Royal Authority in the Biblical Quotations of the Old English *Pastoral Care*

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Abstract The Old English *Pastoral Care*, a late-ninth-century translation of Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* attributed to Alfred the Great, is a text without a clear authorial voice. Gregory's authorial presence is hinted at in the metrical preface and epilogue to the translation, but is curiously absent from the prose preface. Here, at the very beginning of the text, the authorial voice is that of King Alfred. Whether or not Alfred was actually responsible for translating the *Regula pastoralis*, as the prose preface claims, his voice and presence resonate throughout the translation. The king's persona re-voices not only Gregory's words, but the many biblical quotations that Gregory relies upon to support his argument. The royal authority natural to a king is compounded with the textual authority that comes through translating and therefore re-voicing a canonical text such as the *Regula pastoralis*, and this is nowhere more significant than in the translations of biblical quotations. Here, the Alfred-persona re-voices biblical figures such as King David, King Solomon, the evangelists and Christ Himself. In the translations of these quotations, Alfred's royal authority is shored up by the echoes of these voices from Scripture. This article finds examples of where the wording of these translated quotations represents ideology, and even phraseology, found elsewhere in Alfredian documents. Through appropriation of scriptural voice, Alfredian ideals such as wisdom, moderate use of resources and a ruler's humility are given unquestionable authoritative backing.

Keywords Old English · Alfred · *Pastoral Care* · Gregory

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Introduction

In his *Regula pastoralis*, Gregory the Great frequently turns to scriptural examples as support for his arguments. As the text itself maintains, the ideal preacher should absorb the wisdom of Scripture in meditation and make use of it in the day-to-day tending of his flock.¹ Sometimes these examples are simply alluded to, but very often Gregory directly quotes from Scripture. In the Old English translation of the text, henceforth referred to as the *Pastoral Care*, these quotations are translated into Old English with the same degree of free handling as the rest of the text.² As both the prose and metrical prefaces to the Old English *Pastoral Care* attribute the translation to Alfred the Great, these biblical quotations, like the rest of the text, are heard in the king's voice.³ This is the effect of the prefatory material, regardless of whether or not Alfred did actually translate the *Pastoral Care* himself.⁴ This article will highlight the significance of the presence of these biblical quotations in a text spoken in the king's voice; it will moreover demonstrate that the alterations that the quotations undergo in the process of translation contribute to the construction of the same royal ideology that can be found in other Alfredian translations and in Asser's contemporary portrait of the king. Central to this discussion is the dual authority bestowed upon the persona of Alfred: the royal authority natural to him, and the authority afforded to him through translating and voicing Gregory's text, especially the biblical quotations. In these quotations, Alfred's voice merges with that of a biblical figure, such as Solomon or David, and he appropriates their authority.⁵

Scholarly interest in Alfredian evocation of Scripture and its figures has largely focussed on the association between Alfred and David. In the twelfth century William of Malmesbury credited Alfred with beginning a translation of the Psalter into Old English, which may well correlate to the Old English prose translation of

¹ See the exegesis on Ex. 25.12–15 in *Regula pastoralis* 2.11: 'Quia nimirum necesse est ut quia ad officium praedicationis excubant, a sacrae lectionis studio non recedant' (Judic et al. 1992, vol. I, p. 254, ll. 40–42) ('for it is evidently necessary that they who devote themselves to the office of preaching should never depart from the occupation of sacred reading' [Davis 1950, p. 88]). Likewise, in the same chapter: 'Sed circulis uectes inhaereant, ut doctores semper in suis cordibus eloquia sacra menditantes, testamenti arcam sine mora eleuent: si quid necesse est, protinus decent' (Judic et al. 1992, vol. I, p. 256, ll. 47–50) ('Let the staves remain in the rings: let the teachers, ever meditating in their hearts on the Sacred Word, at once raise the Ark of the Testament, let them teach forthwith when the occasion demands it' [Davis 1950, p. 88]). Both the edition and translation of the *Regula pastoralis* feature italics to indicate quotation: these have been normalised.

² Though the *Pastoral Care* is by far the most faithful of all the translations attributed to King Alfred, it is not as close to the Latin as the *Dialogues* or the *Old English Bede*. Bately (1988, p. 126) observes that the translation technique in the *Pastoral Care* is less 'word for word' than 'sentence by sentence'.

³ These prefaces travelled with the copies of the translation when they were sent to the bishops of Wessex and Mercia. This is evidenced, for example, by Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 (S.C. 4113), which contains both the prose and metrical prefaces, and is datable to 890–97; this manuscript is addressed to Bishop Wærferth and bears the inscription 'DEOS BOC SCEAL TO WIGORA CEASTRE' ('This book must go to Worcester') (Ker 1990, no. 324, pp. 384–385). See also Schreiber (2003, p. 19, no. 53). All translations from Old English are my own.

⁴ For an overview of the debate over Alfred's authorship, see the Appendix to Discenza and Szarmach's edited collection on Alfred (2015, pp. 397–415).

⁵ On Alfred's reproduction of authority through translation, see Stanton (2002, p. 84).

the first fifty psalms in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 8824 (the ‘Paris Psalter’) (O’Neill 2001, p. 73). The connections between the two kings, surrounded by their enemies, are readily apparent. Moreover, Toswell (2014, p. 66) has argued that Asser’s biography of Alfred draws parallels between the West Saxon king and David: she suggests that for Asser, ‘Alfred is certainly a contemporary exemplum of David, and possibly, by extension, of Christ.’⁶ Orton (2015, p. 480) has recently suggested that the prose translation of the first fifty Psalms is representative of a wider attempt to present Alfred’s kingship in Davidic terms.⁷ However, Alfredian appropriation of scriptural authority is not limited to David and the Psalter. In his biography of the king, for example, Asser explicitly mentions Solomon as a model of kingship for Alfred, succeeding in both wisdom and worldly things.⁸ The translated biblical quotations in the *Pastoral Care* offer another, unexplored avenue for insight into the Alfredian construction of royal authority and ideology through re-voicing Scripture.⁹

The King’s Voice

The first voice that the reader encounters in the *Pastoral Care* is Alfred’s, in the long prose preface. Here Alfred declares that he has translated the *Regula pastoralis* with the support of his scholarly helpers (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 7, ll. 17–25).¹⁰ The tone of this preface is intensely personal, for the reader is offered a glimpse of the king’s inner thought as he ponders the intellectual state of his people, past and present: the result is a powerful sense of Alfred’s presence. It is worth noting that, perhaps surprisingly, Gregory’s name is not mentioned at all in the prose preface, only in the following metrical preface and the metrical epilogue.¹¹ The metrical preface is spoken not by Alfred but by the text of the *Regula pastoralis* itself: the

⁶ Toswell (2014, pp. 64–72) further suggests that Asser deliberately models Alfred on David in his biography of the king.

⁷ Butler (2010, p. 16), has likewise argued that Alfred desired to act as a ‘novus David’, while Treschow (2014, pp. 176–178) has suggested that the Old English translation of Psalm 28 invites comparison with the contemporary Anglo-Saxon situation, with Alfred seen in Davidic terms. Pratt (2007, p. 242), moreover, has argued that the translation of the first fifty Psalms enables a re-enactment of ‘Davidic composition’. See also Godden (1991, pp. 224–225) on the similarities between Alfred’s situation and David’s, as highlighted through the wording of the introductions to the Prose Psalms.

⁸ See *Vita Alfredi* c. 76. Wallace-Hadrill (1971, p. 148) observes that Alfred’s ‘role is that of Solomon, as Charlemagne’s had been that of David’. Moreover, Godden (1991, p. 216) remarks upon Alfred’s presentation of himself as a successor of Moses in the preface to the *Domboc*.

⁹ Orton (2015, p. 478) argues that the Prose Psalms translation offers just such an opportunity to ‘harness the authority of Scripture’.

¹⁰ All quotations from and references to the *Pastoral Care* are taken from the Hatton manuscript, as printed by Sweet (1871–1872); all brackets and italics representing manuscript emendation in Sweet’s edition have been normalised.

¹¹ In the prose preface, the *Regula pastoralis* is referred to only as the book ‘ðe is genemned on Læden Pastoralis, & on Englisc Hierdeboc’ (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 7, ll. 18–19) (‘which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Hierdeboc*’). This anonymity can be contrasted with the preface to the *Soliloquies*, which mentions Augustine by name as the author of the original text (Carnicelli 1969, p. 48, l. 13).

text—the most reliable witness—reinforces the claims made in the prose preface, declaring: ‘Siððan min on Englisc Ælfred kyning awende worda gehwelc’ (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 9, ll. 12–13).¹² The trope of the speaking book heightens the sense, once the reader actually arrives at the text itself, that a voice issues from the pages of the manuscript: as we know from the prose preface, this voice belongs to the West-Saxon king, rather than the pope.¹³ A chapter list, translated from the Latin, follows the metrical preface, but this precedes not the main text of the *Pastoral Care* itself, but yet another preface.¹⁴ This is the same preface that appears in the *Regula pastoralis*, which takes the form of a letter from Gregory to his colleague Bishop John of Ravenna. While in the Latin text this is titled: ‘Reverentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Ioanni coepiscopo, Gregorius’ (Judic et al. 1992, vol. I, p. 124, ll. 1–2),¹⁵ the Old English translation launches into the letter itself without any indication of who is speaking and who is being spoken to.¹⁶ There is nothing to suggest, therefore, that the voice of this preface and the text that follows does not belong to the only other (human) voice that has been heard so far: King Alfred’s. While the author of the main text of the translation takes no pains to indicate that it is Alfred speaking, he curiously makes just as little effort to indicate that the speaker is Gregory.¹⁷ The translator renders the Gregorian epilogue at the end of the text, identifying John as an addressee here, despite making no mention of him at the beginning (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 467, l. 18). So much more present is Alfred’s voice than Gregory’s that one reader has added a note glossing this ‘Iohannes’ as ‘Ælfredes cynges mæssepreost Iohannes’ (Godden 2011, p. 465).¹⁸ Godden (2011, p. 465) suggests that this reader ‘interpreted the voice here as Alfred’s rather than Gregory’s—not unreasonably, given the invisibility of Gregory as author so far.’ The strength of Alfred’s presence in the translation is, to use Pratt’s terminology

¹² ‘Afterwards King Alfred turned each word of me into English’.

¹³ Disenza (2001a, pp. 625–627 and 629–630) shows how the metrical preface constructs Alfred’s authority over his readers, and situates the king in a chain of transmission with Gregory and Augustine of Canterbury. See Earl (1989, pp. 54–56) on the conceit of a text that speaks directly to the reader.

¹⁴ While the translator maintains the same chapter headings as Gregory, he does not separate the chapters into four sections as in the Latin.

¹⁵ ‘Gregory to his most reverend and most holy brother John fellow bishop’ (Davis 1950, p. 20).

¹⁶ See Godden (2011, p. 464) on the display of this preface in Latin manuscripts, and the contrast in manuscripts of the Old English translation.

¹⁷ This contrasts with the approach of the Old English translation of Gregory’s *Dialogi*, undertaken by Bishop Wærferth at Alfred’s request (see *Vita Alfredi* c. 77). The Latin text of the *Dialogi* launches directly into Gregory’s first person speech, but in the Old English translation this is prefaced by a certain amount of scene setting: in MS C (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 322), a narrator exterior to Gregory and his interlocutor Peter the Deacon describes the nature of the work, leading into Gregory’s words with the lines: ‘& forðon se eadega sanctus Gregorius ærest wæs sprecende be him selfum þisum wordum & þus cwæð’ (Hecht 1900, p. 2, l. 22–p. 3, l. 1) (‘and therefore the blessed Saint Gregory was at first speaking these words by himself, and thus said’). Unlike the *Pastoral Care*, Gregory is clearly established as the speaker.

¹⁸ ‘King Alfred’s mass priest John’. This note appears in Cambridge, Trinity College, R.5.22 (tenth or eleventh century) and Cambridge, Univ. Library, Ii.2.4 (later eleventh century); both comments are ‘in the hand of the original scribe. It was presumably entered as a marginal note in the common source of the two manuscripts, which was the copy sent to Wulfsgie of Sherborne, or derived from it’ (Godden 2011, p. 465, no. 66).

(2007, pp. 169–170), maintained through ‘ambiguity of the translatory first-person’.¹⁹ Though this ambiguity may not be an entirely deliberate literary device, the result is a striking merging of the two voices, pope and king, with the king’s presence emerging dominant.

The ambiguity of the first person in the *Pastoral Care* stands in direct contrast to several other Alfredian translations, namely, the *Boethius*, the *Soliloquies* and the *Orosius*.²⁰ Godden (2004, pp. 5–6) has shown that the authors of these texts make particular effort to emphasise the presence of the authors of the original works, despite the fact that narrators are often made to speak words that do not occur in the original Latin text. Hurley (2013, p. 411) explores this narrative conceit in the *Orosius*, focussing on the recurring phrase ‘cwæð Orosius’, which in fact never precedes something which has been drawn from the Latin text. Needless to say, there is no corresponding ‘cwæð Gregorius’ in the *Pastoral Care*. These other translations insist that their author-figures are, respectively, Boethius, Augustine and Orosius. In the *Pastoral Care* the presence of the prefaces, and absence of any reference to Gregory in the main text, creates an authorial voice that is firmly located in the royal court of ninth-century Wessex.

The Quotations

Before proceeding to the biblical quotations themselves, it is worth drawing attention to the way they are presented in the *Pastoral Care*. In one of his most noticeable departures from Gregory’s text, the Anglo-Saxon translator frequently specifies the name of the original speaker of the quotation (Schreiber 2015, p. 180). Thus the narrator often invokes Solomon, thought to be the author of several biblical books.²¹ The significance of the Alfred-persona speaking Solomon’s words should be emphasised, as Solomon was an important royal model for Alfred.²² Moreover, the frequency of the word *ðurh* (‘through’) in the introductions to the quotations is significant, as it suggests that the biblical speaker is channelling God’s wisdom, a process that implicitly provides a model for the Alfred-persona’s own channelling of this wisdom. For example, a quotation from Ecclesiasticus is prefaced with the phrase: ‘Bi ðam wæs suiðe ryhte gecueden **ðurh sumne wisne monn**’ (Sweet

¹⁹ Pratt (2007, pp. 169–170) argues that the potential for ‘royal presence’ is also observable in the Prose Psalms, where the first person is likewise ambiguous.

²⁰ These are, respectively, translations of Boethius’s *De consolazione Philosophiae*, Augustine’s *Soliloquia* and Orosius’s *Historiae adversus paganos*.

²¹ These are ‘part of the book of Proverbs’, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, ‘the book known as the Wisdom of Solomon’, as well as ‘two biblical psalms’ (72 and 127) (Coogan 2016, p. 224).

²² See *Vita Alfredi* c. 76.

1871–872, p. 119, ll. 21–22).²³ It is important to note that though the words are said only *through* the man, he is nonetheless *wis*.²⁴

In the survey of key biblical quotations that follows, some quotations will be subtly altered from their Latin source, while others remain close to what appears in the *Regula pastoralis*. In the first example, from Matthew 20, there is little change from the Latin; however, the significance of hearing these biblical words in the king's voice should not be underestimated. Voicing Christ Himself, the Alfred-persona says: 'Ne com ic to ðon on eorðan ðæt me mon ðenode, ac to ðon ðæt ic wolde ðegnian' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 301, ll. 2–3).²⁵ This verse conveys the same humility portrayed in the *Vita Alfredi*, in which the king is shown to perceive kingship as a duty to carry out rather than a right to be enjoyed; the same sense of royal duty is evident in the king's concern for his people's wisdom as expressed in the prose preface to the *Pastoral Care*.²⁶ However, this quotation is a good example of the complex interplay of authority that takes place in the royal translation of biblical material. Speaking these words allows the Alfred-persona to echo another leader's humility. The issue of the ruler's humility is central to Gregory's own ideology, and to the *Pastoral Care*, making it a fertile text for the cultivation of this aspect of royal ideology.²⁷ However, it should be remembered that this other leader is Christ, the ultimate leader of mankind.²⁸ The act of channelling words ascribed to

²³ 'About that it was very rightly said **through a certain wise man**'. Cf. *Regula pastoralis* 2.6: 'recte **per quendam sapientem** dicitur' (Judic et al. 1992, vol. I, p. 212, ll. 144–145) ('it is rightly said **by a man of wisdom**' [Davis 1950, p. 65]). All bold emphasis in quotations is added.

²⁴ Stanton (2002, p. 91) observes that mediators of divine wisdom, including translators, preachers and exegetes 'had in some measure to be divinely inspired'.

²⁵ 'I did not come to earth so that men would serve me, but so that I would serve'. Cf. *Regula pastoralis* 3.17; Matt. 20.28: 'Sicut Filius hominis non venit ministrari sed ministrare' ('even as the Son of man is not come to be ministered unto but to minister'). All quotations from and references to the Bible are from Fischer et al. (2007), except for the Psalter, for which Gregory uses the Romanum version, rather than the Gallicanum: for references to the Psalter, therefore, see Weber (1953); all translations of the Vulgate are from Swift and Kinney (2010–2013).

²⁶ The idea that a king should serve his people, rather than be served, is captured in the image Asser gives of Alfred steering the ship of his kingdom to safety: 'Sed tamen ille solus divino fultus adminiculo susceptum semel regni gubernaculum, veluti gubernator praecipuus, navem suam multis opibus refertam ad desideratum ac tutum patria suae portum, quamvis cunctis propemodum lassus suis nautis' (*Vita Alfredi* c. 91; Stevenson 1959, p. 77, ll. 28–33) ('Yet once he had taken over the helm of his kingdom, he alone, sustained by divine assistance, struggled like an excellent pilot to guide his ship laden with much wealth to the desired safe haven of his homeland, even though all his sailors were virtually exhausted' [Keynes and Lapidge 1983, p. 101]).

²⁷ See, for example, the case of Moses, who resisted the authority of rule, but ultimately submitted to it for the sake of humility: 'Ægðer ge he wolde ge he nolde, & ðeah for eaðmodnesse geðafode' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 51, l. 10) ('he both would and would not, and yet because of humility he consented'). Markus (1997, p. 20) notes, moreover, that for Gregory, the virtue of humility was a means of resolving the tension between the contemplative life and the active life of pastoral care: through humility, he was able to take up office under the terms of submitting himself to God's calling.

²⁸ Karkov (2004) identifies in Alfredian writings and material culture a tendency to present the ideal ruler, and therefore Alfred himself, as a type of Christ (see pp. 28–32 on the *Pastoral Care* and the Alfred Jewel, pp. 39–40 on the preface to the *Domboc*, and p. 48 on the *Vita Alfredi*).

Christ, in the first person, bolsters the king's authority, under the guise of an expression of humility.²⁹

Elsewhere, Gregory cites from the preceding verses of Matthew 20, and, in their Old English translation, we can likewise witness the implicit construction of royal authority:

Wite ge ðætte **ðioda kyningas** bioð ðæs **folces waldendas**, ond ða ðe ðone anwald begað hi beoð **hlafordes gehatene**; ne sie hit ðonne na sua betweoxn eow, ac sua hwelc swa wille betweoxn eow fyrrest beon, se sceal beon eower ðegn, ond sua hwelc sua wille betweoxn eow mæst beon, sie se eower ðeow [...] (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 121, ll. 2–7).³⁰

The primary departure from Gregory's text and from Scripture comes in the first clause. In the Vulgate, Christ says:

[25] [...] scitis quia **principes gentium dominantur eorum** et qui maiores sunt **potestatem exercent in eos** [26] non ita erit inter vos sed quicumque voluerit inter vos maior fieri sit vester minister [27] et qui voluerit inter vos primus esse erit vester servus (Matt. 20.25–27).³¹

The phrase *principes gentium* becomes 'ðioda kyningas', a translation choice appropriate for contemporary West-Saxon rule.³² The verb 'dominantur' becomes the more neutral noun-phrase 'folces waldendas': the Old English quotation appears to describe a familiar situation, without the implication of immoral subjugation that is present in the Latin. It is simply recorded that those who exercise power are *named* lords. The alterations to this opening clause change the whole meaning of the quotation, especially if we remember that the voice speaking these words belongs to an Anglo-Saxon king. The first clause of this quotation could perhaps be understood as the establishment of the norms of leadership—kings and lords have power over other people—while the latter half could be understood as a reminder that *only* kings and lords are entitled to such authority. Nobody else should reach for positions of power. It is worth considering the audience of the *Pastoral Care*: if the speaker of the quotation is Alfred, who is the 'ge'? The warning makes sense if we imagine an episcopal readership, as implied by the prose preface—bishops should not squabble for power—and likewise if we think of the lesser aristocracy reading the text, the

²⁹ In the *Regula pastoralis*, as in Scripture, these are words said about Christ (Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 362, ll. 17–18). The same quotation appears in *Regula pastoralis* 2.6, as part of a longer excerpt from Matthew, discussed below (Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 214, ll. 153–154), and is translated in the third person in the Old English (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 121, ll. 7–9).

³⁰ 'You know that the **kings of nations** are the **rulers of the people**, and those who exercise power are **called lords**; it will not then be thus between you, but whoever between you would be first, he shall be your retainer, and whoever between you would be the greatest, he will be your servant'. Cf. *Regula pastoralis* 2.6.

³¹ '[25] [...] You know that the **princes of the Gentiles lord it over them** and they that are the greater **exercise power upon them**. [26] It shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister. [27] And he that will be first among you shall be your servant'.

³² Elsewhere, *principes* is translated with *ealdormen*: see the translation of Hos. 8.4 (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 27, ll. 14–15).

quotation perhaps serves as a warning to ealdormen to not get above themselves.³³ The authority of the biblical voice, here Christ's, lends power to such a warning. These quotations support the general ideology behind Alfred's kingship as presented in the prose preface to the translation, Asser's *Vita Alfredi* and other royal documents: humble, but nonetheless authoritative, ruling with right and with justice, which accords with the Gregorian ideal ruler as presented in the *Regula pastoralis*. The next quotations to be considered share not only ideological similarities with other royal documents, but also vocabulary. This creation of royal discourse is one of the most powerful assertions of the king's authority.

In another quotation from the New Testament, the Alfred-persona repeats the words of Timothy: 'Ne scyle nan **Godes ðeow** hine selfne **to ungemetlice** bindan on **woruldscipum**, ðylæs he mislicige ðæm ðe he ær hine selfne gesealde' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 131, ll. 1–3).³⁴ In Gregory's text, this quotation reads: 'Nemo **militans Deo** implicat se **negotiis saecularibus**, ut ei placeat cui se probauit' (*Regula pastoralis* 2.7; Judic et al. 1992, vol. I, p. 220, ll. 41–43).³⁵ The Old English contrasts with the Latin quotation in its moderation of Timothy's words: in Alfred's voice, the injunction against any 'soldier to God', which is translated as 'servant of God', becoming involved with secular things is qualified with the phrase 'to ungemetlice' ('too immoderately').³⁶ Some allowance is made for the 'woruldscipum'. We may be reminded here of the prose preface to this translation, in which Alfred commands his bishops to remove themselves from worldly things 'swæ ðu oftost mæge' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 5, l. 3) ('as often as you can'),³⁷ acknowledging, as the translation of the Timothy quotation does, that even holy men cannot, and perhaps should not, be wholly removed from worldly affairs.³⁸ This pragmatic emendation is in line with several adaptations elsewhere in the Alfredian translations, most notably perhaps in the long addition to the *Boethius*, in which the speaker defends his right to the materials which allow him to govern well (B-text, c. 17; Godden and Irvine 2009, vol. I, pp. 277–278).³⁹ *Ungemetlice* not only reflects an Alfredian ideological trend, but is also a piece of characteristic Alfredian

³³ Godden (2011, pp. 459–461) argues that the prose preface disguises the fact that bishops are the true intended recipients of the translation through its story of 'national renewal', in which laymen are the beneficiaries of Alfred's educational programme.

³⁴ 'God's servant shall not **too immoderately** bind himself in **worldly affairs**, the less he displease the one to whom he previously gave himself'. Cf. 2 Tim. 2.4.

³⁵ 'No man, being a **soldier to God**, entangleth himself with **secular business**, that he may please him to whom he hath engaged himself' (Davis 1950, p. 69).

³⁶ Pratt (2007, p. 207) identifies the introduction of *to ungemetlice* at this point as a 'characteristic qualification'.

³⁷ Removal from the occupations and responsibilities of this world in favour of spiritual contemplation is likewise advocated in Gregory's preface to his *Dialogi* (Moricca 1924, pp. 13–15).

³⁸ The verb *geæmettian* ('to 'empty'/free oneself') appears both in the lines following the quotation from 2 Timothy and in the lines of the prose preface mentioned above (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 131, l. 5 and p. 5, l. 3), perhaps indicating the influence of this part of the translation on the preface; see Pratt (2007, p. 207).

³⁹ Bately (2015, p. 134) observes that the four "royal" translations (*Pastoral Care*, *Boethius*, *Soliloquies* and the *Prose Psalms*) often tone down condemnation of worldly goods and pleasures, by condemning not these things themselves but immoderate enjoyment of them: she refers to the quotation from 2 Timothy in the *Pastoral Care* as an example of such toning down.

vocabulary. The combined occurrences of both adjective (*ungemetlic*) and adverb (*ungemetlice*) total 55 in the *Pastoral Care*.⁴⁰ There are 26 occurrences each in both the *Boethius* and the *Orosius*, and 7 in the *Soliloquies*. Across all the works of Ælfric there are only 6 occurrences of both adjective and adverb. This is by far the most common group of texts in which these words appear.⁴¹ The introduction of this qualifying adverb therefore aligns the biblical quotation not only with the speaker's ideals, but also with the vocabulary of wider Alfredian discourse.

The adverb *ungemetlice* occurs elsewhere in the translation of scriptural quotations in the *Pastoral Care*. The Old English translation of Gregory's quotation of James 4.4 is near identical to the Latin, except for the phrase *to ungemetlice*: 'Swa swa Iacobus sæde se apostol, ða he cwæð: Swa hwa swa wille bion ðisse weorlde freond **to ungemetlice**, he bið gehaten Godes feond' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 421, ll. 33–35).⁴² As with the quotation of 2 Timothy, the Alfredian version of the biblical verse becomes more lenient and more understanding of the necessity of engaging with worldly things. Similar qualification of scriptural strictures is evident in the translation of a quotation from Ecclesiastes, ascribed in the Old English text to Solomon: 'Ac **gehiere** ge feohgitseras hwæt be eow **gecweden** is on **Salomonnes bocum**, hit is **gecweden**: Ne wyrð se gitsere næfre full feos, and se ðe woruldwelan lufað **ungesceadwislice**, ne cymð him of ðæm nan wæsðm' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 331, ll. 5–7).⁴³ The differences from Gregory's text here are readily apparent: 'Cum augendis pecuniis inhiat, **audient** quod scriptum est: Auarus non impletur pecunia; et qui amat diuitias, fructus non capiet ex eis' (*Regula pastoralis* 3.20; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 390, ll. 127–129).⁴⁴ The emphasis on voice, evident in the *Regula pastoralis* but amplified in the Old English, should first be noted.⁴⁵ This frame for the quotation heightens the reader's awareness that these words were originally said by King Solomon: the reader who remembers the prose preface knows that they are *now* being spoken by King Alfred. The echo of Solomon's voice adds another layer of authority to the quotation that is spoken in Alfred's voice.⁴⁶

The major departure in the quotation itself is the introduction of *ungesceadwislice* ('foolishly'). As I shall argue in greater detail in the following quotations, and as is easily grasped from a reading of the prose preface of the *Pastoral Care*,

⁴⁰ All figures for frequencies of Old English words have been calculated using the *Dictionary of Old English (DOE) Corpus* (diPaolo Healey et al. 2009); henceforth *DOE Corpus*.

⁴¹ The highest number of occurrences in any other single text, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*, is only 5.

⁴² 'Just as James the Apostle said, when he declared: Whoever will be **too immoderately** the friend of this world, he will be called the enemy of God'; cf. *Regula pastoralis* 3.30.

⁴³ 'But **hear** you avaricious ones what is **said** about you in **Solomon's book**, it is **said**: The avaricious man will never be full of money, and he who loves worldly wealth **foolishly**, no fruit will come to him of that'; cf. Eccles. 5.9.

⁴⁴ 'As they gape for an increase of their monies, let them **hear** what Scripture says: A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money, and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them' (Davis 1950, p. 157).

⁴⁵ Davis's translation of Gregory is misleading in its use of 'says', as the Latin has 'scriptum est', literally, 'what is written': the only reference to voice in the Latin frame to the quotation is 'audient'.

⁴⁶ This emphasis on hearing the words of Scripture is significant, as Toswell (2014, p. 70) observes that, according to Asser, at least, 'Alfred's engagement with biblical texts was remarkably aural', rather than visual, in that he would have had Scripture read aloud to him (see *Vita Alfredi* cc. 81 and 88).

Alfredian royal documents often emphasise the importance of wisdom, especially divine wisdom. The use of *ungesceadwislice* therefore aligns this Solomonic maxim with Alfredian ideology: it is acceptable to pursue wealth, as long as one does it prudently.⁴⁷ Moreover, *ungesceadwis*, along with its derivatives, appears commonly in Alfredian texts, with 10 occurrences in the *Pastoral Care* and 11 in the *Boethius*. The root of this adjective, *gesceadwis*, has particular Alfredian associations, as in both the *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies* *Gesceadwisnes* ('Reason') is a personified speaker, in the former as variation on *Wisdom* (Boethius's *Philosophia*) and in the latter as Augustine's *Ratio*.⁴⁸ Like *ungemetlice*, *ungesceadwislice* reflects both the Alfredian ideology of wisdom and moderation, and the specific choice of vocabulary in Alfredian texts.

The pursuit of wisdom is central to Alfredian ideology, whether it is the practical wisdom of using wealth carefully, as in the *Pastoral Care*, or the divine wisdom that leads one to the true good in the *Boethius*. Asser repeatedly emphasises Alfred's wisdom and his desire for learning.⁴⁹ The great lament of the prose preface to the *Pastoral Care* is, of course, the decline of Latin learning and accompanying loss of wisdom in the kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons.⁵⁰ Many of the translated biblical quotations in the *Pastoral Care* contribute to the construction of this ideology through subtle alterations: their emphasis on the centrality of wisdom is a reminder of Alfred's devotion to wisdom as expressed elsewhere in royal documents. For example, the translator introduces the word *wisdom* into one psalm quotation where there is no call for it in his source text:⁵¹ 'Be ðæm cwæð se psalmscop: Min **mod** & min **wisdom** me forlet' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 273, ll. 13–14).⁵² The *Regula pastoralis* has *cor* ('heart') in the place of the word-pair *mod* and *wisdom* (*Regula pastoralis* 3.14; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 342, l. 27).⁵³ While *mod* is an understandable translation of *cor*, it is significant that the translator chooses to

⁴⁷ In fact, this philosophy is itself Solomonic in essence, as Solomon was rewarded for his pursuit of wisdom with material riches (I Kings 3.5–14).

⁴⁸ *Gesceadwis*, along with all its derivatives, appears 52 times in the *Pastoral Care*, 80 times in the *Boethius* and 21 times in the *Soliloquies*: these figures include searches for the variant spellings *gescadwis* and *gesceadwis*. It is noteworthy that the only poetry in which the word appears is the *Metres of Boethius* (4 occurrences).

⁴⁹ *Vita Alfredi* cc. 22, 25, 42, 76–78, 88–89, 99.

⁵⁰ Bately (1980, p. 7) reminds us that Alfred's goal, as expressed by the prose preface, is 'to restore not literacy, not culture, not education in general—though these are all steps on his way—but what he describes as *wisdom*, 'wisdom'.

⁵¹ Quotation of the Psalms has recently been discussed by Lawton (2017a, pp. 61–66 and b) in the light of what he calls 'public interiorities', by which he means pieces of text or speech that have been re-voiced, and in being re-voiced can be refashioned.

⁵² 'The Psalmist said about that: My **mind** and my **wisdom** have abandoned me'; cf. Ps. 39.13. *Heorte* is the only gloss offered for *cor* here in Pulsiano's survey (2001, p. 579) of Anglo-Saxon glossed psalters. The Prose Psalms translation reads 'Min heort and min mod me forleton' (Ps. 39.14; O'Neill 2001, p. 148). Though this verse, 'cor meum dereliquit me', appears under 39.13 in the Romanum and Gallicanum Psalters, in the Vespasian Psalter, as in the Prose Psalms, it appears under 39.14 (Kuhn 1965, p. 37).

⁵³ This is likewise the reading in the Romanum Psalter, as well as the Gallicanum.

introduce *wisdom*. Though O'Neill (2001, p. 79) puts this addition down to the influence of the preceding quotation from Proverbs 5.1–2, which includes the word *sapientia* ('wisdom'), it is nonetheless a departure from the source.⁵⁴ The effect of this alteration is to locate wisdom at the spiritual and devotional centre of the psalmist, in the place of the emotional faculty of the heart. Moreover, it is perhaps no coincidence that the word-pair selected here is *mod* and *wisdom*, the names of the two speakers in the dialogue of the Old English *Boethius*. The presence of Alfred's voice (introduced in the framing prefaces to both texts) reinforces the overlapping ideology of these two translations.

The word *wisdom* is likewise added to two further biblical quotations in this chapter.⁵⁵ The next quotation, from 2 Samuel, comes a line after the psalm quotation mentioned above, and O'Neill suggests that the mention of *wisdom* is similarly inspired by the first biblical quotation in this section, from Proverbs 5.1–2 (O'Neill 2001, p. 79): 'Ðin ðeow hæfð nu funden his **wisdom**, ðæt is ðæt he hine gebidde to ðe' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 273, ll. 15–16).⁵⁶ Gregory's text, following the Vulgate, has *cor* ('heart') in the place of Old English *wisdom* (*Regula pastoralis* 3.14; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 342, l. 28). While the previous quotation made use of the word-pair *mod* and *wisdom*, here *wisdom* has completely replaced the emotional faculty of the heart, and becomes the sole faculty of the individual's devotion to the divine. Later in the chapter, focus on *wisdom* transforms the sense of a quotation from Proverbs, attributed in the Old English to Solomon:⁵⁷ 'Ac se **wisa Salomon** sædde ðætte swiðe deop pol wære gewered on ðæs **wisan monnes mode**, and swiðe lytel unnyttas utfleowe' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 279, ll. 14–16).⁵⁸ The original proverb makes no reference to wisdom, and Gregory does not mention Solomon: 'in bona etiam parte iterum dicitur: Aqua profunda, uerba ex ore uiri' (*Regula pastoralis* 3.14; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 346, ll. 93–94).⁵⁹ Evocation of the Old Testament king's voice heightens the awareness of the layers of voices present in the text. The reference to Solomon's wisdom contributes to the ideal of wise kingship, found also in Asser's *Vita Alfredi*, and serves as a reminder that,

⁵⁴ This quotation reads 'Fili mi, attende sapientiam meam, et prudentiae meae inclina aurem tuam, ut custodias cogitationes' (*Regula pastoralis* 3.14; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 342, ll. 22–24) ('My son, attend to my wisdom, and incline thy ear to my prudence, that thou mayest guard thy thoughts' [Davis 1950, p. 130]). In the Old English this is translated: 'Sunu min, ongiet minne wisdom & minne wærscipe, & behald ðin eagean & ðin earan to ðæm ðætte ðu mæge ðin gedoht gehealdan' (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 273, ll. 8–10) ('My son, perceive my wisdom and my prudence, and direct your eyes and your ears so that you may guard your thought').

⁵⁵ This is *Regula pastoralis* chapter 3.14: 'Quod aliter ammonendi sunt nimis taciti atque aliter multiloquio uacantes' (Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 340, ll. 1–2) ('How to admonish the taciturn and the talkative' [Davis 1950, p. 129]).

⁵⁶ 'Your servant has now found his **wisdom**, that is that he prays to you'; cf. 2 Sam. 7.27.

⁵⁷ The quotation which precedes this one is attributed to Solomon, in both the Latin (Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 346, ll. 90–91) and the Old English (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 279, ll. 11–13), and thus may have influenced the attribution here.

⁵⁸ 'But the **wise Solomon** said that a very deep pool was damned up in the **wise man's mind**, and very little flowed out uselessly'; cf. Prov. 18.4.

⁵⁹ 'it is again said in a good sense: Words from the mouth of a man are as deep water' (Davis 1950, p. 133).

though the wise king Solomon originally said these words, they are now re-voiced by the current wise king of the West Saxons.⁶⁰ The translation of the quotation itself attempts to make sense of the rather obscure biblical proverb, likening thoughts that are held in silence, rather than spilled uselessly in idle chatter, to the water of a deep pool. This, of course, is one example of the water imagery that inspired the metrical epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*, which relies upon a similar metaphorical system (Isaacs 1965, pp. 548–549; Whobrey 1991, pp. 179–185).

There is, however, an occasion on which a reference to wisdom in a biblical quotation is removed in the Old English translation. The *Regula pastoralis* reads: ‘Vnde et bene **quidam sapiens** dicit: **Sapientia** abscondita et thesaurus inuisus, quae utilitas in utrisque?’ (*Regula pastoralis* 3.25; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 428, ll. 17–18).⁶¹ In the Old English this becomes: ‘Be ðæm cwæð **Salomon**: Hu nytt bið se forholena **cræft** oððe ðæt forhydde gold?’ (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 377, ll. 6–7).⁶² Though the reference to *wisdom* has been removed, it has been replaced with the word *cræft*, another word of great importance in the Alfredian context, with several different though interconnected meanings, including ‘skill’ and ‘virtue’ (Discenza 1997; Clemons 1992). Moreover, *wisdom* and *cræft* are closely connected in the Old English *Boethius*. As *Mod* says in his defence of good governance: ‘ælc **cræft** and ælc anweald bið sona forealdod and forswugod, gif he bið buton **wisdome**; forðæm ne mæg non mon nænne **cræft** forðbringan buton **wisdome**’ (B-text, c. 17, ll. 22–24; Godden and Irvine 2009, vol. I, pp. 277–278).⁶³ The identification of *cræft* with *wisdom* aligns the quotation more closely with the ideology expressed elsewhere in the Alfredian corpus.

As I have argued, wisdom is central to the Alfredian ideology. Another characteristic feature of some royal documents is the pairing of wealth and wisdom, perhaps most notably in the prose preface to the *Pastoral Care* (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 5, ll. 13–14 and 17), although also in one chapter of the *Boethius*.⁶⁴ Just as the *Pastoral Care*-translator often introduces the theme of wisdom into the biblical quotations, so does he also, on at least one occasion, shift the focus of a quotation onto material wealth. Gregory quotes from Psalm 104 in support of his argument that God grants earthly rewards in order to inspire people with hope for spiritual rewards, in this way rationalising the joy in material success found in the Old Testament in New Testament terms: ‘Dedit eis **regiones gentium**, et **labores populorum** possederunt, ut custodiat iustificationes eius et legem eius exquirant’

⁶⁰ Solomon is also referred to as ‘ðone snottran’ (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 389, l. 16). cf. *Regula pastoralis* 3.26 which has only ‘per Salomonem dicitur’ (Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 440, l. 44) (‘said [...] by Solomon’ [Davis 1950, p. 183]).

⁶¹ ‘Wherefore, a wise man said well: **Wisdom** that is hid, and treasure that is not seen, what profit is there in them both?’ (Davis 1950, p. 177); cf. Eccclus. 20.32.

⁶² ‘About that said **Solomon**: How is concealed **skill/virtue** or hidden gold useful?’.

⁶³ ‘every **skill** and every power will be immediately withered and silenced if it is without **wisdom**; for no man may produce any **skill** without **wisdom**’. See also B-text c. 7, ll. 95–96; c. 27, ll. 47–48; c. 32, ll. 31–33 and c. 36, ll. 13–15 (Godden and Irvine 2009, vol. I, pp. 254, 298, 308 and 338–339).

⁶⁴ This is B-text c. 7, in which *Wisdom* claims ‘soþwela’ (‘true riches’) as his servant (ll. 77–78, Godden and Irvine 2009, I, p. 254). There are several studies which treat this Alfredian pairing (Shippey 1979; Nelson 1986; Discenza 2001b).

(*Regula pastoralis* 3.26; Judic et al. 1992, vol. II, p. 442, ll. 66–68).⁶⁵ The Old English translation situates these rewards in tribal, Germanic terms: ‘He him sealde **ricu oðerra kynrena**, and **manigra folca gestreones** hie wieoldon, to ðon ðæt hi his ryhtwisnesse geheolden, and his æ sohton’ (Sweet 1871–1872, p. 391, ll. 3–5).⁶⁶ The choice of *cynren*, for ‘gentium’, with its connotations of kin and blood-ties, evokes Germanic, tribal warfare based around warring kin groups.⁶⁷ Likewise, the transformation of *labores* into *gestreon* brings to mind the custom, fundamental to Germanic warrior culture, of reaping precious battle-gear and loot from one’s enemies.⁶⁸ This treasure is representative of the honour the warrior wins in battle. It plays a central role in Germanic gift-exchange, a process in which warriors bring their loot to their king, who stores this treasure in the national hoard, before distributing it at a later date to ensure or reward the loyalty of his followers (Baker 2013, pp. 59–62). If we recall the presence of the king’s voice in this translation, these overtones of heroic warrior culture become yet more pronounced. The Alfred-persona as presented in the prose preface is a king who is conscious of his nation’s wellbeing in both spiritual and material terms: he understands that a successful nation requires both *wela* (‘wealth’) and *wisdom* (‘wisdom’). By subtly adapting this psalm quotation, the *Pastoral Care*-translator legitimises the appreciation of material wealth through the dual authority of Scripture and the royal voice.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ ‘He gave them the **lands of the Gentiles**, and they possessed the **labours of the people**, that they might observe His justifications and seek after His law’ (Davis 1950, p. 184); cf. Ps. 104.44–45.

⁶⁶ ‘He gave them the **kingdoms of other nations**, and they controlled the **treasure of many peoples**, in order that they might hold to His justice, and seek His law’. See Cherniss (1972, p. 97) on the importance of a tribe’s collective wealth in Germanic culture. See also the opening lines of *Beowulf* (ll. 1–11a), which praise how Scyld Scefing subjugated neighbouring tribes and forced them to pay tribute to his people; this fictional account appears to be corroborated by Saxo Grammaticus’s account of Skiold (*Gesta Danorum* 3.2 [3]; Friis-Jensen and Fisher 2015, vol. II, pp. 24–25).

⁶⁷ The first main definition for *cynren* offered by the *DOE* is ‘family line, clan, tribe’ (Cameron et al. 2007). In Anglo-Saxon glossed psalters the more neutral *peod* is preferred here (Junius, Arundel, Cambridge, Eadwine, Tiberius, Vitellius, Regius, Stowe, Lambeth, Salisbury and Vespasian); this data has been gathered using the *DOE Corpus*. This is also the word chosen by the poet of the *Metrical Psalms* (Ps. 104.39; Krapp 1933, p. 82). In the Prose Psalms, however, a different appearance of *gentes* is translated with *cynren* (Ps. 46.8; O’Neill 2001, p. 158): this is significant given the Alfredian association of the *Pastoral Care* and Prose Psalms. On the importance of the kin-group in early Germanic culture, see Wallace-Hadrill (1971, p. 15) and Green (1998, p. 49).

⁶⁸ Words chosen by psalter glossators for *labores* here include *gewin* (‘battle’, ‘labour’ or ‘gain’) (Junius, Cambridge, Eadwine and Vespasian), chosen also by the *Metrical Psalms* poet, and *geswinc* (‘labour’) (Arundel, Tiberius, Vitellius, Regius, Stowe, Lambeth and Salisbury). *Gestreon* also translates as ‘gain’ or ‘product’, and so has some overlap with *gewin*, but it is significant that the *Pastoral Care*-translator selects *gestreon* over these other two words. For the definitions of *gewin*, *geswinc* and *gestreon* see Bosworth-Toller (1898–1921).

⁶⁹ This attitude recalls the *Pastoral Care*-translation of Ecclesiastes 5.9, which makes allowance for the appreciation of worldly wealth, as long as it is not *ungesceadwislic* (‘foolish’).

Conclusions

This article has drawn attention to the overlooked biblical quotations in the Old English *Pastoral Care*,⁷⁰ and has shown that the subtle alterations the translator makes can be seen to support Alfredian ideology. While it may be that such additions occur throughout the *Pastoral Care*-translation, they are particularly effective in the biblical quotations, as these statements are bolstered by the dual authority of Scripture and the king. Here, the force of the quotation is impressed upon the reader by the mingled biblical and royal voices, along with the voice of Gregory himself: the effect of this multiplication of authorial voice is even greater in the quotations attributed to King Solomon, as here the royal voice is twofold. These biblical quotations represent an innovative use of vernacular translation. Whereas psalter glosses and the near word-for-word Mercian translations of Gregory's *Dialogues* and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* remain as close to their Latin sources as possible, the *Pastoral Care* is a transformation of its source.⁷¹ Scholars of the Alfredian corpus usually contrast the originality, ambition and freedom of the *Boethius* and *Soliloquies* with the relatively conservative approach of the *Pastoral Care*.⁷² However, the *Pastoral Care* represents a fundamental first step in the use of the vernacular for literary translation, as the freedom with which it treats Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, and the biblical quotations embedded within it, results in an entirely new text, which is not only emphatically Anglo-Saxon, but demonstrably Alfredian.

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⁷⁰ On biblical quotations added by the Old English translator in the *Boethius*, see Godden and Irvine (2009, vol. I, p. 67): Godden and Irvine note that the *Boethius*-author does not identify the several biblical quotations that he introduces. In his edition of the Old English *Soliloquies*, Carnicelli (1969, p. 29) provides commentary on 'the occasional scriptural passages added' by the translator; see the commentary on individual biblical quotations or references on pp. 101, 102, 104 and 106.

⁷¹ Bately (1988, p. 118) describes the *Dialogues* and the *Old English Bede* as 'occasionally so faithful to their originals that the result is unidiomatic'. For more on the prose style of the *Dialogues*, see Bately, pp. 120–123, and on the *Old English Bede*, pp. 123–125. However, there is also evidence that the translator of the *Old English Bede* adapted his source; George Molyneux (2009, p. 1291) shows that the translator removes certain material from Bede's text, reducing references to the dating of Easter, and making no mention of either Pelagianism or the Synod of Whitby.

⁷² For example, Godden (2007, p. 13) argues that in 'translation method and intellectual ambition there is a huge gulf between the *Pastoral Care* on the one hand and the *Consolation* and *Soliloquies* on the other'.

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