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Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 as a Mirror for a Prince: *Apollonius of Tyre*, Archbishop Wulfstan, and King Cnut

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This article analyses the composition and contents of CCCC 201, a manuscript containing a substantial collection of the writings of the writer and statesman Archbishop Wulfstan, as well as, among other prose texts, the first romance in the English language, Apollonius of Tyre (it is arguably also significant as being the 'fifth' codex of Old English poetry, since it contains Judgement Day II and four other poems). Building on earlier scholarship I argue for substantial connections between the social and political themes of the two main narrative prose texts – the Old English Apollonius of Tyre and the Story of Joseph – and the rest of the anthology. Written in the mid-eleventh century, most likely at the New Minster in Winchester, the manuscript presents a coherent grand narrative of law-making and nation-building that connects the book with the court of King Cnut.

1. The four prose narratives in CCCC 201

Apollonius of Tyre is the adventure narrative made famous in English literature by John Gower in his *Confessio Amantis*, and retold later still in the Shakespearean *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. The prototype was composed in the late classical period – it circulated in the Middle Ages in Latin – and then from 1000 onwards vernacular retellings appeared, among which the Old English in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 201 is the earliest.[1] Its title is traditional, and also editorial: to fill the gap and complete a rather puzzlingly unfinished rubric, Goolden, the editor of the critical edition, supplies the adjective *tiriscan*, i.e. Apollonius the Tyrenian or "man from Tyre".[2] A twelfth-century booklist suggests that a copy of "Apollonius in English" once existed in another manuscript at the Abbey of Burton-on-Trent.[3]

The plot of the Old English *Apollonius* may be summarised as follows. Set in the eastern Mediterranean world, the story tells of a young man's quest to woo the powerful King Antioch's daughter, famed far and wide for her matchless beauty. Passing the test set for all suitors to the daughter, Apollonius is nevertheless condemned as an outlaw by the jealous Antioch and is forced to flee the king's jurisdiction. But a great storm arises and tears his ship apart, and Apollonius escapes by swimming. Cast up destitute on the shore of his destination, near Pentapolis, Apollonius nevertheless wins the favour of the king, through his integrity and skill, and achieves rank and riches in his new homeland. He becomes tutor to the king's daughter, who falls in love with him and declares her feelings in a letter delivered

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[1] See Archibald for a full catalogue of the medieval vernacular versions of *Apollonius of Tyre*.

[2] Passages are cited by chapter and line number from the critical edition (now out of print) of text and source in Goolden; the translation is normally cited from the parallel text edition by Treharne.

[3] Archibald, 184.

during a humorous scene in which the king dissuades three comical would-be suitors to his daughter and then gives his immediate consent to her marriage to Apollonius.

A whole quire is now lacking; perhaps it was removed simply because it was too interesting: the missing part must have contained the dramatic separation of husband and wife, the daughter's upbringing, her abduction by pirates, her chaste confinement in a brothel, and the long riddle competition, all of which we know from the Latin versions. The narrative resumes mid-sentence near the end of the tale. The story comes to a final conclusion in chapter LI, on page 145 of the manuscript; the missing quire means that chapters XXIII to XLVII have been lost, and – since the Burton Abbey manuscript is lost – there is no other copy extant of the Old English version.

Leaving a gap of page and a half, two connected narratives now follow in the Corpus manuscript at the top of a new recto page. The first is named, from its opening prefatory sentence, as *Halgan* "saints", or the *Saints of England*, and is also known by its subject matter as *The Kentish Royal Legend*, since it deals with the holy men and women of the Kentish royal family, and summarises their lives (CCCC 201, pp. 147-9). In this story, or set of stories, the words "king, queen, daughter, nation" are frequent motifs, repeated in the text to make parallels and connections within the narrative. There are echoes here of *Apollonius of Tyre*, the preceding text, with its talk of kings, daughters and wives, and this may be no coincidence. Next comes *Secgan*, otherwise known as *The Resting Places of the Saints*, a similar text, though more of a list than a narrative, naming all the saints known to have their final place of rest in England (pp. 149-51). A shorter version of the same two texts occurs in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* of the 1030s: here they follow the will of King Alfred and a treatise on the Ages of the World, and precede a regnal list of the kings of the West Saxons from Ine to Cnut.[4]

The focus on saints in these stories links them to the biblical story of Joseph and his brothers that scribe 3 copied immediately without a break on the next line, supplying a large capital letter to indicate the beginning of the new narrative (CCCC 201, p. 151). In the ninth or early tenth century the story of Joseph had featured in summary form in the Old English translation of the world history by the late classical author Orosius. But a new lease of life was given to it from the time of Ælfric (*c.*950-*c.*1010), who translated the first part of Genesis as far as Isaac, while a certain other unnamed writer translated the rest of the book. The full text of the Old English Genesis in fact came into being as part of a team effort to produce an Old English version of the Hexateuch, the first six books of the Bible.[5] Two manuscripts of the Hexateuch survive, one furnished with a series of contemporary narrative illustrations providing insights into how the story was read and understood in the period, as the researches of Benjamin Withers have shown.[6] In the other two manuscripts of the Joseph story, the narrative of the protagonist and his brothers in Genesis chapters 37-50 is extracted from its biblical context, edited and lightly adapted, and presented as a separate independent story.[7] In many ways *The Story of Joseph* deals with similar

[4] See the facsimile edition by Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster*; the will of Alfred occurs at ff. 29v-33r, the Six Ages of the World ff. 33r-34r, *Kentish Royal Legend* ff. 34v-36v, Resting Places ff. 36v-39r, West Saxon regnal list 39rv.

[5] For recent scholarship on the Old English Hexateuch, see the essays in Barnhouse and Withers.

[6] Withers, *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch*.

[7] The manuscripts are discussed in Richards.

themes to *Apollonius*: a young man's rise in the world, exile, thwarted love, separation and reconciliation; these are largely political themes, written in a style that is characteristically biblical, but not dissimilar to the manner and mode of romance, in which the protagonist must overcome a series of mishaps and injustices before the final resolution.[8] Indeed both stories might be classified as romance in terms of plot and patterning of plot. *Apollonius* fits very well what Stevens has termed the "romance of integrity, of the idealized Self": a sense of vocation or calling, a quest culminating in an adventure, an obstacle to be overcome.[9] The threefold pattern recurs a number of times in a series of adventures taking place in the course of the narrative: the hero must endure loss of friends and separation from wife and daughter before the delayed recovery and final denouement, when he ascends his throne and deals out severe justice to his enemies, and rewards to his family and friends. There is less sense of a quest in *Joseph*, but its protagonist also endures exile and separation, and because of his innate abilities he rises to the top of Egyptian society; there is a similar final testing, a reconciliation with his brothers and a reunion with his father at the end of the narrative. Other stories known in late Anglo-Saxon England have similar romance-like motifs, the clearest example being the *vita* of St Eustace, with two versions composed in the tenth century, one in Latin verse, the other in Old English prose.[10] Its story – of a wife and husband separated by the workings of fate, their two young sons carried off by wild animals in the forest, all four being later reunited in a wondrous recognition scene – immediately recalls both *Apollonius* and *Joseph*.

As far as contemporary readers were concerned, it is the two hagiographic texts interposed between *Apollonius* and *Joseph* that provide a key to their generic categorization. In *The Kentish Royal Legend*, the opening statement promises to give information about the saints *on Angelcynne* [in the English nation]:

> Her cyð ymbe þa halgan þe on Angelcynne restað on ures Drihtenes naman hælendes Cristes! [11]
> [Here is made known about the saints who rest in England in the name of Christ our Lord and Saviour!]

Similarly, *Resting Places* opens as follows:

> Her onginneð secgan be þam Godes sanctum, þe on Englalande ærost reston.[12]
> [Here [we] begin to speak about the saints of God who first rested in England.]

The idea of the location where the saints rest chimes well with *Joseph*, which ends with the narration of Joseph's death and Egyptian burial, telling how the relics were later moved, *translated* one is tempted to say, like a saint, from Egypt to his homeland. Indeed, the only other manuscript in which *The Story of Joseph* occurs is the severely fire-damaged Cotton Otho B.X, where it appeared in a hagiographical context, immediately before the *The Life of St Swithun* and other Old English saints' lives by Ælfric. As Richards and Withers have demonstrated, *The Story of Joseph*

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[8] Anlezark, 82-3; see also Wilcox.

[9] Stevens, 24.

[10] See Lapidge for a discussion of the Eustace legend in tenth-century England.

[11] Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* 1.

[12] Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, 9.

here ended *Sy lof and wuldor þam welwillendan hæland aa on ecynysse, amen*, which in fact echoes the closing benediction in the *Life of St Swithin* in the Otho B.X manuscript. The scribe clearly felt that *Joseph* was a similar sort of hagiography.[13] In CCCC 201, the final page of *Joseph* is missing, but we may imagine that it ended in the same way. Appropriately, a similar ending is added as a closing benediction to *Resting Places* (para 50):

> Si lof and wuldor hælendum Criste his godnessa in ealra worulda world on écnysse, amen.
> [Praise and glory be to Christ the Saviour his goodness endures for ever and ever, Amen.]

From the evidence of manuscript context and rubrication then, *Joseph* was regarded by contemporary scribes as a *vita* or saint's life.

Moreover, certain changes in the text of *The Story of Joseph* put the character of Joseph in a more favourable light than he appears in the original text of the Old English Hexateuch. In the very first verse of the Corpus text of the narrative can be seen the first of many differences between *Joseph* and the equivalent text in Genesis 37-50 of the Hexateuch. The title in CCCC 201 reads as follows:

> Her cydde god ælmihtig his mildheortnisse þe he abrahame behet. 7 iosepe 7 abrahames ofsprincge.
> [Here God almighty made known his mercy which he promised to Abraham, and also to Joseph and to Abraham's progeny.]

The story then opens with the young man and his large extended family:

> Þa þa iosep wæs xvi wintra þa heolde his fæder heorde mid his gebroðrum. 7 he wæs mid belan sunum. 7 zeluan his fæder wiua. ac hine gewregdon his gebroðra to heora fæder þære mæstan wrohtæ.[14]
> [When Joseph was sixteen, he kept his father's herds with his brothers; and he was with the sons of Bela and Zelpha, his father's wives. But his brothers accused him to their father of the greatest wrongdoing.]

Joseph in the Corpus text falls foul of his brothers' false accusations, which they bring to their father, apparently through no fault of his own. Naturally Joseph is innocent, since he has just been announced in the title as a patriarch on a par with his ancestor Abraham, to whom God himself has promised his mercy. In this take on the story then, Joseph is presented as an exemplary figure, rather like one of the saints whose stories precede him in the text of the manuscript. The point is reinforced if we compare and contrast the corresponding text in the Hexateuch, from which the Corpus text departed:

> Her cydde God ælmihtig hys mildheortnysse þe he Abrahame behet on Iosepe, Abrahames ofsprincge.

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[13] Richards, 152-3.

[14] The Corpus text is edited by Neil Ker in an appendix in Crawford, 444.

> Đa Iosep wæs syxtynewintre, he heold hys fæder heorde mid hys broðrum. And he wæs mid Balan sunum and Zelphan hys fæder wifa; he gewregde hys broðru to heora fæder ðære mæstan wrohte.[15]
> [Here almighty God made known his mercy, which he promised to Abraham, in Joseph, Abraham's descendant. When Joseph was sixteen, he accused his brothers to their father of the greatest wrongdoing.]

The Hexateuch text holds more strictly to the letter, for the title affirms that God promised his mercy to Abraham, and then made it known in Joseph, who is one of Abraham's descendants, but who is not on an equal footing with Abraham as a recipient of divine mercy.[16] And as a young man, Joseph is far from exemplary, telling tales to his father about the supposed misdeeds of his brothers. Where the Hexateuch text allows for at least some weakness and failings, the Corpus *Joseph* presents a more saintly figure.[17] And in the manuscript context of Cotton Otho B.X, *Joseph* forms part of a collection of saints' lives.

Was *Apollonius* similarly considered to be a kind of hagiography? A critic such as Raith would certainly think so, and there are hagiographic parallels in late Antique literature.[18] The pagan setting might speak against it, with the final reunion taking place at the Temple of Diana in Ephesus. Nevertheless no pagan gods have any power or influence in the story; Apollonius blames Neptune for his shipwreck, but otherwise the religion of this Mediterranean world is monotheistic; characters pray to the one God or trust in God to make decisions, or thank God for his intervention. In fact, reading the Latin version demonstrates that the name of God is mentioned more often in *Apollonius* than in *Joseph*. From a Christian perspective, the scene at Tarsus is particularly suggestive. As prince and benefactor of a city and provider of grain in time of famine Apollonius is akin to Joseph, who in the Hexateuch text assumes the name of *Middaneardes Hælend* (XLI.45), pointing up the typological theme as found in the commentary tradition discussed by Anlezark. Though it is usually said that *Apollonius* is not an explicitly Christian text, nevertheless the language of the text here suggests otherwise: the citizens say "we will fight for your salvation", Apollonius twice attributes God's help to his presence in the city: symbolically, the protagonist here becomes a kind of saviour figure providing *hælo hiht* [hope of salvation] and *gesælðe* [happiness or good fortune] for the beleaguered city (*Apollonius*, IX and X). The opening rubric describes the story as a *gerecednes*, a term used generally to denote a narrative, but also used for a *vita* or saint's life.

To sum up the discussion so far: it looks like we have a set of thematically connected prose narratives, from a number of sources, which may be categorised as hagiographic romance. The question now arises as to why the four texts should be attached to an anthology of the collected writings of archbishop Wulfstan.

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[15] Crawford, *Heptateuch*, 171.

[16] Withers, "Unfulfilled Promise".

[17] The adaptor of the CCCC 201 Joseph story may have found in other narratives in the Hexateuch a precedent for his policy of minimising the failings of the protagonist; for examples and discussion see Barnhouse.

[18] Raith, 49; Archibald, 34-6.

2. The structure of the anthology

The fifty or so items of the manuscript compendium are listed by Neil Ker in his catalogue and further analyzed in studies by Patrick Wormald and Daniel Anlezark.[19] The scheme in table 1 summarises these contents, focussing in detail on the texts in immediate proximity to *Apollonius of Tyre*. In terms of chronology there are two parts: An early eleventh-century section (extract from the OE *Regularis Concordia*, the OE poems *Judgement Day II* and *Exhortation to Christian Living*) has been added to the very much larger, mid-century corpus of Wulfstanian writings. The Wulfstan material is copied by the second scribe, and rounded off with the story of *Apollonius of Tyre* and two hagiographic texts. A further narrative, the *Story of Joseph*, is added by a third scribe. But then the second scribe resumes work and adds extra poems, apparently a deliberate editorial decision, in order to supplement *Judgement Day II*. This second scribe is editorially aware, for he copies a Wulfstan homily (Bethurum XXI) twice, but in each case the text is adapted to the immediate manuscript context in which it appears.[20] A fourth scribe joins the team to add a Latin confessional text at the end, but since the same text or most of it has been deleted where it appears earlier in the collection, this also speaks for editorial awareness. It looks as if the contents have been shaped by the three mid-eleventh-century scribes to form a coherent and internally consistent anthology.

[Table 1: The Structure of the Manuscript**]**

In a recent article, Melanie Heyworth has surveyed the various scholarly explanations for the addition of the eight or so supplementary texts to the Wulfstan anthology. The liturgical subject matter of the Benedictine Office for instance most likely explains the presence of the poems *Lord's Prayer II* and *Gloria I*, while the penitential theme in the "Handbook for the Use of a Confessor" is picked up later in the poem *Judgement Day II* and its companion pieces; Heyworth herself connects Wulfstan's precepts on marriage in the anthology with the treatment of that subject in *Apollonius of Tyre*. Caie, by contrast, highlights a unifying pentitential theme.[21] The common thread in these theories is that the additional texts, whether verse or prose pieces, deal in a literary manner with select topics that had already been covered in a more expository or admonitory style in the main texts, i.e. in the collected writings of Wulfstan.[22]

Are there any overriding themes in the anthology? Daniel Anlezark has focussed on the notions of justice and mercy: justice in *Apollonius*, where the villains receive their come-uppance after the final reunion of Apollonius's family, and mercy in the *Story of Joseph*, where the hero, now risen to the rank of governor in Egypt, severely tests his brothers before reaching a hard-earned reconciliation with them. Such a view chimes well with Wormald's suggestion that CCCC 201 is "a textbook on Christian government".[23] Taking up Wormald's suggestion, the scheme in table 2 is offered as a "grand narrative" for the six major themes of the anthology:

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[19] Wormald, 204-10; Anlezark, 65-8.

[20] Orchard, 316-17, 325-6.

[21] Caie, "Codicological Cues", 1-14.

[22] For a speculation that Wulftsan even authored the OE *Apollonius*, see Morini.

[23] Anlezark, 88; Wormald, 210.

Table 2: The Themes of the CCCC 201 Anthology

These titles broadly cover the main topics, though all the texts do not necessarily occur in this sequence.

The anthology opens with a set of Wulfstanian homilies: mention could be made of Napier 1 on the theme of Adam's exile from paradise, initiating in a spiritual sense the theme of exile that appears again in *Sermo Lupi* and in the basic stories of both Apollonius and Joseph;[24] Homily VI (in Bethurum's edition of Wulfstan) on salvation history from Genesis to Apocalypse; Bethurum XIII, a pastoral exhortation addressed to the thegns of the nation and probably preached to the witan or royal council; Bethurum XXI, a homily "On Evil Rulers", a text which appears twice in the manuscript and seems to have been a favourite of Wulfstan's, since it recurs in manuscripts as the companion piece to *Sermo Lupi*.[25]

Next comes a selection of English lawcodes and related material, including laws penned by Wulfstan in his role as chief administrator for the Æthelred the West Saxon king and then for his Danish successor King Cnut. This section of the anthology has the lawcode Ethelred VIIa, with the rubric *Ðis man gerædde þa se micele here com to lande* [this law was passed when the great army came to this country] a response of public penance on the occasion reported in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: the failure of the English fleet to muster against the Viking threat, the exile of the prominent thegn Wulfnoth and the subsequent invasion of England by the great Danish army of the Earl Thorkell the Tall in the year 1009.[26] This text calling for public penance is followed shortly by parts of Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* with his moral and theological reflections on right rule and the duties of leaders and the role of the ranks of society; then come the lawcodes of kings Edgar, Æthelred and Æthelstan.

A new group of material turns to homilies on the last things, based on New and Old Testament texts and culminating in the famous *Sermo Lupi* "The Sermon of Wolf to the English when the Danes Oppressed them Most", dated in the rubric, probably by scribal error, to 1009 rather than 1014. *Sermo Lupi* is Wulfstan's analysis of the social chaos occasioned by the Viking wars and the breakdown of law and order. With its catalogues of afflictions caused by the sins of the English it is followed appropriately by a second copy of Bethurum XXI, the sermon on "Evil Rulers", here the text is given a new conclusion bringing it into line thematically with the texts that follow:[27]

> wise wæron worldwitan, þe to godcundan rihtlagan worldlaga settan folce to steore.
> [those secular counsellors were wise who added secular laws to divine commandments as a guide to the people.]

Having as it were diagnosed the major problem, the anthology moves to the *bot* [remedy]: positive advice on the organisation and governance of the country,

[24] Napier, 1-5.

[25] Bethurum, 142-56, 225-32, 276-7.

[26] ASC C.

[27] Napier, 169, note line 13. Bethurum, 277, note line 34; cf. the lawcode VIII Æthelred, 36, in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, and in Robertson; Orchard, "On Editing Wulfstan", 322.

namely a large extract from the *Institutes of Polity* in which Wulfstan expounds on the role of the king as Christ's representative, the three estates, the duties of earls, priests, abbots, monks, nuns, laymen and widows. More lawcodes follow, in particular *VIII Æthelred*, which cites Æthelstan, Edmund and Edgar as model rulers, and inspires, as Anlezark points out in his analysis,[28] the order of the texts that follow: these are *I Æthelstan* and *I Edmund*, followed by *The Canons of Edgar*: Wulfstan's instructions for priestly behaviour and admonitions about sin aimed probably at his diocesan clergy. Next there are short treatises on the rights of different classes of society, including *Geþyncðo*, a text also known as the *Promotion Law*, dealing with the rank of thegn and how it is achieved.

The fifth group of texts are liturgical and penitential in character: the Old English *Benedictine Office* elaborating on and commenting on the liturgy – and the group of penitential texts known as *Handbook for the Use of a Confessor*. This text is addressed to a pastor *se þe bið manna sawla læce* [he who is the doctor of men's souls], and enjoins him to consider carefully the state of the person he is dealing with:

> And geþengc ðu þæt ne scealt næfre gelice deman þam rican and þam heanan, þam freon and þam þeowan, þam ealdan and þam geongan…[29]
> [And consider that you must never treat alike the rich and the poor, free people and slaves, the old and the young…]

Like Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar*, the text could well have been used by priests, or for the training of priests, who did not necessarily share with the monks the same level of education and Latin literacy. It has been suggested that the Old English *Benedictine Office* was used by the monks to teach secular clergy, not only canons but also parish priests.[30] Such a use of the text suits very well the likely place of origin of the manuscript in the New Minster at Winchester. A similar suggestion has been made for the five poems of this anthology that make it the fifth largest poetic codex in the OE corpus: their themes are penitential and hortatory.[31]

Admittedly, the anthology is large and perhaps a little unwieldy, but in terms of subject matter it is possible to see broad patterns and groupings of texts. There is a sense of narrative sequencing and development: in religious terms from Genesis to Revelation and from Adam to Antichrist, in secular-political terms from Æthelstan to Edgar and from Æthelred to Cnut. And thematically, the text begins with basic Christianity and governance, diagnoses the causes of misrule and then offers its remedy. The penultimate text in the arrangement before *Apollonius of Tyre* is Cnut's law-code of 1018, compiled on the occasion of the great concord or peace agreement between the Danes and English that took place at Cnut's behest in Oxford in 1018. The exemplary tales of royal saints and saintly rulers which then follow the lawcode show the pattern of development from misfortune to happiness, from exile to restitution, and from injustice to just judgement. Seen in this light, then, should the collection be regarded as a "mirror for a prince"?

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[28] Anlezark, 68-9.

[29] Fowler, 19, lines 91-2.

[30] Frantzen, 139-40, 149-50; see also Houghton.

[31] Caie, *Judgement Day Theme*, 116.

3. The theme of social rank and status

3.1 Images of kingship

Various images of kingship and royal governance form a common thread in these prose texts. For contemporary readers the immediate context was the settlement king Cnut achieved at the beginning of his reign, as reported in the C version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[32] A striking feature of the Chronicle at that time is its expansive treatment especially of the final years of Æthelred's reign, cataloguing its disasters and treacheries as well as its minor triumphs – all this before the final decisive Danish victory at Assandun in 1016 which propelled Cnut to power. Still only a very young man, Cnut had been present in England in 1013, when, with Æthelred and his court in exile, it seemed certain that his father Swegn would take over as king of England. But the tide turned, Swegn died, Cnut fled the country, and Æthelred came back. But now in 1016 Æthelred too was dead, and shortly afterwards also his dynamic son Edmund Ironside; Cnut was accordingly elected king of all England, and in 1017 he partitioned the country into four great regions each with its own earl or overlord. His subsequent actions were punitive if not vindictive: some prominent noblemen and relatives of Æthelred were killed along with Eadric (though he was one of the four new earls, he had been a notorious turncoat), while other members of the nobility were exiled. In 1018, a great tax of 72,000 pounds was levied over all of *Angelcynn*, i.e. English England, to pay off the Danes, and London, which had offered fierce resistance in the wars against the Danes, was apparently punished with a separate tax of "ten and a half thousand pounds".[33] In the winter of 1019-20 some kind of plot or resistance to Cnut took place while the king was away in Denmark. It was summarily dealt with: on the king's return from abroad, a great council was held at Cirencester and the leaders Æthelweard and Eadwig "king of the *ceorls*" were exiled. But generally Cnut now shifted his policy from reprisal to restitution, and the country settled into the new dispensation.

Such is the background that lies behind Cnut's lawcode of 1018, the unique text of which is located on pages 126-30 of CCCC 201. Its flavour can be gained from its opening passage:

> IN NOMINE DOMINI Ðis is seo gerædness þe witan geræddon . 7 be manegum godum bisnum . asmeadon . and þæt wæs geworden sona swa cnút cyngc . mid his witena geþeahte . frið 7 freondscipe . betweox denum 7 englum . fullice gefæstnode . 7 heora ærran saca . ealle getwæmde
> [In the name of God. This is the agreement that the counsellors decreed and pondered according to many good models, and this came about as soon as Cnut with the advice of his counsellors fully established amnesty and friendship between the Danes and the English and completely settled their former disputes (my translation).[34]]

The errors of the previous king, Æthelred, are here ignored or brushed aside, and the country is seen to return to the laws of that wiser and more effective King Edgar, with whom Cnut seeks to identify himself.

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[32] The discussion that follows relies heavily on Keynes, "Cnut's Earls".

[33] Hill, 103.

[34] The text is edited and translated in Kennedy, 72-81.

Appropriately *Apollonius of Tyre* is also concerned with comparing the deeds and polity of kings. The text begins, as we have seen, with the story of the tyrant Antioch *þam ungesæligan cingce* [the wicked king] and ends with the vindicated hero Apollonius *se mæra cyng* [the renowned king]. Antioch is a folktale villain, a king who abuses his royal power, raping his own daughter and putting to death all suitors for her hand in marriage. Rather differently to the Latin texts, the Old English text describes King Antioch as loving his daughter *mid unrihtre gewilnunge* [with illegal desire], the adjective *unriht* echoing the lexis of the legal texts earlier in the manuscript. Like the Latin source of *Apollonius* is the distinction between the king's private and public faces: he is *arleas* [dishonourable] (for Latin *impius*) in his role as a father (ch. III), and *wælreow* [cruel] in his role as a king (ch. IV). The adjectives contrast markedly with the descriptive terms used for other kings in the narrative such as Arcestrates in Pentapolis, who is both *arfæst* [honourable] and *god* [benevolent]. King Antioch's severe tyranny in chapters I-III stands out against Apollonius's severe justice in chapters L and LI. In the first of these chapters Apollonius apparently overruns Antioch peacefully *mid cynelicre firde* [with his royal army] and orders the arrest of the traitors; presiding on his *þrimsetl* [throne] over a great assembly of citizens in making his verdict and passing sentence. In the second, the fisherman and the *ceorl* Hellanicus are elevated to positions of rank as rewards for helping Apollonius in his time of need.

As well as in the actions of characters, the royal theme recurs in set-piece descriptions of outward appearance. An example is the musical interlude at king Arcestrate's feast, in which the shipwrecked Apollonius proves his noble and courtly skills in music; before the performance he disappears from the hall and returns dressed as the god Apollo, with a garland or crown (OE *cynehelm*) on his head:

> Ða het se cyng sellan Apollonige þa hearpan. Apollonius þa ut eode and hine scridde and sett ænne cynehelm uppon his heafod, and nam þa hearpan on his hand and in eode and swa stod, þæt se cyng and ealle þa ymbsittendan wendon þæt he nære Apollonius ac þæt he wære Apollines, ðara hæðenra god.
> [Then the king commanded that the harp be given to Apollonius. Apollonius then went out and clothed himself and put a garland on his head, and took the harp in his hand and went in and then stood, so that the king and all those sitting about thought that he was not Apollonius but that he was Apollo, the god of the pagans.]

In this scene Apollonius far outshines the king's daughter Arcestrate in musical ability and courtly skills, and the quality of his performance leads to his being employed as a royal tutor at the court. In a parallel scene at the end of the story (ch. XLVIII), the roles are reversed and it is princess Arcestrate who assumes a semi-divine royal persona:

> Ða wæs hyre gecyd, þe ðar ealdor wæs, þæt þar wære cumen sum cyngc mid his aðume and mid his dohtor mid micclum gifum. Mid þam heo þæt gehirde, heo hi silfe mid cynelicum reafe gefrætwode and mid purpran gescridde and hire heafod mid golde and mid gimmon geglængde and mid micclum fæmnena heape ymbtrimed com togeanes þam cynge. Heo wæs soðlice þearle wlitig, and for ðare micclan lufe þare clænnesse hi sædon ealle þæt þar nære nan Dianan swa gecweme swa heo.

> [Then it was announced to her who was in charge there that a certain king had arrived there with his son-in-law and daughter and with great gifts. When she heard this, she adorned herself with royal garments and clothed herself in purple and decorated her head with gold and gemstones, and surrounded by a large retinue of maidens she came out to meet the king. She was truly very beautiful, and because of her great love of chastity they all said that no one was as pleasing to Diana as she.]

The images of kingship and queenship here presented verbally are consonant with those pictorial representations of Anglo-Saxon kings and queens in manuscript art, a case in point being the image of King Cnut and Queen Emma on the frontispiece of the new Minster *Liber Vitae* (a text relevant to our discussion, as will be seen below).

The similarities of plot structure in *Apollonius* and *Joseph* have already been alluded to. In *Joseph* the protagonist's aspirations and dreams of high office are regarded by his brothers as illusions of grandeur, but events prove him right. Comparable to the missing quire in *Apollonius*, there are leaves missing from the Corpus version of *Joseph*, and when the text resumes again much is seen to have taken place in the story of Joseph's rise to fame and fortune. In the eyes of the brothers who come seeking grain in the time of famine and fail to recognize their own brother, Joseph is now a great lord of the land, a *landhlaford* (XLII.30) or *landes ealdor* (XLIII.3) second only to the king himself; he is a *wicnere* [steward] (XLIII.19), in charge of his own thegns and reeves who obey his instructions without question, even if it means repaying the visitors by secreting coins back into the sacks of grain that they have just bought (XLII.25 and XLIV.1). As a great lord, Joseph interrogates carefully these newcomers (whom he secretly recognizes), asking them about their family and kindred, testing their story, claiming they are spies, checking for signs of guilt or penitence in their treatment of him many years before. The drama of Joseph's reconciliation with his brothers is gripping and intriguing, in many ways highly suited to the pictorial representation it eventually received in the illustrated Hexateuch in Cotton Claudius B. iv. The image of a king dispensing justice with which the *Apollonius* story ends is here revived in the climactic episode of *Joseph*. Both sit well alongside the text of King Cnut's law of 1018 in its description of a time (after the repressive measures of 1016 and 1017) when peace and stability are once more established in English society.

3.2 Geðyncðo (*Promotion Law)* and *Be sacerdan*

Of direct relevance to the concerns of *Apollonius* and *Joseph* is the text known by scholarly consensus as *The Promotion Law* (Ker item 46), a work otherwise extant in the *Textus Roffensis*). The Old English title for this text is *be geþyncðum*, the dative plural of the noun *geþyncðo*, derived from the verb *ðyncan* [to seem], and more properly translated by Holthausen as *Ehre, Ansehen, Würde; Stand, Rang; Trefflichkeit* [honour, prestige, dignity; status, rank; excellence]; a comparison may be drawn also with an Old High German cognate *thunkida* which means "seeming, appearance".[35] If more satisfactorily translated as "On Legal Standing", then, *The Promotion Law* nevertheless still serves as a convenient descriptive title for this short legal treatise, which is concerned with how people are regarded within society, and

[35] Holthausen, 374; Grosse, 736. I am grateful to Professor Eric Stanley for his advice on the etymology of the term *geþingðo*.

how they "keep up appearances", how they may achieve and hold on to their rank and status. The relevant part of the Corpus text reads as follows:

> Hwilum wæs þæt leod and lagu for be geþingðum; and þa wæron þeodwitan wurðscipes wurðe, ælc be his mæðe, ge eorl ge ceorl, ge þegen ge þeoden. And gif ceorl geþeah þæt he hæfde V hida fullice agenes landes bellan and burhgeat, setl and sundornote on cynges healle, þonne wæs he þanon forð þegenrihtes wyrðe.[36]
> [Once it was that nation and law proceeded by rank; and at that time counsellors were worthy of honour each according to his degree: both earl and cheorl [freeman], both thegn and theoden [prince]. And if a freeman flourished so that he had five hides of his own land, a bell-house and a castle-gate, a seat and special office in the king's hall, then he was thenceforth worthy of thegnly legal status.]

Here another key term – *þegenriht* [thegnly legal status] – implies that higher rank is something that an ordinary freeman can achieve through economic prosperity, but only if two other conditions are met, namely ownership of property and *setl and sundornote* [a seat and official post] in the service of the king.

The two conditions ensure that checks existed to prevent peasants from too freely ascending the eleventh-century feudal hierarchy. That this was a real fear is demonstrated earlier in the manuscript in a passage from *Sermo Lupi* where Wulfstan is preaching on the disturbances and wars of Æthelred's reign when runaway slaves joined the invading Viking forces and eventually turned the tables on their former masters.[37] And in the above-mentioned treatise on the three pillars of society, part of the larger text now known as *The Institutes of Polity*, Wulfstan makes it clear (like Ælfric and others before him) that social stability is highly desirable and must be preserved at all costs. There are three pillars that support the throne: warriors, monks and peasants, and should one pillar be weakened the other two will fall with it.[38]

The Old English term for 'freeman' in the above passage from *The Promotion Law* is *ceorl*. In legal texts, it appears in a rhyming doublet *eorl and ceorl*, literally meaning "earl and churl" but with different connotations, since *ceorl* in Old English originally denoted simply a low-ranking free landowner, although it also means "lower-class" in a pejorative sense, as in a passage from *Sermo Lupi*:

> 7 godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swiðe forsawene, 7 wuduwan fornydde on unriht to ceorle 7 to manega foryrmde, 7 earme men beswicene 7 reowlice besirwde, 7 ut of þisum earde wide gesealde swiðe unforworhte fremdum to gewealde[39]
> [And divine orders have long been severely neglected, and widows coerced unlawfully to a churl, and too many have been impoverished, and wretched people have been deceived and piteously betrayed, and though completely innocent they have been widely sold abroad into the power of strangers.]

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[36] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, 456-7.

[37] Homily XX (C), lines 115-16; the homily is edited by Bethurum, 261-75.

[38] Jost, 55-6.

[39] Cf. Bethurum, 262, lines 43-7.

Where Wulfstan complains that "widows are coerced unlawfully to a churl" (*wuduwan fornydde on unriht to ceorle*) he clearly uses *ceorl* as a negative term for a person of lowly status in society.

Coincidentally or not, the text that immediately precedes *Apollonius* in the manuscript is *Be sacerdan* [On Priests], at first sight another text on the duties of priests, as elsewhere in *The Institutes of Polity*. But the rubric conceals its theme. Drawing partly on the *Promotion Law* and *Grið*, as Ker points out, the text deals with social mobility in the ranks of society, both secular and ecclesiastical:

> **A**nd la oft hit getimað. þæt þeowetlingc geearnað freotes æt ceorle, 7ceorl wyrð þurh eorl gife þegenlage wyrðe. 7 þegn wurð þurh cyninges gife. eorldomes wyrðe.
> **A**nd ifel bið þon*ne*. gif se þe þurh godes gife. 7 þurh godcunde lare. geþogen wyrð to hade. 7 to godes þegne. gif se ne mot. for worlde mæðe 7 munde þe maran beon wyrðe.
> Þonne hwilu*m* þurh godes gife. swa ic ær sæde. þræl wyrð to þegne.
> 7 ceorl wyrð to eorle. sangere to sacerde. 7 bocere to biscpe. **A**nd la hwilu*m* wearð geworden .swa swa god wolde. sceaphirda to cyninge. 7 se wearð swiðe mære. **E**ac wearð geworden swa swa god wolde fiscere to biscpe.
> 7 se wearð his drihtene gecoran 7 gecweme.…
> [And indeed it often happens that a serf earns his freedom from a *ceorl*, and a *ceorl* is granted thegnly rights by an earl, and a thegn is promoted to an earldom by the gift of a king. And it is bad if he who through God's grace and through divine learning is raised to the priesthood and to the status of God's thegn is not all the more able to enjoy respect and protection before the world. Then at times by God's grace, as I said before, a slave becomes a thegn, and a *ceorl* becomes an earl, a cantor becomes a priest, a scholar becomes a bishop. And indeed at times, as God so wished, a shepherd became a king – and became very famous. Also as God so wished a fisherman became a bishop and was chosen by his Lord, and acceptable to him.…][40]

A *ceorl* can become an *eorl* just as a *bocere* can become a *biscop*. In this way the text picks up these basic principles of the *Promotion Law*, and elaborates them further.

3.3 Promotion Law and Apollonius

In the light of *The Promotion Law* and *Be sacerdan*, the themes and language of the Old English *Apollonius* take on added force. This is evident in the scene after Apollonius has fled from the tyrant King Antioch to the city of Tarsus. As he walks along the shore he is greeted first by the lower-ranking Hellanicus, and then by the leading man of the city Stranguillio. In both cases there is a preoccupation with the theme of rank and status. When he meets Hellanicus, for instance, the ealdorman Apollonius does not wish to be importuned by a *cyrlisc man*, a mere freeman or low-ranking peasant:

> Ða forseah he Apollonius cyrlisces mannes gretinge æfter ricra manna gewunan.

[40] Cf. the OE text and modern German translation by Jost, *Institutes*, 256, paras 135-9.

Treharne translates: "then Apollonius scorned the churlish man's greeting as is the custom of more powerful men", and this captures Apollonius's point of view, which is condescending and arrogant, or so the narrator seems to imply in the dialogue that follows. In his polite but reproachful response Hellanicus shows Apollonius that a man must be judged by his qualities rather than his rank:

> "Wes gesund, Apolloni, and ne forseoh ðu cyrliscne man þe bið mid wurðfullum þeawum gefrætwod." (VIII.99-100)
> ["Greetings Apollonius, and do not ignore a lower-class man who is distinguished for his honourable virtues."]

Hellanicus calmly repeats his greeting and urges Apollonius not to ignore a virtuous man of lower social standing, especially as he has an important message to deliver, namely that Apollonius is now *fordemed*, a condemned outlaw and a wanted man with a price on his head, and that he needs to flee King Antioch's assassin. Here, for the first time in the story, Apollonius is forced to come to terms with a loss of status: once a leading man, an *ealdorman* in Tyre he is now simply *fordemed*, a man lower than a slave in the hierarchy of early English medieval society.

It is not clear, in either text, how Hellanicus knew that he would find Apollonius in Tarsus. As in a folk tale, such events are simply the given of this mode of narration, and many encounters take place for which there has been no realistic preparation in the plot of the story. But the point must surely be moral. Apollonius must learn to deal with men of different rank and treat them well, he must respect and accept *a good man's friendship* whatever his rank, and he must – as in the subsequent conversation with Stranguillio (*Apollonius*, X) – cast off *his þone wurðfullan cynedom* [his noble status] and assume a *mangeres naman*, the name or role of a merchant, rather than that of a benefactor. Already at this point Apollonius is an outlaw, and worse is yet to befall him. He will soon end up shipwrecked and destitute at Pentapolis. But helped by various characters, including the fisherman who (in an echo of the St Martin story) shares his cloak with him, Apollonius makes his way to the court, called explicitly *the king's hall* in the text, and by means of his noble qualities and courtly skills he works his way up again through the ranks to what the *Promotion Law* would call a *sundornote on cynges healle*.

3.4 Promotion Law and The Story of Joseph

Echoes of the language of the *Promotion Law* are heard also in the Old English text of the *Story of Joseph*. After the incident with Potiphar's wife, for instance, Joseph is thrown into prison *on cwearterne þær mon þæs kyninges ræplinges heold* [into the prison where they kept the king's prisoners] (XXXIX.20).[41] It is here that he meets two fellow prisoners, the king's chief baker and butler, who have plotted against their lord the king. The Vulgate text reads:

> His ita gestis, accidit ut peccarent duo eunuchi, pincerna regis Ægypti, et pistor, domino suo. (Genesis XL.1)
> [These things having been done thus, it happened that two eunuchs, the butler of the king of Egypt and the baker, sinned against their lord.]

[41] For the CCCC 201 text, see Neil Ker's transcript in Crawford, 444-56.

In the Latin the two men are *eunuchi*, translated *twegen afyrede men* in the Hexateuch text. In the Corpus text this is revised briskly to *II men … of hirede*, i.e. two men *of hirede* [from the court], *hired* being a term for "household" but by extension often denoting "royal court" in late Old English texts:

> Ða þis wæs ðus gedon þa gelamp hit þæt II men agylten of hirede wið heora hlauord þæt wæs egypta kyninges byrle 7 his bæcestre.
> [When this had been done thus, it happened that two men of the court did wrong against their lord, these were the king's butler and his baker.]

The initial change may have been felicitous: a chance resemblance in sound between of *afyrede* and *of hirede* may have caused the compiler of *The Story of Joseph* to write or amend what he had heard, perhaps during dictation of the text. His new version has a rationale of its own in context. In terms of the *Promotion Law*, the two men could be seen as *thegns*, who – because of their misdemeanours – have been deprived of their *setl and sundornote on cynges healle* [seat and special office in the king's hall].[42] Similar terms as these are used in *Joseph* when the chief butler asks for Joseph's advice about his dream and Joseph predicts that he will gain full royal restitution in the space of three days (XL.13):

> 7 he set þe *to þare ylcan note* þe þu ær hæfdest 7 þu sylst him his drénceuætt eal swa ðu ær dydest.
> ["and he will appoint you *to the same office* that you had before, and you will render him his drinking-cup as you did before" (my italics).]

The theme of rank, status and lordship in *Joseph* resonates with *Apollonius* and forms a prominent idea in the anthology, the governance of society; the theme reaches a final resolution at the end of both narratives, when justice is implemented. In these final reckonings, the stories mirror the overall narrative development of the Wulfstanian political agenda as seen in the sequence and arrangement of the texts in the anthology.

4. The place of origin of CCCC 201

Where was this book written? The year 1018, when Cnut's agreement was first promulgated at Oxford, is a starting point for assigning a date and context to the anthology. According to Ker the palaeography is mid-eleventh century, a date which could still cover the later years of the reign of Cnut (1016-1035). In her catalogue of the Parker Library, Mildred Budney assigns the manuscript to Winchester, "perhaps in stages and in more than one centre".[43]

The fact that CCCC 201 contains a text of the *Resting Places of the Saints* perhaps indicates a Winchester connection. The only other copy of the text appears in Stowe 944, the New Minster *Liber Vitae* produced by abbot Ælfwine in 1031.[44] Though the copy of *Resting Places* in CCCC 201 is closely related to that of Stowe 944, it is apparently a later version with reordering and amplification of the text;[45] for

[42] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, 456-7.

[43] Budny, 478.

[44] Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, 99-101. Birch, 92.

[45] For text and discussion of *Resting Places* see Rollason.

example, here are the two equivalent texts on the subject of saints associated with the Old Minster:

> Stowe 944:
> Þonne resteð Sanctus Byrinus se Romaniscea bisceop . on Wintanceastre on ealdam mynstre . 7 sancte Hædde .7 Sancte Swiðhun . 7 fela oðra haligra bisceopa . 7 Sanctus Iustus martyr .
>
> CCCC 201:
> Đonne resteð *sanctus* Birinus, se Romanisca b*iscop,* on Winceastre on ealdan mynstre *and* s*anctae* Hæddæ *and* s*anct*e Swiðun *and* s*anct*e Aþelwold *and* s*anct*e Ælfheah *and* s*anct*e Birnstan *and* s*anct*e Friðestan *and* s*anct*e Iustus martir and fela oðre halgan mid heom.

Both texts of course mention Swithun, the Winchester saint *par excellence*, whose relics took pride of place in a central shrine in the Old Minster. But the longer CCCC version includes mention of more Winchester saints: notably Justus, the boy-martyr of Beauvais whose relics the Old Minster had acquired and Bishop Æthelwold the local hero, one of the chief architects of the Benedictine Reform under King Edgar.

The fact that the book contains the collected writings of Wulfstan would at first sight indicate a connection with Worcester or possibly York, where Wulfstan was active. But in the early years of Cnut's reign, it is clear that archbishop Wulfstan was a guiding force for stability and law-making; for example Cnut's great lawcode written by Wulfstan was promulgated at Winchester at Christmas in 1020 or 1021. The archbishop must have been present in the city on that occasion, and one might speculate that Wulfstan himself could have presented the New Minster with an anthology of his works, on which the later copy in CCCC 201 was based.[46] Patrick Wormald argues however that the selection of texts in CCCC 201 must have been made sometime after Wulfstan's lifetime, i.e. after 1023, given the presence in the anthology of a pseudo-Wulfstan homily and the Northumbrian Priests' Code, which he argues is not by Wulfstan. To explain the presence of this Wulfstan collection at Winchester, he suggests a connection through Ælfric Puttoc, described by John of Worcester as a former prior of the New Minster; Puttoc became Wulfstan's successor as archbishop of York from 1023 to 1051, and must have had ample opportunity to send Wulfstan's writings to his *alma mater*.

The New Minster connections of CCCC 201 are supported by internal evidence. There seems to be a fair consensus that scribe 4 of CCCC 201, who copied the Latin confessional texts at pp. 170-6, was working at the New Minster Winchester in the middle of the eleventh century. The same scribal hand is to be found in a contemporary Missal (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale 330), which was almost certainly a New Minster service book, and in the Stowe Psalter (London British Library Stowe 2), a Gallican version of the Latin psalms with an interlinear Old English gloss, which, as Kimmens avers, shares features with the psalter Arundel 60, another New Minster product, but lacks the divisions and the common source gloss to be found in the Gallican psalters of the neighbouring Old Minster.[47] According to T.A.M. Bishop, the same New Minster scribe also wrote the Caroline minuscule in the book of homilies (predominantly in Insular script) that is now Cambridge

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[46] Keynes, *Liber Vitae,* 100.

[47] Turner, xi-xiii; Kimmens, xix.

University Library Ii. 4. 6, evidently also a New Minster manuscript of the middle of the eleventh century.[48] Malcolm Godden has explored the sources of two composite homilies in this manuscript, showing that this homilist compiled his penitential homilies by drawing very respectfully on the writings of the homilist Ælfric of Eynsham.[49]

Comparing the palaeography of the above manuscripts, D. H. Turner sees considerable similarity in the script of London British Library Cotton Vitellius E.xviii.[50] Evidently this psalter was also written at the New Minster; again the dating is mid-eleventh century. It has some intriguing preliminary texts, which throw light on the interests of the scriptorium in which it was written. There is for instance a concern with cryptic codes, prognostics and computus that is reminiscent of the reading matter in Ælfwine's prayerbook.[51] One of the prefatory texts is a vernacular prose riddle written in the style of the incest riddle that King Antioch poses to the suitors for his daughter in the opening scenes of *Apollonius of Tyre*. The Vitellius riddle reads as follows:

> Đu þe færst on þone weg, gret ðu minne broðor, minre modor ceor[l] . þone acende min agen wif . *and* ic wæs mines broðor dohtor . *and* ic eom mines fæder modor geworden . *and* mine bearn syndon geworden mines fæder modor.[52]
> [You who travel on the path, greet my brother, my mother's husband - to whom my own wife gave birth - and I was my brother's daughter, and I have become my father's mother, and my children have become my father's mother.]

To which may be compared the second of King Antioch's riddles in *Apollonius Of Tyre* chapter IV:

> Ic sece mine fæder, mynre modor wer, mines wifes dohtor and ic ne finde.
> [I seek my father, my mother's husband, my wife's daughter, and cannot find them.][53]

Though Förster's preferred solution to the Vitellius riddle is "Eve",[54] there is some similar wording, and the penchant for riddling offers an intriguing affinity with *Apollonius.*

5. Audience and readership

The New Minster was situated immediately alongside the episcopal Old Minster and directly opposite the royal palace in a large area in the south-eastern quarter of the

[48] Bishop, xv, n. 2.

[49] Godden.

[50] Turner, xiii.

[51] Pulsiano.

[52] The text is edited by Förster, "Ein altenglisches Prosa-Rätsel".

[53] Goolden, *Apollonius of Tyre*, xyz.

[54] Förster, "Die Lösung des Prosarätsels."

city of Winchester; it was so close to the Old Minster that church services could be heard taking place next door.[55] In the form of relics it enjoyed the presence of its own saints Judoc, a Breton hermit, and Grimbald of St Bertin, a prominent churchman in King Alfred's day; whereas the Old Minster had the shrine of the former bishop saint Swithun. Since its royal foundation in 901, the New Minster had played a prominent role in the political life of the country. While the bishop presided over the Old Minster, which was originally much smaller, the larger more spacious New Minster was probably intended as a church for the city. Kings and prominent citizens were buried there for a time, at least until the Benedictine Reform and the rebuilding and enlarging of the Old Minster. In the 980s, during the next generation of the Reform, the New Minster gained the ascendancy for a while, its abbot becoming bishop of Selsey and then later archbishop of Canterbury.

By the second quarter of the eleventh century it looks like the New Minster was again prominent and active in public affairs. An important factor here is that Cnut, and his queen Emma (*Æ*thelred's widow), favoured Winchester as their royal centre. At Easter in 1019, for instance, King Cnut issued a charter to the New Minster, correcting a mistake in the early months of his reign by restoring the estate of Drayton in Hampshire back to the monks of the New Minster after he had misappropriated it on behalf of an overzealous citizen of the town.[56] The characteristically elaborate language of the diploma hails the Trinity and the Creator and Ruler of the universe 'reigning continually and triumphing and perpetually guiding all things', before naming the king and the purpose of the charter:

> I, Cnut, ruler and *basileus* of the noble and fair race of the English, have ordered this parchment to be inscribed by the furrowing reed with the forms of letters, on behalf of the minster which is called "New", situated in the famous and populous city of Winchester, in which the wonderful bodies of the illustrious confessors Judoc and Grimbald to this day are efficacious in miracles…[57]

Among the witnesses listed at the end of the charter is Brihtmær (Byrhtmær), abbot of the New Minster from 1012 to 1030, who in Cnut's reign came to have a prominent position in meetings of the king's councillors, as recorded in the witness lists of the charters.[58]

The question now arises as to who may have read a Wulfstan anthology with so many New Minster connections. A good place to look for an answer is surely in the New Minster community itself and its leading figures in the period when the manuscript was written. Abbot Ælfwine, monk and dean in the 1020s and Byrhtmær's successor as abbot from 1031 to 1057, is a distinct possibility. His interests are expressed in two books that were demonstrably written during his time and with his own active involvement. The first of these is the book of prayers, computus and miscellaneous texts that Ælfwine compiled with the scribe Ælfsige in the 1020s before he became abbot.[59] The famous illustrations of the Quinity and the Crucifixion,

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[55] For the history of the New Minster, see Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, 16-41 and Yorke, 115-16.

[56] S 956 in Sawyer; Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, 34.

[57] The translation is by Whitelock, no. 132, 651-3.

[58] Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, 34.

[59] *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is edited by Günzel.

as well as the liturgical and other devotional texts (such as vernacular instructions for private devotion and prognostics[60]) all demonstrate aspects of his thought and personal spirituality. Here is to be found the Marian emphasis that is so characteristic of late Anglo-Saxon devotion. Here also is some reflection of the political life of the times, particularly in the short list of obits that occur in the Easter Tables of the prayerbook.[61] Alongside the abbots of the New Minster Æthelgar (d. 991), Ælfsine (1007) and Byrhtwold (1012), mention is made of a celebrated bishop of Winchester, namely Æthelwold (984), of three archbishops of Canterbury Dunstan (988), Sigeric (994) and Lyfing (1020), and of one archbishop of York, namely Wulfstan (1023). Prominence is also given to royalty: Edward the Martyr (d. 978), Ælfhere the Mercian ealdorman (d. 983), Æthelred II and Edmund Ironside (1016); the obits of Cnut (1035) and Harthacnut (1042) are then added in later scribal hands.

If the prayerbook presents mostly his private interests, the *Liber Vitae* which Ælfwine produced in 1031 is a testament to his political allegiances, both to his own house and to its role in Winchester and the wider society of the time. In general, its royalist agenda is unmistakeable. At some stage in the 1020s, Cnut and his queen Emma had made a formal presentation to the New Minster of a large golden cross, and the ceremony was now depicted in the frontispiece of the *Liber Vitae* with the cross itself on the altar in the very centre of the miniature. On the upper level can be seen Christ in majesty flanked on left and right by the Virgin Mary and St Peter. Below them to the left and right of the golden cross are queen Ælfgyvu-Emma and King Cnut (identified by inscriptions in Latin). Two winged angels descend on them bearing gifts of a veil for the queen and a crown for the king, and a group of monastic figures (no doubt the abbot and his monks) look up admiringly at the bottom of the picture. Cnut in particular cuts a fine figure: bearded, dressed regally in a well-cut tunic and royal cloak with a tasselled shoulder brooch, he bears in his left hand a ceremonial sword with a tri-lobed boos, and with his right hand he holds or places the cross on the altar. The image does credit to Cnut's piety and munificence, and brings him into line with King Edgar, whose Golden Charter penned by bishop Æthelwold also contains a lavish royal portrait. If, as Simon Keynes suggests, the two books appeared side by side on the altar of the New Minster, "it would be apparent that king Cnut was here portrayed as one who had assumed the mantle of his renowned predecessor".[62] In this respect it is fitting that the *Liber Vitae* contains a full copy of the will of king Alfred, and followed immediately with a list of the West Saxon kings from Ine onwards. At the end of this list appears the name Cnut, again legitimised in the text as king of the new Danish dynasty that now ruled the country.

6. **CCCC 201 and King Cnut**

To sum up the themes of the book: as it stands, the CCCC 201 anthology is a loosely planned collection of texts on legal, moral and theological themes set in a narrative framework. While the characteristic style is rhetorical persuasion and admonition rather than narration, it is nevertheless possible to see a development or causality in the arrangement of texts in the anthology. As will be seen in the overview above, the

[60] Günzel, 143.

[61] Ibid., 25-6, 109-10.

[62] Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, 38-9.

manuscript contains a number of proto-narrative texts in the form of homily, sermon and lawcode which together present a coherent grand scheme. The story begins at the beginning with creation and fall; it deals with faith and doctrine; it enjoins the keeping of the law and the preserving of Christian society; it tackles the problem of persecution and conflict and attempts to find a solution in the public penance of the whole nation, then ends – almost – with the social chaos and apocalypse predicted in Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*. But the troubles emerge as a temporary affliction on the English nation for their sins, an Old Testament type of narrative message, and a new dispensation opens with King Cnut's accession, his issuing of laws and his political settlement with the English in 1018. It is here that the four narrative texts of law and kingship take their place: the story of Apollonius of Tyre, the Kentish Royal legend and the Resting Places of the Saints, and the Story of Joseph and his Brothers.

A political context for such a book is not hard to imagine in the Anglo-Danish world of King Cnut, or again at the close of the reign of Harthacnut and the accession of Edward the Confessor. Truth is perhaps stranger than fiction. Stories of exiled princes returning from abroad to kingship and power is a leitmotif of English history at this time. Cnut had gone into exile in 1013 on the death of his father Swegn, and he already had an English wife when he succeeded to the throne in 1016. As in the story of Apollonius, Cnut's rough justice in 1017 eliminated traitors and rivals and rewarded followers with land and power. Thereafter the time came for reconciliation, for stock-taking, and even for confession and private penance – an explanation (to be reconsidered in a future paper) for the presence of the penitential and liturgical poems that appear at the end of this manuscript. There were many tensions to be resolved as the new ruler came to terms with the power that had been thrust upon him.

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