

“IBIMUS AMBO SIMUL QUO PAGINA UENERIT ISTA”

THE TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF ARATOR’S VERSE-LETTERS IN PRE-CONQUEST ENGLAND

RICHARD HILLIER

“THE TWO OF us shall travel together wherever this page goes.” So writes Arator at the end of the verse-letter to his childhood friend Parthenius. Clearly Arator intended the letter to be attached to and circulated alongside the *Historia apostolica* (hereafter *HA*), his epic retelling of the Acts of the Apostles, first declaimed in Rome in 544.¹ But what do we know about the transmission and reception not just of this letter but of all three of Arator’s verse-letters (to Vigilius, Florianus, and Parthenius), in particular in pre-Conquest England?²

Arator’s popularity in pre-Conquest England, especially in the seventh and eighth centuries, is well documented and hugely significant,³ for, aside from Venantius Fortunatus at the end of the sixth century and Paul the Deacon in the eighth, with a few significant exceptions, there is sparse surviving evidence of familiarity with the *HA* in Italy or the Frankish kingdoms until the ninth century, the era of the first surviving complete manuscripts and its frequent imitation in the poems of Carolingian writers.⁴

1 On Arator’s life, including the public recitation of the *HA*: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 1–33; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, vii–xxii; Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 251–59. Quotations from Arator follow the edition of Bureau and Deproost, unless otherwise stated.

2 Beyond the scope of this study are both the later glosses which became attached to the text and the prose *capitulationes* (chapter headings) and *tituli* (summaries) which, although included in the majority of the surviving manuscripts, were certainly not written by Arator and unlikely to have been a feature of the first copies of the *HA* to reach England. On the suggestion that an English centre or centres played a key role in their editing: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxxxiv–vii.

3 See e.g. Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 83–87, 111–14; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 178–79, 195–96, 232, 240, 248, 267, 281; and McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 226–28. Further reading on Arator’s influence on individual authors follows below at the relevant point.

4 Fortunatus: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 79–80, 259–60; Paul the Deacon: Arator,

That popularity is evident not from the survival of manuscripts written in English centres, for the earliest of the six codices probably copied in pre-Conquest England dates from no earlier than the tenth century,⁵ nor from Arator's presence in surviving booklists of English libraries, with the earliest dating only from the early eleventh century.⁶ Our evidence instead comes from the words of the Anglo-Latin writers themselves. Occasionally this is in the form of direct quotation: in their treatises on poetic metre, both Aldhelm and Bede illustrate their points with lines of Arator's verse,⁷ whilst in his commentary on Acts Bede quotes with approval Arator's exegesis and states explicitly, in its prefatory letter, that he found Arator's poem particularly helpful.⁸ In the late eighth century, Alcuin reveals, in his poem on the

Historia Apostolica, 80–81, 258. However, Arator was clearly known more than surviving evidence suggests. The earliest Italian manuscript fragments, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 66 (B), were written, probably in northeast Italy, at the turn of the seventh century (see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 475–76, no. 620.6); a verse mass-preface from the second half of the eighth century contained in the so-called *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, an early source for the Ambrosian Rite as celebrated in Milan, also quotes HA 1.338–39. Frankish kingdoms: the preface of another mass text (one of the so-called Mone-Messen), written probably in the middle of the seventh century, incorporates HA 1.338–69. Evidence from Spain is particularly lacking: Arator is absent from Isidore of Seville, *Versus in bibliotheca*, which otherwise lists Prudentius, Avitus, Juvenius, and Sedulius. For details and references: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 78–82.

5 London, British Library, MS Add. 11034 (beginning of the tenth century: V), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 570 (second half of the tenth century), Cambridge, University Library, Trinity College MS B. 14. 3 (end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century: C), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8092 (second quarter of the eleventh century: F), Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35 (mid-eleventh century), London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 17 (last quarter of the eleventh/first quarter of the twelfth century). See also London, British Library, MS Royal 15. A. v. (late eleventh/early twelfth century). On these manuscripts (respectively): Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 215–216 (no. 280), 505–6 (no. 660), 151–52 (no. 175), 642–43 (no. 890), 25–28 (no. 12), 419 (no. 523.5), 394–95 (no. 488). The offset fragments contained in Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 66 (B: see above n4), must also have been in England at least some time before the twelfth century when they were reused as cover binding. Sigla used here and elsewhere in this paper are those used in Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxcī–cxcīi.

6 Two copies appear in a booklist probably from Worcester; see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 140–43. For evidence from post-Conquest booklists: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 112.

7 Aldhelm: *De metris* (70–71, 80, 92–93, 153); Bede: *De arte metrica* 2, 3, 11.

8 *Expositio actuum apostolorum, praefatio*. lines 18–23. For a detailed examination of Arator's influence on this commentary: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 262–76.

bishops, kings and saints of York (*Carmina* 1), that Arator's work was in the library there.⁹

However, the information we need comes most frequently in the form of intertextuality, whether intentional and dynamic or unconscious incorporation of remembered reading.¹⁰ All forty-four episodes into which the continuous narrative of the *HA* was divided at some point before the beginning of the ninth century contain unique line-starts or cadences or expressions or word-combinations which were copied and incorporated, whether wittingly or not, by the Latin writers of pre-Conquest England.¹¹

But the poetry of Arator consists of more than just the *HA*, for the manuscripts attach to the poem one, two, or three accompanying letters, written in highly allusive and literary elegiac verse.¹² First there is a letter of gratitude and dedication to Pope Vigilius, which serves as the preface to the poem, included in every manuscript which contains the *HA* in its entirety.¹³ The remaining two letters are, in effect, sophisticated promotional pamphlets, intended to secure their recipients' assistance in the circulation of the work itself.

9 *Carm.* 1.1551.

10 For a nuanced discussion of intertextuality in late antiquity: Kaufmann, "Intertextuality in Late Latin Poetry," 149–75.

11 The index of quotations and allusions at Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 249–61 suggests intertexts from every episode except XXIII (*HA* 1.966–1006). However, "processit in altum" (*HA* 1.986) is incorporated into prose by Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Wilfridi I episcopi Eboracensis* 13; "gurgite Petrus" (*HA* 1.992) is the likely source of Aldhelm, *Enigmata praefatio* 20 "gurgite Cephal" (where Aldhelm substitutes Peter's alternative name to secure the letter L as the last as well as the first letter of the line in his double-acrostic poem); "placida statione" (*HA* 1.997) inspires Alcuin, *Carm.* 65.4a.14 "placida uobis statione." I have conservatively excluded any possible intertext found in an Anglo-Latin writer which (a) Arator could himself have copied from an earlier author, or (b) had already been copied from Arator by another author. The only exception to this rule is if an intertext occurs in an author (either before or after Arator) whom the Anglo-Latin poet is unlikely to have known, or if the number of corroborative intertexts is so great as to make it likely that they were drawn from Arator rather than an earlier or later source. These criteria inevitably risk underestimating the influence of the *HA* by excluding *bona fide* intertexts drawn from Arator rather than from his models and his intervening imitators.

12 For discussion of the letters: McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 174–86; Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 259–66; Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, 87–92.

13 For a list of manuscripts: McKinlay, *Arator: The Codices*. For more up-to-date descriptions of the most important manuscripts: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxiii–clxvi; Arator Subdiaconus, *Historia Apostolica*, 24–94. On the *Ep. ad Vig.* as preface: esp. Deproost, *L'apôtre Pierre dans une épopée du VI^e siècle. L'Historia apostolica d'Arator*, 58–73. Against: Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, 265–68.

The first of these, found almost as frequently in the manuscripts as that addressed to Vigilius,¹⁴ is written to Florianus, abbot of the unknown monastery of Romenum,¹⁵ and purports to be a request for his help in checking Arator's poem for errors. It is a perfect example of the literary *topos* of false modesty: the poet's aim is merely to flatter his reader and elicit his support in the promulgation of his poem.¹⁶

The last letter, found in only two manuscripts,¹⁷ is that addressed to Parthenius, nephew of the writer Ennodius (Arator's early mentor), kinsman of Ruricius of Limoges, and later *maior domus* of the Austrasian King Theudebert I.¹⁸ Arator begins by lauding Parthenius's rhetorical abilities and recalling the highlights of his career to date. After describing Parthenius as the one who had first encouraged him to write poetry on a religious theme, Arator reveals his true reason for writing, asking his old friend to bring his epic, approved by the pope himself, to the attention of the leading clergymen in Gaul,¹⁹ and voicing his hope that the letter be considered an essential companion to the poem.

By the time the first complete surviving manuscripts were written, therefore, the verse-letters (usually two, but occasionally just one, and very

14 Only Chartres, Médiathèque l'Apostrophe, MS 70 (completed by Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 15), written in the first third of the ninth century (**Y**: see Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 1:194 (no. 883)), Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 86, written probably before 876 (**Z**: see Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxxii–cxxiii), and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 1665, written in the eleventh century (see Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, 3:139–40), contain just the *HA* and the *Epistola ad Vigilium*. This last manuscript is particularly interesting: unless a folio containing the *Epistola ad Florianum* has disappeared from the beginning of the manuscript, it would imply that the “original” version of the Arator dossier was still circulating as late as the eleventh century.

15 Various identified as Romainmôtier in the Swiss canton of Vaud, an unknown monastery in the diocese of Milan, or Romeno in the northeast-Italian region of Trentino; Radiciotti, “Note su Floriano abate di Romeno e la cultura intellettuale in Italia alla metà del VI secolo.”

16 Arator's most recent editors take the request at face value and deduce that the letter was sent to Florianus with an earlier draft of the poem, genuinely asking for his approval; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, xx, cvi–cvii.

17 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2773 (**Θ**) and 9347 (**R**) (respectively Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 3:81 (no. 4226), 148 (no. 4570)).

18 On Parthenius: Bureau, “Parthenius, et la question de l'authenticité de la *Lettre à Parthenius* d'Arator,” 387–97; Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 18–22.

19 Notably Firminus, bishop of Uzès (d. 553), who was related to Parthenius by marriage; Bureau, “Parthenius,” 394.

rarely all three) were considered as essential components of the Arator dossier.²⁰ But was this the case in the two and a half centuries which separate the poem's publication and the first complete surviving manuscript? And, in particular, is it possible to establish whether any or all of the letters were known to the writers of pre-Conquest England?

As a quasi-scientific control, we can at least establish, from the evidence of intertexts, that all three letters were known to Venantius Fortunatus, probably from the time of his education in Ravenna in the middle of the sixth century, but potentially also in Aquitaine where he was living by the 570s, no more than thirty years after the poem's publication.²¹

Certainly, at least one copy of the Arator dossier containing the letters to Vigilius and Florianus must have reached England by the tenth century when the first manuscripts already mentioned began to be compiled.²² But, in order to answer the question, we have no alternative but to turn to the evidence of quotation and intertext, looking at writers from Aldhelm in the seventh century to Wulfstan at the turn of the eleventh.

As one would expect, the *Epistola ad Vigilium* (hereafter *Ep. ad Vig.*) appears, from the witness of citation and intertext, to have been well known throughout the pre-Conquest period. The earliest evidence comes in Aldhelm's *De metris*, where he quotes two lines from the Vigilius-letter as examples of elision:

20 The "authorial paratext" as opposed to the "editorial paratext," which comprised the *capitulationes*, the *tituli*, and the *relatio* (an account of the presentation of the poem to Pope Vigilius and its first public readings); Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cv–cx.

21 Venantius Fortunatus cites Arator explicitly as an author known to him at *Vita s. Martini* 1. 22–23 (CUF 336:7). See Appendix A below for a list of unique parallels between Fortunatus's verse and Arator's verse-letters.

22 Three or four of them at Canterbury: two at St. Augustine's (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg. 5. 35 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 570) and one or two at Christ Church (C and possibly London, Westminster Abbey, MS 17: thus Robinson and James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, 74). It has been argued that the five earliest manuscripts of probable English origin are interrelated (thus Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, clix–clxv): the putative lost manuscript π (see below 00) was the model for **V**, which also, however, shares characteristics with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16700 (**H**), written perhaps in Brittany in the mid-ninth century (Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 3:221 (no. 4983)); **V** then provided the text for **C**, which, however, drew its glosses from the same (English?) source as **Θ**, written in Reims in the mid-ninth century; **Γ**, written in England but taken to France by the eleventh century, is related to both **V** and **C**. In addition, both Gg. 5. 35 and Rawlinson C. 570 contain a poem attributed to a "John of Fulda," otherwise found only in **V**: see Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 108 with n622, 286–87.

et Arator subdiaconus primo uersu terminalem genitiui sillabam displodit
dicens “moenibus undosis bellorum incendia cernens” et infra elegiaco
uersu subiunxit “inque humeris ferimur te releuante piis”²³

And the subdeacon Arator in the first line elides the final syllable of the genitive, saying “When I watched the blazing battles from the resounding walls” and later in a pentameter line he added “And, as you relieve us of our burdens, we are carried on your loving shoulders.”

The first line quoted is the very beginning of the letter (*Ep. ad Vig.* 1), which he describes as “the first line,” meaning the first line of the Arator dossier which he had read or had in front of him. In other words, the Arator dossier began with the Vigilius-letter, clearly regarded as an indispensable introduction to the poem.²⁴

The second line quoted by Aldhelm (*Ep. ad Vig.* 6) is of equal interest, this time with regard to the transmission of the text of the Vigilius-letter, for “releuante” is found in not a single surviving manuscript of Arator, all of which give “reuocante,” the poet describing Vigilius as “calling back” his sheep, rather than “relieving their burden.” Yet the evidence of the *De metris* is more than one hundred years older than the earliest surviving text of the Vigilius-letter.²⁵ In addition, no manuscript of Aldhelm gives “reuocante” as an alternative reading.²⁶ It is an interesting textual puzzle. The decision of the most recent editors of Arator to replace the vulgate “reuocante” with “releuante” is certainly a bold one.²⁷

23 Aldhelm, *De metris* (80).

24 Aldhelm similarly uses “primo uersu” to indicate the first line of Phocas, *Ars de nomine et uerbo* (79) and Paulinus of Nola, *Natalicia* 4 [*Carm.* 15] (96). See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 181.

25 Probably Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 74 sup. (A; Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 2:158 (no. 2630)), copied at Saint-Denis for Dungal, who died in 828, the *terminus ante quem*: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxiv–cxv.

26 According to Ehwald’s 1919 edition (80), still the standard text, although it should be noted that his source-tracing is far from exhaustive. With regard to this current study, Ehwald lists only the two citations from the Vigilius-letter referred to here.

27 Thus Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 2 (with 188), following Licht, “Aratoris fortuna,” 178–79. It is possible that Aldhelm’s memory failed him, leading him instead to recall the start of Paulinus of Nola, *Natalicia* 4 [*Carm.* 15]. 21 (CCL 21:305) “te releuante iugum Christi leue noscimus” (we know that Christ’s yoke is light, since you relieve us of it), a poem from which he quotes elsewhere in *De metris* (see above n. 24) and four times in his *Carmen de uirginitate* (see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 183). If “releuante” is correct, the intertext is the work of Arator himself. He certainly knew Paulinus’s poetry in detail; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 483–84.

These two citations clearly indicate that the Arator dossier in the manuscript to which Aldhelm had access contained the Vigilius-letter. But there are also a number of possible intertexts in Aldhelm's verse which, whilst perhaps insufficient in themselves, when taken together point to Aldhelm's assimilation of the Vigilius-letter into his poetic armoury. In particular, we should note the influence of *Ep. ad Vig.* 23–24

metrica uis sacris non est incognita libris:
psalterium lyrici composuere pedes

The potency of poetic metre is not unknown in sacred texts:
it is lyric feet which make up the Psalter

in which Arator adduces the presence of poetry in the Bible, specifically in these lines the Psalms, as justification for rewriting scripture in verse. Thus in the preface to Aldhelm's *Enigmata* "metrica" is placed at the beginning of the line

metrica nam Moysen declarant carmina uatem
iamdudum cecinisse prisci uexilla tropei

For metrical poems show that the prophet Moses long ago sang of the
banners carried at his ancient victory

not found thus in earlier Latin apart from in Arator, as he similarly identifies the presence of poetry in the Old Testament, including in the Psalms.²⁸ At *Carmen de uirginitate* (hereafter *CdV*) 2769, Aldhelm writes "quin potius **sacros** uersant sub pectore **libros**" (rather they ponder holy books in their heart), with "sacros...libros" appearing with the same metrical quantity and in the same position in the line as Arator (and not found thus elsewhere in earlier verse).²⁹

It is this same couplet which Bede incorporates and adapts near the end of *De arte metrica*, declaring to the deacon Cuthbert "ita et in **metrica** arte, quae **diuinis non est incognita libris**, te solerter instruerem" (so that

²⁸ Aldhelm, *Enigmata praefatio* 17–18, referring to the song of Moses at Exod. 15:1–19 and (21–24) the Psalms, specifically Ps. 109:3. See also *Carmina ecclesiastica* 3.54, where Aldhelm places "psalterii" first in the line ("psalterii melos fantes modulamine crebro"), a position otherwise unique to Arator (*Ep. ad Vig.* 24), but influenced too by Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 2.9.53 (CUF 315:65) "stamina psalterii lyrico modulamine texens," a line itself influenced by Arator.

²⁹ Paulinus of Nola pairs "sacris" and "libris" three times, but with "sacris" following rather than preceding the third-foot caesura: *Ep.* 32.16 (CSEL 29:291), *Epistola ad Iouium* [*Carm.* 16] 1, *De obitu Celsi* [*Carm.* 31] 405 (CCL 21:566, 620). Prudentius also pairs the words but scanned as "săcris" rather than "sācris": *Apotheosis* 312, *Hamartigenia* 777 (CCL 126:87,142).

I may skilfully instruct you in the art of metrics, which is not unknown in sacred books): Bede's use of Arator here is typical of the way he adapts and assimilates rather than copying wholesale, thus for example his substitution of "diuinis" for "sacris," adding the implication that the poetry is not just sacred but divinely inspired.³⁰ The same couplet is cited again by Alcuin in his collectaneum *De laude Dei* as part of a lengthy quotation from the Vigilus-letter (lines 11–26).³¹

A second couplet also caught the imagination of the Anglo-Latin poets. The penultimate couplet (lines 27–28) of the *Epistola ad Vigilium* runs:

hoc tibi, magne pater, cum defero munus amoris,
respite quod meritis debita soluo tuis.

As I deliver this gift of love to you, noble father, have regard for the fact that
I am paying you what your merits are owed.

The fact that in these lines Arator himself includes a couple of intertexts, from Ovid³² and Paulinus of Nola,³³ makes tracking their influence particularly haz-

30 *De arte metrica* 25. See also, Bede, *Liber epigrammatum* 18b, the second *titulus* from the Codex Amiatinus, where the line-start "codicibus sacris," uniquely in Bede's verse, places "sācris" rather than "săcris" just before the third-foot caesura, whether recalling *Ep. ad Vig.* 23 directly or Aldhelm, *CdV* 2769. See also *Vita metrica s. Cudbercti (VMC)* 811 "praescius et **lyrico** resonabat ut ordine **psalmus**." The description of the psalms as "lyric" and the position of "lyrico" just before the third-foot caesura could suggest the influence of the Vigilus-letter here. On Bede's use of "unobtrusive allusion": Lapidge, *Bede the Poet*, 13 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*, 333). However, the description of the Psalms as "lyric" stems originally from Jerome, *In Hieremiam* 5.3 (25:1) (CCL 74:237) and *In Ezechielem* 9 (29:17–21) (CCL 75:415).

31 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Misc. Patr. 17, fol. 152v. In the absence of a printed edition, Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 231–33, gives a summary. Alcuin also uses the phrase "**non est incognita**" at *Ep.* 132.7, albeit in a different context, describing truth (*ueritas*); the litotes is not common in literary texts, but see Ambrose, *Ep.* 1.6.1 (CSEL 82.1:39) "non est incognitum." See also Israel the Grammarian, *De arte metrica super nomen et uerbum* 5–6 "sed quia **metrica uis** nonnullis docta magistris/naturam retinet," where "metrica uis," as well as the litotes "nonnullis docta" (compare Arator's "non...incognita"), stems from *Ep. ad Vig.* 23. However, although Israel's poem may have been compiled in England, he probably received his education on the continent, perhaps in Rome, where he is likely to have encountered Arator's poem and its accompanying letters: Lapidge, "Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England," 97–114 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, 87–104).

32 Ovid, *Fasti* 4.720 "Iunone inuita **munus amoris** habet," used as a cadence before Arator only by Optatianus Porphyrius, *Carm.* 3. 34 and after by Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 11.17.1 (CUF 374:125).

33 "**meritis debita soluo tuis**": see *Natalicia* 3 [*Carm.* 14].125–26 (CCL 21:303) "**meritisque redonet/debita nostra tuis**": Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 191.

ardous. We need therefore to exercise caution when tracing sources and look for a combination of features, rather than a simple parallel expression.

However, Alcuin starts one of his poems "suscipe, rex, paruum **magni modo munus amoris**" (receive, o king, the gift, albeit small, of my great love).³⁴ The combination of the cadence and the inclusion of the addressee ("rex") may indicate the influence of Arator. A generation later, influenced by both Arator and Alcuin, Ædiluulf wrote "suscipe, docte **pater**, dilecti **munus amici**" (receive, learned father, the gift of a beloved friend),³⁵ which, when taken with a number of other less obvious allusions, similarly indicates his knowledge of the Vigilius-letter.³⁶ But the clearest intertextual use of this couplet comes in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Epistola specialis* which prefaces his *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno* (hereafter *Narr.*) and in which he dedicates the poem to Bishop Alfheah. He alludes to the couplet, once near the start, at lines 15–16,

hoc tamen exiguum, quod **defero**, **munus amoris**
commendare **tibi**, **magne pater**, studui

Yet I was eager, noble father, to commend to you this small gift of my love
which I offer you.

and again near the end, at lines 323–24:

suscipe, queso, **tibi** quae **defero munera** patri
atque ea **quae meritis debita soluo tuis**

Receive, I pray, the gifts which I offer you my father, as well as the debts
owed to your merits which I am paying you.)

Even given the additional influence of Alcuin's "suscipe," the debt to the Vigilius-letter is self-evident. Wulfstan is one of Arator's most prolific borrowers, with two other unique intertexts taken from the Vigilius-letter:

34 Alcuin, *Carm.* 71.2.1. See too *Carm.* 62.186 "iam **magnum** reddes modico tu **munus amico**."

35 Ædiluulf, *De abbatibus* (*De abb.*) 19. The cadence "munus amici" is found at Martial 8.28.1 and various cognates elsewhere but none in a similar context to *Narr.* Ædiluulf may well have known Arator from the manuscript in the library at York, where the *Miracula Nyniae Episcopi* (MNE) may also have been written (see below n. 50). The MNE includes a unique near-repetition of the half-line "**carmina uera loquar**" (*Ep. ad Vig.* 20) at 284 "**carmina uera loquor**."

36 Ædiluulf, *De abb.* 251 "uitare periculum," is a cadence which has no model and may be an adaptation of *Ep. ad Vig.* 7 "euasisse periculum"; *De abb.* 157 "non cesso reddere grates" recalls *Ep. ad Vig.* 15 "grates si reddere cessem"; there seems to be no other model for the combination of *cessare* and *reddere*.

illius ut meritis queat **euasisse periculum** (*Narr.* 2.110)³⁷
 corporeum satis est sic **euasisse periculum** (*Ep. ad Vig.* 7)³⁸

and

post nec apostolicos **quos Lucas retulit actus** (*Narr. praefatio* 185)³⁹
 uersibus ergo canam **quos Lucas rettulit actus** (*Ep. ad Vig.* 19).⁴⁰

From the evidence of citation and intertextual allusion, it is clear that the *Epistola ad Vigilium* was an integral part of the Arator dossier in the manuscripts which reached England from the middle of the seventh to the end of the tenth centuries.

By contrast, when we turn to the *Epistola ad Parthenium* (hereafter *Ep. ad Parth.*), given its survival in only two manuscripts, both from a single centre, Reims, our expectations are understandably low, the absence of the letter from the vast majority of manuscripts always having been taken as an indication of its limited circulation.⁴¹

So, is there any indication that Aldhelm, the first real witness to the arrival of the Arator dossier in England, knew the Parthenius-letter? There are two tantalizing hints, both involving the imitation of words ascribed “incorrect” vowel quantities by Arator, or perhaps, more accurately, where Arator’s witness to the gradual evolution and flexibility of Latin vowel quantities is imitated by Aldhelm. Given his interest and expertise in Latin metrics, Aldhelm would certainly have been alert to such features. However, in both cases it is possible that Aldhelm’s model was a different author. Thus Aldhelm writes “uerēcundia” rather than “uerēcundia” (*CdV* 1471), just as Arator, for the first time in Latin, writes “uerēcunde” (*Ep. ad Vig.* 6), at the same place in the line. However, the same quantity was used frequently by Venantius Fortunatus, a poet well known to Aldhelm.⁴² Similarly, Aldhelm writes “mānauit” (*CdV* 1833) instead of “mānauit,” just as Arator uses the

37 “So that through his merits she might be able to escape the danger.”

38 “It is enough that I thus escaped a danger to my life.”

39 “Nor since the apostolic Acts which Luke related.”

40 “Accordingly I shall sing in verse the Acts which Luke related.” For a full list of likely intertexts, see Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 261.

41 See, most recently, Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cvii–cviii, and Niskanen, *Publication and the Papacy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 37–40.

42 Thus e.g. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 6.1.56 (CUF 346:45); also at Maximian, *Elegies* 3.23, 61, 5.55, poems seemingly not known in pre-Conquest England. The “error” was therefore not first made by Aldhelm, *pace* Lapidge, *Bede’s Latin Poetry*,

same word with the same scansion (*Ep. ad Parth.* 47).⁴³ However, the same quantity is also found in Caelius Sedulius's *Paschale carmen*, a work which Aldhelm knew well.⁴⁴ On balance, one must conclude that there is insufficient evidence to prove Aldhelm's knowledge of the longest of Arator's verse-letters.

So, what about Bede, who, as we have seen, explicitly cites the Vigilius-letter? If we look in his writings for evidence of knowledge of the Parthenius-letter in eighth-century Northumbria, we do so in vain.⁴⁵ We should, however, at this point note one expression in Bede which has been seen as influenced by the Parthenius-letter.⁴⁶ In his letter to Bishop Acca, Bede refers to the "flowers of allegory" (*flores allegoriae*) which he has taken from Arator's poem. Does this suggest knowledge of *Epistola ad Parthenium* 75–76?

65n207. For Fortunatus in Aldhelm: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 187–88. Bede similarly writes "uērēcundans" at *Versus de die iudicii* 70, presumably influenced by Aldhelm.

43 This is the reading of all the manuscripts. However, Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 153 (with 454–55), contains the conjectural "micauit" (and "gemino uergentibus" for "geminoque mǎnantibus" at *HA* 2.545).

44 1.156 (CSEL 10:27). Alcuin, who certainly knew the *Ep. ad Parth.*, also follows Arator's scansion (although he also knew Sedulius and Aldhelm) at *Carm.* 17.9 and 45.40. The "faulty" quantity appears too in Ps.-Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* 2.3 (MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 14:271), unknown in pre-Conquest England, however. Interestingly, Fortunatus uses *mānare* consistently, e.g. *Carm.* 3.9.49 (CUF 315:101).

45 Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 193, suggests *Ep. ad Parth.* 85–86 as a potential parallel for *VMC* 36–38. The sentiment contained in these lines undoubtedly shows knowledge of *HA* 1.226–27. However the phrase "digne fari" (*VMC* 36) seems more likely to be a reminiscence of exactly the same expression at Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 23.19.36 (CCL 143B:1171), a work known well by Bede (Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 210–11), than "digna loqui" (*Ep. ad Parth.* 86); similarly "tua dona canenti" (*VMC* 38) is closer to Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon* 17 (CSEL 16:292) "tua dona canentem" than to "noua uerba canenti" (*Ep. ad Parth.* 86). If editors have not yet found evidence for Bede's knowledge of Paulinus of Pella, it is possible that he was known by Aldhelm: Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 218. In addition, "te sine nam...tua" (*VMC* 36) echoes Paulinus of Nola, *Natalicia* 2 [*Carm.* 13].15 (CCL 21:296) "te sine, nam tua." Other potential parallels in Bede's verse can be accounted for similarly: *Versus de die iudicii* 91 "dudum fuerant" could imitate *Ep. ad Parth.* 49 "dudum fuerat," but more probably Avitus, *Historia spiritalis* 2.38 (SC 444:192), a work which Bede quotes several times, including the three preceding lines (2.35–37: thus Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 204); at *VMSC* 39, *Ep. ad Parth.* 5 is suggested as a parallel for "ab aeuo" (Bede, *Bede's Latin Poetry*, 194); however, its presence at Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 2.2.97 (also referenced by Lapidge) with "primo" similarly earlier in the line (absent in Arator), makes this the certain model.

46 See McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 227–28.

cumque simul uiolas et lilia carpere mallet
 quae uetus atque nouus congeminauit odor

And since I preferred to pick at the same time the violets and lilies which the
 old and new perfume combined

There are two problems with this suggestion. First, there is not the slightest verbal parallel between the two passages, merely the possibility that Bede's "flowers" refer to Arator's "violets and lilies." Secondly, the argument depends on Arator's "violets and lilies" referring to the opportunities for allegorical interpretation presented by both the Old and New Testament. However, it is not at all clear that this is Arator's intention. He means that he wants to deal with both Old and New Testament themes ("uetus atque nouus...odor"). Although it is true that most of his references to the Old Testament feature as part of his allegorical exegesis, the mention of flowers here does not in itself refer to the use of allegory.⁴⁷ This seems to be insufficient grounds for concluding that Bede was acquainted with the Parthenius-letter.⁴⁸

47 McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity*, 185, links this passage with two fleeting images in Sedulius, *Pasch. carm.* 1.41–42 (the perfume of the Law, that is the OT) and 1.277–78 (his poem as soft lilies and purple violets) (CSEL 10:18, 36). However, Arator's reference to the perfume of both the OT and the NT suggests that he is remembering *Physiologus* 9.15 (*Physiologus Latinus*, 20), a work he knew well (see Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles*, 180–93): the phoenix represents the Saviour who, "descending from heaven filled both his wings with the sweetest perfumes ("odoribus"), that is the narratives ("sermones") of the New and Old Testament." And, although violets and lilies are regularly juxtaposed in the classical poets, if usually included with other flowers as part of a list (thus e.g. Virgil, *Ecl.* 2.45–48, Ovid, *Fasti* 4.437–42), there are two well-known passages which may have been in Arator's mind: Augustine, *Conf.* 10.8.13 (CCL 27:162), describes being able to distinguish between the different scents of violets and lilies, even when merely imagining them; even more pertinently Ovid, *Met.* 5.392, has Proserpina playing in an idyllic grove where it is perpetual spring: "ludit et aut **uiolas** aut candida **lilia carpit**." Like Proserpina, Arator can pluck in turn both violets and lilies: he does not need to choose between OT and NT themes.

48 Compare the prologue of the ninth-century *Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica* 9–10 (MGH PLAC 3:5), where the author refers to a previous biblical poet: "hic uetus atque nouum mira permiscuit arte,/floribus ornatum composuitque librum" (the former [poet] mingled old and new with amazing skill and composed a book which was decorated with flowers). Although this immediately precedes his reference to Arator and must therefore refer to either Juvenius or Sedulius, the terminology is borrowed from *Ep. ad Parth.* 75–76. Allegory is neither mentioned nor implied: the floral decoration is the poetic embellishment of the biblical text.

For convincing evidence, we need to turn to York at the end of the eighth century and the poems of Alcuin, first his verse account of the destruction of Lindisfarne (*Carmina* 9) and his assertion that those who gain the prize of martyrdom through their defeat in war,

stemma iam gaudet belli, qui **stemma uincit** (*Carmina* 9.225)

He now rejoices in the nobility of war whose nobility is the cause of his victory."

Alcuin is influenced here by Prudentius, who uses *stemma* to mean the glory of martyrdom near the beginning of his *Peristephanon*.⁴⁹ However, the cadence itself reproduces, only slightly modified, the cadence of line 3 of the Parthenius-letter, a line-ending which appears nowhere else in Latin verse, "tu stemmata uincis," where Arator declares that Parthenius surpasses his noble birth in his personal qualities. Another line of Alcuin's verse proves conclusively that Arator was his inspiration. In *Carmina* 1, as the poet introduces St. Cuthbert to his narrative for the first time, he declares that, as the saint moved from boyhood to manhood

moribus et meritis statim succreuit honestis (*Carmina* 1.648)

he "increased in the honourable nature of his character and of his merits." The first half of Alcuin's line is taken directly from the Parthenius-letter in the line immediately following the cadence quoted above. Having mentioned briefly Parthenius's grandfathers and great-grandfathers, Arator declares:

tu **stemma uincis**

moribus et meritis cedit origo tuis (*Ep. ad Parth.* 3–4)

You surpass your own pedigree in your character and your lineage retreats before your merits.

There can be no doubt that Alcuin was thinking of Arator's verse-letter in both cases.⁵⁰ And, while the date of the other poems may be uncertain, it is agreed that *Carmina* 1 was composed at York, before Alcuin left England for

⁴⁹ Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, 1.4 (CCL 126:251) "pollet hoc felix per orbem terra Hibera stemmate."

⁵⁰ As with *stemma*, discussed above, Alcuin repurposes his borrowing: "moribus" and "meritis," first juxtaposed by Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* 1.6.8), originally in separate clauses now form the single unit "in character and merit." Elsewhere the cadence of *Carm.* 62.28 "**forte meretur**" is probably adapted from *Ep. ad Parth.* 59 "**forte mereretur**" (whilst "**forte merebor**" is also found as the cadence of Dracontius, *Romulea* 8.516 (CUF 337:34), Alcuin may not have known more than the *De Laudes Dei*: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 232).

the first time.⁵¹ It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Alcuin encountered it in the manuscript which was in the library at York, which must therefore have contained both the Parthenius-letter and the Vigilius-letter, as well as the *HA* itself.⁵² However, there is scant evidence to suggest that the Parthenius-letter was known elsewhere in pre-Conquest England.⁵³

51 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 228–29.

52 It is possible but far from certain that the author of the *MNE*, who knew the *HA* well (see Hillier, “Dynamic Intertextuality”), also knew the Parthenius-letter: *MNE* 150 “presbiter interea baptiste **munere functus**” shares with *Ep. ad Parth.* 21 “quo directus eras legati **munere functus**” a cadence not found in classical verse (although the words occur earlier in the line at Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.9.12 and *Metamorphoses* 10.273); however, it is perhaps more suggestive of a mid-fifth-century *titulus* from a cemetery on the Via Latina in Rome (Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo*, 210–11 (no. 104:1–2)) “prae-fixo moriens naturae **munere functus**,/hic mea Tigrinus **presbyter** ossa loco,” preserved in the “Fourth Lorsch Sylloge,” a collection which seems to have been circulating in England from the seventh century (Lapidge, “The Career of Aldhelm,” 54–56). I am very grateful to Christopher Scheirer for this observation. My previous observation (“Dynamic Intertextuality,” 167) that *MNE* 155 “late per **populos** prouulgans ore **loquelas**” imitates *Ep. ad Parth.* 29 “exiit in **populo** solidae pinguedo **loquela**” is unlikely to be correct, since the first half of *MNE* 155 (as well as of 10, 71 and 98) clearly copies the line-start of Aldhelm, *Aldhelm, Aenigmata/Enigmata, praefatio* 19. If the Ninian-poet did know the *Ep. ad Parth.* (from the same manuscript known by Alcuin), this might support the argument that his poem was written in York: esp. Orchard, “Wish You Were Here,” 21–43. Similarly, the opening line of the preface of Ædiluulf, *De abb.* 1 “sume, pater, **placidus** modulantis uota **poete**” contains a reminiscence of *Ep. ad Parth.* 41, “cantabas **placido** dulcique lepore **poetas**”: nowhere else in earlier Latin literature do these two words fall similarly in the hexameter line. If Ædiluulf received his education at York, he too may have had access to the same MS. For Ædiluulf’s knowledge of Arator: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 249. On his familiarity with works at York: Lapidge, “Ædiluulf and the School of York,” 161–78 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*, 381–98).

53 Wulfstan, *Narr.* 2.833 “uenerabilis ille sacerdos” is identical to the second half of *Ep. ad Parth.* 93 and occurs nowhere else in Latin literature. However, the cadence “ille sacerdos” originates in Ovid, *Fasti* 3.699 and 6.231 and had already been copied at Dracontius, *Laudes Dei* 3.105 (CUF 284:21). See also Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 5.16.1 “uenerabilis arce sacerdos.” It is thus likely that Wulfstan alighted on the phrase independently, also writing at *Narr.* 1.455 “sacer ille sacerdos.” From the middle of the tenth century, Frithegod, *Breuiloquium* 483 “lingua pudorem” copies exactly a cadence which is previously found only at *Ep. ad Parth.* 7; in addition, *Breu.* 328 “Hesperiumque decus” hints at *Ep. ad Parth.* 102 “Partheniumque decus,” but see Bede, *VMC praefatio* 31 “aethereumque decus,” itself possibly modelled on Claudian, *Carmina minora* 11.4 “egregiumque decus,” as well as *Carm. maiora* 7.175 “o decus aetherium.” Frithegod’s poem has been insufficiently sourced to know whether he was acquainted, as was Bede, with Claudian, although there would appear to be no evidence of knowledge of Claudian’s *Carmina minora* (as opposed to the

By contrast, when we turn to the *Epistola ad Florianum* (hereafter *Ep. ad Flor.*), we find a very different situation. From the evidence of citation and intertext it would appear that no writer in pre-Conquest England was familiar with this letter, despite its presence in almost all the manuscripts from the ninth century onwards.⁵⁴

Perhaps the Florianus-letter did not contain poetic diction which was considered worthy enough of citation, attractive enough to imitate, or sufficiently memorable to give rise to unconscious emulation; or perhaps it was simply too short, consisting of only twelve elegiac couplets, for many reminiscences to be likely. However, the evidence from continental Europe would suggest the contrary. We have already mentioned the example of Venantius Fortunatus, who appears to have known all three letters, and whose poems contain very close parallels with two line-starts from the Florianus-letter.⁵⁵ In addition, there are a number of clear references to the letter in the verse and prose of continental Latin writers, from the end of the eighth century to the eleventh.⁵⁶ I would suggest, therefore, bearing in mind that absence of

Carmina maiora) in pre-Conquest England: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 113–14, 205 (Bede), 175 (Frithegod). However, if Frithegod is the Frankish Fredegaut, he may have encountered the Parthenius-letter in Francia: Lapidge, "A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England," 45–65 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, 157–81).

54 The line-start of Aldhelm, *CdV*. 2800 "**e quibus in** praelo plantis contunditur uua" is too mundane to be a convincing echo of *Ep. ad Parth.* 4 "**e quibus in** caelum uita pararet iter" (Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 149 (with 448) replaces "pararet" (found in the majority of MSS) with the conjectural "paretur"). Aldhelm, *Aenigmata/Enigmata*, 96.1 "**ferratas acies** et denso milite turmas" is adduced by Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 235, as a possible parallel with *Ep. ad Flor.* 21 "et qui **ferratas acies** atque agmina rumpunt." However, a more likely influence would be the earlier line-starts of either or both of Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 5.48 (CCL 126:24) "**ferratasque acies** clangere classicum" (thus Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, 231) and Cyprianus Gallus, *Heptateuch: Iudices* 203 (CSEL 23:186) "**ferratasque acies** nongentis curribus implet." See too Dracontius, *Romulea* 5.28 (Collection des Universités de France 323:148) "inter **ferratas acies** lituosque sonantes." Wulfstan, *Narr. praefatio* 128 "**ferratas acies** et quae strauere feroces" is again more likely to be a direct citation of Aldhelm. In addition, Aldhelm's use of "in the first line," when quoting the opening of the Vigilius-letter in *De metris* (80), would make no sense if the Arator dossier began with the Florianus-letter (see above n. 24).

55 See Appendix 1 below: *Ep. ad Flor.* 15–16.

56 See Appendix B below. However, two examples deserve discussion, both of which independently cite *Ep. ad Flor.* 7–8: "ieiuno sermone quidem sed pingua gesta/scripsimus" (Undernourished, admittedly, is my style, but rich are the exploits about which I have written). The first, from the ninth century, comes at *Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica* 2.6 (MGH PLAC 3:25) "arenti **sermone quidem, sed pingua**

citation does not prove absence of the text, that the Florianus-letter was not known to writers in England in the pre-Conquest period.⁵⁷

In summary, the evidence of citation and intertext suggests that the Arator dossier which reached England in the seventh century and remained the standard form in which the poet was known throughout the pre-Conquest period contained only the *Epistola ad Vigilium*, preceding the *HA* to which it formed the preface. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that there was a tradition, albeit represented by only three surviving manuscripts, whereby the Arator dossier contained only the Vigilus-letter, even as late as the eleventh century.⁵⁸

At some point in the eighth century another manuscript also containing the *Epistola ad Parthenium* was brought to York, where it influenced those writers who had access to it. But there is no evidence that the *Epistola ad Florianum* was known in England at all until the tenth century, when the first surviving manuscripts were copied in Canterbury, all of them containing the Florianus-letter before the Vigilus-letter (but none of them the Parthenius-letter).⁵⁹ And even then there is no evidence that the letter was known by

gesta. The poet changes only the first word, from “undernourished” to “parched,” in the process losing Arator’s antithetical play between “ieiuno” and “pinguia” (lit. “fat”). The same line is cited in the middle of the eleventh century by Bertha, abbess of Vilich in Franconia, in the opening chapter of her life of the abbess Adelheid, this time in full, if slightly reordered and subsumed into her prose: “**ieiuno quidem sermone, sed pinguia gesta** me pronuntio **scripsisse**” (*Vita Adelheidis abbatissae* 1 (MGH SS 15.2:756)). The contexts are very similar, both writers employing the *topos* of false modesty to excuse the inadequacy of their speech to describe acts of such significance. In addition, there are major illustrations accompanying the Arator dossier in just three manuscripts: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 412 (319 bis) (**U**), late-ninth-century (fol. 43r); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm MS 19451 (Tegernsee 1451) (**M**), eleventh-century (p. 16); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 3552 (McKinlay, *Arator: The Codices*, 37–38 (no. 62)), twelfth-century (fol. 2v). All three depict Arator presenting his work, not to Vigilus, as one might expect, but to Florianus. The letter clearly caught the imagination. For more detail: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 96–97 with n. 546.

57 The situation had changed by the twelfth century. The *Vita anonyma s. Aedwardi uersific* 6.17–18, dating from the first half of the century, based on Ælred of Rievaulx’s prose life and dedicated to Abbot Lawrence of Westminster, contains an unmistakable imitation of *Ep. ad Flor.* 10 “**maxima cum teneas**,” in a not dissimilar context, discussing the reading habits of Abbot Lawrence, who cannot get his fill of reading about the saint: “**plurima cum teneas**, tibi pauca uidentur, abundant/**scripta**, sed ardenti non satis ista siti.”

58 See above n. 14.

59 *Ep. ad Flor.* is in every case at the start of dossier, except in **Θ**, where *Ep. ad Parth.* precedes it.

later Anglo-Latin writers, not even by Wulfstan of Winchester, who otherwise imitates Arator frequently at the end of the tenth century.⁶⁰

We must turn now to the question of where in England the earliest copies of the Arator dossier were located. Where, for example, did Aldhelm encounter Arator? Wherever he first studied Virgil, whether it was in Ireland or Iona, there is nothing to suggest that Arator was already known there.⁶¹ The most likely answer must be that Aldhelm first read Arator in Canterbury during his period of study at the school of Theodore and Hadrian, for an unknown period between 670 and 680.⁶² Did Theodore and Hadrian bring the copy of Arator with them? Or did it arrive earlier in the century, in the wake of the Augustinian mission? Bede explicitly states that books were sent out from Rome to support Augustine's work in 601.⁶³ Whenever it arrived, it is highly probable that the copy or copies came directly from Rome. This fact would explain why the dossier contained only the Vigilius-letter: the other two letters would not have formed part of the original codex, published in Rome, and deposited in the papal archives.⁶⁴

At the beginning of the eighth century, it would seem equally clear that the copy or copies available in Northumbria to Bede were also likely to have come from Rome, probably brought by Benedict Biscop on returning from

60 The fact that the *Ep. ad Flor.* is glossed in manuscripts of pre-Conquest English origin does not indicate that it was studied in England. The glosses originated in ninth-century France and travelled with the text as it was copied: Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in Anglo-Saxon England," 116–27 (= Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*, 483–98).

61 For discussion of the alternatives: Ireland, "Where Was King Aldfrith of Northumbria Educated? An Exploration of Seventh-Century Insular Learning," 29–73.

62 The uncertainty over how long Aldhelm spent in Canterbury makes it difficult to assess how much he could have read there. It was certainly where he undertook the study of metrics which enabled him to write *De metris*: Ruff, "The Place of Metrics in Anglo-Saxon Latin Education: Aldhelm and Bede," 153–54. The longer the period, the more explicable the breadth of his reading: Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," 48.

63 *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.29.1 "necnon et codices plurimos."

64 Did Aldhelm know Arator before going to Canterbury? Burginda, writing in the south-west, possibly Bath, at the turn of the eighth century, also knew Arator: Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 218–19. Aldhelm might have brought a copy back with him from Canterbury; it might have been acquired by someone such as Offor, bishop of Worcester at the end of the seventh century and a famous traveller, or of course by someone else of whom we know nothing: Dumville, "Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England," 103; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 193–94.

one of his trips there in the 670s and 680s.⁶⁵ Again, if they came direct from Rome, this would explain the absence of the Parthenius- and Florianus-letters.⁶⁶

The situation changes in the second half of the eighth century when a manuscript must have arrived in York, containing the Parthenius-letter. Although Alcuin records the contents of the extensive library as having belonged to Archbishop Ælberht, from whom he was to inherit it, it is equally possible that many of the volumes were acquired by Ecgbert, Ælberht's predecessor.⁶⁷ Both would have travelled to Rome to receive the *pallium* and could have collected books there.

But why was there suddenly a copy containing the letter to Parthenius? The logical conclusion would be that the York manuscript was acquired somewhere in the Frankish kingdoms, if not in Reims itself, where the two surviving manuscripts appear to have been copied.⁶⁸ Bede records the fact that Benedict Biscop bought books in the Frankish town of Vienne, to be collected on the return leg of his trip to Rome.⁶⁹ It is quite possible, therefore, that Ælberht or Ecgbert could have done the same or similar en route to or from Rome.

How does this theory accord with current thinking about the complicated transmission of Arator's text? The most recent editors of the *HA* surmise that the oldest and most accurate witnesses of the text stem from a putative archetype (α), possibly sent to Parthenius himself, containing all three letters, deposited in the area of Reims.

65 *Historia abbatum* 4, 6, 9, 11, 15.

66 Bede, *De octo quaestionibus* 1.1 (= *Aliquot quaestionum liber* 2), also famously refers to having seen an illustrated book belonging to Cuthwine (Cuduini) of Dunwich (in Suffolk) in the first half of the eighth century, which, on the basis of its inclusion of a picture of the scourging of St. Paul (Acts 22:24–25), has sometimes been thought to have been a copy of the *HA*, possibly because Cuthwine is known also to have possessed an illustrated copy of Sedulius's *Paschale carmen* and thus perhaps a taste for biblical epic, or perhaps just for illustrated manuscripts. The suggestion was first made by Traube, "Palaeographische Anzeigen III," 277–78, and has often been repeated; thus Dumville, "Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England," 104n56, 111. Bede's reference to Paul's "passiones siue labores," however, not dwelt on by Arator, makes the suggestion unlikely. Love, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," 1:616, refers to the various possibilities.

67 Dumville, "Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England," 104.

68 On the arrival in England of manuscripts from Reims a century later: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 49 with n. 87.

69 Bede, *Historia abbatum*, 4.

The editors further suggest that this archetype (α) gave rise to two separate transmissions: α' resulted in the two manuscripts containing all three letters; α'' was represented by a lost manuscript which made its way, at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, to England where it was copied and subjected to scholarly "correction" before returning to France as the lost manuscript π , which contained both the Florianus- and Vigilius-letters but not that to Parthenius, this last dropped from the dossier, perhaps because it was not contained in other manuscripts of equal antiquity.⁷⁰ A copy of this lost manuscript survives as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12284 (**P**), written in the first quarter of the ninth century, at or near Corbie, in the north of the Frankish kingdoms.⁷¹

The big mystery remains the lack of evidence for knowledge of the Florianus-letter in England, given its presence in all but two of the complete manuscripts which survive from the ninth century onwards. However, there are two more pieces of evidence which I would like to consider in this regard.

First, looking again at the Paris manuscript (**P**) just mentioned, the Arator dossier would appear to begin with the Florianus-letter, followed by the Vigilius-letter. However, on closer inspection, it is clear that the Florianus-letter was inserted afterwards, added in a different and much later Carolingian minuscule and observing "normal" verse lines, as opposed to the *sermone plano* layout (as if in prose) of the Vigilius-letter which follows it. It is also written, clearly an afterthought, on a conveniently empty page.⁷² Undoubtedly, therefore, the original version of the dossier in this manuscript began with the Vigilius-letter, mirroring the form of the Arator dos-

70 See Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxxx–cxl, who also (cvii–cviii) suggests that it might have slipped out of the dossier accidentally, being placed either before or after the rest of the Arator dossier and therefore not recognized as an authentic part of the corpus. I am unsure of the likelihood of this assumption. In **R** the Arator dossier is written by at least three hands, with the *Ep. ad Parth.* at the end; in **Θ** the *Ep. ad Parth.* is clearly a later addition, added to the front of the dossier. Neither manuscript gives firm grounds for thinking that they are the product of a transmission which included all three verse-letters. Significant variance between the two texts could suggest that they were copied from separate manuscripts and added to the dossier.

71 Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog*, 3:196 (no. 4818). For description: Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, cxv–cxvi; McKinlay, *Arator: The Codices*, 20–21 (no. 28).

72 Fol. 55v, the reverse of the folio containing the end of Bede's *Expositio actuum apostolorum*: see Figure 2.1. I am very grateful to Colleen Curran for her palaeographic advice. The omission of the prose salutation ("domino sancto, uenerabili et in Christi gratia spiritaliter erudito Floriano abbati, Arator subdiaconus") at the head of the letter is of no great significance: although some Insular manuscripts also omit it, namely **V** (fol. 3r), **C** (fol. 5r), and Rawlinson C. 570 (fol. 1v), the others do not (see also the apparatus criticus at Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, 149).

Qui merita florem maturis sensib; ætun.
 Hominis ore tui iam flouante tenes.
 Nā primæuis adhuc sensib; documenta dedisti
 Equibus incelū uita parare rita.
 Ad carmen concurre meū. pedib; que labanti
 Perage de placido fauore manu;
 Iuueno sermone quidē sed pinguis gesta
 Scripsimus. ac pelagi pondere gutta fuit.
 Int grandiloquos p mille uolumina libros
 Maxima cū teneas ^{hæc} breuiora lege.
 Naturæque modo quā rerū condidit auctor
 Concordent. studis celsa ut ima tuis.
 Que genuit tigres que nutrit tæra leones
 For micis apib; prebuit ipsa sinū.
 Et si resptas dispensa ut omā rector
 Ingenium mitos uita meruerit truces.
 Ipsaq; continuū uirt' infracta labore
 Deserit & uarias que rit habere uices.
 Loricā solit' membris imponere miles
 Gymnasi nudus gaudet adire locū.
 Et qui ferratas acies atq; agmina rūpant.
 Imbelles ferunt p sua tela feras.
 Ergo graduū retinens & prisca uolumina linquens
 Cede dies operi quod pia causa iuuat.

Figure 2.1. The beginning of the Arator dossier in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12284: left (fol. 55v), the subsequently inserted *Ep. ad Flor.*; right (fol. 56r), the *Ep. ad Vig.* which originally headed the dossier.
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

sier which I have suggested was the most common one in circulation in pre-Conquest England.

The second consideration is *the* relationship between **P** and the offset fragments of the *HA*, preserved as **B**, copied at least two hundred years earlier.⁷³ **B** was reused as book binding in Canterbury in the twelfth century but presumably came to England much earlier than that, to be read and studied, not merely to be recycled. Both manuscripts are written *sermone plano* and contain identical errors in several places. Arator's first modern editor concluded that **P** was copied from a source closely related to **B**, which suggests that if the early fragment were complete, it too might have contained only the Vigilius-letter.⁷⁴

I would propose, therefore, that there were three different Arator dossiers from the very beginning: one attaching to the *HA* just the Vigilius-letter, one the Vigilius-letter and the Florianus-letter, and one the Vigilius-letter and the Parthenius-letter.⁷⁵ The version of the Arator dossier which arrived in England at some point in the seventh century, probably from Rome, contained the *Epistula ad Vigilium* and the *HA*, but not the two "covering letters." This version was then "corrected," with reference to other copies making their way mainly from Italy. The "English" version then returned to the continent to become the source of **P**, to which the Florianus-letter was later added by another hand from a continental source on a spare page.⁷⁶

If this theory is correct, then the assumption of Arator's latest editors that the two manuscripts written in Reims (**R** and **Θ**) bear witness to an archetype which contained all three letters may need to be reconsidered. The evidence from pre-Conquest England suggests that it is more likely that the two manuscripts merely brought together for the first time the letters to Florianus and Parthenius, adding them to the core dossier of the Vigilius-letter and the *Historia apostolica* itself. Until then, there never was a "complete works of Arator." And certainly not in pre-Conquest England.

73 See nn. 4–5 above.

74 McKinlay, "Studies in Arator, II," 96.

75 If this is correct, then Venantius Fortunatus knew two different copies, one with the Florianus- and another with the Parthenius-letter.

76 It is significant that **P** contains only the Arator dossier, sandwiched between Bede's *Expositio actuum apostolorum* and his *Expositio apocalypsis*, perhaps arguing for it having been copied from an English manuscript.

Appendix A

Remembered Reading: Evidence for Knowledge of Arator's Letters in Venantius Fortunatus¹

Arator	Venantius Fortunatus
<i>Ep. ad Vig. 8</i> at mihi plus animae nascitur inde salus	<i>Carmina</i> (henceforth <i>Carm.</i>) 2.16.124 membraque restituens plus animae tribuis <i>App. 2.78</i> plus animae credant quod cruce teste probant <i>Carm. 1.9.22</i> euocat hic populos hinc decus, inde salus
<i>Ep. ad Vig. 22</i> et res si qua mihi mystica corde datur	<i>Carm. 8.16.1</i> si qua mihi ueniet quotiens occasio dulcis
<i>Ep. ad Vig. 24</i> psalterium lyri ci composuere pedes	<i>Carm. 2.9.53</i> stamina psalterii lyrico modulamine texens
<i>Ep. ad Vig. 26</i> Cantica, Hieremiam, Iob quoque dicta ferunt	<i>Carm. 9.2.24</i> Iob quoque seu geniti sic abiere sui
<i>Ep. ad Vig. 28</i> respice quod meritis debita soluo tuis	<i>Carm. 10.12.c.3</i> more mihi solito, dulcis, tibi debita soluo <i>Vita Mart. 4.481</i> fenore vel minimo tolerans dum debita soluo
<i>Ep. ad Flor. 15</i> et si respicias dispenset ut omnia rector	<i>Carm. 7.17.5</i> nam si respicias uotum per uerba canentis ²
<i>Ep. ad Flor. 16</i> ingenium mites uim meruere truces	<i>Carm. 4.26.15</i> ingenium mitem torua de gente trahebat ³

¹ Where an example from Fortunatus falls in the exactly the same place in the line as in Arator, only that example is given; when it falls elsewhere, a range of examples is supplied. The text of Fortunatus is that given in Collection des Universités de France 315, 336, 346, 374.

² But see, in prose, Valerian of Cimiez, *Homiliae* 8.2 (PL 52:717C) "nam si respicias."

³ "ingenium mitius" is found, but not as a line-start, at Ovid, *Amores* 1.10.26 and Martial, *Spectaculorum* 12 (10).6.

Arator	Venantius Fortunatus
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 1 si tibi, magne, uelim fasces memorare parentum	<i>Carm.</i> 6.2.29 nam quoscumque uelim ueterum memorare parentum
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 2 uix daret in tergo pagina lecta modum	<i>Carm.</i> 8.3.222 scripta suis lacrimis pagina lecta fuit
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 10 nam tibi quisque datur, mox sibi crescit honor	<i>Carm.</i> 3.6.24 ecclesiae iuncto corpore crescit honor
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 21 quo directus eras legati munere functus	<i>Carm.</i> 4.20.3 quem sensu, eloquio legati nomine functum
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 50 uersibus assiduum concelebrare melos	<i>Carm.</i> 7.14.40 et ualeas dulces concelebrare iocos <i>Carm.</i> 8.3.182 festinat festos concelebrare toros ⁴
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 53 quae cum nostra tibi fragilis cecinisset arundo	<i>Vita Mart.</i> 3.290 Parthica ceu timidum si transfodisset harundo
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 57 ut quia nomen habes quo te uocitamus Arator	<i>Carm.</i> 9.1.29 non fuit in vacuum sic te uocitare parentes ⁵
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 58 non abstrusa tibi sit sed aperta seges	<i>Carm.</i> 5.10.8 et mihi uel reliquis sit tua uita seges
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 60 ingenii fructus ad meliora sequi	<i>Carm.</i> 9.6.12 si saturer fructu , fors meliora cano
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 66 et licet exiguas suscipe gratus aquas	<i>Carm.</i> 1.21.2 si non exiguas alter haberet aquas ⁶
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 70 ecclesiae tonso uertice factus ouis	<i>Carm.</i> 2.16.146 enituit Christi uertice tonsus ouis

4 Note the position, sandwiched between adjective and noun. The infinitive is also found in this position (but unsandwiched) at Maximianus 3.76 “et totum ludo **concelebrare** diem.”

5 But see also Juvencus 1.26 (CSEL 24:4) “nomine Iohannem hunc tu uocitare memento.”

6 But see Ovid, *Tristia* 5.11.28 “sic solet **exiguas** currere riuus **aquas**.”

Arator	Venantius Fortunatus
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 76 quae uetus atque nouus con geminauit odor	<i>Carm.</i> 11.10.10 quorum blandifluus me satur auit odor ¹
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 77 incidit ille mihi quem regula nominat actus	<i>Carm.</i> 6.10.39 incidit unde mihi , fateor, te sorte uidendi
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 78 messis apostolicae plenus in orbe liber	<i>Carm.</i> 8.1.14 natus in urbe fuit, notus in orbe pater
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 85 largius auxilio qui fert noua uerba canenti	<i>Carm.</i> 7.17.5 nam si respicias uotum per uerba canentis
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 91 sunt quia pontifices in relligione magistri	<i>Carm.</i> 8.2.13 sunt quia corde pares, iussus non ire recuso ²
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 93 est ubi Firminus, uenerabilis ille sacerdos	<i>Carm.</i> 5.16.1 pastor honoris apex, uenerabilis arce sacerdos ³
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 94 pascere qui populum dogmatis ore potest	<i>Vita Mart.</i> 3.502 dogmatis ore pares et sedis honore curules <i>Carm.</i> 7. 5.42 et maneat populi semper in ore potens ⁴
<i>Ep. ad Parth.</i> 101 ibimus ambo simul quo pagina uenerit ista	<i>Carm.</i> 7.12.103 qualiter ambo simul paucis habitauimus horis

1 But see, as line-start rather than cadence, Claudian, *Carmina maiora* 10.290 “sollicitauit odor, tumidus quatiensque decoras.”

2 But see Aratus (trans. Germanicus Caesar), *Phaenomena* 376 “**sunt quia** totius sparsi sine nomine mundi.”

3 See too Paulinus of Perigueux, *Vita s. Martini* 5.359 (CSEL 16:120) “obfulsit claro **uenerabilis ore sacerdos**.”

4 But see Martial 9.86.2 “Silius, Ausonio non semel **ore potens**.”

Appendix B

Remembered Reading: Evidence for Knowledge of the *Epistola ad Florianum* in Continental Writers from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century

Arator	Continental Writers
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 1–2 qui meriti florem maturis sensibus ortum nominis ore tui iam, Floriane, tenes	Paul the Deacon, <i>Carm.</i> 44.13 (MGH PLAC 1:76) tu florem meriti sequeris ad ardua regna Adso of Montier-en-Der, <i>Vita s. Mansueti, Metrum</i> 7 (CCM 198:132) cumque subit teneros maturis sensibus annos Wolfer of Hildesheim, <i>Vita s. Godehardi I, Pref. Metrum</i> 19–20 (MGH SS 11:170) sanctorum more praelibat nominis ore et merito digni praefert hec munia signi
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 3 nam, primaueus adhuc , senibus documenta dedisti	<i>Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica</i> 1.50 (MGH PLAC 3:7) dum primeuus adhuc tenero pubesceret euo
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 5 ad carmen concurrere meum, pedibusque labanti	Milo of Saint-Amand, <i>Vita s. Amandi</i> 3.209 (MGH PLAC 3:593) huc, fraterna cohors, precibus concurrere canenti Milo of Saint-Amand, <i>Vita s. Amandi</i> 3.321 (MGH PLAC 3:595) hic mecum, lector, laudum concurrere relatu ¹
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 7–8 ieiuno sermone quidem , sed pingua gesta scripsimus , ac pelagi pondere gutta fluit.	<i>Vita beati Leudegarii martyris metrica</i> 2.6 (MGH PLAC 3:25) arenti sermone quidem, sed pingua gesta Bertha, <i>Vita Adelheidis abbatisae</i> 1 (MGH SS 15.2:756) ieiuno quidem sermone, sed pingua gesta me pronuntio scripsisse .

¹ The imperative is found nowhere else in verse; the context too, the poet asking the reader to “rally to his poem/singing/recital” makes the intertext likely. On Milo’s knowledge of Arator: Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, 96–97.

Arator	Continental Writers
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 9 inter grandiloquos per mille uolumina libros	Heiric of Auxerre, <i>Vita s. Germani metrica</i> 1.191 (MGH PLAC 3:444) et te grandiloquos uellem nutrisse poetas Milo of Saint-Amand, <i>Vita s. Amandi metrica</i> 3.332 (MGH PLAC 3:595) et iam grandiloquos superat ratione sophistas ²
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 12 concordent studiis celsa uel ima tuis	Angilbert, <i>Carm.</i> 5.1.1 (MGH PLAC 1:365) omnipotens dominus, qui celsa uel ima gubernas ³
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 23 ergo gradum retinens et prisca uolumina linquens	Walahfrid Strabo, <i>Carm.</i> 18.46 (MGH PLAC 2:364) fraude in amicitiae per prisca uolumina fasti
<i>Ep. ad Flor.</i> 24 cede dies operi quod pia causa iuuat	<i>Ecloga Theoduli</i> 296 (Teodulo, <i>Ecloga: Il canto della verità et della menzogna</i> , ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997), 22) cede, dies , caelo quia nescit cedere uirgo

² *grandiloquus* does not appear in verse either before Arator or in the seventh and eighth centuries.

³ It is likely that Angilbert is also remembering Sedulius, *Pasch. carm.* 5. 426–27 (CSEL 10:145): “totumque **gubernat**/iure suo, qui cuncta tenens **excelsa uel ima**.”

Bibliography

Manuscripts Cited (sigla: *Arator*, *Histoire apostolique*, *cxcī–cxcīi*)

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Misc. Patr. 17
 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 3 (C)
 Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35
 Chartres, Médiathèque l'Apostrophe, MS 70 + Leiden, Bibliotheek der
 Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 15 (Y)
 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 86 (Z)
 London, British Library, MS Add. 11034 (V)
 London, British Library, MS Royal 15. A. v.
 London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 17
 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 74 sup. (A)
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19451 (Tegernsee 1451) (M)
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 66 (B)
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 570
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2773 (Θ)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8092 (Γ)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9347 (R)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12284 (P)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16700 (H)
 Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 412 (319 bis) (U)
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 1665
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 3552

Primary Sources

Ædiluulf (Æthelwulf), *De abbatibus*. Edited by Alistair Campbell. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.

Alcuin. *Carmina*. Edited by Ernst Dümmler. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini 1:160–351. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881.

—. *Epistolae*. Edited by Ernst Dümmler. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epp. 4:1–493. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895.

Aldhelm. *Opera*. Edited by Rudolf Ehwald. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi 15. Berlin: Weidmann, 1919. (Reference to *De metris* made by page number.)

Arator. *Histoire apostolique*. Edited and translated with commentary by Bruno Bureau and Paul-Augustin Deproost. Collection des Universités de France, série latine 417. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017.

—. *Historia Apostolica*. Edited by Árpád Péter Orbán. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 130. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

—. *Historia Apostolica*. Translated with introduction and notes by Richard Hillier. Translated Texts for Historians 73. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020.

Bede. *Bede's Latin Poetry*. Edited and translated by Michael Lapidge. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

—. *De arte metrica*. Edited by Calvin B. Kendall. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 123A, 82–141. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.

- . *De octo quaestionibus*. In Eric Knibbs, "The Manuscript Evidence for the *De octo quaestionibus* Ascribed to Bede." *Traditio* 63 (2008): 129–83.
- . *Expositio actuum apostolorum*. Edited by Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 121:3–99. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983.
- . *Historia abbatum*. In *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*. Edited and translated by Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood, 21–75. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- . *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Edited by André Crépin, Michael Lapidge, Pierre Monat, and Philippe Robin. SC 489–91. Paris: Cerf, 2005.
- . *Liber epigrammatum*. In *Bede's Latin Poetry*, edited and translated by Michael Lapidge, 315–51. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- . *Versus de die iudicii*. In *Bede's Latin Poetry*, edited and translated by Michael Lapidge, 155–79. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- . *Vita metrica s. Cudbercti*. In *Bede's Latin Poetry*, edited and translated by Michael Lapidge, 181–313. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Frithegod. *Breuilquium uitae beati Wilfredi*. Edited by Alistair Campbell. Zurich: Thesaurus Mundi, 1950.
- Israel the Grammarian. *De arte metrica super nomen et uerbum*. Edited by Karl Strecker with Norbert Fickermann. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Medii Aevi 5. 2:500–502. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937.
- Miracula Nynie episcopi*. Edited by Karl Strecker. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini 4. 3:943–61. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923.
- Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Wilfridi I episcopi Eboracensis*. Edited by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 6:163–263. Hanover: Hahn, 1913.
- Vita anonyma s. Aedwardi uersificae*. Edited by Francesco Marzella. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 3A: 197–318. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Wulfstan of Winchester. *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*. In Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*. Winchester Studies 4. 2: The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester. Oxford: Clarendon, 2003, 335–551.

Secondary Sources

- Bischoff, Bernhard, and Birgit Ebersperger. *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. 4 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2017.
- Bureau, Bruno. "Parthenius, et la question de l'authenticité de la *Lettre à Parthenius* d'Arator." In *Moussyllanea: Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature anciennes offerts à Claude Moussy*, edited by Bruno Bureau and Christian Nicolas, 387–97. Bibliothèque d'études classiques 15. Louvain: Peeters, 1998.
- Carletti, Carlo. *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo: Ideologia e prassi*. Inscriptiones christianae Italiae, Subsidia 6. Bari: Edipuglia, 2008.
- Deproost, Paul-Augustin. *L'apôtre Pierre dans une épopée du VI^e siècle: L'Historia apostolica d'Arator*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes Série Antiquité 126. Paris: Institut des Études Augustiniennes, 1990.

- Dumville, David N. "The Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England." In *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, edited by Michael Lapidge, 96–119. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Gneuss, Helmut, and Michael Lapidge. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*. Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series 15. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Green, Roger P. H. *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvenius, Sedulius, Arator*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Hillier, Richard. *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles: A Baptismal Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.
- . "Dynamic Intertextuality in the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*: Remembering Arator's *Historia apostolica*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (2016): 163–79.
- Ireland, Colin A. "Where Was King Aldfrith of Northumbria Educated? An Exploration of Seventh-Century Insular Learning." *Traditio* 70 (2015): 29–73.
- Kaufmann, Helen. "Intertextuality in Late Latin Poetry." In *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*, edited by Jaś Elsner and Jesús Hernández Lobato, 149–75. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Ædiluulf and the School of York." In *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert. Traube-Gedenkschrift*, edited by Albert Lehner and Walter Berschin, 161–78. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1989.
- . *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899*. London: Hambledon, 1996.
- . *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*. London: Hambledon, 1993.
- . *The Anglo-Saxon Library*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . *Bede the Poet*. The Jarrow Lecture 1993. Jarrow: Jarrow Lectures, 1994.
- . "The Career of Aldhelm." *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007): 15–69.
- . "A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegod of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude." *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 45–65.
- . "Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England." In *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau*, edited by Haijo Jan Westra, 97–114. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 35. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- . "The Study of Latin Texts in Anglo-Saxon England." In *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, edited by Nicholas Brooks, 116–27. Studies in the Early History of Britain. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982.
- Licht, Tino. "Aratoris fortuna: Aufstieg und Überlieferung der *Historia apostolica*." In *Quaerite faciem eius semper. Studien zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum als Dankesgabe für Albrecht Dihle aus dem Heidelberger "Kirchenväterkolloquium"*. Edited by Andrea Jördens, Hans Armin Gärtner, Herwig Jörgemanns, and Adolf Martin Ritter, 163–79. Hamburg: Kovač, 2008.
- Love, Rosalind. "The Library of the Venerable Bede." In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, volume 1: c. 400–1100*, edited by Richard Gameson, 1:606–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- McBrine, Patrick. *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England: Divina in Laude Voluntas*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

- McKinlay, Arthur Patch. *Arator: The Codices*. Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942.
- McKinlay, Arthur Patch. "Studies in Arator, II: The Classification of the Manuscripts of Arator." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 54 (1943): 93–115.
- Niskanen, Samu. *Publication and the Papacy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge Elements. Elements in Publishing and Book Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Nogara, Bartolomeo. *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3. Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1912.
- Orchard, Andy. *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . "Wish You Were Here: Alcuin's Courtly Poetry and the Boys Back Home." In *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, edited by Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and Alastair J. Minnis, 21–43. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000.
- Radicciotti, Paolo. "Note su Floriano abate di Romeno e la cultura intellettuale in Italia alla metà del VI secolo." *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 126 (1998): 183–88.
- Roberts, Michael. *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*. ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 16. Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985.
- Robinson, Joseph Armitage, and Montague Rhodes James. *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*. Cambridge Library Collection. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908, rpt. 2011.
- Ruff, Carin. "The Place of Metrics in Anglo-Saxon Latin Education: Aldhelm and Bede." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104 (2005): 149–70.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick. *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Traube, Ludwig. "Palaeographische Anzeigen III." *Neues Archiv für Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 27 (1902): 264–85.

