

# The Third Gender and *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*

Rhonda L. McDaniel



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## Chapter Two

# Metagender, Gender, and Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*

WHEN AMBROSE, JEROME, AND Augustine were preaching the advantages of the ascetic lifestyle, theorizing a Christian concept of the third gender or metagender, and writing their defenses of virginity, the practice had not yet been widely established or accepted by the general population. The hagiography of the fifth and sixth centuries, however, takes up the concepts found in these three Doctors and weaves them into the warp and woof of the narratives of saints such as Agnes, Sebastian, and Eugenia.<sup>1</sup> By the time of Gregory the Great, coenobitic monasticism both for men and for women had gained some degree of acceptance in the West and both the later Doctor's works and the Latin hagiographers had thoroughly synthesized in their own words the teachings of the earlier theorists of asceticism. The hagiographical works of Pseudo-Ambrose in particular resound with all the various motifs of the theology of virginity and pursuit of the angelic life and would soon arrive along with many of the works of the Latin Doctors to shape the life and practice of new converts to Christianity on the island of Britannia.

The arrival of the Gregorian Mission in Kent in 597 CE inaugurated the joining of two cultures (that of the Roman church and that of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms) that had had little direct official interaction from the time that Rome abandoned its British province in 410 CE until Augustine of Canterbury and his fellow missionaries arrived.<sup>2</sup> (This is not to say that there was no interaction with Christianity during the interval, for the remnants of the earlier British church had remained active after the collapse of the Roman province, but the interaction seems to have had little effect upon the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>3</sup>) While the Roman mission gained ground in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent, Irish missionaries were preaching and teaching north of the Humber. The Irish church operated rather independently from Rome, but it still possessed Latin hagiographical works and the writings of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and later of Gregory, and these four among others were often cited in Irish

exegetical writings.<sup>4</sup> The confluence of the three cultures, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Roman, proved fruitful and held important ramifications for the future of Christian culture in the West. This intersection of preliterate Anglo-Saxon culture and literate Celtic and Roman Christianity continues to present an interesting set of problems to scholars who try to measure how the arrival of Christianity and the writings of the Latin Doctors may have influenced Anglo-Saxon concepts of gender and what impact those changes may have had on social attitudes towards women and men, especially those in monastic profession.

One distinct result of the arrival of Christianity in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is the rapid proliferation of monastic foundations. Stacy Klein points out that “during this early stage of England’s Christianization, queens play prominent roles in promoting the church.”<sup>5</sup> The activity and influence of Anglo-Saxon royal and noble women in the spread of monastic Christianity proved to be significant as many of these women contributed to and participated in monastic learning alongside men on the Continent as well as at home.<sup>6</sup> The Anglo-Saxon slave-become-queen, Balthild, was instrumental in the re-establishment of the foundation at Chelles in western Francia as a double monastery, which was one of the chosen destinations of several royal women from the island who wanted to pursue a religious education before England established its own monastic culture.<sup>7</sup> This same double monastery, under the leadership of Abbess Bertila, helped found English monasteries by providing books as well as men and women from its own community.<sup>8</sup> The relationship between the continental double monasteries and the royal houses of Anglo-Saxon England demonstrates that royal women valued and participated in the life of religious observance and education.<sup>9</sup> When the opportunity for such was not available in their own lands, these women with the means to do so sought the religious life on the Continent, as did men. Peter Hunter Blair demonstrates that women’s lack of opportunity for religious life and education in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms before the mid-seventh century was not the result of opposition to women’s education from either the church or Anglo-Saxon culture, but rather was because of the tenuous foothold that the church had among the kingdoms at that time.<sup>10</sup> Sarah Foot notes that once the monastic movement caught hold, “The picture of female monasticism that can be constructed from the sources for the period before 900 is one of a vibrant dynamic institution of economic and spiritual significance whose protagonists were evenly spread over most of the Anglo-Saxon areas of Britain.”<sup>11</sup> Part of this dynamism can be attrib-

uted to the new opportunities monasticism afforded to royal women, both for deepening their understanding and participation in the new religion and for opening an innovative way to participate in Anglo-Saxon society. Henrietta Leyser observes that "the high profile such women achieve would indeed seem to be explicable only if Christianity was in fact offering a continuation, albeit with significant variations, of roles in which aristocratic women were already well versed."<sup>12</sup> The responsibilities of running an important household and seeing to its continuing smooth operation fitted noble and royal Anglo-Saxon women to the managerial responsibilities of running monastic foundations.<sup>13</sup> The diplomatic roles played by royal women also prepared them well for the ruling of monastic foundations, as noted by Carol Neuman de Vegvar: "By supporting the establishment of monastic foundations, Anglo-Saxon kings were able to provide a niche and position of rank for some of their female relatives, from which they might draw upon their diplomatic talents, in an intermediate position between church and state, just as their secular sisters provided the same kind of social and diplomatic bonding within and between kingdoms."<sup>14</sup> The diplomatic roles expanded to include the local communities also, since the monastic foundations often served the pastoral needs of areas that had few other places of Christian worship in the early conversion period. Thus, the royal abbesses formed a link between the king and the community outside of the social structure of the royal kin group and retainers that parallels the roles of the literary queens Klein examines in that they could "bridge differences between groups of people, social structures, and systems of belief."<sup>15</sup>

The double monastery was the peculiar manifestation of royal female piety in Francia and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Archbishop Theodore in the seventh century was unsettled by the practice, but not enough to interfere with the custom during his years in Canterbury.<sup>16</sup> The rapid proliferation of monastic establishments mirrored the rapidity with which the new religion gained converts among the noble and royal houses of the Anglo-Saxons and with which the value of literacy and religious education for both men and women rose as a consequence. The role played by certain double monasteries, especially Whitby while under the direction of Abbess Hild, cannot be discounted or ignored.<sup>17</sup> The period of the double monasteries, while influential if not vital for the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon church, did not last beyond the middle of the eighth century. Under the governance of their aristocratic abbesses, these monasteries of both men and women had flourished during the time of

Aldhelm and Bede but were passing out of existence in Alcuin's day in the later eighth century. Looking to factors beyond the plundering of monastic foundations by the Vikings in the ninth century, scholars have put forth a variety of reasons that may have contributed to the demise of the double houses, some political, some ecclesiastical, some more broadly social.<sup>18</sup> In some cases, the legal ramifications of such establishments point to attempts to keep lands donated for certain (female?) religious foundations within the control of aristocratic families rather than the church.<sup>19</sup> On the Continent, the records of church councils and of Merovingian and Carolingian law codes testify to increasing restrictions upon religious women due to the classicizing trend within the Gallic church, but there is some evidence that these restrictions were not accepted into the Anglo-Saxon churches immediately or without question.<sup>20</sup>

As much as the phenomenon of the double monastery can tell us about broad inclinations within the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the conversion period, it cannot give us specific insights into the influence of patristic doctrines and theories among the new converts except to show that these doctrines were not perceived as preventing women from exercising the roles taken on by the Anglo-Saxon abbesses. The position of the double monasteries can tell us even less about preconversion ideas about gender. Since the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were primarily oral cultures before the Roman missionaries arrived, scholars must extrapolate from the indirect evidence they find in works written or recorded after conversion, whether they use *Beowulf*, Bede, or even the later Icelandic sagas. Many scholars have attempted to sift preconversion ideas about gender out of postconversion texts, but with little agreement about the results. As Stephanie Hollis points out, one of the reasons that the results of such studies have been so varied is because scholars approach their task with widely different assumptions about how influential the teachings of the Anglo-Saxon church were upon Anglo-Saxon society as a whole.<sup>21</sup> A more productive, if less broadly applicable, approach would be to measure the influence of the Latin Doctors on individuals within the Anglo-Saxon church, individuals who left writings of their own by which we might gauge with some certainty the degree to which the ideas about gender and metagender that were discussed in chapter 1 were known, accepted, and then reproduced in the writings of Anglo-Saxon scholars. Three early Anglo-Saxon authors—Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin—form a crucial link in the transmission of the ideas of the Latin Doctors not only into



Anglo-Saxon culture, but also into the rising Carolingian culture on the Continent.

The case of Aldhelm is unusual among the early Anglo-Saxon writers in that many scholars believe that this nobleman did not receive a purely Roman Christian education, but an education also strongly influenced by Irish scholars.<sup>22</sup> Although this assessment of Aldhelm's education has been called into question, many think that Aldhelm received part of his education from an Irish scholar, perhaps Maeldubh, at Malmesbury, before traveling to Canterbury to round out his education under Hadrian and Archbishop Theodore.<sup>23</sup> Andy Orchard states that because of his place at the beginning of recorded English history and his influence on later scholarship, "Aldhelm is perhaps the most important figure in the history of Anglo-Latin, indeed of Anglo-Saxon, literature."<sup>24</sup> Such a claim gives considerable weight to Aldhelm's works over those of his slightly later contemporary, Bede, yet both men made important, albeit different, contributions to Anglo-Saxon and Continental religious culture and education. Michael Lapidge notes quotations from 119 different Latin works by Aldhelm, including ten works each by Jerome and Augustine and four works by Gregory.<sup>25</sup> Bede, on the other hand, quotes from 255 Latin works, including twenty works by Jerome, fifteen by Ambrose, forty-eight by Augustine, six by Gregory, and six by Aldhelm.<sup>26</sup> Bede used a far greater range of works from the Latin Doctors and wrote a wider variety of works than Aldhelm. Most of Bede's works focused on the explication of biblical books whereas Aldhelm's works, while often addressing religious topics such as virginity, were more literary than theological.<sup>27</sup> Thus, we find that Bede quotes throughout his corpus from some classical works and from a wide range of patristic works, especially the works of the Latin Doctors, but Aldhelm, though he cites the earlier fathers and particularly Jerome, quotes copiously from Christian and classical Latin poets, especially Virgil. The demand for Bede's exegetical works is well attested both in the letters of Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent and by the manuscript evidence that remains from the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>28</sup> Aldhelm's influence is also strongly attested by manuscript evidence and the testimony of stylistic imitation of him in the works of Anglo-Latin authors that followed after him.<sup>29</sup> This evidence, however, also supports the claim that Aldhelm's influence was primarily literary, while Bede's was primarily theological. Bede's many exegetical works demonstrate how he absorbed and transmitted the theologies of gender that he received,

while Aldhelm's works manifest his understanding of those ideas in literary form.

Aldhelm's most famous work is *De virginitate*, written in the *opus geminatum* format that Caelius Sedulius, the Christian Latin poet, and others had used before him.<sup>30</sup> The prose version was written sometime in the last quarter of the seventh century CE, and followed later by the poetic work written in hexameters.<sup>31</sup> Both versions are renowned for their arcane vocabulary and serpentine syntax and are known to have been the object of much study throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. In this work that encourages modesty and virginity, Aldhelm immodestly luxuriates in his own command of Latin rhetoric and in the high degree of Latin literacy that he credits to his stated female audience, Hildelith of Barking Abbey and the nuns or abbesses associated with her.<sup>32</sup> Within this milieu of Latin literacy, Aldhelm uses the metaphors and concepts of Latin Christianity to express the ideals of Christian virginity and chastity as the heavenly or angelic life. In so doing, he presupposes an audience that knows how to interpret and understand the rhetorical devices he employs in outlining both the spiritual foundations for the practice of chastity and the exemplary *vitae* and *passiones* of his catalogue of saints, an audience that shares a classical, patristic, and hagiographical education similar to his own. The elaborate Latinity and rhetoric of the work may have been Aldhelm's tribute to a group of women whom he admired and respected, but he also probably had in mind a broader circulation for the work into which he invested so much erudition, and thus wrote for audiences of both men and women. Even if we proceed with the unlikely idea that Aldhelm intended his work solely for the women he names, the presence of male exemplars presents no particular problem. The Latin Doctors held virginity up as the highest attainment of purity, the practice of the "angelic life" for both men and women, and these fathers had not presumed that only women could be encouraged by the example of women, nor men only by the example of men, but that both sexes could be strengthened in their minds by exemplars of both sexes.<sup>33</sup> The point, after all, was the activity of the soul, the part of men and women that has no sex and so is imitable by all. Thus, Aldhelm's inclusion of the examples of male virgins emphasizes the fact that he understood the earlier fathers to be encouraging virginity for men as well as for women, and that he understood that the demonstrations of virtue and holy power manifested through virginity were the province of the metagendered *imago Dei* in both women and men. By including a catalogue of male virgins, Aldhelm plainly teaches that both men and women

who desire the crown of virginity must curb their own sexual and material desires in order to enter into God's transcendent society.

In Aldhelm's writings the virtue of virginity is not a power of the body, but a power of the mind restored to proper order by love for Christ. Accordingly, Aldhelm drives the strength of the saints' minds home repeatedly as he tells the legends of both male and female saints, for virginity is maintained by "integritas animae regnans in corpore casto" [integrity of mind ruling in a chaste body].<sup>34</sup> In fact, he emphasizes this equality of mind as he shifts the focus from male saints "ad inclitas itidem secundi sexus personas, quae in sanctae virginitatis perseverantia inflexibili mentis rigore usque quaque durauerunt" [in the same way to the celebrated persons of the second sex, who have continually remained in holy virginity by perseverance through inflexible firmness of mind].<sup>35</sup> Aldhelm indicates clearly that women, the second sex due to the order of creation, can and do exercise the same mental strength "in the same way" in pursuit of the angelic life that men do.<sup>36</sup> This expression is not an isolated example, but a synopsis of a theme that Aldhelm establishes in the very preface of the prose work as he writes about the intellectual exploration and mental disciplines of study, prayer, and contemplation exercised by his female audience.<sup>37</sup> In his view, the way to such mental strength lies through the study of sacred books; the way to weakness lies through concentration upon worldly wealth, which results in idleness and atrophy of the mind.<sup>38</sup>

Aldhelm is very much the spiritual son of Jerome more than of any other early father, although Augustine's influence, both direct and indirect, can also be detected. Significantly, he passes on to his audience a concept of equality of mind and of intellectual achievement among men and women in the new Anglo-Saxon church, an equality achieved through the practice of chastity and contemplation. The idea implicit behind his teachings on virginity is the same idea stated more explicitly by Jerome: when men and women commit themselves to chaste living, they become living proof that they are no longer either male or female—they are neither masculine or feminine but metagendered—for all are one in Christ.<sup>39</sup> This idea, however, remains only implicit in *De uirginitate*, for Aldhelm leaves it unspoken.

Unlike some of the women Aldhelm addresses in his *opus geminatum*, the best known of the early Anglo-Saxon churchmen, Bede, entered into monastic life at the age of seven. He spent all of his life in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumbria, teaching, writing, and

observing the full scope of Western monastic duties and services. Thanks to the industry of such abbots as Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith, Bede had access to a large, though not exhaustive, collection of works by the Latin fathers.<sup>40</sup> Bede's life bespeaks a man immersed in the teachings of the four Latin Doctors (indeed, Bede was the first to give them that title<sup>41</sup>) from childhood on, yet whose understanding and acceptance of those teachings were also shaped by his own Anglo-Saxon cultural and social surroundings. Bede's immersion in patristic thought reveals itself in all of his various works, but nowhere does it show itself more clearly than in his biblical commentaries. Most of these works are compilations and distillations of earlier patristic commentary, yet even the most derivative of them reflects Bede's own copious memory at work, selecting, weaving together, and clarifying the thought of the Latin Doctors for the sake of his less-learned colleagues.<sup>42</sup> Within these works Bede's own personality reveals itself. For example, M. L. W. Laistner observes, "However great his debt to his predecessors may be, Bede does not copy uncritically. He is careful to select what will be useful and intelligible to his readers, he adds his own comments and observations, and he has knit the whole together in a way which raises his theological works well above the level of mere compilation or catenae and which bears clearly the impress of his own mind and personality."<sup>43</sup> While one cannot hope to examine Bede's works exhaustively in the space allotted to this chapter, some brief examples may suffice to illustrate his treatment of some of the patristic ideas discussed earlier.

Bede's *Libri quatuor in principium Genesis*, in which he addresses the biblical account of creation and the Fall, would be the first place to look for his conceptions of gender and to assess the influence of the Latin Doctors. Bede states in his letter to Acca, which serves as a preface to the commentary, that he intends for this work to make the erudite theology of the earlier fathers accessible to his less-learned colleagues in such a way as to motivate the better students to the pursuit of higher studies.<sup>44</sup> Bede's use of his patristic authorities to this end reveals how Bede himself understood the nature of fallen humanity. Joseph F. Kelly notes Bede's pronounced preference for Augustine's interpretation, especially as found in *De Genesi ad litteram*, but also observes, "This is not to say that Augustine overwhelms or marginalizes the other authorities, but rather that Bede thought so highly of Augustine that the English historian turned to the African Doctor universally whereas he turned to others primarily for particular reasons."<sup>45</sup> Bede reprises in his own fashion the ideas of the earlier fathers concerning the *imago Dei* in the mind of human beings, the loss

of the image in Adam through sin, the restoration of the image in and through Christ as the new Adam, the human need to recover the image by becoming a new person, and the importance of lifting up the mind from earthly things to the contemplation of heavenly matters. He further emphasizes that the beauty of Adam's likeness to God consisted of the virtues of justice, holiness, and truth, along with humility. A bit further in the same work, Bede also makes explicit that women possess rational minds as well as men, saying "Et femina enim ad imaginem Dei creata est secundum id quod et ipsa habebat mentem rationalem." [The woman truly was created to the image of God in that she too possessed a rational mind.]<sup>46</sup> By sharing in the image of God, both men and women share the capability of understanding, loving, and seeking God in contemplation. All of the essential elements of the concepts of transformed identity and meta-gender resonate in these passages, even without the gender metaphors. Scott DeGregorio explains that "Bede was well aware that the works of the fathers were often far too complex to be grasped by everyone. Thus, in his *Commentary on Genesis* he set out to consolidate the opinions of Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine, since only the most wealthy could afford their books, and only the most learned could understand them. It was to the 'novice reader' (*rudem ... lectorem*), he explained, that his commentary was addressed."<sup>47</sup> Bede's omission of the metaphors of male and female gender in his discussion of the Creation and Fall of human beings along with his plain statement that women were created with the same rational soul as men points not only to his understanding of Augustine, but also to the probability that unskilled, literal-minded readers might easily come to the wrong conclusions if left to flounder along in Augustine's allegorical psychology on their own.

Bede's omission of Augustine's figural male and female activities of the soul did not result from ignorance, however. His early work, *Expositio actuum apostolorum*, shows his own originality in biblical commentary as well as the diversity of his reading in the works of the early fathers. He quotes abundantly from the Latin Doctors, especially Jerome and Augustine, but also applies his own understanding of biblical and patristic ideas to the text before him. One story in Acts tells of many widows who were mourning the death of a wealthy widow named Dorcas and who recounted to the Apostle Peter when he arrived the many good works that Dorcas had done. The book of Acts says that the widows stood around Peter, weeping. Bede explains the allegorical meaning of Dorcas's death as the fall of a saint into sin through the weakness of mortal nature, and of



the preparation of her body as the soul's turn toward repentance. He then explains the weeping widows thus: "Viduae sunt piae cogitationes animae paenitentis, quae sensus pristini uigorem quasi uiri regimen ad tempus omiserant, quae pro anima delinquente necesse est suppliciter exorent" [The widows are the repentant soul's holy thoughts, which for a time had lost the vigor of their original purpose, as though they had lost for a time the guidance of a husband. They must humbly pray for the soul which has done wrong].<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, Bede outlines a situation in which the Augustinian "female" activity of the soul can continue in governing pious behaviors while the "male" activity has been distracted away from its contemplation of heavenly matters into sin. Such "widowed" holy thoughts and behaviors may lose their intensity (vigor) because the "male" activity of the mind has abdicated its responsibility of guidance by turning to sin, but the "widows" need not follow into sin and, indeed, are portrayed by Bede as participating in the restoration of the harmonious ordering of the soul in repentance. An example of how this scenario might work out would be the case of a monk or nun whose contemplations turn from God to lust while at the same time he or she continues to participate in the postures and gestures of the rituals and services through the exercise of the "female" activity that governs the body. Indulgence in lustful thinking might make the commitment to bodily purity weaken (the holy thoughts losing their vigor), but that does not mean that bodily sin will actually occur. In fact, the attention given to the activity of regular monastic observances and the maintenance of bodily purity, even while the mind is seized with lust, could help bring the "male" activity to repentance and thus restore the harmony of purity within the soul. By interpreting the passage as he has, however, Bede modifies Augustine's thought. In *De trinitate*, Augustine outlined a metaphorical situation in which, because the temptations of the body come to the will through mismanagement by the "female" activity of the mind, the "female" part would be the part to fall into contemplating sin first, but the "male" part would not fall unless it gave the "female" activity clearance to enact the sinful thought.<sup>49</sup> Bede modifies Augustine's model so that, while retaining the will's responsibility for sin, Bede allows the body not to sin with it. In doing so, he emphasizes the importance of bodily practice and conduct, illustrating how "going through the motions" can help restore the mind to its purity and proper focus upon God. Even in the process of developing Augustine's psychology, however, Bede still indicates that, ideally, the holy thoughts represented by the widows should have "male" guidance, bringing the whole concept back to Augustine's

idea of the properly ordered mind. Bede's interpretation, however, asserts a new kind of equality both in independent potential for sin and in independent potential for obedience in the "male" and "female" activities of the mind. Through his biblical commentaries, homilies, and other works, Bede distills and transmits patristic writings to his own ends of instructing and grounding those who would be teachers not only of the Anglo-Saxons but also of their Germanic cousins on the Continent through the work of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. The legacy of Bede's learning and labors with the pen last throughout the Middle Ages and strongly influence his most important protégé, Alcuin.

Alcuin of York probably had access to a better library than Aldhelm and perhaps Bede, although even he did not have access to all the patristic works that he would have liked.<sup>50</sup> Archbishop Ælberht of York took the example of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith, making trips to the Continent and collecting books to bring back to England. These books built up the cathedral library at York and the library, as well as the school, became Alcuin's responsibility after Ælberht retired.<sup>51</sup> Alcuin's famous list of authors whose works could be found in the library at York, which includes all four Latin Doctors, Aldhelm, and Bede, does not often tell us which of the works of these writers made up the library's holdings. In addition, Alcuin later had access both to Charlemagne's palace library and to the library at the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, all of which suggest that he had access to a wide range of patristic and other writings. For his own personal use, however, Alcuin's collectaneum known as *De laude Dei* has excerpts from Aldhelm's "Carmen de uirginitate," Augustine's *Confessiones*, *De trinitate*, and *Soliloquia*, Gregory's *Homelia in Hiezechielem*, and two works of Bede on the psalms.<sup>52</sup>

York was the premier center of education in the English kingdoms and even in Europe in Alcuin's day. Thus, when Charlemagne had the opportunity to recruit the schoolmaster of the best center of learning in western Europe, he did not let the moment pass.<sup>53</sup> In 782, Alcuin joined Charlemagne's court and took charge of the palace school and the king's ambitious plans for educational, religious, and cultural revival. He produced most of his own works after relocating to Charlemagne's court. Now one of the number of Anglo-Saxon *peregrini* among the Franks, he wrote a large collection of letters, commentaries, instructional books for the schools, poetry, hagiography, and theological treatises, and he made abundant use not only of the four Latin Doctors (especially Augustine) but also of the leading scholars from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Bede

and Aldhelm.<sup>54</sup> Like Bede before him, Alcuin displayed intelligence and instructional talent in taking the essential teachings of the earlier fathers and councils and making the kernel of those teachings accessible to an audience that was either newly converted from paganism or recently reinvigorated in the study of the central doctrines of the Christian faith under the Carolingian educational program. Alcuin's works brought the ideas of the earlier fathers and of the first generation of Anglo-Saxon scholars into the dynamic context of the Carolingian court, with its international circle of scholars, at the height of Charlemagne's power and influence.<sup>55</sup> His agenda focused on a "return to first principles" intended to spread the core doctrines of Christianity beyond the monastery and cathedral walls into the hearts and souls of the laity.<sup>56</sup> While doing so, he "translated" the earlier fathers' ideas about gender and the soul into a different cultural context with different challenges to face. Alcuin attended to these challenges by relying upon the authority and acknowledged orthodoxy of the four Latin Doctors plus Bede and others, thus ensuring that their works and ideas would continue to shape religious culture in the new Carolingian world.<sup>57</sup>

Among Alcuin's many works are three that expound upon the Trinity: *De fide s. trinitatis*, *Quaestiones de trinitate ad Fredegisum*, and *De ratione animae*. The third work presents itself as a letter to "Eulalia" (Alcuin's alias for Gundrada, Adalhard of Corbie's sister and a lady at Charlemagne's court).<sup>58</sup> In this work, Alcuin addresses the subject of the soul, primarily by using ideas from Augustine's *De trinitate* and *De Genesi ad litteram*.<sup>59</sup> Peter Clemons observes that "typically Alcuin re-expresses the thought of these passages: there is a word-for-word borrowing only once."<sup>60</sup> J. J. M. Curry carries the observation further: "Alcuin does more than simply repeat received ideas in condensed form; he combines them into a unified system whose parts function harmoniously to achieve his epistemological and ethical purposes."<sup>61</sup> Alcuin noticeably avoids the gendered metaphors used by Augustine in *De trinitate* and this avoidance suggests a number of possibilities.<sup>62</sup> Alcuin and his audience were separated by time, place, and culture from the interpretive milieu in which Augustine wrote. As a result, they may have had considerable disagreement and difficulty with the subtle distinctions of Augustine's gendered metaphors. During the intervening centuries the center of Western Christian literary culture had shifted to the far west, the island kingdoms of the English and the northern Frankish empire of Charlemagne. Classical culture was preserved in these centers, yet not without being affected by the Germanic

culture of the Anglo-Saxons and of Charlemagne and his court. As a result, no one could assume that any particular reader of Augustine (or the other Doctors) would possess the nuanced cultural understanding and attitude toward the gendered metaphors that the earlier fathers could expect the educated Roman Christian audiences of their own day to bring to their reading.<sup>63</sup> What was a daring and in some ways radically effective use of gender symbolism in the culture of late antique Rome apparently was not well received in the Germanic cultures of northern and western Europe in the early Middle Ages. Alcuin understood the *imago Dei* to be present in women as well as men, and he seems to have transmitted the teaching of Augustine on the human soul without using the gendered metaphors Augustine used.<sup>64</sup> Whether Alcuin avoided these metaphors because they led to misunderstandings or even offended members of the court is unknown, but does not seem improbable.

Though Alcuin does not use Augustine's metaphors of gender, he does instruct his readers on the functions within the soul, which he identifies as *intellectus* and *ratio*:

in quo est amor naturaliter qui amor intellectu discernendus est et ratione ab illicitis delectationibus cohibendus ut ea amet quae amanda sunt. Atque secundum officium operis sui variis nuncupatur nominibus: anima est dum vivificat, dum contemplatur spiritus est, dum sentit sensus est, dum sapit animus est, dum intellegit mens est, dum discernit ratio est, dum consentit voluntas est, dum recordatur memoria est. Non tamen haec ita dividuntur in substantia sicut in nominibus quia haec omnia una est anima.

[Love is inborn in (the soul), a love which must be guided by the intellect and curbed by the reason from illicit pleasures, so that it may love the things which ought to be loved. According to its functions it receives various names: soul, as giving life; spirit, when contemplating; sensation, when perceiving; intellect, as knowing; mind, as comprehending; reason, when examining; will, when determining; and memory, when recalling. Yet these are not discrete in substance as they are in name, for they all are but one soul.]<sup>65</sup>

In the midst of all this variety of activities of the soul (taken over from Isidore of Seville), Alcuin makes no association here of any of them with men or women, with masculine or feminine characteristics. They are aspects of one mind, one soul in each person which encompasses and transcends the sum of its named activities, again reflecting the idea

of metagender in the *imago Dei* as God had created it. The Anglo-Saxon scholar and teacher understood the erudite thought of Augustine and the other Latin Doctors, but put it into a form that made sense in the context of the Frankish court and educational program of the late eighth century. John Cavadini expresses Alcuin's cultural adaptation of Augustine best in these comments on *De ratione animae*'s companion piece, *De fide*, "The Augustine that emerges here is decidedly more accessible, more optimistic, less guarded, and less authoritarian, and in some ways almost charming. ... Alcuin in this regard ... has an ebullience and idealism so great that it managed even to catch up the sometimes gloomy, ever-suspicious bishop of Hippo in its enthusiasm, presenting us with an Augustine who, despite certain new naïvetés, some might regard as an improvement on the original."<sup>66</sup> Part of this "improvement," however, derives from the difference in the audience addressed by Augustine's works and that which Alcuin addresses in his. Augustine's audience would have had the classical education, Roman cultural background, and leisure to devote time and effort into reading and digesting Augustine's contemplations upon complex and profound theological topics. Alcuin's audience on the other hand was situated in the court of Charlemagne and the Anglo-Saxon teacher largely focused upon educating a marginally literate secular clergy and the laity, many of whom likely had neither the time nor the inclination (with a few exceptions) to pursue much beyond a functional understanding of Latin and the foundational verities of the Christian faith. Alcuin may have given Augustine a more encouraging aspect for a new audience, but Augustine's ideas still provided the framework for Alcuin's thought.

The same enthusiasm with which Alcuin took up the ideas of Augustine carries over into the letters that he wrote to a wide variety of correspondents. Alcuin's letters reveal a man of generous character, who encouraged both men and women, monastic and lay, in the pursuit of lives of holiness and responsible execution of secular and religious power because they would be held accountable by the court of heaven. Concerning this transcendent society of heaven and the place of men and women in it, Alcuin wrote to the nobleman, Count Wido, that

Igitur sicut in omnibus aequaliter regni Dei predicata est beatitudo, ita omni sexui, aetati et personae aequaliter secundum meritorum dignitatem regni Dei patet introitus. Ubi non est distinctio, quis esset in seculo laicus vel clericus, dives vel pauper, iunior vel senior, servus aut dominus, sed unusquisque secundum meritum boni operis perpetua coronabitur gloria.



[The kingdom of heaven is open to every sex, age and person equally according to his deserts. There is no distinction there as to who was lay or clergy, rich or poor, young or old, slave or master in the world, but each will be crowned with eternal glory according to his good works.]<sup>67</sup>

Alcuin understood the heavenly society to be truly egalitarian because all would be of the same metagender, making none of the distinctions that timebound, earthly societies use, such as sex, social rank, clerical status, or wealth. Alcuin may have had in mind Jerome's comment that when men and women have put on Christ and been filled with love by the Holy Spirit, "omnis diversitas generis, conditionis et corporum aufertur istiusmodi vestimento" [all diversity of race, condition, and body is taken away by such a garment].<sup>68</sup> Instead, a woman or a slave might be rewarded with greater glory in eternity than a man who had possessed considerable wealth and power in the temporal world. In these remarks to Count Wido, Alcuin restates without expressly saying so the biblical teaching of Galatians 3:26–28 and Colossians 3:11 concerning the disappearance of the earthly divisions of rank, social status, or gender in the Body of Christ.

While Alcuin does not elaborate the monastic application of these biblical ideas to the secular count, his other letters to men and women indicate a generous understanding of the patristic concept of metagender. Helene Scheck observes that "Alcuin's transcendence of prevalent attitudes toward women most probably stems from his belief that the intellect is the heart of the subject."<sup>69</sup> He writes to Æthelburga (whom he calls by the nickname "Eugenia," who was a cross-dressing saint) to encourage her to persevere in the life of virginity, saying that in heaven "naturae victor omnium conditori creaturarum consociabitur" [the conqueror of nature has fellowship with the Creator of all creatures].<sup>70</sup> Alcuin's words echo the thought of Ambrose in *De uirginibus*: "quia quod ultra naturam est de auctore naturae est" [because what is beyond nature belongs to the author of nature].<sup>71</sup> By conquering the natural tendency of the flesh toward its own gratification, Æthelburga would have fellowship with her Creator on the same terms as the earlier saints. By overcoming the natural tendency of corporeal beings to indulge the body, any man or woman could enter into fellowship with God and the transcendent society of heaven.

Alcuin's letters and didactic writings reveal that even though he respected the writings of the earlier church fathers he did not consider them to be beyond improvement. His transmission of patristic ideas does

not slavishly follow the metaphors and expressions he found in their works, but rather indicates that he considered the spiritual concepts trustworthy while the language used to express the concepts could be adapted. He conveyed his own practical understanding of those concepts in his letters, especially his letters to women and laymen, emphasizing the difference in structure between the heavenly realm and earthly society that eradicated temporal concepts of rank, wealth, gender, and social status, replacing them with a transcendent model in which worldly categories of difference possess little force or influence. The writings of Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin express the early, learned understanding and adaptation of the major teachings of the four Latin Doctors on creation, the Fall, the Trinity, and the nature of the human soul and mind. Their writings elucidate a process of cultural adaptation that made the Christian teachings of the four Latin Doctors available in a new context. The dynamic of lay education that Charlemagne and Alcuin put into motion spread the recasting of patristic authors in the writings of Bede and Aldhelm as well as in Alcuin's own considerable corpus to the major religious centers of Francia and Germany on the Continent and from those centers into the minds and beliefs of the educated Carolingian laity, albeit with uneven effectiveness.

While expatriate Anglo-Saxon scholars labored to spread religious learning beyond the monastery walls on the Continent, Latin education in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms declined so sharply that by the 870s there were few educated churchmen, much less a laity educated in Latin learning, according to the preface to the Old English translation of Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*.<sup>72</sup> King Alfred embarked upon a program of education similar to that of Charlemagne, inviting scholars from Mercia, the Continent, and Wales to participate in his own court school. Alfred's plan included an ambitious program of translation whereby Latin works were rendered into English. The project focused on those books the king and his scholarly advisors considered "most necessary for all men to know" and included some of Gregory's works considered in the first chapter, *Regula pastoralis* and *Dialogi*, as well as Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and even Augustine's *Soliloquies*.<sup>73</sup> Regarding Alfred's translation project Michael Lapidge notes that "the concern with producing a vernacular literature and educating the laity to read it, had no parallel anywhere in Europe at that time, but it established a valuable precedent for later tenth-century English practice."<sup>74</sup> The selection of texts for translation had a clearly religious emphasis, yet also had a nonmonastic focus. The transla-

tions produced during Alfred's reign seemed designed to produce devout, virtuous nobles and secular clergy who would use their authority justly and support the churches and monasteries as institutions integral to the welfare of the kingdom. This emphasis on both religious instruction of the laity and the mutual support of church and state came to its fruition in the tenth century with the close ties between Alfred's successors and leading churchmen such as Archbishop Dunstan and especially his reformist colleague, Bishop Æthelwold. The networks of belief and strategic support that bound bishops, kings, and queens together in the mid- to late 900s are clearly exemplified in the close association of Æthelwold with King Edgar and with Queen Ælfthryth, which extended into the early reign of King Æthelred II until Æthelwold's death in 984.<sup>75</sup> Even though Ælfric seems to have been less intimately involved with the king than his teacher, Æthelwold, his close association with his patrons, the caldorman Æthelweard and his son, Æthelmær, who both served as royal advisors, would have given him insight and perhaps indirect influence in the workings of Æthelred's unstable court during the times of renewed Viking incursions.<sup>76</sup> Though Ælfric's primary focus remained the instruction and encouragement of all Christian believers within reach of his works, his writings indicate that he may have considered the king and his *witan* as part of his larger flock, even if not directly under his localized pastoral care.<sup>77</sup>

Ælfric's translations set out a program of religious education for a primarily nonmonastic audience of layfolk and secular clergy. The religious education of the laity, however, came with its own set of problems, as Ælfric acknowledged in his own works. When his patron, Æthelweard, asked Ælfric to translate the first part of the book of Genesis into English for him, Ælfric reluctantly complied, voicing his concerns in his *Preface*: "We secgað eac foran to þæt seo boc is swiþe deop gastlice to understandenne, and we ne writað na mare buton þa nacedan gerecednisse. Ponne þincþ þam ungelæredum þæt eall þæt andgit beo belocen on þære anfealden gerecednisse, ac hit ys swiþe feor þam" [We also say beforehand that the book is exceedingly profound to understand in the spiritual sense. We will not be writing any more than the bare history, yet it seems to the unlearned that all the meaning is contained in that single-faceted history. Nevertheless the spiritual sense is very far from that history].<sup>78</sup> Ælfric knew well the distance between the concrete, literal, "naked" history of biblical narrative and the resplendent spiritual truths he believed to be couched within the bare narrative, for his monastic education in Latin had steeped

him in the orthodox teachings and ideas of the Latin Doctors and the earlier Anglo-Saxon fathers concerning not just the meanings of the book of Genesis but of the rest of the Bible and other religious books. Speaking of monastic education, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe observes that the memory and performance indicated by the use of Ælfric's *Colloquy* "is an instrument of installing in the boys Latin, the language of power and of monastic identity, and, thereafter, the forms of interpretation—tropes of words and thought—leading to techniques of reading, and through a critical use of memory, the internalization of proper discourses and bodies of knowledge."<sup>79</sup> This education provided a defining language and served to populate the minds of those entering the monastic profession with ideas and images that could be accessed at will and brought together in contemplation and meditation. Mary Carruthers explains the importance of a well-stocked memory for interpretation and composition, so that "In the minds of monastic writers, every verse of the Bible thus became a gathering place for other texts, into which even the most remote (in our judgments) and unlikely matters were collected, as the associational memory of a particular author drew them in."<sup>80</sup> Such seems clearly to have been the fruit of Ælfric's own education, for J. E. Cross observes early on that "often we find, Ælfric's memory holds phrases from other sources, even when he is clearly following a main source, so that his 'adaptation' or 'free rendering' is both circumscribed and aided by memory."<sup>81</sup> While Ælfric's use of his own apparently copious memory is not the focus of this book, he himself in his capacity as teacher within the monastic school would be intimately familiar with the practice of memory and also with the kinds of interpretive errors that might come from approaching a text with little training in interpretation and an inadequate memorial storehouse of literary knowledge.<sup>82</sup> The desire of devout laypeople to have the Bible and other religious works translated into English presented a unique problem for Ælfric, for responding to such requests meant putting sacred works into the hands of people who mostly had not received or sufficiently mastered the Latin education that would teach them how properly to interpret such works, and so they might fall into error. Ælfric's own translation projects made both the literal texts of the Bible and the sermons, homilies, and other materials that explained the orthodox spiritual meanings of Scripture available to his countrymen both inside and outside of the monastery walls. *Lives of Saints*, though more restricted in audience, could then spur its readers to action through its depictions of what love for God looks like.

Several scholars have commented upon Ælfric's consideration for his audiences both in terms of his desire to make religious works available in English and of his desire to convey orthodox teachings through his translations.<sup>83</sup> Leslie Lockett, for example, discusses Ælfric's orthodox agenda at the end of her exploration of vernacular concepts of the soul. In her work, Lockett extensively analyzes the Anglo-Saxon vernacular conception of the soul as a corporeal substance and the mind as part of the body located in the chest based upon the idea of "embodied realism." Embodied realism describes the way that the experiences of sensations of heat or pressure in the chest simultaneously with intense mental occurrences are expressed in the language used to refer to various mental states in Old English works.<sup>84</sup> Lockett challenges the modern scholarly assumption that all Christianized medieval societies held Augustine's putatively dualist perspective that distinguished between the corporeal body and the incorporeal soul and argues that such a perspective was not widespread in Anglo-Saxon culture through most of the Anglo-Saxon period. At the end of her study, Lockett devotes a chapter to Ælfric as the first Anglo-Saxon figure to try to persuade devout, non-Latinate Anglo-Saxons to accept a different, more Augustinian theological conception of the soul. By doing so, Ælfric positioned himself in opposition to the teaching found in other vernacular homilies and hagiographies: "Ælfric's audience already knew the soul was real, but many of them were not aware that it was incorporeal and utterly imperceptible to the senses. To convince them of this demanded that Ælfric contradict much of what they would have heard from other vernacular preachers."<sup>85</sup> This opposition is not a new position for Ælfric, as Mary Clayton has also demonstrated in her books on the Marian observances in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>86</sup> Lockett observes that "what Ælfric achieves in his nativity homily [*LS* 1] is a remarkable novelty. He was only the second Anglo-Saxon to generate vernacular discourse on the unitary nature of the *sawol*, and he was the first author working in England to assimilate the Platonizing concept of the incorporeal unitary soul, to recognize the interdependence of the ontological and the epistemological ramifications of the soul's incorporeality, and to render such a discourse in a form that had the potential to be disseminated to a broad audience."<sup>87</sup>

Two things that may be determined with certainty from Ælfric's contentious relationship with his religious contexts are that Ælfric had the independence to stand by himself if necessary and that he did not uncritically adopt the ideas of the religious or social milieu in which he lived.



In doctrine, he followed an orthodoxy based upon the scriptures and the writings of the Latin Doctors and other orthodox authors, transmitted especially through Bede, Alcuin, and the texts of the Carolingian reform, and then passed on to Ælfric himself by means of Æthelwold's school in Winchester.<sup>88</sup> Clearly, such orthodoxy did not hold sway over all or even most of England outside the monasteries in Ælfric's time. Milton McC. Gatch remarks that, just as there was more than one stream of theological influence in late Anglo-Saxon England, so also there were preachers who did not share Ælfric's "sense that one could and ought to discriminate among theological sources."<sup>89</sup> As a result, vernacular versions of a variety of more or less heterodox sermons and saints' legends encouraged misperceptions and (from Ælfric's view) outright error that could lead laypeople and both secular and regular clergy astray.<sup>90</sup> His collections of homilies addressed this wide audience both inside and outside the monastery in order to instruct as many as possible in orthodox teachings. Ælfric knew the writings of earlier Anglo-Saxon scholars and so had their own examples of critical preferences for the writings of one or another Latin Doctor over the rest when it came to different aspects of interpretation. Ælfric thought highly of the Latin Doctors, but like Bede and Alcuin before him, he reveals through his writings a strong Augustinian influence.<sup>91</sup> He also exhibits almost no direct knowledge of Ambrose's works and turns to Bede in the place of this particular Doctor. Michael Lapidge notes that Ælfric quotes in his homilies from Jerome's *Aduersus Iovinianum* and commentary *In epistulas Pauli*, Ambrose's *Exameron*, Augustine's *De bono coniugali*, *De sancta virginitate*, *De ciuitate Dei*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *De trinitate*, and once from *De Genesi ad litteram*. Excerpts from Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, *Homiliae in Euangelium*, and *Moralia in Iob* appear in abundance in Ælfric's homilies and likewise passages from Bede's commentary on Genesis, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, and the commentaries on *Acta Apostolorum* and *Epistulas catholicas*. Ælfric made his own translations of Alcuin's *De ratione animae* and *Interrogationes et Responiones in Genesin*, as well.<sup>92</sup> The presence of quotations from these authors in Ælfric's works does not, however, automatically mean that Ælfric knew each work of the earlier fathers in its entirety. Gregory the Great, Bede, and Alcuin transmitted and subtly adapted patristic ideas through their own works, and Ælfric had access to other intermediary sources as well. Yet, while acknowledging the authority of these scholars, Ælfric did not treat them as sacred vessels of orthodoxy that could not be adapted to his own purposes. James Hurt states that Ælfric had a free hand

with his sources and that in his translations “Ælfric reshaped his sources and put them into the language of his own country. The result was a carefully organized summary of the religious learning of his day, but Ælfric made it thoroughly English and at the same time Catholic in its authority and orthodoxy.”<sup>93</sup>

For instance, Ælfric translated an abridged version of Alcuin’s *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin*, perhaps to accompany his translation of the first part of Genesis for his patron.<sup>94</sup> Alcuin’s treatment of the fall into sin depended heavily upon Bede’s commentary on Genesis, which in turn quoted Augustine’s *De Genesi ad litteram* extensively. Ælfric opens the discussion of the Fall with Alcuin’s clarification about whether the serpent could understand speech:

Alcuin:

[Inter. 62:] Si serpens sonum verborum eius qui per eum loquebatur intelligere potuit?

[Resp.:] Non est credibile eum intelligere potuisse quae per eum diabolus agebat; sed sicut daemoniacus et mente captus loquitur quae nescit, ita serpens verba edebat quae non intelligebat.

[(Question 62:) Was the serpent able to understand the sound of the words of him who spoke through it?

(Response:) It is not believable that it (the serpent) was able to understand what the devil did through it, but just as the demoniac and the insane one speaks what he does not know, so the serpent proclaimed words which it did not understand.]

Ælfric:

Hweþer seo næddre þurh hire agen andgit to Euan spræce?

Nis hit na geleaflic þæt se wurm þurh his agen andgit Euan beæhte, [ac] se deofol spræc þurh þa næddran, swa swa he deð þurh wodne man, and heo ne undergeat þa word þe ma þe se woda deð.

[Did the serpent speak to Eve by means of its own understanding?

It is not believable that the worm deceived Eve by means of his own understanding, but the devil spoke through the serpent, just as he does through the insane one, and it could not understand the words any more than the insane one does.]<sup>95</sup>

Ælfric's question has a subtle difference from Alcuin's in that the Old English question asks whether the serpent itself possesses understanding, a function of the rational soul, by which it could speak to Eve, whereas in Alcuin the question only asks whether the beast could understand the words the devil caused it to speak. Ælfric's answer categorically denies that the *wurm* possessed a rational soul by which it could either intend to deceive Eve or use speech in the same way as humans and angelic beings. Ælfric seems to have gone out of his way to create a context in which to deny that beasts, even the most subtle of beasts, might possess a soul and the rational function, for in Ælfric's conception the soul "is primarily an intellectual inner self, whose mental activity imitates God and distinguishes man from the beasts."<sup>96</sup> This appears to be one of those instances Malcolm Godden refers to when he observes that

Ælfric, however, repeatedly rejects the view that animals have souls. He makes the point at least a dozen times in his various writings, always, so far as I can discover, as a personal interjection in the argument of any authority that he is following. ... Ælfric's repeated insistence on the point suggests that he was consciously taking issue with others, perhaps his contemporaries, perhaps his patristic authorities, perhaps, Alfred.<sup>97</sup>

Ælfric's next move is to compare the state of the unreasoning animal with that of the insane person, who also lacks the capacity for reason. William Stoneman notes that the comparison between the serpent and the madman appears in both Bede and Augustine.<sup>98</sup> While Alcuin's Latin text makes a distinction between the insane and the possessed, Ælfric's translation omits any reference to possession, stating that when the devil speaks through madmen, the madmen have no understanding of what they are saying. The point implies that the devil can only speak through those who lack a rational mind or whose mind is seriously compromised, such as the insane or animals like the serpent—a point that comes into very clear focus in the lives that Ælfric translates.

After addressing the question about whether the serpent understood the conversation it had with Eve, Ælfric omits all of the questions about how the woman could believe the serpent, why she contemplated the tree, and how the man came to enter into sin with his wife.<sup>99</sup> The Old English *Hexameron*, however, succinctly outlines Ælfric's view on how Adam was tempted: "Wel wyste ure Scyppend ða ða he geworhte Adam, / ðone frumsceapenan mann, ðæt he syngian wolde / ðurh ðæs deofles lare,

swa swa he dyde syððan" [Our Creator knew fully when he made Adam, the first-formed human, that he (Adam) would desire to sin by means of the devil's teaching, just as he (Adam) later did].<sup>100</sup> Here Ælfric's interpretation of the Fall reflects the Augustinian concept, paralleled in Cassian's work, that the devil tempted Adam through the serpent rather than through Eve.<sup>101</sup> When Ælfric actually describes the Fall, he demonstrates a remarkably egalitarian attitude:

Ða wæs ðam deofle waa on his awyrgedum mode  
 ðæt se mann sceolde ða myrhðe geearnian  
 ðe he of afeoll for his upphefednysse,  
 and he mid micclum andan ða menn ða beswac,  
 ðæt hi buta æton of ðam forbodenan treowe  
 and wæron ða deadlice and wið heora Drihten scyldige,  
 and hi cuðon ða ægðer ge yfel ge good.

[Then the devil was grieved in his wicked mind that the human should attain to that joy from which he had fallen because of his pride, and with great envy he then deceived the humans so that they both ate of the forbidden tree and then became mortal and guilty toward their Lord, and then they knew both evil and good.]<sup>102</sup>

In Ælfric's version, both Adam and Eve fell into sin together, deceived by the devil into disobeying the one command that God had given them. As a result, not only did they become mortal and subject to death, but "Heora gecynd eac ða wæs eall on costnungum / and him ungewylde to rihtre wis-sunge" [Moreover, their nature then became entirely in accordance with temptations and unsubmissive to them for right direction].<sup>103</sup> Both the male and the female essentially lost control of themselves, of their own souls, becoming unable to direct their own lives to avoid sin and love God.

The opening sermon in the collection of Ælfric's saints' *vitae* and *passiones* found in the Bristish Library (BL), Cotton Julius E.vii, contains his most direct and detailed statement about the nature of the soul or the mind.<sup>104</sup> The sermon, titled "Natiuitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi" (LS 1), addresses two main topics, the Trinity and the human soul.<sup>105</sup> In putting this text together, Ælfric draws from a number of sources including Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae* and Alcuin's *De ratione animae*.<sup>106</sup> In his analysis of the definitions of "mind" found in Alcuin, Alfred, and Ælfric, Malcolm Godden concludes that "soul and mind are ... very closely associated, although as a matter of terminology Ælfric prefers, at least when being careful, to call the intellectual inner self *sawol*, reserving

*mod* for the locus or instrument of the soul's thought."<sup>107</sup> In Ælfric, the entire soul "is distinctly the thinking power or agent," that governs the self and the body, thus reflecting Augustine's formula that includes the "female" activity in reason rather than following the Ambrosian formula that equates the woman with the beasts in representing the senses.<sup>108</sup>

Through the works of Bede and Alcuin especially, Ælfric received the Augustinian psychology of the human mind and its structure as the image of the Trinity, consisting of memory, will, and understanding.<sup>109</sup> This trinitarian structure of the soul encapsulated everything at the heart of a saint's legend: the deliberate development of memory fueled by love, the desire to pray and reflect to build up understanding of oneself and of God within the memory, and the will to remain faithful to the relationship to Christ held within memory and understanding. Bede also, however, transmitted Augustine's conception of the two activities of the mind by quoting *De trinitate* 12.12 in his *Collectio*, including the quotation of Galatians 3:27–28, the concept that the *imago Dei* is found in the mind where there is no sex, and that the division of activities in the mind is represented in the sexually differentiated bodies of men and women.<sup>110</sup> The psychology of Augustine concerning the "male" and "female" activities of the mind was known and transmitted into Anglo-Saxon England at least through Bede, and Ælfric had access to these concepts. The best measure of Ælfric's understanding of Augustine's psychology of the soul, though, lies not so much in his didactic rendering of sermons or homilies, but in his narrative adaptations of the lives of saints.

In *Lives of Saints* as in the *Catholic Homilies*, Ælfric did not follow a rigid approach toward translation. In many of his lives he stayed fairly close to the text of his Latin exemplars, but often he radically compressed, selectively deleted, or narratively rearranged material and even shifted the focus of the stories, sometimes making them more adaptations than translations. Both storyteller and teacher, Ælfric not only toned down the verbosity of hagiographers such as Abbo of Fleury, but remained mindful of orthodoxy and concerned to avoid confusing his vernacular audience as may be seen in his wholesale rewriting of the legend of Eugenia or his selective trimming of the already brief *passio* of Abdon and Sennes. Ælfric outlines such objectives in the Latin Preface to *Lives of Saints* and also seems to indicate both there and in the Old English preface a conception of audience that reaches further than just his patrons, Æthelweard and Æthelmar.<sup>111</sup> Joyce Hill has demonstrated that beyond use by his patrons, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* had a limited readership of religious communities

judging by the manuscript evidence for the transmission and dissemination of the monastic lives from the collection.<sup>112</sup> The manuscript evidence, however, may not reflect the audience that Ælfric envisioned. Jonathan Wilcox argues that if some kind of quasi-monastic practices were kept within the households of Æthelweard and Æthelmær as seems to be the case (especially later after Æthelmær's "forced retirement"), they may have included reading aloud from the lives in Ælfric's collection in a devotional context. In that context, the audience for the lives may have included a significant number of nonmonastic men and women from a variety of classes. While Ælfric did not intend *Lives of Saints* for liturgical use and public reading in services as he did the *Catholic Homilies*, the audience he envisioned for the collection may have included the cross section of layfolk who might be found in such politically prominent and well-connected households, and perhaps even communities of secular clergy following the Rule of Chrodegang.<sup>113</sup> Stephanie Hollis observes the probable presence of ordinands to the secular clergy and children of layfolk who may have been present in Reform monasteries to receive education in the vernacular, and Ælfric, ever the pastor and teacher, may also have had such people in mind as an audience.<sup>114</sup> The abridgements and alterations Ælfric made in his vernacular versions of the saints' lives then may not have been made solely for the sake of avoiding tedium, but also deliberately to redirect the material for the sake of communicating orthodox and Reformed teaching to his Anglo-Saxon audience at the end of the tenth century, as Charles D. Wright indicates had been done by other translators, as well.<sup>115</sup> As such, the legends in Ælfric's collection may be best understood in Joyce Hill's terms, "as versions rewritten for an audience not familiar with the learned Latin tradition on which they draw."<sup>116</sup>

### Ælfric and the *Lives of Saints*: The Discourse of Holy Desire

The *passiones* and *vitae* that Ælfric includes in *Lives of Saints* are not those generally honored by the laity and celebrated in his two series of *Catholic Homilies*, but those "þe mynster-menn mid heora þenungum betwux him wurðiað" [whom the men and women of the monastery honor among themselves with their services].<sup>117</sup> These lives in their Latin versions illustrate an understanding of the religious life known to those within the walls of the monasteries, but that "læwedan men ... nyston" [laypeople did not

know].<sup>118</sup> In translating the legends from Latin into English, Ælfric also had to make two cultures, late Roman culture and contemporary Anglo-Saxon monastic culture, accessible for his noble lay patrons, Ætheweard and Æthelmær and other nonmonastic, or at least non-Latinate, people.<sup>119</sup> As a result, Ælfric's vernacular saints' legends seem to work, in Rita Copeland's terms, "to erase the cultural gap from which it emerges by contesting and displacing the source and substituting itself" in a process similar to the translation of a saint's relics.<sup>120</sup> In a sense, Ælfric takes each *passio* or *vita* out of the Latin language and renders it into Old English, translating or "carrying over" the relic of the saint's legend from its Latin linguistic and cultural reliquary and enshrining it anew, washed and freshly clothed, in an Anglo-Saxon linguistic and cultural reliquary. The process preserves the essential features of the *passio* or *vita* as Ælfric sees them, but clothes and houses them in a new language with new rhetorical colors, not the same, but dynamically equivalent.<sup>121</sup> Hagiographical literature formed its own place within the Latin literature of the Middle Ages, and in his translations Ælfric developed his own personal style of written endeavor within Anglo-Saxon literature.<sup>122</sup> The rhythmic prose style that Ælfric developed resonated with Anglo-Saxon poetic narrative tradition, creating a space in which the unfamiliar legends could be integrated culturally and individually in memory.<sup>123</sup> Just as the translation of a saint's material relics brought the influence and intercession of the saint into a new place, so the translation of a saint's life into a new language and a new cultural context facilitated the appropriation of the saint's example by a new audience. By their nature the lives of saints invite the audience to identify with the saint, actually to become the saint in the realm of imagination and memory, experiencing the transformations, trials, and triumphs of the saint in a way that would encourage emulation of the saint's steadfast characteristics in each reader or hearer. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe observes that "The relationship between fantasy and desire ... is a constitutive one as fantasy structures and enables desire."<sup>124</sup> The saints' *passiones* move the audience literally to "lose themselves in the story" and emerge at the end a changed people, encouraged, instructed, embodying the memory, fortified by their own encounter with the power of God through their identification with the saint.<sup>125</sup> Augustine describes the process as one of recognition whereby the audience apprehends the unchangeable truth (God) within another person and longs to know it through relationship with that person in whom it is recognized.<sup>126</sup> In this way, the recognition of the eternal truth in the *vita* of a saint conceives in the audience a desire for relationship

with that truth through relationship with the person who reflects it. For a brief time, the audience has entered into and participated in the transcendent society, has imaginatively encountered the very Other who through love had so powerfully transformed mere sexually differentiated flesh and blood into a metagendered saint before and who might deign to do the same again. Such men and women who seek to grow in virtue and obtain a place in the heavenly kingdom “bið þonne to oþrum menn geworht; oþer he bið þurh godnyse; 7 se ylca þurh edwiste” [will then be made into another human being; he will be other in goodness and the same in substance].<sup>127</sup> For while the imaginative didacticism of a saint’s life purports to instruct its audience in moral living, Gregory the Great teaches that on a deeper level it intends to arouse desire: “Et sunt nonnulli quos ad amorem patriae caelestis plus exempla quam praedicamenta succendunt” [And there are some who are kindled to love of the heavenly homeland more by examples than by preaching].<sup>128</sup> Augustine and Gregory indicate that the desire kindled by the process of identification with the saint in a hagiographical text is not sexual desire, but a desire just as strong, just as driving—a will that is love.<sup>129</sup> Such desire is not directed at the saint, but through the saint it is reoriented toward God, and it seeks above all to know and love and imitate God. In *LS* 1, Ælfric emphasizes this point, saying, “Nis nanum menn on ðisum deadlican life libbendum nanes þinges . swa mycel neod . swa him biþ þæt he cunne þonne ælmihtigan god mid geleafan . and sibban his agene sawle” [There is nothing that any among humans living in this mortal life need so greatly as that he or she might know the Almighty God through belief, and after that, his or her own soul].<sup>130</sup> Belief is of central importance in Ælfric’s understanding of the soul’s powers and especially of *mod*, for “The *mod* can actually perceive spiritual realities that are imperceptible to the senses. ... The reason why the *mod* can do so is because it is part of the incorporeal soul.”<sup>131</sup> It is only through the *mod*’s ability to perceive incorporeal realities through belief that a person can grasp the spiritual truths represented in the narratives of the deeds and deaths of the saints. Ælfric places his statement concerning a person’s greatest need at a crucial point in his sermon, as he finishes writing about the Trinity and turns the attention of his readers to the matter of their own souls. By addressing these matters at the beginning of his collection of saints’ legends, Ælfric “primes the pump” of his readers’ expectations, so to speak, by providing an organizing principle and interpretive framework within which a saint’s life might be read, a framework based upon the nature of proper love and proper desire:



Þam men is gecyndelic þæt he lufige þæt þæt god is . Hwæt is god butan gode anum se þe is healic godnisse . butan þam ne mæg nan man nan þing godes habban . Ðas godnysse we sceolan simble lufian þe us ælc god ofcymþ . ac þissere godnysse lufu ne mæg beon butan on þære sawle . and seo an sawul is æðelboren þe ðonne lufað þe heo fram com . þe hi þyllice gesceop þæt heo on hire andgyte habban mihte godes anlicnesse and gelicnesse . and þæs wyrðe wære . þæt hyre god onwunode . ... Gewylnung is þæm menn forgifen to gewilnienne þa ðing þe him fremiað to nit-wyrðum þingum and to þære ecan hæle .

[It is natural to humankind that one should love that which is good. What is good except God alone, he who is sublime goodness, but for whom no one is able to have any good thing? We ought always to love this goodness, from whom all good things come to us, but love for this goodness is not able to exist except in the soul—and only that soul is nobly born, therefore, that loves him from whom it comes, who created it such that in its understanding it is able to have the uniqueness and image of God, and might be worthy of this: that God might dwell in it. ... Desire is given to humans to long for those things that benefit them, for useful things and for their eternal salvation.]<sup>132</sup>

The *vita* of a saint serves as a vehicle both for knowledge of God and for knowledge of one's own soul by evoking a desire for knowledge of the immaterial, transcendent, good that is God and of the image of God in oneself. The second Person of the Trinity, by being both God and human, possesses the knowledge of both and so becomes the rightful object of desire. The incarnate Christ embodies the point of contact between the transcendent spiritual realm and the temporal physical realm; inasmuch as a saint demonstrates a likeness to Christ, she or he also acts as a point of contact wherein, as Peter Brown has said, heaven and earth are joined because the immortal image of God within the mortal body of the saint has been restored to wholeness and purity.<sup>133</sup> Above all else, a saint's life inflames desire in its audience, not a desire for the saint but a desire to *be* the saint, to be the one who loves Christ so wholeheartedly that the Son of God performs marvelous deeds for and through his beloved. As the soul of the saint becomes more and more like Christ, the image of God within the soul displays more clearly the characteristics of its metagendered nature by showing itself to be not merely an amalgam of masculine and feminine attributes, but by showing itself to be, like God, greater than the sum of its

gendered parts. Within this context of the saint's desire for a transcendent relationship with Christ, the readers and hearers of a saint's *passio* come to know both God and their own souls in relationship to each other—a relationship not defined by gender distinctions formed in the earthly society of men and women, but defined instead by the metagendered image of God clearly reflected in the rational human soul.

Yet it was only within the context of the monastic profession that the concept of metagender was theorized and discussed despite the belief that the soul in all men and women had no sex and was the *locus* of relationship with God in all human beings. How was Ælfric to take monastic *vitae* and *passiones* that expressed in assorted ways and to varying degrees the ideas associated with a third gender and translate them for the encouragement and enactment of a nonmonastic audience? The following examination compares Ælfric's translations of the legends of female and male Roman martyrs and Anglo-Saxon royal saints to the closest known Latin versions in order to answer this question.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a brief example, see my article, McDaniel, "Agnes among the Anglo-Saxons," 224–29.

<sup>2</sup> Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 8; cf. Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, 13 and 58–61.

<sup>3</sup> Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 11; cf. Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, 30–39.

<sup>4</sup> Bischoff, "Latin-Exegetical Literature." Throughout the "Catalogue" Bischoff describes the writers quoted by Irish exegetes.

<sup>5</sup> Klein, *Ruling Women*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> See Foot, *Veiled Women*; Ferrante, "Education of Women"; and Hunter Blair, "Whitby."

<sup>7</sup> Neuman de Vegvar, "Saints and Companions," 56.

<sup>8</sup> Hunter Blair, "Whitby," 32. See also Ferrante, "Education of Women," 15.

<sup>9</sup> Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 81–82; Ferrante, "Education of Women," 10; Neuman de Vegvar, "Saints and Companions," 56.

<sup>10</sup> Hunter Blair, "Whitby," 15–16.

<sup>11</sup> Foot, *Veiled Women*, 1.26.

<sup>12</sup> Leyser, *Medieval Women*, 20–21.

<sup>13</sup> For some insight into the demands and problems of running a double monastery, see the letter of Abbess Eangyth to Boniface, dated around 720, available at "A Letter from Eangyth, Abbess," *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, last modified 2014, <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/358.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Neuman de Vegvar, "Saints and Companions," 55.

<sup>15</sup> Klein, *Ruling Women*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Foot, *Veiled Women*, 1.52; Neuman de Vegvar, "Saints and Companions," 57.

<sup>17</sup> Hunter Blair, "Whitby," 30.

<sup>18</sup> For complete treatment of the demise of the double monasteries in Francia and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, see Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*; Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*; and Foot, *Veiled Women*, 1.63–64. For a more summary treatment, see Neuman de Vegvar, "Saints and Companions," 77–79.

<sup>19</sup> Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 81–82.

<sup>20</sup> See Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, 127–48, and Foot, *Veiled Women*, I.61–69. Foot observes that the Anglo-Saxon emphasis in importing the Carolingian reforms seemed to have a focus on avoiding scandal rather than on the ritual purity of women.

<sup>21</sup> Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, 192; Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, 153. Michael Lapidge questions the credibility of the tradition of Aldhelm's Irish education under Mealdubh, however, since the source for this information is William of Malmesbury's twelfth-century work on the abbots of Malmesbury; see *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, 6–7. Andy Orchard, on the other hand, reasserts the reliability of the story of Aldhelm's Irish education in *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 4–5.

<sup>23</sup> Crawford, *Anglo-Saxon Influence*, 95.

<sup>24</sup> Orchard, *Poetic Art*, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 178–91.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 191–228.

<sup>27</sup> Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, 214–16.

<sup>28</sup> McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning*, 2.403–04; Kaczynski, "Bede's Commentaries," 25.

<sup>29</sup> James, *Two Ancient English Scholars*, 11; also *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Godman, "Anglo-Latin *Opus Geminatum*," 217–220.

<sup>31</sup> Most of the available commentary on this dual work addresses either the prose version alone or the metrical version alone and so there is little ambiguity as to which version of the work is meant when the authors refer to *De virginitate* or "De virginitate." Since my analysis refers to both versions at the same time and to the twinned work as a whole, for the sake of clarity in the following discussion I will refer to the prose version as "Prosa de virginitate," the metrical version as "Carmen de virginitate," and the two works together as *De virginitate*.

<sup>32</sup> Aldhelm, "Prosa de virginitate," 228. Scott Gwara has challenged the idea that the women named along with Hildelith were nuns under her rule at Barking, positing instead that they may have been abbesses of other monasteries associated with Barking or in the area of Aldhelm's influence in the Introduction to *Prosa de uirginitate*, 48–50.

<sup>33</sup> See Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* (PL 23.282A–B); Ambrose, “De Viduis,” in *Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera*, ed. Gori, 2.5; Augustine, “De sancta virginitate,” §53; and Gregory, *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé, 1.6.

<sup>34</sup> Aldhelm, “Carmen de virginitate,” in *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald.191. [All translations of Aldhelm’s works are my own.] For examples of saints whose strength of mind Aldhelm notes, see in “Prosa de virginitate,” Athanasius, §32; Babilas, §33; Agatha, §41; and Justina, §43, to name just a few.

<sup>35</sup> Aldhelm, “Prosa de virginitate,” §39.

<sup>36</sup> Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church*, 109.

<sup>37</sup> Aldhelm, “Prosa de virginitate,” §1–4, 13–18.

<sup>38</sup> Aldhelm, “Carmen de virginitate,” 2767–69. Ælfric emphasizes this point for all Christians, lay and clergy, throughout his homily for the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, CH 2.29.

<sup>39</sup> See Galatians 3:28. See also Jerome’s brief explication of this verse in *Contra Rufinum*, §29.

<sup>40</sup> What we are able to know of Bede’s life and education has been well documented in such works as Hunter Blair *World of Bede*; Ward *Venerable Bede*; and Gerald Bonner, *Famulus Christi*.

<sup>41</sup> Ward, *Venerable Bede*, 8; Kaczynski, “Bede’s Commentaries,” 19.

<sup>42</sup> Hurst, introduction to *Catholic Epistles*, xvi.

<sup>43</sup> Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, 163.

<sup>44</sup> Bede, *In principium Genesis*, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Pars II, Opera Exegetica*, ed. Jones, Praefatio 18–29.

<sup>45</sup> Kelly, “Bede’s Use of Augustine,” 190.

<sup>46</sup> Bede, *In principium Genesis*, 1.837–39; Bede, *On Genesis*, 28. Cf. Augustine, *De trinitate*, 12.3.12, which Bede quotes in *Collectio Bedae presbyteri ex opusculis sancti Augustini in Epistulas Pauli Apostoli*, 187, translated by David Hurst in *Excerpts*.

<sup>47</sup> DeGregorio, “Venerable Bede,” 8.

<sup>48</sup> Bede, “Expositio Actuum Apostolorum,” in *Opera Exegetica*, ed. Hurst 48; Bede, *Acts of the Apostles*, 92.

<sup>49</sup> Augustine, *De trinitate*, 12.18.

<sup>50</sup> See, for example, his comments in “Alcuin, *De ratione animae*,” ed. Curry, §8.

<sup>51</sup> Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings, and Saints*, 1526–30.

<sup>52</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 228–33.

<sup>53</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 93. See also Coates’s comments in “Bishop as Benefactor, 533–34.

<sup>54</sup> George H. Brown, “Preservation and Transmission,” 164. See also *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, ed. Lapidge and Rosier, 101; Kaczynski, “Bede’s Commentaries,” 25; and Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings, and Saints*, ed. Godman, lxxv–lxxviii.

<sup>55</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 93.

<sup>56</sup> Colish, *Medieval Foundations*, 66–67.

<sup>57</sup> Otten, “Carolingian Theology,” 69.

<sup>58</sup> "Alcuin, *De ratione animae*," ed. Curry, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 1; also Clemoes, "*Mens absentia cogitans*," 63.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>61</sup> "Alcuin, *De ratione animae*," ed. Curry, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Scheck, *Reform and Resistance*, 48.

<sup>63</sup> Kaczynski, "Bede's Commentaries," 21.

<sup>64</sup> Scheck, *Reform and Resistance*, 69. Scheck does note one occurrence in which Alcuin, due to the nature of the text, must discuss Isidore's etymology of *vir* and *mulier*, but she goes on to note that, "The gendering of body and soul, though a commonplace among the Fathers, is rare in Alcuin's corpus" (48).

<sup>65</sup> "Alcuin, *De ratione animae*," ed. Curry, §6, pp. 55–56; §6, pp. 84–85.

<sup>66</sup> Cavadini, "Alcuin's *De Fide*," 142.

<sup>67</sup> Alcuin, "Epistola 305," in *Epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, 464; Alcuin, *Life and Letters*, 156.

<sup>68</sup> Jerome, *ad Galatas* (PL 26.369b); Jerome, *St. Jerome's Commentaries*, 151.

<sup>69</sup> Scheck, *Reform and Resistance*, 53.

<sup>70</sup> Alcuin, "Epistola 36" in *Epistolae*, ed. Dümmler; Alcuin, *Life and Letters*, 56.

<sup>71</sup> Ambrose, "De virginibus," ed. Gori, 1.2.8; Ambrose, "On Virginity," trans. Ramsey, 1.2.8.

<sup>72</sup> "Translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*," in *Alfred the Great*, trans. Keynes and Lapidge, 125.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>74</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, 8.

<sup>75</sup> Yorke, "Æthelwold and the Politics," 79–86. See also Jayakumar, "Reform and Retribution," 337–52; Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, 213; and Joyce Hill, "Making Women Visible," 153–67.

<sup>76</sup> Keynes, "King Æthelred's Charter," 471; Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*; Clayton, "Ælfric and Æthelred," 65–88 and "De Duodecim Abusiis," 141–63; and Upchurch, "A Big Dog Barks," 505–33, and "Shepherding the Shepherds," 54–74. For the events of the reign of Æthelræd "Unræd" II, see Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents*; Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred*; Lavelle, *Aethelred II*; Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*; and Howard, *Reign of Æthelred II*.

<sup>77</sup> Clayton, "Ælfric and Æthelred," 88; Clayton, "De Duodecim Abusiis," 159, 163; Upchurch, "Shepherding the Shepherds," 58; Upchurch, "A Big Dog Barks," 520 n. 65.

<sup>78</sup> "4, Old English Preface to the Translation of *Genesis*," in *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, 41–44. See also Crawford, "Ælfric's Preface to Genesis," in *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, 77. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Old English are my own.

<sup>79</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*, 112.

<sup>80</sup> Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 19.

<sup>81</sup> Cross, "Ælfric—Mainly on Memory," 135.

<sup>82</sup> See Ælfric's comments on his own early experiences as the student of a barely Latinate priest; "The Old English Preface to the Translation of *Genesis*," in *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, 116.

<sup>83</sup> See Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, 14; Hurt, *Ælfric*, 82; Leinbaugh, "Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* I," 209; Joyce Hill, "Ælfric: His Life and Works," 52–53; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 413.

<sup>84</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 11.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>86</sup> See Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin Mary and Apocryphal Gospels of Mary*.

<sup>87</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 418.

<sup>88</sup> Lapidge, "Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher," 110.

<sup>89</sup> Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, 120–21.

<sup>90</sup> "1a, Latin Preface to the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*," in *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, 9–12, "1b, Old English Preface to the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*," 5–13. Cf. Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 379–80.

<sup>91</sup> Grundy, *Books and Grace*, 267.

<sup>92</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 250–62.

<sup>93</sup> Hurt, *Ælfric*, 47.

<sup>94</sup> Clemoes, *Chronology*, 15; and Dekker, "Vernacularization," 93.

<sup>95</sup> Stoneman, "Ælfric's Translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbyteri*," 148–49.

<sup>96</sup> Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," 285.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>98</sup> "Ælfric's Translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbyteri*," ed. Stoneman, 263. According to Stoneman, the reference may be found in Bede, *In principium Genesis*, 1.3.1 and in Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 11.28.

<sup>99</sup> Alcuin, *Interrogationes Sigwulfi*, (PL 100,523C), *Interrogationes* 66–8.

<sup>100</sup> Ælfric, *Exameron Anglice*, 397–99.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De trinitate*, 12.20 and Cassian, *Conférences*, 5.6.

<sup>102</sup> Ælfric, *Exameron Anglice*, 397–99. Cf. Ælfric, *CH* I 1.136–42.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 465–66.

<sup>104</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 374. See also Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," 278. The opening sermon is titled "Natiuitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi," and there has been some disagreement among scholars as to whether or not Ælfric originally intended for this particular sermon to introduce his lives. Peter Clemoes opines that *LS* 16, "De memoria sanctorum" was originally intended to open the collection, but Leinbaugh argues that *LS* 1 was designed for that purpose. See Peter Clemoes, "Ælfric," 205; Leinbaugh, "Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* I," 192.

<sup>105</sup> Skeat, "Natiuitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi," *LS* 1.10–25. For the sake of brevity, each life, after being introduced, will be referred to by its number in Skeat's edition. Citations will be given by item number and line numbers: e.g., *LS* 1.1–3.

<sup>106</sup> For the identification and analysis of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae* and Alcuin's *De ratione animae* as sources for this material, see Bolton, "Alfredian Boethius," 406–7; Clemoes, "*Mens absentia cogitans*," 62–77; Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," 278–85; Leinbaugh, "Ælfric's *Lives of Saints I*," 191–211; and Leinbaugh, "Liturgical Homilies."

<sup>107</sup> Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," 285.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

<sup>109</sup> *LS*, 1.112–22. "Ælfric's favourite Trinitarian image ... is that of Augustine: the image in the human soul." Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation*, 35.

<sup>110</sup> Bede, *Collectio Bedae presbyteri ex opusculis sancti Augustini in Epistulas Pauli Apostoli*, Item 187. This work has not yet been edited or published, though a translation of the material found in the manuscripts has been published by David Hurst in Bede, *Excerpts*, #187.

<sup>111</sup> "5a, Latin Preface to *Lives of Saints*," in *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, 1–5, 11–27 and "5b, Old English Preface to *Lives of Saints*," 29.

<sup>112</sup> Joyce Hill, "Preservation and Transmission," 407 and 422.

<sup>113</sup> "Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*," *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, 248–49. See also Lendinara, "World of Anglo-Saxon Learning," 270. The Old English Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang charges priests to "geæmtigion hi silfe to gebedum 7 to rædingum, ... 7 to drihtlicum larum 7 to mænigfealdum larcraeftum" [make time for themselves for prayers and for reading, ... and for Godly learning and for various kinds of knowledge.] Napier, *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, §53.34–36. My translation.

<sup>114</sup> Hollis, "Anglo-Saxon Learning," 23–29.

<sup>115</sup> Wright, "New Latin Source," 248–56.

<sup>116</sup> Joyce Hill, "Translating the Tradition," 244.

<sup>117</sup> Wilcox, "5b, Old English Preface to *Lives of Saints*," 9–10.

<sup>118</sup> Wilcox, "5b, Old English Preface to *Lives of Saints*," 12.

<sup>119</sup> See Joyce Hill's comments concerning Ælfric's *translatio* of the *Catholic Homilies* in "Translating the Tradition," 245.

<sup>120</sup> Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 30.

<sup>121</sup> Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 48.

<sup>122</sup> Godden, "Experiments in Genre," 281–82.

<sup>123</sup> See the process described by Ursula Schaefer in "*Ceteris Imparibus*," 299–300.

<sup>124</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*, 113.

<sup>125</sup> See Horner, *Discourse of Enclosure*, 142–43 and Peter Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 81–83.

<sup>126</sup> Augustine, *De trinitate*, 9.11, 12.

<sup>127</sup> Ælfric, *CH* 1 25.167–68.

<sup>128</sup> Gregory, *Dialogues*, 16. [My translation]

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De trinitate*, 15.40, wherein he uses *amor* and *dilectio* as synonyms for *uoluntas*, and then comments that such love is will at its most effective.

Also *De trinitate* 15.42, in which Augustine speaks of the memory, understanding, and will ternary synonymously as memory, understanding, and love.

<sup>130</sup> *LS*, 1.79–81.

<sup>131</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 407.

<sup>132</sup> *LS*, 1.88–96, 100–01.

<sup>133</sup> Peter Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 1–2.