

# Private Study and Opportune Words: Wisdom in the Old English *Pastoral Care*

Amy Faulkner

To cite this article: Amy Faulkner (17 Jan 2025): Private Study and Opportune Words: Wisdom in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, English Studies, DOI: [10.1080/0013838X.2024.2448461](https://doi.org/10.1080/0013838X.2024.2448461)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0013838X.2024.2448461>



© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 17 Jan 2025.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 45



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

# Private Study and Opportune Words: Wisdom in the Old English *Pastoral Care*

Amy Faulkner

Department of English Language and Literature, University College London, London, UK

## ABSTRACT

Although much has been written on the significance of wisdom in the famous Prose Preface to the *Pastoral Care*, less consideration has been given to the main text of the translation itself. By reading this translation alongside not only its well-known paratexts, but also other translations associated with King Alfred, this paper uncovers the Old English translator's treatment of wisdom, with focus on the tension between pursuing wisdom through private contemplation and the application of that wisdom as part of public service, especially through teaching. Close reading of departures from Gregory's Latin in the Old English text reveal an anxiety about wisdom pursued in isolation, cut off from any practical, public benefit, which forms a notable contrast to the central ideology of the philosophical Alfredian dialogues.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 25 July 2024  
Accepted 24 December 2024

## KEYWORDS

Old English literature; Pope Gregory I; King Alfred; wisdom

Wisdom (OE *wisdom*) is at the heart of many of the translations historically attributed to Alfred the Great.<sup>1</sup> The most striking example is, perhaps, the Old English translation of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae*, in which the female figure of *Philosophia* is transformed into male *Wisdom*. The reader of the Old English *Boethius*, moreover, learns that "se wisdom is God" ("wisdom is God") and in the Old English translation of Augustine's *Soliloquia* wisdom is shown to be the "hehste good" ("highest good").<sup>2</sup> The very form of these texts, in which the first-person speaker becomes increasingly wise through an internal dialogue with *Wisdom* or *Gesceadwisnes* ("reason"), offers a model for attaining divine wisdom through private contemplation.<sup>3</sup> In both the *Boethius*

**CONTACT** Amy Faulkner  amy.faulkner@ucl.ac.uk

<sup>1</sup>Although King Alfred of Wessex (d. 899 CE) was believed to be the author of several Old English translations from Latin, mostly in prose, some of which feature prefaces or other paratexts which identify him as author, in the years since Malcolm Godden's seminal article, "Did Alfred Write Anything?", Alfred's authorship has become increasingly less certain, in spite of Janet Bately's direct response to Godden, "Did Alfred Actually Translate Anything?". For an overview of the authorship question, see Faulkner and Leneghan, "Introduction".

<sup>2</sup>Lockett, ed. and trans., "*Soliloquies*", 246 (l.70); see also the following discussion of wisdom, 246–54 (l.70–79). Godden and Irvine, ed. and trans., *Old English Boethius* I, 378 (B41.113). All translations from Old English are my own unless otherwise specified.

<sup>3</sup>On the development of the inner self, self-knowledge and the pursuit of wisdom in the Old English *Boethius* see Brooks, "Intimacy, Interdependence, and Interiority"; Fox, "Ethical History of the Self"; and Faulkner, *Wealth and the Material World*, 85–114.

and the *Soliloquies*, this introspective pursuit of wisdom emerges as a means of not only examining and developing one's inner self but also approaching God.<sup>4</sup>

When it comes to the Old English *Pastoral Care*, much has been made of the repeated allusions to wisdom in the famous Prose Preface, especially in relation to the alliterative pairing of *wisdom* and *wela* ("wealth").<sup>5</sup> This preface, which takes the form of a letter from King Alfred to his bishops, is preoccupied with wisdom: Alfred (or somebody writing in his voice) firstly laments the decline of wisdom in his realm, with particular emphasis on the deterioration of Latin literacy.<sup>6</sup> In his musings on how this loss of learning came about, Alfred comes to the conclusion that wisdom must be actively cultivated, or else lost through lack of use: "Ond forðæm we habbað nu ægðer forlæten ge ðone welan ge ðone wisdom, forðæm we noldon to ðæm spore mid ure mode onlutan" ("and we have therefore lost both wealth and wisdom, because we would not bow our minds to the track").<sup>7</sup> Moving from the past state of affairs into the future, the king outlines his plans for a twofold solution to his subjects' poor state of learning, firstly through the establishment of schools for all otherwise-unoccupied (therefore, most likely, noble) youths, and, secondly, the translation of all books "most necessary for everyone to know".<sup>8</sup> As Nicole Guenther Discenza argues in relation to the Prose Preface: "Wealth and wisdom are connected; both participate in one social economy. Wealth is economic capital. Wisdom, as part of public discourse, is symbolic and cultural capital". The accumulation or deterioration of wisdom, then, can have a very real effect on national prosperity, as made clear in the Prose Preface.<sup>9</sup>

Less attention has been given to the place of wisdom in the main text of the Old English *Pastoral Care*.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, as a translation, the *Pastoral Care* has received far less interest than the *Boethius* and *Soliloquies*, both of which feature lengthy additions. At first glance, the translator of the *Pastoral Care* seems to replicate Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* with great fidelity; the lack of any substantial, original passages in the Old English seems to offer little opportunity for gleaning the translator's aims,

<sup>4</sup>The *Prose Psalms*, another Old English translation associated with Alfred the Great, is less explicitly concerned with wisdom than the *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies*, but does place more emphasis on the mind than its source, the Latin Romanum Psalter; see further Faulkner, "Mind in the Old English Prose Psalms". The Old English translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*, apparently commissioned by Alfred, has not traditionally been viewed as a text concerned with either the mind or wisdom; however, Jorgensen, "Emotion, Morality, and Agency", 352–4, argues that Wærferth's translation anticipates the other Alfredian translations in its "detailed attention to the workings of the mind", and shares with those texts an "interest in personal spiritual development, and the question of the nature of the soul and mind".

<sup>5</sup>Shippey, "Wealth and Wisdom"; Nelson, "Wealth and Wisdom".

<sup>6</sup>Morrish, "King Alfred's Letter", calls into question the veracity of Alfred's claims; see, on the other hand, Gneuss, "King Alfred". For an assessment of the historical reality of Alfred's lament see Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation*, 11–14.

<sup>7</sup>Irvine, ed. and trans., *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 72, lines 33–5.

<sup>8</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 72, lines 48–50: "Forðy me ðyncð betre, gif iow swæ ðyncð, ðæt we eac suma bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne, ðæt we ða on ðæt geðiode wenden ðe we ealle gecnawan mægen" ("therefore it seems better to me, if it seems so to you, that we also translate some books, those which are most necessary for everyone to know, into the language we can all understand"). Anlezark, "Which Books", argues that the phrase "most necessary" refers to Scripture; contemporary translations of Scripture include the Preface to Alfred's *Domboc* (a translation of Exodus 20:1–23:13) and the Prose Psalms. On the question of whether the schools mentioned in the Prose Preface would be established in each bishop's diocese or attached to the "itinerant court", see Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation*, 17.

<sup>9</sup>Discenza, "Wealth and Wisdom", 438.

<sup>10</sup>Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 189–90, does draw attention to the significance of wisdom in the Old English translation, as part of a broader study of the text, noting that words related to teaching and learning appear more frequently in the Old English than the Latin source. On the theme of wisdom in relation to the Prose Preface, Verse Epilogue and Alfred Jewel, see further Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 192–3; and Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation*, 21.

motivations or interests.<sup>11</sup> However, in recent years there has been a burgeoning awareness of the striking vernacularisation of Gregory's depiction of the mind and its processes.<sup>12</sup> Central to the question of the wisdom that the *Pastoral Care* cultivates is the audience to which it was directed. Although scholars such as Patrick Wormald have argued that the Old English translation was aimed at all sorts of leaders, secular as well as ecclesiastic, others have asserted that the audience of the translation is the same as the *Regula pastoralis*; as Malcolm Godden puts it: "This is an author who is very conscious that bishops are his primary target".<sup>13</sup> More recently, Daniel Anlezark has asserted that there is no evidence that the Old English text was modified for "readers other than bishops".<sup>14</sup> Certainly, the Prose Preface was addressed to Alfred's bishops and ends with the comment that a copy of the translation will be sent to each bishopric;<sup>15</sup> the Verse Preface, moreover, makes it clear that the translation was sent to the bishops who "Lædenspræce læste cuðon" ("least understood Latin").<sup>16</sup>

The relationship between the Prose Preface and the text that follows is a complicated one; as Godden has remarked, there is a "striking failure to say anything about the book itself" in the preface, which he connects to a deliberate obscuring of the bishops' somewhat embarrassing need for the "standard guide for bishops".<sup>17</sup> It remains, nonetheless, that the preface was attached to the translation in its earliest surviving forms, and indeed in many later forms.<sup>18</sup> The question of attaining and preserving wisdom, on a national level, is at the heart of the preface. This paper will argue that, by reading the main text of the Old English *Pastoral Care* alongside its paratexts and in comparison to the Latin source, it is possible to identify the translator's concern for the importance of

<sup>11</sup>Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 178–80, though Schreiber also notes that the translation does not normally follow "the Latin syntax or phraseology slavishly". The translator of the Old English *Pastoral Care* will be referred to in the singular, with male pronouns, for ease of comprehension, throughout this paper; however it should be noted firstly that it is not impossible that the translator was female and secondly that there is evidence to suggest that more than one author may have contributed to the translation; see Anlezark, "Old English *Pastoral Care*", 242–52.

<sup>12</sup>Lorden, "Desiring Mind"; Saltzman, "Mind"; O'Brien O'Keefe, "Inside, Outside". Wilcox, "Alfred's Epistemological Metaphors", includes the Old English *Pastoral Care* as part of a wider study of metaphors for the mind in Alfredian literature.

<sup>13</sup>Wormald, "Living with King Alfred", 15; see also Discenza, "Wealth and Wisdom", 454; for the opposing argument, see Godden, "Alfredian Prose", 148–9.

<sup>14</sup>Anlezark, "Old English *Pastoral Care*", 231; Anlezark notes that Carolingian bishops were given copies of the *Regula pastoralis* "as their rule of life", and that Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, "interrogated candidates for the episcopate about its contents". Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 190, observes that copies of the Old English translation seem to have been sent "not only to the bishops of Wessex, but of every part of England not under Danish control", offering both "spiritual guidance for the episcopate as well as practical advice for the preacher"; however, contrary to Anlezark, she finds that the Old English translation also serves as a mirror for princes (190–1).

<sup>15</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 72–4, lines 65–6: "Ond to ælcum bisepstole on minum rice wille ane onsendan" ("and I wish to send one to each bishopric in my kingdom").

<sup>16</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 76, line 16. Anlezark, "Old English *Pastoral Care*", 231, moreover, observes that there is evidence for ownership of surviving copies of the Old English *Pastoral Care* by bishops.

<sup>17</sup>Godden, "Prologues and Epilogues", 460.

<sup>18</sup>Five of the six surviving manuscripts of the Old English *Pastoral Care* contain the Prose Preface: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20 (S. C. 41113), datable to 890–896 with Bishop Wærferth as the addressee of the preface; London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. xi, with Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek 4° MS theol. 131, fragments from a fire-damaged manuscript datable to 890–896, preserved in a copy made by Junius; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 12, dating from the latter half of the tenth century; London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. ii, with London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. x, ff. 61, 63, 64, a fire-damaged copy dating from the latter part of the tenth or early eleventh century, derived from the copy sent to Bishop Hehstan; Cambridge, University Library, MS li. 2.4, dating from the third quarter of the eleventh century with Bishop Wulfsgie as the addressee of the preface (Ker, *Catalogue*, nos. 195, 324, 175, 30, 19; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 375, 626, 353, 37, 14). Susan Irvine notes that the omission of the Prose Preface from Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 5. 22 (717), fols. 72–158 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 87; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 180), dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century, is "almost certainly to be explained by loss in transmission" (Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 59). On the manuscripts of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, see further Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 176.

balancing the private pursuit of wisdom with the useful application of that wisdom through preaching and wise leadership, a concern which is directly relevant to the West Saxon episcopacy of the late ninth century.

## 1. *Wisdom in the Old English Pastoral Care*

Wisdom plays an important role throughout the Old English *Pastoral Care*, with the word *wisdom* forming a bridge between private introspection and preaching. On one hand it is associated with thought, contemplation and understanding, and on the other with teaching, guidance and modelling good moral practice.<sup>19</sup> As Matthew Kempshall observes of the *Regula pastoralis*, wisdom is “the primary qualification on which Gregory insisted, but it is a wisdom which has an intrinsic connection with teaching”.<sup>20</sup> Heightened significance falls on wisdom between chapters 35 and 39 in Book 3, a section which draws heavily on biblical examples attributed to Solomon.<sup>21</sup> For example: “Forðon wæs gesprečen ðurh ðone wisan Salomonn bi ðæm wisdome ðæt se wisdom wille sona fleon ðone ðe hine fliehð, ðonne he hine ful oft ær to him cleopað, ond he forsæcð ðæt he him to cume” (“Therefore it was said through the wise Solomon about wisdom that wisdom will immediately flee the one who flees it, when it has very often called out to him before, and he refuses to come to it”).<sup>22</sup> This section of the translation is clustered with sayings from the famously wise Solomon, many of them relating directly to the pursuit and importance of wisdom.<sup>23</sup>

However, wisdom is significant throughout the Old English *Pastoral Care*, as it is in Gregory’s own text. At times wisdom is discussed in the practical terms of the preacher’s relationship to his flock, elsewhere as part of biblical exegesis. For example, in the interpretation of the description of the priest’s vestments in Exodus 28:1–14, the gold that adorns the garment is interpreted as wisdom: “Æresð alra glengea ond ymesð scolde scinan gold on his hrægle – ðæt is ðætte on his mode scine ealra ðinga fyrmesð ongit wisdomes” (“Gold must shine first and uppermost of all adornments on his garment – that is that in his mind the understanding of wisdom shines foremost of all things”).<sup>24</sup> Wisdom here is framed in terms of understanding (“ongit wisdomes”), suggesting specifically the sort of wisdom that emerges from contemplation. Elsewhere wisdom is discussed in more practical, real-world terms, establishing a direct correlation between the teacher’s wisdom and the wellbeing of those for whom they are responsible: “oft for ðæs lareowas unwisdomes misfarað ða hieremenn, and oft for ðæs lareowes wisdom unwisum hieremonnum bið geborgen” (“often because of the teacher’s

<sup>19</sup>Contemplative practice in the *Regula pastoralis* is closely linked to the scrutiny and restraint of the inner self; see Ponirakis, “Steering the Ship of the Mind”, 60–63; and O’Brien O’Keeffe, “Inside, Outside”.

<sup>20</sup>Kempshall, “No Bishop, No King”, 111.

<sup>21</sup>This section corresponds to *Regula pastoralis* 3.11–15. On Solomon as an important model of wise kingship for Carolingian rulers, and the influence of that model upon Alfred the Great, see Pratt, *Political Thought*, 159–60; see also Kempshall, “No Bishop, No King”, 110–11; and Scharer, “Writing of History”, 192–3.

<sup>22</sup>3.36. Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 262; cf. *Regula pastoralis* 3.12 (Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, II, 322), where Solomon is not named. References to the Old English *Pastoral Care* are to book and chapter; note that the chapter numbering in the Old English version is continuous, unlike the Latin, in which the chapters begin at 1 at the start of each book. The text of Fulk’s edition is based ultimately on Hatton 20 (H), with variants and missing text supplied from other manuscripts (539–41). References to the *Regula pastoralis* are to book and chapter.

<sup>23</sup>See also, for example, 3.37 (Fulk, 282); and 3.38 (Fulk, 288 and 292).

<sup>24</sup>2.14. Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 92.

foolishness followers go astray, and often because of the teacher's wisdom foolish followers are saved").<sup>25</sup> Polyptoton ("wisdom" and "unwisum") emphasises the close connection between the wisdom cultivated by the teacher and the safety of their flock. While these two approaches to wisdom might seem to belong to two separate discourses, the one an exegetical comment on the ideal of wisdom in the abstract, the other a real-world warning, the Old English *Pastoral Care*, like its Latin source, marries abstract ideas with practical advice to create a comprehensive guide for both the philosophy of pursuing wisdom and its practical application.

In a similar way, a continuity emerges between wisdom that is pursued through private contemplation and the proper dissemination of that wisdom in public. For example, exegesis of Ezekiel 34: 18 results in a comment on the importance not only of the personal pursuit of divine wisdom, but also of the public modelling of the virtue inherent in that divine wisdom:<sup>26</sup>

"Ge fortrædon Godes sceapa gærs ond gedrefdon hiora wæter mid iowrum fotum, ðeah ge hit ær undrefed druncen." Sua ða lareowas: hi drincað suiðe hluter wæter, ðone hi ðone godcundan wisdom leorniað, ond eac ðonne hie hiene lærað; ac hie hit gedrefað mid hira agnum unðeawum, ðonne ðæt folc bisenað on hira unðeawum, nals on hira lare. ðeah ðæt folc ðyrste ðære lare, hie hie ne magon drincan, ac hio bið gedrefed mid ðam ðe ða lareowas oðer doð oðer hie lærað (1.2).<sup>27</sup>

("You trampled the grass of God's sheep and sullied their water with your feet, though you had already drunk it unsullied." Thus the teachers: they drink very clear water, when they learn divine wisdom, and also when they teach it; but they sully it with their own vices, when the people take an example from their vices,<sup>28</sup> not from their teaching. Though the people thirst after the teaching, they cannot drink it, but rather it is sullied when the teachers do other than what they teach.)

Gregory's tropological interpretation connects the image of clear water from this prophetic book of the Bible with a readily applicable lesson for his readers, while at the same time demonstrating the close connection between the wisdom that teachers might pursue in private contemplation and the active demonstration of that wisdom through exemplary moral conduct in public.

## 2. The Active and Contemplative Lives

The balancing of these two lives, contemplative and active, is characteristic of Gregory the Great, who in his own life was pulled between the demands of his papal duties and his desire for private contemplation. An acknowledgement of this tension can be found in the *Dialogi*:

infelix quippe animus meus occupationis suae pulsatus vulnere meminit qualis aliquando in monasterium fuit, quomodo ei labentia cuncta subter erant, quantum rebus omnibus quae voluntur eminebat [...] at nunc ex occasione curae pastoralis saecularium hominum negotia patitur, ut post tam pulchram quietis suae speciem terreni actus pulvere fedatur.

<sup>25</sup>1.1. Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 30.

<sup>26</sup>See Leneghan, "Royal Wisdom", 83–5, on the moral function of a ruler's wisdom in the Old English *Pastoral Care*.

<sup>27</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 32–4.

<sup>28</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 35, translates "ðonne ðæt folc bisenað on hira unðeawum" as "when they give example to the people by their own bad ways". Cameron, *et al.*, *Dictionary of Old English* (henceforth *DOE*), s.v. *bysnian*, supports the translation given here.

(With my unhappy soul languishing under a burden of distractions, I recall those earlier days in the monastery where all the fleeting things of time were in a world below me, and I could rise far above the vanities of life. [...] But now all the beauty of that spiritual repose is gone, and the contact with worldly men and their affairs, which is a necessary part of my duties as a bishop, has left my soul defiled with earthly activities).<sup>29</sup>

As Francis Leneghan has demonstrated, the maintenance of this balance between active and contemplative lives, essential for teachers, is exemplified in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, following Gregory's Latin.<sup>30</sup> Book 2, Chapter 7 of the *Regula pastoralis* is concerned, in particular, with the importance of maintaining a balance between the inner life and external matters.<sup>31</sup> There are two extremes that the teacher must be wary of: excessive care for his own inner life may lead to neglect of the worldly needs of his flock, but insufficient consideration of his spiritual self compromises the teaching and guidance he can offer to his people, not only in external affairs but also in terms of their inner wellbeing. Gregory supports his point with reference to the example of Jethro's reproach to Moses for devoting himself entirely to the worldly needs of his people.<sup>32</sup> Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, advises Moses to delegate some of his more practical duties, to give himself more opportunity to pursue spiritual matters, which will then benefit the teaching of his people:

cui et consilium mox praebetur, ut pro se alios ad iurgia dirimenda constituat, et ipse liberius ad erudiendos populos spiritalium arcana cognoscat (2.7).<sup>33</sup>

(At the same time counsel is given him to appoint others in his stead for the composing of strifes, so that he himself may be more free to learn the secrets of spiritual matters for teaching the people.<sup>34</sup>)

In the Old English translation, the latter part of that quotation is rendered as follows:

ðæt he wære ðæs ðe freora to ongietanne ða dieglan ond ða gæstlican ðing, ðæt he meahhte ðæt folc ðy wislicor ond ðy rædlicor læran (2.18).<sup>35</sup>

(in order that he would be the freer to understand secret and spiritual things, so that he could the more wisely and the more advisably instruct the people).

The use of the word pair "dieglan" and "gæstlican" is in-line with the translator's style throughout; indeed, the use of word pairs is a stylistic feature common to many of the translations associated with Alfred.<sup>36</sup> Carolin Schreiber notes that sometimes in the Old English *Pastoral Care* doublets or word pairs occur through "a deliberate

<sup>29</sup>Gregory I, *Dialogi*, 14, lines 6–15; translation from Gregory I, *Dialogues*, 3–4. The Old English translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*, carried out by Bishop Wærfeth of Worcester and commissioned by Alfred the Great, is accompanied by a prose preface written in Alfred's voice, which features a similar sentiment to Gregory's preface to his own *Dialogi*; see Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 36, lines 3–5.

<sup>30</sup>Leneghan, "Teaching the Teachers".

<sup>31</sup>At the beginning of this chapter (2.18), however, the Old English translator (perhaps inadvertently), lays double emphasis on not neglecting the inner self for the sake of outer duties; that this is an accidental emendation of the source text is suggested by the translator's swift return to Gregory's even-handed balance between inner and outer before the end of this opening sentence (Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 136; Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 218).

<sup>32</sup>Exodus 18:17–23.

<sup>33</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 222, lines 52–5.

<sup>34</sup>Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 70.

<sup>35</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 140.

<sup>36</sup>On word pairs in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, see Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 183; on the Old English *Dialogues*, see Irvine, "Idea of Decorum", 218–21; on the Old English *Boethius*, see Discenza, *King's English*, 58–60.

rearrangement of syntactic elements", as is the case here, with Gregory's "spiritualium arcana" rendered as "ða dieglan ond ða gæstlican ðing".<sup>37</sup> A second word pair, "ðy wislicor ond ðy rædlicor" occurs later in the sentence, but this pair is original in the Old English. This addition makes explicit that spiritual contemplation leads to greater wisdom in the teaching of one's flock, and to better counsel. Removal of oneself from worldly duties for the contemplation of "secret and spiritual things", then, has a clear impact on the wisdom that the preacher can offer to his people.

The word *rædlic*, one of the pair mentioned above, is an important one in the wider context of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, in that it occurs in the Verse Epilogue (an original addition in the Old English) as part of the extended metaphor of wisdom as a stream which flows from heaven, through books and into the minds of men.<sup>38</sup> The reader learns that some let these waters flow away, as if over the fields to turn into mud; as the poet cautions, "[n]is ðæt rædlic ðing" ("that is not an advisable thing").<sup>39</sup> The Verse Epilogue offers a visualisation for the process imagined in chapter 18 of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, with the stream of wisdom representing the link between the spiritual secrets of heaven and the use of that wisdom by the people who receive it; as Eric Stanley observes, alluding to the Parable of the Talents as an analogue, "each receives and makes use of what he receives according to his several ability, and by that use multiplies the good he has received, and is therefore thanked as a good and faithful servant".<sup>40</sup> The imagery of coming to fill a jug with the waters of wisdom, which have been directed to our doors by Gregory himself, embodies the practical application of wisdom apparent in chapter 18. In both the example from the main text and the Verse Epilogue, readers are encouraged to fill their minds with divine wisdom, in order to then carry that wisdom to those who need it.

### 3. Written Wisdom

In the Verse Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*, one crucial stage in the flowing of this stream of wisdom is the written word: the "halga bec" ("holy books") through which the waters are directed.<sup>41</sup> The Verse Preface likewise presents physical books as an integral part of the dissemination of wisdom; indeed, this poem is written in the very voice of the book itself, which recounts King Alfred's role in not only translating its contents, but also sending copies around the country and ordering the production of more copies after the "bisene" ("exemplar").<sup>42</sup> Again, while the wisdom of the book has its origin in the treasury of Gregory's mind,<sup>43</sup> the process described by the speaking book is a practical one: Alfred needed more copies in order to circulate the translation amongst his bishops.

<sup>37</sup>Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 183.

<sup>38</sup>On the stream of wisdom in the Verse Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*, see further Faulkner, *Wealth and the Material World*, 35–6. On water imagery in the poem (a motif which also appears in the main text of the translation) see further Cross, "Metrical Epilogue"; Whobrey, "King Alfred's Metrical Epilogue"; Isaacs, "Still Waters"; and Schreiber, "Searoðonca Hord", 185–6.

<sup>39</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 84, line 19b.

<sup>40</sup>Stanley, "King Alfred's Prefaces", 356; for the Parable of the Talents see Matthew 25:14–30.

<sup>41</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 84, line 11a.

<sup>42</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 76, line 14a. Other examples of the speaking-book motif are found in the Verse Preface to the Old English *Dialogues* and the Verse Preface to the Old English *Boethius*; see Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 38–9 and 104–5, respectively.

<sup>43</sup>Gregory's mind is imagined as "searoðonca hord" (line 7b, "hoard of skilful thoughts"; Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 76.)



In the main text of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, too, the translator draws attention to the importance of the written word in the teacher's meditative practice. According to Gregory, the bishop fulfils his duty provided that he:

studiose cotidie sacri eloquii praecepta meditetur; ut in eo uim sollicitudinis, et erga caelestem uitam prouidiae circumspectionis, quam humanae conuersationis usus indesinenter destruit, diuinae animonitionis uerba restaurent (2.11).<sup>44</sup>

(meditates diligently and every day on the precepts of the Sacred Word. The words of divine admonition should restore in him the sense of responsibility and a provident circumspection in regard to the celestial life, which habitual intercourse with men constantly destroys.<sup>45</sup>)

As before, Gregory is conscious of the need to balance the "habitual intercourse" of everyday life with meditation. The subject of meditation here is, it would seem, Holy Scripture: certainly that it is what is implied by "sacri [...] praecepta" and "diuinae animonitionis uerba". The Old English translation of this opening to Book 2, Chapter 11 makes more explicit the role of the written text in meditation, observing that the *reccere* ("leader") does his job correctly when he:

ælc dæge geornfullice smeað ða bebodu halegra gewrita, ðætte on him sie upp aræred se cræft ðære giemenne ymbe ða foresceawunga ðæs hefonlican lifes, ðone singallice ðisse eorðlican drohtunge gewuna wile towearpan, buton hine sio myndgung ðara haligra gewrita onbryrde.<sup>46</sup>

(meditates diligently everyday on the commands of Holy Scripture [lit. "holy writings"], so that in him is raised up the virtue of paying attention to the contemplation of the heavenly life, which always the habits of this earthly condition overthrow, unless the admonition of Holy Scripture [lit. "holy writings"] inspires him.)

The phrase "haligra gewrita", used twice here to refer to Scripture, draws attention to the Word of God in its tangible, written form. Likewise, a little later in this same section, the Old English translator renders the broad terms of "per eruditionis studium" ("by the pursuit of instruction") as "be ðære leornunge haligra gewrita" ("through the study of Holy Scripture").<sup>47</sup> On three occasions, therefore, in one passage of the Old English translation, the translator specifies that it is the written text of the Bible that should form the subject of the leader's contemplation.

#### 4. Emptying the Mind

In this emphasis on the significance of scriptural writings, then, the Old English translator is in-line with the attitude of the authors of the various paratexts to the Old English *Pastoral Care*, which all indicate the central place of written texts in the cultivation of wisdom. The production of books is, in fact, an integral part of the project for restoring wisdom outlined in the Prose Preface to the *Pastoral Care*.<sup>48</sup> Alfred, or whoever wrote the preface, acknowledges, however, that the production of books depends upon certain

<sup>44</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 252, lines 2–8.

<sup>45</sup>Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 86–7.

<sup>46</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 178. On the word *cræft* in Alfredian writings see Discenza, "Power".

<sup>47</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 252, line 14; Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 87; Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 178.

<sup>48</sup>On books in the Prose Preface to the *Pastoral Care*, see Faulkner, *Wealth and the Material World*, 63–8.

conditions. The king's plans for the education of all unoccupied English youths is contingent upon the preservation of the "stilnesse" that currently prevails throughout his kingdom.<sup>49</sup> Bosworth-Toller defines OE *stillness* primarily as "absence of noise or disturbance", or "quiet, silence".<sup>50</sup> Many editors and translators have, probably quite rightly, taken "stilnesse" in the Prose Preface to refer specifically to the absence of Viking raids in the peaceful period towards the end of the ninth century.<sup>51</sup>

Definition IV for *stillness* in Bosworth-Toller, "abstinence from, exemption from", offers a slightly different perspective on the conditions for learning alluded to in the preface.<sup>52</sup> This definition is followed by only one example, from the main text of the Old English *Pastoral Care*. The example occurs in a passage of scriptural exegesis, as part of Gregory's argument that the bishop must not give so much of his time to mundane matters that he has no time for spiritual contemplation. He explains Paul's meaning as follows:

Hinc Ecclesiae rectoribus et uacandi studia praecipit, et consulendi remedia ostendit (2.7).<sup>53</sup>

(He therefore orders the rulers of the Church to aim at being free from these things, and by his counsel points to the remedy).<sup>54</sup>

The "remedia" that follows is a quotation from Paul concerning the delegation of worldly duties, specifically the passing of judgement on worldly matters.<sup>55</sup> The Old English version renders this exegetical sentence a little differently:

Ða ða he lærde ðæt ðære ciricean ðegnas scoldon stilnesse ðære ðenunga habban, ða lærde he hi eac hu hie hie geæmtian scoldon oðerra weorca (2.18).<sup>56</sup>

Then when he taught that the ministers of the Church must be exempt from secular services,<sup>57</sup> he then taught them also how they must free themselves from other duties.

The Old English translator is roughly following the sense of Gregory's Latin here, although he takes the opportunity to translate Gregory's "uacandi" ("be free from") twice: firstly as "stilnesse" and secondly, when acknowledging that Paul offers a means of achieving this freedom, with the verb *geæmtian*. This restating of the same idea is quite different from the stylistic habit of using word pairs mentioned above: rather, the translator reiterates the sense of freeing oneself in two different ways. Both words carry the sense, as suggested in the Bosworth-Toller definition of *stillness*, not just of being at liberty, but being at liberty because of the removal of other preoccupations.<sup>58</sup> Arguably, this sense of exemption from one's duties is also present when, in the Prose Preface to the *Pastoral Care*, Alfred says "gif we ða stilnesse habbað" ("if we have

<sup>49</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 72, line 51.

<sup>50</sup>Bosworth, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, henceforth B-T; s.v. *stillness*.

<sup>51</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 72, translates "stilnesse" here as "peace"; Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 9, offers "cessation of hostilities".

<sup>52</sup>B-T, s.v. *stillness*, definition IV.

<sup>53</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 220, lines 43–4. 2 Timothy 2:4.

<sup>54</sup>Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 69.

<sup>55</sup>1 Corinthians 6:4.

<sup>56</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 138. For discussion of this passage in the context of the mixed life, see Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation*, 44–5.

<sup>57</sup>Following B-T, s.v. *stillness*, definition IV. Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 139, translates this phrase as "should maintain serenity in their ministration".

<sup>58</sup>DOE, s.v. *geæmtigian*.

peace”) even if the primary meaning of *stillness* here is the absence of disturbance in the form of the Vikings.

The translator of the Old English *Pastoral Care* uses the verb *geæmtian* on several other occasions, often to translate *uacare* (“be empty, be idle; be free from”).<sup>59</sup> The meaning of *geæmtian* encompasses both removing oneself from something and also devoting oneself to something: although the two might seem like opposite concepts, they are connected by the recognition that the complete removal of oneself from one task might be necessary in order to devote oneself to another task. The connection between the two is flagged in the *DOE* entry for *geæmtigian*, especially in definition 1.b.i., “to free/disengage (oneself *acc.*) from (an activity, occupation *gen.*)” and 1.c.i., “to free oneself, give one’s time / devote oneself to (something *dat.*)”.<sup>60</sup> The image of freeing, even emptying, oneself of something in order to make space for something else which will fill that cavity recalls the motif of filling one’s mind with the waters of wisdom in the Verse Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*. That poem depicts only the latter half of that process, the filling up: the use of *geæmtian* in the main text of the *Pastoral Care* is a reminder that this action of filling must first be preceded by a corresponding process of emptying. The verb *geæmtian*, in its sense of removing or freeing oneself, also appears in the Prose Preface to the *Pastoral Care*, in Alfred’s subtle command to his bishops:

Ond forðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu do swæ ic geliefe ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm geæmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God sealde ðær ðær ðu hiene befæstan mæge, befæste.<sup>61</sup>

(And therefore I command you that you do as I believe that you desire, that you free yourself as often as you can from these worldly things, so that you may apply, wherever you can apply it, the wisdom which God has given to you.)

Alfred’s message to his bishops here accords with that found later in the *Pastoral Care* translation, in the exegetical passage quoted above: ministers of the Church need to free themselves from their other burdens, in order to have to the *stillness* required for study. However, the practical side of pursuing wisdom is never far from Alfred’s mind, as is apparent in his double emphasis on the verb *befæstan*, and in the phrase “swæ ðu oftost mæge” (“as often as you can”), a tacit acknowledgment of the impossibility of entirely removing oneself from “worldly things”.<sup>62</sup> In light of the Gregorian balance between activity and contemplation, it can be seen that Alfred is encouraging his bishops to first put aside time for private cultivation of the wisdom with which they have been blessed before, secondly, returning to their worldly duties in order to apply that wisdom, thereby serving the king’s national ambitions.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup>E.g., in Book 2, Chapter 7 (OE Chapter 18): Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 224, lines 89–93, Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 142; in the same chapter: Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 226, lines 115–17, Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 144.

<sup>60</sup>*DOE*, s.v. *geæmtigian*.

<sup>61</sup>Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 70, lines 20–22.

<sup>62</sup>It is worth noting that Bosworth-Toller offer this occurrence as an example for the definition “to fix in the mind, implant”. However, only one other example is provided for this sense, and there is arguably no reason that the verb should carry this specific meaning in the occurrence in the Prose Preface; indeed, translators often choose “apply” as the most appropriate translation for *befæstan* here (Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 71; Fulk, ed. and trans., *Old English Pastoral Care*, 7; Swanton, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, 61; Crossley-Holland, trans., *Anglo-Saxon World*, 219; Treharne, ed. and trans., *Old and Middle English*, 15).

<sup>63</sup>Schreiber, *King Alfred’s Old English Translation*, 44–5.

While Alfred's tone is fittingly deferential, for a king speaking to his bishops, there is nonetheless a critique at the heart of his command: if the action recommended by the end of the preface is an increase in teaching provision, the implication is that current standards of teaching are lacking. As Anlezark has argued:

The whole thrust of the letter is that careless Churchmen in particular have caused problems for the English people through their neglect of teaching, and especially the teaching of Latin. The translations of the *Pastoral Care*, aimed directly at bishops who are told in unequivocal terms not to lose their copies, rests on this premise.<sup>64</sup>

Attention to the subtext of the preface reveals that it is not so much that Alfred's bishops are worthily devoting themselves to carrying out their public duties, at the expense of longed-for introspection; rather, the bishops are neither pursuing wisdom in private, nor applying it in public. The issue is not so much one of imbalance as neglect on both sides.

Forming a remedy to this twofold neglect, then, the Old English *Pastoral Care* guides its readers through what the ideal process of private meditation and public service should look like. In a section which builds on the words of Luke 24: 49, for example, instruction is given on preparing for teaching:

Donne we sittað innan ceastre, ðonne we us betynað binnan ðæm locum ures modes, ðy læs we for dolspræce to widgangle weorðen. Ac eft ðonne we fullgearowode weorðað mid ðæm godcundan cræfte, ðonne bio we of ðære ceastre ut afærene – ðæt is of urum agnum ingeðonce – oðre men to læranne. (3.49)

(We sit within the city when we shut ourselves within the enclosures of our mind, the less that we become too rambling as a result of foolish speech. But when we become fully prepared with divine skill, then we will have left the city – that is out of our own inner thought – in order to teach other men).<sup>65</sup>

Bishops reading the *Pastoral Care* are encouraged not only to lock themselves away in the privacy of their own inner thought as a preparation for teaching but, afterwards, to take that "godcundan cræft" ("divine skill") they have cultivated out of the walled city of their mind for the purposes of teaching.

## 5. Secluded and Excessive Pursuit of Wisdom

In the Old English *Pastoral Care* and its paratexts, then, bishops are urged to rid themselves of earthly duties in order to devote themselves to the pursuit of wisdom through meditation and contemplation, but always with the purpose of bringing the wisdom they have attained back to their people. In the quotations examined above, the emphasis in both Latin and English texts has been on not letting worldly duties interfere with

<sup>64</sup>Anlezark, "Old English *Pastoral Care*", 233–4; moreover, Anlezark demonstrates that both Grimbald and Plegmund, two of the helpers mentioned in the Prose Preface, had been summoned to Alfred's court in the context of ecclesiastical and episcopal reform, which, as indicated in correspondence from Archbishop Fulk of Reims to Alfred and Pope Formosus to the English bishops, is sorely needed, in part due to the carelessness and idleness of bishops (Whitelock, ed. *English Historical Documents*, nos. 225 and 227, 814–17 and 820–21). The Prose Preface closes with a remark that "gelærede biscepas" ("learned bishops"; Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 74, line 69) are in fact widely available, contradicting the Verse Preface which explicitly states that some bishops had need of the translation (Irvine, *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*, 76); as suggested by Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation*, 21, n. 67, it is clear that "some amount of flattery to the recipients of the texts is involved".

<sup>65</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 408. Cf. *Regula pastoralis* 3.25 (Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, II, 437).

one's personal pursuit of spiritual wisdom. In Book 1, Chapter 5 of the *Regula pastoralis*, Gregory directly addresses the other extreme, that is, those who have the gifts and talents for taking on positions of authority, but who eschew worldly rule for the sake of private contemplation. Gregory summarises his position on the matter at the end of chapter 5:

Sunt itaque nonnulli qui magnis, ut diximus, muneribus ditati, dum solius contemplationis studiis inardescunt, parere utilitati proximorum in praedicatione refugiunt, secretum quietis diligent, secessum speculationis petunt. (1.5)<sup>66</sup>

(So, there are those who, endowed, as we have said, with great gifts, in their eagerness for the pursuit of contemplation only, decline to be of service to the neighbour by preaching; they love to withdraw in quietude and desire to be alone for meditation.<sup>67</sup>)

The word *solius* ("only") is significant here: as has been demonstrated above, Gregory encourages his readers to pursue contemplation, but as this chapter makes clear, this personal pursuit of wisdom must be in balance with the active side of life. The Old English translator renders these lines as follows:

Monige menn siendon, sua sua we ær cuædon, ðe beoð geweorðode mid miclum ond mid monegum Godes giefum, ond ðonne beoð onælede mid ðære gierninge ðara smeauga Godes wisdomes anes ond fleoð ðonne ða nyttwyrðan hiersumnesse ðære lare, ond nyllað ðæs ðencean hu hie mægen nyttweorðuste bion hiera niehstum, ac lufiað diegla stowa, ond fleoð monna onsiena. (1.5)<sup>68</sup>

(There are many men, as we said before, who are honoured with great and numerous gifts from God, and then are inflamed with yearning for the contemplation of God's wisdom alone and then flee the useful service of teaching, and will not consider how they could be most useful to their neighbours, but instead love secret places, and flee from the sight of men.)

It is worth noting that Gregory's "contemplationis" is rendered by the noun *smeaung* ("search, meditation"), along with the specifying phrase "Godes wisdomes": when translating the Latin *contemplatio* the Old English translator often joins either *smeaung* or *sceawung* ("contemplation, examination") with another word or phrase connected to divinity, as if to specify that this is contemplation of heavenly, not mundane, matters.<sup>69</sup> Also typical of the translator's practice is the double emphasis on utility, with an unnecessary repetition of *nyttwyrð* ("useful").<sup>70</sup> Gregory's phrase "secretum quietis diligent", moreover, is made more precise with "lufiað diegla stowa": the desire in an abstract sense for withdrawal into peace and quiet is made a literal retreat into private or secret places.

In this wariness of private, even selfish, contemplation, the Old English *Pastoral Care* differs from other translations connected to the Alfredian project. As outlined above, the Old English *Boethius* and *Soliloquies* both prioritise a personal, introspective journey

<sup>66</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 148, lines 47–50.

<sup>67</sup>Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 31.

<sup>68</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 50.

<sup>69</sup>E.g., "sceawunge ðære godcundnesse" (2.16; Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 110: "contemplation of divinity") for "contemplando" (2.5; Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 198, line 36: "by contemplation"; Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 57). See also "godcundan sceawunga" (2.16; Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 110: "divine contemplation") for "contemplationem" (2.5; Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 198, line 45: "contemplation"; Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 57).

<sup>70</sup>*Unnyt* ("useless") occurs frequently and with significance in the Old English *Pastoral Care*: on this word, and the importance of usefulness in the translation, see Faulkner, *Wealth and the Material World*, 78–80.

towards wisdom, even if they are more conscious than their Latin counterparts of the demands of worldly life.<sup>71</sup> The Old English *Soliloquies* opens with a preface which urges a retreat into pastoral seclusion where one can live “murge and softe” (“sweetly and easily”).<sup>72</sup> This ideal scene is not one of complete indolence: there is activity in the preface, firstly in the gathering of materials from the forest, then in the construction of the dwelling places; even once the “cotlyf” (“dwelling”) has been put together, the speaker of the preface recommends that the inhabitant support himself with hunting, fowling and fishing.<sup>73</sup> However, the ideal life imagined in the preface is one of seclusion. Moreover, rest is present, both in the life that the inhabitant of the “cotlyf” will lead, and in the future life in heaven of which this pastoral idyll is, as Michael Treschow has put it, “proleptic”.<sup>74</sup> As Treschow and others have argued, the description of gathering materials to build a dwelling-place forms an analogy for the cultivation of wisdom: in this sense, then, for the author of the preface to the *Soliloquies*, rest and seclusion are conditions associated with the pursuit of wisdom, even if that pursuit is in itself conceived of as a labour.<sup>75</sup>

Treschow has recently demonstrated that the goal of meditation in both the Old English *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies* is a state of ease, arguing that in both texts, “[p]ersonified wisdom and reason guide a troubled mind towards its grounding in the divine, towards the promised place of ease”.<sup>76</sup> As can be seen from the preface to the *Soliloquies*, rest, ease and even leisure also represent a conducive starting-point for that process of meditation, especially the ease that comes from peaceful seclusion.<sup>77</sup> In the very opening of the Old English *Soliloquies*, *Gesceadwisnes* outlines to Augustinus the conditions that he would require were he to attempt to commit the thoughts of his memory to writing:

þu beþorftest þæt ðu hæfdest digele stoge and æmanne ælces oðres þinges, and fæawa cuðe men and creftige mid þe, ðe nanwiht ne amyrdan ac fultmoden to þinum crefte.<sup>78</sup> (I.4)

(you would need to have a secret place and solitude from all other things, and a few familiar and skilful men with you, who would in no way distract you but would rather help you in your work.)

This description of the ideal setting for the pursuit of wisdom goes against the recommendations of the *Regula pastoralis* and the Old English *Pastoral Care* which, while urging their

<sup>71</sup>The famous tools-of-a-king passage in the Old English *Boethius* (B17) perhaps best exemplifies this recognition of the necessities of worldly life and the resources needed to carry out one’s responsibilities (Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, I, 277–8). Godden and Irvine, *Old English Boethius*, 64–5, provide an overview of the case for and against the recuperation of worldly goods in the Old English translation; for arguments in favour see Discenza, *King’s English*, 100; Discenza, “Old English *Boethius*”, 212; and Payne, *King Alfred*, 62. On the joint acknowledgement of earthly and heavenly duty and the exhortation to the mixed life in the Old English *Soliloquies*, see Jones, “Lady”.

<sup>72</sup>Lockett, “*Soliloquies*”, 182 (Preface, 1).

<sup>73</sup>Lockett, “*Soliloquies*”, 184 (Preface, 3).

<sup>74</sup>Treschow, “Wisdom’s Land”, 272–8.

<sup>75</sup>Potter, “King Alfred’s Last Preface”, 27; Abels, *Alfred*, 235; Frantzen, *King Alfred*, 71–2: while most readings of the preface view the house built out of the trees of the forest as the translation that follows the preface, Treschow, “Wisdom’s Land”, sees the house as wisdom itself. Treschow, “Building”, argues that this section of the preface was not in fact intended as a preface to the Old English *Soliloquies* at all.

<sup>76</sup>Treschow, “Easing Unease”, 370.

<sup>77</sup>Szarmach, “Augustine’s *Soliloquia*”, 236, comments on the “striking” emphasis on “leisure pursuits” in the preface.

<sup>78</sup>Lockett, “*Soliloquies*”, 188. In the Latin source, *Ratio* advises *Augustinus*: “Nec ista dictari debent; nam solitudinem meram desiderant” (“Those thoughts should not be dictated to an amanuensis, for they require unbroken solitude”; Lockett, “*Soliloquies*”, 2–3, Book I, I.2).

readers to practise contemplation and meditation, do so with the caveat that this private study must be cultivated with the aim of supporting one's public duties. The same phrase, "diegla stowa", is used in both the Old English *Soliloquies* and the *Pastoral Care*, in the one as the ideal location for the exercise of the *craft* of wisdom and, in the other, as indicative of the selfish prioritisation of private meditation above public service.<sup>79</sup> Although the passage from the *Soliloquies* does advocate for the assistance of "fæawa cuðe men and creftige" ("a few familiar and skilful men") in the pursuit of wisdom, the setting is evidently one secluded from the distractions of this world. In contrast to the mixed life urged by Gregory, the scenario imagined at the beginning of the *Soliloquies* seems in-line with monastic life, if cenobitic rather than eremitic. A parallel can also be found, however, in secular life, in the example of Alfred's private study assisted by scholars and churchmen such as Asser. In his biography of the king, Asser describes not only Alfred's study of Latin, but also the compilation of his *Enchiridion*, a personal collection of written extracts.<sup>80</sup> The object of this studious practice was not teaching or the dissemination of knowledge (as would be appropriate for the bishops themselves), but rather the king's own devotion; at least, Asser records that the king found "solatium" ("solace") in the book.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the fate of one's own store of wisdom is the main concern of the Old English *Soliloquies*, in contrast to its Latin source.<sup>82</sup> Although the scenario imagined at the beginning of the *Soliloquies* is not entirely secluded, there is nonetheless an emphasis on the desirability of seclusion as opposed to the active life recommended by Gregory. This comparison might not offer any certain conclusions about the authorship of either text, but it does imply two quite different contexts for their production.

The risk of pursuing wisdom in private, at the cost of all one's other duties, appears to be a particular concern of the Old English translation of the *Regula pastoralis*; the same applies to the excessive pursuit of wisdom, as can be seen in the rendering of this short exegetical passage on II Timothy 4:1-2 in the Latin:

diciturus *importune*, praemisit *opportune*, quia scilicet apud auditoris mentem ipsa sua utilitate se destruit, si habere importunitas opportunitatem nescit (2.4).<sup>83</sup>

(when he was about to say "out of season," he premised "in season," for if being in season is not combined with being out of season, the preaching destroys itself in the mind of the hearer by its worthlessness.<sup>84</sup>)

Gregory's meaning is not immediately obvious here. It is perhaps for this reason that the Old English translator departs more drastically than is his custom, introducing elements that are not even hinted at in the Latin:

<sup>79</sup>This phrase also appears at the beginning of the Old English *Dialogues* as part of Gregory's lament to Peter about his longing for the quiet of the monastery: "þa me gelyste þære deoglan stowe, þe ic ær on wæs in mynstre" ("then I desired that secluded place, which I was in previously in the monastery"); again, the context is removal from worldly responsibilities in order to facilitate contemplation (*Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester*, ed. Hecht, 3, lines 10–12, from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 322 [MS C]). The passage in which this phrase occurs is discussed in Treschow, "Deepening".

<sup>80</sup>*Vita Alfredi*, Chapter 89; Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, 75.

<sup>81</sup>Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, 75.

<sup>82</sup>Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, 337.

<sup>83</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, I, 194, lines 104–7. The quotation from II Timothy is: "Testificor coram Deo et Christo Iesu, qui iudicaturus est uiuos ac mortuos et aduentum ipsius et regnum eius, praedica uerbum, insta opportune, importune" (lines 102–4).

<sup>84</sup>Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 55.

Deah he cuæde “ungedæftelice”, he cuæð ðeah ær gedæftelice, forðæm sio ofersmeaung mirð ða unwisan ðe hit gecnawan ne magon, ond geded ða spræce unnytte ðæm tohlystendum ðonne sio ungedæftnes hit ne cann eft gedæftan. (2.15)<sup>85</sup>

(Although he said “unseasonably,” he nevertheless said “seasonably” before, because excessive consideration hinders the foolish who cannot understand it, and renders speech useless to the listeners when unseasonableness cannot make it seasonable again.)

This rendering of the passage is, if anything, less clear than Gregory’s own words: it seems possible that the translator has failed to grasp Gregory’s meaning. Perhaps because of the confusion engendered by the difficulty of the source passage, the translator introduces a new concept, that of *ofersmeaung*, translated here as “excessive consideration”, based on the definition in Bosworth-Toller.<sup>86</sup> As mentioned above, when translating *contemplatio*, the translator often uses *smeaung* in connection with a word relating to heaven or God, so it is unlikely that *smeaung* refers to contemplation here. Instead, the passage seems to describe the promulgation of the results of excessive study through discussion or lecturing: the sense seems to be that preaching informed by disproportionate study does more harm than good to those who cannot understand. The translation merges the excessiveness of the teacher’s study with unseasonable dissemination of the results of that study to his students or flock. This is the only place that the word *ofersmeaung* occurs in the extant corpus: the translator evidently thought this concept of “excessive consideration” worthy of coining a new phrase. The decision here perhaps reflects the translator’s wariness about what happens when the preacher’s pursuit of wisdom is not motivated by the needs of his flock.

## 6. Conclusion

The object of this study has not been to prove that the translator of the *Pastoral Care* also wrote the Prose Preface; however, it is perhaps worth noting that in the treatment of wisdom, this quintessential Alfredian quality, the Prose Preface and the translation have much in common. Key terms such as *stillness* and *geæmtian* appear in both the preface and the main translation in the context of making time for the pursuit of wisdom, and from both there emerges a clear sense of the need to balance this private, spiritual exercise with dedication to worldly duties. It is also worth noting that the idea of spending part of one’s time in private contemplation, before returning to more practical duties, accords with Alfred’s own principles as recorded by Asser. In his biography, Asser notes Alfred’s attempts to meticulously divide his own time between service to God and his royal duties.<sup>87</sup> According to Asser, Alfred went as far as to devise a special candle-clock, and accompanying wood and shaved ox-horn lantern, in order to measure out his time precisely.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, Asser’s own peripatetic lifestyle, divided between his episcopal duties at St David’s in Wales and studying with Alfred in Wessex, reflects a similar division of time, recalling the Gregorian balance between dealing with one’s

<sup>85</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 106.

<sup>86</sup>B-T, s.v. *ofersmeaung*; Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 107, translates *ofersmeaung* as “excessive scholarliness”.

<sup>87</sup>Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, Chapter 103, 89–90.

<sup>88</sup>Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, Chapter 104, 90–91. Schreiber, “*Searoðonca Hord*”, 191, notes that the mixed life, emphasized repeatedly by Asser, can be traced to the *Regula pastoralis*. On the “candle-lantern”, see Pratt, “Persuasion and Invention”, 201–6.



flock and devoting oneself to the pursuit of wisdom.<sup>89</sup> Anlezark suggests that if all the helpers named in the Prose Preface divided their time in a similar fashion, rotating in turn between pursuing wisdom with Alfred in Wessex and carrying out the more mundane responsibilities of their various offices, their shared efforts as authors and even scribes of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, theoretically produced during the time they spent in Wessex, would accord well with the “patterning of authorial and scribal variation” that Anlezark identifies in the oldest surviving copy of the translation.<sup>90</sup> The ideal mixed life espoused in the *Regula pastoralis* could have formed a very real model for Churchmen at the West Saxon court.

The awareness of the bishop or preacher’s need for balance is apparent in many passages in the main text of the *Pastoral Care*. At times, the translator places more or slightly different emphasis on those ideas about wisdom than Gregory does in the Latin source text. It is sometimes difficult, however, to precisely articulate what motivated or preoccupied the translator of the *Pastoral Care*. The translation is often very faithful to the Latin, and, as in Gregory’s own text, structured largely by scriptural quotation and exegesis. This patchwork of different biblical voices, in addition to Gregory’s own authorial voice, can make it difficult to isolate the original contribution of the Old English translator.<sup>91</sup> Nonetheless, in the translation of scriptural passages and Gregory’s interpretation of them, it is, as demonstrated above, possible to identify moments of originality in word choice or turn of phrase. Elsewhere, even very close translations can result in striking vernacularisations of phrasing and concepts imported from the Latin, as in this example of a quotation from the Book of Proverbs:

Illi enim sibimet uacanti dicitur: uade ad formicam, o piger, et considera uias eius, et discite sapientiam. (3.4)<sup>92</sup>

(To the one who is at leisure to look after his own affairs, it is said: *Go to the ant, O sluggard, and consider her ways and learn wisdom.*)<sup>93</sup>

This proverb associates wisdom with the industry of the ant, a motif which is not inappropriate for the sort of applied, practical wisdom that Alfred advocates for in the Prose Preface to the *Pastoral Care*. The Old English rendering is fairly close:

Ac ðam ðe ðonne æmetig bið his agenne willan to wyrceane, to ðæm is gecueden, “Ðu slawa, ga ðe to æmetthylle, ond giem hu hie doð, ond leorna ðær wisdom.” (3.28)<sup>94</sup>

(But to the one who is then free to pursue his own desires, to him it is said: “You sluggard, go to the ant-hill, and take heed of what they do, and learn there wisdom.”)

The adjective *æmtig*, related to the verb *geæmtian*, is used to translate Gregory’s “uacanti”, in-line with the translator’s habit throughout. It is perhaps a coincidence,

<sup>89</sup>Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, Chapter 79, 63–6.

<sup>90</sup>Anlezark, “Old English *Pastoral Care*”, 252; Anlezark acknowledges, however, that of the four named helpers, only Plegmund was a native Old English speaker, a detail which complicates the theory that the translation was produced by the four helpers on rotation. Schreiber argues that the helpers’ long periods of absence from court in fact makes it less likely that these scholars had a major role in the translation of the *Pastoral Care* (*King Alfred’s Old English Translation*, 47–8; “*Searoðonca Hord*”, 196).

<sup>91</sup>On scriptural quotations and authorial voice in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, see Faulkner, “Royal Authority”.

<sup>92</sup>Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, II, 276, lines 26–7. Proverbs 6:6.

<sup>93</sup>Gregory I, *Pastoral Care*, 97.

<sup>94</sup>Fulk, *Old English Pastoral Care*, 204.

but a pleasing one, that this translation decision results in a pun: the one who is *æmtig* or idle should go to the *æmett-hylle* to observe the wise labour of the ants. This passage epitomises the demands of the *Pastoral Care*, and its preface: that is, to empty oneself of distractions in order to pursue wisdom, but for the purpose of serving the greater good of one's community. The pursuit of wisdom is located not in the idyllic pastoral retreat of the Preface to the Old English *Soliloquies*, nor in the peaceful cloister that Gregory himself seemed to long for in the midst of his episcopal duties. Rather, the Old English *Pastoral Care* and its Prose Preface suggest that the pursuit of wisdom and the maintenance of one's flock are two sides of the same coin for bishops: neglect of one results in failure of the other.

## Acknowledgments

I presented an early version of this paper in the Alfredian Voices session at Leeds IMC 2024; I am grateful to the audience of this session for the productive discussion that followed, and to Daniel Anlezark for his very helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank both anonymous reviewers for their detailed and constructive feedback.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## References

- Crossley-Holland, Kevin, trans. *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Abels, Richard. *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Longman, 1998.
- Anlezark, Daniel. "Which Books are 'Most Necessary' to Know? The Old English *Pastoral Care* and King Alfred's Educational Reform." *English Studies* 98 (2017): 759–80.
- . "The Old English *Pastoral Care*: Date, Readership, and Authorship." In *The Age of Alfred: Rethinking English Literary Culture c. 850–950*, edited by Amy Faulkner, and Francis Leneghan, 229–56. *Studies in Old English Literature* 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2024.
- [Asser]. *Life of King Alfred: Together with the Annals of St Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*. Edited by William Henry Stevenson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Bately, Janet. "Did Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited." *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009): 189–215.
- Bosworth, Joseph. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Based on the Manuscript Collections of Joseph Bosworth, Edited and Enlarged by T. Northcote Toller; Supplemented by T. Northcote Toller*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898.
- Britton, Brooks. "Intimacy, Interdependence, and Interiority in the Old English Prose *Boethius*." *Neophilologus* 102 (2018): 525–42.
- Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos and Antonette diPaolo Healey. *The Toronto Dictionary of Old English: A to Le*. Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2024.
- Cross, James E. "The Metrical Epilogue to the Old English Version of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1969): 381–6.
- Disenza, Nicole Guenther. "Power, Skill and Virtue in the Old English *Boethius*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997): 81–108.
- . "Wealth and Wisdom: Symbolic Capital and the Ruler in the Translational Program of Alfred the Great." *Exemplaria* 13 (2001): 433–67.

- . *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- . "The Old English *Boethius*." In *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, edited by Nicole Guenther Discenza, and Paul E. Szarmach, 200–26. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 58. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Faulkner, Amy. "Royal Authority in the Biblical Quotations of the Old English *Pastoral Care*." *Neophilologus* 102 (2018): 125–40.
- . "The Mind in the Old English Prose Psalms." *The Review of English Studies* 70 (2019): 597–617.
- . *Wealth and the Material World in the Old English Alfredian Corpus*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 46. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023.
- Faulkner, Amy, and Francis Leneghan. "Introduction." In *The Age of Alfred: Rethinking English Literary Culture c. 850–950*, edited by Amy Faulkner, and Francis Leneghan, 17–48. Studies in Old English Literature 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2024.
- Fox, Hilary. "An Ethical History of the Self: The Liberius Exemplum in the Old English *Boethius*." In *The Legacy of Boethius in Medieval England: The 'Consolation' and its Afterlives*, edited by Joseph McMullen, and Erica Weaver, 72–88. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2018.
- Frantzen, Allen J. *King Alfred*. Twayne's English Author Series 425. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986.
- Fulk, R. D., ed. and trans. *The Old English Pastoral Care*. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 72. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021.
- Gneuss, Helmut. "King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries." In *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, edited by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgina Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson, 29–49. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Gneuss, Helmut, and Michael Lapidge. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscript and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Godden, Malcolm. "Did Alfred Write Anything?" *Medium Ævum* 76 (2007): 1–23.
- . "Prologues and Epilogues in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, and their Carolingian Models." *JEGP* 110 (2011): 441–73.
- . "Alfredian Prose: Myth and Reality." *Filologia Germanica* 5 (2013): 131–58.
- Gregory, I. *Pastoral Care*. Edited and translated by Henry Davis, S. J. Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation 11. Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1950.
- . *Dialogues*. Edited and translated by Odo John Zimmermann. The Fathers of the Church 39. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959.
- [Gregory I]. *Gregorii Magni Dialogi*. Edited by Umberto Moricca. Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano 57. Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1924.
- Grégoire le Grand. *Règle Pastorale*. Edited and translated by Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, Charles Morel. 2 vols. Sources Chrétiennes 381. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992.
- Godden, Malcolm and Susan Irvine, ed. and trans. with Mark Griffith and Rohini Jayatilaka. *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Irvine, Susan, ed. and trans. *Alfredian Prologues and Epilogues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023.
- . "The Idea of Decorum in the Old English *Dialogues*." In *The Age of Alfred: Rethinking English Literary Culture c. 850–950*, edited by Amy Faulkner, and Francis Leneghan, 211–28. Studies in Old English Literature 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2024.
- Isaacs, Neil D. "Still Waters Run *Undiop*." *Philological Quarterly* 44 (1965): 545–9.
- Jones, Jasmine. "The Lady and the Letter: Two Ecclesiastical Analogues in the Old English *Soliloquies*." *SELIM. Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature* 26 (2021): 1–23.

- Jorgensen, Alice. "Emotion, Morality, and Agency in Wærferth's Old English Version of Gregory's *Dialogues*." *English Studies* 105 (2024): 340–57.
- Kempshall, Matthew. "No Bishop, No King: The Ministerial Ideology of Kingship and Asser's *Res Gestae Aelfredi*." In *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, edited by Richard Gameson, and Henrietta Leyser, 106–27. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Ker, N. R. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. (reissued with supplement 1990).
- Leneghan, Francis. "Royal Wisdom and the Alfredian Context of *Cynewulf and Cyneheard*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 39 (2010): 71–104.
- . "Teaching the Teachers: The Vercelli Book and the Mixed Life." *English Studies* 94 (2013): 627–58.
- Lockett, Leslie. *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Lockett, Leslie, ed. and trans. *Augustine's "Soliloquies" in Old English and in Latin*. *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 76. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022.
- Lorden, Jennifer A. "The Desiring Mind: Embodying Affect in the Old English *Pastoral Care*." In *Textual Identities in Early Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe*, edited by Jacqueline Fay, Rebecca Stephenson, and Renée R. Trilling, 54–69. *Anglo-Saxon Studies* 42. Cambridge: Brewer, 2022.
- Morrish, Jennifer. "King Alfred's Letter as a Source of Learning in England in the Ninth Century." In *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose: Sixteen Original Contributions*, edited by Paul E. Szarmach, 87–107. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1986.
- Nelson, Janet L. "Wealth and Wisdom: The Politics of Alfred the Great." In *Kings and Kingship*, edited by Joel Rosenthal, 31–52. *Acta* 11. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1986 (for 1984).
- O'Brien O'Keefe, Katherine. "Inside, Outside, Conduct and Judgment: King Alfred Reads the *Regula pastoralis*." In *Un tuo serto di fiori in man recando: Scritti in onore di Maria Amalia D'Aronco*, 2 vols. II, edited by Silvana Serafin, and Patrizia Lendinara, 333–45. *Undine: Forum*, 2008.
- Payne, F. Anne. *King Alfred and Boethius: An Analysis of the Old English Version of the Consolation of Philosophy*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.
- Ponirakis, Eleni. "Steering the Ship of the Mind: Politics and Theology in the Nautical Expression of the Layered Mind in the Alfredian Translations." *SELIM. Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*. 29 (2024): 53–70.
- Potter, Simeon. "King Alfred's Last Preface." In *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, edited by Thomas Austin Kirby, and Henry Bosley Woolf, 25–30. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949.
- Pratt, David. "Persuasion and Invention at the Court of King Alfred the Great." In *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, edited by Catherine Cubitt, 189–221. *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- . *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*. *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* 67, 4th ser. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Saltzman, Benjamin A. "The Mind, Perception and the Reflexivity of Forgetting in Alfred's *Pastoral Care*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 42 (2013): 147–82.
- Scharer, Anton. "The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court." *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1996): 177–206.
- Schreiber, Carolin. *King Alfred's Old English Translation of Pope Gregory the Great's "Regula Pastoralis" and its Cultural Context: A Study and Partial Edition According to all Surviving Manuscripts Based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12*. *Münchener Universitätschriften. Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie* 25. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003.
- . "Searodonca Hord: Alfred's Translation of Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*." In *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, edited by Nicole Guenther Discenza, and Paul E. Szarmach, 171–99. *Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition* 58. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

- Shippey, T. A. "Wealth and Wisdom in King Alfred's *Preface* to the Old English *Pastoral Care*." *The English Historical Review* 94 (1979): 346–55.
- Stanley, E. G. "King Alfred's Prefaces." *The Review of English Studies* 39 (1988): 349–64.
- Swanton, Michael, trans. *Anglo-Saxon Prose*. rev. ed. London: Dent, 1993.
- Szarmach, Paul E. "Augustine's *Soliloquia* in Old English." In *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, edited by Nicole Guenther Discenza, and Paul E. Szarmach, 227–55. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 58. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Treharne, Elaine, ed. and trans. *Old and Middle English c. 890–c. 1450: An Anthology*. 3d ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Treschow, Michael. "Wisdom's Land: King Alfred's Imagery in his Preface to his Translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*." In *Divine Creation in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought: Essays Presented to the Rev'd Dr. Robert D. Crouse*, edited by Michael Treschow, Willemien Otten, and Walter Hannam, 257–84. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 151. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- . "Easing Unease in the Old English *Soliloquies* and *Boethius*: A Mystical Turn." In *The Age of Alfred: Rethinking English Literary Culture c. 850–950*, edited by Amy Faulkner, and Francis Leneghan, 363–87. Studies in Old English Literature 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2024.
- . "Building, Dwelling, Readying in the Southwick Idyll." Paper presented at the International Society for the Study of Early Medieval England Conference, University of Manchester, UK, June 28–30, 2023.
- . "The Deepening of Gregory's Spiritual Crisis in the Preface to the *Dialogues*." Paper presented at Leeds International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, UK, July 1–4, 2024.
- Whitelock, Dorothy, ed. *English Historical Documents. Vol. 1, c. 500–1042*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955.
- Whobrey, William T. "King Alfred's Metrical Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 90 (1991): 175–86.
- Wilcox, Miranda. "Alfred's Epistemological Metaphors: *eagan modes* and *scip modes*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006): 179–217.
- Wormald, Patrick. "Living with King Alfred." *Haskins Society Journal* 15 (2006 [for 2004]): 1–39. [Wærferth of Worcester]. *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen über das Leben und die Wunderthaten Italienischer Väter und über die Unsterblichkeit der Seelen*. Edited by Hans Hecht. Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa 5. Leipzig: Wigand, 1900.