affected language in several ways. One was through the physical destruction of centers of learning: the invaders reduced the number of available texts in any language through attacks on ecclesiastical communities of all sorts, a reduction that meant a diminution of tools and teachers for encountering and mastering the learned languages (Latin and Greek). Their assaults presumably made riskier any contact between the English and the continent through which these losses of books and scholars could be made good.[9] In politics, the viking conquests and settlements did create permanent change. Wittingly or unwittingly, the vikings had conquered all of the English kingdoms but one, had settled throughout these kingdoms, establishing farms and villages among the still surviving English, and, in a process extending over the next century, converted to Christianity. Their settlement and



Map 2.1. Kingdoms, languages, and conquests, c. 886 to 946

depredations were used to justify a campaign to multiply texts in English for the remaining independent regions in the south. If the details of the conquests and settlements are still being debated, the overall significance for England's social, legal, and political history is not in doubt.[10]

For language, however, there is much less agreement. The degree of language contact itself is hard to determine, because we lack certainty about two important facts: how many Scandinavians settled in different regions in England, and whether the English and these settlers could understand one another without any need for translation. There is no consensus on this question of Scandinavian and English intelligibility, but instead a broad spectrum of answers, from good intelligibility to none.[11] Any answer to the question, moreover, must depend on which English and which Scandinavian we mean. It may be that the English spoken in Bernicia and Deira was more intelligible to Danes than the English of Wessex, or vice versa.[12] Two further variables need to be considered. One is the amount of influence Irish Gaelic would have had on Scandinavian; the northwest was settled mainly by Norse who had already spent several generations in Ireland. The second variable is the effect on Scandinavian household language of English that resulted from viking men taking native wives. The conclusions of some recent research into mitochondrial DNA evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Britain and neighboring islands suggest that viking men who settled further away from Scandinavia than the Orkney or the Shetland islands tended not to bring women with them, but must have married native women.[13]

One hypothesis about English-Scandinavian language contact is that where the languages of the English and vikings were mutually intelligible, there was nevertheless a range of levels of intelligibility, from a rough and ready intelligibility in one region, and an acceptable dual lingualism in another. Linguistic similarities, moreover, may have been in the end less relevant to mutual comprehension than the social relations between speakers of each language. Although English and Scandinavian might have been in important ways similar, they might still have been treated by speakers as separate languages requiring translation.[14] It is also possible that the languages were sufficiently different to have made communication difficult, but their speakers chose to think of them as the same and to presume intelligibility. A Glaswegian and a Midwestern American may not understand one another easily, if at all, but each would confidently assert that they both spoke the same tongue.

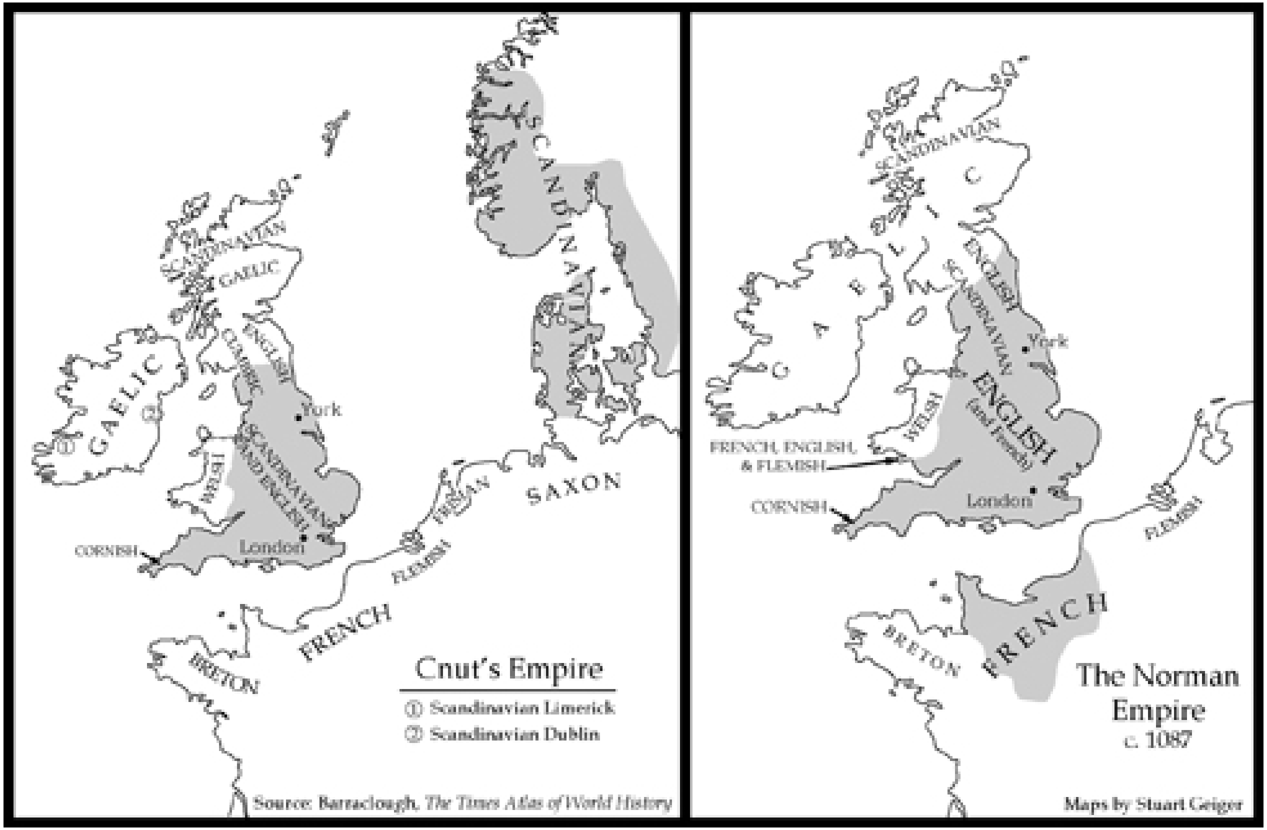
Those who do not accept English-Scandinavian intelligibility have provided similarly stimulating answers to the question of language relations and try to leverage the small clues that survive by employing sociolinguistic theory. Some have argued that the Scandinavians and their English neighbors created a principally English pidgin through which

Scandinavian loanwords entered spoken English in the north.[15] Others reject the pidginization theory and think that English and Scandinavian developed extensive bilingualism within and between their communities, a bilingualism that did not fade until use of Scandinavian disappeared by the twelfth century.[16] Scholars have posited a variety of contact situations between English natives and Scandinavian settlers and have seen different influences shaping speech in those contacts. Sometimes the fortunes of speech move with political power; sometimes in contrary directions; and sometimes language contact develops on its own, regardless of who is in charge. Almost all of these arguments have merit, and it may be that just as regional versions of English in the twelfth century had diverged to the point of unintelligibility, according to our one witness willing to comment on it, so divergences between forms of English might have existed in the ninth and tenth centuries and affected the level of intelligibility or dual lingualism between English and Scandinavian.

The Scandinavian areas of the central and eastern midlands, East Anglia, and the kingdom of York, as well as some Cumbrian and relatively independent English territories, were conquered or subordinated by West Saxon kings and their Mercian allies in the tenth century, who united almost all of the former kingdoms of the English under their rule (see map 2.1: West Saxon Conquests up to 945). This West Saxon conquest of areas of England outside of Wessex brought with it a dialect on the rise. It was the kings of Wessex now who held the power of patronage in the church; it was out of southern churches, notably Winchester, that the tenth-century reform and reestablishment of monasticism in England came—and accompanying these developments came the development of a standardized language for religious texts, the first documented standardization in the language's history. These conquests also put West Saxon kings in contact with large numbers of Celtic speakers along the old Mercian border as well as occasionally in the north, where the kingdom of Strathclyde reached down to reclaim the territory of the old British-speaking kingdom of Cumbria.[17] It is hard to say what the linguistic effects of this conquest were on the Scandinavians settled in the east and north—given the issues raised earlier about intelligibility between the languages. Perhaps the principal linguistic result of the West Saxon conquests was a by-product of their kings' continental European alliances (particularly those of Athelstan), which encouraged the growing connection created by the English court and church with the continent. The flow of English scholars overseas for training or careers quickened, as did the arrival of foreign clerics and scholars in England. For example, Lantfred (fl. 975), who ended up at Fleury after his time at Winchester, was a Francophone monk from the Loire valley and author of the *Translation and Miracles of St. Swithun*.[18] Major figures in the revived Benedictine monasticism of the tenth century were trained on the continent, and sent their disciples there as well.[19] New scholarly and dynastic links were made, and old ones strengthened, with Flanders, the Empire, Italy, and Byzantium and the eastern Mediterranean.[20] Malmesbury Abbey, for instance, in the time of King Edgar (957–975), had its own refugee Greek bishop.[21]

This unified kingdom of England was conquered by Danes led by their king, Swein (d. 1014), and his son Cnut in the early eleventh century and had a Danish royal court from 1016 until 1042 (map 2.2: Cnut's Empire). On the local scene, Cnut established Scandinavian earls and lords in southern England, men who likely brought their households to reside in areas previously free from Scandinavian settlement.[22] Internationally, Cnut is often said to have tied England to the North Sea empire he (and later his son Harthacnut) sometimes shakily controlled. Too much can be made of this North Sea reorientation under the Danish kings; it is worth remembering that while Cnut's father was a Dane and his mother Polish, his wife was a Norman who had spent most of her adult life in England.[23] Cnut's trip to Rome in 1027 suggests that he did not drastically reorient England, but rather enlarged its connections, maintained what was already established, and added significantly to its links to the north and northeast. He brought England into greater touch as a matter of course with the North Sea and Baltic littoral languages; in addition to intensified links to Scandinavian speakers, contact with Frisia continued as before, but now contact with Saxon and Slavic languages increased.[24] Cnut and his queen, Emma, were themselves comfortable multilinguists, patronizing writers of English, Old Norse, and Latin.[25] During Cnut's reign, English remained the language of governance. English and Scandinavian were the languages of entertainment in the royal court and, no doubt, in the halls of Cnut's lords. In the world of texts, however, English clerics continued to produce translations into English, just as they had been doing before 1016. Although it is near to impossible to date books to the reign of a particular king, book production in both English and Latin can be said to have continued and increased in volume throughout the eleventh century, including the period of Danish rule.

Edward's reign (1042–1066) is as much a postscript to Cnut's connections as it is a prelude to the continental orientation after 1066. Edward's upbringing in Normandy, where French was likely his language of common use, certainly furthered links to the Norman court begun by the marriage to Emma, the daughter of Duke Richard I, first to Æthelred II and then to Cnut. Nevertheless, Edward maintained the Anglo-Scandinavian elite he inherited from the Danish kings. Edward became, then, the unwitting linguistic link between Danish and Norman rule. During this period, books continued to be copied in both Latin and English, while contacts between English and continental religious communities and clergy be-



Map 2.2. Empires and languages, 1016 to 1087

came more common. Although the reign was not short, no new linguistic trends appear in the evidence; instead, one can see both continuation of the early eleventh-century contact and creation of texts in Latin and English, practices that continued under the Norman kings.

In 1066, the year of Edward's death, the Normans and their allies slaughtered an English army and its new king, Harold Godwineson, at Hastings and instituted a new dynasty that lasted until 1154 (map 2.2: The Norman Empire, c. 1087). William not only brought an army, filled with men who were rewarded with estates in the kingdom, but his conquest initiated a migration of continental supporters of all sorts, which in the end brought some thousands of foreign speakers, mostly Francophones, into England. This Norman conquest and settlement shifted the linguistic weight of the kingdom's elite from a northern and Scandinavian orientation, with some French influences, to a southern and Francophone orientation.[26] England was joined to a Norman empire that soon extended its reach from the borders of Brittany, Anjou, and France in the south, into Wales in the west and up to the Scottish lowlands in the north. Over this assemblage stood a Francophone court that learned on the job how to rule such an amorphous beast. Some of the consequences are clear. The Norman conquest made England an increasingly multilingual kingdom. The Normans brought over their allies (and their languages): the Flemings and Bretons.[27] They also brought their links to the Norman principalities in southern Italy, where the natives spoke a Romance dialect and Greek, and, with the conquest of Sicily between 1060 and 1091, Arabic. Lastly, William I's son, William Rufus, planted a community of Rouenaise Jews in London, a group whose workaday French and biblical Hebrew would be complemented by the Arabic and Indo-European vernaculars of their visiting kin. The Normans conquered a Babel only to increase the confusion of tongues in the aftermath.

The written language of governance used by the royal court to communicate with its officials, courts, and subjects was at first English, but switched to Latin in the years after 1070.[28] Why did the king's scribes change the language of royal writs? It may be that the shift of language was a response to the English revolt in the North in 1068–1069 and William's rabid suppression of that rebellion the following year.[29] Just as English nobles had been killed off or disinherited by the initial conquest, and higher clergy purged in the years following to make way for reforming Norman churchmen, so too, some have concluded, was the language of the defeated dismissed from royal records. But the disappearance of English in royal records might stem from something other than ethno-political phenomena. At a practical level, the disappearance may merely be the result of the importation by the new church hierarchy of Norman clergy who had already been trained as scribes (who subsequently worked for the royal government).[30] Such a change might have seen no resistance from English religious communities that were increasingly influenced during the eleventh century by the rise of Latin across Western Europe and which already used Latin as the principal language of charters. For religious communities and anyone else holding their lands through charters, property was already secure when recorded in a universal language, Latin, even if the boundaries of granted lands remained for the most part in the local speech. Having broader rights and privileges spelled out in Latin in particular would be a matter of growing importance as these bishoprics and abbeys were increasingly taking their grants and appeals to a Latin-literate Rome for confirmation or judgment, in whose curia and writing office Latin had a monopoly.[31] We should also remember that this shift to Latin is seen principally in royal writs; very little evidence exists to show trends in other genres.[32] And the king would have seen that Latin-language commands worked as well as ones in the vernacular (and had the advantage of reaching both Francophones and Anglophones through translators). The English language itself was engaged in a task wholly unrelated to the current conquest. It is during the twelfth century that English was busy absorbing the bulk of the Scandinavian vocabulary, which accelerated its development into Middle English.[33]

Within three generations of the shift from English to Latin, it is likely that most of the descendants of Francophone immigrants spoke English as their first language, or at least were skilled in both English and French.[34] A quick assimilation by some immigrant families—especially those who dealt most with the English—is what explains the otherwise incredible fact that the monk Orderic, a boy with a French father and English mother, claims never to have understood French before being shipped off as an oblate to the Norman monastery of Saint-Évroul in 1084.[35] While much of this shift happened as children learned English, some Francophone adults went to the trouble of learning English through study. William I made an attempt but, like Charlemagne, found it too hard as an adult.[36] More interesting is a late eleventh-century copy of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, which was glossed in French at the end of the eleventh century or the first decades of the twelfth.[37] The glossing may suggest study of the vernacular, English, by at least one reader. The language evidence from the fifty years following the Norman conquest points to the adoption by the conquerors of the language of their new subjects. This conclusion also agrees with what sociolinguists have found in similar situations. Ruling minorities almost always adopt within a few generations the language of the conquered if those they conquered are themselves mostly monolingual.[38]

In 1154, as a result of the end of a war between rival claimants of the kingship, England found itself conquered again, and now one piece of what was soon to become an even larger empire, ruled by a dynasty originating in Anjou. With this change of dynasty, England not only gained a new ruler, but also became part of one of the largest political entities in western Europe since the time of Charlemagne and his German successors. This empire was one of the most linguistically diverse of the entire Middle Ages, with speakers of at least nine languages in their many dialects as well as greater exposure than earlier times to other languages in speech and in texts (map 2.3). The Angevin conquest brought England firmly out of itself and into a large multilingual empire, where French (whether the dialect of Normandy, Anjou, or another part of the langue d'oïl) was the lingua franca of the rulers and their elite.[39] What gave this conquest greater linguistic significance than the Norman conquest was its multilingualism and endurance. English speakers from 1154 were joined for several centuries to French-, Breton-, and Gascon-speaking regions of the continent, as well as tied more firmly by political and military domination to Welsh and Gaelic-speaking parts of Britain and Ireland. Given such a lasting formula of combined languages under a Francophone court, the loss of Normandy in 1204 proved of slight linguistic significance. It was at this time—from the final decades of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth—that French became the language of English law, a place it was to hold until the early modern period.[40]

Such a change in legal records from earlier reliance on English or Latin to French does not appear to have been a product of any royal or ecclesiastical policy regarding language. Throughout the entire period languages ebb and flow from forces too small to detect in the sources. Policy, if any existed, we are left to infer from a very few facts. What can we infer from the fact that the legal register of Scandinavian had been one of the first borrowings into Old English? Was there a policy behind these borrowings, whose echoes are heard in the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan? What, again, can be inferred from the royal chancery's dropping of English as a language of writs after 1070? We may want to see it as a response to the rebellion of 1068–1069 and William's harrowing of the North in 1070—namely, as a linguistic repercussion of a political event. Or we may see it as merely a shift instituted by the English-illiterate Osmund, chancellor from 1070 to 1078, and the equally English-free Lanfranc, nominated and consecrated as archbishop of Canterbury in August 1070 to replace the English-speaking Stigand. Here Osmund and Lanfranc represent an entire administrative class gradually filling the posts in church and state in the kingdom, a class almost universally Francophone by birth. No word emanating from the royal chancery, no reported speech of the king, tells us what is actually going on. Nor are these two small points of transformation representative of linguistic relations throughout the kingdom, let alone key evidence of cultural relations between conquerors and the conquered.

Map 2.3. The Angevin empire and its languages, c. 1187

THE GEOGRAPHY OF CONTACT

Conquests of England were often limited by geography. William I's Normans proceeded slowly in the north and northwest, not because they were confronted by rebel forces or because the king had made an Augustus-like decision to limit the reach of his political power, but because moving farther took Normans into Britain's poorer and less accessible highland zone. All invasions of Britain have conformed to some extent to the existing barriers of mountains, rivers, and climates marking this zone. Seen from the perspective of language, the invaders sailed from somewhere between Norway and Normandy and created linguistic tides that washed over the lowlands up to the highland banks. This highland-lowland geographical division influenced language contact in England.[41] It should be remembered that a geographic divide often became ipso facto a point of contact and a place of multilingualism where translation necessarily took place. So the geographical divide cut both ways—it separated and joined.

The principal frontier of contact was along this highland-lowland division (map 2.4). This division would have defined early contact between surviving Celtic speakers and English speakers. In the early Middle Ages, the English-speaking zone stopped where the land rose in the Cotswolds, along the River Wye, following the mountainous region of Wales, and then up the Pennines to Cumbria and beyond. While the Scandinavian invasion produced a more complicated pattern, with coastal raids and ad hoc settlements, its participants also found the lowland zone more easily conquered and settled. After starting with the northeast, in Northumbria, they moved quickly south into East Anglia, Mercia, and for a short time Wessex and the south. Norman control was quickly established in lowland Britain, with only occasional, often freelance, attempts to conquer or control the neighboring highland areas. Geography thus helps explain the longevity of the political independence of northwestern England and the weakness of Norman control in the far north for the century after the conquest.[42] In Cumbria Anglo-Scandinavians hardly saw or heard a Norman before William II launched his invasion in 1092.[43]

Linguistic pools could be created by high tides of conquest and settlement and left at the onset of the ebb to develop in isolation. The interactions around and within such pools created the full spectrum of linguistic consequences, from pidgins and creoles to new language creation, all of which are only hinted at by the sources. Testament to such an isolated development of language is the well-known writ of Gospatric (probably 1067 x 1069), a descendant of the earls of Bernicia. The writ concerned rights held by Gospatric's men in modern-day Cumbria.[44] The language of the writ—based no doubt on a West Saxon text—scatters Anglicized

Map 2.4. Highland and lowland Britain

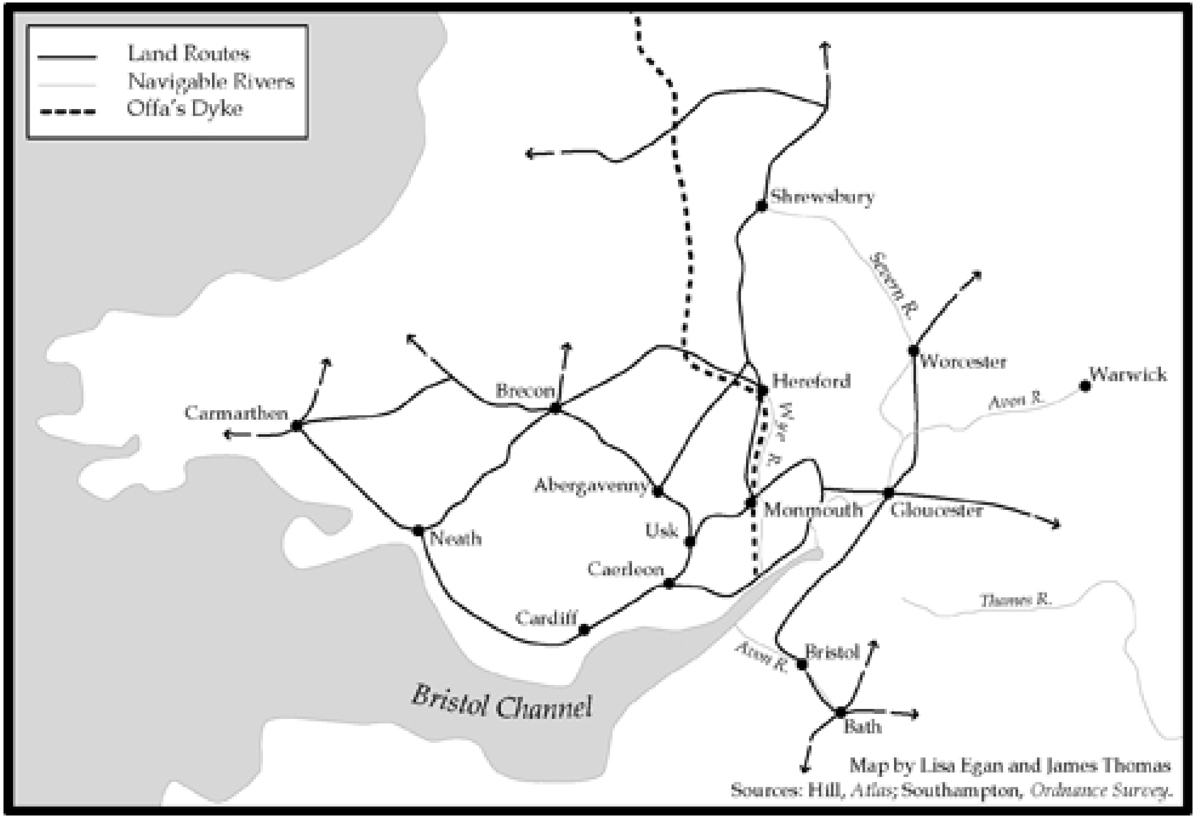
Scandinavian and Celtic words in an essentially Old English text. The named individuals in the writ weave together all of Cumbria's settlers—men like Thorfynn mac Thore (combining Gaelic *mac* with two Scandinavian personal names), Willann (Old French), Waltheof (English), Gamell (origin uncertain), and Gospatric himself (British), all of whom are addressed as Gospatric's *wassenas* "vassals" (Celtic), both *freo* "free" (Old English) and *ðrenge* "freehold requiring military service" (Old Norse).[45] Any contact between this region and the lowland areas of England would have been infrequent from the ninth century to the twelfth, leaving the speech of the valleys west of the fells, forests, and lakes of Cumbria to develop on its own.[46] Place-names attest not only to the presence of different communities speaking their own languages, but also to combinations of those cultures.[47] What the language spoken by these men was emerges only in this perhaps unrepresentative piece of evidence.

As geography divided and isolated linguistic communities, it also consequently created points of linkage. These nexuses of contact are particularly visible along the highland-lowland border in Britain. Consider, for example, Gloucester, a midsize town nestled on the east bank of the Severn at the edge of the Welsh highland zone.[48] Politically, the town was important from, at latest, Alfred's reign up through the late twelfth century. It was the town where English kings staged one of their three annual crown-wearing ceremonies.[49] For several centuries before the Norman conquest, it likely had a royal palace at Kingsholm, less than a mile northwest of the town. By the mid-eleventh century, the town had a sumptuous minster as a stage for crown-wearing ceremonies.[50] Royal witans and ecclesiastical councils took place there with some frequency—beginning as early as 896, when Ealdorman Æthelred and Æthelflæd met there with their bishops and ealdormen, but increasing in regularity from the reign of Edward the Confessor.[51] It was the site of the council in 1085 where William I chose to have his "deep thought" that led to his ordering of the Domesday inquest.[52] Gloucester's moneyers were active—eight operating in the late-Saxon period.[53] It was the default capital of the rebels during the civil war, the fortress to which the Empress Matilda repaired for safety and to which Stephen was brought in 1141 after his capture at the battle of Lincoln. Its district "as far as the depth of Wales," according to William of Malmesbury, formed the empress's party's principal support.[54]

Gloucester's link to Wales is not surprising. The town's control of roads and rivers gave it strategic value. It was the chosen launching site for major incursions into Wales as well as for more limited but deadly interventions. In Gloucester, Edward the Confessor received the head of the Welsh king Rhys, whom he had ordered assassinated in 1053; Gloucester was where Earl Harold Godwineson, on Edward's orders, had mounted his invasion, which targeted another Welsh king, Gruffyd, for a similar death.[55] Gloucester at certain times would have appeared in Welsh eyes as a threatening point of the frontier where English might was made manifest.

Gloucester's relations with Wales were, however, only intermittently bellicose. Its principal connections were not through war, but through trade. In part, this was due to the agricultural richness of the Vale of Gloucester, and to its resources in iron and salt. William of Malmesbury singled out crops easy to grow by even the "most weary farmer"; fruit trees, which grew wild throughout the vale and "excel[led] all the rest in taste and appearance"; sweet wines that did "not torture the mouths of drinkers with their sharp bitterness"; and fish from the tidal Severn estuary.[56] Gloucester served as a market for iron from the Forest of Dean and a site of production of iron implements.[57] More important than its resources, however, for linking Gloucester across the highland-lowland divide was its geographical position. Consider the network of regions and towns bound to Gloucester by roads, rivers, and the Severn Estuary (map 2.5). Roads linked this city with major towns along the south coast of Wales—Cardiff, Caerleon, Neath—as well as with inland towns like Usk, Abergavenny, and Brecon.[58] Rivers were navigable between Gloucester and Worcester and Shrewsbury in the middle march of Wales, as well as Warwick to the east.[59] The Severn Estuary opened the way to Monmouth and Hereford via the River Wye, an ancient border between the English and the Welsh, as well as to Bristol on the Avon, and the ports in Ireland and on the continent.[60]

While the political and economic importance of Gloucester is often discussed, the linguistic implications of these facts have not been appreciated. As a frontier projection of English royal power, Gloucester would have brought together speakers of English, Welsh, Irish, and Scandinavian on a regular basis under the aegis of English dominion—whether to offer submissions, plead a case before one's overlord or ally, pay tribute, or just attend the Christmas court that often met there.[61] As a result of Gloucester's regional position as a market and its extensive road and river links to Wales and the Irish Sea, the range and frequency of language contacts only grows.[62] In addition to Welsh, Irish, and Scandinavian (whether the Hiberno-Norse of Dublin, Man, or the Isles, or dialects from further shores), other languages would have been used: Cumbrian and Breton, both intelligible for the most part to Welsh speakers, as well as Occitan and perhaps even Spanish in various dialects.[63] While English and Welsh, and after 1066, French contact would have been most common, and speakers of other languages would have come into contact situations infrequently, it is the complexity of possibilities that matters here. Gloucester residents would not have been unaware of the existence



Map 2.5. Gloucester's river and road network

of other tongues. They would also likely have had strategies in use to overcome barriers between them when merchants and visitors were not bilingual, ranging from the use of translators, lingua francas, or pidgins in the appropriate registers.[64] Other cities and towns that probably served similarly as nexuses for contact throughout the region were Shrewsbury, Worcester, Chester, Durham, and York. It is important to remember that London was not the only multilingual city in England.[65] London and these cities on a geographic or political frontier, especially when they were accessible and served as markets, were natural Babels, and so were used to acts of translation.

As Gloucester was tied to Ireland and the continent by the Irish Sea, so in general seas led to distant lands and their languages.[66] Port cities knew of tongues beyond the borders of the kingdom and its immediate neighbors and expected to accommodate speakers of those languages in the course of trade. Although language must have been an important consideration for travelers and traders, it was rarely thought worthy of remark. In Ohthere's and Wulfstan's late ninth-century voyage accounts, only once does Ohthere note language, speculating that the Finnas and Beormas, whom historians have identified as the Sami and North Karelians, respectively, spoke almost the same language. Ohthere says nothing else about what must have been the variety of languages he had encountered while sailing from the desolate Kola Peninsula, roamed or settled by Sami and North Karelians, down the Norwegian coast to Hedeby, the major Baltic entrepôt frequented by Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Wends, Saxons, Angles, Ests, and other Slavic speakers.[67] Neither Ohthere, who ended his voyage at Hedeby, nor Wulfstan, who set off from there, says if he could understand any of the other languages of the Baltic. The language in which the reports of Ohthere and Wulfstan were delivered is nowhere identified, and Ohthere's may have been in Scandinavian rather than in English.[68]

The "men of Rouen" or "Flemings" or "subjects of the emperor" who a century later brought their goods to London would have been in touch with even more languages of the Baltic, North Sea, Atlantic, and Mediterranean than Ohthere and Wulfstan were.[69] The knowledge of languages used by or known to traders would likely only have extended to the economic catchment areas of the major ports. A century later, in the early twelfth century, pilgrims and crusaders who had heard Magyar, South Slavic, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Turkish, as well as traveled or fought alongside fellow crusaders speaking the Romance and Germanic languages and dialects of France, Languedoc, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy, brought knowledge of these tongues back to their homes.[70] Scholars who moved in their wake, like Adelard of Bath (c. 1080–c. 1152) or Daniel of Morley (c. 1140–c. 1210), reified this knowledge of strange tongues, translating philosophical and medical texts from Arabic and Greek books acquired in Spain, Sicily, Byzantium, and the crusader states on the eastern Mediterranean.[71] And while occasional clergy traveled for study and teaching in the early Middle Ages, the twelfth century witnessed the movement of much larger numbers of students and teachers to and from the continent, reinforcing the sense of the English—at least of the intellectual elite—that they lived in a multilingual world.[72]

Visitors from abroad also introduced other languages to English speakers. John the Old Saxon, brought to Wessex by Alfred the Great, spoke something close enough to West Saxon to be able to help the king with his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*.[73] In the tenth century, connections were fostered with Frankish religious houses, especially the Loire valley monastery of Fleury. Frithegod, a Frankish scholar, joined the household of Archbishop Oda of Canterbury and practiced his peculiarly difficult version of hermeneutic poetry, with extensive borrowings from Greek, before returning to Francia sometime after 958.[74] Most famous of all was Abbo of Fleury, who visited the fenland abbey of Ramsey for two years (985–987). There he taught computus (the medieval science of calculation) and grammar, and may very well have been the first Romance speaker heard by the English-speaking monks of the abbey.[75] Both Lantfred, a Frankish monk and Romance speaker, and Womar (d. 980), abbot of St. Peter's, Ghent, and likely a Flemish speaker, spent time in the *familia* of the Old Minster at Winchester.[76] The eleventh century saw a shift from the Loire valley and Flanders to Lotharingia and Normandy with the arrival of Lotharingians for English bishoprics, a Norman cleric who became archbishop of Canterbury, and a few continental lords under Edward the Confessor.[77] During Edward's reign, they formed a highly visible and, by some, resented power block in royal government and the English Church.[78]

The Crusades encouraged a more intense level of contact between English speakers and non-English speakers than other types of travel, due to their military and spiritual goal, the capture of Jerusalem, the fraught and dangerous journey east, and the increasing numbers of English participants over the course of the twelfth century. Armies of crusaders were almost always assembled from different regions and inevitably brought together people who spoke different languages. English sailors appear to have played an important role near the end of the First Crusade, supplying the army as well as fighting onshore, and so would have been exposed to Greek as well as the French, German, and other vernaculars spoken by the participants.[79] During the Second Crusade, the English crusaders at Oporto on the Portuguese coast heard Flemings and Germans in addition to their own French and English, all of whom had their own translators to interpret the bishop of Oporto's Latin sermon.[80] These groups then met people speaking yet more unfamiliar tongues; in addition to the Romance speech of Iberia, they had contact with Greek, Berber, Turkish, and Arabic.[81] The nobles, merchants, burgesses, pilgrims, and ecclesiastics who went east and returned would have brought to England memories and stories of their experience with language contact.[82]

Modes of contact and their intensity varied throughout the period. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the linguistic contacts between English and other languages grew in variety and frequency throughout the period as much from geography as from conquest, all the while supplemented by the increasing willingness and ability of English speakers to travel. One consequence of this increasingly frequent contact with a growing number of foreign languages may have been the similarly increasing sophistication with which English intellectuals discussed the issues of language.[83]

COMMUNITIES AND SPEECH

A common language is not the crucial requirement for the existence of a linguistic community in a village, town, city, or even region. When that community shares a spoken language, and that language is the only one used, it will constitute a *speech community*. Such was likely the case for many villages and some towns in England before the twelfth century. A *linguistic community*, on the other hand, admits the use of more than one language by its members, and is ipso facto a place where translation occurs to some degree. Applying this label depends on how we define community.[84] In the case of the towns, villages, and ecclesiastical communities of medieval England, where multilingualism was present, the sociolinguist John Gumperz's definition fits best: He defined a linguistic community as "a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication."[85] Such a community could appear in several guises in early medieval England. A tenth-century borough and its hinterland, situated near a frontier or within a trade network with overseas merchants, could be seen as a linguistic community. In the early twelfth century, a town where English, French, and Flemish were spoken, and Latin and English were read and written, a town whose own interactions at its market or in its courts, ordeals, executions, and worship bound it more closely together than the whole was bound to neighboring villages, towns, or countryside, would also be a linguistic community. At the other end of the size spectrum, an English-speaking village with a lord whose household spoke French and whose priest was audibly literate in Latin would be one as well. In such a community, bi- and trilingualism are important, but the extent matters less than the frequency of raw contact between people and the acceptance of a shared identity rooted in place.

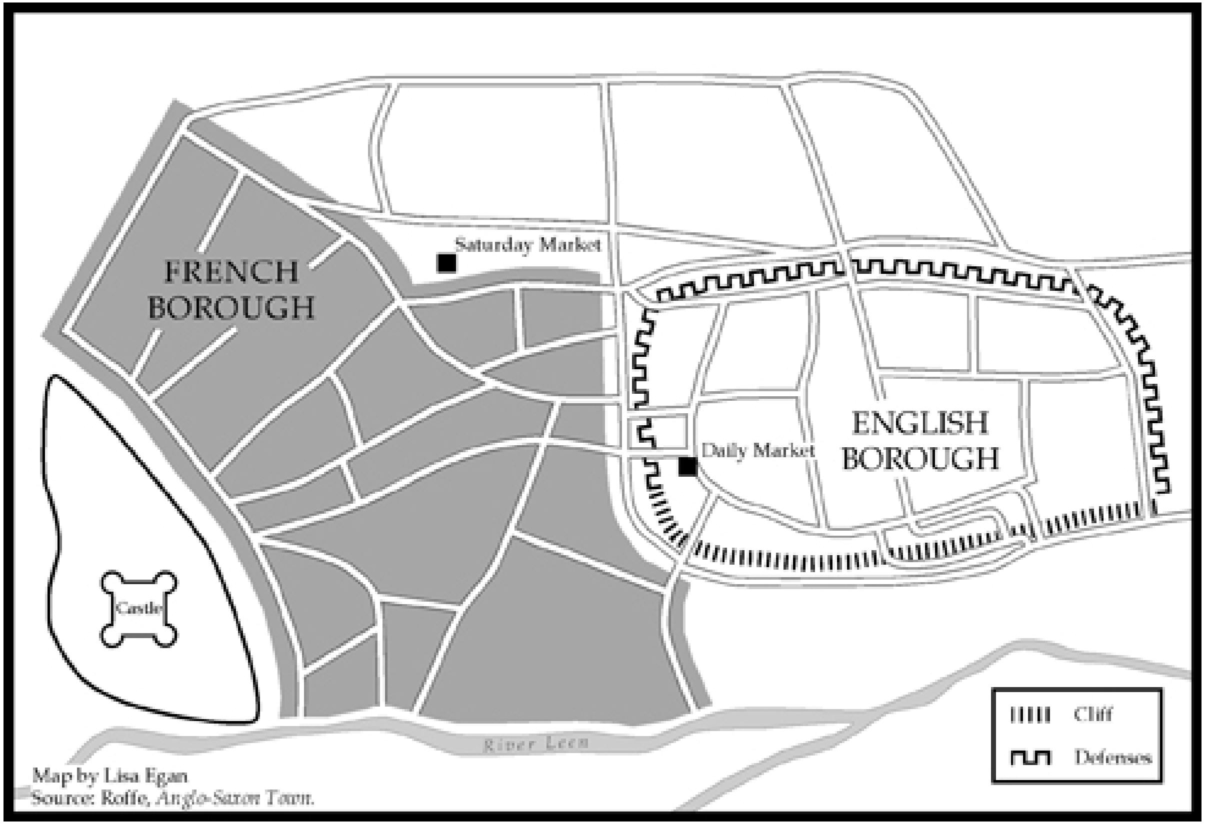
Such a multilingual community would be most commonly living in an already recognized collectivity—a town or a borough, but also a village—with a history of acting as a political unit, a fact that would counter any potentially centrifugal forces of multilingualism.[86] In the twelfth century, the assertiveness of these political units only grew despite their multiplication of languages.[87] It seems likely that under such conditions, a resident quickly became a Londoner or man of Lincoln, rather than remained a French-speaking immigrant living in London or a Fleming who was also resident in Lincoln. At the same time, the commune of Oxford protected its merchant guild, town liberties, and customs, and served the king loyally regardless of the commune members' languages.[88]

It is difficult to know in many cases the structure of a linguistic community in early medieval England. This difficulty is principally a result of the disparate evidence we have for most collectivities that would qualify. I have chosen three towns —Lincoln, Nottingham, and Canterbury—to represent the variety of linguistic communities that might be found throughout the land.

Lincoln provides an example of typical linguistic growth and diversification between the viking settlement and the twelfth century.[89] Before the vikings, there is little sign of anything other than a very modest Middle Angle occupation of the ruins of the Roman town. The arrival of the viking armies towards the end of the ninth century marks the refounding of the city. From that time we begin to find more evidence of settlement, mostly north of the River Witham, but we have no way of knowing if these Scandinavian speakers displaced the small population they found there. One estimate would have around five hundred inhabitants at the beginning of the ninth century, a number unlikely to have risen significantly, if at all, by c. 900.[90] From the early tenth century until the late eleventh, we can trace the growth of the city, its suburbs, the (at least) tenfold increase in its population, and the establishment of its four markets in the lower city, but we have no evidence for what languages or dialects were being spoken until an inscription in St. Mary-le-Wigford tells us that for at least one patron in the late eleventh century, and perhaps one stonecutter and one priest, it is English.[91] Next to the west door, the inscription announced that "Eirtig me let ircean and fios godian criste to lofe and sanctae marie" [Eirtig had me made and endowed with possessions to the glory of Christ and St. Mary]. Though we know nothing else about this Eirtig, we can infer that he chose to use English rather than Latin as the language of the memorial to his endowment.

By then the Norman conquest had begun to work major changes in the fabric and population of the city. Lincoln may already have had continental immigrants before 1066. Two adjacent churches dedicated to Flemish saints may reveal preconquest Flemish artisans forming an ethnic neighborhood or the presence of a rich Flemish patron.[92] French-speaking residents are attested by Domesday Book, though by date and supposition rather than proof. A number of Norman barons who had residences in the town, and Norman Crassus and Peter of Valognes, two of the town's lawmen, a group with jurisdictional power, were continental immigrants.[93] By this time, the town was large—scholars offer estimates of the population as between five thousand and twelve thousand, either of which would make Lincoln substantial.[94] How many spoke English, Flemish, French, or any other language is unknown. At some point in the twelfth century, by at latest 1159, Lincoln also acquired a small Jewish community, living in a cluster near the principal marketplace.[95] They settled in a town, however, that had become increasingly homogeneous in culture and, perhaps, in the use of English. Even the Jews may have arrived with more than serviceable English; their first communities in England had been in primarily English-speaking London, and it was from there that the Jewish communities in other towns came. So from Lincoln, we have hints of the arrival of new speech communities, but only a limited sense of the geography of language used there.

Nottingham, a small town located in the East Midlands and under the hegemony of the Mercians in the ninth century, represents a more mappable development of linguistic diversity than Lincoln.[96] Before the Norman conquest, it had traded hands several times and been garrisoned and fortified by both Danes and the English in the ninth and tenth centuries. It remained essentially a military outpost commanding the Great North Way as well as the River Trent, key avenues between Mercia and Northumbria.[97] After the Norman conquest, Nottingham changed rapidly. The principal cause of the change was the building of a castle in 1068, sited west of the English borough. The land between the old borough and the castle, once the earl's, was ceded to William Peverel, constable of the new castle, who granted it to Normans serving as the castle guard.[98] Merchants, likely to be French speakers, were also encouraged to settle there, creating what became known as the French borough (map 2.6).[99] While by the mid-twelfth century the linguistic situation would be hard to map, nevertheless in the generation or two after the conquest, Nottingham may have possessed very distinct Anglophone and Francophone halves.[100] Commerce between the two sides, however, must have been common and continuous, although possibly weighted in favor of English. The daily market was held in the English borough and likely drew the French-speaking townspeople into the Anglophone side of town with greater regularity than the large Saturday market established by William Peverel and held at the edge of the French borough, which would have brought



Map 2.6. **Nottingham: The English and French towns**

the English speakers to the notional boundary between their borough and the neighborhood of the French.[101]

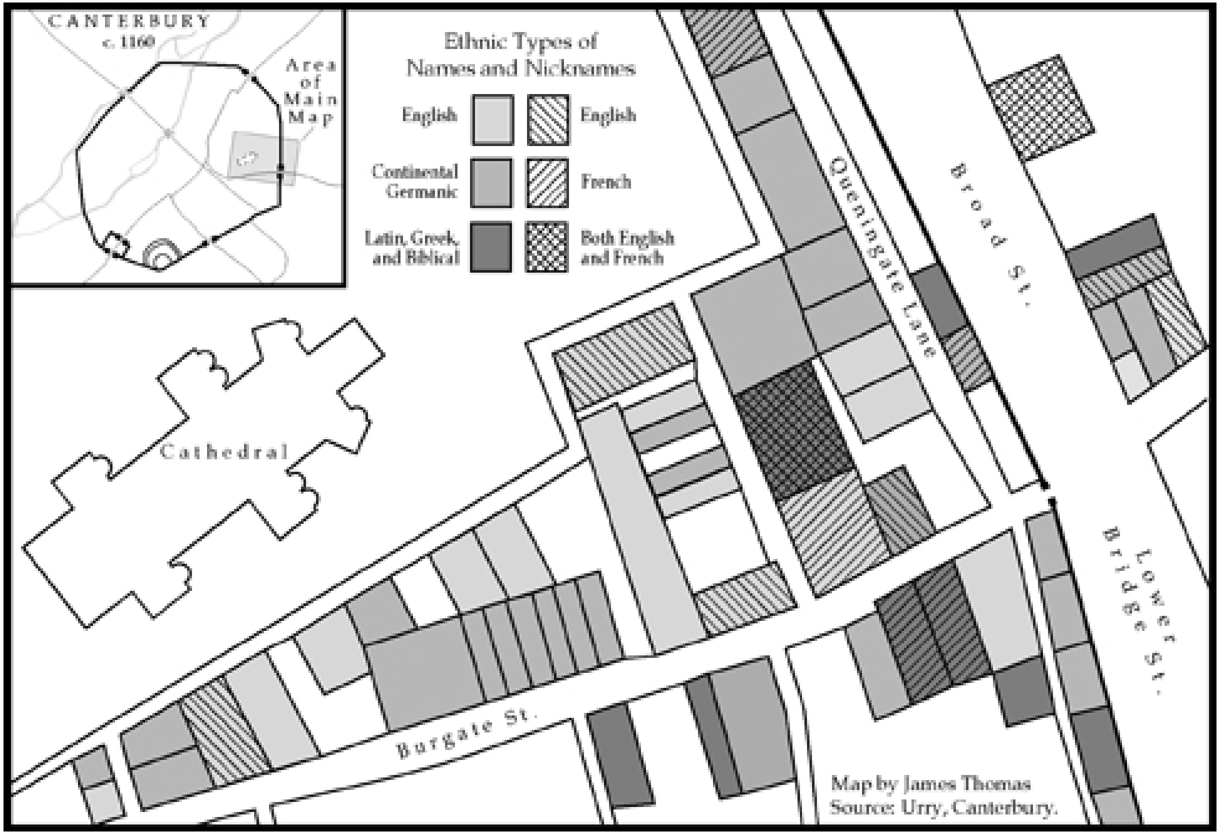
To determine the nature of actual contact situations or the relative positions of the principal languages is difficult if not impossible for most medieval English linguistic communities. For the city of Canterbury, however, unlike Lincoln or Nottingham, we have the advantage of seven rentals produced between 1153 and 1206 covering property leased from the cathedral chapter, as well as a number of charters that supplement the survey evidence.[102] These records have their limitations; they only cover property linked to the cathedral and, therefore, do not tell us much about population density nor about people living under a different landlord. Further, because of their late date, their records of *personal* names tell us nothing about languages spoken by those who bore those names and much instead about naming fashions.[103] Nevertheless, because these rentals include additional information about the individuals they record, they provide perhaps the best evidence from the entire period of what languages were in use in a town. While done perhaps initially only to distinguish one William or Edward from another, the creators of these rentals added a crucial piece of information, nicknames, which were recorded for many of Canterbury's inhabitants. These sobriquets open our ears to the languages spoken in homes and on the street, regardless of whether these nicknames were chosen by the individuals or imposed on them by their fellow townsmen.[104] "Such nicknames," Cecily Clark wrote in her study of the languages of Canterbury, "are probably our only records of ordinary colloquial usage, of the language of street and market place."[105]

Clark is careful to point out her concerns with the evidence, three of which are worth repeating here, and to which I will add one of my own. First, it is not easy to distinguish nicknames from other types of identification, such as toponyms, patronymics, or occupational names.[106] Second, the scribes, as Francophones, tend to default to that language—probably unconsciously—when recording nicknames, thus overrepresenting the sample of French nicknames in Canterbury. Third, it is hard to determine if those named in the surveys were actually resident in the town.[107] Thus, the evidence mingles ownership of property with occupancy. Last, the collective evidence of the surveys and charters that I have collated for map 2.7 reflects more than a moment in time, and are composed of almost half a century of evidence. Although the later evidence is used principally to fill holes in Rental B, the fullest and earliest account with nicknames, which was drawn up between 1163 and 1167, its inclusion does run the risk of adding more to the final picture than would have been found on the streets at any one time. Clark makes a good case that all of her concerns can be satisfactorily answered. Recorded nicknames, for example, appearing normally in the vernacular, are more likely to reflect the holder's usage, while occupational names and toponyms are just as likely to be put in the scribe's language.[108] So an English or French word or phrase following a personal name is probably a true nickname. She culls bad evidence from consideration—for instance, names that appear over two generations of the same family. Despite these concerns, a consideration of the evidence as identified by Clark still provides our best entrée to the proportions of language use in an English town.

In the Burgate neighborhood of Canterbury (see map 2.7), nicknames in English are slightly more frequent than nicknames in French. There are arguably ten individuals in Burgate with English nicknames and eight with French.[109] There is no necessary correlation between insular personal names and English nicknames, nor between continental Germanic, classical, or biblical names and French nicknames. For instance, Wibert, bearing a continental Germanic name that arrived with the conquerors in 1066, nevertheless was known on the street by his English nickname, Kide, "the goat."[110] Similarly, the person named Æilweker, a name that probably derives from the stock of Insular names, was identified by his French nickname, le Vanur, "the hunter."[111] While in Burgate there are only a couple of examples of this mixing of names and nicknames, in Canterbury as a whole they are not rare.[112]

The language mix in Burgate represents roughly what is evidenced throughout the town. Clark's sensitive ear thought the English nicknames were more vibrant and the French ones less imaginative and less varied; from this she concluded that English had the edge of the spoken languages in late twelfth-century Canterbury.[113] For our purpose, it matters less which language is slightly more vibrant, and more that both were spoken and widespread and not concentrated in a French or an English side of the town, as in Nottingham and other towns that underwent expansion under the Normans to accommodate substantial immigrant communities. In Canterbury, the French and English speakers lived side by side, scattered throughout Burgate as well as in the rest of the town.

If all we had were the chronicle accounts describing the activities of the cathedral community and the monks at St. Augustine's, we would not have suspected this linguistic mingling of speakers of different languages cheek by jowl in 1163–1167, the dates of Rental B, let alone the existence of a thriving English-speaking community there.[114] From other evidence, Canterbury looks like a key battlefield in the alleged cultural effacement of preconquest Anglo-Saxon culture; it appears to have been a microcosm of the kingdom, where small French-speaking elites were brought into power through war and were resented by the larger English-speaking community, which thus resisted learning the new language of the elite.[115] In 1070, William I deposed the preconquest archbishop, Stigand, and placed his trusted lieutenant Lanfranc, abbot of Bec in Normandy, in the



Map 2.7. Languages in the Burgate neighborhood of Canterbury, c. 1160

see. Lanfranc was from the north of Italy, perhaps Pavia, and spoke its Romance language. But he must have learned some of the Burgundian and northern French dialects he heard on his slow move (c. 1030–c. 1042) from Pavia to the Norman abbey of Bec.[116] His arrival at Canterbury in 1070 initiated a confrontation between the English and continental churches, which involved the importation of Norman clerics from Bec and Caen to help staff the cathedral and a supposed purge of local saints—usually Anglo-Saxon—from the cathedral calendar.[117] The defeat of the rebellion by monks at St. Augustine's against their imposed Norman abbot and their consequent dispersal likely led to the arrival of more foreign clerics.[118] These clerics brought books and ideas that reflected the intellectual trends in Francia. From this perspective, Canterbury would look like one of the most Norman of English towns in the century after 1066. The surveys and charters, then, provide an important correction.

Canterbury was dominated by its ecclesiastical institutions, each of which constituted a kind of community. Obedience to a monastic rule (for St. Augustine's Abbey) or ecclesiastical authority (whether the archbishop at Christ Church or the abbot at St. Augustine's) bound members of the clergy into a group whose ties were strong, but not isolated from the community around it. Nevertheless, such a community in Gumperz's definition could constitute in its own right a place for greater language contact between members than between members and the inhabitants of the surrounding urban community.[119] Canterbury, of course, may be exceptional. The bishop and clergy of Worcester shared what might have been some of the more common experiences of language contact, use, and change within a religious community in existence for the entire period covered by this study.[120] The Worcester Cathedral community was not the richest or most prominent in affairs of either church or state, was midsized, and like most if not all such communities had connections beyond the borders of the kingdom.[121] The community was first made up of secular canons, but was slowly transformed into a Benedictine community over the course of the eleventh century.[122] As a cathedral community, whether of canons or monks, it had pastoral responsibilities within the diocese.[123] Its leader, as a bishop, was an important noble of the realm and liable to follow the royal court in England, and he was asked occasionally to travel overseas on the kings' missions. Worcester possessed a library that was unremarkable in the quantity and quality of its books.

The language contact of this community can be most usefully viewed by considering its membership and activities. The community itself was predominantly English-speaking, drawing its members from, for the most part, the families of the diocese.[124] Occasional foreign clerics (other than Normans after 1066) would have brought with them new languages. Visiting monks from St. Remi, Rheims, were a prelude to an agreement of confraternity forged with the monks of Worcester between 1096 and 1113.[125] This agreement brought more Francophone monks to Worcester.[126] French speakers in the community in the half century after the conquest were initially rare, though they become less so with each decade.[127] Contact with Welsh speakers may have been common, especially this close to the border with Herefordshire. Worcester seems also to have had strong links to Ireland; Patrick, the bishop of Dublin in the late eleventh century, trained as a monk at Worcester under Wulfstan II and may at that time have translated into Latin an Old Irish collection of marvels, *On the Wonders of Ireland*; later, as bishop of Dublin, he sent a treatise to his former fellow monk Aldwin and indirectly to Wulfstan.[128] Wulfstan himself corresponded with Irish princes.[129] Contact with Scandinavian speakers likely came from several directions. The initial settlements of the ninth century set vikings in neighboring counties, while Cnut's doling out of lands and earldoms to his Scandinavian followers created for a generation the presence of Scandinavian-speaking thegns and earls in Worcester as well as throughout the west.[130] Between these two events stood the episcopate of Oswald (961–992), kinsman to Oda, the archbishop of Canterbury (942–958), who was descended from Danes, and Oscytel, the Danish archbishop of York (956–971).[131] Road and river links, and the business of the members of the community in administering their estates and fulfilling their religious mission, would have tied them to areas just beyond the diocese where Scandinavian and Welsh, as well as other forms of English, were present.[132]

Through the person of their bishop, the community would have experienced language contact at first hand or learned about it through others. Worcester's bishops for a time held the see of York in the Scandinavian-speaking north.[133] They were deeply engaged with the state of their church in the north and the spread of Christianity to the vikings, and their concerns would have immersed them in the dialectal patchwork of York's North and West Germanic speakers.[134] Bishops traveled to the king's court and there would have met, depending on the period, Old High German, Flemish, and French speakers, as well as visitors from farther away. Bishops were also emissaries of the king, and many of Worcester's bishops crossed the seas on royal errands. Cenwald visited Germany in 929 to help arrange the marriage of Athelstan's sister Eadgyth to Otto, son of Henry the Fowler, king of the Germans (919–936), and in Athelstan's name he distributed treasures to German monasteries.[135] During Cnut's reign, Bishop Brihtheah accompanied Cnut's daughter Gunhild to Germany after her betrothal to the emperor, Henry III.[136] Ealdred traveled to Rome in 1050 and 1061 and to Germany in 1054 for Edward the Confessor.[137] Sometimes it was royal displeasure that encouraged travel and contact. When abbot of Glastonbury, Dunstan decided to wait out the king's wrath in 956 in Flemish-speaking Ghent; immediately upon his return in 957 he was made bishop of Worcester.[138] Others made their own travel arrangements, regardless of royal missions or political exile. Oswald's connection to Fleury, perhaps the most important outside link made by a Worcester bishop, was his own doing. He had trained there as a monk.[139] When the bishops returned from abroad, they not only brought the gift of books, but also the experiences that became part of the oral lore of the community and so spread their contact to others who had never crossed the boundary of the diocese.

Books, in fact, might be our best avenue into language relations and translation activity at Worcester. Worcester from an early date had a reputation for translation; Alfred's only known commission of a translation went to Worcester's bishop, Wærferth (873–915).[140] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Worcester translators continued this work.[141] Their community's slow accumulation of its rather workaday collection brought to the readers of the community standard devotional works in Latin, but also works on language, works on translation, and a host of English translations of Latin texts.[142] Eleventh-century book lists and other evidence show that the monks possessed a bilingual version of the Rule of Benedict, multiple Latin and English versions of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and *Pastoral Care*, and homilies, commentaries, medical treatises, and laws.[143]

Worcester's books reflect a growing and continuous interest in English and Latin from the ninth to the late twelfth century. Production of works in both languages started early and in earnest from the middle of the tenth century.[144] From the early eleventh century, but especially during the second half, book production appears to rise, showing from the mid-century improvements to materials and scripts.[145] The Worcester monks began at the end of the century to acquire many of the patristic works that their collection lacked, a trend in line with many English collections of the day.[146] What is visible, though perhaps unremarkable, is the continued copying of English books throughout the twelfth century, and a lingering interest in the thirteenth century in what must have appeared to be increasingly archaic texts.[147]

So the Worcester community was almost always multilingual in its vernaculars, but likewise principally English-speaking. That spoken English was not displaced after 1066 by spoken French in any visible way may have less to do with nostalgia or resistance to the Normans, and more to do with the continuing recruitment of monks from the area and the status of Latin as the common and sacred language of the community, a language represented by an increasing proportion of Worcester's book collection (fig. 2.1). Written French was certainly possible after the conquest, and a saint's life in French was not beyond contemplation, but French

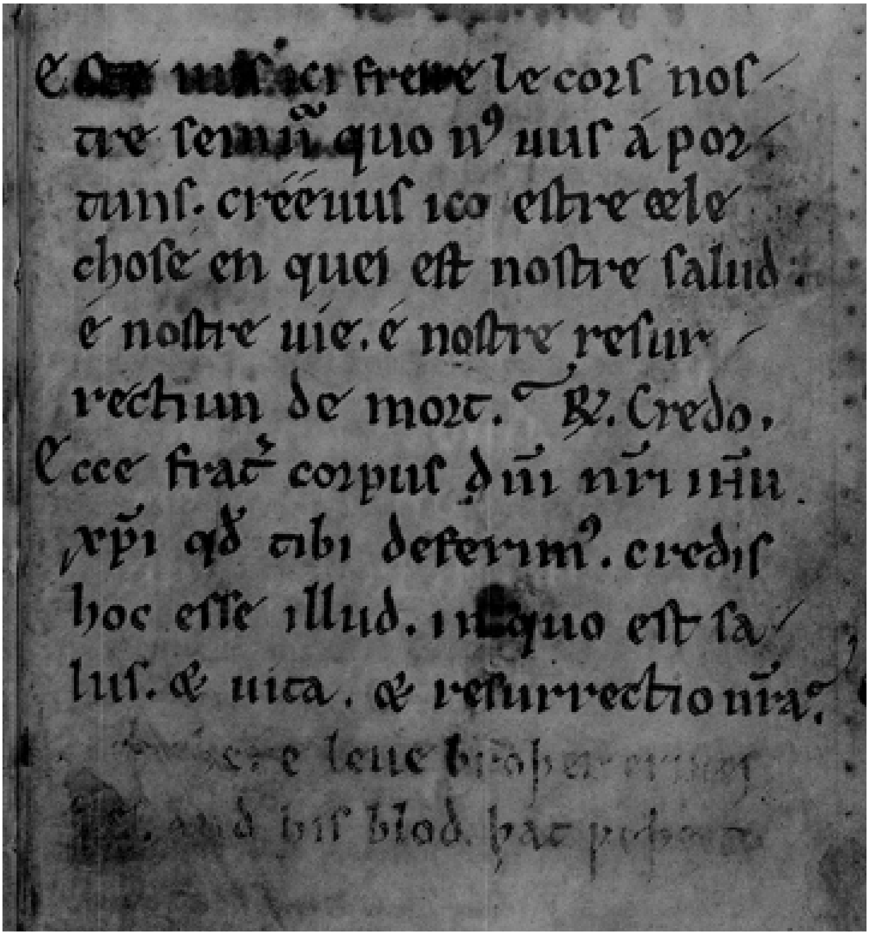


Figure 2.1. Trilingual guide for visiting the sick. While not from Worcester, this late twelfth-century collection of formulas for the visitation of the sick, from Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire, offers a rare view of languages within a religious community. The order and color of the texts perhaps represent the hierarchy and utility of the three languages, or simply reveal the language preferences and skills of the author/translator. On this folio, the French text for giving communion to the sick leads, followed by Latin and then English versions. On fol. 156v, the Latin text for confession of sins leads, followed by French and English versions. Colors separate texts (on fol. 156, French is in red, Latin in black, and English in green), but the colors used for each language text, as well as their order, changes on the next leaf (Latin is first and in red, French second in green, and English last in red). London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxiv, fol. 156. *By permission of the British Library.*

was not used for administrative documents, or rules, or histories until the first half of the twelfth century. Other languages could participate in the sacred, but Latin retained its role as the language all aspired to learn, and which all chanted in monasteries or used in the conduct of the mass.

One problem with understanding language within a community is that it is hard to assess competence in any language. Few sources comment on language; fewer still tell us about the problems created by the need for clerics to operate in several languages at once, written and spoken. Take for instance the case of Bishop Wulfstan II (1062–1095). It was during his pontificate that the library grew apace in both English and Latin works.[148] He was at one point the schoolmaster of the young boys entering the monastery, and so should have had good command of Latin.[149] One of the men who followed him as prior had been trained first by Wulfstan and then by Lanfranc at Canterbury, and was accounted at Worcester a successful teacher.[150] Yet when the time came to produce a Latin life of their beloved bishop, the prior and monks asked an outsider (between 1126 and 1142) to translate the Old English life they already possessed.[151] According to a similarly late source—namely, Osbert de Clare's *Life of Edward the Confessor*—Wulfstan's ignorance of Latin and inability to speak it compelled Archbishop Lanfranc to try to "wrest away from him his pastoral staff."[152] Did Wulfstan know Latin? How well? We may doubt a bishop could have survived without some comfort using Latin, but this is supposition, nothing more. So while we can chart the coastline of language contact for the Worcester community, and know something of the offshore currents, we cannot often see below the waves to gauge the depth.

LIBRARIES AND THEIR BOOKS

The discussion of Worcester's library has already touched on what was one of the principal points of contact for translators who wrote: the books and book collections held, for the most part, by the church. First, and most important, books were often in languages other than the reader's first tongue. These books—mostly in Latin—were what learning to read was designed to open. Second, some works, and not only grammars, described other languages—some offered as little as their alphabets, while others provided longer descriptions of their histories and relationships to other languages. Third, readers would encounter writers who themselves had worked in still more distant languages—translating, for example, Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic texts into Latin, but preserving some elements of their source's language or at least identifying it.[153] In these three ways, libraries and books served as special points of contact between languages.

We will often underestimate the extent of this direct contact, since, as David Ganz has observed, we cannot have "many certainties about what [Anglo-Saxon] libraries must have been."[154] For the twelfth century, we are on better ground because of a greater survival of both books and contemporary book lists. Consider the evidence from Exeter. The largest list of an Anglo-Saxon collection, containing sixty-six books, survives from just after the Norman conquest, when Bishop Leofric (1046–1072) donated his books to the minster at Exeter, a donation for which a bilingual (Old English-Latin) inventory was produced.[155] This list includes primarily liturgical books of various types (graduals, collectaries, hymnals, and the like) as well as Bibles, biblical commentaries, and Christian classics like Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and Isidore's *Etymologies*. The inventory sometimes specifies language—there are a penitential text *on englisc* "in English," and ecclesiastical canons *on leden* "in Latin."[156] Often these identifications can be confirmed. "A large book in English on various subjects composed in verse" turns out to be the Exeter Book of Old English verse.[157] The language the list uses for a title, however, is not an infallible indication of the language of a text. After a run of liturgical books bearing Old English labels, the compiler of the inventory wrote in English: "And so he [Leofric] put many Latin books into the minster."[158] In other cases, the language is known only because the book still survives. The inventory's "ii fulle mæssebec" may be sacramentaries or missals; if the latter, these volumes are possibly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579 ("the Leofric Missal") and Westminster Abbey MS 36.[159] Despite the Old English label, these are Latin books. The list's *Regula Canonicorum* (Rule for Canons) is likely the Latin title for Chrodegang of Metz's eighth-century *Rule*, which Leofric introduced at Exeter.[160] The book itself, however, if it is CCC 191, is not the Latin text alone but a fully bilingual Latin-Old English text, where the Old English translates the Latin chapter by chapter.[161] Despite these instances when the language of the list is not reflective of the language of the book, few of the items in the inventory cannot have their language identified.[162] We are left with a good view of the languages readers would have found in Exeter's collection.

Near the end of the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, Exeter added what the Leofric donation and probably the library itself lacked: patristic works.[163] The collection acquired works of Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, as well as Latin versions of some works by Eusebius of Caesarea.[164] Readers of Jerome's works, in particular, would have received some exposure to the languages of Jerome's sources, a subject central to his *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, his *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, and his translation of Eusebius's Greek *The Site and Names of Hebrew Holy Places*.[165] The library also acquired a second copy of Isidore's *Etymologies*. All of these works show a rising expectation that clergy at Exeter were expected to know the broader parameters of biblical commentary as well as key works of the Latin fathers of the church. While such Latin works would have been steeped with references to Greek and Hebrew, other works could bring a different kind of language contact. At the same time the minster was building up its collection of patristic works, it also acquired a manuscript mostly on computus, but also including some verse by Vergil and Ausonius and, interestingly, a collection of Greek, Hebrew, and runic alphabets that shows the meanings of individual characters.[166]

This last work touches on the second way libraries brought readers into contact with other languages—descriptions of writing systems for other languages, or of the languages themselves. In addition to the alphabetic collections, Exeter at the time Bishop Leofric's list was drawn up possessed a copy of Isidore's account of post-Babel languages.[167] These and many works from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in other collections show not only the growing wealth and broadening intellectual interests of ecclesiastical commonites, but also a rising interest in languages and writing systems; and by their copying and dissemination, they created yet more points of language contact.[168]

Exeter's collection is representative of English book collections: a mix of Latin and English works by the end of the eleventh century, with an increasing importation and copying of Latin books during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. These later additions were mainly patristic works, but also included historical narratives, hagiography, grammars, and epistolary collections. These additions would, if nothing else, have increased contact between readers and Latin and have prompted readers to find, study, or translate the Greek language texts that often stood behind the Latin works.[169] Occasionally, as the twelfth century progressed, English collections would acquire the new translations from Arabic that were going to revolutionize education in many fields.[170] A reader approaching one of these newly translated texts would become aware of language contact as a major component of the transmission of the text. Translators like Adelard of Bath and Daniel of Morley made plain in their prologues the arduous travel they had to undertake to acquire Arabic texts in the East.[171] What is even more striking was the distinctive treatment Arabic words received in some of the earliest works. A source's technical Arabic terms for various aspects of astronomy, for example, would in some manuscripts be set in the margins, perhaps for easy reference for those who knew the Arabic terms.[172]

In others, they are given an even higher prominence. In an early Worcester copy of Adelard of Bath's translation of the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi, the Arabic terms appear rubricated within the text (fig.

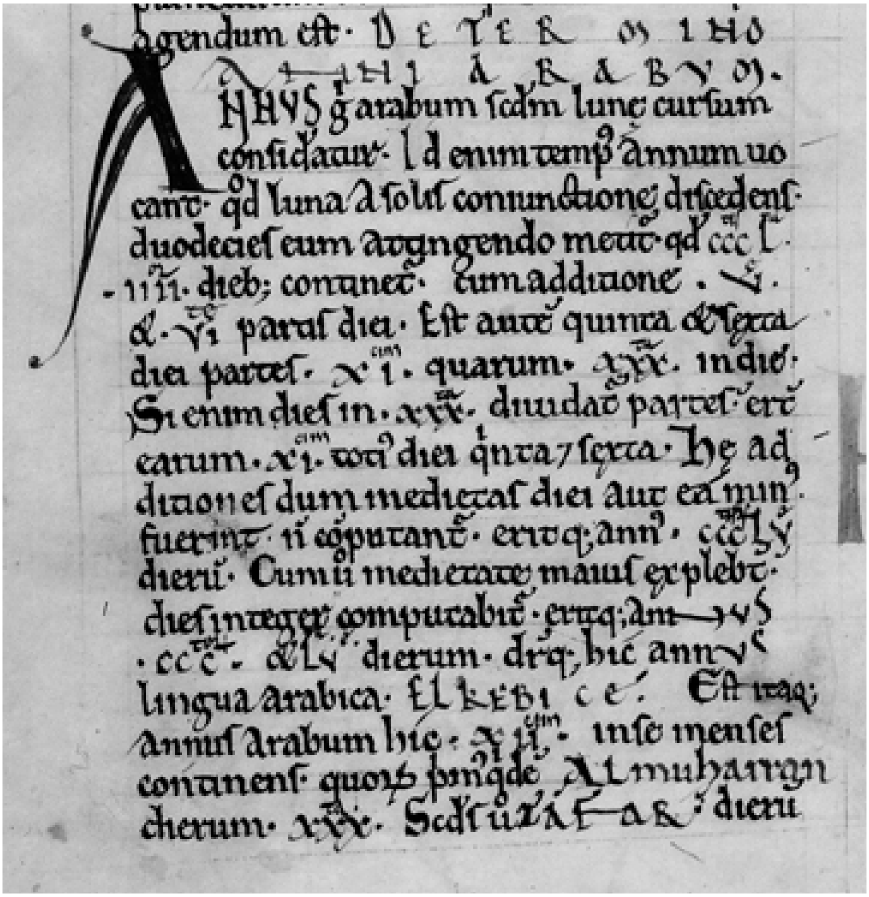


Figure 2.2. Adelard's treatment of Arabic. This Worcester book, copied probably between 1120 and 1140, holds the earliest text of Adelard of Bath's translation of al-Khwarizmi's astronomical tables. This copy of Adelard's work—written during Adelard's lifetime and not long after the translation itself was done—presents Arabic terms in red ink within the text itself, and written with larger letters that have been widely spaced, seen here in three of the last four lines in this image. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.1.9., fol. 99v. ***By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.***

2.2), and thus stand out starkly against the black Latin text surrounding them.[173] Most Arabic technical terms also received a Latin interlinear or marginal gloss. Any reader of the text in that book would have been reminded continually by the rubricated Arabic that the work was a translation. Because of its inclusion of much of the technical language of its source, the Worcester copy effectively served as a commentary on these terms. The Arabic was embedded by the translator, who considered it critical to the text's meaning. While the rubrication is unusual, the tactic of preserving technical jargon in the source was not restricted to translations from Arabic, let alone translations of works involving astronomy. It is found in the Latin legal translations of Old English laws, discussed in the introduction, which were produced while Adelard was completing his Latin translations of Arabic sources.[174] One of these legal translations was likely done at Worcester or nearby, close to where Adelard and another translator from the Arabic, Walcher of Great Malvern, were at work.[175]

Accounts of translating have already been mentioned as an important source for ideas about translating. But it is worthwhile to consider the transparency or opacity of source languages behind translators' texts as a final point of language contact in books. Latin Bibles were often accompanied by prologues that established the Latin text as a translation of Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic—and, as mentioned in chapter 1, this was an important place where readers could learn about translation method.[176] Biblical commentaries also identified the original languages behind the Vulgate's Latin and sometimes provided transliterated versions of Hebrew and Greek terms, or even, though less commonly, the words in their original letter forms. Other texts only gradually developed this transparency and revealed the languages of their sources. The tenth-century Latin translation by Ealdorman Æthelweard of part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* nowhere admits this source, let alone that his chronicle is a translation.[177] In the eleventh century, however, references to languages behind texts increase, and by the turn of the twelfth century, are often a sign of a text's authority—particularly if the text is a philosophical or scientific work. The eleventh-century English translator of the *Words of the Elders*, book 5 of the collection of hagiographic texts known as the *Lives of the Fathers*, decided to translate the prefatory material in the Latin source, which itself acknowledged a Hebrew source and its Greek translation.[178] By the late eleventh century and into the twelfth, the number of newly translated works almost always made sure to identify its source language—usually from Arabic, but less often from Greek and also from Latin or the western European vernaculars.[179] New French translations also mirror what Jerome's prologues and commentaries said of the Greek and Latin of his sources.[180] As the volume of translation and circulation of translated works rose, so too did the intensity of contact between readers and languages, and the awareness of the role translators were playing in supplying these new works to readers.

CONCLUSIONS

The Norman conquest has unfairly dominated discussion of language in medieval English history. Other conquests mattered. But conquest is not the only context for assessing language contact, status, and identity. Language contact was also determined or influenced by geography, trade networks, travel routes, community structure, patterns of settlement, and books. Each of these influences created its own pattern of contact. All forces acting upon or creating those contact situations occurred simultaneously during the entire period. Among these conquest was an important, but not the only, or always the most significant, force defining the relationship between any two or more languages. And perhaps the least visible of the conquests—the Angevin—may have had the greatest linguistic consequence: the dominance of French as a language of governance and of the ruling class. The multiplicity of conquests must have reduced the actual impact of any single conquest. In general terms for their influence on language, the importance of the Norman conquest recedes, while that of the Angevin conquest grows.

A corollary of that conclusion is the recognition that polities in themselves did not create impermeable linguistic barriers. Trade routes and travel routes crossed political frontiers and consequently diminished the possibility of any hard-and-fast linguistic border. Language contact might be better imagined on a spectrum of frequency and diversity on either side of any border, depending on the volume of trade and travel and the direction it customarily took. It may be, for instance, that Welsh was more often heard in Gloucester in 1100 than English in the Neath district or in Caernarfon soon thereafter.[181] Neither can be claimed, however, based on assumptions about language, power, and identity.

Consequently, judgments about language use need to take all factors into account. It is also clear that local judgments are more sure than regnal ones. We can know at times what languages the people living in a town and its environs used. We may also be able to say something about what they thought about those languages, as is likely the case for Canterbury in the second half of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the uncertainties are magnified when we ask the same questions about the kingdom of Wessex, or of England, or of Cnut's North Sea empire, of the Anglo-Norman regnum, or of the Angevin empire. Confident answers then come only on a narrower point of interest on the spectrum. So for the Angevin world we can say that the court's Francophone core raised French to be the dominant language by unintentionally making it the lingua franca for a far-flung elite who wished to participate in power, something the Normans did not do. What this meant for the realm as a whole is harder to say. And how this operated in towns or along borders or in religious communities is not answered by reference to language dominance, but rather with reference to local evidence showing myriad local circumstances.

Lastly, all this discussion of the increasingly frequent contact English speakers had with other languages should not obscure the monolingual life led by a significant proportion of rural people throughout the period covered by this study.[182] In many places—for example, rural manors visited only occasionally after 1066 by a Francophone steward or lord—people in villages far from urban centers might be credited with realizing other languages existed. They might be even more likely than those living in towns or religious communities to attribute authority to a lord's or his steward's language as a sign of domination. But such an attitude would likely come not at the conquest in 1066, but over subsequent generations if lords continued to speak French and memories of not-so-benevolent English-speaking lords faded.

NOTES

1. "þæt næs an ælpig hide ne angyrde landes, ne furðon . . . an oxe ne an cu ne an swin næs belyfon þet næs gesæt on his gewrite." *ASC* E 1085 (trans. Whitelock, pp. 161–62).

2. Robin Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1998), 11, 16–17, 35, and passim; Stephen Baxter, "Domesday Book and the Language of Lordship," in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, 800–1250*, ed. Elizabeth Tyler (Turnhout, Belgium, 2011).

3. GDB i.189r (F 164), i.336r (F 965); i.336v (F 984).

4. See below, this chapter, pp. 72–76.

5. Julia M. H. Smith grounds her *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford, 2005), with a first chapter treating "speaking and writing," and covering multilingualism, language contact, authority, and literacy over the critical early medieval centuries in Europe, including England.

6. R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1990), 3–24 and passim.

7. David Ganz, "Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, *To 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge, 2006), 91–108; and Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006).

8. D. R. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), 213, 244–49.

9. Alfred's recruiting of two continental scholars to replenish the ranks are what appear to be the first in a trickle of continental scholars who come to England in the late ninth and tenth centuries (Asser, c. 78, p. 63; and see later in this chapter, pp. 96–100).

10. Simon Keynes, "The Vikings in England," in the *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. Peter Sawyer (Oxford, 1997), 48–82 for an overview.

11. Townend, *Language and History*, 9–11, which cites the earlier scholarship on intelligibility.

12. A. C. Baugh and T. Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 3rd ed. (London, 1978), 95.

13. There is a growing literature analyzing the DNA evidence of the Scandinavian migration and settlement in the British Isles. See S. Goodacre et al., "Genetic

Evidence for a Family-Based Scandinavian Settlement of Shetland and Orkney during the Viking Periods," *Heredity* 95 (2005): 129–35; and Agnar Helgason et al., "mtDNA and the Islands of the North Atlantic: Estimating the Proportions of Norse and Gaelic Ancestry," *American Journal of Human Genetics* 68 (2001): 723–37. I owe these references to Robin Fleming, who also incorporates these findings into her *Britain after Rome*: *The Fall and Rise, 400–1070* (London, 2010), 213–240. I thank Prof. Fleming for sharing her book with me before publication.

14. Suzanne Romaine, *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 2000, 7–8.

15. P. Poussa, "The Evolution of Early Standard English: The Creolization Hypothesis," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 14 (1982): 69–85; John Hines, "Scandinavian English: Creole in Context," in *Language Contact in the British Isles,* ed. P. Sture Ureland and George Broderick, Linguistische Arbeiten 238 (Tübingen, 1991), 403–27. The pidginization thesis rests on the belief that shared vocabulary and structure between English and Scandinavian made the eventual development of a creole possible.

16. B. H. Hansen, "The Historical Implications of the Scandinavian Linguistic Element in English: A Theoretical Evaluation," *North-Western European Language Evolution* 4 (1984): 53–95. Cf. R. I. Page, "How Long did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? The Epigraphical Evidence," in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 165–81; M. Barnes, "Norse in the British Isles," in *Viking Reevaluations: Viking Society Centenary Symposium, 14–15 May 1992*, ed. A. Faulkes and R. Perkins (London, 1993), 65–84; D. N. Parsons, "How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? Again," in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell et al. (Oxford, 2001), 299–312.

17. The kings would earlier have had contact with Celtic speakers in Devon and Cornwall. For the later contact, see Deirdre O'Sullivan, "Cumbria before the Vikings: A Review of Some 'Dark-Age' Problems in North-West England," in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, ed. John R. Baldwin and Ian D. White (Edinburgh, 1985), 27–28; Deirdre O'Sullivan, "Sub-Roman and Anglo-Saxon Finds from Cumbria," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 93 (1993): 25–42; K. Jackson, "Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria," in *Angles and Britons*, ed. H. Lewis (Cardiff, 1963), 60–84.

18. Michael Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4.2. Oxford, 2003, 218–24. On another prominent visitor from Fleury, Abbo, see below, this chapter, p. 88.

19. Æthelwold, while abbot of Abingdon, sent the monk Osgar to Fleury to bring back a better understanding of proper Benedictine monasticism. Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 26 (c. 14); see ibid, 27 n. 4, for the literature on Fleury's overseas connections and importance at this time.

20. Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), 23–26, 54–57, 100–103, 133–34, 150–53, 200–203.

21. Called Sigewold in the *Liber Eliensis*, but likely Nicephorus, bishop of Herakleia, who fled Byzantium after 956. Michael Lapidge, "Byzantium, Rome and England," in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo 49 (Spoleto, 2002): 363–400.

22. Ann Williams, "'Cockles amongst the Wheat': Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the First Half of the Eleventh Century," *Midland History* 11 (1986): 1–22; Katharin R. Mack, "Changing Thegns: Cnut's Conquest and the English Aristocracy," *Albion* 16 (1984): 375–87.

23. Cnut's mother was the daughter of Mieszkoi, duke of Poland (ante 963–992). See Michael Hare, "Cnut and Lotharingia: Two Notes," *ASE* 29 (2000): 263–68.

24. Despite the ethnicity of Cnut's Polish mother and the contact it may presumably have brought about, the evidence for Slavic influence is slight: a charter of Cnut notes that the rights of Canterbury in the port of Sandwich covered the distance from shore as far as a *taperaxe* could be thrown; "taperaxe" is probably the first Slavic loanword in English, via Old Norse (*CHEL* 1, p. 335).

25. See M. K. Lawson, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut," *EHR* 107 (1992): 579–85, reprinted in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), 159–63; Matthew Townend, "Contextualizing the *Knutsdrapur*: Skaldic Praise-Poetry at the Court of Cnut," *ASE* 30 (2001): 174–77; Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), 214; Campbell, *Encomium*, xxxvi–vii, and 4 (prol.).

26. The north to a lesser degree: Norway was still a place for the English to flee to in the late twelfth century, and its court still employed the occasional English retainer. See Stephen Marritt, "'Drogo the Sheriff': A Neglected Lost Romance Tradition and Anglo-Norwegian Relations in the Twelfth Century," *Historical Research* 80 (2007): 165–77.

27. In Wales, the Flemings, "a folk of strange origin and customs" about whom nothing was known, were noticed. Thomas Jones, trans., *Brut y Tywysogyon, or the Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952), 27 (s. a. 1105), on which see Lauran Toorians, "Wizo Flandrensis and the Flemish Settlement in Pembrokeshire," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 20 (1990): 102. Flemings as an identifiable group endured throughout the twelfth century. See Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.11, in Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, 6: 83.

28. The actual date of the shift is obscured by the practice of reissuing old writ-charters in the name of new kings or new beneficiaries, where the beneficiary likely produced the copy or draft. Some writ-charters were issued in English after the 1070s: see William I's writ to Osmund of Salisbury et al., dated to 1085, in Marion Gibbs, ed., *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London*, Camden Soc., 3rd ser., 58 (London, 1939), pp. 11–12 (no. 5). Although David Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford, 1998), 96–98, 105–109, and passim, does not use choice of language as the criterion for ordering his English and Latin writs, he finds only a few exceptions (e.g., no. 189, pp. 614–15, dated 1085 x 1087, prob. 1085 x 1086) to the early 1070s shift of writ language.

29. T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais, eds., *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100* (Oxford, 1957), xiii. Note, however, Frank Stenton's cautionary note on the gradual nature of the change in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971),

642; Simon Keynes's recognition that English writs were issued far later than 1070, in "Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)," *ANS* 10 (1988): 218 and n. 198; and the nuanced interpretation of Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, 212, who links the shift after 1070 to a massive change in the first language of those in power, who would receive royal writs. The shift then is still a product of the rebellion, but not so much targeted at a symbol of English culture as a response to the results of replacing the remaining English lords with Francophone followers.

30. A suggestion made independently by Richard Sharpe in the course of his meticulous argument that charter addresses which mention the French, the English, Flemings, and others, taken by most scholars to be references to specific peoples or ethnic groups, are instead identifying the languages used by the intended audience where the charter would be read out: Richard Sharpe, "People and Languages in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Britain and Ireland: Reading the Charter Evidence," in The Reality behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain: Studies by Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Richard Sharpe, and Alice Taylor, ed. Dauvit Broun (Glasgow, 2010), 2; this book is also available on the website Paradox of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1286, at http://www.poms.ac.uk/redist/pdf/SharpeFinal.pdf. Our knowledge of how many scribes worked for William I is quite poor—only one has been identified with any certainty, a scribe who wrote at least three Latin diplomas for William I and continued working into William II's reign (Bates, *Regesta Regum*, 96–98).

31. Consider the rising volume of Latin issuing from the papal chancery noted by M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1993, 60.

32. See Bates, *Regesta Regum*, 43–48. Estimating with any accuracy the percentage of royal documents that were writs is impossible, given that the rights they conveyed lapsed at the granting king's death and had to be regranted by new and equally short-term writs from the new king. Even the change in beneficiary might have entailed the need for a new writ. Old writs were preserved haphazardly. On all of this, see Richard Sharpe, "The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century," *ASE* 32 (2003): 248, 251. That OE continued to be used to compose other kinds of texts, and that OE manuscripts continued to be copied and used far into the twelfth century, has been documented and studied by, especially, Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan; see the website for their project English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220 at www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220/.

33. *CHEL* 1, pp. 320, 330–332, and *CHEL* 2, pp. 418–19.

34. Short, "*Tam Angli*," 156; Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 38–50, for the general issues of language contact, shift, and language death.

35. The father was from Orléans (Orderic 13.45, 6: 554–55).

36. Orderic 4.[no chap.], 2: 256–57.

37. CUL Hh. 1. 10; French glosses edited by Hunt, *TLL*, 1: 111–13. See also the late twelfth-century French glosses to another late eleventh-century copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* in BL Cotton Faustina A.x., passim (see below, chapter 4, 165 [figure 4.2]), edited also by Hunt, *TLL*, 1: 24–26, 101–11.

38. Compare, e.g., the conquest of Italy by the Lombards, and their linguistic assimilation with the Latin spoken in the territory they conquered, with the conquests that created the Roman Empire and the conquests by the Caliphate, both

of which spread the conquerors' language over a multilingual polity. On this theory, see Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague, 1966). The progress of assimilation is also speeded or slowed by issues of, e.g., religious differences, wealth, and marriage customs. Consider also the linguistic application of Gresham's law, used by John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London, 1994), 102–103, to explain how "the 'cheap,' all-pervasive language will drive out its intrinsically superior but harder-to-maintain competitor."

39. Jakob Wüest, *La dialectalisation de la Gallo-Romania: Problèmes phonologiques,* Romanica Helvetica 91 (Berne, 1979), 391, who identifies what he labels the "koiné plantagenêt."

40. Frederick Pollock and Frederic W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898), 1: 82–87.

41. Kearney, *British Isles*, 14, building on the work of Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff, 1952), 28–42. Yorkshire and the north was separated from the south not only by Wolds and Moors, but also by the River Humber, with its tributaries and wetlands. See William E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 7–11.

42. C. V. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins, AD 400–1120* (Aldershot, England, 1996), 167–171; Rollason, *Northumbria*, 249–55; Bartlett, *England*, 77–85.

43. *ASC* E 1192; Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, 24–26, 152–62; Richard Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092–1136*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc. Tract Ser. 21 (Kendal, England, 2006), 28, 34–43.

44. Harmer's dating of the text to some time between 1041 and 1064 has been challenged by Charles Phythian-Adams, who argues persuasively for the later and narrower period (as above) for composition (*Land of the Cumbrians*, 174–81).

45. S1243; Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 419–24, 531–36.

46. A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, and Bruce Dickens, eds., *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 vols., English Place-Name Society 20–22 (Cambridge, 1950–52), 3: xviii–xxxi.

47. Ibid. South of Cumberland proper, but on its frontier, the Wirral also shows a variety of communities and languages, all present in the tenth century. Richard Coates, "Liscard and Irish Names in Northern Wirral," *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 30 (1997–1998): 23–26.

48. H. P. R. Finberg, "The Genesis of the Gloucestershire Towns," in *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (Leicester, England, 1957), 57–62 (52–88). The population in the late eleventh century was probably twenty-five hundred to three thousand (*CUHB* 616–617 and n. 17). Consider its connections to Archenfield and other border territories that were predominantly Welsh-speaking, implied by C. P. Lewis, "Welsh Territories and Welsh Identities in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. N. J. Higham (Woodbridge, England, 2007), 132–33, 137–40.

49. On crown-wearing and Gloucester's importance, see Martin Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries," *ANS* 8 (1985): 51–72, and M. J. Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 115 (1997): 41–78.

50. Consecrated by Bishop Ealdred in 1058. For Ealdred's refounding and endowing of the minster, see *ASC* D 1058; *Historia Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, in *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. William Henry Hart, 3 vols., RS (London, 1863–1867), 1:9, and Michael Hare, "The Documentary Evidence for the History of St. Oswald's, Gloucester to 1086 A.D.," in *The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester*, ed. Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant, CBA Research Report 117 (York, 1999), 33–34. In general, see Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, England, 2004).

51. S 1441. J. M. Kemble, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839–1848), 5: 140 (no. 1073); *VCH Gloucestershire*, 4: 12.

52. *ASC* E 1085. J. C. Holt, "1086," in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Cambridge, 1987), 44–45.

53. L. V. Grinsell, C. E. Blunt, and Michael Dolley, eds., *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, vol. 19, *Bristol and Gloucester Museums* (London, 1973), 98–101; V. J. Smart, "Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage, 973–1016," in *Commentationes de Nummis Sæculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis II*, ed. N. C. Rasmussen and B. Malmer (Stockholm, 1968), 194–276.

54. "usque profundas Walas." William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. Edmund King, trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford, 1998), 32.

55. *ASC* D 1053, C 1055, and DE 1063. John of Worcester supplies details of act and intention not found in his textual source, the ASC; see *JW* 2: 572 (1053), 592 (1063).

56. *GP* 4.153.2–4, 1: 444–45. William's appraisal is supported by the evidence for Gloucester's industries, trade, and agriculture, found in Pipe Rolls and other narratives: see *VCH Gloucestershire*, 4: 12, 22–25.

57. *VCH Gloucestershire,* 4: 25–26; *CUHB*, 447; N. M. Herbert, "1483: Gloucester's Livelihood in the Middle Ages," in *The 1483 Gloucester Charter in History* (Gloucester, 1983), 20–21. See C. P. Lewis, "English and Norman Government and Lordship in the Welsh Borders, 1039–1087" (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1985), 78–81, on the landholdings of royal thegns in the Forest itself—a sign of its importance to the regime.

58. Ordinance Survey, *Roman Britain* (Southampton, 1978); Ordinance Survey, *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages* (Chessington, England, 1966); *CUHB*, 685; James Frederick Edwards and Brian Paul Hindle, "The Transportation System of Medieval England and Wales," *Journal of Historical Geography* 17 (1991): 128–31.

59. David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), 11 (map 15), though Hill makes clear that the navigability of the Avon just below Warwick is uncertain.

60. Later medieval evidence shows that Gloucester itself was not an important port, but dependent rather on Bristol, a relationship that might not have been all that different in 1100 or 1200. Overseas goods arriving in Bristol were loaded onto river craft for the trip to Gloucester and points upstream (Herbert, "1483," 17–18). See also David Sivier, *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bristol* (Stroud, England, 2002), 35–36, 40, 54–55, 77–78; D. T. Williams, "Medieval Foreign Trade: The Western Ports," in *An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800*, ed. H. C. Darby (Cambridge, 1951), 266–97.

61. *ASC* E 1093; E 1123. It no doubt helped add gravitas that kings or leaders of the English were buried there: Oswald's relics from 909; Æthelred and Æthelflæd of Mercia in 911 and 918. Geoffrey of Monmouth's fantasy places the grave of King Lucius of the Britons in Gloucester (*HRB* c. 73), though how widespread this belief was is not clear. Henry of Huntingdon for one included Geoffrey's report in his history: Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), 575.

62. On the Irish, see Julia Crick, "'The English' and 'the Irish' from Cnut to John: Speculations on a Linguistic Interface," in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, 800–1250*, ed. Elizabeth Tyler (Turnhout, Belgium, 2010). Towns themselves, regardless of location, eroded linguistic frontiers, esp. between dialects. R. A. Lodge, "The Sources of Standardization in French—Written or Spoken?" in *Latin écrit—roman oral? De la dichotomisation a la continuité*, ed. M. van Acker et al. (Turnhout, Belgium, 2008), 78–82.

63. Gloucester's wine trade, mostly with the continent, was one of the economic drivers of the town's prosperity (*VCH Gloucestershire*, 4: 22).

64. Scandinavian would have been the lingua franca in the eleventh century, but in the twelfth, French became the mariners' lingua franca in the Severn Estuary, as it had in the Channel and Bay of Biscay (Maryanne Kowaleski, "The French of England: A Maritime Lingua Franca?" in Wogan-Browne, *Language*, 103–17).

65. Glastonbury also enjoyed economic and pastoral contact with Welsh speakers and English-speaking colonists in Wales, evidenced by a grant of a parish and its churches to the abbey between 1100 and 1104: David A. E. Pelteret, "The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture after 1066: Glastonbury, Wales, and the Normans," in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1997), 177–209.

66. Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge," in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester, 2004), 15–34, shows how such knowledge of foreign lands "became widely available" in the twelfth century.

67. *Orosius*, 1.1, p. 14. See also Janet Bately and A. Englert, eds., *Ohthere's Voyages: A Late Ninth-Century Account of Voyages along the Coasts of Norway and Denmark and Its Cultural Context* (Roskilde, 2007). Wulfstan, whose account follows Ohthere's in the Orosius manuscript, mapped the Baltic Sea from Poland to Russia, including the lands of the Estonians, but says nothing of the languages he heard.

68. Janet Bately, "The Language of Ohthere's Report to King Alfred: Some Problems and Some Puzzles for Historians and Linguists," in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin, 2006), 39–53.

69. IV Atr 2.5–8 (*GA* i. 232, 234). On London's overseas trade contacts, see *CUHB* 191, 196–99. Contact with Flemish speakers would have been particularly common, since Flemish towns were the favored site for political exiles and ecclesiastical visitors throughout the period. See Elisabeth van Houts, "Hereward and Flanders," *ASE* 28 (1999): 201–203. Van Houts's subject, the English thegn Hereward, traveled extensively and worked with speakers of Irish, Cornish, Flemish, Frisian, and possibly French in addition to his native English.

70. Knowledge of Eastern languages began earlier, but was held by a more restricted group; Adomnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. and trans. by Denis Meehan, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 3 (Dublin, 1958) and Bede's abridgment of it, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1965), are both essentially based on the account of the Holy Land given by a Frankish pilgrim named Arculf, who was shipwrecked in Britain in the seventh century. Exiled English speakers, particularly after 1066, went east but stayed in touch with travelers from England. Goscelin of St-Bertin, *Miracula sancti Augustini episcopi Cantuariensis*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Joannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenius, 69 vols. (Paris, 1863–), Mai 6, pp. 403 (c. 11) and 410 (c. 29). See also Katharine Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2003), 44–46. Authors did not always think it a matter worth recording; the *Life of Willibald* of Hygeburg, an English nun at the German abbey of Heidenheim, which includes an account, probably dictated, of the English pilgrim Willibald's trip to Rome and then to the holy land (724), only indirectly recognizes any differences in language. When Willibald was imprisoned by "Saracens" in the Syrian city of Hums, his captors found a rich old man (*senex diues*) they could use to question the prisoners about their origins and intentions in traveling in the region. The old man is clearly a translator, though neither translation nor languages are ever mentioned. Hygeburg, *Vita Willibaldi*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15/1 (Hannover, 1887), 92 (c. 4).

71. See below, this chapter, pp. 102–104 (and figure 2.2).

72. Their impact is discussed later in this chapter. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. W. Powicke and A. B. Emden, new ed., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1958), 1: 318–19; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992), 294–97. Until 1215, a cumulative 38 percent of Paris masters were of English origin, "a larger proportion . . . than from the French royal domain and its environs." John W. Baldwin, "Masters of Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective," in Benson, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 149–50.

73. John was not the last German to travel to England. David Dumville, "Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peacemaker: Æthelstan, First King of England," in *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, England, 1992), 159–60; and Ortenberg, *English Church*, 50, 54–61. It is rash to try to estimate the number of visits by those not in positions of power, like the visit (undated, but probably eleventh-century) of an unnamed German who came to England and Scotland, bound with iron, to seek forgiveness from the island's saints. Goscelin, *Miracula s. Augustini*, 409 (c. 25).

74. Michael Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegod of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude," *ASE* 17 (1988): 45–65.

75. Pierre Riché, *Abbon de Fleury: Un moine savant et combatif (vers 950–1004)* (Turnhout, Belgium, 2004), 32–40. Abbo's grammatical treatise does not raise language issues related to the different vernaculars. *Quaestiones Grammaticales*, ed. Anita Guerreau-Jalabert (Paris, 1982), 209–75. Computus was used primarily to locate the correct date for moveable feasts like Easter.

76. Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, 221.

77. Lotharingians would have spoken French, Old High German, or both as vernaculars. Rüdiger E. Barth, *Der Herzog in Lotharingien in 10. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 165–66.

78. Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), 110–11.

79. The evidence for participation by the English in the Crusades before the mid-thirteenth century is gathered and analyzed by Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), 15–96.

80. [Raol,] *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. Charles Wendell David, with a new foreword by Jonathan Phillips (New York, 2001), 70.

81. Cyril Aslanov, "Languages in Contact in the Latin East," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 155–81.

82. Hamilton, "Impact of the Crusades," 15–34.

83. See chapter 1, pp. 25–28, 33–34.

84. This section approaches the intersection of people, languages, and texts from a direction different from, but not incompatible with, Brian Stock's *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 88–92.

85. John J. Gumperz, "Types of Linguistic Communities," in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, ed. J. A. Fishman (The Hague, 1968), 463.

86. Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984), 148–52, 155–58, 179–81.

87. *CHUB*, 87–88; Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977), 91–108.

88. William Stubbs, ed., *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, 9th ed. rev. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), 198–99. See also the corporate action described in James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough: Studies on its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester, 1936), 226, where in 1147 the citizens of the commune and the guild of merchants in their urban court made a grant to Oseney Abbey. The record of the grant is in H. E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, 6 vols., Oxford Historical Soc. 89–91, 97–98, 101 (Oxford, 1929–36), vol. 4, no. 62.

89. Much of the following two paragraphs is indebted to Peter Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998); Alan Vince, ed., *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln, 1993); Michael J. Jones, David Stocker, and Alan Vince, *City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln* (Oxford, 2003), in particular the chapters by Alan Vince entitled "Lincoln in the Early Medieval Era, between the Fifth and Eighth Centuries" (pp. 141–56) and "The New Town: Lincoln in the High Medieval Era (c. 850–c. 1350)" (pp. 159–296); and Kate Steane et al., *The Archaeology of Wigford and the Brayford Pool* (Oxford, 2001).

90. Estimate by Alan Vince in Jones, et al., *City by the Pool* (Oxford, 2003), 167 (fig. 9.6).

91. Elisabeth Okasha, ed., *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), no. 73, pp. 92–93, for St. Mary-le-Wigford (trans. Okasha). On its location, see H. M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965–1978), 1: 391.

92. The churches are St. Bavon and St. Rumbold, which stand about 100 meters apart in the Butwerk suburb in the lower city, just outside the Clasketgate Gate (see Vince in Jones, *City by the Pool*, 231 and fig. 9.66; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, 185). J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), 36, thought the

churches were postconquest. According to Alan Vince, they are likely to be no earlier than the early-to-mid eleventh century. While there is some further onomastic evidence of Flemish settlement, the Flemish orientation of the dedication to St. Rumbold at least is open to question. David Stocker suggests that it might also be a dediction to the Mercian boy saint of the same name (Jones, *City by the Pool*, 234).

93. GDB 336a–b.

94. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, 190, for the figure of twelve thousand; *CUHB* 617 for figures of six thousand before 1066 and closer to five thousand in 1086.

95. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 233; the first evidence for the community in Lincoln is *The Great Roll of the Pipe* 5, Henry II (London, 1925), 65.

96. David Roffe, "The Anglo-Saxon Town and the Norman Conquest," in *A Centenary History of Nottingham*, ed. John Beckett (Manchester, 1997), 24–42. The population in the late eleventh century was "well over one thousand" (*CUHB* 617).

97. Charles S. B. Young, "Archaeology in Nottingham—the Pre-Conquest Borough," In *History in the Making, 1985: Papers from a Seminar of Recent Historical Research on Nottingham and Nottinghamshire, 7 Sept. 1985,* ed. S. N. Mastoris and S. M. Groves (Nottingham, 1986), 1–4.

98. These may be the twenty-five newly made horsemen's houses in GDB 280.

99. GDB 280 records the building of forty-eight houses explicitly for merchants, while in four others, built for horsemen or without designated tenant, merchants were said to live.

100. French boroughs, like the "new borough" at Nottingham, added onto or inserted as a unit within existing English towns, do not appear to have been common according to the surviving evidence. Norwich had one of about one hundred twenty-four households, constituting a new borough added to the over one thousand households in the old. See LDB 118, where the "Franci de Norwic" ("Frenchmen of Norwich") are placed "in novo Burgo" ("in the new borough"). The division of the two sides was further reinforced by their different legal customs, esp. relating to inheritance. See W. H. Stevenson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, 9 vols. (Nottingham, 1882–1956), 1: 172–75, for the attribution of "Borough English" to the English half of Nottingham in a case dating to 1359–1360. On this custom, and its association with Nottingham in particular, see Pollock and Maitland, *History*, 2: 279–283. The customary difference was still recognized as late as 1713. See Mary Bateson, ed., *Borough Customs*, 2 vols., Selden Society 18 and 21 (London, 1904–1906), 2: xcv.

101. *CUHB* 622.

102. The surveys and charters are edited in William Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), 221–442.

103. Clark, "Willelmus Rex?" 280–98; Cecily Clark, "People and Languages in Post-Conquest Canterbury," *Journal of Medieval History* 2 (1976): 10–13.

104. Postles, *Naming the People of England*, 112, 115.

105. Clark, "People and Languages," 13.

106. Ibid., 14, 24–25.

107. Ibid., 10.

108. Ibid., 13.

109. I have included in this sample nine individuals who have what might be toponymic (five) or occupational (four) names rather than true nicknames. An additional two are included who had died but whose widows were identified as having been the wife of the man bearing the nickname. Those with English nicknames are Lambin Frese "the Fleming," Eadild, widow of Elred Wran "wren" or "wanton," Lifwin Cruc "at the Cross," Wulfnoð Chart "of Chart, Kent," Lifwin Kenting "of Kent," Osward de Acholte "of Ockholt," Haimo de Dunstede "of Dunstead," David de Burgate "of Burgate," Matilda, widow of Walter Witepese "white pea," and Wibert Kide "the goat." Burgate tenants with French nicknames are Philip Parmenter "furrier, robe-trimmer," Æilweker le vanur "the hunter," Pissebolle "Piss Bowl," Robert le Macecrier "the butcher," Gilbert le Corveisier "the leatherworker," John Calderun "cauldron, kettle," John Beivin "drink-wine," and Alexander Parmenter "furrier, robe-trimmer." See Urry, *Canterbury*, s.vv. in "Index to Documents," pp. 447–87, and map 1 (b) 4; and Clark, "People and Languages," 13–23.

110. Survey B 195, in Urry, *Canterbury*, 241; In another neighborhood lived Sigarus Keuerel, combining an insular personal name with a French nickname meaning "goat" (Survey B 12, Urry, *Canterbury*, 227). On both, see Clark, "People and Languages," 18, 21.

111. Charter XLV in Urry, *Canterbury*, 421; in general, see Clark, "People and Languages," 21. According to Olof von Feilitzen, this name may be from an unrecorded Old Germanic *Adalwacer or Agilwacar, or possibly a compound of OE Æðel- and Old Germanic -wacar. *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), 141–42; see also Eilert Ekwall's view that Ail- is more likely a later form of OE Æðel- than Old Germanic Agil-. Eilart Eckwall, *Early London Personal Names* (Lund, 1947), 13–14.

112. Instances highlighted by Clark, "People and Languages," 15, 17, 18, and 20 (citing rentals and charters according to the symbols used [as below] in Urry, *Canterbury*), which combine continental personal names with an English nickname, are Walter Drinkenoz "drink enough" (BB 338), Osbert se Cockere "the brawler" (B 2, B 3, B 45), and Roger se Desie "the silly" (D 232, from Kentish *se dysiga*). Combinations of English personal names with French nicknames are Ælmer le Waldeis "from the Weald" (Survey C 29), Eadmer Trote "trot," perhaps a "messenger" (Charter XI), and Godwine Muschet "small fly or hawk" (B 106).

113. Clark, "People and Languages," 21–23.

114. E.g., Eadmer, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, c. 19, in Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, 186–87. Eadmer records how the monks, watching a possessed man, "remarked amongst themselves in the French tongue that he was running about like a little cat, but the possessed man, who was totally ignorant of their language, smiled and replied fluently." The solidarity of a Francophone clique would have been strengthened by the fact that under Lanfranc, the French speakers "had the key positions." Margaret T. Gibson, "Normans and Angevins, 1070–1220," in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Patrick Collinson et al. (Oxford, 1995), 38–45.

115. Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 310–315.

116. Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 4, 15–25; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 9–10.

117. Southern, *St. Anselm*, 313–14. Though Eadmer perceived this purge as anti-English, it was not likely intended as such by Lanfranc: see Rubenstein, "Liturgy Against History," 279–309.

118. *Acta Lanfranci* in John Earle and Charles Plummer, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–1899), 1: 291–92; Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London, 1979), 163; Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 189.

119. See above, this chapter, 89.

120. It is also one of the best documented for the eleventh century and one of the most studied. See, in particular, the many contributions in N. P. Brooks and C. Cubitt, eds., *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996); Julia Barrow and N. P. Brooks, eds., *St. Wulfstan and His World* (Aldershot, England, 2005); and a number of relevant contributions in Matthew Townend, ed., *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2004).

121. In at least one way, however, Worcester was not typical. The diocese was unusual in the fewness of its parish churches in the eleventh century. Julia Barrow, "Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century," in Townend, *Wulfstan*, 143–46.

122. Julia Barrow, "The Community of Worcester, 961–c. 1100," in *St. Oswald of Worcester*, 98–99.

123. *VW*, i. 8. 2. See John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 495–97, on the limitations of the evidence generally and the likely obstacles bishops faced if they tried to supervise pastoral care by their diocesan priests. E. McIntyre, "Early Twelfth Century Worcester Cathedral Priory with Special Reference to the Manuscripts Written There" (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978), 98–103, observes that the copying of Old English homilies at Worcester shows the pastoral priorities of the cathedral community.

124. Barrow, "Wulfstan and Worcester," 156–57 on relatives of the bishop as members of the bishop's *familia*; Emma Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), 30–33. In general, see Ivor Atkins, "The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century: Part II, The Familia from the Middle of the Tenth to the beginning of the Twelfth Century," *Antiquaries Journal* 20 (1940): 1–38, 203–29.

125. Atkins, "Church of Worcester," 37.

126. Thomas Hearne, ed., *Hemingi Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1723), 75–76, 296–97, where witnesses to a settlement include three monks of St. Remi (cited by Atkins, "Church of Worcester," 37). See also the account concerning Winrich in *VW* i. 8. 2, pp. 36–37 and n. 2.

127. Atkins, "Church of Worcester," 218–19. The bishop's steward, Arthur, may be the Arthur the Frenchman recorded in GDB (see *VW* ii. 7. 1, pp. 74–75 and n. 4). Nicholas, prior from 1113 to 1124, was part French by implication (*VW* iii.17.1, pp. 132–33).

128. See Patrick, *The Writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074–1084*, ed. A. Gwynn, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 1 (Dublin, 1955), 56–71 and appendix 1, 126–31, for the translated text, *De mirabilibus Hiberniae*, and 106–25 for the treatise, *Liber de tribus habitaculis animae*.

129. Benjamin Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion, and Empire in the North Atlantic* (Oxford, 2005), 164–65.

130. Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, 30–31, though he doubts (p. 287) direct loans into the Southwest Midlands dialect from local Scandinavian settlers.

131. Eadmer, *Vita sancti Odonis*, 1, in Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, 4. Andrew Wareham, "Saint Oswald's Family and Kin," in Brooks and Cubitt, *St. Oswald*, 46–63.

132. Nigel Barker et al., "From Roman to Medieval Worcester: Development and Planning in the Anglo-Saxon City," *Antiquity* 66 (1992): 72–73.

133. Starting with the episcopate of Oswald, archbishop from 971, and lasting intermittently until the episcopate of Ealdred (1044–1062).

134. The ethnic mix is described by Rollason, *Northumbria*, 223–24, 231–36, and 251.

135. Dumville, "Between Alfred the Great and Edgar," 160; Sheila M. Sharp, "England, Europe and the Celtic World: King Athelstan's Foreign Policy," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 59 (1977): 209–11.

136. M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993), 109.

137. *VW* i.9, pp. 40–41; see Lapidge, "Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E.XII," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 55 (1983): 11–12, 22–24.

138. Dunstan's time in Ghent at the monastery of Mont Blandin may explain the introduction of the Flemish cult of the obscure Breton saint, Gudwal, to Worcester just after Dunstan's arrival there. Gudwal's relics were translated to Mount Blandin in 959. Eadmer, *Vita sancti Dunstani*, 1: 28–31, in Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, 228–33; Barker, "From Roman to Medieval Worcester," 73.

139. Eadmer, *Vita sancti Oswaldi*, c. 10, in Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, 238.

140. Asser, c. 77, p. 62, identifies Wærferth as the translator. Alfred's preface to Wærferth's work (which was written by Wærferth himself) only mentions "minum getreowum freondum" [my true friends], rather than Wærferth in particular. *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht, 2 parts in one vol. (Leipzig-Hamburg, 1900–1907), 1. See also D. Yerkes, "The Translation of Gregory's Dialogues and Its Revision," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul Szarmach (Albany, N.Y., 1986), 335–44.

141. Between c. 950 and c. 1050, Wærferth's original translation of the *Dialogi* was revised and retranslated at Worcester, and other works—e.g., the eighth-century letter of Wynfrith to Eadburga and the *Life of Malchus* from the *Vitas Patrum*—were translated. David Yerkes, *The Two Versions of Waerferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues: An Old English Thesaurus* (Toronto, 1979); Peter Jackson, "*Vitas Patrum*," in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Carola Hicks (Stamford, Conn., 1992), 122–28; and Kenneth Sisam, "An Old English Translation of a Letter from Wynfrith to Eadburga (A.D. 716–717) in Cotton MS. Otho C I," in his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 200–12.

142. R. Gameson, "Book Production at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in Brooks and Cubitt, *St. Oswald of Worcester*, 194–243; idem, "St. Wulfstan, the Library of Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book," in Barrow and Brooks, *St. Wulfstan*, 59–104; Michael Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 62–64 (no. IX), and 69–73 (no. XI), and Sharpe, *English Benedictine Libraries*, B114 and B115.

143. Gameson, "Book Production," 236–42.

144. Ganz, "Anglo-Saxon England," 102–108; Gameson, "Book Production," 223.

145. Gameson, "Book Production," 217.

146. See Katherine Waller, "Rochester Cathedral Library: An English Book Collection Based on Norman Models," in *Les mutations socio-culturelles*, 237–50.

147. This copying is at a diminished level compared to that of the eleventh century. McIntyre, "Early Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory," 92; Elaine Treharne, "The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century," in Swan and Treharne, *Rewriting Old English*, 25–26; Susan Irvine, "The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing English in the Twelfth Century," in Swan and Treharne, *Rewriting Old English*, 60. For the thirteenth-century interest, see Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991).

148. McIntyre, "Early Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory"; Mason, *St. Wulfstan*, 206–208.

149. JW 2: 588 (1062); *VW*, 1.6.2, pp. 30–31; Mason, *St. Wulfstan*, 52–53.

150. *VW*, 3.17, p. 132.

151. *VW*, Epistola 1, pp. 8–9. They may of course have commissioned William because he was already a famous writer, and thus his authorship of the *Vita* would give it greater prestige.

152. Osbert de Clare, *Vita beati Edwardi regis Anglorum*, c. 29, in "La vie de s. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare," ed. Marc Bloch, *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923): 117. During the thirteenth century, Wulfstan's weak Latin had turned into an inability to speak French. *Annales Monasterii de Burton*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols. (London, 1864–1869), 1:211. See Emma Mason, "St. Wulfstan's Staff and Its Uses," *Medium Ævum* 53 (1984): 157–79.

153. Consider CUL Gg.5.35, an eleventh-century manuscript, which holds bilingual versions (Greek-Latin) of the "Our Father" and Nicaean Creed, fol. 421. Elsewhere in this manuscript as in others, Greek survived only transcribed in a Roman alphabet: e.g., Cambridge, CCC 326, pp. 5–6. The same treatment was used for Hebrew in copying, e.g., Isidore's *Etymologies*, in London, BL Arundel 129, fol. 71v.

154. Ganz, "Anglo-Saxon England," 91.

155. Studied in detail by Elaine M. Treharne, "Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon Exeter, 1050–1072," *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 54 (2003): 155–72; and Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, England, 2007), 89–91.

156. Nos. 20 and 19 in Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," 65, 67.

157. "i. mycel englisc boc be gehwilcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht," in Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," 65, 67 (Lapidge's trans.).

158. "þus fela leden boca he beget inn to þam mynstre," in Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," 66.

159. Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," 66–67; Ganz, "Anglo-Saxon England," 106; Nicholas Orchard, ed., *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Soc. 113–14 (London, 2002).

160. E. Drage, "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050–1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence" (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978).

161. MS C in Langefeld, *Old English Version*, 44–46.

162. On some books, there is disagreement as to its language: The book labeled "I full spelboc wintres and sumeres" Ganz would see as English, and possibly identified as CCC 421 and Lambeth 489. Gneuss and Förster think it is a Latin set of homilies. Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology," in Lapidge and Gneuss, *Learning and Literature*, 123, citing Förster's opinion.

163. This was a trend for many English book collections; for comparison, see Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), 37–40, 144–54; Waller, "Rochester," 237–50; and, in general, Teresa Webber, "The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective," in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers. Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot, England, 1997), 191–205.

164. Gameson, *Manuscripts*, s.v. "Exeter" in index.

165. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MSS 382 and 808 (Gameson, *Manuscripts*, nos. 663 and 697). For Bodley 382, for instance, see fols. 1 and 24v–25, for Jerome's prefaces to his translations of Eusebius's *De situ* and his own *Interpretatio Hebreorum Nominum*, which agree with the texts in *PL* 23, cols. 815–16, 904–906, and 983–1062.

166. Exeter Cathedral, Dean and Chapter MS 3507, described by N. R. Ker et al., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1969–2003), 2: 813–14.

167. Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," 65 (no. 41, Isidore's *Etymologies*).

168. Gneuss lists 3 pre-1100 MSS having "notes" on the languages of the world (nos. 114, 500, 829.8), to which can be added treatises on the Greek alphabet (nos. 12 and 281.3), an alphabet with English explanation (380), and 5 MSS with cryptogrammic writings (380, 407, 583, 654, and 688). Other texts, like Pseudo-Jerome's *Interpretation of Hebrew Letters*, include sections treating such issues in depth. Pseudo-Jerome's work includes an explanation of the Greek alphabet. This work was acquired for Durham Cathedral by Bishop William in the late eleventh century (Durham Cath. Library B. II. 11).

169. Without, however, increasing significantly the number of Greek texts in English collections.

170. Burnett, *Introduction*, passim.

171. Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with His Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds*, ed. and trans. Charles Burnett (Cambridge, 1998), xiv; Daniel of Morley, *Philosophia*, in Gregor Maurach, "Daniel von Morley, *Philosophia*," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 212; the passage is translated by Burnett, *Introduction*, 61–62.

172. See, e.g., BL Sloan MS 2030, fol. 83. In other cases, the *nomina arabica* were incorporated into the text as transcriptions: e.g., BL, Additional 17808, fol. 74, discussed by Burnett, *Introduction*, 6–10.

173. Burnett, *Introduction*, 39–46.

174. The Normans already had some experience borrowing vernacular terms (OF) into Latin, before 1066, and so did not have to invent the process afterward. David Howlett, "A Polyglot Glossary of the Twelfth Century," in *De Mot en Mot: Aspects of Medieval Linguistics: Essays in Honour of William Rothwell*, ed. Stewart Gregory and D. A. Trotter (Cardiff, 1997), 81–91.

175. Bruce O'Brien, "The *Instituta Cnuti* and the Translation of English Law," *ANS* 25 (2003): 184–87.

176. See chapter 1.

177. Nor does Æthelweard mention Bede, whose works were also sources, except to say that he died in 734 (Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, 21–22).

178. "We willað nu ærest writan be sumum westænsetlan, swa swa Ieronimus hit of Ebrea on Greca gereorde awænde and Pelagius syððan on ure geþeode, þæt is on læden, to bysne and to lare þam ðe anrædlice deofles costnungum and his lotwræncum wiðstandan willað," in BL Cotton Otho C. 1, pt. 2, fol. 137v , with text printed by Bruno Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, repr. with supplemental introduction by Peter Clemoes (1889; Darmstadt, 1964), 195, though noting that the attribution of the Greek translation to Jerome is false (267). Even the more mundane fables of Avianus, in a Sherbourne MS from s.xi/xii, make clear the history of the text and how Avianus translated it from the Greek to Latin (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14, fol. 58v).

179. E.g., Adelard's translation of the *Isagogue* is identified in the explicit as "taken from the Arabic" ("ex Arabico sumpta") in all manuscripts, while one also includes this at the end of a marginal rubricated incipit: Abū Ma'šar, *The Abbreviation of the Introduction to Astrology Together with the Medieval Translation of Adelard of Bath,* ed. Charles Burnett, K. Yamamoto, and M. Yano (Leiden, 1994), 92, 142. See also the *Liber Phisiognomine secundum tres auctores* in BL Cotton Galba E.iv, which describes itself as a translation from a Greek source (fol. 228).

180. E.g., Sanson of Nantuil's translation and commentary on Proverbs in BL Harley 4388 (s.xii/xiii): see Sanson, *Prov.*, 3:19, though Sanson's principal commentary source was Bede's *In proverbia Salomonis libri iii*, in *Bedae venerabilis opera*, pars II: *Opera exegetica*, ed. D. Hurst and J. E. Hudson, *CCSL* 119B (Turnhout, Belgium, 1983), 165–375.

181. Edward Arthur Lewis, *The Mediaeval Boroughs of Snowdonia* (London, 1912), 46.

182. The rarity of contact English speakers would have had with French speakers is measured by Hahn, "Early Middle English," 63 n.5.

3

Motives

Few translators tell us why they translated. The very status of some of their works as translations, rather than original creations, is invisible. Any reader or hearer of the English translation of the Latin *Life of Guthlac* would have to assume that it was Felix, friend of the saint, who had in the eighth century "set down [in English] the text in this present document as best [he] could" for Ælfwald, king of the East Angles.[1] There would be no reason for anyone who did not already know to recognize that this English text was an anonymous late ninth-century or early tenth-century translation of the eighth-century Latin *Life* by Felix (fig. 3.1). Consequently we can learn nothing explicit about what motivated the translator. In another translation, done 250 years later for Henry II's Angevin court, at a time when responsibility for translation actually was becoming more transparent, the translator of the *Roman d'Eneas* never admits that the poem is a translation or that its source was Virgil's *Aeneid*.[2] Many other works that are clearly translations say nothing about what motivated their creators. The translator of the so-called *First French Lapidary*, a French translation of Marbod of Rennes' poem on the scientific and magical qualities of precious stones, does not tell us why he translated Marbod's poem, let alone why it was done chapter by chapter, Latin source followed by French translation, which is how the text appears in the manuscripts.[3] No motive for translation is given for the English translations of the Psalms, the canonical Gospels, the *Gospel of Nichodemus*, the *Distichs of Cato*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, the treatise on medicinal products derived from animals (known now as *Medicina de Quadripedibus*), the Latin translations of Cnut's laws,

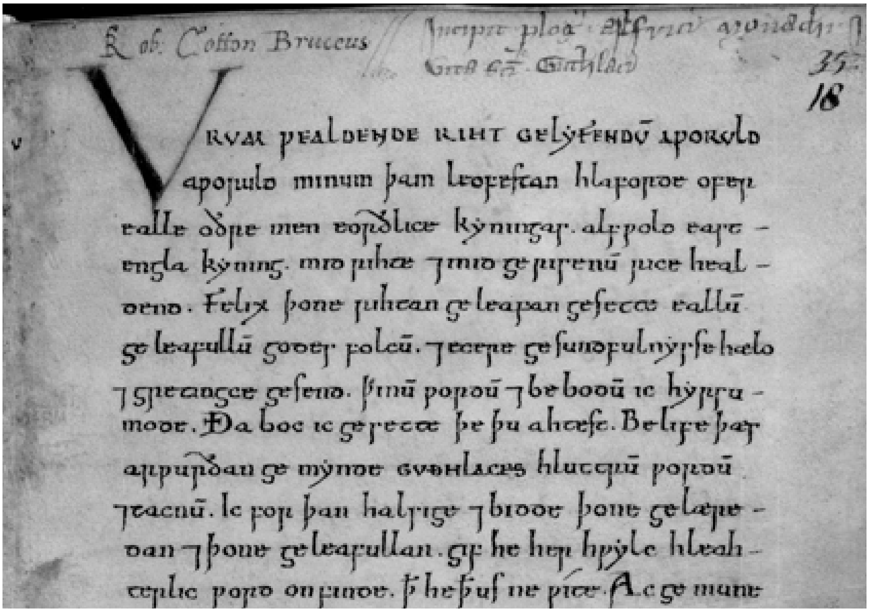


Figure 3.1. Old English Prose *Life of Guthlac.* In an address clause to King Ælfwald of the East Angles, Felix (line 5), who wrote between 713 and 749, identifies himself as the author: "Ða boc ic gesette" [I wrote the book] (line 8). Nothing betrays the Old English *Life* as a translation of Felix's original Latin *Vita Sancti Guthlaci.* Instead, Felix's identification of his oral sources—Bishop Wilfrid and others who knew Saint Guthlac (fol. 18v)—would be understood by his less knowledgeable readers to mean that these men were the informants for this Old English text. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi., fol. 18. *By permission of the British Library.*

the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium,* the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi, the Hebrew translation of Adelard's *Natural Questions*, the French translations of the *Life of St. Lawrence,* the *Life of St. Egidius*, or Adso's *Booklet on the Antichrist*.[4] This reluctance of translators to tell us why a piece was translated marks all genres in all target languages for the entire period.

Given this situation, there are two ways for us to try to understand what motivated translators: to work by inference from the perceived context or to generalize from the small number of texts where translators state their motives. Both approaches have drawbacks. In cases where no motive is given by the translator, inferring motive from context is the only practicable method but comes with some obvious disadvantages. The reasoning behind this inferential approach is to work from the known to the unknown. The assumption is that events large enough to have marked historical records might be likely to have shaped the actions of translators. Translation, then, is often sensibly explained with reference to the events of the era. For instance, in the decades surrounding 1000, in the half century after 1066, and again in the second half of the twelfth century, we see a great deal of translation activity respectively into English, Latin, and French. Scholars have made a good case for the late tenth-century monastic reform and concurrent development of pastoral work being responsible for the first wave of translations.[5] During this time, rules of religious orders and homilies were translated from Latin into English.[6] The second wave of translation may very well have come from a need after the Norman conquest for the new rulers to learn in a language they could understand what they had conquered. Historical and legal texts stand out as major subjects of translation from English into Latin during this period.[7] The last wave appears to be the by-product of an Angevin imperial court whose lingua franca was French, but whose empire was multilingual, during a century when the writing of vernacular texts took off.[8] While we might conclude that these larger cultural movements or events explain the motives for these waves of translation, this conclusion cannot tell us why any individual work was translated. The special circumstances behind any work are for the most part unrecoverable, and the components of motive too various—audience, purpose, patronage, ideology, genre, attitude to source, and so on—to support more than conjecture.

The legal translations mentioned in the introduction are good examples of the problems here. Between 1066 and the middle of the twelfth century, translators moved legal codes as hoary as Ine's and as recent as Cnut's from English to Latin, and one translated some of Cnut's laws into French. Later in the twelfth century, other translators produced French versions of two of the postconquest Latin treatises, the *Decrees* of William I, the *Laws of Edward the Confessor*, and, still later, of the coronation charters of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, Magna Carta, and Glanvill's *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of England*.[9] Of these many translators at work on the law, only one, perhaps the earliest, has mentioned why he translated. The anonymous translator of *Quadripartitus* admits in his *Dedication* that he has been commanded by an unnamed patron to translate older laws and, one assumes, to compose a description of contemporary laws (the *Laws of Henry I*).[10] The texts are his remedy for the corrupt legal practitioners of his day —the "first fruits of our new plantation"—and appear to be aimed specifically at uplifting the spirits of the patron.[11] The *Argument* of the work traces the genealogy of English law, celebrates the laws of Edward the Confessor, and applauds William I and Henry I's improvements—this prologue is a tribute to good law. But the translator also expected his work to be useful—"I have added necessary chapter-headings to certain suits, making the work suitable for the everyday courts."[12]

It is tempting to assume that at least the other early legal translations were done for similar reasons—an encouraging patron; a critical perspective on contemporary law, advocacy, and the courts; and a practical need for an accessible description of good laws. It is not all that unlikely that this was so for some, and perhaps was also true for the later wave of translations. Evidence drawn from the translation methods of the early works, however, suggests potentially significant differences in motive.[13] One translation classicizes, but does not update, Cnut's Old English laws—is this the reflection of a household with classical literary pretentions, the product of an eccentric translator matched to a difficult text, or an example of the general conceits of the twelfth-century renaissance of classical Latin tastes?[14] Another text translates Cnut into French, preserving the English for many of the crimes but just as often transforming the status terms into French equivalents—was this translation done because of a need for an on-the-spot reference in a Francophone household, or by some cleric wanting to impress upon the Normans the nature and sophistication of English law?[15] Yet another, the third and last, retains a good deal of the source's technical jargon—does this pattern betray the translator's fidelity to Anglo-Saxon legal ideas, or is it rather a stylistic conceit to display the exotic?[16] In none of these cases can the decision be made without qualification. In none do the published sentiments of the *Quadripartitus* translator reliably shed much light.

Statements by translators bring with them their own problems of interpretation. When translators do tell us why they worked, they may be exceptional figures, like Ælfric, the *Quadripartitus* translator, or William of Malmesbury, and their motives may not be generalizable to the vast body of anonymous and taciturn translators. Even if explicit statements are representative of what all translators would say about their motives, these statements may be topoi used because they were thought appropriate. Statements might also be deliberate attempts to contextualize a translation done for reasons altogether different than those expressed. Comments about motive appear often to be aimed more at the real or prospective patrons than at other readers.

Nevertheless, these explicit statements offer a more secure base than contextual inference for understanding motive. They are fixed points that we can both chart and study. This chapter begins with consideration of some underlying difficulties in trying to understand the motives of medieval translators, such as the problem of distinguishing between the motives for composition and for translation, and of weighing the several motives behind any work. Next the chapter identifies six types of motive that appear in different settings or genres, from works translated to teach the clergy, to ones done to entertain lay nobles. Next, the role of patronage is discussed. Behind many medieval translators stood a patron, whose motives and whose influence on the genesis and shape of translations need to be taken into consideration in any analysis of the translator's motive. The chapter concludes with observations about the role of noble households and trends in motivation.

ISSUES

Before describing the motives expressed in translations of the period, it is important to address a few methodological problems. Most of the translations that possess a statement of motive were commissioned by patrons. The desires of the patron, the intended audience, and the agenda of the source are often inextricably wound into the fabric of motivation and cannot sensibly be discussed on their own without reference to the whole. The motive of a patron in commissioning a work and the motive of a translator commissioned to do the work are not the same. Statements of motives behind translations are almost always expressed by translators, not patrons, leaving us to negotiate the distance between the two with only one party as our informant. This is easiest to see in a hypothetical case of a noblewoman commissioning from a skilled cleric a translation of a chronicle covering preconquest English history. The patron, a noblewoman of the mid-twelfth century, may commission the work in order to emulate the queens known to be, and honored as, patrons of literature. The act, then, will enhance her status and self-image. She may also want to become wiser through study and to be entertained by stories of the past, but may need to do both of these in her vernacular because she knows no Latin. The translator, in contrast, may be motivated in part by his need for largesse—whether in the form of room and board, land, money, or positions like prebends. He may also be motivated to produce the actual translation by a desire to excel in matching his day's rhetorical fashion for texts in the target language, thus enhancing his reputation and ensuring future commissions. He may also translate because he believes in the importance of the contents of his sources, and may in fact have suggested the subject (and perhaps the sources he would translate) to his patroness. He could feel all of these influences as well as be in sympathy with some or all of what he knew or guessed were his patroness's motives. Or he may equally wish to subvert her agenda without being detected.

This hypothetical case will resonate, in fact, in many examples described later, especially in the stories of French translations of the twelfth century.[17] But what we often end up with in the written work provides only the smallest hints of what was worked out between patron and translator. Even in the rare cases when the translator takes pains to explain his relationship with his patron—as was the case, for example, with Wace and his patron, Henry II—we learn only that he may have lost the king's patronage, supplanted it appears by one "Beneeit," probably Benoit de Sainte-Maure.[18] We are still left guessing the nature of the original relationship with the king. Had King Henry suggested the subject matter that became the *Roman de Rou*, or had Wace proposed it? What had been the role of Henry's queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, well known as a patroness of writers? How was Wace rewarded, if he was indeed rewarded, and how often?[19] The list of other unanswerable or only partially answerable questions is longer still.[20]

Distinguishing the motive of the translation from the motive for the composition is often impossible. This problem is illustrated by *Quadripartitus,* the legal translation and composition discussed above, where the explanation of the work's genesis does not distinguish between the motive for the translation and the motive for the composition. The difference is between the reason for moving a text from source to target language and the reason for choosing to write at all. The issue here is that some translators tell us why their *text* is produced, but this is not the same as telling us why they translated a source into a different language. Returning to our hypothetical case, a patroness commissions a history, which the translator acknowledges in the preface of his French translation of the Latin source. Presumably the patron specified the target language—the one she could read or understand—but might not have cared whether the resulting text was composed in that language or translated from a source in another language. Thus, the translator's claim that this work was created for his patroness's desire to know the past does not tell us why the translator chose to *translate* rather than to *compose*. It seems clear that throughout the period, translators or authors did not in any absolute way distinguish between the two activities. Therefore, when Marie de France offered her *Fables* to Count William, we do not know if their final form reflects the original commission. In her epilogue, Marie says only that "this volume was by me created, from English to Romance translated"—had her patron asked for moral tales in French, or for access to Aesop's famous collection?[21]

The boundaries of the group of writers deserving the label of translators are porous. Many writers did not start out to translate only particular texts, but found such translating work a necessary part of their projects. Some move seamlessly from composition to translation and back again. Distinguishing the motive behind the translating from the motive behind the original compositions would be in most cases impossible for us to do.

Nowhere is this weaving together of original composition and translated sources more apparent than in English homilies from the late tenth and eleventh centuries and in the explosion of historical work following the Norman conquest. The composition of the homilies has been covered in a number of recent works.[22] Here let's consider the historical works written in the century after 1066. For many writers of historical narrative, the basic text used for the facts of preconquest history was some version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. John of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon used their versions to compile Latin accounts, while Geffrei Gaimar turned his into French.[23] William of Malmesbury's use of the chronicle rarely extended to translating it—but the works of the other three writers include a large proportion of text that is derived or translated from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[24] All three used additional English and Latin sources, oral and written, and saw their work as that of historians, not merely of interpreters. Their net was cast wider and the final texts they wrote offer much more than a version of their sources. What was true of them is also true of two historical works produced over the following decades: both Wace's *Roman de Brut* (c. 1155) and Lawman's *Brut* (early thirteenth century) used multiple sources, some of which were translated by the authors.[25] Lawman began, according to his prologue, with "a most splendid idea" to tell the history of Britain, and traveled in search of sources. He claims to have found and used an English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, a book "by St. Albin and our dear Augustine," which is thought to be Bede's *History* in its original Latin, and Wace's French *Roman de Brut*.[26] Translation does not figure in Lawman's description of his method: "Lawman laid out these books, and he leafed through them, gazing at them gratefully . . . and the more reliable versions he recorded, compressing those three texts into one complete book."[27] Such an acceptance of translation as part of the historical process—whether in research or writing—is only to be expected in a world where translating was the fundamental task of education and, hence, scholarship. Translating sources came so naturally that it almost never elicits remark. It would have been odd for writers to have distinguished between translation and composition when explaining their motives.

Just as it is difficult to distinguish motive for translation from motive for composition, so also is it hard to know the transparency of the confessed motive. Some of the motives offered by translators are topoi, as mentioned earlier, and the sentiments they express may not match the actual motives behind their translations. Other expressions of motives are heartfelt, but also, because they avoid the usual formulas, may reflect an eccentric motive.[28] In many cases, it is difficult to distinguish the formulaic from the sincere. Ælfric's claim that he translated his first series of sermons "because men especially need good teaching in this age which is the end of this world" may be a commonplace of Christian writers, but may also reflect Ælfric's belief that the world was entering its final stage before the second coming of Christ.[29] Authors who do tell us their motives, however, rarely provide just one reason for writing or translating. This mingling of motives makes it difficult to know which one was there first, or which was paramount in the end. The very combination of motivations appears at times to signal an accepted protocol rather than a revelation of just what moved the translator. So the sincerity of statements and the relative balance between motivations raise crucial questions.

Despite these issues, it does seem useful to review the surviving statements of motivation found in all sources from the period. In this way, by gathering all the evidence from, for instance, hagiography, historical narratives, law codes, cartularies, and romances, the eccentricities of individual sources will be minimized. From this survey, six categories of motive emerge, motives that cross genres and periods.

TEACHING BASIC SKILLS

Few translators admitted that they were translating to educate children. Latin texts used to teach young readers, like the *Distichs of Cato*, might be translated for other purposes. The *Distichs* in Old English translation became, according to Elaine Treharne, "less pedagogic [than the Latin source] and more devotional in nature; less elementary and more essential in terms of how the content was regarded; less public and more private in actual use."[30] The same can be said mutatis mutandis for the French versions.[31] Bilingual texts may or may not have been intended for the classroom. Byrhtferth of Ramsey does acknowledge irritating young boys with his reiterative bilingual descriptions of the moon's cycles.[32] His sense of the value of his translation was not that his manual would be used in a classroom, but that "young men would therefore understand the Latin more easily and speak with old priests about these things more fully."[33] Only one translator explicitly discusses translating for the school, and this for an unusual text: "I Ælfric, as the least wise, have striven to translate into your language these excerpts from *Priscian Minor* and *Major* for you tender young boys so that once you have read through the eight parts of *Donatus* in this little book you in your tenderness can mix for a while both languages, Latin and English, until you arrive at more advanced studies."[34]

Ælfric says explicitly that this is a translation not for old men but for "ignorant boys"; the book was only meant to serve "as a beginning for children."[35] Translation along with memorization must have been the fundamental activities in schools—this much is clear from colloquies used in schools and descriptions by former students.[36] Wulfstan of Winchester, who had studied under Æthelwold, described how the abbot taught younger men and older students by "translating Latin books into English for them," no doubt modeling what he expected them to do when they taught.[37] Perhaps the act of translation was so common, and the need for and presence of translated texts—mostly bilingual—so familiar, that creating one for the purpose of teaching required no special justification.

INSTRUCTING THE CLERGY

The majority of translating during the period was undertaken to provide works for the clergy. This is true regardless of source and target languages. Throughout the period it is likely that most members of the priesthood or religious orders did not know Latin at all or well enough to have error-free access to Latin texts. Bede's injunctions about learning in the vernacular, for instance, were perhaps directed not just at the laity, but also at "those clerics and monks who are ignorant of the Latin language."[38] Alcuin's letter of 793 to the monks of Bede's own abbey of Wearmouth-Jarrow recommended that the *Rule of Benedict* "be often read at gatherings of the monks and explained in their own language so that it can be understood by all."[39] The verse preface to Alfred's translation of *Pastoral Care* says that Alfred translated the work and gave it to his scribes to make copies for his bishops "because some of them who knew the least Latin had need of it."[40] The late tenth-century English vernacular narrative called *Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries* explains why the *Rule of Benedict* was translated by Æthelwold—the English version "is necessary for illiterate laymen who in terror of the punishment of hell and for love of Christ abandon this miserable life" and join monasteries.[41] In other words, it was written to help monasteries cope with the entrance into the community of laypeople who could not be expected to learn Latin. Byrhtferth often identifies clerks as readers of his bilingual manual; sometimes they are gracious or delightful priests, sometimes rustic priests, and once noble clerks who needed "to shake all laziness from their minds' understanding."[42] The simplicity of the contents of the late eleventh-century Taunton Fragment, the only surviving folios of what was once probably a much larger bilingual collection of expositions of gospel and epistle pericopes, attests to the basic needs of preachers who wanted access to biblical passages but could not, it seems, or were not expected to, handle the complexities of the faith.[43] Norman clergy at the time of the conquest were not immune to the same charges. Milo Crispin's *Life of Lanfranc* refers to a prior of Le Bec whose Latinity was basic and who read Latin silently better than he read it out loud or spoke it as a language.[44] Ralph d'Escures, archbishop of Canterbury (1114–22), composed a sermon that he "expounded in a congregation of monks [at Sées], as best [he] could, in the vulgar tongue [vulgariter]." Two abbots pressed him to translate the piece into Latin; soon thereafter, this Latin text was translated into Old English for monks at Rochester or Canterbury (fig. 3.2).[45] Clergy were supposed to know Latin, but often did not. Regardless of their inability, they were expected to understand and be able to explain sacred texts to lay Christians. So the emphasis of translators who provided vernacular texts for the clergy was pragmatic; rather than hope to reduce the legions of ignorant priests by an expansion of Latin education—which was

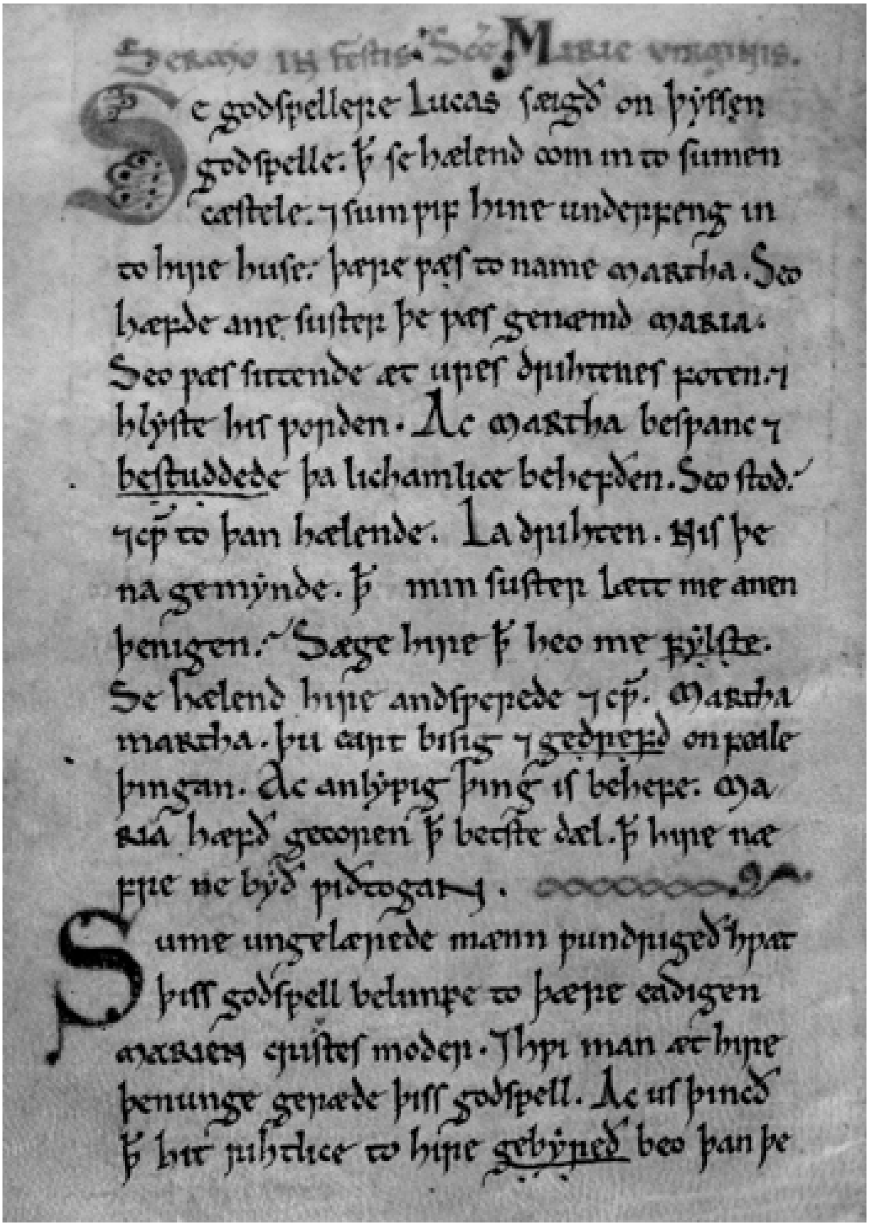


Figure 3.2. Sermon on the move. The Old English translation of a sermon on the feast of the Virgin Mary by Ralph d'Escures, archbishop of Canterbury (1114–22), survives only in this copy, dating from the mid twelfth century. After first delivering the sermon orally in French, Ralph wrote it down in Latin, in which guise it was included incorrectly among Anselm's sermons. Within the next few decades it was translated into English, but in this language traveled as neither Ralph's nor Anselm's, but anonymously. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 151v. *By permission of the British Library.*

impractical—patrons and translators thought it best to bridge the gap with vernacular works.

After 1066, the direction of translation sometimes reversed for changed audiences; Francophone monks at Worcester were perhaps behind the request from Prior Warin to William of Malmesbury to translate Coleman's English *Life of Wulfstan* into Latin, keeping "what he had written, disturbing nothing in the order of things nor adulterating the truth of events."[46] Wulfstan had been an imposing figure, respected by all sides; preserving his good memory appealed to Worcester monks of both principal vernacular languages. Before French became established as a target for texts, Latin remained the medium by which Francophone clergy in England learned about their new church and people. The wave of hagiographical texts composed in Latin or translated from Old English to Latin in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries illustrates the need and the preferred medium.[47] The historical narratives produced in the century after 1066 follow this pattern. Many of them included long sections translating preconquest English sources into Latin for the benefit of patrons and posterity, but also for readers and listeners in the local community.

Some translators wished to spread, maintain, or restore the Christian faith not only among fellow clerics but also among laypeople. Ælfric's *Lives* were translated in part "to revive those flagging in faith through exhortations because the sufferings of martyrs greatly arouse a languishing faith."[48] Here and elsewhere, translation done to inspire faith was itself an act of faith. Marie de France said she was willing to translate the *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, with its vivid portrait of hell, "so that it might be understandable and appropriate to the laity."[49] In return for her trying "to enable many people to gain great benefit, do penance, and fear and serve God better," Marie asked only that God through grace would cleanse her of her sins.[50]

Church reform was behind bursts of translation aimed at clergy. The first period of significant reform in this age of conquests was the second half of the tenth century, and is associated with the work of three churchmen: Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury (940–946), later bishop of London and Worcester, and finally archbishop of Canterbury (959–988); Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961–992) and archbishop of York (971–992); and Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon (c. 954–963) and bishop of Winchester (963–984). One of the aims of the reformers was to arrest the decline of monasticism and revive it along Carolingian or continental lines. One problem they found was the low level of learning in England, and the difficulty of providing education for all priests as well as for monks. The reformers chose to clear this hurdle by relying on translations of important texts into English, and by defending their retreat from Latin in spiritual terms. Æthelwold translated the *Rule of Benedict* in the 940s or 950s, saying "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."[51] Although this was not a novel position (witness Alcuin's advice mentioned above), in the reform era it left significant literary testaments. The translation of the *Rule of Benedict* was followed by an anonymous translation of the *Rule of Chrodegang* sometime during the 950s to 970s, the *Regularis Concordia,* Æthelwold's revision of the *Rule of Benedict*, in the late tenth century, and finally of Basil of Caesarea's *Advice to a Spiritual Son* sometime before the early eleventh century.[52] Ælfric, a student of Æthelwold, purposefully directed his translation work down lines laid by these reformers. In the minds of some, and perhaps many, contemporary clerics, the church was becoming a tool of good once again. Providing English texts was its first step toward making this goodness effective.[53]

The invasion of 1066 caused little linguistic disruption in the languages of monastic rules. Latin texts of various rules multiplied and earlier English translations were recopied, revised, expanded, and excerpted. It is only at the end of the twelfth century, when French was beginning to assert its authority as an official medium for normative texts, that someone translated two chapters of Benedict's *Rule* into French and added them to a manuscript containing an older bilingual Latin-English copy of the rule.[54] Prominent in this small selection is the part of chapter 49 that required monks to read and punished them for slacking off—a choice of chapter and language at odds with book collections overwhelmingly in Latin, produced at a time when literacy in Latin for monks must have been common. It may be that some were allowed to read French texts as their annual book, chosen and studied following the requirement in the rule. The first complete translation of the rule into French came at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a time that also saw the composition of a new rule in English, the *Ancrene Wisse*, and further developments of vernacular adaptations of the rules.[55]

ADMINISTERING AND DEFENDING PROPERTY AND RIGHTS

It was in most cases after, not before, the Norman conquest that some religious houses translated not just lives of patron saints, but also records of donations and the results of previous litigation in order to protect their patron saint's patrimony.[56] The world of these clerics was one that, while moderately literate, was seeing literacy in English decrease while Latin literacy rose, and was also experimenting with new ways of organizing records.[57] It was also a world where their usually pervasive worries about the stability of their possession of property would have been intensified by the fact of conquest, and also by the nature of the extension of the conquest. With new lords willing to interpret the extent of their new holdings in self-serving, and even rapacious, ways, clergy would naturally have turned to records as proofs of what they should be holding.[58] As the author of the *History of the Church of Abingdon* believed, "[H]e who had in his possession such writing [a *landboc*, or "charter conveying property rights"] could thereby dispute more confidently for any land."[59]

The preconquest records, however, would often as not be either wholly in English, or in English for the crucial clauses describing boundaries of the granted properties. At the abbey of Much Wenlock, the entirely Francophone community of Cluniac monks who filled the house sometime after the conquest found themselves at a disadvantage in understanding a key preconquest document. The anonymous author of the abbey's account of the discovery of the relics of St. Mildburg wrote that "the charter" discovered in a case or drawer near the altar "had been written in English and no one could read or understand it unless he were learned in this language." None of the monks was, and so they sought help from a "faithful translator" outside the monastery who could read English.[60] The document proved to be a testament from an English monk identifying the location of the saint's body. The author of the account of the finding of the saint's relics may have invented the story of the monk's testament, or may be reporting the "discovery" of a forgery. In either case, however, the story neatly reveals the anxiety even of Francophone immigrants, illiterate in English, to authorize in English their acquisition of English property and to publicize it. They could, after all, have forged a Latin testament. The hurdle of documents in a strange tongue was real enough for many religious houses in the century after the Norman conquest, but this story shows that the documents needed to be understood rather than discarded.[61]

The monks at Ely under Bishop Hervey (1109–1131) undertook the translation of the English *Book of the Lands of St. Æthelwold*; when it was completed, the Latin translation served as a record of the "fortunes and troubles" endured by Ely's patrimony.[62] Ely's efforts, however, are as much an example of a new way of thinking of archives as of the monks' need to undertake translations; a similar collecting, sifting, and arranging of records had already been undertaken (without any translation) at Worcester.[63] The translation of the *Book of the Lands of St. Æthelwold* was one task in the collection, organization, and translation of all of Ely's records, a mammoth effort begun by Bishop Hervey, but only completed possibly as late as 1174.[64] The translation of English records of all sorts was noted by the translator, but not explained. We are told by the compiler of the *Book of Ely* that all of Ely's records, Latin or English, were in a state of chaos and decay. It may be that many of these translations were done less out of worries about the lack of authority of vernacular documents serving as evidence in court, and more because of a concern that Francophone clerics and monks joining these old houses should have access to the orderly records of the patrimony. In this new book of records, they would find "in the history, in sequential order, the good deeds and miracles of the saints, male and female, who have fought battles for God in that place." The English records were the "raw material" for the "good historiographer."[65] Here the rise of Latin in the twelfth century, rather than any disdain for English per se, drove the movement from English to Latin.

UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD

Scholars working on the frontiers of learning tell us occasionally why they translated. Many say nothing: we know nothing, for example, about the genesis of the many French lapidaries that use Marbod of Rennes' *On Precious Stones* as their Latin source.[66] Elsewhere, we are more fortunate, perhaps because of the growing belief in the individual writer as an author who should, in a sense, sign his or her work. In the mid-twelfth century, Adelard of Bath explained what motivated him by alluding to the wishes of his patron, Duke Henry of Anjou. Henry was a student of the liberal arts and "wished to understand the opinions of the Arabs . . . for [King Henry said to Adelard] that whoever lives in a house, if he is ignorant of its material of composition . . . is not worthy of such a dwelling. Thus, whoever has been born and brought up in the hall of the world, if he does not bother to get to know the reason behind such wonderful beauty after the age of discretion, is unworthy of that hall and, if it were possible, should be thrown out."[67]

Adelard, in composing this work, joins, as he put it, philosophy to nobility. It does not seem wrong to imagine the same motive for Adelard's actual translation work, since most scientific advances came from Arabic texts. Adelard saw himself as transferring by translation Arab science to the Christian world of Western Europe.[68] Rather than representing something new in either translators' motives or audience demands, however, Adelard shows the growth of an interest in the East that was already manifest in the late tenth century. There is a line of development traceable from the ninth- or tenth-century English translation of the *Wonders of the East*, through Adelard's early twelfth-century treatises from Arabic sources, and on to late twelfth-century pilgrim's guides, legends of Alexander the Great, and Daniel of Morley's *Philosophy*.[69] The aristocracy who built oriental palaces like Orford Castle are not surprising patrons for translators offering the wisdom of the East.[70]

What is different from the end of the eleventh century is the source material, and this difference comes with a host of new experiences for translators. The source languages expand, with the addition of Arabic and Greek for an increasing proportion of texts. These texts were not waiting patiently in English libraries for their translators. Rather, they were sought by translators wherever they could be found: France, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece, and the crusaders' principalities in the Levant.[71] This striking desire for Arabic texts of Greek philosophy and science was one of the major intellectual developments of the twelfth century. The same impulse that pushed Daniel of Morley to avoid the "beasts" (*bestiales*) of the Parisian schools and to seek out the "teachings of the Arabs" (*doctrina Arabum*) also motivated him to translate "what he had learned from Ghalib the Mozarab about the universe," including portions of al-Farghānī's *Rudiments of Astronomy* and Abū Ma'šar's *Great Introduction to Astrology*.[72] The new scholars like Daniel of Morley developed not only a keen taste for Arabic and Greek source texts, but also the ability to discriminate between available Latin translations. John of Salisbury, not a translator himself, nevertheless thought James of Venice's Latin translation of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* was not very good. While John was in Italy, he likely commissioned a new one from John the Saracen.[73] John of Salisbury weighed the merits of different translations with the help of the expert judgment of a native Greek speaker. In John's eyes, translators needed to be guided by accuracy and transparency, twin motives that reduced obscuration and made true understanding possible.

While some new scholars wove their sources into their own philosophical writings, others followed an equally ancient path, translating sources and providing commentaries.[74] Alfred of Shareshill (fl. c. 1197–c. 1222) translated a number of Arabic texts about the natural world, motivated in his selection of sources by his position as a continuator of the work of the Toledan school of translators. These men, led most famously by Gerardo da Cremona (d. 1187), followed systematically the scheme set out in al-Farabi's *Classification of the Sciences* to cover all the major works of Aristotle in proper order. While Alfred does not explicitly say that this is what he is doing, the facts of his biography and his choice of texts make it certain.[75] This participation in grander schemes of translation that went well beyond one or two texts and involved international teams was akin to what King Alfred had done in the ninth century, but was only now reappearing in England, this time with more participants and grander ambitions.

EDIFYING THE LAITY

Lay patrons in search of wisdom—sacred or profane—often found it through translators. Such a pursuit may have been started or accelerated by Alfred, who urged the wisdom of books on "all the free-born young men now in England who have the means to apply themselves to it."[76] As he wrote in his translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, "every skill and every authority is soon obsolete and passed over if it is without wisdom."[77] Asser tells us that Alfred chided his judges when their unfair judgments showed they had "falsely assumed the office and status of wise men."[78] The remedy was for the judges to learn to read. Alfred would have found wisdom through the translation of tough passages, no doubt seeking the advice of his assistants, which turned the process itself into a source of learning.[79] Abbot Ælfric may have worried about the dangers of providing laypeople with sacred texts beyond their understanding, but he still responded to requests for sacred wisdom.[80] While Sigeweard pressed Ælfric to deliver sermons when the abbot visited his home and to provide him with translations of scripture, two other lay nobles, Æthelweard and Æthelmær, were reading the *Lives of Saints* that Ælfric had translated specifically for them.[81] In all of these endeavors for the laity, Ælfric saw his role as that of an exemplarist, providing portraits of good and evil for imitation and avoidance. His obligation to provide edification (*edificatio*) for the uneducated laity drove his massive effort to compose homilies, most of which have translated texts at their core.[82]

A similar role of translation as a conduit of wisdom was played in the mid-twelfth century by Sanson de Nantuil. His *Proverbs of Solomon,* translating and explaining one of the Bible's best-known wisdom books, was produced around 1150 for the edification of the lady he perhaps served as chaplain, Aëliz de Cundé (fig. 3.3).[83] It was a clerk's duty to educate the laity about the faith, wrote the translator Wace in a work dedicated to a lay patron, Robert Fitz-Tiout, and written a century and a half after Ælfric.[84] Adgar claimed (c. 1150) in his *Gracial* that he was translating a collection of miracle stories involving the Virgin Mary into French for those who had no grammar, by whom he meant men and women who could not read Latin.[85] Marie's *Purgatory* follows a similar path.[86] The need envisioned by Bede and reiterated by the Council of *Clofesho* probably led to the translation of fundamental texts of Christianity like the Lord's Prayer and Creed.[87] This need was still there in the twelfth century and was being filled by texts in French as well as in English.

Not all of the works intended to be edifying are obvious choices like saints' lives or psalters, texts where the Christian message was direct. Philippe de Thaon in the early twelfth century addressed his sibylline prophecies to Empress Matilda; of the ten Sibyls of antiquity, Philippe identifies his source as the Tiburtine Sibyl, "the most wise and of the highest lineage."[88] The contents were gripping: The first omen of Judgment Day would be that the ground would sweat blood—blood that had fallen as sweat from Jesus when he prayed during the long night in Gethsemane.[89] The pagan prophetesses are fully integrated into Christian

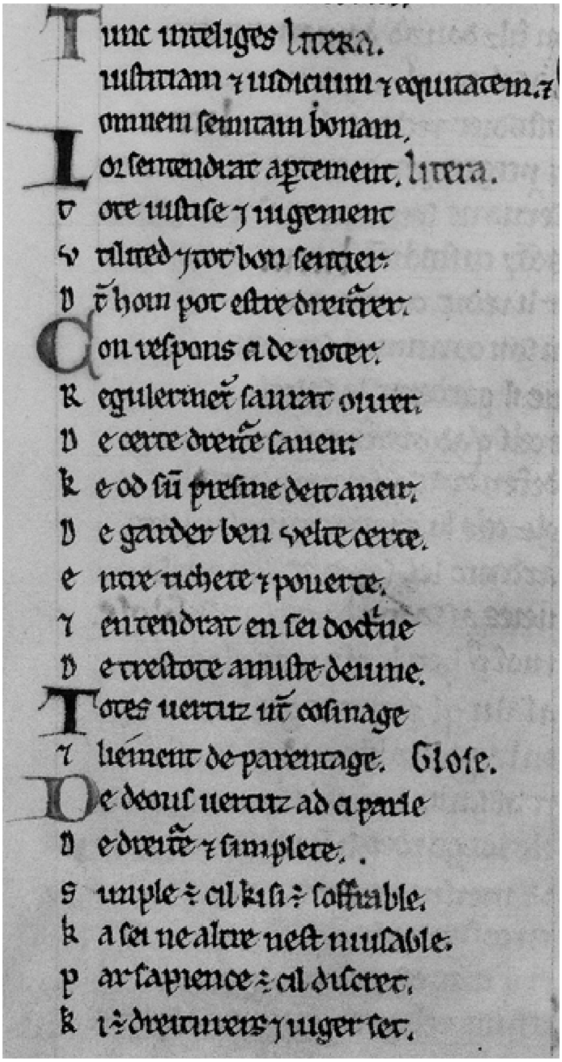


Figure 3.3. Sanson de Nantuil's *Proverbes.* Sanson used a tripartite structure for his translation-commentary. Lines 1–3 above (Sanson, *Prov.*, unnumbered [1:56]) begins with the *litera*, the Latin text of Prov 2:9: "Tunc inteliges iustitiam et iudicium et equitatem et omnem semitam bonam" [Then you shall understand justice and judgment and equity and every good path]. Next, on lines 4–7 (Sanson, *Prov.* ll. 1793–96) comes the second litera, a translation of the passage into French with some expansion: "Lor s'entendrat apertement / Tote justise e jugement, / Utilited [*recte* Üeltéd] e tot bon sentier / Dunt hom pot estre dreiturrer" [Then he will understand clearly all justice and judgment, equity and every good path by which a person can be righteous]. A French commentary on the passage follows from line 8 (Sanson, *Prov.* ll. 1797ff.), though its label, *glose*, only appears in the margin in the middle of the section. London, BL, Harley 4388, fo. 13v. *By permission of the British Library.*

sacred prophecy. Philippe says that he has translated the book for the empress "who shall be in paradise."[90] Such prophetic texts were not rare, and had enjoyed popularity in England and Europe for some centuries.

ENTERTAINING THE ELITE

The last example given above, Philippe's *Book of the Sibyl,* sits between edification and entertainment, as is so often the case with works translated for lay aristocratic audiences or patrons.[91] Consider Marie de France's *Fables*. Marie's version presents itself as the end of a long linguistic genealogy: Aesop composed the *Fables*, Romulus translated them into Latin, and Alfred put them into English.[92] Finally Marie, asked by her patron, "Count William, the most valiant of any realm," translated the *Fables* into French, using not the Latin, but she claims Alfred's Old English translation as her source.[93] It looks like the authority of the translator may have counted for more than any supposed status of the language of his translation. The text was worth the effort because, she says, "there's no fable so inane that folks cannot some knowledge gain." She claims that her fables—witty and worldly—are nothing but the axioms recorded by the ancient philosophers.[94] Benoit, writing for a noble audience in the 1160s, says he had decided to put the "rich and great history of Troy" into "Romanz" so that those without Latin might enjoy it and benefit from its examples.[95] Here he placed himself after a long line of translators who helped move the tale from Greek into Latin; his task was to now truthfully put it into his vernacular. Thomas of Britain's late twelfth-century *Roman d'Alexandre* accomplishes both entertainment and edification.[96] Benoit and Thomas would accept that they were writers of history; history was and perhaps still is a discipline that aims to be both edifying and entertaining.

Such a dual desire was likely not something new in the twelfth century, although preconquest translations do not make similar claims. The translator of the late ninth-century or early tenth-century *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* does not say the work was done to accomplish these two goals. Alexander does this himself: "I would not have believed the words of any man that so many marvelous things could be so before I saw them myself with my own eyes. The earth is a source of wonder first for the good things she brings forth, and then for evil, through which she is revealed to observers."[97] As Andy Orchard has noted, such a translation, traveling not accidentally in the same manuscript as *Beowulf*, shows us an audience keen to learn the deeds of past kings and to recognize their faults, but also to see the fantastical worlds they lived in.

PATRONS AND TRANSLATORS

Patrons—those to whom texts are dedicated—appear frequently in the writings of translators. Alfred commanded Wærferth, bishop of Worcester, to translate Gregory I's *Dialogues*.[98] The rewards he received during Alfred's life and after the king's death may have depended on his efforts as a translator.[99] Æthelwold's Old English translation of the *Rule of Benedict* was done at the request of King Edgar; Edgar and his queen, Ælfthryth, gave Æthelwold a Suffolk estate conditionally for the work.[100]

Ælfric credits the Ealdormen Æthelweard and Æthelmær as well as several bishops and lesser nobles with inspiring or commanding some of his translations. At times the patron is anonymous: the *Quadripartitus* translator is "thankful for your benevolence toward me," and undertook the translation "with your encouragement and promise." He is happy to do his benefactor's bidding, "in whose debt I have long been placed."[101] No benefactor is named. Philippe de Thaon's *Comput* was dedicated to his uncle, Honfroi of Thaon, chaplain of the royal steward, Eodo dapifer.[102] Sometime between 1121 and 1135, Philippe directed his *Bestiary* to Adeliza of Louvain, queen of Henry I, "a jewel who is a beautiful woman and is courteous, wise, of good character, and generous."[103] Geoffrey of Monmouth sought patronage from Alexander of Lincoln for his translation of the *Prophecies of Merlin*, and from various members of the lay elite for his translation of the history of the British kings.[104] Whether he received any is not known. Gaimar wrote his *Estoire* for Constance, wife of Ralf Fitz Gilbert, either in Lincolnshire or in Hampshire.[105] Sanson of Nantuil translated for honor and for Aëliz de Cundé, also known as Alice de Clare, daughter of the earl of Chester and former wife of (inter alia) a powerful Marcher baron who had been killed in 1136 by the Welsh. She lived in Lincolnshire with a new husband in the 1130s or 1140s, when Sanson probably wrote for her.[106] Marie's *Fables*, as I said, was translated for Count William "the most worthy," who is still unidentified, but for whom Marie professes love and willingly undertakes to "labor with pained exactitude."[107] God fittingly is named as Marie's patron for her *Purgatory*.[108] Patrons appear in all periods and all genres (fig. 3.4).

Despite our having such high-profile appearances of patrons in the sources, we know surprisingly little about the role of patron or the relationship, real or ideal, between patrons and translators. As Peter Damian-Grint says for one genre of literature, "the fact that some historical authors dedicate their work to a patron, whether real or hoped for, tells us precisely nothing."[109] We do not know, for example, why Geoffrey of Monmouth decided to dedicate his *History* to Robert of Gloucester, Waleran of Meulon, and King Stephen, or the *Prophecies of Merlin* to Alexander of Lincoln; we do not know if any of these alleged patrons actually received the works, let alone read or heard them.[110] Nothing in Geoffrey's career allows us to identify the fruits of any patronage. Gaimar, Geoffrey's first translator, dedicated his *History* in its earliest version to "the noble Lady Constance, who had this history translated," but in two manuscripts Constance does not appear as patron, and a new, short epilogue replaces the original long one and names Queen Adeliza—though not explicitly as patron or even necessarily as still living.[111] Ian Short, the most recent editor of the *Estoire*, reverses Alexander Bell's position that the long epilogue naming Constance is based on the short epilogue naming Adeliza.

Figure 3.4. Patron and translator. This illustration in a mid eleventh-century book from Christ Church, Canterbury, depicts a crowned King Edgar holding a long scroll with the assistance of his archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan, and his bishop of Winchester, Æthelwold, whose translation of the *Rule of Benedict* appears along with a few short monastic texts in the preceding folios (now fols. 118–73), and whose *Regularis Concordia* (credited in the preface to Dunstan's inspiration) begins on the next folio (now fol. 3) and has a continuous Old English gloss. According to the *Liber Eliensis* (LE 2.37, p. 111), Edgar and his queen, Ælfthryth, gave Æthelwold an estate in return for Æthelwold translating the *Rule of Benedict.* London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v. *By permission of the British Library.*

Short concludes that the long prologue was written first, by 1137, and was replaced by the short version in the 1150s.[112] One explanation for the new epilogue may be that Gaimar's first patron had died and Gaimar tried to attract the attention of a new one, the queen, which was a challenge; Gaimar acknowledges in his epilogue that his great rival, an otherwise unknown David, already had the queen's patronage.

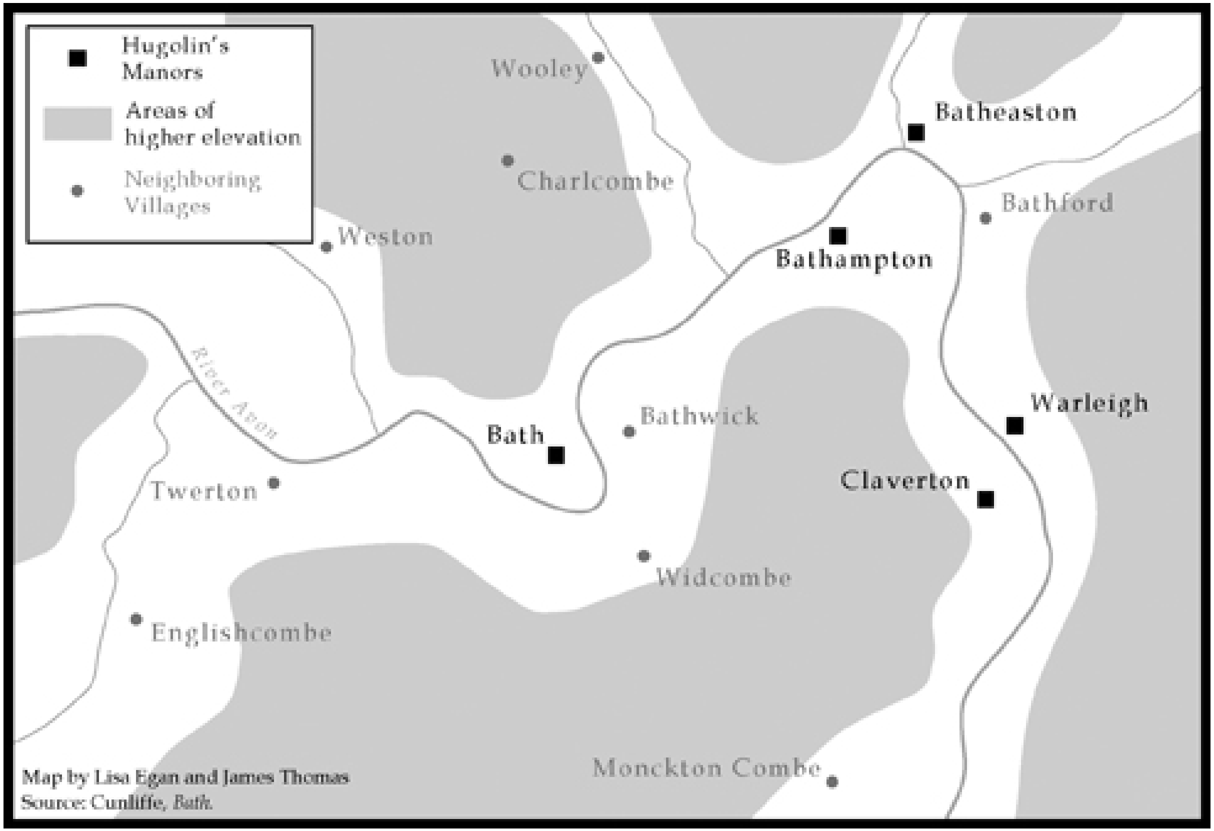
It seems therefore advisable for historians to approach patronage cautiously as a motivating factor. Damian-Grint's observation can be extended to all types of writing. Individual cases may be quite revealing. We undoubtedly learn something of Ælfric's west country network of nobles and bishops from his letters and prefaces, written on either side of the year 1000: a "patron" can "command" (usually *biddan*) a work, but it is Ælfric, ensconced in his monastery, who decides if, what, and how much to translate or compose.[113] Wace's complaints about patrons provide some vantage for understanding a twelfth-century relationship between patron and translator, though it is a perspective tinged by Wace's self-proclaimed failure to maintain his patron's support. At the start of his *Roman de Rou*, he laments that "largesse has now succumbed to avarice; it cannot open its hands, they are more frozen than ice."[114] He tells us later in the *Rou* that he "wrote and composed a good many [French works]. With the help of God and the king . . . a prebend was given to me in Bayeux (may God reward him for this)."[115] But even here, the details are frustratingly vague, leaving action and reaction disconnected. We often rely on chronology to argue the connections, landing us into a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* mess. While it is assumed Wace received a prebend at Bayeux for his translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History* (Wace's *Roman de Brut*), such a link is nowhere claimed by Wace.[116] Many patronage relationships should not be described as quid pro quo, but as personal relationships, as a lord might have with a member of his retinue. The evidence rarely allows us to go further.

Translators often served, it seems, as members of households. Perhaps their principal function was as oral translators. It is impossible for much of the period after 1066 to imagine a household that did not have the capacity, especially during those first decades of Norman rule when bilingualism would have been rare. Translators would have been expected to use their skills to enable their lords to participate in the administration of justice when English and French (and Welsh) speakers were present in a court, as well as to translate English (and Latin) records when needed.[117] The written works by all translators may show us an exceptional activity, rather than the regular service they performed, leaving us with precious little evidence to understand their full contribution. Even for those translators about whom we are best informed—the king's translators recorded in Domesday Book—we learn about their rewards, not their service.[118]

What, for example, survives of the works of Hugolin, loyal translator of the king, who received four manors upriver from Bath as well as one in the city, presumably for his efforts? (map 3.1). By the standards of the day, these manors made him a man of middling wealth.[119] One can easily imagine some relationship between lord and translators less direct than likely existed between Hugolin and his king. Some may have been ad hoc: for example, a neighboring abbess who did occasional translation for a friend and fellow lord. Other translating may have been done speculatively, but with membership in a household the ultimate goal.

Some clarity may come from the "professional interpreters" found mostly in sources for Wales, the marcher lordships, and Ireland.[120] In these areas, where the languages in contact were more numerous and conflict endemic, the need to have a translator was felt very early. The translator was often a vassal of the king or one of the barons and received land for performance of what appears to have been a hereditary office.[121] Some of these translators may have been much like the "palace Saracens" found in the royal households of Norman Sicily. There, in the aftermath of their conquest, Norman kings built an administration that attempted to bridge the linguistic gap between court and Arabic and Greek speakers by employing translators and notaries with fluency in several tongues. Often, if not almost always, these translators came from the conquered peoples—for instance, *qā'id* Richard (c. 1166–1187) and Philip of Mahdiyya (d. 1153), both of whom were Sicilian Arabic speakers. Perhaps because of the importance of communication in a kingdom made up principally of Arabic-speaking Muslims, these translators held positions of power, commanding fleets, administering justice, and serving as translators.[122] In that sense, they come closest to the role Bledhericus Latemeri played in England and Wales; in the latter, he was quite possibly Henry I's translator.[123] There appear to have been both translators in noble households in Wales and the Welsh March, handling the affairs of their lords, as well as another group engaged in translating texts.[124] The situation of translators in England proper, especially after the Norman conquest, cannot be described neatly as a two-tiered structure of local household translators and literary translators, but that may simply be because in England our evidence is more diffuse.

What is interesting is not that translators were motivated by patrons to transfer texts, but that some patrons were motivated to get those texts in the first place. Why Aëliz de Condé, Adeliza of Louvain, Count William "le plus valliant," or Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, wanted to know about Solomon's wisdom, English history, Aesop's fables, or the prophecies of the wizard Merlin is a matter of speculation. Why Ralph Fitz Gilbert's wife Constance cared enough about the history of the English to chase down a Latin source for Gaimar to translate is never revealed.[125] We can



Map 3.1. Lands of Hugolin the translator, c. 1086

wonder in what ways these patrons were themselves unconsciously influenced by Western European or royal trends. Surely a queen like Adeliza of Louvain's patronage of a translator like Philippe de Thaon would have provided a model for the best of noble culture, a model perhaps imitated by noble women like Lady Constance. We can also wonder to what extent having a scholar in court or household was a goal for strivers. The translator might be no more than a literate jester, translating to entertain patrons. We can wonder about these things, but cannot really know them. Even explicit statements of motive leave much unsaid and too often unrecoverable.

CONCLUSIONS

While limiting discussion to explicit statements of motive may be wise, some things are left by the wayside. The motive behind oral translation is lost, though one suspects it was similar to what inspired written translation. After all, the venues where oral and written translations were performed and produced were in part shared. This contiguity of oral and written translation is especially clear after the Norman conquest and settlement. The households of king and barons would have needed translators to help exploit the new kingdom or honor. Such a need would have been felt before (though not very long before) these kings, queens, and barons became patrons of written translations.[126] This sequence may explain why so many translations of literary works into Latin or the vernacular came out of baronial households and the royal court, rather than just, as before, out of monasteries or other ecclesiastical establishments. It seems even more likely that the translations of legal texts would have emerged within households—whether royal, baronial, or episcopal—since such texts directly bore on the issues the new rulers faced. There was already a need for translators and a tradition of translation, and the personnel were on hand. Of course, not all oral translators were capable of producing written translations, let alone the translation of complicated or arcane literary or philosophical texts.

Trends in motivation are coupled with trends in literary fashion, and so are not easy to isolate. There is a growing complexity in the translations, with an increase in the number of source and target languages that would have opened up new frontiers for translators and patrons. Languages are added from the late eleventh century on; none disappears from the mix. Throughout the period, the decision to translate, or to compose, was stimulated by external events of invasion and conquest. We can see this most clearly in translation done to defend ecclesiastical property after 1066, but also in the earlier work of Ælfric and Wulfstan, done during a time of Scandinavian invasions. All such influences become clearer after 1066 as the tempo and necessity of translation, oral and written, picks up. Motivation for translation changes by shifting slightly in proportion, but not in kind, between the days of Alfred and those of Wace to absorb new European trends in scholarship. Along with this shift in trends of genre and source author comes some bias about language. Consider Ælfric's choice of English as his target language. While he might lament the need for translation, he does not disparage the choice of English qua English. By the twelfth century in England, the aftereffects of the rise of Latin composition in eleventh-century Francia are visible, even in the most mundane of places. The Ely translator of writs, charters, and the *Book of the Lands of St. Æthelwold* laments the barbarity of the English of his sources in this context, by which he means it is not Latin. Finally, translators trying to satisfy contemporary Francophone tastes in reading material produced *romans* that are not like Old English imaginative literature in structure or intention. The participation of translators in what is a broader movement in composition changed the stream of the development of literature in England. And in the twelfth century, the trends in translation mirror the geopolitics of the Angevin empire, where a Francophone court drew texts increasingly toward its language, the lingua franca of the elite in lands from Ireland to Gascony.

NOTES

1. P. Gonser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac,* Anglistische Forschungen 27 (Heidelberg, 1909), 100–103; the source was Felix, *Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), 60–65 (prol.). The same is true of the Old English *Life of St. Margaret* (esp. the Tiberius A.iii version). See Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, eds., *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 9 (Cambridge, 1994), 112.

2. Aimé Petit, ed., *Le Roman d'Eneas* (Paris, 1997), 9.

3. Paul Studer and Joan Evans, eds., *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris, 1924), 21–23; however, the Latin incipit—which may not be the translator's words—admits the work is a translation (97).

4. See the appendix for citations to the Psalms (227–28), West Saxon Gospels (227), *Gospel of Nichodemus* (228), *Distichs of Cato* (238), Apollonius (232), *Medicina de Quad*. (241), Cnut's laws (232), *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* F version and in John of Worcester (232), Adelard's translations (242–43), Berekiah ben Natronai ha-Nakdan's (aka Benedict the Punctuator) translation of Adelard (243), the lives of St. Laurent (236) and St. Egidius (236), and Adso's *Libellus* (244).

5. See, e.g., Joyce Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2001), 154–61; and M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999), 236–37.

6. Of course, not every translation was a product of reform—e.g., the *Medicina de Quadripedibus* (see the appendix, 241)—but the spike in quantity, both for size and number, is consonant with the motives of the monastic reformers.

7. O'Brien, "*Instituta Cnuti*," 196–97; George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), 16–17.

8. See chapter 2, pp. 79–80, on why the royal court's language mattered more in the late twelfth century than in the aftermath of Hastings.

9. For the Latin translations, see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), 402–406; and O'Brien, *God's Peace*, 27–29, and works cited there. For the earliest French translation, see J. Wüest, *Die "Leis Willelme": Untersuchungen zur altesten Gesetzbuch in französischer Sprache*, Romanica Helvetica 79 (Bern, 1969). Perhaps in this wave of translations can be placed the French translation of a late eleventh-century English record of an inquest at York; Liebermann thought this translation was made no earlier than the end of the twelfth century. F. Liebermann, "An English Document of about 1080," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 18 (1905): 412–16. For the later French translations, very little has been published; but see Pollock and Maitland, *History*, 1: 97–104; Felix Liebermann, "Eine anglonormannische Übersetzung des 12. Jahrhunderts von Articuli Willelmi, Leges Edwardi und Genealogia Normannorum," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 19 (1895): 79–83; O'Brien, *God's Peace*, 106–107. Ian Short, "The Vernacular French Magna Carta: Some Linguistic Evidence," *Semasia: Beiträge zur germanisch-romanischen Sprachforschung* 4 (1977): 53–56; J. C. Holt, "A Vernacular Text of Magna Carta 1215," *EHR* 89 (1974): 346–64.

10. Felix Liebermann, ed., *Quadripartitus. Ein englisches Rechtsbuch von 1114* (Halle, 1892), *Dedicatio* c. 4 (p. 76), and passim; see Richard Sharpe, "The Prefaces of 'Quadripartitus,'" in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 148–72. All translations of *Quadr*'s prologues are by Sharpe.

11. Quadr. *Dedicatio*, cc. 24–25, 37–38; trans. Sharpe, "Prefaces," 159–60, 162.

12. "quarundam causarum necessaria capitula, cotidianis decertationibus apta, subiunxi": Quadr, *Argumentum* c. 30, p. 89 (trans. Sharpe, "Prefaces," 168).

13. Bruce O'Brien, "Translating Technical Terms in Law-Codes from Alfred to the Angevins," in Tyler, *Conceptualizing Multilingualism*.

14. Felix Liebermann, ed., *Consiliatio Cnuti, ein Übertragung angelsächsischer Gesetze aus dem Zwölften Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1893), vi–ix.

15. O'Brien, *God's Peace*, 28–29, and n. 114.

16. O'Brien, "*Instituta Cnuti*," 189–90 and passim.

17. Ian Short, "Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England," *ANS* 14 (1991): 229–49.

18. Wace, *Rou*, xiii–xv, xx–xxii. On Henry II as Benoit's patron, see Benoit de Sainte Maure, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, ed. Carin Fahlin, 4 vols. (Uppsala, 1951–1979), 2: 640 (lines 44501–504).

19. See later in this chapter, pp. 140–46.

20. See Glynn Burgess's introduction to his edition of the Wace, *Rou*, xiv–xv.

21. Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. and trans. Harriet Spiegel (Toronto, 1987), 256–57 (trans. Spiegel).

22. Ælfric, *CH Int*, xlv and passim; Malcolm Godden, "Ælfric's Saints' Lives: Experiments in Genre," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, N.Y., 1996), 261–87; Joyce Hill, "Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*," in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Donald Scragg (Cambridge, 2003), 241–59. See chapter 4, p. 175, on Ælfric's method of composition.

23. Jean Blacker, *The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin Historical Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum* (Austin, Tex., 1994); Emily Albu, *The Normans in Their Histories* (Woodbridge, England, 2001), chap. 2; Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, chaps. 1 and 2.

24. Diana Greenway estimates that around 40 percent of Henry's *Historia* is "derived from" the *Chronicle* (*HA*, lxxxv). For Gaimar's dependence on the *ASC* as his sole source up to 966 and occasional use thereafter, see *Gaimar*, xxxix, 401 (note to line 3586); on John of Worcester's, see R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, "The 'Chronicon ex Chronicis' of 'Florence' of Worcester and Its Use of Sources for English History before 1066," *ANS* 5 (1982): 185–96.

25. Wace, *Brut*, xviii–xx; H. M. Le Saux, *Laȝamon's Brut: The Poem and Its Sources*, Arthurian Studies 19 (Cambridge, 1989), 24–58, 109–17, and 152–54.

26. "He nom þa Englisca boc þa makede Seint Beda. / An-oþer he nom on Latin þe makede Seinte Albin. / And þe feire Austin þe fulluht broute hider in. / Boc he nom þe þridde, leide þer amidden þa makede a Frenchis clerc; / Wace wes ihoten, þe wel douþe writen" [He took up the "English Book" which Saint Bede had created, / A second he took in Latin created by Saint Albin, / And our dear Augustine who brought the Christian faith in, / A book he took as third source, and set by this his whole course: A French cleric composed it, / Wace was what they called him, and very well he wrote it]. Lawman, lines 16–21, trans. Rosamund Allen in Lawman, *Brut* (London, 1994), 1.

27. "Laȝamon leide þeos boc and þa leaf wende. / he heom leofliche bi-heold . . . / And þa soþere word sette to-gadere. / And þa þre boc þrumde to are" [Lawman laid out these books, and he leafed through them . . . / And the more reliable versions he recorded, / Compressing those three books into one complete book]. Lawman, lines 24–25, 27–28, trans. Allen, in Lawman, *Brut,* 1.

28. See earlier in this chapter, pp. 125–26.

29. "for ðam ðe menn behofiað godre lare swiðost on þisum timan þe is geendung þyssere worulde." Ælfric, *CH1*, 174; trans. based on Dorothy Whitelock, trans., *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. *500–1042*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), 924. See also Ælfric, *CH Int*, 5–6.

30. Elaine M. Treharne, "The Form and Function of the Twelfth-Century Old English *Dicts of Cato*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 102 (2003): 484.

31. Though some argue that the twelfth-century French translations by Elie of Winchester and Everart were intended to serve the source as a crib to the *Distichs*. Such a use is behind many bilingual texts—glossed texts or presentations where the vernacular accompanied the source not as an interlinear gloss, but as a complete text on its own. Elie of Winchester began his French translation of Cato by saying not that the text was for students or children learning Latin, but that it was for interested readers who wanted to know what Cato had taught his son, but

who could not read or understand Latin. *Elie's de Wincestre, eines anonymus und Everarts Übertragungen der Disticha Catonis*, ed. Edmund Stengel, Ausgaben and Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischer Philologie 47 (Marburg, 1886), 110; and E. Ruhe, *Untersuchungen zu den altfranzösischen Übersetzungen der Disticha Catonis* (Munich, 1968). Dean nos. 254 and 255.

32. Byrht., *Enchirid*. 3.2.169.

33. Byrht., *Enchirid*. 2.3.248–53, p. 121, in Old English (trans. Baker and Lapidge); see also 4.2, pp. 232–33.

34. "Ego Ælfricus, ut minus sapiens, has excerptiones de Prisciano minore uel maiore uobis puerulis tenellis ad uestram linguam transferre studui, quatinus perlectis octo partibus Donati in isto libello utramque linguam, uidelicet latinam et anclicam, uestrae teneritudini inserere interim, usque quo ad perfectiora perueniatis studia" [I, Ælfric, as one knowing little, have applied myself to translating into your language these excerpts from the lesser and greater Priscian for you tender little boys so that, having read through Donatus's eight parts of speech, you may in this book apply to your tenderness both languages, namely Latin and English, in the time until you reach more perfect studies] (Ælfric, *Gram*., preface, p. 1); Ælfric, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox, Durham Medieval Texts 9 [Durham, 1994], 115, 130 [trans. Wilcox].

35. "inscientibus puerulis, non senibus, aptandam fore," and later "sed aestimamus ad inchoationem tamen hanc interpretationem paruulis prodesse posse, sicut iam diximus" (ibid., pp. 1–2).

36. Ælfric Bata, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. Scott Gwara, trans. David W. Porter (Woodbridge, England, 1997), 51–56.

37. "Latinos libros Anglice eis soluere": Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St. Æthelwold*, xcii–xciv, 46–49 (c. 31) (trans. Lapidge).

38. "de clericis siue monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes" (Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum*, c. 5, 1: 409).

39. "saepiusque regula sancti Benedicti legatur in conuento fratrum et propria exponatur lingua, ut intellegi possit ab omnibus." Alcuin, Letter 19, in E. Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, vol. 2, MGH Epist. 4 (Berlin, 1895), 54.

40. "forðæm hi his sume ðorfton, ða ðe lædenspræce læste cuðon" (*Past. Care*, 9).

41. "is þeah nied behefe ungelæredum woroldmonnum þe for helle ogan and for Cristes lufan þis earmfulle lif forlætaþ" (*Councils* 1.1, 151).

42. Byrht., *Enchirid*. iii.2.148 ("estfulla preost"); iii.2.113 ("la wyn wuma preost"); iii.2.33–34 ("uplendiscum preostum"); i.2.323 ("æðela clericas asceocon from heora andgites orðance ælce sleacnysse"). All translated by Baker and Lapidge (pp. 42–43, 138, 142).

43. Mechthild Gretsch, "The Taunton Fragment: A New Text for Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 33 (2004): 145–93, which prints the text and suggests that the OE translation was composed by a cleric from Germany, a claim disputed by Aidan Conti, "The Taunton Fragment and the Homiliary of Angers: Context for New Old English," *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 60 (2009): 1–33.

44. Milo says (*Vita Lanfranci*, c. 2) the prior was not literate because he pronounced *docere* with a short *e* and an accent on the first syllable. Lanfranc himself said that to turn a long syllable into a short one was not a capital crime. Milo

Crispin, *Vita Lanfranci*, ed. Margaret Gibson, in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI*, ed. Giulio d'Onofrio, Italia Sacra 51 (Rome, 1993), 672.

45. The Latin translation traveled as a sermon of Anselm's ("Sermo in Festis Sancte Marie Virginis"). See PL 158, cols. 644ff. The Old English translation is in BL Cotton Vespasian D xiv (fols. 151–58); Ker, no. 209 (art. 44); printed in Warner, *Early English Homilies*, 134–39. See Martin Brett's entry for Ralph in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 18: 592–95; and Susan Irvine, "Compilation and Use of Manuscripts," 50.

46. "Huius . . . scriptis nichil turbaui de rerum ordine, nichil corrupi de gestorum ueritate" (*VW*, p. 10).

47. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), 107–14, 125–35. The impulse may slightly predate the Norman conquest—Goscelin of St. Bertin, the most prolific of the hagiographers, came to England in the early 1060s—but Goscelin and others only appear to have begun writing the lives of English saints in the 1070s or 1080s. Frank Barlow, ed., *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992), 135, 139.

48. "fide torpentes recreare hortationibus, quia martyrum passiones nimium fidem erigant languentem" (Ælfric, *LS*, 2). See also Ælfric, *CH1*, 173–74.

49. "qu'il seit entendables / a laie gent e convenables." Marie de France, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Poem by Marie de France*, trans. Michael J. Curley, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 94 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1993), 170 (lines 2299–2300).

50. "de faire a grant profit venir / plusurs genz e els amender / e servir Deu plus e duter." Ibid., 46 (lines 18–20) and 170 (lines 2301–2).

51. "Wel mæg dug[an hit naht] mid hwylcan gereorde mon sy gestryned 7 to þan soþan geleafan gewæmed, butan þæt an sy þæt he Gode gegange. Hæbban forþi þa ungelæreden inlendisce þæs halgan regules cyþþe þurh agenes gereordes anwrigenesse þæt hy þe geornlicor Gode þeowien and nane tale næbben þæt hy þurh nytennesse misfon þurfen." *Councils* 1.1, 151–52 (trans. Whitelock et al.).

52. A. Schröer, ed., *Die Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, repr. with appendix by Helmut Gneuss (1885–1888; rpt., Darmstadt, 1964), 1–133 (text); and idem, *Die Winteney-Version der Regula s. Benedicti*, repr. with appendix by M. Gretsch (1888; rpt., Tübingen, 1978); Langefeld, *Old English Version*, 144; Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die "Regularis Concordia" und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993); Lucia Kornexl, "The *Regularis Concordia* and Its Old English Gloss," *ASE* 24 (1995): 95–130; and Joyce Hill, "The 'Regularis Concordia' and Its Latin and Old English Reflexes," *Revue Bénédictine* 101 (1991): 299–315. See also CCC 201, which has the *Regularis Concordia* but with feminine forms in its Old English translation, and was probably intended for the nuns at Nunnaminster. Also cf. Æthelwold's interlinear gloss to the Psalms, analyzed by Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, chapter 8. The *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem*, formerly considered to be a Latin translation by Rufinus of a Greek text by Basil of Caesarea, but now thought to have been written in Latin c. 500 by Porcarius, abbot of Lérins, was translated into OE and appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76, fols. 55–67v, where it follows a partial translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. On the authorship of the source, see Adalbert de Vogüe, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement*

monastique dans l'antiquité, vol. 7, *L'essor de la littéraire lérinienne et les écrits contemporains (410–500)* (Paris, 2003), 419–20. For the OE text of the *Admonitio*, see Henry Wilkins Norman, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Hexameron of St. Basil*, 2nd ed (London, 1849); or S. J. Crawford, ed., *Exameron Anglice, or the Old English Hexameron* (Hamburg, 1921).

53. This is not to say that all of the texts produced proved immediately effective. There are good reasons to doubt that the translations of the Carolingian rules of Chrodegang and Amalarius were very influential, let alone read much, before the middle of the eleventh century. Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), 214; Julia Barrow, "Cathedrals, Provosts, and Prebends: A Comparison of Twelfth-Century German and English Practice," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986): 552–55; and Julia Barrow, "English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries," in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason et al. (Woodbridge, England, 1994), 30–32, whose conclusions have been accepted by Blair, *Church*, 361.

54. BL, Cotton Titus A.iv, fols. 121–123v. The French translation uses as its source late twelfth-century Latin excerpts on fols. 118–120, rather than the mid-eleventh-century Old English-Latin bilingual version of the complete rule on fols. 2–107. The French text is printed by Hunt, *TLL*, 1: 27–28.

55. Ruth J. Dean and M. Dominica Legge, eds., *The Rule of Benedict: A Norman Prose Version*, Medium Ævum Monographs 7 (Oxford, 1964), ix–x, xxvii–xxviii. For *Ancrene Wisse*, see Bella Millett, "The Origins of *Ancrene Wisse*: New Answers, New Questions," *Medium Ævum* 61 (1992): 206–28.

56. There are some examples of translations of individual records before 1066, though dating texts is not always possible. Consider, however, an English translation (S 342) of a Latin diploma of Æthelred, king of the West Saxons (S 334). The editor argues that the English version represents a modernized version "probably of an initial translation into Old English." S. E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 5 (Oxford, 1996), 25–26. A similar quandary is addressed by Kathryn A. Lowe, "Latin Versions of Old English Wills," *Legal History* 20 (1999): 12–14.

57. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 101–102, 146–49, and 157–59.

58. Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), 183–214.

59. Hudson, *Historia*, 1: 208–209 (c. 136) (trans. Hudson). The author of the *History* in this account of a dispute that took place shortly before 1055 uses the OE word *landboc* instead of a more familiar Latin word like *carta* "charter' to describe what one of the abbey's opponents claimed to have. The abbey produced arguments in court that the *landboc* belonged to them, and probably had in hand not an Old English document, but the Latin charter reproduced in the *Historia* at this point, issued by King Eadwig (955–59), who warns presciently of "deceitful men of this world, desirous of injustice," who begin "guffawing complaints." He orders that they should not win the property of others if they "bring forth another old land-book [antiquum librum]." Hudson, *Historia*, 1: 212–13 (c. 137).

60. "Carta tamen illa, anglicis litteris scripta erat, ut nemo legere aut intelligere posset, nisi de illius lingue idiomate peritus esset. Tandem uero per fidelem inter-

pretem didicerunt ex illa scriptura." *Miracula inventionis b. Mylburge virginis*, c. 2, edited by Paul Antony Hayward, "The *Miracula Inventionis Beate Mylburge Virginis* attributed to 'the Lord Ato, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia,'" *EHR* 114 (1999): 565–66, and discussed at 560–61.

61. In general, see Alexander Rumble, "*Interpretationes in Latinum*: Some Twelfth-Century Translations of Anglo-Saxon Charters," in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe, Ariz., 2002), 101–17.

62. "Que dum vir egregius et prudens Hereveus, primus Elyensis episcopus, ut relatu digna compererat, de Anglico in Latinum transferri fecit. Sicque, opere expleto, librum de terris sancti Æðelwoldi nominavit. Constat autem iste liber de tempore monachorum, prospera eorum sive adversa plene denuntians." *LE* 2.proemium, pp. 63–64; trans. by Janet Fairweather, in *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth* (Woodbridge, England, 2005), 84–85.

63. *LE* 1.prol. Worcester produced three early cartularies. The earliest (s.xi 1/4) is called *Liber Wigornensis* (The Book of Worcester) and is in BL Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fols. 1–109, 111–18; the Nero-Middleton cartulary (also known as "St. Oswald's Cartulary" and "the St. Wulfstan Cartulary") was written s.xi 4/4 and is in BL Cotton Nero E.i, part 2, fols. 181–184v + one leaf and fragments of another in BL Additional 46204; the last cartulary, and most well-known, is Heming's cartulary (s.xi ex.), which is in Tiberius A.xiii, fols. 119–200. It was edited by Thomas Hearne, *Hemingi Chartularium*. Texts, facsimiles, and related records for all three cartularies are at Dr. Jonathan Herold's early English record-keeping Web site: http://individual.utoronto.ca/emrecordkeeping/ On the purpose and use of these cartularies, see Stephen Baxter, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout, Belgium, 2004), 161–206.

64. *LE*, xlvi–xlix.

65. "bona facta atque miracula sanctorum sanctarumque ibidem Deo militantium secundum ordinem in hystoriam explicare temptavi." *LE*, 1 (prol. to book 1, trans. Fairweather, p. 1).

66. Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, passim.

67. ". . . Arabum sententias . . . intelligere velle presumas. Dicis enim ut in domo habitans quilibet, si materiam eius vel compositionem . . . ignoret, tali hospitio dignus non est. Sic qui in aula mundi natus atque educatus est, si tam mirande pulcritudinis rationem scire negligat post discretionis annos, ea indignus atque, si fieri posset, eiciendus est." Quoted and discussed by Burnett, *Introduction*, 31–32 (trans. Burnett), 92 n. 72. The passage comes from Adelard's *De Opere Astrolapsus*.

68. Though Adelard does not say this in any of his translations, but in the dedicatory letter to his *Quaestiones Naturales*, in Adelard, *Conversations*, 82.

69. See Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), 96–100; Donald G. Scragg, "Secular Prose," in Pulsiano and Treharne, *Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, 270–73; Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven, Conn., 2008), 154; and Burnett, *Introduction*.

70. Bartlett, *England*, 279; and T. A. Heslop, "Orford Castle, Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living," *Architectural History* 34 (1991): 36–58.

71. See chapter 4, pp. 169–73 (map 4.1).

72. Daniel of Morley, *Philosophia*, pref. 1–2, in Maurach, "Daniel von Morley," 212 (trans. for the most part by Burnett, *Introduction*, 61–62).

73. Charles Burnett, "John of Salisbury and Aristotle," *Didascalia* 2 (1996): 25–27.

74. Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century," *Science in Context* 14 (2001): 249–88.

75. See Charles Burnett's entry for Alfred of Shareshill in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 49: 992.

76. ". . . eal sio gioguð þe nu is on Angel kynne friora monna, þara þe þa speda hæbben þæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen." *Past. Care*, pref., p. 6 (trans. Keynes and Lapidge, 126). I have nothing to add to the debate about whether there was a thriving prose culture before Alfred (which would necessarily have been a translating culture); see R. D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 2003), 36, which is skeptical but presents the arguments and cites the scholarship.

77. ". . . forþam ælc cræft and ælc anweald bið sona forealdod and forswugod, gif hi bið butan wisdome." *Boethius* c.17, 1: 277 (trans. Keynes and Lapidge, 133).

78. "sapientium ministerium et gradus usurpastis" (Asser, c. 106, p. 93).

79. The influence of assistants on Alfred's work is explored by David R. Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007), 56–58, 132, 134–36, 160–71, 223, 230–32, 250, 270–72, 280, 317, and 339–40.

80. Ælfric, *Old English Heptateuch*, 3–7 (preface). Ælfric's worries about making some sources accessible to the laity are spelled out concerning the *Vitae Patrum* in the Lain preface to *LS1*, p. 2 (lines 12–14).

81. Ælfric, *Libellus de veteri testamento et novi*, in Ælfric, *The Old English Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, 201; Ælfric, *LS*, 1: 4 (Old English Preface).

82. Ælfric, *CH1*, 173.

83. Sanson, *Prov.*, 3: 11–18. Some of Sanson's commentary was also, in part, derived from, or a translation of, Bede's Latin commentary on Proverbs (ibid., 3: 18–27).

84. Wace, *La vie de saint Nicolas: Poème religieux du XIIe siècle*, ed. Einar Ronsjö (Lund, 1942), 173 (lines 1546–62). The identity of Robert is uncertain. This duty is also implicit in the final lines of Wace's *Life of St. Margaret*, see Wace *La vie de sainte Marguerite*, ed. Hans–Erich Keller, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 229 (Tübingen, 1990), 115 (lines 731–44 in Keller's reconstruction of the original).

85. Adgar, *Le Gracial*, ed. P. Kunstmann (Ottowa, 1982), 143 (miracle xx, lines 10–20).

86. Marie, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, 46. Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain* shows a noblewoman reading a psalter in French, in *Le Chevalier au lion ou le roman d'Yvain*, ed. David F. Holt (Paris, 1994), 162 (lines 1415–19).

87. Bede, *Epistola*, c. 5 in Bede, *Opera Historica*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. in 1 (1896; rpt. Oxford, 1956), 1: 409. See C. Cubitt, "Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons: The Provisions of the 747 Council of *Clofesho*," in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, England, 1992), 196, 203; and Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, 55–58.

88. “Iceste fu plus sage / E de mut haut parage.” Philippe de Thaon, *Le Livre de Sibile*, ed. Hugh Shields, ANTS 37 (London, 1979), 56, lines 53–54.

89. “Al premer mustrement / Del jur de Jugement / La terre süera: / [La] suur sanc serra / En representement / Del sanc veraiement / Ke Dampnedeu lessa / Kant il el mund sua, / Si cum [seint] Lucas dit / Pur voir en sun escrit.” Ibid., 85–86, lines 1107–16.

90. “Le Livre de Sibile, / La roïne nobile, / Issi [ai] translaté / Od l’aïe de Dé / E pur l’empereïs, / Ki soit en paraïs.” Ibid., 89, lines 1207–12.

91. The difficulty distinguishing edification from entertainment explains the disagreement about the purpose or value of *Le Roman de Waldef*, now seen less as a pious work of commemoration and more as an adventure tale. A. J. Holden, ed., *Le Roman de Waldef* (Cologny-Geneva, 1984), 17. It should also be remembered that Wace, translator of histories and saints lives, was also a writer of *sirvientes*, that peculiar satiric poetic form used to entertain the elite.

92. I find the argument of A. Ewert and R. C. Johnston that Marie meant an otherwise unknown “Alvred” rather than King Alfred unpersuasive, because it adds an unnecessary layer of complexity to an already complicated explanation for the creation of the French text. Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. A. Ewert and R. C. Johnston (Oxford, 1966), xi. Whether Marie’s attribution of a source to King Alfred is wrong is a different question.

93. No OE translation survives; no evidence points to Alfred having translated the *Fables*. Marie’s AF translation was the source for a late twelfth-century Hebrew translation by Berekiah (see appendix, p. 243).

94. “Mes n’i ad fable de folie / U il n’en ait philosophie.” Marie de France, *Fables*, 28 (lines 23–24) (trans. Spiegel). The *Fables* were nothing more than “ke li philosophe troverent / E escristrent e remembrerent.” [That which philosophers did find / And wrote about and kept in mind] Ibid. (lines 5–6). Marie’s works were popular with lay audiences—Denis Piramus’s translation of the *Life of St. Edmund* says as much. Denis Piramus, *La vie seint Edmund le rei: Poème anglo-Normand du XIIe siècle*, ed. H. Kjellman (Göteborg, 1935), lines 35–48.

95. Benoit de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Léopold Constans, 6 vols. (Paris, 1904–1912), 1: 3 (prol., lines 35–39).

96. Thomas of Kent, *Anglo-Norman Alexander*, 1: 7–8.

97. “Ne gelyfde ic æniges monnes gesegenum swa fela wundorlicra þinga þæt hit swa beon mihte ær ic hit self minum eagum ne gesawe. Seo eorðe is to wundrienne hwæt heo ærest oþþe godra þinga cenne, oððe eft þara yfelra, þe heo þæm sceawigendum is æteowed.” Letter, c. 3, in Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf Manuscript* (Toronto, 1995), 226–27 (Orchard’s translation).

98. Asser, c. 77, p. 62. See above, chapter 1, p. 66, n. 143, on Wærferth’s authorship of the preface.

99. Asser, c. 77, p. 62, says Alfred showered him with honors and entitlements (“multis honoribus et potestatibus”) for helping him, it appears, understand the wisdom of texts. In Alfred’s will, Wærferth is one of only three bishops named and a recipient of 100 mancuses. F. E. Harmer, ed., *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), 18; and Sean Miller, ed.,

Charters of the New Minster, Winchester, Anglo-Saxon Charters 9 (Oxford, 2001), 5 (no. 1).

100. *Councils and Synods*, 1: 151, but not naming the translator. The *Liber Eliensis* does, and identifies the property (*LE* ii. 37, p. 111).

101. "ne dum tue circa nos benevolentie gratiosus esse desidero," "quod tuis exhortationibus et inconsulta (fateor) pollicitatione suscepi," and "cui me diutius debitorem ingenii mei diffidentia." Quadr, *Dedicatio* 2–4, p. 76 (trans. Sharpe, "Prefaces," 151–52).

102. "A sun uncle l'enveiet/ . . . Ne en fait ne en escrit / A Unfrei de Thaün / Le chapelein Yhun / E seneschal lu rei." Philippe de Thaon, *Comput*, ed. Ian Short, ANTS, Plain Texts Series 2 (London, 1984), 5 (lines 5–11).

103. ". . .d'une geme / Ki mult est bele feme / E est curteise e sage, / De bones murs e large." Philippe de Thaon, *Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, ed. Emmanuel Walberg (Lund, 1900), 1 (lines 6–8).

104. *HRB* cc. 109–10, the dedication of the prophesies to Alexander, whom Geoffrey also praises there for his "benigna largitas" (p. 73). Cf. pp. xiii–xiv for dedications to Robert of Gloucester, Waleran of Meulon, and King Stephen.

105. Gaimar, xii.

106. Sanson, *Prov.*, 1: 6 (line 201), and 3: 11–18.

107. Marie, *Fables*, 256 (epilogue), ("Que n' mette travail e peine") p. 30 (prologue, line 35) (trans. Spiegel).

108. At both ends of her text, Marie prays for God's grace to support her efforts (Marie, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, 46, 170).

109. Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, 132.

110. *HRB*, xiii–xiv.

111. "Ceste estorie fist translater / Dame Custance la gentil." Gaimar, 348 (lines 6436–37). The short epilogue's mention of "good Queen Adeliza" is at ibid., 354.

112. Ibid., xxx–xxxi.

113. Ælfric, *LS*, 4 (OE preface); Ælfric, *The Old English Heptateuch*, 3 (Ælfric's preface to Genesis). Ælfric did at least include the *Life of Thomas* in one of his commissions because of a direct request from the ealdorman, Æthelweard—he translated the life "sicut Æþelwerdus uenerabilis dux obnixe nos precatus est" (Ælfric, *LS*, 2:400).

114. "mez avarice a frait a largesce sa grace, / ne peut lez mainz ouvrir, plus sont gelez que glace." Wace, *Rou*, i, lines 9–10, pp. 2–3 (trans. Burgess).

115. "mult en escris e mult en fis. / Par Deu aie e par le rei . . . m'en fu donee, Deus li rende, a Baieues une provende." Wace, *Rou*, iii, lines 5312–16, pp. 214–15 (trans. Burgess).

116. A common assumption: see, e.g., Judith Weiss's remarks in Wace, *Brut*, xii, and Glyn Burgess in *Rou*, xviii. While Wace thanks patrons in his work, nowhere does he say that his translation work was rewarded with any particular gift or advancement. Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, reminds us that Wace does not say "that the royal couple helped his work in any way" (p. 133). Recently, Laura Ashe has extended the collective worries about royal patronage and argued for a less controlling role played by Henry and Eleanor. Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 2007), 125–28.

117. Ansketil de Bulmer, a Norman who was steward to Robert Fossam, served as translator for a royal inquest in York in 1106. Van Caenegem, *English Lawsuits*, 1: 139 (no. 172).

118. H. Tsurushima, "Domesday Interpreters," *ANS* 18 (1996): 209, 218–20.

119. Of course the same worries we had about linking Wace's translating and his prebend apply here, and are complicated further by our ignorance of the military service the translators may also have performed. Their identification as translators in Domesday Book, however, and its date, twenty years after the conquest, does suggest that the man who received the land as a translator, if continental in origin, is not likely to have developed that skill overnight in 1066, but to have acquired both language and royal service employing it in the years following Hastings.

120. Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters*, 9–18.

121. Hereditary in the sense that one continued to serve the heir of the lord. See the example cited by Bullock-Davies (ibid., 13) of Richard Latemerus, who served successively William de Londres, lord of Ogmore, and his son, Maurice. Godfrey L. Clark, ed., *Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent*, 4 vols. (Cardiff, 1910), 1: 125.

122. Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London, 2003), 46–50, 106–110.

123. Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters*, 10–12.

124. Ibid.

125. *Gaimar*, 348 (lines 6445–58).

126. Tsurushima, "Domesday Interpreters," 212. See, e.g., Hudson, *Historia* 2.43, 2: 48–49, where in the late eleventh century Gilbert Latimer, "id est Interpres" [that is, the Translator], may have held or inherited lands in return for service by him or his ancestors as translators for the abbot.

4

Methods: Practical Matters

The motive behind a translation sometimes determined the method of the translator. Motive might affect everything from the shape or contents of the translation to the words themselves. A translator commissioned to transform a prereform English work into a Latin saint's *Life* appropriate for twelfth-century readers might for that reason omit passages describing now inappropriate actions or miracles, elide his source with reform-vetted sources, and screen the vocabulary to avoid reminding readers of former bad habits of the church and its saints. A twelfth-century French translator aiming to entertain a noble audience might wander far beyond the narrow bounds of the source in ways pleasing to readers and listeners, transforming, for example, Aeneas from a migrant Trojan warrior into a courtly knight, recognizable and admirable to a contemporary lay court. The urge to produce a work that would reach the illiterate and help them fortify their souls might also mean that the translator would use simpler words to represent the technical theological language of the source. Or the translator might not perform any of these makeovers. Although motive could lead directly to method, this did not automatically happen. Take, for example, the biblical book of Psalms translated into English by King Alfred in the ninth century and into French by an anonymous translator in the twelfth. Both translated Psalms not only to bring God's poetry to the people, but also to overcome the linguistic limitations of the community. Nevertheless, while Alfred in the ninth century also translated to clear away obscurities in the Latin source, the translator of a twelfth-century French version left the obscurities untouched, preferring to match the source word for word rather than alter it for clarity.[1] Though their translations are radically different, both were moved to translate by a similar spirit. The translators' methods are what distinguish one from the other.

The way to understand method is not principally through motive, but through the training, resources, and actions of the translators.[2] Translators' fundamental approaches were derived from the educational process itself, learned in schools that most commonly taught children to understand Latin.[3] A good deal of what children did in class was translate Latin into their vernacular to demonstrate competence. The patterns of such practice would likely carry over into the translator's method throughout life.[4] The translator came to the task with resources—grammars, glossaries, and native speakers were all used to supplement basic linguistic skills. After training came the act of translation, performed with or without reliance on any resources. The material setting of translation and drafting practices employed can at times be glimpsed. Finally, the linguistic act of translating consisted of a translator making a number of choices at all levels: which texts to translate, how to edit and present them, and what words to use to represent the source's words. These questions are answerable. In that space between the eyes, mind, hand, stylus and wax, or pen and parchment, occurred the act of translation, in some ways fundamentally the same through all the ages, but in its variations offering insight into the changing undercurrents in the intellectual and cultural life of its practitioners. The present chapter will attempt to describe how translators worked in England from the age of Alfred to c. 1200.

TRAINING

The creation of a translation began for the translator with the acquisition of a second language. There were several ways this could be done. In bilingual communities, it may have been acquired naturally and passively.[5] Such was the case, no doubt, for many of the oral translators, like Ansketil de Bulmer, reeve of the North Riding (c. 1106), or Hugolin, the king's translator, who employed their skills to assist courts, or like the French poet Adgar in the 1160s, who was known to more people as William, and can be presumed to have had both English and French.[6] In other cases, a second language had to be learned in school.[7] Opportunities for education increased in the twelfth century as the number of schools grew. Schools outside of monasteries and in towns increased dramatically in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: from four such schools in eleventh-century English records to no fewer than thirty-five in the twelfth century.[8]

Regardless of period or place, schools of all types devoted most of their energy toward teaching students to read and write Latin.[9] The ultimate goal was for the student to learn how to speak Latin, but how often this was achieved is unclear. Students would memorize texts—probably recorded daily on wax tablets—for recitation in class the following day. Writing was taught by training students in the use of the tools, from a stylus on wax to knives used to trim pens or scrape errors off parchment. Speech was learned indirectly by memorizing and reciting psalms and other liturgical texts, and directly through the memorization and manipulation of conversations recorded in colloquies and the lessons of grammar.[10] Ælfric Bata's *Colloquy* (c. 1000) was written to give boys "some introduction to speaking Latin [*latinitas*]."[11] It anticipates and leverages the insecurities of students in ways unlike a modern language instructor's technique:

"Dearest brother, can you speak Latin?"

"Actually no, just a little, very few words. I don't understand as much as I read and learned, since I forgot a lot because of the dullness of my ignorance. . . . Though I have little intelligence, I do recognize a few of those words when I concentrate on them, but I can't answer or speak properly according to grammatical rules."[12]

Vocabulary would be acquired first through the vernacular, with Latin words defined in the vernacular. In some schools, as students progressed they would begin to define new Latin vocabulary by using other Latin words—synonyms or near synonyms. Elsewhere, glossing in the vernacular remained standard. The texts by which students were taught remained relatively unchanged during this period—basic grammars, biblical texts, and simple works like the *Distichs of Cato*, itself translated into English and French in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[13] These were the books on which a future translator would have cut his or her teeth.

Training did not produce uniform competence, and translators exhibit varying degrees of competence in the language of both source and target. The writers responsible for the West Saxon translation of the Gospels slip often enough to suggest that they did not have a consistently strong knowledge of Latin. The Vulgate's "grex multorum porcorum pascens" [a herd of many pigs grazing] (Mt 8: 30) becomes "an swyna heord manegra manna læswiende" [a swine herd of many men feeding].[14] "Apparently," suggests the editor, Roy Liuzza, "*multorum* has been understood as a noun rather than an adjective."[15] Here the translator is not editing or reinterpreting the Latin source, but merely mistaking its vocabulary and syntax.

The rough quality of many Latin translations suggests the translators were, not surprisingly, more comfortable in their vernaculars than in their target language. Differences in abilities between translators were, of course, common. For example, some scholars suspect that despite Adelard of Bath's years away from England and visits to southern Italy, Sicily, and probably Antioch in the early twelfth century, his command of Arabic was never all that confident. As Margaret Gibson observes, he mistakes Arabic *mankūs* "reversed" for *manqūs* "diminished," and so alters what should be a contrast between *rectus* and *versus*, two forms of sine, to one between *planum* "flat, a plane surface" and *diminutum* "broken"; Gibson suggests that "this may be the error of a man whose command of written Arabic was less sure than his knowledge of the spoken language."[16] One conclusion is that levels of competence in either source or target language could vary widely, reflecting in part the difficulties students faced in language training.

REFERENCE BOOKS

Help was available to bridge the gap between the translators' knowledge and true fluency. Glosses could serve as rough and simple dictionaries.[17] One of the more substantial examples of an early collection of glossaries is London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii., a mid-tenth-century manuscript that holds three separate glossaries, each of a different type.[18] First, there is an alphabetical glossary (*A* to *P*, Latin-English), and within each letter, lemmata are grouped by source (marked in the margins with *sigla*). The second, the most structurally complex, is a Latin-English class glossary arranged by subjects, but also partly alphabetically and partly by lemmata in the New Testament. The glosses are presented as interlinear (fig. 4.1).

The third glossary is a Latin-English *glossae collectae* to the late seventh-century and early eighth-century writer Aldhelm's *In Praise of Virginity*, in both prose and verse versions. Like the second glossary, this one is presented as interlinear glosses, with lemmata and glosses arranged in the order of their occurrence in Aldhelm's text. In addition, the title and chapter numbers where the word appears in Aldhelm's treatise are provided as a reference. The whole collection received a new title at a later date, perhaps in the twelfth century, which may be the result of cataloging, but also likely shows continuing use of this older volume: "Glossarium cum interpretatione" [Word list with translation].[19] These glossaries were not created for translators, but to aid readers of particular texts and to train students in Latin. Nevertheless, they could easily be turned to the purpose of translation.

Rarely can a translator's use of a glossary be proven. One translation that does show such use is the early twelfth-century Latin *Institutes of Cnut*. The translator of the *Institutes* turned to a glossary like Ælfric's and introduced a flaw in his text.[20] The word he wanted to translate was *lendenbræde* "loins," in King Alfred's list of fines for wounds to different parts

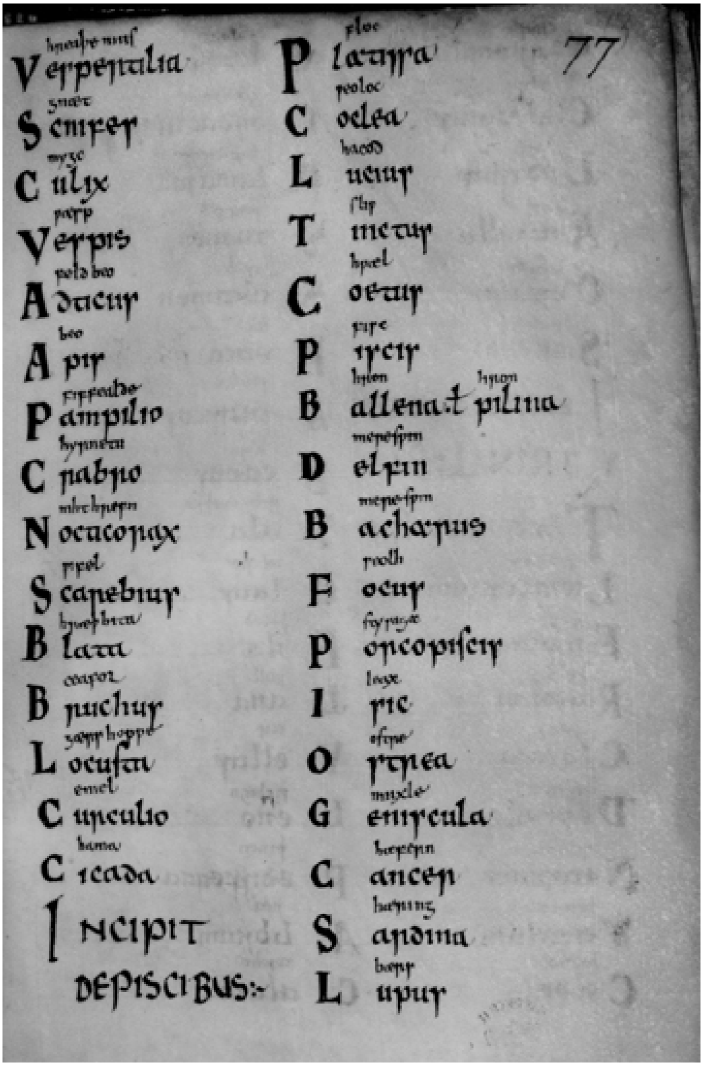


Figure 4.1. **Flyers and swimmers. This mid tenth-century glossary is the second of three Latin-Old English glossaries in this manuscript from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The first glossary is organized alphabetically, the second by subject, and the third according to the order in which the words appear in the Latin text of Aldhelm's *De laude uirginitatis* [In praise of virginity]. The folio shown here records Latin lemmata with interlinear Old English glosses for birds and sea animals, beginning on the top of the left column with *vespertalia* [sic], glossed as *hreaþemu*s 'bat', followed by Latin and Old English for gnat, wasp, bumble bee, and so on. Fish begin on the bottom of the column, with Latin *platissa* [sic] / OE *floc* 'flatfish, flounder' listed first at the top of the right column. London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A.iii, fol. 77. *By permission of the British Library.***

of the body.[21] The translator rendered this word as *assatura renum* "roast kidneys," transforming a wounding of the body between the hip and lowest rib into something rather different. He had found *bræde* in the glossary with *assatura* as its gloss and had borrowed it, assuming *bræde* and (*lande-*) *bræde* were the same thing.[22] He must have noticed the oddity, but probably felt that the authority of his dictionary, and his moderate ability in English, forced him to translate as he did. That his use of the glossary was not very thorough is also clear; later in the glossary, *landebræde* is defined as *lumbolos* "little loins," which occurs in many of the same glossaries as *bræde*. One cannot dismiss the possibility that it was not the translator, but one of his mischievous or ignorant colleagues, who found the glossary and located the lemma. For all we know, it might have been added as a joke, or to spite an interfering cantor or other official who insisted that all of the English sources of the *Instituta* be translated accurately.

For translators moving texts into French, such reference material was only available from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The earliest glossaries per se are a late twelfth-century trilingual legal glossary, attributed in some manuscripts to Alexander of Lincoln (1123–1148), a late twelfth-century trilingual botanical glossary, and an early thirteenth-century copy of Alexander Nequam's (1157–1215) *Names of Useful Things*.[23] Vernacular glossing appears to have been something Francophones considered doing only after the Norman conquest, probably as a result of encountering English-Latin glossaries.

For those working in other languages—notably Greek and Hebrew—there were glossaries of various kinds. Greek glossaries had been available in small numbers in the West for centuries, but for the most part presented the technical vocabulary of the language.[24] Students who used them without having an understanding of the language's grammar would not have been able either to read texts or learn the language. Similarly, without a Hebrew speaker and text, Jerome's *Hebraicum* translation of the Psalms, Hebraized in the ninth century in Francia and available in England shortly thereafter, would have served no purpose in teaching Hebrew.[25] Herbert of Bosham (fl. 1162–1186), however, admitted to using "a certain Book of the Jews," Menahem ibn Saruq's *Mahberet* (mid-tenth century), which has a Hebrew glossary. Herbert can also be detected as having used the Hebrew commentary of Rashi, whose etymological interests agreed with his own.[26]

For help with matters such as verb conjugation, noun declension, and syntax, there were grammars.[27] These were all for the Latin language, though Ælfric's Old English translation of Priscian's Latin grammar indirectly illuminated the structure of the target language by presenting English analogues of Priscian's Latin examples. After 1066, some copies of Ælfric's grammar were glossed in French.[28] One late eleventh-century copy of the *Grammar* and *Glossary* has been intermittently glossed in Latin, English, and French.[29] The Latin glosses are mostly lemmata from the text, placed in the margin as an aid to navigating through the text. The French glosses are almost all interlinear and rest above the Latin or the English of the text. Some seem to signal what was most important in a lordly society undergoing a commercial revolution: the bottom margin of fol. 13r has French (but not English) glosses for three words, *obsequium/servise* "service," *obnoxius/reddentable* "owing obedience," and *commercium/marcandise* "trade."[30] In other places it looks as if whoever was glossing was trying to learn English and Latin by matching French with English or Latin conjugations (fig. 4.2).[31] In general, interpreting the purpose of the text is tricky.

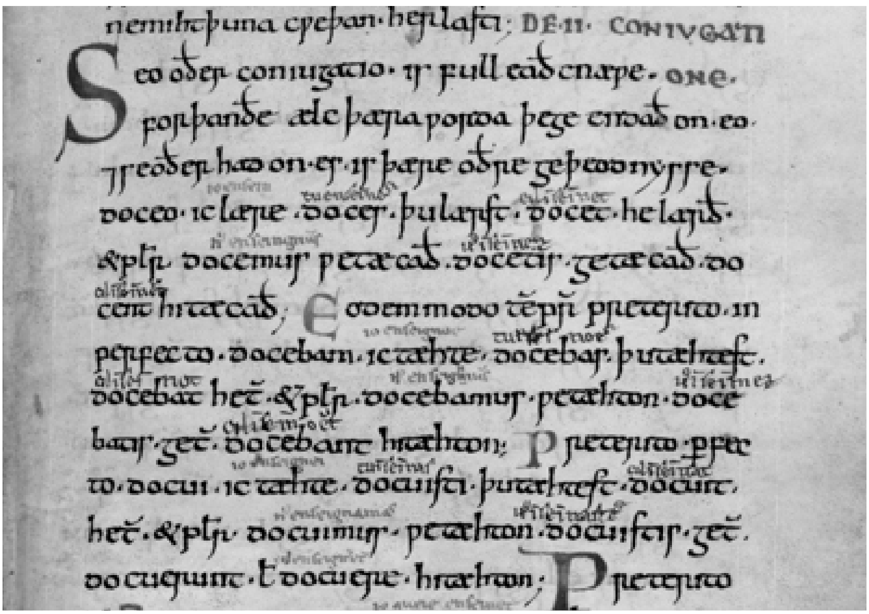


Figure 4.2. Conjugating in three tongues. In his *Grammar*, Ælfric used English forms to illustrate and translate analogous Latin grammatical forms. On this folio of a late eleventh-century copy of the *Grammar*, beginning on line 5, Ælfric explains the forms of Latin verbs of the second conjugation with the example of *doceo* 'to teach, learn' and two of its English synonyms, *læran*, used for the present indicative singular, and *tæcan* for the rest of the examples. Above the Latin example and English translation two glossators added, near the end of the twelfth century, the appropriate forms of French *enseigner* 'to teach'. One of the glossators appears to have been comfortable in both source languages (thus glosses in the lighter ink appears over both Latin and English lemmata), while the other glossed only the Latin. London, BL, Cotton Faustina A.x, fol. 50. *By permission of the British Library.*

As with glossaries, so also with grammars: non-Francophone translators moving texts to or from French were at a disadvantage. The twelfth-century glosses added to the copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* stand as the earliest grammar of that language. The first grammatical treatise dedicated to French dates to c. 1200 and is rudimentary, describing the conjugation of a few verbs.[32] This paucity reflects the background of most translators: some training in Latin or other learned languages and social acquisition of one or more vernaculars. Help with learned languages, especially Latin, was abundant, while few texts were available to help a translator understand a vernacular.

COLLABORATION WITH NATIVE SPEAKERS AND EXPERTS

The idea of using a native speaker to assist a translator had a venerable model in Jerome, and the insistent recommendation of Augustine of Hippo, but there was no great need for this until the Norman conquest, when speakers of two vernaculars were spread, albeit unevenly, throughout the kingdom, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and were in constant contact.[33] In addition to speakers of the most common vernaculars, English and French, bilingual Hebrew speakers were also available. By c. 1150 most towns had Jewish communities and consequently Hebrew texts and readers, and a few Christian scholars took advantage of their presence.[34] Native English speakers may have assisted translators orally, but it is not clear in the few instances where we have evidence what their contribution was.[35] After the Norman conquest, Abingdon Abbey, for instance, used two "eloquent" English monks, Sacol and Godric, and a priest named Ælfwig, and hired "many other English pleaders" to present their cases.[36] These men were valued foremost for their knowledge of law and procedure. It is possible that if they knew Latin they may also have served as translators for courts where Latin had become the common language of record for French and English speakers. These English monks and pleaders could have collaborated in the creation and/or translation of the Edwardian grants and writs in the abbey's archive—thought by many scholars to be forgeries. The chapter of the *History of Abingdon Abbey* that introduces these Englishmen points out that they helped Abbot Adelelm's efforts to get the charters of Edward the Confessor recognized in court. The *History* incorporates copies of the supposed English originals for two writs of Edward the Confessor as well as postconquest Latin translations. These latter may have been done by the chronicle scribes, but the English texts themselves are very possibly postconquest confections based on authentic preconquest writs.[37] One can imagine that Abingdon's English-speaking monks and pleaders, with their language and procedural expertise, might have played a role in both the creation of the pseudo-originals—they are perfectly presentable as late West Saxon—and their translation into Latin. Similar needs throughout the kingdom to understand past grants and make them intelligible to the new lords could well have been met by similar means.[38]

Beyond such speculative involvement by native speakers, a few collaborators, principally scholars, have left us some evidence about whom they worked with and why. Even here, however, it is not always easy to know the actual relationship between translator and native speaker. We have hints of such a relationship between Herbert of Bosham (fl. 1160s to 1180s) and someone who aided him in commenting on the literal meaning of the Hebrew text of the Psalms.[39] Herbert was the most competent western Hebraist of the Middle Ages and had access to a range of Hebrew texts for interpreting Old Testament books. Nevertheless, he sought out collaboration with a Jew, probably conversing in French peppered with Hebrew vocabulary, to research his commentary on the Psalms. Herbert wrote that he was recording the explanations he had heard from a Jew and translating them into Latin.[40] Similarly, Ralph Niger (d. 1205) relied on two Jewish converts to Christianity to understand and translate Hebrew names, though even this help appears not to have given Ralph confidence in the results; despite word lists and translators, he still felt the meanings of the words were as if seen hidden in a mirror (*per speculum in enigmate*).[41] Herbert and Ralph were not alone in seeking help from Jews in order to interpret Hebrew texts; their contemporaries Stephen Harding and Maurice of Kirkham, as well as possibly Andrew and Richard of St. Victor, sought assistance.[42]

Another such relationship that has received a good deal of scrutiny is that between Adelard of Bath, Walcher of Great Malvern, and Petrus Alfonsi, a Spanish Jew who had become a Christian in 1106. What Petrus Alfonsi knew were languages—Hebrew and Arabic to be sure, as well as some sort of Old Spanish and the rudiments of Latin.[43] This knowledge proved useful when he moved to England, it appears, by 1116. He came to England probably for much the same reason that he later went to France: to offer, as he says, the science of the Arabs to the philosophers of the kingdom.[44] There he dictated astronomical tables for predicting eclipses to Walcher, prior of Great Malvern just outside Worcester, sometime before 1120.[45] In addition, he was active in the west country just when Adelard appears to have returned to Bath, at a time when some suspect Adelard began his translations of Arabic sources, a task that could have been made much more pleasant for the Arabic-challenged Adelard by the assistance of a fluent Arabic speaker (and reader), Petrus Alfonsi—or if not Petrus, then another Arabic-speaking Jew or former Jew, as Charles Burnett has suggested.[46] In those days, Petrus Alfonsi was not the only immigrant in

England to possess the necessary skills. After these collaborations, Petrus appears to have gone to France, and then, possibly, returned to Spain to continue his work in Toledo.

In several cases, translators turned for assistance to those learned in, rather than raised with, the source language. While this is a fairly common practice now—witness Seamus Heaney's collaboration with Alfred David for his translation of *Beowulf*—it is unclear how often it applies to a medieval translator's work. Cædmon (late seventh century), whose biblical poetry Bede praises, may have received, according to Andy Orchard, the raw material for his poetry in the form of English prose from ecclesiastics who knew Latin.[47] His job was then to turn these "texts" into poetry. Much more is known about the relationships between King Alfred and his several clerical helpers. David Pratt has recently put these relationships under some magnification and has been able to detect, for example, the interpretative "manoeuvres" of western Frankish writers, conveyed by Grimbald of St. Bertin to Alfred, in the way the king translated some sections of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*.[48] Alfred's work depended intimately on being assisted by those around him who knew Latin, read books, and were willing to serve their lord. Even if Pratt, and many others, see the common vision of Alfred throughout the translations, it is a vision that could not have been set in writing or achieved its shape without the work of collaborators like John the Old Saxon, Grimbald, and Asser.

Beyond these high profile cases, we are left with conjecture. In the aftermath of the Norman conquest, if collaboration between French and English speakers, as well as between either and Welsh speakers, occurred—and it must have—it has left little direct evidence in written translations.[49] By the time monastic houses began to translate their English records in the twelfth century, it is likely that Norman or Francophone translators would have represented the second or third generation of the postconquest settlers and so would have known English from their childhood. In any case, it does seem as if relationships between translators and native speakers in the period from Alfred on were ad hoc, a product of the efforts of individual scholars to gain better access to their sources. Such collaboration appears not to have been usual except, perhaps, in governance after the conquest.[50] The sources allow us to say little else.

THE PROCESS OF TRANSLATION

With some knowledge of the languages of source and target, potential access to glossaries and grammars, as well as the possibility of using native speakers at either end of the process, our translator was ready to begin. The following sections consider the preliminary decisions of the translation act itself, moving from the physical setting of translation, to where translators found their sources and how they drafted their translations.

Physical Setting

Almost no translator tells us where he or she was, physically, when translating. William of Malmesbury (c. 1090–c. 1143) translated the Old English *Life of Wulfstan* for the prior and monks of Worcester and mentions that the work had taken him six weeks to complete. He does not say whether most of this work was done at Worcester, where perhaps the only copy of his source, Coleman's *Life* (written before 1113), was, or in the familiar surroundings of Malmesbury Abbey.[51] We can sometimes place a translator in a particular monastery or city, but not in a building or room or at a particular desk. Wace (b. 1110) complains about his patron's loss of interest in his project, but does not tell us whether he did his unappreciated work in Rouen, where he had received a prebendary from Henry II, or in Angers, London, or any other place in the Angevin empire. It seems likely, however, that most translators who were monks worked in the scriptoria of their monasteries, and those who were canons worked in their cathedral or chapter libraries. It may be that cloisters were the scene of much translating, as they were the prime spot for reading. Within such a setting, the translator would work at one of the desks we see frequently illustrated in contemporary texts (fig. 4.3).

We know that while some could work from home with sources in their collections, others had to travel for their material. Ælfric and Adelard, two of the most prolific translators of the period, illustrate well these two patterns. Ælfric worked from home. He used large continental homilaries—principally the one collected by Paul the Deacon (720–799) for Charlemagne—as the basis for his Old English sets of homilies (the so-called *Catholic Homilies*, composed sometime between 989 and 995, and edited later).[52] His *Saints' Lives* are principally translations of passages from Latin works, but using the Latin source often as raw material from which to construct a vernacular work—a common method for all homilists and English translators in general.[53] Perhaps in the late 990s, he translated excerpts from Priscian and sections of the Old Testament. He also translated Alcuin's *Questions of Sigewulf concerning Genesis* as well as, in one work, materials in Bede's *On the Calculation of Time*, *On the Seasons*, and *On the Nature of Things*; these works of Alcuin and Bede were much altered, shortened, and simplified in the process.[54] Identification of Ælfric's translations and texts is still ongoing, with some items still in limbo, but the list is impressive in size and complexity and exceeds any contemporary translator's work. Adding to this complexity is Ælfric's habit of revising translations. Tracing these has been the specific

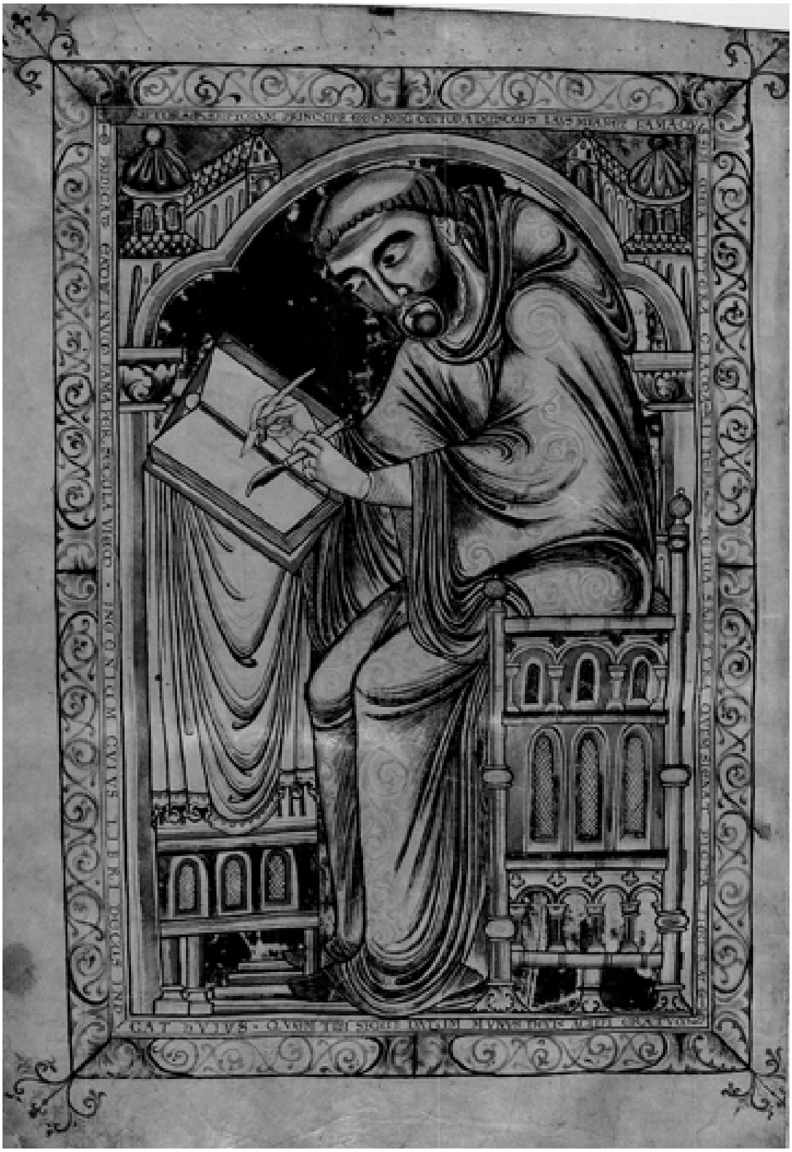


Figure 4.3. Eadwine at work. Portrait of the scribe Eadwine, labeled *scriptorum princeps* [the prince of scribes] in the upper border, working at his desk, presumably at Christ Church, Canterbury. The mid twelfth-century psalter in which this portrait appears holds all three of Jerome's versions of the Psalms, one of which is accompanied by an older Old English translation, and another by one of the earliest Anglo-French translations of the Psalms. Neither of these translations, however, was done by Eadwine and his fellow scribes, though the Old English was modernized and the Anglo-French corrected in this copy. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.17.1, fol. 283v. *By permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.*

joy of a number of scholars. The results are difficult to digest—Peter Clemoes' *stemmata* representing Ælfric's revisions of just his *Catholic Homilies* look like the architectural schema for an extremely large rail-switching yard.[55]

The size, shape, and location of Ælfric's sources has received much scrutiny in the last century. The result has been that Ælfric's library has shrunk owing to the recognition that Ælfric often found his sources already collected and ready to use. C. E. Smetana's work in particular, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, reduced the astonishing array of patristic books used as sources for the homilies to, for the majority of Ælfric's sermons, two Carolingian collections, to which, because of the research of Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, we can add the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*.[56] Nevertheless, we still have to speak hypothetically about the documents before him when he sat down to translate.

Let us consider one of the sources Ælfric used and about which we know a good deal: Julian of Toledo's seventh-century eschatological treatise, the *Prognosticon.* Identifying even which copy of Julian's *Prognosticon* Ælfric used to construct his sermon on the Pentecost is hard or impossible to do. Only two of the extant copies were in existence in England in Ælfric's day: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 399, a ninth-century Northern French product that was in England by the first half of the tenth century, and British Library, Royal 12.C.xxiii, a Christ Church Canterbury manuscript from the end of the tenth or the very beginning of the eleventh century, which in fact may be too late to have served Ælfric.[57] Although the source of Ælfric's copy of Julian's *Prognosticon* is unknown, it would not be at all surprising to discover that Ælfric used local copies of this and many of the sources he translated. Malcolm Godden assumes that Ælfric could easily have had not just the *Prognosticon*, but all of his sources at Cerne Abbas—after all, the three main sources for the homilies and lives would fit in five volumes, while a further ten volumes would hold the rest—"not an enormous library for Cerne to be provided with," Godden reminds us, "especially given Ælfric's expectations of the library of even an ordinary secular priest."[58] We are left with the suspicion that as Ælfric traveled very little, he likely found his sources close to home if not in fact entirely in the two abbeys where he spent his working life.[59]

Moving a century forward, let us ask the same questions of Adelard of Bath. Where did Adelard find his sources? This, surprisingly, is even less known than was the case with Ælfric. A later translator, Daniel of Morley (before 1200), tells us that he came home to England bearing books of the philosophy of the Arabs.[60] Adelard is silent about where he found his sources. Some have thought that Petrus Alfonsi brought books to England from Spain—the one used by Walcher for his translation

Map 4.1. Expanding horizons of translators, c. 1010 to c. 1152

of the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi is, it appears, the same source used by Adelard.[61] But Petrus told Walcher that he had left his books back home and so could not answer all of the inquisitive prior's questions. There is no evidence to show whether Adelard translated his works in Sicily, Italy, or Antioch, and brought the translations home, or carted his Arabic manuscripts to England, settled in Bath, and began the work of translation there.[62] The gap Adelard had to cross to get to his sources is geographically bigger than what Ælfric faced, but the setting in which they were finally translated was probably remarkably similar (map 4.1).[63]

Drafting

Whether at home, in a monastic scriptorium, a bishop's palace, an aristocratic residence, or on the road, translators probably followed much the same routine as all writers. They used similar tools. They worked on their texts through a similar progression of drafts to produce fair copies. What we learn of the behavior of writers is applicable to the behavior of translators.

Traditions in education and the cost of alternatives meant that translators, like all writers, probably used inexpensive materials for drafting their texts. Most useful here would have been wax tablets like those on which the translators had probably first learned to read and write. These tablets were simple affairs, consisting of a wood frame and backing about the size of a page, on which was spread, inside the frame, a thin layer of colored wax.[64] Stories of the use of wax for drafts by writers after the Norman conquest are common. Anselm (d. 1109) composed his *Proslogion* on wax tablets, rewriting it three times after mishaps he blamed on the devil destroyed the drafting tablets. The source of the story about the *Proslogion*, Eadmer's (d. 1130) *Life of St. Anselm*, was composed on wax ("in cera dictaveram") and later transcribed onto parchment.[65] William of Newburgh (c. 1136–c. 1198) drafted his commentary on the Song of Songs on wax.[66] Orderic Vitalis (b. 1075) was visited at St. Évroul by a Winchester monk who had a copy of the *Life of St. William* with him—Orderic could not copy it with ink because time was short and the winter cold, so he put it on wax and later added it to his *Historia*.[67]

Some writers may have worked on parchment scraps rather than wax, though it is not usually possible to tell the difference in the final product.[68] Detecting the use of parchment for drafts rests on how manuscript errors or variants are evaluated. Some messy texts that give the appearance of contamination between manuscript families are merely the result of messy parchment drafts, where, because an author had marked up the draft—scraping away some text, striking through or

Figure 4.4. Scribe scraping off error. This mid eleventh-century Gospel book, which belonged to Judith (d. 1094), wife of Earl Harold Godwineson's brother Tostig, shows possession of a knife used by a scribe to remove ink from parchment. Wielding the knife to remove error is the Gospel writer Luke, who should have been thought infallible by the illustrator because Luke's composition of his Gospel had divine inspiration and authority. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 709, fol. 77v.

dotting other passages or words, adding replacement text between the lines, in the margins, or on top of sections scraped clean—it was not clear to copyists which word was the author's final choice (fig. 4.4). The editors of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* plausibly posit such a problem to explain apparent contamination in the manuscript families.[69] The presence of original text and emendations has likewise been seen as the explanation for variant readings in copies of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus*.[70] The survival of John of Worcester's (fl. 1118–40) draft shows how difficult it might be to distinguish the different stages of an author's revision.[71]

The detection and analysis of the drafting of medieval texts is similar to breaking a code. Rarely is there any visible sign of earlier drafts, yet we know that such drafts had once existed. We can trace the revisions of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* or Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and suspect that new sections as well as revisions of existing passages were composed on some medium like wax or parchment scraps before being set in a fair copy. The form of these drafts, however, whatever their nature, has left no direct evidence. One place where we are given some sign of how a translator worked has already been mentioned: Ælfric's homily based on the *Prognosticon* of Julian of Toledo.[72] In 1957, Enid Raynes identified a copy of Ælfric's own excerpts from, and revision of, the Latin source used for one of his homilies.[73] The surviving copy of this text, in MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63, is contemporary with Ælfric, or slightly after his death, and was written by an English scribe in England.[74] It shows Ælfric the translator at work—teasing excerpts from his sources into a new Latin source that hid its seams and gaps, and then translating this Latin draft into Old English. Such a method helps explain what Ælfric means when he calls some of his works translations, when it seems clear that he has transformed his original source beyond anything word for word and sense for sense was capable of describing.[75] Given the volume of Ælfric's work, it seems probable that he constructed these new Latin texts on wax tablets first, rather than on expensive parchment.[76] What the Boulogne excerpts may represent, then, is a copy someone made of Ælfric's draft on wax before it had been erased. This is of course one of those discoveries rarely made while studying translation method in the early Middle Ages. Malcolm Godden has pointed out that the Boulogne excerpts are not a summary or an abridgment, but a revision of Julian's Latin treatise into the form of a homily, and, as he recognized, Ælfric had the full text of Julian available for use as a source for other works.[77] It appears that at times—perhaps often, or even always—Ælfric transformed his Latin sources into Latin sermons first before translating them into Old English.[78]

The creation of the F manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provides another example of the complex process behind composing a translation. Peter Baker has reconstructed the method by which this bilingual chronicle was produced in the first decade of the twelfth century. The translator/compiler, likely the cantor of Christ Church Cathedral, worked it first on wax or parchment scraps.[79] This draft was next likely transcribed, with revisions, onto parchment in what began as the author's fair copy, which survives. The first two quires of the chronicle are ruled spaciously, at twenty-one lines per page and represent the finished form of the first draft. The text here (fig. 4.5) looks like it was copied from a bilingual exemplar the author himself had created—translation and editing took place at the same time.[80] From the entry for the year 992 on folio 59v, the author wrote out the English annals in batches, leaving spaces he later filled with Latin translations (fig. 4.6).[81] These translations were not, one annal suggests, produced on the page, but elsewhere and then copied onto F.[82] This process was used in some but not all of the translation.[83]

This is just the first layer of complexity. The layout of the page changed at folio 45v, moving from twenty-one to twenty-nine lines per page, and again at folio 52v, from which point the ruling was irregular. The author made estimates of the amount of his material and physically rearranged folios in quires to accommodate this. The translating work was not straightforward either. The author translated both English and Latin, back and forth, though not consistently.[84] Some annals have no translation.[85] The translator does not appear to have thought it crucial to have his Latin and English texts agree with one another.[86] His sources were often nearby and used for consultation—Baker says they were "probably open before him."[87] He also travelled for material to add and translate; the evidence here is intriguing and may help identify the author. Some of the sources he used (but which we know were not available in the Canterbury libraries) are "clustered, as if the scribe had time to read only a few pages from each of them"—for example, the insertions from the *Historia Regum* of Symeon of Durham (fig. 4.7).[88] Here F's author may have scavenged in other libraries while away from Canterbury on official business, inserting new material into margins or between lines while traveling with his manuscript or on his return. Lastly, the author did not write this manuscript in chronological order. Layout and insertions betray adjustments and changes to the plan and execution.[89] What makes most of this reconstruction of the translator's method plausible is the fact that Baker identifies the sole surviving manuscript as the author's own—it was his hand that wrote almost all of it and presumably his plan that directed the entire process.[90]

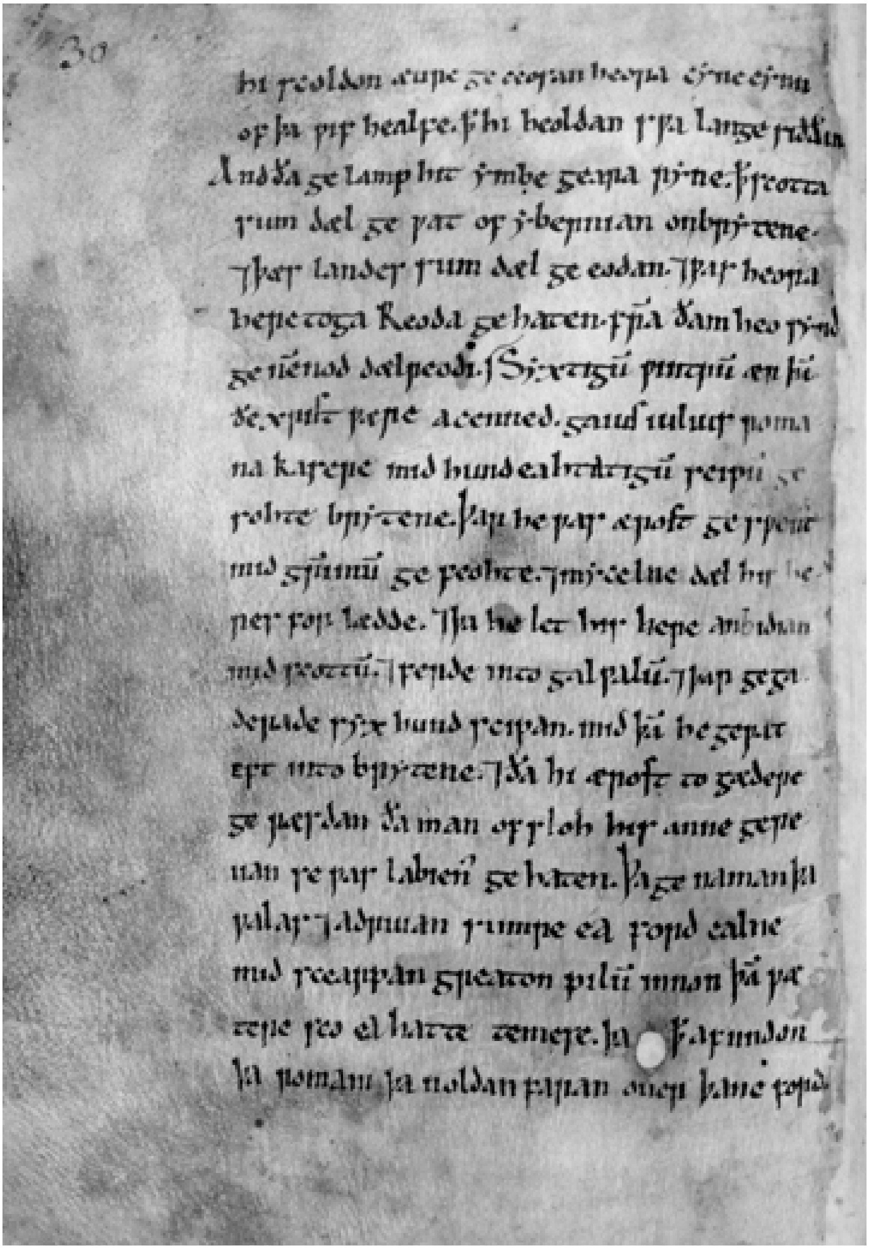


Figure 4.5. ***ASC*** **F: The fair copy of the draft. The Old English preface on this folio of the bilingual F version of the** ***Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*** **is followed on the next folio by a Latin version of the Old English preface derived from Bede's** ***Historia ecclesiastica,*** **though significantly revised (*ASC* F, preface and entry for 60 BCE). This is a fair copy of the author/translator's draft, showing no subsequent corrections or revisions to his text. London, BL, Cotton Domitian viii, fol. 30v.** ***By permission of the British Library.***

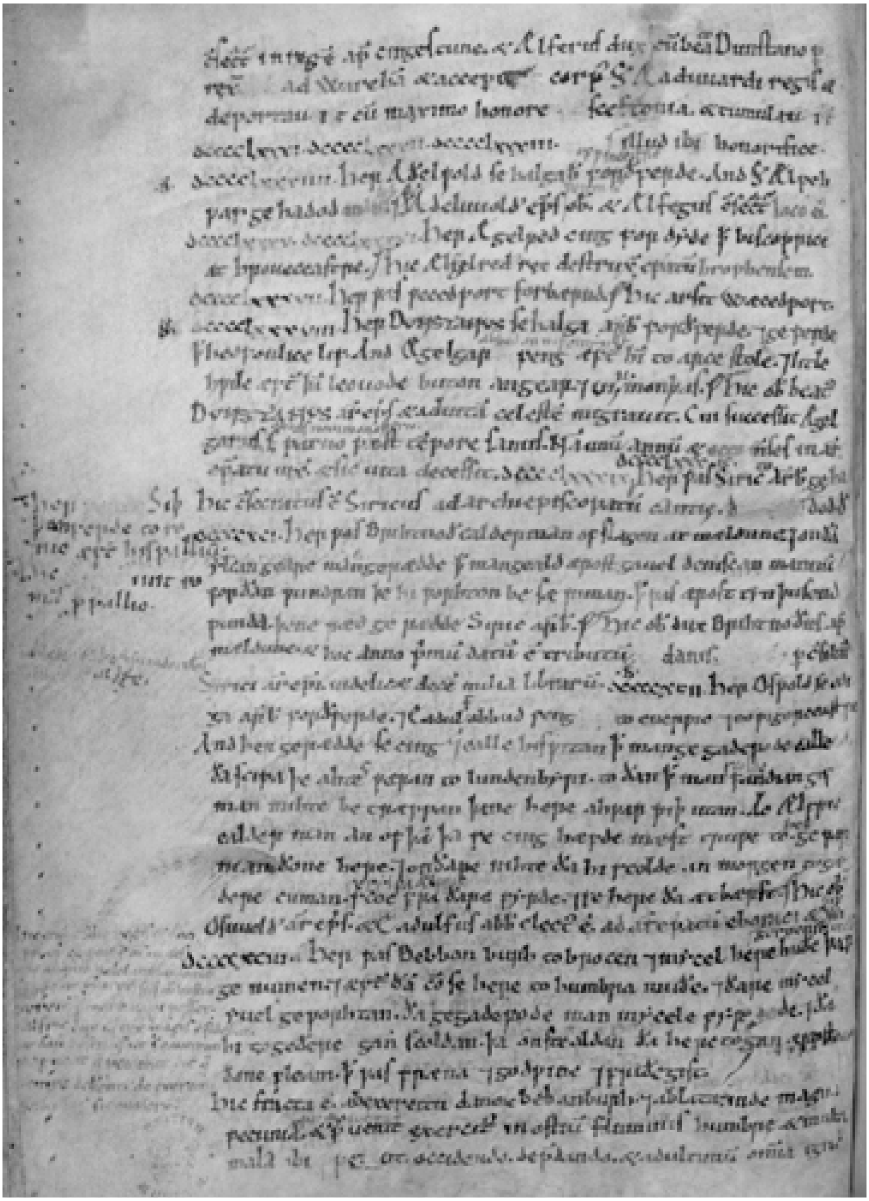


Figure 4.6. ***ASC*** **F: Filling gaps and adding material. These entries cover annals from the Latin version of the entry for the year 980 to the Latin version for 993. From 992 (line 22) the scribe changed his pattern of translation, writing the Old English entries and leaving space for the Latin to be added later. Marginal and interlinear additions are here accumulating. London, BL, Cotton Domitian viii, fol. 59v.** ***By permission of the British Library.***

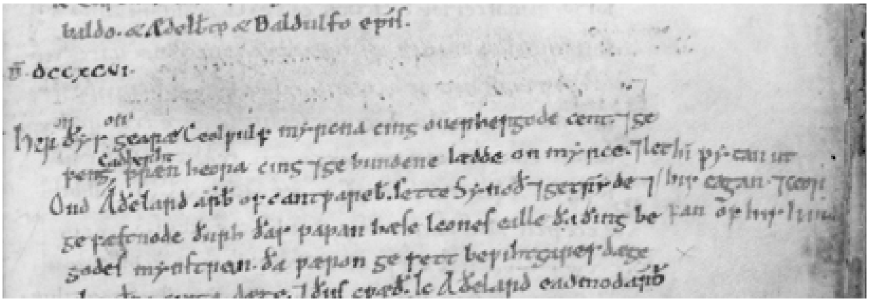


Figure 4.7. ***ASC*** **F: Editing entries. The scribe has taken from the early part of the** ***History of the Kings*****, written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, the story of the Mercian king Cenwulf's [MS: Ceolwulf] mutilation of Eadberht, king of Kent: "and let him pytan ut his eagan and ceorfan of his hand" [and he made them put out his eyes and cut off his hands]. The scribe had originally placed this in the entry for the year 798, where it is found in the** ***History of the Kings*****, then erased it and added it in the right margin at 796 where he had already described the capture of Eadberht (*ASC* F, pp. 56–57, n.6 [796] and n. 1 [798]). Later, presumably, the two lines immediately above, which originally began the entry for 796, were erased and left blank. London, BL, Cotton Domitian viii, fo. 50.** ***By permission of the British Library.***

CONCLUSIONS

The example of the creation of the bilingual F version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* brings together most of the topics raised throughout this chapter. Nevertheless, the F chronicle and all of the other examples of the practical matters that concerned translators—the training, resources, and venues where the work could be done, and the drafting techniques, which usually can only be guessed at—only explain external issues with which translators wrestled. The internal ones—those that governed narrowly what translators did with the words and forms of their sources—are the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

1. *PsalmsAlf* 45–53; Helge Nordahl, "*Verborum ordo mysterium*: Petite étude sur l'antéposition absolue du verbe dans la traduction en ancien français du livre des Psaumes," *Neophilologus* 62 (1978): 342–48.
2. Buridant, "*Translatio medievalis*," 93.
3. Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996), 61–72.
4. Ralph Hexter, "*Latinitas* in the Middle Ages: Horizons and Perspectives," *Helios* 14 (1987): 76.

5. Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 181–240; consider Elizabeth Lanza, *Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective* (Oxford, 1997), chapter 3, on the earliest stages of bilingualism.

6. Adgar, *Gracial*, 97, cited and discussed by Short, "*Tam Angli Quam Franci*," 161, with references to further cases of double naming at n. 35.

7. One consideration is where the teachers came from; the schoolmaster who taught Ælfric his Latin may have been the Welshman Iorwerth, who was a layman. Michael Lapidge, "Ælfric's School Days," in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe, Ariz., 2002), 306–309.

8. Nicholas Orme, "Lay Literacy in England, 1100–1300," in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, edited by Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (London, 1996), 51.

9. Gneuss, "Study of Language," 3–32; Hunt, *TLL*, passim in vol. 1. Douglas A. Kibbee, *"For to Speke Frenche Trewely": The French Language in England, 1000–1600* (Philadelphia, 1991), 11–13, 24–26, finds no evidence for the teaching of French in English schools until the thirteenth century, though see below, this chapter, 165 (fig. 4.2) for a text that may at least show the use of French to learn English or Latin.

10. Oral instruction in pronunciation is a key feature to the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, which begins with "speech sound" (Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, 10, 44–45).

11. "qualiter scolastici ualeant resumere fandi aliquod initium latinitatis sibi." Ælfric Bata, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations*, 80–81 (trans. Porter).

12. "Frater karissime, scis tu loqui in latina lingua? Non utique nisi paulisper et perpauca uerba et non tantum sapio quantum legi et didici, quia multa oblitus sum propter ebitudinem ignorantie meę . . . . Ego uero ex illis, quamquam sim paruus ingenio, longa tamen meditatione pauca uerba recognosco, sed hęc regulariter secundum grammaticam respondere uel loqui non possum." *Colloquy* 16, in ibid., 116–19 (trans. Porter).

13. M. Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of Latin Glosses," in *Latin and the Vernacular in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester, England, 1982), 102.

14. Roy Michael Liuzza, ed., *The Old English Version of the Gospels,* 2 vols., EETS 304, 314 (Oxford, 1994–2000), 2: 83.

15. Ibid.

16. Gibson says that "there are mistakes in the Arabic of a magnitude that even a non-Arabist can comprehend." Margaret T. Gibson, "Adelard of Bath," in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett (London, 1987), 13–14. Even more skeptical is M.–T. d'Alverny's comment in the printed discussion in "Abélard et l'Astrologie," in *Pierre Abélard, Pierre le Vénérable: Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XIIe siècle*, ed. R. Louis et al., Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 546 (Paris, 1975), 639. Adelard's error was first identified by Heinrich Suter in H. Suter, A. A. Bjornbo, and R. O. Besthorn, eds., *Die Astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammed ibn Mūsā al-Kwārismī*, D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter, 7. Række, Historisk og Filosofisk, Afd. III.1 (Copenhagen, 1914), 69.

17. Phillip Pulsiano, "Prayers, Glosses, and Glossaries," in Pulsiano and Treharne, *Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, 213–20.

18. Ker, 143; edited in Thomas Wright and Richard Paul Wülcker, eds., *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1884), 1: 257–83, 337–535.

19. The title is on top of folio 4, though it has been mutilated and Ker is not fully confident that it can be assigned to the twelfth century.

20. O'Brien, "*Instituta Cnuti*," 191.

21. The word appeared as *lendebræde* (*recte* 'lendenbræde') in the translator's source, Af 67: *GA* 1: 84–85 (Af 67 and In Cn 3.31).

22. Cf. *bræde* m. "roast meat"; *brædan* "to roast"; and *bræd* f. "flesh." See Wright and Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, no. 10, col. 127; Ælfric, *Gram.*, 316 and apparatus. Extant copies are listed in Ker, index 1, 517.

23. Dean 316, 313, and 301. The trilingual legal glossary also appears in bilingual form; the attribution of either form to Alexander of Lincoln is not unthinkable, but is unsupported by any other source. A. G. Dyson, "The Career, Family and Influence of Alexander le Poer, Bishop of Lincoln, 1123–1148" (BLitt thesis, University of Oxford, 1972), 20.

24. A. C. Dionisotti, "Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe," in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks,* ed. Michael W. Herren (London, 1988), 31–32; J. Gribomont, "Saint Bède et ses dictionnaires grecs," *Revue Benedictine* 89 (1979): 271–80; Anna Carlotta Dionisotti, "On Bede, Grammars, and Greek," *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982): 111–41, who reviews the evidence for whether or not Bede had one. Bede did not have a copy of the Greek source for the *Life of Anastasius* when he revised its Latin translation—probably to be identified as no. 408 in A. Poncelet et al., eds., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898–1901).

25. *Pace* S. Larratt Keefer and D. R. Burrows, "Hebrew and the Hebraicum in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 19 (1990): 80, but the mere presence of a text showing its Carolingian creator's "scholarly concern with accuracy in translating the Hebrew language" tells us, unfortunately, nothing about knowledge of Hebrew in Anglo-Saxon England.

26. Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki (1040–1105), Commentary to Psalm 86. R. Loewe, "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter," *Biblia* 34 (1953): 53–54, 59–60; Rashi, *Commentary on Psalms 1–89 (Books I–III),* trans. Mayer I. Gruber (Atlanta, 1998).

27. Louis Holtz, *Donat et la tradition d'enseignement grammatical* (Paris, 1981), and Vivien Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge, England, 1982).

28. Ker 17, 89, and 154. The edition of Ælfric's *Grammar* does not record most French glosses in its apparatus, though Hunt, *TLL*, does.

29. London, BL, Cotton Faustina A. x, fols. 3–100; Ker 154A. The glosses begin on fol. 6v.

30. French glosses are infrequent but not random. On fol. 20v, only two words are glossed: *pignus* is glossed as *guage*, and *foenus* is glossed as *surte,* both important legal terms relating to guarantees offered in cases and contracts to ensure performance or compliance.

31. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning,* 1: 100–111, has discussed and edited these French-Latin glosses.

32. Dean, 294.

33. Kamesar, *Jerome*, 41–44, 57, 61, 107, and 174–75, citing places where Jerome recommends working with Jews to understand Hebrew texts; on Jerome's use of native speakers, see chapter 1, p. 43. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2.50, p. 78. Augustine says that "If [unfamiliar words or expressions] come from other languages, the information must be sought from speakers of those languages," or else those languages must be learned or the reader must consult multiple translations.

34. Bartlett, *England*, 519. The possibility of collaboration with Hebrew speakers existed on the continent but not in preconquest England: one of Alcuin's students in Francia, Hrabanus Maurus, consulted a local Jew for help with the source languages of the Old Testament. Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Libros II Paralipomenon*, in *PL* 109, col. 281. He was not alone: see Keefer and Burrows, "Hebrew," 68–69.

35. Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters*, 9–10.

36. Hudson, *Historia* 2.4, 2: 4–5 (trans. Hudson).

37. Harmer, *Writs*, 122–33; Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, 2: 572–75. Kelly thinks Harmer's arguments that no. 148 was forged or interpolated are weak, but does consider no. 149 suspicious.

38. Cf. the work of Ansketil in the North Riding of Yorkshire. R. C. van Caenegem, ed. and trans., *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, Selden Society 106–107 (London, 1990), 1: 139 (no. 172). Two royal confirmations derived from this inquest may be spurious (communication from Richard Sharpe), and this possibility should caution against investing too much trust in the record of the inquest itself. Oral witness, rather than translation assistance, has attracted attention: Robin Fleming, "Oral Testimony and the Domesday Inquest," *ANS* 17 (1994): 101–22, for Domesday Book; with narrative sources, E. M. C. van Houts, "The Memory of 1066 in Written and Oral Traditions," *ANS* 19 (1996): 167–80; and idem, "Hereward and Flanders," 202–204. Perhaps one of the additional reasons Domesday juries were divided between the English and the Normans was to ensure linguistic competence in both languages, rather than merely to, as it were, even the sides.

39. R. Loewe, "The Medieval Christian Hebraists of England: Herbert of Bosham and Earlier Scholars," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 17 (1953): 225–49; Beryl Smalley, "A Commentary on the Hebraica of Herbert of Bosham," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 18 (1951): 29–65; Loewe, "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary," 44–77, 159–92, and 275–98.

40. Loewe, "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary," 54, with the commentary quoted on 68; Smalley, "Commentary," 47–63. Herbert similarly asked a Londoner, William Le Mire, abbot of St-Denis (1172/73–1186), for translations of Greek prologues to some of Paul's letters (Smalley, "Commentary," 38–40).

41. G. B. Flahiff, "Ralph Niger—An Introduction to His Life and Works," *Mediaeval Studies* 2 (1940): 121. Ralph was an admittedly insecure translator, who needed to have the agreement of a veritable committee of translators and texts (see ibid., 122 n. 97).

42. Loewe, "Medieval Christian Hebraists," 233–40.

43. On Petrus's poor Latin, see the thoughts of Charles Burnett, "The Works of Petrus Alfonsi: Questions of Authenticity," *Medium Ævum* 66 (1997): 61. On

Petrus's life, see Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 118–19; and John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, Fla., 1993).

44. Petrus Alfonsi, *Epistola ad Peripateticos*, c. 1, edited and translated in Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi*, 164–65.

45. Walcher's treatise is edited by J.–M. Millás Vallicrosa, "La aportación astronómica de Pedro Alfonso," *Sefarad* 3 (1943): 87–97. See also Burnett, "Works of Petrus Alfonsi," 45–47, 52–54; Haskins, *Studies*, 113–18; Burnett, *Introduction*, 39–40.

46. Burnett, *Introduction*, 40.

47. This relationship seems to be what Bede is describing. See Andy Orchard, "Poetic Inspiration and Prosaic Translation: The Making of Cædmon's Hymn," in *Studies in English Language and Literature, "Doubt Wisely," Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London, 1996), 414.

48. Pratt, *Political Thought*, 280. See pp. 223, 226–30, for the influence of Grimbald on the translations from Exodus in the *Domboc*, the composition of the *Domboc* itself, and Alfred's reshaping of sources and overseas advice. See also R. W. Clement, "The Production of the *Pastoral Care*: King Alfred and His Helpers," in Szarmach, *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, 129–52. The recent claim by Malcolm Godden that the translation of Boethius could not have been produced by Alfred and his assistants has begun to stimulate a rethinking of the criteria used up to now for assigning works to Alfred, but it is still too early to say that Godden has proven his case. See his British Academy Rawlinson lecture for 2009, and his introduction to the edition of *Boethius*, but also Malcolm Godden, "Did King Alfred Write Anything?" *Medium Ævum* 76 (2007): 1–23.

49. A hint of such collaboration between English literate monks and their Italian abbot may be found in Faricius's *Life of St. Aldhelm*, composed in the 1090s, in which Faricius admits to learning some facts by reading Latin translations of English documents: "antiquissimis Anglicanae linguae schedulis saepius ex interpretate legendo" [by often reading a translation of very old documents in English]. *Vita*, c. 1, cited and discussed by Michael Winterbottom, "Faricius of Arezzo's Life of St. Aldhelm," in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto, 2005), 1: 113–14. The quote from the *Vita* can be found at *PL* 89, col. 65. Unfortunately, we cannot say if the documents were translated specifically for him by someone else at Malmesbury, or had been done earlier. William of Malmesbury states that Faricius did not know English (*GP* 5. prol. 5, 1: 500–501). Faricius's claim that Aldhelm was a descendant of an otherwise unattested brother of King Ine named Kenten has been explained as a mistake for a descent from King Centwine, who ruled before Ine. If the mistake was made in the translation, rather than in Faricius' understanding of it, it is unlikely to have come from a charter by King Kentwine/Kenten. See S. E. Kelly, *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 11 (Oxford, 2005), 6.

50. Let me set aside Ockham's razor for a moment to offer some conjectures on collaboration. Consider the case of Richard of Ely, author of the *Deeds of Hereward* (written between 1109 and 1131). It is strange, if we are to believe what he says in his prologue, that Richard did not seek an English reader or translator to help him

understand "the unfamiliar writing" of some sources on the late eleventh-century rebel Hereward the Wake; he claims to have given up trying to make much sense of them and committed them to his recipient and "to the efforts of some trained person" to be sensibly arranged. Richard of Ely, *Gesta Herwardi incliti exulis et militis,* preface, edited by T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, in Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engles solum la translacion maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, 2 vols., RS (London, 1888–1889), 1: 339–41. It does appear that Richard could read English—he says he has used Leofric's Old English *Life*—but he was not confident enough of his skills to make conjectures when his copy of Leofric's text was damaged (as he observed). From another direction, could a writer like Wace or Gaimar have commissioned someone else to translate the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a translation then incorporated into the text as his own work? Proof of this might be seen in the different handling of sources, based on their language—e.g., a Latin source is freely expanded while an OE one is not, or vice versa. If the ghost translator moved it into French directly, and Gaimar simply smoothed it into his own work, the difference would be more visible. Similar collaboration might be behind the *Leis Willelme,* which appends to an original French description of law a French translation of an Old English source. See Liebermann, "Über die Leis Willelme," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur* 106 (1901): 113–38; J. Wüest, *Die "Leis Willelme,"* 12.

51. Worcester seems more likely, given the patron's insistence that William maintain the order and sense of Coleman's *Life.* Lending the copy to William to take to Malmesbury and even sending the *Life* to him there were both options. William is known to have solicited copies of the source for his historical works from other libraries, and so may have done the same here. Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, England, 1987), 154–57.

52. Cyril L. Smetana, "Aelfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary," *Traditio* 15 (1959): 163–204; idem, "Aelfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt," *Traditio* 17 (1961): 457–69; Joyce Hill, "Ælfric's Manuscript of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary: A Provisional Analysis," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), 67–96.

53. This course appears not to have been followed by the Old English martyrologist, who, according to Michael Lapidge, "Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the *Old English Martyrology*," *Analecta Bollandiana* 123 (2005): 29–78, used an already existing Latin martyrology compiled between 731 and 740 from various sources by Acca, former abbot of Hexham.

54. George E. MacLean, "Aelfric's Version of *Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesin*," *Anglia* 6 (1883): 425–73, and *Anglia* 7 (1884): 1–59; Earl R. Anderson, "The Seasons of the Year in Old English," *ASE* 26 (1997): 231–63. For the dates of Ælfric's works, see Peter Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), 244–45.

55. Ælfric, *CH1,* 137, 144, 148, 153, and 160; Ælfric, *CH2,* lxi.

56. Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," in Szarmach, *Holy Men*, 134.

57. Gneuss 105 and 478. Little light comes from a comparison of the text of Ælfric's excerpts, as found in the Boulogne MS (on which see below, this chapter,

p. 175), with J. N. L. Hillgarth's *Corpus Christianorum* edition of the *Prognosticon*. The excerpts show affinities with the French family of ninth-century texts, but occasionally agree in error with another family descended from a common French/Insular hyparchetype (labeled *alpha* by Hillgarth). Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticon,* in *Sancti Iuliani opera,* ed. J. N. L. Hillgarth, CCSL 115 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1976). It is uncertain whether either of these manuscripts served as the source of Ælfric's excerpts. We can say a few things about the provenance of these two manuscripts. The first, CCCC 399, is known simply to have been in England by Ælfric's day. The second, the Royal manuscript, was written in Canterbury, but between c. 1000 and 1247/48 had joined the library at Glastonbury, about thirty miles to the north/northwest of Cerne Abbey. Copies made in the second half of the eleventh century were at Worcester, Exeter, and Battle Abbey.

58. Ælfric, *CH Int*, xlv.

59. Godden suggests that Ælfric's reference to the color of silkworms "swa swa we oft gesawon" may mean he traveled to Italy (Ælfric, *CH Int*, xxxi, and Ælfric, *CH1*, appendix B, 2.15–16, p. 534). It has been noted (Ker 43) that this reference only appears in one manuscript, labeled "Q" by Pope (Ælfric, *Hom. sup.*, 1: 59–62), and is thought by him to represent revisions Ælfric made no earlier than 1006.

60. Daniel of Morley, *Philosophia*, 202 (from London, BL MS Arundel 377, fol. 88).

61. R. Mercier, "Astronomical Tables in the Twelfth Century," in Burnett, *Adelard of Bath*, 87–118 at 99–100; Burnett, *Introduction*, 40.

62. One piece of evidence suggests he translated the *Book of Talismans* in Antioch; Burnett surmises that Adelard is the *antiochenus* "man of Antioch" mentioned by John of Seville as the author of an earlier translation of Thabit b. Qurra's work (Burnett, *Introduction*, 95 n. 101).

63. Counterbalancing needs like Adelard's to travel for sources is the quickened movement of manuscripts and scribes between monasteries after the Norman conquest, a phenomenon spotted by Michael Gullick, in an unpublished paper presented at the University of London, 1996.

64. Clanchy, *From Memory*, 118–19. To see a surviving tablet from this period (though outside England), see É. Lalou, "Les tablettes de cire médiévales," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147 (1989): 138 (no. 10), which is Angevin and eleventh-century—see also Jean Herbert, "Les Tablettes de Cire d'Angers," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1967): 233–40, plates XXI and XXII.

65. Eadmer, *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1962), 150.

66. Ibid., 30–31, and n. 2; Lalou, "Les Tablettes de cire," 123–40.

67. Orderic 6.3, 3: 218.

68. One Old English translator added a parchment slip with his English translation to an existing Latin pontifical, positioning the slip directly over the Latin selection he had translated. The translation may be a fair copy rather than text drafted on the slip (Paris, BN, fons lat. 10575, fol. 163, discussed in chapter 5 and figs. 5.1 and 5.2, 191). See Max Förster, "Die altenglischen Texte der Pariser Nationalbibliothek," *Englische Studien* 62 (1927–1928): 114, for full texts.

69. *GR*, 1:xxii–xxiii, xxvi.

70. Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhalmensis Ecclesie*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000), lvi.

71. JW, 2: lxvii–lxxiii; Martin Brett, "John of Worcester and His Contemporaries," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), 101–26.

72. Ælfric, *Hom. sup.*, 1: 419–47.

73. Enid Raynes, "MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Aelfric," *Medium Ævum* 26 (1957): 65–73.

74. Ibid.; Ælfric, *Hom. sup.*, 1: 407–409; Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), 129–33.

75. Ælfric is explicit in his Latin preface to the first series of *Catholic Homilies*. Ælfric, *Ælfric's Prefaces,* ed. Wilcox, 107.

76. This may have been the usual practice (Lalou, "Les tablettes de cire," 123–40).

77. Ælfric, *CH Int*, xlv. Such excerpting and revising from complete texts was Ælfric's usual method: see Hill, "Translating the Tradition," 241–59.

78. Ælfric, *CH Int*, xlv and at 1.16.126–42; cf. Christopher Jones, "*Meatim Sed et Rustica*: Ælfric of Eynsham as a Medieval Latin Author," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8 (1998): 1–57, on Ælfric's not dissimilar approach to his Latin compositions.

79. *ASC* F, lxix.

80. Ibid., lxii–lxviii, lxxiii–lxxiv.

81. Ibid., lxx–lxxii.

82. A different scribe has taken over for the translator for much of the Old English entry at 1016, which is easiest to explain if F at this point is being copied from a draft, rather than being the draft itself. See BL Cotton Domitian viii, fol. 66r, and *ASC* F, xvii, xxiii, lxxii, and 109.

83. Ibid., lxxii–lxxv.

84. Ibid., lxxv.

85. Ibid., lxxv, n. 8.

86. Although some corrections show him eliminating discrepancies (ibid., lxxv).

87. Ibid., lxxiii; see also lxxix–lxxxi.

88. *ASC* F, lxxv; xlix–l.

89. For example, the long entry on 31v.

90. *ASC* F, lxii–lxviii.

5

Methods: Translators' Choices

What makes a translation is not the circumstances of its creation, or the physical objects needed for writing, or the drafting process. Rather, it is the movement of a text from one language to another. Specifically, a translation is a result of a number of decisions made by a translator to effect this move, decisions about editing the source, presenting the translation, and representing the source's words. These are the translators' choices. The decisions translators reached show individual preferences as well as the shared habits of wider trends. These decisions take us to the heart of what translation entailed.

TEXTS

Without having the actual copy of the source used by a translator, it is impossible to say anything absolutely secure about how that translator handled it.[1] When a translation's contents and form differ from all surviving copies of the source, it may show the translator used a version of the source that has not survived, or it may just as reasonably be interpreted to show the translator edited the source. In fact, we cannot distinguish between the two alternatives.[2] Sometimes it seems clear that the translator had access to not merely one, but to two or more versions of the source, since the translation follows one source in one passage and another version in another. Even in this last case, we are still hard-pressed to prove that the translator had two versions of the same text as immediate sources rather than an intermediate version someone else had constructed from those two versions. To further complicate analyses, scholars need to consider the possibility that intermediate sources might themselves be translations, or that sources for a translation could be both in another language as well as in the target language.[3] Our evaluation of the translator's role as an editor and translator depends on which conclusion we reach. For example, it is difficult to say which version of Cnut's laws was used by the translator of the *Institutes of Cnut*. At times the translation agrees with one, then another, of the surviving Old English texts. Although this vacillation may imply a lost version that stood between surviving versions of the source, it would not be all that surprising if the translator had access to more than one version of Cnut. These versions need not all have been on his desk; he may have traveled to other libraries with his draft in hand and compared his work to other versions of Cnut's laws. In the first scenario, the translator makes few if any editorial decisions; in the second, many. That a translator could use multiple versions of a source can be seen in Alfred's English Psalms, where the king has used three Latin translations as sources for his Old English version—the so called *Roman*, *Gallic*, and *Hebrew* versions, each of which has a different relationship to the Old Latin predecessors, Greek translation, and Hebrew original.[4] In this, Alfred followed in a muted way Jerome's own use of Greek, Hebrew, and other language texts in his Bible translations.

In this chapter, the translator's activities as an editor will be considered first, including at the broadest level of analysis the relationship between a single source text or multiple texts, and a single translator or team of translators. This is followed by a review of the ways translations were presented in manuscripts. Next, translators' methods for moving the actual words of a source to a new language are described and analyzed. The chapter finishes with a comparison of the methods used for translating three sacred texts.

EDITING

Translators rarely failed to purposefully alter the contents of their source texts. In some cases, this meant the translator combined several texts under the title of one of the parts; Alfred's translation of the *Soliloquies* of Augustine combines that work with selections from other works by Augustine as well as works by Gregory the Great and Jerome, to create a new and enlarged text.[5] It was quite common for homiletic translators like Ælfric to supplement a base source with commentaries to provide a new and improved version of the source—part translation, part restatement, part paraphrase, and part original composition.[6] In other cases, translators felt free to rearrange their single source, putting its pieces into some new order. The late twelfth-century French translator of the *Laws of Edward the Confessor* took the Latin legal history of King Edgar's laws from its position near the end of the treatise (as the thirty-fifth of thirty-nine chapters) and moved it to the back of the treatise.[7] In the process, this translator also removed words, phrases, and chapters, reorganizing the source for a late twelfth-century audience increasingly expecting legal treatises to discuss law in contemporary terms and to structure their contents in more orderly ways. For instance, the Latin source had employed the Old English technical term *were* for the monetary value of a person, which was used to compute fines for serious offenses. In the French translation, *were* is replaced by *rançun* "ransom, price for a person."[8] Here and elsewhere, the results read like answers to the question "What do the Latin laws say?" Throughout the French text, the presence of the translator as a guide is explicit: "The fourth chapter says . . . the fifth chapter shows."[9] Such confident rearrangement of a source is as common as the creation of a new source by the combination of several separate works.

Perhaps most common of all editorial interventions for translators were expansions and omissions of sections of source texts. Expansions obviously allow more sound analysis than do omissions. An expansion of a source passage can happen for several reasons. First, the translator, in attempting to render a source into a new language, may feel the need to add examples that may be more appropriate for the contemporary audience.[10] Alfred does this often. His most famous example is in his translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*. Alfred begins by posing the question "Consider now, if the letter and seal of your lord came to you, whether you could say that you could not recognize him by this means and could not thereby know his will."[11] This passage is nowhere in Augustine's text nor in any other source, and it begins a long addition that forms a homily on the love of God by all earthly things and the keeping of his commandments.[12] Alfred uses here an example of a form of communication familiar to his readers—the sealed writ—as a way of making Augustine's point clear to contemporaries. Alfred's willingness to expand his source is not the exception but the rule throughout the period. Gaimar in the twelfth century translated and greatly expanded as a matter of course his principal source, a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. His account of the famous feud between Cynewulf and Cyneheard (s.a. 751) rearranges the killings and inserts speeches to turn this tale of vendetta and loyalty into a story of legal inheritance and felony against lords.[13]

Omissions, when they can be attributed to the translator rather than to a scribe or a faulty source, reveal less securely the agenda of a translation. In the surviving copies of Ælfric's translation of Alcuin's *Questions*, Ælfric appears to omit, for example, questions 127 through 131 dealing with the Bible's text at Genesis 8: 6 to 9: 2—from the fortieth day of Noah's ocean cruise to God's blessing of Noah in the aftermath of the flood.[14] The omission of 131 is particularly interesting, as Alcuin's Latin text lays out an implicit criticism of royal power. Why, Sigewulf asks Alcuin, was man made a terror to the other animals, as God stated in Genesis 9:2. Alcuin answered that this was partly compensation for pain and suffering caused by the Flood, and also partly so that the multitude of animals would not oppress the few humans who had survived. He adds a final reason: "[T]hey would know that they ought to rule unreasoning beasts, not reasoning ones (i.e., other people), whence we read that our first fathers were shepherds of flocks, not kings of men."[15] Ælfric had elsewhere translated Alcuin's answers on the establishment of dominion, but here passes by (we assume) Alcuin's passages on the absence of kings in the early age of the world. Why he did so is open to speculation, but is unlikely to allow the speculator much, if any, certainty with any chosen answer. We know too little of the actual copy of the source text Ælfric used—whether or not it was defective and lacked those chapters—and not much more about the purpose behind this translation.[16]

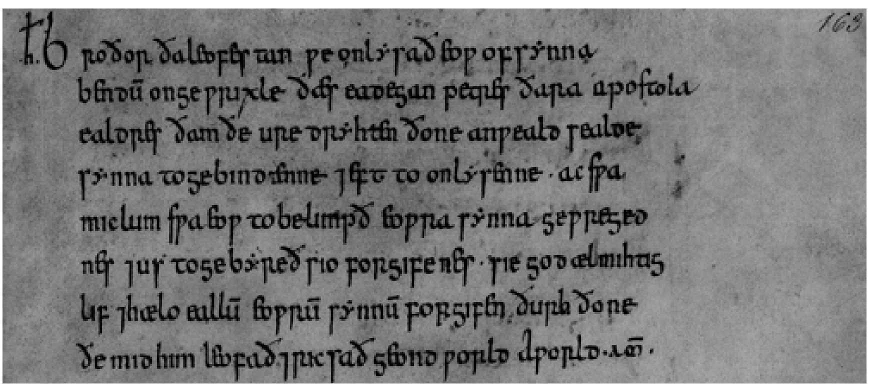
Sometimes omission tells us more. E. Gordon Whately has dissected Ælfric's omissions from his *Life of Apollinaris,* bishop of Ravenna.[17] The Latin source led the saint through numerous defeats by pagans and expulsions from their towns, after which he wanders far from his diocese—not very recognizable fare for Ælfric's Christians. In keeping with his idea of translation "as far as it will benefit the listeners," Ælfric perhaps chose to omit the stories of Apollinaris's beatings and defeats and decided to tie the bishop securely to his home territory to bring the source into line with what had become the norm for real English bishops by the tenth century.[18] Omissions like this seem to have been the most common form of editing by translators, though, as negative evidence, they lead to possible, not probable, interpretations.[19]

Such editing work by translators is not rare, and may in fact have been the standard practice both for translators moving older works into new languages and for writers revising older texts but leaving them in their original language. Texts of all sorts were revised, reshaped, and combined with other texts; some of these were translated into new languages, while others remained in their original tongue. Latin legal treatises written after the Norman conquest, for example, almost always edit their sources and combine them in hybrid texts: the *Decree of Cnut* claims to represent Cnut's law, and is in fact a translation for the most part of I and II Cnut; but it also translates all or some of several other English legal tracts.[20] These Latin translations like the *Decree* in turn often survive mixed with other legal texts, sometimes in their earliest manuscript witnesses. Many chapters from the *Decree of Cnut* have been added without break to the end of one copy of the second version of the *Laws of Edward the Confessor* (in London, BL, Additional MS 49366).[21] For both treatises, the *Decree* (selections) and the *Laws* (complete text), this copy is their earliest witness. The additions are significant: the combined text increases the size of the original *Laws of Edward* by almost 40 percent. The earliest copy of the third version of the *Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Paris, BN, lat. 4771, fols.

19–30v) travels in the same manuscript with a hybrid translation incorporating parts of both the *Decree of Cnut* and the *Institutes of Cnut*.[22] Such permeable borders between Latin texts are matched by a similar shape-changing in many translated narratives of the period. Here translators and later scribes act as editors and take the same liberties with their texts.

PRESENTATION

The form of presentation is likely to have been decided early on in the process, before the source was translated, because audience and purpose, known from the start of the process, in large part determine form. There were several presentation formats from which to choose.[23] If the text were short, a translator could create a bilingual text where the complete source was followed by its translation, or vice versa. The collection of prayers and medical recipes in one eleventh-century book presented first the Latin source of some of the prayers, followed by an Old English translation, text by text.[24] A variation on this presentation is found uniquely in a tenth-century pontifical, where a scrap of parchment with an English translation (fig. 5.1) has been sewn in front of a Latin text of the absolution used to reconcile penitents (fig. 5.2).[25] A bilingual edition might also be organized chapter by chapter (or sub-chapter by sub-chapter), with text first and translation second, like a mid-eleventh-century *Rule of Benedict* (fig. 5.3).[26] Such an organization echoes the structure of contemporary



Figures 5.1–2. Text over text. A narrow piece of parchment (fig. 5.1, above) holding an English translation of the form of absolution in this pontifical has been sewn into place over the Latin text on fol. 164 (fig. 5.2). Both are by the same mid tenth-century hand. The lighter band across fol. 164 and the edge of the piece, visible on the left, show where the English translation was placed. This presentation was done only in this manuscript and only for this one source and translation. I have not seen any other examples from the period. Paris, BN, lat. 10575, fols. 163 and 164. *By permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.*

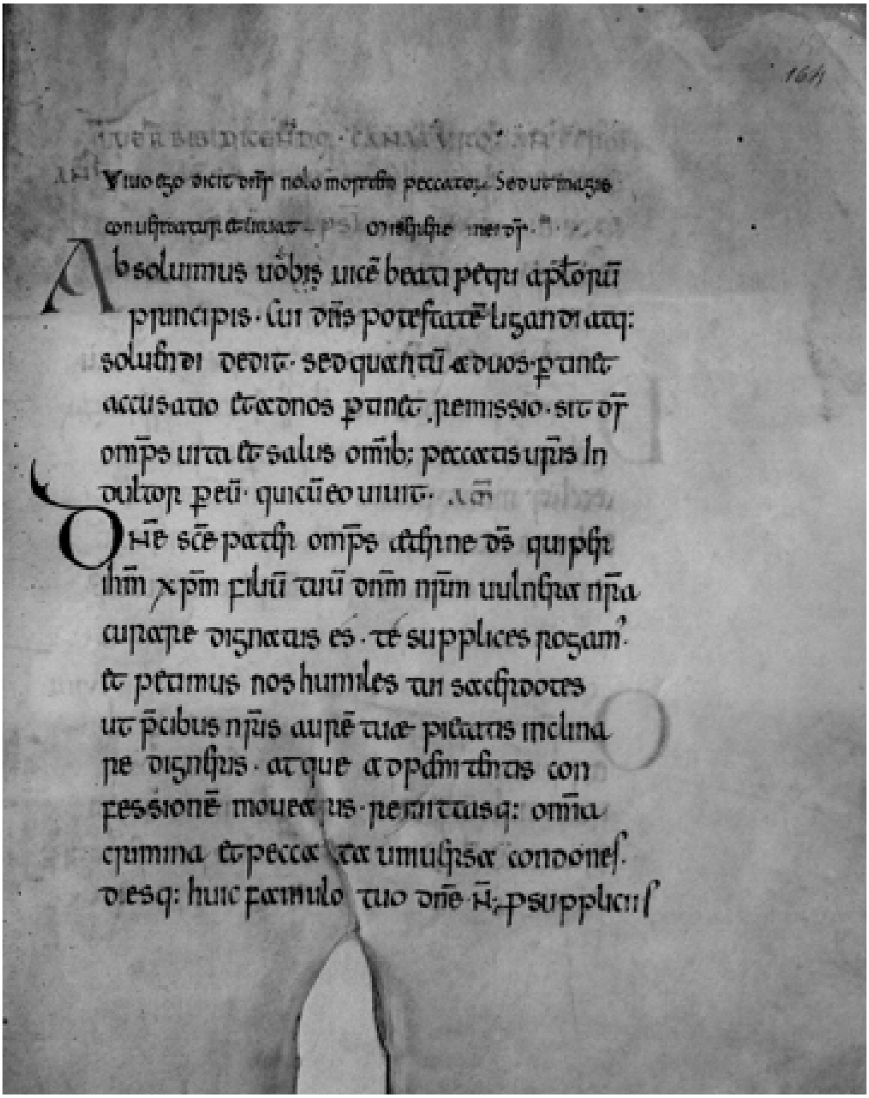
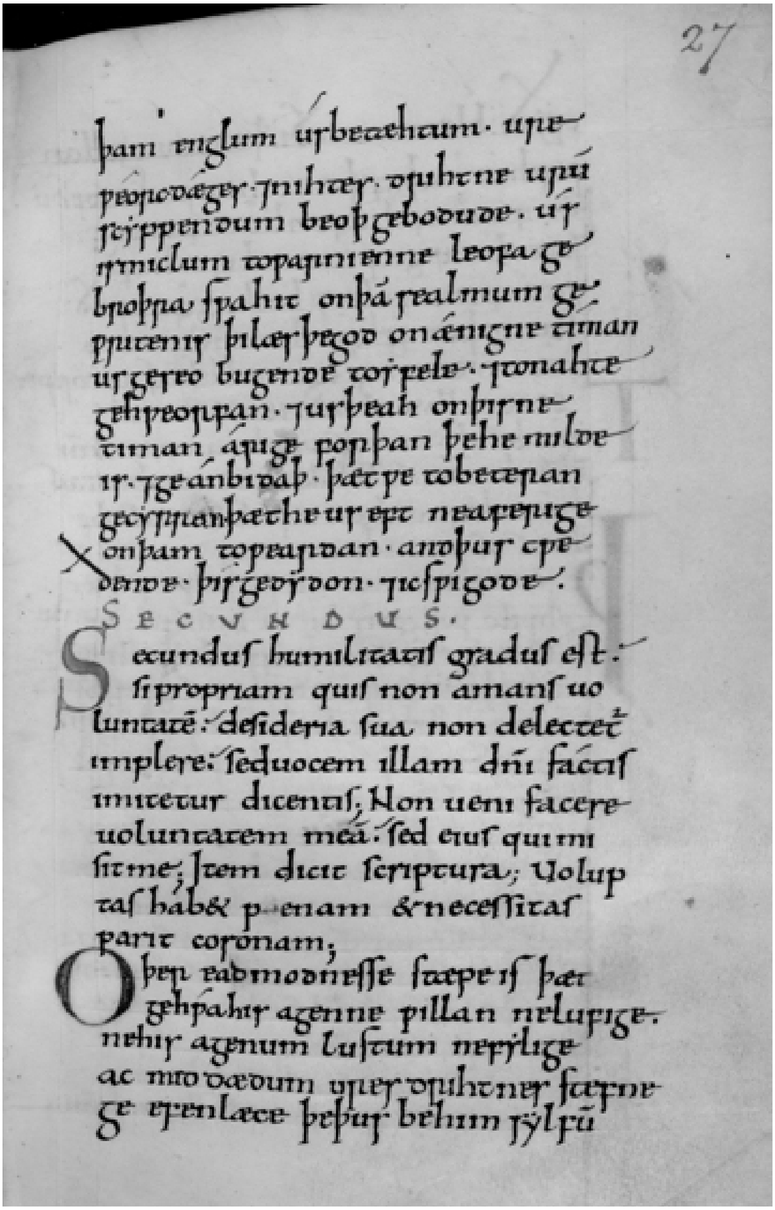


Figure 5.2.


27

SECUNDUS.

Secundus humilitatis gradus est: si propriam quis non amans uoluntatem: desideria sua non delectetur implere: sed uocem illam domini factis imitetur dicentis; Non ueni facere uoluntatem meam: sed eius qui misit me; Item dicit scriptura; Uoluptas habet penam & necessitas parit coronam;

Figure 5.3. Chapter by chapter. A bilingual copy of the *Rule of Benedict* from the middle of the eleventh century that employs a chapter by chapter, or section by section, presentation format. Here the Latin chapter on humility (*Rule of Benedict,* c. 7) has been broken down into sections, and each section of the Latin text is followed by a translation into English. On this folio, the section on the second degree of humility (lines 15–23), which warns against self-will and gratifying selfish desires, is followed by an Old English translation (beginning on line 24). London, BL, Cotton Titus A.iv, fol. 27. *By permission of the British Library.*

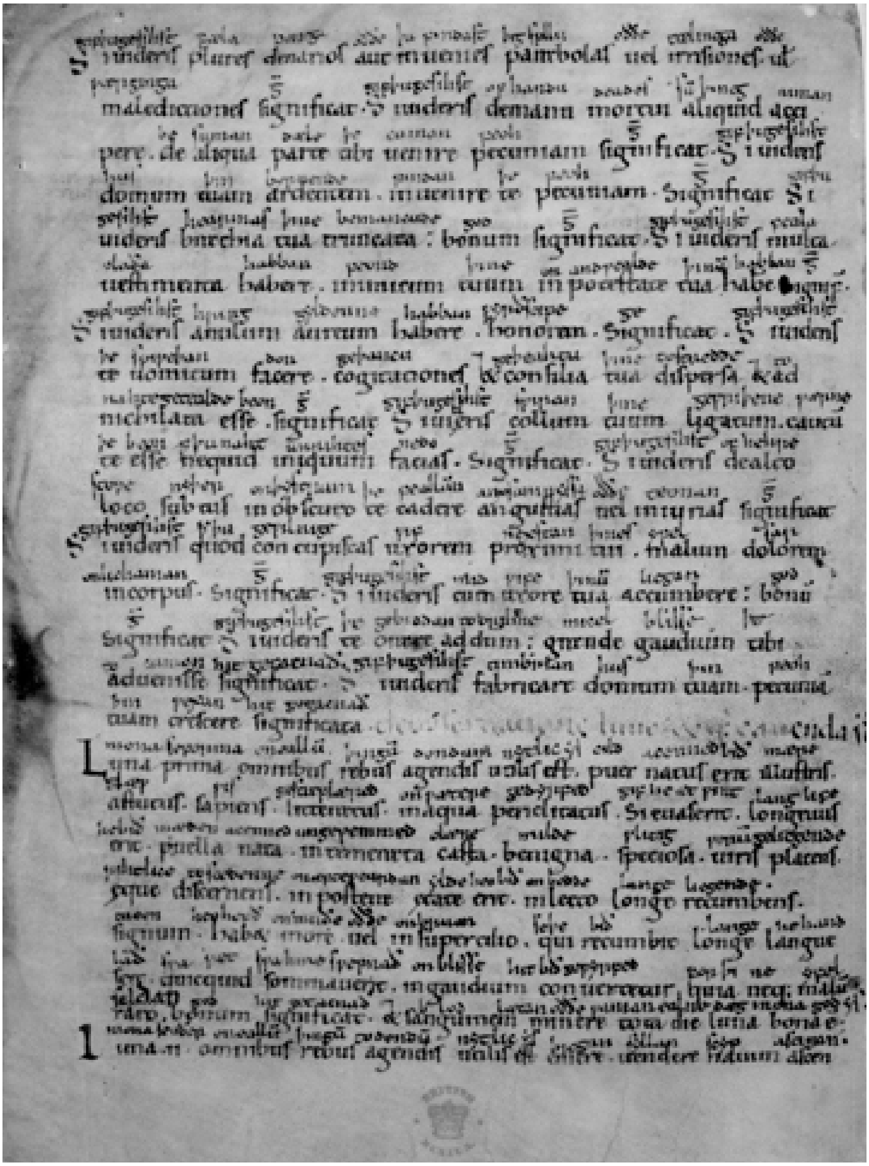


Figure 5.4. Continuous gloss. A treatise, "On the Diversity of Dreams according to the Arrangement of the Prophet Abcharius Daniel," ends on this folio (at line 16) of a large eleventh-century miscellaneous collection, and is followed immediately by a treatise entitled "On the Observation of the Moon and What Is To Be Avoided." Each text has an interlinear gloss that translates all words in its source. Roy Michael Liuzza, "Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts," ASE 30 (2001): 216, points out that the errors in the copying of the Latin text are, nevertheless, glossed in Old English as if there were no error, showing that the gloss is not a translation of this copy of the Latin text, but is itself a copy of an earlier glossed translation. London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 32v. ***By permission of the British Library.***

Biblical commentaries. Interlinear glosses were also an option. Very few texts, however, have complete glosses.[27] One that does is another copy of the *Rule of Benedict*, which is accompanied in the manuscript by the *Regularis Concordia* and short treatises on prognostication (fig. 5.4).[28] It may be that in general such texts with interlinear glosses were principally educational, though even if this were the rule, it cannot be assumed with individual specimens.[29] These interlinear glossed texts could also be marked with syntactical glosses in order to show the student (presumably) how to rearrange the order of words in the source according to the syntactical rules of the target language in order to better understand the Latin.[30]

One variation of a glossed text that may not have been much of an option for translators was the word-*by*-word or phrase-*by*-phrase translation, where a word or phrase from the source text is followed by a translation in the target language. This was a common practice with Latin texts glossed on the continent with Old High German, and is also mirrored in copies of Ælfric's *Grammar*, where his Latin examples are followed immediately by English translation, word by word.[31] However, only one other English text from the period follows this format: London, BL, Harley 3271, an early eleventh-century production (fig. 5.5). It holds a

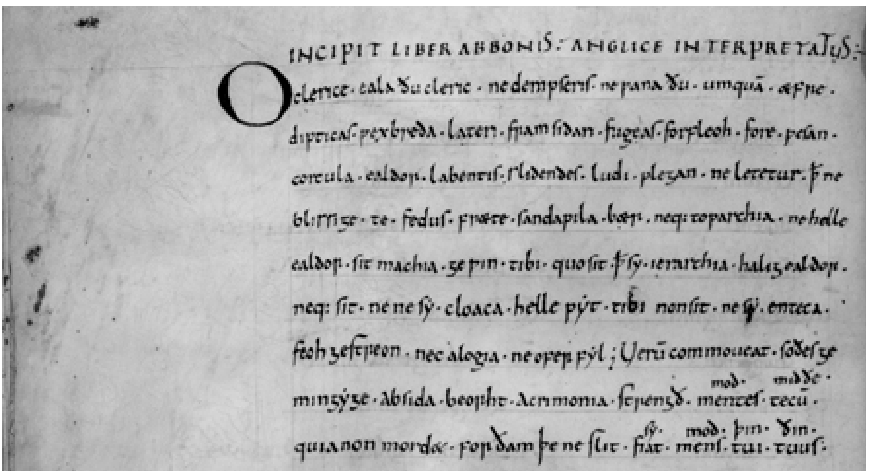


Figure 5.5. Word by word. In this unique presentation, the late eleventh-century translator or compiler has rendered individual words or short phrases of Abbo of St-Germain-des-Prés's Latin narrative of the siege of Paris in the ninth century with a corresponding English word or phrase, but laid them out one by one—first a Latin word or phrase, than its Old English translation, and so on. The Latin lemmata, however, do not follow the order in which they appear in the poem, but have been reordered to follow, it appears, the syntax of the Old English glosses—as if the English were the source and the Latin the glosses. London, BL, Harley 3271, fol. 115v. *By permission of the British Library.*

copy of book 3 of Abbo of St. Germain's tenth-century *Siege of Paris*, and instead of arranging the Latin and English texts on alternate lines, with one glossing the other, the Harley text places them on the same line in alternating phrases or words, with the Latin text rearranged to follow the syntax of the English: "O clerice . eala ðu cleric . ne dempseris . ne wana ðu . umquam . æfre . dipticas . wexbreda . lateri . fram sidam" [Oh clerics {Lat.} / All you clerics {OE}, do not fail to have/you {shall} not {be} lacking, ever/ever, a two-boarded writing tablet / a writing tablet, at {your} side / by {your} side].[32] A Latin text of book 3 of the *Siege* without the staccato English glosses follows immediately in the manuscript.

Last, a translator could present the translation on its own as a replacement for the original rather than as a crib or gloss. In this case, the translation would need (in the best case) to stand by itself without need for the source. The English translations of Felix's Latin *Life of Guthlac*, discussed at the beginning of chapter 3, is typical of this form of presentation (fig. 3.1). Often, as was the case with the Old English *Guthlac*, the source behind the translation is invisible; in other cases, the source has left hints of its use by the translator. Where the source had a technicality that was important to the translator, the key terms might be included and explained in the translation. Translations of legal and scientific sources are particularly prone to do this. Whether or not they show glimpses of their sources, the vast majority of translations replace their sources, ranging from the Alfredian works, none of which is presented bilingually or as a glossed text, to Ælfric's oeuvre, later saints' lives, medical treatises, scientific and philosophical writings from Greek and Arabic, and almost all laws.

The choice of format must have been steered by the intended purpose of the translation. For instance, monastic rules, translated chapter by chapter, presented an English-literate monk with instant access to the meaning of the Latin source. This format would have been especially useful if the text was meant for oral delivery and interpretation. Glossed texts provided assistance with sources, though they relied a bit more on the readers' competence in the source language. The presence of bilingual prayers and oaths in pontificals perhaps allowed the bishop to choose the language to fit the circumstances. An unaccompanied translation could be explained in several ways. The decision to present a translation without its source could rest on a belief that the source language's authority was not strong enough to sustain a bilingual text of any sort—at double the size and, therefore, double the scribal time, parchment, and ink. Conversely, this presentation might appeal if the translation was merely joining the copy of the source text already in the collection. A freestanding translation might also show that the target language was thought perfectly adequate to replace the source, sometimes with, sometimes without acknowledgment of the source's existence. These are only guesses, but, given the volume of translations that travel without their sources, do not seem likely to be far off the mark.

WORDS

In general, translators in England had three choices when translating an individual word: find its cultural equivalent in the target language, construct an etymological replica (a calque or loan translation), or transcribe it. These three choices are visible in many different places and in the works of many different translators far beyond the bounds of early medieval England, from Jewish translators in the school of Aquila in the early second century trying to improve on what they perceived as the freedom of the Septuagint, to modern translators of technical manuals.[33] Medieval translators were alive to all three possible choices of how to treat words. Translators in England were no exception.

Studying these choices is easiest when the translators have arguably aimed for some sort of lexical equivalent. Such was the aim of most of the legal translators operating in England from Alfred to the twelfth century.[34] Their source texts were filled with technical words whose meaning was central to the texts, words that had by the late Anglo-Saxon period developed into a legal jargon used in all codes, charters, and writs.[35] Translators of legal sources offer evidence of cultural equivalents, calques, and transcriptions, and provide evidence in all three of the major written languages. Furthermore, legal translations show movement of texts in all directions but one: English sources were translated into Latin and French; Latin sources were translated into English and French; French, however, was only translated into Latin, and then only in one law code.[36] French texts were never translated into English. The work of these legal translators serves as a focused illustration of the variety of decisions possible when translating.

The first of the three techniques—the finding of a cultural equivalent—was the most common method used by all translators. Here, instead of lifting the actual word from the source and adding it to the target language, as in transcription, or instead of metamorphosing the original into a semantic equivalent based on etymology, the translator chose from the existing menu of a target language's vocabulary the word closest to the meaning of the term in the source.[37] This is the least conservative technique with respect to the source. Unlike transcription, which embeds elements of the source language within the target, and loan-translation, whose very awkwardness retards any migration of meaning any significant distance from what the source signifies, cultural equivalents break the visible and etymological dependence of the translation on the source, and thus may be quite liberal in the target. This technique did not always allow for easy retrogression to the original, which is where some medieval readers would place the authority behind texts. Nevertheless, it is the closest legal translation technique ever comes to what classical writers would have called a literary translation. It is Alfred's preferred method for translating biblical laws. For example, the Vulgate's various terms for killing, striking, and murder are not translated consistently, but the verbs *occidere* "to kill" and *percutere* "to strike" both become [*of*]*slean* "to kill or strike," and the nouns *homicidium* "murder" and *sanguis* "bloodshed" become *manslege* "manslaughter." Faced with a source that signaled intention to murder in an assault with the literal *uolens occidere* "wishing to kill," Alfred replaces the phrase with his *gewealdes* "by his own power or intentionally."[38] All of these examples show Alfred's mind synthesizing, adapting, and consolidating all the while reflecting his divinely inspired source. Alfred felt free to select his terms, probably because he knew his source would be immediately recognizable. When two centuries later the translator behind *Quadripartitus* reached Alfred's translation of excerpts derived from the book of Exodus, he simply returned to a copy of the Vulgate and used it as the Latin representation of Alfred's text, regardless of how much Alfred's likely source, the selection and revision of Exodus's laws known as the *Liber ex Lege Moysi*, differed from the full Vulgate text of Exodus.[39]

Examples abound of this technique being used even for technical terms. However, finding a cultural equivalent was also difficult to do, and medieval translators (at least the ones who chose to write about it) knew that there was no word-for-word equivalence possible without some change in the meaning of the original. As I mentioned in chapter 1, they had absorbed in part (but with gusto) the ancient world's idea of a literary translation as being not word for word—this was the technique of hack literalists—but sense for sense. In Horace's *Ars Poetica*, the literary translator was no slavish *fidus interpres* "faithful translator"; in Cicero's eyes, he must be rather an *orator*.[40] This technique also produced the broadest category of translations, ranging from selection of simple equivalents—appearing to be literal—to deliberate revision of the original. Sometimes we can see the meaning of the source transformed through the translator's choice of a cultural equivalent: the translator of the *Decree of Cnut* renders *æðeling* "royal heir, prince" as *basilides*, a term borrowed from Greek and meaning "prince," and turns the *ealdorman* "governor" into a *princeps* "chief man, prince," and this follows from the general Romanizing tendency of this writer.[41] For *æðeling* he could very well have used *comes* "count" as did *Quadripartitus*, which captures little of the meaning of the source term, but was a very common and current term for a powerful lord with some official status in relation to the king.

He could also have used *regulus* "chieftain, petty king, king's son" as did the translator of the *Institutes of Cnut*. Instead, he chose a term with a different denotation and connotation, unusual (and perhaps unrecognizable to most readers), and distinctly learned.[42] The French *Laws of William* translates Old English *hlaford* as *seniour*, *hiredmen* as *serjant*, *ðeof* as *larun, gewitnesse* as *testimonie, team* as *warant,* and *borh* as *plege*, all of which—source terms and target translations—have very similar semantic fields.[43] Most of the people in these laws have been Gallicized, but remain within a legal system still marked here by much of the kingdom's preconquest English vocabulary for law. Under Mercian, Danish, or West Saxon law (OE *Merchenelahe, Denelahe, Westsexenelahe*), if the *vavassour* (AF), responsible for guarding the roads (OE *stretwarde*) and perhaps possessing basic rights of jurisdiction and control of markets (OE *sache e soche e toll e tem e infangentheof*), commits theft (AF *larrecin*) and is denounced to the sheriff (AF *vescunte*), he may have to plead his case in court (AF *plaider en curt*). But if he kills a man in the process, he may be found guilty of breaking the king's peace (AF *pais le rei*) and have to pay compensation (AF *amendes*) to the king, and personal compensation (OE *manbote*) to the victim's lord, as well as wergild (OE *were*) to the victim's kin, beginning with a down payment known as *halsfang* (OE). In either case, he may end up an outlaw (OE *utlage*).[44] This text shows a translator willing to both transcribe English words into French and find a French equivalent, and who made the decision over which way to go in no mechanical way. Instead, he makes his choice according, it appears, to the realities of English law in his day as understood, heard, and spoken by the Francophone population.

The second technique is etymological translation—again, this was a technique well known to ancient and medieval translators.[45] Some in fact favored this method above all others for its ability to capture—they thought—the exact meaning of the source's technical terms without, it appears, as much interference from the existing semantic fields in the target language. In fact, this inclination is not surprising, given the immense prestige etymology had as a part of grammar—it was, after all, the spine of Isidore's compendious body of ancient knowledge in his appropriately titled *Etymologies*, the most popular encyclopedia of the Middle Ages. Isidore's later medieval readers knew that the "true name" was the best source for the definition of anything.[46] We can chuckle at a belief matched in no way by philological abilities, where Thurstan, archbishop of York (1114–1140), could have his name explained as derived from *turris stans* "standing tower," but we should remember that it was only in the nineteenth century that etymology founded on phonetic form claimed exclusive right to be considered valid, and that just before then, even the able mind of Dr. Johnson could rest bemused but content with an explanation of the term *sirloin* as "a title given to the loin of beef, which one of our kings knighted in good humor."[47]

The idea behind etymological translation is quite simple. A translator would break a word in the source into its parts, identify the meaning of each part, supply an equivalent in the target language for the parts, and then, generally, glue the parts back together. This technique self-consciously produced neologisms—etymological calques, loan-translations—in the target language. In the vernacular texts, it is easy to see. For example, in Ælfric's *Grammar*, Priscian's *praepositio* is broken down into *prae* "before" and *positio* "placement" or "position," and rendered by the neologism *foresetnys,* from *for* "before" and *setnys* "placed."[48] In the Latin legal translations, however, a calque may be disguised as a cultural equivalent, mainly by the unwillingness of the translator to glue the parts back together. However, the meaning and proximity of the parts in the case of technical terms betrays the etymological method. In the *Decree of Cnut*, *griðbryce* "breach of peace" becomes *pacis fractura* "of the peace" + "breach." Here the translator has broken the English word into its parts and translated each part with a Latin equivalent, preserving their original English order in the Latin phrase, something not done by the more conservative translator of the *Instituta Cnuti*.[49] The translator appears to have been unable to locate one equivalent word in Latin to cover the English compound, and was unwilling to spell it out in a longer but more accurate Latin phrase or clause.

The last technique is transcription, which is the most basic technique used when a translator encountered technical terms or unusual words. The process is simple. When translators decided not to translate a word with a cultural equivalent or calque, for whatever reason, they would assign the word a gender (as was required in English, French, and Latin) and transplant it whole into the translation. Examples of this in translations from English to Latin and French are legion. The Latin translations are peppered with many of the first Latinizations of the legal register of Old English. In the *Laws of William* mentioned above, the translator chose to transcribe a number of technical terms of Anglo-Saxon law: *lahslit* became French *laxslite*, and *hundred*, *wer*, and *nam* enter the French translation relatively untouched.[50] Not all technical words in Anglo-Saxon law merited this treatment: *borh* is replaced, as already noted, by French *plege,* while *aeftergyld* and *wite*, two different kinds of fine, are lumped together under *forfait* "fine, wrong."[51] Such different treatments of terms may not reflect the translator's choice. The use of these words in the *Leis* may not be an example of code-switching, but rather evidence of the borrowing of some English words at an earlier date. By the earliest time the *Laws of William* could have been composed, the Normans had ruled England for at least half a century, and it would be normal for them to have adopted some vocabulary from the language spoken by the overwhelming majority of the kingdom. Such loans from Old English into Anglo-French were common, but do not admit any catholic explanation. On the one hand, transcribed source words in a translation can be seen as deeply conservative, where the target language is thought inadequate or unable to capture the term's meaning.[52] On the other hand, when the audience for such a text may likely have had no experience in the source language, a transcription can offer a base for a more liberal, rather than a more restricted, interpretation of its meaning, since what is not clear in the translation may migrate beyond the bounds of the word's semantic field in its source language and likely assart into alien ground in the target. Transcribed words in translations are difficult to restrain. Translators would choose transcription for different reasons. Some might think a word was untranslatable, while others might simply want to imitate the feel or appearance of the original. There may be less difference than we think between what Ezra Pound did with the *Seafarer* and what the translators of the *Laws of William* or *Institutes of Cnut* sought to do with Cnut's laws.[53]

It was quite common in the Latin translations of legal texts, though less common in the French translations of the same source material, for the translator to combine two of the above methods, usually transcription with either an etymological rendering or a cultural equivalent. This ensured greater control over the results than either cultural equivalent or etymological translation alone. It offered the best of both worlds.

WHAT GETS CHANGED? THREE EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATORS AT WORK

To compare different translators at work, let us consider three attempts to produce translations of religious narratives: the West Saxon Gospels, the *Gospel of Nichodemus* and the *Vengeance of the Savior*, and the French version of the Old Testament. First, the tenth-century West Saxon Gospels. The actual manuscript copy of the Latin Gospels used for the translation cannot be identified. Nevertheless, it is clear that it was a Vulgate text, and later texts of the Vulgate translation are close enough to one another to at least justify some observations. One insight from analysis of the relationship of source to translation is that we are dealing here with a *team* of translators at work on a set of texts, rather than with an individual translator. The translators on this team are all anonymous, unlike those responsible for the tenth-century interlinear translation of the Lindesfarne Gospel texts, and surviving copies of their work preserve no visible sign of whether one or many translators contributed.[54] The team's existence was argued by Roy Liuzza, who based his conclusions mostly on an analysis of style, which betrayed each team member's "working habits."[55] All of the translators worked in a similar fashion around the same time and probably at the same place. That is not surprising. What is remarkable is the suggested method of the team. Different translators worked with different Gospels or parts of Gospels, but appear to have been familiar enough with one another's work to harmonize the translations in a number of places.[56] What appears to have happened in these cases is that one translator was influenced by another translator's rendering of a similar, but not identical, passage at another place in the source text, and so the first translator's rendering reflects the second translator's translation more than it does the actual Latin of the source.[57] The translators do not, however, appear to have corrected the work afterward, and so this harmonization took place while the work was in progress.[58] Where such a team of translators would have been organized for this task remains unknown. What their work provides, though, is evidence for a translating campaign involving time, effort, and coordination at a level unsurpassed by other kinds of translating activity from the period. The same evidence of a team lies behind the Old English Hexateuch, but with indistinct boundaries between the work of individual translators.[59] Such coordination and effort would have been more likely at one of England's many centers of translation, but the choice to assemble a team may have only been considered worthwhile for Biblical translation.[60]

Fortunately, we need not always guess about source and, consequently, about method. In the case of the eleventh-century Old English translations of the Latin *Gospel of Nichodemus* and *Vengeance of the Savior*, scholars have discovered the actual copy of the sources used by the translator.[61] This allows us to see exactly what the translator has done. These two texts were popular apocryphal works that purported to provide revelation outside that found in the canonical Gospels and biblical books.[62] A writer working at an English house was able to acquire a copy of these apocrypha, a manuscript that is now Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 202, and to translate them both into Old English.[63] Even though it is likely that the versions of the translations that survive are not the originals but copies (at the very least) of the originals, they bear almost unprecedented testimony to the translator's method in all details. Andy Orchard's close study of the translator's method resulted in a series of observations. First, the translator has changed the pace and intensity of the source by speeding up the narrative, ratcheting up the dialogue, employing "periphrastic verbal combinations," and using adverbs that tend to heighten the action—*swyðe* "very, exceedingly, severely, violently," Orchard notes, being especially prominent and not warranted by the source.[64] The translator has excised redundancies and resolved ambiguities to make the translation more sensible than its source. Orchard characterizes these editorial decisions as showing the translator's "concern for realism." The translator uses doublets in place of single verbs, and formulas characteristic of Old English texts but not of the Latin source. He uses the Old English reflexive *sylf* "self" to clarify the Latin's sometimes vague description of who was doing what to whom. This translator shortened a number of passages from the *Gospel of Nichodemus* without losing the sense of the original.[65] In one case, he has almost completely eliminated a story in the Latin source about the standards of the soldiers bowing to Jesus of their own accord; over two hundred words in the Latin are represented by "But among those where he entered, there were many men humbling themselves and bowing their heads to him" [Ac onmang þam þe he wæs ingangende hyne wæron fæla manna geeaðmedende and heora heafdo to hym onhyldende]. Reference to the miracle of the standards has been removed.[66]

While Orchard admits that individual traits might be common among contemporary translations, the combination of traits in these translations "provides a distinctive 'fingerprint' of the Old English translator's individual style."[67] The translator may have first tackled the shorter piece, the *Vengeance of the Savior*, before moving to the longer text of the *Gospel*. He did this in order, perhaps, to learn how to solve the problems of rendering the source's "puzzling Latinity," of compensating for its incomplete text, and of resolving its "chaotic morphology and orthography."[68] Here method develops in response to challenges posed by a source, as well as according to the individual taste of the translator.

We now turn to another period and a different language. In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, a translator from England or Normandy produced a graceful French translation of much of the Old Testament. He combined the Vulgate of Jerome with Rufinus's translation of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* (93/94 CE), turning the amalgam into rhyming decasyllabic couplets.[69] This translation comes out of the context not only of French Biblical verse compositions, like the *Four Books of Kings* by Herman of Valenciennes, but also of Anglo-Saxon traditions of biblical glossing and translation, particularly the verse renderings.[70] Given the constraints of his chosen verse form and the inclusion of multiple glosses from Josephus (not explicitly disclosed), the translator in the process altered his sources a good deal.[71] In addition, the translator omitted, rearranged, and reduced some passages, adding explanatory matter and descriptions, while at the same time producing long passages that translate with close lexical equivalence the Latin sources.

Beyond that, when the translator found a word or concept in his sources that did not exist in analogous form in his culture, he replaced it with something well understood in French, regardless of its literal accuracy. It is with this method in mind that we should understand his frequent claims that he has translated "just as it was written," "as history and Scripture say," and "without falsehoods."[72] The vestments of the Hebrew priests—appearing in the Vulgate and Josephus as *stolas*, *superhumerales, et rationales* "robe, upper garment, and breastplate [of a Jewish priest]"— become a contemporary bishop's vestments ("vestemenz . . . as eveskes"). The holy scribe (*sacer scriba*) becomes the "wise cleric." The paintings and sculptures of the Temple in Jerusalem have become the more recognizable works of a twelfth-century cathedral. Contemporary wars make their mark: the Philistines, Israel's great enemy, become the *gent Sarazine*, and the faith of the Canaanites is *Mahomerie*.[73] His choices compress the vast space of time between the wanderings of Abraham and battles of Joshua and the religion and crusades of his own day. Here the cultural transformation of the source is more thorough than was the case with the earlier Old English translation of the *Gospel of Nichodemus*. The Bible becomes a familiar text for Anglo-Norman aristocrats.

Unfortunately, as with almost all translation, these observations about what the translator of the Anglo-French version of the Old Testament did with his source rest on uncertainty. The sources used by the translator can for the most part be identified; the actual version or copy of those sources, however, cannot. Such a limitation means that observations about method, and consequently interpretations of result, remain to some degree speculative. Much as we would want to say exactly what the translator has done with the sources, we are often prevented by our lack of certainty about what words were actually before the translator while he worked.

CONCLUSIONS

Method is a multilayered subject for medieval translators. It consisted of the fundamentals brought by the translator to the task: the level of learning in the languages and the availability of resources. It involved choices at every stage: source texts, editing, drafting method, presentation, and the words themselves. In all of this, a translator's theory of translation played a part, but not always the dominant one. Translation was also much more difficult in the circumstances of the times, leaving translators to make the most of what skills, resources, and models they had. The varying needs and abilities of translators and the barriers before them are as important in explaining the very wide spectrum of their products as are the broader cultural contexts in which they worked.

NOTES

1. A problem discussed by J. E. Cross, "Identification; Towards Criticism," in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Green-*

field, ed. Phyllis R. Brown et al. (Toronto, 1986), 230–31. This requirement does not mean that when we have only a version of the source, we cannot say anything about method. The possible comments are fewer and the translator more distant. Much can still be done when a version of the source can be identified as close or related to the one used by the translator. See, e.g., Graham D. Caie, *The Old English Poem "Judgement Day II": A Critical Edition with Editions of "De die iudicii" and the Hatton 113 Homily "Be domes dæge,"* Anglo-Saxon Texts 2 (Cambridge, 2000), 34–39.

2. A common dilemma: see, e.g., David and Ian McDougall, "'Evil Tongues': A Previously Unedited Old English Sermon," *ASE* 26 (1997): 211, where the sermon's translator may have combined material from works by Jerome and others to create his source, or simply have worked from such a combined text already in existence. Charles D. Wright, "Old English Homilies and Latin Sources," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), 15–27, describes in wonderful detail the many relationships possible between source, translation, and translator's method that can explain the resulting form of a translation of homilies, and highlights the means by which Wright and other scholars manage to clarify these relationships despite the opacity of the evidence.

3. Wright, "Old English Homilies," 34–35, n. 63.

4. See *PsalmsAlf*, 32–34. There are echoes of the Old Latin translation as well, but O'Neill thinks these have migrated from commentaries, rather than represent the use of a fourth Latin translation by the translator. In the twelfth century, Eadwine used English to translate the Latin *Hebraicum* of Jerome—perhaps not so surprising, given the view of his contemporary, Prior Maurice of Kirkstad, who thought English was the closest language to Hebrew. The *Hebraicum* is of course only "Hebrew" in the title to Jerome's preface and in occasional remarks he makes about translating the text from the Hebrew rather than from the Greek Septuagint. See the apparatus to *Liber Psalmorum*, vol. 10 of Gasquet, *Biblia Sacra* (Rome, 1953), 4, for the MSS with the variant forms "quod ipse de hebraico transtulit in latinum," "iuxta hebreos quod ipse transtulit in latinum," or "iuxta hebraicum ueritatem." Another example of an author using both Old Latin and Vulgate versions of the Bible as sources is explored in Stewart Brooke, "Ælfric's Adaptation of the Book of Esther: A Source of Some Confusion," in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (London, 2000), 37–64.

5. The commentary by Carnicelli at *Solil.*, 99–107, charts Alfred's course.

6. J. E. Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon—On Sources and Disseminations," *PBA* 57 (1972): 67–100. Judith Gaites, "Ælfric's Longer *Life of St. Martin* and Its Latin Sources: A Study in Narrative Technique," *Leeds Studies in English* 13 (1982): 28–32, who describes Ælfric's maintenance of the division between his sources when used for a single translation, but also his reordering of each source's contents within its own section of the translation.

7. This text has not been edited. The sole surviving copy is in CUL, Ee.1.1., fols. 3v–8. See Liebermann, "Eine anglonormannische Übersetzung," 79–83; and O'Brien, *God's Peace,* 106–107.

8. ECf 12.3, at CUL, Ee.1.1, fol. 5r.

9. CUL Ee.1.1, fol. 4r: "Le quarte chapitre dit . . . Le quint chapitre mustret," which mark this as an apostrophizing text.

10. Cross, "Literate Anglo-Saxon," 82–88, concerning composition in general.

11. *Solil.*, 62 (trans. based on Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 141).

12. Omitted are Augustine's logical proof that dissimilar things can be known in the mind with equal certainty (ibid., 100).

13. Gaimar, 100–107 (lines 1819–1918); for this interpretation, see Jane Zatta, "Gaimar's Rebels: Outlaw Heroes and the Creation of Authority in Twelfth-Century England," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 16 (1999): 30–32.

14. Ælfric, *Interrogationes*, in MacLean, "Ælfric's Version," (1884): 36. The missing questions are at Alcuin, *Interrogationes*, in *PL* 100, col. 531.

15. Alcuin, *Interrogationes*, col. 531.

16. On the problem of deciding what was and was not left out by translators of wills, see Lowe, "Latin Versions of Old English Wills," 1–24.

17. E. Gordon Whately, "Lost in Translation: Omission of Episodes in Some Old English Prose Saints' Legends," *ASE* 26 (1997): 189–92.

18. Ælfric, *LS*, 1: 472–87.

19. Though Whately's conclusion (ibid., 192–98) that these omissions were a form of "subtle censorship" seems very plausible.

20. Liebermann, *Consiliatio Cnuti,* iv–vi.

21. O'Brien, *God's Peace,* 141, 264 n. 23.

22. Liebermann, *Consiliatio Cnuti*, xv–xviii, and O'Brien, "*Instituta Cnuti,*" 184.

23. One format used elsewhere was not apparently employed: placing the source and the translations side by side in columns. The sixth- or seventh-century Sardinian L-Gk copy of Acts of the Apostles that Bede used does do this, but it was out of England probably by the eighth century and its presentation pattern was not imitated (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Graecus 35).

24. Cambridge, CCC 422. The same is true of BL Cotton Galba A xiv's prayers: fols. 3–4 hold the Latin prayer for victory, fols. 4v–6 its Old English translation. Again, fols. 110–14 have three Latin prayers and their Old English translations. The Latin texts are those also found in the *Regularis Concordia*. The core of Gregory I's letter to Serenus on the proper use of images in churches appears in the St. Albans Psalter, followed by a French translation from, at latest, the middle of the twelfth century. For the source, see *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. Paul Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, 2 vols., MGH Epist. 1–2 (Berlin, 1887–99), 2: 270 (book 10, no. 10); for the French translation, see The St. Alban's Psalter website, http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~lib399/english/translation/trans068.shtml

25. Paris, BN, Lat. 10575, fol. 163. The text is printed in Förster, "Die altenglischen Texte," 114.

26. London, BL, Cotton Titus A.iv (Ker 200). There is disagreement on whether Æthelwold intended his OE translation to be disseminated in a bilingual version. Cf. Mechthild Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung* (Munich, 1973), 170–76; M. Gretsch, "The Benedictine Rule in Old English: A Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics," in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday,* ed. Michael Korhammer et al. (Cambridge, 1992), 157–58; and R. Jayatilaka, "The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women

and Men," *ASE* 32 (2003): 185, with reference to previous scholarship at 148 n. 9. As Gretsch points out ("Benedictine Rule," 157–58), Æthelwold's OE translation accompanies a Latin version of the Rule of Benedict that was not its actual source. For another chapter-by-chapter presentation, see CCCC 191 (Rule of Chrodegang [Ker 46]).

27. See, e.g., CCCC 214, fols. 36–53, where the Latin text of only part of book 3 has received an English interlinear gloss.

28. For full list of contents, see Ker 186.

29. Gernot Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?" *ASE* 14 (1985): 153–73.

30. Patrick P. O'Neill, "Syntactical Glosses in the Lambeth Psalter and the Reading of the Old English Interlinear Translation as Sentences," *Scriptorium* 46 (1992): 250–56.

31. P. Lendinara, "The Third Book of the *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss," *ASE* 15 (1986): 85–86, who also points out that both copies of Abbo's text with English glosses appear in manuscripts that also hold Ælfric's *Grammar*.

32. BL MS Harley 3271, fols. 115v-118 (Ker 239 [art. 17]).

33. My approach is adopted from Sebastian Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979): 69–87.

34. This section summarizes some of my arguments in "Translating Technical Terms in Law-Codes," in Tyler, *Conceptualizing Multilingualism*.

35. Mary P. Richards, "Elements of a Written Standard in the Old English Laws," in *Standardizing English: Essays in the History of Language Change in Honor of John Hurt Fisher*, ed. Joseph B. Trahern, Jr. (Knoxville, Tenn., 1989), 12–18.

36. The *Leges Willelmi*, a *Latin* translation of the *Leis Willelme*, sources in only one late MS: London, BL Harley 746, fols. 55–59. For an edition, see *GA1*: 493–520.

37. This can result in a semantic loan—when the meaning of the source language's word, but not the word itself, is transferred into a word in the target language: e.g., OE *synn* "injury, enmity, feud" picking up "sin, crime" as a semantic loan from Latin *peccatum*.

38. See Af El. 13, 20, 25, and 32 (*GA* 1: 30–37). The exception is Af El. 45 (*acwellan* "to kill"). Here the translator is perhaps acknowledging that his source offers in a section on judges a moral principle that one should not kill (or execute) the innocent or the just, rather than a particular prohibition or penalty to be applied to offenders.

39. Alfred was not translating, it appears, directly from the Vulgate, but probably from the early medieval Irish collection of excerpts from Exodus entitled the *Liber Lege Moysi*. See Paul Fournier, "Le *Liber Lege Moysi* et les tendances bibliques du droit canonique irelandais," *Revue Celtique* 30 (1909): 221–34. His prologue is itself based on a selection from the *Liber*. Michael Treschow, "The Prologue to Alfred's Law Code: Instruction in the Spirit of Mercy," *Florilegium* 13 (1994): 79–110, analyzes how, and why, Alfred's text differed from its source.

40. See chapter 1, p. 44.

41. Cons Cn 58.1–2.

42. Quadr, 58.1. *Comes* is the usual translation elsewhere for *ealdorman*, not *æðeling*: one copyist (of London, BL, Cotton Domitian viii) chose to add the gloss

filii regis to clear up the confusion. Another legal translator, responsible for In Cn II 58.1, added "quem Angli uocant æðeling" to identify which understanding of *regulus* was intended.

43. Leis Wl 45 (= II Cn 24), 45.1 (II Cn 24.1), 47 (= II Cn 25), 49 (= II Cn 29), 52 (= II Cn 31). In order: "lord," "retainer," "thief," "witness," "vouch to warranty," and "surety."

44. Leis Wl 2.2a, 20.2, 28, 2.3, 14, 2,1, 26, 2.2, 52.1, 52.2.

45. Also known as loan translation: see Helmut Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin, 1955), 2–3, 31–33.

46. Isidore, *Etym*. 1.7.1 and 1.29.1.

47. A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), 52.

48. Porter, *Excerptiones* 8.1, p. 286; Ælfric, *Gram*. 267; Williams, "Ælfric's Grammatical Terminology," 457.

49. Cons Cn for II Cn 15 (*GA* 1: 319). In the same place (II Cn 15), In Cn has "inuasio in domo uel in curia quod dicunt hamsocne." Quadr has "griþbrece id est infractionem pacis et hamsocnam id est inuasionem mansionis." Note, however, that these other two translations, though they invert the word order, are still products of the same etymological method.

50. Leis Wl 39.2 (= II Cn 15.1a); 43 (II Cn 17); 52.1 (II Cn 31.1); and 44 (II Cn 15).

51. Leis Wl 47 (II Cn 24.1) and 45.1 (II Cn 24.1).

52. Ann Knock, "Analysis of a Translator: The Old English *Wonders of the East*," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), 123–24.

53. Ezra Pound, "The Seafarer," in *The Translations of Ezra Pound*, ed. Hugh Kenner (London, 1953), 207–209.

54. Michelle Brown, *The Lindesfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (Toronto, 2003), 90–104.

55. Liuzza, *Old English Version*, 2: 103. The OE *Orosius* is similarly argued to be a team product: see S. Louhnaara, "Multiple Authorship of the Old English Orosius," in *English Historical Linguistics 1992*, ed. F. Fernandez et al., Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 113 (Amsterdam, 1994), 343–52.

56. Ibid., 2: 74 n. 19; 2: 104, n. 22. Liuzza cautions against seeing in any one harmonization evidence of method rather than merely evidence of harmonization already present in the source.

57. Liuzza lists the instances at ibid., 2: 104 n. 22. To give one example, in their telling of the parable of the sower and the seeds, Mark and Matthew have similar but not identical language in the Vulgate (Mark 4: 3 "ecce exiit seminans ad seminandum" [Behold the sower went out to sow] and Mt 13: 3 "ecce exiit qui seminat seminare" [Behold he who sows went out to sow]); in the OE version, the passages are identical ("uteode se sædere his sæd to sawenne" [The sower went out to sow his seed]), suggesting that one translator has borrowed or been influenced by the rendering of the other translator.

58. Ibid., 2: 50. Numerous errors of translation (rather than of editing) suggest that "the translators do not always appear to have been equal to their task."

59. Richard Marsden, "Translation by Committee? The 'Anonymous' Text of the Old English Hexateuch," in *The Old English Hexateuch: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C. Withers (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2000), 41–87.

60. Though not, according to the editor, as part of Alfred's campaign or at Winchester in the heyday of the Winchester standard (Liuzza, *Old English Version*, 2: 100).

61. J. E. Cross, "Introduction," 5–6, and idem, "Saint-Omer 202 as the Manuscript Source for the Old English Text," 82–104, in *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nichodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour*, ed. J. E. Cross, et al. (Cambridge, 1996). The only other certain case when we have the actual physical source used by a translator is explored in Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "The Text of Aldhelm's *Enigma* no. C in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 and Exeter Riddle 40," *ASE* 14 (1985): 61–73. The claims that Vatican MS 3363 was Asser's copy of Boethius and was used as one of the actual sources for Alfred's translation is treated with caution by Malcolm Godden, "Alfred, Asser, and Boethius," in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto, 2005), 1: 340–44.

62. Thomas N. Hall, "The *Euangelium Nichodemi* and *Vindicta Saluatoris* in Anglo-Saxon England," in Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 37–38, 58–61.

63. This manuscript is thought to have been borrowed from the Flemish monastery of Saint-Bertin. The circumstances of the manuscript's sojourn in England are poorly known and there is some disagreement on whether it was or was not at Exeter in the mid-eleventh century. See contributions to Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, by J. E. Cross, "Introduction," 6–9; J. E. Cross and Julia Crick, "The Manuscript: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202," 16–21; and Hall, "*Euangelium*," 55.

64. Andy Orchard, "The Style of the Texts and the Translation Strategy," in Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 122–29.

65. Ibid., 108–30.

66. *Euangelium Nichodemi* 1.5–6, in Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 146–51.

67. Orchard, "Style," in Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha*, 123.

68. Ibid., 129–30.

69. Dean, 462; the work has been recently edited by Pierre Nobel, *Poème anglo-normande sur l'ancien testament*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996).

70. Nobel, *Poème*, 1: 44.

71. Ibid., 1: 85–160, discusses all facets of this translation as translation, as well as selects and analyzes the examples of anachronistic adaptation discussed here.

72. Ibid., 2. (MS B) lines 15, 3294, and 4634 are discussed at 1: 151–53. In his preface, the poet addresses his audience with a truth claim: "Oez, seignurs, chancun de verité / de viel estorie estrait senz falseté" (lines 14–15). See also C. J. Wittlin, "Les traducteurs au moyen âge: Observations sur leur techniques et difficultés," in *Actes du XIIIe congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes*, ed. Marcel Boudreault and Frankwalt Möhren, 2 vols. (Quebec, 1976), 1: 601–11.

73. Ibid., 2: (MS B) lines 12797–800, 1636, 12717–24, 12830–33, 5012, 2599, and 9571. See P. Bancourt, *Les musulmans dans les chansons de geste du Cycle du roi*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), 1: 1.

6

Final Observations

In the previous chapters I have offered evidence of the nature of medieval translations and the processes by which they were created in England between the ninth and twelfth centuries. In this final chapter, I will make some observations on the role of translation in the changing use of languages in medieval England.[1] By this point in the book, the pervasiveness of translation and its variety should be clear, as also, in terms of greater trends, the shifting of texts from Latin to English in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, from English to Latin in the second half of the eleventh century (already happening before the Norman conquest), and from Latin to French in the second half of the twelfth century. But, while translation reflected in some cases the course of conquests, was used to frame relations between peoples in inquests and some texts, and shaped, in varying degrees, how people spoke and wrote the three major languages, its exact role in larger sociolinguistic changes remains hard to identify.

The place to begin to try to find this role is at the end of the period, in the early years of the thirteenth century. By then, Latin dominated most official records of the church and secular society. English was appearing in texts very rarely, and when it did, it was often in odd places and what appear to be, in the absence of more evidence, atypical texts.[2] French, however, had become a language with a special place in England, playing a role in texts and some parts of public life that was set to expand and deepen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The paradox that has attracted so much attention is that at the same time French as a written language ascended in law, hagiography, history, and narrative entertainments, the number of its speakers was in sharp decline. Estimating how many of England's clergy and secular elite could understand French would have to be based on an untestable hypothesis, resting largely on anecdotal evidence from narratives and on the number of existing French texts and their imagined readers. The language's rising use in law is especially striking, given its status as a first and only tongue for a tiny elite and what were a larger, but still limited, number of bilingual speakers. One can more easily explain a small literate elite serving itself with recondite and entertaining texts in a minority language, than say how such a socially limited language as French in the thirteenth century could establish so firm a foothold in the records and activities of governance in England.[3]

Most scholars would agree that the position of French in c. 1200 was not merely the result of the Norman conquest and the settlement in England of thousands of French speakers in the final decades of the eleventh century in a kingdom with a population of between one and two million, almost all of whom spoke only English. It is safe to say that almost everywhere French speakers settled, whether in towns or the countryside, they found themselves a small minority. While this settlement certainly was a necessary cause for the introduction of French in England, it is not a sufficient cause for its establishment as a long-lived elite language used for a small number of official purposes. The fact that the settlers conquered, rather than simply migrated, does not resolve the issue of why their language succeeded in surviving in the way it did. The French language most of them spoke should have died off much as the vikings' Scandinavian tongue had disappeared after their conquest and settlement as a small group amongst a large French-speaking majority in old Neustria.[4] In England in the late eleventh century, as had happened in Neustria in the tenth, trends in intermarriage and bilingualism were already assisting this decline in French as a first language within a few generations after the conquest.[5] What saved French in England and gave it the status and function it was to enjoy to the end of the Middle Ages arguably was, as noted in earlier chapters, England's inclusion after 1154 in the Angevin empire.[6] I want to explain this position more fully and in relation to the function of translation.

It is the nature of conquerors' languages that they conform to the political and linguistic dynamics created by the circumstances of their conquests. Factors governing language shift—when a group moves from speaking one language to another—are many and are all extralinguistic. These factors might include the nature of the conquest and subsequent control of what had been conquered, notions of identity or ethnicity, and the comparative wealth in the two peoples and the complexity of their social structures, to name just the most obvious. One key political factor has played a very visible role in the death of some languages and the spread of others, and depends on the number of people and the number of languages involved. A group that establishes itself as a ruling minority (speaking its own language) within an essentially monolingual polity, where the majority speak a different language than the conquering group, will assimilate to the language of the conquered, sometimes as quickly as within three generations.[7] The Franks are a good example of this pattern; they conquered Gallo-Roman provinces where they were a minority, and shed their language with some alacrity despite ties to Frankish-speaking regions across the Romance-Germanic linguistic frontier.[8]

On the other hand, a group that conquers or creates a multilingual polity will see its language become almost inevitably the lingua franca of that empire. The Romans throughout the Mediterranean from their earliest conquests of the Etruscans to their expansion over North Africa, southern Europe, Britain, Greece, and the Near East between 200 BCE and 200 CE, and the Arabs by means of their conquests in the Near East, central Asia, North Africa, and Spain in the seventh and early eighth centuries follow this pattern. With the Romans, Latin spread as the common language of governance, law, and the military throughout the empire. Speakers of minority languages in the Roman world were often resilient in preserving their native speech, but added Latin as the critical second language in important areas of public life.[9] Much the same could be said of the spread and function of Arabic in the wake of Muslim conquests.[10] Whether considering the Frankish invasion, the Roman Empire, or the Caliphate, the micro level of contact may show tremendous variety of relationships in how writers and speakers use different languages, but language survival and dominance, in particular the establishment of a lingua franca, is nevertheless governed in these two cases by the macro issues.

It is possible to see that, according to these paradigms, England and its rulers were in something like the first category after 1066, but switched to something much closer to the second after 1154. From the Norman conquest, of course, and on and off until, effectively, 1141, Norman kings ruled both English and French speakers in England and one French-speaking polity on the continent. Nevertheless, the Normans' cross-Channel realm was a shaky multilingual empire in an era when writing in French was still an experiment and Latin only beginning its rise to dominance as the language of governance, law, and history. If the political isolation from Normandy had continued after 1141, such early French works as the *Laws of William*, Benedeit's *Voyage of St. Brendan*, and the anonymous *First French Lapidary* would likely have proven to be one-offs, the ever diminishing evidence of the utility of the fading language of the conquerors.[11] The disappearance of French works would in this hypothetical England chart the linguistic assimilation of conquerors and conquered. Although English might have maintained itself during this period in some genres, the writers of such an Anglo-Norman kingdom would have put their weight increasingly behind Latin in all types of authoritative texts, just as had in fact begun to happen between 1066 and the mid-twelfth century.

After 1154, however, England was for several centuries joined to a large multilingual empire encompassing much of western France, as well as parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.[12] This joining occurred in a period when vernacular writing was on the rise on the continent, when governments were becoming increasingly literate—though almost exclusively in Latin—and when the king's court remained a largely French-speaking group almost constantly in motion throughout the domains on both sides of the English Channel.[13] And it is in this period, the second half of the twelfth century, that we find the first evidence of French used with increasing regularity as a language of record in legal treatises, historical narratives, saints' lives, biblical translation, monastic rules, and commentaries.[14]

It was the flourishing of French in law that Maitland noticed, and which he tied to Henry II's innovative legal reforms.[15] Of course, some have argued that French usage in England moved in a trajectory from 1066 rather than accelerated into a more intense period under the Angevins. Others have challenged the notion of Henry II as anything other than a builder on preconquest legal foundations; by calling into question just how innovative his reforms might have seemed to contemporaries, they cut the link between language and law that Maitland had used to explain the rise of French in law. What neither of these arguments is able to explain, however, is how French became at the end of the twelfth century an important language of English law, eventually achieving a paramount position in select types of written records and oral pleadings.

What I am arguing is that the place French secured at this time as a language of authority, of record, had more to do with the extralinguistic context in which its speakers and writers found themselves than with the Norman conquest or the subsequent legal measures of Henry II. The coincidence of the reforms of law, in particular of radical changes in how law was described, and the restructuring of some court procedures directed for the most part at elite landowners, both happening in the context of England's inclusion in a multilingual empire, explains the rise of Law French, as the legal language used until the seventeenth century is called, and the long life of French as a language of governance and elite culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the rise of Latin under the Normans and in the establishment of French under the Angevins, translation played the role of an accelerator. In the introduction and in chapter 2, I described the intensive work after 1066 of translators producing Latin descriptions of the law, records, saints' lives, and narrative histories.[16] To this can be added the translation of oral testimony for inquests of all sorts, an activity that at its height included translating the testimony of thousands of individuals into Latin for Domesday Book. Reasons for choosing Latin after the conquest were pragmatic. Why, after all, would the new Francophone elite produce records of rights, privileges, and laws in a language, English, which they did not understand? In the first generation after 1066, most of their own clerks were ignorant of English. Latin had been the language of record in Normandy and was also a language used by the English. The decision to use Latin instead of English in certain kinds of official texts was made, it appears, incrementally; preconquest Old English royal writs often begot Old English reissues after 1066.[17] Some laws were issued in bilingual Latin and Old English texts. Nevertheless, by the death of the first conquering king, William I, in 1087, the shift to Latin had occurred in almost every writing office. Not only was Latin the common language shared by the learned of both cultures, but it was also the prestige language of the day.

Translation then, in almost all cases after 1066, moved English texts into Latin. The volume of the effort, its rapid start after the conquest, and its endurance into the twelfth century attest to the pressing Norman need and the skill of the kingdom's translators. The Norman acceptance of what they conquered on its own terms and their urge to continue the practices followed before the conquest are writ large in these records—both in the translation of many preconquest Old English law codes into Latin and in the continued production of Old English copies of these same laws.[18]

When in the second half of the twelfth century later generations of writers began in greater numbers to produce French texts for the tastes of new patrons and audiences interested in the English past—histories of its kings, lives of its saints, and treatises on its laws—they turned first to translation as their starting point. These writers, however, did not move texts from English into French, though that happens here and there, but from Latin to French. For these later translators, Latin, not English, was the authoritative language in a century that saw the rise of sensitivity to the *auctoritas* of texts and languages. The work of these translators—such as Wace, Clemence of Barking, and the anonymous translator of the coronation charters of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II—was fruitful.[19] A willingness and ability *to translate* existing texts, rather than simply to compose new texts, hastened the creation of an impressive body of works in French by the early thirteenth century. The shift from Latin to French as the target language was widespread; translation from English to Latin, which had characterized the century after the Norman conquest, ceased.

Translation was available to play the role of accelerator for the Normans and Angevins because the English had practiced translation extensively for a long time before 1066. Translation had played an important role in English society from, at latest, the arrival in the sixth century at their courts of missionaries from Rome, bearing sacred books in Latin and accompanied by Frankish translators. Translation was the redoubt King Alfred fell back on in the late ninth century in order to put Christian literate culture back on the offensive after the destruction of books and learning by viking raids and conquests. Over the centuries before the Norman conquest, translation played an important role in the acquisition of classical and Christian culture, as the English moved Latin texts into their vernacular. It was part and parcel of most of what English writers subsequently produced, one of the defining components in their literary culture in all centuries, including, most crucially for my point, the last century before the Norman conquest.[20]

It is not surprising, then, that translation into Latin became the Normans' principal means of access to the written records of Anglo-Saxon society. Nor is it odd that translation was the first act of most projects begun by writers in England from the late eleventh century and into the first half of the twelfth. These writers came from a culture on the continent with little or no experience with written translation outside of schools that taught Latin and the occasional learned word translated from the rare Greek text.[21] Latin texts in Normandy remained in Latin, and were interpreted by the learned for the unlearned, as had been the case for centuries by 1066. After securing their conquest, French speakers in England experienced translation as both a matter of course in oral dealings with English speakers and in written records of all sorts. In the religious communities they entered, translation was often an ongoing project, and libraries were filled with the effects.[22] While some of the newcomers made the attempt to learn English, greater effort was made to have key English works translated into Latin, and this effort, as we have seen, was successful. The reversal of the usual eleventh-century direction of translating activity, producing Latin texts from English sources rather than vice versa, was not merely pragmatic. Latin as the target language was likely given some extra authority, especially in the twelfth century, by the growing movement in Spain and Sicily, and soon spreading throughout western Europe, to translate the philosophical works of antiquity from Arabic and Greek and to make them available to interested scholars and students.[23] Translation into Latin was on the rise in the twelfth century.

Finally, a few general points. Given how much translating went on during the period, and how important it was to fundamental issues like the spread of Christian teachings and practices and the transference over the Norman conquest of descriptions of the law, it is surprising how little translation method appears to have changed between c. 800 and c. 1200. Writers in England gained much experience during these centuries, but rarely thought it worthwhile to tell us their impressions of earlier or inadequate translations, or their goals for their own. For most, translation might have been considered just a necessary craft, to be done with as little fuss as possible. Again, exceptions like Ælfric prove the rule.[24] It is rare, for example, to see the quality of a translation criticized. When it happens, it is usually a matter of the inelegance of the earlier work, and these complaints are interpreted by us as a sign of shifting literary tastes, rather than as a challenge to the earlier translation's success in conveying its source.[25] As William of Malmesbury wrote of one translator whose work he had seen, "[T]he less said of [Æthelweard] the better. I would approve his intention, did I not find his language distasteful."[26] Not just translations but texts of all sorts were revised during the period, and the decision was usually explained by reference to how well the text read, not to how inadequately it represented the subject of its sources.[27] The reason there was little change in method is likely that there was little change in the purpose of translating during this time; older methods continued to meet most contemporary needs. In Spain and Sicily, the seeds of change were being sown in the competitive translating of philosophical texts by individuals and teams of translators. Method began to matter as it had not before. The effects of this development, however, were only to appear in England near the end of the period.[28]

One aspect of translation that does appear to be changing is the status of products and of their creators. Before the twelfth century, it is rare for translators to tell us their names. Alfred in the late ninth century and Ælfric a century later stand out from the legion of anonymous translators, though even here the level of the king's own participation can be disputed.[29] By the twelfth century, we are more likely to learn who the translator is, and for whom he or she worked, as well as something more about the public motive for the work. Perhaps in an age of widening *auctoritas* of texts of all sorts, of growing literacy, and of increasing trust in the written record, readers wanted to know more urgently who was responsible for what they were reading.[30] Translators of texts, then, answered this question just as did writers of all sorts. Many translators still remained anonymous, but an increasing number did not. It is a gradual trend rather than a striking change, but nevertheless worth noting.

Translation was not simply a tool for the acquisition of knowledge, nor was its role in providing access to any of its sources neutral. Because of its protean capabilities and sensitivity to larger political and linguistic trends, translation played, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, perhaps its most significant historical role in England. It ensured the preservation and passing on of many aspects of English culture in the wake of the Norman conquest, and again after Henry II's accession. The continuities one can trace in learned culture, patterns of governance, contents of the law, and cultic practices follow the tracks of translators over the divides of 1066 and 1154. After 1066 it is French-speaking translators who collected, studied, edited, and translated preconquest English codes of law, and whose explicit claims about the continuing force of old laws are borne out by the contents of their Latin translations.[31] In another genre, it is English- and French-speaking translators who turn the narrative history of the English as a people and as a kingdom into Latin and French versions as key elements in the twelfth-century explosion of historical writing in England.

These translators—no matter what their languages of speech or text—did not arise from nothing, as if drawn from the virgin soil of England by the pragmatic needs of the Normans, harbingers of a new age that increasingly cared about older texts. Rather, the translators at work after 1066 learned from, and participated in, the long tradition of translation work in preconquest England, a kingdom whose peoples had more experience with translation in almost all genres, over a longer time, than any other kingdom or people in western Europe. This tradition, maintained in episcopal households and by monastic *familiae*, fostered by kings and lords, and fed by the desire for texts and knowledge, was already old and established in England when most other western European peoples were just beginning to think about writing in their vernaculars and to recognize the value of translation in its ability to produce a flood of new works written by the Greeks, preserved by Arabic translators, and transformed into Latin versions in Spain and Sicily, from where they moved steadily north. The most significant contribution, then, of translation in England was not the effacement or destruction of Anglo-Saxon culture, but rather its very survival.

NOTES

1. I will not discuss the influence of translation on the development of any of the target languages, which is beyond the scope of the book and my expertise.

2. E.g., *The Ormulum*, on which see R. W. Burchfield, "The Language and Orthography of the Ormulum Manuscript," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, 56–87.

3. There have been a number of attempts to explain the rise of French in English law and governance, the most recent of which, and the most persuasive on the use of French in the thirteenth century, is Paul Brand, "The Languages of the Law in Later Medieval England," in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge, 2000), 63–76. Brand's article offers a correction to the late dating of the rise of French argued by George E. Woodbine, "The Language of English Law," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 395–436. It should be noted that Woodbine links the rise of French in administration and law to an influx of Francophones

under Henry III. See also William Rothwell, "Language and Government in Medieval England," *Zeitschrift für Französische Spräche und Literatur* 93 (1983): 258–70, on how the use of French for records was restricted to those areas in touch with either the royal court or with France.

4. The Scandinavian spoken by Rollo's followers seems to have disappeared quite quickly. According to Dudo of St. Quentin, the Danish conqueror Rollo married a Frankish woman named Poppa; their son, William Longsword, married a woman who may, according to Flodoard, have been a Breton or British, and due in part to his mother's ancestry and his friends, was suspected of Frankish loyalties. Their son, Richard, was sent from Romance-speaking Rouen to Danish-speaking Bayeux "so that in the future he should be able to express himself more fluently to the Dacian-born [i.e., Danes]." Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge, England, 1998), 3.36 (p. 57), 3.42 (p. 63), and 4.68 (p. 97). See Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1984), 232; Lucien Musset, "Gouvernés et gouvernants dans le monde scandinave et dans le monde normand (XIe–XIIe Siècles)," *Gouvernés et gouvernants: Recueils de la société Jean Bodin* 17 (1968): 456–57; L. W. Breese, "The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries," *Viator* 8 (1977): 47–61; David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), 15.

5. Cecily Clark, "Women's Names in Post-Conquest England: Observations and Speculations," *Speculum* 53 (1978): 223–51; Thomas, *English and the Normans*, 138–60.

6. See chapters 1, pp. 37–38, and 2, pp. 79–81. Frederic William Maitland noticed over a century ago the coincidence of Angevin legal reforms and the appearance of French as a language of law. He considered the former to have caused the latter, and explained it as a consequence of a French-speaking royal court extending its law to all freemen—that is, the creation of the English common law. Because this law became the most important in the kingdom, the language in which it was framed and administered ascended to the same authority. As Maitland put it, "The destiny of our legal language was not irrevocably determined until Henry of Anjou was king" (1: 84). Maitland's thesis about Henry's reforms drew to it all other evidence, with which it combined: "In all legal matters the French element, the royal element, was the modern, the enlightened, the improving element" (ibid). That he was wrong about much of this characterization and about the relationship between law and language is less important than that he recognized that French only achieved its status as an authoritative language of English law in the late twelfth century, and that the Norman conquest created no inevitable rise of French, no matter the politics of conquest and prestige of the conquerors' language.

7. The three-generation mark is common in literature on bilingualism and assimilation: see, e.g., J. F. Hamers and M. Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism* (Cambridge, 1989), 176, cited by Short, "Patrons," 246.

8. The language spoken by the Franks after their invasion and settlement is not a topic that has attracted the interest of many Merovingian scholars; but see Giorgio Ausenda's discussion notes in the last chapter of I. N. Wood, ed., *Franks and Alemanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, England, 1998), 371–453. That the Franks spoke Latin of some sort in the sixth

century is accepted, though the participants in the discussion debate its level—a "vulgar" Latin or a "high" speech. Roger Wright's work helps make a better case for the Romance adopted by the Franks being reflected in texts like *Lex Salica*. Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance* (Liverpool, 1982).

9. J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, 2003).

10. J. J. Saunders, *A History of Medieval Islam* (London, 1965), 188.

11. Sometimes the *Leis Willelme* has been interpreted as evidence of how quickly French had integrated itself into the register of English law. This opinion is most forcefully put by John Collas in his otherwise persuasive introduction to his editions of some fourteenth-century Year Books. Collas's analysis of the technicality of the vocabulary of the *Leis Willelme* is, however, vitiated by (1) his failure to recognize that the second half of the *Leis* was a translation of the Old English lawcode of Cnut (which thus provides key evidence of the meaning of the translation), (2) his belief that the Latin *Leges Willelmi* was contemporary, rather than a later text, (3) his judgment that some words in law resisted translation, and (4) his acceptance of the then current orthodoxy concerning the development of common law principles and procedures. John P. Collas and T. F. T. Plucknett, eds., *Year Books of Edward II*, vol. 24, *12 Edward II, Hillary and Part of Easter, 1319*, Selden Society 70 (London, 1953), xii–xxi; John P. Collas, ed., *Year Books of Edward II*, vol. 25, *12 Edward II, Part of Easter and Trinity, 1319*, Selden Society 81 (London, 1964), xiv–xlvii.

12. No high level of legal or political integration of the parts of the empire need have existed for language to be affected as I argue. Loose control of all regions by one royal/ducal/comital court is what was required: see John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001).

13. R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of Henry II* (London, 1878).

14. See below, appendix, for French translations produced during this period. On the rising use of French in the later twelfth century, see Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Trewely*, 14–26; Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, chapters 4, 5, and 6; Short, "Patrons and Polyglots," 229–49; and Dean, passim.

15. Pollock and Maitland, *History*, 1: 84.

16. See the introduction, pp. 1–4, and chapter 2, pp. 78–79.

17. Sharpe, "Use of Writs," 247–91.

18. See chapters 2, pp. 69–70, 78–79; 3, pp. 134–36; and 4, pp. 197–201.

19. See the appendix, pp. 230–31, 233, 235, 236.

20. Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, 1–2.

21. The only possible exception is the French *Life of St. Alexis*, which is based on a Latin *Vita*; the French text might possibly predate the conquest by a decade or so. However, the earliest copy is found in the early twelfth-century English manuscript known as the St. Alban's Psalter. Of course, the French, like the English, would have had knowledge of the translating work of the early church and perhaps some memory of John Scotus Eriugena's translations from Greek for the Carolingian court. See Edouard Jeauneau, "Jean Scot, traducteur de Maxime le Confesseur," in Herren, *Sacred Nectar*, 257–76.

22. See chapter 2, pp. 96–104.

23. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 3–19, 67–81, 130–40, 155–93, 194–222; Alverny, "Translations and Translators," 421–62; Burnett, "Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program," 249–88.

24. See chapters 1, pp. 32, 36, 44, and 4, p. 175. On Ælfric's anxiety about how the "naked narrative" of the Bible could be misinterpreted if the translation was uncut by explanations, which is as close as a preconquest translator came to evaluation based on method, see Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, 37–44.

25. E.g., Clemence of Barkings comments on her rewriting an earlier version of a saint's life. *The Life of St. Catherine by Clemence of Barking*, ed. William MacBain, ANTS 18 (Oxford, 1964), lines 35–44.

26. *GR* 1.prol.2, 1: 15–16 (trans. by editors): "Nam de Elwardo, illustri et magnifico uiro, qui Cronica illa Latine aggressus est digerere, prestat silere, cuius michi esset intentio animo si non essent uerba fastidio."

27. This is the basis of the *VW*; it is not dissimilar from the work of continental revisers of saints' lives (e.g., the prefaces to Marbod of Rennes' *Lives* of St. Gualterius, St. Licinius, and St. Magnobodus, in *PL* 171).

28. See above, chapter 3, pp. 136–37.

29. Cf. the doubts recently raised by Malcolm Godden in "Did King Alfred Write Anything?" 1–23. The case for Alfred's authorship of the canon was made by Dorothy Whitelock, "The Prose of Alfred's Reign," in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. Eric G. Stanley (London, 1966), 67–103. Whitelock's arguments were revised and extended by Janet Bately, "Old English Prose," 93–138; Patrick O'Neill (*PsalmsAlf*, 73–96); and David Pratt, *Political Thought*, 130–78. Wærferth's responsibility for the translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, commissioned by Alfred and performed perhaps with the help of one or more of the king's other scholars, is only known because reported by Asser, c. 77, p. 62.

30. A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 10–12.

31. O'Brien, "Translating Technical Terms"; idem, *God's Peace*, 133–34; idem, "*Instituta Cnuti*," 189–96.

Appendix

Principal and Representative Translations

I have arranged this list of translations by category, and then within each category by date of translation. The categories are intended to help readers locate texts rather than to reflect genres. Many texts could fit into several categories. Within each category, I have not provided a comprehensive list of all translations, but rather a selective list, including not only well-known or important translations, but also representative translations to show the kinds of texts that were produced. Each entry provides the name of the translator (or Anonymous), title of the translation (attested, provided by the translator [both italicized], or descriptive), and its date of composition (though see below in cases where the date is unknown). Next listed is the language of the translation, the source's author, source title, and source language. If the translation is available in print, an edition is noted. In most cases, the edition of the source is not provided, as this is usually cited in the edition of the translation. If not yet in print, the earliest, best, or only manuscript is listed. The entries finish with references to the translator or translation in Richard Sharpe's *Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland*, Ruth Dean's *Anglo-Norman Literature*, and David Pelteret's *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents*, where citations to extant manuscripts, other editions, and scholarship will be found.

With respect to a translation's date, if the text cannot be narrowly dated, I have placed it in the most likely century of composition, according to its editors and the most recent scholarship. Dates or date ranges provided by the text's most recent editor or as accepted in recent scholarship appear as, e.g., 1150 x 1175 or c. 1080. For the rest, the abbreviations for date follow the system in general use (see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xx–xxi, and Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist*, passim): e.g., s.x1 = first half of the tenth century. The following abbreviations are employed: in. = beginning of a century; 1 = first half of the century; med. = middle of the century; 2 = second half of the century; ex. = end of century; 1/4, 2/4, 3/4, 4/4 = first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the century; roman numerals divided by a slash (e.g., s.xi/xii) stand for a decade or so on either side of the turn of the century. Many texts cannot be narrowly or securely dated (e.g., many OE poetic texts); other items here represent collections of texts made over a period of time. In both cases, I have given some sort of date to locate the translations chronologically by supplying the date of the earliest manuscript: "(ms)" follows the date to mark these texts. Translation and source languages are identified by the following symbols: L = Latin; OE = Old English; F = French; G = Greek; Ar = Arabic; and Heb = Hebrew.

There are a few points of qualification readers should be aware of:

1. I have only listed some of the homilies and saints' lives of Ælfric and other translators. Most of the writing by Ælfric in particular combined both translation and editing, where he revised and combined his Latin sources into a new Latin text, and then translated this into OE. As the sourcing of his texts is complex, so also any description of what was translated. Rather than fill this appendix with what would inevitably be incomplete descriptions of Ælfric's works or the work of anonymous sermon writers, I would rather direct those interested in his translations (a) to the many editions of these works produced by the EETS, in particular to Malcolm Godden's commentary in Ælfric, *CH Int*, and Donald Scragg's edition of the *Vercelli Homilies*; (b) to the growing body of work at the Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Web site: Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/; and (c) to Luke M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987), Janet Bately, *Anonymous Old English Homilies: A Preliminary Bibliography of Source Studies* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1993), and Alex Nicholls, "The Corpus of Prose Saints' Lives and Hagiographic Pieces in Old English and Its Manuscript Distribution," *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993): 73–96.

2. Much of the OE computus material translates Latin texts. I have listed only a small sample, but a fuller listing can be found in Heinrich Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus,* Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 26 (Leipzig, 1934). Three further annotated bibliographies are very useful for key translators and genres: Stephanie Hollis and Michael Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning,* Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature Series, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1992); Greg Waite, *Old English Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature Series, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 2000); and Allen J. Frantzen, *King Alfred* (Boston, 1986). For all prognostic texts, see Roy Michael Liuzza, "Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts," *ASE* 30 (2001): 181–230.

3. Charters and a few other documents were sometimes issued in bilingual form, which makes it difficult to identify source and target—for even when they are issued together, one must be a translation. When the scholarship leans one way for good reasons, I reflect that choice. In others, I have merely noted that different language versions exist.

4. It is hard to say what the cutoff should be between translations and original works when a text combined both, and when medieval notions of translation did not clearly distinguish between the two. In some cases, the translator's claim to be reproducing a source, if backed up with a modicum of lexical equivalence between source and target, was enough to consider the work a translation (see above, chapter 1, pp. 45–51, for discussion of the definition of translation). I have

also included some texts whose sources no longer survive, but which claim or are judged by scholars to be translations. I have also included the work of self-identified translators who, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, are suspected of having invented their sources. Recourse to the edition cited will usually clarify the relationship between alleged source and extant translation. In other cases, my decision to include a work in the appendix was based on proportion. When the translation is a substantial part, or constitutes a distinct portion, of a source text, I have listed it. When the translations are woven into an original text—for example, short biblical verses in an otherwise original sermon—I have not. To have included these latter instances of translation would have meant listing the majority of the texts produced in the period.

CONTENTS

1. ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

Anonymous, Bull of Pope Sergius I (first version), s.xi. OE trans. of a bull of Pope Sergius (L) Heather Edwards, "Two Documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury," *BIHR* 59 (1986): 16–17.

Anonymous [Ælfric?], Ely Privilege, s.xi. OE trans. of confirmation (S779, allegedly c. 970) of privileges for Ely Abbey (L). John Pope, "Ælfric and the Old English Version of the Ely Privilege," in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 88–92.

Anonymous, List of King Athelstan's Donations, s.xi. L trans. of list of donations (OE). Ted Johnson South, ed., *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Cambridge, 2002), 64.

Anonymous, Writs and charters of William I, 1066 x 1087. L and OE versions of writs and charters issued by William I's writing office, produced by the beneficiaries of a royal grant, or likely forged by c. 1200 to resemble these. David

Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford, 1998), nos. 31, 39, 74, 78, 80, 181, 226, and 345 (boundary clause only). Pelteret nos. 6, 10, 14, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 33.

Anonymous, Bull of Pope Sergius I (second version), s.xi ex. L trans. of Malmesbury's version of a bull of Pope Sergius (OE). Heather Edwards, "Two Documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury," *BIHR* 59 (1986): 17–19.

Anonymous, Record about Wulfstan II's Episcopacy, s.xi ex (1096 x 1113). L and OE versions of an account of how Wulfstan II became bishop of Worcester and of grants made to him for the community. T. Hearne, ed., *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1723), 2: 403–8. Pelteret no. 147.

Anonymous, Charters and wills from St. Albans, s.xi–xii. L trans. of documents from the lost St. Albans Cartulary (OE). Julia Crick, ed., *Charters of St. Albans*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 12 (Oxford, 2007), nos. 1A, 7A, 13A, 14A, 15A, 16A, and 17A.

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Anonymous, Writs and diploma of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II for Christ Church, Canterbury, 1100 x 1189. Latin and OE versions of three writs and a diploma of Henry I, one writ of Stephen, and two writs of Henry II likely produced by the beneficiary/addresses, the archbishop and cathedral community of Christ Church, Canterbury. RRAN 2, nos. 532, 840, 1055, and 1388; RRAN 3, no. 144; James C. Holt and Richard Mortimer, eds., *Acta of Henry II and Richard I*, List and Index Soc., Special Series 21 (Cambridge, 1986), nos. 41 and 42. Pelteret nos. 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, and 54.

Anonymous, Charters, wills and other records for Christ Church, Canterbury, s.xii. L trans. in CCC 189 of documents related to Christ Church, Canterbury, preserved in BL Cotton Claudius A. iii (OE). Not printed as a single volume: see Robin Fleming, "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary," in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge, England, 1997): 83–155.

Anonymous, Charters and writs for St Paul's, London, s.xii. L trans. arguably of now lost documents of St. Paul's cathedral, London (OE). S. E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of St. Paul's, London*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, x (Oxford, 2004), nos. 12, 13, 21, 23, and 31.

Gregory of Ely (?), Charters, writs and wills from Ely Abbey, 1108 x 1131. L trans. of the records of Ely found in the *Libellus quorundem insignium operum beati Æthelwoldi* (OE). *LE*, ii, cc. 1–49, iii, c. 120, and appendix A, pp. 395–96.

Anonymous, Charters and other records from Rochester Cathedral, before c. 1123. L trans. of some documents (e.g., S1458, 1511) included in *Textus Roffensis*, the cartulary of St. Andrews, Rochester (OE). Peter Sawyer, ed., *Textus Roffensis*, 2 vols., Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 7, 11 (Copenhagen, 1957–1962); Thomas Hearne, ed., *Textus Roffensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1723), 2: 115–20. Ker, 373.

William of Malmesbury, Bull of Pope Leo III, s.xii2/4. L trans. of Glastonbury's version of a bull of Pope Leo (OE). William of Malmesbury, *Early History of Glastonbury*, ed. and trans. John Scott (Woodbridge, England, 1981), 106. Sharpe, 785.

Anonymous, Writs, grants, and will from Winchester Cathedral, s.xii1 to s.xii med. L and OE versions of 7 documents in *Codex Wintoniensis*, the cartulary for Winchester Cathedral priory (BL Additional MS 15350). Alexander Richard Rumble, "The Structure and Reliability of the *Codex Wintoniensis* (British Museum, Additional MS 15350; the Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral Priory" (PhD thesis, University of London, 1979), nos. 21, 22, 27, 28, 58, 140a, 140b, 151, 183, 184, 188, 189, 230, and 231.

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Anonymous, Writs, sale, and will from Abingdon Abbey, c. 1160s (1166 x 1170). L trans. of S1404, S1065, S1066 (writs); S1216 (record of sale); and S1488 (will), all part in some way of the *Abingdon Chronicle* (OE). S. E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters vii–viii (Oxford, 2000–2001), nos. 115 (displaced to detached boundary clauses at end of *Historia* MS), 133, 143 (implicitly), 148, and 149; and Hudson, *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis*, 1: 168–69, 188–89, 198–201.

Anonymous, Charters and other records from Ramsey Abbey, c. 1170. L trans. of some records (e.g., S1809) included in Ramsey Abbey's chronicle, the *Liber benefactorum ecclesiae Ramesiensis* (OE). W. D. Macray, ed., *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, RS (London, 1886), 4, 57, 58, passim.

2. BIBLE AND SACRED STORIES

Anonymous, Vespasian Psalter gloss, s.ix med. (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Roman version of the Psalms (L). Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1965). Ker, 203.

Alfred, *Psalms* in prose, s.ix ex. OE trans. of the first 50 psalms (L). *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. Patrick P. O'Neill (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

Anonymous, *Genesis B*, s.ix ex.–s.x in. OE trans. of part of the book of Genesis (Old Saxon). A. N. Doane, ed., *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon "Genesis B" and the Old Saxon Vatican "Genesis"* (Madison, Wis., 1991).

Anonymous, *Judith*, s.x. OE trans. of the biblical book Judith 12: 10–15: 1 (L). *ASPR* 4, pp. 99–109.

Anonymous, Junius Psalter gloss, s.x1 (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Roman version of the Psalms (L). Eduard J. W. Brenner, ed., *Der altenglische Junius-Psalter*, Anglistische Forschungen 23 (Heidelberg, 1908). Ker, 335.

Aldred (?), Lindesfarne Gospels gloss, c. 950. OE trans. of the Gospels (L). W. W. Skeat, ed., *The Holy Gospels in Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions, Synoptically Arranged*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1871–1887).

Anonymous, Royal Psalter gloss, s. x med. (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Roman version of the Psalms (L). Fritz Roeder, ed., *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter,* Studien zur Englischen Philologie (Halle, 1904). Ker, 249.

Anonymous, *Gospels*, s.x ex. OE trans. of the four Gospels (L). Roy Liuzza, ed., *The Gospels in West Saxon*, 2 vols., EETS OS 304, 314 (London, 1994, 2000).

Anonymous, *Genesis A*, s.x/xi (ms). OE trans. of Genesis 1–22: 13 (L). A. N. Doane, ed., *Genesis A* (Madison, Wis., 1978).

Anonymous, *Exodus*, s.x/xi (ms). OE trans. of Exodus 12: 29–30, 13: 17–14: 31 (L). Joan Turville-Petre, ed., *The Old English Exodus: Text, Translation, and Commentary by J. R. R. Tolkien* (Oxford, 1981).

Anonymous, *Daniel*, s.x/xi (ms). OE trans. of Daniel 1–5 and other sources (L). R. T. Farrell, ed., *Daniel and Azarias* (London, 1974).

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Anonymous, *Gospel of Nichodemus* and *Revenge of the Savior*, s.xi. OE trans. of the *Evangelium Nichodemi* and *Vindicta Salvatoris* (L). J. E. Cross et al., eds., *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nichodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour* (Cambridge, 1996).

Anonymous, Lambeth Psalter gloss, s.xi1 (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). U. Lindelöf, ed., *Der Lambeth-Psalter*, 2 vols., Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ, vol. 35, no. 1 and vol. 43, no. 3 (Helsinki, 1909). Ker, 280.

Anonymous, Cambridge Psalter gloss, s.xi med. (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Roman version of the Psalms (L). Karl Wildhagen, ed., *Der Cambridge Psalter*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 7 (Hamburg, 1910). Ker, 13.

Anonymous, Stowe Psalter gloss, s. xi med. (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). Andrew C. Kimmens, ed., *The Stowe Psalter*, Toronto Old English Series, 3 (Toronto, 1979). Ker, 271.

Anonymous, Vitellius Psalter gloss, s.xi med. (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). James L. Rosier, ed., *The Vitellius Psalter*, Cornell Studies in English, 42 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962). Ker, 224.

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Anonymous, Pembroke Psalter gloss, s.xi med. (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). Klaus Dietz, ed., "Die ae. Psalterglossen der Hs. Cambridge, Pembroke College 312," *Anglia* 86 (1968): 273–79, and René Derolez, ed., "A New Psalter Fragment with OE Gloss," *English Studies* 53 (1972): 401–408. Ker, 79.

Anonymous, Arundel Psalter gloss, s.xi2 (ms). OE trans. of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). Guido Oess, ed., *Der altenglische Arundel-Psalter*, Anglistische Forschungen, 30 (Heidelberg, 1910). Ker, 134.

Anonymous, John 14: 1–13, s.xi–s.xii. OE trans. of the beginning of chapter 14 of the Gospel of John (L). Rubie D.-N. Warner, *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespesian D. xiv*, EETS OS 152 (London, 1917), 77.

Anonymous, Salisbury Psalter gloss, s.xi/xii (ms). OE trans. (s.x2?) of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms and Canticles (L). Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, eds., *The Salisbury Psalter*, EETS 242 (London, 1959). Ker, 379.

Anonymous, *Oxford Psalter*, s.xii1. F trans. of Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). F. Michel, ed., *Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua gallica* (Oxford, 1860); errata noted by J. H. Meister, *Die Flexion im Oxforder Psalter* (Halle, 1877). Dean, 445.

Anonymous, *Arundel Psalter*, s.xii. F trans. of the Jerome's Gallican version of the Psalms (L). A Beyer, "Psaumes IV–LIV du MS. Brit. Mus. Arundel 2308," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 11 (1887): 513–34, and 12 (1888), 1–56. Dean, 446.

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Anonymous, *Eadwine Psalter*, s.xii med. (before 1155–1160). OE trans. of Jerome's Roman version of the Psalms (L) and F trans. of Jerome's Hebrew version of the Psalms (L). Fred Harsley, ed., *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter,* EETS 92 (London, 1889); F. Michel, ed., *Le Livre des Psaumes* (Paris, 1876). Dean, 418. Ker, 91.

Anonymous, *Le Livre des Juges*, 1160–70. F trans. of the book of Judges (L). Gerald A. Bertin and Alfred Foulet, "The Book of Judges in Old French Prose: The Gardner A. Sage Library Fragment," *Romania* (1969): 121–31. Dean, 444.1.

Anonymous, *Li Quatre Livre des Reis*, ca. 1170. F trans. of the Book of Kings (L). Ernst Robert Curtius, ed., *Li quatre Livre des Reis. Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige in einer französischen Bearbeitung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Dresden, 1911). Dean, 444.

Anonymous, *Commentary on the Psalter*, 1163 x 1164. F trans. of the Psalms (1–50), Gilbert de la Porrée's *Media Glossatura*, and other sources (L). Stewart Gregory, ed., *The Twelfth-Century Psalter Commentary in French for Laurette d'Alsace (An Edition of Psalms I–L),* 2 vols. (London 1990). Dean, 451–52.

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3. LAWS AND PENITENTIALS

Alfred, *Domboc* prologue, s.ix ex. OE trans. of the *Liber ex lege Moysis. GA*, 1: 26–45.

Anonymous, *Halsuncge*, s.ix-x. OE trans. of the oath in *Iudicium Dei* I 2.1 (L). *GA,* 1: 401, 412.

Anonymous, *Scriftboc*, s.ix–s.xi. OE trans. of Theodore's penitential and other sources (L). R. Spindler, ed., *Das altenglische Bussbuch, sog. Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti* (Leipzig, 1934).

Anonymous, *Old English Penitential*, s.ix–s.xi. OE trans. of the *Penitential of Haltigar*, books 3–5 (L). Josef Raith, ed., *Die altenglische Version des Haltigar'schen Bussbuches* (Hamburg, 1933), 1–53.

Anonymous, Edgar's Fourth Code, s.x2–s.xi med. L trans. (or L and OE versions) of IV Edgar (OE). *GA,* 1: 207–15.

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Anonymous, Handbook for a Confessor, s.xi in. (ms). OE trans. of book 1 of *Othmarus ad discipulos* (L). Roger Fowler, "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1–34.

Anonymous, Formula for Excommunication, s.xi med (ms). OE trans. of *Excommunicationis Formula* (L). E. M. Treharne, "A Unique Old English Formula for Excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303," *ASE* 24 (1995): 209–11.

Anonymous, Legislative writs of William I, 1066 x 1087. L and OE versions of regulations concerning proof and ecclesiastical pleas issued by William I. David Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford, 1998), nos. 128 and 130. Pelteret no. 145.

Anonymous, *Instituta Cnuti et aliorum regum* [*Institutes of Cnut*], s.xi ex–xii 1/4 (by c. 1123). L trans. of most of Cnut's laws and selections from other legal texts (OE). *GA,* vol. 1, passim.

Anonymous, *Quadripartitus*, s.xi/xii. L trans. of most preconquest laws (OE). *GA,* vol. 1, passim.

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Anonymous, *Decalogum Moysi*, s.xii med. (ms). OE trans. of the Vulgate's text of Exodus 20: 1–17 (L). Warner, *Early English Homilies*, 9–11 (no. v).

Anonymous, *Leis Willelme*, s.xii med. F trans. of selections from II Cnut (OE). *GA*, 1: 492–520. Dean, 32.

Anonymous, *Leges Willelmi*, s.xii2. L trans. of the *Leis Willelme* (F). *GA*, 1: 493–520.

Anonymous, *Leis de Sant Eduard*, s.xii ex. F trans. of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (L). Not printed. CUL MS Ee.1.1, fols. 3v–8. Dean, 34.

Anonymous, *Articles of William*, s.xii ex. F trans. of the *Articuli Willelmi* (L). *GA*, 1: 488–89.

Anonymous, *Glanvill*, s.xii ex. F trans. of the *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* attributed to Ranulph de Glanvill (L). Not printed. CUL MS Ee.1.1, fols. 12–39v.

Anonymous, *Coronation Charter of Henry I*, s.xiii in. F trans. of Henry I's coronation charter (L). Not printed; Facsimile available in Holt, *Magna Carta*, plates 4 and 5. BL MS Harley 458.

Anonymous, *Coronation Charter of Stephen*, s.xiii in. F trans. of Stephen's coronation charter (L). Not printed. BL MS Harley 458.

Anonymous, *Coronation Charter of Henry II*, s.xiii in. F trans. of Henry II's coronation charter (L). Not printed. BL MS Harley 458.

Anonymous, *Magna Carta*, summer 1215. F trans. of the first version of Magna Carta (L). J. C. Holt, "A Vernacular Text of Magna Carta, 1215," *EHR* 89 (1974): 346–64. Dean, 35.

4. LITURGY AND PRAYERS

OE prayers and liturgical texts are usefully listed in Antonette DiPaolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The List of Texts and Index of Editions* (Toronto, 1980), 123–32. What follows here is only a small sample to show the variety of available texts.

Anonymous, Lord's Prayer II, s.x. OE trans. of the *Pater Noster* (L). *ASPR* 6, 70–74.

Aldred, Collects, c. 950. OE trans. of collects (L). T. J. Brown, ed., *The Durham Ritual: A Southern English Collectar of the Tenth Century with Northumbrian Additions*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 16 (Copenhagen, 1969).

Anonymous, Kentish Hymn, s.xi. OE trans. of the *Te deum* and *Gloria* (L) of the mass. *ASPR* 6, 87–88.

Wulfstan of Worcester, Benedictine Office, s.xi in. OE trans. of Hrabanus Maurus's Benedictine Office as well as a revision of Ælfric's original translation of this text (L). James M. Ure, ed., *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text* (Edinburgh, 1957).

Wulfstan of Worcester, *Gloria I*, s.xi 1/4. OE trans. of the *Gloria Patris* in the office (L). *ASPR* 6, 74–77.

Anonymous, Prayers and other texts, s.xi med (ms). OE trans. of numerous prayers (as well as homilies, rules, commonplaces, and prognostics) in BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii (L). Not printed as one text: see Tracey Anne Cooper, "Reconstructing a Deconstructed Manuscript, Community and Culture: BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii" (PhD thesis, Boston College, 2005); see also Ker, 186.

Anonymous, Prayers (BL Arundel MS 155), s.xi ex. OE trans. to a collection of prayers (L). F. Holthausen, ed., "Altenglische Interlinearversionen lateinischer Gebete und Beichten," *Anglia* 65 (1941): 230–54 at 231–54; and J. J. Campbell, "Prayers from MS Arundel 155," *Anglia* 81 (1963): 82–117 at 84–117.

Anonymous, Prayer and Hymns, 969 x 987, and s.xi/xii. OE trans. of biblical *Cantica* (L). Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, eds., *The Salisbury Psalter*, EETS 242 (London, 1959), 284–308.

Reginald of Durham, Godric's Prayer, s.xii. L trans. of Godric's prayer (OE). Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, Surtees Soc. 20 (1847), 119, 144. Sharpe, 456.

Anonymous, Lord's Prayer III, s.xii. OE trans. of the *Pater Noster* (L). *ASPR* 6, 77–78.

Anonymous, Canticles and other liturgical pieces, s.xii. F trans. of seven canticles and other liturgical pieces (L). Various editions—see Edith Brayer and Anne-Marie Bouly de Lesdain, "Les Prières usuelles annexées aux anciennes traductions françaises du psautier," *Bulletin d'Information de l'Institut de Recherches et* *d'Histoire des Textes* 15 (1967–1968): 69–120, and Brian Woledge and H. P. Clive, *Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française, depuis 842 jusqu'aux premières années du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1964). Dean, 457.

5. NARRATIVE STORIES AND HISTORIES

Anonymous, *Ecclesiastical History*, s.ix ex. OE trans. of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (L). Thomas Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 4 vols. in 2 parts, EETS OS 95, 96, 110, 111 (London, 1890–1898).

Anonymous, *Orosius*, s.ix ex. OE trans. of Orosius's *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* (L). *Old English Orosius,* ed. Janet Bately, EETS SS 6 (London, 1980).

Æthelweard, *Chronicon*, s.x ex. L trans. of a lost version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (OE). A. Campbell, ed., *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London,1962). Sharpe, 31.

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9. PHILOSOPHY AND MORALIZING WORKS

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Note: The contents of the appendix, as well as individual manuscripts cited in the notes but not discussed in either text or notes, have not been indexed.

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