The Old English *Bede*: Transmission and Textual History in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts.

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An unknown author translated the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (*OEB*) around the ninth century. Previous research focused on the text's authorship, specifically on Mercian linguistic features in its earliest manuscript, rather than the reception and transmission of its manuscripts (Miller, 1890; Whitelock, 1962; Kuhn, 1972). This thesis considers the *OEB*'s reception and transmission as evident in its copyists' scribal performances. Conservative and innovative textual variants are identified for the *OEB*, and scribal behaviour categorised according to the framework devised by Benskin and Laing (1981) in their study of Middle English scribes. A detailed linguistic comparison of *OEB* witnesses combined with a close examination of the physical manuscripts reveals the working methods of scribes involved in their production. The manuscripts examined are:

Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 10 (T)
Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B (O)
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B)
Cambridge, University Library Kk.3.18 (Ca)

Each chapter analyses a particular scribal performance. O's scribe created a *Mischsprache* text, combining Mercian and West-Saxon forms, yet conflicting views of what constituted a good text are revealed by O's producers' extensive textual corrections. Relict forms in B demonstrate that its exemplar was illegible in places and that the scribe was forced to make several textual repairs. Ca has long been considered a direct copy of O, however my detailed comparison of the two manuscripts reveals that this cannot be the case. Finally, some previously unnoticed and unpublished drypoint annotations to O's text are presented and explored in the context of other Anglo-Saxon scratched material.

This thesis shows the benefits of examining the *OEB* from a scribal viewpoint, identifying common modes of scribal behaviour across the medieval period. It proposes a set of features belonging to the original translation, some of which hint at an earlier date of composition than previously supposed.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Manuscript Sigla:
T – Oxford, Bodleian, Tanner 10
O – Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279B
Ca – Cambridge, University Library Kk. 3.18
B – Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41
Z – British Library, Cotton Domitian ix, f. 11
C – British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi, + Cotton Otho B. x, ff. 55, 58, 62, + British
      Library, Additional 34652, f. 2

Manuscript Dating:
Manuscript dating follows Ker's (1957) conventions:
s. x = tenth century
s. x^1 = first half of the tenth century, *c.* 900-950
s. x^2 = second half of the tenth century, *c.* 950-1000
s. x^{in} = first quarter of the tenth century, *c.* 900-925
s. x^{med} = the middle two quarters of the tenth century, *c.* 925-975
s. x^{ex} = final quarter of the tenth century, *c.* 975-1000

Journals and Resources:
AJP – American Journal of Philology
ANQ – American Notes and Queries
ASE – Anglo-Saxon England
ASPR – Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
BLJ – British Library Journal
BT – An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller
CH – A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, J. R. Clark-Hall
DOE – Dictionary of Old English
DOEC – Dictionary of Old English Corpus
ECCO – Eighteenth Century Collections Online
EEBO – Early English Books Online
EETS – Early English Text Society
ES – English Studies
FLH – Folia Linguistica Historica
JEGP – Journal of English and Germanic Philology
LALME – Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English
LSE – Leeds Studies in English
MÆ – Medium Ævum
MED – Middle English Dictionary
MS – Mediaeval Studies
NM – Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
N&Q – Notes and Queries
PASE – Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England
PBA – Proceedings of the British Academy
OE – Old English

RES – Review of English Studies
SAP – Studia Anglica Posnaniensia
TPS – Transactions of the Philological Society
TRHS – Transacrions of the Royal Historical Society
ZfdP – Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
n.s. – new series
o.s. – old series
s.s. – supplementary series

Transcription Conventions:

\ /   Text added in superscript

\# # Text cancelled by crossing through

( ) Expanded abbreviations

[..] Erasure

† † Uncertain reading

/ \ Line-end run-on, added below line

ða$^{\text{ære}}$ Superscript letters in Chapter 6 denote scratched (dry-point) annotations

Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Vellum is prepared, ink is made, exemplars are procured, text is copied, pages are decorated, quires are bound, books are sold, borrowed, bequeathed, donated, and each individual person who contributes to this process has his or her own unique history which bears on the creation of the book. A manuscript book is thus the product of a unique community of producers and consumers, a community of which the book it produces will be, strictly speaking, the only instantiation and record. (Scase, 2007: 1)

Bede completed his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* in Latin in 731. The text was translated into Old English and appeared around the time of King Alfred. The Old English *Bede* (henceforth 'the *Bede*') has been studied by historians for the evidence it provides about Anglo-Saxon attitudes to national identity, by literary scholars as one of the substantial prose translations of the period, and by linguists for the wealth of Mercian dialect features of its earliest manuscript. Despite the uses made of the *Bede*, very little is known about the origins of the Old English text.

The original translation has not survived. Nevertheless there are a number of extant manuscripts, both complete and fragmentary, four of which form the basis of the present study. Although the earliest manuscripts contain Mercian dialect features, these give way to West-Saxon forms in the later manuscripts and the consensus now is that the text was originally written in Mercian, and that the West-Saxon forms are later additions (Whitelock, 1962: 57). Dating the original translation is problematic; Ælfric is the first person to attribute the translation to King Alfred (*Catholic Homilies*, 1997: 72), and for many years this attribution was never questioned. Bately (1992: 11), however, neatly summarises later scholarship:

> It is now accepted that the numerous and significant differences in usage between it and other translations attributed to Alfred must rule out the possibility that the *Bede* was the work of the West-Saxon king.

The earliest extant *Bede* manuscript is the fragment in London, British Library Cotton Domitian ix, f. 11 (henceforth 'Z'), which is dated to the first quarter of the tenth century, or a little earlier (Ker, 1957: xx; Gneuss, 2001: 63). As an Alfredian link with the text cannot be proven, all we can say for certain is that the *Bede* had been translated by the time Z was written, that is, by about 930. This uncertainty about such a basic aspect of the *Bede* as its date of translation is indicative of the text's problematic nature. Presented with the product of an unknown translator at an unknown date in an unknown place, we are faced with fundamental gaps in our knowledge, and this combined with its perceived lack of dialectal consistency has made it the focus of much scholarly debate.

Despite these issues, an examination of the *Bede's* manuscripts can tell us much about the text and its transmission during the Anglo-Saxon period. The aim of this study is to gain an understanding of the behaviour exhibited by the scribes responsible for copying the four most complete *Bede* manuscripts. A close comparison of the variants in each

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manuscript will build a profile of each scribe, exploring areas such as the state of the exemplar, the scribe's level of training, his mode of copying, and the influence of the geographical area where he wrote. This will enable us to build a more detailed picture of why the *Bede* manuscripts are the way they are, and will contribute to our understanding of scribal practice in the Anglo-Saxon period by providing case studies of three scribes and one reader working on a particular text.

In this thesis I provide an examination of the scribal behaviour of three copyists of the *Bede*, with particular reference to Benskin and Laing's (1981) scribal categorisations, developed in the course of their work on *LALME*. Despite important differences between the Old English and Middle English material (Middle English manuscripts are more numerous and generally more easily localised than Old English ones), I aim to demonstrate that such an approach can be a useful aid to understanding the processes involved in manuscript transmission in the Anglo-Saxon period. Because the *Bede* survives in multiple copies, it is possible to interrogate the variant readings using a comparative approach, to explore not only the actions of the latest scribes in copying the texts, but also the status of the exemplars which lie behind them.

This chapter begins with an overview of the existing *Bede* manuscripts, focusing on the four which make up the study. Following this I consider the ways in which the *Bede* has hitherto been studied, including firstly, questions of the translator's identity and how this has been influenced by modern conceptions of authorship; secondly, dialect studies making use of the *Bede*, and how these relate to notions of Old English dialectology; and thirdly, the usefulness of manuscript studies as a way of examining the *Bede*. A short description follows of the manuscripts not used in this study. Finally, I detail how each of the following chapters focuses on a different scribal performance, to illustrate the varied responses of the scribes to copying the *Bede*.

1.1 Manuscripts Used in the Study

There are four more-or-less complete manuscripts of the *Bede*, which form the core of this study (here designated T, O, B and Ca). As there is no autograph copy, we cannot be certain how many copies were produced between the archetype and the extant manuscripts, although it is clear that several manuscripts have been lost (Whitelock 1962: 251; 1974: 277-8). The most closely related of the manuscripts are O and Ca, but other textual correspondences between the various manuscripts make the provision of a stemma problematic (Whitelock, 1974; Grant, 1989: 395). Miller (1890: xix-xx) believed that Ca was copied directly from O, and while they may well have shared a common exemplar, there is evidence to suggest that the relationship between the two is not as straightforward as has been suggested (see Chapter 5). Table 1.1 below details the known date and condition of each of the surviving *Bede* manuscripts (both those used in the study (in bold type), and those which are not):

Manuscript	Designation	Date (Ker)	Date (Gneuss)	Ker/ Gneuss no.	Condition
Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 10	**T**	**s. x^1**	**s. x^{in}. or x^1**	**351/ 668**	**Begins end of Book 1; end of Book 5 missing.**
Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B	**O**	**s. xi^{in}**	**s. xi^{in}**	**354/ 673**	**Begins end of Book 1; end of Book 5 missing.**
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41	**B**	**s. xi^1**	**s. xi^1**	**32/ 39**	**Complete text.**
Cambridge, University Library Kk.3.18	**Ca**	**s. xi^2**	**s. xi^2**	**23/ 22**	**Complete text.**
London, British Library Cotton Domitian ix, f.11	Z	s. x^{in}	s. ix^{ex} (after 883) or x^{in}	151/ 330	Single leaf with three extracts from Old English *Bede*.
London, British Library Cotton Otho B.xi	C	s. x^{med}	s. x^{med}	180/ 357	Fire damaged and in incorrect order. About 40 ff. of an original 115 covering the *Bede* text.
London, British Library Cotton Otho B.x, ff. 55, 58, 62	C	s. x^{med}	s. x^{med}	180/ 357	Three leaves detached from BL. Cotton Otho B.xi.
London, British Library Additional 34652, f. 2	C	s. x^{med}	s. x^{med}	180/ 357	Single leaf detached from BL. Cotton Otho B.xi. West-Saxon genealogy.
London, British Library Additional 43703	CN	1562	--	180	Sixteenth-century transcript of C.
London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.ii	G	s. ix-x	s. x	198	Interlinear glosses to Latin version of text. Not related to Old English *Bede*.[1]
London, Lambeth Palace Library 173		s. xi^2		276	Two interlinear glosses to Latin version of the *Vision of Drihthelm*.
Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 163 (2016)		s. xi^{med}		304	Four glosses to Latin *Bede*, copy of *Cædmon's Hymn*.

Table 1.1: Extant copies of the *Bede* and related manuscripts.[2]

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[1] Meritt (1945: xi) dates the glosses to the late ninth-century. Many are in dry-point (see section 6.2).
[2] See Rowley (2011: 31) for a more detailed account of the textual gaps in T, O, Ca, B and C.

As Table 1.1 shows, the four manuscripts at the heart of this study are the only ones which provide a substantial and continuous text of the *Bede*. It is also notable that the Latin text of the *Bede* attracted glossing in Old English during the tenth and eleventh centuries, demonstrating a continued interest in the Latin text alongside its Old English counterpart.[3] The next section details the manuscripts which form the core of the thesis (those which have been omitted are discussed in 1.3).

1.1.1 Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 10 (T)

The oldest near-complete text is Bodleian, Tanner 10 (here referred to as T, following Miller's (1890) designations). The beginning of the text up to the end of Book 1 and the end of Book 5 are missing, and some folios are absent, probably removed for their decorated initials (Miller 1890: xiii). This manuscript has long been recognised as the oldest substantial text of the *Bede*, and it was therefore chosen by Miller as the basis of his edition. Grant (1989: 12-13) describes T as 'the oldest, best and most markedly Anglian of the five main surviving versions', while Waite (2013a: 15) speaks of T as 'the oldest and generally the most reliable' manuscript. Miller and Deutschbein both noted the high proportion of non-West-Saxon words in the text, with Deutschbein (1901: 170) describing T as 'der ältesten und besten h[and]s[chrift]',[4] while Campbell (1951: 350) remarks that 'the Anglian elements in this manuscript are extremely numerous, and there can be no doubt that it stands closest of our MSS to the archetype'. As Rowley (2004) notes, the rhetoric surrounding T is imbued with notions of T's superiority on grounds of its early date, greatest preservation of Mercian linguistic features, and its supposed closeness to the original translation. This is in spite of the fact that all surviving manuscripts have, to some extent, been 'West-Saxonised', and in some places other manuscripts appear to have retained a reading more faithful to the exemplar. Although the extent of the Mercian features in T is certainly interesting, a perhaps more intriguing line of enquiry is one which examines the varying ways in which these manuscripts have been West-Saxonised.

Five different hands contribute to T, here designated T1, T2 etc. following Bately (1992: 17). T1 is responsible for the text up to Book 4, Chapter 25 (Miller, 1890: 352, l. 29). At this point, T1 alternates with T2, as far as Chapter 26 (358, l. 30), and the rest of Book 4 is completed by T3. Book 5 is written by T1, T2, T4 and T5. T1 is dated by Dumville (1987: 169) to s. ix/x (c. 890 x c. 930), which is slightly earlier than Ker's date of s. x^1 (1957: 428), and Gneuss's estimate of s. x in or x^1 (2001: 104). Ker (1957: 429) states that the manuscript was at Thorney Abbey 'in the fourteenth century, if not earlier', due to the presence of parts of a Thorney mortuary roll in the medieval binding-leaves. As Thorney Abbey was refounded (by Æthelwold bishop of Winchester) in 972, T was presumably written elsewhere, and possibly donated to the abbey on its refoundation. We therefore have no further clues as to T's origin. T1 is a confident scribal performance, in that the letter forms are regular and textual corrections are few. Those corrections that do appear are usually in the same hand. Gameson (1992: 130) examined the decoration of T, and judged from the style of the script and initial decoration that a date for the manuscript in the first quarter of the tenth century was 'entirely possible'. He suggested

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[3] Waite (2013b) suggests that some of the Tiberius dry-point glosses are the result of the glossator having a copy of the *Bede* to hand, from which some of the lemmata were copied.

[4] 'The oldest and best manuscript.' All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

that the evidence pointed to an origin somewhere other than one of the large centres of production such as Canterbury or Winchester (150-1).

T's history after the late middle ages is uncertain. We have already noted its presence at Thorney, and Rowley (2009) discusses some fourteenth-century Latin glosses, which show its continued use by at least one later medieval reader there. From the Reformation onwards nothing is known, until Humphrey Wanley mentions the manuscript in his diary entry for 26th March 1715:

> The Secretary related, that he had been to visit D[r]. Smith of Durham, who was absent. That in his Lodgings he saw a fine old MS. of part of Bede's Historical Works in Latin, borrowed of a Gentleman of Graies Inne: as also an Imperfect MS. of the Ecclesiastical History, in Saxon, a very antient Copie, borrowed of Doctor Tanner Chancellor of Norwich. (Wright and Wright: 1966: 7)

The Bodleian Library acquired T in 1736, along with Bishop Tanner's other manuscripts (Ker, 1957: 429). More recently, it has been reproduced in Bately's (1992) facsimile, along with the excerpts which form Z.

1.1.2 Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B (O)

O is about a century younger than T, dated by Ker (1957: 432) to the first quarter of the eleventh century. This text also lacks the beginning of Book 1 and the end of Book 5, and it is used by Miller to supplement the lacunae present in his preferred manuscripts, T and C. O is written by three scribes, who contribute very different amounts of text, and whose level of scribal expertise seems to vary quite widely. The quality of the writing is also inconsistent. Scribe O1's contribution is notable for its numerous erasures and textual corrections, while O3 provides one page in a neat, regular hand 'influenced by Anglo-Saxon square minuscule' (Ker, 1957: 432). In Chapter 3 I examine the hypothesis that O1 was a trainee scribe, and that O3's contribution served as an exemplar page for O1 to follow.

Throughout O there also appear several dry-point annotations, which consist of (usually short) sequences of letters incised into the vellum with a stylus, knife, or other hard point. They do not contain ink, and are therefore not easy to see. The letters usually appear above the writing line, and provide corrections to the main, inked text. It is not possible to assign the annotations to any particular hand evident in the manuscript itself, but the linguistic forms suggest that they were not written by either O1 or O3, and the nature of the corrections suggest that they were added at a later date than the main text (Chapter 6). On the other hand, the letter-forms of the dry-point annotations are insular, suggesting that the writer was trained in an English scriptorium. We can therefore tentatively date these additions to some time in the eleventh century.

As the beginning and end of the manuscript are missing and the binding is not original, there is very little internal evidence with which to pinpoint its origin or provenance. Ker states that after the Reformation O 'belonged probably to Brian Twyne, who wrote a word on f. 101v and his name on a strip of paper now attached to the front pastedown of the modern binding' (1957: 433). In his 1644 will, Twyne bequeathed his substantial collection of books to Corpus Christi College, and O may well have been one of these

(Hegarty, 2004). However, there is little further evidence for O's location before its acquisition by Twyne (see section 3.2.1).

Because Miller had used T as the basis for his edition, Schipper (1899) printed his edition as a parallel text with the texts of O and B in parallel columns. A high-resolution digital scan of the manuscript is now available through the *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University* website.[5]

1.1.3 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B)

B is slightly later than O, and Ker and Gneuss date it to the first half of the eleventh century (Ker, 1957: 43, Gneuss, 2001: 31). The text is complete; however Miller rejected it as a supplement to T in his edition because of its West-Saxon language and the fact that 'the scribe or editor of B's text has dealt very freely with his author, changing forms and words and recasting sentences' (1890: v-vi). The manuscript formed (along with O) the basis for Schipper's 1899 edition. B has been studied, not only for its text of the *Bede* (Grant, 1989; Rowley, 2004; Orton, 2003), but also for its corrections (Birkett, 2012), and its extensive later marginalia, which includes Latin masses with Old English rubrics, homilies, charms, and the poem *Solomon and Saturn* (Keefer, 1996; Bredehoft, 2006; Grant 1979; for work on the charms see Olsan, 1999 and Berlin, 1995). The *Bede* is the manuscript's main text; all others are written in the margins and other blank spaces.

The end of the *Bede* text in B contains a metrical colophon which is more extensive than that found in the other manuscripts, and which is discussed and printed by Robinson (1981). The last page (p.488) contains an *ex libris* in Latin and Old English, recording the manuscript's donation to Exeter Cathedral by Archbishop Leofric in the eleventh century:

> Hunc libru(m) dat leofricus ep(iscopu)s ęccl(esi)ę s(an)c(t)i petri ap(osto)li in exonia ubi sedes episcopalis est ad utilitatem[6]| successor(um) su(orum). Si q(ui)s illu(m) abstulerit inde. subiaceat maledictioni. fiat. fiat. fiat.
> 'Bishop Leofric gave this book to the church of St Peter in Exeter where his episcopal see is for the use of his successors. If anyone takes it away from that place he will be subject to punishment. Let it be so. Let it be so. Let it be so.'
>
> Ðas boc gef leofric b(iscop) into scē petres mẏnstre on exancestre þær †se† biscopstol is for †his†| sawle alised(n)ẏsse ꝺ gif hig h(w)a ut ætbrede god hine fordo on þære e[...]
> 'Bishop Leofric gave this book to St Peter's church at the bishopric of Exeter for the absolution of his soul. And if anyone should take it may God destroy him at the...'[7]

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[5] A discussion of the literature pertaining to the later manuscripts, O, Ca and B, will be provided in the introductory sections of the chapters dealing with those particular manuscripts.

[6] *ad utilitatem* is difficult to read, however this is the reading Schipper provides, and it is perhaps confirmed by an *ex libris* in Bodley 579, f. 1r: *hunc missalem Leofricus ep(iscopu)s dat ęccl(esi)ę| s(an)c(t)i petri ap(osto)li in exonia ad utilitatem succes|soru(m). Si quis illu(m) inde abstulerit. ęt(er)nę subiaceat maledictioni. Fial. Fiat.* (http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl579)

[7] Schipper's transcription of the donation reads 'Das boc gef leofric b' into sce petres mynstre on exanceastre [*sic*], þær se bisceopstol, for [his] sawle alisednysse; and gif hig hwa ut ætbrede, god hine fordo on ðære ecan :::e' (1899: xxvii). I cannot tell with certainty what the last word (which Schipper reads *ecan*) is, nor the middle letter(s) of *h(w)a*, which has been partially erased. See also Olson (2008) on the wider culture of curses and maledictions in connection with medieval manuscripts.
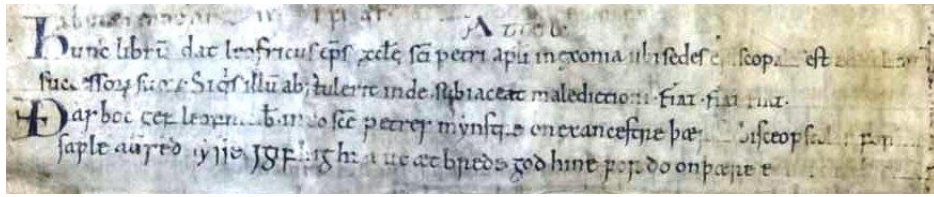
Fig. 1.1: Leofric's *ex libris* inscription (B: p.488).[8]

Although B's Exeter provenance is well attested, we have no firm evidence for its origin. Some manuscripts with donation inscriptions seem from palaeographical evidence to have been copied at Exeter itself (see section 4.2). However most appear to be older manuscripts from England or France. This acquisition pattern is unsurprising, given the reputedly poor state of Exeter cathedral when Leofric moved his see there around 1050. As several years of his early life and training were spent in the monasteries of Lotharingia, Leofric may have procured books from France himself, either as a young man during his time there, or later as a bishop when in need of manuscripts to supply his episcopal library.

B and O are printed in Schipper's edition, but no independent edition based on B yet exists.[9] The marginalia have been printed and studied by Grant (1979), Keefer (1996), Bredehoft (2006) and Anlezark (2009), and the manuscript has been catalogued and digitised by Stanford University's *Parkerweb* project. In addition, Budny (1997) provides a detailed catalogue entry covering its condition and history, together with facsimiles of some folios.

1.1.4 Cambridge, University Library Kk. 3.18. (Ca)

The latest manuscript in the corpus is (Ca), from the second half of the eleventh century, which is 'complete except for a defect in Book 2: the same defect is in [O] and goes back to a common exemplar' (Ker, 1957: 36). The manuscript also contains a genealogy of West-Saxon kings to Alfred, and the *Bede* has Old English and Latin glosses throughout, including those in the 'Tremulous Hand' (Ker, 1957: 37; Franzen, 1991; Collier, 2000). The hand responsible for the main text is found in several other Worcester manuscripts (Ker nos. 37, 67, 190, 331, 338, and Harley Charter 83 A.3), and has been identified by Ker (1948) as the monk Hemming. Ca is the only *Bede* manuscript for which we know the origin, and it seems to have stayed at Worcester until the Reformation (Graham, 1997: 303). It was given to Cambridge University by Archbishop Parker in 1574, and was printed in the two earliest editions of the *Bede*, by Wheelocke (1643) and Smith (1722).

Altogether these manuscripts span no more than 200 years, but this 200 years is the period which saw the majority of Anglo-Saxon manuscript production. According to Gneuss (1986: 36), of the *c.* 1000 manuscripts and fragments surviving which were either written in Anglo-Saxon England or in the possession of Anglo-Saxon libraries, about 750 were produced in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

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[8] All illustrations of B are reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[9] Sharon Rowley and Greg Waite are currently working on a new edition of the *Bede*.

1.2 Approaches to the Bede

The next section reviews three areas which have been important to our understanding of the *Bede* and the ways in which it has been used as an object of historical and linguistic enquiry. The first section deals with questions of the identity of the *Bede's* original translator, and considers further our understanding of authorship in the medieval period. In the second section we examine the use of the *Bede* by scholars working in dialect studies, followed by a consideration of some of the problems of traditional Old English dialectology, and recent efforts to overcome these problems. Finally, we consider the contribution that manuscript studies can make to our understanding of the *Bede*, that is, questions bearing on the production and use of manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon and immediate post-Conquest periods.

1.2.1 The Translator's Identity

Studies of the *Bede* have, in large part, traditionally focused on the identity of the text's translator. Although this thesis is not concerned with theories about the translator's identity, it is important to review this material as it exemplifies perfectly the nature of the gaps in our knowledge concerning the text we call the 'Old English *Bede*'. Although scholarship over the last century has demonstrated that Alfred was not the translator, these studies have brought us no nearer to an understanding of who the translator actually was.

There seems to have been a belief as long ago as the eleventh century, voiced by Ælfric, that King Alfred was responsible for the *Bede's* translation into Old English:

> Manega bec cyðað his drohtnunge and his halige lif. and eac historia anglorum ða ðe Ælfred cyning of ledene on englisc awende. Seo boc sprecð genoh swutelice be ðisum halgan were; Nu wylle we sume ðing scortlice eow be him gereccan. for ðan ðe seo foresæde boc nis eow eallum cuð. þeah ðe heo on englisc awend sy.
> Many books talk about [St Gregory's] conduct and his holy life, among them the *Historia Anglorum* which King Alfred translated from Latin into English. The book speaks abundantly clearly about this holy man; now we will briefly tell you something about him, because the aforementioned book is not known to you all, even though it it translated into English. (Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies*, 1997: 72)

Ælfric is unequivocal in his attribution of the *Bede* translation to Alfred. Nevertheless, Godden (2007: 3) suggests that Ælfric's statement is 'evidence that an unreliable tradition of Alfredian authorship had already begun.'[10] Writing in the first half of the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury also attributes the *Bede's* authorship to Alfred. It is possible that William used Ælfric's homily on St Gregory as his source for the attribution. However, as Dorothy Whitelock notes, 'this shows that the belief in Alfred's authorship was not confined to Ælfric, but it does not prove the attribution correct' (1962: 229). William names Alfred as the translator, not only of the *Bede*, but also of other works associated with his circle:

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[10] For a view supporting Alfred's personal involvement in the translations attributed to his court, see Bately (1988, 2009). Godden is more sceptical, and he describes external evidence for Alfred's personal involvement as 'late and very shaky' (2007: 3).

> Denique plurimam partem Romanae bibliothecae Anglorum auribus dedit,
> opimam predam peregrinarum mertium ciuium usibus conuectans; cuius precipui
> sunt libri Orosius, Pastoralis Gregorii, Gesta Anglorum Bedae, Boetius De
> Consolatione Philosophiae, liber proprius quem patria lingua Enchiridion, id est
> Manualem librum appellauit.
> He made a great part of Latin literature accessible to English ears, bringing together a
> rich cargo of foreign merchandise for the benefit of his countrymen. The chief titles are
> Orosius, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Bede's *History of the English*, Boethius *On the Consolation
> of Philosophy*, and a book of his own which he called in his native tongue *Enchiridion*,[11]
> that is *Hand-book*. (Gesta Regum Anglorum, ii: §123, trans. Mynors).

Earlier attributions of the *Bede* to Alfred are perhaps not surprising; it is clear that Alfred
took pains to make known his interest in educational reform and textual translation, as he
states in his *Preface* to Gregory's *Pastoral Care*:

> Ða ic ða gemunde hu sio lar Lædengeðiodes ær ðissum afeallen wæs giond
> Angelcynn, ond ðeah monige cuðon Englisc gewrit arædan, ða ongan ic ongemang
> oðrum mislicum ond manigfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc wendan on
> Englisc ðe is genemned on Læden *Pastoralis*, ond on Englisc *Hierdeboc*, hwilum
> word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete, swæ swæ ic hie geliornade æt
> Plegmunde minum ærcebiscepe, ond æt Assere minum biscepe, ond æt Grimbolde
> minum mæsseprioste, ond æt Iohanne minum mæssepreoste. Siððan ic hie ða
> geliornod hæfde, swæ swæ ic hie forstod ond swæ ic hie andgitfullicost areccean
> meahte, ic hie on Englisc awende;
> Then when I remembered how previously the teaching of Latin was decayed throughout
> the English people, and yet many could read English writing, then I began, among the
> other varied and manifold cares of this kingdom to translate that book into English which
> is called *Pastoralis* in Latin, and *Shepherd's Book* in English, sometimes word for word,
> sometimes sense by sense, just as I learned it from Plegmund my archbishop, and Asser
> my bishop, and Grimbold my masspriest, and John my masspriest. After I learnt it, I
> translated it into English just as I understood it and in the way that I could translate it
> most clearly. (Alfred, *Pastoral Care*: 7, ll.15-25).

In this *Preface* he says that he is translating the books 'ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum
monnum to wiotonne' (7, l.7), 'which are most necessary for all men to know', and
outlines a scheme for educating the children of the English nobility, first of all in English,
and then in Latin. He states that this is necessary because of a lack of education among
the Anglo-Saxons.[12] Translations of other texts from this period include Gregory's
Dialogues, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, St Augustine's *Soliloquies*, the first 150
Psalms, and *History Against the Pagans* by Orosius, though Godden (2009) has proposed a

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[11] This appears to be the handbook which Asser (ch. 88-9) describes Alfred as compiling, and which is
called *enchiridion* in Asser's Latin: '[Alfred] wished it to be called his *enchiridion* (that is to say, 'hand-
book'), because he conscientiously kept it to hand by day and night' (trans. Lapidge and Keynes, 1983: 100;
also n. 208). See also Robinson (1978) and Farr (2011) on small, portable manuscripts in this period.
[12] See Godden (2009: 105-7) for the suggestion that the *Pastoral Care* was translated, not for a wider public,
but specifically for Alfred's bishops.

later date for the *Boethius* and the *Soliloquies*.[13] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* could theoretically fit in well as part of this programme, because according to Wormald (1977), it is a key text in developing the Anglo-Saxons' image of themselves as a single nation, and as God's chosen people. Molyneaux (2009), on the other hand, argues that the translation aims to teach good Christian living, and that it tries to provide a basic informational text to enable this. While Harbus (2007) and Discenza (2002) have examined the prefaces attached to 'Alfredian' texts for evidence of Alfred's authority, Godden (2009: 97-9) dismisses the presence of the king's voice as a 'literary trope'. More recently, the nature, extent and existence of the Alfredian canon has been questioned. Bately (2009) has defended the common authorship of the *Pastoral Care, Soliloquies, Boethius* and *Psalms*, but questioned whether all the 'Alfredian' works can actually be attributed to Alfred himself, while Godden (2007: 18) has rejected the notion of an Alfredian canon altogether.

Whitelock (1962: 249, fn 7) also questioned Alfred's authorship of the *Bede* on dialect grounds, as she believed the presence of substantial amounts of Mercian dialect features in T to be incompatible with a West-Saxon (Alfredian) origin for the translation. Although several attempts have been made to explain the presence of these Mercian features, such as Kuhn's (1947) that the translation was developed from an earlier, Mercian interlinear gloss, Whitelock was not convinced that this would account for the 'Mercian vocabulary and Mercian sympathies in a work by Alfred' (1962: 228-9). However, despite her reservations concerning the attribution of the translation to Alfred, she did not believe that there was enough evidence at the time either to prove or to disprove his authorship.

Bately (1970) showed that some of the contemporary translations share linguistic features such as syntax and the vocabulary used to translate certain Latin words, which others do not, pointing to a common authorship. From this she concluded that *Boethius* and *Pastoral Care* are most likely to have the same translator, and that the *Bede* and *Orosius* definitely do not form part of this group. This methodology was then used (1982) to test whether the prose psalms in the Paris Psalter were 'Alfredian' (that is, whether they shared enough linguistic factors with the *Pastoral Care, Boethius* and *Soliloquies* to be regarded as being written by the same translator), and found that the prose psalms shared sufficient similarities with Alfredian texts to be considered part of this group. In her 2009 article, Bately concluded that linguistic evidence alone could not decide whether Alfred actually translated anything, although it could be used to assess the relationship between two or more works in the 'Alfredian canon'.

The attribution of the *Bede* to Alfred was challenged only in the late nineteenth century, when Miller (1890) provided a detailed study of the Anglian elements of the text in the introduction to his edition. During the process of producing his edition, 'it became evident that *Bede* was an Anglian and not a West-Saxon work, and that the first necessity was to exhibit a text, representing as far as possible the Anglian archetype' (1890: v). On these grounds, Miller selected T as the basis for his edition, which has paved the way for subsequent scholarship to view the *Bede* through the lens of this most Anglian witness, to the detriment of the other three main manuscripts (Rowley, 2004). Miller's edition was

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[13] See Sweet (1871), Zupitza (1907), Sedgefield (1899), Carnicelli (1969), Bately (1980), for editions of each of these Old English translations.

the first work to contain an analysis of the text's language as it appeared in the surviving manuscripts, and therefore laid the groundwork for the two main directions of subsequent study: 1) studies on Old English dialects, and the *Bede's* place as a Mercian text, and 2) questions of authorship.

1.2.1.2 *Authorship*

The notion that Alfred had a hand in the *Bede's* translation is one that scholars have been unwilling to relinquish, in spite of the growing amount of scholarship against this position.[14] Although (as outlined in Chapter 2) I do not believe this argument to be a fruitful line of enquiry, it is useful to consider the changing notions of authorship, and what authorship entails.

Asser portrayed Alfred as a monarch very much engaged with ideas of learning, both in his personal life, and in that of his children and subjects.[15] He ensured that his own children, along with those of other nobles, received an education at the royal court, so that 'they frequently make use of books' (Asser: ch. 75). Alfred himself read from books and learnt poems in English (ch. 77). When discussing the clerics Alfred had brought to his court from Mercia and further afield, Asser says that:

> He used to tell them to read aloud from books in his presence [...] and accordingly, he acquired some acquaintance with almost all books, even though he could not at this point understand anything in the books by himself. For he had not yet begun to read anything. (Asser: ch 77, trans. Keynes and Lapidge).

Although Asser does not mention Alfred translating any lengthy works from Latin into English, he does say that when he had copied out a section of text into Alfred's own handbook, '[Alfred] was eager to read it at once and translate it into English' (ch. 89). This led scholars initially to visualise Alfred as the physical translator of the *Bede*. Stenton (1971: 273) is a typical example:

> Although the order in which Alfred's writings are placed depends on internal evidence, it has generally been agreed that after translating the *Cura Pastoralis* he passed immediately to one of the two historical works in the series – Orosius' history of the ancient world and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede.

He describes alternative authorship of the *Bede* on dialect grounds as a 'possibility', but does not doubt an Alfredian impetus for the translation (1971: 273). Schipper (1899: xl) put forward the idea of Alfred having a Mercian *Mitarbeiter* to help him translate, while Kuhn (1947) suggested that the original translation had used an interlinear gloss such as that supplied in G as a frame upon which to base his translation. More recent studies

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[14] See Swan (2001) on the need for (and preoccupation with) named authors of literary texts among modern-day readers, and the assumptions that attend this.

[15] Compare Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, in which he portrays Charlemagne as being 'determined to give his children, his daughters just as much as his sons, a proper training in the liberal arts which had formed the subject of his own studies' (Einhard: ch. 19). Einhard also stresses Charlemagne's own love of learning and his (sometimes modest) accomplishments (ch. 25). For historical comparisons with Alfred, see McKitterick (1990) for a discussion of the evidence for a school at the court of Charles the Bald, and her (1992) article on royal patronage.

have focused less on the idea of Alfredian authorship in terms of the texts being physically written by Alfred himself, and more on members of his court, and their training and language (Godden 2007). Atherton (1996: 19) suggests that Alfred followed standard Anglo-Saxon monastic learning techniques such as memorisation of a text, followed by meditation on its meaning. These methods do not necessarily imply that Alfred actually 'read' the text, as opposed to listening to the text as it was read to him, a suggestion perhaps supported by Asser:

> In the case of Alfred, both the biography of Asser and above all the text of the *Pastoral Care* itself indicate that Alfred had absorbed thoroughly the monastic methods according to which Latin is studied by careful listening, speaking aloud, repetition and meditation on the words of texts. Such methods form the essential background and underpin the successes of the minority who went on to the close analytical study of Latin.

For the purposes of our study, this means that constructions of authorship in the period could stray quite a way from our modern understanding of it; if Alfred, having memorised a text as it was read to him, then went on to meditate on it, and had his response written by an amanuensis, he could be said to have been the author, despite never having 'read' or 'written' anything at all.

For some 'Alfredian' texts, such as Gregory's *Dialogues*, the name of a translator survives (in this case Wærferth, Bishop of Worcester), whereas for other contemporary texts, including the *Bede*, we have no named translator(s). Therefore it is probably more helpful to think of 'Alfredian' authorship in terms of the work of individuals working in his circle, or at his behest, scholars such as Asser and Plegmund, who are acknowledged in Alfred's *Preface* to the *Pastoral Care* above.[16] This rethinking of the notion of authorship is particularly useful for us; it means that we can move away from the obsession of whether Alfred was the translator of the *Bede*. We have to consider the notions of authorship and textual integrity in a far more fluid, flexible way than we are used to as modern readers of printed, published texts. It also means that we cannot impose our own notions of what constitutes 'accurate copying' on the medieval scribes responsible for the *Bede*. In discussing questions of authorial identity and textual integrity as they appear to apply to Ælfric, Hill (1994: 179-80) claims that:

> Modern concepts of authorship and textual integrity are not applicable to the Anglo-Saxon period, *even when they appear to be present* [...] Ælfric was not concerned with textual accuracy, textual integrity and authorial identity as such, in what one might call a 'modern' sense, but with accuracy, integrity and authorship as agents and guarantors of theological reliability. (Emphasis mine).

We must be careful, then, as Hill argues, not to impose anachronistic notions of authorship, or authorial control over a text, on the material under study.[17] Hill's work

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[16] Asser himself provides details of some of these men, stating that Wærferth, Plegmund and the priests Æthelstan and Werwulf all came from Mercia (Asser: ch 77).

[17] See, however, Gretsch (2009: 114), who interprets Ælfric's exhortations to scribes in his prefaces as expressions of a 'concern for details of language and style as much as for the orthodoxy of the texts'.

suggests that, for Ælfric at least, it was the content of his work which was important to retain, rather than the linguistic form of that content. Such linguistic variation is the focus of the following section.

1.2.2 Dialect studies

A second path of investigation to use the *Bede* has been dialect studies. Because of T's strong Mercian character and the West-Saxonising tendencies of the later manuscripts, linguists have interrogated the *Bede* alongside other non-West-Saxon texts for evidence of its Mercian dialect.

There are several early twentieth-century studies which, following Miller, make use of a close comparison of the *Bede* manuscripts with other texts, particularly in order to examine the dialect distribution of certain vocabulary items, and to identify words belonging specifically to the Anglian dialect. The earliest of these, by Deutschbein (1901) focuses on the Anglian elements in *Bede*. He believed that the numerous errors apparent in the *Bede* manuscripts were due in many places to a scribal unfamiliarity with some of the specifically Anglian vocabulary of the original translation. He concluded that 'alle erhaltenen hss. auf eine vorlage zurückgehen, die auf keinen fall westsächsisch gewesen ist'[18] (170, fn1). A more general study of Anglian dialect vocabulary was provided by Jordan (1906), which compared vocabulary from a substantial selection of Anglian and West-Saxon texts. He split the lexical items in his study into two groups: firstly, those that were specifically Anglian, and secondly, those which were originally in general usage, but which remained in use longest in Anglian, and identified several Anglian lexical items in the *Bede*.

J. J. Campbell published two articles on the *Bede*, the first (1951) examining its dialect vocabulary and contributing more items to the list of specifically Anglian words in Old English. According to Campbell (1951: 350), 'all of the extant manuscripts have passed through the hands of at least one West-Saxon scribe, where many deletions, transliterations, and vocabulary substitutions took place', and by comparing the manuscripts he was able to isolate more Anglian vocabulary. In the second article (1952) he considered Chapters 16-20 of Book 3, which in O and Ca exist in a different translation from that provided in T and B. From an examination of the dialect vocabulary in each version he concluded that the version in T and B was the one found in the original translation, and that the version in O and Ca was a subsequent retranslation from the Latin: 'from the evidence of the vocabulary alone I think we can conclude that the *TB* version of this passage is Anglian and was part of the original, integral translation of the *Bede*' (Campbell, 1952: 386).

Napier (1887) demonstrated in his edition of a twelfth-century copy of a homily on the life of St Chad that it retained several Mercian features. He used Ælfric's homilies as a comparison for some of the Mercian dialect features he discussed in his brief introduction. A related study by Vleeskruyer (1953) presented another edition of the homily with a far more detailed introductory study which covered aspects of the text not considered by Napier, such as its vocabulary. He was able to take into account Jordan's work which post-dated Napier's original edition. The introductory material presents a thorough

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[18] 'All extant manuscripts go back to an archetype, which was in no case West-Saxon.'

account of the West Mercian dialectal forms which have for the most part been faithfully copied by the text's later scribe. The *Bede* is one of the texts used by Vleeskruyer for comparison with the Chad homily, demonstrating the recognition of its Mercian character by 20th-century scholars.[19]

This body of work can be seen as a forerunner of studies by Gneuss (1972), Hofstetter (1987a, 1987b) and Gretsch (2001, 2003) on the standard West-Saxon of Æthelwold's school at Winchester.[20] Gneuss and Hofstetter take a more nuanced stance than the earlier papers discussed above, in investigating questions of standard and focused varieties of Old English, which by their very nature have a wider spread than the purely geographical limits of traditional (diatopic) dialectology. They reflect a more sophisticated view of written Old English, which emphasises the status of the surviving records as *written* texts, which are not necessarily to be taken as indicative of the way the scribes themselves spoke. This has implications for our understanding of the processes of West-Saxonisation at work in the later *Bede* manuscripts, such as B, as there is some evidence of lexical replacement in that manuscript. This process of replacement could be motivated by a desire either to replace outdated language forms, or to make the text conform to a standard or focused variety which is different from that of the exemplar.[21]

1.2.2.2 *Old English Dialectology*

If we are to question the extent to which a written form of Old English corresponds to the (spoken) dialect of the writer, then we perhaps need to revise what we understand by the geographical designations of Old English dialects (Lowe, 2001: 67). If 'late West-Saxon' is a dialect defined not so much by a geographical area, but by a social group and its religious/ political influence (i.e. by a set of features which are transmitted through scribal training rather than through spoken language acquisition), then to what extent should we assume that the same was not the case for other dialects, such as Mercian? It is important to emphasise that in the *Bede* manuscripts we are dealing with language features which are transmitted scribally, from one *text* to another, and not (necessarily?) from one *speaker* to another. Therefore, we should first seek explanations for the *Bede's* observable textual variations in the processes of copying written material, rather than in the processes of speaker accommodation, or (spoken) dialect mixture. In short, while Old English dialectology clearly has its uses in a study such as this, it must be used carefully, and we need to be aware of some of its limitations when considering the manuscript evidence before us.

Hogg (1988) argues that the dialect map of Old English as it stands is inadequate, in that it is (unavoidably) geographically imprecise, and it perpetuates a 'muddle between diatopic and diachronic diversity' (185). His example is the difference between early- and late-

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[19] See Bately (1988) for a detailed argument against Vleeskruyer's criteria for determining early Mercian texts.

[20] See Kitson (1993: 1) for criticism of Gneuss' claim that 'Æthelwoldian' late-West-Saxon can be attributed geographically to Winchester. Hogg (2006: 412) warns that 'the most obvious feature of the "Winchester" texts is that, in comparison with even the most religious of the Alfredian texts, they are much better defined in theological terms. We may, therefore, be dealing with language in a special theological register.'

[21] 'The development of standardised, focused linguistic norms seems, in view of other network studies, to be a natural, almost inevitable consequence of a process of cultural focusing, such as the Benedictine reform.' (Lenker, 2000: 238)

West-Saxon, which apparently involves some kind of dialectal variation, as well as chronological differences, yet this is obscured by our terminology: 'perhaps a more radical change of name, so that the former was Alfredian Saxon and the latter Æthelwoldian Saxon, might achieve something useful' (186). The problem, he believes is that 'we have conceived of the Old English dialects as independent and discrete linguistic varieties. The consequence of this is that it is difficult to find suitable ways of talking about texts which are fuzzy about their dialect status' (187). Hogg gives two case studies (Kentish and early-West-Saxon) as examples of our dependence on Old English dialects as uniform entities with fixed boundaries, which somehow map onto the political kingdoms of the early Anglo-Saxon period. He sees these tendencies to equate the written dialects with the physical kingdoms as the result of a combination of linguistic and cultural assumptions and theories prevailing in the Victorian period, which lead to the attribution of linguistic variation in Old English texts to political factors, when 'ecclesiastical regimes were probably of more importance than political regimes in determining the linguistic features of individual texts' (Hogg, 1998: 112). His response to this problem is to consider early-West-Saxon, for example, not necessarily as the dialect of Winchester around 900, but as the form of Old English spoken by a small, restricted element of that society. While this more nuanced approach to dialect is undoubtedly more useful than the practice of tying of dialects to political entities that he is arguing against, Hogg still sees dialect spellings as reflective of speech. Although this approach can be valid for primary texts, i.e. those written anew by a single writer, independent of any exemplar, it cannot work for a text such as the *Bede*.[22] The manuscripts which survive are all copies, at varying degrees of distance from the original translation. And while we may wish to argue that the original translation may have been written according to the speech of the translator and that the original spelling would have reflected this, we cannot deny that the first *Bede* translation was already dependent on another text, that of the original Latin, and that features such as syntax may reflect the Latin parent text (Bately, 2009; Kilpiö, 1989; Timofeeva, 2010). Therefore the value of the *Bede* as a record of Old English as it was spoken is low; as Stanley puts it, 'we can say that, in English, scribes never wrote as they spoke' (1988a: 328). What it *can* tell us, however, is how *writers* approached the copying of a text, and how their training and scribal habits influenced the way they reproduced a manuscript.

An alternative view to Hogg's regarding the possibilities of using Old English texts to obtain a more precise delineation of word-geography is found in several studies by Kitson (1990b, 1995, 1996). He argues that the impossibility of mapping Old English dialects is illusory (1995: 47), and that this can be achieved for some parts of the country (mainly the south and midlands), though any such analysis will not be so fine-grained as that achievable for Middle English. For Kitson (1990b: 185), the documents that can be used for dialect mapping are sources such as charter boundaries. His argument is that such boundaries would have been written by someone local, who understood the local topography, and that therefore this topographical vocabulary would demonstrate a greater degree of regional variation than most other Old English writings. His methodology is based on the 'fit-technique' used by scholars such as McIntosh (1986) in compiling the

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[22] Campbell (1959: § 256) overcomes this problem by taking as the basis for his dialects the variations found in a well-defined group of texts, that is, he defines his dialects linguistically rather than geographically. See Hogg (2006: 397-9) for an assessment of Campbell's approach.

Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English. His argument depends on the writers of these boundaries actually being local to the area, which in our current state of research we are unable to verify. However, he is right to distinguish between what might be termed 'primary' (i.e. holograph) writings and 'secondary' texts (textual copies). While we may speculate about the degree to which an Anglo-Saxon writer would write as he spoke, it is undoubtedly true that a scribe who is merely copying (rather than composing) a work would have less opportunity (and perhaps less inclination) to consistently stamp his dialectal norms onto a text.

A further consideration is that of dialectally 'mixed' texts, of which the *Bede* is one. Fulk (2008, 2010, 2012) has examined legal texts and anonymous homilies which show a mixture of Mercian and West-Saxon features in their existing manuscripts. He concluded that the widespread presence of Anglian linguistic features in these texts could best be accounted for by the presence of a Mercian prose writing tradition on a rather wider scale than had previously been acknowledged, and by the incomplete translation of the texts into West-Saxon:

> The number of anonymous late-West-Saxon texts with Mercian features is so substantial that if all or most of this material does stem from Mercia before the middle of the ninth century, there must have been a substantial tradition of vernacular prose there before the rise of Wessex. (Fulk, 2010: 76)

Fulk argues that because so many Old English texts which survive in more than one copy show a process of gradual West-Saxonisation, rather than adding Anglian features, it suggests that many of these texts were indeed initially written in an Anglian dialect. Fulk's studies are particularly useful for us, as his approach seeks to uncover Anglian textual layers in successively West-Saxonised texts, with his focus on Old English as a written mode of communication, rather than a spoken one.

Finally, there have been efforts to use newer methods from sociolinguistics as a way of analysing and understanding Old English material (Lenker, 2000; Trousdale, 2005). Hogg was sceptical about the possibilities of such an approach:

> Of course some things are impossible. For example, to what extent is it plausible to consider sociolinguistic variation when the only evidence we have comes from the writings of a very narrow social group? (1988: 189).

Townend (2002: 12) provides a more rigorous approach to notions of mutual intelligibility when assessing the extent to which Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons could understand each other. He notes the tendency of historians and linguists to make assumptions about the degree of mutual intelligibility of the two communities, without attempting to define how such linguistic competence can be measured in historical material, and provides a framework for use in the examination of place-names. Lenker assessed the extent to which theories of social networks could be usefully applied to the Benedictine reform movement, while Trousdale looked at the possibilities of applying sociolinguistic analysis to Kentish Raising. The latter two articles conclude that it is difficult to use sociolinguistic methods for data of this age, as we have too little variety of authorship or knowledge of the varieties of style from this period (Lenker: 226-8; Trousdale: 60). Not

enough material exists to provide us with a good overview of language at different times and in different places. However both agree that there can be merit in using these approaches when sufficient account is taken of the limitations and peculiarities of Old English material (Lenker: 229; Trousdale: 67). This approach works best where we have enough external evidence about the people who produced and read the texts under study, as in the case of Lenker's study on Æthelwold's circle. Unfortunately, this is not the case for the *Bede*; as we have seen, our knowledge of these external factors in relation either to the text of the *Bede* or to its manuscripts is too scanty for such an approach to be fruitful.

1.2.3 Manuscript Studies

'Manuscript studies' covers scholarship concerning both the contents of manuscripts and the practicalities of book acquisition and usage. What sets it apart from the types of study discussed above is its focus on the manuscript as a physical artefact, and on the processes that go into producing, using and adapting manuscripts (Parkes, 2008; Cohen-Mushlin, 2010). Whether examining the contents of manuscripts or their reproduction and use, studies of this kind tend to focus more on the reader-reception of texts (whether through an examination of glosses and annotations by readers, or through the changes made in copying a text (Brown, 2001)) than the discernible authorial intentions behind the work. As such, it can be a useful approach to an examination of the *Bede's* manuscripts, given that we know so little of the translator and have no autograph copy of his work.

Benskin and Laing's (1981) survey of scribal behaviour in Middle English manuscripts provides a useful overview and classification of the different ways in which scribes can copy a text. As it had been generally assumed that texts which were copies of other manuscripts (rather than spontaneous compositions by the scribes themselves) were of limited use as linguistic evidence, Benskin and Laing set out to show how careful analysis of the differing linguistic forms evident in a particular work could be used to show some of the layers underlying the extant text. When a scribe makes a copy, there are three courses of action available to him; 1) to copy a text literatim, as it stands in the exemplar, 2) to translate the entire text into his own dialect or linguistic forms, or 3) to adopt a practice somewhere between the first two options. Benskin and Laing's approach is especially attractive where the texts being studied contain very little in the way of external evidence to tell us about their origins: 'where only a single copy of a text survives, and textual criticism of the conventional kind is precluded, dialectal analysis may yet enable a part of its history to be recovered' (85). As their methodology consists of looking only at the linguistic forms contained within the text and compiling a scribal profile from them, this is a method which can usefully be adapted for use with a text such as the *Bede*, where many of the extant manuscripts lack any such external evidence for their origins.

Laing also notes the value of examining texts which survive in more than one version; depending on the chronological spread of the surviving manuscripts, they can usefully be interrogated for evidence of diatopic or diachronic variation (1992: 568-9). While Laing's article is based on work undertaken as part of the *LALME* project, Orton (2000) uses a similar method to examine scribal transmission in Old English poetry. Orton selects poetic texts such as *Cædmon's Hymn* and the *Battle of Brunnanburh* which exist in more than one copy, and examines differences in metre, lexis and morphology. From this he determines likely changes to a poetic text in the course of its transmission, and categorises several types of scribal behaviour. Some of his categorisations agree with those of Laing,

such as Orton's 'meticulous' copyist and Laing's 'literatim scribe'. When exploring non-literatim copying, however, Orton is more interested in the motivation apparent behind the copying and searches, for example, for signs of scribal competence in mending a defective text, or for confusion or textual interpolation. Orton's approach is therefore very useful as a method for examining the *Bede* texts. Despite the difference in the type of text under investigation, the number of surviving *Bede* manuscripts make this kind of detailed approach both a feasible and fruitful method of enquiry.

Studies of Anglo-Saxon libraries and book collecting started in earnest in the 1980s, with work by Lapidge (1985) and Dumville (1981) on reconstructing the libraries at particular, well-known monasteries from library catalogues and booklists. In this they were able to build upon the work of Ker, in particular his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957), which brought together for the first time a list and description of all known Old English writings in manuscripts. Later studies by Hill (2005), Treharne (2003) and Swan (2007) have focused on the impact of particular individuals such as Leofric and Wulfstan in building libraries through programmes of manuscript acquisition and production. These studies have emphasised manuscripts as physical artefacts as much as receptacles for texts, and have viewed these texts from the point of view of their readership and reception history rather than their authorship (Treharne, 2006; Swan, 2005). Treharne's work in particular has examined the continued use of Old English homiletic texts through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (2006). She argues that the cut-off point for Old English, traditionally viewed as 1066 or 1100 makes a false distinction between 'Old English' and 'Middle English'. The fact that previous scholars have viewed post-Conquest activity in Old English as the result of antiquarian interests has meant that a great deal of material, mostly homiletic in nature, has been ignored, as it falls between 'true' late-West-Saxon and 'early Middle English'. Evidence that late-West-Saxon texts were read, annotated and copied shows that 'Old English' was intelligible, and was used, in periods long after the Conquest, and Treharne proposes that these post-Conquest texts 'ought more properly to be seen as belonging to the same literary corpus as the texts in the Exeter Book or as Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*' (2006: 332).

Hill (1997) considers the afterlife of Ælfric's saints' lives contained in the *Catholic Homilies*, and how some parts of the text are used by later writers in composite compositions.[23] She notes how the various saints' lives were abbreviated or combined with other material in later manuscripts which used all parts of the *Catholic Homilies* as their basis. In the article's introduction she responds to calls from Frantzen (1990) to consider the reception of Anglo-Saxon texts as a way to redress the imbalance of previous author-focused work, noting the absence of direct comment on works in this period:

> Whereas we can study how interpretations of Anglo-Saxon texts are 'constructed' by reading what is written *about* them and noting how they are presented in the sixteenth, nineteenth, or twentieth centuries, in studying Anglo-Saxon reader-reception we are obliged to examine what readers (users) *do* to the texts in transmitting them. (Hill, 1997: 406)

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[23] For a similar approach using the homilies of Wulfstan, see Wilcox (1992).

This focus on reader-reception has important implications for our study of the *Bede*, in that the manuscripts were written over a 200-year period. We therefore have four points along this time-span at which we can examine questions of reader- (scribal-) reception. According to Swan (2001: 80):

> For the Anglo-Saxonist, reception theory can provide another useful way of articulating what is signified by transmission and reception, and thus of reconceptualizing authorship and anonymity.

If Treharne's studies on post-Conquest material show that scribes continued to copy Old English texts, and that their motivations for textual variation were often attempts to render an older text understandable to its modern readership, then it may be worth considering whether this motivation is also present in the *Bede* texts. Manuscript studies, then, offers us some alternative ways of looking at the *Bede*, and its contribution to the methodology is outlined in Chapter 2.

1.3 Other Manuscripts

There are six manuscripts which have not been used in this study. Firstly, British Library, Cotton Domitian ix, f.11 (Z), which dates from the first quarter of the tenth century (Ker, 1957: 188), is a single folio containing three short extracts from the *Bede*. These correspond to: 1) eleven lines from Book 4; 2) five lines from Book 1; and 3) ten lines from Book 2. Z is the earliest extant copy of the *Bede's* Old English translation, and it is the only surviving version consisting solely of extracts from the work. Altogether the extracts contain only 218 words, which make it too short for a very useful comparison with the other manuscripts. Despite its brevity, Z shows that T has itself undergone a certain amount of West-Saxonisation: 'variations show that the earlier text contained Anglian forms now no longer in the text of T' (Miller, 1890: xxi). An edition of Z was published by Zupita (1886). Its variants are included in Miller's (1890) edition, and a colour facsimile forms part of Bately's (1992) edition.

The state of the mid-tenth-century British Library, Cotton Otho B.xi (C) is described by Ker as 'badly damaged' by the 1731 fire at Ashburnham House (Ker 1957: 230). It is incomplete, and many of its folios are physically fragmented or discoloured, making the job of comparison too difficult and time-consuming for a study of this size. In addition, its remaining folios are now spread between three different manuscripts and are out of their original order; out of an estimated original 115 folios of the *Bede*, forty survive spread between Otho B.xi and Otho B.x. The rest of Otho B.xi contained a diverse selection of texts, including the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, laws, a list of popes, a burghal hidage and herbal recipes. A West-Saxon genealogy survives on f. 2 of British Library, Additional 34652, which was detached from the main manuscript before the fire of 1731 and remains intact. Ker gives the origin of the manuscript as Winchester, and according to Wanley, who included it in his (1705) catalogue, it had an *ex libris* for Southwick (Hants) before it was burnt (1957: 234). This makes an interesting parallel with T, as both manuscripts seem to have been moved to other foundations during the medieval period. In both cases we can only surmise this because we know that Thorney and Southwick were founded later than the date of the manuscripts. This should caution us

against assuming an origin for a manuscript solely on the grounds of its pre-Reformation provenance.

British Library, Additional 34652 (CN) is a 1562 transcript of C, made by Laurence Nowell. I have not used this manuscript because according to Grant (1974: 121), a close comparison of the transcript with what we can read of C shows that in several places Nowell's transcript is not completely reliable. This is mainly in the spellings Nowell uses, particularly those containing <æ>:

> It is clear that Nowell either did not know or did not care about the value of *æ*, which he often confuses with *a, e* and *ea* [...] As for inflexional endings confusion of *–en, -an* and *–on* means that distinctions between indicative and subjunctive, infinitive and preterite plural and so on have been undermined.

My study uses orthography and morphology as evidence for scribal variation, and therefore CN cannot be used as a reliable source of Anglo-Saxon scribal behaviour. Grant (1974: 124) acknowledges this fact: 'Nowell's transcript of the *Bede* is no use to the student of spellings, phonology or inflexions and no dialect distinctions can be drawn from it'.

Finally, there are three manuscripts of the Latin version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* which contain glosses in Old English. London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.ii (G) dates from the eighth century, with four short, ninth-century Latin-English glosses from Book I, Chapters x-xxii, and 'numerous' interlinear dry-point glosses dating from the tenth century (Ker, 1957: 261). Miller (1890: xxii) states that the glosses 'have no relation to the [Old English] version of *Bede*', though Waite (2013b) suggests that the glossator may have entered some of the dry-point glosses in conjunction with a copy of the Old English *Bede*, because the two texts share some rare vocabulary. The ink glosses have been printed by Sweet (1885: 179-182), and the dry-point ones by Meritt (1945: 6-14), while the palaeography of the main (Latin) text is discussed in Morrish (1988). Secondly, London, British Library Bodley 163 is an early-eleventh-century copy of the Latin *Bede* (Ker, 1957: 358) which contains four glosses roughly contemporary with the main text, and an Old English copy of *Cædmon's Hymn*. The glosses are printed by Napier (1900: no. 29). Finally, London, Lambeth Palace 173 is a collection of saints' lives and visions written in the second half of the eleventh century. The same date is given for the two phrases which were glossed in Old English in the *Vision of Dryhthelm*. They are printed in Meritt (1945: no. 5), and Ker says that the wording of the glosses is 'close to that of the Old English *Bede*' (1957: 341).

As these three manuscripts consist of glosses rather than full translations of the *Bede*, they have not been used as texts in this study. However, they are of interest, given the presence of the dry-point annotations discovered in O. As we shall see, O's annotations take a rather different form from those described in these three manuscripts.[24]

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[24] See also Kuhn (1947) for his theory that the *Bede* was composed using an interlinear gloss as its basis.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This study takes as its basis the whole of Book 3 of the Old English *Bede*, minus the *Interrogationes Augustini* which the translator moved from their original position in Book 1 and placed at the end of Book 3.[25] It uses the linguistic material provided by that section to investigate the behaviour of the scribes responsible for producing each manuscript. There are several reasons for choosing Book 3. Firstly, as T and O are both missing one or more quires at the beginning and the end of the manuscript, a selection based on Books 1 or 5 would severely reduce the amount of material available for which a comparison across all four manuscripts would be possible. Of the middle three books, Book 2 is the shortest, at 52 pages in Miller's edition, while Book 4 is the longest with 132. Lengthwise, Book 3 is substantial enough to provide enough material, and has the added interest of the variant translation in O and Ca in chapters 16-20. Selecting Book 3 also means that only one scribal stint (that of T1) is present in T, and only two scribal stints are present in each of O and B (those of O1 and O3, and B1 and B2 respectively). On the one hand, this makes for a far more regular comparison than one which has to account for the many scribal changes in some other parts of the *Bede* manuscripts, while on the other, the smaller contributions to Book 3 by scribes O3 and B2 mean that some of the conclusions about O1 and B1 can be tested with reference to the output of these other two scribes. Table 1.2 summarises the complexity of the manuscripts:

	T	O	Ca	B
Book 1	Missing most of Book 1. 1x missing folio. T1	Incomplete. O1	Complete. Ca1 (Hemming)	Complete. B1
Book 2	2x missing folios. T1	Missing two chapters in exemplar. O1, O2	Missing two chapters in exemplar. Ca1	Complete. B1
Book 3	**2x missing folios. T1**	**Complete. Variant translation chapters 16-20. O1, O3 (O2)***	**Complete. Variant translation chapters 16-20. Ca1**	**Complete. B1, B2**
Book 4	1x missing folio. T1, T2, T3	Complete. O1, O2	Complete. Ca1	Complete. B2
Book 5	Incomplete. T1, T2, T4, T5	Incomplete. O1, O2	Complete. Ca1	Complete. B2

* O2 only appears in the *Interrogationes Augustini*, which is not part of the data selection for the thesis.
Table 1.2: Summary of the contents and scribal contributions of each of the *Bede* manuscripts.

The methodology of the thesis is set out in Chapter 2, which considers the uses and limitations of manuscript evidence, before outlining the methods used in gathering and

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[25] In Miller's edition the *Interrogationes* are placed at the end of Book 1, giving the impression that the *Bede* is far closer in form to its Latin parent-text than is actually the case.

analysing the data on which the study is based. Section 2.7 gives further details of the rationale for the textual selection and the treatment of the data collected.

Chapter 3 examines the layers of scribal activity apparent in O. O provides an ideal opportunity to examine the mechanics of scribal behaviour in one particular copy of the *Bede*, as it contains a wealth of corrections and other emendations which allow us to glimpse some of the processes involved in copying this particular manuscript. The chapter begins by examining scribal repetitions as a way of gauging the consistency of O's main scribe in his copying behaviour, and then goes on to discuss the types of emendation evident in the manuscript and what these can tell us about how he went about his task. I then consider the behaviour of scribe O3, whose stint occurs only on f. 47r, and how his approach influences the main scribe in the immediately following text.

Chapter 4 is concerned with scribe B1. His work been studied for the apparent independence of his copying (Grant, 1989), and this chapter considers not only his innovative behaviour, but also the features which he does not change. B1's conservative features have not been examined to the extent of his innovations; in an attempt to redress the exclusion of B from *Bede* scholarship, writers such as Grant (1989) and Rowley (2004) have inevitably focused on what makes B distinctive from T, the 'best' text. An examination of B1's conservative features, however, sheds an interesting light on the exemplar and his reaction to it. In this chapter I also survey what is known about B's origin and provenance, and whether this can be used in any way to explain the kind of scribal activity evident in B itself.

The relationship between the two most closely related manuscripts, O and Ca is considered in Chapter 5. Although their textual proximity has been noted by several studies (Miller, 1890; Whitelock, 1974: 263), it has often been taken for granted that Ca is a direct copy of O. This section demonstrates that O cannot be Ca's exemplar. Having examined the relationship between the two manuscripts, the second half of the chapter examines the innovative features of Hemming's copying, and considers the extent to which a knowledge of Ca's Worcester origin can help account for them.

While Chapters 3-5 examine the *Bede* from the point of view of its main scribes and their performances in creating the main text, Chapter 6 presents a collection of hitherto unpublished and unexamined dry-point annotations from Book 3 of O. These annotations give us a fascinating insight into the reaction of one Anglo-Saxon reader to O's text, and are unique for dry-point material in that they respond to a vernacular text, offering corrections to the original scribe's work. This chapter provides a classification for the annotations (an edition of which appears in Appendix 2), and explores them in the context of other scratched and inked supplementary material from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Finally, it explores the purpose of the annotations, and why they were added in dry-point, rather than in ink.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Ic seah wrætlice   wuhte feower
samed siþian;   swearte wæran lastas,
swaþu swiþe blacu.   Swift wæs on fore,
fuglum framra;   fleag on lyfte,
deaf under yþe.   Dreag unstille
winnende wiga   se him wegas tæcneþ
ofer fæted gold   feower eallum.[1]

This chapter outlines the methodology used in the following chapters of the thesis, and demonstrates why a comparative method which focuses on the scribes who produced each manuscript can be such a fruitful way of approaching the *Bede* texts. Firstly, I consider the influence of the method of production on medieval texts, and how the fact of their being copied manually gives rise to a set of issues which have to be taken into account when dealing with their contents. Following this I discuss how we can use texts which survive in more than one manuscript copy for linguistic study, followed by issues which arise when working with dialect material in Old English. This brings us to a consideration of how we can best use manuscripts as a source of linguistic evidence, before a final section dealing with the preparation of the database which forms the basis of the thesis analyses.

2.1 The Nature of Manuscript Transmission

2.1.1 Writing Medieval Manuscripts

Using medieval writings as linguistic evidence is a tricky proposition; while they *can* provide us with useful information on the development and variation of a vernacular language (indeed, they are the only contemporary evidence we have) they must be handled with care, because we cannot accept them at face value as representative of the speech (or even the writing) of a text's author. Even if we could take them at face value, our main problem is that often we do not know the identity of the author; for every Ælfric, Wulfstan, Chaucer or Orm, there are dozens of anonymous writers from the middle ages. Indeed, the notion of an 'author' as we understand it is an anachronism in the Anglo-Saxon period (section 1.4.2). That so many works are anonymous matters because we may not be able to attribute all the extant works of an author to that specific individual, and therefore we are unable to get as full a picture as possible of that person's written output. Issues such as these are compounded by the nature of the physical evidence and the uncertainties of manuscript transmission.

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[1] Exeter Book, *Riddle 51*, 'pen and fingers'. 'I saw four wondrous creatures travelling together; their tracks were dark, their footsteps exceedingly black. It was swift in its journey, the strength of birds; it flew in the air, dived under the waves. A toiling man busies himself unstintingly; he shows all four of them paths through ornamented gold.'

Firstly, and most importantly, a medieval text is not a fixed, stable entity, whose form is controlled by its author; a text's scribe and its composer may not be one and the same person. There can be many reasons for this: the text may be written by an amanuensis, as in the case of the fifteenth-century *Book of Margery Kempe*, where Margery states that when she was inspired by God to write, two priests wrote down the words she spoke (Kempe, Preface: 38). Therefore, in such a case as this, we cannot guarantee that the written form the words take on the page corresponds directly to Margery's speech forms, and such a text would be problematic were it to be used as evidence, for example, of the fifteenth-century dialect of Norwich, if we know nothing about the men who actually wrote the text. Even in cases where we have successive versions of a text showing some kind of authorial control or input, it is apparent that authorial intentions are not always stable (or consistent). Godden (2002) found that although corrections by Ælfric showed a change or evolution in some of grammatical features he used, his textual emendations often seemed to be piecemeal. For example, whereas the earliest manuscript of his second series of *Catholic Homilies* had frequent examples of *þurh* governing the dative case, later manuscripts seemed to point towards a move by Ælfric to use the accusative, but most importantly, he did not make all the changes from dative to accusative in the same stint, as they take place in stages over three different manuscripts (Godden, 2002: 17).

Secondly, we are rarely fortunate enough to know the origin or provenance of a manuscript with any degree of certainty.[2] We can try to discover a manuscript's origin or provenance through either external or internal evidence. As an example of external evidence, we may be able to identify a manuscript with a description from a library catalogue which dates from a period not too distant from the putative date of our text, providing us with good evidence for its provenance. However, the manuscript may have moved between its production and the date at which its details were entered into the catalogue, and therefore the catalogue may be no guide to the manuscript's place of origin.

We may feel that we are on safer ground with internal evidence, such as the linguistic contents of the manuscript, or its palaeography. Although assumptions can be made from palaeographical information about the scriptorium where the text was written, this is dependent on having enough examples of similar scribal habits across several manuscripts, in order to postulate a common scriptorium.[3] While it is true that this type of evidence may be localisable, we may be in no position to tell whether the scribe was trained at the monastery where he produced the work, or whether he had trained elsewhere and subsequently moved.[4] If scribes could and did move from one monastery (and therefore

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[2] For an example of the internal evidence used to support manuscript provenance, see Gneuss (1997) on London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii and its proposed origin at Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral. Lapidge (1985) interrogates medieval booklists and catalogues to identify surviving manuscripts and their provenance.

[3] This in itself is not a straightforward question, as our knowledge of both non-West-Saxon scriptoria in the post-Alfredian period, and non-monastic scriptoria, is patchy (Lapidge et al, 2001: 410). See Gameson (1996: 195) on the problems of attributing manuscripts to common scriptoria on grounds of palaeography or decoration. Treharne (2009a: 33-4) notes that the attribution of a number of manuscripts to the same centre may then act as a centripetal force, attracting others to that particular centre in the absence of firm criteria for smaller, lesser-known scriptoria.

[4] References to scribes as 'he' should not be taken as an assumption that the writers of the *Bede* manuscripts could only have been men. For the role of women in scriptoria and text production see Fell (1984: 114): 'we may assume that both monks and nuns were involved in the composing and the copying of manuscripts,

scriptorium) to another, then we may be no nearer to being able to pin down a linguistic variety to a certain area. The fact that a scribe was trained in one particular monastery may be of no help to us, if he moved to another place during the course of his life and continued to produce manuscripts there:

> Although a manuscript may often be confidently associated with a particular religious house on non-linguistic grounds, we cannot always be sure that the language of any contents in English is representative of that same place. It is evident from the presence in some manuscripts of texts of widely differing characteristics that both scribes and exemplars travelled. (Laing 1992: 567)

We have ample evidence of monks who did move from one monastery to another. Ælfric was monk at both Eynsham and Cerne (a relatively 'local' move), while the Welsh bishop Asser, the Frankish priest Grimbold, Abbo of Fleury and Alcuin all moved from one kingdom to another. Hogg (2004: 243) explores the conundrum of the *Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne Gospels*, whose glosses were written by two scribes who may have been trained in different dialect areas of Northumbria (see also Coates, 1997). There is also some evidence that professional (and possibly travelling) scribes were employed in eleventh- and twelfth-century England (Gullick, 1998). As we have clear evidence of the mobility of some monks and scribes, the question arises as to whether we can ever be sure that the language of a text is either a) representative of the scribe's speech, if he had been trained to write in some local standard, or b) representative of the dialect of the monastery (or its surrounding area) of the manuscript's origin.[5] Hogg concluded that in the case of the *Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne Gospels*, treating the variant spellings as orthographical variants (rather than variants with a phonological basis) was a more fruitful way of examining the different 'dialectal' differences between the two scribes' stints. The fact that we know so little biographical information about the majority of Anglo-Saxon scribes means that we will always have to use a variety of evidence when considering questions such as these.[6]

A final complicating factor lies in the subsequent use of manuscripts; medieval readers could (and often did) annotate, comment on or gloss the texts they read (Treharne, 2009b). This means that there may be more than one layer of linguistic material in the manuscript, on both diachronic and diatopic levels. The 'Tremulous Hand' glosses are an example of this (Franzen, 1991), undertaken by a thirteenth-century Worcester monk who read and glossed Old English texts. In examining such a text, we would have to take

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but in most cases it is now impossible to identify whether the author or scribe of any product from an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium was male or female.' Brown (2001: 45) notes that the missionary St Lioba was renowned for her learning, and that St Boniface wrote to Abbess Eadburh to ask that she and her nuns supply him with books, while Swan (2005: 156) suggests that London, Lambeth Palace Library 487 could have been written by or for a secular vowess in late-twelfth-century Worcester.

[5] This is a point which Cecily Clark (1992: 174) notes in relation to the language of scribes in post-Conquest England: 'it is not any scribe's own speech that is at issue here, but the training of scribes in general and, above all, the nature of the documents upon which they were employed.'

[6] In some instances we can identify scribes, but this is rare. In some cases, such as Wulfstan of York or Ælfric, we have annotations in manuscripts which can be attributed to the author (Ker, 1971; Godden, 2002, 1980). In other instances, for example, the writer of the 'Tremulous Hand' glosses, we can deduce information about his intellectual life from the internal evidence of manuscripts where his work is found (Franzen, 1991; Collier, 2000); however this still leaves us a long way from being able to make a positive identification of the scribe.

care to distinguish, for example, the eleventh-century text and annotations from the glosses of the thirteenth century. If, in addition, the manuscript had moved from one monastery to another in the interval between the two scribes' entries, we would also have to be wary of drawing diachronic or dialectal conclusions based on the evidence of the whole text.

2.1.2 Textual Layering[7]

There is also a knotty problem when examining manuscript texts which have been copied and recopied several times, in that it may be difficult (or impossible) to distinguish between the features which the latest scribes are responsible for in their present form, and those which they have copied from their exemplars. As Scragg (1992: 352) puts it, 'because almost all eleventh-century Old English is a copy of earlier written material, we can never be sure that the forms are those of the latest scribes'. While we may characterise certain features as innovative or as differing from the usage found in other manuscripts of the same text, they may not have been introduced to that manuscript by its scribe. This is, to a certain extent, problematic, although it can sometimes be overcome in studies of this nature:

> In many cases we do have another possible way of distinguishing the language of the copyist. Where a scribe has written more than one text using exemplars of differing linguistic character it is likely that forms common to all the texts belong to the dialect of the copyist. (Laing, 1992: 577)

It should be remembered, however, that Laing is discussing Middle English manuscripts, which are far more numerous than Old English ones. In addition, Ca is the only *Bede* manuscript which is written in a hand identified as responsible for copying other texts. The situation in the *Bede* is also slightly different, because several scribes often contribute to a single manuscript:

> If a manuscript in more than one hand exhibits minor spelling variation between the hands, this points to idiosyncratic spellings being the work of the latest scribes, whereas a manuscript in a single hand which shows minor spelling variation between its items suggests that its scribe has drawn items from several exemplars with different spelling practices. (Scragg, 1992: 351)

While the methods described above are certainly useful in tackling textual layering, it is still difficult to determine who exactly is responsible for some of the linguistic forms we see. Therefore, while I refer to the features found in each *Bede* manuscript as being those of the latest scribe, it should be borne in mind that it is possible that some of them may have been introduced by the scribes of the exemplars of these manuscripts. This is a

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[7] I have used the term 'textual layering' here, rather than 'stratigraphy'. Laing (2004) uses 'stratigraphy' when discussing the textual layers apparent in the main text of a manuscript, that is, when examining the text of the main scribe(s). This study, in contrast, examines not only the main text, but the corrections and annotating material also present. I am therefore looking both forward in time (examining reception of the original text in terms of its corrections and other annotations) and backwards (in reconstructing the scribal decisions involved in transmitting the *Bede* text from the exemplar, where such evidence is available). It is in order to maintain this distinction, then, that I have opted to use the term 'textual layering' rather than 'stratigraphy'.

point made in Grant's study of B (1989: 11). My study differs from Grant's, however, in that he does not distinguish in his data between forms written by scribes B1 and B2. While this omission may not matter in his work, which focuses on the manuscript as a whole, it is inadequate for a study such as this one, which aims to distinguish the behaviour of particular scribes and/ or scribal performances. Replicating Grant's approach in this current project could easily lead to missing the distinction between two scribal profiles; indeed he conflates the two scribes, and attributes the same scribal behaviour to both in his discussions.

2.1.3 Manuscript (Re)production

When a text is printed, all copies produced are identical (Swan, 2001: 75). However, when a manuscript is copied by hand, the text is subject to both conscious and unconscious alteration. Manuscript copying was a laborious process, usually undertaken in the cloisters (Lapidge et al., 2001: 410), and was therefore influenced by such phenomena as bad weather, or the amount of daylight available. Copying was slow and expensive, because of the speed of handwriting the text, and also because of the cost of materials; time was needed to prepare ink and parchment before their use as writing materials. In addition, monastic libraries were not large by modern standards; surviving book lists from this period contain between four and sixty-five books, with the majority of lists containing fewer than twenty books (Lapidge, 1985). Book production was dependent on the cost and availability of book-making materials, as well as the availability of exemplar texts to copy from, and manuscripts were often borrowed from other monastic libraries for copying.[8] Alfred, at the end of his *Preface* to the *Pastoral Care* states that the books should not be removed, 'buton se biscep hie mid him habban wille oððe hio hwær to læne sie, oððe hwa oðre biwrite' (*Pastoral Care*: 9, ll. 6-7).[9]

As libraries were small by today's standards, and exemplars sometimes borrowed for copying, this means that while the scribe or his master could correct mistakes by referring to the exemplar during the copying process, the subsequent reader would not necessarily have had access to another version of the text for comparison (Lapidge et al., 2001: 411; Cohen-Mushlin, 2010: 63). If a copied text were itself to be copied, the variations it contained would be transmitted to the daughter copy, along with any conscious additions, deletions, or other alterations which the next scribe made. A culture of manuscript transmission, therefore, is one where textual variation is the norm, in contrast with the textual uniformity produced by modern print culture. Such textual variations, when they depart substantially from the text, are sometimes attributed to a 'careless' or 'lazy' scribe (Grant, 1989: 10; Horgan, 1986: 110). However, given the amount of effort involved in reproducing a manuscript text, and the evidence in some manuscripts of the detailed planning involved in manuscript production (Schipper, 1994), I am reluctant to resort to the categorisation of scribes as 'lazy' or 'incompetent'. I aim to show that there is usually an explanation to be found for linguistic forms which can seem, at first sight, inexplicable, and that writers who invoke the 'careless' scribe have sometimes failed to take account of

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[8] There may also have been the cost of labour to take into consideration, if a professional scribe was chosen to undertake the work. Gullick (1998: 6) suggests that the scribes Goding and Wulfgeat who wrote books for Worcester cathedral were both professionals.
[9] 'Unless the bishop wishes to have them with him, or they are on loan somewhere, or someone else is copying them.'

issues such as scribal training, experience, or the qualities of the exemplar, when resorting to this judgement.

The problem of a lack of provenance for our manuscripts need not be an insurmountable one; indeed, knowing a manuscript's provenance is (as we have seen) no guarantee of knowing its origin. Of the *Bede* manuscripts whose provenance we do know, C was at Southwick before the Reformation (Ker 1957: 234). However as Southwick was founded in 1133 and C was written in the tenth century, the manuscript must have been moved after it was written (Ker gives its origin as Winchester). T was housed at Thorney (Ker, 1957: 429), which was refounded by Æthelwold in the 970s, at least 50 years after it was written. There are also good grounds for believing that B was not written at Exeter (see section 4.2). O's provenance is unclear, but it *may* have been housed in a Kentish foundation before its removal, possibly by a member of the Twyne family, which of course does not preclude its having been written elsewhere (see section 3.1.3). Ca is the only manuscript we can firmly posit an origin for, in Worcester, due to the presence of other works (including Worcester charters) by the same scribe in Worcester Cathedral library. We have evidence, then that three out of the five *Bede* manuscripts were moved between their copying and the Reformation, and a fourth can only be tentatively ascribed to a geographical area in the immediate pre-Reformation period, with no evidence either way for its place of origin. Hence, a manuscript's pre-Reformation provenance is in at least half of the cases an unreliable guide to its place of composition, and in knowing the provenance we are unlikely to be able to get any closer to the scribal centre which produced a manuscript, without further internal evidence.

2.2 Texts Surviving in More Than One Manuscript

Having discussed the potential problems with using manuscripts as evidence, we also need to consider our approach to the text they contain. Although the question of the translation's authorship detailed in the Introduction is not the focus of my research, it has provided the starting point for my approach to these texts. As already noted, the question of authorship in the *Bede* has hinged on textual variation, some of it dialectal, and Laing (1992: 658) states that 'linguistic comparison of different copies of a single text is an excellent way of identifying possible dialectal discriminants'. However, my purpose in this study is not to study the manuscripts for evidence of dialectal variation *per se*. Rather, it is my intention to view them as artefacts, as witnesses to one or more scribes' treatment of their exemplar, as opposed to records of a single, monolithic text.[10] As medieval scribal practice inevitably led to variation in the form of a text (whether deliberate or not), we cannot talk of a 'definitive version' of the *Bede*, in the absence of the original translation. Instead, we should treat the text as a fluid entity which, while preserving many of the traits of the parent texts, also comprises variants of a greater or lesser magnitude, collected in the course of several copyings (Hill, 1997: 405-6).

Questions about the *Bede's* authorship can never be definitively answered and, in my opinion, are not particularly helpful. Nor do they make the most of the type of evidence

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[10] Sweet (1872: viii) states that 'however imperfect the information conveyed by the old scribe may be, it is still the only information we have, and, as such, ought to be made generally accessible in a reliable form'. This view is echoed by Stanley (1984), but challenged by Lapidge (1994: 54).

that exists, namely four different scribal responses to an exemplar text of the (or perhaps more accurately, *an*) Old English *Bede*. My aim in this thesis is to shift the focus away from the idea of an entity called '*The* Old English *Bede*', and reposition that focus on the entity as a collection of related texts, coming into existence over a period of about 200 years, and potentially in several different geographical locations. They were written by different scribes, who had different reactions to the particular exemplars in front of them. Hence, what remains after 1000 years or so is not a coherent whole, and it is misleading to think of the *Bede* as such, in spite of the texts' origins in one translation of one man's Latin text.

While it is convenient to label this group of texts as 'The Old English *Bede*', in reality we are looking at a multitude of texts, a group which, in places, does not have a common reading for any of the consecutive words in a phrase. The multiplicity of texts is an inevitable result of the processes of manuscript transmission; it is sometimes easy for the modern reader, accustomed to the certainties and rigidity of a printed and therefore uniformly reproduced text, to lose sight of the fact that before the advent of printing, textual variation was a natural and accepted phenomenon. Certainly, there were those writers, such as Ælfric or Chaucer, who did make efforts to impose textual uniformity, but we should note that these efforts usually failed (Gretsch, 2009: 128):

> Ic bidde nu on godes naman gif hwa þæs boc awritan wille. þæt he wel gerihte be þe bysne. and þær namare betwux ne sette þonne we awendon.
> 'I pray now in God's name, if any man desire to transcribe this book, that he correct it well according to the copy; and set down therein no more than we have translated.'[11]

For these reasons my aim is to focus on the text itself, as it appears in each manuscript. I examine variant readings, with the aim of discovering why particular variants have arisen, for example through mechanical slips, or through deliberate lexical substitution. Through this process I build profiles of the scribes, based on the behaviour evident in their manuscript copies. I use dialect and phonology as a way of understanding and categorising textual variants, but it should be noted that I am primarily concerned with *textual* transmission, and not with spoken variation, accommodation, or contact-based changes. I am not particularly interested in scribal personalities, that is, in trying to identify the scribal performances in these texts with named individuals. In many cases we know too little about the individuals who copied the manuscripts which have come down to us, and in any case, identifying a scribal performance with a named individual may not, in itself, tell us any more about the processes of copying a text, or the training involved in passing on and developing such skills. These are all questions which are beyond the scope of this study, which concentrates on the scribal performances evident in the four selected *Bede* manuscripts. Treharne advocates a focus on the reception of medieval texts, as a way of redressing the focus on the authorial text which has often been the preoccupation of medievalists:

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[11] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (Skeat 1881: vol.1, p.6; Skeat's translation p.7). Edwards (2012) casts doubt on the canonicity of Chaucer's poem to the scribe, Adam.

The manuscripts copied in the second half of the eleventh century are investigated less for the production and use of Old English in its precise time, and more for what they tell us about the texts' authors within those authors' own time. This raises important questions about the manner in which scholars treat the evidence that is extant for a study of vernacular literature: that again, we privilege the origins rather than the duplication and adaptation of material to the extent that we skew the data, obfuscating particular cultural, political, and historical contexts and undermining the role of the literature itself. (Treharne 2007: 20).

We can only work with the evidence which survives, and alone it cannot answer certain questions that we may be interested in. In using a comparative approach to study these texts as scribal performances, rather than as less-than-perfect versions of an ultimate, authorial text, the aim is to build a picture of these texts which can answer such questions as:

- What can a comparative approach tell us about the *Bede* manuscripts?
- What kind of copying behaviour do the *Bede* scribes exhibit?
- Are textual variations made consciously or deliberately?
- What can manuscripts tell us about their exemplars?

In using a comparative approach to the *Bede's* existing manuscripts there is a difficulty in saying much about Bodleian Tanner 10 (T). T is a good example of how Mercian the *Bede can* be, but we do not know how much more Mercian other, lost copies of the *Bede* were. We may speculate, given some of the forms in O, C and Z, that the original translation contained a significantly greater proportion of of Mercian forms than we see in T. For this reason I have chosen to use T as a text which is the most Mercian we know the *Bede* to have been, rather than to investigate its scribal behaviour as I have the other three manuscripts under consideration. If a real, surviving example of the text exists which shows that at least one *Bede* manuscript contained this level and range of Mercian features, then we can infer that the original translation also contained at least this amount of Mercian influence. We can therefore use T as a yardstick, to gain an approximate idea of the minimum distance the other manuscripts have travelled away from the Mercian character of the original. This is not to say, of course, that the exemplars of O, Ca and B were in each case as Mercianised as T. It merely illustrates the distance between a theoretical Mercian *Bede* (based on the surviving evidence of Mercian forms in a known *Bede* manuscript) and the scribal responses we see in the extant manuscripts.

The main difficulty in considering these four manuscripts is that each manuscript is not a direct copy of one of the other surviving ones, forming one long chain (see Chapter 5). Rather, we are looking at four separate witnesses, which branch off in varying directions at different times, and not a continual development from one text to the next. This difficulty has been experienced by more than one scholar in compiling a satisfactory stemma for the manuscripts of the *Bede* (Whitelock, 1974; Grant, 1989).

2.3 Old English Dialects

The language of the manuscripts also provides us with a challenge. Previous studies have described the language of the *Bede* as being 'a mixture of West-Saxon and Mercian' (Kuhn, 1972: 173). Similarly, Schreiber (2003) uses texts such as the *Pastoral Care* to talk about 'dialect contact' in the ninth century. She suggests that the earliest manuscripts, which show an admixture of Anglian and early-West-Saxon forms, demonstrate dialect contact and accommodation between speakers of Mercian and West-Saxon dialects, along the lines of Trudgill's (1986) model. However, I am reluctant to talk about the language of the *Bede* in terms of dialect contact, for several reasons. We have noted already the haphazard nature of manuscript transmission: the fact that a scribe may or may not change word forms as he writes means that we cannot be sure that scribes write as they speak, or that they necessarily have any conscious control over the forms they write (as opposed to using the forms of the school where they were trained). Furthermore, we must remember that we are dealing with written sources, not with spoken ones, and any 'dialect mixture' observable in a given text could be due to a number of reasons. For example, Fulk (2010: 62) states that:

> Mercian features in early West-Saxon and early Kentish texts are most likely wholly artificial and attributable solely to Mercian influence on West-Saxon and Kentish orthography rather than being actual features of everyday speech south of the Thames.

It therefore seems that we are looking at mechanical reasons for the apparent presence of dialect mixture, that is, reasons due to the manual processes of copying and textual transmission, rather than models of contact in spoken varieties of Old English. Because of the age of the evidence we are examining, the only witnesses are written; we cannot ask an Anglo-Saxon in person about the language he uses.

2.4 Conservative vs. Innovative Scribal Behaviour

There are several ways of making distinctions between linguistic features in the *Bede*. One is to discern dialect differences between Mercian and West-Saxon. Another is to look at 'older' and 'more modern' features, and while we can certainly say that diachronic change can account for some of the changes we see, other differences are more nuanced. It is perhaps more subtle to think of several continua, along which various features can move. While a chronological continuum can be established, and has the benefit of being applicable to texts other than the *Bede*, we can also use a continuum which is specific to the texts of the *Bede*: at one end are older and Mercian features, while at the other are later and West-Saxon ones (see Fig. 2.1). We can do this because we can independently date the four manuscripts examined in this study through palaeographical means. We can therefore see that certain Mercian features appear more frequently in the older texts. While also being aware that no manuscript is a direct copy of any other in this group, a chronological trend is discernible whereby earlier texts are more likely to contain more Mercian features, and later texts are more likely to contain more West-Saxon features.

It is therefore possible to think of a *Bede*-specific continuum, which we could perhaps label 'conservative-innovative', whereby we can label features 'conservative' *in the context of the Bede* if they are a) features found more commonly in the earlier texts (e.g. genitive singular strong nouns in <æs>), and b) features associated with a Mercian dialect, rather than, say, late-West-Saxon (e.g. the first person plural pronoun *usic* rather than *us*), and c) features which are (through a combination of a) and b)) attributable to a manuscript's exemplar. Having established a number of features which are either 'old' or 'Mercian' which are more commonly found in the earlier *Bede* manuscripts, and which are found to a far lesser extent in the later manuscripts, we can use this group as a kind of measure, against which we can compare other 'conservative' features. Innovative features, on the other hand, are those which appear to have been introduced into the *Bede* text by a scribe as a result of his own preferred forms, as opposed to being a relict of the exemplar.

Conservative ————————————→ Innovative

Earlier OE features   Later OE features
Mercian   West-Saxon
Exemplar forms   Scribal innovation
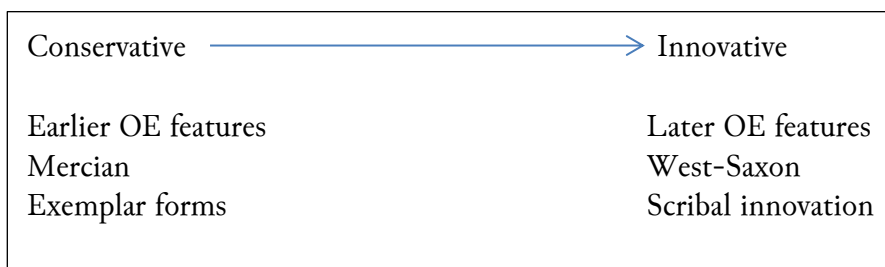
Fig. 2.1: The 'conservative-innovative continuum' for the *Bede*.

2.5 The Difference Between Written and Spoken Language

Throughout this study I deliberately distinguish between spoken language, which in the case of speakers of Old English is not directly recoverable, and written usage. The language of the *Bede* manuscripts studied cannot be taken as representative of spoken Old English (for example, of the spoken English of the scribes) for several reasons. Firstly, we are not dealing with an autograph copy of a text. If this were the case, then we would certainly be able to make claims about an individual's preferences in *writing* a text, untainted as it would be by any forms belonging to an exemplar. However, whether this would enable us to say anything about the *speech* habits of such a scribe is uncertain. As the material we are dealing with in this study has been copied from an exemplar (possibly many times removed from the original translation), we must assume a certain amount of influence from the exemplar text, though of course the degree of this influence may vary according to the state and form of the exemplar, and the training or disposition of the scribe. Scragg (1992: 347) stresses the importance of considering textual evidence as *written* evidence rather than as a representation of *spoken* evidence:

> Concentration on the development of sounds has led to the virtual rejection of the substantial eleventh-century evidence because all that it offers is occasional variations of spelling.

Scragg highlights the privileging of spoken material over written material, even though direct evidence of spoken Old English is not available. This study engages with the manuscript evidence in terms of graphic (rather than phonological) transmission. We must be aware of the paucity of data for dialects other than late-West-Saxon, which

necessarily means that fine distinctions cannot often be made in placing a dialect. It has been noted (Kitson, 2004: 220; Hogg, 1998: 111-3) that linguists tend to use political maps to map dialect; the Mercian dialect is often taken to be cognate with the kingdom of Mercia, without reflecting that a dialect area does not have to coincide with a political boundary. Indeed, kingdom boundaries over the six hundred years or so of Anglo-Saxon settlement and rule were fluid, and different kingdoms enjoyed supremacy at different times. As literacy was the preserve of the church, and (arch)bishoprics did not necessarily map directly onto kingdom boundaries, it is possible that ecclesiastical boundaries (or other ties between monasteries with scriptoria), rather than political boundaries, were most influential in the 'dialect' differences that we see between texts (Hogg, 1998: 112). Added to this is the fact that a dialect is a collection of particular forms and usages, which will naturally vary along a continuum, a collection of isoglosses, rather than one rigidly defined dialect in one rigidly defined area.[12] Any or all of these factors could have a bearing on dialect development and usage (either in its written or its spoken form), and hence on the text of a manuscript.

In addition, an important point needs to be made about the difference between orthography and phonology. Some of the linguistic features and textual variations examined in this thesis are discussed in terms of phonological labels, for example breaking and retraction, or Anglian smoothing. When I refer to examples of 'breaking' or 'smoothing', I am referring not to sound changes in (pre-) Old English, but to the spelling conventions which came to represent words which were at one time subject to these processes. Although the spellings have their basis in phonological changes, it is important to note that the variation we see in the *Bede* manuscripts is the result of a series of *textual* transmissions, taking place over a wide temporal and geographical space. In looking at this type of 'phonological' change we are viewing two competing sets of spelling conventions which, although deriving ultimately from phonological differences, exist in the written, rather than the spoken sphere (Hogg, 2004: 249). As a set of orthographical conventions, they are transmitted through scribal training, and to this end are not dependent on the pronunciation or dialect of the writer. However, in order to account for these orthographical differences it is useful to be able to refer to the phonological processes which underlie them, whilst bearing in mind this important distinction.

Finally, assigning features to a 'Mercian' dialect, for example, can be challenging, in that we have comparatively few texts which we can tie securely to any given geographical area, as Hogg confirms when discussing *Rushworth[1]*: 'for none of the texts do we have any direct information of where the scribe himself came from apart from the tantalizing mention of *harawuda*. [...] Mercian [...] simply equates to a cluster of texts' (Hogg, 2006: 404). In using only textual criteria to define dialectal areas, Hogg follows Campbell (1959: §256), noting that this is often the most secure way of assigning any text to a given dialect. Furthermore, Vleeskruyer (1953: 24) raised the problem of assigning certain items of vocabulary to particular dialects:

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[12] Note that the glosses to the Vespasian Psalter and Rushworth Gospels, despite both being 'Mercian', exhibit rather different characteristics in some respects, such as second fronting (Campbell, 1959: §11, 168; Kuhn 1985).

Doubt may be cast on the dialectological reality of 'Anglian' and 'West-Saxon' vocabulary; such differences of usage as are met with may often prove to reflect not local speech, but rather the highly artificial idioms of various schools of translation.

There are three important points to bear in mind, then, when considering the relationship between written and spoken language. Although dialectal differences can be discerned in Old English texts, we cannot always be certain of the extent to which these reflect genuine differences in pronunciation in Anglo-Saxon England. Secondly, when dealing with copied texts, our material is at yet a further remove from the sounds of the spoken language, and in these cases we may more profitably look for evidence of mechanical (written) transmission in the spelling variation present. Thirdly, we cannot tie many manuscripts securely to a place of origin. It may therefore be the case that the observable variation (whether in spelling or vocabulary) is the result of scribal training or habit, and that our 'dialect areas' have more to do with the scribal training offered in particular ecclesiastical centres, than with the pronunciation of the Anglo-Saxons living in surrounding towns and farms.

2.6 Manuscripts as Evidence

Compared with the kinds of material available to linguists of present-day English, Anglo-Saxon manuscripts provide us with rather incomplete and challenging evidence. According to Smith (1996: 17), 'the problem of evidence for the history of English is at its most acute for the period up to *c*. 1250'. We do not have a comprehensive record of Anglo-Saxon writings, either by region or by period, and those that survive are necessarily the record of the language as used by a narrow social group, i.e. ecclesiastics from the upper levels of Anglo-Saxon society. In addition, as we so rarely know the identity of the writer of a work, interrogating texts using standard sociolinguistic methods is not always satisfactory; indeed, as so many writings in Old English are copies of other manuscripts, we do not even have a substantial amount of primary texts by writers.[13] Therefore our view of Old English diachronic and diatopic variation, even when compared with our knowledge of Middle English, is necessarily grainy. When confronted with an Old English text, there are many things it cannot tell us, however there are some things which it may inadvertently relay to us.

For example, while our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon scribal training is not detailed enough to allow us to know whether what we read is a representation of how an individual scribe spoke, a text which has been copied from an earlier exemplar may transmit (whether deliberately or not) linguistic information from this exemplar, which may not have any bearing on the equivalent usage of our scribe. Therefore we may be confronted with a surface text written at one point in time, in one geographical location, but in this text

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[13] Kitson (1990, 1995) has worked extensively with charter boundaries, precisely in order to overcome this problem. Okasha (1992: 333) also discusses this issue in relation to the advantages of using inscription material to get a more accurate picture of the state of Old English in the eleventh century: 'inscriptions, for example, were not copied and recopied in the way that some manuscripts were; an inscription contains an original text in a sense that is only rarely true of a manuscript'.

linguistic information may be relayed which is a relic of other times and/ or places (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 58-9). The kind of comparative approach I am advocating can help us to unravel some of these underlying geographical or chronological layers.

Throughout this study, variations between manuscripts are identified and an attempt made to account for them on grounds of scribal practice (mechanical), or topographical or diachronic variation. In his study of the *Pastoral Care*, Clement (1986: 130) categorises the manuscript variants into two groups according to whether they are more likely to be scribal, or authorial. I have not categorised the variants found in the *Bede* according to any kind of hierarchy. As we have no original translation, it is not possible to distinguish what was in this translation from what appears in the earliest texts, beyond making some broad generalisations based on the survival of certain characteristics (e.g. the probable presence of denasalisation or double vowels). While it is possible to say that some kinds of scribal behaviour evident in these manuscripts are representative of more 'deliberate' action on the part of the scribe (for example, corrections, erasures, some glosses), in many cases it is not possible to discern how conscious any given decision is. A scribe like B1 may be very consistent in his scribal output, but we cannot always tell whether such consistency is the product of conscious thought and decision, or of a training process which has been so far embedded that the output can be regarded as 'automatic'.

2.7 Preparing the Data

The final section of this chapter concerns the practicalities of turning the data contained in the four *Bede* manuscripts into a useful and useable resource for linguistic enquiry. For this study I have taken a sample corresponding to Book 3 of the *Bede* from each of the four main manuscripts (T, O, Ca and B). Each manuscript was transcribed following the principles outlined below (the transcriptions appear in Appendix 1). Following this, the four completed transcriptions were compared in detail, and each variant was logged in the table found in Appendix 3. Together, the transcriptions and the table allow for a comprehensive and exhaustive comparison of the four manuscript texts, and give easy reference to the transcriptions.

The collation of material for Appendix 3 follows a similar method to that used by Miller (1890) in compiling his edition (see the textual variants printed in his second volume). The disadvantage of Miller's layout is that he only shows where the other manuscripts vary from his main edited text, which is in some places a composite text. The reader must be aware of which manuscript Miller is following at any given point, in order to gain a proper overview of the reading in each manuscript. In addition, Miller only notes the readings which vary from his main text. For example, if his base text at a given point is T, and the reading is shared by O and Ca but not B, only the variant in B is noted. This makes it less easy to see at a glance what the majority reading is in any given case. The advantage of having the information set out in a table as in Appendix 3 is that for every variant the reader can see exactly what each manuscript reads, or whether there is a lacuna at any given point. Appendix 3 enables the reader to see the similarities between the texts, as well as the differences. It also allows for filtering and searching, which can make gathering data quicker and easier. The drawback, however, is that the table will only

show data where there is a variant reading; if all manuscripts have the same spelling for a given item at a particular point, it will not be recorded in the table. To gain full counts for an item, the search in Appendix 3 must be supplemented by a search of the transcriptions. This is not entirely straightforward, because variant spellings must be taken into account, as must instances where a word is split over two lines. However, with experience the reader becomes accustomed to the kinds of search required. The ease of gathering data has allowed an in-depth examination of the profile of each scribe who contributed to the *Bede*. Combined with the benefits of vocabulary studies, or investigations into dialectal or diachronic variation, the data from the *Bede* can then be contextualised to give a fuller picture of each scribe's behaviour.

2.7.1 Selection of the Data

The selection consists of the same section from each manuscript, because this study examines differences between them in orthography, morphology, lexis and word order. The section chosen corresponds to the whole of Book 3 of the *Bede*, and altogether contains around 66,100 graphic units.[14] The selection has been chosen on grounds of book division rather than a numerical count, for two reasons. Firstly, because of the inconsistency of word division in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, deciding what does or does not constitute a word can be problematic.[15] Anglo-Saxon scribes often divide words where we would not, and conversely run together what we would see as two separate words. Commenting on charter texts, Thompson (2010: 24) states:

> It was common practice to separate certain Old English prefixes, principally *ge-* and *be-* from the rest of the word, and also the elements of place-names and compound words were frequently divided.

We see very similar patterns in word division in the *Bede* manuscripts.[16] Sometimes this seems to be because of the space available on the folio, but this does not seem to be the only reason for the practice. For instance, prefixes are often divided from the main verb. To take O, f. 26v (Fig. 2.2) as an example, we see *wu|nian* (ll. 3-4), where the word is split to carry on in the line below; *þanewiste he* (l. 5), where several words run together (*þa ne wiste he*); and *swage sunde* (l. 8), where the prefix runs on from the previous word and is

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[14] I have followed Fairman (2007: 170) in counting graphic units rather than words, as many words are split over two lines, or have other spacing irregularities. Fairman describes graphic units as 'groups of graphs which a writer separated from other groups with two intended spaces'. He uses this method, rather than a word count, because of the tendency of his eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers to use what would be described by modern readers as irregular or non-standard spacing, as is the case with the *Bede* scribes in this study.

[15] I do not agree with Lass (2004: 28): 'As historians we do not have the right to normalise for any purpose, or to publish or use as 'materials for the history of English' the work of editors who have normalised or emended.' While it is of course necessary to work with materials that are as close to the manuscript text as possible, in the act of reading we make judgements about the sense of a text, from decisions about word-division to the identification of less than completely legible letters. In such cases, all we can do is to be aware of our editorial practices and state them clearly. In the transcriptions, I have noted any uncertainties in the readings, although I have in some instances deviated from some of the word-division practices of the scribes, for the practical reasons noted here. Compare Lapidge (1994: 54): 'now it is the editor's principal duty to establish what the author wrote; and therefore the manuscripts – in cases where they transmit nonsense, or even something deemed unworthy of the author – require to be emended'.

[16] For changing practices in word-division in Medieval England and Europe, see Saenger (1997).

divided from the rest of the verb (*swa gesunde*). In some instances, such as that of *gefe lde* (l. 5), the irregular spacing appears to be because of an erasure in the middle of a word, although this is not always the reason for such spacing irregularity. On occasion, compound words appear to be divided according to their constituent parts, as in *gemet fæst nesse* (l. 24).

An important question is, how should we treat compound words which have been separated into their constituent parts? Did Anglo-Saxon scribes or speakers of Old English perceive such compounds as being one word or two? Are we to interpret such a separation as an indication that writers thought they were writing two words?[17] For these transcriptions, I have followed Bosworth-Toller and transcribed such compounds as single words, regardless of the spacing of the manuscript text. One reason for this approach is that it can be difficult to determine what constitutes a 'space'. How big can a gap between letters be before it should be considered a 'space' between words, rather than erratic spacing between two letters in a word? Campbell (1959: §29) notes that 'word-division is inconsistent in Old English manuscripts', and that proclitics are 'frequently joined to the following word, or divided from it by a space less than that which normally divides words. On the other hand, compounds are frequently divided into their component parts.' This is exactly what we see in the manuscripts, most particularly in O, which is why word division has been normalised in accordance with entries in Bosworth-Toller, to allow for some kind of consistency and enable like-for-like comparisons to be made. The only instance where word division differs from that given in Bosworth-Toller is where words are split over two lines. In these cases, I have kept the original line breaks, as they can be useful in determining why certain scribal decisions have been taken (see section 3.3.2). Retaining line breaks is also useful in keeping similar textual proportions to the manuscript pages. This aids comparison between the transcription and the manuscript facsimiles used, and is sometimes useful in accounting for instances of eye-skip. Although keeping the original line breaks sometimes complicates searching for all instances of a particular item, I felt that the advantages noted above outweighed the inconvenience of performing a second search for divided words. Words split over two lines are entered into the comparison list (Appendix 3) in their dictionary form, rather than in their split form.

Some of the manuscripts, particularly O, show several corrections and in these cases I have taken the emended reading for the transcription. I have, however, noted the original reading in footnotes where it is legible. There are also instances where a letter has been modified, such as *on/an* in Fig. 2.2 (l. 19), where <o> has been emended to <a>. In cases such as this, a decision has to be made as to which is the final reading intended by the scribe, especially where this is not clear. Superscript additions to the text also appear, such as the *ge* on l. 14. In all such instances, the emendation has been noted in the transcription (see the conventions noted at the end of this chapter). This approach has allowed the study both of the text as it was originally written by O's scribe (where this is recoverable), and the 'finished' text, as emended, either by this scribe or another. The scratched annotations which appear in O have been added to the transcription by footnote. This is because of the practicalities of accounting for the spacing of these notes in a

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[17] Lutz (1986) notes that on the whole word-division by scribes at the ends of lines predominantly coincides with the syllable structure of the words.

transcription which already holds an abundance of textual information. In addition, it allows for a note detailing the intended reading of the annotation, as in many cases they are not whole words, but fragments which interact with the ink text around them. When the dry-point annotations are discussed in the text, the transcription examples show the additional material as superscript letters, thus:

mid þa$^{\text{ære}}$ gyfe   (f. 26v).

An edition of the scratched annotations is provided in full in Appendix 2, which accounts for the spacing of the dry-point additions in relation to the inked text.

brohte lac healdan sceolde. 7ende þa on hir borm. þahe þa torneste eode. ða forgeat he þætheon oþþe scope þ̄ geheolde. Let for̄ onhir borme . 7þu man. þaþæs æt midre nihte þahe wæccende þæs þanewirte he hwæthe gese lde caldes et hir sidan licgean. cunnode þa midhir handa. 7sohte hwæt þæt wære þagemette he hir earm 7hir hand spahale— 7þ̄ wæg 7unde spahim næfre nebyrcte ne— ðaroge don þæpe :

O nu þa reſſlea cyning orpaldrona þær þehe rice onfeng lurade 7pilnade þ̄ eall þeopeod þe he þone þæs middagr̄ þæs cyrtenangelea ran gelæpedwæðe. þæs geleafan 7crþ̄ nesse herwidorſt onfeng onriſe feohtm ell þeopona cynna. þarende he torſcotta ealdormannum 7wend ðracan betwyh þahelangre tide wrecca wær. 7fram þam hefulpiltes genyno onfeng midhir þegnum þemid hine wæron. bæd hiſ hi him birceop onfenþær lare 7þenunge an gelþeode þehe riehte þær drihten licangeleafan leornade. 7þamgenyrne onfeng fulpilte bæþes 7hi hine luſtlice tiþedon 7him birceoprendon. aidan þæs haten. micelne monþwærnesse 7an restnesse 7gem et fæstnesse mon 7he hæpde godes ellen wodnesse 7hir luſan micle. þahe þare birceop tobam cyninge com. þarealde

The second reason for choosing text selections according to book divisions is that the texts are not exact matches, in that rewordings or paraphrases are not uncommon, and in some places there are larger omissions. For instance, T is missing text at the beginning of Book 3, Chapter 1 (equivalent to 195 graphic units in B), as well as a folio between 26v and 27r, which corresponds to the beginning of Chapter 5. Miller assumed these leaves had been removed because of their illuminated letters 'as these latter defects occur only at the beginning of chapters' (1890: xiii). In addition, for Chapters 16-20 O and Ca follow a different translation to T and B, with the result that O and Ca are missing Chapters 19-20, detailing the visions of Furseus, while T and B are missing part of Chapter 17 (Campbell 1952: 382). Other smaller gaps are to be found throughout the text, and no single book will present us with identical versions of the *Bede* in this respect. Therefore, as it is impossible to take a consistent sample by using a word-count, I have used the whole of Book 3 as the basis for the study.

2.7.2 Using the Data

The nature of the study (and the data) does not lend itself to an approach whereby a corpus is interrogated to produce raw counts of features for each manuscript in isolation. The frequency of particular linguistic features of interest may not be high; rather it is their very presence which is important. Where a variant is unusual when compared with a scribe's general usage, this may be a relict form, or conversely a feature which is representative of a scribe's training, rather than belonging to the exemplar. In such cases the question I want to answer is, 'what has led this variant to be selected by the scribe, in this particular place, in this particular manuscript?' This study is designed to be a comparative one, as the focus is on how a group of related texts differ from each other, given their (perhaps distant) common antecedents. From this perspective, the presence or absence of a linguistic feature in one of the manuscript texts is meaningless without comparative data telling us whether the same feature occurs in the same place and context in any of the other manuscripts.

The first stage of this study involved the production of a transcription from each manuscript (see Appendix 1). As discussed earlier, the transcriptions are semi-diplomatic, in that while they retain the layout, orthography and punctuation of the original manuscripts, word division has been normalised in accordance with modern editorial practice. This decision is partially a matter of practicality; if linguistic forms are being compared to those found in dictionaries and databases, then it is only practical to be able to compare the same item across many different sources. Aside from the difficulty in some cases of determining the word division of the originals, this aspect of the layout is not relevant to the case study, and the inclusion of such detail would detract from the information being analysed.[19] Once the manuscripts had been transcribed and checked, a list was compiled of textual variations (see examples 1-4, Table 2.1 below, and Appendix 3). The variations noted were those of spelling, phonology, morphology, vocabulary and word-order. The sections written by O3 and B2 are in blue, while the divergent translations are underlined. Table 2.1 shows phonological variations in the first and sixth rows (*neahstan* and *weorode*), and morphological variations in the third and fifth rows (*fyrd* and *mid ealle*). *Becwom* in the fourth row demonstrates an earlier spelling of the past tense, while the past tense of the weak verb *adylgian* varies in its vowel in row seven. The

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[19] See also Hogg (1992b: 23-4) on the difficulties of determining word division in editorial practice.

final row demonstrates a rewording in B; in such cases the equivalent sections are shown alongside each other in their entirety. A separate table has been drawn up for the section of chapters 16-20 where the translation diverges. In this part of the text T and B are so different from O and Ca that no meaningful comparison is possible. What *is* possible, however, is a comparison between each of these pairs of texts, and this second table shows the variation found between T and B on the one hand, and O and Ca on the other. For each table, folio or page divisions are shown for ease of reference, both within a single text and when undertaking a comparison. One of the flaws of Miller's (1890) edition is that he only cross-references T's text with the Latin original. As a result it is difficult to isolate a particular feature and cross-reference it either to the relevant folio of T, or to the equivalent place in a different manuscript. The folio or page references noted in the tables and in the transcriptions are an attempt to overcome this shortcoming.

Variations which were not recorded in the table were those of punctuation, and <þ>/ <ð> variation, though they appear in the transcriptions. The decision was taken not to analyse these variants as the material collected for the categories noted above was already substantial, and the analysis of further categories was beyond the scope of the thesis. The information in Table 2.1 corresponds to the following manuscript selection (all variants which are recorded in the table are underlined):

1) þy
    neahstan sumera in municep þære byrig. on ungearone
    þone osric mid his fyrd becwom ꝛ hine mid ealle his
    weorode adilgade. æft(er) þon he eall ger. onwalg norþan
    hymbra mægðe æhte. (T: f. 25r)

2) þy nyhstan sumere on municep þære byrig.
    on ungearone þone osric mid his fyrd becom.
    ꝛ hine mid ealle his weorode adylegade. æfter
    þon he eall ger onwe\alh/ norþanhymbra mægþe
    ahte (O: f. 25r)

3) þẏ nẏhstan sumera on municep ðære bẏrig. on ungearone þone
    osric mid his fẏrde becom. ꝛ hine mid ealle his weorude adẏlgode.
    Æft(er) þon he eall gear onwealh norðanhẏmbra ahte. (Ca: f. 29r)

4) þy neh
    stan sumera on municep þære byrig. on ungea
    rone þone osric mid his fyrde becom. ꝛ hine mid
    eallum his werede adilgode. æfter ðon he ealne
    þone andweald norðhymbra ahte. (B: p.125)

	T		O		Ca		B
	neahstan	f. 25r	nyhstan		nyhstan		nehstan
	sumera		sumere		sumera		sumera
	in municep		on municep		on municep		on municep
	fyrd		fyrd		fyrde		fyrde
	becwom		becom		becom		becom
	mid ealle		mid ealle		mid ealle		mid eallum
	weorode		weorode		weorude		werede
	adilgade		adylegade		adylgode		adilgode
	eall ger. onwalg norþanhymbra mægðe æhte		eall ger onwe\alh/ norþanhymbra mægþe ahte		eall gear onwealh norðanhymbra ahte		ealne þone andweald norðhymbra ahte

Table 2.1: A selection from the comparison tables (Appendix 3).

In its current form, Appendix 3 can be searched via column filters, or by using the 'find' facility. The variants are noted in the column for each particular manuscript. To the left of each manuscript column is another, which notes folio number boundaries. This provides easier referencing between the appendix and the transcriptions, for the occasions when it is necessary to see a result in context. For the sections written by B2 and O3, variants are noted in bold type. There is a separate table for the section of the *Bede* where the translation diverges (chapters 16-20), and this second table presents T and B, and O and Ca alongside each other as they follow their separate translations. The advantage of presenting the material in table format is that the reader can see at a glance what each manuscript reads at a particular point. It is easy to refer to one or more transcriptions by using the guide folio numbers in the left-hand columns. In turn, this has enabled the transcriptions to be made in a semi-diplomatic fashion, retaining important features such as page layout and line or word divisions.

Variations of different types have been recorded: phonological, morphological, orthographical and syntactical. The reason for this is that variants of all types are potentially useful in looking at manuscript transmission. In addition, because scribal behaviour is the core of the study, all spelling variations are potentially useful evidence, regardless of their origin (i.e. whether they are spellings originally representative of 'phonological' variation or orthographic variants). I have therefore categorised spellings with <ę> differently from ones with <æ>, and those with <y> differently from <i>, even though theoretically these graphs could be used interchangeably, at least in some periods. I have not, however, recorded differentiations between <þ> and <ð> in the comparison tables (although I have retained the distinction in the transcriptions), because scribes, while sometimes preferring one form over the other or having a system depending on the graph's position in a word, seem to have used them fairly interchangeably in their own texts. As a pair of symbols with no phonetic distinction, they are of no use in showing phonological or dialectal variation: 'these two symbols, ð and þ, remain the usual ones for the dental spirants in Old English: the distinction between them is purely a palaeographical question' (Campbell, 1959: §58.6). The general tendency for Anglo-Saxon scribes to use <þ> initially, and <ð> medially and finally, is followed to an extent in the manuscripts considered here. Although there are some differences in the preferences

shown by each *Bede* scribe regarding the use of <þ> and <ð> initially and medially, the fact that the two symbols can be so freely exchanged tells us very little about manuscript transmission, and so I have not examined this variable other than in assessing the consistency of spelling in O's repetitions (section 3.2). I have not recorded diacritic marks or accents, as it is not always clear whether these have been added by the initial scribe or by a later hand.

I have retained <þ> and <ᛁ> where they appear in the original sources. This is because it would be impossible to say whether <þ> stands for *ðæt* or *ðet*, or whether <ᛁ> stands for *ond* or *and*, and making a choice either way has dialectal implications which would render the results unreliable. I have not distinguished between caroline and insular forms of <g>, and *wynn* always appears in the transcriptions as <w>, as *wynn* and insular <g> are used consistently by all four scribes. In transcribing the manuscripts, I have retained line division, to help account for some features such as eye-skip. Other conventions (following Brown, 1990: 6) include brackets ( ) to expand abbreviations, square brackets with dots [..] to indicate lacunae substantially larger than those present in normal word spacing, and daggers † † for uncertain or illegible readings. Superscript additions (i.e. corrections or annotations) are indicated by slashes \ /, and subscript ones by inverted slashes / \, while text which has been struck through by the scribe or corrector has a # placed either end of the deleted section. Erasures, emendations, legible earlier readings and dry-point annotations are all noted in footnotes. Examples of the transcription conventions are shown below:
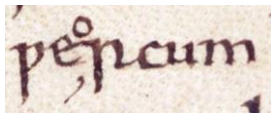
Fig. 2.2: we\o/rcum (O: f. 45v)
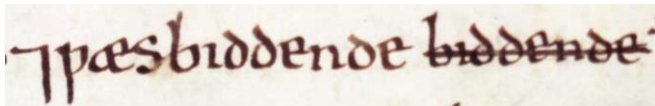
Fig. 2.3: ᛁ wæs biddende #biddende# (O: f. 25v)
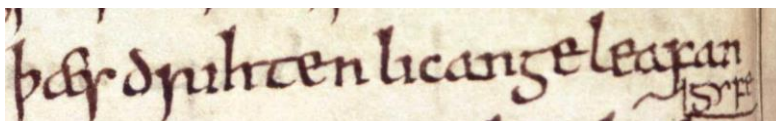
Fig. 2.4: þæs drihtenlican geleafan /gyfe\ (O: f. 26v)
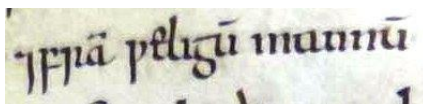
Fig. 2.5: ᛁ fra(m) weligu(m) mannu(m) (B: p.131)
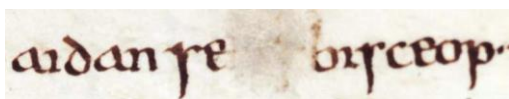
Fig. 2.6: aidan se [..] bisceop (O: f. 27v)
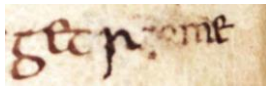
Fig. 2.7: getr†æ†me (O: f. 57v)

In the chapters which follow, various aspects of the methodology outlined here come to the fore. Chapter 3 deals with O, a manuscript which contains several textual layers, and where a close examination of the linguistic forms used by scribes O1 and O3 reveals O1 to be the creator of a *Mischsprache* text. B is the focus of Chapter 4, which uses the evidence to demonstrate that several of the unconventional readings are the result of the scribe's interaction with his exemplar, while in Chapter 5 I use the conservative-innovative continuum outlined above to explore the relationship between O and Ca, the most closely-related of the *Bede* manuscripts. The final chapter is a study of dry-point annotations which provide corrections to O, and their interaction with the main text.

Chapter 3

The Creator of a Mischsprache: The Scribe of Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B[1]

Micel yfel deð se unwritere gif he nele his woh gerihtan.[2]

Of all the manuscripts of the *Bede*, Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B (henceforth O) has been the least studied. Textually it is probably the most complex of all the *Bede* manuscripts, as it contains a wealth of emendations plus some dry-point material (see Chapter 6), in addition to the main text. O is the second-oldest of the manuscripts listed here, though it is in fact closer in date to the other eleventh-century manuscripts than to T. However, linguistically it retains more Mercian features than its eleventh-century counterparts, aligning its language more with that of T and other early fragments, such as Z. It is this tension between the retained Mercian forms and features identified as West-Saxon which makes O such a linguistically intriguing text.

This chapter consists of three main sections. The first provides an overview of the manuscript, including scholarship and editions of O, and a consideration of O's known origin and provenance. The second section examines the copying behaviour of its main scribe (here designated 'the main scribe' or 'O1'), using evidence both from the manuscript's main text, and from the frequent emendations and corrections found within its folios. These corrections consist of both conservative and innovative textual emendations, and in the case of some of the chapter initials they reveal the conflicting motivations for correction evident in O. Finally, the stint of the third scribe ('O3') is studied. This last section demonstrates what can be discovered about these two scribes from a direct comparison of their performances in Book 3. Throughout the chapter I will examine evidence for a categorisation of O's main scribe (O1) as the creator of a *Mischsprache*. Benskin and Laing (1981: 79) describe a *Mischsprache* as being created 'when copyists working from exemplars in dialects other than their own neither copy the language of their exemplar very closely, nor yet translate it consistently into their own, and maintain this treatment over the whole of their text'. Key features of *Mischsprachen* are the use of a relatively large number of functionally equivalent forms, and that the resulting language should be a 'nonce-language', which could occur in all its details only in that particular text (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 76-77). I shall be arguing in the course of this chapter that the O text, as copied by the main scribe ('O1'), fulfils these criteria.

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[1] An earlier version of part of this paper was given in August 2012 at the 17th ICEHL Conference in Zurich, and is published as Wallis (2013b).

[2] 'The careless scribe does much harm if he will not correct his errors.' Ælfric, *Preface to Grammar*: 3, ll. 24-5.

3.1 O As A Witness of the Bede

3.1.1 The Manuscript

O's editor, Schipper (1899: xii) dated the manuscript to the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, and determined that the manuscript was 'in einer schönen, deutlichen Hand, nach unserer Ueberzeugung von einem einzigen Schreiber, geschrieben'.[3] Miller (1890: xviii), on the other hand, described O as containing 'a great variety of hands', believing the hand to change more than once on some pages. Schipper thought it unlikely that scribes would break off so suddenly during words, and attributed the variation to changes of pen, but noted the inconsistency of the script (xiii). Ker (1957: 432) dates O to the first quarter of the eleventh century, and identifies three hands as responsible for the main text. Two of these hands (Ker's scribes 1 and 3 – O1 and O3 respectively) are present in Book 3 of the *Bede*. As O3's stint is so short (comprising solely a single folio sheet, f. 47r), the conclusions we can draw from a study of his contribution are inevitably less firm. The hands of the two scribes considered in this chapter differ widely: as Ker puts it, 'the chief scribe (1) wrote unevenly, and, as numerous repetitions show, carelessly', while O3 provides a single page written in 'a fine hand influenced by Anglo-Saxon square minuscule' (1957: 432).

For our purposes, the most notable feature of O1 is the number of mistakes he makes, which are corrected, either by erasure and subsequent rewriting, or by adding in any omitted text in superscript. No page in Book 3 is without at least one correction, and on some folios emendations are extensive, which gives the impression of a rather unsteady and unsure scribal performance. As Schipper (1899: xiii) noted:

> Das Manuscript ist später von einer anderen Hand wieder durchkorrigiert worden, wovon die vielen Rasuren und die in der Regel (nicht immer) von abweichender Hand übergeschriebenen Buchstaben, Silben, vereinzelt auch Wörter zeugen.[4]

Rowley states that the corrections in O 'have been made by three or more hands' (2011: 159), while Ker (1957: 432) only says that the corrections are of eleventh-century date. Miller does not commit himself to a date, only saying that 'there is no doubt from evidence of hand and colour of ink, that many are of the same date as the original writing' (1890: xix). From my own study of the manuscript, it appears that although O3 corrected his own work, determining the number of hands responsible for the corrections to O1's work is difficult. While the longer insertions of text certainly seem to belong to O1, many other corrections consist of only a few letters, and beyond attributing them to a hand very similar to (and *probably* identical with) O1, it is difficult to determine whether more than one scribe is at work here. Therefore, it is certainly possible that, if more than one hand *were* present in the corrections, this may account for the fact that some pull the text in a more conservative direction, while others are more innovative corrections. As it is, if there is more than one hand present in the corrections, these hands are not sufficiently different from that of the main scribe to ascertain this on the basis of such

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[3] '...written in a beautiful, clear hand, in our opinion by a single scribe.'

[4] 'The manuscript was later corrected by another hand, which is shown by the many erasures, and the (usually) overwritten letters, syllables and even occasionally, words.'

short scribal interventions. I have therefore opted to group these corrections together as one scribal performance, bearing in mind the above caveats.

O's version of the *Bede* is incomplete. The manuscript consists of 161 folios, corresponding to the section in Miller (1890) from page 56, line 28 (Book 1, Chapter 25), to page 462, line 4 (Book 5, Chapter 19). Thus, most of Book 1 is missing (Book 2 starts on f. 5), together with a shorter section of Book 5. Ker suggests that three quires are missing from the beginning, and one quire from the end of the manuscript. In addition, a section of the text is missing in Book 2 at f. 11v, an omission O shares with Ca, and which Ker attributes to 'a gap in the common exemplar' (Ker, 1957: 432). O's binding is not original, and other than the presence of Brian Twyne's handwriting on f. 101v and on the front pastedown (Ker, 1957: 433), there is very little internal evidence with which to pinpoint its origin or provenance (see section 3.2.1 below).

3.1.2 Editions of O
O formed (with B) the basis of Schipper's (1899) parallel edition; however other than this it has been the subject of few studies. It was collated for Miller's (1890) edition, which used T as its basis, and provided O's variant readings in its critical apparatus. It was used to supply the text of Miller's edition only when satisfactory readings were not available in T or C (1890: xxii). Since Miller's edition, much of the work on the *Bede* has dealt with questions about the Anglian nature of the original translation (Kuhn 1947; Whitelock 1962; Campbell, 1951, 1952), which has led to an identification of T as the most 'authentic' *Bede* text, at the expense of other manuscripts exhibiting fewer Mercian characteristics (Rowley, 2004: 15). Although Rowley's article chiefly discusses the neglect of B as an object of study, O has also been frequently passed over in discussion. Where it gets a mention at all, it is as a text which is not quite as Mercian – and therefore not quite as interesting or valuable – as T. For example, Campbell briefly mentions that 'in vocabulary [O] usually agrees with *T*, but its phonology is chiefly West-Saxon.' (1951: 351). Rowley (2011) uses O as part of her general study of the *Bede*, however she focuses more on the content of each of the *Bede* manuscripts, rather than the details of the linguistic forms within them. Her section on signs of use in O is brief, and does not include much linguistic analysis (2011: 159-162). Waite (2013a) studies one of the manuscript corrections in a short article, but these two works by Rowley and Waite are the only recent ones dealing with O.

Miller noted of O that 'the fine manuscript is defaced with erasures, interlineations and marginal additions' (1890, xviii). It is these erasures, interlineations and marginal additions which make O such an interesting subject for study, for here we can see the scribes at work. In several places it is possible (due to the high quality of the online manuscript facsimile of O) to discern what was originally written underneath an erasure, or before a correction was added. The fact that so little research has been undertaken on O means that its wealth of textual and linguistic material has been neglected, and a study of its contents, compared with other manuscripts of the *Bede* can tell us much about its production, and the interaction of the scribal performances involved in its production with its exemplar.

Schipper's edition of O is problematic, because it does not always accurately represent the spelling of the manuscripts he uses as the basis of his edition.[5] For example, he does not maintain the distinction between <þ> and <ð>, writing *ðyses* for O's *þyses* on l. 428, and *eorþlice* for *eorðlice* on l. 434. Other inaccuracies include the missing of doubled letters in l. 434's *gehyhte* (O *gehyhtte*), *ælmæssan* for *ælmessan* (l. 467), *æfestnesse* for *æfæstnesse* (l. 503), and *eall* for *all* (l. 438). Schipper's edition cannot, therefore, be used as a reliable source of orthographical and phonological information in O. Despite Schipper's decision to print two manuscript texts in parallel columns, he does not confine himself to the text of each manuscript; in l. 435 he adds *ðonne*, which is found in T, Ca and B, but not in O. As he prints B's text alongside O's, the decision to add a word which has been omitted from the text seems odd, given that we have another full text to supplement our reading. Inconsistencies also appear in the footnotes; *tobræce* is noted as 'ursprünglich *tobrece* in O'[6] (210, fn. 21b), but in fact is written *tobręce* in O:
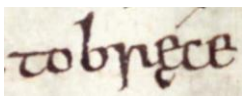
Fig. 3.1: f. 29v.

While it is possible that the hook of the *e*-caudata is a later addition, the colour of the ink suggests that the scribe may well have originally written <ę>. Schipper's decision to print the word with <æ> rather than <ę>, however, makes the edition an unreliable record of the orthographic evidence. His provision of chapter titles throughout his text is also misleading. Their position at the beginning of each chapter is at odds with their position in the manuscripts which contain them. Schipper supplies titles at the beginning of each chapter (where a title exists), yet O has no chapter headings at all, as the beginning of the manuscript is missing and none appear in the main text at the beginning of chapters. It is Ca's chapter headings which are supplied at the beginning of each chapter in Schipper's edition, although in Ca the chapter titles are positioned at the beginning of that manuscript. Schipper presents us with a text taken largely from O, but which inserts throughout the text a framework of chapter titles taken from another manuscript. In addition, the chapters of the *Bede* do not match the chapter divisions of the Latin text, because the original translator edited the Latin, removing and reordering a number of chapters. This is confusing for a modern reader of the edited text, because Schipper, like Miller, has chosen to number his chapters according to the Latin text. This means that the Old English chapter numbers do not match those of the chapter divisions in Schipper's text (for example, 'Chapter 6' is a translation of the Latin Chapter 6, yet it takes its heading from the description of 'Chapter 3' in the Old English contents list).

Schipper's edition does have some advantages over Miller's, however. He gives the equivalent Latin text at the bottom of each page, and provides notes matching the relevant manuscript folio number with his printed text, something which Miller fails to do and which greatly hampers the use of that edition as a key to any of the manuscript texts. Given that the *Bede* does not follow faithfully the order and content of the Latin

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[5] The following assessment is based on a comparison of Schipper's edition with the digital facsimile of O, taking a randomly selected excerpt – in this case Book 3, Chapter 6 (pages 208-211 in Schipper's edition) – as a test section.

[6] 'Originally *tobrece* in O.'

chapters, the fact that Miller's edition only keys the Old English text into the Latin original makes his edition harder to use alongside the Old English versions. Presumably he anticipated that readers would only want to compare the Old English version with the Latin, rather than using it to compare with other manuscript versions of the Old English text. In addition, he conflates the text in chapters 16-20, not showing clearly which part of the text belongs to which group of manuscripts. Miller's implication is that there is a text of '*The* Old English *Bede*', when in fact it is unlikely that a manuscript text with both sets of translation for chapters 16-20 ever existed (Whitelock, 1974: 264). Miller's edition provides an accurate text, with an entire second volume of variant readings from O, Ca, B, C and Z manuscripts, where available. This does make for a quick and easy reference to variant readings, but Miller's creation of a composite text from different manuscripts, owing to the lacunae in T, means that it is not always easy to see straight away which manuscript is being followed. The excellent facsimile of O now available through the *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University* website is a great help in studying O as the original text is clearly legible, including, in some places, erased letters.

3.1.3 History of O

There is no direct evidence for the origin or provenance of O, and the earliest date at which the manuscript can be located is in the sixteenth century, with the entry of the name of the antiquary Brian Twyne (1581-1644) on the front pastedown, together with a word in his hand on f. 101v (Ker 1957: 433). The fact that it was probably owned by Twyne gives us some clues as to its possible origin. Brian Twyne's grandfather, John, was a collector of manuscripts during the sixteenth century, and Watson (1986) gives a list of thirty-nine manuscripts which can be identified (with varying degrees of certainty) as having belonged to him. Many of these manuscripts can be identified with John Twyne due to the presence of notes or *ex libris* inscriptions, some of which appear in his own hand, while others can be identified through catalogue lists compiled by contemporary antiquarians such as John Joscelyn (1529-1603) and John Dee (1527-1609). He gave some of his manuscripts to his sons John and Thomas (Brian's father), and in nine cases inscriptions appear in the manuscripts themselves recording the gift. Of the thirteen manuscripts associated in one way or another with Brian's father, Thomas Twyne, ten were donated by him to the Bodleian Library in 1612.

What is also of note is that the thirty manuscripts so far identified with John Twyne for which we can identify a provenance all come from Kent or Surrey. John Twyne lived for most of his life in Canterbury, and according to Watson (1986: 135-7) the libraries of Christ Church and St Augustine's seem to have remained intact for some time after the Dissolution, as antiquarians such as Joscelyn mention having seen manuscripts in these libraries in the 1560s. Three manuscripts are listed by Watson as having come from Twyne's collection to Corpus Christi College in Oxford: Corpus Christi College 256, a copy of William of Glastonbury's *Chronicon*, Corpus Christi College 265, a rental of Lessness Abbey, Kent, and Corpus Christi College 279, a Latin copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, whose provenance is unknown. This last manuscript is particularly interesting for our purposes, as it was at one time bound with an Old English version, our O manuscript. These three manuscripts all have in common a link with either Thomas or Brian Twyne, some containing handwritten notes by either father or son.

We have seen, then, that some manuscripts from John Twyne's collection found their way into the possession of his son, Thomas, and that Thomas's son Brian also made use of some of these volumes, as his handwriting appears there. We also know that O was at one time ('probably' in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, according to Ker (1957: 433)) bound with the Latin *Historia Ecclesiastica* which came from John Twyne's collection, and was given to the college by Brian Twyne. In addition, Brian Twyne is identified as the author of a word on f. 101v of O (Ker, 1957: 433). There is a possibility that O once belonged to John Twyne; the subject matter is in keeping with that of other manuscripts in his possession, as seventeen of the thirty-nine volumes identified by Watson deal with history, and Watson himself states that 'it is likely that extensive searching would add a good many' manuscripts to those we can identify as having belonged to John Twyne (1986: 143). A note of caution should be raised, however, as Thomas 'was a collector on his own account and his other manuscripts were not necessarily inherited' (Watson 1986: 145). Therefore any link between O and Thomas or Brian Twyne need not necessarily take us back to John Twyne's collection.

If our speculations lead us in the right direction in considering a link between O and John Twyne, we may further speculate, given the Kentish provenance of his collection, as to whether O might also have a Kentish provenance. Unfortunately, with five hundred years to account for between the writing of O and the life of Brian Twyne, we are unlikely to find a definitive answer on this count, and we have no way of knowing whether any Kentish provenance is indicative of a Kentish scribal origin (section 2.1).

3.1.4 Scribal Performances in O

Within O we can identify several scribal performances. I use the term 'scribal performance' here to describe, not the contribution of different scribes to the manuscript as a whole, but the contribution of one or more scribes to different *layers* of the text, each layer being defined by its particular purpose. Thus, the main body text of the *Bede* counts as a separate scribal performance from the corrections, which in turn are separated from the addition of the red initials at the beginning of chapters, and from the dry-point annotations. The rationale for this differentiation is that the individual responsible for each of these tasks (whether the same scribe or a series of different ones) had a different motivation for his behaviour, and in interacting with the text before him exhibits a different approach to his task. For example, a scribe may pay more attention to the form or spelling of words when acting as corrector than he does when working as a copyist (Cohen-Mushlin, 2010; 63). Therefore the question of whether it is the same or a different scribe who performs these two tasks is sometimes less important to us, as the tasks serve a different function, and we can expect different scribal behaviour and different priorities to be exhibited in each performance.

Because we do not know O's origin or provenance, it is not possible to link its linguistic evidence with a geographical scribal origin. Therefore, I have used a linguistic comparison of O with other surviving *Bede* manuscripts as a way of accessing the layers of different scribal behaviour and understanding their motivation. In the sections which follow I examine scribal performances by four different 'writers', each of whom adds a new layer to the text we see today; the two main scribes (O1 and O3), who have clearly distinguishable stints and are responsible for copying the majority of the text of the *Bede* into O; the corrector, who added omitted text, struck through repetitions and erased mistakes made

by the main scribe; and the scribe responsible for the capital initials, which were added in red ink to mark the beginning of chapters. In the following sections we examine the different layers of O's text, in relation to its first scribe, O1. After first considering examples of dittography, we shall examine the corrector's textual emendations, focusing particularly on his treatment of pronouns. Following this is an assessment of the innovative textual corrections, and a study of the treatment of the chapter initials which exemplifies the conservative and innovative corrections at work.

3.2 The Inconsistent Copyist

As we have seen, the identity of O's main scribe is unknown. One thing we *can* tell about him, however, is that he did not always copy exactly what he saw in front of him in his exemplar. In the course of Book 3 the scribe repeats text through dittography thirteen times, and these repetitions have been struck through with a red or black line. The repetitions vary in length from single words to phrases, the longest being nine words long. Because these examples demonstrate the scribe copying out something twice, they can be used to assess the consistency of his scribal output, and in the examples below we can see the kind of variations which occur in the repetitions (Laing, 2004). The following repetitions appear on folios 50r and 38v respectively:

1) #swa swiðe# swa swiþe swa þa niwan cristenan

2) #þæt he for# þ he for þam ecan rice

The first example shows orthographic variation whereby <ð> alternates with <þ> in the word *swiðe*, whereas in the second, *þæt* varies with <þ>. In both these cases, each variant is an equally valid orthographical alternative (that is, <ð> and <þ> regularly interchange in scribal usage, as do <þæt> and <þ>, as orthographic variants for the same sound or word). It is perhaps not surprising that the scribe chose a different graph each time he wrote the relevant word, though it is interesting that he does not write exactly the same letter sequence each time. In the third example, from f. 28v, <æ> varies with West-Saxon <a> in *þam*; 'þām for þǣm is W-S and rare Kt., not Angl.' (Campbell, 1959: §708):

3) þæm #þam#

This instance is interesting, as the *þæm* spelling occurs before the West-Saxon *þam*, suggesting that the scribe may initially have copied accurately the <æ> spelling before adding his usual *þam*. *þæm* is the spelling which occurs in the majority of instances of the earliest (T and Z) manuscripts of the *Bede*, whereas O1 only uses this form three times in Book 3 (see section 3.6.2).

The longest repetition is found on f. 56v and is particularly revealing, as it contains five variations in its nine words:

4) #þis ylce
   wite eac swylce hibernia scotta ealand g(e)lice#
   þis ilce wite eac swilce hibernia scotta ea
   londe gelice wæle slogh ꝫ cwylmde
   'This same plague also struck and destroyed the island of Ireland with slaughter.'
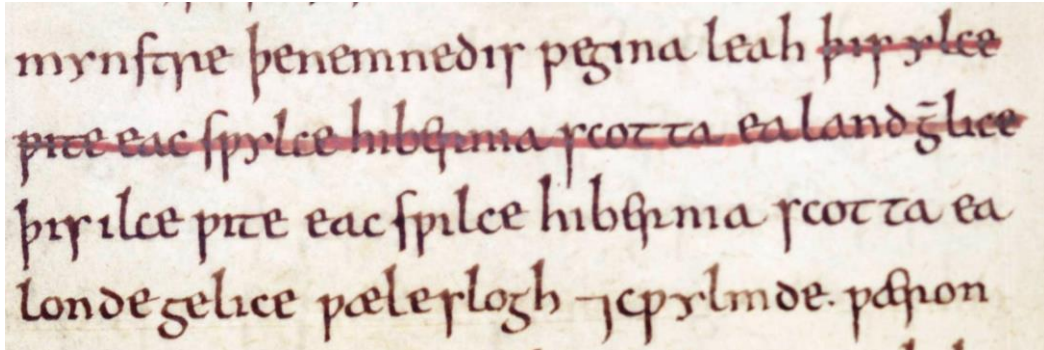
Fig. 3.2: Repetition of text, f. 56v.

In this short passage the scribe twice substitutes <i> for <y>, in *ylce/ ilce* and *swylce/ swilce*, and varies between <o> and <a> before a nasal in *ealonde/ ealand*. Both of these features vary in the manuscript as a whole; out of fifteen instances of *ealand/ ealond* in O, three have an <o> spelling, while <i> spellings account for three out of forty-five instances of *ilce* and twelve of the forty-nine instances of *swilce*. In addition, the scribe has supplied a dative <e> ending to *ealonde* the second time he writes the word, while *gelice* is abbreviated the first time it is written, possibly because of its position at the end of the writing line. What these repetitions show us is that the orthographical variation we see in O is at least in part due to the inconsistency of the scribe in copying his text; if he copied the same word twice and varied the spelling, then we can be sure that at least one of the variant spellings differs from that of the exemplar. His performance is therefore an unreliable guide to the spelling of his exemplar.

What is also evident from O is that it was important to the producers of the manuscript that it contained the text that was in the exemplar. We can tell this in part because trouble was taken to proof-read the manuscript and delete parts the main scribe had repeated. The main scribe also inserted parts of text that he had omitted, as is the case in these next two examples. In example 5, the missing text is added to the right-hand margin:

5) hæfdon. and þa betwe\o/h oþer spræcon hi \be/ oswalde.
   cwæð hio seo abbuddisse þ hio ꞉· seo cwen þ of þære
   moldan þæs flores on þam þ wæter his ban aþwea
   les goten wæs monige untrume men gehælede

   | ꞉·gesege þære |
   | niht þ leoht |
   | ofer his banu(m) |
   | up oþ heofon |
   | heh. cwæþ heo |

   'And then among other things they spoke of Oswald. The abbess said (that that night she had seen the light above his bones going up into the sky. The queen said) that many men had been healed from soil, from the ground where the water had been thrown after it had washed his bones.'
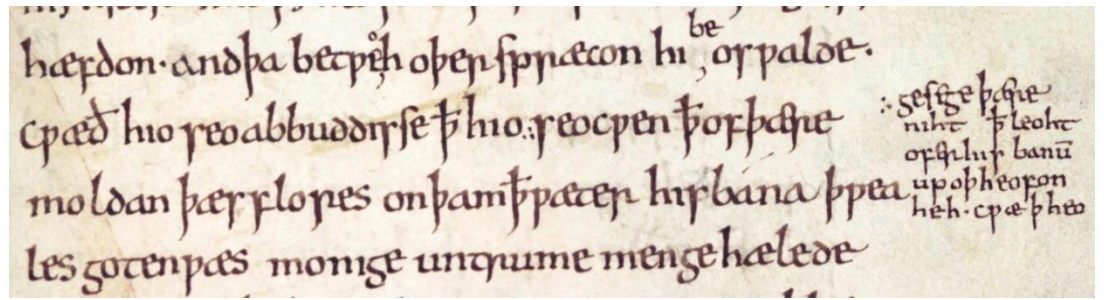
Fig. 3.3: f. 37r. Omitted text added in right-hand margin.

In example 6, the omission is made good by adding text in superscript between the lines:

6) ꝺ he þa willsumlice hine geþeodde to þa(m) cyninge

\ꝺ hine godcunde lare lærde. þa he þa se/
cyning his gelærednesse ꝺ his geornfulnesse
geseah.   (f. 31r)
'And then he gladly joined the (king and taught him holy learning. Then when the)
king saw his learning and eagerness...'
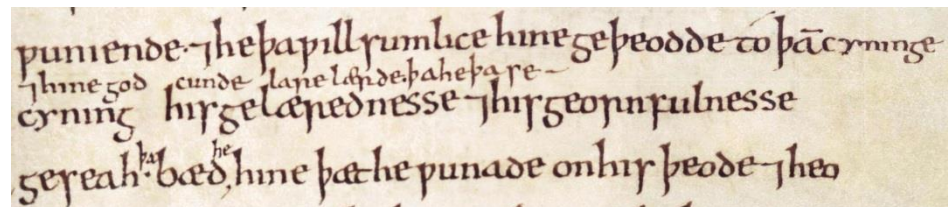
Fig 3.4: Insertion of omitted text, f. 31r.

Examples 5 and 6 are two of the many instances in O where the scribe has omitted text through eye-skip. In the first example, the scribe has been led astray by the repetition in his exemplar of *hio*. What is interesting about this example is that *hio* is not O1's usual form of the pronoun (see below, section 3.4.5), yet it appears twice in this short section. Although when it appears in at the end of the omitted text its spelling is *heo*, we may speculate whether the exemplar read *hio*, causing the text to be skipped. In the second example his eye-skip is triggered by the word *cyninge*, which was omitted in the first copying, and subsequently added along with the rest of the next line.[7] Usually the missing text is inserted between the lines, as in example 6, but when the amount of missing text is substantial, it can also appear in the upper or outer margins of folios, as we see in Fig. 3.3.

These repetitions may be able to tell us something about the unit of copy for O1. As he sometimes repeats only one word, and his eyeskips are sometimes triggered by apparently short sequences of letters, this would suggest that the unit of copy is quite small, perhaps

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[7] Errors such as this one involving eye-skip may also tell us something about O's exemplar. In this example, the inserted text runs from *cyninge* at the end of the first line. This suggests, given the position of the second *cyning,* that both were at the beginning of their lines, and that the exemplar was of a similar layout to O. It is interesting to note that three of the four manuscripts studied here have relatively short lines, and other examples of eye-skip (section 4.3) suggest that B also kept roughly the same proportions as its exemplar.

the size of a word or smaller. It seems, however, that he is probably not a letter-by-letter copyist, as for this type of copyist, Benskin and Laing (1981: 96) state:

> The unit of copy is smaller than the word, and even at the level of individual word-spellings, systematic translation is not achieved [...] Self-evidently, a letter-by-letter copyist will reproduce the lexis of his exemplar, unless he assesses each word individually in advance of copying it.

We have seen that O1 does not always reproduce the spellings of his exemplar, as demonstrated by the cases of repetition, and he would therefore seem, according to Benskin and Laing, not to be a letter-by-letter copyist. We might suggest, therefore, that his unit of copy is (at least some of the time) larger than a single letter. This section also demonstrates that O fulfils one of Benskin and Laing's (1981) criteria for a *Mischsprache* – that the scribe neither copies his exemplar closely nor imposes his own written norms consistently. We have seen evidence of O1's inconsistency in his copying. The very fact of his inconsistency means that he cannot be copying his exemplar consistently each time, nor (unless he routinely writes a very wide range of spellings for the various items covered) following rigorously his own habitual scribal patterns. It is also worth noting that the repetitions span the whole of Book 3, and we can therefore start to build the case that O1's treatment of his exemplar is maintained through the whole of his scribal stint, which is another important condition for *Mischsprachen*. In this respect, then, O1's performance appears to fit one of the main *Mischsprache* criteria (using a wide variety of functionally equivalent forms), and hint at its compliance with a second (maintaining this treatment over the whole of the work).

3.3 'Conservative' Textual Emendations: Pronouns

O's main text is subject to frequent correction in the form of erasure, superscript addition, or the emendation of one letter form to resemble another. What is notable, however, is that the corrections do not aim to do the same thing. Rowley is correct in stating that 'there seems to be no clear pattern of modernization' in these textual alterations (2011: 159), however this does not mean that no rationale is discernible when we examine these emendations. While some of the changes seem to update the language of the exemplar, a number of them change the text to a reading that is (in the context of the *Bede*) more 'conservative', i.e. either a more Mercian reading, or one which preserves an older form. It is most likely that this latter group represents interventions made with the aim of bringing the newly copied text into line with the exemplar. Two types of emendation are considered in this group: pronouns, and orthographical variations which have a phonological basis (see section 2.5).

3.3.1 Pronouns (*mec* and *ðec*)
There are several examples in O of first and second person singular pronouns where O1 seems originally to have written the West-Saxon form. After the main text was written, some of these West-Saxon pronouns have been altered to Mercian ones:

7) Ne tweoge ic þonne **me\c/** oht

   æfter þæs lichoman deað hraðe g\e/læd\ed/ beon to þæ(m)

   ecan deaðe minre sawle.   (f. 39v)

   'I do not at all doubt that after the death of the body I will immediately be brought to the eternal death of my soul.'
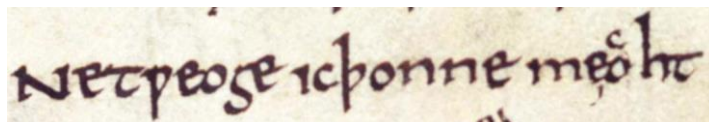
Fig. 3.5: *me\c/*, f. 39v.

In example 7 the West-Saxon form of the accusative, first person singular pronoun, *me*, has been emended to the Anglian *mec* by the addition of a superscript <c> (Campbell, 1959: §702). However, *mec* does not commonly occur in O; of the corresponding four instances of *mec* recorded by T manuscript in Book 3, only this one occurs in O in a Mercian form, and the fact that it appears here only because of a correction suggests that it was not the scribe's preferred usage. If *mec* was not O1's preferred form of the accusative pronoun, it is probable that this spelling represents the form found in O's exemplar.

Similarly, the accusative, second person singular pronoun occurs infrequently in O in its Mercian form. T contains four occurrences of *þec*, three of which are shared by O. However, on f. 40r O also contains one occurrence which is not found in the corresponding section of T:

8) bidde ic **þe\c/** la gif

   ænig his reliquias hæbbe mi\d/ þec þ ðu me sylle.

   'I ask you, if you have any of his relics with you, that you can give to me.'
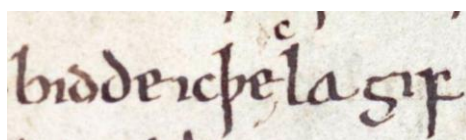
Fig 3.6: *þe\c/*, f. 40r.

What is interesting in example 8 is not only that the Mercian form appears, but that the scribe originally wrote the West-Saxon *þe*, and later added a superscript <c>, again, presumably to match the text with its exemplar. A less clear example occurs on f. 51r, where the <c> has been written over an erasure:

9) þu ne woldest **þec** ahabban fram þam

   huse þysses forlorenan mannes ꝛ þæs genyþeredan.

   'You did not wish to keep yourself away from the house of this lost and condemned man.'
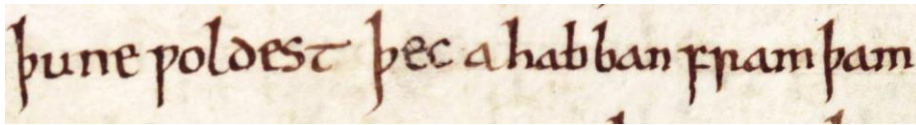
Fig 3.7: *þec*, f. 51r.

As it is not possible to see what was originally written under the <ec> in example 9, we cannot tell what *þec* has been emended from. T also reads *þec* in this position, and so it would appear that *þec* also appeared in O's exemplar. However, it is notable that two of the four occurrences of *þec* in O involve a correction of some sort. This suggests that the scribe did not routinely use this pronoun.

3.3.2 Pronouns (*ussa*)

The notion of a tension between the pronoun forms O's main scribe was used to writing and those used in the exemplar, gains further weight when we consider the scribal behaviour evident in first person plural pronouns. We see variation in O between *ura* and *ussa*, which can be categorised as West-Saxon and Mercian, respectively.[8] In examples 10 and 11 (from f. 38v and f. 28r respectively), the Mercian form *ussa* is used, rather than the West-Saxon *ura* (Campbell, 1959; §702):

10) dryhten god mi\l/dsa þu saulum **u\s/sa** leoda cwæð
    se halga oswald.
    ' "Lord God, have mercy on the souls of our people" said the holy Oswald.'
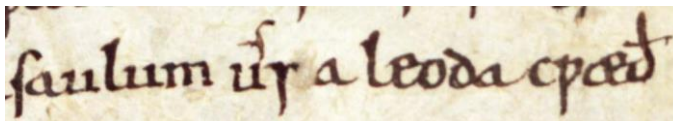
Fig 3.8: *ussa*, f. 38v.

11) ⁊ swa swiðe his lif tosced
    fra(m) **ussa** tida as\w/undennesse.
    'And keenly distanced his life from the idleness of our times.'
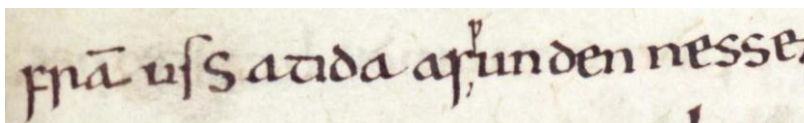
Fig 3.9: *fra(m) ussa*, f. 28r.

In each case, it appears that *ussa* is not what O1 originally wrote. In example 10, the first <s> appears as a superscript addition, while the second is clearly emended from an <r>, showing that the scribe initially wrote the West-Saxon form *ura*. In contrast, in example 11, the sequence <uss> is written over an erasure, which extends from just after the <a> with a suspension bar in *fra(m)*. Although the lettering under the correction is not visible, there is some evidence to suggest that again the original word here was the West-Saxon *ura*. Firstly, an original reading of *ura* would enable the scribe to preserve the final <a>

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[8] Campbell (1959: §702) notes that both the Vespasian Psalter and the Mercian part of the Rushworth Glosses use *ur* or *ure*, rather than *user* which he attributes to Northumbrian. Ross (1933) gives an overview of the development of accusative and dative pronouns as they appear in Northumbrian texts.

for use in the corrected *ussa* reading, as has happened here. Secondly, although in correcting the text to *ussa* the scribe has had to find the space for an extra letter, it is probable that that this has been achieved by the deletion of the <m> from *fram* and the addition of a suspension mark. Despite our inability to read the original lettering here, there are two reasons to suppose this hypothesis correct; the erasure clearly extends back as far as the <a> at the end of *frā*, and more importantly, the scribe's usage supports this supposition. Usually, O1 writes out words with a final <n> or <m> in full, and in the course of Book 3 he abbreviates *fram* with a suspension mark only four times. Apart from the example quoted above, in two instances of abbreviation *fra(m)* occurs at the end of the writing line, and in the third, it is the penultimate word, in the sequence *frā þā*. We can clearly see that O1 uses abbreviation only as a space-saving device, and that the instance of *frā* above, occurring at the beginning of the line, on the first line of the page, has none of these spacing considerations, other than the erasure immediately after it.[9] It seems, then, that we have reasonable grounds for believing that both instances above show an originally West-Saxon form of the pronoun, which has been altered to a Mercian one.

It seems that *ussa* was a feature of O's exemplar, given that it appears in T twice, once in the same position as *u\s/sa* on f. 38v of O.[10] Ca reads *ussa* in both places where O has this form of the pronoun. Table 3.1 shows the different forms of the possessive pronoun across all four manuscripts. What is notable is that, although O1 has emended *ura* to *ussa* twice, the corrector never corrects any other first person plural pronoun in Book 3 to a Mercian form (assuming such Mercian forms were part of his exemplar). As we can see from the first column, T exhibits Mercian pronouns across several genders and cases:

	T	O	Ca	B
usse	3			
ussa	**2**	**2**	**2**	
ussum	1			
usser	1			
usses	1			
ure		5	4	5
ura				3
urum		1	1	
ures				1

Table 3.1: possessive adjectives, first person plural. West-Saxon forms are in italics.

3.3.3 Pronouns (*eowic*)

We also see a distinction between O and the other manuscripts in its retention of two examples of Mercian *eowic* (Campbell, 1959: §702), where the other manuscripts read *eow*. Both examples occur on f. 43v:

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[9] The main scribe's usage can be compared with that of Ca's scribe, who routinely abbreviates words ending in <m>, regardless of their position in the line.

[10] In the other two instances of *ussa*, the comparable text is not available in both manuscripts. F. 44v of T is part of the divergent translation of Chapters 16-20, and therefore O does not have a translation for this part of the Latin text. The text in T corresponding to O's f. 28r is missing at the beginning of Chapter 5.

12) ic wat [..] sona

þæs þe ge on scyp astigað þ ofer **eowic** cymeð micel
storm ͻ hre\o/nes. ͻ widerweard wind astigeð ac ge
myne þu þ þu þisne ele þe ic þe nu sylle send on þa
sæ. ͻ sona instæpe þa windas gestillað ͻ þæs
sæs smyltnes [..] æfterfylgeþ. ͻ **eowic** bliðe on
eowerne willsið ham for[..]læteð.   (f. 43v)
'I know that as soon as you climb aboard the ship, a great storm and rough sea will
come upon you, and a high wind will get up. But remember to pour this oil that I
give you now onto the sea, and immediately the wind will drop and a smooth sea will
follow, and will send **you** happily home.'
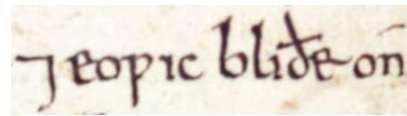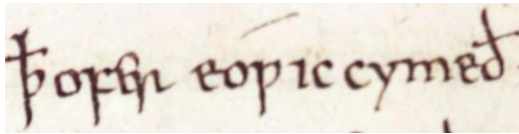
Figs. 3.10 and 3.11: *eowic*, f. 43v.

As the form *eowic* only occurs in O, we may question whether it was ever a feature of the
original translation. However there is indirect evidence that it was originally more
widespread in the *Bede*. In the second example above, the equivalent text in T reads *eow
eac*, suggesting that T's scribe (or the scribe of its exemplar) has misunderstood an
original *eowic* and tried to replace the accusative ending with *eac*, meaning *also, likewise,
moreover, and* (Bosworth-Toller). As adding *eac* does not alter substantially the meaning
of the phrase, such a substitution is perhaps understandable, if the scribe is faced with an
unknown <ic> at the end of an otherwise comprehensible pronoun:

13) ac gemyne þu þæt þu þisne.

ele. þe ic þe nu sylle. synd in þa sæ. ͻ sona instæpe se wind
gestilleð. ͻ sæs smyltnes æft(er)fylgeð ͻ **eow eac** bliðe on eower
ne wilsið ham forlætað.   (T, f. 40v)
'But remember to pour this oil that I give you now into the sea, and immediately the
wind will drop and the sea will become smooth, and will send **you also** happily home.'

Interestingly, example 13 is not the only place we find *eow eac* in the Old English corpus.
A search of the *DOEC* reveals eight instances of *eow eac*, five of them in the *Bede*. Of
these five instances, one is that in example 13) above, where the pronoun is clearly in the
accusative. Of the others, one is from Book 1 (Miller 1890: 60.12),[11] two are from Book
2 (100.26 and 102.2), and one is from Book 4 (276.23). All these examples come from
the section written by the first scribe (T1), who is also reponsible for Book 3 (Miller,
1890: xiii; Ker, 1957: 428). In the example from Book 1 O1 writes *eowic*, and in Book 2
he writes *eow\ic/*, with superscript <ic>. Therefore we can see that in three places in the
Bede as a whole, T1 writes *eow eac* where O has *eowic*. This suggests firstly, that T1 (or
his exemplar) sometimes substituted *eac* for accusative pronouns ending in <ic>, and
secondly, that not only was O's exemplar relatively conservative in its treatment of this
feature, but O1 also retained it.

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[11] References to Miller are by page and line number.

In the other two examples of *eow eac* from the *Bede*, that from Book 2 (Miller, 1890: 100.26) O reads *eow ða* (as does Ca), where T has *eow eac* and B reads *eow*, whereas in Book 4, T's 'ic biddo eow eac' is rendered by O and Ca 'bidde eow ða'. Not only has any <ic> ending been dropped (if indeed it appeared in the exemplar), and replaced by *ða*, the sentence has been rephrased, so that *eow* is now the subject of *bidde*, not its object (note the absence of *ic* in O and Ca).

3.3.4 Pronouns (*usic*)

A similar pattern to that discerned for *eowic* emerges when we consider the O1's retention of *usic*, the Mercian accusative, first person plural pronoun. It only occurs once in Book 3 in O, and in a situation parallel to that of *eowic* above, T reads *us eac*:

14) utan ealle bigan ure \cneowu/ ꝼ gemænelice biddan
    þone ælmihtigan god \ꝼ/ þone lifiendan ꝼ þone soþan
    þ he **usic** from þæm oferhydigan feonde ꝼ þæm re
    þan mid his mildsunge gescylde. (f. 25v)

15) uton.
    ealle began. usser cneo ꝼ gemænelice biddan. þone ælmih
    tigan god. þone lifiendan ꝼ þone soðan. þæt he **us eac** from
    þæm oferhygdigan feonde. ꝼ þæm reðan mid his milt
    sunge gescyldan. (T, f. 25v)
    'Let us all bend our knee and pray together to the living and true almighty God, that he protect **us (also)** from the proud and cruel enemy with his mercy.'
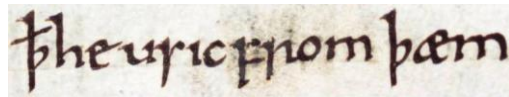
Fig. 3.12: *usic*.

The *DOEC* lists eight instances of *us eac* in the *Bede* (taking T as its source), and in five of these (including the example from Book 3 above), the equivalent reading in O is *usic*. This bears out our conjectures above, that T1 replaces at least some examples of *usic* with *us eac*, in just the same way as he treats *eowic*.[12] Again, we are able to see how O's scribe transmits some (but not all) of these forms, and this is in line with what we know from other features about his methods of copying and his intermittent accuracy. On a note of caution though, we should remember that the Vespasian Psalter uses *mec, ðec, usic* and *eowic*, 'beside the shorter forms', and that use of the <c> variants is only described as 'frequent' in the Rushworth Glosses (Campbell, 1959: §702), showing that mixed usage in these pronoun forms is not uncommon in other Anglian texts. That some of these shorter forms might sometimes be substituted for longer ones is not unexpected, as it also occurs in poetic texts: 'in verse, the metre sometimes reveals that a WS monosyllabic form has been substituted for an Angl or poetic disyllabic acc. form in *-ċ* or *−t*' (Hogg and Fulk, 2011: §5.26).

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[12] A preliminary check suggests that the distribution of *usic* versus *us eac* in T may be dependent on the scribe responsible for that particular part of the text; while scribe T1 (whose stint covers all of Book 3) prefers *us eac*, *usic* appears only in parts of the manuscript ascribed by Ker (1957: 429, following Miller, 1890: xiii-xiv) to scribe 2. *Eow eac* also occurs only in T1's stint.

3.3.5 Pronouns (*hio(ra)*)

O is also unique in the four manuscripts examined in its use of *hiora* for the genitive plural, third person singular pronoun. As we can see from Table 3.2, O1 writes *hiora* just over half of the time, in twenty-six instances out of forty-six, whereas the scribes of the other manuscripts nearly always use *heora*, and never *hiora*. Campbell (1959: §703) states that *hiora* is to be found in early-West-Saxon, Northumbrian and Kentish, and its frequent use in early-West-Saxon is shown by the *DOEC*, which gives numerous examples for 'Alfredian' prose texts such as the *Pastoral Care, Orosius*, and *Boethius*.

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
hiora (= 3pp)		25			
heora (= 3psf)	3				
heora (= 3pp)	48	20	49	47	4
hire (= 3psf)	34	10	33	1	
hyre (= 3psf)		26	3	34	
hyra (= 3pp)		2*	2	6	
hyræ (= 3psf)				1	

Table 3.2: genitive plural pronouns and genitive singular feminine pronouns.
*Form only occurs on f. 47r, executed by scribe O3.

Table 3.2 shows us that, as in many other respects, O shows the greatest variety in the form of pronouns. However, the distribution is not as straightforward as the figures above might at first glance suggest. While *heora* appears throughout Book 3, in the stints of both O1 and O3, *hiora* does not occur after f. 55r. O3 never uses *hiora*, but is responsible for the only two instances of *hyra*, which appear on f. 47r (see section 3.6.1). In contrast, T and B2 only use *heora*, while Ca and B1 also use a few examples of the late-West-Saxon *hyra* (Campbell 1959: §703). While O1 seems, as usual, to tolerate a wide variety of forms, we can in fact see that he is rather strict in retaining only *heora/ hiora* for the third person plural, and *hire/ hyre* for the feminine, third person singular. O1 does not use *hyra* for the plural, perhaps because of the risk of confusion with *hyre/ hire*. We can contrast this careful usage with that of T, who uses *heora* both for the third person plural and for the feminine third person singular. As O1 is the only scribe to use *hiora*, we may speculate whether *hiora* is one of his own preferred forms, rather than being a relict form from the exemplar.[13]

The confusion of forms hinted at in the selection above is also evident in third person, singular pronouns, as summarised in Table 3.3:

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[13] <Hiora> does not appear in scribe O2's stints in Books 1 and 2. However, his stints are short and a closer inspection reveals no third person plural pronouns in any of his contributions (which total 25 lines according to Ker (1957: 353). A check of O2's sections of Books 4 and 5 would confirm whether *hiora* is indeed a quirk of O1's spelling or a relict from the exemplar. <Hiora> does, however, occur once in Z (Zupitza, 1886: 186); <heora> does not appear.

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
heo (= pl)	138		2	1	
hi (= pl)	1	120	149	145	23
hie (= pl)	1	32			
hy (= pl)	9				
hiæ (= pl)	1				
hig (= pl)			2		
he (= pl)				2	
hio (= f. sg)		31			
heo (= f.sg)	51	13	45	42	1
hi (= f. sg)		6	10	5	
hie (= f. sg)		2			
hi (= m. sg)	1	2	5	3	
he (= m. sg)	522	407	497	479	55

Table 3.3: Third person singular and plural pronouns.

According to Hogg and Fulk (§5.17: p 198), 'in all dialects there is variation between nom.acc.pl *hī* [...] and *hēo*', which is indeed what we see here. Although each scribe appears to have a preferred form, we still see variation in the pronouns used. T's scribe is alone in preferring *heo* as the plural form, despite the fact that it is identical to his usual form for the feminine singular; he obviously did not feel that his usage was likely to cause any confusion as he so rarely chooses a different form, and when he does, it usually only appears once. The exception is the (usually late) West-Saxon *hy*, which occurs nine times. On the whole, the other scribes maintain the distinction between *heo* (feminine, singular), and *hi* or *hie* (plural), though there are examples of *heo* being used for the plural, and *hi(e)* being used for the singular, both masculine and feminine. As far as O1 is concerned, he is careful to reserve *heo/ hio* for the feminine singular, although he uses *hi* and *hie* occasionally for the masculine and feminine singular, as well as for the usual third person plural. Most notable in terms of evidence for the creation of a *Mischsprache* is O1's sheer variety of forms; he clearly uses a wider spread of forms than the other scribes in Book 3.

What is interesting is that, just as the pronouns surveyed in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 show some degree of alteration in O, there are also several instances of correction among third person singular and plural pronouns:

he > hi (= pl)	5
hio > hi (= pl)	1
he > hi (= m. sg)	1
hi > he (= m. sg)	1
hi > hio (= f. sg)	1
h# > heo (= f. sg)	1
hiæ > hie (= f. sg)	1

Table 3.4: Pronoun corrections in O

The most common correction is from <he> to <hi>, accounting for six of the eleven pronoun corrections:[14]

16) ðonne cyrde he to þam gif **hi** ungeleaf
    sume wæron. þonne laþode he hi þ hi onfengan þa(m)
    geryne cristes geleafan. oððe gif he geleafsume
    wæron. þæt he þa strangede ꓶ trymede þ. **hi** fæst
    lice on hiora geleafan awunade\n/.   (f. 27v)
    'Then he turned to those who were unbelievers and exhorted them to receive the mystery of Christ's faith, or if they were believers, he strengthened and fortified them that they might continue steadfastly in their faith.'
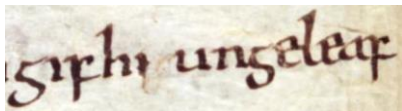
Fig. 3.13: f. 27v, *gif h†.† ungeleaf(sume)*   Fig. 3.14: f. 27v, *þ h†.† fæst(lice)*
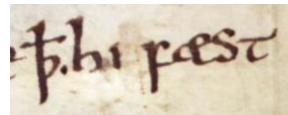
An examination of the context shows that in the two cases in example 16 O1 originally wrote *he* for the third person plural, but the pronoun was subsequently emended to *hi*. In the first case, the requirement for a plural is quite clear, from the plural verb *wæron*, however in the second case the picture is somewhat confused by the presence of the original denasalised subjunctive, *awunade*, which may have influenced O1's original choice of pronoun form (see section 6.3.1). Whatever the case, both the pronoun and the verb were subsequently emended. Where the emendation consists only of an erasure it is difficult to determine by whom or at what date the alteration was made. We therefore cannot tell whether this careful differentiation between forms for the third person plural and the masculine singular was due to O1 or to a different scribe, or overseer.

In example 17, <he> has been emended to <hie>:

17) ne bewerede penda se cyning
    þon ma gif hwylce men woldon on mircna cynne
    godes word læron þæt **h\i/e** \ne/ mostan. (f. 48v)
    'King Penda no longer prevented and forbade it, if any man wished to come to the Mercians and teach the word of God.'
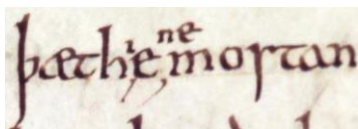
Fig. 3.15: f. 48v *h\i/e.*

This correction is the only example in Book 3 of O1 initially writing *he* for a third person plural pronoun. There are two cases of O1 writing *hi* for the masculine singular, but on the whole he is consistent in equating *he* only with the masculine singular. It is possible that his exemplar was inconsistent – judging by the usage found in the other *Bede*

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[14] Further examples can be found on ff. 43r, 43v and 60r.

manuscripts this would not be surprising – but the fact that the corrector also adds a superscript <ne> suggests that eyeskip may also have played a part in O1's original spelling.

Finally, examples 18 and 19 concern correction to a feminine singular pronoun. In the first instance the spelling is <hio>, possibly because this is the neatest way of correcting the <hi> that O1 had originally written. O1 writes *hi* for the feminine singular pronoun a further six times, yet this is the only example where it is altered to *hio*. It is also possible that <hio> was the form in his exemplar, as it appears several times in this particular section:

18) þa wæs on
    þære sylfan niht þam ytemestan dæle. þ is
    þa hit dagian ongan. þ **hi\o/** þa þystro ðysses ꝺwear
    dan middangeardes oferstagh. (f. 33r)
    'Then it was in the last part of that same night, when it began to dawn, that she overcame the darkness of this temporal earth.'
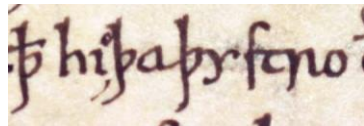
Fig 3.16: f. 33r

In the second example, the original spelling is difficult to read, but was possibly <he>. A section of text has been erased and replaced with a superscript <eo>, followed by <þa>:

19) hwæt gegearwedon hi sona wen. ꝺ
    asetton þa fæmnan on ꝺ læddon to þære stowe ꝺ
    hi þær asetton þa **h\eo/** þa on þære stowe geseted wæs
    þa wæs hio werig onslep þær hwonn. (f. 35r)
    'And so they immediately got a wagon ready and put the woman in it, and took her to that place, and there they placed her. When she was seated in that place, she was tired and fell asleep.'
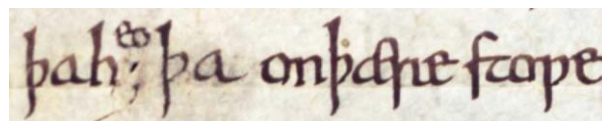
Fig. 3.17: f. 35r

In both these cases it appears that the original pronoun was potentially unclear to the reader in terms of its gender and number. The original text has been altered, though interestingly not to the same form each time.

3.3.6 Pronouns (*hiæ*)

While there is one example in the corpus of *hiæ*, in T, there is also an instance in O where *hie* appears to have been amended from *hiæ*:

20) ða he þa geah þ seo burhg wæs to þan fæst þ he ne

   mihte ne mid gefeohte ne mid ymbsete **hie**

   abrecan ne gegan.   (f. 44r)

   'Then he saw that the town was so well fortified that he could not capture or destroy **it**
   through warfare or siege.'
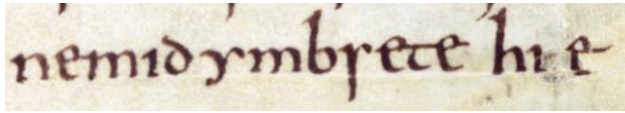
Fig. 3.18: *hiæ* > *hie*

While O's represents a feminine singular, T's instance represents a plural pronoun:

21) ac he mid heardre þrea **hiæ** onspræc.

   '...but he admonished **them** with a severe rebuke.' (T, f. 27r).

Hiæ is found as an accusative, feminine singular in the Mercian portion of the Rushworth
Gospels, as a nominative and accusative plural on the Ruthwell Cross, and as nominative
and accusative feminine singular and plural in the Northumbrian section of the
Rushworth Gospels (Campbell, 1959: §703). It therefore appears that the spelling <hiæ>
corresponded to the same range of pronouns as <hie>, to which it is emended in O. The
usages of *hiæ* found in T and O seem to be representative of other instances in older and
Anglian texts, such as the Franks Casket (Campbell, 1959: 369).

O1's treatment of pronouns tells us several things, both about his behaviour as a copyist,
and about his exemplar. It would appear that his natural tendency is to write West-Saxon
pronouns, but that his exemplar contained several Mercian forms, as they occasionally
occur in the same places as Mercian forms in other *Bede* manuscripts. In many cases we
can clearly see that O1 has altered a West-Saxon pronoun to a Mercian one. Why O1 felt
the need to correct these pronouns is unclear. Perhaps they show his desire to have a
'correct' copy in terms of the exemplar; however, this explanation is not very satisfactory
when placed against his wider inconsistency in copying. If the assumption is correct that
O1 (or his master) made the corrections, then they must have been made while the
exemplar was available to compare with O1's copy. We can demonstrate, then, that at
least some of the alterations to O's text were done at the time of the main copy. The
evidence of the pronouns also fulfills another of Benskin and Laing's (1981) criteria for a
Mischsprache. What we see in O is a large number of functionally equivalent forms: *ussa*
alongside *ura*, *eowic* alongside *eow*, and so on. As we shall see in the next section,
pronouns are not the only features to provide such a variety of functionally equivalent
forms.

3.4 Innovative Emendations[15]

While the corrector appears in many cases to have emended O1's text to a reading resembling that of the exemplar, he does not in every case alter it towards more conservative forms. There are several instances where he changes the spellings of words, bringing them more into line with West-Saxon usage. This is often where traditional Mercian and West-Saxon forms differ on phonological grounds, and the following sections consider examples where the corrector has altered words which originally showed spelling based on non-West-Saxon features such as Anglian smoothing, a lack of palatal diphthongisation, and genitives in <æs>.

3.4.1 Smoothing

A good example of an emendation with a seemingly phonological motivation comes in the form of two alterations to words with Anglian smoothing, shown in examples 22 and 23:

> 22) ða wæs æfter hyre deaþe
>
> þæt þa broþor oþerra **we\o/rca** swiðor gymdon.   (f. 33v)
> 'Then it was that after her death the brothers paid more attention to other **work**'.

> 23) soðlice þis ic wrat be þam
>
> **we\o/rcum** þæs foresprecenan weres.   (f. 45v)
> 'Truly, I wrote this about the **deeds** of the aforementioned man.'
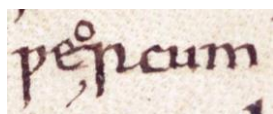
Fig 3.19: *We\o/rcum*, f. 45v.

In these two instances O1 originally wrote *werca* and *wercum*, both showing Anglian smoothing (Campbell 1959: §222). This contrasts with nine instances where he wrote *weorc-*, with the West-Saxon <eo> diphthong. Further instances of the main scribe initially copying smoothed forms which are later emended to West-Saxon diphthongs include *ne\a/h* from *neh* (*near*) on f. 32v and *gese\o/h* from *geseh* (*see*) on f. 38r.

Similarly, in Fig. 3.20 *angelþeode* has clearly been emended from *ongelþeode*, paralleling an instance in Fig. 3.21 where *ongelcynnes* has been emended to *angelcynnes* (Campbell, 1959: §130 and fn. 2). *Angel-* is the preferred spelling in Book 3 of this manuscript, accounting for fifteen out of the twenty-one occurrences of the word, however only the two instances of *ongel-* mentioned here have been amended to *angel-*.[16]

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[15] While these are not, strictly speaking, phonological emendations, but orthographical ones which may have a phonological basis, I have opted to use the term 'phonological' as a short-hand. See section 2.5 for further details.

[16] See section 4.4.2 on <o>+ nasal and comparative data across manuscripts.
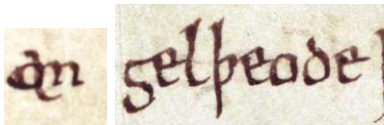
Fig 3.20: *angelþeode < ongelþeode*, (text runs over two lines), f. 26v.
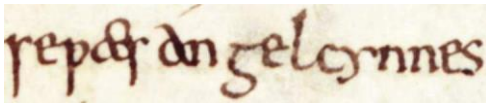
Fig 3.21: *angelcynnes < ongelcynnes*, f. 55r.

3.4.2 Palatal Diphthongisation

The manuscripts of the *Bede* contain several spellings which vary according to the presence or absence of palatal diphthongisation, a glide vowel introduced between the palatalised consonants [tʃ], [j] or [ʃ] and a following back vowel (Campbell, 1959: §170-189). As Campbell himself admits, the existence of palatal diphthongisation as a phonological change has been disputed (Daunt, 1939; and subsequent to Campbell, Hogg, 1979; Colman, 1985), and the presence of glide vowels explained as 'merely a diacritic to indicate the palatal nature of the preceding consonant' (Campbell, 1959: §171). For our purposes, this discussion as to the nature of glide vowels after palatal consonants can be set aside; all that matters for us is that we can posit a dialectal difference in the two spellings, i.e. West-Saxon spellings with palatal diphthongisation (or a diacritic <e> after palatal consonants), and Mercian ones without, and that our manuscripts do indeed reflect a variation in the forms found. Therefore 'palatal diphthongisation' incorporates spellings such as <gear>, whereas spellings such as <ger> are categorised as being without palatal diphthongisation (see also section 2.3).

3.4.2.1 *Palatal Diphthongisation after <g>*

A sample from the four manuscripts of lexical items which have the context required for palatal diphthongisation shows that we can indeed discern a difference in our proposed *Bede* continuum, between forms with and without palatal diphthongisation. Table 3.5 shows that in the case of *ger,* 'year' the earlier, more Mercian manuscripts (T and O) are more likely contain spellings without palatal diphthongisation, i.e. <ger>:

	T	O	Ca	B
ger	16	3		
gear	14	22	26	30
ge\a/r		1		

Table 3.5: *ger* 'year'.[17]

T has by far the most occurrences of *ger* (without palatal diphthongisation), though this is by no means the only form of the word we find, as almost half the occurrences are spelled *gear*. This distribution demonstrates that despite descriptions of T as a more 'Mercian' text, its scribe does not always conform to Mercian phonological patterns. O's usual form, on the other hand, is written with an <a>; out of the twenty-six times the word appears, in three instances it is spelled *ger*, and once *ge\a/r*, which has been emended from *ger* by the superscript addition of <a>:

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[17] Where no column appears for B2, the item does not appear in this portion of B manuscript.

Fig. 3.22 f. 39r

It is interesting that O1 (or his corrector, if a different scribe) has felt the need in this instance to emend *ger* to *gear*, however this correction only occurs once in all four instances of the non-diphthongised spelling. In this respect we can see that, just as with *angel* vs. *ongel* discussed above, the corrector fails to apply his alterations consistently through the text.

gear is not the only word to show variation through palatal diphthongisation:

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
gef	2	3			
geaf	2	2	3	5	1
gæf			2		
forgef	2	1			
forgeaf		1	2	2	
ageaf*		1			
agæf*			1		

* *ageaf/ agæf* only occurs in the section containing chapters 16-20, where T/B and O/Ca contain separate translations of the Latin text.
Table 3.6: *gef* 'gave' and its derivatives.

For *geaf* (the past tense of *giefan*), T's pattern is similar to that for *gear*, its distribution split 50-50. For O, the two forms are far more evenly split than they were for *gear*, although *geaf/ gef* appears far less frequently than *gear*. This even splitting of forms is also seen in O for *forgeaf* (*forgiefan - to grant, allow*), though not with *ageaf* (*agiefan – to pay, give*). *Ageaf* appears only in the divergent translation of chapters 16-20, and it is tempting to speculate that the reason for its appearance in a form with <ea> in O is because the translation in O and Ca is not descended from the archetype (Campbell, 1952); therefore, if forms lacking palatal diphthongisation are a feature of the original Mercian translation, and their presence in T and O is due to their status as relict forms, then it is logical to suggest that *ageaf* (coming from the separate translation), may never have appeared in the form **agef*. Ca's choice of spelling is unusual, in that, although on the whole its scribe Hemming prefers forms with <ea>, we find an alternative spelling with <æ>, in *gæf* and *agæf* (see section 5.5.1.1). Table 3.7 details further items in the *Bede* which show variation in palatal diphthongisation:

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
onget	13	4			
ongeat	1	9	11	11	3
o\n/gæt			1		
forget	1				
forgeat		1	1	1	
beget		1			
begeat	1	1	2	2	
(ongan)*				1	
gete		1			
geate	1	1	1	2	
gæte			1		

*_Ongan_ appears in B instead of _ongeat_.
Table 3.7: _ongeat, forgeat, begeat_ etc.

In common with _geaf_ and related words, Table 3.7 shows that T and O are the only manuscripts to use variants without palatal diphthongisation. Again, the patterns are mixed, although the frequencies for each item are low. _Onge(a)t_ is the only word in this group with a substantial number of tokens, and it shows that, while T prefers _onget_, it is not the only form which is used. Likewise, there is one instance each of _begeat_ and _geat_, where O writes _beget_ and _gete_. On the other hand, _ongeat_ is O's majority reading, with nine examples to four of _onget_. Therefore, while T has a higher frequency of forms without palatal diphthongisation, O has a wider spread of forms, in keeping with that text's status as a _Mischsprache_.

Finally, two words where O is more likely than T to choose a spelling without palatal diphthongisation are _togenes_ ('together') and _ongen_ ('again'):

	T	O	Ca	B
togenes		6		
togegnes	3			
togeanes	2		6	4
ongen		1		
ongegn	1			
ongean			1	1

Table 3.8: _togenes_ (_together_) and _ongen_ (_again_).

Although the data for _togenes_ and _ongen_ give us a similar pattern as discussed previously, it is notable that T uses forms such as _togegnes_ and _ongegn_, with palatalised <g>, a feature more commonly found in non-West-Saxon texts (Campbell, 1959: §243). What is notable about the words which appear in T and O in forms that reflect a lack of palatal diphthongisation is that they are common ones. In both cases it is possible that such forms are part of each scribe's passive repertoire, and are therefore more likely to be transmitted in their exemplar form.

What this evidence shows is that although we can speak of scribes having preferred forms, it appears that, in terms of palatal diphthongisation after <g> at least, we cannot say that the scribes respond to a particular phonological phenomenon in the same way each time it

appears. While T's scribe generally prefers *onget* without palatal diphthongisation, he always writes *togeanes* either with palatal diphthongisation or with palatalised <g> (see Table 3.8). On the other hand, he almost achieves a 50:50 split in writing *ger* or *gear*, *gef* or *geaf* in the course of Book 3. Of course, without an exemplar, we cannot know whether T is merely copying literatim a phonologically inconsistent exemplar (Laing 2004: 54), or whether he is an inconsistent copyist in the same vein as O1. It may show us that for T's scribe consistency of spelling in this respect is not important. In other respects his scribal performance is what we might call assured; errors and corrections are rare, and the arrangement of the pages and condition of his script are consistent, so the fact that his copy of the *Bede* is in many respects linguistically inconsistent, yet containing several conservative features, is intriguing.[18]

3.4.2.2 *Palatal Diphthongisation after <c>*
Words showing a lack of palatal diphthongisation after <c> are far less frequent in the *Bede* than those lacking palatal diphthongisation after <g>. The only instance of this feature is *cestre*, which appears four times (out of a total of eighteen) in O. The only other manuscript to show this form is Z, where it occurs once, against two instances of *ceastre* (Zupitza, 1886: 186). This again illustrates the inconsistency of O1, and also that O in several places retains a reading which is more conservative than that used in T. Given that T is often referred to as the most Mercian of the *Bede* manuscripts, it is important to note these instances and to acknowledge that O appears to preserve important information about the Mercian character of the *Bede* tradition which is not shared by T.

The evidence of palatal diphthongisation fits well with what we already know of the scribe, namely that he is an inconsistent copyist. Although he has preferred forms, in these cases ones which are phonologically West-Saxon, this does not seem to have prevented him on occasion from copying the Mercian features in front of him, and therefore we find the occasional word exhibiting traits such as Anglian smoothing, <o> before a nasal, or lacking palatal diphthongisation. It also shows us that the corrector is inconsistent; in some cases the text is corrected to the exemplar, yet in others the language is updated to West-Saxon forms. Without the exemplar it is not possible to tell whether the corrector corrected the pronouns every time there was a discrepancy; however if his approach to them was similar to his approach to updating the phonology of his copy, then it is unlikely that his corrections were thorough.[19]

3.4.3 Genitives in <æs>
There are several spellings across the *Bede* manuscripts where <æ> appears in place of the more usual <e>. According to Campbell (1959: §369-70), this variation is an early feature, and can be accounted for by the subsequent falling together of unaccented <æ>, <i> and <e>. Although '*æ* and *i* remain undisturbed only in very early texts', there is nevertheless some evidence of such early <æ> spellings in the *Bede*.

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[18] The scribal performances of T and O1 are in marked contrast to the two scribes of B, who always write the affected words with palatal diphthongisation. Furthermore, B1 and B2 are generally consistent in their phonologically-based spellings; see Chapter 4, sections 4.4.

[19] This also demonstrates that, if the main scribe and the corrector are one and the same person, then this inconsistency of approach is a defining feature of his scribal behaviour as a whole, and is not confined to his role as either main scribe or corrector.

Similar spellings can also be found in later texts, such as *Eadwine's Psalter* (Harsley, 1889; O'Neill, 1992). In *Eadwine's Psalter* we find both <æ> for <e> (for example, in *clipiæþ* and *soðfestæn*), <eæ> for <ea> and <æ> for <a> (*eællum, eærfoþnessum; mildsæ, ærefne*). In some instances we see both phenomena in the same word, for example in *eærdigæþ* (Pulsiano, 2000: 169-74). Therefore, we have evidence of <æ> for <e> resulting from two different causes, and it is at first sight unclear whether we are dealing with a linguistic phenomenon which is early or late in terms of Old English orthography. I would like, however, to argue for an early date for this feature, for the following reasons:

a) This <æ> for <e> spelling only appears in limited contexts, such as in dative singular[20] and genitive singular nouns (as <æ> and <æs> respectively).

b) The contexts in which these spellings occur are exactly those mentioned by Campbell above. Admittedly, there is some difficulty in reconciling these spellings, which Campbell gives as early Northumbrian, with a supposedly Mercian exemplar as is the case with the *Bede*, however the hypothesis of an early date for this feature fits the evidence of the *Bede* better than a late one.[21]

c) In a number of studies of later texts (e.g. Pulsiano, 2000; Faulkner, 2012; Scragg, 2003), confusion between <æ> and <e> appears as a multi-way process, i.e. we see <e> for <æ>, or <æ> for <a>, <eæ> for <ea> as well as <æ> for <e>. This does not appear to be the case in the *Bede*, where the evidence seems to suggest only <æ> for <e>.

d) These <æ> spellings occur, to a greater or lesser extent, in all *Bede* manuscripts, in different places. A case can, I believe, be made on these grounds for the following <æ> spellings to be regarded as relict forms.

The group under discussion is the genitive singular of *a-* and *ō-*stem nouns, which appear in <æs> rather than <es> (Campbell, 1959: §370). What is interesting is that these spellings appear in all manuscripts:

26)] hi ða eft þone lichoman aðwogon] mid oðre hrægle gegýredon] hine gesettan in cýricean þæs eadigan martýres scē **stephanæs**.   (Ca: f. 34r)
   'And then they washed the body again and dressed it in other clothes and set it in the church of the blessed martyr St Stephen.'

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[20] See section 4.5.4 for discussion of this category.

[21] Similar forms occur in *Rushworth[1]*, which Hogg (1992: 6.62) attributes to a later phenomenon whereby unstressed /a/ merged with /e/, giving rise to spellings such as <æð> in third person, present tense verbs and 'other inflexions'. However, the <æ> spellings under discussion in the *Bede* are seemingly confined to genitive and dative singulars, as described in Campbell (1959: §369), and a case can therefore be made, I believe, for considering them an early feature.

27) ðÆ\re/ TIDE EAC SWYLCE:-
    east seaxan. þone geleafan þe hy geara awurpon.
    þa heo mellitum. þone biscop. ut ascufon mid gyrn
    fulnesse. **oswiæs** þæs cyninges eft onfengon. forðon se
    cyning þære ilcan þeode. sigeberht. se æft(er) þam oðru(m)
    sigberhte riice onfeng. wæs freond **oswiæs** þæs cyninges   (T: f. 48r)
     'And also at that time the East Saxons, through the diligence of King Oswio, again
     accepted the faith which they had cast aside years ago when they banished the bishop
     Mellitus. Because the king of these people, Sigeberht, was a friend of Oswio the king...'

28) manige oðre
    wit uncymran hors] oðres **hiwæs** hæfdon. þ wit mih
    ton ðam þearfum syllan.   (B: p.159)
    'We have many other horses which are not as good, and of other kinds, which we could
    give to the beggar.'

In each case, the <æs> inflection appears as a genitive singular, in the words *stephanæs*,
oswiæs, and *hiwæs*. Although Ca also reads *hiwæs* in the same position as 3) above, in that
case the word is actually provided as a gloss to *endes*. The gloss is provided in the same
hand which remedies another omission on the same folio, but is not that of the
'Tremulous Hand' scribe.

It would appear at first sight that O does not share any of these genitive <æs> endings.
However, on closer inspection there are four places in Book 3 where the original <æs>
ending has been emended to <es>:

29) hæfde oswald se cristenesta cyning nor
    ðanhymbra nygan gear rice to geteledum þy
    geare þe seo wildeorlice arleasnes bretta
    cyninges] seo onwegacernes fram cristes ge
    leafan angelcynin\ga/ onscuniendlic wæs   (f. 34r)
    'Oswald, the most Christian king of Northumbria held the kingdom for nine years,
    including the year made hateful by the savage wickedness of the British **king** and the
    abandonment of the Christian faith by the English'

30) he eallum mannum sæde] bodade
    þa mildheortnesse þæs arfæstan scyppendes
    ] þæt wuldur his getreowan **ðeowes**;   (f. 40v)
    '...he told all men and announced the mercy of the everlasting creator and the glory of his
    true **servant**.'

31) ða będ he oswi\o/ þone cyning þ he him hwilcehugu
    lareowas sealde. þa þe his þeode to cristes ge
    leafan gecyrde.] mid þa halwendan wÿllan
    fullwihte **bæþes** aþwoge.   (f. 49v)
    'Then he asked Oswio the king to send him some teachers who might convert his people
    to the Christian faith and bathe them with the sanctifying spring of **baptism**.'

32) Betwih þas þing sende alhfrið se cyning
   oswioes sunu willfreþ his mæssepreost
   þæt hine mon sceolde him ꝺ his hiwum to
   bysceope gehalgian   (f. 58r)
   'At this time **Oswio's** son, King Alhfrið, sent Willfreð his masspriest with his
   companions, to be ordained bishop.'
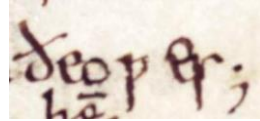
Fig. 3.23: f. 34r.   Fig. 3.24: f. 40v.   Fig. 3.25 f. 49v.   Fig. 3.26: f. 58r.
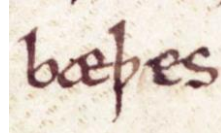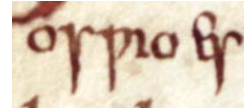
As can be seen from Figs. 3.23-26, <æs> appears to have been altered to read <es>. In
each instance, the <a> of the ligature has been erased, leaving only the <e>. It is
interesting to note that both T and O have instances of the <æs> genitive ending being
used with the personal name *Oswio*, and this suggests that these spellings may indeed be
due to the *Bede* tradition, rather than isolated examples of random spellings by particular
scribes.

Again we see the sheer variety of forms tolerated by O1. Indeed, what is particularly
noticeable when his performance is compared to that of the other *Bede* scribes is that he
writes a far wider selection of forms than the others, rather confirming the classification
of O1 as the creator of a *Mischsprache*. It is comparatively rare to find forms used by
another scribe which are not also part of O1's performance (spellings such as Hemming's
agæf and *gæt* are an exception and are discussed further in section 5.5.1.1). This variety is
spread across the whole of Book 3, and provides the large number of functionally
equivalent items required by Benskin and Laing's categorisation. In addition, I believe we
can make the case that O1's performance provides us with a 'nonce-language', which is
unlikely to appear elsewhere in its variety and spread of different forms. Just as with the
pronouns, O1 does not confine himself to any one variant, to the extent that corrections
in one part of the manuscript, such as *ge\a/res*, are not always carried through in the rest
of the text. The next section deals with corrections where the scribe again demonstrates
uncertainty as to the form required in his copy, this time in chapter-initial capitals.

3.5 Chapter-Initial Capitals

Some alterations to O are easy to classify as either conservative or innovative in terms of
the *Bede*. The following group of corrections, however, are intriguing in that they clearly
show both conservative and innovative forces at work on the text. They also tell us
something about the priorities of O's producers, when it came to their vision of the
finished manuscript.

That the main scribe did not always copy exactly what he saw is evident from his many
repetitions, and also from his treatment of the capital letters at the beginning of chapters.
As was the case in the production of many manuscripts, it appears that the O1 wrote out
his text, leaving space for the large capitals to be added later, either by the scribe himself,

or by another.[22] This is not uncommon during the eleventh century; B has line-drawn initials at the beginning of its chapters, several of which were never completed. A problem arises in O because in not copying accurately the text of his exemplar, O1 leads the scribe responsible for the chapter initials to supply the wrong initial in a number of instances. This misrecognition happens five times in the twenty-four capitals in Book 3. In four of the five cases it involves the same word, *ono*:

33) **<u>Ono</u>** þa se ylca cyning oswald   (f. 26v)
   'Then the same king Oswald...'

34) **<u>Ono</u>** fram þyssum ealande. [...] wæs sended aidan se bisceop.   (f. 27v)
   'Then bishop Aidan was sent from this same island...'

35) **<u>Ono</u>** þa oswald wæs gelæded to \þæ(m)/ heofonan rice.   (f. 40v)
   'And then Oswald was carried away to the heavenly kingdom.'

36) **<u>Ono</u>** hwilcre geearnunge þes bisceop wære   (f. 43r)
   'Moreover, whatever this bishop's merits were...'
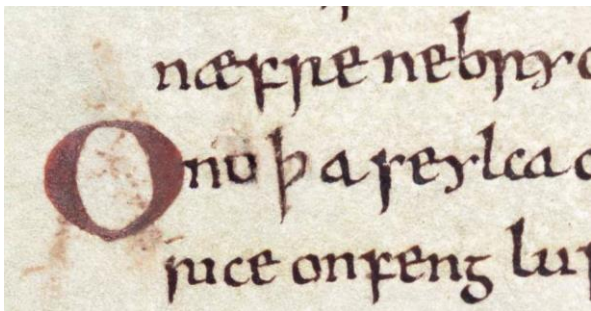
Fig 3.27: *And/ Ono*, f. 26v.

Fig 3.28: *And/ Ono*, f. 27v.

In examples 33-36, the <O> is written in red ink in a space left specially for the first letter of each chapter. What is striking is that in each case the <O> clearly stands on an erasure, and that the erased letter is a large <A>, also in red ink.[23] A closer inspection reveals that

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[22] Compare the text of the *Monasteriales Indicia* in British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.III, where some initials are missing, and others are wrongly inserted into the spaces left for them (Banham, 1996: 17).
[23] 'Learning how to become an independent and reliable rubricator involves several stages under a tutor's close supervision because *it is not possible to erase errors of rubrication, they leave an indelible mark*.' (My emphasis; Cohen-Mushlin, 2010: 66).

in examples 33 and 34, the word-final <o> was originally written as a <d>. On f. 43r the whole word has been erased, while the nature of any erasure on f. 40v is not clear.

O1, then, originally wrote <nd> in anticipation of the word *And*, and the capital A is what was later supplied. However, the corrector has evidently checked the copy against the exemplar to discover that the original word was not *and* (or, more likely, the Mercian form *ond*), but *ono*, meaning *but, therefore, moreover* (Clark-Hall).[24] The fact that both words, *and* and *ono* carry relatively little semantic weight easily explains the ease with which the main scribe was able to substitute one for the other; the meaning of the phrase is not substantially altered by the substitution. Indeed, this is exactly the kind of change which takes place in Ca and B, the later *Bede* manuscripts, which frequently use *and* where T and O use *ono*. What is not so readily explained is why, once the scribe responsible for the initials had been misled by O1's choice of word, the corrector decided that it was necessary to go to the trouble of altering such a small word, especially as the alteration could not be effected without leaving a trace of the previous reading. This pattern fits well with the evidence we have seen already, that for the scribe(s) responsible for the production of O, the content of the copy was perhaps more important than the form of the words themselves. It also builds a picture of a main scribe who readily substituted some of the Mercian linguistic forms he saw in his exemplar for ones more familiar to him, and of a scribe responsible for the initials who did not consult the exemplar, instead relying on the work of the main scribe.

One final, intriguing instance of this confusion, and a good illustration of the inconsistency at work in the production of O comes from example 37:

37) **ond** þa \on/ þam dæge
    nealæcte hyre gecy\ge/dnesse of þyssum life. (f. 32v)
    'And then on that day her calling from this life grew near.'
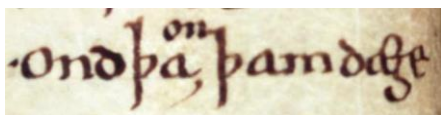
Fig 3.29: f. 32v, *ono/ ond*

The *ond* which starts this clause was in fact originally written as *ono*. When we compare the same section in T, we find the word *ona*, suggesting that the main scribe originally copied accurately from his exemplar. However, the corrector has emended the second <o> to <d> so that the word reads *ond*. As we noted above, the change of word makes little difference semantically, and as other evidence from O suggests that phonologically the main scribe favours <a> before a nasal over <o>, it is interesting that the corrector did not also emend the word from *ond* to *and*. This again demonstrates how the corrections to the manuscript appear to pull the text in two different directions. On the one hand we see corrections aimed at making the new text match the exemplar, with the perhaps unnecessary alteration of *And* to *Ono*, while on the other we see the Mercian form *ono* changed to *ond*, a form which does not appear to have been O1's usual usage. It is possible that the error concerning the chapter initials was emended more frequently

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[24] 'Mercisch is auch *ono*.' 'Also Mercian is *ono*.' (Jordan, 1906: 41)

precisely because it was so obvious an error; if O's exemplar had prominent chapter initials then the error would have been easily highlighted. In contrast, the *ono* in example 37 is not in a prominent position, placed in the middle of a line, and so may not have warranted such close scrutiny with the exemplar. In addition, it is not clear who made the alteration of *ono* to *ond*. If the alteration was made by a later reader, or by a corrector who was reading the text for sense rather than for comparison with the exemplar, this could explain the alteration of the word away from its exemplar form. If *ond* was part of the passive repertoire of the corrector, then he might have felt little need to alter the initial <o> to <a>. Altogether, this inconsistent approach to O's text suggests a main scribe who was not entirely at ease with his exemplar, and the hypothesis that O1 was a junior or trainee scribe is explored in the final section.

3.6. O1 as a Trainee Scribe

While O1 is responsible for writing the majority of Book 3, Ker's scribe 3 (O3) contributed a single folio, f. 47r. The differences between the two hands are striking, and Swan (2001: 74) comments on the training required to attain such a high standard:

> The highly specialized training undergone by scribes is highlighted by the fact that even when prolific Anglo-Saxon authors such as Ælfric and Wulfstan annotate manuscripts of their own work, the script they use is not of scribal quality.

The fact that O3 supplied such a small amount of text, and the clear differences between his contribution and that of O1, means that a comparison of the two hands makes for a rewarding study.

3.6.1 Scribe O3

f. 47r is written in a different hand to the main body of O. The hand is described by Ker as 'a fine hand influenced by square Anglo-Saxon minuscule' (1957: 433). It displays far more regularity in its spacing, slant and letter forms, and keeps more consistently to the ruled margin lines than the main scribal hand. This gives the impression of a far more assured scribal performance than is displayed by O1. Emendations are few (2), both being minor omissions, which are added neatly above the main writing line by the scribe himself. The fact that this hand writes a whole folio, without regard to chapter, sentence or clause breaks, indicates that O3 aimed only to provide an entire folio of work, rather than, say to take over a scribal stint (though Anglo-Saxon scribes can and do take over from one another in the middle of sentences: see p.190 of B, where the scribal change appears in the middle of the clause '⁊ *wæs of middangearde genumen ⁊ arweorðlice bebyrged on þa(m)* *mynstre.| ðe is nemned peginaleah*'). This suggests that f. 47r may have been written as an example folio for O1 to emulate. If we are correct in assuming the relationship between these two scribes as one of master and fairly inexperienced pupil, then further, comparative evidence is provided by Cohen-Mushlin's study of scribes working in the scriptorium of St Mary Magdalene in Frankenthal in the Middle Rhine during the twelfth century. She describes how 'senior scribes trained others to emulate their own style by

intervening sample scripts, [and] teaching them to correct a text by amending what they did' (2010: 62). The scribes in Frankenthal would make several interventions, if deemed necessary, in an effort to improve the trainee scribes' styles (64-5).[25]

It is difficult to establish a detailed linguistic scribal profile for O3, for two reasons. Firstly, he contributes only one side of a folio (f. 47r) to O, and therefore we have only a very small sample (238 graphic units) of his written output to analyse.[26] Secondly, his stint occurs in the part of the manuscript which consists (with a comparable section of Ca) of a divergent translation of chapters 16-20 of the Latin original. Therefore, we can compare his stint only with the equivalent passage in Ca, as that part of the Latin is missing from the translation in T and B. In addition, we cannot be certain that the features we see in O3's usage are not ones specific to the divergent translation of chapters 16-20 found in O and Ca. To try to resolve this problem, when looking at phonological and morphological features, the following section focuses solely on that section of ff. 44r-47v which covers the divergent translation. In this way I hope to be able to distinguish some very broad trends and differences in usage between O1 and O3.

Although we have to bear in mind these caveats, we can glean some interesting evidence from O3's stint about the abilities of O1. It has been noted that O3 writes in a far neater, more regular hand than O1, and in the pages before O3's stint, the main scribe makes several errors which are corrected by erasure and overwriting:[27]

Folio	No. of Corrections
44v	6
45r	4
45v	9
46r	6
46v	6
47r	**2**
47v	3
48r	4
48v	7

Table 3.9: Number of corrections per folio. O3's contribution is shown in bold.

It is clear that in the preceding folios, O1 makes several mistakes, which contrasts sharply with the two small omissions made by O3:

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[25] A similar process may be at work in British Library, Cotton Otho B.ii, where Horgan (1986: 119) notes of the OE *Pastoral Care* that 'the "best" scribe starts the copying of B.ii, to be followed, in rapid succession, by a good scribe, two bad scribes, a good scribe and a quite good scribe'. It should be noted, however, that Horgan attributes this rapid changeover in hands to the deaths of several scribes in the London plague of 962, rather than to any training strategy.

[26] This contrasts with about 17,500 graphic units for each of T, O1, B1 and Ca, and just under 2,000 from B2.

[27] In both hands the corrections appear to be supplied by the same hand as the body text, i.e. O1 and O3 each emend their own copies.
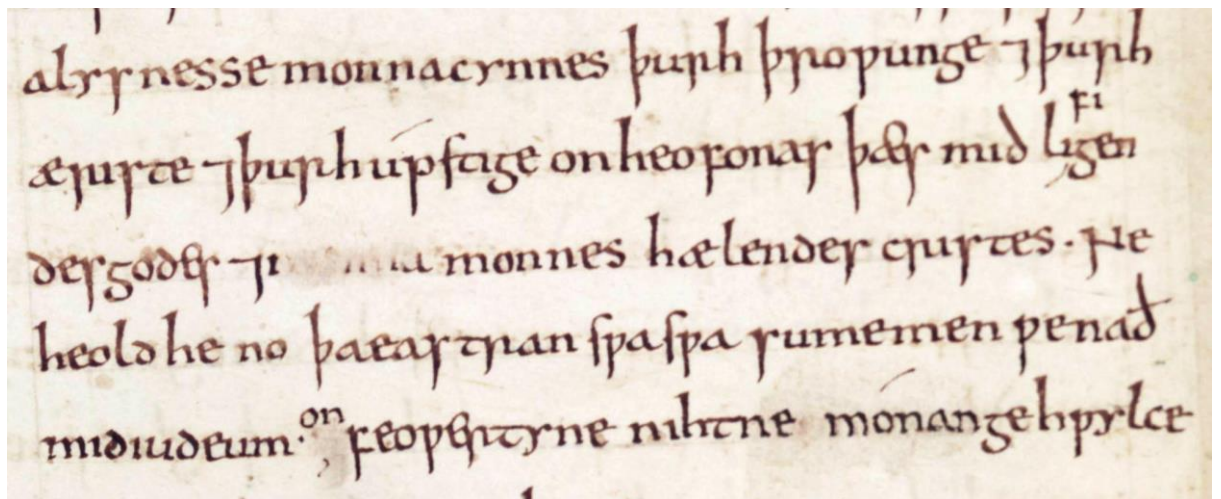
Fig. 3.30: Selection from f. 46v (written by O1).

In this example from f. 46v, several corrections can be seen. At the end of line two, a superscript <fi> has been added to *ligendes*, while on line five there is an erasure which is not wide enough for the emendation <on>, which we see added in superscript. Further along this line is a longer erasure, under *nihtne monan*, with the correction overwritten in the same hand. Line three contains an imperfectly erased *monna*, leaving the correct *monnes* after a large gap. The reason for the original writing of *monna* appears to be the presence of the same word almost exactly two lines above; if O's exemplar had roughly the same dimensions as O (which is a possibility, given that T, O and B all have fairly short lines of a similar length and similar page lengths), then these two words may well have been in a similar position in the text O1 was copying from. In contrast, O3 makes few mistakes, and the ones he does make are neatly remedied:
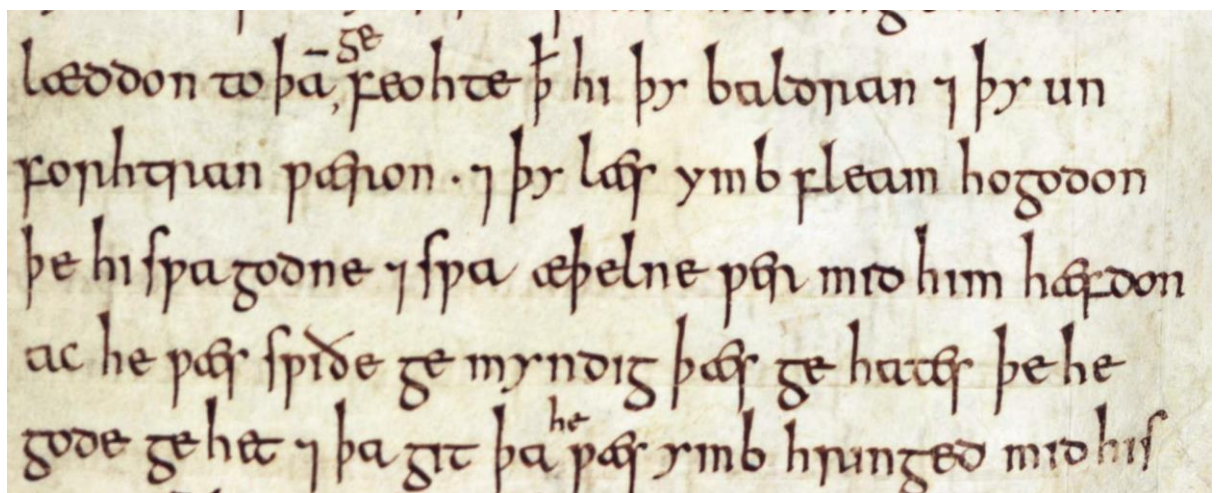
Fig. 3.31: Sample of O3's stint, showing corrections, f. 47r.

Fig. 3.31 shows the only two emendations this scribe makes. In both cases he omitted a small part of the text (which in itself suggests that he was a more careful copyist than O1). On line one he supplied the particle *ge* in superscript, to read *gefeohte* and on line five *he* is added, again in superscript. In addition to the difference in the general appearance of each hand, O3 makes occasional use of some letter-forms which are different from those found in O1's repertoire. One example is half-uncial style <r>, which Ker states occurs 'probably under the influence of the exemplar' (1957: xxx):
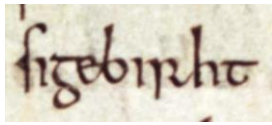
Fig. 3.32: f. 47r

Also noteworthy is a 'horned' form of <a>:
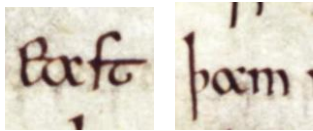
Figs. 3.33 and 3.34: f. 47r

Both of these features tend to be associated with an older style of script, and the <a> in this hand is described by Ker as 'a copyist's archaism' (1957: xxviii). Thompson (2010: 27) gives a date of 969 for the latest charter containing this half-uncial <a>. If, as Ker suggests, these forms of <a> and <r> are produced in imitation of the exemplar, then it is interesting that O1 rarely makes an attempt to reproduce them before O3's intervention.[28] In the folios immediately after O3's intervention, however, O1 occasionally imitates some of these more unusual letter forms. For example, at the top of f. 47v we find the following examples:
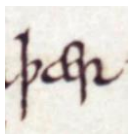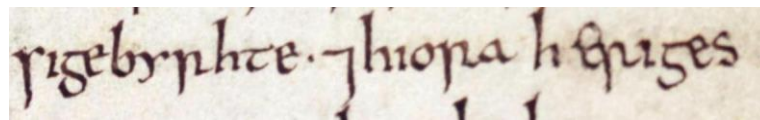
Fig. 3.35.   Fig. 3.36.
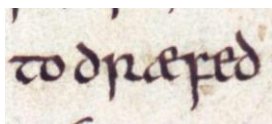
Fig. 3.37.

Whereas on f. 46v O1 tends to write an <r> with a very straight right-hand minim, some of those on ff. 47v and 48r have a more half-uncial appearance. By f. 48v his efforts to write half-uncial <r> are gradually abandoned, and there are substantially fewer examples.[29] In contrast, O1 does not try to imitate O3's half-uncial <a>. His usage remains the same, i.e. usually a pointed <a>, with the occasional caroline form:

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[28] Possible instances of half-uncial <r> include that in *neððearfnesse* on f. 25v, and *leornade* on f. 26v, although horned <a> does not appear in this selection.

[29] Cohen-Mushlin (2010: 65) noted that interventions by more experienced scribes sometimes had only limited effect on the performance of their pupils: 'an exemplum provided by a master at the beginning of the text is not always sufficient for training a pupil. A patient tutor like K continuously watches his pupil's handwriting, calling him to order by repeated interpolations of sample script while he writes, and undoubtedly stressing his points by means of verbal criticism, which can only be conjectured.' O3's stint contrasts with Cohen-Mushlin's evidence, in that he made only one intervention in the surviving folios of O.
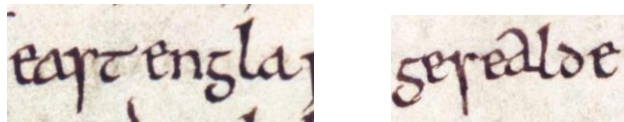
Figs. 3.38 and 3.39: Variations in <a>, f. 47v (O1).

What can be demonstrated by a comparison of O3's stint with the work of O1 which follows immediately afterwards, is that O1 appears to be influenced by O3 in two ways. Firstly, as can be seen from Table 3.9, his rate of correction drops on ff. 47v and 48r, before creeping up to its former level on f. 48v. On its own this fact may not be particularly significant, however, when considered in the light of the second feature, O1's adoption of half-uncial <r> (which also drops off by f. 48v), we can begin to build a tentative case for O1 making a conscious (albeit short-lived) effort to emulate O3.

A third feature which seems to vary in O1's hand before and after O3's stint is the pronounced tag found on tall <s> in the hand of O3:
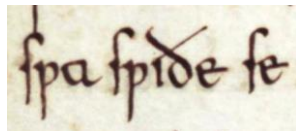
Fig. 3.40: tall <s>, with pronounced tag in O3.

Although this feature is also part of O1's repertoire, it is more pronounced, and formed of a definite wedge-shape, in the examples found shortly after he takes up again after O3's stint:
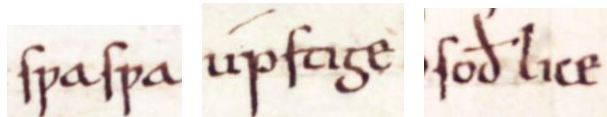
Figs. 3.41, 3.42 and 3.43: f. 46v, with smaller tags on tall <s>.
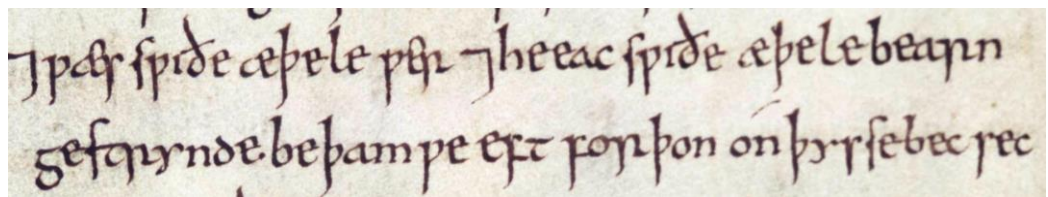
Fig. 3.44: f. 47v. Note the forms of tall <s> in *swiðe* (x2), *gestrynde* and *þysse*, with more pronounced tags.

It is important to note, however, that not every difference in O3's script is imitated by O1; as we saw above in the case of half-uncial <a>, O1 does not follow O3 in using ligatures or in reproducing the noticeably higher <e> in the digraph <æ>.

There are also a limited number of linguistic features we can isolate as being particular to O3. First is his use of a suspension mark in the word *þam*. There are only eleven instances of *þā* for *þam* in the whole of Book 3, and three of them appear on O3's folio. Although this comparatively frequent use of the abbreviated form is noticeable in such a small space, what is more interesting is where this abbreviated form occurs. When it is used by O1, *þā* occurs five times at the very end of a line, and three times as the

penultimate word, so we can surmise that its use is dictated by the space available to the scribe on any given line. The three instances of its use by O3 are all within the first three words on a line, and in this respect the placing of the abbreviated form does not appear to have any particular constraint. The full form, *þam*, also appears three times, once at the end of a line, once in the middle, and once as the penultimate word, suggesting that the space available on a line is not a particularly important constraint in O3's use of *þā*. We seem, therefore, to have different approaches by each scribe to the decision of whether to use an abbreviated or unabbreviated form.

In many instances, the orthographical usage of O1 and O3 in the divergent translation of chapters 16-20 does not appear to differ, though it may be slightly different from the overall usage found in the rest of Book 3. In such cases, we can tentatively assume that these variants are representative of the language of the original, divergent, translation of chapters 16-20. Such a categorisation must be tentative, since the whole section is not large (some 1600 graphic units), and we cannot be entirely sure that a given variant, when it occurs only once or twice, does not appear 'by chance', given the inconsistency of O1's scribal behaviour. However, taken together, these isolated occurrences may point towards some broad trends which we can attribute to the different translation of chapters 16-20.

Our first set of features consists of those where a 'conservative' version of the same feature exists in the rest of Book 3, but where such conservative features do not occur in chapters 16-20. In this category can be placed items such as *gyt*, *lichama* and *ad*, which all occur only once in this section, but which are used in preference to their alternatives, *gen*, *lichoma*, and *aad*. Also in this category is the pronoun *ura*, which is used in preference to *ussa*. For similar examples which occur more than once, *hand* occurs twice (once by each scribe), *fram* twice (by O1), and *buton/ butan* three times. While there is spelling variation in this item, with both variants appearing in the section written by O1, the Anglian equivalent *nemne* is never used by either scribe. These preferences also seem to extend beyond lexical and phonological choices. Of the eleven appearances of *mid*, each one is accompanied by the dative article, not the accusative (the use of *mid* with the accusative is not uncommon in O as a whole; see section 4.4.4). In keeping with the rest of Book 3 is this section's preference for the conjunction *forþon þe*, rather than *forþam þe*, so in some respects chapters 16-20 are identical with the rest of O. Also of note is that O1 still exhibits a degree of inconsistency in his copying of this section, for example he writes both *man* and *mon*, *ealond* and *ealand*, *gewunode* and *gewunade*. Although there are some clear differences between the variants used in this particular section and those used in the rest of O, the inconsistency which is so indicative of O1's performance is still evident.

Finally, there are a few differences between O1 and O3, which we can perhaps attribute to general trends in the usage of each scribe. In this category I have placed variants which occur in O3, and which are not shared by O1 in the variant translation of chapters 16-20. An example of this is the personal name *sigebyrht* which occurs with <y> three times in O1's section, and once as *sigebirht* by O3. In O as a whole, names in -*byrht* are nearly always spelt with <y>, the exception being three occasions where an <e> is used, so <i> appears to be a specific preference of O3 (or at least is dispreferred by O1). Similarly, O3 provides the only instance in this excerpt of *heora*, against O1's *hiora* (x3). The use in this section of *hiora* by O1 is interesting, as it occurs several times throughout O. *Hiora* is a Mercian pronoun, and we have seen that other Mercian (and older) features are less likely

to occur in this section. We may therefore wish to speculate as to whether this form occurred in the exemplar, or whether it appears here because it was the usual form preferred by O1. Finally, we see two instances of *hyre* in O3, where O1 has *hire*, perhaps reflecting a preferred spelling with <y> on the part of O3.

3.6.2 *ðam/ ðæm*

The final section of this chapter deals with variation between *ðam* and *ðæm* in O. The four main *Bede* scribes vary in their spelling of dative singular (masculine and neuter) and dative plural articles:

	T	O	Ca	B
þæm	149	3	1	
þæ(m)	3	2		
þam		211	43	114
þa(m)	2	11	156	20
ðæm	4			
ðæ(m)				
ðam			20	130
ða(m)			2	14

Table 3.10: *ðam* and its variants.

There are several variables at play in these examples. Firstly, the initial graph varies between <þ> and <ð>. Although Campbell (1959: §58.6) says 'the distinction between them is purely a palaeographical one', we can see clear differences in the preferences of each scribe. Whereas B has no particular preference, O clearly prefers initial <þ>, a preference which is shared (though to a lesser extent) by T and Ca. O1's usage is clearly unusual in this instance, as he rarely displays this level of consistency in the features we have discussed so far. Abbreviation of the final <m>, on the other hand, is shared by all scribes, and is more frequent in Ca, but rarer in T. O and B make limited use of this feature, suggesting that space-saving or scribal training may be more of a factor in determining abbreviation than the reading of the exemplar.

However, the important difference is in each scribe's tolerance of spellings with <æ>. According to Campbell, '*þām* for *þēm* is W-S and rare Kt., not Angl.' (§708), and we see a clear preference in the earliest text, T, for *þæm*, whereas B and Ca (largely) avoid it. *þæm* occurs twice in Z, and is the only form of the article in that manuscript (Zupitza, 1886: 186). Although O often includes Mercian forms, for this feature Mercian spellings are not particularly common. The fact that the scribe may have been silently emending *þæm* spellings to *þam* ones is suggested by the fact that on f. 28v we see both *þæm* and *þam* repeated one after another, with *þæm* appearing first:
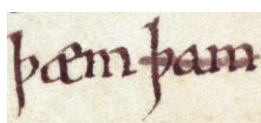
Fig. 3.45

As it is a common word, it is possible that *þæm* would routinely show a scribe's habitual, trained spelling. Another intriguing factor in the presence of these rarer *þæm* spellings in O is their distribution; *þæm* appears three times, on f. 25v and 28v, and *þæ(m)* on f. 39v and 40v. On f. 40v, *þæ(m)* is entered as a running correction above the main text:
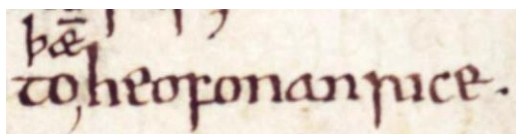
Fig. 3.46

If we are correct in supposing that the scribe responsible for these corrections would pay extra attention to the content and form of the text in front of him, it is also possible that in performing these corrections that he would be more likely to add them in a form identical or at least very similar to that of the exemplar text. If this is indeed correct, then this instance of *þæ(m)* appearing in a correction may point to the presence of *þæm* as the normal spelling in O's exemplar. The abbreviation is presumably due to the lack of space before the ascender of the <h> and the descender from the line above to the right. We may therefore surmise that O's scribe has a tendency to alter *þæm* to *þam* as he copies, and that the repetition and correction in Figs. 3.45 and 3.46 are relict forms.[30]

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how O is made up of successive layers of scribal performance, each reliant on a reading of a previous text, whether that of the exemplar, or of the copy as written successively by one of the main scribes, the corrector, or the scribe responsible for the initial capitals. By comparing O to other *Bede* manuscripts we have been able to build a picture of which features all the *Bede* manuscripts have in common, and from this deduce which features may have been part of the original translation, and perhaps part of O's exemplar. Uniquely among the *Bede* texts studied in this thesis, the language of O can be categorised as a *Mischsprache*.

The main characteristic of O is the inconsistency of its copying, which contains numerous omissions, repetitions and corrections. However, a scribe with this kind of haphazard approach to textual transmission might not necessarily produce a *Mischsprache* text. In her study of the *Pastoral Care*, Horgan (1980a: 129-30) found that a 'careless' scribe was responsible for a more conservative, literatim-like approach to copying the text as far as verbal prefixes were concerned:

> The evidence of one copy of the *Pastoral* which shows all the signs of careless copying (obvious spelling errors, frequent omissions, transpositions, poor script etc.), MS Cotton Otho Bii (copied at the end of the tenth or early eleventh century), does not show this variation in prefixed forms, but follows in the great majority of forms the readings of [manuscripts] HJ.

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[30] *þæm* occurs twice in the short sections written by O2 in Book 2. It therefore seems possible that this variant did occur, at least some of the time, in the exemplar.

In contrast, the pattern of variation we see in O is interesting because it is not readily explainable in terms of a progressively translated text, in that the conservative features are not gradually phased out through the course of O1's scribal stint (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 67). As the variation seems to occur without any overriding pattern – the features discussed in this chapter occur throughout Book 3 – O fulfils this requirement of a *Mischsprache*. Among the hallmarks of a *Mischsprache*, we should expect to see 'a text containing a more or less random sample from [the scribe's] own forms and from those of his exemplar', together with 'an unusually large number of variants per item' (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 77-8). This is, indeed, what we find in O, with some features occurring with a 50-50 split (for example, some of the pronouns, and the evidence of palatal diphthongisation). In addition, of all the *Bede* manuscripts O usually shows the widest variety of variants, for example in its range of third person plural pronouns. This view of the language of O as a *Mischsprache*, based on an examination of the main prose text fits well with the conclusion reached by Orton (2000: 17-8) in his study of the manuscript transmission of Cædmon's hymn:

> [*Cædmon's Hymn* in] O therefore has claims to be treated as an independent witness to the late-ninth- or early-tenth-century archetype of the W-S *eorðan* group; and if that is what it is, perhaps we are justified in regarding O as a rather clumsily West-Saxonised version of a prototype text which still retained some of its original Anglian colouring – colouring that the T text has more thoroughly obliterated. If this view is accepted, O provides the evidence we are looking for of a gradual eradication of one dialectal matrix in favour of another in the course of the transmission of an Old English poem.

Orton notes that the West-Saxonisation of the poem is 'clumsy' in that the language is inconsistent, and that the poem as it stands in O contains several emendations. He also notes that some of the poem's 'Anglian colouring' has been retained. He reads the interaction of the Mercian and West-Saxon dialect features as a 'gradual eradication' of the Mercian in favour of the West-Saxon, and it is this coexistence of features from more than one dialect which is a feature of *Mischsprachen*.

O's *Mischsprache* main text was not always to the liking of the corrector, whether this was O1 when he returned to his writing to compare it against the exemplar, or another (perhaps more senior) scribe.[31] In any case, we can discern two different trends in the corrections to O1's original text. In some cases, such as *ussa* on f. 38v, O1's original West-Saxon pronoun forms were altered in line with the probable forms in the exemplar. In other cases, such as smoothed forms like *werc* on f. 45v, which are most probably relict forms from the exemplar, alterations were made to make the spelling conform to West-Saxon phonological patterns. We therefore have a rather interesting text in O; a *Mischsprache*, which is then being pulled in two different directions by its corrections. If these corrections are contemporary with the writing of the main text (and there is

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[31] Cohen-Mushlin (2010) posits different scribes performing different roles according to their stage of training, but the scriptorium she describes must have been fairly large to accommodate so many trained and trainee scribes at one time. We cannot know for certain how many scribes worked at the scriptorium where O was produced; it is quite possible that he was the only trainee in a small centre, in which case the only three scribes there may have been the ones whose hands are discernible in O.

evidence that at least some of them are), then this suggests that, firstly, a *Mischsprache* text was perfectly acceptable to O's producers, and secondly, that they did not envisage a 'perfect' text to be either one that contained a carbon copy of the exemplar's linguistic forms, or one that exhibited a consistent West-Saxon (or West-Saxon-like) dialect.[32] The evidence of the chapter capitals suggests that where scribes did express a preference, it was important for them to produce a text which was 'whole' in that its content was as near to that of the exemplar as possible, even if only on a rather superficial level.

It would seem that O1 is possibly a trainee scribe, given the evidence of the numerous repetitions, omissions, errors and multiple corrections. As we shall see, his text contains far more errors and corrections than those of Ca or B. His interaction with O3 supports this conclusion, in that O3's stint appears as an isolated intervention, confined to no more and no less than one side of a folio.[33] There is also a demonstrable influence of O3's exemplar page on O1's subsequent scribal behaviour, though any effects are rather short-lived. If O1 was indeed a trainee scribe, then this may account for the rather confusing textual corrections; if he was responsible for the conservative ones which emend the text to its exemplar, then perhaps his master was responsible for creating or instigating the innovative emendations, in a bid to make the copied text more readable. If this was the case, then it is interesting to note that the alterations were a failure, in so far as they do not apply to the whole text, and do not produce a text which is consistent, either in terms of dialect, or merely in its internal linguistic features. Ultimately it is difficult to account for the motivation behind the alterations. Our main obstacle is in dating the emendations; while I am certain that at least some of these textual additions are in the hand of O1 (or a hand very similar), some of the interventions are so brief that analysis is not feasible. In addition, where we are dealing with erasure we have no way of knowing when exactly these alterations were made. However, we *have* been able to account for O1's scribal behaviour in classifying him as the producer of a *Mischsprache*, and to tentatively suggest that he was a trainee. If we are right in supposing him to be an inexperienced scribe, then this may account for the kind of behaviour we have been able to detect.

In the course of this chapter we have examined O1's *Mischsprache* text. However, not all Anglo-Saxon scribes worked in this way, and the next chapter deals with a translator scribe who takes a very different approach from O1 to copying his text.

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[32] We can suggest an early date for some of these corrections, as they appear to be reliant on comparing O with its exemplar. This type of correction must therefore be contemporary with the writing of the main text and could very well have been done by the scribe responsible for that particular part of the main text. Other types of correction are harder to date. While nothing rules them out as being contemporary with the production of the main text, it is equally possible that they are the response of a later reader, albeit one with a very similar hand to that of the main scribes.

[33] It would be interesting to see whether O2's stints act in the same way as O3's. A preliminary examination of Books 1 and 2 suggests that this *could* be the case, as O2's stint on f. 11v coincides with the end of a chapter, and those on f. 22v appear in quick succession, as in the case of Cohen-Mushlin's scribe K (2010: 64-6).

Chapter 4

A Translator Scribe: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B)[1]

A scæl gelæred smið swa he gelicost mæg be bisne wyrcan butan he bet cunne[2]

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B) has long been recognised as the most innovative text of the *Bede*. Campbell (1951: 351) called it 'the most radical and violent of all the manuscripts in its changes of the text', while Robinson (1981: 5) described it as 'the single most independent or revisionist version of the Old English *Bede*'. Although B is not the *Bede's* latest text, its language shows the greatest distance from the Mercian dialect of the original translation, and for many recent scholars this fairly thorough West-Saxonisation – along with its wealth of marginal textual material – has been a key point of interest in studying B. These approaches were designed to redress the balance of a scholarship which focused heavily on the Mercian character of manuscripts such as T. However, emphasis on the value of the West-Saxon character of B risks ignoring the evidence of that manuscript's conservative features, which reveal a great deal about the decisions faced by the scribes responsible for its creation.

This chapter attempts to redress this imbalance and is formed of four sections. In the first, the manuscript and its Exeter connections will be considered, while the second looks at evidence for B1 as a translator scribe. Despite his tendency towards scribal innovation, there are also a number of conservative features which slip through into the text, and these relict forms are examined in the third section. Finally, the chapter looks at evidence for B1's scribal behaviour as a 'mender' of his text, a scribe who tries to improve the readings he finds in his exemplar.

4.1 The Manuscript

The radically different nature of B's text has made it a popular and productive object of study. It was initially chosen by Miller to supplement T in his (1890) edition of the *Bede*. However, Miller discarded it when he realised that the *Bede* was an Anglian text, in order to present 'a text, representing as far as possible the Anglian archetype' (1890: v). In addition to the West-Saxon nature of the language, Miller found that 'the scribe or editor of B's text has dealt very freely with his author, changing forms and words and recasting sentences' (v-vi). Schipper chose to present B along with O for his edition (1899), precisely because these two manuscripts had not previously been printed.

Miller and Schipper dated B no later than the mid-eleventh century, based on the presence of Leofric's donation note on p.488: 'we may fairly take the inscription as fixing

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[1] An earlier version of part of this paper (Wallis, 2013a) was presented at Charles University, Prague in March 2012.
[2] 'A trained craftsman should always work as closely as he can to his exemplar, unless he knows better' f. 15r Leningrad, Public Library, Lat O. v. XVI. See Kilpiö and Tsvinaria (2011) for a full description and discussion of this note.

the date of the m[anu]s[cript] about the time of the Conquest' (Miller, 1890: xvii).[3] Ker, on the other hand, dated it on palaeographical grounds slightly earlier, to the first half of the 11[th] century (1957: 43).[4] The *Bede* is the manuscript's main (but not only) text, and all others are written in the margins and other blank spaces. B's marginal contents include Latin masses with Old English rubrics, homilies, charms, and the poem *Solomon and Saturn*. The marginalia do not appear to have been added as companion-pieces to the *Bede*; indeed Keefer (1996) suggests that it was the layout (rather than the subject) of the *Bede* text, with its wide margins, which attracted the addition of such a wide variety of supplementary writings. This idea was developed by Bredehoft (2006), who concluded that the marginal material was entered initially only in parts of the manuscript which were already completed, moving to unfinished sections of the *Bede* text only as space became scarcer. He also found that different types of text were added at different times, with the charms entered earlier than the liturgical texts, which were in turn added before the martyrology and *Solomon and Saturn*. In addition to the supplementary texts, B also contains a three-part petition to readers at the end of the work. The third part of the envoi is unique to B and the whole petition had always, until Robinson's (1981) edition, been printed separately to the main text of the *Ecclesiastical History*, because the last two sections are not part of Bede's original work. Robinson makes the case for editing and studying the envoi in its entirety, and states that his aim is 'to present a text of complex authorship and prose-verse form in the composite, integral state that its last shaper intended it to have' (1981: 7). In this respect, Robinson advocates seeing each manuscript as the artefact it is, with the emphasis on the text as it has been shaped by its transmitters, rather than by its author or translator.

Two scribes are discernible in B's *Bede* text: the first (B1) is responsible for the text from the beginning to p.190, while B2 writes the second half of the manuscript. A third hand is responsible for all the marginalia, but this does not appear to be contemporary with hands 1 and 2 (Ker 1957: 45). In addition, two eleventh-century entries record names in the text; *ælfwine* is interlined on p.155, and *ælfwerd* in the margin on p.242. Budny (1997: 510) states that B contains notes by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars Parker, Joscelyn and Wheelocke. As Parker's annotations are reported to be in red crayon, the thin pen with light grey ink which makes periodic annotations and underlines the repetition on p.176 presumably belongs either to Joscelyn or Wheelocke. While the text was written by B1 and B2 apparently simultaneously, the *Bede* was never completed, as gaps have been left for chapter initials, several of which have not been entered into the manuscript. Most of B1's initials are missing, while B2's are on the whole present, some of these 'very probably entered by scribe 2 himself' (Bredehoft, 2006: 723). Budny describes B as an 'overly ambitious' project, given its spacious layout, yet notes the unfinished capitals and the script, which is not as elegant as would be expected in what Budny calls a 'luxury volume' (1997: 503).

Whether B's two scribes were chosen because of the similarity of their hands, or whether this is due to their scribal training is unclear. Writing about twelfth-century scribes in

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[3] References made specifically to the text of B are to the manuscript pages; while T, O and Ca are foliated, B is paginated.

[4] Rowley (2011: 23) dates B to 'the beginning of the tenth [*sic*] century', which is presumably an error, as the heading to this particular section gives the date as 's. xi[1]'.

Frankenthal, Cohen-Mushlin (2010: 64) states that one particular scribe was chosen, apparently because of the similarity of his writing to that of a scribe already working on a text, and that 'it seems that great efforts were made to match different hands and train them to follow a common style of script, aimed to produce homogenous and uniform manuscripts'. What is evident is that despite the hands of B1 and B2 looking so similar, linguistically their scribal behaviour is more individual than Grant (1989: 11) suggested when he wrote:

> It has not been found productive to distinguish the changes wrought to the Bede text by the individual scribes. Neither of the scribes emerges as any more responsible than his colleague for the alterations.

Although both scribes write in a West-Saxon dialect which obliterates many non-West-Saxon features, there are differences between them, some of which may be due to their relative ages. While it appears that the two scribes worked in tandem on their respective parts of the manuscript (each half contains a separate set of quire signatures), it seems that B2 completed what was supposed to be B1's stint. As the manuscript now stands, B2 copied the text from p.190 to the end, taking over from B1 in the middle of a sentence on p.190 at *peginaleah*, as shown in Fig. 4.1:
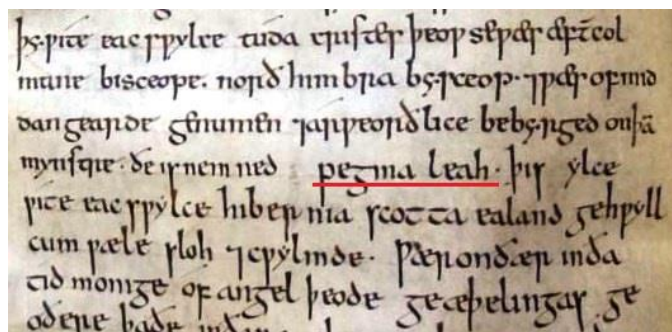
Fig. 4.1: p.190; B2 takes over from B1 at *peginaleah* on the fourth line (underlined in red).

On p.206, however, B2 left a gap equivalent to 6 lines of copy at the bottom of the page, which were subsequently used by the third scribe to add the marginal texts (the gap is outlined in red in Fig. 4.2). It seems, then, that B1 may have originally been allocated the text up to the join on p.207, but did not complete the section of work originally assigned to him. Why this should be so is unclear. Perhaps there was some confusion about where the join would be. The middle of a sentence appears rather an odd place to agree to change scribes, though it is possible that *peginaleah* stood at a quire or page break in B's exemplar. Whatever the reason, B2 has made good the textual deficiency, but seems to have realised that he would have space left over as he approached the join with his previous work, and left the gap on p.206.
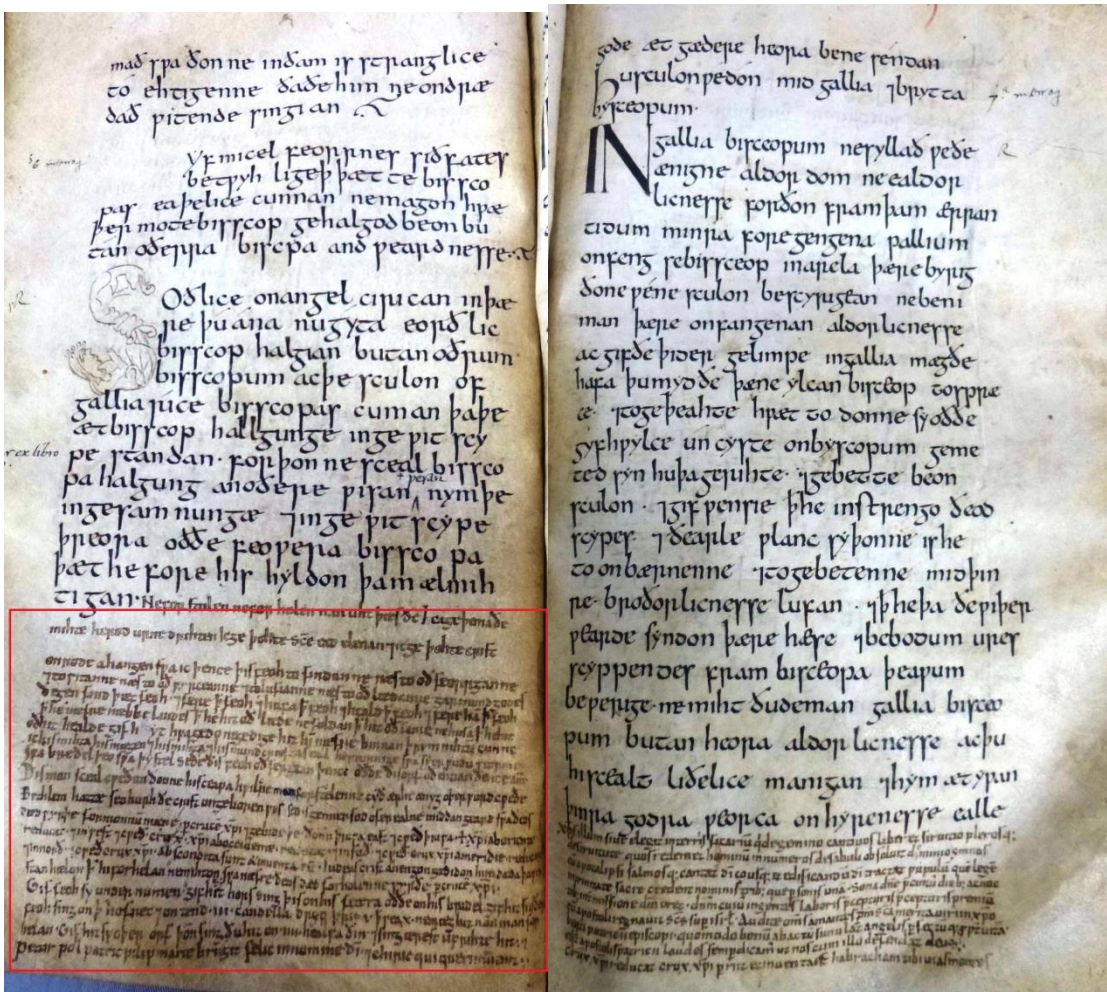
Fig. 4.2: pp.206-7. The bottom six lines of p.206 (outlined in red), showing the gap left initially by B2 as he joined the two sections of text.

Rowley (2004) emphasises the merits of the B manuscript as subject worthy of study in its own right, rather than as a poor relation of T. She highlights the negative rhetoric by writers such as Miller (1890) and Grant (1989) associated with B's West-Saxon dialect features, claiming that it has often been portrayed as 'a mediocre text in the wrong dialect' (2004: 11). Although Grant's (1989: 10) study discusses the linguistic insights to be gained from an examination of its West-Saxon language, and concludes that in terms of content B often preserves a better reading than T, he still describes B as written by incompetent and careless scribes. Before we turn to a detailed examination of the scribal performances which make up B, however, we shall consider what our knowledge of the manuscript's provenance can add to our understanding of B's text.

4.2 Exeter Books and Archbishop Leofric

We know from the donation inscription at the end of B (p.488) that the manuscript was given to Exeter Cathedral by Leofric, Bishop of Crediton and then of Exeter from 1046 to 1072. Leofric moved the see from Crediton to Exeter around 1050, and famously found the cathedral there in such a poor state that during his episcopacy he donated land, books and other treasures to restore it to glory (Treharne (2003), though see Conner (1993) for

an alternative view).[5] Our evidence for books at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate comes from two sources; firstly, books which contain a donation inscription like that in B; and secondly, volumes identified from the list of books donated by Leofric. This list survives in the gospel book Oxford, Bodleian Auct. D. 2. 16, together with a copy now bound at the beginning of the *Exeter Book*, and details land given or restored to the cathedral, and the books and other treasures he donated. However, an Old English *Bede* is not among the volumes named in the account of Leofric's gifts to Exeter found in that donation list.

Of the twenty-nine Anglo-Saxon manuscripts with an Exeter connection, nine contain a donation inscription similar to that found in B:

Ker No.	Manuscript	Contents	Origin/ date
20/ 116	Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. ii/ Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501	List of Leofric's gifts. Originally part of West-Saxon Gospels in CUL Ii. 2. ii, now part of the *Exeter Book*	s. xi^{ex} quarter
32	**CCCC 41 (B)**	**Old English *Bede***	**s. x^1**
84	Cambridge, Trinity College B. II. 2 (241)	Glosses to Amalarius (liturgy)	S. x, Glosses s. x-xi^{med}. Exeter?
236	London, British Library Harley, 2961	The *Leofric Collectar*	s. xi^{med}
291	Oxford, Bodleian Auct D. 2. 16	Gospel, with list of Leofric's gifts at beginning.	s. x. Landevennec, Brittany
294	Oxford, Bodleian Auct F. 1. 15	Boethius *De Consolatione* with Old English gloss. Persius. (2x donation list)	s. x^2
315	Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 579	The *Leofric Missal*	s. ix/x. NE France
316	Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 708	Gregory's *Pastoral Care*	s. xi^{in}. Canterbury, Christ Church
	Oxford, Bodleian Auct F. 3. 6	Prudentius, *Psychomachia, Cathemerinon, Peristephanon*	s. xi^1. Exeter

Table 4.1: Manuscripts with a Leofric donation note.

Manuscripts with donation notices or more extended lists of Leofric's gifts include a variety of texts, both in Old English and in Latin. They range from English works such as the *Bede*, through Latin texts with an English gloss such as the *Amalarius* and *Boethius* volumes, to those in Latin only, such as the *Prudentius*. Treharne (2003: 164) remarks that 'the list of volumes copied in Old English, together with the Latin manuscripts gathered at Exeter at this time, can be considered entirely appropriate for episcopal usage.' That Exeter's library was indeed in such a parlous state when Leofric moved the see there is indicated by the fact that both Wulfstan of Worcester and Leofric had homiliaries compiled for themselves, but while Wulfstan's is the work of only one scribe, Leofric's involves nine: 'this suggests the work was commissioned with a haste that would be entirely understandable given the lack of texts available to Leofric' (Treharne, 2007: 25).

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[5] Hill (2005) argues that Leofric's motivation for the move was political. The appendix to her article provides a useful summary of the books mentioned in the list at the beginning of the *Exeter Book*. Further details on the identification of these listed works with surviving manuscripts are provided by Lapidge (1985), and transcriptions and discussions of the list can be found in Lapidge (1985: 65) and Conner (1993).

For these manuscripts it is fairly straightforward to assign an Exeter provenance, and a connection with Leofric in particular.

The list of Leofric's books supplied at the beginning of the *Exeter Book* and the gospel book Bodleian Auct. D. 2. 16 can also be used to identify existing manuscripts. For example, the *Exeter Book* version of the list states that the Prudentius texts *Psychomachia, Cathemerinon,* and *Peristephanon* appear 'on anre bec', and they all appear in Bodleian, Auct. 3. 6 (Lapidge, 1985: 68). In addition, we are lucky in that two late medieval catalogues exist for Exeter, dated 1327 and 1506, and these, in addition to palaeographical evidence, can be used to try to reconstruct Leofric's library (Treharne, 2003). On this basis, then, we can see that Leofric's Exeter library consisted in part of books useful for the spiritual life of the cathedral community, such as gospels, liturgical books, a *Rule* of Chrodegang, the *Capitula* of Theodolf, and several volumes of homilies. On the other hand, we see standard Latin scholarly works such as Isidore's *De natura rerum*, Aldhelm's *De laude virginitatis* and works by Boethius, Bede and Prudentius. Finally, a copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* suggests that someone at Exeter was teaching Latin.[6]

Some Exeter manuscripts can be traced by the fact that they form part of a bequest by Archbishop Parker in 1575 to the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Others (Ker (1957) nos. 19 and 20) were given to the University Library by Parker in 1574, while the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral donated several volumes to the Bodleian Library in 1602. Ker no. 84 (Amalarius) was owned by John Parker, son of Archbishop Parker, before its donation to Cambridge University Library by Archbishop Whitgift. The Exeter provenance of B is consistent with its route into the Parker library via Archbishop Parker's bequest in 1575; Ker nos. 45, 46, 47, 50, 68, and 69 came by this route. Although none of the other bequests have inscriptions of donations made by Leofric, some of these volumes have been identified with manuscripts described in the list of Leofric's donations (Lapidge 1985: 64-9). Therefore, although we have three pieces of evidence which seem to point to an Exeter provenance for these manuscripts – donation notes, the *Exeter Book* list and Parker's bequest – they do not always corroborate each other.

It is clear from Table 4.1, that the manuscripts with donation notes were not always new books, and were not always from Exeter. Studies of Leofric's library demonstrate that Exeter's books came from two sources, firstly through the acquisition of already-existing volumes, and secondly through a 'coherent plan of vernacular copying by staff working specifically for the bishop who, on his death, effectively disbanded' (Treharne 2003: 159; see also Hill 2005). According to Treharne, Exeter's textual production seems to have ceased and its acquisition practices seem to have changed after Leofric's episcopacy, indicating that the focus in the mid-late eleventh century on producing and acquiring vernacular texts was due to the influence of Leofric himself (2003: 169).

The dating of B to the first half of the eleventh century (i.e. before Leofric's episcopacy) and the fact that it is not, according to Ker (1957: 45), written in an Exeter hand, suggest that B is a manuscript which Leofric acquired from elsewhere. This has two implications

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[6] Note also that Aldhelm and Prudentius were popular Latin teaching texts in Anglo-Saxon England. (Rigg and Wieland, 1974).

for contextualising the scribal practices we see in B. Firstly, we are unable to attribute any of these scribal practices to the influence of Leofric himself, or to his scriptorium. Secondly, in the absence of any other internal evidence we are unable to posit with any degree of certainty a geographical origin for this manuscript.[7] This matters because we are therefore unable to pinpoint a geographical or dialectal area for the scribes or their scriptorium. In some ways this is problematic, as we cannot compare the behaviour of B's scribes with that of others known to have been working in a similar area and period. However, in spite of all these issues, the fact that we have other manuscript witnesses of the *Bede* means that we *can* use B as evidence for scribal practice; by comparing B's readings with those found in the other *Bede* manuscripts, we are able to draw up a profile of its scribes which tells us something about their behaviour and, I believe, about their exemplar.

4.3 B1: A Consistent Copyist

In contrast with O1, B1 makes far fewer corrections to his text. Those that do occur are more likely to be the result of mechanical slips, for example, remedying eyeskips by adding or deleting text, or adding or removing individual letters to correct mistakes by the scribe in his initial copying. B1 also has relatively few instances of repetition in Book 3, suggesting that he was, perhaps, a more attentive scribe than O1. The only substantial example of a repetition in B is found in example 1:

1) he ongeat þte hi in cri
   stes geleafan gelærede **wæron. ꝛ ða weorc þæs ge**
   leafan hæfdon. ꝛ cwæð þ hi fracode ꝛ earme wæron
   ꝛ þa weorc þæs geleafan hæfdon. ꝛ cwæð þ hi fraco
   de ꝛ earme wæron þ hi ne woldon heora gode gyl
   dan ꝛ hyran on ðone þ hi gelyfdon.   (p.176)
   He perceived that they were learned in Christ's faith, **and had the habit of that faith.**
   And he said that they were shameful and wretched, if they would not worship and praise
   the god in whom they believed.

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[7] Budny states that B was written 'probably' in southern England in the first half of the eleventh century (1997: 507), while Grant (1989: 8) suggests that 'study of both the main and the marginal texts and their relations with texts contained in other manuscripts point to Winchester as a likely point of origin but stops short of definite proof'. On the other hand, Keefer (1996: 147) states that 'the nature of the marginalia suggests that the additions were made, as was perhaps the book itself, in a provincial scriptorium of no great size.'
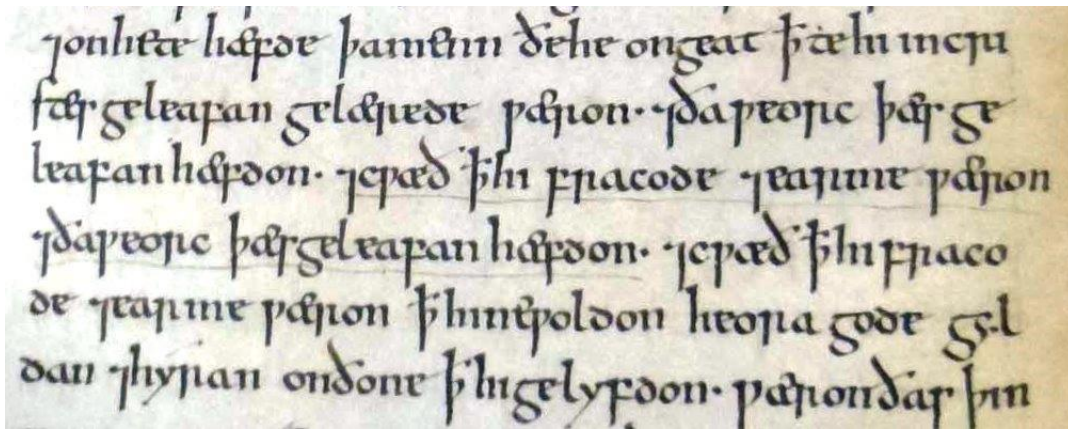
Fig. 4.3: p.176. Repetition underlined by early modern reader.

The underlining now visible in the manuscript is probably early modern in date, as it is written in thin pen with grey-black ink, which matches in colour and pen-thickness other early modern additions to the text. The repetition itself appears to have been triggered by *wæron*, and it is interesting to note B1's consistency in spelling, in contrast with O1; in the course of the fourteen-word repetition we do not find any alternation in words such as *weorc*, *geleafan*, *hæfdon*, *hi* or *fracode*, where we might expect to see it. The only difference is in the use of <ð> in the first instance of *ða*, and <þ> in the second. We can therefore (tentatively) suggest that he is in many respects a consistent writer, although the comparative lack of duplicated material in B1's performance means that it is harder to come to firm conclusions about the consistency of his scribal output. Although (as we shall see) he frequently alters the phonological form of words and rewords sections, B1 appears to employ a fairly consistent orthography.

A second example of apparent eyeskip occurs in example 2:

2) Ac ða woruldgod ealle þe hi(m) fra(m)
cyningum Ɬ fra(m) weligu(m) mannu(m) þysse worulde **#seal#**
gifene wæron sona he ða gife þearfu(m) ræhte Ɬ **seal**
de þam ðe him togeanes comon   (p.131)
'But he immediately **gave** all the worldly goods that he was given by kings and wealthy men of the world to the needy who came to him.'
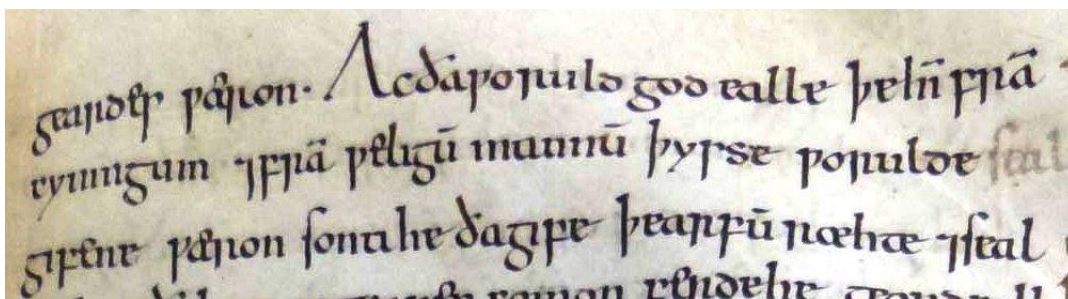
Fig. 4.4: Erasure of <seal> on second line, p.131.

This example shows the scribe anticipating the <seal> of *sealde* a line early. In this case, there does not seem to be any obvious reason for this eyeskip, as there are no similar or repeated words, and the only thing the two instances of *seal* have in common is their position at the end of a line. We may speculate, then, as to whether this word had the

same line-end position in B's exemplar that we see here; this would be one way of accounting for the slip. If this *is* the case, then it suggests that B1 could have been (at least at this point in the manuscript) copying without apparently paying attention to the sense of the text in front of him. Whatever the case, it is clear that he realised his mistake before he started to copy the next line, as he correctly writes *gifene* on line three.

Also from p.131 is the correction in example 3:

3) ealle þa ðe mid him eodon ge besco
   renne ge læwede swa hwylce stowe swa hi gesoh
   tan oððe **hi#s#** sealmas gode sungon ⁊ leornodon...   (p.131)
   'All those who went with him, both those with the tonsure, and laymen, in whatever place they sought, or sang psalms to god, and learnt...'
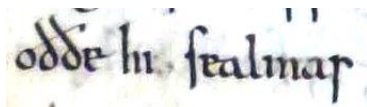
Fig. 4.5: erasure of <s>, p.131.

B1 initially wrote *his sealmas*, repeating the <s> through dittography. What is intriguing about this error is that the context should have made it clear to the scribe that *hi* was what was needed, not *his*; Bede is clearly talking about Aidan's followers, and the preceding *hi*, and following plural verbs all point to this. Perhaps, then, this error is a purely mechanical one, due to irregular letter spacing in the exemplar. Such irregularity need not be surprising; we only have to look at the efforts of O's main scribe to see this.

Other than erasure or underlining, text to be omitted is also marked by the use of dots under the superfluous letters, and there are five instances where text written by B1 has been dotted to show which parts are to be deleted.[8]

4) oswald wæs gelæded to þam heofonlican
   rice. þa onfeng ðæs eorðlican rices **aþel**
   æfter him osweo his broðor.   (p.156)
   'Oswald was brought to the heavenly kingdom. Then Osweo his brother received the earthly kingdom's **homeland** (nobility) after him.'
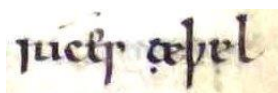
Fig. 4.6: p.156, underdotted <a>.

In this example B1 initially wrote *æþel* ('nobility'), rather than *eþel* ('native land'). It is possible that the exemplar had a spelling such as <œþel>, and that he mistook an <œ> in the exemplar for an <æ>. The spelling <œþel> for <eþel> appears both in Anglian texts, and in early-West-Saxon ones (Campbell, 1959: §198), and could account for the kind of scribal error being corrected here.

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[8] Underdotting occurs five times in B1's section and twice in B2's.

In comparison to O1, then, B1 makes far fewer errors which he feels the need to correct. We are therefore looking at a scribe who works differently to O1, who gives the impression of having more command over the text he is copying. As mechanical errors appear to be rarer in B1's stint, we shall turn to the ways in which his performance *does* vary from that of the other *Bede* scribes, in the West-Saxonisation of his text.

4.4 Translating the Text

This section focuses on a group of features which are representative of a West-Saxon (rather than a Mercian) dialect. It includes morphological and grammatical differences, as well as spelling variations which have their basis in phonological changes. As noted in section 2.5 the spelling differences themselves are the focus, as opposed to the sound changes which originally lay behind them. Therefore, although many of these categories are labelled in terms of phonological features, what is actually under discussion are the spellings and orthographic conventions that arise from these original phonological differences, not the phonological differences themselves. Considered here are: breaking and retraction, the presence of <o> before a nasal consonant, the formation of weak class 2 past tenses, the case governed by the preposition *mid*, forms of the preposition *forðon*, and negative contraction.

4.4.1 Breaking and Retraction

The first variation under consideration is between spellings which show breaking before consonant clusters with <l> + consonant, and those that show retraction (Hamer 1967: 15). Given the Mercian influence on the *Bede*, we might expect to see features such as retraction in words containing proto-Germanic *æl + consonant, for example *ald* (retraction) rather than *eald* (breaking) (Campbell 1959: §143). The table below shows a selection of affected words across the four manuscripts:[9]

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[9] In each case the tables show a selection of the most common items displaying the feature under consideration.

Breaking						Retraction					
	T	O	Ca	B	B2		T	O	Ca	B	B2
eall-	66	80	78	**86**	8	all-	8	1			
eald-	4	7	7	**7**	1	ald-	4	1			
ealdorman	3	4	8	**8**		aldormonn	7			**1**	
ealdor		1	1			aldor	3			**3**	
ealdorlicnesse	1	6	5	**1**		aldorlicnesse	3		1	**3***	1
(an)wealh/ weald	1	3	3	**3**		(on)walh/wald	2	1	2	**1**	
wealhstod				**1**		walhstod	1	1	1		
cealdes		1	1	**2**		caldes	1	1			
weall		2	1	**1**		wall	2		1		

*Includes one example of *aldornesse* where all other manuscripts have *(e)aldorlicnesse*.

Table 4.2: Examples of breaking (on the left) and retraction (right).[10]

What is immediately apparent in Table 4.2 is that none of the four manuscripts considered here uses retracted forms consistently, and often not even in the majority of cases. While T is the most likely of all the manuscripts to use variants with retraction, it is only in comparatively infrequent words, such as *aldor*, *walhstod* and *caldes* that retraction occurs consistently. In a word such as *eall*, which is far more common, retraction accounts for only eight out of the 72 instances of the word, though retracted forms are the majority for *aldormonn* and *aldorlicnesse*.[11] So although the scribes are working from a text that started out 'Mercian' in character (though we cannot know whether the original translation used only Mercian variants or whether it was dialectally mixed), the surviving evidence shows us that even by the time the earliest of these manuscripts was copied, in the early tenth century (Ker 1957: 428), at least one scribe (that of T) is writing and using a good number of forms with breaking.

B1 not only uses broken forms in *eall-* and *eald-* but generally seems to disfavour retracted forms. The exceptions are one instance of *onwalh*, and six instances of *aldor-* and its compounds.[12] Campbell (1959: §338) gives *onwald* as an example of a word where breaking can fail in a low-stress environment, though it is interesting to note that retraction occurs in a minority of instances of the word. This retracted spelling occurs in early-West-Saxon, as well as in Anglian texts (Sweet, 1871: xxi). However, as a retracted

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[10] Because of the nature of manuscript production, not every manuscript will contain exactly the same number of occurrences of each item. Hence *wealhstod* occurs only once (in B1) and its retracted form *walhstod* once each in T, O and Ca. In contrast, the broken form *ealdor* occurs once each in O and Ca, whereas the retracted *aldor* occurs three times in each of T and B1. Therefore, although for each manuscript both words show a complementary distribution in their broken and retracted forms, the fact that *ealdor* occurs less frequently in O and Ca than *aldor* does in T and B will be due either to O and Ca rewording the relevant section or to the fact that that particular piece of text is missing. As we are not always comparing like with like, the counts for each item will vary.

[11] Lutz (1984) examines spellings of *w(e)aldend* in poetry which exhibit retraction, in contrast with related words such as *wealdan* and *geweald*, which tend to occur with breaking. She concludes that there were two spelling conventions followed by late-West-Saxon scribes, depending on whether the word was used in poetry or prose.

[12] Deutschbein (1901: 214-5) notes several examples in T of retraction in exactly the same types of words as noted here.

form from an early-West-Saxon source would not be expected in the textual tradition of the *Bede*, it is perhaps more likely that this example of *onwalh* is a relict form from B's exemplar. The *aldor-* compounds are also more likely to have retracted forms, not only in B1, but also in B's closest relative, T, and we see a clear difference here between T and B's retention of the retracted forms, compared with the broken forms favoured by O and Ca. Apart from this cluster, retracted forms are rare in B, other than in personal names. If we compare the types of words showing retraction in our latest two manuscripts (B and Ca), we can see a clear difference in use. Retraction in B is confined mostly to words with *aldor-*, whereas Ca's instances of retraction are more widely spread (section 5.4.3.3). Where retraction does appear in a word in Ca, it rarely occurs more than once and it appears in a selection of lexically unrelated words. We could therefore posit some kind of lexical reason for the retraction of *aldor-* words in B1.

The inclusion by B and Ca of fewer instances of retraction before <l> + consonant largely conforms to West-Saxon patterns. Campbell confirms that this usage is to be expected in late-West-Saxon texts; while retracted spellings in <a> are found in the early period, 'in late W[est] S[axon] *ea* becomes exclusively used' (1959: §143). This sample, then, shows a continuing shift away from retracted forms towards a usage more in line with late-West-Saxon linguistic patterns. However, in no manuscript do we see a complete obliteration of retracted spellings.

4.4.2 <o> + Nasal

The second phonological feature to be considered is the use of <o> + following nasal consonant.[13] This feature, which is generally taken to be indicative of non-West-Saxon dialects, is again most commonly found in T, and Deutschbein (1901: 183) states that '*o* scheint in dieser zeit besonders Merc. zu sein':[14]

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[13] Although the <o> + nasal variant occurs in various texts and cannot, therefore, be pinned down with any certainty to a particular dialect, a more consistent use of <a> + nasal appears to be a late-West-Saxon phenomenon. Hogg (1992a: §5.5) states that 'in later texts there is a more clear-cut division between S[outhern] texts, where <a> predominates, and the Angl[ian] texts, where <o> predominates'. Phillips (1980: 20) agrees that, while <o> + nasal is common in Anglian and early-West-Saxon texts, <a> + nasal supplants <o> in West-Saxon during the course of the tenth century. See also Campbell (1959: §130, fn 2) for the development of this sound and its dialectal/textual variation.

[14] '<o> seems during this period to be particularly Mercian.'

	T	O	Ca	B	B2
hond	17 (17)	1 (17)	0 (18)	**0 (18)**	0 (0)
ond[15]	104 (104)	1 (1)	0 (6)	**0 (1)**	1 (3)
monig	46 (46)	42 (42)	41 (41)	**16 (45)**	2 (5)
mon	99 (105)	48 (92)	44 (90)	**5 (101)**	0 (7)
ealond	14 (14)	4 (16)	14 (16)	**0 (15)**	2 (2)
from	82 (84)	3 (75)	3 (68)	**1 (69)**	0 (5)
noma	14 (14)	2 (9)	0 (8)	**0 (10)**	0 (2)
(ge)nom	15 (16)	1 (16)	1 (14)	**0 (13)**	0 (2)

Table 4.3: <o> + nasal. The total number of instances of each particular lexical item is shown in brackets.

Table 4.3 shows that, as a proportion of the total, T uses almost exclusively <o> + nasal, confirming its non-West-Saxon character. Again, the picture we get from O and Ca is mixed, with certain items occurring predominantly with an <o> spelling (e.g. *monig*), whereas others choose <a> spellings (*genom, from*) or follow no overall pattern (*mon*). The confusing picture from O is not surprising, as its text is a *Mischsprache*. Most notably, however, B1 seems to be making considerable efforts to avoid these <o> forms, with *mon* accounting for only five out of 101 occurrences, and *from* for only one out of 69. Although we see a few occurrences of *mon, monig* or *from*, as opposed to the more usual *man, manig* and *fram*, these instances form a clear minority, and the words where <o> forms do occur are the most common ones. Interestingly, Table 4.3 highlights differences between B1 and B2 in their spellings of *ealand/ ealond*. B1 always writes *ealand*, whereas B2 writes only *ealond* in the small sample of his work contained in Book 3. He also writes *ond* on one occasion, which B1 avoids, and it therefore appears that, at least in these lexical items, B2 was more tolerant of <o> + nasal spellings than B1.

Monig is the only word to appear with <o> in any great proportion, whether in the stint of B1 or B2, accounting for 16 out of 45 and 2 out of 5 occurrences respectively. Sweet (1871: xxii) noted a similar variation in words with <a> and <o> before a nasal in the *Pastoral Care*, and concluded that 'the general rule is that the commonest words have *o*, the rarer *a*'. This was tested by Phillips, who concluded that, in the *Pastoral Care* at least, 'the fluctuation between spellings in <u>a</u> and <u>o</u> before nasals does not appear to be random, but to be based on a combination of word frequency and word class' (1980: 22). She found verbs least likely to show <o> spellings, nouns and adjectives in the middle, and adverbs and function words most likely to use <o>. When compared with the results in Table 4.3 above, we can see that, to an extent, Phillips' findings anticipate the usage of the *Bede* scribes. Of the scribes who exhibit mixed usage for <o> + nasal, O, Ca and B1 have a tendency to use it mostly in words in Phillips' category of adverbs and function words, e.g. *ond, monig* and *from*. It is least used in verbs (though *(ge)nam* is the only word in this category listed in the table), however the frequencies for nouns are mixed. *Hond* usually appears with <a>, while *mon* is spelled with <o> around half the time in O, and a little less in Ca. *Ealond* never appears with <o> in B1's stint, but never with <a> in B2's; O and Ca likewise exhibit contradictory tendencies.

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[15] The count for *ond/and* varies substantially as instances where the scribes use the Tironian nota, which could signify either spelling, have not been included in the overall total.

The results gained for <o> + nasal are slightly problematic, in that we do not see a uniform transition from <o> to <a> as we move from the earlier manuscripts to the later ones. There is a general tendency for <a> to become more frequent, but this does not hold good for all lexical items (as we have seen with *mon* and *monig*). Phillips showed that the patterns in the *Pastoral Care* were complex, and it may be as well to bear in mind the conclusions Colman drew from personal-name evidence in coins: 'there is no geographical or chronological pattern for the epigraphic <A>/ <O> forms: each can occur at the same mint, for the same type (and therefore chronological period)' (1992: 182). In many of the *Bede* cases, what we may be seeing is the interaction of <o> forms from the exemplars, combined with <a> forms more representative of the training of our later scribes. This is a pattern we have already seen for O; for this particular feature it also seems to hold good for Ca and, to a lesser extent, B1 and B2. Although the rates of <a> usage in B1's stint are consistent with a view of him as a translating scribe, it does seem that for some words he tolerates a higher frequency of <o> spellings, perhaps as part of his passive repertoire.

4.4.3 Class 2 Weak Preterite Verbs

Morphological differences between the manuscripts can be found in the past tenses of class 2 weak verbs. Specifically, Anglian texts use an <a> before the past tense dental suffix (e.g. *lufade* 'loved'), whereas West-Saxon uses an <o> (*lufode*).

	T	O	Ca	B
-ad-	89	107	38	**11**
-od-	67	31	106	**144**
-ed-	32	40	76	**39**
Totals:	188	178	220	**194**

Table 4.4: Past tenses of class 2 weak verbs.[16]

The two manuscripts which have so far exhibited most Mercian traits, T and O, continue this trend, with their high number of *lufad*-type past tenses (89 out of 188, and 107 out of 178 instances respectively). In contrast, Ca has only 38 instances of the <a> variant out of a total of 220, while B is notable for its particularly low reading of 11 instances from a total of 194.

However, in the *Bede* we are not dealing with only two dialectal variants. Of the remaining class 2 weak verbs, the majority show the <od> variant, but a number of verbs occur with <ed> (e.g. *lufede*). These <ed> forms appear in all manuscripts (T has 32 instances, O 40, Ca 76, and B 39), which is unsurprising, given that this variant has no specific dialectal restriction (Campbell, 1959: §757, 385). What is interesting, though, is that <ed> forms increase in frequency in the latest manuscript, Ca, where we see the highest number of <ed> forms. We can therefore infer that diachronic developments, as well as geographical or 'dialectal' ones, influence some of the scribal performances. It is

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[16] Table 4.4 includes counts for the part of Book 3 equivalent to B1's stint only. Although it covers 78 different verbs, only nine verbs occur more than five times: *bodian, fulwian, gemyndgian, gesomnian, halgian, leornian, timbrian, wilnian* and *wunian*.

notable that while all manuscripts show a mixed usage, the majority of B1's examples use the <od> variant (144 instances). This is to be expected, given that <od> 'heavily predominates in W[est] S[axon]' (Campbell, 1959: §757). B1's less frequent use of <ad> forms conforms to other aspects of the scribal behaviour evident in this manuscript, in that the scribe has attempted to reduce the frequency of non-West-Saxon features, in contrast with his nearest contemporary, O1.

4.4.4 *Mid* + Accusative

There is a marked difference across the four manuscripts as regards the case governed by the preposition *mid* (with). Although Bosworth-Toller states that the accusative, dative or instrumental can be used with *mid*, Mitchell (1985: 505) says that '*mid* with the accusative is generally agreed to be Anglian'. In this he follows Napier (1887: 138), who states that such constructions are Anglian, rather than West-Saxon:

> In echtws. denkmälern wird *mid* stets mit dem dativ bezw. instrumental konstruiert: in Ælfred's Cura Pastoralis, Orosius und Boetius, im ältesten teil der Sachsenchronik [...], sowie in Ælfric's homilien und heiligenleben (soweit erschienen) <u>findet sich kein einziges sicheres beispiel von *mid* mit dem accusativ.</u> Im Anglischen dagegen ist diese konstruktion ganz gewöhnlich.[17]

In his introduction to the *Bede*, Miller (1890: xlvii) concludes from his survey of early texts that '*mid* with the accusative is excluded from Wessex', while Harting (1937: 289) finds evidence of *mid* + accusative in the more Anglian O manuscript of Gregory's *Dialogues*. Table 4.5 shows the frequency of *mid* occurring with each particular case in Book 3:

	T	O	Ca	B	B2
mid + acc.	**16**	**24**	**22**	**1**	**0**
mid + dat.	132	124	127	160	18
mid + inst.	38	29	37	36	7
uncertain case[18]	13	14	12	12	0

Table 4.5: Cases governed by the preposition *mid*

As can be seen, all manuscripts favour use of *mid* + dative. However, T, O and Ca also have a substantial number of instances where the accusative is used, whereas B shows only one instance of this. What is most notable is that these manuscripts contain a number of phrases with *mid* + accusative personal pronouns such as *mid hine* (acc.), whereas B always uses *mid him* (dat.). There is one instance of B1 writing an accusative after *mid*:

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[17] 'In genuine West-Saxon records *mid* always takes the dative or instrumental: in Ælfred's *Cura Pastoralis, Orosius* and *Boethius*, and in the oldest part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as well as in Ælfric's homilies and *Lives of Saints* (as far as they appear) one finds not a single definite example of *mid* with the accusative. In Anglian texts, however, this construction is quite usual.'

[18] This includes instances of *mid* plus a weak noun, where it is impossible to distinguish case.

5) wæs he se mann æfæst ⁊ arfæst ⁊ for
ðon eallu(m) his leodu(m) leof ⁊ ne mihte he hwæþere **mid**
þone cyning ðe þone dæl norðhymbra rices. hæfde
þ is beornica sibbe hæfde   (p.157)
'He was a pious and kind man and therefore dear to all his people, and yet he could not
have peace **with the king** who had that part of Northumbria (that is, Bernicia).'
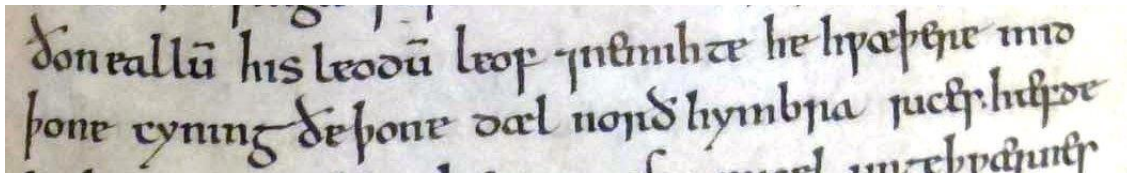
Fig. 4.7: p.157, *mid þone cyning*

As this is the only clear example of *mid* with the accusative, it is tempting to wonder why
this particular example occurs in B at this point. That the exemplar read *mid þone* seems
reasonably certain, as that is the reading found in all the other manuscripts, but beyond
that there seems no other reason for its appearance, other than it being a chance relict
form.[19] Another occurrence of what at first sight appears to be *mid* with an accusative
occurs in example 6:

6) Mid **þ\i/a** ða ge
broðor þa gehyrdon þa ðe on his mynstre wæron.   (p.184)
'Then **when** the brothers who were in the monastery heard this ...'
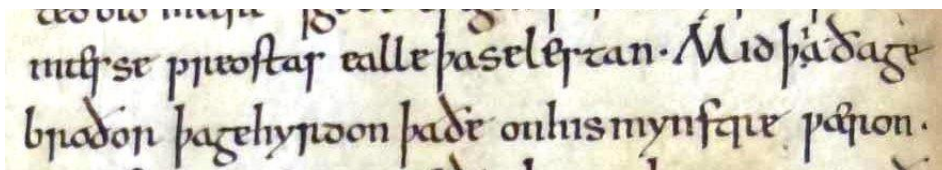
Fig. 4.8: *mid þ^i a*.

The scribe originally wrote *mid þa*, but the <a> has been underdotted and a superscript <i>
added. When introducing a temporal clause, Rissanen (2011) only mentions *mid* as
occurring with 'the oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun, *þæm/ þon/ þy*'. Nor does
Mitchell (1985: §2598 (2)) record *mid þa* as introducing a temporal clause. It therefore
seems likely, given the scarcity of the feature, that what we see in this instance is not an
original *mid* + accusative, but a mechanical error (possibly anticipation of *ða gebroðor*)
which has been corrected.

4.4.5 *Forðon*
Another noticable trait of B1 is his treatment of the conjunction *forðon*. As Table 4.5
shows, B1 is the only scribe to use *forðam* to any degree:

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[19] Interestingly, O has a dry-point annotation at this point (f. 41r), emending *þone* to *þæm* (section 6.3.2).

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
forðon	35	40	41	**22**	3
forðan		5			
forðam	1	1	2	**19**	1

Table 4.5: *forðon* and *forðam*

Although *forðon* is the majority form for all scribes, and is used by T every time but one, B1 clearly shows an almost equal tendency to write *forðam*. This tendency is a clear departure from the usage of the other scribes, for whom *forðam* is only an occasional occurrence. O1 is the only scribe to introduce *forðan*, which is described as a late form by Grant (1989: 221) and Molencki (2012: 86): '*forþon* is mostly found in earlier texts and in the North; *forþan* mostly in late-West-Saxon'. As Molencki goes on to state that 'variations appear to have been authorial/ scribal rather than syntactic' (86), it appears that *forðan* can be attributed solely to the scribal preferences of O1.

Another discernible difference between the scribes is in the use of the particle *þe* after the conjunction, as shown in Table 4.6:

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
forðon	35	24	27	16	2
forðam			1	13	1
forðan		5			
forðon þe	8	16	14	6	1
forðam þe	1	1	1	6	

Table 4.6: *forðon (þe)* and *forðam (þe)*.

According to Rissanen (2007: 182), 'the increasing use of the subordination marker *þe* or *þæt* with these phrases in the course of the Old English period suggests the growing tendency to distinguish the subordinator use from the adverbial use of the prepositional phrase'. However, we do not see a large increase in the *Bede* in the addition of *þe* to *forðon* or *forðam*. What is noticeable is that, although there *is* a small increase, on the whole there is a reasonable degree of consistency across the later three manuscripts in their choice of the presence or absence of *þe*. This is perhaps to be expected, given that the differences appear to be due to diachronic factors, as these three manuscripts are much closer to each other in their dates of composition than they are to T.

Finally, there is one instance of *forðon* which appears to be an error for *furðum*:

7) þa andette he ꝥ he lustlice wolde cristen beon ðeah
   þe he no **forðon** þære fæmnan onfeng. (p.175)
   'Then he confessed that he eagerly wanted to be Christian, **even** though he would not obtain the girl.'

Ca also reads *forþon* in this position, however this seems to be an instance of late-West-Saxon reduction in vowel quality, as T and O both read *furþum*. Campbell (1959: §378) notes that reduction in vowel quality is seen 'also [in] lW-S *furþon, -an* for adv *furþum* even'. That *furþum* is indeed the intended word is borne out by the Latin, which reads:

At ille audita praedicatione ueritatis, et promissione regni caelestis, speque
resurrectionis ac futurae inmortalitatis, libenter se Christianum fieri uelle
confessus est, *etiamsi* uirginem non acciperet (Plummer, 1896: 170)
'But he, hearing the preaching of truth, and the promise of the heavenly kingdom, and
the hope of resurrection and everlasting life, willingly confessed that he wanted to become
Christian **even if** (*etiamsi*) he would not obtain the girl.'

We can see, then, that B is far more likely than any of the other scribes to use *forðam*
than *forðon*. Although Molencki identifies *forðon* as an earlier/ non-southern variety
(which accords well with its frequency in the *Bede* as a whole), he does not comment on
the distribution of *forðam*. Therefore, beyond noting its presence in B, we are unable to
account for its popularity with B1. The addition of *þe* is more frequent in later texts, and
it is certainly disfavoured by T when compared with the other manuscripts. However, we
do not see any greater frequency of *þe*, either in the latest manuscript (Ca), or the one
exhibiting most West-Saxon features (B).

4.4.6 Negative Contraction

All *Bede* manuscripts use negative contraction to a certain extent. This is most commonly
found in *nis*, and the one place where *ne is* is not contracted is where the two elements are
separated by other words:

8) **ne** þæt swiðe to wundrianne **is** (O: f. 34v).
   '**Nor is** it much to be wondered at.'

It therefore appears that, whenever *ne is* can be contracted, it is. However, this is a very
different situation from that found with other verbs; the majority (when the negative
particle is followed immediately by the verb) are not contracted. For example, *willað,
witan, hæfdon, woldest, wæs, wære* and *woldon* are never contracted in Book 3. There are
five verb forms that do appear in contracted forms:[20]

	T	O	Ca	B
nis	3	4	5	5
ne hæfde	1	1	2	1
næfde	1	2	2	1
ne wolde	1	0	0	2
nolde	1	1	1	1
ne wæron	2	2	1	0
næron	0	0	0	1
ne wiste	1	1	1	1
nyste	0	2	2	0

Table 4.6: contracted negative verbs

Levin (1958: 498) states that for negated forms of common verbs such as *habban, witan,
beon* and *willan*: 'West-Saxon usage is almost entirely in favour of contraction whereas, in
Anglian usage, uncontracted forms are freely employed'. It is therefore not surprising to
see that the *Bede*, an originally Mercian text, uses both contracted and uncontracted forms
in all of its manuscripts. There are, however, some small differences, though none of the

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[20] There is no applicable data for B2's stint in Book 3.

manuscripts comes close to 100% negative contraction that Levin records for his West-Saxon texts.

While the number of contracted forms in O and Ca might seem at first glance surprising (we would expect, given the patterns seen for other features where dialect plays a role, that B would be the manuscript most likely to show movement towards a feature associated with West-Saxon) a closer inspection reveals a rather interesting pattern. Other than *nis* and one instance of *næfde*, all the contracted forms we see in O and Ca can be accounted for by the fact that they appear in the section of Book 3 where the two translations diverge, that is, in chapters 16-20. Given that this section lacks some of the Mercian features found elsewhere which are associated with the Mercian tradition of the *Bede* text, the use of forms such as *nyste*, *nolde* and *næfde* points to this section having been originally created by a different translator to that of the rest of the *Bede*. If we discount the contracted forms from the divergent translation of O and Ca, however, we *do* see slightly more instances of contraction in B:

> 9) Mid þy he ða se getrywleasra cyning na his benu(m)
>   geþafian **nolde** (p.158)
>   'Then, when the faithless king **would not** consent to his request...'

> 10) ac on þa
>   tid þa gyt **næran** na manige of brytene for inn
>   tingan munuclifes gewunedon secan fracena myn
>   ster ꝼ gallia (p.140)
>   'But in that time there **were not** yet many [monasteries] among the Britons and they
>   used to seek the monastic life in Frankish and Gaulish monasteries.'

In the same position the other manuscripts read *ne wolde* and *ne wæron*. It is notable that although the scribe of B is very careful in some respects to make his text more West-Saxon, he does not do this as far as negative contraction is concerned. Given Levin's findings that negative contraction was extremely common in texts from the south west right up until the fourteenth century (1958: 499), the fact that B's scribe chooses not to contract when he could is interesting.[21] This may suggest that negative contraction was not a feature favoured by all West-Saxon writers, or that our understanding of it requires further investigation.

We have observed that B's scribe favours forms that are innovative in terms of the *Bede*, for example, breaking rather than retraction, <a> before a nasal consonant, weak class 2 verbs in <od>, and the dative case after *mid*. In addition, he is more likely than the other *Bede* scribes to use *forðam*, and we have also seen how he avoids Mercian pronouns (section 3.3). From this point of view he could be described as having a very definite idea of the language usage he thinks appropriate in this text. On the basis of the evidence examined here, the performance of B1 shows the most consistency among the *Bede* scribes, and the fact that it departs so significantly from the language of the other manuscripts

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[21] For an alternative interpretation of Levin's results see Hogg (2006: 411): 'What Levin sees as a continuation of older traditions is in fact a result, rather, of innovations from more prestigious writing centres'. If this is indeed the case, it may account for our results.

suggests that we are looking at a scribe who is a translator. Nevertheless, there are a number of conservative features in B, and a closer examination of these will enable us to gain a more rounded picture of B1's scribal behaviour.

4.5 Conservative Features In B

Rowley (2004) talks about the obsession among scholars of the *Bede* with missing exemplars and archetypes, but in the case of B we cannot but speculate as to the state and status of its exemplar, if we are to explain the presence of the text that survives. The very fact of its radical West-Saxonisation, when compared to the other surviving witnesses, invites us to speculate on the form of the text from which B was copied. In addition, B contains features which may be regarded as relicts from its exemplar. It was suggested in the previous section that B1 may be a translator scribe. Laing (2004: 56) states that 'the work of a translator provides a 'clean slate'; all traces of previous linguistic forms, whether mixed or homogeneous, are wiped away'. This would imply that only a scribe who cleanses his text thoroughly of any forms which are not part of his own usage can be regarded as a 'translator'. By this definition, B1 cannot be a translator, however Benskin and Laing (1981: 58) suggest that 'relict forms comprise a smaller or larger portion of a copyist's text according as he translates from the exemplar more or less thoroughly.' They go on to define a relict as 'a form not part of a scribe's own dialect, but an exotic that is perpetuated from an exemplar whose dialect differs from that of the copyist.' Having demonstrated in section 4.4 that B1's language is in many ways late-West-Saxon, we can then posit this as the dialect he was trained in, and was most used to writing. This enables us to deduce that Mercian forms (or those which are otherwise conservative in the context of the *Bede*), do not form part of B1's dialect, and can therefore be treated as relicts. The following sections explore some of B1's relicts, including palaeographical, morphological and orthographical features.

4.5.1 Palaeography
B1 has a tendency to write an *f*-shaped <y>, which according to Ker (1957: xxxi), was probably written in imitation of the exemplar: 'this last form [*f*-shaped <y>], still common in s. x, is rare later and was sometimes used, no doubt, only because the scribe found it in his exemplar'.[22] Indeed, Ker gives B1's usage as an example of this. In contrast, however, B2 not only fails to replicate *f*-shaped <y>, but often uses a dotted variant. This is in keeping with the date of the manuscript: 'hand (2) is of a generally later type' (Ker, 1957: 45). We can assume that dotted <y> was the usual form written by B2, as it is common during the period when B was copied: 'in s. xi a dot is generally found on straight-limbed **y**.' (Ker, 1957: xxxi).[23] Figs. 4.9 and 4.10 show variant types of <y> in B:

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[22] Crick (2011: 6) states that 'it is clear that scribal imitation sat well within the technical range of the best English scribes working before A.D. 1100.' Imitative script was also used on occasion to supply missing/ damaged folios to manuscripts, while some copied charters also make use of imitative script.
[23] See Orton (2000: 166, fn2; 181) on the archaic use of *f*-shaped <y> in the Metrical Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*. Thompson (2010: 30) notes that the latest occurrence of *f*-shaped <y> in a charter appears in S1497, dated *c.* 990, from the archive of St Albans.
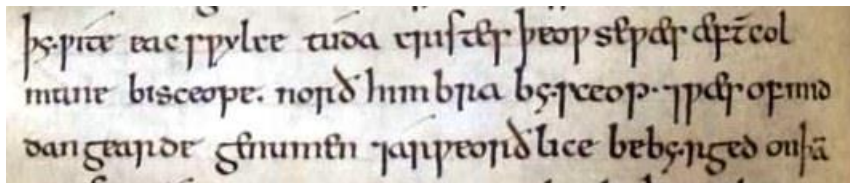
Fig. 4.9: *f*-shaped <y> (*þy*, *bysceop*, and *bebyrged*), and undotted <y> (*swylce*), p.190.[24]
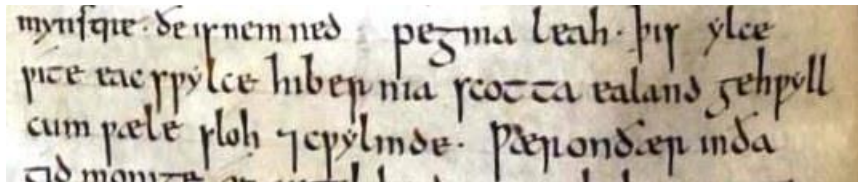
Fig. 4.10: dotted <y> in B2's hand (*ylce*, *swylce*, *gehwyllcum*, *cwylmde*), p.190.

As a proposed relict form, *f*-shaped <y> is unusual in being a palaeographical feature, though it echoes O3's use of half-uncial <r> in section 3.6.1. Its presence suggests an exemplar which was already old by the time B was copied. If our reasoning is correct, then this old manuscript may well have also contained several conservative *Bede* features in its text, as the following sections show.

4.5.2 Morphology

Denasalisation occurs throughout the *Bede* manuscripts (sections 5.3.2 and 6.3.1), particularly at the end of plural verbs (e.g. *wolde* for *wolden*). There are at least three cases of denasalisation to be found in B and example 9 is unique to that manuscript, as T and Ca read *hæfdon*, and O *hæfdan*:

11) Is þ sæd þ ða hæðe
nan ðritigu(m) siðu(m) mare werod **hæfde** þon(ne) osweo
se cyning mid eahfriðe his suna   (p.186)
'It is said that the heathens **had** an army thirty times bigger than that of king Oswy and his son Ealhfrið.'

Like many examples of denasalisation found in other *Bede* manuscripts, this instance occurs in a subjunctive preterite plural, in a clause with reported speech. The subject *ða hæðenan* is a plural one, and the retention of a denasalised verb at this particular point is notable, given the general lack of such forms elsewhere in B. As discussed in section 6.3.1, it appears that denasalised subjunctives were a feature of the original *Bede* translation, given their presence in all *Bede* manuscripts, sometimes in the same places. We can be fairly confident, then, that this example is a relict form from B's exemplar.

4.5.3 Double Vowels

Grant is partly correct when he asserts that 'there is, of course, no way to tell how much alteration of older or dialect forms had already been made in B's immediate exemplar' (1989: 13). However B contains two scribal performances, and to an extent we can use them to control for some of the features we see in B. The differing treatment of double

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[24] It is interesting to note that this type of <y> is also found occasionally in O2's stints in that manuscript.

vowels by B1 and B2 is one example of this, and it suggests that at least some of these doubled vowels were present in B's exemplar.

Despite their frequent occurrence in various manuscripts of the *Bede*, it is noticeable that B2 never writes words with doubled vowels in the section of Book 3 for which he is responsible. The fact that doubled vowels were a feature of the original translation is suggested by their presence in T and Z, the earliest two manuscripts, and, to a lesser extent, in O and Ca.[25] There are 17 instances in T of doubled vowels in the section which corresponds with B2's stint, and yet in none of these places does B2 write <aa>, <ii> or <oo>. In contrast, B1 writes doubled vowels four times in his section, in *uupan, tiid, too,* and *wool*. Furthermore, he doubles vowels in proper nouns such as the place names *on briige* (three times), *hii* (Iona) and *in caale*, and the personal names *diioma* and *eenes*. The Latin *magii* (May) also receives a double vowel.[26]

It is evident that B's exemplar did contain some words with doubled vowels, as a number of them have been copied by B1. It is possible B1 was more likely to retain a double vowel combination when it occurred in a proper noun, as over half the instances belong to personal or place names. This may have been motivated by lack of familiarity with the names on B1's part; the place names are not English ones, and *diioma* is an Irish name. He may, therefore, have been more likely to copy such names literatim. Nevertheless, he did retain some such spellings from ordinary nouns in his copy, though we will never know, of course, how many double-vowel spellings existed in his exemplar. It is possible (though perhaps unlikely) that no such spellings occurred in the part of Book 3 copied by B2, however their absence from his stint is noteworthy. As it is, it remains an interesting distinction between the copying practices of the two scribes who contributed to this manuscript.[27] As Scragg (1992: 351) notes:

> If a manuscript in more than one hand exhibits minor spelling variation between the hands, this points to idiosyncratic spellings being the work of the latest scribes, whereas a manuscript in a single hand which shows minor spelling variation between its items suggests that its scribe has drawn items from several exemplars with different spelling practices.

As double vowels are not the only feature where there appears to be a difference in scribal habit between B1 and B2, this is certainly an area which will repay further study. Scragg's comment also suggests that, in spite of Grant's (1989: 11) assertion that the differences between B1 and B2 were not worth distinguishing, there *is* a difference between the two

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[25] Z includes two instances of *wiif*, against one of *wif*. T has 91 words with doubled vowels throughout Book 3, while O has eight, and Ca five. All manuscripts show single-vowel variants alongside the double vowel spellings.

[26] *Magii* only occurs with a double vowel in B; T reads *mai* and O and Ca *magi* (Lat *maius*). Spellings with <g> are not found in Bosworth-Toller, Clark-Hall or *TOE*, however *magi* occurs in the F text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the entry for 829 (Cotton Domitian A.viii). The equivalent passage of the *Bede* in Plummer (1896: 191) gives the date as 'die tertio mensis Maii', which could perhaps account for the <ii> in B, if the exemplar had a reading influenced by the Latin date.

[27] This is one instance where a survey of a larger section of B2's work would be useful, as his stint in Book 3 is short by comparison with B1's.

in terms of their treatment of double vowels, which in turn shows the different reactions of the scribes to their exemplar.

4.5.4 Dative Singulars in <æ>

In numerous places B1 writes <æ> for <e>. Despite their apparent similarity, not all examples of this feature are caused by the same linguistic phenomenon.[28] The main group of these <æ> spellings concerns the dative singular of masculine and feminine nouns (Campbell, 1959: §369).

> 12) aðelwold þone oswoldes sunu þæs cy
> ninges. se ðe him on fultume beon sceolde se wæs on
> **dælæ** þara wiðerweardra. ⁊ feaht ⁊ wann wið his
> eðle ⁊ wið his fæderan. (B: p.186)
> 'Then Æthelwold, the son of Oswald the king, who should have been a help to him, went over to the other **side**, and fought and strove against his kinsmen and against his father.'

Datives in <æ> are an older feature, and are usually written <e> in later texts. Instances of this feature are scattered throughout the *Bede* manuscripts:

> 13) þa com he to **oswiæ** norðanhymbra cyninge   (T: f. 47r)
> 'Then he came to **Oswio**, king of the Northumbrians.'

The personal name *Oswio* has a variety of spellings, and in the dative appears as *oswio* (T, O, Ca), *osweo* (B1, B2), *oswie* (O) and *oswiæ* (T). Other personal names with <æ> datives are shown in examples 14-16:

> 14) ond he þær
> from **hlodwiæ** froncna cyninge ⁊ eorconwalde his aldor
> men arwyrðlice onfongen wæs. (T: f. 46r)
> 'And there he was honourably received by **Ludovic** the king of the Franks and Eorconwald his ealdorman.'

> 15) þa wunedon mid þy eadi
> gan **fursiæ**. þa þry englas be þon \we/ ær sædon. (T: f. 45r)
> 'Then the three aforementioned angels stayed with the holy **Furseus**.'

> 16) On ðas tid heold east engla rice æft(er) **eorpwaldæ** rædwaldes eoferan.
> sigebýrht his broðer swýðe god man ⁊ æfæst. (Ca: f. 40v)
> 'In that time, after Eorpwald Rædwald's nephew, his brother Sigeberht held the kingdom of East Anglia. He was a very good and pious man.'

We see that this feature appears in several of the manuscripts, though not, apparently, in O. Like the genitive in <æs> found in that manuscript, <æ> datives are found most often in personal names. This is perhaps an indication of the scribes copying a name and its grammatical case literatim, as happens occasionally with Latin.[29] The fact that it occurs

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[28] For studies examining late <a> for <æ> material, see Kitson (1990a) and Pulsiano (2000).

[29] Baker (1998) reviews evidence for the occasional retention of original inflections in Latin loanwords in Old English. As regards personal names, compare the form *Oswini*, which occurs in O. *Oswini* is an earlier

in at least three of the manuscripts suggests that some of these <æ> datives were a feature of the original *Bede*.

Example 17 contains two instances of <æ> for <e> in close proximity:

> 17) seo after twam **geboh**
>   **tæ** .X. hyda landes hyre to æhte on ðære stowe þe
>   is nemned streoneshealh. ꝥ ðær heo mynster ᵹetim
>   brede on ðam se **gemyngodæ** þæs cyninges dohtor
>   ærest. wæs discipula ꝥ leorningmanna reᵹollices
>   lifes. (B: p.187)
>   'After two [years] she **bought** two hides of land in that place which is called
>   Streoneshealh, and there she built a monastery, where the **aforementioned** king's
>   daughter was first a novice and pupil in monastic life.'

In the first, we have *gebohtæ*, where other manuscripts read *gebohte*. Whether this is a reliable transmission from the exemplar or a new form introduced by B1 is hard to say, though it should be noted that all other manuscripts have *gearum* after *twam* at this point, and B lacks sense because of the omission. *Gemyngodæ* is another preterite form; its <æ> ending fits neither the masculine demonstrative *se*, nor the *seo* which appears in T, O and Ca, to complement the feminine noun *dohtor*, although Campbell (1959: §369) notes <dæ> as an older spelling of 3rd person singular, present indicative verbs. The verb also contains the West-Saxon <ode>, rather than the Anglian <ade> of T and O. Finally, *gemyngodæ* was not an acceptable spelling to B or his master when the manuscript was checked, as the <a> of <æ> is dotted, to give an emended spelling of *gemyngode*, as we see in Ca.[30]

Finally, example 18 shows *willæ*, an unusual spelling for a 3rd person present verb:

> 18) eaðe mæg þ me drihten
>   þur his geearnunge miltsian **willæ.** (B: p.156)
>   'Perhaps the lord **will** show me mercy through his merits.'

The evidence for interpreting a form such as *willæ* is not straightforward. Campbell (1959: §752) records 3rd person present endings in early texts, such as the Franks Casket, however, the date of the casket (eighth century) is far earlier than the supposed date of the *Bede* translation. *Willæ* occurs twenty-eight times in the *DOEC*, twenty-two times as a noun, and four times as a verb.[31] It occurs in a wide selection of texts, most of them

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spelling than forms in <e> (*Oswine*), and appears to have been transmitted from O's exemplar. See Campbell (1959: §601) for details of this <i> inflection, and Arcamone (1992: 409) for a comparable inflection in a personal name carved on the church wall at Monte Sant'Angelo, Italy.

[30] But note the example of *æþel* for *eþel* discussed in section 4.3, where the <a> of the <æ> is dotted, and the <æ> appears to have been due to a reading from the exemplar.

[31] As the *DOEC* only takes its texts from printed editions, rather than from manuscripts, we cannot be sure that this count is actually representative of the spread of a form like *willæ*. Indeed, it does not record the instance under discussion here, as Miller does not follow B for his edition, which is the text used by the *DOEC*. This makes the *DOEC* less useful for this kind of search, as later manuscripts are often left out, and where the edition used is based on a composite text, *DOEC* has no way of conveying this information to the searcher. Therefore, the results obtained for a single text could be drawn from two or more

late, for example, Ælfric's second letter to Wulfstan, a mid-twelfth century copy of one of the *Vercelli Homilies*, St Augustine's *Soliloquies*, and a tenth-century charter preserved in manuscripts from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. It therefore appears that in this case, <æ> for <e> is a late feature, rather than an early one likely to have been transmitted from the exemplar.

We can therefore say that the use of <æ> in places where we would normally expect to see <e> is actually a result of two different causes. In the first (dative singulars), we have evidence from other *Bede* manuscripts that such spellings were, to a degree, common to the *Bede* tradition. On the other hand, forms such as *gebohtæ* and *willæ*, attested both in early and late works, do not occur in other *Bede* manuscripts, and so appear to be later spellings introduced by B1. That this is the case is borne out by an instance where the <a> of <æ> has been underdotted to mark its erasure.

4.5.5 Æfæst

Also noteworthy is B's retention of the earlier spelling *æfæst* (*pious*) for *æfest* (Campbell, 1959: §372), which occurs in B 5 times:

	T	O	Ca	B
æfæst(nesse)	5	6	1	5*
æfęst			1	
æfest(nisse)	1	1	5	
ærfæst(nesse)				2
eawfest			1	

* One instance in B2

Table 4.7: *æfæst* and its variants.

That *æfest* appears in both B1 and B2's stints suggests that this spelling was the one found in the exemplar. This is also borne out by the number of occurrences of *æfæst* in the two oldest texts which, as we have seen, tend to preserve more conservative spellings that B and Ca. Note also that the latest manuscript (Ca) writes *æfest* in all but one case.

The evidence reviewed in section 4.5 shows a selection of conservative features which can be ascribed to B's exemplar. The case is perhaps strengthened by the fact that the types of evidence are so varied, from palaeographical forms such as *f*-shaped <y>, through to morphological ones like denasalisation and datives in <æ>, to orthographical features such as double vowels. What is important is that each of these features occurs in other *Bede* manuscripts, and their presence as part of the tradition of the *Bede* is corroborated by the fact of their co-occurrence elsewhere. As regards other <æ> for <e> spellings, their absence from the other extant manuscripts suggests that they are unlikely to be relict forms from B's exemplar; their appearance in other late Old English manuscripts also lends weight to this proposition. This section has demonstrated that B1 included a number of relict forms in his copy of the *Bede*. The variety and number of relict forms transmitted by B1 suggest that his exemplar contained rather conservative features, which (as we shall see) had an impact on other aspects of his writing. In the next section we

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manuscripts, if they are used in the edition. However, in the absence of a database with a comparable spread of Old English texts, I use results from the *DOEC*, bearing in mind the issues noted here.

shall examine evidence that B1 was a scribe concerned with emending his exemplar text in ways other than dialectal or orthographic updating.

4.6 B1: A Textual (E)mender

In addition to variations due to mechanical slips (such as eyeskip), B supplies variant readings which affect more than one word, and bear marks of the scribe having attempted to 'mend' his text. In such cases, the meaning of the text is changed, but the shape of the words or sequences of letters suggest that the substitution has its roots in the exemplar's text. Grant (1989: 10) takes a rather dim view of B's scribes:

> It is to be regretted that the scribes of the Bede text are careless fellows whose negligence extends beyond the usual haplography and homoeoteleuton. The comparison with the other Bede texts which constitutes the present study will demonstrate <u>inter alia</u> the carelessness of the two scribes and indicate a fair degree of error even allowing for the fact that a basically Mercian text is being copied and modernised to accord with a loosely standardised lWS standard literary language of which the B scribes may not be the most reliable of witnesses.

In this section I aim to show the rationale behind some of these textual changes and that readings which appear nonsensical are not always due to scribal laziness or negligence. I would like to argue in this final section that a closer examination of B1's output shows him to be a scribe who is actively engaged in 'mending' his text, and that these examples of what Grant calls 'carelessness' may be caused by something other than mere scribal inattention or incompetence. Orton (2000: 47) identifies scribes working on Old English poetry who appear to have attempted to repair defective text when they found it in their exemplars. As he notes, a successful repair may not be detectable to subsequent readers, however the poetic evidence shows that in many cases the repair was unsuccessful and the error compounded. In a text such as the *Bede*, of course, we do not have the advantage of metre or alliteration to help us judge what the original text was. On the other hand, there are three other textual witnesses, and these will be used as a comparison with B. The remainder of the chapter examines a selection of instances where B's text departs from that of the other manuscripts, sometimes because of misreading, and at other times because of what seems to be deliberate lexical replacement or an attempt at textual repair.

4.6.1 Textual Misreading
A number of examples appear to arise from a misreading of the exemplar by B1. Three types of misreading are detailed here: misreading of minims, misdivision of words, and confusion of letters. The simpler of these misreadings result in a straightforward substitution of one or more graphs for another, however the more complex examples have necessitated a rewording by B1.

4.6.1.1 *Misreading of Minims*
In the following two examples the variant reading is caused by confusion of minims, which is shown clearly by a comparison with the Latin text:

19) ⁊ ða syndon to
   sceadene mid treotan streame wið norð myrcu(m).
   þara landes is **þreo** ðusendo. (B: p.189)

   ⁊ þa syndon tosceadene
   mid trentan streame wið norð myrcu(m). þara
   landes is **seofon** þusendo. (O: f. 55v)
   And they are separated by the River Trent from the Northumbrians, whose lands are
   seven (three) thousand
   *...discreti fluuio Treanta, ab Aquilonaribus Merciis, quorum terra est familiarum **VII** milium.*
   (Plummer, 1896: 180).

In example 19, the exemplar presumably had the number seven in Roman numerals,
accounting for the scribe's confusion of vii and iii. While B's text isn't obviously defective
in this place, a comparison with Bede's Latin shows that it is B that has diverged from the
original reading. The second of these examples is slightly more complicated:

20) ða ongann heo on
   hyre mynstre cyrican timbrian **mare** eallre
   þara haligra apostola (142)

   ongon heo on hire mynstre. cirican tim
   bran. **in are**. ealra þara haligra apostola. (T: 31v)
   'Then she began to build a church at her monastery, **in honour** (greater than) of all the
   holy saints.'
   *Cum enim esset abbatisa, coepit facere in monasterio suo ecclesiam **in honorem** omnium*
   apostolorum (Plummer, 1896: 144)

In mistaking the exemplar's *in are* (which is what we see in T) for *mare*, B1 has confused
the minims, probably also because of his exemplar's use of the preposition *in* rather than
on.[32] In addition, he has altered the genitive plural *ealra* to the dative singular *eallre*,
interpreting the phrase as a dative of comparison (Mitchell, 1985: §1360). This course of
action is interesting, as it suggests that when faced with a problematic reading, his answer
was to make the grammar of the surrounding text conform, rather than to look for an
alteration to *mare*. This indicates that in this instance, B1's copying and correction
strategy was to look only locally for a solution to a textual problem, and to assume that
the answer lay in restoring grammatical concord. Fig. 4.10 below shows clearly how the
original reading could have been interpreted ambiguously.

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[32] The probable use of *in* for *on* in the exemplar is indicated by the comparatively more frequent use of *in* in
B1 and B2 than O and Ca. The ratios of *in* to *on* are as follows: T – 368:117; O – 24:437; Ca – 23:435; B1
– 76:348; B2 – 23:32.
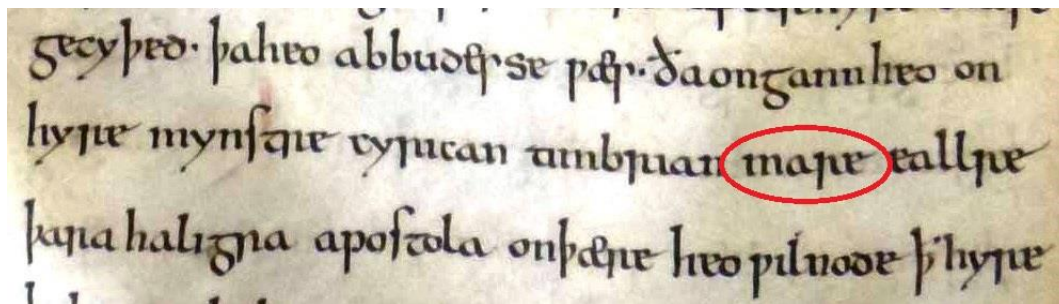
Fig. 4.10: B – *mare* for *in are*, p.142.

4.6.1.2 *Misdivision of words*

Minims are not the only source of confusion for B1 in copying the exemplar. There is evidence that he sometimes had trouble, for one reason or another, in transmitting his exemplar's text accurately. In his study of the behaviour of scribes of Old English poetic manuscripts Orton (2000: 57) states:

> Corruptions sometimes arise from misconceptions about the morphology of words, particularly about where one word ends and the next begins; but in several cases there is evidence to suggest that scribal unfamiliarity with dialectal forms in exemplars contributed to mistakes of this kind.

The evidence that Orton adduces (word misdivision and problems with dialectal forms) is also the kind of evidence we have for B1's problems in accurately transmitting his exemplar. In both cases we can assume a substantial difference in the language of the exemplar and the habitual usage of the scribes who copied these texts. In the examples which follow, a misunderstanding of the exemplar's word division seems to have played a large part in the textual variation present in B1's stint, with the possibility that dialect forms also contributed to his confusion. His attempts to mend the text, while providing Old English words which exist, gives us a text which in these examples fails to make sense:

21) ⁊ swa
    wæs geworden ꝧ se godes wer þurh witedomes gast
    þone storm **towearp næfre sæde.** ⁊ ðurh þæs yl
    can gastes mægen þa upcumen wæs ꝧ he hine aswe
    fede ⁊ gestilde. þeah ðe he licumlice ðær **after**
    wearð wære. (B: p.162)

    ⁊ swa wæs geworden
    ꝧ se godes wer þurh witedomes gast þone storm
    toweardne foreseah. ⁊ þurh þæs ylcan gastes
    mægen þa he uppcumende wæs ꝧ hine aswefede
    ⁊ gestillde þeah þe he licumlice þær **efweard** wære. (O: 43v)
    And so it happened that the man of god **foresaw the coming** storm through the spirit of prophecy. And through the strength of that same spirit when it was arising he soothed and stilled it, even though he was physically **absent** (was physically there afterwards).
    sicque factum est, ut uir Dei et per prophetiae spiritum tempestatem **praedixerit futuram,** *et per uirtutem eiusdem spiritus hanc exortam, quamuis corporaliter* **absens,** *sopiuerit.* (Plummer: 1896: 158)

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In example 21, B1 wrote *towearp næfre sæde* for *toweardne foreseah*. If B's exemplar had irregular spacing, then this might account for B1's misdivision of *toweardne*, in reading *ne* as the beginning of the next word; we have seen how O1 in particular spaces words and word-elements rather erratically. B1 may not have recognised or understood *foreseah*, as Campbell (1951: 357) lists it as a specifically Anglian word. However, this fails to account for how the scribe has dealt with rest of the phrase. It is possible, given that several of the letters appear in the same place or sequence as in the other manuscripts (i.e. *næfre sæde* for *ne foreseah*), that the scribe was experiencing difficulty in reading parts of the exemplar at this point. In addition, B replaces the word *efweard* with *æfterwearð*. A search of the *DOEC* for *æfterwearð/ æfterwearþ* yields no results.[33] It therefore appears that B1 wrote <ð> in error for <d>.[34] This type of copying error is not unheard of in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts; Orton (2000: 23) notes an instance in *The Death of Edgar* where the scribe has written *weard* for *wearð*. If B1 did intend to write *æfterweard* for *efweard*, the substitution is puzzling, as *æfterweard* 'afterwards' makes no sense in this context. In can perhaps be explained by B1's interpretation of *ef(t)* as an abbreviation for *after*, missing a suspension mark. This is not unfeasible, as the spelling *æft* occurs twice in B and once in T where other manuscripts read *eft*.

A similar case is found in example 21:

> 22) ⁊ forðon eanflæd
> seo cwen his mage for clænsunge his unrihtan
> sleges bæd osweo þone cyning. þ he **for ge fæder**
> stowe mynster on to timrianne þam forespre
> cenan godes ðeowe trumhere.   (p.188)
>
>
> ⁊ forþon eanflæd seo cwen
> his mage fore geclænsunge his unrihtes sleges.
> bæd oswio þone cyning þ he **þær forgefe** stowe mynst(er)
> on to timbrienne þam foresprecenan godes
> þeowe trumhere.   (O: f. 55r)
> And therefore queen Eanflæd his kinswoman asked of King Oswiu that he should **donate** (for ge fæder) land there on which to have a monastery built by Trumhere, the aforementioned servant of God, as atonement for his unrighteous killing.

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[33] Bosworth-Toller gives the meaning of *æfterwearð* as 'to be away, absent', quoting only this passage from B. It could therefore be questioned whether any such word as *æfterwearð* exists with this meaning. Orton (2000: 193) states that: 'Certain standard features of OE script lie behind many mistakes, e.g. the sequences of identical minims which a letter-combination such as *um* or *nn* or *in* would involve, the similarity of form between *f* and the tall form of *s*, or between the common forms of *c* and *t*, *h* and *b*, or *ð* and *d*.'

[34] Variation between <d> and <ð> is not uncommon among Anglo-Saxon scribes. While some of this variation is due to phonological factors (Campbell, 1959: §626), there are also many instances where it seems to be due to palaeographical variation, such as in B's spelling *stuðu* where other manuscripts read *studu*. Lapidge (2000: 34) suggests that the presence in *Beowulf* of confusion between <d> and <ð> suggests an archetype written before *c.* 750, when use of <ð> to distinguish an interdental fricative from an alveolar stop becomes a stable feature. However, this seems slightly implausible, given that his examples show both <d> for <ð> *and* <ð> for <d>; the phenomenon is perhaps better explained by a mechanical error, in a script where the shape and angle of the ascender is the same for both letters, and where the only distinction between the two is the cross-bar. In any case, Lapidge's explanation for <d> and <ð> confusion in *Beowulf* is unlikely to be relevant for the *Bede* manuscripts. Stanley (2002) provides a reply to Lapidge, and Lass and Laing (2009) discuss <d>/ <ð> interchange in Middle English texts.

*'Nam regina Aeanfled propinqua illius, ob castigationem necis eius iniustae, postulauit a rege Osuio, ut **donaret ibi** locum monasterio construendo praefato Dei famulo Trumheræ, quia propinquus et ipse erat regis occisi.'* (Plummer, 1896: 179-80)

In the equivalent passage in O, the verb *forgefe* lacks palatal diphthongisation, and it is possible, if B's exemplar also read *forgefe* rather than the West-Saxon *forgeafe*, that such a spelling may have triggered the misunderstanding. Although the other three manuscripts are unanimous in placing *þær* before *forgefe*, a position after the verb in the exemplar may then account for B's rather odd *for ge fæder* (*forgefe ðær*, for example). The Latin confirms that *forgefe* must have been the original reading, translating *donaret*.

On a number of occasions B1 provides a reading which comparison with the other manuscripts reveals to be an error due to the misdivision of words. It is possible that an exemplar with irregular spacing was the cause of such a scribal response. If this is the case, then it is notable that B1's skills only extended as far as making the subsequent letter strings into real Old English words, and not as far as ensuring that sense was maintained at clause level.

4.6.1.3 *Confusion of letters*
A further group of variations arises, not through misdivision, but through confusion of letter forms, or particular sequences of letters. One such case is found in example 22:

> 23) ꝛ hi for
> hine gebædon. ꝛ he ða **het hi ealle ꝛ gesunde.** ꝛ he
> hine gereste æghwæs gesund þære adle ꝛ siððan
> of ðære tide þa werian gastas hine mid nænigum
> ege swencton ne gretan ne dorston.   (B: p.151)
>
> ꝛ hie for hine gebædon. ꝛ he þa **niht ealle hall**
> **ꝛ gesund** hine reste. ꝛ syððan of þære tide þa werigan
> gastas hine mid nænige ege ne mid geswenc\ed/nesse gre
> tan dorstan   (O: f. 38r)
> 'And they prayed for him. And he remained **that night completely whole and healthy**. And after that time the wretched spirits did not dare afflict him with fear or distress.'

In example 23, B1 seems to have misread *niht hall/ heall* as *het hi ealle*. It is tempting to wonder whether the exemplar had a reading such as *neht*, with Anglian smoothing, which might account for B1's writing *het* (especially if the exemplar also contained a reading such as T's *heht* for *het*). Again, however, B's recasting makes far less sense than the original. The letters are sufficiently similar in form and sequence to suggest that this reading is based on one very similar to that found in the other manuscripts, with *het* coming from *niht* and *hi ealle* from *heall*. B1 has apparently added more text to compensate for the rewording, but it does little to resolve the problems generated by the misreading or attempted mending of the text in the first place.

The final example in this section is again an instance of rewording by B1, but this time it seems to have been triggered by the word *gleaunesse*, which occurs in T and Ca spelled with <p> (*wynn*):

24) þa

> he sæmninga se man þ geseah **þa ongan he mid**
> **scearpre geleafnesse on ðære stowe halignesse**
> **beon** þær his hors swa hraðe gehæled wearð. ⁊
> he þær tacen asette.   (B: p.145)

> þa he þa se mon þ geseah. þa **ongeat he mid scear**
> **pre gleaunesse hwæt hugu wundurlicre halig**
> **nesse on þære stowe beon** þær his hors swa hraðe
> gehæled wæs. ⁊ he þær tacen asette.   (O, f. 35r)
> 'When the man saw that, then **he perceived with keen wisdom what kind of wonderful**
> **holiness was in that place,** (he had keen belief in the holiness of that place) where his
> horse was so quickly healed, and he set a token there.'
> '*Quo ille uiso, ut uir **sagacis ingenii**, intellexit aliquid mirae sanctitatis huic loco, quo equus est*
> *curatus, inesse; et posito ibi signo*' (Plummer, 1896: 146).

B1's mistaking *gleaunesse* (wisdom) for *geleafnesse* (belief) could have come about in one of
two ways. The scribe could have mistaken <p> for <f>, if his exemplar had forms of the
graphs which were sufficiently similar. Alternatively, if the exemplar had a reading such
as the one in O it is possible that he confused <u> written for *wynn* for <u> written for /v/.
Finally, it is not uncommon in the *Bede* to see <ḡ> written for <ge>, leading to a
misreading of *g(e)leafness* for *gleawness*.

Faced with a difficult reading in B, we are again left to speculate about the condition of
the text from which it was copied; if B1 really is the reforming scribe suggested by his
treatment of the features reviewed in part one, is it reasonable to suppose that
unfamiliarity with a form alone would be the reason for such a mangled reading being
produced? In some of the examples above B1 apparently tried to remedy a deficiency in
the text caused by his new reading, which leaves us with two possibilities in considering
the cause of these textual changes. Firstly, it is possible that B1 was an overzealous
corrector of his text; however, if this were the case, we have to ask ourselves how likely it
is that a translator scribe would produce garbled nonsense for his text. B1 certainly does
not appear to be the kind of scribe to slavishly copy his exemplar, so it seems unlikely that
he would choose to produce a nonsensical text. Our second option, then, is that B's
exemplar was so poor that in attempting to remedy it, the scribe was trying to follow as
closely as possible what was written. As the text in front of him was illegible in places, he
was unable to make good sense of his text. If this was the case, then his attempts to make
good the text (at least in these places) were unsuccessful.[35]

4.6.2 Dialectal Lexical Variation

A further type of textual variation undertaken by B1 consists of dialectal lexical variation.
Deutschbein (1901: 170) believed that misunderstanding of dialect forms was responsible
for many of B's textual variants: 'vor allem erklären sich zahlreiche lesefehler und

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[35] Such awkward substitutions also occur in B2's scribal stint. Examples include B2's substitution of
leornode for the Anglian *leorde* (p.193, Lat. *migrauit*); *digolnesse* for *dagung* (p.192, Lat. *tempore matutino*);
and *deaþe* for *ða ðe* (p.192, Lat. *quas*). In each case, he has substituted real words, which are used elsewhere
in the *Bede*, yet which make no obvious sense as written by B2.

misverständnisse der hss. nur durch die annahme, dass die ws. schreiber dialektformen von V[orlage] falsch aufgefast haben'.[36]

There is evidence, however, that in many repects B's scribes were able to engage successfully with the dialect vocabulary of their exemplar. Grant (222) noted the B scribes' tendency to replace specifically Anglian words with ones more usual in West-Saxon writing, and there are several examples of this in Book 3.[37] For instance, there are several instances of *gen* 'yet' in T and O (13 and 8 instances respectively), yet the word is replaced every time by *gyt* in both B and Ca. According to Jordan (1906: 49), B as a whole has 'gleichmäßig *gyta, gyt,* [...] kein *gen(a)*'.[38] *Igland* is written once each by B1 and B2, where the other manuscripts read *ealond*. Kitson (1996: 15) notes that 'it is plain from literary texts that *ēalond* was Mercian, *īgland* West-Saxon'.

Fischer (1996: 33) believes that 'it is difficult to regard any act of lexical replacement as subconscious', and in the case of the Anglian vocabulary in the *Bede*, this certainly seems feasible. Indeed, the strategy of conscious lexical replacement accords well with the evidence of section 4.4 that B1 worked as a translator scribe. We have seen, for instance in example 20, that dialect vocabulary did sometimes cause B1 problems in transmitting a faithful reading, and such instances are notable for their text's lack of sense. However, in a number of cases, B1's lexical variation appears to have a motivation other than the dialectal, and some examples are discussed in the next section.

4.6.3 Non-Dialectal Lexical Variation: Where Sense is Retained

Not all lexical variation found in the *Bede* can be ascribed to the replacement of Anglian vocabulary with West-Saxon alternatives. In several instances the new word makes just as good sense as the one it replaces. Orton (2000: 197) notes that such substitutions happen often, and usually with an appropriate word chosen, as the meaning of the original is retained. Nevertheless, he concludes that 'although many changes in this category suggest a fair understanding of the text, the motive behind them is often unguessable'. In the following cases there appears to be sufficient similarity in the shape of the words to suggest that the new reading is influenced by the shape and order of the letters in the exemplar, if that exemplar contained a similar reading to those in the other surviving manuscripts.

> 25) (W)ÆS þyses ylcan godes mannes gewuna
>   þa he in east seaxu(m) bysceop þenunge bru
>   cende wæs. þ he gelomlice his agene **þeode** ⁊ mægðe
>   norhimbraland sohte   (p.181)

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[36] 'Above all, the numerous misreadings and mistakes in the manuscripts can be explained only by the assumption that the West-Saxon scribe has not understood the dialect forms in the exemplar.'

[37] Franzen (1996: 43) notes in her study of late Old English charters that 'often copies apparently nearly contemporary show vastly differing levels of comprehension'. It seems, then, that scribes varied rather widely in their abilities to understand and transmit accurately the material of their exemplars.

[38] 'Regularly *gyta, gyt,* no *gen(a)*.'

Wæs þysses yllcan godes monnes gewuna þa

he on east seaxum bisceop þegnunge brucende wæs

þæt gelomlice his agene **leode** norþanhymbra

mægþe sohte   (O: f. 51r)

'It was the habit of this holy man, when he was undertaking his ministry among the East Saxons, that he frequently sought his own **people** (*leode/ þeode*) and kin in Northumberland'

'*Solebat autem idem uir Domini, cum apud Orientales Saxones episcopatus officio fungeretur, saepius etiam* **suam***, id est* **Nordanhymbrorum, prouinciam** *exhortandi gratia reuisere*' (Plummer, 1896: 174)

In example 25 the only difference in the words is in their initial letter, and the meaning is not altered by the change. There is no dialectal difference between *leode* and *þeod*, and they mean *people, people of a country, a country* and *a nation, people* respectively (Bosworth-Toller). Their visual similarity may have been one of the factors behind their interchangeability in B. Likewise, example 26 shows a similarity in the visual shape of the two phrases, *æt gereorde* and *æt beode*:

26) ða dyde se broðor swa se oðer hine bæd ⁊ com eft on

ham þa his gebroðro **æt gereorde** sæton. (p.128)

'Then the monk did as he was asked by his brother, and came back home to where his brethren sat **at their meal.**'

þa dyde þe broþor swa he hine bæd. ⁊ com

eft on æfen ham. þa þa broþor **æt beode** sæton. (O, f. 26r)

'Then the monk did as he asked and came back home. Then when the brethren sat **at the table**...'

In this case, the substitution of *æt gereorde*, 'at [their] meal' for the other manuscripts' *æt beode*, 'at table', does not radically alter the meaning of the passage. While it is, of course, possible that B's scribe has elected independently to substitute one lexical item for another, it is interesting to note that the two words *gereorde* and *beode* contain the same diphthong and end consonant, and (to an extent) rhyme. This raises the possibility that the substitution was made on an auditory level, i.e. that the scribe was writing from dictation, or that he was 'mishearing' the word in his head as he read from his exemplar and then copied his text. Bately (1966) accounted for phonetic-looking spellings in the *Orosius* by supposing that the text was copied from dictation, while Bierbaumer (1988) put forward the case for misspellings such as *of handa* for *afanda* (along with other, incomplete, glosses in the Tiberius Psalter) as due to the text being copied by a scribe who could not keep up with the speed of the dictation. A more subtle explanation for this kind of 'auditory' error is given by Benskin and Laing (1981: 66, emphasis mine):

It may well be that in many such cases what happens is that the scribe moves from copying in a purely visual way to copying via 'the mind's ear'. Instead of reproducing a perhaps laboriously interpreted visual image, the visual image is now interpreted at a glance; and what is held in the mind between looking at the exemplar and writing down the next bit of text, is not the visual symbols, but the spoken words that correspond to them. What the scribe reproduces is then the words that he hears, not the visual images from which they arose: *regardless of whether his lips move, he is writing to his own dictation.*[39]

The problem with the *Bede* examples is that although there are several cases where the sounds of the words may have been sufficiently similar, these word pairs also have a sufficiently similar spelling, or letter-sequence that visual confusion cannot be ruled out. As an alternative explanation, then, it is possible that B1 was a scribe copying from an exemplar which was not very easy to read, and that he had to make a 'best guess' at its reading in some places. Whatever the reason for the substitutions, the new readings produced by B are not particularly nonsensical or grammatically odd. It is only by comparison with other *Bede* manuscripts, or Bede's Latin, that we become aware that a (successful) lexical substitution has taken place (Orton, 2000: 47).[40]

4.6.4 Non-Dialectal Lexical Variation: Nonsensical Readings

Not all of the lexical substitutions make such good sense as the examples above. In the following two examples, the sense of the narrative is impaired by B1's choices.

27) þa ongann heo ymbgangan þa hus ðæs mynstres þara
    untrumra cristes þeowena] swiðust þara ðe ge
    lyfedre yldo oððe on gecorennesse heora þeawa
    maran] **brædran** wæron   (B: p.141)

    þa
    ongan heo ymbgangan þa hus þæs mynstres. þ[..]a
    ra untrumra cristes þeowena.] swiðust þara
    þe gelý\fed/re yldo wæron. oððe on gecorenesse heora
    þeawa maran] **beteran** wæron.   (O: f. 32v)
    'Then she began to go round the dwellings of the monastery of those servants of Christ who were sick, especially those who were advanced in age, or who were **greater and better** (mightier and broader) in the goodness of their conduct.'
    '*coepit circuire in monasterio casulas infirmarum Christi famularum, earumque uel maxime, quae uel aetate prouectae, uel probitate erant morum insigniores.*' (Plummer, 1896: 143).

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[39] See also Saenger (1982) on the roles of dictation, self-dictation and silent reading in the process of writing during the late antique and medieval periods. Studies with a bearing on this question include those on literacy and memory (Clanchy, 1979; Carruthers, 1990), and orality (O'Brien O'Keeffe, 1987; 1990)

[40] Further examples of potential 'audio' errors which are more likely to be based on visual misrecognition are: *wereda* for *gereordo* (Lat. *lingua*); *wimmana* for *þinnene* (Lat. *una sanctimonialum feminarum*); *fyllgan* for *lifigean* (Lat. *uiuere*); *arehte* for *awehte* (Lat. *excitaret*); *dydon* for *þeoddon* (Lat. *gaudebant*), *fram* for *faam* (Lat *spumare*); *heora biscpas lærde* for *heora bisceop wære* (Lat. *accepte ibi sede episcopali*); *æt* for *þe hatte* (Lat. *quod uocatur*). All comparisons are with O.

28) Mid þy þe
  þa tyn dagas þæs feowertiglican fæstnes to **lare**
  wæron. (p.183)

  mid þy þa tyn dagas þæs feowertilican fæstennes to **lafe** wæron (O: f. 52r)
  'When there were ten days of the forty day fast still **left** (to teach).'
  '*Cumque X dies XL^{mae} restarent*' (Plummer 1896: 175).

In examples 27 and 28, B substituted for the original word one which fits badly with the sense of the text around it, yet which in some way imitates the shape of the word found in the other manuscripts. So, while *brædran* 'broader' is obviously a poor choice for describing the most senior and respected members of the monastery, it does share its initial letter and weak adjectival ending with the original *beteran*. Similarly, *lare* and *lafe* are very similar in shape, and may have arisen through confusion of letter forms, between an <f> and <r> with long descenders. The collocation *to lafe beon* is relatively common in Old English; the *DOEC* lists 157 instances of *to lafe* meaning 'left over', and it is therefore unclear why the scribe chose to substitute *lare* ('teaching'). It seems unlikely that *to lafe* was a phrase he did not know. In both of these cases it appears that (at least at some points in the manuscript) having a word which best matched the shape of that in the exemplar trumped notions of producing a text with good overall sense.[41] As Orton (2000: 60) remarks of similar variations in poetic manuscripts, 'they are more than simple copying mistakes, because recognizable words (albeit in forms and positions quite inappropriate to the context) are put together from the wreckage of the original readings.'

In this section we have examined evidence demonstrating that B1 was often actively engaged in mending or reshaping his text. In some cases (for example, section 4.6.3) he managed to provide a reading which retained the sense of the original, which implies that on at least some occasions he sought an appropriate word to take the place of text which was in some way unsatisfactory. In other instances he was clearly less successful (for example, section 4.6.1.2). Nevertheless, he appears to have made the effort to provide a reading which took account of some of the letters present in his exemplar. It is interesting that in these cases B1 appears to have felt it more important to transmit a text which was as close to the exemplar as possible, perhaps because he was unable to make sense of his exemplar. What this section has revealed is that, in contrast with Grant's assertion about the abilities and diligence of B's scribes, we can clearly see a genuine attempt (albeit an unsuccessful one at times) to provide a text which was in some ways 'correct' (i.e. more faithful to the exemplar), if not one which would always have made sense to the reader.

4.7 Conclusion

In her 2004 article, Rowley emphasised the importance of seeing B for what it was and what it could offer in the way of evidence, rather than as a substandard version of a text which was available in a superior manuscript. This is important, because despite Grant's

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[41] This is also apparent in the following examples: *georne* (O *geongne*, Lat. *adulescente*); *arce* (O *æreste*, Lat. *prior*); *þreowa* (O *þeowa*, Lat. *famulorum*); *geþylled* (O *gestilled*, Lat. *cessabat*).

recognition of the importance of B as a witness of the *Bede*, and the wealth of information it contains, his book (the only full-length study devoted solely to B) is characterised by regret at what B could have been:

> After prolonged exposure to the B text of the O[ld] E[nglish] Bede as it is contained in Corpus 41, one cannot but wish that its scribes had read and taken to heart Ælfric's plea that scribes should copy according to their exemplar, for here his worries about the damage that <u>lease writeras</u> could do seem to find adequate justification. (Grant, 1989: 444-5)

Grant talks further of 'scribal failings' (445), 'two conservative yet not impeccably accurate scribes' (444), 'careless copying' (445), and 'scribal nonchalance or ignorance' (446). I hope that this chapter has shown otherwise, that B1 did in fact make an effort to provide a reading in each of these cases, either by updating the language of the exemplar, by trying to make sense of the graphs in front of him, or finally by resorting to providing a reading which included some of the graphs of the exemplar in the same order, an attempt perhaps to give a reading which reflected his exemplar as closely as possible.

In the case of the B manuscript of the *Bede* an examination of the external evidence is not very useful in accounting for the linguistic forms present. This chapter has tried to demonstrate a way of dealing with a manuscript which has complex dialectal and diachronic linguistic features, in the absence of any clear evidence of its geographical origin. Although there is evidence for B's presence in the library of Exeter Cathedral at some point before Leofric's death in 1072, the fact that the manuscript was written before this time, and probably at another monastic centre, means that we cannot attribute this scribe's linguistic forms or other scribal behaviour to Exeter or to Leofric's influence. In the absence of a proven Exeter (or any other geographical) origin, we should be wary of using any centre-specific knowledge of Anglo-Saxon scribal practices to shed light on the behaviour of B's scribes. In the case of B, we must rely on the internal evidence and on a comparison of these patterns with other manuscripts of the *Bede* in order to account for what we see.

As well as emending the phonological and morphological features discussed in section 4.4, such as retraction or <o> + nasal, B1 also rewords sections. This suggests that as he wrote, he was emending his copy in several ways. He can therefore be categorised as a translator scribe, though the palaeographical, morphological and orthographical evidence of section 4.5 shows that he admitted a fair number of relict forms. In contrast to the other scribes of the *Bede*, B1 exhibits a more consistent orthographical and grammatical practice which follows usage patterns found in late-West-Saxon. It is this comparative consistency which sets him apart from the other *Bede* scribes; despite the varying degrees of West-Saxonisation evident in each of the other manuscripts, none of their scribes employs West-Saxon variants as consistently and over so many different types of variant.

As a counterbalance to the level of consistency and innovation in B1's performance, there are numerous instances where he preserves a spelling which is conservative in terms of the *Bede*, as Grant (1989: 40) notes:

> Comparison of T with B shows B consciously altering the dialect of its immediate exemplar to agree with the preferences of the lWS Schriftsprache by modernizing certain older or archaic forms and by changing others from Anglian to WS ones. B is not totally consistent in carrying out this process (for instance, T and B both retain aðol at 240.23), so one has tendencies rather than complete phonemic replacements with which to deal. (Grant, 1989: 40)

What is interesting about the conservative features in section 4.5 is that they are so varied, and include palaeographical relicts, as well as orthographical or morphological ones. This points to B's exemplar being rather conservative in many ways, and perhaps an old manuscript by the time B was copied from it, as *f*-shaped <y> was no longer in use by that date. It is of course possible that morphological and orthographical relicts could be transmitted from an older text to B via several intermediate manuscripts, meaning that the exemplar could have been more recently produced. However, the presence of *f*-shaped <y> points to the exemplar being an older manuscript, because palaeographical features are less frequently transmitted as relicts than spellings (compare O1's partially-successful attempts to imitate O3's letter forms).

Finally, section 4.6 examined instances where B1 acted as a textual emender, with varying levels of success. In some cases he was able to make a convincing lexical substitution, which is only detectable by comparing B with the text found in other manuscripts. In other cases, B1 was clearly less successful, and I believe that his level of success was partly determined by his motivation in emending the text. There are numerous examples of successful lexical replacements on dialectal grounds. In the places where B's variant reading makes little sense, problems seem to arise through a misdivision of words, or through a partial reading which appears to retain the order and form of some of the graphs of the original. In these cases, we may speculate that such a problematic reading is most likely to arise where the scribe had difficulty in reading the exemplar, for example where it had become illegible through age, or damage of some kind. Such attempted textual repairs occur throughout Book 3, which supports the supposition that B's exemplar was in a poor state and not easily legible in places. This is consistent with an exemplar which was old enough to contain conservative spellings and palaeographical features, and which, by the first half of the eleventh century, was in some state of disrepair. If this is indeed the case, then perhaps these rather muddled readings show an attempt by B1 to transmit the exemplar text faithfully in places where he was not able to gain a satisfactory reading. In these places, he attempted to make words out of the letters which he was able to discern, regardless of whether the new text made sense, perhaps because the exemplar was in too poor a state for him to make an educated guess at a rewording.

B1's scribal stint is characterised by innovation at both word (spelling) and phrase level. According to Benskin and Laing (1981), this level of dialectal translation is only possible where a scribe is holding larger units of text in his mind for each successive block of copying. A scribe who holds only one word at a time in his mind before going back to his exemplar would not be capable of making changes over a larger span of text, yet, 'a text in which the syntax is translated, is unlikely to preserve the spelling and morphology of an exemplar' (1981: 96). A further consideration suggests that B1's copying strategy was prompted by something other than failing to understand his exemplar because of the gap between it and his own usage due to dialectal and chronological factors. Benskin and

Laing (1981: 92) state that 'a translating scribe does not need to know in detail the dialect of the text that he copies. All that is required of him is that he understand it'. The ability of B1 and B2 to understand most of the Mercian phonological forms they encountered in their exemplar seems to be indicated by the fact that in many places they successfully translated these forms into West-Saxon ones.[42]

The evidence of Book 3 shows that B's first scribe was a translator who regularly (though not thoroughly) updated the language of his own copy. In places he was unable to gain a satisfactory reading from his exemplar, and in these cases he resorted to providing a reading which was as faithful to the original as possible, in so far as it contained the word elements he was able to read, in the order in which they appeared in his exemplar. That the latter had a conservative text, and was an old and probably damaged manuscript by the time B was copied seems certain, given the number and nature of the relict forms appearing in B1's performance. This chapter has examined the nature of evidence which can be gathered where the origin and provenance of a manuscript are unknown; the next chapter examines a scribe whose name and scribal centre are known to us, but whose performance raises a number of important and intriguing questions.

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[42] See also Treharne (2006: 345), writing about the ability of scribes to comprehend dialectal varieties rather different from their own usage: 'the annotators and glossators [of late-West-Saxon homilies] were perfectly able to read late-West-Saxon up to two centuries after its literary zenith.'

Chapter 5

An Innovative Scribe: Hemming

Hond sceal heofod inwyrcan[1]

The latest of the *Bede* texts, Cambridge, University Library Kk. 3.18 (Ca) has been little studied from the point of view of its language or the behaviour of its scribe. Because it has traditionally been viewed as little more than 'a faithful copy of Oxford, Corpus Christi College, manuscript 279b' (Rowley, 2009: 58), Ca has not received the scholarly interest commanded by T or B. Nor has the identification of its scribe as Hemming of Worcester led to many lines of enquiry, as study of Hemming's output has instead focused on his involvement with the Worcester cartulary which bears his name.[2] Several commentators (Miller, 1890; Campbell, 1951) have suggested that O was Ca's exemplar. This chapter aims in the first instance to test whether this can be proven. Following this, we can examine Hemming's scribal output in light of any conclusions regarding the status of O as Ca's exemplar.

There are four main parts to this chapter. In the first, introductory section, we consider previous research on the manuscript, and on Hemming and eleventh-century Worcester. The second section examines scribal evidence for the close relationship between O and Ca, while the third examines the most important differences between the two. These two middle sections aim to test the degree to which we can tell whether Ca is a direct copy of O. Having examined this relationship, we will then be in a position to make a judgement of how independent Hemming's copying is; if Ca really is a direct copy of O, then we can test in every way how his copying style works. If any direct link between the two can be questioned, then our conclusions about Hemming's scribal practices must be far more tentative. The final part of the chapter, then, considers other aspects of Hemming's copying and details his behaviour in dealing with the *Bede* in light of the results of sections 2 and 3. In particular, it compares some features of Hemming's scribal output in Ca with his performance in copying three charters found in the Worcester cartulary. In this section I shall be dealing particularly with notions of 'active' and 'passive' scribal repertoires. While a scribe's active repertoire consists of the variants he would produce when writing a primary text, free from the influence of an exemplar, Benskin and Laing (1981: 58) define a passive repertoire as 'those forms which are not part of the active repertoire, but which are nevertheless familiar in everyday usage as the forms of other writers, and which the scribe does not balk at reproducing'.

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[1] 'The head must guide the hand.' Maxims 1, l. 67.
[2] Ker (1948), Tinti (2002, 2010).

5.1 Previous Studies of Ca

Despite Ca's comparative neglect by nineteenth- and twentieth-century *Bede* scholars, it was the first *Bede* manuscript to be published. It formed the basis of both Wheelocke's (1643) and Smith's (1722) editions, and was collated by Miller (1890). Ca's closest relative among the manuscripts of the *Bede* is O, a relationship which has been commented on several times; Waite (2013a: 15) describes Ca as 'a direct copy of O', while Grant (1989: 4) states that Ca 'is in the main a copy of O'. According to Miller (1890: xix) there was no doubt about the closeness of the relationship: 'what appears as erasure, interlineation or marginal addition in O. is in its right place in Ca'. Moreover, he states 'Ca. does not insert any passage not to be found in O., and faithfully repeats the many omissions due to homoioteleuton (*sic*)' (xix). Whitelock (1974: 263) agreed with Miller, stating that 'he was probably right in regarding Ca as a copy of O'.

There does, however, remain the fact that O's corrected text as it stands is not in all respects identical to that written by Hemming. Rowley (2011: 24) describes Ca as 'a faithful copy of O, *missing only a few of the later corrections*' (italics mine). For Campbell (1951: 398), Ca was 'a direct copy of O [...] Most of the Saxonising corrections of O have been incorporated into the text, and its phonology is almost exclusively West-Saxon'. Despite these similarities, there are a number of differences between O and Ca. In many places Ca's text exhibits more traits representative of later stages of Old English than does O, which Deutschbein (1901: 180) attributes to their relative ages: 'O in folge seines höheren alters mehr dialektformen zeigt als Ca'.[3] On the other hand, Miller (1896: xx) saw in Hemming: 'a copyist at work with a certain independence'.

An examination of Ca formed part of Franzen's (1991) study of the surviving Tremulous Hand glosses in Worcester manuscripts. Her focus, however, was on the layer of thirteenth-century annotations, rather than the *Bede* text itself, or Hemming's writing of it. Similarly, Graham's (1997) article identifying Ca as the Old English *Bede* belonging to Robert Talbot in the sixteenth century is a discussion of the known history of the manuscript. Graham uses codicological considerations and Ca's early-modern annotations to make the case for its ownership by Talbot. Thus, Franzen and Graham are concerned mainly with Ca's history after the thirteenth century, and do not tell us anything about the manuscript's production or its use during its first hundred years or so.

5.1.2 The Manuscript
The earlier editors of the *Bede*, Wanley and Schipper, dated Ca to some time around the Conquest, while Miller suggested a date in the second half of the eleventh century, but 'giebt aber keine Gründe an' (Schipper, 1896: xx).[4] Ker (1957: 36) gives the date as the second half of the eleventh century, and Rowley (2010: 24) follows him in giving a date range of 'probably *c*. 1062-95'. It is written in one hand, identified by Ker (1948: 57) as that of the scribe Hemming, who was responsible for compiling and writing parts of the second half of the Worcester cartulary which bears his name (British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii). There are a number of glosses and alterations throughout Book 3,

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[3] 'As a result of its greater age, O has more dialect forms than Ca.'
[4] 'Gives, however, no reasons.'

which Ker (1957: 37) states are contemporary with the main text. Most of these appear to be in Hemming's hand, and they either supply missing text (isolated letters or whole words), or alternative readings. Miller (1890: xx) suggests that another manuscript may be the source of some of these annotations, but it should be noted that in many places they do not coincide with readings from any existing manuscript (see section 5.3.3).

The mid-thirteenth-century glossator known as the 'Tremulous Hand' has contributed glosses to Book 3 (Ker, 1957: 37; Franzen, 1991: 63; Rowley, 2011: 182-6), and they appear on ff. 29r-v, 30r-v, 31r, 34v, 38v, 39r-v, 40r, and 41v.[5] Glosses by another post-Conquest hand appear on f. 8, but none of these appear in Book 3. The Tremulous Hand's glosses are mostly Latin equivalents to the Old English text, and give his own translations of some of the Old English lemmata. Finally, there is a note by the Worcester scribe Coleman on f. 87v, and he is probably responsible also for the marginal titles entered in rustic capitals in Chapters 7 and 8 of Book 5, ff. 84v and 85 (Ker, 1949: 29-30). The *Bede* is Ca's only text, and it is unusual in that it contains a list of chapter headings at the beginning of the manuscript, and running headings at the top of each page.[6] Book 3 covers ff. 28v-47v. The layout of Ca is markedly different from that of T, O and B, which all have relatively short lines, whereas Ca is physically a larger manuscript, with wider writing lines, and more lines to a folio.[7]

That Ca was written and kept at Worcester is suggested by the identification of three of the hands present in the manuscript. Hemming is known to have written other manuscripts with a Worcester provenance, while Coleman's annotations also appear in Worcester-related books (Ker, 1949). The Tremulous Hand glosses also place Ca at Worcester in the mid-thirteenth century (Franzen, 1991: 1-2). From the thirteenth century until after the Dissolution, little is known of the manuscript, however, in the sixteenth century it was annotated by Robert Talbot (*c.* 1505-58) on ff. 10r, 12r, 14r and 14v (Graham, 1997: 297). Talbot's annotations consist of Latin translations of some of the text's Old English words, and some explanatory notes. The translations are not copied from the Latin version of the *Bede*. Evidence for Talbot's possession of Ca is not conclusive, but it is the only surviving *Bede* manuscript containing his writing, and on this basis Graham suggests that Ca was the 'old saxonice *Bede*' referred to as belonging to Talbot in a note on the verso of British Library Cotton Domitian A. ix (the Z manuscript of the *Bede*). By 1574 Ca had been acquired by Matthew Parker, who presented it to Cambridge University Library that year. Although we have no evidence for Ca's whereabouts between the time of the Tremulous Hand's annotations and 1574, Graham (1997: 303) suggests that it did not leave Worcester before the sixteenth century:

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[5] For a dating of the Tremulous Hand, see Ker (1937) and Franzen (1991: 1-2).

[6] See Rudolf (2012) on the development and use of running titles in post-Conquest manuscripts of Worcester origin.

[7] Rowley (2011: 24) gives the following measurements for the surviving *Bede* manuscripts: T = 250 x 167mm (writing space 175 x 110mm); O = 259 x 168mm (writing space *c.* 225 x 111mm); B = 340 x 205mm (writing space *c.* 261 x 143mm). In contrast, Ca = *c.* 320 x 225mm (writing space *c.* 265 x 158mm).

If, as seems likely, Talbot was indeed the owner of manuscript Kk.3.18, the manuscript would have been one of the first of Worcester's Anglo-Saxon manuscripts to pass out of the cathedral library and into private hands in the sixteenth century.

From this point of view, Ca is unusual among the *Bede* manuscripts in that we appear to have good evidence for its origin and provenance. Whether this additional information is of any help to us in our investigation of Hemming's scribal practices will be considered later in this chapter.

5.2 Worcester, Wulfstan and Hemming

There is sparse, yet tantalising evidence suggesting that Worcester had a long-standing tradition of scholarship in the pre-Alfredian period. Thijs (2005: 106) suggests that Worcester may have escaped the worst of the Viking attacks, and so may have had an unbroken tradition of scholarship from its foundation in the seventh century. However, given the scarcity of the surviving evidence, Thijs concludes that it is impossible to ascertain whether a 'School of Worcester' existed in the time of Wærferth, that is, around the time of Alfred and (possibly) the *Bede's* original translation into Old English.

Evidence for book production at Worcester in the tenth century is a little stronger. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester (961-92), was one of the main figures in the tenth-century Benedictine Reform, and in line with the renewed emphasis on learning, he refounded several monasteries and encouraged the production of manuscripts (Tinti, 2010: 20ff). He gave the vill of Bredicote to the priest Goding 'ut, quicquid in scripturis necesse esset, absque ulla scriberet contradictione. Cui conuentioni libens assensum prebebat, multosque postmodum huic monasterio libros scribebat'.[8] However, although this shows an arrangement for Goding to make books, we do not know how many he made or who he made them for as his hand has not been identified (Thomson, 2001: xxi).

It is not until the eleventh century that we have firmer evidence about the kind and quantities of books made at Worcester. In common with the situation at Exeter, the impetus for a renewed interest in book-making can be attributed to one person, Wulfstan II, Bishop of Worcester (1062-95):

> A group of books made locally in [Wulfstan's] time can be attributed to his initiative: three volumes of Old English sermons, collections of canon law, the liturgy, and some patristica [...] Some of Wulfstan's books were the work of named scribes: Eadric, Hemming and Coleman, who were monks, and Wulfgeat, who was probably not. (Thomson, 2001: xxii)

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[8] 'In order that he may write away from any disturbance, everything necessary for writing should be present. To which agreement he willingly agreed, and afterwards wrote many books in this monastery.' Quoted in Thomson (2001: xxi), full text in Hearne (1723: i. 263).

Surviving books tell us something about manuscript use and production in Worcester during the later Anglo-Saxon period. A Worcester book list dated by Lapidge (1985: 63) to the mid-eleventh century is to be found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367. It contains eleven books, nine of which are described as *englisc*, including a legendary, Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Old English Martyrology*, two psalters, Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and a copy of the *Benedictine Rule*. This list demonstrates the presence of English books at Worcester before Wulfstan's time. Worcester was certainly a prolific producer of manuscripts: according to Ker (1957: ix) twelve manuscripts containing Old English can be traced back to the cathedral, and production seems to have taken place over a long period, from the ninth century to the Conquest, and beyond.[9] Nevertheless, Treharne (2009a: 33-4) urges caution in the attribution of so many texts to Worcester:

> Worcester's survivals (many never having left the institution) increase its prominence as a manufacturer of codices, and, potentially detract from our acknowledgement of other scriptoria [...] there is always the possibility that numerous other books become centripetally associated with the Cathedral Priory scriptorium, thereby increasing its reputation in modern scholarship as a producer of texts, when the phenomenon of late Anglo-Saxon writing environments was, perhaps, rather more complex and varied.

As Worcester is one of a small number of centres for which we have good evidence for manuscript production and several surviving manuscripts, we run the risk of attributing books to Worcester, when in reality they may have been produced in a neighbouring centre, for which we have far less evidence. Our knowledge that books came to Worcester from other centres (e.g. Glastonbury and Winchester), as well as being loaned by Worcester to others (e.g. Exeter), should caution us against a simplistic notion of manuscripts having a static life on the shelves of the centre which produced them.

Wulfstan was an energetic bishop, and from his influence on Worcester's library we can conclude that his interests lay in preaching, organising cathedral archives, and recovering lost estates (Tinti, 2010: 58-67). He was also involved in the rebuilding of Worcester Cathedral in the 1080s, instigated the building of new parish churches in his diocese, and made efforts to recruit more monks to the cathedral (Mason, 2004). While it is probably the case that (unlike Exeter) Worcester had a well-stocked library before Wulfstan became bishop, not all the volumes associated with Worcester were produced there.[10] In considering the production of deluxe volumes, Gameson (1996: 232) notes that 'most of the surviving volumes which were or may have been copied at Worcester were library texts, not liturgical books.' He traces many of the more highly-decorated volumes to centres such as Winchester and Christ Church, Canterbury, which seem to have provided this type of book for many other monastic and cathedral centres besides Worcester: 'Oswald and Worcester no less than Æthelwold and Edgar provided Winchester with the *raison*

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[9] Thomson (2001: xix) notes the good survival rate of Anglo-Saxon books in Worcester: 23, compared with Durham (3), Christ Church, Canterbury (10), Exeter (9), Winchester and Rochester (5).

[10] This parallels what we know of Leofric's book acquisition practices in Exeter (see section 4.2). For a list of manuscripts with Worcester connections between the late-ninth and late-eleventh centuries, see Gameson (1996: 236-243).

d'être for continuing production of high-grade liturgical books' (Gameson, 1996: 234). In this, however, Worcester was following other ecclesiastical centres in England and mainland Europe, which acquired luxury volumes from other centres specialising in their production. Gameson concludes that there was an 'appreciable degree of specialization among late Anglo-Saxon scriptoria, with some centres supplying particular needs of others' (235).

Treharne (2007: 16-7) notes that both Wulfstan and Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, provide rare examples of episcopal and administrative continuity over the period of the Conquest:

> The extant manuscripts produced in the period 1060-80 at Exeter and Worcester, both vernacular and Latin, show numerous similarities, which suggest that the work and pastoral agenda of both prelates broadly correspond.

Wulfstan and Leofric were both interested in building the libraries of their respective establishments, and both compiled their own homiliaries or penitentials: in Wulfstan's case, Hatton 113, Hatton 114 and Junius 121 were probably created as a single collection, as their quires are numbered sequentially. According to Treharne (2007: 21), 'this denotes a scriptorium staffed with sufficient scribes to permit one to be dedicated to a single task over time: indeed, this appears to be a relatively competent and confident scribe, who is something of an editor of the material being copied'. However, differences can be seen in the output of the two scriptoria, and in comparing the homiliaries compiled by Leofric and Wulfstan Treharne concluded that the greater scope of Wulfstan's possibly reflected the wider variety of exemplars at his disposal.[11]

Despite having lost many manuscripts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the cathedral library retains several, and some of these still have their original bindings (including tenth-century bindings). According to Thomson (2001: xix), 'on the basis of this rare and remarkable survival, it can be demonstrated that much of the binding took place within the Cathedral Priory'. In addition, Worcester monks during the Middle Ages often wrote their names into books, enabling a study to be made of the intellectual lives of some.[12] Finally, Thomson also found that leaves from Anglo-Saxon books, particularly from the eighth century or earlier, were used as rebindings during last decades before the Dissolution. This indicates that by Hemming's time Worcester's library was well-stocked, and that the cathedral scriptorium was active in most stages of book-production. However, as we have seen, highly-decorated liturgical volumes were sourced from elsewhere, and any decoration which did take place in-house usually imitated designs from centres which engaged more routinely with this kind of work, such as Canterbury and Winchester (Gameson, 1996: 234).

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[11] See also Treharne (2009a: 44) for evidence that Worcester may have loaned manuscripts to Exeter to serve as exemplars.
[12] Sharpe (2005) uses a similar approach to study the reading habits of later medieval monks at Thorney Abbey.

Hemming was identified by Ker (1948: 57) as responsible for all or part of five other texts, shown in Table 5.1:[13]

Ker no.	Manuscript	Contents	Hemming's Contribution
23	**Cambridge, University Library Kk.3.18**	**The Old English *Bede***	**Whole text.**
67	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391	*Portiforium* of Wulfstan	Latin texts pp. 579-612; prayers in Old English pp. 601-3 and 611-2.
190	London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.xiii	'Hemming's Cartulary'	Compiler. Scribe of ff. 119-125 + additions to second half of cartulary.
331	London, British Library Hatton 113/4	Homilies (2 vols)	Article 78 (homily).
338	Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 121	Ecclesiastical institutes, psalms, penitentials, Benedictine Office, homilies	Articles 33 (part), 37 (Easter Day homily, *Capitula concilii apud winceastram celebrati*).
	Harley charter 83 A.3		Probable copier, but not certain.

Table 5.1: Manuscripts written (wholly or in part) by Hemming.

Of the five manuscripts investigated by Rudolf (2012: 94), Ca and Ker nos. 331 and 338 all have running titles, which he argues are an innovative feature of the Worcester scriptorium during the second half of the eleventh century. It is notable that the *Bede* is the only surviving manuscript written wholly by Hemming. That the others are all collaborative projects indicates that Hemming worked as part of a larger scriptorium, which had sufficient resources for several scribes to be working on a given text at any one time.

We can surmise that Ca was produced in an environment where book production was a regular and important activity. That Worcester had connections with other ecclesiastical scriptoria, such as Canterbury and Winchester is evident from some of the books in its library with these origins. What is interesting about the *Bede* is that it was an in-house production, and in line with other Worcester-made manuscripts it has little in the way of ornamentation. This groups it potentially with the vernacular manuscripts such as the collections of homilies which were written for Bishop Wulfstan. His *Vita* (Swanton, 1984: 100) notes the importance to him of his pastoral duties, and from this point of view the *Bede* could have been a useful text to him. It is interesting to note that the only other *Bede* manuscript whose Anglo-Saxon provenance we know is B, and that it also had an

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[13] While it is not in doubt that the hand responsible for Ca is the same as the writer of the texts in Table 5.1, the identification of 'Hemming' as either the first or the second scribe of the cartulary is not certain (Tinti, 2002: 241). I have followed Ker's (1948: 72) judgement: 'that [scribe 2, i.e. the scribe responsible for the texts in Table 5.1] is Hemming seems to me probable'. According to Leicester University's *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220* website, Hemming was also responsible for 'some additions' to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146, though the extent and nature of these additions is not stated and the manuscript is not listed by Ker (number 37 in his *Catalogue*) as containing Hemming's hand. http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CUL.Kk.3.18.htm#EM.SC.0044 (accessed 27/9/13).

episcopal connection.[14] Both Leofric and Wulfstan held office before and after the Conquest, and it is also possible that the *Bede* was a valuable text to them after the Conquest, as a record of the history and achievements of the English church to which they belonged.

In comparison with the other *Bede* scribes, we have a fair amount of information about Hemming. In his cartulary he tells us that he is 'monachus et sacerdos' (Hearne, 1723: 282), and William of Malmesbury describes him as subprior of Worcester in his translation of Coleman's *Life of St Wulfstan* (Winterbottom and Thomson, 2002: 21). Finally, his name appears in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham (Tinti, 2002: 236). Despite this, we have no information about his work as a scribe, or where and when he was trained. In some ways, then, we have no advantage in knowing Hemming's identity when it comes to considering his scribal performance in the *Bede*.

5.3 O's Corrections and Their Relationship to Ca

Although an identification of Ca's exemplar as O is not without its problems, the textual relationship between the manuscripts has been little interrogated. Differences between the two have often been attributed to O's corrections taking place over a long period, some of them after Ca was copied (Miller, 1890: xviii-xix).[15] Unfortunately, Miller does not give his reasons for supposing such a long period of correction in the case of O; if it is merely to account for the fact that not all corrections appear in Ca, then this is clearly no proof of the age of O's corrections, or their relationship to Ca. There is no doubt that O and Ca are the most closely related of the four manuscripts, with shared misreadings as well as apparently shared corrections (Miller, 1890: xix). However, this means only that O has been corrected to the exemplar, and not necessarily that Ca was copied directly from O. It might be that the two manuscripts share a common exemplar. As we know that at least some of O's corrections were based on its exemplar (section 3.3) it is possible that the closeness we see between the two manuscripts is a reflection of that exemplar. The next section, then, examines some of the manuscripts' shared misreadings, before considering O's corrections in relation to Ca. Finally, Ca's own annotations are scrutinised for the light they shed on Ca's connections with another manuscript, B.

5.3.1 Common Readings in O and Ca
There are two types of evidence we can examine to establish the closeness of O and Ca: as well as copied corrections, the two manuscripts also share common errors. Common errors are most obvious to us when they occur in personal or place names. As personal or place-names are specific to a particular referent, they must be recognisable to other readers.[16] Any substantial departure from an agreed form is therefore unlikely to occur 1)

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[14] Godden (2009: 100) suggests that other Old English prose translations were undertaken specifically for bishops.

[15] See also Grant (1989: 395, 410)

[16] Coates (2012: 29) states that the process of 'becoming proper' i.e. of a descriptive label undergoing the process of becoming a proper noun means that it has to 'lose its capacity for general reference and to become attached to a single individual'. In the example of *hunwoldesham*, it appears that at some point a scribe has attempted to interpret the word literally, giving rise to the readings extant in O and Ca.

if the referent is well-known to the scribe, or 2) as a result of deliberate change by a scribe. In example 1, the error shared by O and Ca suggests that neither of the scribes recognised the reading in their exemplar as referring to a place called *hunwoldesham*:

1) him wealdes ham   (O)
    hi(m) gewealdes ham   (Ca)
    hunwoldesham   (T, B)

This is clearly a case of a scribe misconstruing a series of minims, probably exacerbated by the fact that the word affected is a place-name, which is less likely to be well-known to the scribe.[17] Minim confusion is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and also occurs in the *Bede* texts. A further example occurs in T's *tulaburg*, where B reads *tiilaburh*. The reading in O and Ca of *tilaburg* shows that it is T's scribe who has made the error in this instance. King (1988: 169) notes that '<uu> could be misconstrued as <mi>, as <iiu>; the confusion caused to scribes as well as readers by these minim letters'.

Example 2 is a personal name which appears as *Caelin* (brother of Chad) in the Latin (Plummer, 1896: 176).

2) *celm*   (O, Ca)
    cælin   (T)
    cealin   (B)

As in example 1, the variation evidently comes from a misreading of minims, O and Ca this time mistaking <in> for <m>. In both cases, the error is perhaps more likely to be transmitted if the scribes were unfamiliar with these particular names. If they had no knowledge of Caelin as a historical figure (or of *Hunwoldesham* as a settlement) they would have no other source with which to compare their exemplar, and thus no opportunity to spot the misreading.[18]

Example 3 shows confusion of *rice* and *lice*:

3) riht rice (O, Ca)
    rihtlice (T, B)

    forðon he wat. þ
    we **riht rice** winnað for hælo ure ðeode.   (Ca: f. 29v)
    'Because he knows that we fight **justly** (*rihtlice*) for the salvation of our people.'

The confusion of *lice* and *rice* also occurs in O, which has *heofon rices* on f. 36v for the *heofonlices* found in all other manuscripts. In example 3 however, it appears that the

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[17] Compare B's confusion on p.183 of *Lastingaea* (Lastingham, Lat *Laestingaeu* (Plummer, 1896: 176)) with *Glæstingaea* (Glastonbury).
[18] Unless, of course, they could refer to a Latin or another Old English copy of the *Bede*. However, the evidence of Book 3 suggests that textual comparison with another *Bede* manuscript was not a usual practice for any of these scribes in the course of writing or revising the main text. *PASE* only records *caelin* and *cælin* once each; it was clearly not a common name.

exemplars for both O and Ca had *riht rice*. In spite of the fact that the reading *riht rice* makes little sense, neither O1 nor Hemming have opted to alter the reading of their exemplar.

Examples 4-7 show a misreading which has as its basis phonological differences between the Mercian and the West-Saxon forms of the word *seðl*. In West-Saxon the consonant cluster <ðl> became <tl>, while Anglian forms of the word retained <ðl>, and this difference is reflected in the spelling found in West-Saxon and Anglian texts (*setl* vs. *seðl*, Campbell, 1959: §419-420).[19] In this example, *seðl* (seat) and *eðel* (homeland) have been confused at some point in the transmission of the branch to which O and Ca belong. Two instances of this type of confusion appear close together, on f. 42r of Ca:

4) ond þæs
   seðel wære. ece to gelyfenne in heofonum nales in eorð
   licre frætwednesse in gewitendre (T: f. 48r)

5) ꝥ þæs **eðell**
   wære ece to gelẏfanne on heofonu(m). nalæs on eorðlicre frætwædnẏsse ꝥ
   gewitendre. (Ca: f. 42r)
   '...and whose **home** (**seat** T), it should be believed, was eternal in heaven, and not in earthly and transitory trifles.'

6) ono þa sigeberht se cyning þa wæs ceaster
   wara gefremed þæs ecan rices. ꝥ wolde eft þæt **seðl.** secan.
   his hwiilwendlices riices. þa bæd he osweo þone cyning. þ
   he him hwylce hwego lareowas sealde. (T: f. 48v)

7) ꝥ Ða sigebẏrht se cẏning þa wæs ceasterwara gefremed. þæs
   ecan rices. ꝥ wolde eft þ **eðel** secan his hwilendlican rices. þa bæd he oswio
   þone cẏning þ he hi(m) hwẏlce hugu lareowas sealde.   (Ca: f. 42r)
   'And when King Sigeberht was made? a citizen of the eternal kingdom, and wanted to go back to the **home** (**seat** T) of his temporal kingdom, then he asked King Osweo to send him some teachers.'

In each case, the scribes of O and Ca (or more likely their exemplar), have confused *eðel* and *seðl*, probably prompted in the first example by a misdivision of *þæs seðl*. As *seðl* is a more conservative spelling in terms of the *Bede*, it is possible that it was not so easily recognisable, and therefore more likely to cause a problem in transmission. We can be sure that the faulty transmission lies with O and Ca, as the Latin has *cuius sedes* for *þæs seðl* in examples 4 and 5, and *sedem* for *seðl* in examples 6 and 7 (Plummer, 1896: 172).[20]

The examples in this section show how closely related O and Ca are, and that common readings could be accounted for either through independent error/ variation or by a

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[19] Note also the appearance in T of *aðl*, against *adl*, which is preferred by O, Ca and B.

[20] The later spelling, *seld* (due to metathesis of <dl>) is found in both these places in B (Campbell, 1959: §425).

shared exemplar. Given the similarity of reading in so many respects, we could posit either a common exemplar or direct transmission from O to Ca on the basis of this evidence. However, it is not evidence which can prove the nature of the link between the two texts.

5.3.2 'Copied Corrections'
We noted in Chapter 3 that O is a very heavily corrected text of the *Bede*, and Waite (2013a: 16) notes that '*in general* these corrections are incorporated by the copyist of manuscript Ca' (my emphasis). In this section, the evidence of 'copied corrections' is considered. In several instances, the reading in Ca coincides with an emended reading in O, and a selection of examples is provided in examples 8-13:

8)] sẏððan of þære tide þa werigan gastas hine
   mid ænige ege ne mid **geswencednesse** gretan dorstan. (Ca: f. 36r)
   'And since that time the wretched spirits did not dare affect him either with fear or **affliction**.'
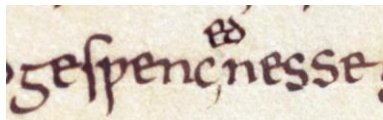
Fig. 5.1: O: f. 38r, *geswenc\ed/nesse*

9)] ealle his ge
   feran. oððe on þære deadlicnẏsse þæs wæles of worulde genume ge wæron. oððe
   þurh oðre stowe **todælede. Ða** wæron hi begen... (Ca: f. 46r)
   'And all his companions were either taken from the world by the plague's deadliness, or scattered among other places. Then they were both...'
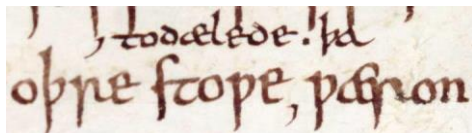
Fig. 5.2: O: f. 57v, *todælede. þa/ wæron*

In examples 8 and 9, the corrections to O are ones which restore missing text. We have seen how prone O is to mechanical slips of this kind, and how many of these omissions are restored by the corrector. We also have evidence from the pronouns that at least some of these omissions were made good by reference to O's exemplar (sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2). This being the case, we should perhaps not be surprised if Hemming, who to all appearances is a more assured scribe than O1, copies his exemplar sufficiently satisfactorily, so that he (or his supervisor) does not feel the need to correct the text to the extent seen in O. Assuming that the corrected readings in O were those of his exemplar, we cannot use evidence of this kind to prove direct transmission of the text from O to Ca. Example 10 is slightly different:

10) Ða sende uitalian⁹ se papa oswio **seaxna** cẏninge
    lufsumlice ærendgewrit. (Ca: f. 47r)
    'Then Pope Vitalianus sent a gracious message to Oswio, king of the **Saxons**.'
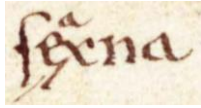
Fig. 5.3: O: f. 59v, *se\a/xna*

Example 10 is one where O's language has been 'updated', in this case to reflect a West-Saxon spelling without Anglian smoothing. O is the only *Bede* manuscript which retains smoothed spellings to any degree, and the ones which have been transmitted from the exemplar are often altered (as in example 10) to align the text more with late-West-Saxon spelling practices. Given that the changes visible in the *Bede* manuscripts move the text towards late-West-Saxon, and the fact that spellings based on phonological features such as smoothing are relatively rare, it is difficult to accept examples such as 10 above as compelling evidence of a direct link between O and Ca. It is also important to note, however, that not every correction to O appears in Ca's text. In examples 11-13, O has been corrected, but the reading does not coincide with that in Ca:

11) þa gehalgode ic wæt(er). ⁊ **scæfðan** dÿde on.   (Ca: f. 37v)
    'Then I blessed the water and put the **woodshavings** in it.'
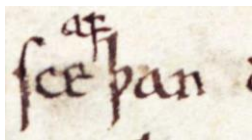
Fig. 5.4: O: f. 40v, *sce\af/þan*

Example 11 shows a correction in O to *sceafþan*. It is not possible to see what O1 originally wrote, but Ca's *scæfðan* does not incorporate O's correction. While O's emended spelling is one which reflects a form of the word with palatal diphthongisation, Hemming writes an <æ> where O1 has <ea>. If we compare these two spellings with others in the *Bede*, we can see a continuum, whereby the older and more conservative texts contain spellings without palatal diphthongisation, where later manuscripts have <ea>. Hemming's <æ> spelling is therefore at odds with the general trend observable in the other *Bede* manuscripts. This feature is discussed in more detail in section 5.5.1, but I believe it to be an innovative spelling on Hemming's part. Despite showing a difference between the two manuscripts, it is therefore not persuasive evidence, either for or against direct transmission. A similar situation occurs in example 12:

12) oððe gif he geleafsume wæron.
    þ he ða gestrangode ⁊ trÿmede þ hi fæstlice on heora geleafan **awunedon**. (Ca: f. 30v)
    'Or, if they were willing, he strengthened and fortified them so that they **continued** steadfastly in their faith.'
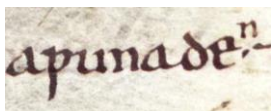
Fig. 5.5: O: f. 27v, *awunade\n/*

In example 12, O1 originally wrote *awunade*, a denasalised subjunctive form (see section 6.3.1), to which the corrector has added a superscript <n>. Hemming, however, writes *awunedon*, with what appears to be an indicative ending. If he was using O as his exemplar, he must have chosen at this point not to retain either the original <e>, or the corrected <en> ending, and has substituted what looks like an indicative <on> inflection. As we have evidence that the trend in the *Bede* is for conservative forms to have denasalised <e> endings, and for innovative forms to use <on>, the fact that Hemming uses an innovative form in this instance tells us nothing about his exemplar.

In example 13, Hemming again fails to incorporate one of O's corrections:

13) Bidde **ic ða**. la gif \þu/ ænig
     his reliquias hæbbe mid þe þ ðu me sýlle. (Ca: f. 37v)
     '**I** ask, **then**, oh, (**I** ask **you**) if you have any of his relics with you, that you would give me.'
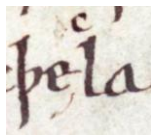
Fig. 5.6: O: f. 40v, *þe\c/* (Ca: *þa*)

The final example in this section is an instance where O seems to have corrected his text to his exemplar (section 3.3.1). Hemming, in contrast, writes *ða*, suggesting either that his exemplar did not have *þec*, or that if it did, he did not copy it accurately. The confusion of *þe* and *þa* does not make a great difference in meaning in this instance, and it is therefore the kind of variation which may have gone undetected by Hemming when he revised his work.

The problem with all these examples is that, although they show instances where Ca does not share an altered reading in O, in each case Hemming has written a less conservative form than that in O. As Hemming could have chosen such forms regardless of what was in his exemplar, we will have to look elsewhere for evidence of the relationship between O and Ca.

While it is perfectly probable that if Ca had been copied directly from O, it would have incorporated these corrections (especially if the emended reading made more sense than the original), there is no reason that Ca could not have been copied from a common exemplar, from which O1 also made his (defective) copy. If O1 corrected his text to the exemplar after the copy was made – and we know he did this in some instances – then it might be argued that this evidence only tells us about the state of any supposed common exemplar. We have seen in Chapter 3 that O1 was by turns both a literatim copyist and a translator, so unless we can isolate a section or word that we are reasonably sure is an innovation on O's part and that is shared by Ca, then we cannot say with any degree of certainty that Ca is definitely a copy of O. If, as we suggest, O is an example of a *Mischsprache* text, then we are unlikely to be able to isolate such a section. Finally, we have no evidence for a date when O's corrections were made. All we are able to say about the corrections is that they appear to be contemporary with the writing of the main text,

and that the hand responsible for them is very similar to, and *possibly* the same as O1's. This evidence would point to the alterations being made early, i.e. before Ca was written. If this *is* the case, then the fact that Ca does not incorporate all of O's corrections lessens the chances of O being Ca's exemplar. However, we cannot prove that some of the alterations were not made after the date of Ca's copying, and that this (however unlikely) may account for the discrepancies.

5.3.3 Annotations in Ca

Finally, Ca's text includes several annotations which appear to be in a hand very like (if not identical to) Hemming's. The majority of the 82 annotations concern the restoration of omitted text, however twenty appear gloss-like, in that they provide alternative readings for some of the lemmata, and in a number of instances these annotations provide readings which look very like those in B. Four annotations gloss *nemne* with *butan*, and are discussed in section 5.4.3.2. The present section deals with a selection of the other lexical replacements found throughout Book 3:

14) ꝺ god **biddende \bensode/** sædon (Ca: f. 36v)
    'And **gave thanks** to God.'

15) ꝺ god **bensode**. sædon (O: f. 38v)

16) ꝺ god **biddende** wæs.   (B: p.153)

In example 14, Hemming originally wrote *biddende*, a reading which matches the text of B. However, he later returned and added *bensode* above the line, to give a reading which matches O's. *Bensian* is listed by the *DOE* and Campbell (1951: 354) as an Anglian word, and its replacement by a less dialectally marked term in one of the later manuscripts is not surprising. What *is* curious, is that Hemming should have felt the need to return and add the original reading above his line, intervening in what was a perfectly comprehensible text. O's text is not difficult to read at this point, and there is no evidence of erasure, making the motive for Ca's action rather difficult to interpret.

Another example where Ca's reading coincides with B's is in example 17, in Hemming's annotation to *endes* ('type, kind'):

17) ac ne hæfde wit monig oðer
    uncẏmran hors ꝺ oðres **endes \hiwæs/** (Ca: f. 38v)
    'But have we not many other inferior horses, of other **kinds**?'

18) ac ne hæfdon wit monig oþer
    uncymran hors ꝺ oðres **endes** (O: f. 42r)

19) manige oðre
    wit uncymran hors ꝺ oðres **hiwæs** hæfdon. (B: p.159)

Hemming originally wrote *endes*, the same form as is found in O (example 18), yet he returned and wrote *hiwæs* above *endes*. *Ende* is a rare word, but that it was the original

reading at this point in the translation is indicated by its presence (*eondes*) in T.[21] The form of the annotation, *hiwæs* (with <æ>) is also unusual; we would expect to see an <es> genitive singular ending here, yet as example 19 shows, *hiwæs* is the spelling we find in B at this point. The unusual spelling raises the possibility, then, that Hemming copied this annotation from B.

Hemming also writes *heowes* in preference to *endes* on f. 38r:

> 20) gæf he ꝺ sealde þ betste hors.
>   ꝺ þæs fæ\ig/restan **heowes** aidane þam b(iscop). (Ca: f. 38r)
>   'He gave and donated the best and fairest horse of its **kind** to Bishop Aidan.'

In the same place, T reads *eondes*, O *endes* and B *hiwes*. We can see that T and O provide conservative readings (*e(o)ndes*), whereas Ca and B opt for the innovative *heowes/ hiwes*. In this instance, Ca and B share the same lexical choice, yet their spelling differs, and any link between the two is perhaps harder to posit than in example 17. If, however, *e(o)ndes* was less familiar to B1 and Hemming, either because it was an older word or an Anglian one, then its replacement should not really surprise us. Ca and B are the latest of the *Bede* manuscripts, and we already know that B1 is a translator scribe. The possibility remains, therefore, that Hemming updated the language of his exemplar in these two cases, though the similarity of his text to that of B is noteworthy.[22]

There is, therefore, a substantial amount of evidence demonstrating the textual closeness of O and Ca, from examples such as shared errors and common readings where O shows textual emendation. By itself, however, this evidence is not enough to demonstrate that Ca was directly copied from O, as these features could be accounted for by O and Ca being descended from a common exemplar, for example. In addition, some of the glosses added by Hemming suggest influence from another manuscript, which inevitably complicates the picture we have of the relationship between the surviving *Bede* manuscripts. The next section reviews evidence where O and Ca do not share common readings, to examine whether it is strong enough to cast doubt on assumptions by Miller (1890) and others that Ca is a direct descendent of O.

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[21] A check of the *DOEC* shows *eonde* occurring only twice, both times in Book 3 of the *Bede*. Without back mutation the word is identical to *ende* ('end'); Bosworth-Toller only quotes the two *Bede* passages discussed here as evidence for *eonde/ ende* meaning 'species, kind'. The *DOE* treats *eonde/ende* in the sense of 'species, kind' separately from *ende* 'end', and also only quotes these two *Bede* examples.
[22] Note Grant's comments on the relationship between the surviving *Bede* manuscripts (1989: 395-400). He acknowledges the inadequacy of previous attempts to provide a stemma, and concludes that 'the traditional stemma of OE Bede texts is too simple' (400). He suggests a contamination between B and a text from the C-O-Ca tradition, which could, of course, just as easily account for the similarities apparent between B and Ca here as a borrowing by Ca from B.

5.4 Evidence Against O as Ca's Exemplar

There are a number of instances where O and Ca do not share a common reading, and in my opinion these suggest a weaker relationship between the two manuscripts than has hitherto been suggested. Four categories of evidence can be brought to bear on this problem, and these are listed here in order of the strength of their evidence:

1) Category 1: 'Errors' in O. This category contains words in O which, compared with the other manuscripts appear to be errors, and which Ca does not share, i.e. where Ca sides with a majority reading against O. While it is possible that Hemming might have been able to supply a better reading where his exemplar seemed deficient, the chances are against him frequently selecting a variant which is identical in form to that of the majority of the other manuscripts.[23] In these cases, then, we may be seeing a reflection of a correct reading in Ca's exemplar, where O has introduced or transmitted an error.

2) Category two: Erasures in O. Names or words which Ca has in a more complete form than O, because O has an erasure at the same point. It is, of course, possible that O's erasures were made after Ca was copied, but there is no evidence to prove this, and many of the corrections seem to be in a hand which is the same or at least contemporary with scribe O1 (section 3.3). It seems reasonable, then, to assume that the erasures were done at this time too (but see Miller's remarks noted above in section 5.3).

3) Category three: Conservative features in Ca. Cases where Ca seems to preserve a more conservative reading than O. We have already posited a continuum, whereby certain features of the *Bede* can be identified as 'conservative', i.e. old, or Mercian, while others are 'innovative', that is, more modern in terms of Old English, or West-Saxon. If these conservative readings are not in O and if they are not the result of chance, or of Ca's training, then they could be due to Ca's exemplar containing such forms. Where such forms in Ca are similar to or identical with forms found elsewhere in O, (or indeed other *Bede* manuscripts) we may have grounds for assuming these to have been transmitted from a common exemplar or exemplar tradition. This is, of course, not infallible, and it should be noted that Grant does not admit morphological or phonological evidence of this kind.[24] Five features are under consideration in this category: i) *þæm*, ii) *nemne*, iii) retraction before <l> or <r> + consonant, iv) datives in <æ>, and v) *e*-caudata.

4) Category four: Unexplained errors in Ca. Obvious errors of words or, more importantly, names, where O has both a form which agrees with all other manuscripts, and where O's text is clear, and there does not appear to be anything in the text to cause such a misreading. This is the weakest of the four criteria and in itself may be the result of a transmission error by Ca, but taken with types 1-3, may be able to strengthen the argument for Ca *not* being a direct copy of O.

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[23] However, note Orton's point (2000: 47), that successful textual repairs will be invisible to subsequent readers.

[24] 'Agreements in error of phonology or accidence cannot be used, since such errors could be arrived at independently, but common errors of vocabulary (including proper nouns), addition and omission may be used with due caution' (Grant, 1989: 400).

While we cannot assume that isolated instances of older (or in this case older and/ or Mercian) forms are necessarily relics of a manuscript's exemplar, if we see several of these forms, and if, as in this case, they mirror the equivalent forms known to occur in the other manuscripts of the same text, then we have a case for including this type of evidence (see section 2.4).

5.4.1 Category One: 'Errors' in O

Table 5.2 shows a selection of examples from category one:

T	O	Ca	B
wer	**wæs**	wer	wer
oðer	**ꝛ þær**	ꝛ se oðer	oðer
getreowe lif gefylde	**getreouli gefylled**	getreowlice his lif gefyllde	getrywe lif gefylde
neahte	**neah**	niht	nihte
gefean	**geleafan**	gefean	gefean

Table 5.2: 'errors' in O.

In example 21, O reads *wæs*, while Ca, along with T and B have the undoubtedly correct reading, *wer* (example 22):

21) wæs sum arwyrðe mæsse
preost þæs nama wæs utta wæs mycelre gestęð
þignesse. ꝛ soðfæstnesse **wæs** (O: f. 43v)
'There was a certain honourable masspriest whose name was Utta. He was of great consistency and steadfastness (**was**).'
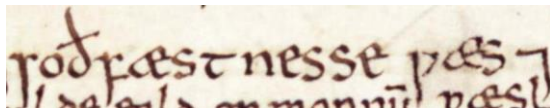
Fig. 5.7: O: f. 43v, *soðfæstnesse wæs*.

22) wæs sum arwurðe
mæssepreost. þæs nama wæs utta. wæs he mẏcelre gestæðþignẏsse ꝛ soð
fæstnẏsse **wer**. (Ca: f. 39r)
'...He was a **man** of great consistency and steadfastness.'

In example 21 O's *wæs* lies on an erasure (Fig. 5.7) and we may speculate as to whether the original reading was in fact *wer*. If O did originally read *wer*, then it is not clear what the motivation was for the correction. We are also faced with the difficulty that we do not know the date of the correction. If, however, the manuscript was emended soon after the main text was written, then there is no immediate reason why, if Hemming copied from O, he should write *wer* in preference to *wæs*. While O is undoubtedly clumsy in its wording, the sense is not so mangled as to warrant an intervention at this point.

Example 23 is another case where O has a misreading, which is not shared by any other manuscript:

23) þa
    com sum arwyrðe abbuddisse to hyre seo wæs haten
    æþelhild wæs [..] sweostor þara haligra wera æþel
    wines ꝟ ealdwines þara wæs oþer biscop on lindese.
    ꝟ þær wæs abbud on þam mystre þe hatte portanea (O: f. 37r)
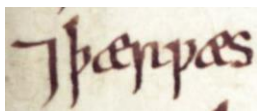
Fig. 5.8: O: f. 37r, *ꝟ þær wæs.*

24) þa com su(m) arwurðe abbudisse to hire seo wæs haten æþelhild
    ꝟ heo wæs þara haligra wera sw\e/oster æðelwines ꝟ ealdwines. þara wæs oðer
    b(iscop).
    on lindese ꝟ **se oðer** abbud on þa(m) mẏnstre ðe hatte portanea. (Ca: f. 35v)
    'Then a certain pious abbess who was called æþelhild came to her, [and she] was the sister
    of those holy men æðelwine and ealdwine, one of whom was bishop of Lindsey, **and the
    other was** abbot of the monastery called Portanea.' (... **and there was** abbot of the
    monastery called Portanea.)

In this case, Ca clearly retains a better reading than O, which conflates the posts held by
the two brothers.[25] O's reading could be accounted for by a previous scribe misreading his
exemplar's *oþer* and writing *ō þer* (the abbreviation <ō> is used in T for *ond*). Such a
spelling, if understood by O1 would give a text like *ꝟ þær in*, where <ꝟ> could stand for
ond or *and*. What is interesting about this misreading is that, although it does not make
as good sense as the original, it is unlikely that the error would have been picked up by a
subsequent reader, as it does not result in complete nonsense. It is perhaps more
probable, then, that Ca's reading derives from an exemplar which was not O.

In example 25, O has a confusing reading, brought about most probably by eyeskip on the
part of O1:

25) se sebbe þonne
    his gefera ꝟ efenẏrfeweard þæs ylcan rices mid
    micelre geornfulnesse ðone onfangennan cris
    tes geleafan heold mid ealle his folce ꝟ mid micelre
    gesælignes **getreouli gefylled**   (O: f. 60v)

Fig. 5.9: O: f. 60v: getreouli gefylled

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[25] This error has later been noticed by O's dry-point annotator, who provides a correction (see section 6.6).

26) Se

sibba þonn(e) his gefera. ⁊ efenẏrfeward þæs ẏlcan rices. mid mẏcelre georn
fulnesse. ðone onfangenan cristes geleafan. heold mid ealle his folce. ⁊ mid
micelre gesælignẏsse **getreowlice his lif gefẏllde.** (Ca: f. 47v)
'Then Sebba, his companion and co-heir of that same kingdom kept with his people the
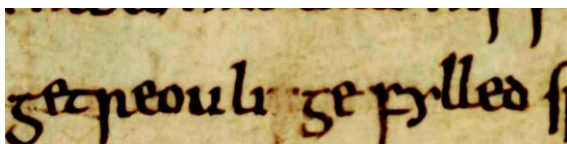Christian belief they had received, and with great happiness **lived his life faithfully**.'

O1 has a clear erasure at the end of *getreouli*, which appears to have originally read
<getreoulif>. That O's exemplar's reading was *lif gefylled* is suggested by the fact that it is
common to all four *Bede* manuscripts, and O's reading is readily explained by eyeskip from
the <li> of *getreouli(ce)* to that of *lif*. O's corrector seems to have erased the <f>, without
providing the rest of the correction.[26] This, then, is another example of O containing an
incomplete reading, where Ca provides text which has far more in common with the
other two manuscripts.

Example 27 also shows incomplete text in O:

27) hwæt sculon we nu þæs ma
sprecan. hwæt se æþelhun þære nyhstan **neah**
forðferde.   (O: f. 57v)
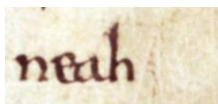
Fig. 5.10: O: f. 57v, *neah*.

28) hwæt
sculan we nu þæs ma sprecan. hwæt se æðelhun þære nẏhstan **niht** forðferde.
(Ca: f. 46r)
'What more is there to say, but that Æthelhun died the next **night** (near).'

In Fig. 5.10, O1 appears to have broken the word *neahte* at the end of the line, but has
failed to add the missing <te> as he continues on the next. Ca preserves the original
reading, and provides the word in its later form, *niht*, as opposed to the earlier form *neahte*,
which is evidently what O's scribe was intending to write.[27]

The final example in this section involves the word *gefean* ('joy'), which has been misread
or misunderstood by O1, who substitutes *geleafan* ('belief'):

28) ⁊ to
þam ecum **geleafan** þæs heofon\lican/ eðles gelædde. (O: f. 33r)

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[26] A dry-point <ce> appears above the erasure, but O's dry-point corrections cannot be the source of Ca's
text, as they so rarely coincide (Chapter 6).

[27] Interestingly, O uses the variant *neaht* nowhere else in Book 3. The fact that he does so here is intriguing;
it suggests that the exemplar may also have broken the line at this point, and that it had similar proportions
to O. T's usual spelling, on the other hand, is *neaht*.

29) ⁊ to þa(m) ecu(m) **gefean**
       þæs heofonlican eðles. gelædde.   (Ca: f. 33v)
       'And brought [her] to the eternal **bliss** (belief) of the heavenly kingdom'

In example 29, Ca has the correct reading *gefean*, which is shared by the other two manuscripts, T and B. According to Vleeskruyer (1953: 28-9), the noun *gefea* is 'more current in Anglian than in WS'. This would suggest, then, that Ca has preserved a more conservative form from his exemplar, and that this exemplar was not O.

5.4.2 Category Two: Erasures in O

Category two (where O has an erasure or other uncertain reading compared with a 'good' reading in Ca) is a useful one in that if Ca had in fact been copied directly from O, we would either expect to see an exact copy of these words, or one which reflected Ca's attempt to make sense of what he saw in his exemplar. As two of these five examples are personal names, and as one has an unusual spelling, we might anticipate that it would be much less likely that Ca would independently arrive at the form found in other manuscripts:

T	O	Ca	B
þweorh	**[.]wo[.]h**	ðweorh	þweorh
eadæth	**ead[.]e[.]h**	eadæth	eadaeth
sebbe	**sebba**	sibba	sebbe
sebb	**sebbe**	sibba	sebba
symble	**si(m)ble**	sibbe	symble
	tosc[.]e[.]d	toscægde	tosced

Table 5.3: 'erasures in O'.

In example 29, *þweorh* has had two letters, most probably <þ>, <r>, and a superscript <e> or <w> erased:
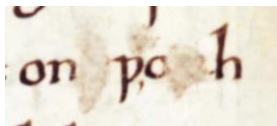
Fig. 5.11: f. 31v, *on woh*.

29) ⁊ þa eac ongeat þ he hæfde on [.]wo[.]h
       gedon þæt seo mægð wæs butan bisceope ⁊ þ hi ætgæ
       dere mid þy godcundan fultume forlæten wæs.   (O: f. 31v)
       'So he also saw, that he had acted wrongly, that his land was without a bishop, and that he was at the same time deprived of the divine support.'[28]

The erasure makes little difference to the meaning, beyond changing the adjective *ðweorh* ('cross, bent, crooked, angry, perverse, depraved') to the noun *woh* ('bending, crookedness, error, mistake') (Clark-Hall). In context, both readings seem appropriate, and Bosworth-

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[28] In this a comparison with the Latin does not help us: '*intellexitque, quod etiam tunc destituta pontifice recte pariter diuino fuerit destituta praesidio*' (Plummer 141) 'and then he perceived also that because the province had been forsaken by the bishop, so also had it been forsaken by divine protection'.

Toller lists both *on þweorh* and *on woh* as meaning 'wrongly'. The erased superscript letter is difficult to make out with certainty; if it was an <e>, then the original reading would have been *on þweorh*, and the erasures would be perfectly logical in altering *on þweorh* to *on woh*. If the erased letter was <w>, it would suggest that O was annotated at some point after the Anglo-Saxon period, when <w> had superceded <þ>. However, a reading of the erasure as <w> would make the original reading and subsequent alterations harder to account for.[29]

In Fig. 5.12, the name *eadæth* has letters erased in O:
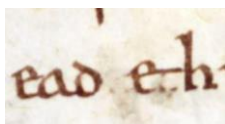
Fig. 5.12: f. 58v, *eadeh*.

The name appears as *eadæth* in all other manuscripts, and has a conservative spelling in *–th*, which is preserved in the other manuscripts.[30] As the name is not a common one (only one person with this name is recorded in *PASE*), it is perhaps less likely that a scribe would be able to reconstruct it from such a faulty transmission as *eadeh*. The fact that the name has been left in this state suggests that O was not checked against the Latin (or another Old English) version of the *Bede*.

Another such example where Ca's reading is improbable if copied directly from O is the king's name *Sebba/ Sibba*, which appears twice in Book 3:
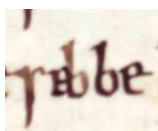
Fig. 5.13: O, f. 60v, *sebbe*.
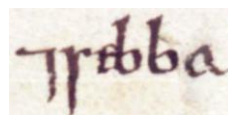
Fig. 5.14: O, f. 60r, *sebba*.

The example in Fig. 5.13 has clearly been altered, from *sibbe* to *sebbe*, while an alteration in Fig. 5.14 is probable, given the cramped nature of the <e>. Both emendations appear to be contemporary. In each case, Ca writes *sibba*.[31] If O's emendations are indeed contemporary, then we have to ask ourselves how likely it is that, seeing *sebbe* in front of him, Ca proceeded to write *sibba*. While it is not, of course, impossible that he made a transmission error, it is equally possible that if Ca and O shared an exemplar, its reading could have been *sibb-*, which Ca copied faithfully, and O changed to *sebb-*.

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[29] Many of the erasures in O are only visible when the digital image is enlarged, as it is not possible to see what was written underneath on the manuscript itself. In this case, the reading of the erasure varies depending on the angle at which it is viewed. A spelling such as **þworh* is difficult to account for; *þwerh* by Anglian smoothing is attested, as is a late-West-Saxon variant *þwuru* (Campbell, 1959: §227, 231, 321). *DOEC* searches for *þworh* and *ðworh* yield no results, and I am inclined to see the erasure as <e> rather than <w>.

[30] *PASE* shows variant spellings for this individual such as *Eadhæd, Eadhed*, and the readings retained by the other manuscripts are *eadæth* (T and Ca), and *eadaeth* (B). Plummer (1896: 195) has *eadhaedum*.

[31] T and B both have *sebbe*, while Plummer reads *Sebbi* on both occasions; *PASE* has *Sebba, Sebbe* and *Sebbi* in charters.

In two similar examples, 30 and 32, it is clear that O originally wrote *sibbe* ('relationship, friendliness, peace'), and has emended this to *simble* ('feast, table') by altering the second \<b> to \<l> and adding a suspension mark:

30) ꝺ gif þæt wæs. þ hwæ
þere se[..]ldon gelomp. þæt he to cyninges **si(m)ble** ge
laþad wære. eode \he/ in mid ane oððe mid twam his preosta. (O: f. 28r)
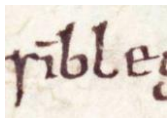
Fig. 5.15: O, f. 28r

31) ꝺ gif þ wæs þ hwæðere seldon gelomp. þ he to cẏnin
ges **simble** gelaðod wære. eode he in mid ane oððe mid twam his preosta. (Ca: 30v)
'And if it was (though it seldom happened), that he was invited to **feast** (peace) with the king, he would go in with one or two of his priests.'

32) ða com he to sumum huse on æfentid ꝺ eode on þ
hus þær þ hamweorod eall to **si(m)ble** gesomnod
wæs.   (O: f. 35v)
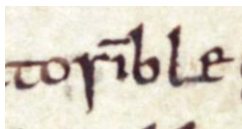
Fig. 5.16: O, f. 35v

33) Ða com he to sumum huse. on æfentid ꝺ eode on þ hus. þær þ hamweorud
eall to **sibbe** ge/somnod wæs.   (Ca: f. 35r)
'Then in evening he arrived at a certain house, and went inside where the household were all gathered in **peace** (at the table).'

Although in examples 30 and 31 both manuscripts agree in their reading *simble*, in example 33, Ca has had to rectify an omission, and has supplied *sibbe*, which appears to have been O's original reading. In both cases, *simble* appears to be the correct word, corresponding to the Latin *conuiuium* (Plummer, 1896: 136, 147). The readings in O and Ca suggest that their exemplars both initially had *sibbe*, and that when Hemming revised his text in example 33 he supplied the reading of his exemplar, *sibbe*. O's corrector also emended his reading to *simble* on both occasions, and his strategy in altering the original reading closely resembles his treatment of *ussa* in section 3.3.2.

Finally, Fig. 5.17 shows an example in which Ca appears to retain a more complete reading than O:
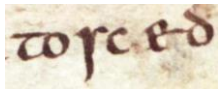
Fig. 5.17: O, f. 27v

O's *tosced* has been emended from *toscægd*, with the sequence <æg> initially matching that of Ca's *toscægd*. Again, how we read this evidence depends on whether we think the emendation was made before or after Ca was copied: if we suppose the erasures to be later than the date of Ca, then this example provides no proof either way for a direct link. However, if we suppose this erasure, like many of O's other corrections, to be contemporary with that manuscript's production (which seems to me to be more likely), then we may have another good piece of evidence that Ca had as its exemplar a manuscript further up the chain in the C-O-Ca branch of transmission.

The fact that in two places Ca has a reading which is more accurate than O's, and in the third preserves a reading which was the earlier one of O, suggests a possibility that the two manuscripts do indeed share an exemplar, and that Ca is not a direct copy of O.

5.4.3 Category 3: Conservative Forms in Ca
This category contains instances where Ca preserves a more conservative reading than O. Where we have comparative evidence from other manuscripts that certain features can indeed be classified as 'conservative' in the context of the *Bede*, it is possible to present them as evidence of copying from an exemplar which also contained those features. As there are several places where O does not preserve these features, yet where they are present in Ca, it suggests that Ca was not copied from O. This category includes the following features: *þæm*, *nemne*, retraction before <r> or <l> + consonant, datives in <æ>, and *e*-caudata.

5.4.3.1 *þæm*
We made the case in section 3.6.2 that the spelling *þæm* (as opposed to *þam*) was a conservative feature in the *Bede*. Although it occurs only once in Ca, we know from an examination of O that its exemplar had *þæm* spelling in some places. This conservative feature was therefore represented in the manuscript branch containing O and Ca.

37) oswio se cyning
    gef] sealde **þam** foresprecenan peadan (O: f. 55v)

38) oswio se cẏning. gæf] sealde. **þæm** forespre
    cenan peadan (Ca: f. 45r)
    'King Osweo donated and gave **to the** aforementioned Peada...'

Example 38 is the only occasion where Ca writes *þæm*, rather than his usual *þam/ þa(m)*. Its low occurrence in Ca suggests that, although probably part of Hemming's passive repertoire, *þæm* is not a form he routinely wrote. We could speculate, then, that its appearance in this place in the *Bede* is due to the presence of this form in the exemplar. At this point in the text, O1 writes his usual form, *þam*.

þam	43
þa(m)	156
ðam	20
ða(m)	2
þæm	1
þæ(m)	0
ðæm	0
ðæ(m)	0

Table 5.4: *þam* and its variants in Ca.

Table 5.4 demonstrates the variation in spelling of this word in Ca. His clear preferred form (in terms of frequency) is *þam*, with or without the suspension mark. These two forms account for 199 out of the 222 instances of the dative article, while those with an initial <ð> only appear 22 times. Hemming also uses abbreviation freely in his writing; it occurs 158 times in *þam*, and frequently with other dative plural nouns. Given these clear preferences, this one instance of *þæm* is unusual, and almost certainly a relict form, one which is not shared by O.

5.4.3.2 *Nemne*

Also in this category are instances of the prepositions *nemne* and *nymþe*.[32] Table 5.5 shows the variants found across the four manuscripts:

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
nemne	10	10	4	2	
nemðe			3		
nymðe		1	1		1
butan		10	16	14	2
buton	11	4		4	
gloss butan			4		

Table 5.5: *Nemne* and its variants.

Nemne occurs only four times in Ca, and when it does it is always glossed *butan*. That *butan* is Hemming's preferred form is shown by the fact that it is the most frequently used version of the preposition, occurring another 16 times. Other alternative forms used by Hemming are *nemðe* and *nymðe*, occurring three times and once respectively, but interestingly, Hemming never glosses these forms. Where he writes *nymðe*, the same form appears in O. On the other hand, whenever he writes *nemðe*, O always writes *nemne*.

It is agreed that *nemne* and *nymðe* are Anglian forms. According to Deutschbein (1901: 172), *nemne* and *nymþe* are especially common in the psalter and Rushworth glosses, 'während es ws. so gut wie fehlt,'[33] while Flasdieck (1950: 136) states that '*nefne* as well as *nymþe* [...] is a purely Anglian word'. Rissanen (2007: 180) mentions only that '*nefne/ nymþe* is a dialectal Anglian form.' A search of the *DOEC* shows that *nemne* and its related forms are commonly found in poetry (though only in the *Exeter Book* and the *Beowulf* manuscript, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv), psalter glosses, and a selection

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[32] Grant (1989: 220) includes *nemne* and *nymþe* in his list of features belonging to the archetype.

[33] 'Whereas it is as good as absent in West-Saxon.'

of prose texts,[34] while *nemne* is found most frequently in the *Bede*, with 25 occurrences.[35] What is notable is that many of these texts have Anglian connections.[36] That *nemne* was one of the features of the original is suggested by its widespread occurrence throughout T and O, and that Z also has two instances of *nemne* (*butan* is absent from Z). The later, unrounded, spelling *nimþe* does not appear in the *Bede*, also suggesting that the forms seen in the manuscripts are early ones, transmitted from the original (Flasdieck, 1950: 141).

5.4.3.3 *Retraction*

There are a number of places where Ca has spellings showing retraction (<ar> or <al>), and O one with breaking (<ear> or <eal>). We have seen in section 4.4.1 that retraction before <l> + consonant is a feature of the earlier manuscripts, and therefore we can include the feature in the list of conservative features. Retraction is not common in Ca, but two instances affect the element *aldor* which, as we have seen, shows a lot of variation in B (section 4.4.1). *Aldorlicnesse* appears once in Ca (f. 40r) but the equivalent section in O has the broken form:

39) he þa
    eastran on heora riht tide ne heold forðon oððe he heora gesetton tide
    nÿste oððe þeah ðe he wiste for ðære **aldorlicnÿsse** his agenre þeode
    he hire ne gÿmde. (Ca: f. 40r)
    'He did not keep Easter on its correct date, either because he did not know its proper date,
    or because although he knew, he did not observe it out of respect for the **authority** of his
    own people.'

40) for þære **ealldorlicnesse** his agenre þeode (O: f. 46v)

As examples 39 and 40 appear in the divergent translation, we do not have an equivalent section of text from T or B with which to compare them. We therefore have no way of knowing whether either of these forms is the one present in each manuscript's exemplar. However, we do have a further example of retraction in Ca with equivalent text in all other manuscripts:

41) Ðæs cÿninges dohtor ercengote. wæs mÿcelre mægna fæmne.
    þ eac swa æþelu(m) **aldre** geras. (Ca: f. 33v)
    'The king's daughter Ercengota was a woman of great virtue, as was proper for one from
    so noble a **family**.'

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[34] Including the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies, Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Heptateuch's* translation of Deuteronomy, the *Lives* of St Machutus and St Chad, and in medical texts. With the exception of the *Heptateuch* and Machutus these are all texts with a strong non-West-Saxon influence. Although Yerkes (1984) gives the dialect of Machutus as straightforward late-West-Saxon, Fulk (2008: 86) suggests that further study may show that 'the translation was not originally made at Winchester, after all, but that its distinctive Winchester vocabulary is due to redaction in the course of transmission'.

[35] My counts from the *DOEC* are as follows: *nemne* 77x, *nymþe* 65x, *nymðe* 62x, *nemþe* 5x, *nemðe* 4x, *nymþþe* 1x, and *nympðe* 1x. For detailed counts from manuscript sources, see Flasdieck (1950: 137-9).

[36] Details of the so-called Old English poetic dialect, are outlined in Sisam's (1953) article. A study of the article's impact and a survey of more recent scholarship bearing on this question can be found in Megginson (1995).

42) swa þ swa æþelum
   ealdre ge[..]ras. (O: f. 32v)

In the equivalent text, T and B have *aldre*, suggesting that this retracted form was
common to the exemplars of each of these three manuscripts. It is possible, then, that
these two examples from Ca show faithful transmission of a retracted form from its
exemplar; if this is indeed the case, then the exemplar cannot be O.

Further examples of retraction in Ca, where O has breaking are on f. 39v, where Ca has
halfe for O's *healfe* (f. 45r), and *wallas* for O's *weallas* (f. 44v). This section of the text is
part of the divergent translation of chapters 16-20, so we have no comparative examples
from T or B. T does, however, have *wallas* on f. 41v (also part of the divergent
translation), and *be þam walle* on f. 48v. This may suggest that *walle* was a spelling found
at least in some places in the *Bede* tradition, and so its retention on Ca's f. 39v may again
indicate a form preserved from the exemplar by Ca (but not by O).[37]

Retraction is also found in Ca before <r> + consonant, in words such as *toward*:

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
toweard	8	8	3	5	2
toward			4		
wiðerweard	4	4	2	3	1
wiðerward			2		
ond/and/⁊weard	6	6	5	6	
ondward			1		
æfweard/ efweard/ æfterwearð	1	1		1	
æfward			1		
erfeweard/ yrfeweard/ yrfewearð	1	1		1	1
yrfeward			1		

Table 5.6: Words in *–weard* and *–ward*.

It is evident from Table 5.6 that Ca is the only manuscript to use retraction before <r> +
consonant. If the original language of the *Bede* was Mercian, then we would not expect to
see retraction in this position, as it is a feature associated with Northumbrian (Campbell,
1959: §144). It is noticeable that these retracted forms only appear in words ending with
–ward. Some words in this category are not affected, for example the only instances of
inneweard and *upweard* appear with breaking. As these two items only occur once, it is
not possible to tell whether Hemming would always have written *inneweard* and *upweard*

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[37] There are also two instances of the place-name *æt walle*, which retains a retracted spelling in T, O and Ca.
However, Deutschbein (1901: 180) cautions against using proper nouns as evidence: 'Ueberhaupt ist den
eigennamen gegenüber grosse vorsicht am platze. Diese werden oft mechanisch in ihrer ursprünglichen
gestalt weitergeführt und können daher für die bestimmung von alter und dialekt eines denkmals nicht in
betracht gezogen werden.' ('In any case, it is appropriate to exercise caution with proper nouns. These are
often transmitted mechanically in their original state and can therefore not be taken into consideration in
distinguishing the age and dialect of a manuscript.') Nevertheless, a form such as *æt wealle*, as found in O,
accords well with our categorisation of O as the creator of a *Mischsprache*; in another case (the personal
name *oswald/ osweald*), O appears to transmit in some instances a conservative form, and in others a form
which would seem to match his usual spelling practices, with a breaking diphthong.

with breaking, although his lack of consistency in other words of this type suggests that he would have been unlikely to write only the broken forms. In addition, Hemming twice writes *foreward* in Harley charter 83 A.3 (S1421, Sweet, 1887: 208), suggesting that this is indeed a form resulting from his own preferred usage.[38]

Deutschbein (1901: 213) classifies *–ward* as dialectal: 'Im Beda tritt neben *–weard* [...] auch das dialektische *–ward* (bes. in Ca) [...] auf'.[39] According to Campbell (1959: §338 and fn.1), however, retraction can occur instead of breaking in unstressed syllables, and he gives *toward* and *ondward* as examples of this. In addition, the evidence from proper names supports an interpretation where both the broken and retracted forms were in use. In her study of moneyers' names, Colman (1992: 183) found forms of names for the same individual exhibiting both breaking and retraction, and concluded that 'diatopic variation is unlikely to account for <a> and <ea> forms at the same mint.' As we see this variation only in Ca's copy, it is unlikely that we can attribute it to his exemplar, and so categorising this feature as an example of Hemming's own spelling variation may be our most appropriate response in this case.

5.4.3.4 *Datives in <æ>*
Example 43 shows an old form of the dative, which is not shared by the equivalent passage in O:

43) On ðas tid heold east engla rice æft(er) **eorpwaldæ** rædwaldes eoferan. (Ca: 40v)
    'At this time [Sigebyrht], Rædwald's nephew, ruled East Anglia, after **Eorpwald**.'

44) On þas tid heold east engla rice æfter **eorp
    walde** rædwealdes eoferan (O: f. 46v)

This spelling of the dative is not an isolated example; T has *oswiæ, fursiæ* and *blodwiæ*, while B has *dælæ* (see section 4.5.4). O is alone in not having any <æ> datives, and their presence in the other manuscripts (albeit in different places), suggests that this may be a feature associated with the original translation. Given their presence elsewhere, then, I would posit this particular feature as a relict form from Ca's exemplar, and hence evidence that it was not copied from O.

5.4.3.5 *e-Caudata*
Finally, all manuscripts except B contain (to varying degrees) spellings with <ę>, in place of <æ>. The fact that these spellings occur most frequently in the earliest two manuscripts, T and O, suggests that it is a conservative feature of the *Bede*.[40] However, it is notable that although T and O show some use of <ę> (with 10 and 16 examples respectively), they do not share any examples in common. In contrast, two of Ca's five

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[38] For comparisons with other charter material written by Hemming see section 5.5.1.1.
[39] 'Besides *–weard*, the dialectal *–ward* also appears in the Bede, especially in Ca'
[40] Beneš (1999/2000) provides a survey of <ę> usage in Latin manuscripts between the seventh and twelfth centuries, seeing it as an intermediate stage in the change from <ae> spellings to later ones with <e>. However, there is no equivalent study (to my knowledge) of <ę> in Old English texts. Bately (1992: 18) lists *e*-caudata for <æ> in T as an early orthographical feature, however Ker (1957) does not include <ę> in the palaeographical introduction to his *Catalogue*.

examples are shared with O (*rɇhte, frɇgn*), showing that to an extent, <ɇ> was a feature of the manuscript branch to which they belong. In three cases, Ca records <ɇ> where O has <æ>: *wɇpmen, æfɇst, tosprɇc* vs. *wæpned men, æfæst, tospræc*.

We therefore have five features which can be classified as conservative in terms of the *Bede*, where O has a more innovative reading than Ca. If we are correct in our classification, then these features would point to the exemplar of Ca being a more conservative text than O, as a number of its features have been transmitted by Ca, but not by O. Having categorised O's text as a *Mischsprache*, we would expect to see exactly this kind of split in retention of conservative forms alongside the use of more innovative variants, which would make it rather difficult to account for some of the conservative forms in Ca.

5.4.4 Category Four: Unexplained Variants in Ca

This final category in our exploration of the differences between O and Ca consists of instances where O agrees with the other manuscripts, and there is no obvious reason for Ca's different reading, if we assume that it was Ca's exemplar. Some of these are particularly difficult to account for, especially where they involve a personal name, as in the following two examples:

> 45) þa sende he **gearomon** þone bysceop se wæs tru(m)
>   heres æfterfylgende on þa mægþe east seaxna (O: f. 60v)
>   'Then he sent Bishop **Gearomon** (Germanus), Trumhere's successor, to the East Saxons.'

> 46) Ða sende he **germanus** þone .b(iscop) se wæs
>   trumheres æft(er)fẏligend. on ða mægðe east seaxna (Ca: f. 47v)

In example 46, Ca has substituted the name *Germanus* for *Gearomon*, which is found in all other manuscripts. As can be seen from Fig. 5.18, the reading *Gearomon* is clear and (other than the first letter) does not lay on an erasure.
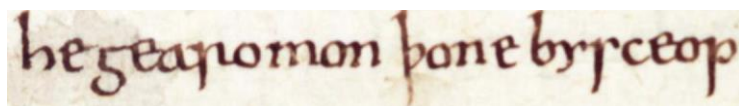

Fig. 5.18: O, f. 60v, *he gearomon þone bysceop*

Ca also writes *Weginaleah* for the other manuscripts' *Peginaleah*:

> 47)] wæs arwyrðlice bebyriged on þam
>   mynstre þe nemned is **peginaleah** (O: f. 56v)
>   'And was solemnly buried at the monastery called **Peginaleah**.'

> 48)] wæs arwurðlice bebẏriged. on þa(m) mẏnstre þe
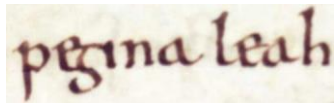>   is nemned **weginaleah**. (Ca: f. 45v)

Fig. 5.19: f. 56v, *Peginaleah*

While Ca's error is easy to account for, in Hemming's (or his exemplar's) mistaking \<þ> for \<ƿ> (*wynn*), Fig 5.19 shows that O's reading is not one which could be easily confused by a later reader through erasure, alteration or any other kind of confusion.[41] However, Lapidge (2000: 25) notes that confusion between \<þ> and \<ƿ> was not uncommon throughout the early medieval period in English texts.

Although textually very close, I believe this section has shown that there are variations between O and Ca which are problematic if we assume direct transmission. Although it is not unknown for scribes to mend their texts where they find problematic readings (Orton, 2000) the errors in O discussed here are not necessarily so obvious that a scribe might feel compelled to correct them. With name evidence, there is a difficulty in a scribe being able to emend a reading; he would in the first place have to recognise the exemplar form as faulty, and then be able to remedy the fault, either by recourse to his own knowledge, or by comparing the exemplar with another text. While Ca's readings in the first two categories may have been brought about by a lucky guess on the part of Hemming in his attempts at textual restoration, the evidence of the third category (conservative readings) is perhaps more compelling, given that it draws on evidence from T and B, in addition to that of O. Finally, obvious errors on the part of Ca may by themselves not be particularly strong evidence in this argument. However, in combination with the previous three categories, further doubt may be cast upon a textual link. Therefore, the number and type of differences surveyed in this section suggest that Ca's exemplar was not O.

5.5 Scribal Independence of Hemming

Having established that Ca did not have O as its exemplar, this final part of the chapter examines further evidence for Hemming's scribal behaviour. We have established that in some instances he retained conservative features from his exemplar, and this section aims to assess to what extent Hemming was a literatim or a translator scribe. For some of the features under discussion, I have been able to use as a comparison a short section from Hemming's *Cartulary* and the charter, Harley 83 A.3 (S1421).[42] The *Cartulary* section consists of three short texts describing charter bounds in Old English, and corresponds to Sawyer numbers S786x, S1598 and S1554 (Hearne, 1723). These short scribal stints by Hemming provide us with material for comparison, because forms common to the charters and the *Bede* can potentially be regarded as ones belonging to Hemming himself, especially where such forms are at odds with linguistic patterns from the other *Bede* manuscripts. The material consists of one charter issued by King Edgar, two sets of bounds, and one lease issued by the bishopric of Worcester and probably drawn up by the bishop's office (Kitson, 1990: 186). We therefore have a small amount of comparable

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[41] See Breeze (2005) for a discussion of the possible geographical location of *Peginaleah*.
[42] See Appendix 4 for charter texts.

material to give a wider perspective on Hemming's scribal practice. Features covered in this section are: <æ> for <e>, <o> + nasal, variation between *–nesse* and *–nysse*, and variation between <g> and <h>.

5.5.1 <æ> for <e>
<æ> is found in place of <e> in several places, yet with apparently different causes (sections 3.4.3, 4.5.4 and 5.4.3.4). The first group appear where O has <e> or <ea> after a palatalised consonant.

5.5.1.1 *<æ> after Palatalised Consonants*
<æ> for <e> following a palatal consonant is one of the most frequent features in this category. Table 5.7 shows some of the variants found in Ca:

O	Ca	Frequency in Ca
gef	gæf	2
æt gete	æt þa(m) gæte	1
onget	o\n/gæt	1
sce\af/ðan	scæfðan	1
ageaf	agæf	1

Table 5.7: <æ> for <e> in Ca.[43]

Deutschbein (1901: 210) assumed that <æ> spellings in words such as *gæf* and *gæt* were conservative features retained by Ca: 'in Ca ist [...] öfters *æ* erhalten [...] Dies *æ* möchte ich überhaupt für das original in anspruch nehmen. Deutlich zeigt dies das wort *scæþa*, das offenbar im ws. ungebräuchlich war und daher unverändert aus der vorlage übernommen wurde.'[44] Schlemilch (1914: 40), on the other hand, describes <æ> for <e> as a late feature: '*æ* überwiegt in Hs. C der dial. Gr. [...] *scæft, scær, unscæðig*'.[45]

These <æ> forms for words which in other *Bede* manuscripts contain <ea> (usually from palatal diphthongisation) are interesting. They do not occur in the performances of the other scribes in Book 3, and would therefore appear to be an innovation of Hemming's. What is notable, however, is that a search of <gæt> using the *Langscape* database shows that this spelling occurs fifteen times, with four of these instances coming from London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, 'Hemming's Cartulary', in charters S121, S216, S1272 and S1307.[46]

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[43] See Table 3.5 for whole counts of common items showing palatal diphthongisation across all four manuscripts.

[44] 'In Ca *æ* is often preserved [...] I would like in any case to posit this *æ* as the original. The word *scæþa* clearly shows this, which was evidently uncommon in West-Saxon and therefore transmitted unchanged from the exemplar.' Lowe (2008: 56) also describes spellings with <æ> after palatalised <sc> (*scæp/ scep*) in a hand dated s. xi^mid which copied memoranda from Bury St Edmunds.

[45] '<æ> predominates in the C manuscript of Gregory's *Dialogues* [...] *scæft, scær, unscæðig*.'

[46] S121 (Icomb): 'a meridie Icancumb et Icangæt . ab aquilone Uuilesuuelle; S216 (Overbury): 'Of þam þorne in þæt wudu gæt. Of þam geate ondlang ecge into þam stodfalde'; S1272 (Cofton Hackett): 'primum Tomsetna gemære pencer se`t´na foran rehtes gæt In wærburge rode'; S1307 (Tanworth in Arden): 'of mær ford on cnollan gæte'. Note that the <gæt> spelling is not consistent; S216 has both *gæt* and *geate*.

This might suggest, initially, that *gæt* is indeed Hemming's preferred spelling, as it appears in a cartulary which Hemming contributed to. Yet a closer examination reveals that of the charters where this spelling are found, two (S121 and S216) are in sections of the cartulary not written by Hemming according to Ker's palaeographical analysis, and the remaining two (S1272 and S1307) appear in the first half of the cartulary, which was compiled in the early eleventh century, some fifty years or so before the part compiled by Hemming (Ker, 1948). It therefore appears that the spelling <gæt> is one which was in use by more than one scribe who contributed to the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Hemming's Cartulary.[47]

A search for *gæt* and *ongæt* in the *DOEC* shows that *gæt* appears twice in Gregory's *Dialogues*, while 68 of the 79 instances of *ongæt* in prose texts also occur in the *Dialogues*.[48] *Gæf*, on the other hand, appears in a selection of late texts, such as the *Dialogues*, *Instructions for Christians*, *Eadwine's Psalter*, the Peterborough *Chronicle*, the Lindisfarne glosses, and in a selection of late charters.[49] Again, then, we see a late link between <æ> for <e> spellings after palatalised consonants. We can therefore suggest that the *gæt* and *gæf* spellings are late ones, and that their use by Hemming reflects the fact that he was writing at a later date than the other *Bede* scribes.

5.5.1.2 <wæ> spellings

In several places, the various manuscripts preserve a spelling with the Anglian <wæ> in place of West-Saxon <we> (Campbell, 1959: §328; Hogg, 1992: §5.179). Examples include *wærgra, onwæg* (T), and *wærigan* (O). Ca has *wærminge* on f. 38v (O *werminge*), *onwæg* on f. 33v, and *aðwægen* on f. 44r.[50] As this feature is spread throughout the manuscripts, I would like to suggest that it is a feature of the archetype, which has been transmitted to varying degrees in each of the four surviving manuscripts.

If we ask ourselves why this particular feature has been transmitted by Hemming, I believe the answer may be that <wæ> spellings were part of his passive repertoire. Three sets of charter bounds which Hemming copied into the Worcester cartulary also show this feature.[51] Of the three charters, two (S786 and S1598) show the spelling *wællan* ('spring'), which occurs in West-Saxon texts as *wyllan*:

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[47] The spelling *gæt* also appears several times in (late) glossaries such as Eadwine's Psalter, the Lindisfarne glosses, and in the *Liber Scintillarum*.

[48] The *DOEC* takes its material for the *Dialogues* from Hecht's (1900) edition, which is based on two eleventh-century manuscripts, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 322 (C), and London, British Library Cotton Otho Ci (O). C is the better preserved, although supplementary readings are taken by Hecht from O, which is a Worcester manuscript (Ker, 1957: 238; Harting, 1937: 281).

[49] Charters S107, S1461, S1148, S959 and S1119. S107 copied twice into Hemming's Cartulary, s. xi[2]; S1461, charter now lost, originally from Christ Church, Canterbury archive (1016x1020); S1148 from Westminster archive, two copies s. xiii and s. xvii (1065x1066); S959 from the archive at Christ Church, Canterbury (1023), 23 copies surviving, this one s. xi[2]; S1119 Westminster archive (1042x1044), 2 copies surviving s. xiii and s. xiv.

[50] Each of these examples appears in positions where the other manuscripts have <we> readings. Therefore we could add them as further evidence of Ca's independence from O (see section 5.4.3).

[51] Charters S786, S1598, and S1554.

49) of þære **wællan** on ælf{s}tanes graf   (S786)
  'From the spring to Ælfstan's grave.'

50) of gates ho. in sand **wællan**. ⟩ of sand **wællan** in deope **wællan**. of deope **wællan** in
  heador, of headore on þa greata lindan.   (S1598)
  'From Goat's Hill to Sandwell. And from Sandwell to the deep spring. From the deep
  spring to the deer, from the deer to the tall lime tree.'

51) of cloddes læhge in cloddes **wællan**. of cloddes **wællan** in þa stўfecinge.   (S1598)
  'From Clod's lea to Clod's spring. From Clod's spring to the clearing'

What is interesting is that, despite Hemming's use of *wællan* in these seven instances, he
also uses the variant *wyllan* twice, in S786. This is consistent with our other observations
about his scribal behaviour, that although he may use some features which are
conservative in the context of the *Bede*, he rarely uses them exclusively.

We are fortunate enough to be able to compare Hemming's scribal performance in S786
with another, earlier copy in British Library, Cotton Augustus ii.6 (Birch, 1893: 588, no.
1282). This copy dates from the second half of the tenth century, according to the
British Library catalogue, which is contemporary with the land grant it records, in 972
(although according to the *Electronic Sawyer* website there are some doubts as to its
authenticity). The scribe of the Cotton Augustus version of the charter is noticeably
inconsistent in his spelling, and the word appears once with each spelling, *wællan, wellan,
wyllan* and *willan*.[52] According to Kitson (1990b: 206ff; 2004: 222, fn 2), *welle* and *wælle*
are Anglian spellings, specifically West Midland ones: 'incidentally *æ* consistent or
sporadic is spread right across the Hwiccean region including E. Wark, [...] N. Glouc. [...]
and all over Worc' (1990b: 209, fn 41). Whether Hemming copied his version of the
charter directly from the one in Cotton Augustus ii.6 is not at issue here; it is merely of
interest to us that the spelling *wællan* (and therefore probably other <wæ> spellings) were
in use in the Worcester area. It is probable, then, that <wæ> spellings *were* part of
Hemming's passive repertoire, and therefore more likely to be tolerated and transmitted in
the *Bede*.

5.5.2 <o> + nasal
We saw in section 4.2.2 that <o> + nasal is a conservative feature of the *Bede*, and that it
gives way to <a> + nasal in later manuscripts, especially in B.

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[52] Note that the term 'spring', 'well' appears four times in the earlier charter, and only three in Hemming's
version. This is because Hemming chooses to abbreviate one of the occurrences. For a study of this
abbreviating behaviour in the scribes of the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Cotton Nero Middleton, see Wiles
(2011).

	O	Ca
hond	1 (17)	0 (18)
ond[53]	1 (1)	0 (6)
monig	42 (42)	41 (41)
mon	48 (92)	44 (90)
ealond	4 (16)	14 (16)
from	4 (75)	4 (68)
noma	2 (9)	0 (8)
(ge)nom	1 (16)	1 (14)

Table 5.10: <o> + nasal in O and Ca. (The total number of instances of each particular lexical item is shown in brackets.)

Table 5.10 shows that Hemming writes <a> + nasal marginally more often than does O. In many respects he follows very similar trends to O, with no instances of *hond, ond* or *noma*. On the other hand, he always writes *monig*, and chooses *mon* over *man* about half of the time (just as O does).[54] However, the largest difference is in each scribe's treatment of *ealand/ealond*. Where O only writes *ealond* a quarter of the time, Hemming writes the <o> spelling fourteen out of sixteen times.

When we consider Hemming's performance in the three charters discussed above, a different picture appears. Three words appear which could show variation between <o> and <a> + nasal: *land, andlang* and *sand*:

	S786	Cott. Aug. ii.6	1598	1554
land	1		1	1
lond		1		
sand	3	2	2	
sond		1		
andlang			1	2

Table 5.11: <o> + nasal in charters written by Hemming.

Although only a short stint, Hemming's three charters show only <a> + nasal. In contrast, the Cotton Augustus version of S786 shows <o> + nasal in *lond* and one of the three instances of *sand*. It appears that Hemming's preference is usually for <a> + nasal, a supposition borne out by Hemming's avoidance of <o> + nasal in another charter in his hand, S1421.[55] In the *Bede*, an exception to this trend is *monig*, which always appears with an <o>, and *man/ mon*, which also varies in its spelling. It is possible that we are dealing with an example of constrained selection for this feature. Laing (2004: 63) describes constrained selection as 'when a scribe suppresses some of his own habitual

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[53] Does not include Tironian nota.

[54] Ca does not always have an identical reading to O in writing *mon* or *man*; in four cases Ca writes *mon* where O has *man*, and six times Ca has *man* where O has *mon*.

[55] According to the *Electronic Sawyer* website, scholarship on this charter varies in its assessment of the document's authenticity. However it is agreed that the charter is contemporary with the agreement it records, and so S1421 may be the nearest we can get to observing Hemming's unconstrained writing style.

spellings in favour of the (functionally equivalent) others that he finds in front of him.' The important thing is that the scribe substitutes the spelling in his exemplar for his own habitual one, but that the exemplar spelling should be part of his own active or passive repertoire. In such an instance, the scribe does not add more variants to his repertoire, rather he skews the frequency with which he would normally write any given variant, because of the influence of the exemplar.[56] In the case of the *Bede*, <o> + nasal is comparatively more frequent than in the (admittedly short) extracts from the charters. It may be the case that Hemming's choice of variant is constrained by the more frequent occurrence of <o> + nasal in his exemplar.

5.5.3 *-nesse/ -nysse*

Nes- is a common word element in the *Bede*, reflecting the original text's Mercian origins, as Vleeskruyer notes (1953: 128, §51): 'formations in *–ing* are rare in Anglian, where *–nis* is a much more productive suffix'. In addition, Campbell (1959: §384) states that there is a difference in spelling between the Anglian and West-Saxon versions of the element: 'the suffix *–nes* is mainly W-S, while *–nis* prevails heavily in V[espasian] P[salter], Ru[shworth][1] and North[umbrian]'. As might be expected, we see a difference in the spelling used across the *Bede* manuscripts, although it is not exactly the same pattern as seen for other features:

	T	O	Ca	B	B2
nes–	116	170	**39**	138	35
nis–	69				
nys–			**130**	2	

Table 5.9: *nes-* and its variants.

Table 5.9 shows the distribution of the variant spellings of *nis-, nys-* and *nes-*. While all manuscripts use the West-Saxon *nes-* to some extent, T is the only one with the Anglian variant *nis-*. However, Ca is notable in that the majority of its forms are Anglian ones, but spelled with a <y>: *nys-*. Whether Hemming was following an exemplar with *nis-* or *nys-* is difficult to say. O, the nearest relative to Ca, uses only *nes-*, and so sheds no light on this question. It is certainly interesting to note that Hemming appears to have a set spelling for the Anglian form. This <y> appears to be a late phenomenon (due to confusion of unrounded /y/ and /i/, Hogg, 1992a: §5.173), and could perhaps be a feature of Hemming's active repertoire.

5.5.4 <g>/<h>

There are several instances in the *Bede* manuscripts of alternation between <g> and <h>. The use of <h> is a later development due to final devoicing: 'for final ʒ there is an increased use of the symbol *h* after Ælfred's time' (Campbell, 1959: 446), and this matches what we find in the *Bede* material. If we compare spellings of the word or personal/ place-name element *burg*, we can see a clear diachronic trend:

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[56] An example of such constrained usage may be Hemming's use of <k> before front vowels to represent unpalatalised /k/. This appears in S1421 as *tobreke*, in S786 as *bikera* and *broke*, and in S1554 as *kærente* and *broke*. Other than four instances of the Latin loanword *kalend-* Hemming never uses <k> in the *Bede*, in contrast with B1 and, to a lesser extent, T.

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
burg	17	1		2	
burh		4	14	9	
burgh		1			
burhg		9	1		
byrig	8	8	8	8	
birig					1
buruh				4	

Table 5.11: *burg* and its variants.

Although none of the scribes shows a consistent usage, we can draw some general trends. <g> appears to be favoured in the older texts, while the later manuscripts are more likely to use <h> spellings and parasite vowels (Hogg, 1992: §7.60-64). According to Campbell (1959: §366), 'some lW-S manuscripts show also a revival of the early process of parasiting in accented syllables', and he gives *burug* as an example of this phenomenon. Whereas T's use is split between forms with and without a parasite vowel (*burg/ byrig*, Campbell, 1959: 361), there is a clear preference for the older spelling, with <g>. Only B2 has an example showing unrounding, but also prefers the <g> spelling in *birig*. B1, when not using the *byrig* variant, clearly prefers to spell the element *burh* or *buruh*, the latter with a parasite vowel, and both with the later <h> spelling. As expected, O shows the most varied usage, and is notable for its use of <gh> or <hg> forms. The <h> spelling is also the one most frequently used by Ca, which should not surprise us, as this is the latest of the four manuscripts. When Hemming does use the older <g> spelling, it is accompanied by a parasite vowel, as might be expected from the later date of his manuscript. This pattern is also borne out by the past tense of the verb *(of)slean, (of)slog*:

	T	O	Ca	B1	B2
slog	8	1		1	
sloh	2	1	10	8	1
slogh		9	1		

Table 5.12: *slog* and its variants

Again, T shows a preference for the earlier <g> form, whereas the later manuscripts, Ca and B prefer to write *sloh*. We also see that O's usual spelling is one with a digraph, though in this case it is <gh> rather than <hg>, and that Ca shares one instance of this digraph spelling with O. It is interesting to note spellings such as *oferstagh, þwohg, sagh, gestahg* in O, with the equivalents in *oferstah, þwoh,* and *sah* in Ca or B. <h> forms predominate in Ca and especially B, which also has an instance of *dyhle* where the other manuscripts have *digol*.

This section has demonstrated that for some features Hemming uses an innovative variant in terms of the *Bede*. Examples of this are in his use of <æ> after some palatal consonants (e.g. *gæf, gæt*), his preference for <a> over <o> with a nasal consonant, and his tendency to write <h> rather than <g> in words such as *burh*, or to use a parasite vowel, as in *byrig*. On the other hand, he appears to retain the conservative feature <wæ>, which as we have seen, may have been reinforced by the use of spellings such as *wællan* in charters written

in Worcester (and by Hemming) during the eleventh century. Finally, it is difficult to determine a motivation for Hemming's use of *nysse* alongside *nesse*. It is possible that *nysse* represents his spelling of *nisse* forms in his exemplar, with late unrounding and subsequent confusion of /i/ and /y/. However, as he is the only scribe to use the *nysse* spelling, it is possible that it is an innovation in the *Bede* texts, and is representative of Hemming's own preferred, or majority, usage.

5.6 Conclusion

From the evidence examined in this chapter, I believe we can say that Ca was not directly copied from O. While it seems that Hemming's exemplar was a text very similar to O's, the four categories which have been reviewed in section 5.4 demonstrate that he copied from a different manuscript.

The first two categories examined consist of errors and erasures in O, where obtaining a 'correct' reading may have been difficult for Hemming, had O been his exemplar. While the first of these categories (errors in O) is fairly straightforward, the second (erasures in O) is slightly problematic. The difficulty is that much depends on whether we see O's corrections as having been added at the time of its initial copying, or whether we envisage them spread out over a longer period. As we saw in Chapter 3 (section 3.7), I believe a case can be made for at least some of these corrections being contemporary with the copying of the main text. In each of the cases in this category, the existing readings in O are not so garbled as to immediately signal to a copyist that there is a problem with the text, yet Ca supplies text which matches that in T and B, rather than agreeing with O. The evidence of category 3, where Ca preserves a more conservative form than O, strengthens the argument already put forward for the first two categories; again, we see forms which it would be difficult for Hemming to arrive at, if his exemplar was O. It is difficult to account for the presence in Ca of variants such as *nemne*, and *þæm*, or variants which can be classified as conservative in terms of the *Bede*, if Hemming copied from O.

Having established that we cannot use O for a direct comparison with Ca to test Hemming's copying style, we have been able to assess Hemming's scribal behaviour without over-reliance on that manuscript. From this we have been able to establish that Hemming introduced a number of innovative forms into the *Bede* text, such as <æ> spellings in words such as *gæf* or *gæt*, and *–nysse* spellings in place of *–nesse* or *–nisse*. However, other features, such as <wæ> spellings appear to be from the exemplar, perhaps retained under the influence of <wæ> spellings present in other locally-produced texts such as charters. This feature could then be posited as part of Hemming's 'passive repertoire' (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 59). The difficulty with Mercian features in the *Bede* such as <wæ> spellings is that, because we know Hemming was also active in Mercia, it is difficult to know whether to attribute the feature to Hemming's active repertoire, or the exemplar, or both:

> In the case of a manuscript in a WS dialect with a few Non-West-Saxon Spellings, it is difficult to decide whether these Non-West-Saxon features existed already in the 'Vorlage' or whether they are expressions of the dialect of the last copyist. (Ångström, 1937: 11)

In Ca <wæ> spellings are not ubiquitous, yet they also appear to a limited extent in the other manuscripts. This suggests they are part of the *Bede* tradition, rather than an innovation on Hemming's part. We are also lucky enough to have other examples of Hemming's copying, and this, together with the presence of another, earlier, version of one of the charters means that we have far more information to bring to bear on this aspect of Ca.

Hemming's copying style is different from O's, in that he does not create a *Mischsprache*. Benskin and Laing (1981: 77) state that one of the features of a true *Mischsprache* is that it contains a random selection of most of the variants present in the exemplar, and in the scribe's habitual usage. We can see from Hemming's performance that this is not the case; he clearly has preferred written forms, usually no more than two main variants (e.g. *nesse/ nysse*), and the forms he uses are never as varied as those exhibited by O. We may therefore be dealing with a Mixer scribe, given the number of conservative forms which he uses, alongside several innovative ones.

Finally, then, can we say that our knowledge of Ca's place of origin brings anything to our understanding of the *Bede* as it is transmitted in that manuscript? This is an important question; because Ca is the only manuscript for which we have a known origin, it can act as some kind of measure of what we might be able to discover, if we knew more about the other manuscripts' places of production. We know that Ca was written in Worcester, and that in later years Worcester worked hard to build an identity around bishop Wulfstan, who 'encouraged his monks to keep the tradition of writing Old English' (Barrow, in Lapidge et al 2001: 494; see also Treharne (2003) and Swann (2007)). In addition, an interest in reading Old English lasted until at least the thirteenth century with the writer of the Tremulous Hand glosses. In this respect, we could see Worcester as a rather conservative and backward-looking centre. On the other hand, however, there is the evidence that Worcester was in some ways innovative in its book production. The *Liber Wigorniensis* was the first cartulary to be produced in England (Tinti, 2010; Wiles, 2011), while the running titles at the top of Ca's folios are a feature shared by a handful of other post-Conquest Worcester manuscripts, which appear to be among the earliest English manuscripts to contain such headings (Rudolf, 2012: 94, 96). However further work would be needed to show whether something like a house style in manuscript production could ever be attributed to Worcester.

Given all this, might we expect a scribe writing in Worcester to exhibit more Mercian dialectal forms in his writing, either as a result of training (although we do not know where or how Hemming was trained), or as a result of a collective desire to create a Worcester identity? Unfortunately, the evidence surveyed here is not sufficient to answer this tantalising question. We could conclude, then, by remarking that although a knowledge of the manuscripts' origins undoubtedly increases our background knowledge of the physical artefact and raises some interesting questions, it is unable at present to

answer all our questions about this text of the *Bede*. Staying with notions of correction and textual 'correctness', the next chapter examines evidence which shows the problems that one reader of the *Bede* had with the linguistic forms found in manuscript O.

Chapter 6

The Dry-point Material in Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B.

Ic bidde nu on Godes naman, gyf hwa ðas boc awritan wylle, þæt he hi gerihte wel be ðære bysne[1]

In addition to the text of the *Bede* discussed in Chapter 3, Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B (O) also contains a number of so far unpublished scratched or dry-point annotations, including at least eighty-nine in Book 3.[2] This chapter discusses the nature of the material so far discovered, and explores reasons for its insertion into O manuscript. Although scratched *glosses* are not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the text present in Book 3 is unique among dry-point annotations so far published, in that it consists of Old English corrections to an Old English text.

This chapter is formed of two sections. The first part deals with the nature of the dry-point material so far studied, and the question of how to classify O's dry-point text (i.e. as glosses or as annotations). The second, main section of the chapter examines the different types of annotation to be found in O, and examines what we can tell about the writer from his interaction with the manuscript text. The annotations are split into several groups according to their purpose, namely grammatical annotations, textual annotations, and lexical annotations.

6.1 The Nature of the Annotations in O

The term 'scratched' or 'dry-point' refers to material entered into a manuscript, which has been formed using a hard point to scratch the letters into the surface of the parchment, rather than the more usual ink pen.[3] As Rusche (1994: 197) notes, the look of scratched glosses can vary according to the tool used to make them, for example a sharp knife will make a different impression on the writing surface from a blunt stylus. The scratched material itself is sometimes difficult to see, and even then it can be difficult to identify particular letter forms. Some are more easily visible under ultra-violet light, or with an angled light-source. Page (1979: 28) states that it is often easier to see such annotations

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[1] 'I ask now, in God's name, that if anyone wishes to copy this book, that he correct it carefully by the exemplar.' Ælfric: *Preface* to *Grammar* (Zupitza, 1880: 3, ll. 20-21).

[2] These annotations have been collected during the course of two visits to the library at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. On the first visit, some fifty were discovered, with another thirty becoming apparent on a second examination of the manuscript. There may well be further annotations as yet undiscovered; the lighting conditions of the library (overhead fluorescent lighting) do not make a search easy, although on the second visit the manuscript was examined under UV and daylight lamps, revealing the presence of annotations previously unnoticed. In Waite's short (2013a) article on two Old English words in O, he notes in passing the presence of scratched material in O; however nothing has so far been published, and other than his brief mention, I have found no evidence that the annotations have yet been studied.

[3] Incised writing appears in contexts other than dry-point glossing on vellum in the medieval period. For examples with English connections, see Derolez and Schwab (1983), Mastrelli (1980) and Arcamone (1980, 1992) on graffiti found at Monte Sant'Angelo in Gargano, Italy. Wax tablets were in common use throughout the middle ages, and reports of archaeological finds are discussed in O'Connor and Tweddle (1992) and Brown (1994).

in daylight, however modern libraries vary in the amount of natural light available in their reading rooms and many such annotations may escape detection.

The categorisation of O's dry-point material is not without challenges. In many respects it resembles glosses, yet there are some important differences. In his study of Latin glosses in Cambridge, University Library Gg.5.35, Wieland (1983: 7) states:

> 'Gloss' in this study denotes any one or more words, letters, and symbols, written in the margin or between the lines of a text, i.e. anything on a page which is not text proper, but which is intended to comment on the text.

From this point of view, O's annotations could perhaps be classified as 'glosses'. They are supplementary to the main *Bede* text, and occur in the margins or (more commonly) between the written lines. However, the usefulness of Wieland's definition for O's annotations also depends on how we interpret the phrase 'intended to comment on the text'. The fundamental difference between Wieland's glosses and the material in O seems to be that Wieland's glosses comment on what the text *is*, in order to help the reader construe the text, whereas O's annotations provide corrections which tell the reader what the text *should be*. The fact remains that O's annotations do not behave in the same way as other glosses (whether dry-point or inked) discussed by scholars such as Wieland, Stork (1990) or Gwara (1996), and this provides us with a crucial distinction between O's material and other scratched glosses. These Latin or Old English glosses seem to have been used to guide the reader in his or her interpretation of a Latin text, and they commonly consist of grammatical, syntactical or lexical information to help the reader. O's annotations, on the other hand, function more like corrections than as aides to construing the text, but their form (i.e. entered in dry-point rather than in ink) raises some important questions about their function for the annotator. Fundamentally, if the dry-point text was intended to provide corrections, then why was it created in a form which was so difficult for contemporary readers to see?[4] Therefore, although it is useful to compare O's annotations with texts with a similar function (such as inked textual corrections), the fact that their form is unusual for their text-type means that it will also be fruitful to examine other material sharing the same form (dry-point glosses and annotations).

Despite the differences in the material, the categories used by Wieland and Stork to group glosses can provide us with a useful starting-point to classify O's annotations. Both the glosses and O's annotations are subordinate to the main text and are concerned with certain aspects of that main text (such as the grammar), even if they affect it in different ways (i.e. while one elucidates the main text's grammar, the other corrects it). Working on inked material, Wieland (1983) divides the Latin glosses to Arator and Prudentius into five categories. His categories are:

> 1) Glosses on prosody; i.e. accentual marks, glosses on length of syllables, metre and poetic technique.

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[4] See Rusche (1994) for scratched glosses which, entered at different dates and by different hands, overlap each other. This suggests that by the time the second glossator added to the manuscript, the first set of dry-point glosses was not legible to him.

2) Lexical glosses; one or more words is provided as an equivalent to the glossed word.
3) Grammatical glosses; give grammatical information, for example, by giving the morphology of nouns and verbs.
4) Syntactical glosses; 'glosses which create a relationship between various words of a sentence' (98).
5) Commentary glosses; 'interpret the text, summarize it, and give background and sources' (147).

In Stork's (1990) study on the glosses to Aldhelm's *Riddles,* she adapted Wieland's categories, adding 'textual glosses' as a group in their own right. She defines textual glosses as 'concerned with the actual text of the *Riddles* and the variant readings that inevitably arise over centuries of textual transmission' (40). She includes in this category glosses which provide lemmata found in other manuscripts as substitute readings. Also included are glosses which make only very small changes to a text, providing 'only part of a word, indicating a change of conjunction, tense and mood, person or spelling' (41). Stork (1990: 36) notes an interesting selection of glosses giving alternate forms of verbs, adjectives or nouns, which appear to engage with the grammar of the text in the same way as O's annotator:

> In each case they give an alternate verb form of the same number and person, but of a different tense. In each of these instances, the glossator has commented on a change in tense within the text and seems to be 'correcting' Aldhelm's syntax. For example, Riddle 32 begins with the perfect tenses 'Roscida me genuit,' 'non sum ... facta,' then continues in the present tense. After five verbs in the present tense (*trahunt, resultant, texunt, carpor, pulsor*), we come to *uocabor*. The glossator noticed that *uocabor* was in the future tense and glossed it with the present to make it 'agree' with the others.

Some of these categories provide a useful framework for considering the types of dry-point additions to O, despite their differences to Wieland and Stork's glosses. We can discern annotations in O which have some kind of grammatical, lexical or textual function which are comparable (though of course not identical) to the grammatical, lexical and textual glosses above. Not all of the categories used by Wieland and Stork (e.g. glosses on prosody and commentary glosses), are found in O; that is, O's annotations do not comment on metre, provide accent marks, or give etymological, source or interpretative information. This should not surprise us, as texts such as Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and Aldhelm's *Riddles* appear to have been used frequently as a teaching aid, judging by the frequency of grammatical and syntactical glosses in the various manuscripts of these texts (Wieland, 1983: 191). This type of glossing activity suits well texts used to teach students higher level Latin or poetic composition, giving explanatory detail on the construction, structure, language and meaning of Aldhelm's work (Stork, 1990: 73-5). As O is an English-language text, we would not expect to find syntactical or lexical glossing either, as these types of glossing activity are primarily concerned with construing the Latin text.[5] What we do find in O, however, are annotations which have something in common with

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[5] Something akin to lexical glossing is occasionally found in vernacular texts, for example, Ælfric self-glosses a few words in his first series of *Catholic Homilies* (Clemoes, 1997: 125-9).

Stork's grammatical and textual glosses, in that they deal with the grammar and content of the Old English text. Given Stork's admission of these types of annotation as glosses, it might seem reasonable also to define O's annotations as 'glosses'. However, her 'textual gloss' category is something of a catch-all, encompassing glosses with several different functions. The function of O's dry-point text is more restricted than the glosses discussed by Wieland and Stork, and they are fundamentally different in that they correct the text, rather than elucidating it. For these reasons O's dry-point material has been categorised as 'annotations' or 'corrections', rather than as 'glosses'.[6]

There is no evidence within Book 3 to shed light on the identity of the writer who entered the scratched annotations. As the dry-point letters form supplementary material to the *Bede* text, they do not make up a new text in their own right, and this dependence on the main inked text dates them to some point after the main manuscript had been written. As the annotations are scratched rather than written, the letters do not always have the same appearance as those written in pen and ink. Specifically, the dry-point letters are more angular than their ink counterparts. However, the annotations do use letter forms in keeping with those used by the main scribe, such as insular <a>, <g>, <d> and <r>. Forms of <e> and <æ> are also identical with the insular minuscule of the manuscript. There is no evidence other than the palaeographical to date the annotations, although given the similarity of letter forms in the two scribal performances (the scratched annotations and the main hand of the manuscript), the annotations would appear to be written by someone trained in Anglo-Saxon England. Page (1979: 28) notes that 'individual hands are difficult to distinguish' in scratched material, and it is not possible to identify O's dry-point with any of the scribal hands in that manuscript. Ker (1957: 432) dates O to the first quarter of the eleventh century; we can tentatively date the annotations, then, to some point in the eleventh century.

The annotations discussed here were collected as the result of two separate examinations of the manuscript. Book 3 was searched in detail in its entirety, and a brief examination of the rest of the manuscript indicates that scratched material exists in the other books too. As we shall see, none of Book 3's annotations consists of entire words; rather they emend the text already on the page, providing alternative grammatical endings or other small alterations. In this respect, their purpose is not to alter the substance of the text, but to correct it in small details. As the entries are so brief (many consisting only of a single letter) it is quite possible that those presented here do not represent every annotation originally scratched into Book 3: as Page (1979: 28) notes, dry-point is 'hard to find and hard to read when found'.

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[6] Categorisation is not easy; Charles-Edwards and McKee (2008) describe the dry-point personal names in the Lichfield Gospels as 'glosses', despite the fact that the entries do not appear to interact with the main text, functioning more as a *liber vitæ*. In general, dry-point material has been described as 'glosses' regardless of its function in the manuscript text as a whole.

6.2 Previous Studies of Scratched Glosses and Manuscript Annotations

Thirty-four manuscripts containing Old English dry-point glosses have so far been identified.[7] All identified texts are Latin ones, and the fact that no dry-point annotations have yet been identified in Old English texts is probably because no-one has yet searched this kind of text for dry-point material. Although Page (1981: 113) and Meritt (1945) demonstrate the benefits of revisiting a manuscript in search of additional or clearer readings of scratched glosses, the fact remains that they have been sought only in certain types of text.[8]

Several scratched glosses have been printed by Napier (1900) and Meritt (1933, 1936, 1959, 1961, 1968), often along with other inked gloss material, and Napier does not usually treat the scratched glosses separately to those written in ink. This is to be expected, given their similar purpose in providing some kind of secondary text, dependent on the main text of the manuscript. Lendinara (1993) stresses the importance of considering gloss material in its original manuscript context as a way of understanding the meanings of the individual lemmata, yet Napier's interest was only in collecting glosses to add to the corpus of known Old English. Meritt's motivation was also often to find new or rarely-attested Old English words (1945: vii-viii). He studied them in context where this would help elucidate their meaning, but did not study the glosses collectively in their manuscript context to determine their purpose and role for their authors or readers.

More recently, Page (1979) discusses scratched glosses in three manuscripts from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (nos. 57, 223 and 173). These manuscripts contain glosses to the Benedictine Rule, Smaragdus' *Diadema monachorum*, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, and Sedulius' *Carmen de laude Christi*. In addition to revisiting some glosses printed by Meritt, Page also assesses work to date on Anglo-Saxon material, noting that studies of glosses 'have shown little curiosity about the nature of glossing, what Anglo-Saxons used it for and meant by it' (Page 1979: 28). He also recommends that an editor should give information such as 'what conditions he worked under, for how long, what types of lighting he could use, how much of the manuscript he examined in detail, and so on' (29).

Rusche (1994) examined dry-point glosses to Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitate* in Beinecke MS. 41, finding 160 glosses and 153 gloss fragments (merographs), of which only 26 had been published by Meritt. His findings, that scratched glosses had been over-written, both in ink and by later scratched glosses 'provid[e] evidence that dry-point glosses were as difficult to see in the tenth century as they are today' (198, fn 15; see also Gwara 1996: 101, fn 8). In Beinecke MS. 41, the glossator provided Old English scratched glosses to Latin lemmata. These glosses give translations of difficult vocabulary and some grammatical information, usually in the form of a one-to-one correspondence of Old English grammatical forms to Latin ones. In three cases, the glossator provided all

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[7] Dieter Studer-Joho, private communication. His forthcoming PhD thesis provides details of all known manuscripts containing Old English dry-point glosses.
[8] Dry-point marks in the *Exeter Book* are discussed in Muir (1989) and Alger (2006). Schipper (1994) discusses the use of dry-point markings in the compilation and composition of the folios of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold.

the information necessary to construe the entire phrase (201), and in another three cases the glossator demonstrated his confusion between Latin words and similar-sounding Old English ones (202). As in the case of Wieland's (1983) study, this manuscript shows dry-point glosses being used as a learning aid, which does not appear to be the purpose of the annotations in O.

The type of annotation seen in the *Bede* differs from the Aldhelm glosses discussed by Gwara (1996, 1997, 1998). The reasons for this are probably the language and type of main text. The Aldhelm text is written in hermeneutic Latin, and the dry-point glosses there are mostly lexical. They are often only a few letters from the beginning of the Old English word which translates the Latin. Occasional grammatical glosses give the reader a clue to the tense, mood or gender of a particular Latin lexeme. In contrast, O's dry-point annotations are predominantly grammatical, and improve or correct the text. The one similarity between O's annotations and those examined by Gwara is that O's glosses are also fragmentary, consisting of single letters or fragments of words. Stork (1990: 51) states that 'the use of such abbreviations in Old English glosses is quite common.'

It is evident that the dry-point text in O shares its form with the material in several other manuscripts of the period known to have been in use in Anglo-Saxon England and Europe. However, material which is closer in its purpose to O's annotations can be found in manuscripts such as British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii which contains a text of Ælfric's *Life* of St Edmund. The manuscript shows (ink) corrections to spelling, and evidence that the language has been updated (Needham, 1958).[9] In addition, studies by Godden (1980, 2002) show that Ælfric himself was a writer whose style changed over the course of his life. He made small-scale changes to his *Catholic Homilies*, for example in changing cases after prepositions such as *þurh*, altering the forms of nouns, mood of verbs and forms of the relative pronoun. These are exactly the types of correction evident in O's grammatical annotations, and although the form of the corrections is not the same as in other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, it confirms that O's material is better categorised as 'corrections' or 'annotations' than as 'glosses'.

6.2.1 Categorisation of Annotations

O's annotations can be categorised according to their function, and the categories fall into three main groups. These groups are based on the categories used by Wieland and Stork in discussing the Aldhelm and Prudentius glosses. The first group can be termed 'grammatical annotations', as they are concerned with grammar and with individual lemmata (section 6.3). They differ from Wieland's (1983) grammatical *glosses*, which he defines as 'a gloss which clarifies the grammatical property of a word' (48). Rather than providing information about the text on the page, these annotations provide grammatical 'corrections' to perceived errors in the text. That is, unlike the glosses to texts such as Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitate* (Rusche, 1990) or *Riddles* (Stork, 1990) discussed above, they do not tell the reader what the grammar of the words on the page *is*; rather, they tell him what the grammar should be. Annotations in this category cover features including denasalisation, the use of *mid* with the accusative, and changes of case, gender and number.

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[9] See also Magennis (2005) for a study of the adaptation of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* as it appears in British Library, Cotton Julius E vii.

The second category is made up of 'lexical annotations' (section 6.4). For Wieland, 'the lexical gloss is a lexical unit (usually a word, sometimes more) which explains another lexical unit in such a way that both lemma and gloss have approximately equivalent meaning' (1983: 26). Again, O's 'lexical annotations' differ from Wieland's in that they do not provide a synonym as a way of elucidating the meaning of the text; rather, they usually change an existing word into another to give a more acceptable reading. Lexical glosses and annotations work at the level of the whole word, rather than at morphological or orthographical level. Annotations in this category deal with lexical replacement, often providing later or West-Saxon alternatives.

The final annotation type is what could be called 'textual annotations' (section 6.5). These fall into two sub-categories, and like Stork's (1990: 40) textual glosses they are concerned with 'the variant readings that inevitably arise over centuries of textual transmission'. Many such glosses in Latin texts are introduced by *uel* or <ł>, but no such introduction is found with O's textual annotations. They deal either with changes of spelling (on 'phonological' or other grounds), or provide alternative readings to the text. Many of these alternative readings seem to coincide with readings from other surviving manuscripts of the *Bede*, especially in places where O is the sole source of a particular variant. These, then, may provide corrections from another manuscript of the *Bede*.

6.3 Grammatical Annotations

Grammatical annotations make up the largest group of dry-point additions to O, and can be further categorised according to the specific grammatical feature they engage with. The first section in this category deals with denasalised subjunctives, followed by *mid* + accusative. Annotations dealing with a change of case follow, then changes of number in nouns. Finally, changes of number in verbs are considered.

6.3.1 Denasalisation
Denasalised subjunctives constitute the largest group within the grammatical annotations. There are several instances among the *Bede* manuscripts of denasalisation in plural verbs, particularly in preterite plural subjunctives (see 4.5.2). Where denasalisation occurs, a preterite subjunctive verb loses its final <n>, for example, *lufoden* 'they loved' appears as *lufode*. This means that preterite plural subjunctives have the same written form as preterite singular subjunctives, which O's annotator seems to have disliked.

According to Campbell, denasalisation occurs in early Northumbrian in a variety of contexts, and is also present in some Mercian texts:

Already in eNorth(umbrian). loss of final −*n* is frequent [...] In lNorth(umbrian). loss of −*n* is established in weak inflexion, in advs. in −*an* [...] in numerals [...] in infs., and in **sj. pl. pres. and past**. [...] *Ru*[1]. has frequent loss of −*n* in weak inflexion; in the other categories it has loss frequently, but less so than North(umbrian). (Campbell, 1959: §472, my emphasis)

That denasalisation in some plural preterite subjunctives is a trait reflective of the tradition of the *Bede* translations as a whole, possibly going back to the original Mercian translation, is demonstrated by the occasional presence of denasalised verbs in the same position in all manuscripts. Example 1 shows an instance of this:

1) ða będ he oswi\o/ þone cyning þ he him hwilcehugu
    lareowas sealde. þa þe his þeode to cristes ge
    leafan **gecyrde**. ꝺ mid þa halwendan wyllan
    fullwihte bæþes **aþwoge.**   (O: f. 49v)
    'Then he asked Oswio the king to send him some teachers, those who might **convert** his people to Christ's faith and **cleanse** them in the sanctifying wells of baptism.'

In this example *gecyrde* and *aþwoge* are clearly plural verbs, the subject being the plural relative pronoun *þa þe*, referring back to *lareowas*; however, in both verbs the expected −*n* ending is absent. The fact that these two instances occur close together and in all manuscripts suggests that this feature is one which is common to manuscripts in the *Bede* tradition. It is interesting to note that the denasalisation has been retained even in manuscripts where the verbs have been subject to other types of alteration. For example, T reads *gecerde*, while O, Ca and B have *gecyrde*.

As we would expect from our examination of other features in the *Bede*, the manuscripts do not usually agree in their readings. In example 2, only T retains the denasalised spelling:

2) ꝺ cwæð
    þ hie fracuþe ꝺ earme **wæron** þ hie ne woldan heo
    ra gode hyran þone hi gelyfdon.
    'And he said that they **were** wretched and miserable, that they would not obey their god, in whom they believed'   (O: f. 48v)

    T: ond cwæð þæt heo fracuðe ꝺ earme **wære**
    Ca: ꝺ cw(æ)ð þ hi fracuðe ꝺ earme **wæron**
    B: ꝺ cwæð þ hi fracode ꝺ earme **wæron**

We can see two phenomena at work in example 2; firstly, the denasalised verb, which in occurs only in T (*wære* rather than *wæron*). The context shows that a plural verb is intended, as the pronoun (*hie*) is plural. Secondly, note the form of the nasalised variants, which end in −*on*, an inflection found more often in indicative plurals than subjunctives. In example 2, the verb appears in a situation where a subjunctive is possible (reported

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speech).[10] As we shall see, it is not unusual for verbs corresponding with a denasalised preterite subjunctive plural to have an *–on* ending.

In a number of cases, O1 provided a denasalised form, to which an <n> was added by the corrector:

3) oððe gif he geleafsume
   wæron. þæt he þa strangede ⁊ trymede þ. hi fæst
   lice on hiora geleafan **awunade\n/**.   (O: f. 27v)
    '(And if they were unbelievers, he invited them to receive the mysteries of Christ's faith),
   or if they were believers, he confirmed them, exhorting them that **they should continue**
   steadfast in their faith.'

   Ca: ⁊ trymede þ hi fæstlice on heora geleafan **awunedon**
   B: ⁊ getrymede þ hi fæstlice on hyra geleafan **awunedon**

4) ⁊ him a [=*hi ma*] mid geleafan þæs
   ecan lifes ⁊ æriste wuldres willnade þ hi on þam
   swulte\n/ þon(ne) hi on unsyfernessum getreowleas
   nessum betwyh deofolgyldum **lifde\n/**   (O: f. 61r)
   'And they, with belief in eternal life and the glory of resurrection, desired thet they
   should **die** there, rather than **live** in the foulness of unbelief among their idols.'

   T: þæt heo in þæm **swulte** þon heo on unsyfernessum getreowleasnesse betweoh
   deofulgyldum **lifde**
   Ca: þ hi on þam **swulten** þonne hi on unsyfernyssu(m). ⁊ getreowleasnyssum
   betwih deofolgyldu(m) **lifdon**
   B2: þ hi in þam **swulton** þon(ne) hi in unfyrenessum mid trywleasum betweoh
   deofolgyldum **lifdon**

In example 3, *awunade\n/* is clearly a subjunctive plural, forming as it does part of an exhortation, while in example 4, *swulte\n/* and *lifde\n/* are subjunctives of volitional expression (Traugott, 1992: 239). While T has denasalised variants for both verbs, what is interesting in these cases is that O's corrector has only added the superscript <n>, retaining the <e> of the subjunctive. Ca also has a subjunctive in *swulten*, but what looks like an indicative in *lifdon*, while B spells both of these verbs with the indicative-like <on>. More difficult to explain is the presence of what looks like a denasalised form, *willnade* in O and Ca. Although on first sight it looks like a subjunctive expressing volition, these only appear in subordinate clauses, while this example is a main clause (*they […] desired to die therein*). Whatever the reason for this form of the verb, it is notable

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[10] It is generally agreed that when the Old English subjunctive is used, 'one of the following ideas may be present – condition, desire, obligation, supposition, perplexity, doubt, uncertainty, or unreality' (Mitchell and Robinson, 1996: §156). However, a more precise usage is not always agreed on; Hogg (2002: 82-4) states that the subjunctive is used in irrealis situations and wishes (main and subordinate clauses), and in subordinate clauses only for clauses of condition, after *ðeah*, reported speech, and with verbs of doubt or possibility. Campbell, however (1956: 65), argues that '*þeah* takes the subjunctive in subordinate clauses by rule, and quite independently of the reality of the concession'. Faulkner (1902) provides a study of the subjunctive in the *Bede* as a whole, but does not appear to deal with denasalised forms.

that the scribes of both O and Ca misdivide *hi ma* (*him a*) at this point. With such a misreading in their exemplar(s), it is possible that at some point the reading *willnade* was introduced in an attempt to make sense of the preceding error, but if that was the case, the resulting textual repair was not successful.

Figs. 6.1-6.3 show examples 3 and 4; in Fig. 6.1 the corrector has added the <n> in superscript, whereas in Figs. 6.2 and 6.3, the <n> has been squeezed in between the end of the verb and the following word.
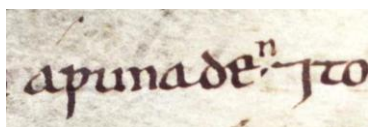

Fig. 6.1: f. 27v, *awunade\n/*
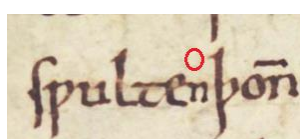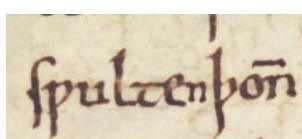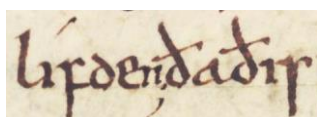

Fig. 6.2: f. 61r, *swulte\n/* [11]

Fig. 6.3: f. 61r, *lifde\n/*

In addition to emendation of denasalised subjunctives by the corrector of O, 'corrections' have also been supplied by the glossator. An example of this can be seen above the <e> of *swulten* in Fig. 6.2, where it is possible to see the scratched <o> (in the second picture the <o> has been highlighted in red). Further examples of this type of correction are shown in examples 5-7:

5) ꝺ cwædon þ hi(m) leofre wære. ꝺ hi wilnadan
þæt hi þære þeode hælo beon **mihte**^on þe hi bedene
wæron.   (O: f. 28v)
'And they said that it was preferable to them, and they wished that they **might be** the people's salvation, as they were asked.'

T: heo wilnadon. þæt heo þære þeode hælo beon **meahte**
Ca: hi wilnaden þ hi ðære þeode hælo b\e/on **mihton**
B: hi wilnodon þ hi ðære þeode hælo gedon **mihton**

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[11] Scratched annotations are denoted by superscript letters after the letters above which they appear; hence, ðon^n e = *ðone* with dry-point <n> above the inked <n>.

6) bæd hi þ hi him bisceop **onsen\de/**[on]   (O: f. 26v)
   'He asked that they might send him a bishop.'

   T: bæd he þæt heo him biscop **onsende**
   Ca: bæd hi þ hi hi(m) sumne biscop **onsende**
   B: bæd he þ hi him bysceop **onsendon**

7)] þ wære rihtlic to ongytonne þæt
   ealle þa þe his willan **leornade] worhte**[on] fra(m) þa(m)
   þe hi gesceapene wæron þ hi þonne wæron
   fram him ece mede to onfonne   (O: f. 49r)
   'And it was right to understand, that all those who **learnt and did** his will (he who created them), would receive an eternal reward from him.'

   T: þæt wære. rihtlic to ongeotanne þætte ealle þa ðe his willan **leornode.] worhte.**
   Ca: þ wære rihtlic to ongytenne þ ealle ða þe his willan **leornodon] worhton.**
   B: þ wære rihtlic to ongitanne þte ealle þa ðe his willan **leornodon] worhton**

The examples provide clear instances of clauses where the subjunctive is appropriate; example 5 is reported speech, 6 follows a verb of requesting, and 7 is a verb expressing possibility. In cases 5 and 8, we can see a common pattern being maintained, whereby T and O provide a denasalised variant, and Ca and B give a spelling identical with the indicative <on>. In case 6, Ca also supplies a denasalised subjunctive verb. What sets these three examples apart from examples 1-3, however, is the presence of a dry-point <on> above the final <e> of each of these verbs.

While examples 5-7 involve the emendation of verbs left unchanged by the corrector, it should be noted that in example 4 above, *swulte\n/* has a dry-point <o> written above the <e>. The nature of this correction would suggest that the corrector had already added his superscript <n> by the time the annotator was adding his corrections to O's text. Interestingly, although the annotator adds an <o> to *swulte\n/*, he does not correct the nearby *lifde\n/*, nor *awunade\n/* on f. 27v. It is possible that in denasalised verbs where an <n> had already been supplied, the annotator's attention was not so readily drawn to the word, and therefore in such instances a subjunctive <en> ending was less likely to be emended to an <on> indicative one.

In one further case, categorisation as a denasalised subjunctive is problematic:

8) þa gelamp hit þæt \þ/ hus eall wæs in\nan/ fyren.] ongan
   semninga byrnan. ða þæt þa ða gebeoras gesawon
   þa flugon hi forht\e/ ut.] nænige helpe þam byr
   nendan huse gedon **mihte**[on]   (O: f. 36r)
   'Then it happened that the whole house caught fire inside and began to burn immediately. When the inhabitants saw this they fled outside, frightened, and **could** give no help to the burning house.'

   T:] nænige helpe þam beornendan huse. gedon **meahton**.
   Ca:] nænige helpe þa(m) byrnendan huse gedon **mihton.**

It is difficult, however, to categorise this example. While the verbal form is identical to other denasalised subjunctives in this study, and it appears in a manuscript (O) which includes several other examples of this feature, the sense of the text does not obviously warrant a subjunctive. However, whatever the intended form of the original scribe, it is interesting to note that the annotator has scratched an <on> ending above the <e> of *mihte*, just as he has in clearer instances of denasalised subjunctives. This intervention brings O into line with readings from T and Ca (the equivalent text is missing from B).

	Denasalised sj	Nasalised sj	Nasalised sj added by corrector	Nasalised indic. from denasal. sj	Indicative	Dry-point <on>*
T	14				1	
O	7		4	1	5	5
Ca	2	2			11	
B	1				13	
B2					2	

* this column is double-counted, as features will be counted once for the main ink hand, and once for the dry-point annotation.
Table 6.1: Denasalised subjunctives and their variants.

This table tells us several things about the way the scribes of the *Bede* treated denasalised subjunctives. Firstly, we see that denasalisation is a feature of T and O, the two manuscripts which most frequently exhibit other Mercian features, and in this respect the result is not surprising. What *is* interesting, however, is that of the options available to the scribes of Ca and B, their most frequent response is to write in place of the denasalised subjunctive what looks like an indicative plural, rather than to add an <n> and change the verb to a subjunctive plural with a nasalised ending. This course of action is revealing, as it shows that the scribes of Ca and B (and on occasion, O) are more likely to emend to an apparently indicative verb form than they are to copy denasalised subjunctives literatim. This suggests that for the scribes of Ca and B, and for O's annotator, a form such as *wolde* instead of *wolden/ woldon* was too different from the usual form that the scribes expected to see in a plural context. It is possible that either 1) the denasalised forms were not recognised as subjunctives, because they were rarely emended to verbs in <en>, or 2) the scribes did not recognise a separate or distinct spelling for subjunctive plurals. The suggestion that the later *Bede* scribes did not habitually differentiate between indicative and subjunctive forms in the past tense is an interesting one, as it parallels a development seen in other Old English texts. Horgan's (1980b) study of manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care* found 'numerous examples of spellings which suggest that the endings –*en* and –*on* have fallen together in pronunciation, probably as [ə]' (218). According to Hogg (1992b: 150), this is part of a wider development in Old English:

> In the ninth and tenth centuries the inflexion of the preterite plural subjunctive changed to –*on*. This was not the complication it might appear to be, for what we are certainly witnessing is the falling together of the indicative and subjunctive inflexions under the indicative, that is to say, we are witnessing the beginnings of the demise of separate inflexions for the subjunctive.

As O's annotator actively corrected some of the <e> and <en> forms in his text, it suggests that he most likely did not recognise <en> as a specifically subjunctive ending. His corrections are twofold: not only does he often remove denasalisation where he sees it, he also alters <en> subjunctives to <on> inflections. According to Hogg and Fulk (2011: §6.22), such a change is not unusual in late-West-Saxon:

> The distinction between ind. and subj. forms is for the most part maintained in EWS, but in LWS pl. *–on* spreads from the ind. to the subj., both pres. and pret., and *–on, -an* are found sometimes even in EWS in the pret. In Nbr, and often in Ru1, sg. and pl. inflexions are undifferentiated after the loss of final *–n*, the plural inflexion appearing as *–e, -a, -æ*, rarely *–en*. But ind. *–on (-un, -an)* not infrequently invades the pret.pl.subj.[12]

This fluctuation between <e> and <en> in preterite subjunctives was also noted by Bloomfield (1930) in particular manuscripts of the *Orosius* and the *Pastoral Care*. He found that the scribes of the C and H texts frequently disagreed in their readings, yet both retained denasalised forms alongside <en> ones. Needham (1958: 164) notes three instances in British Library, Cotton Julius E vii where a later corrector has altered <en> endings in preterite plurals to <on> endings, while Gretsch (2006: 170) states that only <on> is to be found for the preterite plural subjunctive in copies of Ælfric's homily *Domenica secunda post pentecosten* (*CH* 1.23). The annotator's scribal interventions, then, are consistent not only with the eleventh-century date of his interventions, but also with the late-West-Saxon dialect he uses, as we shall see in the next section.

6.3.2 *Mid* + Accusative

The second substantial group of grammatical annotations deals with *mid* + accusative constructions. Napier and Miller identify *mid* + accusative as an Anglian feature (section 4.4.4), and it is notable that in twelve cases the annotator alters an original reading in O with *mid* + accusative to one with *mid* + dative. Section 4.4.4 shows how B's scribe tries to eradicate this feature in his manuscript, and the annotator of O also seems to dislike *mid* + accusative. Some examples are given below:

9) mid þa**ære** gyfe (f. 26v)
   'With **the** gift.'

10) þe mid **hine**ᵐ wæron (f. 26v)
    'Who were with **him**.'

11) mid **þone**ᵃᵐ he þreo gear wæs wrecca (f. 30v)
    'With **whom** he had been in exile three years.'

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[12] Kilpiö (1989: 82, fn. 78) examined the *Bede* and the *Pastoral Care* and observed: 'the variant readings *wære(n)/ wæron* in these and many similar instances apparently do not reflect a fluctuation between the indicative and the subjunctive, but are signs of the levelling which was already taking place in EWS and Early Mercian, with the introduction of the spelling *–on* for *–en* in the subjunctive'.

12) mid **þone**ᵃᵐ cyning (f. 41r)
   'With **the** king.'

In examples 9-12, the pronoun or article follows *mid* directly, and the annotator has added his preferred reading above the relevant lemma. These emendations cover both masculine and feminine pronouns and articles, and in most cases the word altered is a personal pronoun or an article. In one case the emended word is an adjective, again with an original accusative reading:

13) ⁊ mid **ealle**ʳᵉ his heor
   tan ⁊ dædum fæstlice to gode gecyrde. (f. 40v)
   'And turned resolutely to God with **all** his heart and deeds.'

Interestingly, *mid eallre* is the reading we find in both Ca and B, the latest two *Bede* manuscripts, confirming that O's annotator is not alone in his desire to emend the text where he finds *mid* followed by the accusative case.

On only two occasions is the affected lemma a noun; *mid dryhten*ᵉ occurs on f. 38v, and a seemingly similar case occurs in example 14:

14) mid heora cyninge drihtne **crist**ᵉ   (f. 56r)
   'With their king the lord **Christ**.'

The scribe failed to add a dative <e> to *crist*, as he had done with the previous word, *drihten*, and the annotator's addition remedies this omission. Although this looks like the other examples in this section, the fact that all other manuscripts read *criste* at this point suggests that O's reading is due to a slip by its scribe, rather than a genuine case of *mid* + accusative. Further evidence of scribal slip are the dative <e> endings of *cyninge* and *drihte*. Example 14, then, should properly be regarded as belonging to section 6.3.3, with other changes of case.   What is especially interesting about the two categories of gloss discussed so far (denasalisation and *mid* + accusative) is that they correspond closely with the kinds of variation examined in B.

6.3.3 Change of Case
Other annotations exist whose basis is grammatical, and which do not fit into the two largest categories above. A change of case accounts for six examples.

In the first example, we again see a move from the accusative to the dative:

15) þære sylfan **niht**ᵉ (f. 36v)
   'That same **night**.'

The addition of the dative <e> here brings the phrase 'that same night' into line with other expressions of time which use the dative (Mitchell and Robinson, 1996: 106). The new dative readings emend the text of O to a reading identical with T and Ca (though interestingly not with B, which reads *þte sylfan niht*). Another case change due to an expression of time is found in example 16:

16) ic no ne
 tweoge þ hi gode liciað þ he þa eastran on
 hiora riht **tid**ᵉ ne heold   (f. 46r)
 'I do not doubt that they love God, though they do not keep Easter at the correct **time**.'

This seems to be another case of scribal slip in O. Ca reads *tide* in this position, and there is no reason for O not to use the dative case.

17)] hi **hine**ᵐ lustlice tiþedon] him bisceop sendon. (f. 26v)
 'And they gladly granted **to him** and sent him a bishop.'

In example 17, the accusative *hine* has been emended to the dative *him*. Again, there is no obvious reason for O's accusative (we would expect to see the recipient of *tiþian* in the dative) and the other manuscripts have *him* in this position, leading to the conclusion that *hine* is an error on O1's part. The annotation appears to correct an error in O's text.

More complicated is the correction to *halig*ʳᵃ *gewrita* in example 18. None of the later manuscripts have a grammatically consistent reading; we would expect an accusative plural judging by the context:[13]

18)] georne **halig**ʳᵃ **gewrita** leornade] smeade   (f. 53r)
 'And eagerly learned and meditated on **holy writings**.'

However, this is not what we find. Table 6.2 shows the possible combinations of the inflections written by each scribe. Grammatical concord is shown in bold:

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[13] Neither Bosworth-Toller nor Mitchell (1985a: 454-64) provide evidence that either *leornian* or *smeagan* take the dative or genitive. *Gewrit* is listed in Bosworth-Toller as a strong, neuter noun. The Old English translates 'et scripturis legendem' (plural) in the Latin (Plummer, 1896: 176).

	Adj	Noun	Adj	Noun
T	halig	gewreotu	masc nom sg; **fem nom sg;** neu nom/acc sg; **neu nom/ acc pl;**	**fem nom sg;** **neu nom/acc pl;**
O	halig	gewrita	masc nom sg; fem nom sg; neu nom/acc sg; neu nom/ acc pl;	fem nom/ acc pl; gen pl (all genders);
Ca	halige	gewritu	masc or fem nom/acc pl; fem acc sg; inst sg (all genders); **weak fem sg;** weak neu nom/ acc sg;	neu nom/acc pl; **fem nom sg;**
B	halige	gewrite	masc or **fem nom/acc pl;** **fem acc sg;** inst sg (all genders); **weak fem or neu nom sg;**	**fem acc/gen/dat sg;** **fem nom/acc pl;** dat sg (all genders); **weak fem nom sg;** **weak neu nom/acc sg;**
annotation	haligra	gewrita	**gen pl (all genders)**	**gen pl (all genders)**

Table 6.2: possible grammatical categories for manuscript variations on *halig gewrit*.

T is the only manuscript which achieves both grammatical concord and a reading which suits the context of the passage, reading *halig gewreotu* (neuter, accusative plural). Ca's *halige gewritu* again has a neuter accusative plural noun, but an adjective (*halige*) that could only be weak and singular (if neuter accusative) where a plural, strong adjective is required. B's *halige gewrite* contains endings which could be explained by the scribe's treating the noun and adjective as dative/ instrumental (though this would make little sense in context), or perhaps by taking *gewrit* as a feminine noun, if accusative. Perhaps more likely is the possibility that B's <e> endings show a loss of distinction in final, unstressed vowels, which is increasingly common in eleventh-century texts (Campbell, 1959: §379). Finally, O's scribe has *halig gewrita*, with an accusative singular adjective and a genitive plural noun.

It is possible that O's scribe, or his exemplar's scribe, has mistaken the <u> at the end of *gewritu* for an <a> (quite possible if he copied a hand with a flat-topped <a>) resulting in the case mismatch. In any case, it it the annotator's reaction which interests us here. Rather than restoring *gewrita* to *gewritu*, he has chosen to emend the accompanying adjective, making both genitive plural (*haligra gewrita*). What results is grammatical concord at the expense of the sense of the clause, demonstrating an interest in close grammatical detail, which is not matched by an awareness of the wider sense of the clause.

Example 19 shows a change of case from dative to genitive:

19) wæs þæs landes ealles hundtwelftig
    hida. ˥ sixtig in dera mægþe sixtig on **beorni**
    ᶜᵃ**cium.**   (f. 54v)
    'The land was 120 hides in all, 60 in the kingdom of the Deirians, 60 with the
    Bernicians.'

In this example, the annotator's aim is to recast the phrase by paralleling *dera* with *beornicium*. O's original reading is '...sixty hides in the kingdom of the Deirans and sixty with the Bernicians', with the dative plural *beornicium* following the preposition *on*. By changing the reading to *beornica*, both national names are treated as adjectives describing *mægþe*, 'sixty in the Deiran's country and sixty in the Bernicians' [kingdom]' (Campbell, 1959: §610.7). Among the other manuscripts, T and Ca have *beornicum*, B *Beornica mægþe*. We can see then, that the annotator's response is along the same lines as that of B's scribe.

6.3.4 Changes of Gender and Number (Nouns)

Alongside changes of case, changes of gender and number are also indicated by O's scratched corrections. There is one instance of a change of gender, shown in example 20:

> 20) ⁊ þa sigebyrht se cyning
> þa wæs cesterwara gefremed þæs ecean rices
> ⁊ wolde eft **þ\o/æt^{ne}** eþel secean his hwilendlices rices. (f. 49v)
> 'And then King Sigebyrht was made a citizen of the heavenly kingdom, and wished to return again to **the** land of his earthly kingdom.'
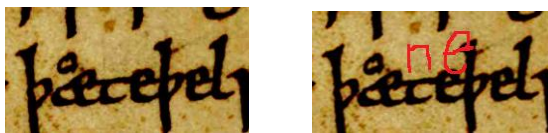

Fig. 6.4: f. 49v, þ\o/æt^{ne} eþel

Eðel, according to Bosworth-Toller, can be masculine or neuter, and whereas all *Bede* manuscripts (including, initially, O) have the neuter article *þæt*, the inked superscript <o> suggests that O's corrector was toying with altering it to the masculine *þone*. What is particularly interesting is that, if the corrector was indeed thinking of changing *þæt* to *þone* he didn't write the correction in full (which he nearly always does). Another unfinished correction appears in Fig. 6.14, and perhaps it was their unfinished nature that attracted the annotator's attention. In addition, the annotator has used the corrector's <o> as the basis of his own correction, adding only <ne>. This shows that at least some of the ink corrections predate the scratched annotations in O.

Collective nouns are also subject to intervention on the part of the annotator. A good example of this occurs on f. 28r:

> 21) þætte **eall^e** þa þe mid hine eodan   (f. 28r)
> 'So that **all** those who went with him...'

A dry-point <e> is provided above *eall*, giving a new reading of *ealle*. In this instance the strong adjective *eall* is being used as a collective noun, and has been altered from the singular *eall* to the plural *ealle*. Mitchell and Robinson note that collective nouns 'cause much the same problems as they do today' (1996: 104), with Anglo-Saxon writers inconsistent in their treatment of them as singular or plural subjects. This example is a case in point, with the annotator differing from the scribe in his use of a plural form for the noun.

Example 22 shows another change to an adjectival noun, *þearfan*[um]. From its immediate context the only grammatical information telling us whether the indirect object (*þearfan*) is singular or plural is the noun itself, as the masculine dative article *þam* can be both singular and plural. Whereas the scribe has written the singular *þearfan*,[14] the annotator makes it plural by altering the word to *þearfum*. In fact, the annotator has made a mistake here, as O's text specifically states (in the underlined sections) that there is only one beggar:

> 22) þa wæs æfter med micelre tide þa he on
> þam horse sæt þæt him **com sum þearfa** togenes
> ꝺ him ælmessan **bæd** þa lyhte he sona ꝺ het **þam**
> **þearfan**[um] þæt hors syllan mid þam cynelican ge
> bætum þe him onstodan forþon he wæs swiðe mild
> heort. ꝺ *þearfena bigenga* ꝺ swa swa fæder earm
> ra.   (f. 42r)
> 'It was a little time later when he was sitting on his horse that **a certain poor man** came (togenes) and **asked** him for alms. Then he alighted immediately and commanded that **the poor man** be given the horse with the kingly bridle which was on him, because he was so merciful and *generous to the needy*, and like a father to the poor'.

It is possible that the annotator has been confused by the later mention of the king being generous 'to the needy' in the plural, in conjunction with the ambiguous *het þam þearfan* above. However, the fact remains that a reading of the whole passage shows clearly that only one poor man is involved, and this is not the only instance of the annotator's hypercorrection. This is another alteration which seems to show that the annotator tended to think very locally when making his corrections. In more than one instance, we have seen him provide grammatical concord at the expense of the wider sense of the passage.

Finally, a strange change in the number of a noun is also evident in example 23, with the annotation *cynna*[es]. In this case the context does not reveal whether *cynna* should be singular or plural:

> 23) on sigegefeohtum ellreordra **cynna**[es]   (f. 26v)
> 'in victories over foreign **race(s)**.'

The annotator's choice of a genitive singular noun here is again at odds with the other scribes, who all have a plural here. The adjective *ellreordra* is genitive plural, not genitive singular (*ellreordres*), and there does not appear to be any dry-point mark emending *ellreordra*, which makes the annotator's choice puzzling.

6.3.5 Changes of Number (Verbs)
The final selection of grammatical annotations deals with changes of number in verbs. In example 24, the plural verb *þrowodon* is corrected to the singular *þrowode*:

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[14] *þearfan* is also singular in T and Ca; there is no equivalent text in B.

24) Ðyssu(m) tidum oswi\o/ se cyning mid ðy he grim

    me hergunge ⁊ unaræfnendlice **þrowod[c][on]**

    þæs oft cwedenan mercna cynincges pendan   (f. 53v)

    'During this time King Oswio **suffered** fierce and intolerable attacks from Penda the Mercian king, who we have often talked about.'

It is clear from the context that a third person singular verb is required for the subject, Oswio, and the original plural verb provided by O1 appears to be an error. All other manuscripts have a singular verb in this position, and in this particular case the annotator appears to be providing a correction to the text which was overlooked when the inked corrections were made.

Example 25 arises from confusion over the number of a collective noun, *þeod*:

25) þa gelamp hit þ myrcna þeod þurh

    pendan læðe hẏra cyninges wið east englum ge

    feohtan **wolde[on]** (f. 47r)

    'It happened that the Mercian people, through the malice of their king, Penda, **wanted** to fight against the East Anglians.'

The scribe, O3, wrote a singular noun, with a corresponding singular verb, *wolde*. However, the possessive pronoun *hyra* is in the plural, and it is possibly in response to this, in addition to the collective noun, that the annotator has emended *wolde* to *woldon*. This parallels what we have seen in the corrector's ambivalence about the status of other collective nouns, such as *ealle* in example 21 above. Our final two examples are less straightforward, however:

26) ⁊ hi swa **dydon[e]** hine to

    bysceope gehalgedon.   (f. 29r)

    'And they **did** so and consecrated him bishop.'

27) Swylce eac mid þysses cyninges

    geornesse þa twa mægþe norþanhymbra. dere

    ⁊ beornice. þa þe oð ðæt him betwih ungeþwære

    ⁊ **ungesybbe[on]** wæron. on ane sibbe ⁊ on an folc geteah

    ⁊ geþwær\e/de.   (f. 30r)

    'And also with this king's endeavour, the two Northumbrian kingdoms, Deira and Bernicia (those who until then had been quarrelsome and **unfriendly** to each other) were drawn together and reconciled in peace as one people.'

These corrections are problematic in that, although they appear to be similar to those in examples 24 and 25 above, it is not clear what the annotator's aim was in adding them. In example 26, the annotation changes the plural *dydon* to singular *dyde*, though there is no obvious reason why the annotator should have chosen this reading, as the context makes it clear that a plural is required here. Example 27, meanwhile, contains an intriguing dry-point <on> above the adjective *ungesybbe*. The purpose of the annotation is not clear. Grammatically the phrase works well in the form written by O1, and as *ungeþwære* and *ungesybbe* are in parallel as descriptors of the two kingdoms, we might expect any

correction to be applied to both adjectives. The annotator's choice of correction in this case is puzzling, given its apparent redundancy, and the fact that the same correction has not been applied to the parallel *ungeþwære*.

The grammatical annotations show that the writer was concerned to correct O's main text, sometimes because O's main scribes had transmitted conservative features which the annotator recognised as 'incorrect', or undesirable in some way. On other occasions, the annotator's interventions clearly restored grammatical concord where O1 had copied the text inaccurately (both according to the annotator's norms, and according to the *Bede* text as transmitted by the other manuscripts). Finally, there are also a number of instances where the annotator's motivation for making the correction is unclear, and where there is no discernible error in O's main text. In some of these cases, perhaps (for example in *haligra gewrita*, example 18), the annotator was preoccupied with making very localised alterations to the text, and in this example he achieved grammatical concord at the expense of the wider sense of the text, showing that he did not always check the wider sense of his correction. The next two sections demonstrate further how the annotator put his own mark on O's text.

6.4 Lexical Annotations

The second main group consists of lexical annotations. In this section I consider two examples of lexical replacement, plus one case where a misreading has led the annotator to propose the substitution of one word for another which is similar in appearance. The first two examples of vocabulary substitution alter the word *hiwum* to *hired*:

> 28) ða frǫgn hine ꝺ acsede his
>   mæssepreost on his agen geþeode þe se cyning
>   ne cuðe ne his **hiwan**^{red} forhwon he weope. (f. 42v)
>   'Then he enquired and asked his masspriest in his own language (which neither the king
>   nor his **retainers** knew) why he wept.'

> 29) hæfde he se ylca cyning
>   þæs bisceopes broþor mid him. se wæs calin
>   haten se wæs mæssepreost. ꝺ efenlice godes
>   mon til se him ꝺ his **hiwum**^{rede} godcunde lare
>   lærde   (f. 51v)
>   'That same king had the bishop's brother with him, a masspriest who was called Caelin,
>   an equally pious man of God, who taught him and his **retainers** the holy teachings.'

While the spellings across the manuscripts vary, in example 28 all manuscripts read *hiwan*, while in example 29 B has a variant reading of *hired* (p.160). In both examples the annotator supplies *red(e)* above the *–wum/ wan* of *hiwum*, and both words (*hiwan* and *hired*) mean 'household'. The annotator therefore appears to be signalling a replacement of *hiwum* by *hired*. A search of the *DOEC* shows that both words are used often with the sense *household*, although *hired* is the more common. Table 6.3 shows the distribution of *hiwan* and *hired*:

	T	O	Ca	B
hiwan	3	6	6	5
higan	3			
hired		2*		1
gebroðra (gloss)			1	

*2x scratched annotation.

Table 6.3: *hiwan* and its variants.

Hired only appears in B and as a dry-point annotation in O. As we know that B sometimes substitutes West-Saxon variants for Anglian vocabulary, we may speculate that *hiwan* is an Anglian word. According to Wenisch (1979: 93), however, a specifically Anglian restriction for *hiwan* can be disproven by its frequent appearance in tenth- and eleventh-century West-Saxon texts, such as the *Heptateuch*, *West-Saxon Gospels*, and works by Ælfric such as his *Lives of Saints* and *Catholic Homilies*. It is possible, however, that *hiwan* was losing popularity to *hired* in the course of the eleventh century.[15] *Hiwan* appears in the D, E and F versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in entries for the years 716 and 757 (716 only for F), while in contrast *hired* appears in versions C, D and E (1, 3 and 29 instances respectively), and only in entries after 1041. The higher number of instances in E can be attributed to the fact that the Peterborough Chronicle (the E text) carries on longest, up to 1154. In addition, Ker (1948: 67, fn 1) describes how the scribe of the eleventh-century Worcester cartulary in British Library, Cotton Nero E.i includes several updated spellings when compared with versions of the same texts in single-sheet charters and in Hemming's *Cartulary*.[16] Among these updated spellings are several instances of *hired* replacing earlier *higan*.

Semantically the words do not appear to be quite identical. The plural noun *hiwan* covers meanings such as 'members of a household, a religious house, a family' (Bosworth-Toller), and this is borne out by Ca which glosses *hiwan* with *gebroðra* (f. 35v). The word rarely appears in glosses, although one instance, *higara*, glosses the Latin *berna*, 'a slave, servant', and it glosses *domesticos* in the Rushworth Gloss of the Gospel of Matthew:

> *suffecit discipulo ut sit sicut magister eius et seruus sicut dominus eius si patrem familias belzebul uocauerunt quanto magis **domisticos** eius* genoh biþ leornere þætte he sie swa swa laruw his & esne swa swa laford his nu hie fæder heora belzebub nemdun hu micle mæ **hiwæ ɫ hine** his.[17]

It also glosses *domus* in the Vitellius Psalter:

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[15] Reflexes of *hiwan* with the meaning 'household' appear in the *MED* twice, in texts dated 1225 and 1300, while reflexes of *hired* occur eleven times, in texts dated between the Conquest and *c.*1325. *Hired* certainly seems to have been the more popular term in the Middle English period.

[16] See Wiles (2011) for a detailed study of scribal differences between texts in British Library, Cotton Nero E.i and British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii.

[17] Matthew 10: 25: 'It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?'

> Nu forþon god forþon worulde mildheortnesse his
> *Dicat nunc israhel quoniam bonus quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.*
> Cweðe nu **hus ł hiwærden** forþon on worulde mildheortnesse his
> *Dicat nunc **domus** aaron quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.*
> Cweðe nu þa þe ondrædað drihten forþon mildheortnesse his
> *Dicant nunc qui timent dominum quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.*[18]

Hired, on the other hand, covers meanings such as 'a household, house, family, the body of domestic retainers of a great man or king, a court, the members of a religious house, a company, band of associates' (Bosworth-Toller). The emphasis is not on the domestic, cooperative aspect of belonging to a household, so much as on leadership and personal service to a leader, as exemplified in *The Battle of Maldon*:

> Þa hi forð eodon, feores hi ne rohton;
> ongunnon þa **hired**men heardlice feohtan (ll. 260-1)
> 'Then they went forth, not caring about life; the **retainers** began to fight hard'

It also appears in several glosses, glossing Latin terms such as *familia* (*hiwræden oððe hired*), *paterfamilias* (*hiredes hlaford*), and *materfamilias* (*hiredes modor oððe hlæfdige*) in Ælfric's *Glossary* (Zupitza, 1880: 300). *Biscophirede* is used in British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A.III to gloss *cleri* 'clergy', and *hiredgerefa* for *exconsul* in Plantin-Moretus, 32/ British Library, Additional 32246.[19] In other texts, the distribution patterns for *hiwan* and *hired* appear to coincide; indeed, we have seen above that in one instance B uses *hired* where all other manuscripts use *hiwan*. In another example, the passage from Matthew quoted above is rendered in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140 (the eleventh-century West-Saxon translation of the Gospels) as 'Gyf hi þæs **hired**es fæder Belzebub clypedon, mycle swyþur hig eow clypiaþ', suggesting, as does the *Bede*, that these two words shared an increasing degree of semantic space. Interestingly, CCCC 140 uses *hired* 11 times, in the gospels of Matthew and Luke. Manuscripts which use both terms include (alongside the *Bede*), Gregory's *Dialogues*, the poem *Genesis*, and Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*. While it appears that both words were in use in the eleventh century, there is some evidence that *hired* was gaining ground at the expense of *hiwan*, and O's annotator shares this preference.

The motivation for the final annotation in this category is not so easy to interpret. It concerns the word *modri(g)e*, 'maternal aunt':
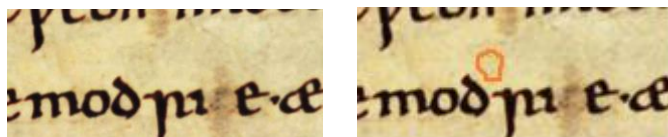

Fig. 6.5: f. 33v: mod°rie

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[18] Psalm 117: 2-4: 'Let Israel now say that he is good: that his mercy endureth for ever. Let the house of Aaron now say, that his mercy endureth for ever. Let them that fear the Lord now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.' (King James translation). N.B. this is not a full interlinear gloss; it does not include some common verbs or proper nouns.
[19] See Porter (1999) for a study of the glosses contained in British Library, Additional 32246.

Modrie is not an uncommon word; it occurs 16 times in the *DOEC*, including in the *Bede*. It also occurs in glosses, Ælfric's *Homilies*, *Orosius*, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*;[20] nevertheless as written in Fig 6.5 it seems to have have caused problems for the annotator, who adds an <o> between the <d> and <r>. It is possible that he was confused by the erasure between <i> and <e>, and has tried to make sense of the string of letters <modri>. This interpretation is not without its problems, though. If the annotator was trying to make the word read *modor* 'mother', then there is no indication of how he thought the <i e> should be read, and this may be another example (as with *halira gewrita* in example 19) of the annotator thinking locally as he made his textual corrections.[21]

The comparatively small number of lexical annotations in relation to grammatical ones suggests that the kind of feature the annotator was concerned with was small-scale and fairly localised. It is rare to find annotations which work at the level of the word as a whole, rather than at the level of individual graphs representing grammatical inflections. In the next section, we again return to annotations which apply at a local level, often influencing the spelling of individual words.

6.5 Textual Annotations

The final category to be considered contains 'textual annotations'. Following Stork's (1990: 41) classifications, textual annotations incorporate readings arising from variants which creep into a text through the course of its transmission. To this end, the first part of the discussion focuses on changes of spelling. As discussed in section 2.3, some of the spelling variations have their basis in phonological changes, however it is important to remember that these variations are actually orthographical. Some spelling variations aim to correct Anglian variants, while for others the motivation for the change is less clear. The second part of this section deals with variant readings which may have been introduced by comparison with another *Bede* manuscript.

6.5.1 Orthographical Changes
Pehta (Pict) displays Anglian smoothing in its manuscript form, and occurs as *peht-* three times in Book 3. On two of these occasions, the annotator has added an <o> above the <eh>:

> 30) ⁊ he
> swilce eac **pe°hta** þeode of þam mæstan dæle
> ongelcynnes rice underþeodde. (f. 55v)
> 'And he also subjugated the greatest part of the Pictish people to the English kingdom.'

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[20] There are two examples of *moddri(e)* listed in the *MED*, both occurring in Layamon's *Brut*.

[21] Closer scrutiny of the scanned manuscript image from which this figure is taken suggests that there may be another scratched mark above the <e>, however this was not apparent on either of the occasions when I examined the manuscript in person. Only another examination of the physical folio will show whether there is indeed another annotation here, or whether the scan has emphasised a crease or rumple in the parchment.

31) ꝛ he þu\r/h þæt ge his þeode ge eac þam cynnu(m)
   scotta ꝛ **pe°hta** on þam he on ellþeodignesse
   lifde (f. 58r)
   'And in that way he [benefitted] both his people and also the Irish and Picts among
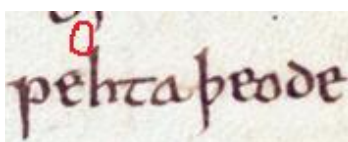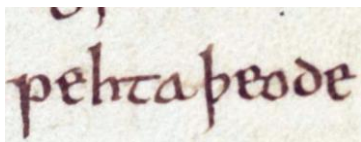   whom he lived in piety...'
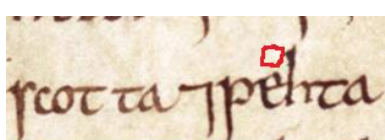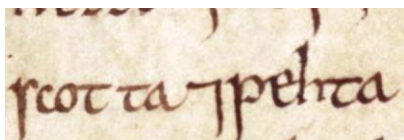

Fig. 6.6: f. 55v

Fig. 6.7: f. 58r

In supplying an <o> above the <eh>, the annotator makes *pehta* conform to a West-Saxon
phonological model, and this is particularly interesting for a manuscript like O, where we
see a Mercian feature being altered in line with West-Saxon forms. It is not clear
whether the change was made in line with West-Saxon orthographical practice (based on
West-Saxon phonological patterns), or whether it follows a reading in another
manuscript. Certainly, of the other *Bede* manuscripts, the smoothed form only appears in
Ca, the closest manuscript relative to O.

Two similar examples can be seen in Figs. 6.8 and 6.9 below. In Fig. 6.8, the Anglian
form *fremþan* (which is also found in Ca) is altered to the West-Saxon variant, *fremdan*
(Campbell, 1959: §409, fn2). In the same position, T and B have *fremdan*, while Ca has
fremðan. A second alteration from an Anglian form occurs on f. 39r (Fig. 6.9), where
fresana is corrected to *fresena*. According to Campbell (1959: §617) 'the [weak genitive
plural] ending appears early as *−ana* [...] and this remains frequent in lNorth[umbrian]
and *Ru[1]*'. The corrections in this section show how the annotator tries to make O's text
more West-Saxon by changing Anglian phonological spellings to West-Saxon ones.
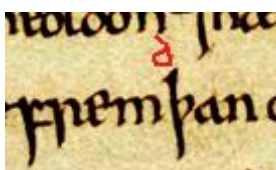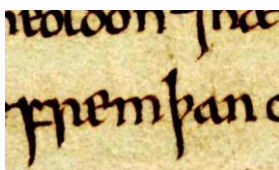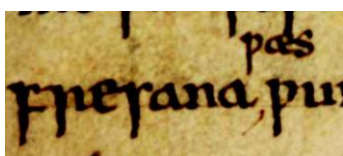

Fig. 6.8: f. 56r, *fremþ[d]an.*

Fig. 6.9: f. 39r, *fresa[e]na.*[22]

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[22] The dry-point is not always clear enough on the scans to be able to trace its outline. In such cases I have
not provided an illustration.

6.5.2 Anglianisms

In seven cases dry-point annotations affect words identified as Anglianisms, three of which are discussed in this section. The first, in Fig. 6.10 appears over the word *bestyredon*, a variant spelling of *bestreððan* which Campbell (1951: 355) identifies as an Anglian word. He states that the <y> spelling of the original is difficult to explain, the word appearing as *bestreþed* in the Exeter Book *Riddles*, and as *bestryþed* in *Order of the World*. However, neither of these spellings help us to determine what is intended by the annotator on this occasion:

Fig. 6.10: f. 25v: (be)sty^tt^redon

It is not clear exactly what reading is intended by the annotation, and Campbell does not give a West-Saxon equivalent for the word. Bosworth-Toller gives alternative spellings of *bestryðan*, *bestyrian*, *bestreðan*, and *bestreddon*, none of which account for the <tt> of the correction. Neither are the variant readings of the *Bede* manuscripts any help here: *bestryðed* (T), *bestyredon* (Ca), *bestreddon* (B).[23]

In example 32 *herenesse* (praise), an Anglian word (Campbell, 1951: 360, 367) has been altered, by the addition of a <y> to read *hyrnesse* (obedience):

32) ꝺ he
    swilce eac pehta þeode of þam mæstan dæle
    ongelcynnes rice underþeodde. ꝺ him to **h^y^ere**
    nesse geteah.   (f. 55v)
    'And he also subjected the greater part of the Picts to English rule and drew them to him in praise/ obedience.'

Fig. 6.11: f. 55v: h^y^ere(nesse)

However, the Anglian identification of *herenesse* is not as straightforward as it seems. The Latin merely states that the Picts were subjected to English rule (*qui etiam gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum subiecit*, (Plummer, 1896: 180)), and although *praise* could be what Oswio draws from the Picts, it is not unlikely that *obedience* could be what is intended. *Hyrnesse* is the reading in T and B at this point, and we should consider whether O's annotation provides an alternative reading from another manuscript. This does not, of course, answer the question of why O and Ca have a reading which looks like an Anglian word in this position. It is notable that in another instance, B has altered *herenes* to *herung* (Jordan, 1906: 102). In addition, where O reads *herenesse* on f. 54v along with T and Ca, B has *hyrsumnesse*. In the latter case, the intended reading is almost

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[23] A search of the *DOEC* yields no spellings with <t> or <tt>.

certainly *obedience*.[24] *Hereness* is therefore a word which is not immune to alteration in the *Bede* manuscripts as a whole, and its alteration in B points to it being a problematic word for two of our latest scribes.

In Fig 6.12 *geleafan* 'belief' has the annotation <fean>, giving an emended reading of *gefean* 'joy':

> 33) ⁊ to
> þam ecum **ge**^{fean}**leafan** þæs heofon\lican/ eðles gelædde.
> 'And conducted [the body] to the eternal belief (joy) of the heavenly kingdom.'
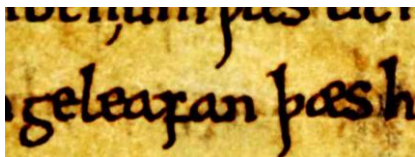

Fig. 6.12: f. 33r: *ge^{fean}leafan*

What is particularly interesting about this annotation is that all other manuscripts (including Ca) read *gefean* in this position, which must be the intended reading as the Latin reads *ad aterna patriae caelestis* **gaudia** *ducebat* ('was led with joy to the eternal kingdom of heaven': Plummer, 1896: 143). According to Jordan (1906: 89) *gefea* is a word which, although originally in use generally in Old English, remained longer in Anglian than in West-Saxon. Fischer (1996: 34) finds that *gefea* is a word which is frequently replaced by the synonym *bliss* in twelfth-century copies of the West-Saxon *Gospels*; therefore unfamiliarity with *gefea* may be the cause of O1's original *geleafan*. Whether for dialectal reasons or because the word was falling out of use, its popularity in later Old English texts was clearly on the wane, and it is notable that the annotator chooses to restore it. Given the word's apparent unfamiliarity for later readers and scribes, this is an example where the source of the annotation may well have been another *Bede* manuscript, and further examples of this type are considered in section 6.6.

6.5.3 Confirmation of Reading

Fig. 6.13 shows the king's name *Sebba*, and it appears that O's original scribe was unsure of the spelling, as the second letter was originally written <i>, and then altered to an <e> (section 5.4.1):
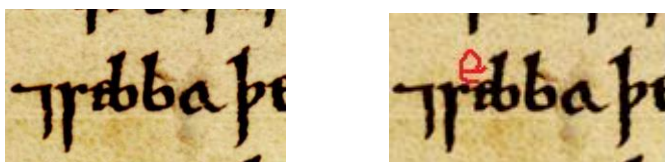
Fig. 6.13: f. 60r: s^eebba

The annotator added a dry-point <e> above the <e> in Sebba. Perhaps the aim of this annotation is to confirm the manuscript's reading, as the emended <e> is rather cramped,

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[24] '⁊ eac swylce þa twelf bocland him ge|freode eo\r/ðlices camphades ⁊ eorðlicre here|nesse to bigongenne þonne heofonlican camphad| ⁊ to mun\u/cstowum gesette': 'And he also freed twelve booklands from earthly warfare and earthly obedience, to practise heavenly warfare and found a monastery.'

and might not have been so easy to read. That the emendation of <i> to <e> was contemporary with the writing of the manuscript seems likely, as the ink colour is identical to the rest of the word, and the correction appears to have been made with a pen nib the same width as that used for the surrounding text. This particular example is therefore unlike the majority of the dry-point annotations in O, in that it merely replicates a reading which already exists in the text. None of the other annotations coincides with emendations made to O's text, ruling out their use as guidelines for performing the corrections extant in the text.

A similar, confirmatory annotation appears on f. 60r:
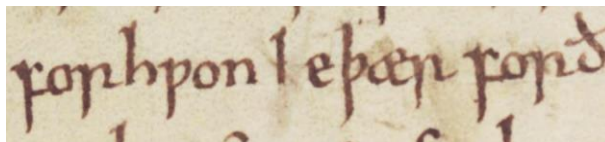

Fig. 6.14: f. 60r: |^{h}e

Fig. 6.15: forhwon |^{h}e þær forð

In Fig. 6.14, the second minim of the first letter has been erased, though the context (Fig. 6.15) makes it clear that a singular, masculine pronoun is what is required here. A close look at the manuscript suggests that the erased minim could have been the hook of a <þ>, rather than the second stroke of an <h>; the descender has also been erased to make the stem the correct length for a letter such as <h> (compare the length of the descender on the <þ> in the next word in Fig. 6.15). There are a number of erasures on this folio, and in two cases only part of the letter has been erased, to alter an <e> to an <i>. It is quite feasible, then, that the corrector of the main text got as far as erasing the loop of the <þ>, but overlooked the stem, which he never corrected to an <h>. Seeing such a gap, the annotator added the <h> to confirm the correct reading. Both examples in this section come from the same folio, one which, as noted above, is heavily corrected, and they seem to be concerned with clarifying a preferred reading in the midst of so many corrections.

6.5.4 Changes in Spelling
Example 34 concerns an example of respelling:

   34) hæfde hio dohtor þa ercongotan **bi**^{e} þære we nu syndon sprecende (f. 32v)
      'He had a daughter, Ercongota, **about** whom we shall now speak.'

 In the same position, T reads *bi*, while Ca and B have *be*. All manuscripts show some degree of variation between *bi(g)* and *be* throughout Book 3:

	T	O	Ca	B
big	3		1	1
bi	20	3	1	1
be	12	32	29	31

Table 6.4: *big, bi* and *be*.

Overall O uses *bi* 3 times, T 20 times. T uses *big* twice, O never. In contrast, Ca and B only use *bi* and *big* once each. In terms of the conservative-innovative continuum proposed for the *Bede*, *big* and *bi* belong to the conservative end of the spectrum, whereas *be* is the more innovative spelling. The annotator's intervention appears to update to the preferred spelling found in the later *Bede* manuscripts, though it is interesting that the annotator is not consistent in his correction of *bi* to *be*, as Book 3's two other instances of *bi* remain uncorrected.

6.5.5 *ge-* Prefixes

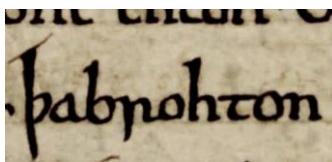In two cases the annotator has added a *ge-* prefix to a past participle:

Fig. 6.16: f. 36v: ^gþ^ea brohton

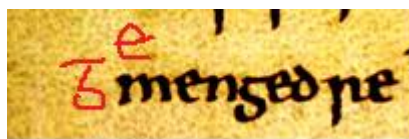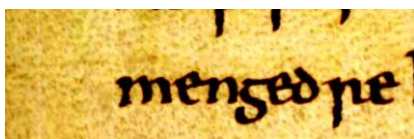Fig. 6.17: f. 52r: ^{ge}mengedre

In both cases, O is the only manuscript not to have a reading in *ge-*; T, Ca and B all read *gebrohton* and *gemengedre* in these positions. Vleeskruyer lists 'nouns and past participles without the prefix *ge-*' as a non-West-Saxon feature (1953: 65). If this is indeed the case, then we cannot be certain whether the annotator corrected O because his own written norms included more frequent use of *ge-* prefixes, or because he corrected from another manuscript of the *Bede*. The presence of *ge-* forms in all other manuscripts suggests perhaps the latter.[25]

These examples are fairly straightforward to deal with, as they involve 'mending' the text in one way or another, and could conceivably have been performed by a scribe who was a native Old English speaker, without recourse to another manuscript of the *Bede*. Other changes, however, while clearly intended to improve the text, could either have come from a scribe's knowledge of Old English, as posited for the annotations above, or from comparison with another version of the text. In the cases which follow, some annotations

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[25] Vleeskruyer also notes varying usage in manuscripts of Gregory's *Dialogues*, demonstrating that this kind of variation occurs in other texts whose witnesses span a wide temporal and geographical/ dialectal range (1953: 34, fn 1). Verbal prefixes such as *ge-*, *be-* etc. are used with increasing inconsistency in the later Old English period; see Horgan (1980a), Hiltunen (1983) and Lindemann (1970) for detailed studies.

are more likely candidates than others for this kind of inter-textual interference. Reasons for supposing a greater likelihood of a reading coming from another manuscript are, firstly, where there seems no urgent need for an alternative reading, i.e. where to the best of our knowledge, the existing reading is perfectly adequate and cannot be explained on grounds of diatopic or diachronic variation. Secondly, in some cases the correction restores the reading to one in line with one or more manuscripts of the *Bede*. If we find that several of these types of annotation coincide with readings from a particular manuscript, then that raises the question of whether that manuscript could be a candidate for the source of at least some of these corrections. Assigning some annotations to a category of emendations potentially influenced by another manuscript in no way suggests that the others could not also be derived from such a source. It is possible that these other annotations were also added to O after comparison with another manuscript. Nevertheless, the evidence for a source in another manuscript is particularly weak in this first grouping, without anything else to corroborate it, and we would have to posit the corrections having their origin in a manuscript which no longer exists. Finally, it should be noted that there is no reason why the two attributes of annotations in the second grouping (i.e. no need for an alternative reading and coinciding wordings with one or more *Bede* manuscripts) should not coincide. If indeed we find that some annotations are difficult to account for as necessary textual emendations, and in addition restore another *Bede* manuscript reading, then we may well be dealing with influence from another manuscript.

6.6 Variant Readings from Other Manuscripts

Stork (1990: 41) notes the presence in the Aldhelm manuscripts of 'puzzling glosses that seem to indicate variant readings but which do not occur in any of the surviving manuscripts.' Stork (1990: 40) found that variants found in other manuscripts were often introduced by *uel* or <l>, however despite the presence in O of annotations whose best explanation is transmission from another manuscript, there is no indication given by the annotator that any of his corrections might have such a source. The following examples are ones which provide the strongest evidence, though there is nothing to rule out the possibility that some other annotations (for example *geleafa/ gefea* in Fig. 6.12 above) represent alternative textual readings. My criteria for allocation to this category are:

- where the annotation coincides with a reading from another manuscript;
- where there is no obvious error in O which might trigger a correction; and
- where it seems less likely that such a reading could be arrived at independently by a writer whose mother tongue was Old English.

In example 35, O is alone in giving a reading with the comparative adjective *fullfremedran* ('more fulfilled/ perfected'). This reflects accurately the sense of the original Latin, which reads: *donec paulatim enutriti uerbo Dei, ad capienda* **perfectiora**, *et ad facienda* **sublimiora** *Dei praecepta sufficerent*: 'until they, having been nourished by the word of God, were capable of grasping the more perfect, and performing the more exalted, commands of God' (Plummer, 1896: 137).

35) me þinceð broþur cw(æð) he. þæt þu wære
   þæm #þam# ungelæredum mannum heardra þonn(e)
   hit riht wære on þinre lare. ꝲ þ þu him ærest
   ne sealdest æfter þam apostolican ðeodscype
   meolc drincan þære hnescan lare. oððæt þu hi
   styccemælum afedde mid þy godes worde. þ þa
   fullfremedran^{an} ꝲ þa gehyran godes beboda
   onfon mihte. (f. 28v)
   'It seems to me, brother,' he said, 'that you were harder on the unlearned men in your teaching than was right, and that you did not (as shown by apostolic teaching), first give them the milk of gentle instruction to drink, until you had nourished them with the word of God, so that they might receive the **more perfect** and the (gehyran) of God's commands.'

What is interesting here is that the annotation directs the reader to see the adjective as positive, rather than comparative, in line with the readings found in T and B, which both have *fulfremedan*. While it is, of course, possible that O's scribe made an error in adding an <r>, the fact that it reflects the grammar of the Latin should caution us against immediately dismissing O's reading as an error. The passage is slightly uneven; reading a comparative in *fullfremedran* would lead us to expect another comparative in *gehyran*, yet that is not what we find. That the passage is problematic is borne out by its treatment in the later two manuscripts: Ca reads 'þ þa gehyrendan godes beboda onfon mihten' (that the obedient might receive God's commands), while B has 'þ ða fullfremedan bebodu godes hi onfon mihton' (that they might receive the perfect command of God). In each case the problem appears to have been triggered by the parallel adjectives *fullfremedan* and *gehyran*, and Ca and B both respond by rewording the section and omitting one of these adjectives. T retains both in 'þæt þa fulfremedan. ꝲ þa heredan godes beboda onfon meahte' (that the perfect and the obedient might receive God's commands), but reads each as an adjectival noun.

If we return to the Latin, to reconcile its reading with that originally found in O, we see something rather interesting. O's *gehyran* is rather difficult to translate, and its meanings as a verb, 'to hear, to obey' do not readily fit with the Latin *sublimiora* 'more exalted' which it might be expected to correspond with. A comparative of *heah* (high) might fit well here, and Campbell notes that an Anglian form of the comparative, *hera* occurs with smoothing, but without i-mutation (1959: §658, fn 6). It is possible, then, that the original translation may have had a reading such as **heran* in the accusative plural, and that it has, at an early stage, become confused with the verb *hyran* and related words. If this is indeed the case, then we are dealing with an original text which has partially retained the original comparative reading, and an annotator who has altered the comparative *fullfremedran* to *fullfremedan*, so that both adjectives can be read as adjectival nouns. Whether the course of action by the annotator is one which would be obvious or natural to an Anglo-Saxon reader confronted with O's text is uncertain. What is notable, though, is that the emended text conforms with the form of the word found in two of the other manuscripts, and so a correction motivated by an alternative reading in another text is not out of the question in this case.

In Fig. 6.18, it appears that O's scribe originally omitted *þonne* from the phrase *ma þonne ænig*, and this defect is remedied by the annotator:
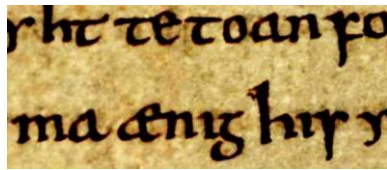

Fig. 6.18: f. 29r: ma^{re þone} ænig

Apart from in this instance, the collocation *ma þonne ænig-* is found five times in the *DOEC*, four times in homilies, and once in the E text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. *Ma ænig* does not occur in the *DOEC*. The dry-point reading therefore appears not to be unusual in its addition of *þonne*, which brings the text into line with usage both in other Old English texts, and in the *Bede*. What is unusual, however, is the phrase with the comparative *mare*, which is also absent from the *DOEC*. Again, we have an annotation which makes O's text more like that of the other *Bede* manuscripts, though whether we can with any certainty categorise this instance as a textual annotation is a moot point.

The annotation in Fig. 6.19 is unique among those in O, in that it emends an already-existing letter, <þ>, rather than adding a separate preferred reading above the affected word. The annotator scratched a line through the ascender of the <þ>, altering the reading from *þa* to <ð>. It appears that he misinterpreted *þa*, meaning 'then' as the article *þa*, and emended the text to give the neuter nominative article appropriate to *fam*. In itself, this is not an emendation that is necessarily dependent on another text, however both T and O read *þa* at this point, whereas Ca and B read <ð>. If we have evidence of emendations which may be due to collation with another manuscript, then this example could also belong to this category.
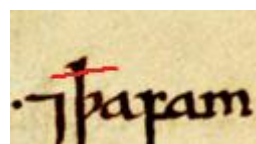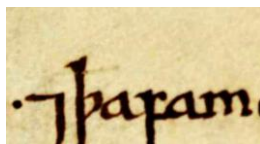

Fig. 6.19: f. 37v: ꝉ þa (ð) fam

36) ꝉ ^{ð}**þa** fam of his muþe ut eode (f. 37v)
  'And then **(the)** foam came out of his mouth.'

The annotation in example 37 is problematic, but may well be due to importation from another text:

37) ne

    heold he no þa eastran swa swa sume men wenað

    mid iudeum \on/ feowertyne nihtne monan gehwylce

    dæge on **wucan**ᵉaᶜ symle on sunnandæge fram

    feowertyne nihtum monan oð twentiges niht

    ne

'He did not keep Easter, as some men believe, with the Jews, on the fourteenth night of the month, whatever the day of the week, **but always** on the Sunday that fell between the fourteenth and twenty-first of the month.'
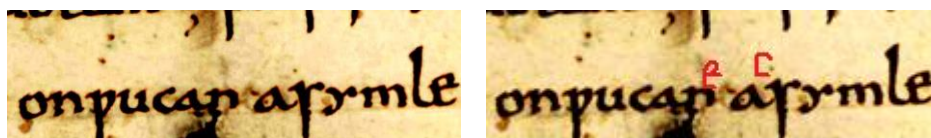

Fig. 6.20: f. 46v on wucan ᵉaᶜsymle

It is not immediately apparent what reading the annotator was aiming for in this correction. One possibility is *eac symle* (also), which occurs four times in the *DOEC*, however another interesting interpretation is that only the <c> belongs to <a>, to give a reading of *ac symle*, which resembles Ca's *ac a symle*. As attractive as this theory is, it is problematic in so far as *wucan* as a weak feminine noun cannot take a dative ending in <e>.

With the final two examples we are on firmer ground in suspecting readings from another manuscript:
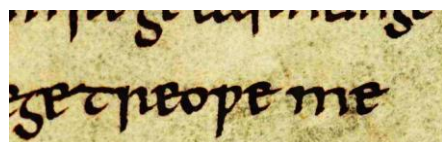
Fig. 6.21: f. 40r: getreoweⁱᶜ me
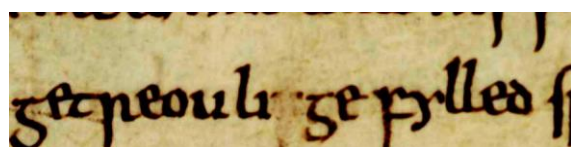
Fig. 6.22: f. 60v: getreouliᶜᵉ

In Fig. 6.21, O's *getreowe* has a dry-point <ic> (or <ig>) above the end of the word, which mirrors either the reading in B, *getrywe ic me*, or Ca's *getreowige me* (with the verb *getreowian* rather than T and O's *getreowan*). Fig. 6.22 differs from Fig. 6.21 in that the annotation lies above a clear erasure in O's text. The erasure seems to have left *getreouli* incomplete, and the annotator supplied the expected *ce* in line with the reading in Ca (*getreoulice*). However, a closer examination of the erasure suggests that the missing letter may be <f>, in which case O's main scribe originally wrote *getreou lif gefylled*, and this is very similar to T's reading, *ond he mid micelre gesælignesse getreowe lif gefylde*. In this light, we could suggest that this similarity between O's annotation and Ca's reading is due either to Ca being a direct copy of O and taking this (partial) emendation into account when copying his text, or to a theoretical exemplar reading **getreoulice [his] lif gefylled*, with O's text showing eye skip triggered by the repeated <li> (see section 5.4.1).

A final example, which lends more support to the theory of some corrections coming from another manuscript, is shown in Fig. 6.23:
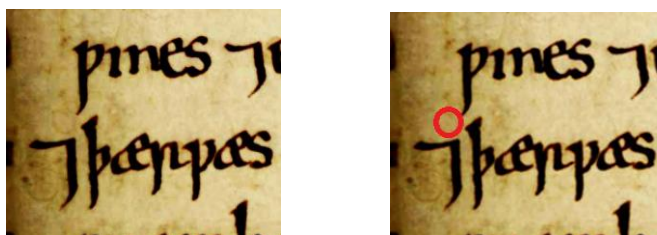
Fig. 6.23: f. 37r: ꝼ °þær wæs

O reads ꝼ þær wæs, with a small <o> above the <ꝼ>. By itself this annotation makes little sense, however T and B read oðer wæs, while Ca has ꝼ se oðer, so it seems that the original text has a misreading, either by O1, or perhaps by the scribe of his exemplar. As O's text makes reasonable sense in its original reading, there seems to be less incentive to emend it than in other examples in this section. This could, therefore, be a good candidate for a textual annotation. While some of the other annotations, especially the grammatical ones, could be accounted for by the knowledge of a native speaker, this example does not fit so easily into such a category. Therefore this correction is perhaps more likely to be due to the annotator being able to compare O with another, and mark a better, reading.[26]


6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored O's dry-point annotations and suggested a categorisation based on the apparent motivation of the corrections, that is, whether they work on a grammatical, lexical or 'textual' basis. An examination of the annotations present in the other books of the *Bede* will enable confirmation or refinement of this categorisation, as more examples are discovered.

The primary motivation for the annotations is correction of O's text. In itself this should not surprise us, as O1's original copy of the text seems to have been problematic in a number of ways, judging by the number and variety of ink corrections to the text. The dry-point corrections differ from these ink ones in that they are, I believe, the product of one reader's intervention, and as such we can distinguish them from the many other textual interventions. As a distinct group, the annotations can be interrogated for what they can tell us about the kind of text their creator envisaged as desirable, the reason for their creation, and the reason for their creation in such an apparently unusual form (dry-point).

That the annotator wished to make O's *Bede* text more West-Saxon is evident from his desire to remove traces of overt Mercian usage, such as denasalised preterite subjunctives and *mid* + accusative. Whether he was aware that he was shifting the text's language from one dialect to another, however, is unclear; all we can tell is that preterite subjunctives in

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[26] See also the dry-point annotation on f. 44v of T, which provides the <we> omitted from that text, but which is present in B (see Appendix 1). There are several scratch marks in T, but the example on f. 44v is the only one of these marks I have discovered so far which clearly forms letters.

<on> and *mid* + dative were his preferred forms. It is notable that he is not consistent in his application of corrections every time such a Mercian form appears. An expansion of the collection of annotations throughout the *Bede* would tell us whether he is equally inconsistent in his correction, or whether he becomes more consistent as he moves through the text. Although the annotator's interventions are not confined to grammatical details, the scope of his other corrections show him to be a reader clearly focused on the minute detail of the text, rather than the wider context. This is shown in a number of cases (e.g. *þearfan* (example 22) and *halige gewrita* (example 18)) where the annotator's alterations effect a localised change, often in grammatical concord, which does not actually make sense when viewed against the rest of the clause. This shows a reader with a clear idea of what O's text should look like, but who is not infallible. Finally, there are instances where a dry-point reading may have arisen through comparison with another manuscript. This is an attractive theory for examples like Fig. 6.23, where O, although having a different reading to one or more of the other manuscripts, is not obviously defective. In assigning examples to this category I have tried to choose annotations whose form is difficult to account for, if they occurred without an alternative reading from another manuscript being available. It should be noted, however, that these annotations do not match any particular one of the other three manuscripts studied in this thesis. While we can say that these readings often coincide with B, this is not always the case.

In order to account for why the annotations are found in O, and why in dry-point form, we need to first ask ourselves what kinds of texts normally attract dry-point additions. Many studies identifying scratched *glosses* have found them in Latin texts, such as Aldhelm's *Prosa de virginitate* (Gwara, 1996, 1997) and *De laudibus virginitate* (Rusche 1994), *Excerptiones de Prisciano* (Porter, 2005), Smaragdus's *Diadema monachorum,* the *Rule* of St Benedict, Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, and texts by Sedulius such as his *Carmen Paschale* (Page, 1979). These texts all contain glosses in both ink and in dry-point, and usually in both Latin and in Old English. A different kind of use, however, is evident in the dry-point material in Lichfield, Cathedral Library Lich. 1 (the 'Lichfield Gospels', or the 'Gospels of St Chad') (Charles-Edwards and McKee, 2008). This Gospel contains Anglo-Saxon names scratched onto its pages, perhaps to be used as a *liber vitæ*. It is notable that later pages include some of these names written in ink in conjunction with each other, suggesting that the dry-point additions were a trial run for entries which were later to be entered in the Gospel in ink.[27] This use of dry-point is different from the glosses entered into the more scholastic works noted above. Setting aside the Lichfield Gospel, all other works have in common their Latin medium, and that they are all texts which seem to have been very popular among Anglo-Saxon readers as works for more advanced study.[28] However, the language of scratched glosses in manuscripts of this period varies, and includes Latin and French (Porter, 2005), as well as Old English. Dry-point glosses also appear in Welsh and Old High German (Falileyev, 2003; Nievergelt, 2009, 2010), and in this respect, the scratched glosses seem to differ from inked ones only in their form, and not in their language, or in the kinds of text they comment on. While

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[27] Compare the Anglo-Saxon personal names inscribed on the walls of Monte Sant'Angelo in Italy in Arcamone (1980) and Mastrelli (1980).

[28] See Rigg and Wieland (1975). In addition, very few manuscripts survive which can be clearly demonstrated to have been used as school books. See McKitterick (1976) for a ninth-century continental example.

it is perhaps not surprising that works by an author so well studied as Bede should attract scratched *glosses*, the *Bede* is the only Old English text I have found so far that contains *corrections* in dry-point form.[29] While O may indeed be unique in preserving Old English dry-point corrections to an Old English text, it is quite possible that other Old English texts have not been checked for this kind of material; it is notable that nearly all the studies so far on dry-point additions have focused on Latin 'school' texts.[30]

The final question we should ask is, why are these corrections scratched rather than inked? Although the form of the corrections is very similar to that found in other Old English texts (Needham, 1958), all corrections studied so far have been in ink. Gwara suggests of the scratched additions in British Library, Royal 5 E.xi (Aldhelm's *Prosa de virginitate*), 'the reason for the practice is unknown, but three conjectures could be made about it: the reader did not wish to disfigure the page with too much ink; a teacher was attempting to hide "cribs" from students who were construing the Latin with him; or, a student might have wished to conceal "cribs" from his teacher' (Gwara 1996: 100).

The latter two of these hypotheses are not very convincing for our text. Aldhelm's work was widely used to teach Latin (Rigg and Wieland, 1975), whereas the *Bede* does not appear to have been used as a school text, especially in Old English. The fact that two of the surviving *Bede* manuscripts (B and Ca) have episcopal associations, linking them directly to powerful bishops (who, incidentally, ruled both sides of the Conquest), throws an interesting sidelight on their use. Was this a text that was deemed especially useful or appropriate for bishops? Gwara's first suggestion, that the annotator did not want to deface the text, also seems unlikely. O has been 'carelessly' written (Ker, 1957: 432), and emendations have been made, both by erasing and rewriting the text, and by remedying omissions by supplying superscript emendations. In cases of repetition, the text has sometimes been struck through. The margins of the text, while fairly consistent, have in places been used to supply missing text, so all in all, it does not appear to be a manuscript which was highly prized for its physical beauty. Therefore, the idea that the annotator scratched his corrections to avoid defacing the text is unlikely. This is perhaps borne out by studies of other texts containing scratched glosses, which often contain inked glosses or other additional material (Charles-Edwards and McKee, 2008).

Rusche (1994: 196) suggests 'the most plausible explanation for someone adding scratched additions to a text is lack of the ink or other materials from the scriptorium needed to produce a manuscript'. Someone who had no access to ink (or the time to make it), may well have used a stylus to scratch notes or glosses on a difficult passage. For Rusche, 'dry-point glosses represent the immediate and personal responses of an individual working through a text' (197). While this may be the case for our *Bede* corrections, I would suggest that what is presented in O is a sustained scribal performance throughout the manuscript (corrections appear both before and after Book 3), rather than a spontaneous note here and there. The nature of the corrections points to their author reading the text critically and making emendations to the text where he thought it lacking, possibly by

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[29] See Ker (1957) and Studer-Joho (forthcoming) for details of Old English dry-point entries.
[30] At least one scratched gloss appears in T, on f. 44v, see note 24 above for details.

comparison with another copy of the *Bede*.[31] It therefore seems unlikely that the annotator had to use a stylus or similar instrument to make these notes because it was not worth the effort to make up some ink, or because he happened to be somewhere without a receptacle to hold his ink; if scratched annotations were indeed 'as difficult to see in the tenth century as they are today' (Rusche, 1994: 198, fn 15), it would appear that our annotator entered his notes in this format for a particular reason.

The main purpose of the scratched annotations seems to be to 'correct' the text – either grammatically or lexically. This sits oddly with the fact that these emendations are not particularly visible under ordinary lighting conditions. If a reader wanted to emend a text, why wouldn't he want every other reader to see the alterations? Therefore, we are looking for a situation where a scribe would want to make notes which are visible close-to, which correct a text, and yet are unlikely to be perceived by ordinary readers. The most likely scenario to fit these criteria is perhaps that of a scribe marking up a manuscript to use as an exemplar for a further copy.[32] We know that the annotator has a definite idea of the form he thinks the text should take. In addition, some scribes of the *Bede* work on a very localised level when construing the meaning of the text they write. If O's annotator wanted to make changes when he copied, yet realised that he might not be in a position to make them as he wrote, then it is quite feasible that he might mark up his exemplar in such an unobtrusive way to ensure that his copy conformed to his preferred form. However, if this was the case, then any manuscript copied from O and incorporating the annotator's dry-point corrections no longer exists, if indeed the project was ever completed. Once again in the case of the *Bede*, answering one set of questions raises new queries, which we are at present unable to answer.

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[31] Grant (1989) suggests that B represents a text which has at some point in its transmission been corrected with reference to a text from the C-Ca-O branch. If he is correct, then these corrections perhaps represent another instance of *Bede* texts being used to obtain 'correct' readings.
[32] Cohen-Mushlin (2010: 62) details evidence of a ninth-century Gospel book being corrected and updated (in ink) before its use as an exemplar by twelfth-century scribes for the *Frankenthal Bible*.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Nænig monna wat,
hæleða under heofnum,   hu min hige dreogeð,
bisi æfter bocum[1]

In the course of this thesis I have undertaken a fine-grained analysis of the textual variants in four manuscripts of the *Bede*. This has enabled a detailed examination of the behaviour of three scribes who contributed to the transmission of the *Bede*: the main scribe of O (O1), the first scribe of B (B1) and Hemming, who copied Ca. In addition, I have explored the contribution of a reader/ writer who supplied over eighty dry-point corrections to Book 3 of O's main text. Together, these performances reveal a great deal about the way each scribe received his exemplar text, and about the individual way each went about his task.

In the introduction I raised four questions which I wanted to explore in the thesis, and which we are now in a position to reconsider in light of the discussions of last four chapters. These are:

- What can a comparative approach tell us about the *Bede* manuscripts?
- What kind of copying behaviour do the *Bede* scribes exhibit?
- Are textual variations made consciously or deliberately?
- What can manuscripts tell us about their exemplars?

7.1 What Can a Comparative Approach Tell us About the Bede Manuscripts?

This study has demonstrated the value of using a comparative, scribe-centred methodology to study the *Bede* manuscripts. In the first place, it has allowed for an extremely detailed examination of the texts as material artefacts, taking into account not only the main written text, but also a whole host of textual information such as page layout, palaeography, corrections, and annotations. From this we have been able to build up a picture of the textual layers which make up each manuscript, from the main text as written by each of our scribes, to the corrections, initial letters, glosses and later annotations which make up each manuscript text as a whole. By looking at scribal performance as successive layers in the construction of the text we have been able to discern in some cases the motivation behind certain features, and suggest reasons for the text taking the shape it does. For example, the frequency and range of variation in O1's performance, combined with the level of intervention by the corrector and the 'exemplar page' by O3, suggest that he may have been a trainee scribe whose efforts to provide a satisfactory copy were not always successful. Moreover, the corrections suggest that the readers who corrected O had conflicting ideas of what constituted a correct text; in some

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[1] 'No man among all those on earth knows how my mind suffers, occupied with books.' *Solomon and Saturn*, ll. 59-61 (text from B, Krapp and Dobbie, 1942: 33).

cases O1's main text was corrected to the forms present in the exemplar, while in others it is evident that a 'correct' text coincided with the norms of late-West-Saxon practice.

This study's focus on scribal production has allowed an examination of the text's transmission in its manuscript (i.e. material) context. The question of the *Bede* translation's authorship is well-worked and therefore less likely to yield results at present. In contrast, viewing the *Bede* material from a scribal angle has provided a rich seam of evidence to further our understanding of this work. As each surviving *Bede* manuscript is a copy of a previous exemplar, a focus on the language of each text as a *written* artefact (rather than an expression of spoken Old English), has enabled consideration of phenomena such as mechanical copy errors as the cause of some textual variation (for example, confusion of minims in section 4.6.1.1). This puts the scribe at the heart of the study, and in the absence of an authorial text the scribe has significant influence in shaping the manuscript's text.

One of the biggest advantages of comparing the manuscripts at a scribal level is that we have been able to distinguish conservative and innovative forms, as they relate to the corpus of *Bede* texts as a whole. That is, we can determine those features (often older and Mercian ones) which occur more frequently in the older *Bede* manuscripts. For each site of variation it is possible to see which form is used by each particular scribe, and by comparing these patterns with what we know of the dates of the manuscripts and the distribution of similar variants in texts other than the *Bede*, we have been able to build a picture of the forms which were probably part of the original translation. The ability to distinguish conservative and innovative variants means that it has been possible to use theoretical models of scribal behaviour (Benskin and Laing, 1981; Laing, 1992, 2004) to understand better the behaviour at play in each of the four manuscripts. Using these models we have been able to deduce important, general outlines of each scribe's behaviour, for example, that O1 created a *Mischsprache*, or that B1 and B2 exhibit different translating patterns in copying the same exemplar. In understanding that denasalised subjunctives are a conservative feature of the *Bede* which are often not faithfully reproduced by the later two scribes (B1 and Hemming), we also gain an understanding of the motivation of O's annotator in correcting this feature. From their treatment by later scribes, it is clear that by the time they are copying the *Bede*, denasalised subjunctives are not accepted as a desirable variant, and are possibly not always understood, given the frequency with which they are corrected.

Horgan (1980b, 1986) has argued in her studies of the *Pastoral Care* that much can be discovered about a text's scribes by comparing multiple copies of the same text. In the case of the *Bede* this approach fills a major gap created by our lack of knowledge surrounding the exact time and place of production of three of the four manuscripts. I believe that the lack of evidence for these manuscripts' origins may be a factor which has hindered scholarship on the *Bede*, especially in the case of O, which lacks its beginning and end and has therefore lost potentially important evidence of its origin or provenance.

7.2 What Kind of Copying Behaviour Do the Bede Scribes Exhibit?

The three *Bede* scribes examined in detail in this thesis did not choose to copy literatim. On the basis of the evidence examined so far, the scribes tend to demonstrate translating behaviour, though of course a true literatim may be impossible to detect because he preserves his exemplar exactly (Laing, 2004: 54). B1 provides a clear case of scribal translation, routinely substituting his preferred West-Saxon forms for their Mercian equivalents. Thus, features such as <o> + nasal, Anglian smoothing and *mid* + accusative occur rarely in his writing in comparison with T and O. Similarly, Hemming demonstrates translating behaviour in his substitution of weak class 2 preterites in <ed> or <od> for those in <ad>, and in his introduction of features which are not found in the other *Bede* manuscripts, for example –*nysse* for –*nesse*, or <æ> spellings in words such as *gæf*. We also have ample evidence that O1 is the producer of a *Mischsprache*, in his lack of consistency for many of the features examined. Indeed, it is this wide range of variants and their apparently random distribution which are hallmarks of a *Mischsprache,* and which O demonstrates so well.

A thorny question is whether the scribes of the extant manuscripts were merely literatim copyists of exemplars written by translators or *Mischsprache* producers. I think, however, that in the cases of O1 and B1 we can be fairly confident that the form of those particular manuscripts reflects the behaviour of their scribes, and not the nature of their exemplars. O1 provides evidence that suggests the text was corrected against an exemplar which contained a number of Mercian forms. Section 3.3 examines data showing that the exemplar contained conservative variants in places where O1 initially wrote West-Saxon equivalents, and that some of these conservative forms are also present in other manuscripts. From this we deduce that O1 was himself responsible for the mixture of linguistic features present in O. In contrast, B is a manuscript written by two scribes, and there is sufficient evidence of a difference in the distribution of some features (such as doubled vowels and unrounding) that it points to B1's responsibility for the state of the part of B he copied. Although not as strong as the evidence in the case of O, there is certainly enough to warrant further investigation into the differences beween the performances of B1 and B2. Also of interest is the fact that although B1 and Hemming are translating scribes, their practice nevertheless leaves occasional features unchanged (for example, datives in <æ> or retracted spellings), which in turn tells us something about the exemplar (section 7.4).

Smith (1992: 589) states that 'after circa 1200, [...] scribal "translation" seems to have become the dominant mode of copying.' This thesis has shown that as early as the second half of the eleventh century some scribes were working as translators. In a study of the translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, Harting (1937: 292) states that of the two main manuscripts, each appears to be written by scribes with a different approach, one characterised by what appears to be literatim copying, the other being a translator. The findings provide further support for Fulk's study (2010: 66) of Alfred and Ine's laws, which also suggests that translation was not an uncommon practice among Anglo-Saxon writers:

The preservation of such stylistic traits despite the thorough modernization that the text must have received in Alfred's day testifies once again to the likelihood that nonstandard features in late West-Saxon prose should derive from dialect originals, since it stands to reason that not all non-WS texts should have been Saxonized to an equal degree.

Fulk argues that Anglian features in texts which are otherwise West-Saxon should be regarded as relict forms. These relicts indicate that many such texts were originally composed, not in tenth- or eleventh-century Wessex, but in Mercia, possibly before the mid-ninth century. Finally, Stanley (1984: 273) describes a similar situation regarding the surviving poetical manuscripts:

> The scribes of the Anglo-Saxon poetical manuscripts show little respect for the authorial integrity of their exemplars; they modernize the language of the texts they copy and put them into an orthographical shape consonant with a generalized poetic standard language, mainly late West-Saxon.

The *Bede* manuscripts are part of a general trend observable among later Anglo-Saxon scribes to update or translate the language of their exemplars to varying degrees. This type of scribal behaviour appears to apply to vernacular writings regardless of their genre, the studies quoted above including prose texts such as laws, homilies and histories, as well as poetry. Although each of the scribes studied was a translator to some extent, the evidence of the corrections suggests that thorough dialectal consistency was not a primary concern of the scribes themselves, or their correctors. Although some scribal choices may seem odd at first glance, comparison with other manuscripts often offers us a way of recreating these decisions. As an example, B1's rather garbled readings become more understandable when we can read them beside another manuscript, and realise an exemplar which may have been in a rather poor and illegible state. From these observations, we can conclude with Orton (2000: 45) that 'Anglo-Saxon scribes were not, generally speaking, careless or incompetent in their work'. Moreover, their decisions and behaviour can offer us telling clues about an (absent) exemplar.

7.3 Are Textual Variations Made Consciously or Deliberately?

We have been able to reconstruct some of the decisions made by each scribe, seeing their results in the variations present in each manuscript, for example in the lexical changes wrought by B1, the introduction of innovative forms by Hemming, or the corrections signalled by O's annotator. O1 is an excellent demonstration of a scribe making conscious and deliberate changes to his text in the section immediately following O3's intervention. The contrast between the two performances is striking, and the evidence reviewed in section 3.6 suggests that O3 may have been working in some kind of advisory capacity to O1. The changes visible in O1's performance following f. 47r appear to be solely cosmetic; O1 imitates some of O3's letter forms, and his error-rate declines temporarily as we see the influence of O3's example page on his behaviour. Nevertheless this influence is short-lived; O1's error-rate rises again, and the half-uncial <r> he so carefully imitates on f. 47v soon disappears. O3's advice does not seem to have extended as far as setting

particular linguistic forms, and the evidence of O's textual correction suggests that those responsible for correcting perceived errors were ambivalent about the linguistic forms they wished to see in the finished manuscript.

There is abundant evidence of textual correction in the *Bede* manuscripts, and at least some of these corrections must have been made after the initial writing of the text (rather than during the copying process). This is most clearly evident in instances where errors have been underdotted or struck through, as happens in B and O respectively. In such cases we might expect the scribe to have erased the mistake and overwritten the blank space, had he noticed it as he was writing. Some erasures (for example O's *ura* emended to *ussa* in Fig. 3.9) were also apparently made after the surrounding text had been completed, because the corrector had to make space to accommodate the extra letter. In other cases, however, such as where only a single letter has been erased and overwritten, or where one letter form has been changed to resemble another, it is difficult to tell whether alterations were made at the time of writing the main text, or during a subsequent check. It is clear that either O1 or perhaps a master scribe checked O's main text against the exemplar, as certain emendations are difficult to account for unless as corrections from a more conservative exemplar. On the other hand, the West-Saxonising corrections to O need not have been (and probably were not) made according to the exemplar, but according to the corrector's notions of what constituted an appropriate reading. In the case of these emendations, the 'correct' reading was one which conformed more closely to West-Saxon, although the corrections were not consistently applied throughout Book 3; the alteration of spellings without palatal diphthongisation (such as *ge\a/r*) is an example of such sporadic correction.

It is also noteworthy that in places B makes little sense, and that when it was corrected the text was not altered so as to restore meaning (section 4.6.4). There are a number of reasons why this might be. Firstly, if B's exemplar was indeed damaged in places, rendering it illegible, then the proofreader may not have been able to make out the original reading any better than the scribes. Secondly, the proofreading may not have been thorough; the repetition on p.176 has been underlined by an early-modern reader, and presumably was missed by the Anglo-Saxon scribe(s). Thirdly, it is possible that B's text was never proofread. The manuscript was not completed (not all of the chapter initials were supplied) and the unfinished text may not have been checked. The underdotting could have been undertaken by the scribes themselves at or after the time of writing, or perhaps by a later reader. Whatever the case, B shows fewer obvious traces of checking as an independent process than does O.[2]

Furthermore, the scribes do not seem to have compared the Old English text they were copying with any Latin version or to have consulted it for the clarification of particularly tricky readings. This may be because the scribes saw their role as that of a copyist rather than as an interpreter of the text, although the evidence of B (and, to a lesser extent, Ca) shows that some scribes felt rewriting and paraphrasing to be a legitimate activity for a *Bede* copyist. It is also possible that manuscripts were not cross-checked because no Latin copy was available, though this seems unlikely when we consider the popularity of the

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[2] Cohen-Mushlin (2010: 63) demonstrates how textual correction was undertaken as a separate task to the initial copying of the exemplar.

Latin version. According to Colgrave and Mynors (1969: xlii ff), there are eleven surviving manuscripts of the Latin version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* written in England and dating from between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Five of these manuscripts were copied in the eleventh century, with provenances as diverse as Durham, Peterborough, Winchester and Gloucester, suggesting that both the Latin and the Old English versions were well-disseminated. Given readings in the Old English version(s) which stray a long way not only from the Latin, but also from the other Old English texts, Latin copies were apparently not consulted when copying the *Bede*, and the scribes seem to have preferred to struggle on with their English texts. This may seem surprising, when we think of the poor state of B's exemplar and the trouble B1 and B2 apparently had in copying it, but a parallel attitude could perhaps be seen in the dry-point annotations to O. It is clear that the annotator was dissatisfied with O's text in many respects, judging by the number and type of corrections added, yet he preferred to continue with his corrections to O, rather than switch to a different copy of the *Bede*. The glosses and annotations to Ca and O show evidence of potential collation with other *Bede* manuscripts which contained forms at the innovative end of the *Bede* spectrum. If these annotations result from comparison with other manuscripts, they are not among those surveyed in this thesis. Given the apparent popularity of the *Bede* and that fact that the surviving manuscripts are not direct copies of each other, we can posit a fair number of lost copies.[3] The manuscripts used for textual comparison in these two cases may, then, be one or more of these missing ones.

Chapter 4 shows how we can certainly attribute some types of scribal behaviour, such as lexical substitution, to deliberate decision-making on the part of the scribe. B1 is a scribe who is actively engaged with the text he copies, not only in adapting it to a more West-Saxon form, but also in attempting to mend some of its deficiencies. Another considered approach to a *Bede* text is to be found in O's scratched annotations. In this case we clearly see a reader who was dissatisfied with the text he found in O, and who provided a set of corrections to the text. The corrections are especially illuminating, as they tell us exactly what features were problematic for O's annotator. His focus on very small-scale alterations on points of grammar or spelling, sometimes without regard to the wider sense of the text, can be compared with some of the lexical substitutions and textual remedies made by B1. For example, both writers alter *mid* + accusative constructions, preferring the West-Saxon *mid* + dative. In both cases we see scribes who are intent on making a recognisable or correct reading at the level of the individual word and which disturbs the surrounding text as little as possible, even at the expense of the sense of the text as a whole. In this respect B1's *towearp næfre sæde* (for *toweardne foreseah*, section 4.6.1.2) shows similarities with O's annotator's *mod°rie* (Fig. 6.5); both are localised efforts to (e)mend a perceived textual difficulty which do not result in a good reading. These unsuccessful interventions find an echo in Orton's (2000: 196) conclusions about poetic texts:

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[3] Whitelock (1962: 247) suggests that the mid-tenth century C manuscript is 'at least three removes from the original work.' In her later discussion of the *Bede's* chapter headings she acknowledges the difficulty of providing a stemma for the *Bede* manuscripts, but it is clear that she envisages a number of lost copies (1974: 277-8).

One of the major revelations of this study is the extent to which Anglo-Saxon scribes could be confused by the language of the texts they copied. Non-standard spellings in exemplars, unfamiliar items of poetic vocabulary, or words used in unusual senses [...] often contributed to the confusion.

The *Bede's* scribes demonstrate many types of confusion, from mistaken minims and letter forms, to misguided attempts to mend grammar, to unsuitable lexical substitutions. They are caused by misreading and miscomprehension, sometimes on grounds of spelling, dialect, or age.

7.4 What Can the Manuscripts Tell us about their Exemplars?

It appears that no matter how independent the scribes of the *Bede* were, they were all naturally constrained by their exemplars. A comparative approach has allowed us to infer something about the exemplars of the manuscripts in two ways. Firstly, we can think about an individual manuscript's immediate exemplars, for example, a study of B1 and B2 shows us that although B was written in a West-Saxon dialect, we can probably attribute at least some of this updating to B1 and B2 themselves, because they do not always agree on which conservative features to retain and which to update. This is most clearly visible in the way each scribe deals with doubled vowels, with B1 occasionally transmitting relict forms, where B2 does not (section 4.5.3). Chapter 4 illustrates the range of relict forms in B, and this wide range is one factor which suggests that B's exemplar was a rather conservative text. Additionally, the extent and nature of B1's interventions, coupled with similar responses from B2, suggest that their exemplar was in a poor state, possibly illegible in places. That B's scribes copied from an old, worn-out exemplar is a possibility, as there is evidence that old manuscripts were used as exemplars by Anglo-Saxon scribes.[4] In Chapter 5, close comparison of O and Ca shows that Ca contained relicts which would be difficult to account for had its exemplar been O. In this case a comparative view enables us to differentiate conservative *Bede* features from innovative ones, and careful analysis reveals the presence of features such as datives in <æ> which, because they are not present in O, show that there is no direct transmission between the two.

Secondly, my examination yields a list of features which are likely to have belonged to the Mercian archetype. There are two criteria for the admission of features to this list: 1) the features must be present in more than one (and preferably more than two) of the *Bede* manuscripts, and 2) the features must occur in at least one of the two more conservative manuscripts, T and O. The following features conform to both these criteria:

- double vowels;
- *ðæm*;
- retraction before l+consonant;
- <o> + nasal;
- Mercian pronouns (e.g. *ussa, mec, ðec, eowic*);

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[4] The early-eleventh century Latin *Bede* text in Cambridge, Trinity College R. 7. 5 (743) appears to have been copied directly from London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C. ii, which dates from the second half of the eighth century (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: xlvii).

- *mid* + accusative;
- lack of palatal diphthongisation;
- <ad> endings on weak class 2 verbs;
- denasalisation, especially on preterite subjunctive plurals;
- *forðon* rather than *forðam*;
- <æ> in some dative singular nouns;
- <æs> in some genitive singular, strong masculine nouns;
- lexical items such as *ono*, *nemne*;
- Anglian smoothing;
- *in* for *on*.[5]

The provision of this list is not the same as creating an ur-text, because we cannot know whether these features were ubiquitous in the original translation, or to what extent the translator produced a text which we might classify as dialectally 'mixed'. What we can do is propose a set of features which can be classified as conservative in terms of the manuscripts which transmit the *Bede* text.

This group of features may provide clues for our dating of the original translation. Genitives in <æs> and datives in <æ> are an early feature (Campbell, 1959: §369; Hogg, 1992: §6.49), and for the reasons given in section 3.4.3 I believe these features should be classed as early, rather than late. Another early feature is the presence of denasalised preterite plural subjunctives (section 6.3.1). Although Whitelock (1962: 247) believed 'that the work was undertaken at Alfred's instigation remains a probability', the dates of the earliest manuscripts (T and Z) provide our only guide to the date of the original translation. These two manuscripts were copied in the late-ninth or early-tenth century, but even at such an early date in the *Bede's* transmission a number of West-Saxon features are discernible. Fulk (2010) and Godden (2009) argue that Mercia had a well-established tradition of vernacular writing, and that this tradition was at its height before the Viking period in England. Godden (2009: 120-1) speculated that 'it would hardly be surprising if the Old English *Martyrology* and the Old English *Bede* were composed and circulated a few decades or a half-century earlier than the date of the earliest manuscripts', and the early features identified across all *Bede* manuscripts point to a confirmation of this.

This thesis has explored the linguistic data offered by a comparison of the scribal performances present in the four most complete *Bede* manuscripts. Although previous studies have used a comparative approach in studying the *Bede* (Campbell, 1951, 1952; Whitelock, 1974), this is the first study to apply a comparative approach to the study of scribal practice, exploring the decisions and copying strategies of the scribes responsible for the text we see today. We have been able to test the framework developed by Benskin and Laing (1981) for categorising Middle English scribes, by applying their categories to a comparative analysis of the *Bede* manuscripts. This approach has enabled a new perspective on the *Bede*, by moving away from discussions which were hampered by questions of authorship (Kuhn, 1972), or studies of how the translation relates to the Latin original (Discenza, 2002; Rowley, 2011), and by viewing it on its own terms as a vernacular text. The final section discusses the ways in which further research can build on the results of this thesis.

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[5] See also Grant (1989: 221 ff) for the list of vocabulary features he proposes belonged to the original.

7.5 Implications for Further Research

There are a number of ways in which further research could build on the work undertaken in this study, either by further examination of the *Bede*, or through wider-ranging studies. As this thesis examines scribal behaviour by using the text as a control, the study could be expanded by considering the scribal output of Hemming. We have examined the ways in which his copying behaviour in the *Bede* compares with that of the scribes of O and B, and we are lucky enough to have other extant writings by him, some of which were briefly considered in Chapter 5. This would enable us to explore scribal behaviour where the scribe is constant, yet the texts change. A more detailed investigation might show whether some of Hemming's scribal idiosyncracies are the result of his training or own scribal practices, and to what extent he is influenced by the spellings provided by his exemplar text. In addition, as we can place Hemming geographically and temporally, we may be able to use the evidence of his Worcester charter copies to compare his scribal output with that of his contemporaries, or other scribes from Worcester or the West Midlands.

Secondly, several dry-point annotations throughout O remain to be collected. A more thorough examination of the annotations as a whole will develop our understanding of this (so far) unique material. It may yield types of annotation not yet encountered in Book 3, or lead us to refine some of the categories used in this study. As the record of one reader's reaction to O's text, they provide an invaluable insight into the reactions of one Anglo-Saxon reader to O's *Bede* text. This is especially interesting, given the state of O with its many interventions and corrections, and one cannot help but wonder what an Anglo-Saxon reader would have made of the manuscript. The additions also give us an insight into a late Anglo-Saxon reader's notions of textual 'correctness' and a further study of his contribution to O may be able to tell us more about his motivations, whether they were internal or external, and how they engaged with the notion of a 'standard' or 'focused' variety of late-West-Saxon. Finally, the annotations are unique among those so far found, in that they are Old English dry-point additions to an Old English text. The fact that they are unique must be because scholars have not so far looked for dry-point annotations in Old English texts (the focus being on Latin 'teaching' texts) and I am confident that a search of a wider variety of manuscripts will yield more such annotations.

Furthermore, this study does not cover every scribe responsible for the four *Bede* manuscripts. No study has yet compared the scribal output of B1 and B2 (Grant, 1989: 11); although only a short excerpt of B2's performance appears in Book 3, this thesis has shown important differences (and similarities) in the behaviour of these two scribes. A further study could test both these differences, and the hypothesis put forward regarding the state of the exemplar; if we can observe B2 acting in similar ways to B1, then this will bear out the conclusions put forward in Chapter 4. Further investigation of the interaction of O2's scribal stints with those of O1 may help to refine the hypothesis put forward in Chapter 3 that O1 was a trainee scribe. It is certainly true that O2 provided only short stints of less than a page in Books 1 and 2, and analysis of his rates of variation may shed light on this question. Also noteworthy is a similar pattern of intervention between scribes T1 and T2, which may also hint at a teacher-scribe relationship, and other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts with similar scribal turn-taking could be examined for

evidence of training activity. T contains stints by no less than five identified scribes (Bately, 1992: 17; Miller, 1890: xiii). As Book 3 is the work of only one of these scribes, we have yet to explore the behaviour and scribal traits of the other four. Although T is possibly the most-studied of the *Bede* manuscripts, it has not yet been researched from a scribal point of view. Given that so much emphasis has been placed on T as the earliest complete *Bede* manuscript, it would significantly improve our understanding of the Mercian character of the text if we knew more about how each of the scribes went about copying the manuscript and how they interacted with each other. The results of this study hint that these areas would be a fruitful area of investigation.

On a wider scale, the methodology used in this thesis could easily be replicated to study any Old English text where more than one manuscript survives, for example Ælfric's homilies. Benskin and Laing's framework has not been used for Old English texts, perhaps because scholars (rightly) acknowledge that Old English material is not well suited to compiling a dialect dictionary. However, such criticism misses the point, that Benskin and Laing's framework can be used (albeit with a different focus, as in this study) to further our understanding of scribal training and behaviour in the Anglo-Saxon period. This would in turn allow us to compare scribal practice more widely, and identify common modes of scribal behaviour in the Old and Middle English periods. The method outlined in this thesis also provides a valid alternative or refinement to some corpus-based studies. Some corpora, such as the *DOEC*, use (mostly) printed editions of Old English texts as their basis. While this presents no problem for certain kinds of study, it is inadequate where the research question requires data which is clearly labelled in terms of its manuscript and scribal origin; it is no use our knowing that a spelling occurs in a certain work, if we cannot tell the age or likely provenance of the text where it occurs.

Finally, the features discussed in the thesis provide tantalising hints that the original translation of the *Bede* may be older than the late-ninth century, Alfredian-period date usually ascribed to it. This study, therefore, leads the way for a reassessment of the Mercian vernacular tradition in the pre-Alfredian period. Fulk (2010) has already suggested that more Old English texts may have Anglian origins than previously supposed, and the methodology and results of this thesis are two tools which could be brought to bear on this question.

As Stanley (1984: 257) states, 'every [scribe], sleepy and careless as he may have been at times, knew his living Old English better than the best modern editor of Old English'. I have shown that an approach which acknowledges the skills of medieval scribes and seeks to understand their choices and challenges can do a great deal to uncover some of the successive layers hidden within a manuscript text. I have also demonstrated that these scribes, so often criticised for their perceived shortcomings, are due more credit as diligent and sometimes intelligent copyists of challenging texts.

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