

‘King Ceadwalla’s Roman epitaph’, *Latin Learning and English Lore. Papers for Michael Lapidge*, edited by Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), i. 171–86 (text), 186–93 (notes) [page numbers in bold in square brackets].

King Ceadwalla’s Roman Epitaph

King Ceadwalla’s giving up his crown and going to Rome represented a dramatic conversion after a short and turbulent career, and his baptism by the pope in 689 was a strong symbol of the bond between the English church and Rome. His death only days later set a seal on this significant conversion. ‘It was an impressive act’ (in the words of Wilhelm Levison) ‘that a prince should relinquish his power to come *a finibus terrae* to the prince of the apostles; the Pope gave him the distinctive baptismal name of Petrus and a tomb in St Peter’s.’¹ Aldhelm is the earliest source to tell the tale in verses composed for the dedication of a church built by the Abbess Bugga.² Her father King Centwine had also retired into a monastic cell in 685, and both kings are praised by Aldhelm. The chief means of the story’s dissemination, however, has long been the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* of Bede, who relates elements of Ceadwalla’s history at three points in this work.³

We learn of his reign through a story about Bishop Wilfrid, who had established Christianity among the South Saxons in the time of their king Æthelwath, already baptized in Mercia, and his queen Eafe, a Christian, baptized among her own people, the Hwicce. Ceadwalla, ‘iuuenis strenuissimus de regio genere Geuissorum’, had slain Æthelwath but been driven out by two of Æthelwath’s ealdormen. He subsequently became king of the West Saxons and occupied the land of the South Saxons with oppressive violence. The evidence of charters shows that he also seized control over Surrey from the Mercian king.⁴ Ceadwalla, ‘this bloodthirsty young pagan’ (in the words of Bertram Colgrave), sought to wipe out the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight and replace them with his own people. He successfully took possession and, in fulfilment of a vow, gave one quarter of the island, 300 hides, to Bishop Wilfrid, who commended this vast estate to

¹ Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), 38.

² Aldhelm, *Hoc templum Bugge* (ed. Rudolf Ehwald, MGH *Auctores Antiquissimi* 15 (1913–19), 14–18; translated by Michael Lapidge, *Aldhelm. The Poetic Works* (Woodbridge, 1985), 47–9).

³ Bede, *HE* IV 12 (ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), 1. 228; ed. R. A. B. Mynors, transl. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford, 1969), 368); *HE* IV 15–16 (Plummer, 236–7; Mynors, 380–2); *HE* V 7 (Plummer, 293–4; Mynors, 470–2).

⁴ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, ³1971), 69–71.

one of his clerks, Beornwine. In his *Life of St Wilfrid*, Stephen provides far less detail, whitewashing Ceadwalla's conduct but emphasizing the honour he bestowed on Bishop Wilfrid.⁵ Quite what one is to make of the apparent accommodation between this particularly controversial bishop and the violent pagan ruler Ceadwalla is far from clear. Bede's main source is clearly identified [172] in his preface: he had a written account of the ecclesiastical history of the West Saxons, the South Saxons, and the Isle of Wight from Bishop Daniel of Winchester, who was long associated with King Ine of Wessex, Ceadwalla's successor.⁶

Bede's second source of information about King Ceadwalla was an inscription erected over the king's burial in the basilica of St Peter in Rome. This tells how he came to Rome, received baptism from Pope Sergius (687–701), and died *in albis*, still wearing the white surplice he had put on for his baptism. Now, this inscription has come down to us by several different routes of transmission. Bede summarizes the epitaph in his own words and then quotes it in full, twenty-four lines of elegiacs and four lines of factual prose. His editors have concerned themselves only with the descent of Bede's text and have not sought to control his text of the epitaph from other sources. The verses were quoted also by Paul the Deacon in his *Historia Langobardorum*. Editors of Paul have asserted that he derived the epitaph from Bede.⁷ Collections of epigraphical verses have also preserved the epitaph, and some of these circulated in Anglo-Saxon England. The three routes of transmission are not unrelated. Bede's source must have been a manuscript, presumably a collection of inscriptions, copied at one or more removes from the inscription in Rome. I shall argue that Paul the Deacon knew it from a similar source. It is impossible to know how many stages separate the inscribed tablet from the archetypes of the known epigraphical anthologies, Bede, or Paul the Deacon. Yet ultimately all must derive from the stone inscribed at the command of Pope Sergius in St Peter's basilica.

The exploration of inscriptions from early Christian Rome has occupied antiquaries for centuries, but we need not go over the whole tradition.⁸ The textual history of this inscription was fully investigated by Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–1894). My introduction to the writings of

⁵ Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi episcopi*, c. 42 (ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 6 (1913), 193–263; ed. & transl. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge 1927)).

⁶ Bede, *HE*, praef. (Plummer, 7).

⁷ Waitz, 169, cited readings from BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 (that is *Sylloge Laurehamensis IV*), BNF MS lat. 2832 (de Rossi's XXV. 10), and the editions of Jan Gruter and Angelo Mai; he worked before de Rossi's edition was published. Dependency on Bede is made explicit, 'ex Bedae hist. Angl. V, 7, quae etiam epitaphium praebuit' (see below, p. {12}).

⁸ Henri Leclercq, 'Inscriptions (Histoire des recueils d)', *DACL* 7. 850–905.

this great Roman scholar is not the least of my many debts to Michael Lapidge. De Rossi earned an international reputation for his work on the catacombs; he was the first to bring rigour into palaeochristian archaeology. He began his work on the extant inscriptions when he was only twenty years old, though the first massive volume did not appear until 1857. De Rossi's research on manuscripts was no less systematic. After the three volumes of *La Roma sotterranea cristiana* (1864–77), he worked on the catalogue of the Palatine manuscripts at the Vatican, contributing a long introduction on the history of the archives and libraries of the Holy See (1886). His edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology (1894) remains authoritative. Throughout this period he continued to work on recovering inscriptions from manuscript tradition. The first part of this book, another huge folio, appeared in 1888, but he died before completing the second part.⁹ He included six sources of Ceadwalla's epitaph and a critical text.¹⁰ It made little impression on students of Bede. Even Charles Plummer, who cites it in connexion with the inscription, does not mention that de Rossi had constructed an edition from a wide range of manuscript witnesses, some of them deriving from a tradition older than the time of Bede.¹¹ In retracing some of his work, I seek to set the verses so well known from Bede in their wider textual history.

The inscriptions composed by Pope Damasus in the fourth century for the tombs of the martyrs and popes set a fashion for circulating in [173] manuscript the epitaphs collected from the Roman tombs of famous individuals.¹² Such collections or *syllogae* were still being made in the seventh century. It is now impossible to ascertain to what extent visitors from faraway places, such as England, collected inscriptions for themselves or obtained a booklet in which the texts were already brought together. The text of Ceadwalla's epitaph is found in several manuscript collections of epigraphic verses, but none of them is simply a collection made by a visitor in Rome. Their histories are complicated.

⁹ For a brief survey of the project, see Antonio Ferrua, 'La pubblicazione delle iscrizioni cristiane antiche di Roma', *Archivium historiae pontificiae* 22 (1984), 357–67. There is a detailed appraisal of de Rossi's career and achievement by H. Leclercq, *DACL* 15. 18–100.

¹⁰ Ioannes Baptista de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, 2 vols (Rome, 1857–61, 1888), 2/1. 70 (VI. 40), 79 (VII. 4), 111–12 (VIII. 72), 122 (IX. 15), 267 (XXV. 10), 287 (XXVII F. 1), 288–9 (edited text). Relevant discussion can be found in his general introduction, 2/1. xlv, and in the introductions to the various manuscript collections.

¹¹ Plummer, 2. 281, says that the epitaph 'may be found in Dei Rossi [*sic*], *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae*, ii. 70, 79, 111'.

¹² Antonio Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (Rome, 1942).

The most complete text is provided by what de Rossi called *Sylloge Turonensis*, a collection of forty-two verse inscriptions, now surviving in two copies in the Austrian abbeys of Klosterneuburg and Göttweig.¹³ Both manuscripts are primarily copies of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, but their shared parent must have included the collection of inscriptions at the back. The date of that shared parent is unknown. De Rossi analysed the collection in these terms. First, §§ 1–37, were inscriptions from Roman churches, for the most part arranged topographically; these include the epitaph of Gregory the Great, which was known to Bede, and two inscriptions from the basilica of Sant' Agnese fuori le mura, rededicated by Pope Honorius (†638), which de Rossi judged the latest items in the *sylloge*. He inferred that the collection was made at Rome before the middle of the seventh century. He further speculated that it might have been associated with the text of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (which he dated *c.* 630) from very early in its transmission. This collection reached Tours, where, *c.* 670–76, a local inscription was added at the end, now §§ 38–9; at this point it had, as it were, become *Sylloge Turonensis*. Subsequently, four more items were added. These are the epitaph of Ceadwalla dated 689 (§ 40), an undated poem from Lérins (§ 40a), and two more inscriptions from Rome (§§ 41–2). The last of these, a dedication from the church of Santa Maria Maggiore commemorating its reconstruction by Pope Sixtus III (432–40), was known to Aldhelm. The placing of Ceadwalla's epitaph, between the Tours additions and the Lérins addition, is hard to explain. Was a booklet from Tours taken back to Italy? Or were the last items added to a booklet in France? If so, from what source? This alone of the epigraphical sources includes the four lines of prose that provide the historical details concerning the date of Ceadwalla's death. Since these are also quoted by Bede, a connexion may exist between these two, but it is *prima facie* unlikely that Bede should have obtained his text of either Gregory the Great's epitaph or Ceadwalla's from Tours.

De Rossi's second source, which he called *Sylloge Centulensis*, has a less complicated history.¹⁴ The manuscript was copied at Corbie at the end of the eighth century; it is now St Petersburg, National [174] Library, MS F. xiv. 1 (saec. viii^{ex}). Fols. 122r–138r contain a collection of sixty-seven Roman inscriptions, for the most part topographically arranged, but among

¹³ Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 723 (saec. xii), fols. 264v–269r (from where the text was copied by Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi [1725–1792] (BAV MS Vat. lat. 9022) and sent to Gaetano Marini [1740–1815; *DACL* 10. 2145–63], then collecting inscriptions in Rome; it was known to Mai, *Auctores Classici*, 5. 31); Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 64 (cat. 78) (saec. xiii), fols. 163v–169v (from where the text was printed by Jean-Baptiste Pitra in 1860, says de Rossi, 2/1. 58, without precise reference). Discussed by de Rossi, 2/1. 70 (VI. 40).

¹⁴ De Rossi, 2/1. 79 (VII. 4).

them is one from San Vitale in Ravenna, the epitaph of Duke Droctulf.¹⁵ Other collections also include inscriptions from Ravenna, and it would be dangerous to build the route of the archetype on this one point. The final item, § 68, is the epitaph of Caidocus, 'Mole sub hac tegitur Caidocus iure sacerdos, / Scotia quem genuit Gallica terra tegit', ending with a signature, 'Hunc Angilbertus fretus pietate magistra / Et tumulo carmen condidit et tumulum'.¹⁶ De Rossi inferred that the inscription was cut at the end of the eighth century for a new tomb constructed at Saint-Riquier by Abbot Angilbert (790–814), for Caidocus, who had died in the seventh century. Angilbert not only rebuilt the abbey of Saint-Riquier; he also visited Rome four times between 792 and 800 on behalf of Charlemagne. The primary collection from Italy, however, contains nothing later than Ceadwalla's epitaph, so that the exemplar lying behind *Centulensis* might have dated from before 700. The extant copy was made at Corbie, forty miles up the Somme valley from Saint-Riquier; it is surely possible that the one local inscription was added there. The *sylloge* is sandwiched between copies of Aldhelm's *De uirginitate* and his *Aenigmata*. There survive three manuscripts from Corbie containing works of Aldhelm.¹⁷ Where the several exemplars came from is a moot point. It is not impossible that the *sylloge* of Roman inscriptions had travelled with Aldhelm's works from England to Corbie.

The third source was designated *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV*, as being the fourth collection of epigraphic verses in the same manuscript from Lorsch, now BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 (saec. ix). This manuscript had been known to scholars since Jan Gruter used it in the appendix to his *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (1603).¹⁸ This *sylloge*, fols. 55v–82r, is larger than the others containing the epitaph, some 104 items, and larger than the three that precede it in the manuscript. De Rossi inferred that there was a specific interest at Lorsch in collecting such material. A *sylloge*

¹⁵ Below, n. 36.

¹⁶ De Rossi, 2/1. 94 (VII. 68); ed. Traube, MGH *PLAC*, 1. 365.

¹⁷ St Petersburg, Public Library, MS F.xiv.1 (saec. viii^{ex}) [*CLA* **570]; St Petersburg, MS Q.i.15 (saec. viii², written by insular scribes, very likely in England) [*CLA* 1618]; BAV MS Regin. lat. 329 (saec. ix) (D. M. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 130, 142, 154). Olga Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaia, 'Questions corbéiennes', in *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters. Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker* (Dresden, 1931), 18–28, plays down the need to suppose that an exemplar travelled from Saint-Riquier to Corbie.

¹⁸ Jan Gruter [1560–1627], *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (Heidelberg, 1602–3), 1163–1177, at pp. 1174–5.

very like *Laureshamensis IV* was known in England in the eighth century, where it was used by Milred of Worcester.¹⁹

Other manuscripts used by de Rossi reflect the later circulation of verses found in the earlier *syllogae*. De Rossi describes these derivative compilations as anthologies rather than *syllogae*. An anthology of poems and epitaphs compiled in Francia, now BN MS lat. 2832 (saec. ix), fols. [175] 111r–124r, includes Ceadwalla's epitaph at fol. 116r–v.²⁰ This manuscript was bequeathed to the church of Saint-Oyan in the Jura by a priest, Mannon, who died in 880. The epitaph is also found, together with the first few words of the prose, among poems of Sedulius Scottus in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10615–10729 (saec. xii^{3/4}, Trier St. Eucharius), fol. 221r.²¹ The text here is very likely derived from Bede.²² Very different in its nature is BL MS Harley 3685 (saec. xv), which was compiled in Germany and came from the library of Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), in Augsburg.²³ The first item is a selection of poetry by a variety of authors, among which are included several epitaphs which de Rossi thought derived from copies of either *Centulensis* or *Laureshamensis IV*. The other contents of the volume are works of Ermoldus Nigellus and Liutprand of Cremona.

De Rossi's approach is predicated on the notion that early collections were made in Italy in the seventh century, travelled abroad, and were added to in a minor but distinctive way where they found a home, as at Tours or Saint-Riquier, before they were recopied. The ninth-century Lorsch manuscript has preserved several such *syllogae* without editorial

¹⁹ Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's collection of Latin epigrams and their continental counterparts', *ASE* 10 (1981), 21–38.

²⁰ De Rossi, 2. 267 (XXV. 10).

²¹ The manuscript has been much written about; for a résumé, see J. Meyers, *Sedulii Scotti Carmina*, *CCCM* 117 (1991), ix–xxiv; most recently, M. C. Ferrari, *CCCM* 133 (1996), lxxxi.

²² The text was noted from here by Ernst Dümmler [1830–1902], *Sedulii Scotti Carmina quadraginta ex codice Bruxellensi* (Halle, 1869), 4 (no. 62), and printed by the young Henri Pirenne [1862–1935], *Sedulius de Liège*, Mémoires couronnés publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique 33, no. 4 (1882), 66–7 (no. xix). Pirenne pondered, 'Sedulius aura-t-il eu connaissance de cette pièce à Rome même, a-t-elle été transcrite ici par un copiste ignorant?'

²³ Peutinger would himself produce an edition of Jordanes's History of the Goths together with Paul the Deacon's History of the Lombards, printed at Augsburg in 1550. His library has been studied by H.-J. Künast & H. Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers. Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände*, 2 vols (Tübingen, 2003–5). The manuscript was one of several from Peutinger's library that were bought by Nathaniel Noel in Germany (C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972), 275). These and a good many other manuscripts from Germany formed a consignment, one of several assembled by Noel for Edward Harley, received by Harley's librarian Humfrey Wanley and accessioned as from 20 January 1721/2 (C. E. Wright & R. C. Wright, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726* (London, 1966), 138; Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, 254).

intervention. One of them appears to have been made around 686 or 687, just before the time of Pope Sergius.²⁴ The three we are concerned with all contain material that was known in Anglo-Saxon England, where similar collections were in circulation. As has been said, *Turonensis* might have a textual connexion with Bede's text of the epitaph of Ceadwalla as well as containing Gregory the Great's epitaph and a poem known to Aldhelm.²⁵ The collection from Corbie is embedded among works of Aldhelm. And *Laureshamensis IV* contains another dedicatory inscription from Rome, *Virgo parens hac luce*, that was known to Aldhelm but which is not contained in *Turonensis*, either in the original Roman collection or among the additions.²⁶ In 1921 Angelo Silvagni, one of de Rossi's successors, put forward a contrary thesis: what the manuscripts have preserved is no substantive reflection of seventh-century *syllogae*, certainly not the text that reached Aldhelm or Bede in England; rather, *Turonensis* and *Laureshamensis IV* were northern European witnesses to part of the contents of a single mid-seventh-century collection which he attributed to a learned Anglo-Saxon monk.²⁷ The textual evidence will not support this theory, but it has not been refuted in detail; Orchard questioned the chronology, Sims-Williams disregarded it as implausible.²⁸

Very largely on the evidence of the various *syllogae*, de Rossi presented an edition of the poem in the form of an inscription.²⁹ Several readings in his *Turonensis* showed particular affinity with epigraphic form. The phrase 'sedemque Petri' appears as 'sedem, o Petre'; replacing Q with O argues for capitals, so that it is clear that 'sedemque' was written SEDEMQ: in the inscription. Similarly TEMPLVMQ: VERENDVM has become 'templum quaerendo'. The epigraphic [176] abbreviation PLM for *plus*

²⁴ *Sylloge Laureshamensis II* (de Rossi XI) contains epitaphs of Popes Benedict II (†685) and John V (†686) but lacks Pope Sergius's epitaph set up in 688 for the new tomb of Leo the Great and that for Ceadwalla from 689.

²⁵ Lapidge & Rosier, *Aldhelm. Poetical Works*, 36.

²⁶ De Rossi, 2/1. 109 (VIII. 63); line 10 is quoted in Aldhelm's *De metris* (ed. Ehwald, 80); Andy Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994), 203–4. De Rossi connected the poem with the wife of Boethius and dated it on that basis.

²⁷ The thesis is summarized in A. Silvagni, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, new ser. 1 (1922), xxv–xxvii, following a table showing synoptically the contents of the *syllogae* and anthologies then known; he refers for the detail to his paper, 'Studi critici intorno alle più antiche raccolte di iscrizioni classiche e cristiane I Nuovo ordinamento delle sillogi epigrafiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XI', *Dissertazioni della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia* 15 (1921), 181–229. I am grateful to Marco Palma, who obtained a copy of this for me.

²⁸ The Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye was sceptical in his review, *Analecta Bollandiana* 42 (1924), 420–3; Orchard, *Poetic Art*, 203; Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester', 28 n. 41.

²⁹ De Rossi, 2/1. 288–9; reprinted by H. Leclercq, 'Ceadwalla', *DACL* 2. 2710–11.

minus was read as 'plurimos' in the archetype of the *Turonensis*. All other witnesses render the formula correctly.³⁰ We might suppose that the transcription of the epitaph that lies behind this version preserved the capitals and abbreviations of the original; in later recopying some copyists were better able to expand the abbreviation than others. But should we assume that there were copyists in northern Francia who had never seen a Roman tablet *in situ* and yet would still be able to interpret PLM correctly? My guess would be that 'plurimos' is a more typical attempt in these circumstances, and therefore I am tempted to infer that the exemplum from which Bede copied the epitaph derived from a different reading of the actual tablet, made in Rome in an environment where there were people used to composing in and reading this epigraphic style.

The text offered here differs in only four significant readings from that of de Rossi. It differs only superficially from Bede's text. The variants present a synopsis from the textual sources and from those editions that have used the epigraphic evidence.³¹

³⁰ The fact that the whole *c2* tradition of Bede omits the word 'plus' does not invalidate this point; the error was not in the archetype of Bede's *Historia*.

³¹ A list of editions would be long indeed. Quite apart from every Latin text and translation of Bede's *HE* and Paul the Deacon's *HL*, the epitaph has been quoted (ultimately from Bede) by medieval chroniclers (Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon, John of Worcester, Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris and the *Flores historiarum*, John Brompton, Ranulf Higden) and in historical collections, such as the Magdeburg Centuries, Baronius's *Annales*, William Camden's *Remains* (and many reprints of these). It was quoted by Giovanni Dei (1589, see below), and by Michael Alford SJ [1587–1652], *Fides regia Britannica, siue Annales ecclesiae Britannicae* (Liège, 1663), 2. 397. The first edition from the epigraphic record was Jan Gruter from *Laureshamensis IV* (see n. 18). Raffaello Fabretti [1618–1700], *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asseruantur explicatio* (Rome, 1699), 735 (§ 463), used Bede and Gruter. Gruter and Fabretti supplied epigraphic readings for Judoc Wilhelm Ebner of Eschenbach, who also used Bede, many derivative chronicles, and Paul the Deacon, in his commendable edition, *Dissertatio academica de Cadvalla rege Saxonum* (Altdorf, 1736), 46–7. (He cites Paul from Lindenbrogius and from 'Vulcanius', that is *Gothicarum et Langobardicarum rerum scriptores aliquot ueteres; ex bibliotheca Bon. Vulcanii & aliorum* (Leiden, 1617), a line-by-line reprint of Lindenbrog (1595).) Angelo Mai [1782–1854], *Classici Auctores e Vaticanis codicibus* (Rome, 1828–38), 5. 403–4, used Bede, Paul the Deacon, and Giovanni Dei, though he had access to *Laureshamensis IV*. In *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844–55), the epitaph is printed five times: *PL* 89. 375 (as Benedictus Crispus, from Mai); 95. 237 (Bede); 95. 633 (Paul the Deacon, from Muratori); 188. 85 (Orderic Vitalis, from Duchesne); 195. 870 (Henry of Huntingdon, from Savile).

CVLMEN OPES SVBOLEM POLLENTIA REGNA TRIVMPHOS
 EXVVIAS PROCERES MOENIA CASTRA LARES
 QVAEQ: PATRVM VIRTVS ET QVAE CONGESSERAT IPSE
 CEADVAL ARMIPOTENS LIQVIT AMORE DEI
 VT PETRVM SEDEMQ: PETRI REX CERNERET HOSPES 5
 CVIVS FONTE MERAS SVMERET ALMVS AQVAS
 SPLENDIFICVMQ: IVBAR RADIANTI CARPERET HAVSTV
 EX QVO VIVIFICVS FVLGOR VBIQ: FLVIT.
 PERCIPIENSQ: ALACER REDIVIVAE PRAEMIA VITAE
 BARBARICAM RABIEM NOMEN ET INDE SVM 10
 CONVERSVS CONVERTIT OVANS PETRVMQ: VOCARI
 SERGIVS ANTISTES IVSSIT VT IPSE PATER
 FONTE RENASCENTIS QVEM XPI GRATIA PVRGANS
 PROTIVS ALBATVM VEXIT IN ARCE POLI.
 MIRA FIDES REGIS CLEMENTIA MAXIMA XPI 15
 CVIVS CONSILIVM NVLLVS ADIRE POTEST.
 SOSPE ENIM VENIENS SVPREMO EX ORBE BRITANNI
 PER VARIAS GENTES PER FRETA PERQ: VIAS
 VRBEM ROMVLEAM VIDIT TEMPLVMQ: VERENDVM
 ASPEXIT PETRI MYSTICA DONA GERENS. 20
 CANDIDVS INTER OVES XPI SOCIABILIS IBIT
 CORPORE NAM TVMVLVM MENTE SVPERNA TENET. [177]
 COMMVTASSE MAGIS SCEPTORVM INSIGNIA CREDAS
 QVEM REGNVM XPI PROMERVISSE VIDES.

HIC DEPOSITVS EST CEADVAL QVI ET PETRVS REX SAXONVM
 SVB DIE XII KAL. MAIARVM INDICT. II QVI VIXIT AN. PLM XXX
 IMPERANTE DNO IVSTINIANO PISSIMO AVG. AN. ET CONS. IIII
 PONTIFICANTE APOSTOLICO VIRO DOMNO SERGIO PP AN. II

Sylloge Turonensis (de Rossi VI. 40) 2 exubias 4 Chedual 5 Q: PETRI] o Petre 7 splendidicum hausta
 8 fluat 9 precipiensque recidiue 13 fonti 16 CONSILIVM] cum filium 17 sumpto ex orbe Britanni
 19 templum querendo 21 candidas 25 Chedual Saxonorum 26 indict. III PLM] plurimos
 27 vii Aug. anno et consul. 28 pp. anni ii

Sylloge Centulensis (de Rossi VII. 4) 2 exsubias 4 Cedo altarmipotens linquit 6 ALMVS] simus
 7 caperet austu 10 rabiam 13 renascentesunt 16 NVLLVS] iam nemo 17 Britanno 19 urbemque
 23 CREDAS] cretus 25–28 om.

Sylloge Laureshamensis IV (de Rossi VIII. 72); Gruter's readings G 1 sobolem 2 exubias 4 Caedoal
 armipotens G caedo al/armipotens R linquit 13 renascentis G renascentes R 17 suppremi ex orbe Britanni G
 Waitz suppremo ex orbe Britanni R 25–28 om.

BNF MS lat. 2832 fol. 116r–v (de Rossi XXV. 10) 4 Ceadual *Waitz*

BR MS 10615–729 (de Rossi XXVII F. 1, from Pirenne) 17 *Britannus conj. Pirenne*

BL MS Harley 3685 (de Rossi IX. 15) 2 *exubias* 4 *caedo ab inpotens linquit* 5 *sedesque* 6 *uersum om.*
10 SVVM] *sinim* 14 *ablaturum uixit* 16 NVLLVS ADIRE] *murus adire* 17 *suprema ex urbe britanni*

BEDE *HE V* 7 2 *exuuias* 4 *Caedual LM Ceadual C* 7 *haustu m hausto c2* 14 *albatum m ablaturum c2*
17 *Britanni* 25 *Caedual* 26 *PLM] plus minus m minus c2* 27 *Aug. an. et cons.*

PAUL THE DEACON *HL VI* 15 2 *exubias* 4 *Caedoalt, Caedoald* 8 *fluit, fuit* 9 *percipiensque A1*
perspiciensque cett. recidiuae 14 *albatum uarii ablaturum A1 A2 &c.* 17 *supremo ex urbe Britanni*

[178] *Tiberio Alfarano (A), Giovanni Dei (D)* 4 *Armipotens Cedual D* 6 *MERAS] sacras D albus AD*
7 *hastu A hasta D* 9 *perspiciensque AD rediuiuae A* 12 *VT] et AD* 14 *ablaturum AD* 20 *ferens D*

Lindenberg's text of Paul the Deacon (1595, 1611), based on a manuscript belonging to Abraham Ortelius [1527–1598] and the edition of Augsburg 1515, largely agrees with modern editions of Paul the Deacon. 7 *splendor ubique fuit* 9 *perspiciensque recidiuae* 13 *fonte renascentis* 14 *in arce poli* 17 *orbe* His appendix displays variants from the edition of Ascensius, Paris 1514 (see preface, fol. 5v); one further variant is added in the 1611 edition. Muratori (1723) follows Lindenberg with use of two manuscripts, and Lindenberg's variants were included in Muratori's footnotes as 'Lind.': cited from here by Mai and de Rossi. 6 *MERAS] sacras 1595* 8 *fulgor ubique fluit reported as variant 1611* 13 *Vnda renascentum quae 1595* 14 *arce poli 1595*

Mai, *Classici Auctores*, 5. 403–4; repr. *PL* 89. 375–6 (using the text 'apud Bedam, Paulum Diaconum et in lapide Romano quem de Deis recitat: his adiumentis epitaphium satis emendatum dedi; nam Ioannes quidem de Deis, si lapidem ipse exscriperat, quod uix credo, infideliter supineque admodum egit') 6 *MERAS] sacras from D* *ALMVS] albus from D* 12 *VT] et from D* 13 *renascentem from Lindbrogius* 14 *IN ARCE POLI] in alta poli from Lindbrogius* 17 *Britanno conj. Mai ('Ego malui britanno. Mallet quoque extremo pro supremo')*. 20 *ferens from D*

NOTES 2 Faced with *exubias* or *exubias* in all his witnesses, de Rossi conjectured *excubias* 'keeping watch' (for example, 'milites ad excubias confessorum deputati', Aldhelm, *Prosa de uirginitate*, § 36); this conjecture was rejected by both Buecheler and Diehl. It is more natural to accept the manuscript readings as Late Latin spellings for *exuuias* 'spoils' (compare J.L. Bünnemann's note (1739; *PL* 6. 339–40) on the phrase 'ad exuuias tenendas' in Lactantius, *Diuinae institutiones* II 16 (CSEL 19 (1890), 171)), which is what the primary witnesses to the text in Bede provide. 4 The spelling of the king's name varies among the early witnesses. Metre perhaps favours *Ceadual* (ce-ad-ual) over *Caedual* (caed-u-al), though in Italy *Caedoal* may support this latter scansion. 13 Following Mai, de Rossi accepted *fonte renascentem* as a conjecture by 'unus Lindbrogius' (Friedrich Lindenberg, 1573–1648); in fact Lindenberg reported the variant *unda renascentum quae* from Ascensius. The transmitted reading is *fonte renascentis*; conjecture is unnecessary, 'Pope Sergius ordered him to be named Peter as he was himself (God)father of the person reborn from [179] the font, whom ...'. 17 All authoritative witnesses read *ex orbe Britanni*, which is also assimilated by Ermoldus Nigellus in his borrowing, 'Hic populus ueniens supremo ex orbe Britanni / Quos modo Brittones francica lingua uocat' (*De rebus gestis Ludouici pii*, III 13–14). The variant *ex orbe Britanno* in *Centulensis* appears to be a simple conjecture. De Rossi preferred to follow the conjecture of Pirenne, reading *ex orbe Britannus* 'a British visitor coming from the remotest part of the world'; it is the only conjecture from de Rossi's edition received into the text by Buecheler and Diehl. The implication of that, however, would be that *Britanni* was an error in the original tablet or that the entire manuscript tradition reflects a single parent in which the error was introduced. 27 The only witnesses, *Turonensis* and Bede, read 'an(no) et cons(ulatu)'; de Rossi emends to 'an(no) eius cons(ulatus)'.

No evidence has been found to show how a copy of Ceadwalla's epitaph reached Bede. De Rossi's *Turonensis* includes among its additions after it had reached Tours two poems known in England, Ceadwalla's epitaph known to Bede and the fifth-century rededictory inscription from Santa Maria Maggiore quoted by Aldhelm. Both English writers are more likely to have received their exempla from Rome than from Tours. We have inferred from Bede's correct expansion of the epigraphic abbreviation PLM that he probably had a text derived from a clear rendering of the tablet rather than one that had preserved special epigraphic abbreviations. Not one of the other *syllogae* can have accurately preserved the collection of Roman inscriptions known to Bede, since all of them omit the prose details of when Ceadwalla died. It strikes me as likely, therefore, that Bede bears witness to a *sylloge* that has not been preserved. Whether other evidence from Anglo-Saxon England reflects the same *sylloge* cannot be inferred from the slender traces remaining. There are good reasons to think that more than one English visitor to Rome might bring back such things.

It is in no way surprising that Bede should have quoted the epitaph. It fits well into the story he wished to tell of the church history of the English people, and he had other information about King Ceadwalla. He contextualized the epitaph, explaining its existence to his readers. Readers of Roman inscriptions may have been more surprised to find there an Anglo-Saxon king who was baptized by the pope and died *in albis*. The earliest witness to the text of the epitaph after Bede is Paul the Deacon, and in the context of his *Historia Langobardorum* it strikes one as oddly as it would among the epitaphs of martyrs and popes in the [180] *syllogae*.³² An English king who travelled to Rome would have gone through the territory of the Lombards, and Paul tells us that Ceadwalla was 'wonderfully' (*mirifice*) received by King Cunincpert, who had ruled alongside his father King Perctarit since about 678; after Perctarit's death in 688 Cunincpert had succeeded to the kingdom in Pavia and had married an English wife. In approaching Pavia Ceadwalla and his company were surely aware that King Perctarit had helped Bishop Wilfrid in 679.³³

³² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, VI 15 (ed. Georg Waitz [1813–1886] from materials assembled by Ludwig Bethmann [1812–1867], MGH *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (Hanover, 1878), 169, and reprinted in octavo, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 48 (1878), 217–18). Lidia Capo, *Paolo Diacono. Storia dei Longobardi* (Milan, 1992), reprints Waitz's text without critical apparatus but adds a substantial commentary (pp. 369–612).

³³ Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi episcopi*, c. 28. Paul the Deacon, *HL* V 32–3, tells how Perctarit, in exile at an earlier date, had intended to leave Gaul for England but was called home by divine guidance.

Paul the Deacon would have known inscribed epitaphs for himself, such as that for King Cunincpert, part of which still survives from San Salvatore, Pavia.³⁴ He himself composed an epitaph for the grave of Venantius Fortunatus in Tours.³⁵ In quoting the epitaph of Duke Droctulf from Ravenna, he is more likely to have relied on a *sylloge* than on his own eye-witness years before.³⁶ Even so, it has generally been taken for granted that he took Ceadwalla's Roman epitaph from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, though there is no clear evidence that Paul knew that work at all.³⁷ Comparisons between the two works are naturally made, and this need not imply that Paul had studied Bede's *Historia*.³⁸ The assumption has perhaps been sustained by the way in which Waitz's notes recurrently source passages with the two words 'ex Beda'.³⁹ In almost every case the source is Bede's *Chronica*, which Paul also used extensively in his earlier *Historia*

³⁴ Flavia de Rubeis, 'La tradizione epigrafica in Paolo Diacono', in *Paolo Diacono. Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio*, ed. Paolo Chiesa (Udine, 2000), 139–62. Cunincpert's epitaph is shown in pl. 1; it is illustrated and discussed in Carlo Bertelli & Gian Pietro Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi* (Milan, 2000), 142 (pl.), 144–5.

³⁵ Paul the Deacon, *HL* II 13.

³⁶ Paul the Deacon, *HL* III 19. Waitz, 102, noted three manuscript copies of Droctulf's epitaph, 'Clauditur hoc tumulo tantum sed corpore Drocton'; these include *Centulensis* (de Rossi, 2/1. 91 (VII. 55) and *Laureshamensis IV* (de Rossi, 2/1. 115 (VIII. 89)), as well as BNF MS lat. 528 (saec. ix–xi) (de Rossi, 2/1. 285 (XXVII B. 2)). Even before the publication of de Rossi's work, therefore, Waitz might have realised that Droctulf's epitaph and Ceadwalla's had some shared transmission.

³⁷ For example, Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 1. 495n, 'cum ex eo [sc. Beda] noster haec de Cedualla rege'. Plummer, 2. 279, says that, apart from the detail of the visit to King Cunincpert, Paul 'borrows the rest of his account from Bede'; Brunhölzl (see n. 58) sums up our evidence for the epitaph, 'da Beda, che l'aveva inserito nella sua *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, da Paolo Diacono (che tuttavia ha come fonte diretta lo stesso Beda), e solo raramente da manoscritti isolati' (p. 26); Capo, 572, notes that 'il capitolo deriva, in libera sintesi, da Beda'.

³⁸ Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550–800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), 329–431, frequently makes such comparisons. He nowhere demonstrates Paul's knowledge of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, but he does indicate that he thinks that he knew it: 'Paul's avoidance of the subject [of the conversion of the Lombards] contrasts with Gregory of Tours' account of Clovis and, much more glaringly, with Bede's HE. Familiar with both, Paul did not follow suit, but was hardly indifferent to the religious dimension of the Lombard past' (p. 388).

³⁹ The most detailed examination of the sources of Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* is by Reinhard Jacobi, *Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte deutscher Historiographie*, diss. (Halle, 1877). This work is rarely cited in Waitz's notes; most of the work on the MGH edition was done before Jacobi's dissertation was published. Jacobi also edited the second edition of the German translation by Otto Abel, *Paulus Diakonus und die übrigen Geschichtschreiber der Langobarden* (Leipzig, ²1878).

Romana.⁴⁰ Editors of the *Historia Romana* also suggest that Paul used Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, but the two passages concerned are from the *Chronica*.⁴¹ This is also the case with two passages in *Historia Longobardorum*.⁴² The single point on which Paul's dependence on the *Historia ecclesiastica* rests is Ceadwalla's epitaph.⁴³ The sole evidence for Paul the Deacon's knowing Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* is an epitaph from the basilica of St Peter in Rome, known to have enjoyed some circulation in manuscript *syllogae* from where Paul quoted Droctulf's epitaph.

Paul's dependency on Bede for the epitaph, however, was inferred by de Rossi on textual grounds. I doubt whether this has influenced the students of Lombard history – he would have led them to the parallel with Droctulf's epitaph – and the case is not strong. De Rossi noted that versions of the inscription found in Bede and in his *Turonensis* shared certain distinctive readings, in particular in line 9 'recidiuae' rather than 'rediuuiae'. He went on to note, 'Hunc errorem seruant quoque codices Pauli diaconi . . . quem a Beda hoc loco pendere manifestum est'.⁴⁴ What de Rossi used as his text of [181] Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* I have not discovered, but on this point he or it was in error: all manuscripts of Bede whose readings have been reported by Plummer have 'rediuuiae', though Plummer noted that Paul the Deacon read 'recidiuae'. This latter reading is reported only from de Rossi's *Turonensis* and the anthology once owned by Konrad Peutinger. It suggests that Paul derived his text from an early *sylloge*, textually related to the one that had reached Tours by the 670s. Paul himself came from Cividale del Friuli; the late medieval house that claims to be his birthplace overlooks a piazza where an agreeable café still honours his name. He had spent many

⁴⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. Hans Droysen [1851–1921], MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 49 (Berlin, 1879); ed. Amedeo Crivellucci [1850–1914], *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 51 (1914).

⁴¹ Crivellucci, pp. 184, 199. The references in Droysen and Crivellucci are difficult to square with modern editions of Bede; *HR* XIII 17, compare Bede, *Chronica*, ed. C.W. Jones, *CCSL* 123B, 516; *HR* XIV 14, compare Bede, ed. Jones, 518. I find nothing decisively from *HE*.

⁴² Paul, *HL* III 13 (Capo, 469, citing Bede's *Chronica* and *HE* II 1, on the death of Gregory the Great), VI 5 (Capo, 567, citing *Chronica* and *HE* III 27 on the eclipse and the onset of plague), VI 15 (Ceadwalla's epitaph). In neither case is it clear that Paul used *HE*.

⁴³ This is recognized by D. A. Bullough, 'Ethnic history and the Carolingians: an alternative reading of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*', in *The Inheritance of Historiography 350–900*, ed. C. J. Holdsworth & T. P. Wiseman (Exeter, 1986), 85–105, repr. in D. A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: sources and heritage* (Manchester, 1991), 97–122 (at 111–12).

⁴⁴ De Rossi, 2/1. 60 and n. 3. His conviction that Paul had used Bede informed his judgement that in introducing the epitaph 'Paulus diaconus ipsa fere Bedae uerba refert' (2/1. 289); the words shared (shown in italics here) might all derive from the epitaph itself and are not distinctive: 'Cedoal rex Anglorum Saxonum . . . cum Romam peruenisset, a Sergio papa baptizatus Petrusque appellatus et adhuc in albis constitutus ad regna caelestia migravit'.

years in Pavia; he had stayed for a time at the court of Charlemagne (though he left too early to have encountered Alcuin there); and he wrote his *Historia Langobardorum* in monastic retirement at Monte Cassino. Now, it is perhaps not impossible that he had access somewhere to a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Although the work was hardly known in Italy throughout the middle ages, there were copies at Monte Cassino and at Nonantola in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁵ Yet there is no evidence that Paul the Deacon had a copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, and it would be rash to attribute to him the fact that copies were subsequently available at Monte Cassino.

Since de Rossi's time, inscriptions and especially metrical inscriptions have been reprinted in more accessible forms. In a well-known Teubner edition Ceadwalla's epitaph was printed again from de Rossi by Franz Buecheler, who indicated the sources of the text in these terms: 'ex uetustis syllogis et Beda ac Paulo diacono et apographis lapidis effossi a. 1589, tum obruti rursum aut diruti'.⁴⁶ The same wording is repeated in Ernst Diehl's edition.⁴⁷ The tablet itself could have provided a definitive text, if it had been discovered and recognized. Recognition by the ecclesiastical authorities in 1589 might have brought Ceadwalla's epitaph a new significance at a period when many English Catholics preferred religious freedom in exile to repression at home. In the year after the Spanish Armada, Rome and English Catholics abroad had reason to show interest in an English king who gave up his crown to seek baptism from the pope. Concision, however, can mislead.

Two sixteenth-century *apographa* were discussed by de Rossi. From his discussion, Buecheler and Diehl cite Ioannes de Deis (Giovanni Dei), an obscure figure, whose book, *Successores S. Barnabae*, was published at

⁴⁵ Mynors, lxxv–lxxvi, notes that Monte Cassino, MS 181 (saec. xi) and MS 177 (saec. xii), appear to derive from the early-eleventh-century copy in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS E. III. 14 (Hist. 3), fols. 235v–350r, a large compilation of texts covering world history and geography, which also includes Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (fols. 133r–191r). The manuscript was made at Cassino but may have gone north to Germany with Emperor Henry II in the early eleventh century. Mynors, lxxix–lxxx, mentions a ninth-century copy from Nonantola, noting that it was probably the ancestor of two or three other known copies; at one time Phillipps MS 2701, it is now Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, MS 1452.

⁴⁶ Alexander Riese [1840–1922] & Franz Buecheler [1837–1908], *Anthologia latina, sive Poesis latinae supplementum 2 Carmina latina epigraphica*, Teubner (Leipzig, 1894–1926), 2. 660–1 (no. 1394).

⁴⁷ Ernst Diehl [1874–1947], *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae ueteres*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1925–31); reprinted with supplement by J. Moreau and H.I. Marrou (Berlin, 1967–70), 1. 14–15 (no. 55).

[182] Rome in 1589. It is a collection of potted biographies of the archbishops of Milan from St Barnabas to Carlo Borromeo, bishop from 1560 to 1584. I quote in full:⁴⁸

Benedictus Crispus, ciuis, Archiepiscopus a Sergio primo Pontifice creatus, in tota Italia non solum in humanarum, sed et in diuinarum eruditionum scholis inclutus, et clarus fuit, nonnulla commentaria laude digna composuit. Qui cum Romae etiam causam pro Papiensi ecclesia diu egisset, perdidit: quia ibi declaratum fuit Papiensem Episcopum Romanae Sedi obtemperare debere. Cum iam prius Crispinus Papiensis Episcopus Epistolae Synodicae, quam Eusebius Archiepiscopus Mediolanensis coacta Synodo Episcoporum prouincialium confecerat, et ad sanctum Leonem primum Pontificem transmiserat, subscripsisset. Et Damianus itidem epistolae conscriptae ad Constantinum IV Imperatorem. Cuius superiori capite mentio facta est. Romae cum hic Archiepiscopus degeret, Ceadual Rex Anglosaxonum gentilis, et ad Christum conuersus in S. Petro a Sergio Pontifice baptizatus, et Petrus uocatus, ibi moriens ibidem sepultus est. Benedictus eius epithaphium composuit, quod quia diu cum arca sepultum cui erat insculptum iacuit, et annis praeteritis ab effossoribus fabricae Basilicae sancti Petri repertum fuit, libuit hic adscribere quo eius doctrina, et pietas testatior esset. Tandem omni uirtutum laude clarus, cum sedisset annos xlvii Sergio primo, Ioanne sexto, et septimo, Sisino, Constantino, Gregorio secundo, et tercio Pontif. in senectute bona quieuit in Domino.

'Benedictus Crispus, a citizen [of Milan], was created archbishop by Pope Sergius I. He was widely famous throughout all Italy in the schools of both classical and divine learning and was the author of some praiseworthy exegetical work. For a long time he pursued a dispute at Rome against the church of Pavia but lost, for it was determined that the bishop of Pavia was subordinate only to the Roman see, on the grounds, first, that Crispinus, bishop of Pavia had subscribed to the synodical letter which Eusebius, archbishop of Milan, had composed after summoning a synod of the bishops of his province and sent to Pope Leo I, and, second, because Bishop Damian of Pavia, whom we mentioned above, had subscribed the letter sent to the Emperor Constantine IV. While this archbishop remained at Rome, Ceadwalla, a pagan king of the Anglo-Saxons who converted to Christ and was baptized in St Peter's and christened Peter by Pope Sergius, died and was buried there. Benedict composed his epitaph. This lay for a long time buried with the coffin on which it was inscribed, but in times [183] past it was found by workmen digging in the course of work on the building of St Peter's Basilica. It has pleased me to copy it here in order that his learning and piety should be better known. At length, after occupying the see for forty-seven years during the pontificates of Sergius I,

⁴⁸ Ioannes de Deis [Giovanni Dei], *Successores S. Barnabae Apostoli in ecclesia Mediolanensi*, ex bibliotheca Vaticana, et ex manuscrip(to) cardin(alis) Syrleti, per Ioannem de Deis collecti iussu Pii V Pont. Max. Anno Domini M.D.LXXI. Deinde a R(euerendo) P(atre) D(omino) Eugenio Cataneo aucti, illustrati, et in ampliorem formam redacti, anno M.D.LXXXIV (Romae : ex officina Accoltiana, 1589). 48 fols.; 8°. It is impossible to be sure how much Eugenio Cataneo [1551–1608] added to Dei's text of 1571. Two of the early biographies (Antonius and Ampellius, §§ 39, 41) refer to the translation of their remains by Carlo Borromeo in 1582; his biography must be largely the work of Cataneo, and the 1589 edition also includes a short account of his successor.

John VI, John VII, Sisinus, Constantine, Gregory II, and Gregory III, in good old age and renowned for his virtues, he rested in the Lord.’

It is unclear what the writer knew about the finding of the epitaph. His supposing that it had been inscribed on the king's coffin and buried with him for centuries may explain why, upon finding a copy of the epitaph, he assumed that workmen had discovered it during the rebuilding of St Peter's. We may begin to wonder. As for the date, de Rossi represented Giovanni Dei as indicating that the inscription had been discovered ‘paullo ante a. 1588’. The title-page says otherwise. Giovanni Dei, it tells us, compiled his *Successores* in 1571 from a manuscript belonging to Cardinal Sirleto at the behest of Pius V, pope from 1566 to 1572.⁴⁹ The discovery, it appears, should be moved back to before 1571. The role of Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585) was no more than the title-page says; he owned a considerable collection of manuscripts, to which Giovanni Dei had had access.⁵⁰

It is fair to say that Giovanni Battista de Rossi knew more about the inscriptions than did Giovanni Dei. Where he read one in the atrium of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan, his text has many gaps.⁵¹ While de Rossi did not actually say that Dei was making it up about the discovery of the inscription, he did demonstrate that the text of the inscription quoted by him could not derive from the tablet erected by Sergius I. The text quoted by Dei shares many peculiar readings with that copied by Tiberio Alfarano (†1596), author of *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et noua structura* (1582).⁵² De Rossi

⁴⁹ These details appear on the title-page of the 1589 edition used by de Rossi. He had not seen the edition printed in 1584, whose description I take from the electronic catalogue *EDIT 16. Censimento delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo: Successores diui Barnabae apostoli, in ecclesia Mediolanensi: Ex bibliotheca Vaticana. Et ex manuscrip(to) card. Syrleti. Per Ioannem de Deis collecti iussu Pij V Pont. Max. Anno Domini MDLXXI (Romae: Apud Ioannem Osmarinum, 1584). [54] fols.; 12°.*

⁵⁰ On Sirleto, see Georg Denzler, *Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585). Leben und Werke* (Munich, 1964). Most of his manuscripts passed eventually into the hands of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (Pope Alexander VIII, 1689–91), and are now among the Codices Ottoboniani Latini (J. Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane du Sixte IV à Pie XI*, Studi e testi 272 (1973), 44–55). The source was identified by Angelo Mercati (below, n. 56) as BAV MS Ottob. lat. 759, fols. 29r–53v, biographies of archbishops of Milan from Barnabas to Petrus de Candia (elected pope in 1409); its entry on Benedict (fol. 38v), however, shows no significant relationship. (My thanks to Dr Peter Clarke in Rome for a transcript of the entry.)

⁵¹ In his chapter on Archbishop Atto (§ 61), in the time of Pope Sergius III (904–911), ‘In horto ecclesiae haec carmina uetustate exesa ui [l. uix] leguntur. *Discat qui nescit . . .*’; {SEE V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, 12 vols (Milan, 1889–93), 2188.d.1 }

⁵² De Rossi cited the epitaph from Alfarano's papers. It is not quoted in Alfarano's book, published for the first time by Michele Cerrati [1884–1925], *Tiberii Alfarani de basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et noua structura*, Studi e testi 26 (Rome, 1914), 34 and notes, 113.

reports that Alfarano, 'qui eo tempore ueteris basilicae monumenta studiose inspexit, non indicat utrum hoc epitaphium ex ipso lapide an e Bedae historiis descripserit'; in view of the peculiar readings shared by Alfarano and Dei, he concluded, 'neuter ad lapidis fidem apographum expressit'.⁵³ De Rossi did not mention that among the list of sources at the back of *Successores S. Barnabae* there is an entry 'Beda in historiis': Ceadwalla's epitaph appears to be the only item derived from Bede in this work.⁵⁴ Alfarano gives no indication of where he came upon the epitaph. Tellingly, however, he was unaware of its location, and it does not appear on his plan of the monuments of Old St Peter's. [184]

Giovanni Dei is the first writer to attribute the epitaph of King Ceadwalla to Benedict, archbishop of Milan. This has been often repeated, usually without evidence or reason. Charles Plummer, to take only a worthy example, cited Gregorovius as his source.⁵⁵ De Rossi did not deny the possibility, though he was well aware that there was no evidence in the matter. Angelo Mercati in 1919 exposed the unreliability of Dei's claims.⁵⁶ Among other things, he had attributed Gregory the Great's epitaph, known from the *syllogae* and from Bede, to Archbishop Peter of Milan, who occupied the see from 784 to 805.⁵⁷ Mercati's paper made little difference to what was still repeated, and the same may be said of a study by Franz Brunhölzl.⁵⁸ Brunhölzl was prepared to allow that the attribution might have

⁵³ De Rossi, 2/1. 289. Elsewhere, he allowed that the stone might have been found but no copy was preserved, 'saeculo XVI in lucem rediit, reliquae nullae seruatae sunt; neque eius titulus a doctae aetatis peritis e lapide descriptus' (de Rossi, 2/1. 70n).

⁵⁴ It has to be said that the list of sources cannot be complete. Ennodius of Pavia, for example, is not mentioned, though he is quoted by name in every section from § 14 to § 24; Paul the Deacon is not mentioned, though he is cited by name in § 31.

⁵⁵ Plummer, 2. 281, citing Ferdinand Gregorovius [1821–1891], *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter vom fünften Jahrhundert bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1859–72), 2. 180, 391. Manitius, *Geschichte*, 1. 198–9, cites both Giovanni Dei and Gregorovius. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 71, attributes the epitaph to 'the archbishop of Milan', adding 'an important piece of evidence for the cultivation of Latin verse in late-seventh-century Italy'; he cites no higher authority than F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1934, 21957), 1. 159. Colgrave's note, 470 n. 1, also refers to Raby's second edition, while in his additional notes J. M. Wallace-Wadrill refers to Raby's first edition. Raby's source was G. H. Hörle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- und Klerikerbildung in Italien* (Freiburg 1914), 38.

⁵⁶ Angelo Mercati, 'Per la storia letteraria di Reggio Emilia' (1919), repr. in his *Saggi di storia e letteratura* 1 (Rome, 1951), 46–114 (at pp. 92–8).

⁵⁷ *Successores S. Barnabae*, § 50; epitaph at fol. 26r, 'Laudes S. Gregorii Papae hoc carmine celebravit'.

⁵⁸ Another poem, *Carmen medicinale*, was attributed to Benedict by Angelo Mai, *Auctores classici*, 5. 391–402, though the manuscript evidence in that case points to 'Crispus Mediolanensis diaconus'. The epithet Crispus was first given to Archbishop Benedict by Giovanni Dei, as was pointed out by F. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia. La Lombardia*

some credibility, if it could be shown that Ceadwalla had visited the archbishop of Milan and travelled to Rome in his company. In so saying, he accepts Dei's linkage with the dispute concerning Pavia, though this case was not heard in Rome until after the death of Bishop Damian in 708. Little is known of Benedict's career, and even his dates are conjectural.⁵⁹ The source of that linkage, however, can be found in the *Liber pontificalis*. Here, we read that in the time of Pope Constantine (708–715):⁶⁰

Huius temporibus duo reges Saxonum ad orationem apostolorum cum aliis pluribus uenientes sub uelocitate suam uitam, ut obtabant, finierunt. Venit autem et Benedictus archiepiscopus Mediolanensis orationis uoto, ut suo se pontifici praesentaret. Altercauit uero et pro ecclesia Ticinense, ...

In his time two Saxon kings, coming with many others to pray to the apostles, swiftly ended their lives, as they wished. But Benedict, archbishop of Milan, also came with a vow of prayer, to present himself to his pontiff. Indeed, he quarrelled and on behalf of the church of Pavia, ...

Dei cannot have had any authoritative source for his attribution, since the epitaph would not have been ascribed, even if he had seen the tablet. Paul the Deacon, however, as well as quoting the epitaph, adapts these two sentences from the *Liber pontificalis*.⁶¹ In adding this together to claim the royal epitaph for the archbishop of Milan, Dei had only to overlook the difference between Pope Sergius and Pope Constantine, but his information assigned Benedict a long period of office. The two kings who died in Rome in the time of Pope Constantine were Cenred, king of Mercia, and Offa, king of the East Angles,⁶² but it suited Dei [185] better to link Archbishop Benedict with the king whose epitaph had been preserved.

(Florence, 1913), 1. 287. Franz Brunhölzl has demolished the attribution of this poem, 'Benedetto di Milano ed il Carmen medicinale di Crispo', *Aevum* 33 (1959), 25–49.

⁵⁹ L. Jadin, 'Benoît (Saint), archevêque de Milan (685–732)', *DHGE* 8. 222–3. His dates of office are conventionally given (following Papebroch) as 681–725. The evidence for his long tenure is a spurious letter from the time of Pope Constantine (see n. 60), in which he says, 'per annos quadraginta sedem resideo Mediolanensem'; this would take the beginning of his episcopate impossibly early.

⁶⁰ *Liber pontificalis*, Constantine, § 9 (ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Gesta pontificum Romanorum* 1 (Berlin, 1898), 225). The supposed text of Archbishop Benedict's *querimonia* (*PL* 89. 361–6) was considered a forgery of the late eleventh century by Muratori.

⁶¹ Paul the Deacon, *HL* VI 29 (Waitz, 174–5).

⁶² Bede, *HE* V 19 (Plummer, 321–2; Mynors, 516).

Neither de Rossi nor Alfarano found evidence that the inscription was recorded at St Peter's in the later middle ages, and we have little clue as to where Ceadwalla was buried. Bede says only 'in St Peter's church' (*in eiusdem ecclesia*), Paul the Deacon says the same in more Roman language (*in basilica beati Petri*). Evidence for the tomb will not be found. Evidence for its location can only come from the *syllogae*, and of those that contain it, neither *Turonensis* nor *Laureshamensis IV* provides a topographical fix. De Rossi,⁶³ however, guessed from its placing in *Centulensis*, between Gregory the Great's epitaph and that of Helpis, that Ceadwalla was commemorated near their tombs in the outer porticus, which stretched across the whole western façade of the basilica as seen from the enclosed *paradisus* or atrium.⁶⁴ Here it was not far away from the position to which Pope Sergius had himself translated the body of Leo the Great (†461) in 688.⁶⁵ What we know of the circumstances of Ceadwalla's baptism and burial is limited to what Bede tells us in introducing the epitaph, and there is nothing there that could not have been inferred from the epitaph itself. The event was not so striking in Roman eyes that it was recorded in the *Liber pontificalis* for Pope Sergius, though that source does record that he consecrated Berhtwald as 'archbishop of Britain' (693) and Clement, whom history has remembered as Willibrord, bishop of the Frisians (698).⁶⁶ There were other Anglo-Saxon visitors in Rome, any of whom might have brought home with them collections of inscriptions; they would very likely make a point of recording Ceadwalla's, even if it was not conspicuously near that of Gregory the Great in the front porticus of the basilica.

The most exact text has reached us, not through any of the *syllogae*, but through Bede. Whether he obtained a copy directly from Rome or from somewhere in England, we do not know. Bishop Wilfrid would surely have visited the tomb of his benefactor when he was in Rome for the third and last time in 703; he might have brought a recent *sylloge* home to Northumbria. The earliest witness, however, was Aldhelm. There is no proof that they

⁶³ De Rossi, 2/1. 52 (note on V. 1). Cerrati, 34, reports that it was thought to be in the atrium by Domenico Tesoroni, *King Ceadwalla's Tomb in the Ancient Basilica of St Peter* (Rome, 1891), 5 (not seen).

⁶⁴ Gregory the Great's epitaph, 'Suscipe terra tuo corpus de corpore sumptum', is known from Bede, *HE* II 1; from John the Deacon's *Vita S. Gregorii* IV 68, where its location is mentioned, 'in extrema porticu basilicae beati Petri apostoli' (*PL* 75. 221); and from nine collections treated by de Rossi, 2/1. 52 (V. 1), 78 (VII. 3, *Centulensis*), 112 (VIII. 73, *Laureshamensis IV*), &c.

⁶⁵ Leo the Great was translated by Sergius in 688 to a position *in fronte*, as the epitaph says; this, 'Huius apostolici primum est hic corpus humatum', is found in four collections, de Rossi, 2/1. 98 (VIII. 1), 139 (XII. 30, with details of date), &c.

⁶⁶ Sergius, § 15 (ed. Mommsen, 216). Bede also refers to his consecration of Willibrord (*HE* V 11), but he reports that Berhtwald was consecrated by Godwin, archbishop of Lyon (*HE* V 8).

derived their knowledge of the inscription through the same copy. It is possible that Aldhelm may have had the text as soon as it was ready. We know that he was interested in such verses.⁶⁷ There is early evidence that he had visited Rome, though it gives no clue as to the occasion of his visit.⁶⁸ In 688 Aldhelm was abbot [186] of Malmesbury and one of the leading religious men in Ceadwalla's realm. In Ceadwalla's charter establishing a minster at Farnham in that year, Aldhelm is the first witness after the king and three bishops.⁶⁹ Whatever the circumstances in which Ceadwalla left his kingdom for Rome, he would surely have taken some senior churchman with him, and Aldhelm may well have been the man.

⁶⁷ Orchard, *Poetic Art*, 203–212. He goes too far towards accepting Silvagni's thesis (p. 206); while I agree with his inference that Aldhelm 'was in Rome at precisely the time such a collection of verse can be deduced to have been made', my own view would be that Orchard displays the variety in the collections available to Aldhelm and Milred, which itself argues against Silvagni's single prototype of the *syllogae* and therefore against equating Aldhelm (p. 212) with his learned Anglo-Saxon monk to whom he would attribute it.

⁶⁸ From an anonymous letter to Aldhelm, *ep.* 6, 'quia tu Romae aduena fuisti' (ed. Ehwald, 494).

⁶⁹ S 235; Birch 72.