

## THE OLD ENGLISH *LIFE OF SAINT PANTALEON* AND ITS MANUSCRIPT CONTEXT

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The anonymous Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon* is uniquely extant in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius D XVII. This manuscript was produced in the first half of the eleventh century in England and contains mainly Ælfrician saints' lives. The manuscript context may furnish some information about why the Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon* is to be found there, what audience the manuscript as a whole could be appealing to, and whether this supports or denies the modes of reception encouraged by the text.

Fred Robinson describes manuscripts as the 'most immediate context' of Old English.<sup>1</sup> Their partial information, where many manuscripts have extensive lacunae, is essential to a proper understanding of the history of not only individual texts but their literary, intellectual, and in this case ecclesiastical contexts in the Anglo-Saxon period. Having only one manuscript witness for a text is hardly an unusual event in Anglo-Saxon studies, and this situation renders many texts inaccessible to the traditional methods of textual criticism originally developed for editing classical Latin texts.<sup>2</sup> It would be impossible to say where the text in this discussion originated, either in Old English or Latin, or to suggest where and how the text subsequently developed. Such isolation of texts, existing in a vacuum, without secure places or dates of production, and little 'intertextuality'<sup>3</sup> which can be firmly established by scholarship, is the abiding condition of Anglo-Saxon studies. Manuscripts offer, potentially, much information about the intertextuality of Old English

<sup>1</sup> F.C. Robinson, 'Old English literature in its most immediate context', *Old English literature in context: ten essays*, ed. J.D. Niles (Cambridge and Toronto, N.J.: Brewer, 1980), 11-29, at 11.

<sup>2</sup> This is discussed at length in M. Lapidge, 'Textual criticism and the literature of Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, lxxiii (1991), 17-45.

<sup>3</sup> The term 'intertextuality' is coined by Julia Kristeva in *The revolution in poetic language*, trans. Margaret Waller (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), as she describes her understanding of the ways texts relate to one another, challenging traditional notions of influence and tradition. For Kristeva this includes all literary and non-literary texts, and they interrelate in all possible ways, including the conscious and unconscious activities of writers.

texts; they are anchored here in this 'immediate context', and so the manuscript becomes the site where texts' meanings among other texts in the collection are activated. A manuscript represents one moment in the history of the texts realized within, and cannot be said to testify to any fixed or final versions of these. The circumstances of production and reproduction of texts in Anglo-Saxon England preclude this, much to the frustration of editors who are searching for the definitive text by the stable author.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the manuscript provides no more and no less than a record of one response to a perceived audience demand at the time the manuscript was created. A history of manuscripts could to some extent generate a history of perceived audiences for Anglo-Saxon texts and collections, maybe just as readily as detailed literary analysis of individual texts generates understanding of the modes of reception these foster. In the latter part of this paper I will be combining study of the manuscript context with examination of the relationship between a close Latin version of the *Life of Saint Pantaleon* and the Old English text as this throws into relief the techniques used by the Old English redactor to appeal to a specifically Anglo-Saxon audience, and assists understanding of why this particular anonymous text may have been appropriately placed in a collection which appears to have used Ælfrician material as its primary source.

Vitellius D XVII is one of the unfortunate codices from the Cotton collection engulfed in flames in 1731, so that over half of its material has been destroyed, amounting to either 122 or 123 leaves.<sup>5</sup> What remains is disordered, one leaf even finding its way into another manuscript, London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B X, during nineteenth-century repairs. The initial fire damage is compounded by these repairs which include the application of a thin but obliterating gauze over most folios to hold the pieces together. It is not surprising, therefore, that scholars such as Walter Skeat and Neil Ker have made some mistakes in their accounts of the codex, although these have been very minor.<sup>6</sup> More serious is a scholarly dismissal of the manuscript as a lesser witness to the traditions of preaching and theology in Anglo-Saxon England. This is a dismissal which has its roots in an author-centred critical agenda, here one which seeks to recover original Ælfrician compositions and collections. Early

<sup>4</sup> A useful critique of editorial values and priorities can be found in J. McGann, *A critique of modern textual criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> H. Wanley, *Librorum veterum septentrionalium catalogus*, in G. Hickes, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1705), ii, 206. Wanley finds that there are 122 leaves lost. N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 222, 292-8, at 293. Ker finds that the correct number is 123.

<sup>6</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, 294. His description of the Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon*, article 14 of Vitellius D XVII, misses out one folio in his list of folios containing the *Life*. Skeat confuses some folios in listing the contents of Vitellius D XVII in his *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, o.s. lxxvi, lxxxii, xciv, cxiv (1881-1900, reprinted as 2 vols, London: Oxford University Press, 1966), ii, xviii-xxi.

catalogues, particularly Humphrey Wanley's,<sup>7</sup> show that three anonymous homilies were interposed among Ælfrician saints' lives drawn from the two series of *Catholic Homilies* and the set of *Lives of Saints* thereby indicating to scholars that this manuscript was unlikely to be directly related to Ælfric. However, Skeat, in his edition of the *Lives of Saints*, has this to say about Vitellius D XVII: 'It is an early MS., and, if preserved, would have been of great value; its injury is much to be deplored'.<sup>8</sup> No further study of the manuscript has been undertaken to assess exactly where this 'great value' may lie; Peter Clemoes and Malcolm Godden both discount this manuscript in their accounts of the chain of witnesses to the Ælfric canon, so if we are trying to trace the authentic work of Ælfric, this is not the manuscript to help us.<sup>9</sup> However, Vitellius D XVII was created to answer the needs of its audience as perceived by a compiler, who rearranged the material available to produce a deliberate effect. Derek Pearsall reminds us that manuscripts 'provide a wealth of insight into a contemporary, or near-contemporary, reading of the text, and into the tastes and expectations of its readers.'<sup>10</sup> The 'great value' of the manuscript may be in what it can tell us about its audiences and the ways that hagiographic literature was recycled in the years following the Benedictine Reform, once that literature was out of the control of its original authors and their scribes and compilers.

Our knowledge of over half the manuscript, and reconstruction of the whole, is based upon secondary evidence from catalogues of the Cotton library, compiled prior to the fire, so that much of an account of the manuscript must be a description of what is now missing. The first thing that is not to be found in the manuscript, however, probably never existed: that is, a preface. Joyce Hill has observed that the prefaces to Ælfrician collections disappeared early in subsequent copyings,<sup>11</sup> and Vitellius D XVII has no prefatory material to acknowledge its debt to Ælfric. The manuscript as it

<sup>7</sup> Wanley's catalogue is based upon that compiled by T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae cottonianae* (Oxford: *Sheldonian Theatre*, 1696), reprinted in *Catalogue of the Cottonian Library by Thomas Smith 1696*, ed. C.G.C. Tite (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984). Ker, *Catalogue*, 298, also cites London, British Library, MS Harley 6018, described on fo. 3 as 'Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Roberti Cottoni 1621', as a record of the manuscript contents. This catalogue precedes the use of Roman emperors' names to classify the Cotton collection, so Vitellius D XVII is referred to under article no. 140.

<sup>8</sup> Skeat, *Lives*, ii, xviii.

<sup>9</sup> P. Clemoes, 'The chronology of Ælfric's works', *The Anglo-Saxons: studies in some aspects of their history and culture presented to Bruce Dickinson*, ed. P. Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), 212-47, at 236. M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the second series, text*, Early English Text Society, s.s. v (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979), xix-xcvi, at lviii-lxv.

<sup>10</sup> D. Pearsall, 'Editing medieval texts, some developments and some problems', *Textual criticism and literary interpretation*, ed. J. McGann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 92-106, at 103.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hill, 'Translating the tradition: manuscripts, models and methodologies in the composition of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', Toller Lecture, Manchester 1995. See *BjRULM*, lxxix (1977), 43-65.

remains says nothing whatsoever about itself; there is no extant *incipit* or *explicit*, none is recorded by Wanley, and the only medieval marginal notes are twelfth-century Latin glosses, demonstrating that the collection was still considered useful in the next century after its production. We are obliged to compare the manuscript with others to reconstruct its possible audiences and uses throughout this period.

The Ælfrician preface to London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius E VII, which is Skeat's base-manuscript for his edition of the *Lives of Saints*, suggests, as Milton Gatch points out, a demand for its texts based on lay piety, providing laymen such as Æthelweard and his son Æthelmær with material 'for days of the Sanctorale which were observed not by the church at large but by the monastic community'.<sup>12</sup> There is certainly no obvious link in Vitellius D XVII with the liturgy, and indeed the expositions of the Gospel are omitted from the texts where these occur elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript combines saints' lives from the liturgical and the non-liturgical tradition without any sense of the generic divisions which scholars identify as operating in the collections assembled by Ælfric. Unlike Julius E VII, Vitellius D XVII is not arranged chronologically, which means that the codex would not have been easily adapted for liturgical use as a book that followed the church year. Where the genre of hagiographic writing is concerned, scholars perhaps expect that the mode of reception is predominantly static; such narratives were read before and during Ælfric's time, it would seem, in a monastic setting,<sup>14</sup> and maybe did not enjoy the wider circulation of the exegetical and catechetical material preached both to the monastic population and to laymen. A liturgical setting might have been a more interactive arena for the readings, where audience reaction would be more readily gauged if not clearly audible and might influence subsequent performances, both aloud and in later manuscripts. However, as

<sup>12</sup> The role of lay piety is discussed by M. Gatch, *Preaching and theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 16-17. Ælfric's Latin Preface asks, 'Non mihi inputetur quod diuinam scripturam nostrae lingue infero, quia arguet me praecatus multorum fidelium et maxime æpelwerdi ducis et æpelmeri nostri, qui ardentissime nostras interpretationes Amplectuntur lectitando ...' (Let it not be considered as a fault in me that I turn sacred narrative into our own tongue, since the request of many of the faithful shall clear me in this matter, particularly that of the governor Æthelwerd, and of my friend Æthelmer, who most highly honour my translations by their perusal of them). His Old English Preface also begins, 'ÆLFRIC GRET EADMODLICE ÆÐELWERD EALDORMAN and ic secge þe leof . þæt ic hæbbe nu gegaderod on byssere bec þæra halgena browunga þe me to onhagode on englisc to awendene . for þan þe ðu leof swiðost and æpelmær swylcera gewrita me bædon ...' (Ælfric humbly greeteth alderman Æthelwerd, and I tell thee, beloved that, I have now collected in this book such Passions of the Saints as I have had leisure to translate into English, because that thou, beloved, and Æthelmær earnestly prayed me for such writings ...), Skeat, *Lives*, i, 4-5 (translations by Misses Gunning and Wilkinson for Skeat).

<sup>13</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, 293-5, notes that the exposition of the Gospel is omitted from three homilies in this manuscript, namely *De passione apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, *De Sancto Michaele archangelo* and *De Sancto Andrea apostolo* (articles 1, 19 and 22 of Vitellius D XVII).

<sup>14</sup> M. Gatch, 'The office in late Anglo-Saxon monasticism', *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England: studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, eds M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: University Press, 1985), 341-62.

Milton Gatch has noted, the manuscript evidence suggests, among other things, that a new audience distinct from the monastic community had begun to exert its influence, that of the lay aristocracy,<sup>15</sup> which demanded innovations in the ways that hagiography and other pious works were assembled and presented for non-liturgical use. Along these lines, Michael Lapidge has also suggested that Vitellius D XVII and a twelfth-century collection may represent attempts to compile an Ælfric passional for private devotional reading. He calculates that the manuscript contains nearly all of Ælfric's homilies for the Sanctorale, and compares this with Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.1.33, which contains a similarly comprehensive collection, disordered and omitting any non-hagiographical material from the Ælfrician texts.<sup>16</sup> Vitellius D XVII's contents include twelve homilies from the first series of the *Catholic Homilies* and fifteen from the second series, alongside twenty-five from the set of *Lives of Saints*, the latter part of the manuscript being a straight run of material from the *Lives* collection.<sup>17</sup> We find such combinations of homilies in several manuscripts and where Ælfric may have preferred to avoid creating such hybrids, others obviously did not.<sup>18</sup> As Milton Gatch observes:

It is true that Ælfric was regarded by eleventh-century writers of English as an authoritative figure, that his sermons were often the basis of new collections, and

<sup>15</sup> Gatch, *Preaching*, discusses the audiences for homiletic material in Part Two, 'The uses of the Old English sermons', especially 38-9, and 47-59.

<sup>16</sup> M. Lapidge, 'The saintly life in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Cambridge companion to Old English literature*, eds M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge: University Press, 1991), 243-263, at 256. Clemoes 'Chronology', 236, in his demonstration that this was not due to Ælfric, points out that these collections, attested by several manuscripts including Vitellius D XVII and Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.1.33, introduce only one new homily, that on St Vincent, divided between CUL Ii.1.33, which contains the *Passio* of St Vincent, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343, which contains the pericope exposition associated with this piece.

<sup>17</sup> Clemoes 'Chronology', 236, shows that the apparent disorder of such collections is accounted for by the scribal division of labour and the use of different exemplars in different parts of the manuscript. Four scribes can be seen to operate in the extant part of Vitellius D XVII, each carrying on the work of the other in a continuous fashion, sometimes in the middle of a text. If different exemplars were used to create the manuscript, it would not seem that this is directly related to the scribal division of labour. As for evidence of different exemplars, Clemoes finds that the items from the first series of *Catholic Homilies* have diverse origins. Godden, *Homilies*, lix, does not find evidence either for or against the use of different exemplars in the items from the second series. There are no substantive variants in the items from the *Lives of Saints* when compared with London, BL, MS Julius E VII and other manuscripts containing items from the set, demonstrating that no revision of the set took place in Vitellius D XVII. According to Godden, the manuscript testifies to the early form of the second series, but also includes a late homily for a Confessor bishop.

<sup>18</sup> Clemoes, 'Chronology', 236, lists London, BL, MSS Otho B X, Vitellius D XVII, Gloucester Cathedral MS 35, and additions in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 198, all of the first half of the eleventh century, and CCCC MS 303, CCCC MS 367, CUL MS Ii.1.33 and Bodley MS 343, all of the twelfth century. A more detailed examination of these manuscripts, their extant material and what is described in Wanley's catalogue, may shed light upon the relationship between their arrangement and their audiences. The order of items in Vitellius D XVII is apparently random in terms of subject matter, and yet the material from each of the series of homilies by Ælfric is largely intermingled, apart from the run of material from the *Lives* set at the end of the manuscript which matches the chronological order of the church year.

that his works became standard items for libraries. But at the same time as one must acknowledge his celebrity, he must also observe that his standards, his principles and his directives were not followed.<sup>19</sup>

If this was to be a passional based on the work of Ælfric, however, the inclusion of the anonymous pieces in the manuscript must be explained. The three pieces, all hagiographical, are: the *passio* of St Eustace, the *Life of Saint Pantaleon* and the tract on the *Burial places of the saints*. The text for St Eustace is missing eight out of the ten folios which Humphrey Wanley's catalogue records, but is extant in Julius E VII.<sup>20</sup> The tract on the *Burial places of the saints* is now lost, other versions occurring in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, and London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, and may have been added to the manuscript much later.<sup>21</sup> The uniquely extant Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon*, however, has lost only one folio in the Cotton fire, and as it is the least damaged of these three, this is the text which I have chosen to concentrate on here. My concern is with the range of meanings which the anonymous text may have held for the compiler or the possibly lay patron who wished this piece to be included among the Ælfrician collection of saints' lives. In my study of the text, I focus particularly on the ways it articulates attitudes towards authority, tradition, regeneration and metamorphosis which may influence reception of the manuscript as a whole.

As a text the Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon* has been largely neglected by scholars, due to its status as an anonymous saint's life. Thus far, the only study available is part of an unpublished edition by Patricia Matthews of 1965-66.<sup>22</sup> We may never discover how St Pantaleon came to be venerated in England; it seems that any cult of Pantaleon existed only briefly in the Anglo-Saxon period as his name is first mentioned in a Canterbury calendar dated between 1012 and 1023; it appears in all the subsequent Old English calendars except one from Sherbourne, c. 1061.<sup>23</sup> The relics of Pantaleon are

<sup>19</sup> Gatch, *Preaching*, 121.

<sup>20</sup> The evidence of the two manuscripts together suggests that this text may have been early associated with the set of *Lives of Saints* issued by Ælfric.

<sup>21</sup> In Wanley's time, at least, this was placed at the close of the manuscript. P. Clemoes (ed.), *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the first series* Early English Text Society s.s. xvii (Oxford, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1997), 62, n.2, shows that Wanley describes the manuscript as having three components, only two of which are identified, being the Latin items at the beginning and the saints' lives. If the text was originally part of the manuscript its position suggests that it may just be tacked on to the collection of saints' lives, rather than being considered by the compiler to be integral. D. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vii (1978), 61-93, notes that the first half of the tract relates principally to Northumbria and the Midlands in the pre-Viking period, and the second half relates mainly to southern and eastern England in the period of West Saxon domination and of the tenth-century ecclesiastical reform.

<sup>22</sup> P. Matthews, 'The Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon*' (University College London, M.A. dissertation, 1965-66). An edition of the text is planned by Philip Pulsiano.

<sup>23</sup> F. Wormald, *English kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society, lxxii (London: Boydell Press, 1935, reprinted 1988).

documented in the relic-lists of nine institutions, dating between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup> Some, at least, of these may have been circulating in England in the eleventh century, and may have been the inspiration for the translation of Pantaleon's Latin *passio*. When and where the Old English text was produced and reproduced will probably always remain opaque. The initial act of translation into Old English, however, is unlikely to coincide with the text's inclusion in Vitellius D XVII's collection.<sup>25</sup>

In her edition of the text, Matthews has studied a range of possible Latin sources, her emphasis being upon the Old English text as an act of translation. The Latin text found by Ker and Matthews to be closest to the likely source is designated so on the grounds of its similarity to the Old English it is supposed to have inspired. There are few major differences between the two texts and Matthews's work has been to locate those differences and explain them in terms of the Old English redactor's mistranslation and error. However, the prioritizing of identity in the source studies enterprise assumes that Old English writers are predominantly conservative in their use of source materials. Unless they are illustrious authors such as Ælfric, homily-writers are viewed by scholars as prone to the unimaginative aping of their Latin predecessors, a trait as reprehensible as the dull scribal reproduction of exemplars which is imagined by some textual critics. In reality, the choice of a source for a text is more complicated than the discovery of verbal or formal similarity, and thoroughly secure sources must be few. Also problematic in the study of the Old English text is the prevalent critical notion that the act of translation from Latin into the vernacular involved some corruption and deterioration of the source material, rather than a positive change into another language. Ælfric himself voices such concerns, and his mistrust of

<sup>24</sup> I.G. Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England', (University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1974), 444. Pantaleon's notoriety on the continent is related to the miraculous liquefaction of his blood which is said to occur annually, comparable to the spectacle associated with St Januarius. M. Lapidge (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon litanies of the saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society, cvi (London: The Boydell Press, 1991), 133, 164, 189, 195, 215, 236, shows that his name appears in extant litanies associated for the most part with other centres, although Winchester may have had some interest in the saint, since he appears in the twelfth-century Winchester relic-list and in two litanies with links to Winchester and the female community of Shaftesbury. Matthews, *Pantaleon*, 32-3, imagines that the translation of this text into Old English was due to the pious gratitude of Gyda, the lay benefactress of the monastery of St Pantaleon at Cologne, whose son was healed through the agency of Pantaleon after being mauled by a bear. However, the connections between Cologne and England were stronger in the twelfth century than the eleventh.

<sup>25</sup> Matthews, *Pantaleon*, 155, claims to find evidence in the manuscript that the Old English has been copied from a previous exemplar, although this is only a tentative idea. The Old English text begins with the Latin rubric 'Incipit passio s̄ci pantaleonis qui passus est in ciuitate nicomedia sub maximiano impenrtore' (fo. 41<sup>v</sup>). The 'impenrtore' should read 'imperator', and Matthews contends that 'this may perhaps indicate that the transcriber or translator had before him a MS. in which the *a* of this word was open at the top and the *l* looped ... If [this] is correct, then it seems probable that the scribe was copying an OE. MS. in which the word was written in this way rather than translating direct from a L. MS. in which the handwriting was all of this character, since there is no evidence of the same mistake occurring again'.

the vernacular and the act of translation can be heard in his Latin preface to the *Lives of Saints*, extant in Julius E VII.<sup>26</sup> This preface describes his translation as 'exact sense for sense',<sup>27</sup> and Ælfric is anxious to assure us that no adaptation has taken place. As Joyce Hill points out, Ælfric was consciously concerned with the problem of translating without breaking the chain of authority, both in terms of the manuscript transmission of material and in terms of the very act of translation as it emphasizes the disjunction between the two languages involved.<sup>28</sup> The medium is altered and it is the medium which determines a large part of the message's import. The medium of Old English, in the *Life of Saint Pantaleon*, I would say, has a definite influence on the Old English message, and the use of source studies seems valid to me more properly as a means of appreciating the skills of the redactor in conveying the text to a new audience.

My approach, then, considers the vernacular version of the *Life* as an evolution of the Latin material, where the shifts of meaning are subtle and reflect a particularly Anglo-Saxon mode of reception. The narrative is basically identical in the Latin and the Old English versions:<sup>29</sup> in brief, Pantaleon adopts Christianity in days when the state government of Nicomedia under Emperor Maximian is pagan. He arouses the professional jealousy of the pagan doctors by his skill in healing and is subsequently brought before Maximian and asked to recant his Christianity by sacrificing to the pagan gods; he refuses to do so, and is then persecuted alongside his teacher, Hermolaus, and Hermolaus's two brothers. Pantaleon is eventually killed, by beheading, at the hands of reluctant swordsmen.

I believe that the redactor was profoundly aware of the act of producing a vernacular version of the Latin text for an Anglo-Saxon audience. It seems to me that the Old English text exhibits a self-consciousness of its dual status, the first significant development being that the Old English version is actually bilingual, retaining some phrases from the Latin, often at key moments when Pantaleon is in communion with his Christian God. This is a usage which begins with the Latin rubric at the opening of the narrative, followed by the very conventional address in Old English:

<sup>26</sup> 'Nec tamen plura promitto me scripturum hac lingua, quia nec conuenit huic sermocinationi plura inseri; ne forte despectui habeantur margarite christi.' (I do not promise, however, to write very many in this tongue, because it is not fitting that many should be translated into our language, lest peradventure the pearls of Christ be had in disrespect.), Skeat, *Lives*, i, 2-3.

<sup>27</sup> '... tamen sensum ex sensu', Skeat, *Lives*, i, 4. In the Old English Preface, following, Ælfric asserts that, 'Ne secge we nan þincg niwes on þissere gesetnysse' (we say nothing new in this book ...), Skeat, *Lives*, i, 4-5.

<sup>28</sup> Hill, 'Translating the tradition', 1996.

<sup>29</sup> The Old English text is missing one folio, which contains roughly sixty lines, close to the beginning of the narrative and so its similarity to the extant Latin versions cannot be presumed throughout.



*Incipit passio s̄ci pantaleonis qui passus est in ciuitate n[ico]media sub maximiano impenrtore*<sup>30</sup>.

Geherað nu men þa leofestan hwæt her segð on þysum b[ocum] be þam halgan pantaleone þam cnihte. Segð her þæt he wære þrowigende in nicomedia þære ceastre under maximia[no] þam casere.<sup>31</sup>

The key moments in the text, where this technique is later used, often coincide with quotations, spoken by Pantaleon, of extracts from the Psalms (the text on fo. 44<sup>v</sup> refers to Ps. 85 and Ps. 7, and on fo. 43<sup>r</sup> refers to Ps. 128), the redactor often supplying a kind of shorthand version of the Latin. The example below is independent of the Psalm quotations but demonstrates the complex reformulations achieved by the redactor of the Latin version, which is here printed below the Old English:

*Glā tibi ih̄u x̄pe quia non solum*, he cwæð wuldor þe sy drihten hælend crist forðan nis na þæt an þæt þas men for ðe þrowadon . ac þas wildeor þa þe [h]eofiað me to sweltanne . þonne an seo hrinan of þinum ...<sup>32</sup>

Gloria tibi, domine; magna est enim gloria tua quia non solum homines propter nomen tuum patiuntur sed et fere elegerunt magis mori quam ut tangerent unum de seruis tuis.

Glory to you, Lord. For so great is your glory that not only on account of your name have men suffered but even the wild animals have preferred to die rather than touch one of your servants.<sup>33</sup>

This bilingualism exists within a framework which emphasizes dualities where these can be found in the text; several other features of the text underline the motif of duality, and relate this to the theme of religious conversion as it parallels the act of translation, often specifically in the realm of dialogue between those in earthly authority (Maximian and his followers) and those in heavenly authority, (Pantaleon, the Christian God, and the other Christian characters of the text). Examples include the imagery of the leaf and the sword, drawn from the Psalms as these relate to Pantaleon's experience of suffering and redemption. Ps. 63 is quoted by Pantaleon, in Old English only, at fo. 48<sup>r</sup> lines 9-12:

geher þu drihten mine stefne [mi]d þære þe ic to þe cleopige .7 gefreolse mine sawle fram þæs feondes ege .7 bescild þu me fram yfelra manna worda .7 fram þære mænige þe unriht wyrcað . forðan mæn nu scærpað [h]eora tungan wið me swa oðer sweord ...<sup>34</sup>

This excerpt recalls an earlier reference (fo. 47<sup>r</sup> line 26 - fo. 48<sup>v</sup> line 3) to Ps. 108 which describes the destructive aspects of speech in contrast to his own creative and positive speech acts in the form of

<sup>30</sup> See note 25 on this spelling in the manuscript.

<sup>31</sup> fo. 41<sup>r</sup> lines 1-5.

<sup>32</sup> fo. 44<sup>r</sup> lines 12-14.

<sup>33</sup> Latin quotations are from Italy, Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Pluteus XX, Codex III, fos 116<sup>r</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>, here lines 448-51. The line numbers of this text follow the transcription in Matthews, *Pantaleon*, 132-52 (referred to henceforth as 'Matthews's transcription'). Translations from the Latin are reproduced with the kind permission of Mr and Mrs E. Soliva.

<sup>34</sup> Matthews, *Pantaleon*, 192, finds other Latin versions to be closer to the Old English text at this point, as they give a more complete quotation of the Psalm.

prayer and praise of his God. Both the psalm references appear in the Latin versions studied by Matthews, and cannot be said to be 'original' to the redactor, who nevertheless ensures that the verbal echoes from the Latin remain intact in the Old English to connect the two instances. The image of the sword is especially relevant given the ultimate outcome of the persecution experienced by Pantaleon, that he is beheaded by swordsmen, and it seems that the redactor was concerned to retain the prophetic force of the psalm as it appears in the Latin text. Where the sword's double-edged imagery signifies danger and imminent violence, the imagery of the leaf, at fo. 48<sup>v</sup> lines 5-6, followed by an extract from Ps. 8, can signify the alternative to violence, within the redemptive power of the Christian God, and the continuity of Pantaleon's faith with the natural laws of the universe:

.7 þa wearð se stan sona of[. . . . .7 he] ongan [fleotan]ofer þam wætere swa oðer leaf .7 þa genam drihten hine be þære hand .7 he hine gelædde to þam [ofre 7 þa on]gan he singan .7 cweþan . Ic þe andetta on ealre [minre] heortan ...

The character of Pantaleon is developed by the redactor in the Old English as the saint becomes more clearly pivotal, not only voicing the interests of both languages which have, in effect, produced his story as it stands in the manuscript, but also mediating between old and new religions, acting as the catalyst to conversion and, metatextually, translation. His relationship to authority, represented by the father-figures of Maximian, Hermolaus and his biological father, may well reflect the redactor's perception of his own relationship with the Latin authority from whence he draws the substance of the Old English text.

Pantaleon is the bearer of the new religion which he has discovered through the agency of Hermolaus, a spiritual father, and he is entrusted with the responsibility of engendering belief among others. Pantaleon attempts, successfully, to teach these new beliefs to his real father, so that there is an exchange of traditional roles. Acceptance of Christianity in the saint's life genre frequently entails death, and the narrative is accordingly arranged so that the father dies soon after his conversion, although he is not martyred. Where the father accepts his son's authority, Emperor Maximian refuses and is furious that his own authority should be challenged, responding with violence. By these means there are again shown to be two options available in the enactment of an evolutionary change: the most striking of these is the violent confrontation which is the hallmark of the *passio* genre. Maximian stands opposed to Pantaleon in a state of hysterical fear while Pantaleon remains rational and courageous. Their language illustrates the highly polarized differences between them as Pantaleon is much more vocal, in every respect, than his adversary. The Old English Pantaleon is not only bilingual, but is usually said to sing and speak when he is quoting from the Psalms. The example below shows the textual use of Ps. 85:

þa wæs he singende 7 cweþende . *Inclina domine aurem tuam ad me* . he cwæð.  
Drihten onheld þin eara to me ...<sup>35</sup>

... qui ueniens psallebat dicens, 'Inclina, domine, aurem tuam ad me ...'<sup>36</sup>  
... who came, singing a psalm, with the words, 'Incline thine ear to me O Lord ...'

The use of Latin excerpts in the Old English text has the effect of supplying the text twice. The only possible reason for this verbal excess is that the Latin is impressive and confers authority on those who use it; it is after all the language of authority and religious truth, and the redactor recognizes this and clearly enjoys exploiting it while simultaneously denying it mastery over the vernacular text he is creating. Pantaleon, like the redactor, is in full control of his language while Maximian is not; the saint's versatility is contrasted with a mute Maximian whose words, when he does speak, are more often than not expressed in reported speech. When he expresses himself directly in the Old English text, he is unconscious of the irony of his words, and that they are fully out of his control.

Word-play and a general linguistic awareness can be found throughout the Old English text. The Latin text performs a key role in demonstrating the meaning of the saint's name and his function of exemplary behaviour and intercession in the saintly sphere. *Pantaleimon*, meaning 'all-compassionate' in Greek, is the new name given to Pantaleon in the Latin text, whereby he retains his individual character by virtue of the verbal similarity, but is also, at his death, born into eternal life and his new role.

Et uox de caelo facta est dicens, 'Serue meus bone fidelis, completa sunt desideria tua; aperti sunt tibi caeli, chorus angelorum te expectat, corona tua parata est. Iam non diceris pantaleon sed pantaleimon, id est omnium miserans, unde et multos liberaturus es. Tu enim spes nauigantium et refugium egenorum, susceptor quoque eorum qui opprimuntur et egrogantium medicus ac demonum persecutor.'<sup>37</sup>

And a voice came from the heavens saying, 'My good and faithful servant, your wishes are fulfilled. The heavens are opened to you, the choir of angels is awaiting you, your crown is ready. Now you will not be called Pantaleon but Pantaleimon, which means Compassionate to All, and from now on you will free many people. For you are the hope of sailors and the refuge of the needy, supporter of the oppressed, doctor of the sick and persecutor of devils.'

The redactor does not attempt to convey this, possibly because this would require engagement with the linguistic richness of not two languages here but three. Instead the redactor takes the opportunity to initiate new word-play, puns and irony in the Old English text, with the emphasis on moral concepts available to an unlearned

<sup>35</sup> fo. 44<sup>v</sup> lines 11-13.

<sup>36</sup> Matthews's transcription, lines 475-6.

<sup>37</sup> Matthews's transcription, lines 594-602.

audience: for example, the semantic range of words such as *sodlice* and *forlætene* is exploited to its fullest at important points in the text:

7 þa cwæð þæt folc . bebeod nu þæt mon mycel hweol arære .7 he sy gebunden to þam ilcan hweole .7 sy þænne ahofen on heanyse 7 sy þænne forlæten þæt his lichama mæge beon tobrocen 7 he swa sawle forlæte.<sup>38</sup>

Qui dixerunt ei, 'Iube fieri rotam, et ligetur ad eam et tollatur in altum locum et dimittatur ex inde, et sic male ut dignus est, carnes eius dirumpantur, et pereat.'<sup>39</sup>

They said to him, 'Have a wheel made and fasten him to it and carry it to a high place and throw it down from there, and in this way, very badly as he deserves, his flesh will be torn and he will die.'

As part of the tortures devised by Maximian, Pantaleon is attached to a wheel, *þæt his lichama mæge beon tobrocen 7 he swa sawle forlæte*. The word *forlæte* refers back to previous usage in the clause, *7 he sy gebunden to þam ilcan hweole 7 sy þænne ahofen on heanyse 7 sy þænne forlæten*. A relationship of cause and effect is established, so that when the wheel is abandoned, or let go, the soul is abandoned by the body, the man dies. The next time this word is used, an amplification of this idea occurs: Maximian threatens the growing crowd of Pantaleon's followers with:

gif ge beoð gehwerfde þæt ge urum godum onsægan . þænne beo ge forlætene 7 ge witodlice ne beoð acwealde<sup>40</sup>

Omnes quoque in christo credentes iussit occidi, si conuerti noluissent ad sacrificia ydolorum<sup>41</sup>

He ordered all believers in Christ to be put to death, if they refused to be converted to offering sacrifices to the idols.

The word *forlætene* has, initially, positive meaning in that the crowd could be set free, but the secondary meaning lurks, out of Maximian's control, that acceptance of the pagan gods leads to abandonment by the Christian deity. The word *sodlice* is given a similar treatment by the redactor, as it accumulates resonances when used by Maximian, demonstrating his duplicity, to be later restored by Pantaleon to its single original meaning. The techniques required for the Anglo-Saxon audience to appreciate these features depend upon memory more extensively than the Latin style of word-play which is local and immediate in effect. The Old English text's subnarrative, as it were, is conducted across several folios in the manuscript and the significant words accrue meaning, encouraging retrospective reading.

The Old English text offers, generally, far greater incidence of direct speech than its Latin counterpart, the redactor converting much reported speech and authorial commentary into living idiom. Existing speeches are also expanded to exploit dramatic potential in the Latin

<sup>38</sup> fo. 44<sup>r</sup> line 26 - fo. 44<sup>v</sup> line 1.

<sup>39</sup> Matthews's transcription, lines 461-4.

<sup>40</sup> fo. 44<sup>v</sup> lines 7-9.

text. The oral and performative roots of Anglo-Saxon literature may certainly have influenced this reshaping of the Latin narrative. In addition to the bilingualism displayed by Pantaleon, then, more voices generally speak in the Old English text just as the redactor has to accommodate more languages in the narrative than the Latin author. This polyglossia relates to the polymorphism achieved by several of the characters. Christ often appears in the form of Hermolaus and this becomes an opportunity for some word-play in the Old English text. One example of this occurs when Hermolaus is questioned as to his identity by Maximian and replies:

þa cwæð se casere hwylc is þis sa mæssepreost gehaten .7 þa cwæð se preost . her ic eam æteowed ermolaus 7 min nama is witodlice mara gehaten . þæt is ic eam cristen.<sup>42</sup>

Cumque uidessit imperator hermolaum, dixit ei, 'Quid diceris?' Respondit ei presbyter, 'A parentibus meis hermolaus uocor; christianus sum.'<sup>43</sup>

When the Emperor saw Hermolaus, he said to him, 'What are you called?' The priest answered him, 'My parents gave me the name of Hermolaus. I am a Christian.'

Matthews finds that the translation of the Latin is a 'veritable howler' because of the misreading of *a parentibus* as *apparere*.<sup>44</sup> However, the Old English word *æteowed* ('shown', 'manifested') is used on other occasions of Christ's appearance in the text and reinforces the indeterminacy of Hermolaus. The phrase, *min nama is witodlice mara gehaten* signals the peeling away of another layer of Hermolaus's identity, and has a teasing, riddling quality. If this were to be delivered orally, the effect of the final phrase is complete. An audience would hear momentarily the announcement *ic eam crist-* before the final *-en* is enunciated, demonstrating the complexity of Hermolaus as an agent of the Christian revelation. Both polyglossia and polymorphism are unique to the Old English version of the story and can be regarded as references to the changing language and form of the text as it is converted from Latin to Old English, to suit a new cultural environment.

The Old English text is completed by a reference to the biblical myth of Creation:

Ac lufige we nu men þa leofestan þæne halgan godes martyr .7 him mid eadmodnysse toclypian .7 hine biddan þæt he us þingige to þam drihtene se þe gesceop heofonas .7 eorðan on syx dagan .7 on þæne seofodan dæge he hine gehreste fram ælcum weorce 7 he þa bebead þæt mon þa ilcan bysene heolde ...<sup>45</sup>

This is a feature which is wholly unprecedented in any of the possible Latin sources examined by Matthews and must be considered the

<sup>41</sup> Matthews's transcription, lines 471-3.

<sup>42</sup> fo. 42<sup>r</sup> lines 22-3.

<sup>43</sup> Matthews's transcription, lines 516-19.

<sup>44</sup> Matthews, *Pantaleon*, 211.

<sup>45</sup> fo. 50<sup>r</sup> lines 7-13.

invention of the redactor, drawing the attention of the Anglo-Saxon audience to the theme of creation and evolutionary transformation as it produces the Old English text and informs the narrative. Simultaneously this ending upholds the value of *bysen*, the pattern or example of the past, in other words, tradition.

In the ways I have tried to illustrate, and many others, the redactor is both indebted to the Latin source and independent of it. The Old English text is the site where the old and the new forms exert their influence. While it is safest to assume that at least one other manuscript intervenes in the chain linking the Latin text to the extant Old English text in Vitellius D XVII, this does not invalidate the understanding drawn from detailed reading of the Old English text and comparison with a close Latin version, as this material can still be said to articulate the concerns of the manuscript, and certainly adds its voice to the company within, modifying the effect produced by the collection of Ælfrician texts. It is tempting to suggest that the inclusion of this text in the central portion of the manuscript demonstrates the centrality of its themes to the compiler's agenda, but it is only one voice in the multi-layered and multivocal text that is the manuscript. It is a voice which clearly promotes the recontextualizing of narratives to suit new environments and new audiences. This occurs when Latin hagiographical material is crafted into a vernacular form and when Old English texts are selected and rearranged to form the collection as it stands in Vitellius D XVII.

Authority and convention are challenged, then, in both the text and its context. This must signal that the reception of hagiographical material in the first half of the eleventh century involved a willingness to experiment with new texts and new contexts for the existing Ælfrician canon. Both text and context here testify to the evolution of the hagiographic genre and an active engagement by the redactor, the compiler and also the audiences in the dialogue offered by all the homilists of the period.