

## Record of the fourteenth conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, at Memorial University, St John's, Newfoundland, 26–31 July 2009

I The general theme of the conference was ‘The Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons’.

The following keynote addresses were delivered:

Allen J. Frantzen, Loyola University, Chicago, ‘Over, In, and Under Water: Connecting Food and Identity in Anglo-Saxon England’

Martin Carver, York University, ‘The Anglo-Saxons and the Sea: Travels on the Water and in the Mind’

Gale Owen-Crocker, University of Manchester, ‘. . . *Velis vento plenis*. . . Sea crossings in the Bayeux Tapestry’

The following papers were delivered:

Dan Donoghue, Harvard University, ‘Reading Old English Poems with the Help of Cognitive Sciences’

Carole Hough, University of Glasgow, ‘Metaphors from Old English’

Antonina Harbus, Macquarie University, ‘The Maritime Imagination and the Paradoxical Mind in Old English Poetry’

Damian Fleming, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne, ‘Hebrew Alphabets from Across the Sea’

Gaby Waxenberger, University of Munich, ‘The Franks Casket in the Context of Runic Culture’

Bryan Carella, Assumption College, Worcester, ‘A Hiberno-Latin Context for the Prologue to the Laws of Alfred’

Miranda Wilcox, Brigham Young University, ‘Tents and Ships in Exodus, Bede, and Arator’

Peter Dendle, Penn State University, ‘Demons of the Water: Anglo-Saxon Responses to the Gerasene Demoniac’

Rosalind Love, University of Cambridge, ‘*Metaphora a mari ad saeculum*. Glossing *The Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England’

Mercedes Salvador-Bello, Universidad de Sevilla, ‘The “Obscene” Category in Anglo-Latin Riddling Tradition’

Tom Bredehoft, West Virginia University, ‘Newfoundland’s “Old Hag” and Anglo-Saxon Folklore’

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- Lisa Weston, California State University, Fresno, 'Sailing Seas of Ink: the Psychogeography of the Literate Imagination'
- John Hines, University of Cardiff, 'Wessex and the Western Seas'
- Martin Foys, Drew University, 'Of *Yrlande mid scyphere*: the Irish Sea Raids of King Harold's Sons, and the Redoubling of History'
- John Baker, Nottingham University, 'From Ocean to Oxford: Anglo-Saxon Control of Waterborne Threats'
- Fabienne Michelet, Toronto, 'Sea-crossings and Memory in Old English poetry'
- Johanna Kramer, University of Missouri, '"The Sea of this Life" in Cynewulf's Christ II'
- Phyllis Portnoy, University of Manitoba, 'Biblical Seafaring in Anglo-Saxon Verse: Pictorial Poetics'
- Sarah Larratt Keefer, Trent University, 'Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and the Sea'
- John Niles, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 'What Was the Exeter Book For?'
- David Pelteret, Independent Scholar, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Long-Haul Travellers'
- Juliet Mullins, University of Cork, '*Herimum in mari*: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards Pilgrimage, *peregrinatio* and the Ideal of "a desert in the sea"'
- Robin Norris, Carleton University, 'The Exile of Saint Theophistis'
- Britt Mize, Texas A&M University, 'Importing the Saxon Genesis to English Poetic Soil: Denotational Difference and Compositional Technique in *Genesis B*'
- Rebecca Rushforth, University of Cambridge (paper delivered by Carole Hough), 'The Parker-on-the-Web Project and the Anglo-Saxon Collections of Archbishop Matthew Parker'
- Catherine Karkov, University of Leeds, 'Travel, Trade and the Mission of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage'
- Kathryn Powell, University of Cambridge, 'Readers on the Edge: Marginal and Interlinear Notes and their Scribes'
- Peter Stokes, University of Cambridge, 'Scribal Influences From Overseas? Vernacular Minuscule in the Reigns of Harold, Harthacnut, and the Confessor'
- Donald Scragg, University of Manchester, 'The Rise and Fall of Standard Old English'
- Patrick Conner, West Virginia University, 'A Material Approach to the Matched Scribal Hand(s) in the Exeter Book'
- Karen Louise Jolly, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 'Excavating an Insular Manuscript's History: Durham A.IV.19'
- Matthew Hussey, Simon Fraser University, 'Scribal Habits and the Aesthetics of the Scuffy'
- Jonathan Wilcox, University of Iowa, 'A Material Sense: Homiletic Circulation in Booklets in the Blickling Homilies and Junius 85/86'
- Ian David Riddler, Independent Scholar, 'The Middle Saxon Whale'
- Haruko Momma, New York University, 'Ælfric's Fisherman and the *Hronrad*: A Colloquy on the Occupations'
- Carol Neuman de Vegvar, Ohio Wesleyan University, '*Hronas ban*: Exoticism and Prestige in Anglo-Saxon Material Culture'
- Carolyn Esser, Winchester University, 'King of the Sons of Pride: Symbolism and Physicality of the Old English Whale'

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Bruce Gilchrist, Bishop's University, 'Rethinking Alfredian Manuscripts'

Nicholas P. Brooks, Birmingham University, 'Anglo-Saxon "Chronicle" or "Chronicles"? What's in a Name?'

A special Poster Session was held in which the ten students who participated in the pre-conference workshop on 'Media Theory and Praxis for Anglo-Saxon Studies' presented their work. The following students presented posters: Kevin Caliendo, Rafael Juan Pascual Hernández, Mary Kate Hurley, Erica Leighton, Katie Long, Mo Pareles, Daniel Remein, Benjamin Saltzman, Ondrej Tichy, Douglas Ryan VanBenthuyzen

The following Project Reports were given:

Mary Swan, University of Leeds, and Takako Kato, University of Leicester, "'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220" AHRC-funded Project'

Jane Roberts, King's College London, and Carole Hough, University of Glasgow, 'Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary'

Michael Drout (English), with Mike Kahn (Statistics), Mark LeBlanc (Computer Science) and Christina Nelson (Computer Science), Wheaton College, Norton, MA, 'Lexomics for Anglo-Saxon Literature'

II General Business Meeting held at Memorial University on 31 July 2009, at 15.30, President William Schipper presiding.

A The President reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:

- 1 The fifteenth conference of the Society is to be held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 31 July to 6 August 2011, hosted by John D. Niles. Its theme will be 'Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination'.
- 2 The sixteenth conference of the Society will be held at University College Dublin and Trinity College Dublin, hosted by Mary Clayton.
- 3 Gratitude was expressed to all those who had assisted in making the conference such a success.

B The Executive Director, Stacy S. Klein, reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:

- 1 Membership dues and related interest have generated revenues of \$11,101.10. The total assets as at 30 June 2009 were \$45,514.68. Of this amount, \$24,628.71 is retained in mutual funds.
- 2 Officers of the Society. In accordance with the Society's constitution, William Schipper completes his term as President on 31 December 2009, after which John D. Niles will assume the post of President. Mary Clayton will assume the post of First Vice-President. It was agreed that the Second Vice-President's term be extended for two years; Mary Swan will therefore continue in this role until 31 December 2011.
- 3 Membership of the Advisory Board. The term of office expires on 31 December 2009 for the following members: Susan Irvine, Leslie Webster and Barbara Yorke.
- 4 Honorary Membership of the Society. The Honorary Membership consists of

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Nicholas Brooks, George Hardin Brown, †Peter Clemons, Margaret Clunies-Ross, Rosemary Cramp, André Crépin, René Derolez, Alger N. Doane, Helmut Gneuss, Joyce Hill, †Edward B. Irving Jr, Kevin Kiernan, Matti Kilpiö, Tadao Kubouchi, Michael Lapidge, †Henry Loyn, †Bruce Mitchell, Sigeru Ono, Richard Pfaff, †John Pope, Barbara Raw, Matti Rissanen, Jane Roberts, Fred. C. Robinson, Ute Schwab, Donald G. Scragg, Joseph B. Trahern and Leslie Webster. Éamonn Ó Carragáin, Martin Carver, Mary Richards, Tom Shippey, Marijane Osborn and Anne Klinck were accorded honorary membership.

- 5 The Advisory Board has established procedures for the publication of themed volumes arising substantially from ISAS conferences. The first, edited by Matti Kilpiö and published in 2009, is based on the 2001 conference at the University of Helsinki. The second, edited by †Nicholas Howe and Catherine Karkov and published in 2006, is based on the 2003 conference at Arizona State University. The third, edited by Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, is based on the 2005 conference at Munich, and first proofs were on display at the Meeting. The fourth, edited by Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster, and based on the 2007 conference, is in preparation. The fifth, to be based on the St John's conference, is to be edited by Stacy S. Klein, William Schipper and Shannon Lewis-Simpson. The Executive Committee will oversee and monitor the production of the volumes. The membership package includes the ISAS publication based on, and emerging substantially from, the conferences, with the exception of the first volume
  - 6 ISAS Publication Prizes, 2009. The panel, consisting of Thomas N. Hall, Scott DiGregorio and Stacy S. Klein, and chaired by Thomas N. Hall, announced the winners of this cycle's awards. Best First Book: David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007). Best Edition/Translation: shared by R. D. Fulk, Robert Bjork and John D. Niles, *Klaeber's Beowulf* (University of Toronto Press, 2008), and Michael Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbine* (Oxford, 2008); Best Article: shared by Craig Davis, 'An Ethnic Dating of Beowulf' (*Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006), 111–29), and Emily Thornbury, 'Aldhelm's Rejection of the Muses' (*Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), 71–92).
  - 7 Graduate student participation in ISAS continues. Two 'New Voices in Anglo-Saxon Studies' panels were held at the 45th International Congress on Medieval Studies in 2009. Two 'New Voices in Anglo-Saxon Studies' sessions were held at the International Medieval Congress in 2009. Similar panels are scheduled for 2010. The first ISAS pre-conference graduate workshop was held at Memorial University from 24 July to 25 July. The topic of the workshop was 'Media Theory and Praxis for Anglo-Saxon Studies' and it was led by Martin Foys and Daniel O'Donnell.
- C The Executive Director reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 The thanks of all participants for a very successful conference.

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- III The conference included receptions hosted by Memorial University, including an opening reception at The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery and Museum. Under the direction of Patrick Warner, Director of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and Curator of the Rare Book Collection, the Queen Elizabeth II Library mounted an exhibition of some materials associated with Anglo-Saxon England and L'Anse-aux-Meadows, the first documented settlement of the Norse in North America. A conference dinner theatre was held in the former Masonic Temple, with a performance by 'The Spirit of Newfoundland'. Mid-week excursions to The Irish Loop and The English Shore were held on Wednesday 29 July. A post-conference excursion took members on a trip to the Viking settlement at L'Anse-aux-Meadows via a range of other sites.
- IV Registration forms for the ISAS conference to be organized by and held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, will be made available to all paid-up members of the Society. The conference theme will be 'Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination'. Membership dues payments may be made by cheque or postal money order for \$50.00 or £30.00 sterling (regular members) or for \$35.00 or £20.00 (student and retired members) for two years or \$100.00 or £60.00 sterling (regular members) or for \$70.00 or £40.00 (student and retired members) and should be sent to Professor Stacy S. Klein, Executive Director, ISAS, Dept. of English, Rutgers University, 510 George Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1167, USA. Email [ssklein@rci.rutgers.edu](mailto:ssklein@rci.rutgers.edu). Payment may be made to the Executive Director by Visa or MasterCard or by personal cheque. For members outside the US transfers in sterling may be sent to the ISAS account, HSBC Bank plc, City Office Cambridge Branch, Cambridge, CB2 3HZ; sort code 40-16-08, account no. 21241605. Payment forms are available from the Executive Director and on the ISAS website ([www.isas.us](http://www.isas.us)).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This report was prepared by Mary Swan.

## Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome

JOANNA STORY

### ABSTRACT

Aldhelm of Malmesbury was one of the most prolific and influential scholars of early Anglo-Saxon England. His contemporary fame rested partly on the fact that he had been a pilgrim to Rome. This article presents new evidence for Aldhelm's literary debt to the epigraphy of early Christian Rome. Two ninth-century manuscripts from Reims contain an anthology of six epigrams which derive largely from verse inscriptions in Old St Peter's. Aldhelm quoted two of these, *de Petro* and *de Andrea*, almost verbatim in his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*. It is likely that Aldhelm knew these verses from first-hand observation rather than via the pages of a manuscript sylloge.

It is well known that Aldhelm went to Rome. This we know from a contemporary (but undated) letter addressed to him by an anonymous, Irish correspondent who wished to borrow a book from his collection.<sup>1</sup> The letter-writer referred to Aldhelm's widespread renown as a scholar of Greek and Latin, and stated that his reputation was made all the more potent because, he said, 'you have been a visitor to Rome' (*quia tu Romae aduena fuisti*). Tales of a pilgrimage to the Apostolic See feature prominently in the later accounts of Aldhelm's life as told by Faricius of Arrezo (d. 1117) and William of Malmesbury (c. 1125).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* VI, ed. R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera omnia*, MGH 15 (Berlin, 1919), 194; trans. M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 164. The author of this letter is called *scottus ignoti nominis* in the unique manuscript copy. The letter is preserved there with four others to or from Aldhelm in the mid-ninth-century manuscript that contains the bulk of the correspondence of Boniface and Lull (implying that copies of these early letters had been taken abroad for use by Boniface's community): Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 751, 25r–25v (*Ep.* VI, anon. Irishman to Aldhelm); 26r–29r (*Ep.* IV, Aldhelm to King Geraint of Dumnonia); 33v (*Ep.* VIII, Aldhelm to Abbess Sigegyth), 35v–36r (*Ep.* VII, Aethilwald to Aldhelm); 38r–38v (*Ep.* 1, Aldhelm to an unnamed bishop), plus four of Aldhelm's rhythmical poems at 40r–42r (D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977), nos. 8824, 10788, 15842, 16982). On the manuscript, see *Sancti Bonifacii Epistolae. Codex Vindobonensis 751 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Wiener Handschrift der Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius*, ed. F. Unterkircher, *Codices Selecti phototypice impressi* 24 (Graz, 1971).

<sup>2</sup> M. Winterbottom, 'An Edition of Faricius, *Vita S. Aldhelmi?*, *Jnl of Med. Latin* 15 (2005), 93–147, at 104 [c. 7.4]; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, I: *Text and Translation*, ed. M. Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford, 2007).

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Faricius thought that Aldhelm had composed the first of his *Carmina Ecclesiastica* (*In basilica sanctorum Petri et Pauli*) while abroad<sup>3</sup> and William preserved a redacted copy of the privilege of Pope Sergius I, claimed (in an earlier vernacular version) to have been secured by Aldhelm for two of his monasteries, as well as an anecdote that Aldhelm had brought a large and ornately carved altar top back to England from Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the corrupt transmission of the papal bull for Malmesbury, the pontificate of Sergius (687–701) has traditionally been used to provide an approximate date for Aldhelm’s visit to Rome, thereby providing one of the few fixed points of his career. Michael Lapidge has recently argued that Aldhelm’s journey was occasioned by the pilgrimage of his kinsman, King Ceadwalla of Wessex, in 688, and that Aldhelm himself may have been responsible for the transmission back to Anglo-Saxon England of the texts of Ceadwalla’s epitaph (d. 689) and that of Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604), whence they were subsequently incorporated by Bede into his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.<sup>5</sup> Ceadwalla died in Rome on 20 April 689 *in albis* (that is, while still in his baptismal robes) and, as a consequence, was buried at St Peter’s. A formal twenty-four-line epitaph with a prose dating-clause was erected over his tomb.<sup>6</sup> If Lapidge’s hypothesis is correct, we can place Aldhelm at Old St Peter’s in 689 noting down the verses of inscriptions that commemorated an English king and the pope considered to be the ‘apostle of the English’.

Important evidence to connect Aldhelm with the city of Rome is indicated by his knowledge of Latin verses (*tituli*) that were inscribed on buildings and monuments in Rome. He certainly knew many that had been composed by

<sup>3</sup> *CE* 1 was also cited by William; *Gesta Pontificum*, V.197.4 (ed. Winterbottom, pp. 520–3).

<sup>4</sup> Aldhelm is named only in the late-eleventh-century Old English redaction extant in London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. i (s. xi<sup>1</sup>); H. Edwards, ‘Two Documents from Aldhelm’s Malmesbury’, *Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. Research* 69 (1986), 1–19; C. Rauer, ‘Pope Sergius I’s Privilege for Malmesbury’, *Leeds Stud. in Eng.* 37 (2006), 261–81; M. Lapidge, ‘The Career of Aldhelm’, *ASE* 36 (2007), 15–69, at 63. For the anecdote of the altar (which was dropped by the camel that carried it, and was miraculously repaired), see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Winterbottom, V.222 (pp. 558–9) and II (pp. 275–6).

<sup>5</sup> Bede, *HE* V.7; *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 470–2. Also, Lapidge, ‘Career of Aldhelm’, pp. 52–64, esp. 60, and R. Sharpe, ‘King Ceadwalla’s Roman Epitaph’, *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O’Brien O’Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto, 2005), pp. 171–93 at 186.

<sup>6</sup> Epitaph for Ceadwalla, ed. G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* [hereafter *ICVR*], 2 vols. (Rome, 1857–88) II, 288; Sharpe, ‘King Ceadwalla’s Roman Epitaph’, pp. 176–7, 185. The location of Ceadwalla’s tomb is not known, although de Rossi speculated that it might have been in the narthex, close to the tomb of Gregory I and the original site of the tomb of Sergius himself (but *not* that of Leo I, which Sergius had translated to the south transept in 688 and supplied with a new inscription: De Rossi, *ICVR* II, pp. 139–40; Silvagni, *ICVR* n.s. II, no. 4148).

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Pope Damasus (366–84) for the martyrial shrines that lay in the extramural cemeteries of Rome, since there are verbal echoes of several in his *Enigmata* and in the *Carmen de uirginitate*, and their form and function is reflected by the five *Carmina Ecclesiastica* (CE) which Aldhelm seemingly composed for churches and altars in Wessex.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, particular weight is attached to Aldhelm's use in one of his metrical treatises of a line from a verse inscription that had been cut to commemorate the reconstruction of the Liberian basilica of St Mary (later S. Maria Maggiore) by Pope Sixtus III in the mid-fifth century (432–40).<sup>8</sup>

It is generally assumed that Aldhelm knew verses such as these through manuscript collections (*syllogae*) of Latin *tituli* that circulated in Francia from the later seventh century and, it is thought, also in England at around the same time, although this assumption is made largely on the basis of Aldhelm's use of several texts that are in the early collections and because copies of his works are found alongside early copies of some *syllogae*.<sup>9</sup> Certainly, a substantial number of Roman epigraphic *tituli* were known in England by the time that Bede, Cuthbert of Canterbury and Milred of Worcester, among others, began to compose similar verses for their own English churches.<sup>10</sup> It has also long been recognized that the impulse to collect the texts of epigraphic *tituli* from early Christian Rome was catalysed in part by the growth in the traffic of pilgrims to Rome during the mid-seventh century, Franks and Anglo-Saxons prominent among them.<sup>11</sup> De Rossi thought that the period around the pontificate of Honorius I (625–38) was especially important in the development of Rome as a pilgrim centre, arguing that some of the earliest *syllogae* and itineraries of the city were put together *c.* 640 and that these were made for the religious 'tourists'.<sup>12</sup> The chronological basis of de Rossi's thesis was challenged by Silvagni who argued instead that our extant collections are fragmentary reflections of one *sylloge*

<sup>7</sup> A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (Cambridge, 1994), 236–7; Lapidge, 'Career of Aldhelm', pp. 53–9.

<sup>8</sup> 'Virgo Maria, tibi Sixtus nova templa dicavi'; *De pedum regulis*, ed. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 153.31, trans. M. Lapidge, J. L. Rosier and N. Wright, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 215. For discussion of the original context of this verse, and the implication of Aldhelm's knowledge of it, see de Rossi, *ICVR* II, 60, 71; Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 203, 211–12; and Lapidge, 'Career of Aldhelm', pp. 54, 59.

<sup>9</sup> Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 174–5.

<sup>10</sup> M. Lapidge, 'Some Remnants of Bede's Lost *Liber Epigrammatum*', *EHR* 90 (1975), pp. 798–820, repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London, 1996), pp. 357–80; P. Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams and its Continental Counterparts', *ASE* 10 (1982), 21–38, and his *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, CSASE 3 (Cambridge, 1990), 328–59.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, A. Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs. Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries', *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. É. Ó Carragain and C. Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 13–49.

<sup>12</sup> De Rossi, *ICVR* II, xliii–xlvi.



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(perhaps two) made in the mid- to late seventh century by a scholar with Anglo-Saxon connections who had come to Rome.<sup>13</sup> Although the textual basis of Silvagni's analysis has not been widely accepted, his suggestion that an Anglo-Saxon might have been responsible for collecting texts of inscriptions while on pilgrimage to Rome has taken root. Orchard has argued that Aldhelm himself could have been responsible for just such an enterprise, and that this would account for his use of known Roman *tituli* within his own compositions.<sup>14</sup> In this respect, Orchard has been supported by Lapidge, who regards Aldhelm as 'a plausible agent of transmission' of the texts of epigraphic *tituli*, rather than just the user of collections made by other northern pilgrims to the holy city.<sup>15</sup>

AN EPIGRAPHIC ANTHOLOGY FOR OLD ST PETER'S

Two mid-ninth-century manuscripts from Reims, now in Paris, provide some substantial new evidence for Aldhelm's literary debt to the epigraphic heritage of Rome and Old St Peter's in particular. Both books have been heavily glossed, reflecting intensive use and reflection on the texts they contain. The earlier of the two manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9347) dates in large part probably to the second quarter of the ninth century. It contains early *ex libris* marks showing that it belonged to the monastery of St Remigius at Reims.<sup>16</sup> It is a handsome book of high quality. Measuring *c.* 365 × 250 mm (with a writing space of 295 × 205 mm) it was copied in a two-column format by two or three scribes using a bold minuscule script with good uncial capitals for the headings of many poems. The second book (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2773) is slightly later, s. ix<sup>2</sup>, and was – on the basis of its textual filiations as well as its script – also made at Reims, probably during the rule of Archbishop Hincmar (845–82) (see Plate I).<sup>17</sup> The script is like that used by scribes who worked on books made for Reims in the latter half of the ninth century; particularly characteristic is the long shallow head stroke to the letter *s*.<sup>18</sup> It bears comparison with that of a named Reims scribe, Ausoldus, who wrote

<sup>13</sup> Silvagni, *ICVR* n.s. 1 (Rome, 1922), xxv–xxvii.

<sup>14</sup> Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>15</sup> Lapidge, 'Career of Aldhelm', p. 60.

<sup>16</sup> See F. M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 AD)', in *Classical and Medieval Studies in honor of E. K. Rand*, ed. L. W. Jones (New York, 1938), pp. 41–60, at 58, who dates this manuscript AD 900–50, without explanation.

<sup>17</sup> B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966–81) III, 247 who dates it s. ix<sup>3/4</sup>; G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter. Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürkanons bis 1200* (Munich, 1970), p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Carey, 'Scriptorium', p. 48, and Pls. I–II, and especially, M. Parkes, *Their Hands before our Eyes: a Closer Look at Scribes. The Lyell Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, 1999* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 90. On ninth-century Reims manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon England, see M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), p. 49, n. 87.

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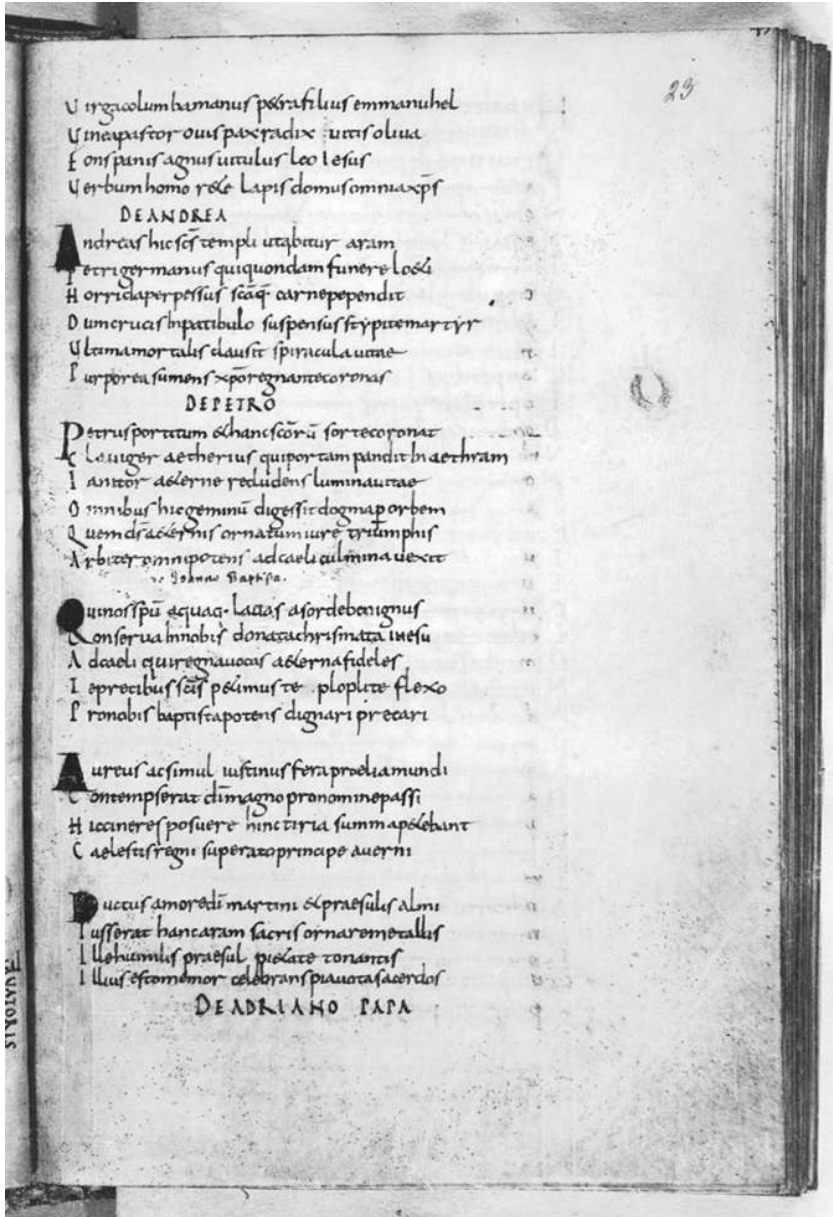


Plate I: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 2773, 23r showing the first five epigrams in the anthology and the title of the sixth, *De Adriano Papa*, Alcuin's Epitaph for Pope Hadrian I (d. 795).