Apocryphal Additions to Old English Translations of Genesis

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis addresses the addition of apocryphal material to two translations of the Book of Genesis into Old English and argues that these additions requore us to rethink the meaning of fidelity to the original source in the context of Anglo-Saxon translations of scripture. The additions exist in both the *Genesis* poem from MS Junius 11 and the prose translation of Genesis found in a number of manuscripts, including the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch*. Both works begin with accounts, in text or in illustration, of the fall of the angels. These accounts go beyond what can be understood from the exegesis of canonical scripture. They also both add apocryphal details surrounding the life of Enoch, seventh patriarch from Adam. These insertions serve to frame the Old Testament text in a Christian context. Both prose and verse texts use these apocryphal materials to bring out the themes of good and evil and gesture to the greater narrative that begins with Creation and end with Judgment. Paradoxically, then, the addition of apocryphal material helps guide a less learned reader in their understanding of the Book of Genesis and its position in relation to Christian doctrine. The texts thus have a different approach to the tension between "word for word" and "sense for sense" fidelity to the source, focusing instead on maximizing the accessibility of the text to an audience that may not ever be able to study the Latin original.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Apocryphal Additions to Old English Translations of Genesis

> "Unde mox abbatissa amplexata gratiam Dei in viro, secularem illum habitum relinquere et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit, susceptumque monasterium cum omnibus suis fratrum cohorti associavit, jussitque illum seriem sacræ historiæ doceri. At ipse cuncta, quæ audiendo discere poterat, rememorando secum et quasi mundum animal ruminando in carmen dulcissimum convertebat; suaviusque resonando doctores suos vicissim auditores sui faciebat."
>
> - Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.24.333[1]

In his eighth century *Ecclesiatical History of the English People*, Bede recounts how the abbess Hild brings Cædmon into her monastery at Whitby after he is granted his divine gift of poetry. She and the whole community of monks value Cædmon's skill at turning scripture into pleasing vernacular verse, an aesthetic form and language that would be more familiar than the Latin sources. So, while Bede would by no means consider vernacular learning equal to Latin learning, he writes a narrative that centralizes Old English poetry such that even Cædmon's more educated teachers become his enchanted audience.

Paul Remley and Michael Lapidge both propose that Old English biblical poetry arose from a monastic practice of *ruminatio* as illustrated in Bede's story of Cædmon (Lapidge 11-12; Remley 41). Bede uses the story to show how the beauty of vernacular poetry encourages piety

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[1] "The abbess, who recognized the grace of God which the man had received, instructed him to renounce his secular habit and to take monastic vows. She and all her people received him into the community of the brothers and ordered that he should be instructed in the whole course of sacred history. He learned all he could by listening to them and then, memorizing it and ruminating over it, like some clean animal chewing the cud, he turned it into the most melodious verse: and it sounded so sweet as he recited it that his teachers became in turn his audience." (Translated by McClure and Collins 216).

in the learned and unlearned alike, but he also recommends the use of vernacular scripture when necessary to educate both lay people and less educated monks with the goal of providing a decent Christian education to as many as possible (Remley 55-56). It is only in the late ninth century, in King Alfred's time, however, that the bulk of the surviving corpus of Old English scripture begins to appear, as Robert Stanton observes: "Before Alfred's time, there is no firm evidence for any substantial amount of written English; after Alfred's reforms, translations began to appear at a rapid pace" (Stanton 33).

Alfred's purpose is entirely practical. His plan is for all men of high enough standing to be provided at least an education in English writing, with those who will be promoted to a higher rank going on to learn Latin as well:[2]

> Forðy me ðyncð betre, gif iow swæ ðyncð, þæt we eac suma bec, ða þe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne, ðæt we ða on ðæt geðiode wenden ðe we ealle gecnawan mægen, & ge don swæ we swiðe eaðe magon mid Godes fultume, gif we ða stilnesse habbað, ðætte eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste, ða hwile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit arædan: lære mon siððan furður on Lædengeðiode ða ðe mon furðor læran wille & to hieran hade don wille.[3] (Sweet 6-7)

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[2] For an early account of Alfred's project and list of works translated, see William of Malmesbury's *Historia regum Anglorum*.

[3] "Therefore it seems better to me, if ye think so, for us also to translate some books which are most needful for all men to know into the language which we can all understand, and for you to do as we very easily can if we have tranquillity enough, that is that all the youth now in England of free men, who are rich enough to be able to devote themselves to it, be set to learn as long as they are not fit for any other occupation, until that they are well able to read English writing: and let those be afterwards taught more in the Latin language who are to continue learning and be promoted to a higher rank." (Translated by Henry Sweet, 6-7)

Alfred intends his project for a varied audience, then, though within the limited bounds of the secular upper class. The proliferation of vernacular texts caused by Alfred's project was continued a century later by the Benedictine Reform (Wilcox *Ælfric's Prefaces* 2). In defense of of an Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule, Bishop Æthelwold writes, "It cannot matter at all by what language a person may be acquired and persuaded to the true faith, only so long as he may come to God" (qtd in Wilcox 37). But Ælfric of Eynsham, a student of Æthelwold's and a major translator of the reform, approaches translation with far more reservation, claiming continually that he will translate no more books of scripture, though he ultimately produced a much larger corpus of Old English scripture than Alfred (Wilcox "A Reluctant Translator" 1-2). Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, then, there is a recurring interest in producing vernacular texts including Old English translations of the Bible in the service of educating and inspiring piety in both secular and monastic audiences.

Out of this context arise two significant translations into Old English of Old Testament texts: there are the biblical poems of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11 and a set of prose translations that survive in a number of manuscripts, the principle of which are British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509. All three manuscripts are dated to the eleventh century, though the first half of Genesis which will be the object of my analysis is also copied in a twelfth century manuscript, Cambrigdge, Corpus Christi College li. I. 33. For simplicity, I will refer to Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11 simply as Junius 11 going forward. Cotton Claudius B. iv will be called the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch* and Laud Misc. 509 the *Old English Heptateuch*, as is common. As for Cambrigdge, Corpus Christi College li. I. 33, I will refer to it as the *Ælfric Anthology* because it largely comprises texts by Ælfric, though this title is not used elsewhere.

The verse and prose texts differ significantly, the former adapting the Latin scripture more freely as it changes biblical prose into Anglo-Saxon verse, the latter more conservatively. And yet both add material not present in the Latin scripture. Moreover, they do not only add exegetical material, but also draw on apocryphal sources. Two examples from the beginning of Genesis are the addition of the fall of the angels before the Creation and allusions to events from the apocryphal Book of Enoch. I will argue that these insertions serve to frame the narrative of Genesis in a Christian context for the varied audiences of the translations and produce texts that centre the issue of good and evil and the final Judgment in this Old Testmaent text.

But this addition of apocryphal material complicates the texts' positions as translations, as our understanding of the word does not allow for intentional modification of the source text, but instead insists upon an effort to remain "faithful" to the original. In his article, "The (M)other Tongue," Stanton shows how early English translation practices take up classical and patristic theories about the tension between "word for word" and "sense for sense" translation. However, as Stanton notes, Alfred's aim is not "to conserve, or replicate, an immanent meaning. Alfred's translation practice, and that of his colleagues, is too loose to allow such an interpretation. Alfred's translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* is an excellent example of free translation, with a great many additions, deletions, and substantial changes" (38). Both verse and prose Genesis likewise modify the text, leading critics to remain undecided on what to call them.

The prose Genesis is often referred to as a translation (Marsden "Translation by Committee?"; Barnhouse "Shaping the Hexateuch"). However, critics such as David Johnson also refer to it as a paraphrase given the significant modifications ("A Program of Illumination" 167). Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin Withers, for their part, alternate between the two terms ("Introduction" 11). On the other hand, the poems of Junius 11 are generally referred to as paraphrases, rather than translations (Ericksen 43; Wright 123). Some critics, though, reject even

the term paraphrase for the Genesis poems. Catherine Karkov, for instance, writes, "the poems are interpretations of, or glosses on, the biblical texts, rather than paraphrases of them" ("The Anglo-Saxon Genesis" 206). And while Alger Nicolaus Doane refers to *Genesis A* as a paraphrase, he writes of *Genesis B*, following Evans, that "[i]t is not a translation or paraphrase but an explanatory renarrativization, a *haggadah*" (*The Saxon Genesis* 6). The continual return to terminology in scholarship, the introduction of new terms, and the many attempts to distinguish between overlapping categories shows an unresolved lack of clarity on what to call these Old English Genesis texts.

Though the word adaptation comes to mind in a case such as this, I do not use the term, as modern scholarship has defined it as a work that must be able to exist independently of its original. Linda Hutcheon, for instance, insists that "an adaptation is a derivation that is not derivative—a work that is second without being secondary" (9). But Hutcheon distinguishes between the process of adaption and the product (7). So in this sense, we can say that the Anglo-Saxon translators adapted their source texts in the process of translation, but did not produce adaptations. Instead, all Old English versions of Genesis exist more as educational pieces on the Bible, rather than as vernacular replacements in the style of the King James Bible or the Vulgate itself.

Nevertheless, the Anglo-Saxon translators who produced them wrote of them as translations. Ælfric uses the word "awendan" to refer to what he does with Genesis as well as for all his other Old Testament vernacular works (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 3, 7, 203, 209-10, 217-18). In his online translation, Brandon Hawk uses "to translate" in all these instances (Hawk "Ælfric's Preface," "Ælfric's Libellus"). Bosworth-Toller lists a variety of translations under "à-wendan." In this context, "to change," "to turn into something else, transform," and "to translate, reproduce something with other material" all fit. Alfred, for his

part, uses both "awendan" and "wendan" for what he does with Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (Alfred 4-9). Henry Sweet, in his accompanying modern English translation, also uses "to translate" in these instances, though Bosworth-Toller provides only "to turn from one condition to another, to change, alter, convert" as a plausible translation of "wendan" in this context. "Awendan" shares the connotation of physical movement through space without alteration in form with the modern term "translate" ("translate, v." *Oxford English Dictionary*), suggesting the importance of fidelity. But "awendan" and especially "wendan" also carry the connotation of a change in form, allowing the words to account for significant modification. I will thus use the word translation for both the prose and verse texts rather than paraphrase or adaptation, though they all ultimately modify the text in ways that go beyond what a modern definition of translation typically allows.

The translators thus admit that any translation into Old English of Latin scripture is imperfect and necessarily secondary to the source, and their focus thn becomes accessibility. This paper, then, examines how the addition of apocryphal material contributes to the accessibility of Genesis and argues that the translators select from apocryphal sources elements of truth that allow them to insert the Old Testament book into a Christian narrative. In so doing, I show that these translations, which seem to have very different approaches to the issue of fidelity to the source text, in fact perform the same task of intentionally inserting modifications into the translation. Both prose and verse texts are framed within the context of the fall of the angels, which provides an explanation for how the material world came to be and how evil began. The representations of a perfect spiritual world that open these texts foreshadow for the reader the end of the material world and the final ascension of our immortal souls to Heaven. This point is carried through the texts by the use of Enoch, seventh patriarch from Adam, as a touchstone. Enoch serves as an Old Testament prophet of Christian doctrine and as a reminder of the coming of Christ and of Judgment Day.

This use of apocrypha is emblematic of these translations' roles as texts that are accessible to a less educated audience and must guide such an audience away from error and toward truth, while also providing material for deeper analysis to audiences with higher levels of education. In this way, they serve a different purpose than Latin biblical poetry which would have been accessible only to those who had gone on to learn Latin.

The Texts and Manuscripts

Genesis A and *B* are found in Junius 11, which was copied sometime in the first quarter of the 11th century (Doane *Genesis A* 41). Though the manuscript may have been first bound much later than 1025, there is evidence suggesting, as George Philip Krapp has argued, that the component texts were copied with the idea of their being combined (xii). The manuscript contains four Old English poems, commonly referred to as *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan. Genesis* is generally agreed to be comprised of two poems combined into one: *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*.

As Doane attests, *Genesis A* is a difficult poem to date and could believably have been composed any time between 650 and 900 (51). However, Doane, following Fulk's linguistic arguments, argues that *Genesis A* was composed "before 750, unless it is Northumbiran, in which case before 825" (Fulk qtd in 55).

Genesis B was first identified as a separate poem by Eduard Sievers in 1875, on the basis of tonal difference, and confirmed by the discovery of the Old Saxon poem[4] from which it is derived in Vatican Library, Palatinus Latinus 1447 (Krapp xxv). The poem is interpolated into *Genesis A*, running from lines 235 to 851 (xxv). Doane, in his editions of the Old English and Old Saxon Genesis poems, argues that they are "two equally important though differently

[4] The Old Saxon *Genesis* is edited alongside the Old English *Genesis B* in Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*.

derived witnesses to a single work that in its original form might have been as substantial as the *Heliand*" (Doane *The Saxon Genesis* x). Doane argues that this original *Saxon Genesis* would have been composed, along with the *Heliand*, between 819 and 840, during the reign of Louis the Pious. *Genesis B* was then translated into Old English and interpolated into *Genesis A* sometime either at the end of the ninth century (Estes 3) or at the beginning of the tenth century (Doane *The Saxon Genesis* 48). In this paper I will consider *Genesis B* as a text that adds to *Genesis A* for the benefit of a late Anglo-Saxon audience rather than in its ninth century continental context. The fall of the angels and the life of Enoch appear in both the *Genesis A* and *B* poems. As will be discussed later, though, the compilation borrows aspects of the life of Enoch while leaving behind a great deal of details present in the Old Saxon.

The text of Junius is accompanied by a plan for a series of illustrations that take up anything from a quarter of the page to a full page and, while varying in frequency throughout the manuscript, were to appear on more than half the pages of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*. However, the completed illustrations run only to p. 96, about three quarters of the way through *Genesis*, and the rest of the spaces left for illustration remain blank. Many have shown that a number of the illustrations were taken from a continental copy of the *Saxon Genesis* (Raw "Probable Derivation" 139-146; Suzuki). These illustrations include, according to Raw, those of Enoch on pp. 60-61 and those of the fall of the angels on pp. 2-3.

The prose Genesis, as mentioned, is made up of sections translated by Ælfric and other sections translated on a separate occasion by one or more anonymous translators (Marsden "Translation by Committee?"). Sometime between 992 and 1002 (Clemoes, qtd in Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* lxxv), Ælfric translated the first half of Genesis. Cambridge, University Library li. I. 33, or as I will be referring to it, the *Ælfric Anthology*, likely transmits Ælfric's version to us, though it is far from intact (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* lxxii). The

manuscript contains a collection mainly of Ælfric's homilies and saints' lives and cannot be assigned to a specific date, as it was likely copied over a long span of time between 1150-1200 (Marsden lii).

On a separate occasion, and possibly with Ælfric's translation in hand, a translator, or, as Richard Marsden posits, a committee of translators, then re-translated portions of the first half of Genesis and completed the second half of Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch ("Translation by Committee?"). This compilation survives in two manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509. Copied between 1025 and 1050, Cotton Claudius B. iv includes Ælfric's preface to Genesis and his translation of Joshua. The manuscript is fairly large (328 x 217 mm) (*The Old English Heptateuch* xxxviii) and includes coloured illustrations on nearly every page. It is thus often called the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch*. Copied between 1050 and 1100, Laud Misc. 509 is a smaller and unillustrated manuscript containing, along with the Pentateuch, Ælfric's preface to Genesis, his translations of Joshua and Judges, and his Letter for Sigeward, affording it the name *Old English Heptateuch*. Marsden proposes that the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch* and the *Old English Heptateuch* are derived from a common source that would have had to have been first compiled sometime between 1000 and 1050 (lxxi). Sections of the compiled texts were later copied into other manuscripts, some of which still survive today. The apocryphal materials added to Genesis that will be discussed in this paper appear in the first half of Genesis. As such, the sections of the prose Genesis relevant to this paper are limited to these three manuscripts.

Apocrypha in Anglo-Saxon England

Both the prose and verse translations are largely based on the Latin Vulgate, with influences from other sources such as Old Latin bibles (Remley 87; Marsden "Old Latin Intervention"). However, they also add details from apocryphal sources. But this claim is

complicated by the fact that the distinction between canonical, apocryphal, and extra-biblical texts was not at all stable in the early Church. As Frederick Biggs argues, for the Anglo-Saxon period, it makes the most sense to simply use "apocrypha" to designate any texts not included in Jerome's Vulgate. Likewise, Hawk defines apocrypha in an Anglo-Saxon context as "works generally biblical in character that were traditionally excluded from the canonical Bible in Western Christianity"(*Preaching Apocrypha* 9). However, Biggs quickly complicates his statement, drawing from Marsden's study of *The Text of the Bible in Anglo-Saxon England*. Because an Anglo-Saxon audience would have accessed the Bible almost entirely as separate books and would have had access to both Old Latin and Vulgate translations, it would have been difficult, especially for the lesser educated, to distinguish canonical and apocryphal books (Biggs 3-4). For this paper, then, I will address the addition to the Book of Genesis of material that is not included in the Vulgate or limited to exegesis of Vulgate passages.

An added complication to any study of apocryphal material in early English literature is the cross-pollination of biblical texts throughout late antiquity. Thus, my analysis of apocryphal material will also need to tease out what details in the text may be attributed to canonical texts and what details seem to come only from apocryphal texts.

And finally, there is a distinction to be made between apocryphal texts that are read as scripture and apocryphal material that is believed without being attributed to a specific text. Many apocryphal details about Enoch, for instance, originate in the Book of Enoch which is presented as a biblical book. The life of Enoch, seventh from Adam, is recounted in this book, including his trips to Heaven, his visions, and his prophecies of the apocalypse. However, the book was discounted by medieval religious authorities and not included in most compilations of biblical texts such as Jerome's Vulgate. As will be discussed later, it is unclear to what extent Anglo-Saxon writers had direct access to such a book and to what extent they received these

details through intermediate sources. On the other hand, accounts of the fall of the angels often come from later Church Fathers and are accepted more on the basis of patristic authority than on the identification of any clear scriptural narrative. I nevertheless refer to such materials as apocryphal in this paper because they make substantial claims about biblical history beyond what can be accounted for by a close reading of the canonical scripture. In this sense, I will also be careful to specify whether Anglo-Saxon religious authorities and their patristic sources accepted the apocryphal details in question or rejected them.

Book of Enoch

An example of apocryphal material that both prose and verse translations draw upon are events relating to the patriarch Enoch, seventh from Adam. His life is recounted in the Book of the Generations of Adam in Gen. 5:21-24, a section that appears in *Genesis A*, in Ælfric's prose translation, and in the anonymous re-translation.[5] All three versions add extra-biblical details that come from a variety of sources, including writings by Church Fathers and Anglo-Saxon authorities, though some of the details appear to come only from the apocryphal Book of Enoch.

In his translation of the three texts that claim to be the Book of Enoch, Joseph Lumpkin notes that the book was considered by many early Church Fathers to be true scripture (Lumpkin 15-16). Moreover, "[o]f all the books quoted, paraphrased, or referred to in the Bible, the Book of Enoch has influenced the writers of the Bible as few others have" (10). Anglo-Saxons, then, would have had access to a number of details simply through the New Testament books translated by Jerome and widely disseminated. However, the translations of Genesis into Old English also contain allusions to details not included in these canonical books. Thus, before

[5] See Apendix I for a side-by-side comparison of the four versions of Genesis 5:21-24 discussed in this paper. Other versions of this passage in Latin were also circulating at the time, but are beyond the scope of this paper.

investigating the use of apocryphal material by the Old English translations of Genesis, it is necessary to work out what details in the texts may be attributed to uncontroversial canonical texts and what details seem to come only from apocryphal texts.

There are three references to Enoch in the New Testament. Luke 3:37 mentions Enoch's name only in passing in a genealogical list. A passage from Jude references Enoch's visions of Judgement Day:

> prophetavit autem et his septimus ab Adam Enoc dicens ecce venit Dominus in sanctis milibus suis
>
> > *Now of these Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying: Behold, the Lord cometh with thousands of his saints:*
>
> facere iudicium contra omnes et arguere omnes impios de omnibus operibus impietatis eorum quibus impie egerunt et de omnibus duris quae locuti sunt contra eum peccatores impii
>
> > *To execute judgment upon all and to reprove all the ungodly for all the works of their ungodliness, whereby they have done ungodly: and for all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against God.* (*Vulgate Latin Bible* Iudae 14-15, italics my own)

Finally, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we are told:

> fide Enoch translatus est ne videret mortem et non inveniebatur quia transtulit illum Deus ante translationem enim testimonium habebat placuisse Deo.
>
> > *By faith Henoch was translated that he should not see death: and he was not found because God had translated him. For before his translation he had testimony that he pleased God.* (*Vulgate Latin Bible* Hebrews 11:5, italics my own)

So, from the New Testament we know that Enoch prophesied that the Lord would come to execute judgement upon sinners and that he was "translated" at the end of his life instead of dying.

Enoch, along with Elias who ascends to heaven in 4 Kings, also plays a role in the apocalypse. This is an example of material that, while not explicit in the canon, was widely accepted by authorities in the Anglo-Saxon period. What the Bible recounts is:

> et dabo duobus testibus meis et prophetabunt diebus mille ducentis sexaginta amicti saccos
>
> *And I will give unto my two witnesses: and they shall prophesy, a thousand two hundred sixty days, clothed in sackcloth.*
>
> et cum finierint testimonium suum bestia quae ascendit de abysso faciet adversus illos bellum et vincet eos et occidet illos
>
> *And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss shall make war against them and shall overcome them and kill them.*
>
> (*Vulgate Latin Bible* Apoc. 11:3, 7)

However, New Testament apocrypha more widely disseminated than the Enoch texts add more details, including the names of the prophets, Enoch and Elias. These apocryphal books include *The Apocalypse of Peter*, *The History of Joseph*, *The Acts of Pilate*, and *The Gospel of Bartholomew* (Doane *The Saxon Genesis* 98). As Doane summarizes it, this apocryphal legend tells that Enoch "will return with Elias in the last days and preach for three and a half years, … a ministry parallel in time to that of Christ and a period thought to coincide with the reign of Antichrist. At the end of this time will occur the battle with Antichrist in which Enoch will at last suffer death and rise again in three and a half days to go to heaven with the saints" (164). Alongside the details present in canonical scripture that would have been available to Anglo-

Saxons, knowledge of Enoch and Elias' role on Judgment Day was also circulating at the time. This is apparent in Ælfric's *Letter for Sigeweard*, in which he writes:

> "Enoh was geciged se seofoða man fram Adame. He worhte Godes willan and God hine ða genam mid ansundum lichaman of þisum life upp, and he ys cucu git, swa swa Helias se aðela witega þe wæs eal swa genumen to þam oðrum life, and hi cumað begen togeanes Antecriste, þæt hig his leasunga alecgon þurh God and beoð þonne ofslegen þurh ðone sylfan feond. And hi eft arisað swa swa ealle men doð"[6] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 205).

Finally, Enoch is also the supposed author of the Book of Enoch, an apocryphal Old Testament book which, while popular in the early Church, was ruled pseudepigraphal by the medieval period and largely supressed in the sixth century (Lumpkin 16, 18). We know the text continued to circulate, though, as three versions survived this suppression, labelled 1, 2, and 3 Enoch. I will begin by relating the versions of the Book of Enoch that survive to the modern day. I will not discuss 3 Enoch any further, though, as it does not appear to have influenced Anglo-Saxon writing. Evidence for what elements would have been available in early medieval England will be discussed later.

1 Enoch was "preserved [in Greek] by the Ethiopian church" which holds it to be canonical (16). By far the longest of the texts, 1 Enoch was the first to be re-introduced to and widely circulated in modern Europe after it was edited and printed by European presses through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a disjointed text, generally understood to be a

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[6] "The seventh man from Adam was called Enoch. He worked God's will and so God called him up form this life with his whole body, and he is alive still, as is Elias the noble wiseman who was also completely called to the other life, and they will both come against the Antichrist, so that they will put down his falsehood through God and then be slain by that very fiend. And they afterwards will arise just as all men do." (Translation my own)

compilation of writings attributed to Enoch and the various manuscripts include different arrays of the composite sections (16-17). The text was initially composed in Hebrew or Aramaic sometime between the 200 BCE and 100 CE (Biggs and Hawk 14), and in the twentieth century, seven fragments of this earlier Aramaic text, corresponding to sections of the Greek text, were found in Qumran amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls (Milik vi).

1 Enoch begins with Enoch's vision of Judgment Day referenced in Jude (Lumpkin 1 Enoch ch. 1-5). It then transitions into a history of the fall of the angels (ch. 6-11). In chapter 12, Enoch is brought up to heaven to intercede between God and the fallen angels: "Then Enoch disappeared and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode; / And what had become of him. And his activities were with the Holy Ones and the Watchers" (ch. 12:1-2).

Chapters 12-36 recount Enoch's intercessions between God and the fallen angels and his visions of the created world, the heavens, and the events that will come to pass. In chapter 37, Enoch begins relating this knowledge to mankind, which implies he has returned to earth and to his family. This assumption is confirmed in chapter 81 when he recounts how the angels placed him back on earth and instructed him to tell his son, Methuselah, and all his other children everything he had been shown. We thus have something of a chronology of Enoch's life: he gives birth to his son Methuselah, is then taken up to Heaven to act as intercessor between God and the fallen angels, is shown visions of Creation and Judgment Day, and is put back on Earth to teach his children what he has learned. The rest of the book, chapters 81-108 continue to recount his teachings on Earth.

2 Enoch was identified later by biblical scholars and survived suppression "by being propagated in another language long after the original form" (Lumpkin 18). The dating of the text is uncertain, as proposed dates range from pre-Christian Antiquity to the late Middle Ages

(Biggs and Hawk 16). An original version, likely composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, is thought to have been modified over a wide span of time (Lumpkin 225) and comes to us today only in Old Slavonic and, like 1 Enoch, survives in various incomplete versions that can be pieced together into one narrative (221). 2 Enoch covers much of the same information as 1 Enoch, but is shorter and more straightforward. In chapter 67, it adds to the narrative Enoch's final translation to Heaven.

There are details found in the Old English translations of Genesis and other early English texts that are only found today in the surviving versions of the Book of Enoch. The source for these details is unclear, as no complete Latin translation of the Book of Enoch survives today. There is a twenty-five-line fragment that appears to be a Latin translation of a passage from the Book of Enoch. These lines are found in London, BL Royal 5. E. XIII, a manuscript that likely originated in eighth century England. However, there is debate about whether they come from a Latin Book of Enoch or something else (Biggs and Hawk 16).

Whether or not Latin translations of the Book of Enoch circulated in Anglo-Saxon England, there is evidence that they had knowledge of the book's contents. Bede, in his *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, writes the following with regards to the passage from Jude that quotes the Book of Enoch:

> "But nevertheless we must know that the book of Enoch from which he took this is classed by the Church among the apocryphal scriptures, not because the sayings of so great a patriarch in any way can or ought to be thought worthy of rejection but because that book which is presented in his name appears not to have been really written by him but published by someone else under his name. … Hence this very Letter of Jude, because it contains a witness from an apocryphal book, was rejected by a number of people from the earliest times." (Hurst 249-50)

Bede follows Augustine in this statement, but, as others have argued, this does not preclude the possibility that he also knew of Enoch more directly (Kaske 422). He at least knew that the Book of Enoch existed and circulated. He also had some idea, whether it be from Augustine or other sources, of its contents. His discussion here is also emblematic of the problem of defining the canon in the early Church. We see him working out the apocrypha from the canon as he justifies the inclusion of Jude and the exclusion of Enoch on the basis of truthfulness. He admits that, while the Book of Enoch contains lies and must therefore not be a true book of scripture, it also contains some truths which can be extracted and used.

It is perhaps this attitude towards apocrypha that allowed the propagation of ideas from the book. Evidence of this circulation is found in *Beowulf*, for instance (Orchard 65; Kaske). Additionally, the twelfth-century annotations in the *Illustrated Hexateuch* include, in the section of Genesis that relates Enoch's life, the following remark: "Enoch quasda*m* literal i*n*uenit. quosda*m* lib*r*os sc*r*ipsit: sub q*u*o adam credis mortu*u*s"[7] (Doane and Stoneman 31-32). So, whether through fragmentary versions or through references by Latin writers, it appears that knowledge of at least some of the "incredible things" mentioned in the Book of Enoch were known to Anglo-Saxon writers.

Enoch in the Translations

Some of these "incredible things" turn up in the prose and verse translations of Genesis. Elizabeth Coatsworth, Janet Ericksen, and Doane all find associations between the Enoch texts and these Old English translations of Genesis. The illustration on f. 11v[8] of the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch*, for instance, shows Enoch climbing a ladder to heaven instead of being

[7] "Enoch discovered some kind of letters … (and) wrote certain books, in whose lifetime Adam is believed [*or* you believe] to have died" (Translated by Doane and Stoneman 31-32)

[8] See Appendix II for links to all illustrations mentioned in the paper.

carried to his burial like the other patriarchs in the Book of the Generations of Adam. Coatsworth proposes that, rather than see this as a depiction of Enoch's final translation, which is attested in the New Testament, we understand it as a depiction of Enoch's apocryphal role as intercessor. As Coatsworth notes, "the iconography of the ascension of Christ [is] *not* used" here, comparing it to the illustration in BL, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, f. 15, where Christ's upper half disappears into the clouds (144).

Coatsworth's two examples do not provide much evidence for her claim that the illustration in the *Old English Hexateuch* is intentionally distancing itself from associations with Christ. But to her argument, I would add the fact that other appearances of ladders in the illustrations of the manuscript only ever show God or angels using them to move back and forth between Heaven and Earth. Thus, we see God descending a ladder to observe men build the Tower of Babel on f. 19r and again descending a ladder surrounded by angels to renew his covenant with Abraham on f. 29r. On f. 43v, angels climb up and down a ladder in Jacob's dream vision, with God standing at the top looking down from Heaven. Similarly, on p. 9 of Junius 11, an angel ascends a ladder from the Garden of Eden toward Heaven while God, at the foot of the ladder, creates Eve. Thus, Enoch is likened more so to the angels, who have the ability to move back and forth between Heaven and Earth as messengers, than to Christ. I read this as an allusion to Enoch's apocryphal role as intercessor and prophet, attested in both 1 and 2 Enoch. The illustrations in the *Hexateuch*, then, add this apocryphal detail of Enoch's life to the text, creating an expanded narrative of Enoch's life. A reader who knows of Enoch's trip to Heaven and visions would be reminded, at this point of the greater Christian history beginning with Creation and ending in Judgment.

The illustration of Enoch's translation on p, 61 of Junius 11, on the other hand, does use the iconography of Christ's ascension. But Coatsworth argues, "This scene is adapted in Junius

11 … to show Enoch twice: at the top he is shown ascending; and at the foot of the scene he is shown supported by angels, identified by his Phrygian cap and surrounded by twelve witnesses, possibly meant to be his family" (148). If Enoch is orating to his family, this is a reference to the Enoch texts that have him return to Earth to tell his family of all he learned after his first ascension to Heaven. Bernard Muir also understands these twelve figures to be Enoch's family, though he adds that "in depicting twelve individuals the artist is clearly strengthening the typological association of this event with Christ's Ascension." Coatsworth, on the other hand, sees his double appearance as a reference to his return to Earth after his first ascension. Thus, three references are tied into this illustration: a reference to the parallel between Enoch's translation and Christ's ascension, a reference to Enoch's return to Earth from Heaven to share his visions and prophecies with his children, and a reference to Enoch's return to Earth from Heaven on Judgment Day to preach alongside Christ before falling in battle with the Antichrist.

The illustration of Enoch on p. 60 also carries a double association. It "shows him haloed, holding an open book, and standing on a dragon, although none of these details is mentioned in the text" (Karkov "Books, Words, and Bodies" 237). Karkov considers these details "to identify Enoch as a type of Christ and to establish the relationship of the episode to the Harrowing of Hell and the Last Judgement, New Testament events that are both foreshadowed in verbal and visual motifs throughout the Old Testament poems and recounted at greater length in Christ and Satan" (237). However, the book in his hand as he looks up at an angel also suggests a reference to Enoch as the scribe who takes down teachings from the angels and imparts them on his sons. Thus, the illustrations of Junius 11, like those of *The Hexateuch* expand on the text to add apocryphal events in Enoch's life. By combining a number of symbols into each image, the texts allow any reader familiar with Enoch to meditate on the connections between the Old and New Testament.

As for the text,[9] the poems of Junius 11, while they expand on Enoch's life, do not add details from or allusions to any apocryphal texts. Doane notes that the narrative as presented in the *Vatican Genesis*, containing the Old Saxon version of *Genesis B*, is largely centred around the figure of Enoch: [W]ithin the typological patterns of the *Saxon Genesis* as we have it, Enoch is a pivotal character around whom all the themes of the poem are gathered. … So Enoch is a type of all martyrs, as well as all those saved at the Last Judgment and of Christ himself" (Doane *The Saxon Genesis* 163). To make Enoch, who, in Genesis, is afforded only three verses, such a pivotal figure, the *Vatican Genesis* adds apocryphal events such as his battle against the Antichrist. However, in Junius 11, the portion of the *Saxon Genesis* interpolated into *Genesis A* cuts off after the fall of man, so that the events concerning Cain, the descendants of Cain and Seth, and Enoch are told only in *Genesis A*, which does not refer to his intercessory role or to his return to Earth during Judgment Day, expanding only upon his physical translation. Removing these details decentres Enoch from the Genesis poem. Within the context of the Junius manuscript, this focus is then re-centred on Christ through the addition of *Christ and Satan*. Thus, the apocryphal additions to Enoch's life in Junius 11 are limited to the illustrations.

Conversely, the surviving text of Ælfric's prose translation in the *Ælfric Anthology* does reference Enoch's multiple trips. Jerome's Vulgate, upon which the text is based, is the least detailed and most ambiguous version of both Enoch's first visit to heaven and his translation. From Adam to Noah, excluding those two especially important patriarchs and some trivial differences, the formula for the Book of the Generations of Adam in chapter 5 reads as follows:

vixit autem NAME1 NUMBER annos

et genuit NAME2

[9] See Appendix I for a side-by-side comparison of the passage in each text.

et vixit NAME1 postquam genuit NAME2 NUMBER annis

et genuit filios et filias

et facti sunt omnes dies NAME1 NUMBER anni

et mortuus est (*Vulgate Latin Bible* Gen. 5)

For Enoch, however, the formula changes :

porro Enoch vixit sexaginta quinque annis

et genuit Mathusalam

et ambulavit Enoch cum Deo postquam genuit Mathusalam tecentis annis

et genuit filios et filias

et facti sunt omnes dies Enoch trecenti sexaginta quinque anni

ambulavitque cum Deo et non apparuit quia tulit eum Deus

The change in the final line, though suggestive of some strange happening, is ambiguous and requires the Epistle to the Hebrews to clarify what has happened, that Enoch has been translated to Heaven, rather than dying, at the end of his life. However, that passage does not explain why "et vixit" is changed for "et ambulavit … cum Deo." While the first "ambulavit" could be a reference to Enoch's first trip to Heaven, it could also be an early reference to his translation, recorded later by the same word. Another possibility is that it signifies his closeness to God in life, which, as Hebrews tells us, is the reason for his translation. The anonymous Old English translation in the *Old English Hexateuch* and *Heptateuch* interprets the repetition of "ambulavit" as unnecessary and elimintates it as part of its general project of summarization: "Enoch gestrinde Mathusalam þa he wæs fif and sixtigwintre, and siþþan he gestrinde suna and dohtra; and he wæs on þisum life þreohundwintre and fif and sixigwintre, and he ferde mid Gode and

hine nan man siþþan ne geseah, for þam þe Drihten hine nam, mid sawle and mid lichaman"[10] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 18).

Ælfric's translation, though, while following the Latin wording very closely, punctuates the text in a way that suggests more clearly a first trip to heaven after Mathusala's birth: "Witodlice Enohc lyfode .v. and sixti geare and gestrinde Matusalam and Enoch ferde mid Gode. He leofode siððan he gestrinde Matusalam .iii. hund geare and gestrynde sone and dohtra"[11] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 19). In the Old English, the text is split in such a way that implies a clear separation between Enoch first walking with God and then living three hundred years. This punctuation is especially visible thanks to the consistent colouring of the first letter of each sentence in red throughout the text. To clarify this passage even more, an annotator added "to heofone" between the words "ferde" and "mid," so that the line becomes "went to heaven with God." Thus, like the illustrations of the *Old English Hexateuch*, the *Ælfric Anthology* alludes to Enoch's role as intercessor and prophet by suggesting not only that he was translated at the end of his life on Earth, but that, before that, he made another trip to Heaven from which he returned to teach his family of the upcoming Judgment Day and of the history of creation.

This modification, like the illustrations, could certainly come from the people copying the manuscript, and may not reflect the intentions of the original composer of the text. So, while we can't say that Ælfric himself condoned this reading of the passage, there is much evidence to support the fact that some contributors to this manuscript had in mind the event of Enoch's

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[10]"Henoch begot Mathusala when he was five and sixty winters, and afterwards he begot sons and daughters; and he was on this life three-hundred winters and five and sixty winters. And he went with God and no man afterwards saw him, because the Lord him took, with soul and with body." (Translation my own)

[11] "Truly Enoch lived five and sixty years and begat Mathusala and Enoch went with God. He lived afterwards he begat Mathusala three hundred years and begat sons and daughters." (Translation my own)

midlife trip to heaven. The illustrators of the *Old English Hexateuch* and Junius 11 also appear to have had this event in mind and to have referred to his return on Judgment Day. It is thus conceivable that they also believed in his apocryphal intercession and prophecies. Taken all together, the texts and manuscripts show an interest in Enoch that goes beyond the contents of Genesis, leading them to fold in apocryphal references.

These allusions are part of a larger trend in the translations which is to use apocryphal material to fill out and add to the narrative of Genesis. Both the freer verse translation and the closer prose translations make use of this material. Both versions also make use of extra-biblical material relating to the fall of the angels in a similar way, drawing not only on widely accepted exegesis, but also on creative narratives of the fall that, while not attributed to any specific apocryphal book, cannot be attributed to any canonical work either. As I will show, the translations place these narratives of the fall at the start of Genesis to frame the book within a Christian narrative of good and evil, Creation and Judgment, just as Enoch serves to remind the reader of these events later in the text.

Fall of Angels

Johnson notes the problem of the fall of the angels' great usefulness and lack of biblical source. While the episode is important to explain the root of evil and to complete the history of creation, "no single text could be regarded by the Church Fathers or Christian poets as authoritative" ("The Fall of Lucifer" 500). But the lack of any complete authoritative text in the form of canonical scripture led to a general sense of dissatisfaction and to the proliferation of various extra-biblical accounts (500). Many early Church Fathers turned to apocryphal books for a narrative, including the Enoch texts, which narrate the fall in great detail. Another text which was used as a source for details on the fall was the *Vita Adae et Evae*. The *Vita* was composed sometime in the first three centuries CE and was more widely read in the medieval period than

the Book of Enoch (Biggs and Hawk 10).

The main patristic source Anglo-Saxons would have had for the fall of the angels was Augustine, whose account Johnson summarizes from *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De catechizandis rudibus*, and *De civitate Dei*. According to Augustine, the angels were created on the first day as recounted in Gen. 1:1-4. The creation of light in Gen. 1:3, for Augustine, implies the creation of the angels and the fall is referred to allegorically by the separation of light and dark (Johnson 506). In his later of the three works, *De civitate Dei*, Augustine introduces the Replacement doctrine, that man was created to replace the fallen angels: "and how from this mortal race, deservedly and justly condemned, He would by His grace collect, as now He does, a people so numerous, that He thus fills up and repairs the blank made by the fallen angels" (qtd on 517 n. 52).

Bede, following Jerome and Saint Basil, and in agreement with Augustine, claims that the angels were created at the same moment as the earth: "Accordingly, that higher heaven, which is inaccessible to the sight of all mortals, was not created void and empty like the earth, which produced no green shoots and no living animals in its first creation, because truly as soon as it was created it was filled with its inhabitants, that is, with the blessed hosts of angels. They were created in the beginning with heaven and earth" (Kendall and Wallis *On Genesis* 69). However, the separation of light and dark, for Bede, is unrelated to the fall of the angels and is instead an event restricted to Earth. As Calvin Kendall and Faith Wallis explain, Bede understands the world as a sphere and, when he writes, "by diffusing light in the upper part of the world, in which there was to be human intercourse, and by allowing the lower parts of it to remain in their former darkness," he refers to the upper and lower parts of the spherical Earth (74).

Alcuin likewise places the fall on the first day, but in his translation of Alcuin, Ælfric omits any reference to a fixed date. In his own narratives of the fall, such as in the *Treastise on*

the Old and New Testament, Ælfric places the creation of the angels on the first day (Fox 183): "Se ælmihtiga scippend, ða ða he englas gesceop, þa geworhte he þurh his wisdom tyn engla werod on þam forman dæge on micelre fægernisse, fela þusenda on ðam frumsceafte"[12] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 202). It is only on the sixth day, though, that the fall happens**:** "Hwæt þa binnan six dagum þe se soða God þa gesceafta gesceop þe he gescippan wolde, gesceawode se an engel, þe þær anlicost wæs, hu fæger he silf wæs and hu scinende on wuldre, and cunnode his mihte þat he mihtig wæs gesceapen, and him wel gelicode his wurðfulniss þa"[13] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 202-03). Man is created, then, on that same day after Satan falls: "Ða on ðam sixtan dæge siþþan ðis gedon wæs, gesceop se ælmihtiga God mannan of eorðan, ADAM, mid his handum and him sawle forgeaf, and EVAN eft siþþan of Adames ribbe, þæt hi sceoldon habban, and heora ofspring mid him, þa fægeran wununge þe se feond forleas, gif hi gehirsumedon heora scippende on riht"[14] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 203). Thus, Ælfric adopts Augustine's Replacement doctrine while changing the proposed day of the fall and disassociating it from the separation of light and dark.

Michael Fox concludes that "Ælfric's treatments of the angelic creation and fall are remarkable for both their form and content. When authorities such as Augustine, Gregory, Bede and Alcuin probe the question of the angels, they avoid formulating a narrative. In other words,

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[12] "The almighty creator, when he had created the angels, then he created through his wisdom ten hosts of angels on the first day in much fairness, many thousands in that first creation." (Translation my own)

[13] "Why then within six days that the true God created the creations as he would create them, that one angel saw, who was the most singular, how fair he was himself and how shining in glory, and he knew his own might that he was created mighty, and his worthiness pleased him well then." (Translation my own)

[14] "Then on the sixth day since this was done, the almighty God created man out of earth, ADAM, with his hands and gave him a soul, and likewise EVE afterwards of Adam's rib, so that they should have, and their offspring with them, the fair dwelling that the fiend gave up, if they obeyed their creator rightly. (Translation my own)

they are primarily concerned with exegesis and analysis." Meanwhile, Ælfric formulates a cohesive narrative (200) which, while it lacks any direct source (193), may have been "modelled to some extent on that in the Old English poem *Genesis A*" (197). Fox uses this parallel to lend weight to Johnson's argument that *Genesis A* is connected to 10th century Winchester which, as well as having been Ælfric's place of study, produced two charters which tell a strikingly similar narrative of the fall to that found in *Genesis A* (Johnson "The Fall of Lucifer" 516).

In the following section, then, I will show that the *Old English Illustrated Hexateuch* and Junius 11 share the same concern with using the fall of the angels to create narrative continuity and frame the narrative of Genesis drawing on elements of the fall that cannot be ascribed to exegesis of canonical scripture.[15]

Fall of Angels in the Translations

Genesis A, the two charters mentioned by Johnson, and *Genesis B* all present some significant differences compared to Ælfric's narrative and those of other authorities known to the Anglo-Saxons. Remley, for instance, writes that the eight introductory lines of *Genesis A* "are followed by the substantial, apocryphally derived narrative on the fall of the angels (GenA 10-91), which serves to introduce the opening lines of the extant part of the poem's hexameral narrative (92-168, following Gen. I.1-10)" (126). While even the authoritative accounts of the fall are extra-biblical for the most part, Johnson identifies as a distinguishing characteristic in *Genesis A*'s account the fact that the creation and fall of the angels both happen before the creation of the material world and the creation of the first day and night ("The Fall of Lucifer" 506, 508). This notion may have come, through various lost intermediaries, from other Church Fathers who believed as much (511-12). However, they generally reject the notion that the fall of

[15] The fall of the angels was also a narrative that proliferated in Latin writing, though that is beyond the scope of this paper.

the angels was the cause of the creation of the material world, a more extreme viewpoint than the Replacement doctrine elaborated by Augustine (511).

Genesis A and *B* are distinguished then also by the fact that they take the Replacement doctrine to its extreme: "it is not simply man who was created to fill the void occasioned by the primal lapse of the rebel angels, but the whole of physical creation which was called into being for this purpose" (517). Thus, we have in *Genesis A*,

> Þa þeahtode þeoden ure
> modgeþonce hu he þa mæran gesceaft,
> eðelstaðolas, eft gesette,
> swegltorhtan seld selran werode
> þa hie gielpsceaþan ofgifen hæfdon
> heah on heofenum. forþam halig god
> under roderas feng ricum mihtum
> wolde þæt him eorðe and uproder
> and sidwæter geseted wurde,
> woruldgesceafte on wraðra gield
> þara þe, forhealdene, of hleo sende.[16] (Doane *Genesis A* ll. 92-102)

In this passage, it is clear that God has already created the "eðelstaðolas" (heavenly realms) and filled their "swegltorhtan seld" (heaven-bright seats) with a host of angels before the material world is created. After the fall of the angels, mankind is created to fill the empty seats. But Man

[16] "Then our Lord took counsel in his mind how he might restore the great creations, the heavenly realms, the heaven-bright seats with a better host when the arrogant criminals had left them high in Heaven. Therefore, under the span of Heaven, Holy God with powerful might willed that the earth and high heaven and wide water should be set for them, world-creations, as substitutes for those evil ones, the impure ones, whom he sent from the shelter." (Translation my own)

is not simply created as an equivalent replacement. Instead, the poem states that the world is now destined for a "selran werode," man. These details set up the narrative to require a final Judgement from the start, as it is at this time that the heavenly seats will finally be filled again and Creation will be better than it ever was.

In *Genesis B*, Satan reveals that his motivation to tempt man is a desire to prevent man from having what has been taken away from the fallen angels:

> Ne gelyfe ic me nu þæs leohtes furðor þæs þe he him
> [þenceð lange niotan,
> þæs eades mid his engla cræfte ne magon we þæt on aldre
> [gewinnan
> þæt we mihtiges godes mod onwcecen.
> uton oðwendan hit nu monna beamum
> þæt heofonrice nu we hit habban ne moton, gedon þæt hie
> [his hyldo forlæten,
> þæt hie þæt onwendon þæt he mid his worde bebead.[17] (Doane *The Saxon Genesis* ll. 401-405)

Satan admits to having hoped to return to Heaven and, having given that up, decides to take it away from mankind instead. The addition of this detail from *Genesis B* to the narrative created in *Genesis A* connects the two falls. The theme of willpower and their role in both doing and resisting evil.

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[17] "I do not hope any longer for that light which He intends him [Adam] to enjoy for a long time. Nor may we ever obtain that prosperity amid the might of his angels that we might soften mighty God's mind. Let us turn it away from the children of men, that Kingdom of Heaven, now that we may not have it, make His grace leave them so that they disobey that which He with His word commanded." (Translation my own)

The poem presents the fall of the angels as the lead-up to and cause of the fall of man, thus framing the Book of Genesis in a larger eschatological narrative, beginning with the perfect, immaterial, heavenly realm, and connecting the loss of Heaven by the fallen angels to the creation of the material world and man's loss of Paradise. This sets up the end of the material world and Man's ascension to fill the seats abandoned by the fallen angels.

The illustrations follow the text in showing the presence of angels before the creation of the material world. Muir describes the first illustration on p. ii as follows: "God is seated on a cushioned throne above chaos before Creation. There is a double arch above him which perhaps depicts the vault of the heavens; the inner arch is painted yellow. Two multi-winged angels, with eyes on one pair of their wings, flank the Deity…. Surging and swirling lines depict the waters of chaos leaping towards the heavens." An illustration of Lucifer arguing his position on p.2 and of the angels falling into a hellmouth on p.3 accompany the text of *Genesis A*'s account of the fall. Then, on p. 6, we see the material world finally take shape with a firmament, waters, and the separation of light and dark:

> God, cross-nimbed but now beardless, sits on the rim of the firmament with a footstool beneath his feet. Above him an angel holds an inverted dome, out of which stream light rays, which have just been created. With his right hand God seems to be directing the rays towards the darkness below, towards which he points with his left hand . . . . Above the agitated waters at the bottom of the illustration there is an angel covering his eyes / face with drapery, representing darkness. (Muir)

While the poetic paraphrases, *Genesis A* and *B*, depict the fall of the angels three times with another two depictions found in the illustrations, the prose paraphrase adds no mention of the event. Nevertheless, the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch* begins the book of Genesis with a full-page illustration of the fall of the angels. Dodwell and Clemoes, in describing the image,

write, "This picture illustrates the creation of light, *Fiat lux*, on the first day (Gen. 1.3). The artist was in the tradition of the commentaries of St Augustine, which argue that the creation of light included the creation of angels and that the separation of good and bad angels took place when '*divisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras*' (Gen. 1.4)" (17). However, the illustration shows no sign of referring to the separation of light and dark. If anything, Hell is brighter, as it is covered with an orange-red wash, while Heaven is depicted as a mass of greyish ripples, similar to what Muir describes in Junius as "[s]urging and swirling lines [that] depict the waters of chaos" (p. ii). Thus, while the prose paraphrase attempts no narrative of the fall, its visual depiction is in line with the tenth century understanding Johnson attributes to Winchester.

Though Ericksen and Doane find similarities in certain details and themes, these peculiarities of the Old English accounts cannot be fully accounted for by the main apocryphal sources discussed. In 1 Enoch, the fall of the angels happens after creation and is connected to the birth of giants from "[t]he sons of God seeing the daughters of men" (*Vulgate Latin Bible* Gen. 6:2) and to the Flood. Similarly, the *Vita Adae et Evae* places the fall after the creation of man, and in fact posits the creation of man as the reason for Lucifer's rebellion. In 2 Enoch, the creation and fall of the angels takes place on the second day of creation and the narrative steers clear of the Replacement doctrine. Nevertheless, while we may not know the source of these details, they remain distinct from any authoritative traditions of the fall and go beyond what can be understood from exegetical readings of the scripture. In doing so, they integrate Genesis into a greater Christian narrative by constructing the fall of the angels as the precipitating reason for the creation of the material world and the fall of man, and thus connecting Genesis to the New Testament and its account of the end of evil.

Conclusion

So, between the additions to the text surrounding Enoch's life and the addition of a narrative for the fall of the angels before creation, the Old English translations of Genesis all rely on apocryphal material to flesh out their narrative. But why add these details? Genesis was important for Anglo-Saxon audiences not only to be read figuratively in relation to the New Testament, but also as a literal history (Wright 123). Thus, the insertion of such apocryphal material is by no means trivial.

I turn here to the tensions in early English translation touched upon in the introduction. Anglo-Saxon translators inherited the tension between "word for word" and "sense for sense" translation from classical and patristic translators (Stanton 36-37). However, to this the Anglo-Saxons add another tension: that between the translation as subservient replication and the translation as a creative work that displaces the source text–what we might call adaptation. Stanton writes, "Ælfric … feared disrupting the lineal continuity of the Latin tradition by introducing linguistic multiplicity" (39). Thus, we have Ælfric's much quoted mention of "mycel gedwyld on manegum engliscum bocum"[18] from his preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies (qtd. in Hawk 9). In his preface to his translation of Genesis, Ælfric insists on the importance of remaining faithful to the source: "We secgað eac foran to þat seo boc is swiþe deop gastlice to understandenne, and we ne writaþ na mare buton þa nacedan gerecednisse"[19] (Marsden *The Old English Heptateuch* 4).

But this claim proves false. Likewise, both Ælfric's and the anonymous prose translations were modified to protect such unlearned readers from misinterpretation. For instance, Ælfric writes at length in his preface about the many outdated laws described in the Old Testament that

[18] "much error in many English books" (translated by Hawk 9).

[19] "We said also before that the boc is very deeply spiritual in understanding, and we do not write more than the naked narrative" (Translation my own)

may lead an uneducated reader astray. Thus, Ælfric and the other anonymous translators censor, paraphrase, or add to the text in instances that may be confusing. For example, Ælfric adds clarifications or exegetical asides to his translation. (Marsden "Ælfric as Translator," "Old Latin Intervention," "Translation by Committee?"; Barnhouse "Shaping the Hexateuch"). Bede also shared concerns with exposing less educated audiences to literal readings of the Old Testmaent ("The Anglo-Saxon Genesis" 206). And while it is no surprise that a verse retelling of Genesis modifies the text, Doane finds that *Genesis A* was not involved in "a conscious program of exploiting the biblical text so as to enhnce one 'thematic' or ideological strain overanother, as in the manner of, say, *Exodus*" but instead material is added in "a continuous and spontaneous effort to clarify and expand according to the needs of audience and verse technique to enhance the understanding of the literal text" (*Genesis A* 86).

These tensions are exacerbated by the fact that the translations would have been read by an audience with varying levels of education. Karkov ("The Anglo-Saxon Genesis" 206), Doane (*Genesis A* 74), and Ericksen all argue that the verse translations would have been useful for careful study by an educated audience. Remley considers on the one hand that such Old English biblical poetry would have been studied by "intermediate" monastic students, and on the other hand that it would have been useful for "the instruction of the laity and–most intriguingly in the education of members of clerical and monastic orders who knew no Latin" (55).

The prose translations are more commonly thought to have been produced for the purpose of teaching scripture to less educated novice monks, secular clergy, and lay people (Marsden *The Text of the Old Testament* 405; Gatch 362; Karkov 208). However, Sarah Keefer proposes that "[the *Illustrated Hexateuch*] seems to be a book for education while [the *Heptateuch*] seems to be a book for study" (143). Johnson argues instead that the *Hexateuch*'s illustrations add a layer of meaning in "an attempt to provide wider access to the mysteries of

this sacred text" and imagines that is it "in the context of private study or instruction that we are to imagine the *Illustrated Hexateuch* to have had its greatest effectiveness" ("A Program of Illumination" 198).

Both versions were likely useful to the aristocratic laity (Karkov 211; Anlezark 97; Johnson "A Program of Illumination" 197; Marsden *The Text of the Old Testament* 405; Gatch 362) and to women (Karkov 206-07). A common throughline is that these texts were for study by people with an intermediate level of education, but Withers also insists that there is no need to pin a specific intended audience to the *Hexateuch* (*The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch* 178). Karkov likewise proposes that both Junius 11 and the *Illustrated Old English Hexateuch* were produced "for a mixed audience in which different groups or individuals would approach the narrative on different levels" (207). Because of this mixed audience, both the verse and prose translations modify the text in such a way as to guide a less learned reader towards the correct understanding while also providing material for a more educated audience to meditate on.

So, there is tension between a need for faithful translation, especially of scripture, and the need to modify the translation for a less educated audience. This brings us back to Bede's comments about the Book of Enoch. After rejecting the book as apocryphal, Bede adds,

> Hence this very Letter of Jude, because it contains a witness from an apocryphal book, was rejected by a number of people from the earliest times. Nonetheless because of its authority and age and usefulness it has for long been counted among the holy scriptures, particularly because Jude took from an apocryphal book a witness which was not apocryphal and doubtful but outstanding because of its true light and light-giving truth. (Hurst 249-50)

In this statement, Bede echoes Jerome's attitude toward apocrypha as expressed in a letter outlining a proper Christian education for a roman girl:

> Let her take care with all apocrypha and, if ever she wishes to read them, not for the truth of their doctrines but for respect for miracles, let her know that they are not by those to whom they are ascribed, that many faults are interspersed in them and that it demands great discretion to seek out the gold in the mud. (qtd in Hawk 4)

As for Ælfric, when he refers directly to apocrypha, he condemns it (Hawk 9). But Hawk has shown that apocryphal material shows up in many of his works, suggesting that, while Ælfric would not openly recommend apocryphal material, he, like other writers of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, considers certain details to be useful (104). Thus, we have Ælfric including the apocryphal account of Enoch and Elias' return to Earth on Judgment Day discussed earlier.

Where Ælfric expresses a similar perspective to Jerome's is in his writings on the Old Testament. It is an important text with lessons that are required in a complete education, but, if exposed to the full, uncensored text, an uneducated mind may not be able to differentiate these lessons from the unchristian behaviours and values. It is possible, then, that in a sort of attempt to fight fire with fire, the addition of certain grains of truth from apocryphal sources helps frame the messiness of the Old Testament and connect it to the New Testament. In all the instances discussed above, the apocrypha is hinted at rather than directly integrated into the narrative. This suggests that it was intended for that intermediate level audience capable of close study while still requiring guidance. Wright and Hill both differentiate between a typological and an allegorical reading of the Bible, where the typological reading is concerned with connecting the Old Testament to the New and is more accessible to a less educated audience (Wright 122 n. 6). The apocryphal additions to the Old English translations fit into this category. They work, somewhat paradoxically, to guide the audiences understanding of the complicated truths of the book, while also requiring a high enogh level of education to catch the references.

With the addition of this apocryphal material, the texts tell a story that begins with the fall of the angels as a precipitating factor for the creation of Earth, that then expands on the life of Enoch, seventh from Adam, alluding to his role as intercessor and apocalyptic prophet, and that looks forward to Judgment Day. Enoch both as parallel to Christ and as a biblical figure in himself is emblematic of the struggle between good and evil and the final triumph of good over evil, thus concluding a cycle that begins and ends with an immaterial world where good reigns unchallenged. This concern with narrative is a unifying feature of the works. *Genesis A* and *B* perhaps most obviously follow this ideal, as they transform Genesis into a poetic work full of associations to heroic epics. If this does not come out so clearly in the prose translation, the texts nevertheless show a preoccupation with narrative flow. Both Ælfric's translation and the anonymous prose translations remove and paraphrase sections that are tedious or confusing.

Junius 11 and the *Old English Hexateuch* are also thoroughly illustrated. Indeed, the *Hexateuch*, with its full-colour illustrations separated by only a few lines of text, reads almost like a modern-day picture book. The illustrations in both manuscripts provide an engaging complement to the text, help a novice reader follow the narrative, and provide symbolic information for a more advanced reader to consider. Finally, they are a testament to the care put into copying these translations and thus their great value. While the vernacular Genesis's scriptural authority is secondary to the Latin, the texts are far from peripheral. Like Cædmon who is received into the monastic community for his skill at composing Old English biblical verse, these texts are welcomed into the religious discourse of the time.

The verse and prose translations both modify Genesis so as to produce a Christian narrative out of an Old Testament text, suggesting that the presumed gap between the verse and prose Genesis translations is not as great as it may seem. The poem translates the text across language and genre, freely cutting, adding to, and rearranging the scripture as it goes, while the

prose translation is introduced by a preface that firmly places it at the opposite end of the concept of fidelity and professes to give only the "naked narrative." But both versions adapt the source and ultimately function in the same way. They summarize, explain, and flesh out the text of the Old Testament for an Old English audience. Ælfric's worry about English books displacing the source texts is resolved by the creation of texts that both guide a less educated reader and provide material for a more educated audience to analyze by constantly referring to other texts, both canonical and apocryphal and inserting Genesis into a larger Christian narrative.

Appendix I: Gen. 5:21-24

Verse	Vulgate (vulgate.org)	C translation my own	B/L (translation my own)	Junius 11 (translation by Hostetter)
5:21	porro Enoch vixit sexaginta quinque annis et genuit Mathusalam And Henoch lived sixty-five years, and begot Mathusala.	Witodlice Enohc lyfode .v. and sixti geare and gestrinde Matusalam Truly Henoch lived five and sixty years and begot Mathusala	Enoch gestrinde Mathusalam þa he wæs fif and sixtigwintre, Henoch begot Mathusala when he was five and sixty winters.	enoch siððan ealdordom ahof, freoðosped folces wisa, nalles feallan let dom and drihtscipe þenden he hyrde wæs heafodmaga, breac blæddaga, bearna strynde, þreohund wintra. him wæs þeoden hold, rodera waldend. se rinc heonon on lichoman lisse sohte, drihtnes duguðe, nales deaðe swealt middangeardes swa her men doþ geonge and ealde þonne him god heora aehta and aetwist eorðan gestreona on genimeð and heora aldor somed. Ac he cwic gewat mid cyning engla of þyssum lænan life feran, on þam gearwum þe his gast onfeng ær hine to monnum modor brohte. he þam yldestan eaforan læfde folc, frumbearne. fif and syxtig wintra hæfde þa he woruld ofgeaf and eac þreohund. (1197-1217a) Enoch afterwards raised his princely authority, the leader and peace-protector of the people, did not at all let fall his judgment and leadership while he was the keepr, head of the people, enjoyed the happy days, begot children for three hundred winters. The ruler of the skies, the Chief was gracious to him. The man sought mercy in body amidst the Lord's host, was not burned by death on Earth as here men do young and old when God takes from them their possessions and the substance of theur earthly gains and their life as well. But he quickly withdrew with the king of the angels from this loan to continue in life, in the clothing that his spirit took before the mother brought him to the people. He left his people to the eldest, the heir, the first child. He had five and sixty winters when he gave up the world and also three hundred.
5:22	et ambulavit Enoch cum Deo postquam genuit Mathusalam trecentis annis et genuit filios et filias And Henoch walked with God: and lived after he begot Mathusala, three hundred years, and begot sons and daughters.	and Enoch ferde to heofone mid Gode. He leofode siððan he gestrinde Matusalam .iii. hund geare and gestrynde sone and dohtra. and Henoch went to heaven with God. He lived after he begot Mathusala three hundred years and begot sons and daughters.	and siþþan he gestrinde suna and dohtra; and afterwards he begot sons and daughters.	
5:23	et facti sunt omnes dies Enoch trecenti sexaginta quinque anni And all the days of Henoch were three hundred and sixty-five years.	Wæron þa gewordene ealla Enoches dagas .iii. hund geare and .v. and syxti geare. Were then begot all Henoch's days three hundred years and five and sixty years.	and he wæs on þisum life þreohundwintre and fif and sixigwintre, and he was on this life threehundred winters and five and sixty winters.	
5:24	ambulavitque cum Deo et non apparuit quia tulit eum Deus And he walked with God, and was seen no more: because God took him.	And he ne forðferde na, ac ferde mid Gode and næs gesewen siððan mid mannum, for þan þæ God hine genam. And he did not go forth, but went with God and was not seen afterwards with men, because God him took.	and he ferde mid Gode and hine nan man siþþan ne geseah, for þam þe Drihten hine nam, mid sawle and mid lichaman. And he went with God and him no man afterwards saw, bcause the Lord him took. With soul and with body.	

Appendix II: List of Illustrations

London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv

Illustrations mentioned in the paper can be accessed through the digital facsimile, ff. 2r, 11v, 19r, 29r, 43v, at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_claudius_b_iv_f006v[20]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11

Illustrations mentioned in the paper can be accessed through the digital facsimile, pp. ii, 2, 3, 9**,** 60**,** 61, at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/d5e3a9fc-abaa-4649-ae48-be207ce8da15/surfaces/82365036-24f3-4c43-95fe-0a4a4d94d90a/

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi

The illustration mentioned in the paper can be accessed through the digital facsimile, f. 15r, at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_C_VI

[20] At the time of writing this thesis, the digital facsimiles are not accessible, but the illustrations can be found in a print facsimile: Dodwell, C. R., and Peter Clemoes, editors. *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV*. Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974.

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