

Record of the fourth conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, at Stony Brook, New York, 22–6 July 1991

I The following papers were presented, many of which pertained to the general theme of the conference, the preservation and transmission of Anglo-Saxon culture.

- C. M. Sperberg-McQueen, 'Anglo-Saxon Texts and the Text Encoding Initiative'
 David Megginson, 'Re-using an Old Technique'
 Marilyn Deegan, 'Charting Anglo-Saxon Society and Culture'
 Rosemary Cramp, 'Not Why but How: the Contribution of Archaeological Evidence to the Understanding of Anglo-Saxon England'
 Robert Deshman, 'Anglo-Saxon Art: So What's New?'
 Janet Nelson, 'The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century Revisited'
 George H. Brown, 'The Preservation and Transmission of Northumbrian Culture on the Continent: Alcuin's Debt to Bede'
 David Pelteret, 'The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture after 1066: Glastonbury, Wales and the Normans'
 Carl T. Berkhout, 'Laurence Nowell and the Humanistic Origins of Anglo-Saxon Studies'
 Robin Fleming, 'Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons'
 Helen Damico, '"My Professor of Anglo-Saxon was Frederick Klaeber": Minnesota and Beyond'
 J. R. Hall, 'Nineteenth-Century America and the Transmission of the Anglo-Saxon Language'
 Ursula Schaefer, 'Between Orality and Literacy: a Reconsidered Approach to Anglo-Saxon Culture'
 Rosemary Huisman, 'Subjectivity/Orality: How Relevant are Modern Literary Theories to the Study of Old English Poetry? What Light Can the Study of Old English Cast on Modern Literary Theory?'
 Fred C. Robinson, 'Transmitting what is Preserved: How are we Doing?'
 William P. Stoneman, '"Writ in Ancient Character and of no Further Use": Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in American Collections'
 Jonathan Wilcox, 'Variant Texts of an Old English Homily: a Key to Scribal Intent'
 Andreas Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels: the Preservation and Transmission of Old English'
 P. J. Lucas, 'Franciscus Junius and the Versification of *Judith*'
 Joyce Hill, 'Preserving, Transmitting and Reading Ælfric's Saints' Lives'
 R. McC. Millar and Alex Nicholls, 'Ælfric's *De initio creaturae* and British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xxii: Omission, Addition, Retention and Innovation'

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The 1991 conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists

- Catherine Karkov, 'Ireland, England and the Western Seaways: a Study in Cultural and Liturgical Transmission'
- Michael Kenny, 'Trade between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England: Monetary Practices and their Dissemination'
- Herbert R. Broderick, 'Anglo-Saxon Genesis Iconography in later English Medieval Manuscript Art: Preservation and Transmission'
- David Johnson, 'A Program of Illumination in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: "Visual Typology"?'
- Carol Neuman de Vegvar, "'Paganism" and the Franks Casket: on the Traditionalism of Secular Anglo-Saxon Society'
- Earl Anderson, 'The Uncarpenetered World of Old English Poetry'
- Malcolm Godden, 'The Psyche and Self: Some Issues in *Beowulf*'
- C. R. E. Cubitt, 'The Settlement of Ecclesiastical Land Disputes during the Mercian Supremacy'
- Richard W. Pfaff, 'Canterbury Calendar, Winchester Calendar: a New Look at the supposed Calendrical Traditions of Christ Church and the Old Minster, with special reference to the Arundel Psalter (BL Arundel 155)'
- Margaret Bridges, 'Of Myths and Maps: the Anglo-Saxon Cosmographer's Europe'
- David Hinton, 'A Grave at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire'
- Nicholas P. Brooks, 'Rochester Bridge: 2000 Years of *Brycgbot?*'
- Thomas D. Hill, 'Procla's Wife and the Vision of Eve in *Genesis B*: an Old Saxon Source'
- Charles D. Wright, 'The Blood of Abel and the Branches of Sin: *Genesis A*, *Maxims II* and Aldhelm's *De virginitate*'
- Thomas Hall, 'Andreas's Blooming Blood'

II General Business Meeting, held in the Alliance Room, State University of New York at Stony Brook, on 25 July 1991, at 8.30 p.m., President Paul E. Szarmach presiding.

- A The Record of the General Business Meeting held in the University of Durham on 11 August 1989, as published in *ASE* 19 (1990), 1–3, was approved by the Assembly as the minutes of that meeting. A copy of this record, signed by the President, was placed in the files as the official minutes.
- B Election of Officers. President Szarmach recalled the terms and duties of the officers of the Society according to its Constitution. Malcolm Godden thus automatically becomes the new President as of 1 January 1992 to serve until 31 December 1993, and will host the sixth conference (see below). It was noted that Mary P. Richards had resigned as Executive Director, and Patrizia Lendinara as Second Vice-President, both as of 31 July 1991. On the nomination of the Executive Committee, the Assembly elected Patrick W. Conner as

The 1991 conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists

Executive Director, to serve from 1 August 1991 until 31 December 1997. George H. Brown was elected First Vice-President, and Phillip Pulsiano Second Vice-President, both to serve until 31 December 1993.

- C The President reported, on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 Membership. As of the date of the Stony Brook meeting, the Society had 538 members. Dues are to be raised: from \$10.00 to \$15.00 (American) and from £7.00 to £10.00 (sterling). Student memberships, however, were approved at the rate of \$10.00 (£7.00). These increased dues will be in effect from 1 July 1991 until 30 June the following year.
 - 2 Membership of the Advisory Board. The following have been appointed as members of the Advisory Board from 1 January 1992 until 31 December 1995: James Graham Campbell, Joyce Hill, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, Hans Sauer and Patrick Wormald. Continuing on the Board until 31 December 1993 are: Rolf Bremmer, Jane Roberts, Margaret Clunies Ross and Alexander Rumble.
 - 3 That the Society shall open a VISA account, details of which will be circulated to members.
 - 4 Honorary Membership of the Society. The present Honorary Membership consists of Peter Clemoes, René Derolez, Henry Loyn, Bruce Mitchell and John Pope.
 - 5 The sixth conference of the Society will be held in Oxford on 2–7 August 1993; the theme of the conference will be 'Culture and Social Context'.
- D Michael Lapidge, speaking on behalf of the Editors of *Anglo-Saxon England*, reported the Editors' decision to discontinue the agreement whereby one half of every second issue of the journal would be reserved for papers delivered at ISAS meetings. It was the Editors' feeling that the interests of scholarship and the Society could be better served by having the flexibility to publish articles of substantial length and developed argument, rather than the inevitably brief articles which characteristically result from twenty-minute conference papers. The Editors nevertheless reiterated their intention to remain as the Society's principal publishing organ (particularly insofar as Records of conferences are concerned) and reissued their invitation to members of the Society to submit original contributions on all aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies.
- E The meeting closed with a warm round of applause for Professor Szarmach and his colleagues in the State University of New York,

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[More information](#)

The 1991 conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists

for hosting so enjoyable a conference, and to Mary Richards and Patrizia Lendinara for their work on behalf of the Executive Committee.

III The conference included a day-long trip to see medieval antiquities at the Cloisters, and to Union Theological Seminary to see an exhibition of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts arranged by William P. Stoneman and Milton McC. Gatch. A dinner, in the form of an indoor clambake, was held at the Stony Brook campus on the last night of the conference.

Registration forms for the ISAS conference to be held in Oxford on 2–7 August 1993 and full information about the meeting will be sent to all paid-up members of the Society. Cheques for \$15.00, drawn on a branch of an American bank and made payable to the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, should be sent to Professor Patrick W. Conner, Exec. Dir. ISAS, Department of English, West Virginia University, 231 Stansbury Hall, Morgantown WV 26506, USA. For those members outside the US £10.00 in sterling may be sent to the ISAS account, Midland Bank, 32 Market Hill, Cambridge CB2 3NU; bank code 401608, account no. 21241605.¹

¹ This record of the Stony Brook meeting was compiled by Patrizia Lendinara and Michael Lapidge, with the kind assistance of Paul E. Szarmach and Patrick Conner.

The transmission of Aldhelm's writings in early medieval Spain

ANDREW BREEZE

Although writings of Aldhelm (c. 635–c. 709) were widely known in early Spain, in modern Spain they are hardly known at all. An entry on Aldhelm in a recent Spanish book on medieval Latin makes the latter point vividly: 'BIBLIOGRAFÍA: Escasa. Autor casi olvidado. Totalmente ausente en algún catálogo bibliográfico.'¹ A survey of the transmission of Aldhelm's writings from a Spanish viewpoint, however, is able to alter this perspective and to show new aspects of his influence.

Although Aldhelm studied at Canterbury and perhaps Rome, his name is usually linked with the monastery of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, of which he was elected abbot c. 674, and with Sherborne, in Dorset, where he was bishop from c. 706 to his death. However, he would be of interest to Spanish scholars even if no early Spaniard had read him, since one of his poems contains the oldest statement linking Spain with the Apostle James (the tradition of Santiago de Compostela).²

What seems to be the earliest evidence for knowledge of Aldhelm's work in Spain comes from Navarre, in texts associated with Eulogius of Cordoba (c. 800–59). On a visit to northern Spain c. 848, Eulogius stayed with Bishop Wiliesindus of Pamplona, and had the opportunity to examine monastic libraries near the city. In his *Liber apologeticus martyrum*, written when back in

¹ *Antología del latín medieval*, ed. A. Fontán and A. Moure Casas (Madrid, 1987), p. 117: 'BIBLIOGRAPHY: sparse. An almost entirely forgotten writer. Completely absent from some bibliographical catalogues.' However, Spanish documents in which Aldhelm features are well known: see M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La transmisión de los textos antiguos en la Península Ibérica en los siglos vii–xi', *SettSpol* 22 (1975), 133–78, at 154–6, and P. Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 1979), pp. 81–2 and 158. These latter references and much else in the present article are due to Michael Lapidge.

² The reference to Spain and St James occurs in Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica* IV. iv. Cf. F. Fita y Colomé, *Recuerdos de un viaje a Santiago de Galicia* (Madrid, 1880), pp. 123–4; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ewald, MGH, Auct. Antiq. 15 (Berlin, 1919), 23; *Aldhelm: the Prose Works*, trans. M. Lapidge and M. Herren (Cambridge, 1979), p. 11. Possible stylistic links between Spain and England are noted in M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39–76, at 65–8 (on the late seventh-century Valerius of Bierzo), and *Aldhelm: the Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 187, n. 7 (on dissemination of Isidore's works, and a probable connection between Julian of Toledo and Hadrian of Canterbury).

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Andrew Breeze

Cordoba, he refers to the library at the monastery of Leire (*cunctaque uolumina quae ibi erant gratia dignoscendi incomperta reuoluerem*), and an anonymous life of Mohammed which he discovered there.³ Elsewhere, in a letter from Cordoba (where he had been imprisoned by the Emir) sent to Wiliesindus on 15 November 851, he describes his sojourns at Leire and other nearby monasteries.⁴ The only literary work from Navarre mentioned by name in the writings of Eulogius is a life of Mohammed.⁵ However, after Eulogius's death on 11 March 859, when Muslim authorities in Cordoba had him beheaded, his friend Paul Albar (d. 861) wrote an account of his life and martyrdom which includes the following passage:

going beyond into the country of Pamplona, he stopped at the monastery of St Zachary, and moving about with growing enthusiasm among the other religious houses of those parts, he was favoured with the friendship of many fathers. He wrote an account of their manner of life, giving names and places, in the letter that he wrote from prison to the bishop of Pamplona. In those places he found many books, hidden and, to many people, almost unknown, and these he placed in his bosom for us on his return. There he enjoyed talking with blessed Odoarius, who was abbot over 150 monks. He brought back with him Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*, and Vergil's *Aeneid*, the metrical works of Juvenal, the satirical works of Horace, the ornate treatises of Porphyry, the collection of Aldhelm's epigrams, Avianus's fables in metre, glorious verses of Catholic hymns, with many small things on religious matters collected by the efforts of various men; these he brought back not just for his own use but for all eager students. Thereafter by his brilliant work and dazzling genius he constantly opened up glorious trails with clear sign posts . . .⁶

The importance of the first four works listed here needs no underlining. Of the others, 'Porphyry' is Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius (early fourth century), whose poems are full of ingenuities and acrostics, some being shaped like

³ 'Curiosity made me look through all the books kept there.' J. Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum* (Madrid, 1973), p. 483; cf. F. González Ollé, *Introducción a la historia literaria de Navarra* (Pamplona, 1989), p. 16. ⁴ Gil, *Corpus*, p. 498.

⁵ Cf. M. C. Díaz y Díaz: 'La Circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^e au XI^e siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 12 (1969), 219–41 and 383–92, at 229; his 'Los textos antimahometanos más antiguos en códices españoles', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 37 (1970), 149–68; and J. M. Goñi Gaztambide's riposte to the first in his *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona I* (Pamplona, 1979), 67, n. 10.

⁶ Cf. C. M. Sage, *Paul Albar of Cordoba* (Washington, DC, 1943), pp. 199–200. The crucial passage is 'Inde secum librum Ciuitatis beatissimi Agustini and Eneidos Uergilii siue Iubenalís metricos itidem libros atque Flacci saturata poemata seu Porfirii depincta opuscula uel Adhelemi epigramatum opera necnon et Abieni Fabule metricae et Ymnorum catholicorum fulgida carmina cum multa minutissimarum causarum ingenia ex sanctis questionibus congregata': Fontán and Moure, *Antología*, pp. 258–9, citing Gil, *Corpus*, pp. 335–6. Paul Albar's views on pagan classical writers are discussed in M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1957), pp. 212–13.

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[More information](#)

Transmission of Aldhelm's writings in early medieval Spain

altars, water-organs and so on. The identification of the *Adhelmi epigramatum opera* with Aldhelm's *Enigmata* is confirmed by two surviving manuscripts noted by Ehwald, where the title 'epigramata' figures. Avianus (c. 400) is the author of forty-two fables in elegiacs long popular in medieval schools. Finally, the hymns mentioned are presumably those of the 'New Hymnal' which revolutionized Latin hymnody in the ninth century.⁷

The above passage is precious evidence for the contents of Navarre's libraries in the ninth century. If the accident of war had not brought Eulogius to Pamplona, we would have known nothing of these texts, and few would have thought Navarre the place to find them. An even more curious aspect of the above is the implication that by Eulogius's day these texts were difficult or impossible to obtain in Cordoba. If Vergil's *Aeneid* really was a find for scholars in the city of the Senecas and Lucan, Latin culture must have sunk low there indeed.

Discussion in Spain of the above passages has concentrated on identifying the monasteries visited by Eulogius. Less attention has been paid to how the books came to Navarre, and their possible influence on Spanish writers. Our concern here is with the influence of Aldhelm. However, we might mention that one monastery visited by Eulogius was that of San Salvador de Leyre, still functioning as a Benedictine community some 2,600 feet up a mountain side twenty-five miles east-south-east of Pamplona.⁸

On the origin of the books, we can presume at once that their existence in Navarre is a reflex of the so-called Carolingian renaissance. The presence amongst them of an English author like Aldhelm, brought to continental schools by English missionaries and teachers during the previous hundred years, corroborates this suspicion. Like other works in the list, Aldhelm's *Enigmata* (circulating independently of the *Epistola ad Acircium* in which they figure) were a standard schooltext of the day. It makes no difference here whether Carolingian influence reached Navarre by coming west from Catalonia, or south from France across the pass of Roncesvalles. Lacarra suggested that Navarrese monasteries may have been recent foundations, set up under Carolingian influence to exert pressure on the politics of Navarre by peaceful means, nothing having come about by the military interventions in Navarre of Charlemagne in 778 and 812, or of Louis the Pious in 824. Louis is known to have tried this religious and cultural policy to win hearts and minds

⁷ *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 47, notes the title 'epigrammata Aldhelmi' in manuscripts, referring to MGH, PLAC III, ed. L. Traube (Berlin, 1896), 124–5. The riddles are edited in *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 97–149, and translated in *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works*, trans. M. Lapidge and J. L. Rosier (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 70–94. H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1968), contains the fullest discussion of the New Hymnal.

⁸ See R. Molina Piñedo, *Leyre*, 3rd ed. (Pamplona, 1988).

Andrew Breeze

elsewhere.⁹ However, this suggestion has been criticized by J.M. Goñi Gaztambide, who has indicated apolitical aspects of Carolingian cultural influence in, for example, Asturias.¹⁰

If libraries in Navarre had been set up as part of royal policy on the part of Louis, they hardly lived up to official hopes. The splendid libraries seen by Eulogius seem to have been neglected by those who should have used them. Eulogius praises in the highest terms the Christian life led by the religious he visited in Navarre, but not their learning. The monasteries did not possess scriptoria or schools of importance. Paul Albar's comment on the books as 'hidden and, to many people, almost unknown' is significant here. It is far from clear whether Latin texts written in ninth-century Navarre should be attributed to these monasteries or to Pamplona.¹¹ In fact, the chief beneficiaries of the money spent on these books seem to have been Cordoba, Toledo and Leon, though Louis could hardly have foreseen that.

The effect in Cordoba of the texts which Eulogius brought from Navarre has been described as sensational. Their classroom context, brought out by parallels noted in the texts below and in the Appendix, confirms the remark in Paul Albar's life of Eulogius that the saint used them for secular teaching purposes, including the education of laymen like Paul Albar himself, as José Madoz has pointed out.¹²

At this point we move from statements of Eulogius and Paul Albar on texts found in Navarre, to actual influence on Albar's writings of one writer discovered there, Aldhelm. That Aldhelm influenced Paul Albar's work is no new observation. Traube noted seven parallels or borrowings, and Manitius's note on Albar's debt is cited by Raby.¹³ However, the English poet influenced the Spanish one more extensively than has been shown until now. We can point to a pervasive effect of Aldhelm's writings on Albar's vocabulary, in addition to the re-use of individual lines and phrases. It is curious that analysis

⁹ J.M. Lacarra, 'Las más antiguas fundaciones monásticas en el Paso de Roncesvalles', in *Homenaje a D. Julio de Urquijo e Ybarra*, 3 vols. (San Sebastian, 1949) I, 93, and 'Las relaciones entre el reino de Asturias y el reino de Pamplona', in *Estudios sobre la monarquía asturiana* (Oviedo, 1949), pp. 223–43, at 227–8.

¹⁰ Goñi, *Historia de los obispos*, pp. 70–3. Cf. also B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek unter Ludwig dem Frommen', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 3–22, repr. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966–81) III, 171–86.

¹¹ I. Elizalde, *Navarra en las literaturas románicas*, 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1977), I, 23–31; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, *Iconografía del siglo X en el reino de Pamplona-Nájera* (Pamplona, 1984), p. 34, n. 71, and González Ollé, *Introducción*, pp. 29–34. The texts are a prose encomium on Pamplona, and a 42-line epithalamium beginning *Laudes dulces fluant tibiali modo*.

¹² *Epistolario de Alvaro de Córdoba*, ed. J. Madoz (Madrid, 1947), pp. 62–8.

¹³ M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911–31) I, 422; F. J. E. Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), p. 235, n. 4.

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[More information](#)

Transmission of Aldhelm's writings in early medieval Spain

of Albar's poems reveals the influence, not so much of the *Enigmata* found in Navarre, but rather of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*.

Albar's debt to Aldhelm emerges from analysis of three poems: Eugenius of Toledo's poem on the nightingale; Paul Albar's on the same; and Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*. The link between the first two is clear; Albar used the first as his model, taking over phrases and half-lines from it. But Albar also heightened the diction of his poem with words taken from Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*, especially lines 62–73, although this seems not to have been pointed out before. The relevant lines from Paul Albar's poem are set out below, followed by the lines by Aldhelm from which they seem to borrow. Of the words italicized here, Eugenius uses only *corda*, once: Albar's *cordarum|corda* may thus be his modification of Aldhelm's *chordarum|chorda* with a change of meaning.

Vox, filomela, tua *metrorum* carmina vincit
 Et superat miris *flamina* magna modis.
 Vox, filomela, tua dulcis super *organa* pergit,
 Cantica nam suabe *fulgide* magna canit.
 Vox, philomela, tua superat sic gutture *Musas*,
 Ut citharas vincat sivila 'ter tua, ter'.
 Sicque liras dulces *cordarum* pollice ductas
 Excellis *mulcens*, *corda* fobens hominum.
 Cedat omnigena, tivi vox quoque *garrula* cedat,
 Iudice me carmen *fulgeat* omne tuum . . .
 Dic ergo varias blande *modulamine* voces . . .
 Porridge dulcissonum gaudenti pectore *plectrum*
 Et dulce tibias gutture *clange* sonans.
 (lines 1–10, 13 and 15–16)¹⁴

The lines in Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* to which these are indebted are as follows (words in italics represent those taken over by Paul Albar):

Non rogo ruricolae versus et commata *Musas* . . .
 Dactilus excepto decurrat fine metrorum . . .
Garrula quae pridem bombosa fauce rudebat,
 Devotaturus populum cum *pergere* vatis . . .
 Et brutum inspiras vitali *flamine* pectus,
 Qui *corda* ingeniis ornat et labra loquelis,
 Nequiquam ut nullus sermonum *pectra* resolvat
 Et fidibus citharae muletur carmina Christo.
 Si vero quisquam *chordarum* respuit odas
 Et potiora cupit, quam pulset *pectine* chordas,

¹⁴ Repr. from MGH, PLAC III, 126–7, in *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, ed. F. J. E. Raby (Oxford, 1959), p. 115.

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 Excerpt
[More information](#)

Andrew Breeze

Quis psalmista pius psallebat cantibus olim,
 Ac mentem magno gestit *modulamine* pasci
 Et cantu gracili refugit contentus adesse:
 Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
 Quamlibet auratis *fulgescant* cetera capsis!
 (*De virginitate* 23, 48, 57–58 and 62–73)¹⁵

Albar wrote a second poem on the nightingale, of which we may note that the word *pennegera* in it (line 13) also appears (as *penniger*) in Aldhelm's *Enigma* xxvi, on the cock, and that the first half of line 16 in the poem ('Iudice me cedat *organe flabra* tivi') borrows from Eugenius's poem on the nightingale, the second from line 71 of *Carmen de virginitate*.¹⁶ The links between Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* and Paul Albar's poem on the nightingale are striking enough. But other lines from Paul Albar's *carmina* show the influence of Aldhelm. These are listed in an Appendix (below, pp. 14–20).

We now turn from writings of the Cordoba school to our third aspect of evidence for Aldhelm's writings in Spain: a list of books in El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, R. II. 18, fol. 95. In it we find amongst a list of titles *ex opusculis poetarum* the entry *Aldhelmi episcopi liber I*: it follows the entry *Alchimi episcopi libros VI corp. I*, that is, the books of a scriptural epic followed by a poem on virginity by Alcimius Ecdicius Avitus, bishop of Vienne (c. 490–518). The inventory, in minuscule script, is dated 882.¹⁷ The volume in which the inventory occurs seems to have been at the cathedral library at Oviedo, ancient capital of Asturias on the north coast of Spain, from 884 until 1572, when Ambrosio de Morales removed it on the orders of Philip II for the monarch's newly founded library at El Escorial. Despite its origin in southern Spain, it is still called the Oviedo inventory.

Most recent opinion has concluded that the inventory is of a library in Cordoba. The case for Cordoba has been presented variously by Agustín Millares Carlo, Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, Justo Pérez de Urbel, Juan Gil and M. C. Díaz y Díaz. It is agreed that the presence of Arabic numerals in codex R. II. 18 points to an origin in Muslim Spain, and not Asturias. Juan Gil has said of Millares Carlo's analysis of the scripts in the codex as a whole and the inventory, 'folia litteras minusculas uel cursiuas exhibentia Cordubae scripta esse luculentissime probauit'. But the case for Cordoba may depend more on a

¹⁵ *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 353 and 355–6. The poem is translated in *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works*, trans. Lapidge and Rosier, pp. 103–4.

¹⁶ MGH, PLAC III, 127; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 108 and 356.

¹⁷ Gil, *Corpus*, p. 708; C. B. Faulhaber, *Libros y bibliotecas en la España medieval* (London, 1987), p. 173. The edition of the list by P. Ewald in *Neues Archiv* 6 (1881), 278–9, is repr. in G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), no. 26.