

## A RELUCTANT TRANSLATOR IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: ÆLFRIC AND MACCABEES

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The influence of Rome, particularly of Latin ecclesiastical culture, became widely accessible throughout medieval Europe through a process of translation into vernacular languages. Anglo-Saxon England took an early lead in this process through King Alfred, in the late ninth century, who instituted an educational policy premised upon the translation "of those books most necessary for all men to know."<sup>1</sup> The resulting flowering of Anglo-Saxon vernacular learning reached its height in the works of Ælfric. Yet Ælfric, who was a prolific translator of Latin sources, repeatedly expressed an unwillingness to translate. Here I will reconsider that reluctance, a traditional crux of Ælfric scholarship, through a consideration of Ælfric's translation of Maccabees (*Lives of Saints XXV*).<sup>2</sup> This work exemplifies a technique whereby Ælfric resolved his anxieties about translation. On account of that technique, Ælfric's translations reveal much about the values of the society for which they were made.

Ælfric, monk and mass-priest of Cerne Abbas and later abbot of Eynsham, was the most prolific writer and translator of late Anglo-Saxon England. He was active as a writer between 989 and about 1010. The bulk of his writings comprises homilies, that is, short liturgical pieces usually combining numerous Latin sources in order to explain and expand on the Biblical reading in the church service, and saints' lives, short exemplary narratives translated and adapted from Latin sources intended for devotional reading. He also translated parts of the Bible and wrote a variety of other works both in English and in Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Ælfric three times expresses a reluctance to undertake any more translation. The first time is in a prayer at the end of his second series of homilies, *Catholic Homilies II*: "I say now that I will not ever henceforth translate [awende] gospel or homilies from Latin into English."<sup>4</sup> This statement presents a problem because *Catholic Homilies II* comes relatively early in Ælfric's career and subsequent to this statement he circulated all his Biblical translations and many further homilies based on Latin sources. The second expression of reluctance comes in the preface to Ælfric's translation of Genesis:

I say now that I do not dare, nor will I, translate any book after this from Latin into English, and I pray you, dear ealdorman [Æthelweard, the commissioner of the translation], that you do not ask me for that any longer, unless I be disobedient to you or lest I do it.<sup>5</sup>

Again the statement presents a problem because Ælfric subsequently released his *Lives of Saints*, including (in its present form) two translations of Biblical books, and considerable further work based on Latin sources. The third statement is made in the Latin preface to *Lives of Saints*. Ælfric mentions his work as a translator, "but I have resolved now to remain silent from such endeavor after the fourth book, that I may not be judged superfluous."<sup>6</sup> Ælfric's writing career, nevertheless, continued with considerably more work, particularly with further homilies drawn from Latin sources.

Skeat in 1890 speculated on the hesitancy expressed in the preface to Genesis in terms of Ælfric's assumed character: "[H]e was evidently one of those who decline to do a thing and then do it nevertheless."<sup>7</sup> Another approach to the problem has been to demonstrate the rhetorical tradition that Ælfric's remarks belong to, namely as examples of the modesty formula and the credentials formula.<sup>8</sup> As such, it is easy to give the remarks in *Catholic Homilies II* and *Lives of Saints* little weight since neither occurs in a very developed context. The comment in the preface to Genesis, however, comes in a fully developed and revealing context which sheds light on Ælfric's expressions of reluctance to translate.

Ælfric makes clear the nature of his uneasiness about translation at length in the preface to Genesis. He warns Æthelweard, the commissioner of the translation:

Now it seems to me, dear man, that that work is very dangerous for me or any man to undertake, because I dread, if some foolish man reads this book or hears it read, that he will think that he may live now in the new law, just as the patriarchs of old lived then in the time before the old law was set down, or just as men lived under Moses's law.<sup>9</sup>

He goes on to relate the story of a sometime teacher of his who had read Genesis and knew a little Latin:

[T]hen he said concerning that patriarch Jacob, that he had four wives, two sisters and their two servants. He said completely truly, but he did not know, nor did I at that time, how much difference there is between the old law and the new.<sup>10</sup>

In his maturity, Ælfric follows exegetical tradition in interpreting the old law as a symbol ("getacnung") of coming events. The Old Testament is to be understood spiritually ("gastlice"). This explains the attraction of the form of the homily for Ælfric: in the interpretative exposition required of a homily, he is able to point out that spiritual sense.<sup>11</sup>

Ælfric's usual method of translation is to follow Jerome's dictum of translating sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense. Divinely-inspired wording presents him with an additional cause for anxiety:

Now the aforementioned book [Genesis] is in many places set out in a very difficult manner, and nevertheless very deeply in spiritual meaning, and it is ordered just as God himself dictated it to the writer Moses, and we do not dare to write more in English than the Latin has, nor change the order, excepting only that Latin and English do not always have the same way in the disposition of language.<sup>12</sup>

Such constraints prohibit the incorporation of interpretative commentary within the text and Ælfric promises that he has provided "the naked narrative" ("þa nacedan gerecednisse"), even at the risk that the unlearned will think "that all the meaning is locked in that simple narrative, but it is very far from it."<sup>13</sup> Ælfric's translation of Genesis is, indeed, as its preface suggests, a close and unadorned rendering of the Vulgate version.<sup>14</sup>

It is the lack of authorial control over the reader's or audience's response, then, which most disturbs Ælfric about providing translation without commentary. In an attempt to compensate for such lack of control, Ælfric spends much of the preface to Genesis guiding his audience in an interpretation of the first words of the Biblical text. Homilies, on the other hand, allow Ælfric to clothe the naked narrative. Ælfric's homilies typically begin with an unadorned translation of the gospel reading followed by an interpretative analysis created through the use of selective

translations of Latin commentators augmented by Ælfric's own voice when necessary.<sup>15</sup>

Subsequent to the translation of Genesis, and regardless of the reservation expressed in the preface, Ælfric went on to translate further Biblical books, namely Kings and Maccabees (both included in *Lives of Saints*), part of Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Esther, and Judith.<sup>16</sup> By examining the translation of Maccabees, I will show how Ælfric's sense of translation evolved in ways which solve the reservations he expressed in the preface to Genesis.

I and II Maccabees are the last two books of the Vulgate Old Testament (where they are part of the material not revised by Jerome). I Maccabees was first written in a lost Hebrew version, circulated widely in a Greek translation, and came to Ælfric in the Latin of the Vulgate. It tells the often-bloody story of Jewish history under the command of Judas Machabeus and his brothers in the second century B.C. II Maccabees, originally composed in Greek, covers the same period, centering on an account of the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus.<sup>17</sup>

Ælfric's translation of Maccabees circulates in his series of saints' lives, *Lives of Saints*, but there is evidence that Ælfric conceived of the piece as a Biblical translation rather than as a saint's life.<sup>18</sup> The *Lives of Saints* in general celebrates those saints "which the monks, but not the laity, honor with offices," as Ælfric indicates in the Latin preface,

desiring, by edifying in the faith through the reading of this narrative, to profit whomever it pleases to give the performance of this work, either by reading or listening.<sup>19</sup>

The reason for including Maccabees here lies in its first section, the story of the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons by the wicked Antiochus, the heathen king who persecutes them for not renouncing their Jewish faith and turning to heathendom. Ælfric explains that the festival is celebrated by God's servants on Lammas day (August 1) and explains the unusualness of the celebration:

There were many saints under Moses's law, but we do not commemorate them with any mass-day, except these brothers, who suffered so boldly.<sup>20</sup>

This story is also included in other series of saints' lives.<sup>21</sup> Ælfric, however, continues his translation beyond the relevant incident. He translates, somewhat selectively, the story of Judas Machabeus from I Maccabees, interweaving excerpts from II Maccabees at appropriate points.<sup>22</sup> The resulting narrative (at 811 lines) considerably exceeds the length of most of the saints' lives (mostly around 300 lines long).

Further indication of the generic status of the work is provided by Ælfric's reference to it in the Letter to Sigeward ("Treatise on the Old and New Testament"). In this letter, written late in Ælfric's career, Ælfric relates the events of Biblical history with reference to his own translations of relevant books. He quotes a speech of appeal to God by Machabeus:

Machabeus then fulfilled the aforesaid speech with strong deeds and defeated his enemies, and his glorious deeds are therefore set in two books of the Bible as an honor to God, and I have translated them into English and you may read them if you wish as a counsel to yourselves.<sup>23</sup>

This alludes to the Maccabees translation among the *Lives of Saints*, which is here seen as one element in Ælfric's program of Biblical translation. A second piece of similar generic status in the *Lives of Saints* collection, "From the Book of Kings" (Skeat XVIII), a partial summary of some of the Book of Kings, is likewise referred to in the Letter to Sigeward.

The manuscript distribution of Maccabees indicates its close association with *Lives of Saints* but also suggests its special status. It occurs in the context of more or less full copies of *Lives of Saints* in three manuscripts—London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii (seriously damaged in the 1731 fire), and Cambridge, University Library, Ii.1.33 (where the beginning is lost due to a quire missing from the middle of the manuscript)—and in the context of other homilies for saints' days in August, September, and November in one further manuscript—Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 198. It also survives, however, as an independent reading piece towards the end of one homiletic manuscript, CCCC 303.<sup>24</sup>

Ælfric's method of translating Maccabees differs significantly from his translation of Genesis. He translates approximately and selectively and inserts comments into the text in

order to guide his reader. Ælfric does not introduce extensive commentary on the action in a way that would be typical of his homilies or saints' lives but he does insert his own voice into the narrative more often and more openly than he does in the translation of Genesis. Through such comments the audience is guided to interpret the narrative as Ælfric thinks fit.

Two major areas of concern elicit most of Ælfric's clothing of this naked narrative: the status of the Jews and the implied attitude to war, both issues arising from the need for an appropriate spiritual reading of the literal word of the Old Testament. As an account of Jewish heroes in pre-Christian times written in support of the Jewish cause, Maccabees is unreservedly sympathetic towards the Jewish people. Ælfric's translation qualifies and explains such support. The story of a miraculous victory provides a good example of such coloring of the narrative. After dealing with Judas's fight with Timotheus, drawn from I Maccabees, Ælfric interweaves a noteworthy story about another encounter between Judas and Timotheus from II Maccabees. The story is of Judas winning a battle against the odds due to the intervention of five angels on horse-back armed with fiery arrows. Ælfric explains that angels on horse-back are common in the holy books of God and so not to be doubted (lines 508-513). He then adds the doctrinal point

the Jews were the dearest to God in the old law, because they alone honored Almighty God continuously with worship,

but they failed to recognize Christ in the new law:

[T]hey shall, nevertheless, all believe in the end, but too many will be lost there in the meantime for their hardheartedness against the heavenly Savior.<sup>25</sup>

Ælfric thus inserts into an account of Jewish success an anachronistic Christian circumscription of the ultimate efficacy of the heroes of his narrative.

The status of the Jews was clearly a point which Ælfric felt needed stressing, presumably fearing that a naive audience might too readily accept their sympathetic portrayal. On the continued persecution of the Jews by Eupator, son of Antiochus, Ælfric qualifies his translation of the clauses "the believing Jews, who then

believed in God" with a comment of his own:

[T]hey then believed in the old way in the almighty God although some of them afterwards denied the Savior, and also slew Him, just as He himself wanted.<sup>26</sup>

Relating the Old Testament to the New was sufficiently important to Ælfric that he does so even within a translation of a book from the Old Testament.

The same pattern of intervention is seen after the death of Judas Machabeus, when the audience may be particularly inclined to feel sympathetic to a Jewish hero. Ælfric subtly qualifies and limits that sympathy. Ælfric augments his source to comment on the hero:

[H]e is as holy in the Old Testament as God's chosen in the Gospels because he always struggled on account of the will of the Almighty. *In those days* he was permitted to lay low his enemies....<sup>27</sup>

In an earlier age, Ælfric implies, it was possible to have a Jewish hero, who could thrive through association with a now-past ethic of glorious warfare. Elsewhere in his homilies, Ælfric makes clear that his condemnation of the Jews is for their heeding only the literal narrative ("þa stæflican gereccednysse") of the Old Testament, whereas Christians understand the spiritual meaning ("þæt gastlice andgit").<sup>28</sup>

The ethic of warfare is another major area where Ælfric guides his audience in the opposite direction to the implications of his story. The issue arises extensively in this narrative because the history of the Jewish nation under Judas Machabeus is a particularly bloody one, full of slaughter both by the Jews and by the pagans. Ælfric qualifies this, in much the same way that he qualifies the sympathetic portrayal of the Jews, through reference to the difference between Old and New Testaments:

In those days he was permitted to lay low his enemies and most of all the heathens who were angry with him.... But Christ, in his coming, taught us another thing and commanded us to hold peace and truthfulness ever.

Ælfric interprets the violence as a spur to spiritual warfare:

[W]e must struggle against the cruel enemies, those are the invisible and deceitful devils who want to slay our souls through sins, against them we must fight with spiritual weapons.

He goes on once again to stress the historic distance of the Old Testament:

The ancient people of God had to fight then with weapons and their struggle had the signification of those holy men who drive out sins and devils from them in the New Testament, which Christ himself established.<sup>29</sup>

This characteristic interpretative commentary is Ælfric's own addition to his source. By such comments Ælfric steers an audience away from a literal reading of the naked story he is translating.

Ælfric reinforces the point with a digression on war. He provides a categorization of war, drawn from Isidore's *Etymologies*, into just, unjust, civil and more-than-civil and provides an illustration of just war that would be pertinent for his audience:

"Iustum bellum" is just war against those cruel seamen or against other nations who want to destroy one's homeland.<sup>30</sup>

The resonance of this example for Ælfric himself is suggested by his personal reference to Viking attacks in the preface to *Catholic Homilies II*: "[W]e have been shaken by the great injuries of hostile pirates."<sup>31</sup>

The issue of war is dealt with yet further in a short piece on the three orders of society appended to the translation of *Maccabees*.<sup>32</sup> Ælfric lays out the traditional tripartite division of society: those who work, those who pray, and those who fight. He is emphatic on the relative importance of the second order, the "servants of God," who must be kept from worldly battle:

Now therefore the struggle of the monks against the invisible devils who lay snares around us is greater than may be that of worldly men who struggle against physical

enemies and visibly fight against the visible. Now the worldly soldiers must not compel the servants of God from the spiritual struggle to worldly battle, because it will profit them more that the invisible enemies are overcome than the visible.<sup>33</sup>

The point is in keeping with Ælfric's interpretation of warfare throughout Maccabees. Ælfric has fully reversed the glorification of physical battle implicit in the narrative which he is translating.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to such major manipulation of the implications of his text, Ælfric clothes his translation with explanations which might be useful to his audience. His first intrusion into the narrative, for example, is provoked by a perceived need both to explain and to justify a detail. As part of the persecution, an old man called Eleazar is forced "to eat swine's flesh" (II Mcc. 6:18). A prohibition on eating pig is clearly inconceivable in Anglo-Saxon England and so Ælfric explains rather than translates the phrase. Into Eleazar's mouth is shoved

that foul meat which Moses forbade God's people to eat on account of its spiritual significance.

Such circumlocution solves Ælfric's narrative problem of making sense of the story for his audience. Nevertheless, he stops the action to explain further:

We must now speak more clearly concerning these things: which foods were forbidden to men in the old law, which men now nevertheless eat.<sup>35</sup>

Ælfric explains the issue by citing the food prohibition in Leviticus 11:2-47 and Bede's commentary on the passage: men could not eat beasts which do not chew their cud or those with unclown hooves. Chewing the cud represents meditating on God's will; cloven hooves represent an acceptance of the difference between the Old and New Testaments. Ælfric thus manages to turn from an explanatory detail of the narrative to his favorite interpretative point, the relationship between the old and the new law, which leads him to add a condemnation of the Jews for accepting only the old law (69-73).

Ælfric makes other explanatory changes. He omits details of different customs which might confuse or lead astray his English

audience. For example, he avoids a reference to circumcision through an explanatory abbreviation:

And they circumcised all the children whom they found in the confines of Israel that were uncircumcised (I Mcc. 2:46)

becomes simply "and he raised up God's law" (line 245). Presumably Ælfric considered such an alteration prudent for the sake of a literal-minded audience like his sometime teacher from the preface to Genesis.

One explanatory intervention in this narrative provides an interesting glimpse of zoological knowledge in late Anglo-Saxon England. Eupator, son of Antiochus, mounts a major campaign against the Jews with a well-equipped army including thirty-two elephants, "trained to battle" (I Mcc. 6:30). The elephants receive some careful attention in the Vulgate narrative. They are provoked to fight by being shown the blood of grapes and mulberries (6:34); each is supported by 1000 men and 500 horsemen (6:35); and on each are strong wooden towers, engines, and thirty-two fighting men (6:37). In Ælfric's version there are thirty elephants, "all tamed and trained to war with wonderful skill." On each elephant "a war-house was built" containing thirty men. Then Ælfric stops his narrative:

It will seem strange to some people to hear this because elephants have never come to England.<sup>36</sup>

He fills out the necessary background details from Isidore's *Etymologia*:

An elephant is a huge beast, larger than a building, completely surrounded by bone within the skin, except at the navel, and it never lies down. The mother carries the foal twenty-four months, and they live three-hundred years if they are not injured, and one may tame them wonderfully for battle.<sup>37</sup>

Ælfric's elephant lore—he also discusses the animals twice elsewhere—is derived from Isidore and Ambrose.<sup>38</sup> Through its insertion here, he explains the unfamiliar to his audience.

Translation between dissimilar cultures is necessarily a complex act. Ælfric shows exceptional concern for how his audience will interpret or misinterpret the implications of those texts which he translates. The impulse to control an audience's interpretation may explain both Ælfric's statements of reluctance to translate in his prefaces and also his prolific output of homilies. In the case of the translation of Genesis, faced with the task of translating a famous Biblical text to commission, Ælfric's concern for his audience is manifest in his addition of an anxious and controlling interpretive preface. In the case of Maccabees, faced with translating a less well-known Biblical text, apparently on his own initiative and later in his career, Ælfric's concern for controlling his audience's response is answered by intruding his own commentary and interpretation into the translation. Such intrusions reveal Ælfric as an exemplary teacher, as in his explanation of elephants, as well as a careful exegete, concerned to explain the world in terms of the new law of Christianity.

At a time when sophisticated source study is revealing more than ever the deep debt to received traditions of a writer like Ælfric, it is important to re-stress the ways in which even translation reveals some degree of originality and reflects on the nature of the culture into which it is made. Ælfric's works illustrate the range of ways in which Latin works could be translated into English. For Ælfric, meaning is locked in the naked narrative and translation-with-commentary provides "the key which will unlock the meaning of books."<sup>39</sup>

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Notes

1. Alfred states his policy in the famous preface to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, ed. Henry Sweet, *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, EETS o.s. 45, 50 (London: Oxford UP, 1871-2), 2-8: "Suma bec ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne." For an account of the extent of the written records from Anglo-Saxon England, see Susan Kelly, "Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word" and Simon Keynes, "Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 36-62 and 226-257.
2. W.W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London: Oxford UP, 1881-1900, repr. as 2 vols., 1966), II, 66-124. Quotations are from this edition eliminating Skeat's line divisions. All translations of Old English are my own.
3. For Ælfric's life, see James Hurt, *Ælfric*, Twayne's English Authors Series 131 (New York: Twayne, 1972). For the corpus and order of his 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 Dickins*, ed. P.A.M. Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), 212-47. For a good introduction to Ælfric's writings, see Peter Clemoes, "Ælfric," in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E.G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), 177-209. For Ælfric's method of translation in his homilies, see Cyril L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary," *Traditio* 15 (1959), 163-204, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt," *Traditio* 17 (1961), 457-69, and Joyce Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus," *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992), 203-37. For Ælfric's method of translation in the saints' lives, see Patrick H. Zettel, "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric," *Peritia* 1 (1982), 17-37 and, among other studies of individual lives, Joyce Hill, "Ælfric, Gelasius, and St. George," *Mediaevalia* 11 (1989 for 1985),

1-17.

4. Citations from the prefaces and associated pieces are from my forthcoming edition, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts. Preface 2f.5-6: "Ic cweðe nu þæt ic næfre heononforð ne awende godspel oþþe godspeltrahtas of Ledene on Englisc."
5. Preface 4.111-14: "Ic cweþe nu þæt ic ne dearr ne ic nelle nane boc æfter þissere of Ledene on Englisc awendan, and ic bidde þe, leof ealdorman, þæt þu me þæs na leng ne bidde, þi læs þe ic beo þe ungehirsum oþþe leas gif ic do."
6. Preface 5a.31-2: "sed decrevi modo quiescere post quartum librum a tali studio, ne superfluous iudicer." The previous three books are the two series of *Catholic Homilies* and the *Grammar*.
7. Skeat, *Lives*, II, xxix, n. 1.
8. See two articles by Ann Nichols: "Awendan: A Note on Ælfric's Vocabulary," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 63 (1964), 7-13 and "Ælfric's Prefaces: Rhetoric and Genre," *English Studies* 49 (1968), 215-23. I agree broadly with Nichols's conclusions, although I disagree with the order she assumes of *Catholic Homilies II/Lives of Saints/Genesis* (see instead Clemons, "Chronology"). For another attempt at the problem, see A.A. Prins, "Some Remarks on Ælfric's Lives of Saints and His Translations from the Old Testament," *Neophilologus* 25 (1940), 112-22, who accepts the preface to *Lives of Saints* as the most legitimate statement.
9. Preface 4.6-11: "Nu þincð me, leof, þæt þæt weorc is swiðe pleolic me oððe ænigum men to underbeginne, for þan þe ic ondræde, gif sum dysig man ðas boc ræt oððe rædan gehyrþ, þæt he wille wenan þæt he mote lybban nu on þære niwan æ, swa swa þa ealdan fæderas leofodon þa on þære tide ær þan þe seo ealde æ gesett wære, oþþe swa swa men leofodon under Moyses æ."

10. Preface 4.13-16: "þa cwæþ he be þam heahfædere Iacobe, þæt he hæfde feower wif, twa geswustra and heora twa þinena. Ful soð he sæde, ac he nyste, ne ic þa git, hu micel total ys betweohx þære ealdan æ and þære niwan."
11. On the exegetical method of Ælfric's homilies, see Paul E. Szarmach, "Ælfric as Exegete: Approaches and Examples in the Study of the *Sermones Catholici*," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), 237-47.
12. Preface 4.91-6: "Nu is seo foresæde boc on manegum stowum swiþe nærolice gesett, and þeah swiðe deoplice on þam gastlicum andgite, and heo is swa geendebyrd, swa swa God silf hig gedihte þam writere Moise, and we ne durren na mare awritan on Englisc þonne þæt Liden hæfþ, ne þa endebirdnisse awendan, buton þam anum þæt þæt Leden and þæt Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on þære spræce fandunge."
13. Preface 4.42-4: "we ne writað na mare buton þa nacedan gerecednisse. þonne þincþ þam ungelæredum þæt eall þæt andgit beo belocen on þære anfealdan gerecednisse, ac hit ys swiþe feor þam."
14. See, further, "The Composition of the Old English Text," in *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV*, ed. C.R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, EEMF 18 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde, 1974), 42-53.
15. See the studies of homilies listed in footnotes 3 and 11 above.
16. See Clemoes, "Chronology."
17. See Bruce M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1957).

18. It is impossible to be certain of the scope of the original collection of *Lives of Saints*. For a detailed consideration of the problem, see Joyce Hill, "The Dissemination of Ælfric's Lives of Saints: A Preliminary Survey," in *Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton, forthcoming) and "The Preservation and Transmission of Ælfric's Saints' Lives: Reader-Response in the Early Middle Ages," in *Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel Rosenthal (Binghamton, forthcoming).
19. Preface 5a.8-9, 2-4: "illorum quos non vulgus sed coenobite officiis venerantur;" "studentes aliis prodesse edificando ad fidem lectione huius narrationis, quibuscumque placuerit huic operi operam dare, sive legendo seu audiendo."
20. Lines 202-4: "Manega halgan wæron under moyses. æ. ac we nabbað heora gemynd mid nanum mæsse-dæge butan þyssera gebroðra þe swa bealdlice ðrowodon."
21. See Grant Loomis, "Further Sources of Ælfric's Saints' Lives," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 13 (1931), 1-8, at p. 2, n. 5.
22. The extent of the translations is indicated by Skeat in the course of his edition and by Loomis, p. 2, n. 6.
23. S.J. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, EETS o.s. 160 (London: Oxford UP, 1922), 51: "Machabeus þa gefylde ðas foresædan word mid stranglicum weorcum, ⁊ oferwann his fynd, ⁊ sint for ði gesette his sigefæstan dæda on þam twam bocum on bibliothecan Gode to wurðmynte, ⁊ ic awende hig on Englisc ⁊ rædon gif ge wyllað eow sylfum to ræde!"
24. The appendix, "Item alia: qui sunt oratores, laboratores, bellatores" (lines 812-62), occurs as a separate reading piece in the homiletic manuscripts CCCC 178 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, in addition to following after

Maccabees in all the above manuscripts.

25. Lines 514-16: "þa Iudeiscan wæron ða dyreoste gode. on ðære ealdan .æ. forðan þe hi ana wurðodon þone ælmihtigan god mid biggencgum symle;" lines 527-9: "Hi sceolon swa-ðeah ealle on ende gelyfan. ac ðær losiað to fela on þam fyrste betwux. for heora heard-heortnysse wið þone heofonlican hælend."
26. Lines 549-53: "Se wearð eac ongebroht þæt he ofslean wolde þa geleaffulan iudei. þe gelyfdon ða on god. Hi gelyfdon þa on þa ealdan wisan. on þone ælmihtigan god þeah ðe hi sume wið-socon siðþan ðone hælend. and eac swa ofslogon swa swa he sylf wolde."
27. Lines 681-4: "he is eall swa halig on ðære ealdan gecyðnysse. swa swa godes gecorenan on ðære godspel-bodunge. forðan þe he æfre wan for willan þæs ælmihtigan. *On þam dagum* wæs alyfed to alecgenne his fynd...."
28. See *Catholic Homilies* II, VIII, ed. Malcolm Godden, *Catholic Homilies: Second Series*, EETS s.s. 5 (London: Oxford UP, 1979), lines 108-16.
29. Lines 684-704: "On þam dagum wæs alyfed to alecgenne his fynd. and swiþost ða hæðenan þe him hetole wæron...ac crist on his tocyne us cydde oðre ðincg. and het us healdan sibbe. and soðfæstnysse æfre. and we sceolon winnan wið þa wælhreowan fynd. þæt synd ða ungesewenlican. and þa swicolan deoffla þe willað ofslean ure sawla mid leathrum. wið ða we sceolon winnan mid gastlicum wæpnum.... þæt ealde godes folc sceolde feohtan þa mid wæpnum. and heora gewinn hæfde haligra manna getacnunge. þe to-dræfað þa leathras and deoffla heom fram on ðære niwan gecyðnysse þe crist sylf astealde."
30. Lines 708-9: "*Iustum bellum*. is rihtlic gefeoht wið ða reðan flot-menn. oppe wið oðre þeoda þe eard willað fordón."

31. Preface 2a.12-13: "Et licet multis iniuriis infestium piratarum concutiebamur."
32. See above, note 24.
33. Lines 823-30: "Is nu for-þy mare þæra muneca gewinn wið þa ungesewenlican deofla þe syrwiað embe us. þonne sy þæra woruld-manna þe winnað wip ða flæsclican. and wið þa gesewenlican [gesewenlice] feohtað. Nu ne sceolon þa woruld-cempan to þam woruld-licum gefeohte þa godes þeowan neadian fram þam gastlican gewinne. forðan þe him fremað swiðor þæt þa ungesewenlican fynd beon ofer-swyðde þonne ða gesewenlican."
34. The association of warfare with the Old Testament and its prohibition in the New is also emphasized by Ælfric in his homilies, e.g. CH I, XXXV, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, *Sermones Catholici*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), I, 522. The difference between the Old and New Testament also leads Ælfric elsewhere in his homilies to stress the importance of the spiritual fight in the present world, e.g., CH II, XII, lines 441-76. Ælfric's restrained attitude to war is discussed by J.E. Cross, "The Ethic of War in Old English," in *England Before the Conquest*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971), 269-82.
35. Lines 35-9: "þone fulan mete þe moyses forbead godes folce to picgenne. for þære gastlican getacnunge. We moton nu secgan swutellicor be ðysum. hwylce mettas wæron mannum forbodene on ðære ealdan .æ. þe mann ett nu swa-ðeah."
36. Lines 558-65: "ylpas ealle getemode. and to wige gewenode mid wundorlicum cræfte...on ælcum ylpe wæs an wig-hus getimbrod.... Sumum menn wile þincan syllic þis to gehyrenne. forþan þe ylpas ne comon næfre on engla lande."

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37. Lines 566-71: "Ylp is ormæte nyten mare þonne sum hus. eall mid banum befangen binnan þam felle butan æt ðam nauelan. and he næfre ne lið. Feower and twentig monða gæð seo modor mid folan. and þreo hund geara hi libbað gif hi alefede ne beoð. and hi man mæg wenian wundorlice to ge-feohte."
38. See J.E. Cross, "The Elephant to Alfred, Ælfric, Aldhelm and Others," *Studia Neophilologica* 37 (1965), 367-73.
39. From the Preface to Ælfric's *Grammar*: "stæfcræft [grammar] is seo cæg ðe ðæra boca andgit unlicð" (Preface 3b.3-4); cf. the image of the meaning locked in the narrative in the preface to Genesis cited above, n. 13.