

**The Language and Copying Practices of Three Early
Medieval Cartulary Scribes At Worcester**

Katherine Wiles

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

**The University of Leeds
Institute for Medieval Studies**

September 2013

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his/her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

© 2013 The University of Leeds and Katherine Wiles

The right of Katherine Wiles to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisors, Dr Orietta Da Rold, Dr Philip A. Shaw, Dr Bill Flynn and Dr Mary Swan, for their support, advice and guidance, and for making the process of doing a PhD a very enjoyable one.

This PhD would not have been possible without the support of the AHRC, for which I am very grateful, and *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220* project who have provided invaluable resources and created many opportunities I would not otherwise have had. For allowing me the use of the images contained in this thesis my thanks go to the British Library Board, and to Jonathan Herold, whose website has proved a vital resource, and whose early encouragement was very helpful.

I would also like to thank the staff and students at the Institute for Medieval Studies for creating an environment in which I have been very proud and happy to work.

During the course of my research, many people have offered help or advice for which I am very grateful. As such I would like to thank Dr Emilia Jamroziak, Dr Peter Sawyer, Justin Pollard, Dr Alexander Rumble, Dr Francesca Tinti, Dr Antonette DiPaolo Healey, Christine Wallis, Dr Julia Crick and Frances Mary Pitt.

I would also like to thank my friends for their patience as I in turns neglected them and then bored them talking about my work. I would specifically like to thank Dr Thom Gobbitt, Eleanor Warren, Hannah Leach, and Dr Nollaig McEvelly for their input, feedback and help.

For their friendship and company, and for their invaluable help I would like to thank Naomi Wells and Ella S. Mills (and Rosa).

Final thanks go to my family, without whose support and patience this PhD would not have been completed. Thank you.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the factors that influence the ways in which scribes copied Old English in charter texts. These factors include: the training scribes received in learning to write Old English and to copy texts; the role of the Anglo-Saxon scriptorium and the environment in which scribes worked; and the role of training and scriptorial influence in the development of a scribe's written system. This investigation has highlighted, in particular, the lack of information about how scribes were trained in Old English compared to what is known of their training in Latin and in script acquisition.

To investigate these factors, this thesis uses a comparative study of the work of the scribe of the eleventh-century Worcester Nero Middleton cartulary, copying the texts S 1280 and S 1556 from the early eleventh-century cartulary *Liber Wigorniensis*. The data is taken directly from the manuscripts and from original transcriptions of each charter copy, which provides evidence not available in editions.

This study demonstrates the worth of studying later copies of texts, in particular of charters. It also shows the wealth of information to be found in the work of copying scribes. The study of the Nero Middleton scribe's work has shown that scribal copying is not simply the application of one system (the copying scribe's) onto another (the exemplar's). In the two texts studied, this scribe exhibits different behaviours, varying in ways which are not the result of influence from their exemplar, but which suggest that their copying style and written system is changeable. From this it can be concluded that the scribes underwent some training in writing Old English which formalized aspects of their written conventions, but that much of the scribes' conventions appear to have been influenced by the collaborative environment of the scriptorium in which they worked.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	v
List of Tables	vi
Abbreviations and Conventions	vii
SECTION ONE	
<hr/>	
CHAPTER 1: Introduction	2
CHAPTER 2: The Development of Scribal Writing Systems	5
CHAPTER 3: Manuscript Copies and Copying	40
CHAPTER 4: The Contexts of Production	56
CHAPTER 5: Scribal Profiles	71
SECTION TWO	
<hr/>	
CHAPTER 6: Case Study, Worcester	80
CHAPTER 7: Palaeography	98
CHAPTER 8: Syntax and Structure	112
CHAPTER 9: Lexis	124
CHAPTER 10: Punctuation	127
CHAPTER 11: Abbreviation	148
CHAPTER 12: Orthography	176
CHAPTER 13: Conclusion	256
APPENDIX 1: S 1280, <i>Liber Wigorniensis</i> Transcription	266
APPENDIX 2: S 1280, Nero Middleton Transcription	268
APPENDIX 3: S 1556, <i>Liber Wigorniensis</i> Transcription	270
APPENDIX 4: S 1556, Nero Middleton Transcription	272
BIBLIOGRAPHY	275
Manuscripts Referenced	294
Charters Referenced	296
Cameron Numbers Referenced	299

List of Figures

Figure 1: The two forms of the <t>-graph in S 1280.	99
Figure 2: Further examples of the <t>-form.	99
Figure 3: S 1280, Nero Middleton. Comparison of majuscule <a>-forms.	104
Figure 4: S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 48-51.	105
Figure 5: S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 40-42.	106
Figure 6: Onset initial of S 1432, Nero Middleton, fol. 182 ^v .	107
Figure 7: Onset initial of S 1556, Nero Middleton, fol. 181 ^r .	107
Figure 8: A comparison of the forms of <N> in Nero Middleton.	109
Figure 9: S 1280 rubric. Nero Middleton, ll. 1-5.	109
Figure 10: Rubric for S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 1-3.	111
Figure 11: Tree 1.	116
Figure 12: Tree 2.	118
Figure 13: Majuscule abbreviation of word-final <-m>.	194
Figure 14: Comparison of supralinear strokes in Nero Middleton.	169

List of Tables

Table 1: Syntactical differences between the copies of S 1280.	113
Table 2: Distribution of prepositional phrase structure type 1.	116
Table 3: Distribution of prepositional phrase structure type 2.	118
Table 4: Structural differences between the copies of S 1556.	121
Table 5: Lexical differences between the copies of S 1280.	124
Table 6: Lexical differences between the copies of S 1556.	125
Table 7: The punctuation of numerals in S 1280.	141
Table 8: The distribution of vowel graphs in <i>Beorhtsige</i> .	213

Abbreviations

Bosworth-Toller	<i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online</i> , ed. by Thomas Northcote Toller and others. Comp. by Sean Christ and Ondřej Tichý (Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 21 July 2010) < http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/016906 >
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
DOE	<i>The Dictionary of Old English</i>
DOEC	<i>The Dictionary of Old English Corpus</i>
EM 1060to1220	<i>The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220</i>
Hemming's Cartulary	London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (II), fols 119-200
LAEME	<i>The Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English</i>
LALME	<i>The Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English</i>
LangScape	<i>LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside</i> (London, 2008), version 0.9 < http://www.langscape.org.uk/index.html >
Liber Wigorniensis	London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (I), fols 1-118
MANCASS	<i>Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies</i>
Nero Middleton	London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fols 181-84 and London, British Library, MS Additional 46204
PASE	<i>The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England</i>
S/Sawyer	The Catalogue of texts found in <i>The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> (London, 2010) < http://www.esawyer.org.uk/ >

Conventions

< >	Denote graphs or short strings of graphs quoting the transcriptions in Appendices 1-4
‘ ’	Denote phrases or quotes from the transcriptions in Appendices 1-4
<i>italics</i>	Denote headword forms of words

SECTION ONE

1 CHAPTER 1: Introduction

This thesis investigates the various influences that inform the way in which scribes copy Old English in charters. These influences include the linguistic and paralinguistic features from the exemplar that a scribe might change or preserve in producing a copy, as well as external factors such as a scribe's spoken language, training, and working environment. In particular, this thesis will use the evidence of scribal copies to explore the extent to which scribes' written conventions – including their spelling systems, features such as punctuation and abbreviation use, and their copying habits – are formalized by the training they receive.

The corpus used to guide this investigation consists of the copies of two charters, S 1280 and S 1556, found in the eleventh-century Worcester cartularies *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton.¹ Each of these texts was copied into the *Liber Wigorniensis* manuscript by a different scribe in the early eleventh century,² and these copies were later used as the exemplars for the Nero Middleton scribe in the later-eleventh century.³ Having the Nero Middleton scribe's exemplars allows for comparison between the copies to determine those features that are replicated from the exemplar, and those which are produced by the copying scribe. These unique features, considered alongside the relationship the copies have with the exemplars, build a picture of the Nero Middleton scribe's copying practices. This will allow an exploration into the influences which help to form those copying practices.

This thesis is written in two sections. Section One sets out the contexts in which scribes worked in Anglo-Saxon England and the factors which may have influenced their written systems. This includes the evidence currently available about Anglo-Saxon scribes,

¹ Here, and throughout this thesis, S refers to the cataloguing system found in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), which is now found online at Rebecca Rushforth, Susan Kelly and others, *Electronic Sawyer: Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 2007 <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk>> [accessed 20 July 2013]. *Liber Wigorniensis*: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (I), fols 1-118; 'Nero Middleton': London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, Part 2; and London, British Library, MS Additional 46204. Throughout this thesis, the charters S 1280 and S 1556 will be referred to by their manuscript copy. Line numbers in these references refer to the transcriptions found in Appendices 1-4, which follow the lineation of the manuscript copies.

² N. P. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: A Description of Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 49-75, (p. 50).

³ Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2001), item 344.5.

scriptoria, scribal training and scribal language in manuscript copies. It is striking that little is known about the environment in which scribes trained and worked. This is largely due to a lack of evidence, particularly regarding the methods of training scribes received for writing in Old English rather than Latin, or for the acquisition of scripts. Section One goes on to establish a framework for studying copying, which involves the building of scribal profiles as a tool for understanding scribal behaviour. Section Two consists of the case studies of the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton scribes, analysing in detail their behaviour in copying these texts. The analysis takes the form of scribal profiles that include both linguistic and paralinguistic features of the scribes' work. These profiles are constructed with the intent of exploring the role played by the factors discussed in Section One on the writing and copying habits of these scribes.

The focus of this study is the copying of charters, a genre not typically used for research into copying, being often overlooked in favour of more literary genres.⁴ It is also focused on the copies, their production, and the scribe's role in that process, rather than using the copies as access to the original text, or for reconstructing the copying scribe's language.⁵ This study is based on original transcriptions of each charter text, which

⁴ Elaine Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts in the Later Eleventh Century: Worcester and Exeter', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 13-28 (p. 13). This is seen in, for example, Peter R. Orton, *The Transmission of Old English Poetry*, Westfield Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). Notable exceptions to this are Peter A. Stokes, 'Rewriting the Bounds: Pershore's Powick and Leigh', in *Place-Names, Language and the Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, ed. by N. Higham and M. Ryan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 195-206; P. A. Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 37 (2008), 31-78; Kathryn A. Lowe, 'S 507 and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds: Manuscript Preservation and Transmission in the Middle Ages', in *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar Held at the Royal Library, Copenhagen 19th-20th October 2000*, ed. by Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Peter Springborg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), pp. 85-105.

⁵ On the focus on originality, see Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts', p. 14. Much work on copies as evidence for scribal language and copying styles has been conducted. Most notably, Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So Meny People, Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55-106; Margaret Laing and Angus McIntosh, 'Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 335: Its Texts and Their Transmission', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 14-52; the work conducted by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Margaret Laing for *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)* and published in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989). While this thesis draws heavily on these studies, it does not attempt to replicate their work.

preserve line division, punctuation marks, abbreviation marks (in form as well as position) and notable palaeographical features. This places the focus directly on the work of each scribe, unfiltered by editorial influence. These transcriptions are found in Appendices 1-4.

2 CHAPTER 2: The Development of Scribal Writing Systems

2.1 Introduction

The contexts in which scribes worked, and their influences, are of central importance to any discussion of scribal behaviour. One consideration when discussing the copying scribes of the Worcester cartularies is the role of the scriptorium in the manuscript production process. Before anything can be said about this however, it must be established exactly what is meant by 'scriptorium', if anything can be known at all – an issue which encompasses questions about scribes in general in Anglo-Saxon England and how they were organized and used. 'Scriptorium' is often used as a catch-all term which can denote any number of situations, and establishing the status of a scriptorium will inform any discussion of the scribes therein, and the contexts in which they worked.

As well as discussing ecclesiastical scriptoria, this chapter contains a discussion of what is known about the existence and form of a royal chancery, and about the use of professional scribes. This discussion is of value as it illustrates the role of scribes in Anglo-Saxon England as a whole, rather than studying ecclesiastical scriptoria in isolation. This chapter will go on to establish the role played by training in forming a scribe's written system and working habits. This includes the teaching of Latin as a second language, the teaching of scripts, and highlights the comparative dearth of information available on how, exactly, Anglo-Saxon scribes learned to write Old English.

2.1.1 The Scriptorium in Anglo-Saxon England

Very little discussion exists concerning the existence or form of ecclesiastical scriptoria before the twelfth century. The majority of work on the subject accepts the existence of scriptoria at ecclesiastical institutions and is focused on their output without trying to define precisely what form they took. There are, of course, exceptions to this, notably from Rodney Thomson and Teresa Webber, who consider the existence of scriptoria and what form they may have taken.¹

¹ R. M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis'*, The Lyell Lectures 2000-2001 (Walkern: Red Gull Press, 2006); R. M. Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by David Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986); Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars of Salisbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

The scope of the word ‘scriptorium’ is broad and can refer to any number of concepts, including a physical room or building in which scribes worked, a collection of scribes with a co-ordinated, organized structure, or, more loosely, an abstract location in which manuscripts were produced. Thomson defines the extent of the various definitions ‘scriptorium’ might have:

At one end of the spectrum is a literal ‘scriptorium’, a physical structure (whether room or building) with a small staff of paid professional or quasi-professional scribes, developing their own traditions and work-practices, and operating continuously over a period of time; at the other end is what we might also call a ‘non-scriptorium’, an environment in which books were either ordered and bought from a commercial manufacturer, or made, in a comparatively amateur fashion, by members of the community.²

At its most minimal, a ‘scriptorium’ might be ‘a centre where (according to the surviving evidence) at least two scribes working in conjunction wrote significant amounts of the main text in at least two manuscripts’.³ Very often, this is the limit of what can be inferred about an institution’s scriptorium.

As already noted, Webber also questions the use of the word ‘scriptorium’ in her discussion of the activities of the scribes of Salisbury, but for practical purposes accepts that it is something that cannot be concretely defined, as she states:

Throughout the book I refer to manuscript production ‘at Salisbury’. This is a phrase of convenience, and should not be taken to imply a ‘scriptorium’ located at Old Sarum in any concrete sense: manuscript production did not require a room set aside for the purpose.⁴

Furthermore, as will be discussed below, the distinction between royal, professional and ecclesiastical scribes is not as clearly defined as might be assumed. So when discussing scribes and scriptoria it must be with the awareness that each term may potentially encompass any number of situations and contexts for manuscript production. As such, the word ‘scriptorium’ is being used here for ease of reference, but with the awareness that it is, as Webber terms it, ‘a phrase of convenience’.

Occasionally there is evidence that may point towards the form of an individual scriptorium. At St Albans – a scriptorium renowned for the high quality of its output –

² Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 23.

³ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 16, n. 19; Richard Gameson, ‘Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 94-120 (p. 102).

⁴ Webber, p. 5, n. 16.

evidence exists that a physical space existed for this purpose, built in the eleventh century.⁵ This is atypical for Anglo-Saxon scriptoria, as is the recorded presence of professional scribes there.⁶ In this case, the scriptorium was built outside of the monastery, above the chapter house, and was a single room.⁷ Typically, however, it is not known, for example, what size a scriptorium was, where exactly it was, how many scribes were based there or what kind of hierarchy or organization existed between them.

While there is no explicit mention of the eleventh- and early twelfth-century scriptorium at Salisbury, by conducting a detailed survey of the output of its scribes, Webber has managed to infer a great deal of detail about the form, purpose and internal organization of the scriptorium. The manuscript evidence shows that there were a large number of scribes brought in to produce a library's worth of books in a short timespan. The lack of uniformity across the corpus indicates that these were not scribes trained in the same place, and the quality of the manuscripts suggests that they were produced for study and for use by those who made them, rather than being made by professional scribes on commission. The scribes worked in close collaboration with each other, which is often evident in short stints. Webber interprets these short stints as evidence that the scribes were working on the manuscripts in between their other duties. This would also suggest that the manuscripts were being produced in the same place, and that it was near to where the scribes' other duties were conducted.⁸ As with St Albans, Salisbury is an unusual situation, as the scriptorium came about due to its establishment after the Norman Conquest and the need to build a complete library very quickly.

The majority of scriptoria do not have as complete a collection of extant manuscripts produced within such a small timeframe, and the picture that can be drawn of scriptoria using such evidence is therefore much less complete. Like St Albans, Canterbury produced manuscripts of a high quality, although here the evidence points to the work

⁵ *...quod construxit, scriptorio libros prae electos scribi fecit*, Michael Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *English Manuscript Studies*, 7 (1995), 1-24, (p. 7); M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes: The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 24; H. H. Glunz, *A History of the Vulgate in England, from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: Being an Enquiry into the Text of some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 176; D. H. S. Cranage, *Home of the Monk: An Account of English Monastic Life and Buildings in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p. 4.

⁶ Gullick, pp. 7-14.

⁷ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 24.

⁸ Webber, pp. 5-29.

being done by specially trained monks, rather than by professional scribes.⁹ Simon Keynes believes that, due to the size and importance of the Winchester scriptorium, it must have been a centre for scribal training¹⁰ – the importance of Winchester coming from its ‘monopoly’ following the decline of all other ecclesiastical scriptoria.¹¹ A marked increase in manuscript production is evident at Exeter in the second half of the eleventh century, which can be explained by Leofric moving the see there in 1050, ‘and by his having set up a scriptorium which enthusiastically produced and refurbished various books there’.¹² Some inferences can be drawn about the details of manuscript production at Exeter, which will be discussed later, but they are piecemeal. Indeed, the existence of a scriptorium at Exeter has been doubted.¹³ The same is true of Hereford and Lincoln, and Thomson doubts that either had a scriptorium of any kind: ‘Highly mobile canons would not, after all, have made a satisfactory recruiting base; so perhaps personnel were hired for a short period, or perhaps a book-making atelier existed in the town, and took commissions from the Cathedral as well as other places.’¹⁴ If this is the case, it is possible that professional and mobile scribes were more common than is typically believed, and that the traditional picture of ecclesiastical scriptoria is not the usual situation. This view is expanded upon by Thomson, who goes so far as to say that the evidence may point to there being no “‘institutionalized” manufacture of books’ at all:

By that I mean that very many religious institutions seem not to have had their own scribes or artists (or to have employed them locally), and the standard picture presented currently locates much copying at a few important centres such as Canterbury and Winchester. This is an inference drawn from the presence of one scribe in several books; an alternative explanation – which should perhaps receive

⁹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 25. The presence of professional scribes at St Albans will be discussed below in Section §2.1.5.

¹⁰ Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’ 978-1016: A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life & Thought, Third Series, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 25.

¹¹ Pierre Chaplais, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: From the Diploma to the Writ’, in *Priscia Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History, Presented to Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender*, ed. by Felicity Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), pp. 43-62 (p. 46).

¹² Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, ed. by David N. Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), pp. 11-12.

¹³ Richard Gameson, ‘Manuscrits Normands à Exeter aux xi^e et xii^e siècles’, in *Manuscrits et enluminures dans le monde normand (Xe-XVe siècles)*, ed. by Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat (Caen: Presses Universitaires, 1999), pp. 107-27 (n. 27).

¹⁴ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 48.

attention – might well be that scribes (and artists) sometimes traveled about doing commissions on the spot.¹⁵

However, this suggested movement of scribes and artists seems to contradict the acknowledged development of house and regional styles, which will be discussed below.

2.1.2 The Development of House Styles in Scriptoria

Very often, the existence of a scriptorium is posited on the observation of multiple manuscripts showing shared features, style or language. Thus, manuscripts are associated with a scriptorium not because of explicit evidence placing their production there, but by comparison with other manuscripts also associated with that scriptorium, and through the identification of features which can be described as part of that centre's 'house style'. Worcester, for example, is noted for its conservative approach to scribal practice, often preserving aspects of script and decoration that have fallen out of usage elsewhere.¹⁶ House style could come about in one of two ways, the first of these is through a top-down influence, where an overseer, head scribe or high-status ecclesiastic developed and encouraged the use of stylistic features which were also taught to new scribes during their training. The second is through an organic, collaborative effort, as scribes working in close proximity were influenced by each other's usage and new scribes were trained in the style as used by their teachers, thus reinforcing it, 'developing their own traditions and work-practices, and operating continuously over a period of time'.¹⁷ While there is evidence for the former, evidence for the latter is harder to find as it is, by its nature, organic and non-explicit.¹⁸ An ecclesiastical scriptorium seems likely to have produced a collaborative house style, and the monks as scribes were 'bound by the rule of stability'.¹⁹ Unlike professional scribes they would also have been less mobile and less open to outside influence, thus fostering a house style.²⁰

¹⁵ Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', p. 28.

¹⁶ R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2001), p. xxii.

¹⁷ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 23.

¹⁸ This will be explored in detail in Section §2.3 on training.

¹⁹ Webber, p. 30.

²⁰ Webber, p. 30. The descriptions of Worcester manuscripts by N. P. R. Ker show the uniformity of style produced by the scriptorium in the eleventh century. See, for example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 162; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 113; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121. N. P. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

The example of Salisbury, discussed above, demonstrates the importance of time and a close working environment in the development of a house style. The scribes of Salisbury were new to the scriptorium and their work shows evidence of their differences in practice. However, Webber notes indications in their work of attempts to create uniformity.²¹ This suggests an awareness of the disparity in the scribes' styles and a desire to produce a unified library rather than allowing for them to continue to work as individuals.

As touched upon earlier, the status of Exeter's scriptorium seems particularly hard to define. Richard Gameson does not believe there is enough uniformity across Exeter's manuscripts to suggest the existence of a scriptorium, believing instead that the manuscripts were all bought in.²² Thomson disagrees with this, believing the corpus of manuscripts associated with Exeter to be very uniform in appearance.²³ Elaine Treharne, on the other hand, argues for a briefly prolific 'writing office' in the mid-to-late eleventh century which was attached to one prelate rather than operating independently.²⁴

2.1.3 The Roles of Scribes within Scriptoria

The scriptorium of St Mary Magdalene (Frankenthal in the Middle Rhine) has a large surviving corpus, and by analysing these scribes' work, the various roles scribes could perform within a scriptorium can be determined. These roles included, 'copying the text, providing sample script, correcting the text, correlating chapter numbers with chapter lists, writing instructions for rubrications, rubricating initials, and titles and decorating the manuscript'.²⁵

Thomson outlines the apparent roles within a group of scribes at St Albans in the twelfth century. He identifies one scribe (Scribe B) whose work is evident in running titles, rubrics and tables of contents, as well as the copying of texts. Thomson has assigned this

²¹ Webber, p. 19.

²² Gameson, 'Manuscripts Normands à Exeter', n. 27.

²³ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 50.

²⁴ Elaine Treharne, 'Scribal Connections in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 29-46 (p. 43). See also Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts', pp. 13-28; Elaine Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. by Stephen Baxter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 521-38.

²⁵ Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, 'A School for Scribes', in *Teaching Writing, Learning To Write, Proceedings of the XVIth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. by P. R. Robinson (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 2010), pp. 61-87 (p. 61).

scribe the role of ‘director of the scriptorium’.²⁶ Similarly, N. R. Ker pointed out a scribe (scribe i) acting in the role of director at Salisbury.²⁷ This scribe not only corrected a number of the books but also determined the layout of several by commencing the copying of the first text.²⁸ The manuscript output of Bury and Durham also shows evidence of having at least one master scribe, as well as scribes working across multiple manuscripts, producing work of ‘medium quality’ with a distinctive house style, which points to there being an organized and ‘reasonably continuous scriptorial tradition’ there.²⁹ Coordination between scribes is also evident at Salisbury, where one scribe would act as the principal scribe to be relieved by further scribes, particularly towards the end of the longer books.³⁰ Evidence of other roles scribes may have performed can be found at Exeter. Here, all the manuscript acquisitions contain inscriptions of ownership, added by no more than two scribes. Elaine Drage’s analysis of these inscriptions shows that they must have been added as a group rather than individually as each manuscript was added to the library. This implies that there were not dedicated librarians at the end of the eleventh century but that two scribes performed an administrative role, at least temporarily.³¹ In contrast to these apparently organized and well-structured scriptoria, William of Malmesbury had scribes of varying levels of competence working under him, who Thomson assumes must have been monks, ‘bullied by William into copying text, sometimes for no more than a few lines or leaves until he or they lost patience with a task to which they were not accustomed’.³²

Each of these centres shows a different system of organization, each of which may have also changed at different times in the centre’s history. There is no one model of a ‘scriptorium’ or ‘writing office’ in Anglo-Saxon England. The form of Worcester’s centre of production and its internal organization requires dedicated attention, and will be returned

²⁶ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 29.

²⁷ N. R. Ker, ‘The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral’, in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 41.

²⁸ Webber, p. 19. Cohen-Mushlin also noted scribes functioning in a variety of roles: ‘[A]t times a scribe may write the text, at others he rubricates only; he may act as corrector in one manuscript or write a sample page in another for others to follow’. Cohen-Mushlin, p. 61.

²⁹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 30.

³⁰ Webber, p. 17.

³¹ E. M. Drage, ‘Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050-1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1978), p. 31; Conner, p. 16.

³² Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 39-41.

to in Chapter 6. At this point it must be concluded that the circumstances and roles of scribes in, and out, of Anglo-Saxon scriptoria were changeable, and are often reconstructed from scant evidence, little of it explicit. Information about the forms of scriptoria and scribes' roles within them must be discerned through inference, using, in particular, internal manuscript evidence. For ease and practicality, 'scriptorium' will here be used as a term of convenience, and, as regards Worcester, will refer to an organized group of scribes of indeterminate size and hierarchy working to produce manuscripts, which – for the cartularies at least – are for the benefit of Worcester.

2.1.4 Ecclesiastical Scribes in the Royal Chancery

The royal chancery is primarily involved in the production of charters, and, as will be discussed here, there is much debate about the role of ecclesiastics in the chancery. The existence of a chancery in the tenth and eleventh centuries is not as assured as that in the twelfth and there is doubt as to there having been one at all. Pierre Chaplais calls it a 'problematic chancery' and this term has been adopted in much subsequent scholarship to show awareness of its uncertain status.³³ The following discussion concerns the existence of any dedicated writing staff producing documents for the king in a formalized way. For clarity and ease of argument, such a dedicated writing staff will be described as a 'chancery' here.

An Anglo-Saxon chancery or royal writing office of some form is believed to have existed for many reasons, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries.³⁴ However,

³³ Pierre Chaplais, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', in *Priscia Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History, Presented to Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender*, ed. by Felicity Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), pp. 28-42 (p. 41). The issue of the chancery is often clouded by the terminology used to talk about it which holds associations with the twelfth-century royal chancery. The words 'chancery', 'chancellor', 'writing office' and 'secretariat' can all be misleading. Charles Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria in the Anglo-Saxon South-West', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (1998), 173-97 (p. 180).

³⁴ Although not the first discussion of the idea, R. Drögereit's extensive work on the subject is generally treated as the starting point in more recent scholarship. R. Drögereit, 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 8 (1935), 335-436. This has been built on and developed extensively by Keynes, who uses the evidence of charter witness list to make an argument for the existence of a mobile royal chancery. Keynes, *Diplomas*; Simon Keynes, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and His Sons', *The English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), 1109-49 (p. 1109). Frank Stenton uses the evidence of Old English charters being produced by William the Conqueror as evidence for a continuous writing office into the eleventh century. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), pp. 633-34; Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery', p. 45.

despite the evidence in support of this, its existence has been argued against.³⁵ If we are to accept that a chancery of some sort did in fact exist, the form it might have taken, and who was employed in it must then be determined.³⁶ The notion of ecclesiastical scribes working in the chancery has been afforded much discussion. However, the question of ecclesiastical involvement could potentially be misleading as much discussion is dependent on the notions of separate and independent royal and ecclesiastical ‘writing offices’.³⁷ As Charles Insley points out, if there was, in any form, a royal writing office, it could have been staffed by scribes acquired, in some capacity, from ecclesiastical institutions.³⁸ The evidence for ecclesiastical input in the charter production process is palaeographical and textual, as well as pragmatic.³⁹ However, it is also possible that the focus on the role of the ecclesiastic in the production of charters may be because those charters which survive have been held by ecclesiastical institutions, resulting in a skewed image of those involved. As Insley notes, ‘it does seem likely that there were many more charters granted to laymen than those that

³⁵ Chaplais, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chancery’, p. 49; Pierre Chaplais, ‘The Royal Anglo-Saxon “Chancery” of the Tenth Century Revisited’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. by H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 41-51 (p. 42).

³⁶ Keynes and Chaplais both discuss the possible numbers of scribes involved in a chancery and their roles within it. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 18; Chaplais, ‘The Royal Anglo-Saxon “Chancery”’, p. 43.

³⁷ Insley, p. 196.

³⁸ Insley, p. 196. Chaplais suggests that, following the destruction of monasteries by Vikings during the reign of King Alfred, the few remaining scribes would produce uniformity in their work ‘achieved, not by design, but by accident’ which would suggest that a co-ordinated office produced these texts. Chaplais, ‘Origin and Authenticity’, pp. 40-41. Keynes, however, observes increased variety and experimentation within the formulae of the diplomas issued from c. 960 which Keynes connected to an expansion of the chancery but which could also be taken as evidence of an expansion of whoever is doing the drafting or writing. Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 60 and 80-81. It is this variety which F. E. Harmer believes provides evidence for the use of ‘interested ecclesiastics’. F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 39. Insley provides a more detailed survey of this debate. Insley, p. 181.

³⁹ Several arguments have been made for associations of the chancery with Winchester, including the identification of hands working both on ecclesiastical manuscripts and royal texts. Chaplais, ‘Origin and Authenticity’, p. 41; Chaplais, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chancery’, p. 46; Insley, p. 180; Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 23-24. Further ecclesiastical connections come from the content of charters: Chaplais draws on their ecclesiastical formulation, and Insley notes the absence of secular influence, particularly in the authentication, which seems to point to ecclesiastical input and the threat of excommunication. Chaplais, ‘Origin and Authenticity’, pp. 32-33 and 41; Insley, pp. 83 and 181-82. Pragmatic considerations leading to the connection between ecclesiastical institutions and the chancery come from the fact that ecclesiastical figures or institutions were often the beneficiaries of grants, or witnesses to them, and as such had an interest in their production. They also conferred a sacred, and thus authentic status on a grant. Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 20 and 22; Chaplais, ‘Origin and Authenticity’, p. 42; Harmer, pp. 38-41; Insley, p. 182.

actually survive'.⁴⁰ As such, the dependence on the sacred aspects of charters, and the ecclesiastical interest evident in those that survive, might be misplaced.

Chaplais concludes that charters 'were produced, not in a self-staffed secretariat, but at all times in monastic or episcopal scriptoria' and that their production 'was a local affair, involving only the beneficiary or a near-by ecclesiastical scriptorium'.⁴¹ This discounts the evidence of continuity across the output of individual kings' reigns, and is very dependent on the importance of the ecclesiastical formulae. A more conservative conclusion might be that the royal chancery, if it existed, was a small enterprise. There is evidence for ecclesiastical scribes being involved, with the presence of certain scribes' work appearing in both royal charters and manuscripts associated with scriptoria being the most persuasive, even if the presence of ecclesiastical formulae in the texts is not as conclusive. Thus, a king may have made use of ecclesiastical scribes for a period, but this does not discount the possible use of secular scribes as well.

2.1.5 Professional Scribes

As well as the scribes in ecclesiastical institutions and those of the 'problematic chancery', there is evidence of professional scribes working in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Michael Gullick defines professional scribes as:

scribes who were not members of enclosed communities but worked writing books for such communities. They were presumably paid for their work or time in either money, kind or both.⁴²

It is in this sense that the term 'professional scribes' will be used in the following discussion.

Rodney Thomson notes the prevalence of professional scribes into the late eleventh century, which, he says, is 'characterized by the phenomenon of professional scribes and artists who seem to have traveled widely and to have been detached from individual institutions'.⁴³ Ecclesiastical institutions may have paid for professional scribes to work for them for a number of reasons: unlike monks they could work uninterrupted by duties, thereby producing more work more quickly, and they could perhaps produce work of a higher standard than the institution was capable of.⁴⁴ The movement of these scribes may

⁴⁰ Insley, p. 183.

⁴¹ Pierre Chaplais, 'The Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 39 (1966), 1-34 (pp. 45-46 and 33).

⁴² Gullick, p. 1.

⁴³ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 67.

⁴⁴ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 25; Gullick, p. 1.

also have been instrumental in the transmission of styles and trends between scriptoria, as well as, potentially, ideas.⁴⁵

Much of the evidence for these scribes comes from records of their payment, or of the resources needed to engage them.⁴⁶ Further evidence of professional scribes, on a larger scale than is evident at Worcester, is found at St Albans. The house chronicle mentions Abbot Paul bringing in scribes ‘from afar’ to produce books for the church, and the same being done by Abbots Geoffrey and Simon. This also happened at Abingdon, where Abbot Faricius bought in around six scribes.⁴⁷ Thomson believes that the purpose in using professional scribes here was so that they could concentrate on the production of liturgical books, which allowed the monks to dedicate more time to the study of them.⁴⁸

2.2 Conclusion

Scribes in Anglo-Saxon England worked in a number of different environments. Although the explicit evidence for scribes’ roles and their working environments is scarce, it can be concluded from this discussion that the majority of scribal work was associated with ecclesiastical institutions in some capacity. The identities and backgrounds of scribes are rarely explicitly stated and are often assumed without examination, but their roles and movements can often be determined through detailed analysis of the manuscript evidence.

⁴⁵ Gullick, p. 1.

⁴⁶ The earliest reference to a scribe being paid for their work is from Worcester, in which Bishop Oswald grants land to Goding on the condition that Goding acted as a scribe. S 1369, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 66^r-67^r; MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 161^v-62^r; Gullick, p. 6; Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100*, Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 37. A second record of a professional scribe at Worcester comes from a mid-eleventh century charter, S 1409. In this text, Bishop Ealdred grants land to the beneficiary, Wulfgeat. It is possible that this Wulfgeat also worked as a scribe as, in MS Junius 121, a colophon, copied from the exemplar, states that it was written by ‘Wulfgeat scriptor of Worcester’. Somers Ch. 24 (lost); Gullick, p. 6.

⁴⁷ The entry for Abbot Paul’s abbacy reads, ‘the abbot had noble volumes copied for the church by expert (*electissimos*) scribes, sought from afar’. Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 25. Malcolm Parkes also lists scribes, their movements and their environments. M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes: The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 33-55. See also Donald Scragg, *A Conspectus of Scribal Hands Writing English, 960-1100*, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 11 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012).

⁴⁸ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 25.

2.3 Scribal Training

2.3.1 Introduction

In establishing the influences which build a scribe's pre-existing writing system, the training a scribe receives is key. The role and forms of scribal training need examining, and the deficits in our knowledge need to be established before anything meaningful can be said about scribes, their training, and their work.⁴⁹ Rosamond McKitterick questions what we can know about the entire process of becoming a scribe:

How then did monks learn to write? How was script uniformity or a recognizable 'house style' within a monastic community achieved? Receiving the tonsure and taking one's vows did not miraculously transform a man into a competent, or even an incompetent, scribe. Still less did simply joining a monastic community do so.⁵⁰

Indeed, Orietta Da Rold asks: 'how can we talk about scribal training when we know so little about it?'.⁵¹

In addition to these questions, the distinction between those who can write and those who might be considered 'scribes' should be explored, as should the teaching practices involved in learning to write and copy Old English, and how they differ from those used for Latin. Scholarly discussion of scribal training and language acquisition seems to cover two broad areas while leaving some notable gaps. Much research has been conducted into the early stages of instruction, particularly the acquisition of Latin as a second language. This is chiefly due to the survival of much explicit primary evidence on the subject such as colloquies and teaching texts. The second area to attract interest is the teaching of calligraphy, and the trends in script that provide evidence for this training. Again, this area seems to have attracted attention due to explicit extant evidence of the training. This can be seen, for example, in manuscripts where hands alternate between the more experienced hand of a master, and a student hand which improves through the manuscript. Less explicit primary evidence is found in recurring instances of groups of

⁴⁹ The training in literacy, script and language undergone by scribes fits into a wider picture of learning in Anglo-Saxon England, as outlined by Crick. Julia Crick, 'Learning and Training', in *A Social History of England, 900-1200*, ed. by Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 325-72.

⁵⁰ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 87.

⁵¹ Orietta Da Rold, 'Manuscript Production before Chaucer: Some Preliminary Observations', in *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts, Essays and Studies*, ed. by Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2010), pp. 43-58 (p. 51).

hands sharing close similarities, from which it is concluded that the scribes were trained in the same place or by the same master.

The areas which seem to have received far less attention include the methods by which Anglo-Saxon scribes were taught to write the vernacular, and how exactly scribes developed from being people who could write to fully trained scribes, or the difference 'between a basic understanding of letter formation and a proficient level of writing'.⁵² The latter seems largely to be explained away as 'practice',⁵³ but this does not explain how scribes learned the intricacies of scribal conventions, and the extent to which these were formalized and taught. The former of these questions remains unanswered due to a paucity of evidence, and the prevailing assumption that any scribe who could read and write in Latin must be able to read English (for example: 'Anyone living in England who could read a Latin text could obviously also read a text in English',⁵⁴ which does not examine a reader's relationship with written English). However, as with Latin, there are conventions in written English which must be acquired in some way, and which are different from those used for written Latin. These conventions 'operate at all levels: the letter, the word, the sentence, the paragraph and the page'.⁵⁵ Some of these are purely written features, such as punctuation and abbreviation use, which develop traditions through the uniformity of use across many scribes and schools, and which cannot be acquired simply by knowing the Latin letters and applying them to English. The spelling system poses similar difficulties. Written Old English, while not as regular as Latin, shows trends in spelling choice which must have been acquired in some way, although the lack of standardization compared with Latin suggests there must be a difference in the way the two written languages were taught. While it is accepted that students were taught the sounds of the letters and how they correspond with the shapes, it cannot be assumed that every scribe was able to apply these critically to their own language in a way that resulted in localisable spelling systems without some kind of formalized instruction. That is not to say that scribes could not acquire a spelling system for Old English by assimilating the systems in texts they encountered, and by applying their

⁵² Da Rold, 'Manuscript Production before Chaucer', p. 52.

⁵³ Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. by Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 62.

⁵⁴ M. R. Godden, 'Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 580-90 (p. 586).

⁵⁵ M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), p. xv.

knowledge of Latin letters, but the extent to which this is taught or otherwise has yet to be fully explored. As Parkes notes:

The conventions of spoken language are based on patterns of sounds in contrastive distribution, which are combined to convey other patterns of morphological, syntactical and conceptual significance, also in contrastive distribution. In written language the adoption of an alphabetical system presupposes that a reader can associate the graphic signs with sounds in his or her own variety of spoken language through the conventions of an intermediary orthographic system.⁵⁶

Bearing this in mind, some degree of conformity, or, as Malcolm Parkes terms it, the ‘Grammar of Legibility’, in written English must surely be necessary and inevitable, and its existence cannot be assumed to be the result of unconscious circumstance.⁵⁷ Furthermore, these written conventions are recognized as forming dialectal trends by which manuscripts may be localized. Following this line of thought we must then realize that, ‘in order to write in a dialect a scribe must have been trained to write in a certain way’.⁵⁸ Again, this leads to the conclusion that some degree of training must have existed in order for scribes to learn to write English.

The documented lack of Latin learning which prompted Alfred’s drive for improved learning and literacy leads to the assumption that, as literacy continued during that period, there must have been some kind of teaching and, if it was not in Latin, it must have been in English.⁵⁹ This is as true of the laity as it is of ecclesiastics. Evidence, including that of vernacular charters, points towards a degree of literacy in English but not in Latin, which suggests that, in some capacity, English was being taught without the need for it to come through the understanding of written Latin.⁶⁰ This is also seen in the presence of Old English glosses on Latin texts, which are often taken to be evidence of language learning. These glosses would imply that the writer had knowledge of written Old English before

⁵⁶ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 58.

⁵⁷ Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. xv.

⁵⁸ Da Rold, ‘Manuscript Production before Chaucer’, p. 52.

⁵⁹ Indeed, Wormald argues that there was no noticeable dip and ‘take-off’ of literacy after this. C. P. Wormald, ‘The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its Neighbours’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 27 (1977), 95-114 (pp. 113-14).

⁶⁰ Lowe provides a summary of recent literature devoted to lay literacy, in particular focusing on the lack of consensus on the types of evidence which can be used to support arguments for a literate laity. Kathryn A. Lowe, ‘Lay Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and the Development of the Chirograph’, in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by P. Pulsiano and E. M. Trehearne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 161-204. See also M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993) and M. B. Parkes, ‘The Literacy of the Laity’, in *Literature and Western Civilisation*, ed. by D. Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London: Aldus, 1973), pp. 555-77.

Latin. Taking this into consideration, the assumption that scribes learned Latin, applied this knowledge without training to the vernacular in order to read and write it, and then with some practice became scribes, seems a little too simplistic.

The status of scribal training and language acquisition has broader implications for the way we think about house styles and the role of the scriptorium, and for the influences on the way scribes copy a text in Old English. They also touch on lay literacy and the role of the written word in Anglo-Saxon society and the relationship between written and spoken Old English. Each of these issues will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3.2 Early Schooling and Latin Teaching

2.3.2.1 Teaching Latin as a Second Language

As already mentioned, the majority of primary evidence we have for early teaching and the Anglo-Saxon classroom is related to the teaching of Latin. This is chiefly because Latin, while a second language to the students, was still widespread and as a second language would require more extensive teaching. Secondly, Latin was used as a written language, and its teaching reflected that, with the instruction of elements not necessary for a spoken language. Some evidence exists of the vernacular being taught to laymen, particularly the sons of noblemen, as well as those staying in the church,⁶¹ and this will be discussed below.

While Latin was used as a spoken language and pupils were expected to speak it, it was primarily a written language: ‘Those who could speak Latin or comprehend it when spoken or read aloud could almost certainly read it in a book, and many were no doubt more comfortable with written Latin than the spoken or recited form’.⁶² However, it must not be assumed that everyone who could understand spoken Latin would necessarily be able to read or write it, as the use of, for example, preaching in Anglo-Saxon England suggests. Likewise, it must not be assumed that anyone who could read or write Latin would automatically understand spoken Latin.

The methods and tools for teaching Latin to Anglo-Saxon pupils were developed and adapted from earlier, classical, teaching models to suit students learning it as a second language, and to ‘represent the increasing recognition of written Latin as an autonomous

⁶¹ Susan Kelly, ‘Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word’, in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 36-62 (p. 59).

⁶² Godden, ‘Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England’, p. 580.

substance of manifestation of that language'.⁶³ This is reflected in the differences between scribes' treatment of written Latin and Old English and the potential differences between the training involved for each. The teaching situation for Latin in Anglo-Saxon England was very different from Continental methods. Old English, as a Germanic language, has fewer cognates or structural similarities with Latin than Romance languages which makes the learning of it by an Anglo-Saxon student harder: 'Where a Romanesque speaker had some access to Latin, an uneducated Englishman was completely shut out from the sphere of learning and, by implication, religion'.⁶⁴ This would necessitate an alteration of the teaching methods used for Latin in Anglo-Saxon England, and, equally, for speakers of other Germanic languages.

Grammatical, lexical, and conversational knowledge of Latin was taught through a combination of teaching texts, born out of a tradition of teaching texts for speakers of Greek who wished to learn Latin and adapted for Anglo-Saxon users.⁶⁵ These teaching texts included grammars, colloquies and glossaries. Each of these tools served a different purpose: the grammars provided syntax and morphology, the colloquies provided conversational skills and the glossaries provided vocabulary.⁶⁶ This combination of tools – grammatical detail, rote memorization of vocabulary lists and conversational tasks which use repetition and variety – is still used in modern teaching.⁶⁷

2.3.2.2 Colloquies: Teaching Conversation

Further evidence for schoolroom teaching can be found in the *Colloquies* of Ælfric Bata. While possibly presented in an exaggerated form for comic effect,⁶⁸ the *Colloquies* outline

⁶³ Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ Helmut Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, 72 (1990), 3-32 (pp. 4-5); David W. Porter, 'Introduction', in *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. by Scott Gwara (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 1-78 (pp. 15-16); Scott Gwara, 'Anglo-Saxon Schoolbooks', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 507-24 (pp. 507-08).

⁶⁵ Vivien Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982); Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric's Grammatical Triad', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 285-308 (p. 287).

⁶⁶ Porter, p. 16.

⁶⁷ Hill, p. 288.

⁶⁸ Jonathan A. Jones, 'The Irregular Life in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 37 (2006), 241-60.

explicitly the activities and behaviours of students in a monastic schoolroom, and depict several scenes that give insight into the early schooling of oblates, including the beginnings of scribal training and Latin learning, the materials available, and, later, one student receiving his first manuscript commission.⁶⁹

While some clues exist as to the practicalities of early schooling, many aspects remain unknown. The *Colloquies* of Ælfric Bata, however, provide many detailed descriptions of classroom scenes, the details of which are often corroborated by archaeological or textual evidence. Contents aside, the *Colloquies* themselves act as a teaching tool. In writing them, Bata was strongly influenced by the colloquies of his teacher, Ælfric of Eynsham. The *Colloquies* constitute a dialogue which enables students to enact scenes of daily life, putting both vocabulary and grammar into practice. Bata's *Colloquies* make extensive use of synonyms in Latin, which has the dual benefit of widening students' vocabulary in an area and aids learning by not forcing the student to revert to Old English, thereby causing a 'wrenching shift between languages', as is the case with the *De raris fabulis*, a set of Celtic colloquies which have vernacular glosses.⁷⁰ David W. Porter also believes these synonyms could be used by the teacher to test students on their learning of the material.⁷¹ The *Colloquies* go a long way towards demonstrating the practicalities involved in acquiring Latin as a second language in an Anglo-Saxon schoolroom.

2.3.2.3 Glosses as Evidence of Teaching

The appearance of glosses in a manuscript is sometimes taken to be evidence that it has been used for teaching or learning purposes. It has been suggested that they were, for example, used as a mnemonic device for the teacher, acting as a 'link between text and commentary',⁷² or were added by a student as an aid to understanding the text.⁷³

Glosses can serve a number of didactic purposes, as spelled out by Alexander R. Rumble: 'Lexical glosses' can give vocabulary items, or refer to commentary of the text;

⁶⁹ Porter, pp. 1-57.

⁷⁰ Porter, p. 38.

⁷¹ Porter, p. 38.

⁷² Alexander R. Rumble, 'Cues and Clues: Palaeographical Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 115-30 (p. 125).

⁷³ For further discussion of glosses, see Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), in particular pp. 427-28.

‘Accentual glosses’ indicate pronunciation, including marking vowel length; ‘Grammatical glosses’ mark case; ‘Interrogative or “q: glosses”’ mark points prompting a master to question the students; and ‘Syntactical glosses’ indicate sentence structure.⁷⁴ Each of these functions seems to indicate clearly that glosses were used to aid the understanding of a text, suggesting that they were used as a tool to aid the learning of Latin.

These forms of glosses can be illustrated by Bata’s use of them in his *Colloquies*. Porter believes that, as well as having used glosses for interpretation and understanding as a student, certain of Bata’s glosses functioned as mnemonics, used as an aid for Bata as a teacher, while being ‘encoded’ to prevent his students from making use of them.⁷⁵ Bearing in mind this evidence of Bata using innovative and unique abbreviations for personal use, it seems possible that abbreviations were not set in stone, but could be adapted and played with, even by students. This may have implications for our assumptions about the teaching and learning of abbreviation systems.⁷⁶

As Michael Lapidge says, through glosses, ‘the Anglo-Saxon classroom of a thousand years ago comes alive: we seem to hear the master questioning the students on the various cases of the noun’.⁷⁷ However, the appearance of glosses in a manuscript may not always be evidence that it was used for teaching. While Rumble uses them as evidence that a manuscript was used for teaching,⁷⁸ Lapidge shows, quite persuasively, that many Latin glosses are in the same hand as the main text and show similarities across multiple witnesses, suggesting they are copied from an exemplar along with the text.⁷⁹ He concludes that glosses cannot be properly discussed until we have a better idea of the complete surviving corpus of glosses. Until then, we might consider them ‘simply the repositories of learning which [were] (in some cases at least) a century old’.⁸⁰ This suggests that the Latin glosses, in particular, are not necessarily a sign of active learning. They may be an indication of learning at some point, but not necessarily that the specific manuscript witness was used in such a way.

⁷⁴ Rumble, ‘Cues and Clues’, p. 126.

⁷⁵ Porter, p. 6.

⁷⁶ This will be returned to in Section Two, Chapter 11.

⁷⁷ Michael Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: [I] The Evidence of Latin Glosses’, in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 99-140 (p. 99).

⁷⁸ Rumble, ‘Cues and Clues’, p. 125.

⁷⁹ Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts’, p. 99.

⁸⁰ Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts’, p. 125.

By contrast, English glosses appear to show more variation between witnesses, sometimes appearing in dry-point, which may ‘reflect the *ad hoc* responses of individual readers to textual difficulties’,⁸¹ and is more in keeping with the idea that they are direct reflections of learning in the classroom. This may be an indication of one aspect of the role of Old English in the classroom, particularly in the study of the Latin poets following the more basic language learning.

2.3.2.4 Teaching Materials

Despite evidence such as glosses, manuscripts containing the types of texts typically associated with teaching are still often problematic to identify as such, and their role within the classroom is yet more difficult to determine. Three categories of teaching manuscript may be identified: manuscripts containing literary texts intended to be studied by masters and transmitted to students, which may be termed *Schulbücher*; manuscripts containing texts associated with teaching, probably to be used by masters, which may be termed ‘classbooks’; and books belonging to, and used by, students. However, the terms *Schulbuch* and ‘classbook’ are often used interchangeably. A *Schulbuch*, the model of which stems from examples in Late Antiquity, might typically contain texts by the ‘school authors’, grammatical texts, exercises and drills, colloquies, and glossaries. However, ‘no proper *Schulbuch* has come down to us, that is a manuscript compiled by a master with his students in mind’,⁸² so its use in Anglo-Saxon England must be conjectural. The term ‘classbook’ is broad and encompasses a variety of manuscripts, its loosest definition being simply any book which may have been used in an Anglo-Saxon classroom. This might include books used by the master, ‘from which the lesson was expounded’, or by the student, ‘by which the “set-texts” were studied’.⁸³ These books are often deemed ‘classbooks’ due to the presence of glosses which are believed to give insight into the ways in which the texts were used in teaching,⁸⁴ although, as outlined above, this may not always be the case. A few well-known manuscripts have been deemed ‘classbooks’, including ‘St

⁸¹ Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts’, p. 125.

⁸² Patrizia Lendinara, ‘Instructional Manuscripts in England: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Codices and the Early Norman Ones’, in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D’Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 59-114 (p. 71).

⁸³ Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts’, p. 99.

⁸⁴ Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts’, p. 99.

Dunstan's Classbook' and the 'Canterbury Classbook'.⁸⁵ However, Patrizia Lendinara believes that these books were not used in a classroom. Rather, they were studied by teachers, possibly in order to plan lessons, and they were designed for use by clerics and 'an elite of secular readers'.⁸⁶ So, as with *Schulbücher*, there is no certainty that 'classbooks' were actually directly used in the Anglo-Saxon classroom.

The final category of books associated with learning is the supposed class of manuscripts owned and used by students. As with the *Schulbücher*, the use of these student books is supposedly based on examples from Late Antiquity in the Roman Empire. These books 'were the books belonging to the students, in which they would acquire literacy, learning how to read and write (by copying or transliterating short texts, including prayers)'.⁸⁷ However, again, there are no surviving examples from Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, it might be reasonable to suppose that books such as these were never used. As Lapidge reasons:

I suspect few scholars today would be prepared to believe that each student possessed his own manuscript containing the set texts. One obstacle is that, out of the thousands upon thousands of early medieval manuscripts that have been preserved, only one or two have been conjecturally described as 'student copies'. Yet we could well expect that hundreds (if not thousands) of identifiable student copies would survive, if indeed each student had had his own personal copy of whatever text was being read in the monastic school.⁸⁸

Thus we must conclude that, although there are many texts and manuscripts associated with teaching and learning, very few can conclusively be shown to have been directly used.

The issue of survival is also relevant to the rest of the classroom environment. While we have descriptions of the materials used for teaching, and some illustrations, physical evidence is rarer. Bata's *Colloquies* give extensive vocabulary lists describing the tools and materials used in the classroom.⁸⁹ It is believed that a master dictated text to the students who would transcribe it onto either wax or wooden tablets, and this is supported by archaeological evidence such as tablets found in Ireland and styluses at Whitby.⁹⁰ However, generally, evidence is sparse, as students typically worked on materials that were

⁸⁵ 'St Dunstan's Classbook', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctorium F. 4. 32; 'The Canterbury Classbook', Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35.

⁸⁶ Lendinara, p. 72.

⁸⁷ Lendinara, p. 71.

⁸⁸ Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', p. 101.

⁸⁹ Porter, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁰ Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts', p. 101.

intended to be discarded, or at least not preserved with the same care as a complete manuscript, such as these wax or wooden tablets, or scraps of parchment.⁹¹ As such, evidence for this early stage of learning is also lacking.

The process of learning by writing on wax or wooden tablets also bestows much more importance on the question of how scribes transition from being literate students to working scribes: the change from wax tablet to parchment is more extreme than from scraps of parchment or papyrus to full book. Thus, there must still be an additional process of learning once a potential scribe progresses from wax tablets to parchment, in addition to the early stages of learning outlined above.

2.3.2.5 Teaching Texts

Much of Anglo-Saxon teaching has its roots in the work of Classical grammarians such as Augustine and Donatus. The grammars, bilingual glossaries, and colloquies associated with teaching have their roots, both in form and theory, in classical teaching.⁹² Carolingian influence also played a part in forming Anglo-Saxon teaching methods.⁹³ Early Anglo-Saxon teaching was dependent on the psalter, and used the vernacular to teach a basic level of Latin literacy.⁹⁴ By the late Anglo-Saxon period, educational texts used included grammar texts, the works of both Classical and medieval Latin authors, some Carolingian texts, and Anglo-Saxon texts, both authored and anonymous. These texts, when used for teaching ‘occur together and were often accompanied by glosses, long scholia and commentaries’.⁹⁵ Despite this broad range of texts and sources, our knowledge of the details of the Anglo-Saxon curriculum is sparse. Porter lists details which remain unknown, including the order or combination in which the teaching materials were used, or whether there was some kind of uniformity of instruction across teaching centres.⁹⁶

Some evidence of the ways in which teaching texts were used and combined can be discerned from their manuscript contents. London, British Library, MS Harley 3271, containing Ælfric’s *Grammar* and the *Beatus*, has been examined at length. However, A.

⁹¹ Rumble, ‘Cues and Clues’, p. 115.

⁹² Law; Hill, p. 287.

⁹³ Lendinara, pp. 61-62.

⁹⁴ Julia Crick, ‘English Vernacular Script’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 174-86 (p. 183).

⁹⁵ Lendinara, p. 59.

⁹⁶ Porter, p. 54.

Garzya has stressed that a text cannot definitively be called ‘educational’ without evidence of contemporary versions of it which have been modified by, for example, paraphrasing, the use of excerpts, or abridgements.⁹⁷ This would demonstrate that the text was being used and adapted subject to the user’s requirements and to suit the teaching methods employed. László Sándor Chardonens describes MS Harley 3271 as compiled for use by oblates and clergymen to teach them Latin with linguistic theory from the *Grammar*, with the purpose of being better able to understand the Bible with only minimal use of the vernacular.⁹⁸ He concludes that the material in this manuscript ‘represents the latest pedagogic insights available at the time of composition’, in particular the grammatical texts, which must have been very recently composed.⁹⁹ Again, this is restricted to Latin learning.

A further example of Classical influence on Anglo-Saxon teaching is in the relationship between spoken and written language which has its origins in Augustine: ‘Augustine’s *De dialectica* [...] affirms that “every word is a sound, for when it is written it is not a word but the sign of a word. When we read, the letters we see suggest to the mind the sounds of the utterance”’.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, on a smaller level, the relationship between letters and speech sounds, which will be expanded upon below, continues the teaching of Priscian: ‘A beginner had to copy model letters to register their *figurae*, and pronounce them to register their *potestas*. Thus the development of *litterae absolutae* was the graphic counterpart of attempts to reconstruct a rational system of Latin orthography on the basis of classical models’.¹⁰¹

However, this type of instruction is not seen in Bata’s *Colloquies*. He stresses the importance of learning to read ‘without hesitation’, but how he instructed his students to

⁹⁷ Lendinara, p. 72. A. Garzya, ‘Testi letterari di uso strumentale a Bizanzio’, in *Il Mandarino e il quotidiano. Saggi Sulla letteratura tardoantica e bizantina*, ed. by A. Garzya (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1985), pp. 36-71.

⁹⁸ László Sándor Chardonens, ‘London, British Library, Harley 3271: The Composition and Structure of an Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany’, in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D’Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 3-34 (pp. 23-24).

⁹⁹ Chardonens, p. 27.

¹⁰⁰ Augustine, *De dialectica*, trans. by B. Darrell Jackson (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1975), p. 88; David Ganz, ‘The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule’, *Viator*, 18 (1987), 23-44 (p. 40).

¹⁰¹ M. B. Parkes, ‘Rædan, Areccan, Smeagan: How the Anglo-Saxons Read’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), 1-22 (pp. 2 and 6). This will be expanded upon in detail in Section Two, Chapter 12.

do so is not made clear.¹⁰² The process is explained to some extent by Abbo of Fleury, whose *Quaestiones Grammaticales* describe the manner and place of articulation of the letters using English examples, as intended for use by Anglo-Saxon learners.¹⁰³ The grammar texts, including Ælfric's *Grammar*, give insight into the practicalities of learning linguistic theory.¹⁰⁴ While it is the grammar of Latin that is taught, it may be assumed that once a learner knows the parts of speech in Latin, that knowledge could be applied to Old English.¹⁰⁵ Bata talks about the importance of having grammatical knowledge ('no book is properly written or arranged unless the one who composes it first studies the grammatical art'), but what he means by this is unclear. Porter suggests textual emendation, or knowledge of abbreviation and punctuation, none of which are explicitly described.¹⁰⁶ Certainly, the conventions of abbreviation and punctuation used across Anglo-Saxon England seem to suggest some level of formalized instruction.¹⁰⁷

However grammatical knowledge was taught, it was effective. For example, the effects of grammatical knowledge can be seen in the development of word division in copies of texts previously written in *scriptio continua*, that is, without word breaks. The grammatical knowledge being taught to scribes meant they were able to analyse written Latin and identify syntactical and morphological information, and adjust their copying to reflect that knowledge.¹⁰⁸ Regarding the teaching of Latin as a second language, we can find influences from, and parallels with, Continental and Classical models of teaching, but very often the evidence for their use in Anglo-Saxon England is tenuous at best. In these models we can see how grammar, vocabulary and conversation are introduced to students, and some of the texts and manuscripts which may be associated with training, although this association is not always certain. As such, many assumptions must be made about what is used, and how.

¹⁰² Porter, p. 54, n. 118.

¹⁰³ Porter, p. 54, n. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Chardonnens, p. 21.

¹⁰⁵ Parkes, 'How the Anglo-Saxons Read', pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁶ Porter, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ This will be explored fully in Section Two, Chapters 10 and 11.

¹⁰⁸ Parkes, 'How the Anglo-Saxons Read', pp. 2-3.

2.3.3 Teaching and Learning Script

2.3.3.1 Imitation and Teaching of Scripts

As touched on above, students learned to form the shapes of letters, the *figurae*, by copying examples, first onto wax tablets and then onto parchment. Armando Petrucci describes the process of acquiring script as being of two parts: teaching and imitation. These two aspects cannot always be distinguished as ‘imitation was often part of teaching, and teaching, in turn, was based on imitation’.¹⁰⁹ The basic script taught in this way is treated as a foundation script and is sufficient for the learner to be able to write.¹¹⁰ Foundation scripts were taught at the earliest stages of education in ‘the primary schools of a monastery cathedral or a notarial *station*’.¹¹¹ These basic letter shapes could then be combined as syllables, to which were then added the more elaborate aspects of letters such as cursive elements and ligatures.¹¹² Students also learned book scripts through imitation of a master’s work.¹¹³ The next stage involved practising following a master’s example in copying text for a manuscript.¹¹⁴ Examples of this ‘vocalized training’ can be seen in manuscripts with colophons stating that they were copied by a master and his pupils, in which it is evident that the master wrote the first portion, indicating the models for the page including layout, script, headings and *litterae notabiliores*, which would then be followed by a student hand endeavouring to emulate that example.¹¹⁵ This process was also described in detail by Aliza Cohen-Mushlin in the pattern of teaching and learning evident in the scriptorium of St Mary Magdalene in Frankenthal, where ‘senior scribes trained others to emulate their own style by intervening sample scripts’.¹¹⁶ This can be seen in the alternating passages written by teacher and student on one page as the student’s technique improves to reach the standard of the teacher.

Learning through teaching and imitation is not the only way in which students can learn scripts. Petrucci describes examples of ‘laborious and imperfect efforts at self-education’ where there was no master to oversee the manuscript production process, which

¹⁰⁹ Petrucci, p. 61.

¹¹⁰ Petrucci, p. 61; Da Rold, ‘Manuscript Production before Chaucer’, p. 53.

¹¹¹ Petrucci, p. 61.

¹¹² Ganz, ‘Preconditions’, p. 34.

¹¹³ Ganz, ‘Preconditions’, p. 34.

¹¹⁴ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 9.

¹¹⁵ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 9.

¹¹⁶ Cohen-Mushlin, pp. 62 and 65.

consequently ‘occurred in nearly complete disorder’.¹¹⁷ In particular, the work of Gundohinus is shown to be the product of a slow education which was, at least in terms of script training, autodidactic.¹¹⁸ These examples highlight the role of the master and the importance of close guidance at even the more advanced stages of a scribe’s training. Both methods of learning, however, are still dependent on imitation, and it seems to be only the master calligraphers who would create their own scripts to be imitated and learned by their scriptorium.

2.3.3.2 The Hierarchy of Scripts

Petrucci demonstrated that certain scripts were foundation scripts, chiefly used by students who were still learning to write, and continued to be used by those who could write but who were not scribes, such as those in *stationes* run by lay notaries where children were trained to write for non-ecclesiastical purposes.¹¹⁹ In tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, students learned Square Minuscule as a starting point before ‘graduating’ to Caroline and, with it, Latin.¹²⁰ This hierarchy suggests that students learned Old English before Latin. This may be at odds with the teaching of *figura* and *potestas* for Latin letters which introduced the Roman alphabet and its shapes and sounds as a Latin tool to be extended to Old English. The eleventh century saw the script distinction reinforced, and Julia Crick describes Vernacular Minuscule as the ‘native’ script of scribes by this point, pointing to the evidence of Ælfric, Wulfstan and Coleman writing in it.¹²¹

The hierarchy of scripts developed in scriptoria resulted in different scripts being used for different functions, different languages, the purpose of a text or the importance or level of a text element on a page.¹²² Presumably each of these scripts must have been agreed upon and taught in the same way as the basic scripts. Such is the case in Wearmouth-Jarrow, which ‘achieved a remarkable tradition of scribal discipline used in copying the

¹¹⁷ Petrucci, p. 98.

¹¹⁸ Petrucci, pp. 82-85.

¹¹⁹ Petrucci, p. 61; Da Rold, ‘Manuscript Production before Chaucer’, p. 53.

¹²⁰ Crick, ‘English Vernacular Script’, pp. 182-83.

¹²¹ Crick, ‘English Vernacular Script’, pp. 182-83.

¹²² Ganz, ‘Preconditions’, p. 24. For more on the different purposes, styles, and difficulties of scripts, see Daniel Wakelin, ‘Writing the Words’, in *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34-58 (pp. 38-39).

works of the house author, Bede'.¹²³ Scribes who copied or wrote both Old English and Latin using distinct scripts for each would, therefore, acquire dual competencies, and those who were proficient at Caroline could also write Vernacular Minuscule with equal ability.¹²⁴ Thus, Crick describes users of Caroline Minuscule as 'an elite group among the writers of vernacular minuscule'.¹²⁵ The acquisition of a second script may be counter-intuitive, its use going against the habits ingrained in the use of the first script with which a scribe has become accustomed, which Petrucci describes as a hindrance beyond that of the task of learning a first script.¹²⁶

This distinction between scripts and languages does not appear to have survived far beyond the eleventh century; Crick gives the example of a bilingual writ in the name of Henry I from 1107, which clearly distinguishes between Latin and Old English, as being a late example of the practice.¹²⁷ As such, the Nero Middleton and *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes are working at the height of bilingual and dual competencies, and the scribes must have undergone this second level of teaching.

2.3.3.3 Script Styles: Conformity and Variation

The method of teaching by example and imitation resulted in students forming letter shapes that are variations on a prototype form. These shapes conforming around a type inevitably result in a range of forms which can be classed as a style with which different hands can be associated, or a house style denoting scripts associated with a centre.¹²⁸ These are often deliberately distinctive, intended to mark a book as the product of a certain scriptorium.¹²⁹ This is seen, for example, in Wearmouth-Jarrow where the Insular Minuscule used was adapted to conform to a local standard.¹³⁰ Trends in writing and decoration may also be labelled a 'regional script', suggesting a shared training or method of

¹²³ Ganz, 'Preconditions', p. 24. For the uniformity of style at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, see also Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London: The British Library, 2003), p. 53.

¹²⁴ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 181.

¹²⁵ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 181.

¹²⁶ Petrucci, p. 65.

¹²⁷ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 185.

¹²⁸ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 9. M. B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5 (1976), 149-71 (pp. 154-55).

¹²⁹ Ganz, p. 34.

¹³⁰ M. B. Parkes, 'The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow', Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St. Paul's Church, 1982), p. 7.

construction that is either less easily assigned to a centre, or is shared across multiple centres.¹³¹ These trends and styles highlight the importance of script in scribal training.

The imitation of script is also used for different purposes than merely learning and using an accepted form. Scribes can also imitate aspects of scripts for various reasons, including fraud, for archaizing effect, or through influence from work seen by the scribe. The scribes of the *Codex Amiatinus* styled their script on those of Roman manuscripts they had encountered.¹³² As Petrucci notes, this imitation is part of a larger series of processes than simply copying from a model: it necessitates the pre-existence of scripts which are regarded as ‘exemplary’ and which stem from a prestigious centre; there must be a will to imitate such a script; and the scribes adopting this script must be capable of adapting their writing style to a sufficiently high standard that the association with the model is clear.¹³³ Thus, the production of a manuscript by multiple scribes in an imitative script is indicative of a highly trained, closely co-ordinated scriptorium. Archaizing hands demonstrate an awareness that scripts change over time, and that the scribe using an archaized hand is doing so with the purpose of emulating the image of an earlier work.¹³⁴

Within a script style there is space for individual variations, which must be inevitable as ‘each scribe had to adjust the traces forming the letters to the rhythms in his or her personal *ductus*’.¹³⁵ Individuality in hand is both the mark of an experienced scribe developing flourishes and decorative variations, and the mark of an inexperienced scribe still learning to form the letter shapes.¹³⁶ Beginning with any basic script, a scribe could make adaptations, both personal (producing an individual *ductus*, or deliberate decorative flourishes), and those directed by a calligraphy master.¹³⁷

The evidence for formalized teaching of scripts is strong. Both the evidence of manuscripts produced by masters and students in collaboration, and the presence of house styles and regional scripts seem to show the importance placed on producing scripts to a

¹³¹ Treharne, ‘Scribal Connections’, p. 45.

¹³² Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1.

¹³³ Petrucci, pp. 64-65.

¹³⁴ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 144.

¹³⁵ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 100.

¹³⁶ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 144.

¹³⁷ Petrucci, p. 61.

certain standard.¹³⁸ The differentiation of scripts for Latin and Old English also suggests that two stages of teaching for the two languages may have been used and that Old English was taught before Latin.

2.3.4 Evidence for the Teaching of Old English

Several arguments can be made for the existence of some kind of formalized education for the teaching of written Old English. Donald Scragg notes that during the ‘long eleventh century’ large numbers of people were able to write English, and that ‘even larger numbers were consequently able to read it’.¹³⁹ During the periods when Latin was in decline, scribes must have still been learning to write, as the evidence of books from this period confirms,¹⁴⁰ and therefore their education must have been in the vernacular: evidence of written conventions different from those applied to Latin exist in Old English; Old English is seen in texts associated with teaching, and the division of scripts by language suggests different teaching methods for each.

The evidence of certain texts in the vernacular, such as the English version of Gregory the Great’s *Pastoral Care*, suggests that written Old English had an element of ‘stability’, in both spelling choice as well as written conventions in the copying process.¹⁴¹ This stability is surely an indication of some kind of standardized approach to writing the vernacular and cannot have been arrived at either by coincidence or by unformalized collaboration or influence. While less standardized than Latin, Old English was – as mentioned above – subject to certain conventions, not just in orthography, but in paralinguistic aspects such as abbreviation and punctuation, the use of which was different when used with Old English rather than with Latin.

The existence of tenth-century translations of a text suggests that they may have been used for teaching, and it is possible they were used as ‘schoolbooks’ in the same way as those in Latin were, although there is no direct evidence for this.¹⁴² For example, Ælfric

¹³⁸ Parkes describes the scribes of Nunnaminster making efforts at a standardized script and house style of this type. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 178.

¹³⁹ Scragg, *Conspectus*, p. xiii.

¹⁴⁰ Richard Gameson, ‘St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book’, in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 59-104 (p. 62).

¹⁴¹ Crick, ‘English Vernacular Script’, p. 178.

¹⁴² Gwara, p. 517.

translated his paradigms into Old English.¹⁴³ If we accept that some glossing was used for education purposes, then we might say that English must have been used in some capacity in education,¹⁴⁴ if not explicitly taught, and bilingual glossaries may have contributed to the establishment of a standard Old English vocabulary.¹⁴⁵

Most discussion of the learning of English is centred on lay literacy.¹⁴⁶ However, English was used for religious texts and purposes as well as secular. Bede says he produced vernacular copies of the Creed and *Pater noster* for 'ignorant priests', and was said to have been producing a translation of the Gospel of St John on his deathbed.¹⁴⁷ The evidence suggests that English texts were not only produced for a literate laity, but for clerics who were educated but had no knowledge of Latin. This is seen in particular with Alfred's *Regula pastoralis* which was primarily intended for bishops' use.¹⁴⁸ Despite the existence of these texts in the vernacular, and their possible use in teaching environments, there is no explicit evidence for the teaching of Old English grammar. Helmut Gneuss suggests that the early Anglo-Saxons acquired both their scripts and their orthographic systems from the Irish, but that they may also have consulted Latin for spelling choices. He takes his evidence for this from early articulatory descriptions of speech sounds, as well as spelling choices in early Old English glosses pointing to an adaptation of the Latin alphabet to a new language.¹⁴⁹ However, Philip A. Shaw disagrees with this, using early single-sheet charters and, in particular, coin epigraphy as evidence of the early adaptation of the Latin alphabet to English.¹⁵⁰ It has been suggested that English teaching increased following the ideology of King Alfred:

¹⁴³ Gwara, p. 513.

¹⁴⁴ Godden, 'Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 587.

¹⁴⁵ Gwara, p. 516. This so-called 'standard' Old English vocabulary has been discussed, for example, in Helmut Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 63-83; Walter Hofstetter, 'Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 17 (1988), 139-61; Mechthild Gretsche, 'Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 83 (2001), 41-87.

¹⁴⁶ Such as, for example, McKitterick. Simon Keynes also discusses the evidence of charters and administrative documents for lay literacy. Simon Keynes, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Rosamund McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 226-57.

¹⁴⁷ Godden, 'Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 587.

¹⁴⁸ Godden, 'Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 588.

¹⁴⁹ Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 10-11.

¹⁵⁰ Philip A. Shaw, 'Adapting the Roman Alphabet for Writing Old English: Evidence from Coin Epigraphy and Single-Sheet Charters', *Early Medieval Europe*, 21 (2013), 115-39 (p. 118).

all the youth now in England [...] may be devoted to learning as long as they cannot be of use in any other employment, until such time as they can read well what is written in English. One may then teach further in the Latin language those whom one wishes to teach further and to bring to holy orders.¹⁵¹

This could mean that teaching of reading and writing was in and of the vernacular.¹⁵² It is not certain how far Alfred's plan was realized, but, as mentioned above, Crick suggests that the differentiation of language by script suggests a 'two-stage educational process' consisting of a vernacular stage in Insular Minuscule, and finishing with Caroline and Latin.¹⁵³ While there is little evidence for written English being taught in the same way as Latin (if it were, surely we would have the same kinds of surviving evidence), there is much evidence of Old English being used within education. Ælfric's *Grammar*, for example, taught Latin grammar using the vernacular, where the established norm was to teach Latin grammar using the Latin language.¹⁵⁴ The use of English to teach Latin meant that the concepts of language must also have been applied to English. Many of the grammatical terms and categories were taught and used, in particular the parts of speech, syntax, and the basics of word-formation.¹⁵⁵ However, the two languages work differently, so the fit would not be perfect: while phonology and syntax were relatively unproblematic, the Latin inflexional system posed difficulties for Anglo-Saxon learners.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, 'there is no written evidence for the application of grammatical knowledge to the vernacular in the first Anglo-Saxon period'.¹⁵⁷ Gneuss questions whether this is an effective means of learning Old English, as is implied in Ælfric's Latin preface, particularly as the *Grammar* 'offers no systematic treatment of the morphology of Old English nor of its grammatical peculiarities'.¹⁵⁸ However, unless a student had a specific purpose in learning the grammar of Old English, a native speaker would be unlikely to need this in order to use it.

¹⁵¹ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 183; *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), I, p. 889.

¹⁵² Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 183; D. A. Bullough, 'The Education Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *utriusque linguae*', *Settimane*, 19 (1972), 453-94; George Hardin Brown, 'The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 77 (1995), 109-42; Malcolm Godden, 'King Alfred's Preface and the Teaching of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2003), 596-604.

¹⁵³ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 183.

¹⁵⁴ Hill, p. 287.

¹⁵⁵ Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 10-11.

¹⁵⁸ Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 14.

Despite the lack of evidence for teaching of the written vernacular, the use of Old English in certain texts such as the computistical and encyclopaedic notes, as well as Ælfric's *Grammar*, may lead us to conclude that learning in the vernacular took place, and if it was not as a replacement for Latin, it was accepted across various levels of education.¹⁵⁹ It might be argued that the appearance of written conventions in Old English is not evidence of some kind of standardized teaching. Wulfstan and Ælfric are credited with importing the Latin system of punctuation to their Old English writings.¹⁶⁰ This may suggest that the system in place beforehand was not adequate for their purposes, and that systems came into use by individuals without instruction, or that their training allowed for flexibility or innovation.

The written vernacular showed stability and conventions of use that suggest more formality in its acquisition than simply applying knowledge of written Latin to the vernacular. This can be seen, for example, in the Old English version of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*.¹⁶¹ The standardization of Old English vocabulary at Winchester also points to some kind of formalized treatment of the vernacular, and the existence of the view that Old English could be a textual language to be treated similarly to Latin.¹⁶² Scott Gwara suggests that standard Old English vocabularies may have emerged as a result of bilingual glossaries, rather than through taught conventions.¹⁶³ It is also possible that elements of standardization may have arisen due to the restricted class of society who were taught to read and write, whose preferences would dominate the written language.¹⁶⁴

As mentioned above, in the later Anglo-Saxon period, Latin and Old English were distinguished by the use of separate scripts, not just at the learning stage, but in completed manuscripts too. The differentiation between the two resulted in a 'distinct vernacular realm or rather cordoned off a separate Latin enclave'.¹⁶⁵ This 'alphabetic apartheid'¹⁶⁶ may suggest two distinct traditions and disciplines,¹⁶⁷ or at least some differences between the

¹⁵⁹ Chardonnens, p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 181.

¹⁶¹ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 178.

¹⁶² Gwara, p. 516.

¹⁶³ Gwara, p. 516.

¹⁶⁴ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 176.

¹⁶⁵ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 180-81.

¹⁶⁶ David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, AD. 950-1030* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), p. 24.

¹⁶⁷ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 180-81.

two. In particular, Crick points to the apparent deregulation and improvisation of the vernacular script, showing much variety between hands, and few identifiably scriptorial features. During this period, she believes, the vernacular was largely produced outside of the strict writing environment of the scriptoria.¹⁶⁸ This may be evidence that the writing of the vernacular was treated differently from Latin, and, contrary to what the previous discussion has suggested, that it was not viewed as a written language comparable with Latin.

2.3.5 The Transfer from Writer to Scribe

Simply knowing Latin and Old English and being able to write is not the same as being a scribe, but the process by which a student graduates from one to the other is not clear. The process by which a student learns Latin and acquires scripts has been made clear, and has been discussed at length, based on evidence of texts and manuscripts associated with teaching, as well as narrative evidence such as that of Bata. Less examined, though, is the distinction between proficiencies of writing; the distinction between one who can write and one who is a professional scribe, and the distinctions between different types of scribes, trained for different purposes. As Petrucci says:

In practice, the connection between writers and writing is never so absolutely and clearly definable as is usually thought, with clear boundaries between literates and illiterates or between writing technicians and unlearned writers, and it was still less so in the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁹

Statements can be made that a scribe is well-trained, or that certain processes or traits require a certain degree of training, but what this training might consist of is not made clear.¹⁷⁰ Chardonnens describes an example of a well-trained scribe as one who is able to differentiate in script between Old English and Latin within the text of Ælfric's *Grammar*.¹⁷¹ This is similar to Crick's view of the elite scribes with dual competencies, however it also seems to disregard the fact that the script distinction for Latin and Old English was the norm for any trained scribe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and therefore was not such a notable achievement.

¹⁶⁸ Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 179.

¹⁶⁹ Petrucci, p. 77.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, Chardonnens, who observes that the MS Harley 3271 scribe must have been 'well-trained' in order to produce the interlinear Old English glosses. Chardonnens, p. 12.

¹⁷¹ Chardonnens, p. 12.

Petrucci sets out four categories of writer in Italy in the seventh to tenth centuries, although these are differentiated more by vocation than ability, suggesting that, in Italy at least, the next level of scribal ability is guided by purpose in writing rather than the extent of a scribe's formal training and copying or writing ability. The four classes of scribes Petrucci describes are as follows: scribes who were trained specifically for copying, who constitute the most common type of scribe; apprentices or young scholars who were not fully trained but who still attempted to write using established scripts; writers using basic scripts who were of 'moderate or low literacy'; and highly educated scholars who most typically annotated or contributed to books rather than writing them, using non-formalized scripts.¹⁷² When scribes were writing for the same purpose (for example, within a scriptorium), their differences in ability can be more easily identified. Rodney Thomson has identified a variety of indicators of scribal inexperience in the scriptorium of William of Malmesbury which include a lack of 'graphic ability' or the inability to conform to the house style, scribes not working well together, or with the requirements of a text or book, and obvious interruptions to the copying process.¹⁷³ It must be noted that none of these perceived shortcomings affected a scribe's ability to work as such, which raises the issue of the extent to which any separate training was ever required. However, the presence of other so-called 'well-trained' scribes, master calligraphers, and professional scribes points to there being some kind of distinction even if these proficient scribes were not always used. Ælfric Bata also includes a scene describing a young student bargaining for a job producing a manuscript wherein the ability to work as a talented scribe is depicted as a skill, worthy of payment and reward.¹⁷⁴ Thus, highly trained scribes were often desirable but, perhaps, not always necessary. It is also notable that in William of Malmesbury's scriptorium Thomson connects the ability of a scribe to more than just competency in writing. Each level of book production is considered, including 'the relationship between the book and the text or texts contained, and the cultural level and the overall environment comprising education, the activities of the scribes, and the production of the book'.¹⁷⁵ A scribe's competency speaks to the scriptorium as a whole, and, it might be concluded, would be in part dictated and

¹⁷² Petrucci, pp. 78-79.

¹⁷³ R. M. Thomson, 'The "Scriptorium" of William of Malmesbury', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Wason (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 117-42 (pp. 126 and 128); Petrucci, p. 80.

¹⁷⁴ Porter, p. 10.

¹⁷⁵ Petrucci, p. 80; Thomson, 'The "Scriptorium" of William of Malmesbury', pp. 126 and 128.

fostered by the scriptorium in an effort to ensure each scribe's output was to the required standard.

Little is known of the practicalities of the process by which a student became a scribe. Vague reference is made to practice and to learning on the job, presumably for those students who showed an aptitude for writing in the schoolroom. These students were taught 'more sophisticated models', still under the tutelage of a master.¹⁷⁶ The next level of development might be collaboration between scribes 'to produce volumes more rapidly. This involved the use of a set of shared conventions about the nature of written language'.¹⁷⁷ This practice indicates, again, that the scriptorium or school would make efforts to ensure that the scribes producing its books had the ability to work to a certain standard.

As was touched upon above, scribes could achieve a high level of ability in script formation, understanding, linguistic knowledge and copying ability. However, very often scribes who would be perceived by modern standards to be less capable can be seen working in a way which suggests that their ability, or lack thereof, was not a hindrance to their working. Petrucci also suggests that levels of competency were not always a consideration for scribes, nor for their patrons or superiors, and that they were not aware of 'greater or lesser technical ability'.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, Chardonnens concludes that certain scribal behaviour, such as switching between scripts in MS Harley 3271, which may be perceived as an indication of inability or inexperience, is in fact scribal choice.¹⁷⁹ From this it must be concluded that modern concepts of competency and ability should not be blindly applied to the work of medieval scribes. The fact that scribes would make efforts to correct their work, and to form letters as close to a prototype or style as they could, suggests an awareness of ability. Whether or not it was always important, as these standards were not always applied, is another matter. However, this conclusion has implications for the issue of scribal training, as it begs the question of why some scribes evidently achieved a high level of training if it was not necessary, and why, as Bata describes, this was desirable.

¹⁷⁶ Petrucci, p. 62; Da Rold, 'Manuscript Production before Chaucer', p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Ganz, p. 35.

¹⁷⁸ Petrucci, p. 81.

¹⁷⁹ Chardonnens, p. 12.

2.4 Conclusion

Some conclusions can be drawn about the process scribes underwent in their training. Much more is known about the tools and methods used for learning Latin and the acquisition of scripts. The presence of conventions within the system of written Old English suggests that there was some kind of training for the writing of the vernacular, and the evidence of a hierarchy of script and the lack of extant teaching tools for Old English comparable to those for Latin suggests that the teaching methods for the two were different, but the lack of explicit evidence means that our knowledge of this can only be supposition. We can also conclude little about the distinction between scribe and elite scribe.

The purpose of exploring scribal training is to determine the role it plays in developing a scribe's written language, and the aspects that might be attributed to training, be they from 'formative training or in a more advanced stage'.¹⁸⁰ The paucity of evidence for training in Old English means that the only aspects of a scribe's work in Old English which can be said with some certainty to come from training are graphic ability and conventions which conform to a house standard. Instead of referring to a scribe's training, we might, then, talk about the pre-existing written language system which was developed in a scribe's career up to the point of producing the manuscript in question. This writing system may be a product of training, may be picked up by extension of the Latin letter-sound correspondences, or may be an accumulation of these things, as well as being influenced by other spelling systems and writing conventions the scribe has encountered.

¹⁸⁰ Julia Crick, 'The Case for a West Saxon Minuscule', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), 63-79 (p. 71).

3 CHAPTER 3: Manuscript Copies and Copying

3.1 The Value of Working with Manuscripts

The use of editions often influences discussion of manuscripts and their contents. Editions obscure not just linguistic and palaeographical information, but the mise-en-page is lost, as well as any sense of the artefact and the text in its context.¹ The use of editions in preference to manuscripts affects our view of manuscript culture as a whole. For some, this altered focus is the reason for the use of editions, as ‘It is commonplace – still – in some editorial traditions to condemn scribal activity as a distraction from more important matters relating to authorial intention’.² This neglect of manuscript copies has also arisen from a desire for the so-called ‘original’ versions of texts at the expense of the later copies. The study of these copies will help in understanding the life and use of a text beyond its ‘original’ composition, and will prioritize the manuscript as more than a vehicle for the text.³

Editorial practice, no matter how explicitly stated, can dramatically influence the scholarship that follows from it. Scragg argues strongly against the use of such editions, saying ‘an editorial policy which ignores common spelling variants has damaged our ability to see some part of transmission history’.⁴ The same is true of charters: in 1999 Lowe noted

¹ Jeremy Smith, ‘Standard Language in Early Middle English’, in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 125-39 (p. 136).

² Jeremy Smith, ‘The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a> in Two Wooing Group Texts (MSS London, Cotton Nero A. xiv and London, Lambeth Palace 487)’, in *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group*, ed. by Susannah M. Chewing (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 84-95; Wakelin, p. 49.

³ Thomas John Gobbitt, ‘The Production and Use of MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 in the Late Eleventh and First Half of the Twelfth Centuries’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Leeds, 2010), p. 27.

⁴ Donald Scragg, ‘Ælfric’s Scribes’, *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 37 (2006), 179-89 (p. 186) and Scragg, *Conspectus*, p. xii, n. 7. The use of editions in preference to working with manuscripts has led to realizations like that of F. C. Robinson: ‘A whole sub-culture of linguistic phenomena lurks in the collations tucked away in the small print of editions ... I have found in the spelling variants enough hidden phonological information to disturb the sleep of the conscientious lexicographer who is working exclusively from standard published editions’. F. C. Robinson, ‘Metathesis in the Dictionaries: A Problem for Lexicographers’, in *Problems of Old English Lexicography: Studies in Memory of Angus Cameron*, ed. by Alfred Bammesberger (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1985), pp. 245-65 (p. 249). Alison Wiggins also has to note that she is constrained by the limits of a transcription when trying to investigate ‘the use of abbreviations, word division, or capitalization’, all of which are wholly dependent on the practices of the transcriber. Alison Wiggins ‘Are Auchinleck Manuscript Scribes 1 and 6 the Same

that John Kemble ‘remains the sole printed authority for the majority of diplomas after the end of the tenth century, many of which contain vernacular boundary clauses’.⁵ While Kemble’s editions are less interventionist than some editions, his versions do differ from the manuscript copies.⁶ Similarly, the versions of charter texts presented in *The Electronic Sawyer* are often normalized, or reflect ‘best text’ practice, which is practical for the purposes of historical study, but is misleading for any kind of linguistic or scribal study.⁷ In the last few years, *LangScape* has provided the best resource for vernacular bounds, providing accurate transcriptions of multiple manuscript witnesses for the majority of Old English charters.⁸

3.2 Copies as Access to Original Texts

When discussing the process of and evidence for textual transmission, there has arisen a certain vocabulary and inadvertent attitude amongst modern scholars which results in a portrayal of transmission as a detrimental, negative process. Whether this is intentional or not, the way in which scholars write about it will inevitably influence the reader’s attitudes towards the process. The following discussion is intended to illuminate an aspect of modern scholarship which requires attention and increased awareness, as it has the potential to influence attitudes in later research in the area. The conclusions reached here will influence the approach used towards the texts in this case study.

Typically, medieval copies of manuscripts are viewed in modern scholarship merely as ways of accessing the original text as intended by its composer or author, and as untrustworthy witnesses to that – often hypothetical or reconstructed – urtext. Indeed, sometimes it seems that discerning the original from the copies is witnesses’ only function: ‘It is traditional, in editing Old English texts, to assume that the most important goal is to

Scribe? The Advantages of Whole-Data Analysis and Electronic Texts’, in *Medium Aevum*, 73 (2004), 10-26 (p. 12).

⁵ Kathryn A. Lowe, ‘William Somner, S 1622, and the Editing of Some Old English Charters’, *Neophilologus*, 83 (1999), pp. 291-97 (pp. 193-94); Johannis M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London: English Historical Society, 1839-1948).

⁶ Kemble ‘normalizes the opening lines of S 1511’. Lowe, ‘William Somner’, p. 193-94.

⁷ I am grateful to Peter Sawyer for taking the time to talk to me about his work with charters at the start of my project. Personal correspondence 23 October 2007. Rushforth, *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 20 July 2013].

⁸ *LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* (London, 2008), version 0.9 <<http://www.langscape.org.uk/index.html>> [accessed 31 July 2010]. Hereafter, *LangScape*.

establish what the author wrote and then to neglect what his successors did with it'.⁹ Treharne refers to this attitude as the 'privileging of originality', in which the original holds prominence over any later versions, where:

We tend to see a codex copied from earlier material as a witness to its antecedent textual genesis, and not as a representative per se of contemporary interests and needs: a material artefact of some significance reflecting its own intellectual and cultural milieu.¹⁰

We should, then, consider later copies not only as independent objects worthy of study, but as the product of a different cultural context and the result of different needs. These aspects of copies' existence are often neglected when they are used as a means to access an original text.¹¹ Jeremy Smith has observed that it is still not unusual to find that editorial practice 'condemn[s] scribal activity as a distraction from more important matters relating to authorial intention'.¹² The difference between original and copy is enhanced by the nature of the copy itself, that it is a replication: 'It is the "sameness" of the copied text that renders it redundant and that has blinkered scholars to the interpretative possibilities of variety in the form and function offered by these works'.¹³ A further potential motivation behind this privileging of originality may be that:

Traditional Anglo-Saxon studies, engaged in what I have called 'the history of the document', [assumes] that the 'meaning' of the text is arrested at the stage of consciousness we assign to its author or original audience.¹⁴

This belief that copies are merely a shadow of that initial moment contributes further to the neglect of copies. This is perhaps heightened in the charter genre where the purpose of

⁹ Scragg, 'Ælfric's Scribes', p. 186.

¹⁰ Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts', p. 14. A similar view is expressed elsewhere: Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Afterword: "Creativity" and "Tradition"', *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 247-58 (p. 250); Elaine Treharne, 'Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century', *New Medieval Literatures*, 8 (2006), 248-75 (p. 250); Elaine M. Treharne and Mary Swan, 'Introduction', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-10 (p. 7).

¹¹ This view has also recently been expressed by Rumble, 'Cues and Clues', pp. 119-20.

¹² Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>', p. 92. A full discussion of this tradition of thought is found in Orietta Da Rold, 'Textual Copying and Transmission', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. by Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 33-56 (pp. 33-34).

¹³ Treharne, 'Categorization', pp. 251-52.

¹⁴ Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p. 100.

the text is the preservation of the moment of the transaction itself. This neglect of later copies has resulted in them becoming an area of research with much unexplored potential.

The ‘privileging of originality’ neglects the fact that the work produced by scribes was obviously fit for the purpose intended, and, even were it not, the scribes still produced an artefact that existed and was used in that form, not the hypothetical, reconstructed text. I would argue here that the changes scribes made – or did not make, for that matter – to the texts they copied are just as valuable as the original text, and should be examined in their own right as evidence of an independent moment in the production and use of a unique artefact.¹⁵ Similarly, research on charters frequently uses language such as ‘authentic’, ‘forgery’, and ‘original’, which also influences our treatment of them. As Insley points out, ‘in the absence of any signs of authentication, no Anglo-Saxon charter is, strictly speaking, an original’.¹⁶ At the same time, any copy of a text produced in that period is still an authentic and original product in its own right, even if it is pretending to be something it is not. This attitude towards originality is a modern one imposed on an Anglo-Saxon tradition which ‘does not prioritise an authorial original, but rather remakes a text and transmits its authorship to a new writer or scribe each time it is copied’.¹⁷ The neglect of the later copies then also results in the neglect of those wider contexts and needs of which they are a part, which results in ‘obfuscating particular cultural, political, and historical contexts and undermining the role of the literature itself’.¹⁸ There is great scope for further study of copies ‘by tracing their influences, uses and reuses, and by investigating what

¹⁵ Recent work on multiple witnesses of texts, or comparative study between work by the same copying scribe demonstrates the worth of such study. Benskin and Laing, ‘*Mischsprachen*’, p. 90; Margaret Laing, ‘Multidimensionality: Time, Space and Stratigraphy in Historical Dialectology’, in *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, ed. by Marina Dossena and Roger Lass, Linguistic Insights, 16 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 49-93 (p. 56); Neil Cartlidge, ‘Orthographical Variation in the Middle English Lyrics of BL Cotton Caligula X.ix’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 98 (1997), 253-59; Margaret Laing, ‘*Never the Twain Shall Meet*: Early Middle English – The East-West Divide’, in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 97-124; Mary Swan, ‘Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 and the Blickling Manuscript’, *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 37 (2006), 89-100.

¹⁶ Insley, p. 180. Insley uses S 963, S 971 and S 1020 as examples to illustrate some of the problems with dating charters.

¹⁷ Mary Swan, ‘Memorialised Readings: Manuscript Evidence for Old English Homily Composition’, in *Anglo Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Trehearne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 205-17 (pp. 206-07).

¹⁸ Trehearne, ‘Bishops and their Texts’, p. 20.

surviving copies can reveal about how they may have been transmitted and why they may have undergone alteration',¹⁹ areas of study which are comparatively neglected.

The negative attitude towards copies is particularly evident in discussions of texts copied in the period immediately following the Norman Conquest, which have been, until recently, all but ignored. For example, Andreas Fischer says that 'the tradition of official – that is, institutionally supported – Anglo-Saxon literacy came to an end within about a hundred years after the Conquest'.²⁰ However, this statement discounts all non-institutional production in this period. Moreover, Gero Bauer suggests that English did not even exist as a written language in the period following the Norman Conquest.²¹ The copies produced in this time are rarely counted as independent texts worthy of study, and it is this long-standing neglect which led to the *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220 (EM 1060to1220)* project's conception, and, within that project, this thesis.²²

The focus on originality is often the result of the lauding of creativity.²³ However, 'as all medievalists are aware, creativity itself is not, and should not be regarded as being, confined to originators'.²⁴ Even the copies which most closely mimic their exemplars show some originality and creativity, and the scribes producing those copies must have made certain decisions in the process. The presence of originality in copies is particularly clear in post-Conquest literature, where there is a tradition of 'authors re-creating and recomposing texts in new contexts with particular functions for particular audiences'.²⁵ The preference for originals over copies is pervasive, and 'underpins not only much scholarship itself, but also the sidelining of the greater proportion of English literary production from about 1060 to 1215'.²⁶

¹⁹ Swan, 'Memorialised Readings', p. 206.

²⁰ Andreas Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels: The Preservation and Transmission of Old English', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997), pp. 353-67 (p. 354).

²¹ Gero Bauer, 'Medieval English Scribal Practice: Some Questions and Some Assumptions', in *Linguistics Across Historical and Geographical Boundaries*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986), pp. 199-210 (p. 203).

²² *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (University of Leicester 2010) <<http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220>> [accessed 30 April 2013].

²³ Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.1.

²⁴ Treharne, 'Categorization', p. 250.

²⁵ Treharne, 'Categorization', p. 251.

²⁶ Treharne, 'Categorization', p. 251.

As well as being viewed as an imperfect witness to the original form of a text, later copies, particularly those produced in the Middle English period, are considered 'untrustworthy witnesses' for linguistic information as they are often the result of a long tradition of copying, the result of which is a language which represents aspects of the practices of all those scribes who copied it at some point.²⁷ The language that copying scribes produced is typically seen as 'debased', with less potential for study.²⁸ However, that does not render a later copy devoid of value for linguistic study. Rather, it produces an artefact which can be assessed for slightly different purposes. Copyists were rarely entirely random in their behaviour, and their habits can be tracked, patterns can be discerned, and different kinds of linguistic feature can be identified.²⁹ The value of different types and abilities of copyists should not be underestimated. As Roger Dahood notes, even the most consistent copyist, replicating their exemplar as closely as possible, will, over time, produce patterns which characterize their work.³⁰ However, it should be remembered that the absence of patterns is also worthy of note, as will be returned to later.

A recurring theme is the attitude that scribes, in particular copying scribes who do not have the merit of originality on their sides, are untrustworthy. This is typified by Malcolm Parkes when he says that 'a text left its author and fell among scribes',³¹ suggesting that the text is the key point of focus here, and that, once in the hands of scribes, it is lost to their whims, resulting in a text riddled with corruption and impurities which must be detected and explained. Perhaps the most explicit expression of this attitude comes from Paul E. Szarmach:

the daemons in the transmission of text are most clearly the scribes who wound and torture words and texts [...], and the redeemers most clearly are the editors who seek to restore readings to their original state.³²

Views on later scribal activity go so far as to describe it as 'corrupt' or 'deviant'.³³ Even

²⁷ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 55.

²⁸ Merja Black, 'AB or Simply A? Reconsidering the Case for a Standard', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 100 (1999), 155-74 (p. 155). See also Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), §8 on cartulary copies which 'cannot be relied upon'.

²⁹ Roger Dahood, 'Abbreviations, Otiose Strokes and Editorial Practice: The Case of Southwell Minster MS 7', in *New Perspectives on Middle English Texts, a Festschrift for R. A. Waldron*, ed. by Susan Powell and Jeremy J. Smith (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 141-49 (p. 141).

³⁰ Dahood, pp. xi, 141 and 190.

³¹ M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1992), p. 70.

³² Paul E. Szarmach, 'The Recovery of Texts', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 124-45 (p. 124).

when looking at scribal behaviour, instances of scribal variation are often dismissed as ‘merely accidental’.³⁴

While these statements are extreme, it cannot be denied that scribes did make changes to texts, sometimes even rendering them unintelligible. As Lowe notes, with more moderation, a scribal intervention in a copy ‘has the effect of changing the sense of the passage completely, providing us with a salutary reminder of how dependent we are on the accuracy of such scribes’.³⁵ This still suggests we are prevented by the scribes from accessing the true text behind their interventions, rather than treating their work as a product in itself. However, it must also be noted that scribes did correct, and that there was an awareness of quality and correctness to which they often aspired. This is most explicitly documented in Ælfric of Eynsham’s famous preface to his First Series of Catholic Homilies, which demonstrates that Ælfric was well aware that scribes made changes to their texts in copying them and that he, at least, wanted to waylay that.³⁶

The argument being made here is not that scribes never made errors, nor corrupted their texts, but that their work should not be dismissed for those errors or for a less precise copying style, and should be studied in its own right and on its own merits. A key point to be taken from the above discussion is the danger of imposing our own standards onto scribes’ actions, and endowing them with motivations for which we have no justification. Doing so will inevitably colour the way we view copies, and the scribes who produced them. As Daniel Wakelin says:

Yet even if the scribes did care for their texts, did they care for the *details* of them? Research into scribal copying has often argued that they did not. This may be because research has tended to serve textual editing, which has often found scribes not reproducing manuscripts as well as scholarly editors do. Or it has tended to seek evidence for dialectal variation; or more recently, tended to relish the scribes’

³³ These views are identified and discussed in Treharne, ‘Categorization’, p. 252.

³⁴ M. L. Samuels, ‘Scribes and Manuscript Traditions’, in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays in Celebrating the Publication of ‘A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English’*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), pp. 1-7 (p. 1).

³⁵ Kathryn A. Lowe, ‘Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies from Bury St Edmunds: A Study in Textual Transmission’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 93 (1992), 293-324 (p. 295).

³⁶ *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series. Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society s.s. 17 (London: Early English Text Society, The Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 128-34. ‘Now I pray and entreat in God’s name, that if anyone wishes to copy this book, he earnestly correct it by the exemplar, lest we be blamed because of careless scribes. He who writes falsely does great evil unless he corrects it, so that he brings the true teaching to false heresy; therefore, each one should put right what he previously distorted with error if he wishes to be blameless at God’s judgement’. Translation by Elaine M. Treharne, ed, *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1400* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 121.

changes to texts within theories of ‘variance’ or ‘mouvance’: theories that scribes enjoyed recasting what they copied and felt no compunction about doing so.³⁷

This demonstrates the need for caution in attempting to describe scribal work, and the danger of imposing standards of quality and performance which may not be shared or even recognized by the scribes, and which may bias or hinder analysis.³⁸ The approach used in this thesis will be of objective observation and description, made – as much as is possible when being conducted from a modern perspective – without imposing value judgements or making assumptions about the scribe’s motivations or intentions.

An alternative perspective, and one which is pertinent to the purposes of this research, is that variations arising from the copying process, either accidental or deliberate, give invaluable insight into the language both of the original text and of its copyist, as well as producing texts which are valuable in their own right, independent of the original or a ‘best’ text. Oliver Traxel shares this sentiment in his study of post-Conquest manuscript copies:

Deviations from other copies can shed some light on the history and treatment of a text. Dialect features show where it could have been copied at some stage during its transmission, or where a scribe involved in its copying could have come from. Conscious textual reshaping can tell us a great deal about the intentions of a scribe. Glosses and annotations demonstrate interest in a text, and the nature of these additions shows what aspects were considered to be important by later readers.³⁹

It is for these reasons that the prevailing opinion that copied or altered texts are less valuable or worthy of study needs to be re-evaluated.

While certain features may point to the more easily identifiable classes of error, ‘such as omission of lines through eye-skip or misreading of similar letter forms’, other interventions may show a pattern which can tell about scribal behaviour in the copying process.⁴⁰ It must be recognized that some scribal behaviours which are dismissed as error or carelessness may have alternative motivations which are not given due attention. Beyond the twelfth century, charters are copied by scribes who are less familiar with Old English or

³⁷ Wakelin, p. 49.

³⁸ Swan, ‘Memorialised Readings’, p. 212.

³⁹ Oliver M. Traxel, *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Evidence of Cambridge University Library, Ii. 1. 33* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), p. 21.

⁴⁰ Dahood, p. 141.

with the insular hand in which their copies are written, and this is evident in their work.⁴¹ Examples of errors in copying arising from an unfamiliarity with the language or the hand in which the exemplar is written can be seen, for example, in the work of the *Beowulf* scribe. Michael Lapidge discusses the confusion between graphs such as <c>/<t> or <a>/<u> which suggest that the hand of the exemplar the scribe was using had graphs for these letters which were similar.⁴² Roy Liuzza also uses orthographic features as evidence for techniques used by scribes during the copying process, and Lowe follows a similar method in her discussion of cartularies.⁴³ The cumulative effect of errors such as these can result in a later text that contains many variations on the text from the original. However, these errors also provide evidence of the earlier forms of the text which may have been lost. They are also evidence of the scribes' relationships with the texts they were copying and provide insight into the degree to which they engaged with the texts they copied.

Errors in copying which produce new, recognizable words would suggest that the copying scribe was at least familiar with the language being copied, but was not engaging sufficiently with the text to realize that the word produced was inappropriate. In contrast, simpler mistakes could have been caused by an assumed familiarity with the content of the text resulting in inattention to the exemplar.⁴⁴ Supposed errors can also be an indication of different approaches to the copying process, or the relationship with and access to the exemplar the scribe has.⁴⁵ As well as producing errors and misreadings, scribes also corrected errors in their exemplars,⁴⁶ and such acts show a different approach to the copying of a text, perhaps indicating the different background of the scribe or a different purpose for which that copy is being produced. The practicalities of the copying process and their effect on a scribe's work will be discussed below.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Christine Franzen, 'Late Copies of Anglo-Saxon Charters', in *'Doubt Wisely': Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 42-71 (p. 43).

⁴² Michael Lapidge, 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 29 (2000), 5-41 (pp. 10-20 and 26-28).

⁴³ Roy Michael Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit: The Evidence of the Old English Gospels', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 143-65; Lowe, 'Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies'.

⁴⁴ Lapidge, 'Archetype', p. 9.

⁴⁵ Swan, 'Memorialised Readings', p. 212; Martin Irvine 'Review: *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* by Mary Carruthers', *Modern Philology*, 90 (1993), 533-37 (p. 535).

⁴⁶ Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993), p. 12.

⁴⁷ Section One, Chapter 5.

3.3 The Production of Copies

3.3.1 Types of Copying Scribe

As touched on above, scribes can copy a text in a number of ways, each of which will result in different features in their copied text. For the purposes of this thesis, a scribe's work will be defined as those elements, both linguistic and paralinguistic, by which a scribe might be identified, and which a scribe produces in copying. Gavin Cole describes a scribe's engagement with the 'written expression' of an exemplar as including 'the alteration of punctuation, imposition of alternative "conventions" of spelling or altering the lexical content (from individual words to larger textual units)'.⁴⁸ As the full list of features with which a scribe might engage is potentially limitless, for the purposes of this thesis the focus will be guided by the behaviour of the scribes in this corpus.

Building on the work of Angus McIntosh⁴⁹ and using the data collected in *The Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME)*,⁵⁰ Margaret Laing has outlined three styles of copying used by scribes, focusing on their orthographic systems.⁵¹ Laing calls these types of copying scribe 'Litteratim', 'Translator' and 'Mixer'.⁵² The Litteratim scribe is one who copies the exemplar text without making alterations to its spelling, regardless of the scribe's own spelling system; the Translator scribe does the opposite, Translating the spelling system of the exemplar into a new system, and the Mixer scribe is a combination of the previous two types, sometimes copying spellings directly from the exemplar, sometimes Translating them.⁵³ It should be noted that within a scribe's system there may be internal variation, and a Translator, for example, while converting a text into a new spelling system may still spell one word a variety of ways, 'But they will always be familiar and acceptable forms known and used in his local region and at his period'.⁵⁴ This means that one

⁴⁸ Gavin Cole, 'The Textual Criticism of Middle English Manuscript Traditions: A Survey of Critical Issues in the Interpretation of Textual Data', *Literature Compass*, 6 (2009), 1084-93 (p. 1084).

⁴⁹ Angus McIntosh, 'Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English', *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 86-97 (p. 92) (first publ. in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 211 (1973), 55-66).

⁵⁰ Margaret Laing, *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150-1325* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2008) <<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html>> [accessed 02 May 2013].

⁵¹ Laing, 'Multidimensionality', p. 51.

⁵² Laing, 'Multidimensionality', p. 52.

⁵³ Laing, 'Multidimensionality', p. 52; Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 92.

Translating scribe's spelling system is 'an assemblage of forms that is plausibly representative of a single individual rather than a mixture of different usages', and it is this system which Laing calls a 'homogeneous language'.⁵⁵

Various methodologies have been adopted to determine the copying style preferred by different scribes. The *Lambeth Homilies* are copied by one scribe from multiple sources. Celia Sisam works to identify what type of copyist this scribe was and the extent to which he or she was a 'faithful transcriber' – or Literatim copyist – of texts with different orthographies.⁵⁶ Her methodology involves counting and observing the distribution of certain features such as *eo* for Old English /eo/ and /eo:/.⁵⁷ She does acknowledge that testing for different features may produce different results which might lead to different conclusions, but as yet no test has changed her results in any significant way.⁵⁸ Scragg has conducted a similar study on the scribes of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188, working to identify those scribes who are Literatim copyists and those who are Mixers or Translators.⁵⁹ Similarly, Neil Cartlidge identifies, in a copy of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, multiple orthographical systems within the work of one scribe and uses them as evidence for one scribe copying from two exemplars by different scribes, without reference to any scribe's spoken language.⁶⁰ Comparison between multiple witnesses of the same text can 'shed light not only on textual questions but also on linguistic choices'.⁶¹

These distinctions between copying styles are not without their flaws. Scahill believes that, even when furnished with 'a substantial amount of text by the scribe in question', it can still be difficult to differentiate between Translator and Literatim scribes. The precise delineation between these divisions of copying styles is also hard to determine: 'those who are trying to copy literatim but are unsuccessful or careless need more attention,

⁵⁴ Laing, 'Multidimensionality', p. 52, n. 3.

⁵⁵ Laing, 'Multidimensionality', p. 52, n. 3 and p. 56, n. 6.

⁵⁶ Celia Sisam, 'The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s. 6 (1951), 105-13 (p. 107).

⁵⁷ Sisam, 'Scribal Tradition', p. 107.

⁵⁸ Sisam, 'Scribal Tradition', p. 107.

⁵⁹ Scragg, 'Ælfric's Scribes', pp. 182-83.

⁶⁰ Cartlidge, pp. 253-54; A similar phenomenon can be observed in S 1165, as discussed in Katherine Wiles, 'Scribal Practice and Textual Transmission in Selected Winchester and Chertsey Charters' (unpublished master's thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2006).

⁶¹ Laing, '*Never the Twain Shall Meet*', p. 111.

as they present problems for analysis'.⁶² It is then also unclear how to clearly distinguish between an unsuccessful Literatim or Translator scribe and a Mixer, as the principal distinction between them is intent.

Influence on the spelling system does not come simply from the single exemplar from which the scribe is working; memory also plays a role.⁶³ Scribes worked with an awareness of multiple texts and copies of texts, cross-referencing between them. Any text they encountered was connected to a vast network of other texts and references, all of which they held in their heads. In producing a copy, they were aware that these other texts would be extant and would be familiar to users. This memorial culture is also directly involved in the transmission of specific texts and Mary Carruthers identifies two methods by which memorial transmission and reproduction occurs: *memoria ad res* by which the 'gist' of a text is memorized and reproduced, and *memoria ad verba* by which the text is memorized and reproduced word-for-word.⁶⁴ Each of these methods results in different styles of copying.

The awareness of a wider textual corpus and the influence this might have on textual transmission have been discussed by Mary Swan with reference to the transmission of homilies. A scribe may introduce changes by error, but also perhaps by reference to other homilies either from manuscripts or because 'monastic scribes will have listened to many homilies as members of a congregation, and will be trained in memorization techniques'.⁶⁵ It is therefore possible the scribes would have memorialized forms, formulae and content.⁶⁶ The same then might be true of charters, particularly if the scribes in question had worked on the centre's holdings for some time, and the possibility of a corpus of charter formulae has been suggested above.

The distinction between the scribe's language system and those forms accumulated through access to other texts, dialects and systems, is defined by Benskin and Laing as a scribe's 'active repertoire' and 'passive repertoire', respectively.⁶⁷ The active repertoire is the

⁶² John Scahill, 'Prodigal Early Middle English Orthographies: Minds and Manuscripts', in *Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English: A Festschrift for Minoji Akimoto*, ed. by Merja Kytö, John Scahill and Harumi Tanabe (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 239-52 (p. 240).

⁶³ Carruthers, p. 8.

⁶⁴ Swan, 'Memorialised Readings', pp. 211-12; Carruthers, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁵ Swan, 'Memorialised Readings', p. 211.

⁶⁶ Swan, 'Memorialised Readings', pp. 210-11.

⁶⁷ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 59.

language system a scribe would use were they composing a text without reference to an exemplar or any immediate external reference, while the passive repertoire ‘comprises 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’.⁶⁸ The sources from which both the active and passive repertoires are built and the proportion of each used by a scribe require exploration.⁶⁹

3.3.2 The Language Produced by Copying

Much scholarship on scribal language in the copying process focuses on scribes’ spelling choices, the central study of which is Angus McIntosh and Margaret Laing’s ‘*Mischsprachen*’, which has informed all work in the area since its publication in 1981.⁷⁰ This paper is the product of Benskin and Laing’s work on the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (LALME)*.⁷¹ As mentioned above, the definition of a Mixing scribe is very loose and hard to differentiate from an inconsistent Translator. The form of language this style of copying produces is here called a *Mischsprache*, earlier described by J. R. R. Tolkien when talking about the AB Language as a ‘nonce-language’.⁷² This language is the result of Mixing, in which the language system of the exemplar is different from that of the copying scribe.⁷³ The language produced is then entirely unique to that copy of the text, and is characterized by the appearance of dialect forms which are unlikely to occur within the dialect of one scribe.⁷⁴

Within a *Mischsprache* different features can be identified, the classification of which act as ‘various “layers” of language [that] can be peeled off from one another, like the skins of an onion, to reveal the underlying “authorial” usage’.⁷⁵ The characteristic form by which a *Mischsprache* might be identified is the ‘relict’; an ‘exotic’ form, not part of the

⁶⁸ Benskin and Laing, ‘*Mischsprachen*’, p. 59.

⁶⁹ The role of training in this process was explored in Chapter 2, in particular.

⁷⁰ Benskin and Laing, ‘*Mischsprachen*’, pp. 55-106.

⁷¹ M. Benskin, M. Laing, V. Karaiskos and K. Williamson, ‘An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English’ (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2013) <<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>> [accessed 30 April 2013]; *Middle English Dialectology*, ed. by Margaret Laing.

⁷² J. R. R. Tolkien, ‘*Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidhad*’, *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, 14 (1929), 104-26 (p. 105).

⁷³ Benskin and Laing, ‘*Mischsprachen*’, p. 79.

⁷⁴ Benskin and Laing, ‘*Mischsprachen*’, p. 76.

⁷⁵ Smith, ‘The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>’, pp. 86-87.

scribe's own language system, which is copied over from the exemplar.⁷⁶ These relict forms are most easily identified by comparison between multiple texts by the same scribe:

Forms common to all texts are assumed to belong to the scribal dialect; a form confined to a single text, and having one or more different functional equivalents in other texts, is assumed to be relict.⁷⁷

'Constrained usage' is the language produced when, unlike with a *Mischsprache*, the exemplar is in a dialect similar to that of the copying scribe.⁷⁸ In copying this dialect, the scribe chooses to replicate forms from the exemplar in preference to using more familiar forms. Each of these copying styles further refines the three main types of copying scribe outlined by Laing.

3.3.3 Practicalities of the Copying Process

While much work has been conducted exploring the language – in particular, the spelling systems – produced by the copying process, comparatively little work exists on the copying process itself. Some deductions may be drawn by logic: Literatim copyists must, by necessity, approach their exemplars on a 'letter-by-letter' basis in order to replicate the forms accurately.⁷⁹ For other styles of copying, however, where the precise forms of the exemplar do not need to be retained, a different technique may be employed. While the letter-by-letter method of copying is 'visual', larger units cannot be retained in the scribe's mind so precisely. For larger copying units, Benskin and Laing suggest that scribes copy using 'the mind's ear'. That is, that rather than seeing a string of symbols in an exemplar, scribes could see the words to which those symbols refer, hears those words in their mind and in their own dialect, and then write them 'to [their] own dictation'.⁸⁰ To extend this metaphor, Swan suggests that in order to process not just words but entire phrases, scribes must take their 'bodily eye' off the exemplar.⁸¹ Malcolm Parkes refers to the elements of

⁷⁶ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 58.

⁷⁷ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 58.

⁷⁸ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 73; Smith, 'Standard Language', p. 130.

⁷⁹ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 96. However, it must be noted that this is not the only method by which a copying scribe may produce work which has the appearance of Literatim copying, such as a Translating scribe whose forms happened to be the same as those of their exemplar. Philip A. Shaw, personal correspondence, 22 May 2013.

⁸⁰ Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 66.

⁸¹ Swan, 'CCCC 198 and the Blickling Manuscript', p. 95. A further bodily analogy is 'slips of the ear' which are, strictly speaking, applied to scribes writing from dictation, but which may occur when words or phrases are being held within the 'mind's ear'. Peter Bierbaumer, 'Slips of the Ear in Old English Texts', in *Luick Revisited. Papers Read at the Luick Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein*,

texts held mentally by the scribe in the process between reading the exemplar and producing the copy as ‘transfer units’.⁸² He believes that these transfer units can sometimes be detected in copies as ‘minor discrepancies in the spacing or the alignment of the handwriting on the pages of the copy’ as the scribe shifts attention between exemplar and copy.⁸³ The process of moving the eye away from the page can also result in errors such as eye-skip. Lowe has used examples of eye-skip as evidence for a source-to-copy relationship, where the exemplar’s layout has influenced the copying, such as, for example, line breaks in words.⁸⁴

Benskin and Laing postulate that transfer units are too small to include larger syntactic structures and so these must, one assumes, remain unaffected by this copying technique, while spelling and morphology are subject to its influence.⁸⁵ The distinctions between copying techniques and types of copying scribe, while useful, are primarily concerned with the orthographical aspects of a copying scribe’s work, and as such must be used alongside other methodologies in order to get a true insight into all aspects of a copying scribe’s work. As will be seen, larger studies of abbreviation and punctuation use have been conducted, looking at national trends of usage or how systems change over time, but very few have been conducted which focus on the usage of individual scribes, manuscripts or scriptoria.⁸⁶ As such, little has been discovered about how scribes use punctuation and abbreviation, to what degree they are features which the scribe may use autonomously and to what degree they are controlled or influenced by training, scriptorial

15-18 September 1985, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Narr, 1988), pp. 127-37 (p. 129)

⁸² Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 63

⁸³ Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 63. Aidan Conti has conducted a very interesting, but informal, experiment on his blog, testing the hypothesis that the transfer units described by Parkes would become apparent in the work of a copyist. His results are, as yet, inconclusive, but suggest an interesting avenue for further study. Aidan Conti, ‘Imagining How Scribes Worked #1’ <<http://scribalculture.org/weblog/2010/09/22/imagining-how-scribes-worked-1/>> [accessed 5 June 2012]; Aidan Conti, ‘Malcolm Parkes’s Transfer Units’ <<http://scribalculture.org/weblog/2010/09/02/Malcolm-parkess-transfer-units/>> [accessed 5 June 2012].

⁸⁴ Lowe, ‘Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies’, p. 296.

⁸⁵ Benskin and Laing, ‘*Mischsprachen*’, p. 95.

⁸⁶ These will be discussed more fully in Section Two, Chapters 10 and 11. Notable large surveys of these features include Parkes, *Pause and Effect*; Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6th edn (Milan: Hoepli, [1987(?)]) and Susan D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: A Palaeography*, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 91-106.

influence or usage in the scribe's exemplar. This is an avenue that will be explored in this thesis.

4 Chapter 4: The Contexts of Production

4.1 The Role of Genre in Manuscript Studies and Culture

As discussed above, the genre of a text is a major influence on many different aspects of its production and, it follows, its copying.¹ Just as an imbalance is present between scholarly attention paid to copies and original compositions, there is an imbalance between the attention paid to prose and poetry, wherein '[T]here is an implicit scholarly response that privileges the poetic over the prose, the named-author over the anonymous, and the 'original' over the copied and adapted'.² This disparity results in prose being viewed as 'background material or context for the poetry'.³ This bias has resulted in a view of Old English which is drawn from 'a regionally, temporally and stylistically restricted subset of the existing texts',⁴ and is therefore not a view of the language that is representative of how it has been recorded. It has been noted that different textual genres produce different styles of scribal copying behaviour, so the omission of certain genres of texts results in the loss of a wealth of other information, and the issue of genre is therefore of importance when considering scribal copying.⁵

Within this discrepancy of focus, the attention paid to prose texts is disproportionately skewed away from charters. In counting documents and books copied post-1066, for example, Thomson does not count books containing charters in Latin with bounds in English, 'since short lists of bounds could be copied mechanically', and he includes *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton in this.⁶ Similarly, Richard Gameson excludes cartularies from his discussion of eleventh-century manuscripts at Worcester and does not consider them to be 'a complete book', categorizing them alongside 'addition[s] to an earlier manuscript'.⁷ This decision also raises the question of what might be considered a

¹ Benskin and Laing, '*Mischsprachen*', p. 81.

² Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts', p. 13; Frantzen; Clare A. Lees, *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Medieval Cultures, 19 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), in particular Chapter 1.

³ Lees, p. 24.

⁴ Roger Lass, *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 4.

⁵ Laing, '*Never the Twain Shall Meet*', p. 103; Scragg, '*Ælfric's Scribes*'.

⁶ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 15, n. 85.

⁷ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62. This might suggest that copies of charters were the texts of the least importance, but Lowe does suggest that repeated copying of a charter may be an indication of its importance, and that a frequently copied charter was

‘complete book’, whether it is the physical object in book-form (as opposed to booklets or pamphlets), or one work produced at one time or by one scribe, as implied by Gameson’s exclusion of later additions and collaborative manuscripts. Very little comparative work focusing on multiple copies of charters has been conducted. Kathryn A. Lowe has conducted a study of multiple copies of charters – in particular changes to their boundary clause and witnesses lists – at Bury St Edmunds with the aim of establishing motivations behind scribal behaviour.⁸ She views the thirteenth-century copying scribe’s changes as evidence that ‘the scribe has very little idea what he is copying’, leading to the conclusion that late copies of Old English charters are ‘little’ to be trusted.⁹ Similarly, Peter A. Stokes uses variations between multiple copies (albeit much later productions) of King Edgar’s Pershore charter as a tool to determine the relationship between the copies and to rebuild lost elements of text from each copy.¹⁰ It is notable, however, that neither of these studies pays particular attention to the language of these texts.

Charter bounds have traditionally received little attention from linguists. One of the most notable exceptions to this is Peter Kitson, who uses charter bounds as a localizable dataset to form dialect isoglosses for regional word variations.¹¹ In his introduction, Kitson attributes the neglect of bounds to four main reasons. The first of these is that the ‘original’ version of the bounds, created at the moment of the transaction, ‘can be trusted to preserve faithfully contemporary linguistic forms’ whereas the later cartulary copies cannot.¹² The second belief is one perpetuated by Alistair Campbell who says that any charter produced after AD 900 will be ‘written in the standard West Saxon of the period’.¹³ The third reason for the neglect of the boundary clauses is ‘false belief that only clerics could write’, and that no bounds would ever be recorded in a truly local way, presumably because of the necessity

reproduced, particularly in high-profile cartularies, because its preservation was necessary. Lowe, ‘Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies’, p. 294. Alexander Rumble also cautions against the use of cartularies as they are open to interpolation by the beneficiaries and error on the part of the copying scribes. Alexander Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Related to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 4-5.

⁸ Lowe, ‘S 507 and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds’, pp. 85-105.

⁹ Lowe, ‘S 507 and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds’, pp. 100-01.

¹⁰ Stokes, ‘King Edgar’s Charter for Pershore’; Stokes, ‘Rewriting the Bounds’.

¹¹ Peter R. Kitson, ‘The Nature of Old English Dialect Distributions, Mainly as Exhibited in Charter Boundaries’, in *Medieval Dialectology*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), pp. 43-135.

¹² Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 48.

¹³ Campbell, §8.

of using scribes from some non-local centre. The final obstacle, Kitson believes, is ‘the difficulty of assembling the material’, although what he means by this is unclear.¹⁴

The comparison of ‘originals’ with their later cartulary copies suggests that scribes did not change the ‘meaningful words’ in bounds, only the particle and function words such as *þonne* ‘then’ and *þanon* ‘thence’, which Kitson attributes to a conscious effort to preserve the ‘name-elements’.¹⁵ In this, he says, ‘they are more faithful than Old English copyists of poetry and sermons (not surprisingly, since in legal documents exact accuracy could in principle be crucial to title)’.¹⁶ By this argument, the dismissal of later copies of charters as untrustworthy seems illogical. However, it does demonstrate the role played by genre in influencing the techniques scribes used in copying texts: they adapted their copying style to the genre of the text they were working on.

The second use of charter bounds for linguistic study is for the localization of other manuscripts.¹⁷ Again, the fact that charters are so closely associated with a small geographic area makes them useful for more than their content as a tool for wider study. For this, Laing uses early Middle English copies where the scribes have either replicated the Old English or have, through ‘lack of understanding’, produced something that is neither Old nor Middle English.¹⁸ Despite their association with an ecclesiastical centre and land holding which can be located, the locality of ecclesiastical charters is not as easily defined. Building on Keynes, Kitson has suggested that the composition process for charters started with the bounds being recorded at the place described in ‘written memoranda’, and that these memoranda were then written into the form which we call ‘original’ charters, but which must now be considered the second stage of their production and transmission.¹⁹

The composition of cartularies might be localized with slightly more ease than that of the original charters. While charters might be localized to a broad geographical area, somewhere in the region of the land granted, the location of the granter and the location of

¹⁴ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 48. It is perhaps a reference to the size of the corpus, which at that date was not fully represented in one consistently produced format.

¹⁵ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 49. See also section §4.3 above.

¹⁶ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 49. Although it might be argued that homiletic texts were worthy of faithful copying because of their sacred importance.

¹⁷ Bella Millett, ‘Scribal Geography’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 183-97.

¹⁸ Laing, ‘*Never the Twain Shall Meet*’, p. 105.

¹⁹ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 48; Mary Prescott Parsons, ‘Some Scribal Memoranda for Anglo-Saxon Charters of the 8th and 9th Centuries’, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 14 (1939), 13-32.

the beneficiary, cartularies can be assumed to have been produced in the vicinity of the centre which held them.

4.2 Charters and Cartularies

As this thesis consists of case studies of charters, an overview of their form, function, production and their use in scholarship today is valuable.²⁰ Part of the difficulty in discussing charters, apart from the wide scope of texts that term may cover, is the terminology related to them. Charles Insley points out that the words typically used to discuss the production of charters, such as ‘chancery’, ‘chancellor’, ‘writing office’ and ‘secretariat’, are all loaded and were originally used to talk about charter production in the twelfth century. As such they imply certain assumptions which may not apply to early charters and their production.²¹

The term ‘charter’ encompasses a variety of texts and the breadth of its application is deemed ‘reckless’ by Campbell.²² The majority of the surviving corpus consists of grants made to and by ecclesiastical institutions, although this may in part be because they had the facilities to preserve their archives, rather than because they necessarily produced more grants.²³ Of these, the specific text-type being referred to in this thesis is a record of a transaction of land in the presence of witnesses. The charter document is the written record of this transaction and is ‘evidentiary’, acting as proof for future safeholding of the land granted²⁴ rather than being ‘the primary means of transfer’.²⁵

The text of the charter is typically divided into four sections: an invocation of God or Christ, by whose authority the granter gives the land in question; a boundary clause which describes the area of land being granted; a passage which Nicholas Howe refers to as

²⁰ A history of the study of Anglo-Saxon charters is provided in Simon Keynes, ‘Anglo-Saxon Charters: Lost and Found’, in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 45-60.

²¹ Insley, p. 180.

²² Campbell, §8. The variety of texts which can be called ‘charters’ is outlined in the following sources: Harold Dexter Hazeltine, ‘General Editor’s Note’, in *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. xiii-xvii (pp. xiv-xv); ‘Aspects of Charters’, *Kemble: The Anglo-Saxon Charters Website* <<http://www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk/node/8>> [accessed 02 March 2013]; A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. xxiii.

²³ Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 32.

²⁴ *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), I, p. 376; Howe, p. 32.

²⁵ Howe, p. 31.

'legal boilerplate' which outlines the consequences of not following the conditions of the grant; and a witness list, which catalogues the persons present at the transaction.²⁶ Charters of this type in England date back to the early 600s. W. H. Stevenson and Pierre Chaplais both suggest that they were introduced by Christian missionaries who aimed to bring England in line with the practices of Rome and the Empire, a theory supported by the similarity of early Anglo-Saxon charters to some Roman examples.²⁷

The primary focus of this thesis is the boundary clause sections of charters, the second of the four textual elements outlined above. Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses:

are descriptions in Old English (and sometimes Latin) of the boundaries of land-units recorded in charters dating from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. They perform a function similar to the coloured outline on modern Land Certificate plans which shows the precise limits of land under conveyance.²⁸

These boundary clauses vary in length, detail and style, as well as in language.²⁹ In general, however, they tend to map the edges of the land in question in a clockwise direction, listing notable landscape features which the boundary follows.³⁰

The boundary clause of a charter is a very different type of text from the charter as a whole. While the full charter is a legal document, the bounds tell us more about the Anglo-Saxon relationship with the landscape, and how it was talked about: 'it treats the parcel of land as self-contained and eternal in itself rather than as a part of a larger human landscape and thus as subject to change in the future'.³¹ The boundary clauses are also a much more local product than the charter as a whole. It is likely that the bounds were produced in

²⁶ Howe, p. 32.

²⁷ W. H. Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', *English Historical Review*, 29 (1914), 689-703 (p. 701); P. Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1969), 526-42; Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 3.

²⁸ 'Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clauses', *LangScape. The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* <<http://www.langscape.org.uk/about/boundaries.html>> [accessed 02 March 2013].

²⁹ See, for example, S 1556 which contains very detailed bounds, S 1280 which contains only a brief outline, and the appendix of Herbert Schendl, 'Beyond Boundaries: Code-Switching in the Leases of Oswald of Worcester', in *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. by Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 47-95 (p. 90), which tabulates the different distribution of language use in Anglo-Saxon charter bounds. Similarly, Lowe charts the distribution and development of the boundary clause in Kathryn A. Lowe, 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause', *Nomina: Journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland*, 21 (1998), 63-100.

³⁰ 'Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clauses', *LangScape. The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* <<http://www.langscape.org.uk/about/boundaries.html>> [accessed 02 March 2013].

³¹ Howe, p. 76.

some form by those who knew the landscape, as might be concluded from the depth of local knowledge often included in the bounds, while the scribes who recorded them and wrote the original single-sheet charters were from some central office or establishment.³² Howe also argues that once written the bounds performed different purposes and were used differently by their audience than the diplomatic sections. While the legal aspects and the ownership of the land were of most importance to the landholders, the granters and grantees, the most immediately relevant aspect of the charter to those who lived on and worked the land would have been the boundaries.³³

As well as being a product of the charters' composition, it is perhaps, in part, because of audience that the bounds are most often found in the vernacular, as the landworkers were not likely to understand Latin.³⁴ Latin, the language of the upper, educated classes and ecclesiastical institutions, was used for the elements of charter text concerned with the authority and legality of the grants, while English, the language of those who worked the land, was used for those who would know it and would benefit most directly from that information.³⁵ Howe also suggests that the bounds might be in the vernacular because they often describe elements of the landscape for which there is no easy Latin form, such as local flora, or memorial naming practices.³⁶

However, this division of language use is not universal. A. J. Robertson notes that very few royal grants are in the vernacular, and suggests that translated copies were produced, which, due to their lower status or importance, have not survived as readily.³⁷ However, due to the lack of survival this cannot be more than speculative. The use of the vernacular in charters also appears to be a later trend, as earlier charters were predominantly in Latin. It was not until the tenth century that charters in Latin with English bounds became the norm having first appeared in 814.³⁸

As has been touched on above, the survival of charters is patchy, and in many cases we are dependent on later cartulary copies, kept in institutional archives, for their

³² Howe, p. 31. This was speculated on in Chapter 2, section §2.1.4.

³³ Howe, p. 33.

³⁴ Howe, p. 32.

³⁵ Howe, p. 37.

³⁶ Howe, pp. 33-35.

³⁷ Robertson, pp. xxi-xxii.

³⁸ Howe, p. 32; *English Historical Documents*, p. 370; Herbert Schendl, 'Beyond Boundaries: Code-Switching in the Leases of Oswald of Worcester', in *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. by Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 47-95 (p. 90).

preservation. These archives, and thus their contents, varied between institutions, depending on the ‘motives and interests of the compilers’ as well as the date of their production.³⁹ G. R. C. Davis describes cartularies as varying between ‘display[ing] great elegance’ and being ‘written with merely business-like competence in ordinary charter-hand’.⁴⁰ The survival of cartularies is largely down to chance, particularly following the Dissolution which resulted in the loss of hundreds of known cartularies and countless for which there is no recorded mention.⁴¹

4.3 Charter Copies

Charter copies are, typically, neglected or used only in the absence of an original.⁴² The purpose for which charters are being studied does on occasion warrant privileging of the original over a copy, such as, for example, the study of the history of a place at the point in time of the charter’s composition. For these purposes, the changes made by later copying scribes might present a problem,⁴³ but that is not to say that the late copies do not have their own worth. The negative attitude towards altered and copied texts is particularly prevalent in charter studies and has resulted in a vocabulary for describing charters which is, by its nature, opinion-based rather than objective, and which results in value judgements. Frances Mary Pitt discusses the language of charter description which is based almost entirely on this value-based vocabulary, demonstrating its inadequacy as an objective way of measuring a charter’s authenticity.⁴⁴ The terms used to describe charters (forgery,

³⁹ Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 3.

⁴⁰ G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), p. xi.

⁴¹ Davis, pp. xiv and xvi.

⁴² For example, *ARTEM*, a database of all French charters produced before AD 1121, does not contain any later or cartulary copies. ‘Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France’, *ARTEM* <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/>> [accessed 01 May 2013]. Alexander Rumble also makes the case that cartulary copies should be ‘used with great caution’ as they may be adapted in the beneficiaries’ favour or be produced ‘several centuries’ after the original. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 4-5. Recent scholarship which focuses explicitly on the copies rather than originals includes Stokes, ‘Rewriting the Bounds’, and Lowe, ‘Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies’. Rumble also studies the *Codex Wintoniensis*, its production and purposes, without reference to original texts. Alexander R. Rumble, ‘The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis’, in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, IV, ed. by R. Allen Brown, Anglo-Norman Studies, 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981), pp. 153-66.

⁴³ Lowe, ‘S 507 and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds’.

⁴⁴ Frances Mary Pitt, ‘From Old English to Middle English: Who Wrote Them and Why? A Survey of Charters Produced in the Three Decades after the Norman Conquest, Held up Against

spurious, interpolated, tampered-with, doubtful and suspicious)⁴⁵ suggest that any alteration to the original text, in whatever form that may be, is the result of malicious interference or negligence and results in the neglect of those copies.

As is to be expected, very often the language of charters has been updated in some way during the copying process.⁴⁶ Thus, while the contents remain largely unchanged, the manner in which they are presented is no longer that in which they were first composed. Constance Bouchard, in her discussion of cartularies, observes that, while place-names would often be updated to reflect their current forms, making them easily recognizable and leaving less opportunity for misinterpretation – either intentional or accidental – by any readers unfamiliar with the landscape,⁴⁷ the body of the text was less likely to be updated. Franzen suggests that:

as time went on, the increasingly unintelligible language gave [the charters] an increasingly authentic aura. Perhaps as long as the important features, such as the name of the king and the name of the estate being granted, remained intelligible, the rest of the text was little concern to them.⁴⁸

Taking this into consideration, it must be concluded that charters should not be discarded as forgeries on the grounds of linguistic features that are anachronistic for their supposed date.

Modern perceptions of forgeries can also influence how they are studied.⁴⁹ Elizabeth A. R. Brown suggests that the reason recent scholarship is so fixated on the existence of forgeries is due to the social situation in which they were produced. She believes that as the majority of extant texts were produced within ecclesiastic centres and thus by ecclesiastics, forgeries (or ‘false, interpolated, tampered-with texts’) are worthy of study as ‘ecclesiastics, professedly dedicated to upholding the highest standards of Christian morality’ would not

their Contemporary Background and some Modern Theory’ (unpublished master’s thesis, University of Exeter, 2007), p. 4.

⁴⁵ As seen in the majority of summaries in the *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 20 July 2013]. See, for example, S 66 which is described as, among other things, an ‘unreliable later copy’. C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 258-59.

⁴⁶ Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁷ Constance B. Bouchard, ‘Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity’, in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. by Adam J. Kostó and Anders Winroth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), pp. 22-32 (p. 30).

⁴⁸ Franzen, ‘Late Copies’, p. 43.

⁴⁹ For an introduction to medieval forgeries, see Alfred Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2004), in particular, pp. 1-35.

ordinarily produce them.⁵⁰ The production of these supposed forgeries is often motivated by the desire of an institution to rewrite its past, re-establish its claim over property, or to assert its position.⁵¹ Forged charters can then hold as much influence as, and sometimes more than, those which are typically considered authentic. Jane Sayers gives the examples of ‘an Evesham forger [...] at work in the reign of Henry I [who] furnished the community with a writ of that king’s predecessor, with the *carta fundationis* and with the bulls of Pope Constantine, on which some of Innocent II’s most important concessions were made’.⁵² For the purposes of this thesis, the perceived authenticity of a charter would not exclude it from consideration, just as forgeries are considered alongside other productions of their date range by Scragg.⁵³

4.4 Old English in the Eleventh Century

The tenth to twelfth centuries were a period of much change for Old English, as is reflected in the shift in the terminology used for referring to the language across the transition from Old English to Middle English (hinged on the Norman Conquest of 1066). This point of transition conveniently associates the linguistic changes with the political and cultural shift that happened at that point.⁵⁴ This is a largely neglected period of manuscript production as it falls at a point of upheaval and change in politics and history, which has resulted in ‘chronological boundaries’ which have strongly influenced manuscript study.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, ‘Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis: Medieval Forgers and Their Intentions’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1988), I, pp. 101-19 (p. 101).

⁵¹ Julia Barrow, ‘The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester from c.1000 to the Early Twelfth Century’, in *St. Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 105-22; Martin Brett, ‘Forgery at Rochester’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1988), IV, pp. 398-412; Jane Sayers, ‘“Original”, Cartulary and Chronicle: The Case of the Abbey of Evesham’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1988), IV, pp. 371-95; Brown, ‘Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis’, 1988; Bouchard, p. 29.

⁵² Sayers, p. 379.

⁵³ Scragg, *Conspetus*, p. xiii.

⁵⁴ Treharne, ‘Categorization’, p. 250. However, David Bates’ argument that the Norman Conquest was not actually the pivotal, all-changing moment it is traditionally considered should also be noted here. David Bates, ‘1066: Does the Date Still Matter?’, *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 443-64.

⁵⁵ Orietta Da Rold, ‘English Manuscripts in Context: The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220’, in *EM 1060to1220*.

Peter Kitson summarizes scholarly discussion of when the boundary between Old English and Middle English might fall, which variously places it across the tenth to twelfth centuries. The general consensus, he concludes, is best represented by Richard Hogg: ‘by about 1100 the structure of our language was beginning to be modified to such a considerable degree that it is reasonable to make that the dividing line between Old English and Middle English’.⁵⁶ Hogg grounds his argument for the dating of ‘transitional’ or ‘late Old English’ in the observation of a shift in orthographic traditions and the *Schriftsprache* – the stable orthographic system of the tenth century, associated with Ælfric – at this point, which began to ‘break down’ even while the language remained essentially Old English.⁵⁷ However, Kitson himself agrees more with Henry Sweet’s dating of between 1100 and 1200.⁵⁸

However, the notion of Old English’s survival beyond 1066 is one which has begun to gain ground in recent years with the publication of *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* as part of the Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England series.⁵⁹ While Old English continued to be written after the Conquest – Thomson counts that at least a third of the 421 manuscripts catalogued by Ker which contain Old English were copied between 1066 and the early thirteenth century⁶⁰ – its exact status at this point is yet to be discussed with any regularity:

But what does ‘survival’ mean? Can it be construed as a form of cultural resistance? Or was it, sometimes anyhow, simply the product of inertia or lack of penetration by the Norman implantation?⁶¹

<<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/culturalcontexts/1.htm>> [accessed 23 February 2013].

⁵⁶ Peter R. Kitson, ‘When Did Middle English Begin? Later than you Think!’, in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 103 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 221-71 (p. 222); Hogg (reference in Kitson incomplete [1992: 9]).

⁵⁷ Richard M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English, Vol 1: Phonology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 3 (§1.4).

⁵⁸ Kitson, ‘When Did Middle English Begin?’, p. 222; Henry Sweet, *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical, Part I: Introduction, Phonology, and Accidence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1892), p. 211.

⁵⁹ *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); ‘Intellectual Origins: The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060–1220’, *EM 1060to1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/culturalcontexts/1.htm>> [accessed 23 February 2013].

⁶⁰ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 11. The *EM 1060to1220* project catalogues these in much more detail [accessed 25 February 2013].

⁶¹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 10.

A contributing factor towards this uncertainty is the lack of focused study. In 1960 Ker noted that, while the century following the Conquest showed a great rise in the production of manuscripts, they ‘were perhaps better written in the eighth century and in the tenth’,⁶² a belief that may have, in part, led to their neglect. However, Karl Luick states that, even into the thirteenth century Old English in manuscripts was copied ‘as faithfully as possible’, although inevitably the scribes’ forms began to appear, resulting in manuscripts which ‘[bear] clear witness to the struggle between two written forms of the language’.⁶³ Treharne also observes that the focus on these later manuscripts containing Old English in scholarship is ‘less on 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’.⁶⁴

4.5 Establishing Old English Dialects

The current classification of the four main dialect boundaries was established, as Peter Kitson describes, in the nineteenth century, using for evidence a ‘small number of texts whose phonologies were highly consistent internally and/or highly contrasting with one another’.⁶⁵ Since the establishment of these four dialects, all the texts since studied can be shown to share a sufficient similarity of features with them as to allow us to conclude that the division holds.⁶⁶ The manuscripts are localized based on similarities in script or dialect which might connect them with a place of production or a scribe’s place of training.⁶⁷ However, despite this apparent regional and geographic basis for the divisions, they are

⁶² N. R. Ker, ‘English Manuscripts in the Century After the Norman Conquest’, *The Lyell Lectures 1952-3* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 1.

⁶³ Karl Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I, part 2 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1921-1940, reprinted 1964 by B. Blackwell, Oxford), §27. Translation by Eric Gerald Stanley, ‘Karl Luick’s “Man schreib wie man sprach” and English Historical Philology’, in *Luick Revisited. Papers Read at the Luick Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15-18 September 1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Narr, 1988), pp. 311-34 (p. 311).

⁶⁴ Treharne, ‘Bishops and their Texts’, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁵ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 43; Campbell, §6.

⁶⁶ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Mary Swan, ‘Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215’, in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 29-42 (p. 33); Michelle P. Brown, ‘Mercian Manuscripts? The “Tiberius” Group and its Historical Context’, in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 281-91 (p. 280); Millett, pp. 183-97.

largely related to political boundaries.⁶⁸ This is problematic for many reasons, including the fact that political boundaries shift and change much more frequently than do speech communities, and what may appear to be a correlation at one point will not always apply.⁶⁹ Scragg has produced his *Conspectus* of scribes with the goal of connecting ‘idiosyncratic spellings’ with scribal hands rather than texts or manuscripts, a method which would allow for a more meaningful development of dialect description.⁷⁰

Hogg also addresses the problem of our current Old English dialect divisions building on Campbell, who says ‘the names of the Old English dialects are used “practically without claim to territorial significance”’.⁷¹ Hogg believes statements such as Campbell’s, and, elsewhere, Wright and Wright’s, that ‘Even in the oldest recorded Old English there was of course no such thing as a uniform Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon or Kentish dialect’,⁷² to be ‘dangerous in the extreme’.⁷³ A large part of his argument draws on the disparity between the constantly changing shape and power of the political and religious structures in pre-Alfredian England, which is not reflected, in any way, in Old English scholars’ description of the dialect boundaries.⁷⁴ The actual data often contradict the divisions outlined in this system, which is theoretical and abstract, and one text may contain features from multiple ‘dialects’. As Kitson notes, ‘The traditional model offers no guidance in dealing with such combinations when they are authorial, or in distinguishing the latter from mixtures which arise from copying between dialects or from deliberate composition in a mixture of dialects’, and so we need the tools of modern dialectology, such as isoglosses, which allow for multiple boundaries demarcating different features.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ D. G. Scragg, *A History of English Spelling* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1974), p. 6.

⁶⁹ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 44.

⁷⁰ Scragg, *Conspectus*, p. xii.

⁷¹ Gillis Kristensen, ‘The Old English Anglian/Saxon Boundary Revisited’, in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 103 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 271-81 (p. 271); Richard M. Hogg, ‘On the Impossibility of English Dialectology’, in *Luick Revisited. Papers Read at the Luick Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15-18 September 1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Narr, 1988), pp. 183-203.

⁷² Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Wright, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), §3.

⁷³ Hogg, ‘On the Impossibility of English Dialectology’, p. 184.

⁷⁴ Hogg, ‘On the Impossibility of English Dialectology’, pp. 188-89.

⁷⁵ Kitson, ‘Old English Dialect Distributions’, p. 43.

Further problems with the dialect divisions arise from localizing manuscripts within those boundaries. Scripts and spelling choices within a scribe's work may point to different centres or dialect areas. Similarly, the dialect markers are not necessarily an indication of the manuscript's point of production but may reflect the scribe's place of training, or the dialect of their exemplar (if the scribe is copying *Literatim*).⁷⁶ In considering the localization of manuscripts, charters are perhaps the most easily pinpointed geographically due to their inherent association with individual centres.⁷⁷ This is not to say that localizing them is a straightforward process, as factors such as scribal movement and textual transmission – as outlined above – muddy the picture. Despite this, the focus on localizing manuscripts has been on the larger poetic and prose manuscripts, and on preaching texts, which were often very mobile and widely transmitted.⁷⁸ It is telling that the key texts for establishing dialects, chosen for their internal consistency, are never charters or cartularies. Notable Mercian texts used for the purposes of localization include the *Épinal* and *Erfurt* and *Corpus Glossaries*.⁷⁹ Of these, *Épinal* and *Erfurt* have strong Continental associations, and the *Corpus Glossary* has associations with Canterbury and has been shown to be less strongly associated with Mercia.⁸⁰

4.6 The Worcester Cartularies and the Mercian Dialect

As the focus of this thesis is two manuscripts from Worcester, the delineation of the Mercian dialect and Worcester's place in this is central. Campbell, the standard reference for the phonology of Old English, defines 'Mercian' as 'a term used by modern scholars to imply all the Anglian dialects excluding Northumbrian'.⁸¹ Hogg defines it as 'a cover term for texts which may be supposed to originate from somewhere south of the [Northumbrian] area, [...] and north of the Thames', making it a very loosely defined dialect encompassing a potentially large amount of linguistic variation.⁸² As evidence for

⁷⁶ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries', p. 33.

⁷⁷ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries', p. 33.

⁷⁸ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries', p. 33.

⁷⁹ R. M. Wilson, 'The Provenance of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss: The Linguistic Evidence', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 292-310 (p. 294).

⁸⁰ Summaries from Wilson, pp. 294 and 297. See W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus, Epinal and Leyden Glossaries*, Publications of the Philological Society, 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921); Campbell, §12; Hogg, *Grammar*, §1.8.

⁸¹ Campbell, §8.

⁸² Hogg, *Grammar*, §1.8.

this dialect area, Campbell draws on the corpus of single-sheet royal charters. He discards cartulary evidence for the following reasons:

None of these cartularies is older than 1100, and therefore documents preserved in them cannot be relied on to preserve the practices of the period of their origin in orthography and inflexion, though they may provide evidence of value in matters of syntax and semantics. The student of phonology must confine himself to charters preserved on single sheets which appear to be palaeographically of a date reasonably near to that of the transactions recorded in the documents. Even so, charters cease to be of great linguistic value after 900, for they tend, whatever their area of origin, to be written in the standard West-Saxon of the period, and for that dialect records of other kinds are particularly rich.⁸³

In saying this, Campbell has discounted a vast swathe of Old English manuscript evidence from linguistic study. His is a statement which can be directly tested in this thesis. Countering Campbell's assertion, Hogg suggests that 'A more precise understanding of dialectal variation in OE may be available from a close study of charters and place-names'.⁸⁴ The traditional field of Old English dialect studies is dependent on the corpus of texts chosen, and the method and manner of the scribes' work in recording their language.⁸⁵ A shift in the corpus used in this way could provide new information.

The distinction between written- and spoken-language features is used in McIntosh's 'fit'-technique, 'as a means of localizing varieties not of spoken language but of written' late Middle English.⁸⁶ This method uses the identification of certain forms in a manuscript to be localized within dialectal isoglosses, leading to the association of a scribe with a certain location. This method is dependent on pre-existing dialect maps against

⁸³ Campbell, §8.

⁸⁴ Hogg, *Grammar*, §1.12.

⁸⁵ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§1.12 and 1.6. Elsewhere, Hogg has argued against some of Campbell's dialectology conclusions: 'Consider now a standard interpretation of these texts, as given by Campbell (1959: §17): "...at first texts in West-Saxon ... exhibit forms proper to the spelling systems of other dialects. Even in the ... main sources for Early West-Saxon, many spellings are found which reflect non-West-Saxon phonological forms". The concentration is obviously on spelling, and the implication, at least, is that these spellings somehow distort our view of early West-Saxon. This must be so, for, as Campbell continues, these spellings do not represent "the forms which must have been the ancestors of those found in Late West-Saxon". But why not accept that these spellings are genuine, in the sense that they are a real attempt to represent accurately the forms of speech of the writers of the texts and thus of the court at Winchester?'. Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of English Dialectology', p. 190.

⁸⁶ The 'fit'-technique was first outlined in Angus McIntosh, 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology', *English Studies*, 44 (1963), 1-11; Michael Benskin, 'The "Fit"-Technique Explained', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of 'A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English'*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), pp. 9-29 (p. 9).

which the manuscript in question can be fitted. In the absence of an Old English dialect atlas, the ‘fit’-technique is not practically applicable to the present case study. However, localization of forms can be loosely achieved using the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC) and comparison with usage in manuscripts which have already been localized, in particular, with cartularies and charters.⁸⁷ However, as the localization of the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton scribes is not the purpose of this study, the process of the ‘fit’-technique can be used to determine how their usage fits into the wider usage of Old English scribes, and of scribes associated with Worcester.

4.7 Conclusion

An analysis of the language used by each scribe in this case study will involve comparison between each scribe’s work and with the wider usage found in the extant Old English corpus.⁸⁸ A comparison of the orthographical systems of each scribe will include analysis of forms of the same word or phonological context, and an exploration of the reasons or motivations for the use of this form. This will give insight into each scribe’s spoken or written system as well as information on their copying style, in particular that of the Nero Middleton scribe.

The discussion of the scribe’s treatment of these selected words will explore the factors that might affect how the scribes wrote and copied them. Where the spoken dialect is a consideration, it is useful to know the framework within which that concept of dialect fits, and the corpus from which that framework is formed. Rather than conceive of these scribes as speaking and writing a form of ‘Mercian’, the system they each produce will be considered a product of various influences, including (but not limited to) their spoken language, their training, and the forms found in their exemplar. These systems will be compared to the forms found in the extant Old English corpus. The texts, manuscripts, and locations in which these forms are also found can be collated, and conclusions drawn from them.

⁸⁷ *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (University of Toronto, 2009) <<http://0-tapor.library.utoronto.ca.wam.leeds.ac.uk/doecorpus/>> [accessed 25 February 2013].

⁸⁸ See Section Two, Chapter 12.

5 CHAPTER 5: Scribal Profiles

Most existing studies of copying scribes and their work aim to identify and describe each scribe's language as distinct from that of their exemplar. In addition, many studies look at spelling and internal consistency and inconsistency in an attempt to reconstruct a scribe's orthographic or phonemic systems.¹ The aim of this thesis is to identify the scribes' work as distinct from their exemplars, and to use the differences between copy and exemplar to investigate the process by which that copy is produced. To do so, the analysis must include not just linguistic evidence, but also paralinguistic evidence, in order to work out what influences are at play in a copying scribe's work.

A scribe's work is identified and distinguished from that of the exemplar and that of other scribes by means of scribal profiles: 'a suitably organised inventory of a selection of a scribe's usages drawn up from the observation of the treatment of a number of items in a single piece of text written in one hand'.² These are constructed from copies without reference to an exemplar using internal patterns of spelling choice. Identifying and describing scribal profiles is, then, not the end goal, but these profiles are a tool, and the scribal profiles built here are to be used as a stepping stone to be combined with other evidence.

5.1 Linguistic Atlases and the Development of Scribal Profiles

The most extensive and thorough scribal profile-building is that of Angus McIntosh and the team who built *LALME*. The profiles built for *LALME* are intended as a tool for building a dialect map and for placing scribes and their work within localizable groups. McIntosh divides his linguistic profiles into two sections: features of variation 'within the written-language system' and those 'within the spoken-language system', which he treats

¹ See, for example, Merja Stenroos, 'Free Variation and Other Myths: Interpreting Historical English Spelling', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 38 (2002), 445-68, (p. 445); Fran Colman, 'On Interpreting Old English Data as Evidence for Reconstructing Old English: In Part a Defence of Philology, with Special Reference to Personal Names on Anglo-Saxon Coins', in *New Trends in English Historical Linguistics: An Atlantic View*, ed. by Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño and Begoña Crespo García (La Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2004), pp. 75-114; John C. McLaughlin, *A Graphemic-Phonemic Study of a Middle English Manuscript* (The Hague: Mouton & co., 1963), p. 7; Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>', p. 91. This subject will be returned to in detail in Section Two, Chapter 12.

² Angus McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 32-45 (p. 34).

independently of graphical features.³ His goal in building these profiles is to ‘establish a correlation between the spoken language “underlying” a text and the place where that language was current’.⁴ The guiding principle is that apparent spoken-language features in a scribe’s work can be taken to represent that scribe’s spoken language. McIntosh does, however, also observe that some written-language features show a geographic distribution, suggesting a regional variation in the use of certain orthographic conventions.⁵ He treats the two types of feature as distinct in order to discern different information about a scribe than would be possible using just spoken- or written-language features. For example, if the written-language features displayed a different geographic location from the scribe’s spoken-language features, it might be concluded that the scribe was trained in a different region from that of their spoken dialect.⁶ Spoken-language features are identified by comparing all the ways in which a scribe might orthographically render a set of phonemes.⁷ A graphological profile is a palaeographic description of each scribe’s work wherein each letter-shape is described by the ‘range of variation’ with which it might be rendered.⁸ Linguistic features are analysed alongside palaeographical, with the aim of testing the hypothesis that ‘the output of any Middle English scribe [...] is unique’.⁹ This methodology is dependent on a number of factors: the resources of *LALME* and a large, localized corpus of data against which each new profile may be mapped, and sizeable amounts of work by individual scribes so that the internal treatment of equivalent phonemes may be compared and produce meaningful results.

The work of *LAEME* builds on that of *LALME*, but, due to the nature of the earlier corpus, certain changes to the collection and presentation of the data have been made. Construction of *LAEME* using *LALME*’s methodology is hindered by ‘the general problem of the gapped time/space continuum’.¹⁰ That is, that the patchy survival of sources, both

³ Angus McIntosh, ‘Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes’, in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 46-63 (p. 46).

⁴ McIntosh, ‘Towards an Inventory’, p. 47. See also Section Two, Chapter 12.

⁵ McIntosh, ‘Towards an Inventory’, p. 49.

⁶ McIntosh, ‘Towards an Inventory’, p. 49.

⁷ McIntosh, ‘Towards an Inventory’, p. 51.

⁸ McIntosh, ‘Towards an Inventory’, p. 55.

⁹ McIntosh, ‘Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts’, p. 33.

¹⁰ Margaret Laing and Roger Lass, ‘Introduction: Chapter 1, Preliminaries’, *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1_frames.html> [accessed 29 May 2013].

synchronously and diachronically, means that neither the ‘fit’-technique nor the profile-building methods of *LALME* are worthwhile. Rather, the focus for *LAEME* has shifted to syntactic and lexical information, and the role they play in shaping a scribe’s orthographical system.¹¹

Certain issues arise in applying these methodologies to the corpus of this thesis: first, no comparable database to *LALME* exists for Old English, against which a scribe’s work might be compared. The *DOEC* provides the raw data, but their corpus is incomplete and has not been sorted by dialect region. Secondly, charters do not provide a large dataset of words in Old English. Charter texts are brief and contain as much Latin as they do Old English, and they use a limited syntax and lexis.

The focus of the profiles described here is not so much on how scribes wrote as how they spelled a restricted set of phonemes and shaped their letters. As such, they lack analysis of any other linguistic or paralinguistic features. While these profiles are a useful tool, they must be adapted before they can be usefully applied to late Old English charters.

5.2 Building Scribal Profiles

Databases have also been used by Laing and McIntosh in their analysis of the scribes of a late-twelfth-century manuscript.¹² In this case, the investigation aimed to identify the scribes’ copying habits by comparison with each other, as well as by identifying internal inconsistencies, and to differentiate their systems from those of their unidentified exemplar(s). This study determines the distribution of key forms in each scribe’s work using the computer-tagging system used by the *Early Middle English* and *Older Scots Linguistic Atlas* projects, which assign lexical and grammatical tags to each word in a text.¹³ Their methodology identifies all reflexes of certain Old English stem vowels, such as West-Saxon *ǣ*; the appearances of diphthongal spellings before velar consonants; or the use of *ȝ* for palatal and velar fricatives, and tracks their distribution within each scribe’s usage.¹⁴ By mapping these distributions and comparing each scribe’s work, they are able to establish each scribe’s copying style (for example, scribe A is a Literatim copyist) and from that draw

¹¹ Laing and Lass.

¹² Margaret Laing and Angus McIntosh, ‘Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 335: Its Texts and Their Transmission’, in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995), pp. 14-52.

¹³ Laing and McIntosh, p. 14.

¹⁴ Laing and McIntosh, pp. 16-29.

conclusions about the language of their exemplars.¹⁵ While Laing and McIntosh's methodology is aided by the tagging system and is dependent on a sizeable dataset, so that the distribution of these individual features can be mapped in a meaningful way, similar smaller studies have been conducted with success. Smith has conducted a study of the spelling variations in the Vespasian Psalter gloss, using them as evidence for phonological development.¹⁶ John Scahill uses internal consistencies to determine the 'prodigality' of a scribe's copying style,¹⁷ as well as the extent to which training and scriptorium influence a scribe's orthography.¹⁸ The AB Language is also the subject of much study of this type. It is 'a local or regional literary standard' found in two thirteenth-century Hertfordshire manuscripts, which is notable for appearing during a period of very little written standardization.¹⁹ This standardization has provided the opportunity for works assessing the internal consistency of spelling without reference to any spoken-language influence.²⁰

A smaller dataset, such as that provided by the texts of S 1556 and S 1280, would not provide enough information to draw any meaningful conclusions using Laing and McIntosh's methodology alone, but the combination of various approaches can provide a depth of information about these scribes' copying styles. Potential additions to the orthographical scribal profile model are discussed below.

The information provided by spelling variation alone is not always sufficient to build a detailed picture of a scribe's work. Orthographic studies of individual manuscripts or scribes often focus on spelling choice, and very rarely is attention paid to paralinguistic features such as punctuation and abbreviation. The study of abbreviation, in particular, is hampered by editorial practice which typically expands abbreviations. Silent expansion eliminates all evidence of the abbreviation, but even where expansion is marked the original mark is lost and the only acknowledgment in the edited text will be the presence of an indication of abbreviation. As will be discussed below, the variety of marks used is as wide

¹⁵ Laing and McIntosh, pp. 23 and 27-29.

¹⁶ Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>', p. 89.

¹⁷ Scahill, 'Prodigal Early Middle English Orthographies', p. 240.

¹⁸ John Scahill, 'Early Middle English Orthographies: Archaism and Particularism', *Medieval English Studies Newsletter*, 31 (1994), 16-22 (p. 19).

¹⁹ Black, p. 155.

²⁰ Black, p. 155; the term was coined by Tolkien in his '*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidhad*', p. 104.

and as valuable a resource as the abbreviations themselves and the same is true of every other aspect of scribal language and paralinguistic behaviour.²¹

Alongside their study of the orthography and phonology of the scribes of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 335, Laing and McIntosh also conduct an analysis of some lexicographical features of the manuscript. In this, they compare some words as used by the scribes against their distribution as recorded in the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*. They combine this with the phonological evidence to draw conclusions about the scribes and their exemplars' date and dialect history which would not have been possible using phonological or graphical evidence alone.²² Again, the exact replication of such a study is not possible as no resource equivalent to the *English Dialect Dictionary* exists. As the subject of this thesis is copying, the focus of any lexical study would be in determining the influences behind any lexical variations introduced by a copying scribe. In the absence of an exemplar, such a study is not possible for the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes.

Typically, syntax is not frequently included in studies of dialect, although *LAEME* is a recent exception to this.²³ David Yerkes notes that while scribes are known for adapting spelling and word choice from their exemplars, they 'seldom recast syntax'.²⁴ Where Yerkes has noted syntactical changes, he attributes them to differences in style or dialect.²⁵ As the scribes who are the focus of this study were all presumably trained and working at Worcester, the role of style in informing syntactical changes might be stronger than that of dialect. This is something which focused comparison between each scribe's work might determine.²⁶

Benskin and Laing make a case for treating morphology as distinct from both syntax and orthographical elements of a scribe's system. In copying a text, a scribe may

²¹ See Section Two, Chapter 11, on abbreviations.

²² Laing and McIntosh, pp. 30-34.

²³ Benskin and Laing, '*Mischsprachen*', p. 97.

²⁴ David Yerkes, *Syntax and Style in Old English: A Comparison of the Two Versions of Wærfeth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), p. 9.

²⁵ Yerkes, p. 10.

²⁶ Kate Wiles, 'The Treatment of Charter Bounds by the Worcester Cartulary Scribes', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 113-37.

update the morphology independently from the syntax, resulting in a copy with conflicting dialectal information.²⁷

As well as linguistic features of a scribe's work, paralinguistic features may provide insight into the copying process. For example, Sisam talks about the copying of abbreviations and how long scribes take to adapt to the abbreviation style of their exemplars.²⁸ Pamela Robinson makes a case for identifying scribes solely 'on the basis of palaeography and features of punctuation'.²⁹ While this is sufficient for distinguishing between different scribes' work, more information is required to find out about copying and scribal behaviour, as well as to be able to identify each scribe's work. As with orthographical systems, however, the first stage in analysing the role of punctuation in copying is establishing which aspects of punctuation in a text are the scribe's own – produced either as a result of training or assimilated through exposure to other manuscripts – and which are present due to influence from the exemplar.

5.3 Conclusion

As the purpose of this thesis is to identify and discuss the influences on a scribe's copying, some method needs to be used that will distinguish the scribe's work from underlying content reproduced from an exemplar. McIntosh shows that a 'total' description is both infeasible and unnecessary: 'only as many distinguishing traits need be considered as turn out to be sufficient, in their totality, to characterise any given scribe uniquely'.³⁰ While his purpose in studying scribes is different, this approach is applicable here. McIntosh's methodology will help to determine the degree to which the scribes' orthographical system is influenced by their spoken system. This can be combined with the alterations used by *LAEME*, and wider aspects of the texts and the scribes' work can be incorporated, including paralinguistic features which are not accounted for in traditional scribal profiles.

²⁷ Benskin and Laing, '*Mischsprachen*', p. 94. Building on the work of *LALME* is the *Middle English Grammar Project* which aims to produce a description of Middle English orthography, phonology and morphology; *The Middle English Grammar Project* <<http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/STELLA/ihs1/projects/MEG/meg.htm>> [accessed 06 May 2013].

²⁸ Sisam, 'Scribal Tradition', p. 108.

²⁹ Pamela R. Robinson, 'A Study of Some Aspects of the Transmission of English Verse Texts in Late Mediaeval Manuscripts' (Unpublished B. Litt, diss., University of Oxford, 1972), pp. 128-31; Wiggins, p. 11.

³⁰ Angus McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', pp. 33-34.

5.4 Conclusion to Section One

Section One of this thesis has been an exploration of the possible influences which contribute to the formation of a scribe's written system. That is, those factors – other than the exemplar itself – which influence a scribe's work when copying a text. These factors include the myriad of roles scribes may have fulfilled in Anglo-Saxon England, and the environments in which they may have worked. The internal organization of scriptoria and the influence they had on individual scribes' work, in particular, is often assumed rather than explicitly explored and, as some studies have shown, they can potentially be a strong influence on Anglo-Saxon manuscript culture.¹

The previous discussion has also demonstrated how little can confidently be said about the training scribes received in learning to write Old English. This is particularly notable in light of the comparative wealth of evidence available for the teaching of Latin and of scripts. In the absence of explicit or documentary evidence for training in Old English, non-explicit sources must be used, such as the corpus of Old English produced by scribes who presumably must have undergone training of some kind. Similarly, little explicit evidence for how scribes learned to copy texts exists, the focus instead being on the types of copying they produced. Such work is particularly pertinent to discussion of scribes in the eleventh century and the early post-Conquest period during which original composition decreased, but the copying of manuscripts continued.²

The value of studying later copies and the work of copying scribes has also been highlighted. It is notable that charters have received little attention for such purposes, being primarily used as a resource for historical, administrative or dialectal studies. A dominant characteristic of work on copies and copying scribes is their use in accessing the original forms of texts through the interventions of the scribes.

Whether they are producing 'careless' errors or copying their exemplar *Literatim*, the work of copying scribes can provide insight, not just into their language systems,³ but into their copying practices, their training and working environments, and into scribal culture in general.

¹ See, in particular, Webber, pp. 5-29.

² Treharne and Swan. This is also demonstrated by the *EM 1060to1220* project which catalogues manuscripts produced in this period which are chiefly copies of earlier works <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/catalogue/intro.htm>> [accessed 04 September 2013].

³ Copies as a source for scribal language have been used in detail for both *LAEME* and *LALME*. This was discussed in Chapter 5, above.

Section Two of this thesis consists of a case study which will produce detailed scribal profiles of charter scribes by means of comparison between multiple charter copies. The scribal profiles will cover both linguistic and paralinguistic aspects of the scribes' work (including palaeography, syntax, punctuation, abbreviation and orthography), and will be guided by the degree and type of variation between the charter copies. The comparison will allow for the differentiation between aspects of the copying scribe's work which are replicated from the exemplar and those which are innovations by the scribe. Together, these features will provide evidence of the scribe's copying behaviour. The identification of features of the scribes' written systems in these scribal profiles will enable a discussion of the extent to which the observed features are formalized, or appear to be unformalized. This will provide insight into the role that training and the scriptorium played in the formation of those written systems, and the influences which inform the ways the scribes copy these texts.

SECTION TWO

6 CHAPTER 6: Case Study, Worcester

As this discussion of scribal behaviour in the eleventh century will be conducted using two manuscripts produced at Worcester, an overview of Worcester's position and manuscript culture during this period is valuable, particularly as it must be remembered that, 'Linguistic analysis cannot be divorced from contemporary cultural context'.¹ The eleventh century marked the end of a period of great change for the church at Worcester,² ending in the episcopacies of Archbishop Wulfstan (from 1002 to 1016) and Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (from 1062 to 1095).³ The scriptorium at Worcester is at this point considered a major centre with a long tradition of manuscript production in English,⁴ as well as strong connections with both the West Midlands and the rest of England.⁵ Under the episcopacy of Wulfstan II, Worcester demonstrated an interest in producing an output which reinforced 'the perception of the importance and marked identity of the place, especially in terms of its developed and carefully constructed sense of English identity'.⁶ Worcester is notable for the continued copying of pre-Conquest Old English texts well into the thirteenth century,⁷ an act which has often resulted in an association with traditionalism.⁸

6.1 Scribes and the Scriptorium at Worcester

Book production at Worcester was extensive,⁹ although this dropped off in the later tenth century, and was, as Gameson terms it, 'desultory and piecemeal', in part because the earlier extensive production was so complete that there was no need for further books by this date.¹⁰ By the mid-eleventh century production increased again, possibly to reflect the

¹ Smith, 'Standard Language', p. 136.

² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 1.

³ Nicholas Brooks, 'Introduction: How Do we Know about St Wulfstan?', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 1-22 (p. 1). Here, Bishop Wulfstan, or St Wulfstan (from 1062 to 1095) is distinguished from Archbishop Wulfstan (from 1002 to 1016).

⁴ Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts', p. 18.

⁵ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries', p. 30.

⁶ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries', p. 30.

⁷ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries', p. 32.

⁸ Susan D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Documents: A Palaeography*, Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, Occasional Publications, 1 (Manchester: Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2010).

⁹ The extent of its output is demonstrated by the scope of Thomson, *Catalogue*.

¹⁰ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 61.

growth of the community under Wulfstan II from around twelve to fifty members.¹¹ The Conquest did not seem to have the effect on Worcester that it had on manuscript production elsewhere.¹² Production did not drop off until the early twelfth century,¹³ and, while Gameson notes the continuity of appearance of the books produced from the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries, he does not believe this is due to a continuity of scribes, as the hands in the late eleventh-century books do not appear in the earlier twelfth century.¹⁴ This suggests the continuity is produced by co-ordination in training or instruction within the scriptorium. In the twelfth century, the books being produced at both Worcester Cathedral Priory and at St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, are of a 'medium-to-low quality', and Worcester appears to have been a loosely organized scriptorium with less highly trained scribes than Gloucester, despite this long tradition of production.¹⁵ However, in counting documents and books copied post-1066, Thomson does not count books containing charters in Latin with bounds in English, since short lists of bounds could be copied mechanically, and he includes *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton in this.¹⁶ Similarly, Gameson is only counting 'complete book[s]', a category which does not include cartularies nor additions to pre-existing manuscripts, which would exclude both *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton from his survey.¹⁷

Worcester's output in the eleventh century is notable for the quantity which is in the vernacular, or which contains it, and for the 'relative paucity' of its Latin output, which is perhaps a reflection of the importance of Old English in Worcester's literary culture.¹⁸ Evidence, such as a lease of 904, shows a rise in the use of English from the end of the ninth century as the vernacular became increasingly popular in documents. Tinti credits

¹¹ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 61. It is not clear, if the community at this time was only twelve, whether the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes were five of those twelve.

¹² Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62.

¹³ It is unclear when exactly book production drops off: Gameson says 'between c. 1090 and c. 1100', and Thomson the earlier twelfth century. Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62; Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 34.

¹⁴ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62.

¹⁵ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 34.

¹⁶ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 15, n. 85.

¹⁷ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62.

¹⁸ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62.

this rise to Wærferth's influence and his associations with King Alfred's literacy and translation programme.¹⁹

Later, the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester notably wrote in both Old and Middle English in the thirteenth century, showing the continued use of Old English for written purposes in the face of the changing spoken language.²⁰ This is, Thomson suggests 'a form of cultural resistance which gradually transmuted itself into antiquarianism'.²¹ This antiquarianism in Worcester's literary output has been noted elsewhere and seems to be an identifiable trait of its scribes' work.²² The continued use of the pre-Conquest round script is taken as evidence of conservatism, as is the fact that the decorative house style saw very few changes across the eleventh to twelfth centuries.²³

Many of the manuscripts produced at Worcester in the mid-eleventh century share a distinctive style, with scribes using a minuscule script and one of two display capital scripts which continue into the late eleventh century.²⁴ Similarly, a decorative style formed in the early eleventh century, and some motifs from this period continued to be used into the thirteenth century.²⁵ Thomson deems Worcester a 'rather provincial scriptorium' by this later period, with a slow rate of change.²⁶ It was also characterized by the styles of other scriptoria which it seems to have appropriated in preference to developing its own.²⁷ This may be evidence for strong ties to these other scriptoria, either due to the sharing of scribes or of manuscript exemplars.

The internal organization of Worcester's scriptorium can, to a certain degree, be determined, using both documentary sources and manuscript evidence, by observing the different roles that multiple scribes played across the extant corpus. As described above, Webber has done this very effectively using the output of Salisbury's scriptorium.²⁸

¹⁹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 12.

²⁰ For detail on the Tremulous Hand, see: Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

²¹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 16.

²² Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Documents*, p. 40.

²³ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 34-36.

²⁴ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 73.

²⁵ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 81-82.

²⁶ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 82.

²⁷ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 82.

²⁸ As was discussed above in Section One, Chapter 2.

Thomson believes Worcester to have been loosely organized in the twelfth century, with little evidence of discipline despite its long-standing production. His evidence is in the prevalence of the hand of John of Worcester as a 'poor scribe', and in the 'home made' appearance of many of the manuscripts produced in this time.²⁹ In contrast, the evidence of *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton suggests a highly co-ordinated group of scribes in the early eleventh century.³⁰

Further evidence regarding the internal organization of the Worcester scriptorium, and the scribes involved in manuscript production there, comes from the occasional named scribe. Thomson presents extensive examples of Old English being composed at Worcester in the twelfth century by Coleman, in addition to the work of the Tremulous Hand.³¹ Before this, in the late eleventh century and into the twelfth, there is evidence of individual, named, scribes working at Worcester. At Wulfstan II's behest, Hemming wrote his cartulary. At the same time the scriptorium began producing an account of English history, which was added to Marianus Scotus' *Chronicle*. In 1124, this work was credited to a monk called John. At this time, Coleman was also producing his *Old English Life of Wulfstan*.³² Moreover, in the early twelfth century, a list of names of Worcester was produced, in which these names, and others, are present.³³

6.2 Conclusion

All this demonstrates that Worcester was an active centre of production with, throughout the eleventh century, several scribes working closely together to steadily produce manuscripts, perhaps working under some form of director, and certainly at the behest of their bishop. It is not clear who the scribes were: there is evidence that they were members of the monastic community, and there is also evidence of Worcester having paid scribes for their work. Furthermore, there is no physical evidence of a scriptorium, nor can any conclusions be drawn about its form or location.

Worcester's output is characterized by conservative traditions and influence from other scriptoria. There is no evidence for the development of this house style via a top-down learning method, although that does not mean it did not happen. However, there is a

²⁹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 34-36.

³⁰ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 121.

³¹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 12-14.

³² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 61-62.

³³ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 66.

long enough tradition of manuscript production at Worcester for an organic house style to have developed, and characteristic features of the scriptorium's output have been consistently observed. There is some variation and mixing with styles of other Mercian scriptoria which could be evidence of scribal movement, or the movement of exemplars.

Therefore, when using the term 'scriptorium' and talking about Worcester as a centre of scribal activity in discussion of the Worcester cartulary scribes' copying, the terms 'Worcester' and 'scriptorium' will be used to describe an established, co-ordinated group of scribes, which, over time, developed its own house style with reference to those of other scriptoria, and which may have been conservative in nature. The extent to which this style was enforced or organic will be one of the considerations when discussing the manuscript evidence. For example, style elements such as the uniform use of the distinctive rubrics going vertically down the margin appearing in multiple manuscripts suggest some kind of instruction and are perhaps less likely to be uniform if it was an organic feature.³⁴ However, abbreviation use or linguistic elements such as spelling choice may be open to individual scribes' discretion, following their training.

6.3 The Worcester Cartularies

Worcester is notable for the number of charters it has preserved. This includes a collection of single-sheet charters, as well as two complete cartularies and a fragmentary third cartulary, all from the eleventh century.³⁵ These manuscripts are:

1. London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (I), fols 1-118 (*Liber Wigorniensis*);
2. London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (II), fols 119-200 (Hemming's Cartulary);
3. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fols. 181-84 and London, British Library, MS Additional 46204 (Nero Middleton).³⁶

The combination of the prestige of and focus on Worcester, and the fact that these are the earliest extant cartularies in England, has resulted in much scholarship being devoted to the

³⁴ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 74.

³⁵ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 1-2.

³⁶ These manuscripts are listed in Davis' *Catalogue* as items 1068, pt. 1; 1068, pt. 2; and 1069 respectively.

two full cartularies.³⁷ Significantly less work has been focused on the fragmentary Nero manuscript.

6.3.1 London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii

Historically there has been some confusion over the naming of the two halves of Cotton Tiberius A. xiii. The late medieval foliation suggests that the two manuscripts were bound together ‘in or before the fifteenth century’.³⁸ As a result of this, Thomas Hearne applied the name ‘Hemming’ to both *Liber Wigorniensis* and Hemming’s Cartulary in his influential edition, and his mistake has since been replicated.³⁹ H. P. R. Finberg first used the name *Liber Wigorniensis* to refer to the first half of the codex, which is also known as Tiberius I (and Hemming’s Cartulary, Tiberius II).⁴⁰

The Tiberius manuscript suffered some damage in the Cotton fire, resulting in some singed pages which are hard, but not impossible, to read, and in the loss of a few words. In the nineteenth century the entire codex was rebound and each leaf was individually mounted, which has had the unfortunate effect of making the original quiring harder to determine.⁴¹ For a full description of the entire manuscript, see the *EM 1060to1220* catalogue.⁴²

6.3.2 The *Liber Wigorniensis* Cartulary

Several date ranges have been suggested for the compilation of *Liber Wigorniensis*, starting with V. H. Galbraith’s suggestion that it was begun before Archbishop Wulfstan’s episcopacy.⁴³ David Dumville suggests that its compilation may have begun in 996 as that is the date of the latest document to be copied into it.⁴⁴ Neil Ker’s conclusion is that it be dated to between 1002 and 1016, a suggestion which is refined by Stephen Baxter, who

³⁷ Davis, p. xi.

³⁸ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 55.

³⁹ Thomas Hearne, *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis. e codice MS penes Richardum Graves, etc.* (Oxford: [n. pub.], 1723); Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 76.

⁴⁰ H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), pp. 15-18.

⁴¹ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 51.

⁴² ‘London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii’, *EM 1060to1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Tibe.A.xiii.htm>> [accessed 27 February 2013].

⁴³ V. H. Galbraith, ‘Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096–1112)’, *The English Historical Review*, 2 (1967), 86-101 (pp. 97-98).

⁴⁴ Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 66.

believes *Liber Wigorniensis* was ‘almost certainly compiled on Wulfstan’s instructions [...] in or shortly after 1002’.⁴⁵ Whether or not Wulfstan commissioned the production of *Liber Wigorniensis*, Ker has identified his hand in the marginal notes which appear throughout,⁴⁶ which shows that he ‘approved’ of its production and that he worked with it personally.⁴⁷ Although it is argued from a lack of contradictory evidence, it is generally agreed that *Liber Wigorniensis* is the earliest cartulary to be produced in England.⁴⁸ Patrick Geary has made strong connections with Frankish cartularies, particularly in the internal topographical structure the cartulary uses, which may be a result of Worcester’s close contact with the Continent.⁴⁹

Five scribes worked on the original composition of *Liber Wigorniensis*, and their work is described by Ker and tabulated by Tinti.⁵⁰ Ker describes the hands as typical of the first half of the eleventh century. They are smaller than those of Hemming’s Cartulary, ‘and do not give an impression of roundness. They suffer mostly from a lack of proportion in height between the ascenders and descenders and the letters on the line’.⁵¹ It is believed that these five scribes worked simultaneously, largely because Hands 1 and 4 appear to have shared the workload of their sections.⁵²

The cartulary’s structure falls into two main sections:⁵³ the first of these contains royal charters, title deeds, episcopal leases which were obsolete by that date, and fourteen charters; the second section contains seventy-six charters, nearly all of which were issued by Oswald, Wulfstan’s predecessor at Worcester (from 961 to 992) and archbishop of York (from 971 to 992).⁵⁴ The ordering of the charters in *Liber Wigorniensis* has been much

⁴⁵ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 69; Stephen Baxter, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God’s Property’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 161-205 (p. 167).

⁴⁶ N. Ker, ‘The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan’, in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 315-31 (p. 324).

⁴⁷ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 124.

⁴⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 101; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 85.

⁵⁰ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 89-90 and 122-23.

⁵¹ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 50.

⁵² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 121.

⁵³ These are discussed in great detail in Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, pp. 49-55; Baxter; and Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 85-125.

⁵⁴ Baxter, p. 166.

discussed and does not need recounting in full here. These charters are grouped by county and ordered geographically within those groupings.⁵⁵

At the end of each of these groupings, space was left for further additions to be made, meaning that the cartulary was never intended as a complete product, but as a ‘working register’, and this updating continued for some time.⁵⁶ The addition of some texts can be dated to the late eleventh century as they have been copied, along with the originally copied groups of charters, into Nero Middleton and so must have been present in *Liber Wigorniensis* before it was copied.⁵⁷

The level of organization and the documents chosen, which cover a large time-span, and which were updated or forged when necessary, show that *Liber Wigorniensis* was an important project, intended to preserve Worcester’s endowments and their origins for the bishop and monks.⁵⁸ It shows that the community was aware of its past, and was invested in preserving its position for the future.⁵⁹

6.3.3 Hemming’s Cartulary

Hemming’s Cartulary, also known as Tiberius II, is the second half of the codex Cotton Tiberius A. xiii. Unlike *Liber Wigorniensis*, documentary and textual evidence exists for the reasons for and circumstances of its production which are narrated in a passage in Hemming’s Cartulary. The manuscript is named for the monk Hemming who, acting on Wulfstan’s orders, wrote the prefatory content and instigated the work.⁶⁰

The production of Hemming’s Cartulary was instigated by St Wulfstan, but its production continued after his death in 1095.⁶¹ Wulfstan’s reasons for instigating this cartulary’s production are presented in two texts which open the original manuscript, the *Prefatio* and the *Enucleatio libelli*, and show his concern for the losses Worcester suffered in the eleventh century and describe how he asked Hemming to write a narrative of these

⁵⁵ For this, see Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 85-125; Baxter, and Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’.

⁵⁶ Baxter, pp. 172-76; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 8 and 124.

⁵⁷ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 73; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 124-25.

⁵⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 124.

⁵⁹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 147-48.

⁶⁰ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 49.

⁶¹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 77, 137 and 143.

losses.⁶² These estates were alienated – unjustly, he considered – ‘first by the Danes, then, by some unjust reeves and royal agents, and finally by the Normans’.⁶³

Hemming’s Cartulary was compiled by three main scribes.⁶⁴ Ker describes these hands as typical of those found in English manuscripts dated to the transition between the mid-to-late eleventh century and the twelfth century.⁶⁵ Ker has discussed its structure, contents and composition in great detail.⁶⁶

6.3.4 The Nero Middleton Cartulary

The Nero Middleton cartulary is also known as the St Wulfstan Cartulary or the St Oswald Cartulary.⁶⁷ Of the three Worcester cartularies to survive from this date, this is the second to have been produced.⁶⁸ The *EM 1060to1220* project dates this manuscript to the second half of the eleventh century.⁶⁹ Francesca Tinti reports that Peter Stokes has refined this, dating the script of Nero Middleton to the 1070s to 1080s.⁷⁰ This date agrees with what we do know of its production, that St Wulfstan planned and commissioned its production during his episcopacy from 1062 to 1095.⁷¹ Both Ker and the *EM 1060to1220* project have identified the work of two scribes who worked one after the other.⁷² However, as I will show in Chapter 7, the rubrics appear to be the work of a third hand, distinct from those of the main text.

⁶² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 137-39.

⁶³ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 139, with a transcription and translation in n. 168 on that page; Hearne, p. 391.

⁶⁴ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 57.

⁶⁵ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁶ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’.

⁶⁷ Jonathan Herold, ‘The St. Wulfstan Cartulary’, in *Early Medieval Record Keeping* <<http://individual.utoronto.ca/emrecordkeeping/Pages/StWulfstanCartMain.html>> [accessed 27 February 2013].

⁶⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 125.

⁶⁹ ‘MS Additional 46204’ and ‘MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2’, *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 27 February 2013].

⁷⁰ Francesca Tinti, ‘*Si litterali memorię commendaretur*: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-Century Worcester’, in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. by S. Baxter, C. E. Karkov, J. L. Nelson and D. Pelteret (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 475-97.

⁷¹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 76-77 and 125.

⁷² For a description of these hands, see Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 66, and ‘London, British Library MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2’ and ‘London, British Library, MS Additional 46204’, *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 27 February 2013].

The textual evidence we have for this cartulary's construction comes from Hemming's *Enucleatio libelli* in which he describes how Wulfstan made a plan to preserve certain documents.⁷³ Wulfstan's focus was on those charters and documents in Worcester's *scrinium* which were either 'in danger of rotting away', or those which he considered 'unjustly alienated'.⁷⁴ These were divided into two groups, those which proved Worcester's ownership over the lands named, and those issued by Oswald in the late tenth century. These were then copied into Worcester's Bible, 'so that if the originals should go missing (as sometimes happened), at least their contents could be saved from oblivion'.⁷⁵

While providing a wealth of information about the circumstances which led to this cartulary's production, this documentary evidence also led to confusion as the structure described, with its division between Worcester's leases and those issued by Oswald, follows the structure of *Liber Wigorniensis* as described above.⁷⁶ However, Ivor Atkins and Neil Ker connected some fragments of a 'large-folio cartulary' in the British Museum with Offa's Bible, which they believed to be the Bible mentioned by Hemming.⁷⁷ Of these fragments four leaves were in MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fols 181-84, with a further single leaf and strips of another leaf in MS Additional 46204 which was bought from Lord Middleton in 1946, giving the combined cartulary remains their name, 'Nero Middleton'. These fragments implied that the full cartulary would have contained the same texts as are found in *Liber Wigorniensis*.⁷⁸ As well as containing the same texts as the *Liber Wigorniensis* manuscript the Nero Middleton texts appear in the same order, although in an abbreviated form.⁷⁹ The fragmentary leaves of Nero Middleton are in a two-column layout which is unusual for a cartulary, but which matches the layout of the Bible, making a strong case for their connection.⁸⁰ The Offa Bible also has strong similarities with the *Codex Amiatinus* which suggests that 'Wulfstan's charters were copied into a very special manuscript, most likely to have been held with great reverence at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh

⁷³ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 125; Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię', pp. 492-97.

⁷⁴ Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię', p. 477.

⁷⁵ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 125-26; Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię', pp. 477-78.

⁷⁶ Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię', p. 478.

⁷⁷ Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts?', p. 284.

⁷⁸ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 66.

⁷⁹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 127; Herold, [accessed 28 February 2013].

⁸⁰ London, British Library, MS Additional 37777 and London, British Library, MS Additional 45025. Further fragments of this Bible have since been discovered, and are summarized in Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 126, n. 147.

century'.⁸¹ This confers a special, sacred status on the texts which were copied into the cartulary, which was, unlike *Liber Wigorniensis*, not intended to be a working document, continuously updated. This might, Tinti suggests, explain 'why it was not necessary to copy the whole text of all charters and why some documents, whose contents were already covered by others, could be omitted'.⁸² It also might explain why these texts were copied into another cartulary despite already having copies in Worcester's existing cartulary, *Liber Wigorniensis*.⁸³

Of the three cartularies, Nero Middleton is the least studied, with very little dedicated work conducted on it. In part, this is because what remains is only fragmentary, and the texts contained in it also exist in a fuller form in *Liber Wigorniensis*.⁸⁴ However, another reason for its neglect comes from Ker's early descriptions of it, which seem to have influenced the later scholarship. In his article on Hemming's Cartulary, Ker refers twice to the 'carelessness' of the Nero Middleton scribe who abbreviated the texts, rendering them 'worthless'.⁸⁵ He also talks of the cartulary's 'bad character' as 'a very poor copy'.⁸⁶ This sentiment has since been echoed in more recent scholarship, in which Nero Middleton is referred to as 'merely a copy' of *Liber Wigorniensis*, rather than a production in its own right.⁸⁷ However, as Tinti has shown, the Nero Middleton cartulary was intended to be an important record, with sacred importance, of Worcester's holdings, copied into their most prestigious manuscript.

6.4 The Worcester Cartulary Tradition

The fact that Worcester produced three substantial cartularies within the space of around ninety years demonstrates the importance with which they viewed the preservation of their archival past, and the documents needed to do this.⁸⁸ Tinti suggests that the three cartularies show a continuity in the tradition, and that each is connected to the others and cannot be considered in isolation. The simple 'filing exercise' of *Liber Wigorniensis* was

⁸¹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 127; MS Amiatino 1.

⁸² Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię', p. 490.

⁸³ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 135.

⁸⁴ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 125.

⁸⁵ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 66.

⁸⁶ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 67.

⁸⁷ Barrow, p. 107.

⁸⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 148.

refined for Nero Middleton and adapted and specialized for Hemming's Cartulary, and together they show how much effort 'the community of Worcester put into filing, recording and preserving documents throughout the eleventh century'.⁸⁹

Liber Wigorniensis was produced in the early eleventh century, when, according to Gameson, book production was beginning to rise at Worcester, and Nero Middleton when it was back at peak production following the expansion of the community by Wulfstan II.⁹⁰ The circumstances of Nero Middleton's production give some clues as to the shape of book production at Worcester. The narrative which describes Wulfstan ordering the chest of charters to be opened and its contents inspected shows personal interest and input by the bishop, as well as some idea of the physical situation of Worcester's library of documents.

Of the manuscripts produced at Worcester, there is much evidence of scribes co-ordinating and working across several books as well as evidence from *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton. Gameson connects the scribes of the two cartularies to their work in other manuscripts from Worcester.⁹¹ The evidence here is of the hands of a group of scribes appearing in multiple manuscripts, and individual manuscripts being the work of multiple scribes collaborating. This shows a high production of books within a close timeframe of about fifty years, as these scribes must have been working at the same time on these manuscripts.

6.5 Background to S 1280

Two copies of S 1280 are extant. These are:

1. MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 6^v-7^v;
2. MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fols 181-84^v, fol. 182^r.

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy is the work of Hand 1.⁹² On folios 1-8 Ker notes that the scribe is imitating a ninth-century script, which is particularly noticeable in the use of an

⁸⁹ Tinti, '*Si litterali memorię*', p. 482.

⁹⁰ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 61.

⁹¹ These include: Cambridge, Clare College, MS 30; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9; MS Hatton 113; MS Junius 121; Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk, 3. 18; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114; London, British Library, MS Harley Ch. 83. A. 3; Worcester Cathedral Library, Alveston Charter and 'a Charter of 1058'. Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', pp. 102-04.

⁹² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 122.

angular <t> graph.⁹³ This copy is in the section of *Liber Wigorniensis* most damaged by the Cotton fire, and portions of the text are lost, particularly in the witness list. One area particularly damaged by fire has Sellotape over a portion of it making it difficult to read in black-and-white facsimile, but still largely legible by eye on the manuscript itself.

The main text of the Nero Middleton copy is in the hand of the scribe labelled Hand 1, who has produced the majority of the work in the remaining fragments.⁹⁴

The commentary that exists for S 1280 is largely focused on the political, geographical and economic evidence its production and existence provides, particularly for the *haga* of land in central Worcester. The charter is described by Sawyer as:

AD. 904. Wærferth, bishop, and the community at Worcester, to Æthelred and Æthelflæd, their lords; lease, for their lives and that of Ælfwyn, their daughter, of a messuage (*haga*) in Worcester and land at Barbourne in North Claines, Worcs., with reversion to the bishop. *Latin with English and English bounds* of appurtenant meadow west of the Severn.⁹⁵

S 1280 is counted as one of Wærferth's charters, of which eight have survived, and is very typical of the contracts coming from his episcopate.⁹⁶ The charter deals with three grants of land. The first, and most easily identified, is of a *haga* in central Worcester. The second is of some pasture land to the west of the Severn, and the third is less easily identifiable, being some land near Barbourne Brook. *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (PASE)* labels the participants of S 1280 as Æthelred 1 (lord of the Mercians from 879 to 911),⁹⁷ Æthelflæd 4 (lady of the Mercians from 911 to 919),⁹⁸ Ælfwynn 2 (daughter of Æthelred 1,

⁹³ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 52. The palaeographical aspects of each scribe's work will be discussed in Chapter 7.

⁹⁴ 'MS Cotton Nero', *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 28 February 2013].

⁹⁵ 'S 1280', *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 20 July 2013].

⁹⁶ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 11.

⁹⁷ Æthelred 1 is associated with twenty-seven charters as well as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the *Vita Alfredi* and the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and an Annal. 'Æthelred 1', *PASE* <<http://pase.ac.uk/index.html>> [accessed 28 February 2013].

⁹⁸ Æthelflæd 4 is associated with eighteen charters as well as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the *Vita Alfredi*, the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and three Annals. 'Æthelflæd 4', *PASE* [accessed 28 February 2013]. As the eldest daughter of Alfred her life has been well documented, with even her experiences with childbirth written about by William of Malmesbury: 'Because of the difficulty experienced with her first, or rather her only labour, she ever afterwards refused the embraces of her husband, protesting that it was unreasonable for the daughter of a king to give way to a pleasure which after a time produced such painful consequences'. Justin Pollard, *Alfred the Great: The Man who Made England* (London: Murray, 2005), p. 53.

Lord of the Mercians flourished 903 to 918),⁹⁹ and Wærfrith 6 (Bishop of Worcester from 869x872 to 907x915).

S 1280 fits into a larger story about land ownership and society in Worcester. The grants made in S 1280, in particular that of the *haga*, mark a pivotal point in the growth of Worcester following the political shift when Alfred appointed Æthelred and Æthelflæd as lord and lady of the Mercians.¹⁰⁰ Between 884 and 901, Æthelflæd and Æthelred gave land to the church at Worcester for a defensive *haga* for which S 1280 is believed to be a thanks in return,¹⁰¹ although H. B. Clarke and C. C. Dyer see it as ‘a continuation of the bargaining over property between Aethelred and Bishop Waerfrith recorded in the earlier document [S 223]’.¹⁰² In 901 they made grants of further land and wealth,¹⁰³ but by 902 Æthelflæd may have been acting alone – possibly because Æthelred was incapacitated by illness – and was certainly acting alone after his death in 911.¹⁰⁴ It was during this time, in 904, that S 1280 was produced. The *haga* to which S 1280 pertains would have reverted to the church, which Whitelock thinks may have happened in 919 when Ælfwynn was

⁹⁹ Ælfwynn 2 is associated with the charters S 1280, S 367 and S 225 and is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Mercian Register) for AD 919. ‘Ælfwynn 2’, *PASE* [accessed 28 February 2013].

¹⁰⁰ Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 136-37.

¹⁰¹ S 223, which Sawyer describes as ‘Æthelred, ealdorman, and Æthelflæd, to the church of St Peter, Worcester; grant of rights at Worcester’ and dates to AD 884x901. ‘S 223’, *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 28 February 2013]. A. E. E. Jones, *Anglo-Saxon Worcester* (Worcester: Ebenezer Baylis & Sons Ltd., 1958), p. 98-101. Tinti sees Wærferth as taking ‘advantage of the new political situation in Mercia’ rather than having a reduced authority over the town. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 10-11 and 11, n.8. For discussion of the original grant in S 223, see Della Hooke, ‘Mercia: Landscape and Environment’, in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 161-72 (p. 171-72).

¹⁰² H. B. Clarke and C. C. Dyer, ‘Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman Worcester: The Documentary Evidence’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd Series, 2 (1968-69), 27-33 (p. 29). In S 223, by request of Wærferth, Æthelred and Æthelflæd ‘ordered the fortifications (*burh*) at Worcester to be constructed for the protection of all the inhabitants’, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by F. E. Harmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), pp. 22-23, no. 13.

¹⁰³ S 221, which Sawyer describes as ‘Æthelred and Æthelflæd, rulers of Mercia, to the community of the church of Much Wenlock; grant of 10 hides (*cassatae*) at Stanton Long and 3 hides (*manentes*) at Caughley in Barrow, Salop., in exchange for 3 hides (*manentes*) at Easthope and 5 at Patton, Salop. They also grant a gold chalice weighing 30 mancuses in honour of Abbess Mildburg’, Rebecca Rushforth, Susan Kelly and others, ‘S 221’, *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 28 February 2013]; P. H. Sawyer, ed., *Charters of Burton Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ F. T. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England: Collected Papers by F. T. Wainwright*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 308-09; Sawyer, *Charters of Burton Abbey*, p. 2.

deposed.¹⁰⁵ A. E. E. Jones believes that ‘the King held [the land] until 972’, although he gives no evidence for this.¹⁰⁶ This may be connected to Coenwulf restricting the leasing of estates in the region to no longer than a lifetime.¹⁰⁷

There are no records of what happened to the *haga* following its reversion but Baker and Holt believe it to have been broken into smaller plots, as evidenced by the later topography.¹⁰⁸ If the *haga* did indeed revert and subsequently become divided then, unlike with S 1556, there is no chance that S 1280 was copied into these two cartularies because the events it recorded were still valid. Rather, it must have been copied as a record of past transactions, so that all documents pertaining to Worcester had copies in one place.

6.6 Background to S 1556

Two copies of S 1556 are extant. These are:

1. MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fol. 114^r;
2. MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fols 181-84^v, fol. 181^r.

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy is a later addition to the manuscript, added into the blank pages left at the end of a stint by Hand 1.¹⁰⁹ This text is in the same hand as the scribe of two further additions elsewhere in the manuscript: a list of bishops of Worcester and kings of Mercia on fol. 114^v and a text which Ker describes as the bounds ‘of claceswadlande’ which are not listed by Sawyer.¹¹⁰ These bounds follow on from S 1568, and only appear transcribed in Hearne.¹¹¹ The Nero Middleton copy of this text is the work of Hand 1 of this manuscript, the same scribe who produced the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961), p. 67.

¹⁰⁶ Jones, *Anglo-Saxon Worcester*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁷ H. P. R. Finberg, ‘Anglo-Saxon England to 1042’, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), I, pp. 51 and 229.

¹⁰⁸ N. Baker and R. Holt, ‘The City of Worcester in the Tenth Century’, in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 129-46 (p. 134).

¹⁰⁹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 122.

¹¹⁰ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, pp. 55 and 53.

¹¹¹ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, p. 53; Hearne, p. 71; S 1568, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 32^v-33^r.

¹¹² ‘MS Cotton Nero E. i’, *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 28 February 2013].

Very little scholarship has been devoted to S 1556. Sawyer describes the text only as ‘Bounds of Withington, Gloucs’.¹¹³ It consists solely of the boundary clause of this estate, with the exception of the first line of the text in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy which has been used by the Nero Middleton scribes as a rubric: ‘Ðis synd þa land gemær into widiandune’.¹¹⁴ Della Hooke notes that a comparatively high proportion of eleventh-century documents are copied as the bounds alone, without the grant. Such copies are typically those of ecclesiastical institutions, and many are recorded by Hemming.¹¹⁵ As such, S 1556 is not unusual as an unexplained and unattached set of bounds.

The land at Withington first shows up in documentary sources during the reign of Æthelred of Mercia (from 674 to 704) when he was persuaded by Oshere to establish a minster at Withington. A double monastery was established on the land which was given to two nuns, Dunne and Bucge.¹¹⁶ Dunne then bequeathed this land to her granddaughter, Hrothwaru – at that point underage and in her mother’s care – but when she came of age, Hrothwaru’s mother refused to give up the land.¹¹⁷ A synod was held, the record of which is found in S 1429, which found in favour of Hrothwaru and decreed that after her death the land should revert to the bishop of Worcester.¹¹⁸ By 774 Hrothwaru had transferred the land to Bishop Mildred who gave it to Æthelburg, Abbess of Twyning and member of the Hwiccan royal family.¹¹⁹ This is the last recorded mention of Withington and it is assumed that after this it permanently reverted to the see of Worcester and that any records pertaining to this have been lost.¹²⁰ The only documentary evidence after this date comes from S 1556. As the land described in S 1556 includes land bequeathed to Abbot Headda,

¹¹³ ‘S 1556’, *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 28 February 2013].

¹¹⁴ *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 1. The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe seems to be treating this line as a title, which will be discussed further in section §7.5.1.

¹¹⁵ Della Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 56.

¹¹⁶ H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna: Studies of some Problems in the Early History of England* (London: Macmillan, 1964), p. 21; P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in England, 600-800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 131.

¹¹⁷ Finberg, *Lucerna*, pp. 21-22; Sims-Williams, p. 132. Here, Finberg refers to Bucge as the daughter of Dunne, but Sims-Williams says there is no evidence for this relationship.

¹¹⁸ Finberg, *Lucerna*, p. 22; Sims-Williams, p. 132. Sims-Williams also has a full translation of S 1429 at p. 131.

¹¹⁹ Finberg, *Lucerna*, pp. 22 and 23; Sims-Williams, p. 132.

¹²⁰ Finberg, *Lucerna*, p. 23.

Finberg believes it cannot have been composed before 781 or after 1066,¹²¹ so the bounds of Withington as they exist in this text are different from those which would have described the land in the earlier transactions, and the text would have been composed after its reversion to Worcester.

Originally, Withington had been part of Winchcombeshire, a county which was suppressed by Eadric Streona (d. 1017).¹²² Following this suppression, Withington became part of Gloucestershire. The position of S 1556 and the documents relating to Withington in relation to the other texts in *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton changed between the two manuscripts as the Nero Middleton scribe rearranged them to reflect this new ‘administrative organization’.¹²³ This does, as Tinti points out, suggest that the Nero Middleton scribe was ‘much more careful’ than was implied by Ker.¹²⁴

As the only real information we have about this text is the bounds themselves, the most focused attention has been on mapping the bounds. G. B. Grundy first did this, identifying many points around the route, although he fell into difficulty towards the end, at the northern point of the land-parcel.¹²⁵ Finberg also maps the bounds and provides corrections for many of the points Grundy outlines.¹²⁶ A portion of the bounds is also mapped in the *Victoria County History* as part of the route of the bounds has survived the medieval period.¹²⁷

6.7 Conclusion

As the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton cartularies are the two earliest extant cartularies they constitute the best source for studying charter copies within the period from 1060 to 1220. As Nero Middleton contains charter texts copied directly from *Liber Wigorniensis*, we are also provided with both exemplar and copy-text for multiple texts containing Old English. Of the five charters containing Old English with copies in both

¹²¹ Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, p. 84.

¹²² Julian Whybra, *A Lost County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 1 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), p. 31.

¹²³ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 130-31.

¹²⁴ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 131.

¹²⁵ G. B. Grundy, *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire* ([Gloucester]: Council of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1935-36), pp. 262-71.

¹²⁶ Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, pp. 84-85.

¹²⁷ ‘Parishes: Withington’, *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 9: Bradley Hundred. The Northleach Area of the Cotswolds* (2001) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=66474>> [accessed 01 March 2013], pp. 248-79.

cartularies, two have been selected for this case study. S 1556 consists entirely of Old English bounds and has been the subject of little scholarly attention. S 1280 contains three brief sets of bounds and a substantial diplomatic in Old English and Latin. Other texts which contain English and which have copies in both manuscripts were discounted for various reasons: S 64 was copied into Nero Middleton with extensive structural changes which would allow for less direct comparison between each scribe's language;¹²⁸ S 1313 contains very little Old English (amounting to only two lines in the Nero Middleton copy), none of which is found in the boundary clause;¹²⁹ and S 1432 is entirely in Old English but contains no bounds.¹³⁰ The choice of S 1280 as a complement for S 1556 provides the opportunity for varied comparison: the Nero Middleton scribe has produced a copy of each text allowing for analysis within the scribe's work with exemplars by different scribes, the two *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes worked on the same manuscript within a close time-frame, and the Nero Middleton scribe worked in Worcester within the same fifty to seventy-five year time frame. This corpus also allows comparison between exemplar and copy-text, and between scribes and manuscripts, within the work of one scribe and within manuscript and scriptorium. These relationships will provide points of comparison which will enable the following to be determined: which features in S 1556 are the result of the scribe's copying; which features are produced as a result of the specific text being copied (e.g. hand, scribal language); how language affects how the scribe copies; how the genre and content of a text affects how the scribe copies it; what role manuscript and scriptorium play in the production of a charter copy.¹³¹

¹²⁸ MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 107^v, fols 107^v-108^r; MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fol. 184^r.

¹²⁹ MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fol. 111^v; MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fol. 184^r.

¹³⁰ MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fol. 9^r; MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fol. 182^r and MS Additional 46204^r.

¹³¹ Throughout this thesis, S 1280 will be discussed first and S 1556 second, and the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies will be discussed before the Nero Middleton copies. Although the charters were not consistently analysed in this order, they are presented in this way for consistency and clarity.

7 CHAPTER 7: Palaeography

7.1 Introduction

In building scribal profiles, or in describing a scribe's work, it is important to look at both the linguistic and the graphical aspects of their output. Angus McIntosh's profiles of Middle English scribes contain both a linguistic and a graphical aspect.¹ Similarly, Sébastien Barret's presentation at the International Medieval Congress highlighted examples where palaeography can be used in support of a textual and linguistic study.² The two aspects together can provide a more complete picture of each scribe's behaviour when copying a text, and might provide explanations for behaviour that could not be explained using linguistic or graphical data alone.

7.2 The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribe

Ker notes that this hand is contemporary with the other hands in *Liber Wigorniensis* and has 'affinities [...] with the hands employed in English manuscripts in the first half of the eleventh century'.³ The hand of S 1280 'imitates features of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule, especially the angular form of *t*'.⁴ The *Liber Wigorniensis* hands are much smaller than those of Hemming's Cartulary and 'do not give an impression of roundness'.⁵ Ker is less than complimentary about the *Liber Wigorniensis* hands, saying, 'They suffer mostly from a lack of proportion in height between the ascenders and descenders and the letters on the line'.⁶ The *EM1060-1220* project does not describe any of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes, focusing instead on the second half of the manuscript, Hemming's Cartulary.⁷ Similarly, Ker's *Catalogue* description does not include mention of the charters or scribes in *Liber Wigorniensis*.⁸

¹ McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', pp. 32-45.

² Sébastien Barret, *Reading the Charters is not Enough: Palaeography and the Diplomatist*, unpublished paper delivered at The International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 2011.

³ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 50.

⁴ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', pp. 52.

⁵ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 50.

⁶ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 50.

⁷ 'MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 9 September 2011].

⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*.

7.2.1 The Majuscule <T>-Graph

The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 uses two forms of the <t> graph. The first is the minuscule, bowl-form <t>, the second is a majuscule form in which the down stroke follows a line similar to that of a definite, or curly, bracket: <{>, which Ker calls ‘the angular form of *t*’.⁹

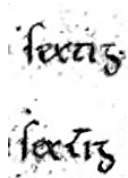


Figure 1: The two forms of the <t>-graph in S 1280.¹⁰

Images (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 6^v-7^r).

These two forms (fig. 1) show no trends in usage, and do not appear to be influenced by the presence of punctuation, nor by syntactic, lexical or spacing considerations. As stated by Ker, this is an archaized form, imitating a ninth-century minuscule. Similar <t>-forms can be seen in ninth-century charters such as S 331,¹¹ and in the following:

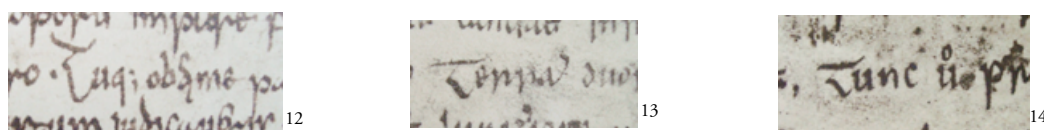


Figure 2: Further examples of the <t>-form.

The examples of the majuscule <t> shown here (fig. 2) are word-initial, and typically follow a *punctus*, a pattern of usage that has not been replicated by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe. However, it is likely that the scribe has been influenced by a use of a <t>-form such as this and was perhaps imitating these forms without realizing or choosing to follow their

⁹ Ker, ‘Hemming’s Cartulary’, pp. 52.

¹⁰ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 23 and 24. These two examples have been chosen to illustrate the two forms of the graph as they show the lack of any obvious distribution pattern, appearing in the same place in the same word, on consecutive lines.

¹¹ London, British Library, MS Cotton Charter viii. 32. Facsimile in Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 133.

¹² London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 18, *Berctuald, Archbishop*, A.D. 693-731. Facsimile from *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. by E. A. Bond, 4 vols (London: British Museum, Published by Order of the Trustees, 1873-78), I. This example is earlier than ninth-century, and the <t>-form is looser although still similar.

¹³ London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 10, *Coenwulf of Mercia*, Aug. 1st 811. Facsimile from *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, I.

¹⁴ London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 20, *Ecgbert*, A.D. 838. Facsimile from *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, I.

distribution. This may be a result of the scribe copying manuscripts from a similar date prior to copying S 1280. Or, as S 1280 is a charter dating from the ninth century, it is possible the scribe is trying to emulate an earlier hand, perhaps of the exemplar, by using these <t> forms.

The angular <t>-forms appear for a stint of the scribe's work on fols 1-8, copying charters with original dates ranging from 780 to 930.¹⁵ It is possible that these are forms produced due to influence from ninth-century exemplars, or that they are a feature of the scribe's own hand. However, while the scribe's work spans a large portion of *Liber Wigorniensis* including many other texts from the ninth century, these <t>-forms only appear in this early quire. This might tie in with the composition process described by Tinti, of the main scribes working simultaneously on their individual cartulary quire sections.¹⁶ The absence of the <t> in the scribe's other work in this manuscript suggests that this was a feature the scribe did not use for any other stint and might imply that Scribe 1's later work in *Liber Wigorniensis* was conducted with some time gap after producing this quire.

Of the two forms of <t> used by this scribe, the minuscule-<t> is by far the most commonly occurring form with seventy-three occurrences compared to twenty-four occurrences of the majuscule form. Of the majuscule forms, twelve occur in Latin words, twelve in Old English words. Only one of the words containing the majuscule <t> form also contains the minuscule form. This is <posTeritatis>.¹⁷ Words containing one or more <t> appear with both in the minuscule form, as in, for example, <litteras>.¹⁸ The majuscule <t> form does not show any restricted pattern of use and occurs in word-initial, -medial and -final position. The word-final position is less commonly occurring, but this may simply be because <t> is less frequently used in a word-final position across the text.¹⁹ This distribution implies that the scribe has seen the form used but has not noticed its distribution or the restrictions of its use. If the scribe were copying these forms directly

¹⁵ Among the charters in this section are S 180 (AD 816), S 223 (AD 884 to 901), S 154 (AD 799), S 1272 (AD 849), S 199 (AD 849), S 428 (AD 930 to 34), S 117 (AD 780). List of charters taken from Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 94; *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 17 July 2012].

¹⁶ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 121.

¹⁷ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 11.

¹⁸ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 11.

¹⁹ Fol. 8^r, for example, shows several instances of word-final majuscule-<t>.

from ninth-century exemplars, we might expect to see a distribution which is restricted to word- or sentence-initial positions.

It is possible that language choice has some influence over the scribe's use of this graph.²⁰ If language is the motivation behind the scribe's use of letter-form, this majuscule <t> may be the only difference between two scripts which this scribe uses to differentiate between Latin and Old English. Most commonly, Anglo-Saxon scribes alternate between using Caroline and Insular <g>, but the S 1280 scribe does not show this alternation and uses the Insular <g> for both the Latin and Old English portions of the text.²¹ While both the Latin and Old English portions of text show twelve occurrences of the majuscule <t> form, there is more Old English text in total, meaning its use is more concentrated in the Latin sections and comparatively sparse throughout the Old English. Each Latin section of the text shows a period of 'working in', where the first couple of lines in Latin contain no instances of majuscule-<t>. Its use continues after the scribe has reverted to Old English.²² This working-in period is unexpected considering the frequency with which scribes seem to have switched between Latin and Old English when working, and the ease with which they do so elsewhere. Ker notes the degree to which scribes could distinguish between languages through script, ranging from using 'two distinct scripts' to just varying the forms of certain letters.²³ While the alternation between the two forms of <t> here falls into the latter category, it does not appear restricted to each language as regularly and neatly as would be expected.

7.2.2 Other Majuscule Characters

Alongside the <t> graph, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe also uses majuscule characters restricted to a word-initial position. The instances of word-initial majuscules are as follows (excluding the word-initial <t> graphs): <Omnibus, Pas, Ciolhelm, Quam, Æþred, Alhmund, Incarnationis, Ego, Eadgar, Iussimus, Cynhelm, Aldred, Ðæt, Ecfyð, Æþelfrið, Æt, Wiglaf, Ælfred, Eac, Oslac, Ælfstan, Circan, Cynað, Eadric, In, Bernhelm, Uulfhun, IncrepaTione, Uullaf>. Of these, <Omnibus> begins the text and follows a cross in the left

²⁰ As was discussed in section §2.3.3, different scripts are frequently used for different languages.

²¹ 'during the second half of the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh century [...] The scribes became accustomed to using two alphabets, one for Latin derived from Caroline minuscule and one for the vernacular derived from Anglo-Saxon minuscule'. Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

²² Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 66.

²³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxvi.

margin which marks the start of the text. The majority of the other words with initial majuscules follow *puncti*, or, as part of the witness list, follow crosses.²⁴ These are better identified as *litterae notabiliores*, whose use is widespread as an ‘aid to legibility’.²⁵ The use of capitals in names becomes increasingly popular from *c.* 987 but is rarely consistent throughout a text.²⁶ Their use does not seem to denote the importance of the person named. It is not the rule that all personal names are capitalized: although <Cynhelm> appears as such and follows neither a *punctus* nor a cross, the names <æþelflæd, earduulf, æðeredes, æðelflæde, wærfrið>, the named actors in this text, all appear without an initial majuscule.²⁷

The remaining majuscules that do not follow either a *punctus* or a cross, and which are not personal names, are as follows: <Incarnationis, Æt, In, Iussimus, Circan, IncrepaTione>. These examples appear on both pages of the text, although twice as many occur on the second page as do on the first, and they are used line-initially, -medially, and -finally. They are equally distributed between Latin and Old English and are not restricted to any word class.

It is possible that the use of <I> as a majuscule is to avoid confusion with the following minims. There are no examples of word-initial <iu-> or <in-> (although a few word-medial occurrences of each are found), which suggests that this is a distinction that the scribe only feels it is necessary to make in a word-initial position.

The remaining majuscules are in <Æt> and <Circan>. It is possible that the scribe has used the <Æt> to onset the noun phrase ‘Æt wiogerna ceasTre’, treating it as the start of that set of bounds. If that is the case, the majuscule is being used as a *littera notabiliore* in the absence of a *punctus*. The absence of similar onset-majuscules for the other sets of bounds might suggest that this is a feature preserved from an earlier exemplar, rather than a meaningful usage by this scribe. The majuscule in <Circan> has no obvious explanation, and must be put down to anomaly.

The use of capitals here, both the *litterae notabiliores* and the majuscule <I-> forms, shows an effort by the scribe to enhance legibility and comprehension for the reader. The

²⁴ For further discussion of the use of these crosses in charters, see Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth Century to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 53, 183 and n.1.

²⁶ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, pp. 38-39.

²⁷ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 42-53.

scribe's behaviour is typical of the perception of Worcester as a traditional scriptorium without innovation.²⁸ While the scribe's use of the non-standard <t>-form is unusual, it is also traditional and perhaps was made in an effort to lend the texts authority by giving them an appearance of age.

7.3 The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribe

The scribe of S 1556 in *Liber Wigorniensis* was not one of the original five scribes who produced the bulk of the manuscript. Ker describes this as an eleventh-century hand, and 'handsome', comparing it to the work of two contemporary Worcester scribes,²⁹ but neither he nor the *EM 1060to1220* project have described it in detail.

While the right-hand margin of the text box is not adhered to with absolute precision, each line is of a similar length, with the exception of the final line which falls a few characters short. This slightly looser structure is seen throughout the *Liber Wigorniensis* manuscript, unlike in Nero Middleton where the text box is exact.

The first line of this text is acting as a title, and begins with a majuscule eth. The bounds themselves begin on the next line with a majuscule ash. Other than these two graphs, this hand is regular and neat, with no idiosyncratic letter-forms or usages.

7.4 The Nero Middleton Scribe

The hand of the Nero Middleton scribe has been described by Ker, the *Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (MANCASS): C11 Project*, and the *EM 1060to1220* project as either a late Anglo-Saxon Minuscule or English Vernacular Miniscule depending on their terminology of choice. Each of these descriptions also outlines notable features of the scribe's hand which do not need to be repeated here.³⁰

²⁸ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Documents*, p. 40.

²⁹ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', pp. 51 and 53. Ker says 'Two of the hands [of six extant Worcester documents] (*Brit. Mus. Facs.* iv. 19, 23), AD. 1033-8 and AD. 1042, are large and handsome and rather strikingly like one of the hands which has written additions to Tib. I [*Liber Wigorniensis*] (Cii, Gi [S 1556], ii)'.

³⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 217, no. 166; *MANCASS: C11 Project*, <<http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/mancass/C11database/>> [accessed 10 September 2011] and the description for MS Additional 46204, which was removed from Nero Middleton and which originally came between fols 182-83. 'MS Additional 46204', *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 9 September 2011]. This is the same hand as Hand 1 from fols 181-84^v described at 'MS Cotton Nero E. i', *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 9 September 2011]. Column 2, line 8 of 184^v onwards is the work of another scribe, Hand 2.

7.4.1 The Nero Middleton Scribe: S 1280

Like the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, the Nero Middleton scribe has also used majuscules in word and line-initial, -medial and -final positions in S 1280. These appear as follows: <Quamobrē, Eac, ge W R I T O N, Anno, magoN, ceaSTER, Ðæt, Augentib;, bewestaN, Æþelred>. Not included in this list are the first line of the main text block which is entirely in majuscule matching the rubric above, and a selection of names in the witness list. Just as in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, the witness list here is not uniformly capitalized.

The majuscule <a> of <Anno> is not the same form as those seen in the first line of the text block or in <Augentib;>, instead, it is in the form of a minuscule bowl <a> but with an extended top loop (fig. 3). As such, it should perhaps not be considered alongside the other majuscule forms.

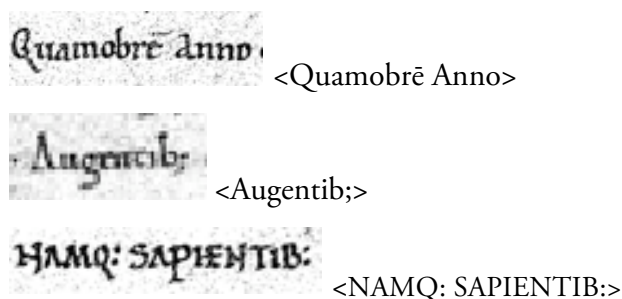


Figure 3: S 1280, Nero Middleton. Comparison of majuscule <a>-forms.³¹

Images (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182').

Rather, it could be considered as performing a function similar to that of the <t>-graph used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, of being a purely graphical variation. As it only appears once in this text it is hard to ascribe any importance or meaning to it.

The inconsistency of the majuscules used in the witness list may bear some relation to the use of *ego*: where a name is prefaced with *ego*, the <e> of *ego* is majuscule. *Ego* with a majuscule is 'almost universal from 958 [...] and in all cases it is a larger minuscule letter rather than a true capital'.³² The Nero Middleton scribe has used a large minuscule intermittently in the S 1280 witness list. Where there is no *ego*, the initial letter of the name is majuscule. The exception to this is <æþelflæde>, one of the beneficiaries of the charter. Æþelflæd's name appears in minuscule twice, once before and once after the witness list. The other grantee, Æþelred, Æþelflæd's husband, appears with the majuscule ash on the same line each time. As was mentioned above, typically, the status of a person is not

³¹ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 7, 33 and 2.

³² Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 38.

reflected in the form of their name and the use of majuscule, but it may still be the case here. As the scribe only uses a majuscule for a name where there is no *ego*, it is possible that *ego*+name is being treated as a single unit just as a personal name on its own would be.

Excluding personal names, the words featuring majuscule graphs are in both Latin and Old English and appear throughout the text. There are no instances of word-medial majuscules. Of those words with initial majuscules listed above, <Quamobrē>, <Pæt>, <Eac> and <Augentib;> directly follow *puncti*, and <Æpelred> follows a cross, and are being used as *litterae notabiliores*.

The words featuring word-final majuscules are described by the *EM1060-1220* project as being ‘used at the end of the line to fill in the space’.³³ They appear in <bewestaN>, <magoN>, <ge WRITON> and <ceaSTER>.³⁴ They are all line-final and are found only in the second half of the text. The scribe’s use here seems guided by the limits of the text block, for which the scored line of the right-hand margin is treated as the minimum length a line of text should reach. However, while the majuscule’s use seems barely necessary in <bewestaN> as that line would have reached the margin without a majuscule, line 19 – which ends without a majuscule – falls short of the text-block’s limit, suggesting that the use of the majuscule for this purpose is possible but not necessary in every case. Rather, the letter to which it is applied seems more important. With the exception of *ceaster*, each word containing a line-final majuscule ends in <n>. As line 19 ends with the word *him*, it is possible the scribe saw no opportunity to use a majuscule to make the line stretch.

The use of majuscules in <ceaSTER> is, as stated above, an anomaly. It is outside the main text block allocated for S 1280 and the scribe has added it to the end of the line containing the rubric for the next text (fig. 4). This has implications for the production of this manuscript, which will be discussed below.³⁵

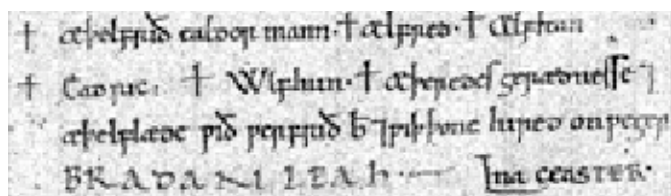


Figure 4: S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 48-51.

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182’).

³³ ‘MS Additional 46204’, *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 09 September 2011].

³⁴ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 15, 26, 41 and 51.

³⁵ Section §7.5.

The use of majuscule here is similar to that of <ge WRITON>, which closes the main body of the text before the witness list starts (fig. 5):

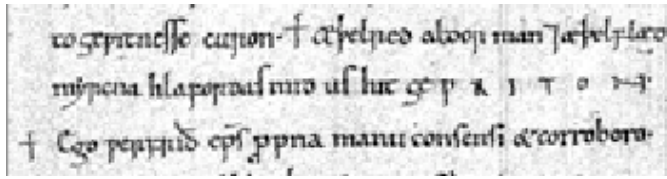


Figure 5: S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 40-42.

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182').

Here, the majority of the word has been rendered in majuscule and stretched to reach the edge of the text block. This not only fills the physical space, but acts as a graphical indication to the reader that the body of the text has ended and the witness list is starting. While *ceaster* has not been stretched and is probably not necessary to make the line reach the right-hand margin, the majuscule acts to mark the end of the text to the reader.

While the use of the majuscules in *gewriton* and *ceaster* can be explained as serving a structural and graphical purpose, the reasons behind line-final majuscule <n> are less easily ascertained. It has not been used for every instance of line-final <n>: there is a minuscule in <besuþan> and another in <unbesacen> which falls on the line after <magoN>.³⁶ As discussed above, the motivation is not obviously to make a short line reach the scored margin, and its use is not uniformly applied to every instance of line-final <n>. The majuscule <n> seems to be a quirk of the scribe's hand used randomly and inconsistently, perhaps motivated by whim.

7.4.2 The Nero Middleton Scribe: S 1556

The right-hand margin of the text box is marked with two scored lines. The text of S 1556 adheres closely to the innermost margin line of the text box, with every line extending no further than this limit. The exception to this is line 8 in which the phrase 'on pose cumbes heafdon .' extends to the outer margin of the text box, with the final *punctus* outside it. This might be because, if the scribe ended the line at <cumbes> it would fall too far short of the inner margin, and it was considered more suitable to exceed the margins of the text block.

The Nero Middleton scribe has used majuscules in the main text in two places. The first is in the line-final <iN>, and might be intended to extend the line length closer to the

³⁶ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 20 and 26-27.

inner line of the text-block margin.³⁷ This does not appear to be necessary however, as other lines fall shorter than this line. The use of the <n> majuscule is behaviour that the scribe has used elsewhere, as seen in S 1280, and though this is not the only line-final <n> in the text, it might have fallen shorter than the others, and afforded the scribe the opportunity to use a majuscule at this point.

The second use of majuscules in S 1556 is the final line of the text, where the scribe has used the <n>-majuscule for graphic effect, extending <oNNaN> to fill a third of the line, ensuring that the text reaches the end of the final line of the text block.³⁸ This behaviour is similar to the text-final <ge WRITON> of S 1280 where a word is stretched to fill a space, using a combination of minuscule and majuscule letter-forms.

7.5 Capitals and Rubrics in Nero Middleton

As is typical throughout Nero Middleton (although it does not appear in the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280), the red ink initial which begins each text does not impinge on the main text block, but sits in the left-hand margin. It is not clear whether these initials are in the same hand as the rubrics, or whether they were added before or after the main text, but the slight indent of the main text before the onset of <[C]eolulf> in S 1432 (fig. 6) suggests that this initial, at least, was added before the main text:

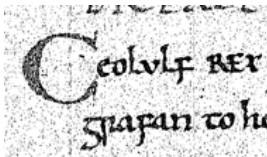


Figure 6: Onset initial of S 1432, Nero Middleton, fol. 182^v.

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182^v).

The initial of S 1556 is less clearly influencing the placement of the main text, but the <r> of <Erest> appears to be indented when compared to the lines below (fig. 7):

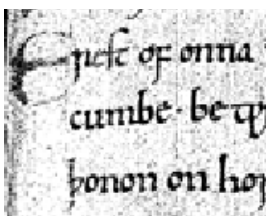


Figure 7: Onset initial of S 1556, Nero Middleton, fol. 181^r.

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182^r).

³⁷ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 20.

³⁸ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 24.

7.5.1 The Relationship between Rubrication and Marginalia

The relationship between the marginalia in *Liber Wigorniensis* and the rubrication of Nero Middleton has implications for the order in which layers of text were added in each manuscript, and more so for the relationship between the copies of each text. Throughout *Liber Wigorniensis*, marginal additions provide a title or marker indicating the contents of each text. These typically make reference to the land discussed in each charter, but can also indicate recipients or landowners. Nero Middleton has regular rubrication throughout which makes reference to the marginalia of *Liber Wigorniensis*, either by replicating it exactly, or with some overlap of content. Where *Liber Wigorniensis* has no marginalia, the Nero Middleton scribe has made reference to the text of the charters themselves to produce the rubrics, often following the physical layout of the *Liber Wigorniensis* page. This suggests that, for the composition of the rubrication at least, the Nero Middleton scribe had access to *Liber Wigorniensis* and produced the rubrication with direct reference to it.

The marginalia of S 1280 in *Liber Wigorniensis* is in the outside margin of the page. Rather than using the marginal addition to describe the land involved in the main text, the addition to S 1280 gives the people, Æþelred and Æþelflæd. The rubric of the Nero Middleton copy of the text follows this by naming these plus Werfrið, the grantor. This is also unusual as the other charters of Nero Middleton all name the land in their rubrics, which suggests that the marginalia of *Liber Wigorniensis* could again be an influence here. Below the rubric in Nero Middleton, the first line of the main text block is in majuscule, and ends at the same point, halfway through <constat>, as in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of the charters. To do so the scribe has used heavy abbreviation, much more than is used in the rest of the Latin proem – the *Liber Wigorniensis* line has one abbreviation, while Nero Middleton has five.³⁹ This appears to be a conscious effort by the Nero Middleton scribe to echo the layout of the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, and strongly suggests a direct source-to-copy relationship and that the marginal additions in *Liber Wigorniensis* were added before it was used as an exemplar for Nero Middleton.

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 has no marginal addition, suggesting these additions were made to *Liber Wigorniensis* before S 1556 was added by a later hand. In the absence of marginalia to replicate as a rubric, the Nero Middleton scribe has treated the

³⁹ S 1280, *Liber Wirgoniensis*, l. 5, <nam(que)>; S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 2, '[O]MNIB: NAMQ: SAPIENTIB: NOTÚ AC MANIFESTÚ CON-²'.

first line of the text as its equivalent, and has used it as its rubric, rather than a title: ‘Dis synd þa land gemær into widiandune’, ‘this is the land bounds into Withington’.⁴⁰

7.5.2 The Hand of the Nero Middleton Rubrics

No discussion of the Nero Middleton leaves makes mention of the rubrics, and this stint of the manuscript is described as the work of one scribe.⁴¹ The rubrics for S 1556 and S 1280 appear to be in the same hand, as is suggested by the similar formation of graphs seen in each. This hand may be a different scribe from that of the main text. There are few majuscule characters within the main text to compare with the rubric, but the down-stroke of the <N> consistently curves in different directions: to the right in the rubrics, and to the left in the main text. This suggests that they are the work of different scribes.

For comparison, images of a majuscule <N> in both the rubric and main text of Nero Middleton can be seen in figure 8:

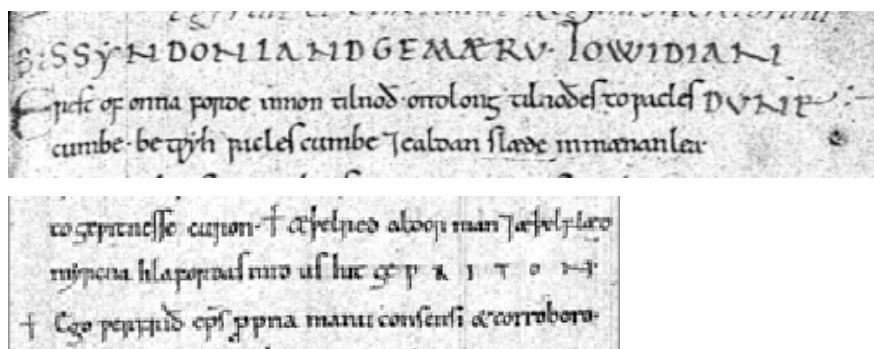


Figure 8: A comparison of the forms of <N> in Nero Middleton.⁴²

Images (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fols 181^v 182^r).

A further difference between the hand of the main text and that of the rubric is the form of the <E> graph, as can be seen in S 1280 (fig. 9):

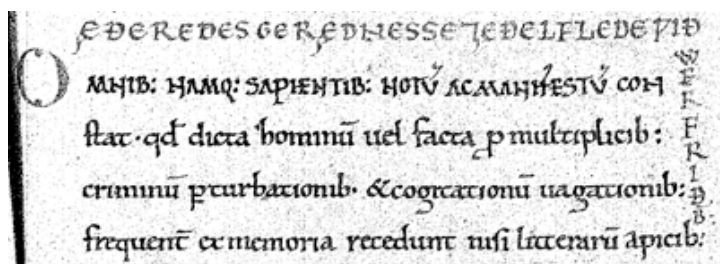


Figure 9: S 1280 rubric. Nero Middleton, ll. 1-5.

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182^r).

⁴⁰ S 1556, *Liber Wirgoniensis*, l. 1.

⁴¹ See the description of this manuscript on the *EM1060to1220* website, and Ker, ‘Hemming’, p. 66. The main text scribe has produced fols 181-84^v, and a second hand has produced fol. 184^v, column 2, ll. 8-44.

⁴² S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 133; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 40-42.

The <E> graph in the rubric shows two forms, one with a straight downstroke and one rounded, while all of those of the main text have a straight downstroke. The rubric for S 1280 is longer than the line allocated for it, and continues down the right-hand margin of the page, as can be seen in Figure 9 above. It appears as if this rubric was added after at least the first four lines of the main text were written and that the rubricator has had to abbreviate the final *bisceop* and write the slightly smaller than the other characters to fit it in around the slightly longer fourth line. However, the shift from curved <E> graphs to straight as the rubric follows down the margin might indicate that ‘WID WERFRIÐ . B̄ : —’ is the work of a different scribe from the horizontal portion of the line. If this is the case, then it is possible that the majority of the rubric was written before the main text, and the vertical addition added after at least the first four lines of the main text had been written. While the first portion of the rubric echoes the marginalia of *Liber Wigorniensis*, the addition shows interaction with the content of the text on the part of the second rubricator in order to provide further information.

It is possible that the rubrics have been written by different scribes, one of whom may have been the main text scribe, and that the similarity of hands is due to similarities in their training, or because they worked closely with each other. This may also explain the different ways in which the text block and rubrics have been added. One scribe may have added the rubric before the main text had been written, while the other added a rubric around an existing text block. This would mean that two (or possibly three) scribes were working on producing the Nero Middleton manuscript at the same time, rather than two scribes working in sequence, one on the main text, one on the rubrics and initial letters. The rubrics will be treated as distinct texts for these case studies.

Two rubrics surround the text of S 1280 in the Nero Middleton manuscript: its own rubric, reading ‘EÐEREDES GERĘDNESSE 7 EÐELFLEDE WID WERFRIÐ . B̄ : —’, the main part of which was added before the main text, and the rubric for the following text, S 95, which reads ‘BRADAN LEAH.—’.⁴³ The rubric for S 95 falls on the very last line of the page, and its main text begins at the top of fol. 182^v. The rubric for S 95 which comes at the end of S 1280 is short and appears as can be seen in figure 4 above. In contrast to the previous two rubrics, <BRADAN LEAH> appears to have been written before the previous text had been completed, as the final <na ceaSTER> of S 1280, and perhaps some of the preceding line, which appears compressed, would surely have been

⁴³ S 95, MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, 182^v; MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 7^v.

written along the whole line. Instead, either the main scribe or the rubricator has estimated where the text of S 1280 would finish and has inserted the rubric before the completion of the main text block. As previously mentioned, this is a strange choice as the rubric has been inserted on the final line of the page and the main text of S 95 begins at the top of the next page, which might have been a more logical place to include the rubric.

The rubric for S 1556 continues horizontally in the right-hand margin, and gives the appearance of having been written after the production of at least the first line of the main text. Here, <DUNE:—> is in line with the first line of the main text block (fig. 10):

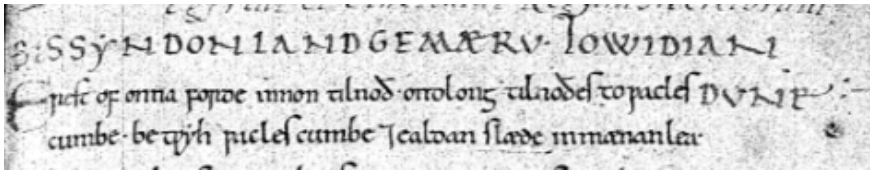


Figure 10: Rubric for S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 1-3.

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 181').

This rubric appears to be in the same hand as the 'WID WERFRID . B̄: —' of S 1280, as it shares <E> and <W> forms. These are perhaps the work of a later scribe (the rubricator of all but the initial rubric for S 1280) making modifications after the majority of the manuscript had been produced. As was discussed previously with reference to the scribes at St Albans,⁴⁴ there is evidence of scribes performing different roles within a scriptorium, one of which was the production of titles, rubrics, and tables and contents, a role which Thomson has labeled 'director of the scriptorium',⁴⁵ a label also used by Ker to refer to a Salisbury hand.⁴⁶ It is possible that the rubricator of Nero Middleton was a director, or was overseeing the production of the manuscript.

⁴⁴ Section One, Chapter 2.

⁴⁵ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Ker, 'Salisbury Cathedral', p. 41; Webber, p. 19. Cohen-Mushlin also noted scribes functioning in a variety of roles: '[A]t times a scribe may write the text, at others he rubricates only; he may act as corrector in one manuscript or write a sample page in another for others to follow.' Cohen-Mushlin, p. 61.

8 CHAPTER 8: Syntax and Structure

A description of the structure of each of the texts under discussion here and the changes between them is useful, but will be necessarily brief due to the small number of changes made by the Nero Middleton scribe in copying each charter. Comparison of the structures and syntax of each text will be less valuable as the two texts are syntactically very different.

8.1 S 1280: Syntax and Structure

The text of S 1280 contains several different sections in Latin and Old English, of which the bounds are a small portion. Three sets of bounds are presented in the text, each of which is shorter and thus much less detailed and descriptive than those of S 1556, as will be seen. The bounds appear as follows:

Set 1: se is from þære ea seolfre bi þam norð
wealle east weardes . xxviii . roda lang 7 þanon suðweardes
. xxiiii . roda brad . 7 eft þanon west weardes on sæferne . xviii.
roda long¹

Set 2: þæt medwe lande bi westan sæ
ferne on efen þone hagan an^dlang þære bisceopes dice of
ðære ea þat hit cymð west ut on þæt mor on dic 7 swa norð
ut on efen þæt gelad . 7 swa east weardes þæt hit cymed eƿ
wið nioðan þat gelad on sæferne²

Set 3: be befer
burnan þa ludading wic 7 ec þær To sextig æcera earð londes
be suðan beferburnan 7 oþer sexTig be norðan 7 ec swið[.]
rumod lice Twelf æceras þær to ful godes mædwe landes³

These bounds are not regularly formed. Each set presents the information about the land in question differently. Set 1 contains very little descriptive content tying it specifically to the landscape, instead using compass points and distance measurements as external means of orientation. Despite the restricted descriptive content, the different phrase structures portray a sense of how the abstract directions fit within the physical landscape, showing a connection between each point.

¹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 15-18. For consistency, all portions of the text quoted here are taken from the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy unless otherwise stated.

² S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 18-22.

³ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 22-25.

The bounds of Set 2 follow a series of landscape features described with simple noun phrases. The noun phrases are connected with a variety of constructions, many of which are simple prepositions such as *andlang*, *on* and *of*. Set 2 also shows the <7 swa> construction as an alternative to the connecting prepositions. The final connecting construction is <hit cymð> which is used twice, both times introducing a compass-point direction rather than a description of a landscape feature. This set of bounds closely conforms to a formulaic structure in which two types of description are used: noun phrases describing physical features in the landscape interspersed with prepositional constructions, and abstract directional instructions formed of adjectival clauses.

Set 3 is not so much a set of bounds as it is an itemized list of the areas of land being given. The information is presented in a list-like format, emphasized by the use of <7> to introduce each new entry. This set, more than any other in these two charters, assumes detailed knowledge of the land being described.

8.1.1 Syntactical Differences between the Copies of S 1280

Between the two copies of S 1280 five syntactical changes have been made, which appear as follows:

<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>		Nero Middleton	
[...]Tione uero . i . has	l. 11	indic' . i . has ob	l. 8
þæt mor on dic	l. 20	þ mor̄ dic	l. 17
ut	l. 21	þ hit cymð	ll. 17-18
þa ludading wic	l. 23	.	l. 19
þonne sy hit hýre swa	ll. 31-32	þon̄ sý hit swa	l. 29

Table 1: Syntactical differences between the copies of S 1280.

Of these five differences, four involve the removal of a word or phrase by the Nero Middleton scribe. The first is the removal of <uero> from the dating clause. This might be due to stylistic reasons, or might be to save space as that line – the first line of a new column – is long enough that the final word, <litteras>, is broken across two lines. However, if that were the case, the inclusion of <uero> on that line would surely mean that <litteras> could be moved entirely to the next line, thereby avoiding breaking the word.

The second change made by the Nero Middleton scribe is the removal of <on> from 'mor on dic'. Here the scribe has replaced the deleted preposition with an otiose stroke over <mor>. It is possible they have interpreted it as an ending for <mor>, which is

then acting adjectivally to modify <dic>.⁴ While this otiose stroke is not marking abbreviation, it may be indicating the omission.

The removal of ‘*þa ludading wic*’ alters the content of the charter, and means that rather than the grant giving away the now-lost *Ludading wic*, the charter is a grant for Barbourne. This may be because of a shift in administration, perhaps indicating that the two were by this point merged and *Ludading wic* was a part of Barbourne. This would imply some external information which is guiding the scribe’s behaviour. Alternatively this could be pure error, meaning the scribe is working without any checks and that this type of error is acceptable, or has gone unnoticed.

The final deletion made by the Nero Middleton scribe is of <hÿre> from the Old English diplomatic segment following the three sets of bounds. This does not alter the meaning of the line, but suggests that the scribe has altered it to their preferred stylistic form.

The addition by the Nero Middleton scribe of the ‘*þ hit cÿmð*’ segment in the place of *Liber Wigorniensis*’s <ut> changes the correlation between types of direction and their construction. Where *Liber Wigorniensis* shows a differentiation in the use of ‘*þ hit cÿmð*’ to introduce directions using compass points and prepositional phrases to introduce noun phrases describing landscape features, the Nero Middleton scribe has used ‘*þ hit cÿmð*’ to describe the physical space between one landscape feature and the next. This interpolation demonstrates that the scribe is not copying Literatim and is holding phrases in mentally between reading and copying, and are reimagining or rephrasing them mentally before writing them out.

8.1.2 S 1280 Conclusion

The three sets of bounds in S 1280 are each differently formed. Of these, Set 3 is the most distinct: while still appearing in a loose list-structure, the information is very different from that of the previous two sets. Sets 1 and 2 both navigate the bounds of one parcel of land, but they present the information very differently. These differences suggest that, at the point of the charter’s composition, each set was provided by a different person or assimilated from a different source. The syntactic treatment of noun phrases and proper names has been shown to indicate differences in authorship, which reinforces the suggestion that the differences in noun-phrase structure here indicate their composition by

⁴ This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.

different people.⁵ Each of these people or sources must then have conceptualized the land they were concerned with in different ways, and these differences have persisted into both extant manuscript copies of the complete charter.⁶

In copying S 1280, the Nero Middleton scribe has made very few syntactical or structural changes, only one of which is to the Latin portion of the text. This might be due to a different level of familiarity with the languages or the hierarchy of prestige applied to each, meaning the scribe felt more at ease making changes to the Old English text. The changes to the Old English portions of text – simple rephrasing and style choices, and errors and misreadings – suggest familiarity and comfort with the text, and that exact transmission of the text was not the primary concern. Although the very low frequency of changes of any sort demonstrates close copying and care overall.

8.2 S 1556: Syntax and Structure

8.2.1 Typical Structures of each Copy of S 1556

The text of S 1556 is notable in its simplicity.⁷ It consists of a series of prepositional and adverbial phrases. The text contains only one verb, *beon*, which appears in the rubric of Nero Middleton and the first line of *Liber Wigorniensis*.⁸ As this is a rubric in Nero Middleton and written in a different ink and, probably, a different hand, it is safe to treat it as separate from the main text. The *Liber Wigorniensis* case is less clear as it initially appears to be part of the main text. However, the first letter of line 2 is majuscule, which, like the first letter of line 1, appears to mark the beginning of a new part of the text.⁹ As such, the verb is not strictly in the body of the main text of either copy, and the title and rubrics of each should be regarded as paratext as with the marginalia.

⁵ Ana Lučić and Catherine L. Blake illustrate this using the syntactic structures surrounding the names ‘Matt Damon’ and ‘Ben Affleck’ in film reviews, short texts comparable in length with S 1280 and S 1556. Ana Lučić and Catherine L. Blake, ‘A Syntactic Characterization of Authorship Style Surrounding Proper Names’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 28 (Advance Access published June 29 2013), 1-18 (pp. 6 and 16-17).

⁶ I return to the idea of multiple sources for the bounds of S 1280 in section §10.6.1.

⁷ Many of the features of the structure of S 1556 have been discussed at length in Wiles, ‘The Treatment of Charter Bounds’, and will not be repeated in detail here.

⁸ ‘ÐIS SYNDON LAND GEMÆRV . TO WIDIANDUNE’ and ‘Ðis synd þa land gemær into widiandune’, S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 1 and S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 1.

⁹ As discussed in Chapter 7.

Both copies of S 1556 are constructed of a series of phrases which can be divided up using prepositions, or, where they appear, conjunctions as the onsets. These divisions are thematically motivated: each constitutes a new direction or instruction in walking the bounds. A typical directional phrase of this text, at its most basic, can be reduced to ‘preposition + noun phrase + preposition + noun phrase’, forming something like ‘from the tree to the river’. The next phrase will typically start by repeating the second landscape feature of the phrase before. There are variations on this basic phrase type, but the overall structure of S 1556 is regular, repetitive and formulaic.

The following is an analysis of the prepositional phrases found in the text of S 1556, excluding all adverbs and other constructions. As the prepositions mark the onset of each mention of a landscape feature, either of the phrase onset, for example, ‘from the tree’ or the phrase destination, for example, ‘to the tree’, they constitute the most regularly occurring structures and provide a large dataset. As such, a comparison and discussion of the various prepositional phrase structures can give insight into the style of language used at both the composition stage of the text and by the copying scribes.

In *Liber Wigorniensis* there are twelve different prepositional phrase structures, only five of which appear once, while the other seven are used multiple times. The prepositions used occasionally vary between the copies, which will be discussed below, but the following is focused on the structures. The two most frequently occurring prepositional phrase structures of the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 appear in the forms illustrated in figure 11:

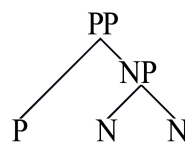


Figure 11: Tree 1.

Phrases with this structure are:¹⁰

	<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>	Nero Middleton
of a \tilde{n} na forda	l. 2	l. 2
innan m \tilde{a} nanlea	ll. 4-5 ¹¹	l. 3

¹⁰ The phrases quoted in this table and the others in this section are from the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of the text. The Nero Middleton line numbers give the corresponding location of the structure in that copy of the text.

¹¹ Uncertain first element in noun phrase.

frā mænanlea	l. 5 ¹²	–
on horsweg	l. 5	l. 4
of horswege	ll. 5-6	l. 4
innan gatanstige	l. 6	l. 4
innon denebroc	ll. 6-7	l. 5
of denebroc	l. 7	–
in hreod cumb	l. 9	l. 6
of stanwege	l. 11	–
on flod Leah	l. 14-15	l. 10
on beamweg	l. 15	l. 10
on buccan slæd	ll. 15-16	l. 11
on beanweg	l. 16	l. 11
innon cyrn ēa	l. 18	l. 12
to mærcūbe	l. 18	l. 13
to duddan heale	l. 21	l. 15
andlang mærweges	l. 22	l. 15
to byrcsies heale	ll. 22-23	ll. 15-16
in catteshlinc	l. 24	l. 16
innan mærbroc	l. 25	l. 17
to mærforda	ll. 25-26	l. 17
to weallehes wege	l. 28	l. 19
to alre wyllan	l. 29	l. 19
of alre wyllan	l. 29	–
on annandune	l. 33	ll. 22-23
into annancrundele	l. 34	l. 23
in annanford	l. 35	l. 24

Table 2: Distribution of prepositional phrase structure type 1.

This structure is the most common and shows an even distribution across the text with about one instance per line. There is no obvious reason for any clusters in their distribution, such as space considerations or brevity. There is one notable gap in the distribution, where there is only one occurrence of this structure in the first six lines of page 2 of the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of the text.

The fact that a compound noun is the most commonly used noun-phrase structure in this text is an indication of the naming and describing practices used either by the composer of the original bounds, or by the community who used these noun phrases to describe their landscape – or both. Compound nouns can often add specificity to more

¹² Uncertain first element in noun phrase.

general single nouns. Several of the compound nouns here are repeated and appear both times in a prepositional phrase of the same structure (such as <denebroc>). Where a landscape feature is repeated, it will most commonly appear in a prepositional phrase of the same type. In some cases the noun phrase is simplified the second time it appears, but never the other way round.

Four phrases of this structure type have been altered by the Nero Middleton scribe in copying this text. These appear largely in a group at the beginning of the text, with a single instance at the end. Two of the initial group of three appear in Nero Middleton with phrases of the type shown in figure 12.

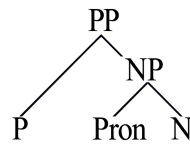


Figure 12: Tree 2.

Phrases with this structure are:

	<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>	Nero Middleton
of þǣ broce	–	l. 5
of þære wyllan	ll. 8-9	l. 6
andlang þære dic	l. 10	l. 7
of þam wege	l. 11	ll. 7-8
of þǣ wege	–	l. 8
from þære æc	ll. 13-14	l. 9
þurh þone sceagan	l. 14	ll. 9-10
frā þā wege	l. 15	ll. 10-11
andlang ðæs weges	ll. 16-17	ll. 11-12
frō þā forda	ll. 17-18	–
frā þā æsce	l. 21	ll. 14-15
frāþā heale	ll. 21-22	–
of þam stapule	ll. 23-24	–
frā þā hlince	l. 24	–
of þā forda	l. 26	–
of þā pole	l. 32	l. 21
to þā þorne	l. 33	l. 22
of þære dune	l. 34	l. 22

Table 3: Distribution of prepositional phrase structure type 2.

A high proportion of these phrases cross line boundaries in both copies of the text. The instances that fit on one line tend to be either at the beginning or end of a line, and three of

the four final phrases are the only ones in a line-medial position, perhaps due to their being at the end of a page and at the end of the text. The high occurrence of this structure on line boundaries might indicate that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe was more likely to abbreviate a compound noun than split it across two lines.

This structure does not occur in the first eight lines of text in *Liber Wigorniensis*, nor in the first five lines of the second page. In between these gaps this structure appears regularly on all but two lines (lines 19 and 20), so these gaps are notable. This could suggest that its use is motivated by a need to save space by using shorter noun phrases as the scribe worked down the page, but only in this precise manuscript layout. The table above highlights the editing pattern of the Nero Middleton scribe, who focused the majority of these changes on a portion of ten lines in the first half of the text.

All but two instances of this structure are used as the repeated landscape feature phrase (as in ‘in catteshlinc frā þā hlince’, where ‘hlince’ is used as a simplified form of ‘catteshlinc’).¹³ It is notable that only twice is this structure used to describe a new landscape feature. The pronoun is used to refer to the previous landscape feature, allowing for the simplification of the repeated noun phrase.

The two times this structure is used to introduce a new landscape feature rather than repeat one are in ‘þurh þone sceagan’ (‘through the shaw’) and ‘to þā þorne’ (‘to the thorn’).¹⁴ It is possible there is some aspect that makes these landscape features different, so that they do not need any qualifying information and can appear as a simplex. This kind of phrasing would be most useful when the reader is actually walking the bounds and can see a nearby shaw or thorn tree or bush. Rather than assume that this thorn is a particularly distinctive tree, I am inclined to think that it should be taken as part of a larger prepositional phrase, ‘to þā þorne on annandune’, and that ‘annandune’ is a post-positional qualifying element.¹⁵ *LangScape* glosses the *on* in this line (and in nearly every other instance) as meaning ‘to’, thereby dividing ‘to þā þorne’ and ‘on annandune’ into two different directions in the bounds.¹⁶ This is certainly possible, but ‘on’ is also possible here, especially as, if *on* were to mean ‘to’, it should take the accusative as opposed to the dative *dune* which appears here. Furthermore, in the Nero Middleton copy of this text, each

¹³ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 24.

¹⁴ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 14 and 33.

¹⁵ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 33.

¹⁶ ‘S 1556’, *LangScape* [accessed 31 July 2010].

direction or new landscape feature is marked by *puncti* so it would be expected that this line would separate ‘þorne’ and ‘annandune’. Instead, the entire phrase, ‘ondlong stræte to þæm þorne on onnan dune’ is treated as a single unit.¹⁷ This might also suggest some connection between the way the scribe interprets the text and uses punctuation.¹⁸

The other instance of this structure appearing without being a repetition of a landscape feature – ‘þurh þone sceagan’ – also appears in Nero Middleton embedded within a larger punctuated clause: ‘of ðære ac þurh þone sceagan on flodlæh’.¹⁹ However, in this case the phrases are describing different landscape features. It is interesting that the only phrases in this structure that are not acting as a repetition of a landscape feature are punctuated differently in the Nero Middleton copy of the text, suggesting that the Nero Middleton scribe was punctuating for sense.

These two phrases are not unique to either copy of the text, and this highlights the importance of the punctuation of Nero Middleton and suggests that it is an indication of how that scribe viewed the bounds and the divisions and relationships between features. Unless the scribe was familiar with the landscape, which is unlikely, as I have argued elsewhere,²⁰ then any details about the landscape features must be dependent on the scribe’s exemplar and their interpretation of it.

While several phrases with the structure from figure 12 do not appear in the Nero Middleton copy of the text, it is this structure which seems to be most fluid. A large number of prepositional phrases with this structure do not appear in Nero Middleton, but there are also two which are unique to it. These two phrases both appear early in the text, and the phrases in this structure which do not appear in Nero Middleton are both from the middle of the text, in a closer cluster than those phrases in the structure of figure 11 of this section that are lost. In Nero Middleton they appear in a very tight cluster with four of the missing phrases in a portion of text three lines long.²¹

It is not surprising that it is the two most common structures that show differences between the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton copies of the text as these are more

¹⁷ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 22-23.

¹⁸ This will be returned to in Chapter 10, on punctuation.

¹⁹ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 9-10, ‘From the oak through the shaw to the sream-wood’. Also, ‘Flodleye’ exists in 1270 as a field name (in an Unprinted Feet of Fines in the Public Records Office). A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, English Place-Name Society, 38-41, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964-65), I, p. 190.

²⁰ Wiles, ‘The Treatment of Charter Bounds’, p. 130.

²¹ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 15-17.

frequent and therefore are more subject to change, but the fact that they appear in clusters of type – first one structure, then the other – is more unexpected. The majority of the changed phrases are also of the type in figure 12 despite there being a third fewer examples of this phrase structure; if these changes were the result of random change then we might expect to see more changes to phrases in figure 11 than 12 simply because they occur more frequently. The grouping of types of structure is another indication that it is likely to be due to the frequency of the use of certain structures. This suggests that the type of phrase structure may have had an influence on how the scribes copied the text and made decisions on alteration, perhaps because the use of repetition, or the lack of it, implied a certain degree of importance to the Nero Middleton scribe, whose treatment of them reflected this.

8.2.1.1 Syntactical Differences between the Copies of S 1556

As was mentioned briefly above, there are some differences between the two copies of the text on a syntactic level. They are listed here:

<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>		Nero Middleton	
frā mænanlea on horsweg	l. 5	þonon on horsweg	l. 4
of denebroce innon tilnoþ	l. 7	of þæ broce in tilnoð	l. 5
of stanwege on posecumbes heafdon	ll. 11-12	of þæ wege on pose cumbes heafdon	l. 8
frō þā forda innon cyrn ēa	ll. 17-18	þonon in cirn ea	l. 12
frāþā heale andlang mærweges to byrcsies heale	ll. 21-23	þonon ondlong mærweges to bircsiges hale	ll. 15-16
of þam stapule in catteshlinc	ll. 23-24	þonon on cattes hlinc	l. 16
frā þā hlince innan mærbroc	ll. 24-25	and swa on mærbroc	l. 17
of þā forda to sceapan ecge	l. 26	þonon to sceapan ecge	ll. 17-18
7 þanon on stanihtan weg	l. 28	þonon on stanihtan weig	l. 19
of alre wyllan to þære ealdan dic	ll. 29-30	þonon to aldan dic	l. 20

Table 4: Structural differences between the copies of S 1556.

In this small group of phrases there seems to be more regularity in the Nero Middleton copy of the text. There are fewer variations of structure, where *Liber Wigorniensis* has noun phrases of different types and complexities.

Seven out of the eleven differences between the texts as listed here show that the Nero Middleton scribe has ‘þonon + preposition’ replacing phrases of the ‘preposition + NP’ type in *Liber Wigorniensis*. The phrases that are updated are generally the onset portion of a directional phrase, and these are often simplified versions of the destination element of the previous phrase; for example, the simplification of <catteshlinc> to <þā hlince> in *Liber*

Wigorniensis appears as <and swa> in Nero Middleton.²² There are also two instances where the phrase onset which appears in *Liber Wigorniensis* is removed entirely from Nero Middleton, and that portion of the direction phrase appears as <and swa>.²³

Many of the differences listed above are in phrases which cross line divisions in *Liber Wigorniensis*. This might influence how the Nero Middleton scribe copied the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar. For example, it is possible that seeing a phrase span two lines prompts a need to shorten it.

A cluster of phrases which are different between lines 15 and 19 in Nero Middleton corresponds to the section of text that spans the page-break in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy. It is possible that the page-break was an influence, perhaps marking a break-point that the scribe was working towards.

8.2.2 S 1556 Conclusion

The text of S 1556 is very regular, using a series of simple prepositional phrases, and the repetition of noun phrases to describe the route of the bounds. These phrases show very little variation in their structure, with the majority of the variation appearing in the formation of the descriptive noun phrases, information which would have been dictated by someone familiar with the landscape. The Nero Middleton scribe has made changes to the text which are regular – that is, the same changes are made repeatedly – but they have the effect of producing a less regular text. The repeated prepositional phrases are simplified, and conjunctions are added. The repetitive nature of the bounds perhaps allows more scope for intervention here, as the simplification of a repeated noun phrase will not damage the integrity of the text in the way that alteration of the only instance of a noun phrase would. The repetition provides a safety net against scribal interpolation and lowers the risk that points in the landscape would be rendered unrecognisable resulting in the potential for ambiguity in the bounds.

It is possible that both scribes have been influenced by the physical layout of the *Liber Wigorniensis* pages – both the text block and the page break – and have altered their use of different structures due to it. Although it is possible that the perceived correlation is coincidence, particularly in the case of the page-break, the evidence suggests that the Nero Middleton scribe was influenced by the layout of the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar.

²² S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 24; S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 16.

²³ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 16 and 17.

8.3 Syntax and Structure Conclusion

The four sets of bounds found in these two charters are very different, both in construction and in the type of information conveyed. Each has a different set of conventions attached which are treated differently by each scribe. While the bounds of S 1556 would enable someone entirely unfamiliar with the area to walk the boundary of Withington, each of the sets in S 1280, and Set 3 in particular, assume the endurance of this knowledge in some other form beyond this charter, be it written or memorialized by the local community or landowners. While the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes appear to have preserved some internal differences, which are particularly evident in S 1280, the Nero Middleton scribe has altered the conventions in the copying process.

It is possible that some of the changes made by the Nero Middleton scribe reflect the knowledge that the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies continued to exist and were to be used alongside these new copies. It might be this knowledge that allowed the scribe to feel comfortable making changes such as the simplification of noun phrases, or for the minor errors described to remain uncorrected. The changes which involve minor rephrasing by the Nero Middleton scribe suggest comfort with copying these texts. The copying is not *Literatim*, but phrase-level, as evidenced by the changes which suggest short phrases are being stored mentally. Many of the Nero Middleton scribe's changes appear to be influenced by the shape of the text box, and several of the changes reflect stylistic choices, in which the text has been altered into structures more in keeping with the scribe's linguistic preferences or interpretation of the text. These changes are not of a consistent type, in which the scribe has altered all of the sets of bounds towards one style, but they show idiomatic changes, more suggestive of the scribe's own language choices than of some conformity to charter formulae.

9 CHAPTER 9: Lexis

The following section is a discussion of the lexicological differences between each copy of the text. There are other word-level changes between the copies of each text, but these are the result of the minor syntactic rephrasing discussed in the previous chapter. The lexical changes discussed here are only those in which the structure is the same between the copies and the Nero Middleton scribe has used a word in that place different from the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar. The following data consist of instances where the scribes have made changes at word-level.

9.1 S 1280: Lexis

Very few purely lexical alterations have been made between the two copies of S 1280. The majority of the differences between them involve some minor rephrasing, with the removal of a word or phrase, or the replacement of a word with a phrase.¹

<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>		Nero Middleton	
heoreden	l. 13	hired	l. 10
hiora	l. 26	mid	l. 23
æg hwelcum	ll. 34-35	ælcū	l. 32

Table 5: Lexical differences between the copies of S 1280.

Ker has discussed the Nero Middleton scribe's use of *hired* as an example of modernization as the scribe systematically updates older words or forms.² The next lexical change is replacing the genitive <heora> with <mid>, suggesting a stylistic preference by the Nero Middleton scribe for one form of phrasing over another, perhaps reflecting a shift towards the loss of the case system as the scribe uses a preposition in place of expressing the relationship through inflexion.³ The final lexical difference between the two texts again suggests a different stylistic preference on the Nero Middleton scribe's part for <ælcū> over <æg hwelcum>.⁴

The lexical choices made by the Nero Middleton scribe here are reflecting the scribe's own stylistic preferences. In part this involves updating language and usage that might, by that point, feel out-dated. The error, along with an instance of reduplication in

¹ The Nero Middleton scribe's use of <wýllað> will be discussed in section §12.11.1.8.4.

² Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 67, n. 1; S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 10.

³ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 26; S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 23.

⁴ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 32; S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 34-35.

<libertatatis> in S 64, might suggest that the scribe was paying less close attention than they did in copying S 1556.⁵

Fluctuating levels of concentration may be typical of this scribe's work, or may be indicative of the work that was expected in the production of Nero Middleton. As copies of each text are already held by Worcester, these copies do not need to be exact in the way the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies did, and this may be – presumably without deliberate intent – reflected in the scribe's approach to copying the texts.

9.2 S 1556: Lexis

The words that appear differently between the two copies of S 1556 are all prepositions, which is perhaps to be expected as changing the nouns in this text would alter the meaning of the bounds, rendering them useless. These words appear in *Liber Wigorniensis* as three instances of *innan*, two of *fram* and one of *lang*. In Nero Middleton they appear as two instances of *in*, one of *on*, two of *of* and one of *ondlong*. They correspond thus:

<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>		Nero Middleton	
innan	l. 4	in	l. 3
innon	l. 6	on	l. 5
innon	l. 7	in	l. 5
from	l. 13	of	l. 9
fra(m)	l. 15	of	l. 10
lang	l. 19	ondlong	l. 13

Table 6: Lexical differences between the copies of S 1556.

The change of <lang> to <ondlong> is different from the other lexical variations. This appears to be an error by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe which is corrected by the Nero Middleton scribe. <lang> appears line-initially in *Liber Wigorniensis* which could have influenced the scribe's copying. This word falls on a line break between a repeated noun phrase, '7lang ēa to mærcūbe / lang cūbes', and the repetition of the *lang* element with the repetition of *cumbe* in this position might have caused eye-skip or some similar confusion.

Excluding the <lang/ondlong> change, the above table shows some consistency between the two scribes' usages. Both instances of *fram* in *Liber Wigorniensis* have been replaced with *of* in Nero Middleton, and two of the instances of *innan* with *in*. Here, the anomaly seems to be <innon/on>. It is possible that the <-on> of <innon> influenced the Nero Middleton scribe's use of <on> here. However, on the same line the scribe also uses

⁵ S 64, MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fols 181-84^v, fol. 184^r, l. 5.

<in> to correspond with *Liber Wigorniensis*'s second <innon> which suggests that the exemplar is not the sole influence here, and the scribe may use the two interchangeably.

Excluding the <lang/ondlong> variation, the lexical differences in S 1556 fall into two clusters. As can be seen from the line numbers of each item, there are three lexical differences between lines 3-5 of Nero Middleton and two differences between lines 9-10 of Nero Middleton. These clusters appear relatively early in the text and the Nero Middleton scribe ceases to make these changes halfway through copying. These clusters also correspond with the choice of word that changes between copies. The first cluster contains all the instances of *innan/in* and the second cluster contains both instances of *fram/of*, which suggests that their appearance might be related in some way, that the scribe's first use of, for example, *of* might increase the likelihood of it being reused at the next appropriate moment. However, this does not explain the restricted distribution of these changes, as the scribe only made changes for a line or two before reverting to copying without alteration. These changes tie in with the early structural changes the Nero Middleton scribe made in copying S 1556 and suggest that the scribe started rewriting the text into a preferred form, but gave up and switched to a less interventionist copying style.

In one instance the Nero Middleton scribe has corrected a perceived error in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar. The other changes made by the Nero Middleton scribe are to prepositions. The regularity of these changes suggests an overall preference for certain prepositions over others, for example *of* over *fram*. This is perhaps indicative of personal stylistic preferences, or reflects a difference in the language.

10 CHAPTER 10: Punctuation

10.1 The History of Punctuation

The use and development of systems of punctuation is inherently linked with the development of literacy. As Parkes notes, ‘new generations of readers in different historical situations imposed new demands on the written medium itself.’¹ The use of punctuation finds its origins in Antiquity. The oral purpose of most written works meant that punctuation was initially used to guide breathing, intonation and pauses, in contrast to modern punctuation which indicates syntactic sense. That is, modern punctuation ‘designates the structural relationships between sentence constituents, thus yielding syntactic sense’, while early punctuation marks ‘rest points for an oral performance’.² Parkes terms these ‘grammatical analysis’, which ‘identif[ies] the boundaries of *sententiae* (later, “sentences”) and the units of *sensus* or grammatical constituents within them’, and ‘rhetorical analysis, which reflects the periodic structure of a discourse, and indicates the *periodus* and its parts (*commata* or *incisa*, *cola* or *membra*)’.³

Punctuation was particularly necessary in *scriptio continua*, which ‘required careful preparation before it could be read aloud with appropriate pronunciation and expression’.⁴ The introduction of punctuation therefore involved a high level of engagement with a text:

The merit of *scriptio continua* was that it presented the reader with a neutral text. To introduce graded pauses while reading involved an interpretation of the text, an activity requiring literary judgement and therefore one properly reserved to the reader.⁵

In order to improve the readability of texts, features such as word breaks and punctuation were introduced.⁶ In the seventh century, Isidore of Seville introduced a system of punctuation based on point height, wherein ‘phraseological divisions formulated by the

¹ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 2.

² Maria Laura Esteban Segura, ‘The Punctuation System of the West-Saxon Version of the Gospel According to Saint John’, *Linguistica e Filologia*, 21 (2005), 29-44 (p. 30).

³ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 4.

⁴ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 10.

⁵ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 11. See also Michelle P. Brown, ‘Writing in the Insular World’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 121-66 (p. 127).

⁶ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 1.

Latin Grammarians were to be punctuated by placing the point in three different positions: after a *comma* low, after a *colon* at mid-height, and at the close of a period high'.⁷

Punctuation arrived in England via Irish missionaries,⁸ where a unique system of punctuation quickly developed. Early Anglo-Saxon scribes 'normally used, in addition to capitals, a simple point with its position unvaried for an intermediate pause, and, for a main pause or section-end, several points in a row, in a triangle, or in some other combination'.⁹ From the ninth century, the Anglo-Saxon system of punctuation was refined, and viewed with great importance. Alcuin stated that '*Distinctiones* or *subdistinctiones* by points can make embellishment in sentences most beautiful',¹⁰ and punctuation was used in conjunction with the content of a text to communicate its intent, whether it be the intent of a later user of the text or of the original author.¹¹

10.2 Types of Punctuation

Systems of punctuation developed not just in function but also in form. Bruce Mitchell notes that very little is known about Anglo-Saxon punctuation, other than its scarcity and the lack of agreement in current scholarship about its 'significance'.¹² The shapes of marks 'underwent modification both to remove graphic ambiguity and to improve characterization: to distinguish them from each other and from other marks on a page, which provide apparatus ancillary to interpretation'.¹³ This resulted, in later Anglo-Saxon usage, in a complex system of marks. Ker describes the early Old English system of punctuation as using primarily a single dot at a medial height – that is, in line with the top of the minims on a line – or a comma. The only variation on these forms would come at

⁷ Peter Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts*, Occasional Papers, 1 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, 1952), p. 9; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 20-22.

⁸ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 30.

⁹ Clemoes, p. 11.

¹⁰ As Alcuin says in a letter to Charlemagne: 'Punctorum vero distinctiones vel subdistinctiones licet ornatum faciant pulcherrimum in sententiis', quoted and translated in Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 17.

¹¹ Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 17.

¹² Bruce Mitchell, 'The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s. 31 (1980), 385-413 (p. 385).

¹³ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 2.

the end of textual sections, e.g. ‘paragraph, section, chapter, or heading’, where the mark would be ‘ornamental’ in form.¹⁴

The later Old English system used four marks of punctuation. The chief of these were the single *punctus* (sometimes called ‘full stop’ because of its form rather than its function), and the *punctus versus* or semi-colon (again, named for its form), which C. G. Harlow describes as typically functioning as a modern full stop.¹⁵ To these was added a mark which was adopted from Latin texts, the *punctus elevatus* <˘>, and, later yet, the *punctus interrogativus* which was used to indicate questions.¹⁶ Ker notes, however, that the *punctus elevatus* was never in widespread use in Old English texts, and that many eleventh and twelfth-century manuscripts show only *puncti* in the Old English, restricting the *punctus elevatus* and *versus* to Latin texts.¹⁷ These marks ‘represented heavier syntactic or rhetorical pauses’ than the *punctus*.¹⁸

The late transition of certain marks from Latin to Old English texts might represent a shift in the way punctuation was taught to trainee scribes. The distinct shift implies that this was not simply a case of scribes applying the system they had been taught in Latin to their Old English work – if that were the case we might expect to see the *punctus versus* and *elevatus* in use in Old English earlier – but that the marks taught to scribes for use in Old English changed in the later period.

A further late development was the use of a ‘High-point’ mark in addition to marks being located on the base line and at medial height, which Susan D. Thompson does not observe in royal diplomas before AD 956.¹⁹ Ker also observes that the pre-Conquest system of using a *punctus versus* or ‘High-point’ to mark the end of a sentence gave way to a preference for medial- or base-height *puncti*, although the date of this shift differs between

¹⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

¹⁵ C. G. Harlow, ‘Punctuation in some Manuscripts’, *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 10 (1959), 1-19 (pp. 5 and 4, n. 1).

¹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxxiv; Donald Scragg, ‘Old English Manuscripts, their Scribes, and their Punctuation’, in *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A. N. Doane*, ed. by Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 245-60 (p. 252); Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 107.

¹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxxiv; Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 47; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁸ Scragg, ‘Old English Manuscripts’, p. 252.

¹⁹ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 106.

scriptoria.²⁰ This, again, suggests a link between punctuation use and shifts in training practice as different scriptoria introduced new systems to their training.

As previously mentioned, these marks of punctuation could serve different functions. Walter Skeat introduced the notion of Old English punctuation marks indicating breathing or rest, in which the single *punctus* marks the briefest pause, the *punctus elevatus* a slightly longer breath and the *punctus versus* indicates a stop.²¹ This function of punctuation gradually began to be used alongside a system of punctuation for 'syntactic sense'.²² This system could be utilized in different ways. As Parkes says, 'Another way in which scribes sought to present a neutral reading of a text was to restrict the use of punctuation to indicating only the most basic divisions of the text – paragraphs and sententiae – leaving the rest unmarked'.²³ He goes on to say that, 'Scribes and correctors often used equiparative punctuation selectively to clarify the sense of a passage where word order or syntax could present particular difficulty'.²⁴

A further use punctuation marks serve is graphical. The most common example of this is the 'almost universal' practice of marking numbers with *puncti* before and after.²⁵ From the tenth century onwards, the use of a *punctus* before a tironian nota was also near 'universal' in vernacular diplomas.²⁶ *Puncti* are also occasionally found around personal- and place-names, although this appears to be a preference by individual scribes rather than in widespread use.²⁷ More common is the use of a point following attestations in witness lists of charters, which Thompson has found to be an early feature which then reappeared in the mid-tenth century.²⁸

Punctuation systems also differ depending on the genre of text upon which they are being imposed. Liturgical texts are, for example, punctuated for intonation.²⁹ Here, the

²⁰ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 46.

²¹ Walter W. Skeat, *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), p. 11; Paul G. Arakelian, 'Punctuation in a Late Middle English Manuscript', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 76 (1975), 614-25 (p. 615).

²² Arakelian, p. 615.

²³ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 71-72.

²⁴ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 72.

²⁵ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 110.

²⁶ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 111.

²⁷ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 110.

²⁸ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 111.

²⁹ Clemons, p. 7.

four main marks perform different functions, alongside neums, which were ‘graphical representations of the movements of the hands made by orators’.³⁰

10.3 Studies of Individual Punctuation

While patterns of usage can be observed across Anglo-Saxon manuscript production, and within scriptorial output, individual scribes and manuscripts still show variation and preferences for certain forms or usages.³¹ Malcolm Godden notes that some punctuation systems are ‘eccentric and unhelpful’ but that they can also shed light on syntax and sentence structure.³² As Rudolph Willard notes, ‘differences in usage are to be seen within the manuscripts themselves, so that the witness of any single one is by no means uniform’.³³ Willard goes on to say that scriptoria must produce different styles of punctuation, as, ‘The degree of attentiveness to punctuation must, then as now, have varied in any given writing community at any given time’.³⁴ As well as community, styles of punctuation can be observed within certain genres of text (for example, liturgical texts, as mentioned above).³⁵ Bible manuscripts, in particular, are noted for the adaptations made to the writing tradition ‘to facilitate easy reading either through limited line lengths or through actual punctuation’.³⁶ Elsewhere, where long lines of texts were produced, features such as *litterae notabiliores* and punctuation were used to divide the text.³⁷

A few studies have been conducted focusing on the punctuation use of individual scribes or manuscripts. Paul G. Arakelian has noted the ‘unusual and varied punctuation used in a seemingly haphazard manner’ of a late Middle English manuscript,³⁸ and Maria Laura Esteban Segura presents a detailed study of one manuscript in Old English, which shows the different functions *puncti* play in various clause structures, demonstrating the

³⁰ Clemoes, p. 12.

³¹ In particular, the scribes and manuscripts described in Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 38-39.

³² Malcolm Godden, ‘Old English’, in *Editing Medieval Texts: English, French and Latin Written in England: Papers Given at the Twelfth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto 5-6 November, 1976*, ed. by A. G. Rigg (New York: Garland Publishers, 1977), pp. 9-33 (p. 19).

³³ Rudolph Willard, ‘The Punctuation and Capitalization of Ælfric’s Homily for the First Sunday in Lent’, *University of Texas Studies in English*, 29 (1950), 1-32 (p. 3).

³⁴ Willard, p. 2.

³⁵ Clemoes, p. 22.

³⁶ Willard, pp. 28-29.

³⁷ Clemoes, p. 11.

³⁸ Arakelian, p. 614.

range of application, both grammatical and rhetorical.³⁹ She concludes that the manuscript presents a ‘more or less consistent punctuating pattern’, and that the punctuation marks ‘typically signal structural relations’.⁴⁰ Certainly, the usage strongly suggests that, ‘there was an active consciousness of the function of punctuation and capitalization discernable in the products of these Anglo-Saxon scribes and pointers’.⁴¹

10.4 Punctuation in Copying

It has been noted that punctuation can provide insight into the copying process. While this is true, it is also true that it can be hard to differentiate between original punctuation, added by the scribe who produced a copy, and punctuation which has been added by a corrector or a later user.⁴² The later addition of punctuation happened frequently, as ‘*Positurae* were inserted methodically into copies of all kinds of texts, and the punctuation in many earlier manuscripts was corrected to conform to the new system’.⁴³ As well as this methodical updating, scribes also made mistakes in punctuation, just as in other aspects of copying.⁴⁴

The copying process will often lead to an inconsistent system of punctuation, as a copyist might change the style of punctuation throughout the work: ‘It is common experience in copying to make changes in pointing, overlooking it in some places, inserting it in others. Then, too, there may be a certain amount of conscious revision of the pointing’.⁴⁵ For example, Scragg describes the scribes of some copies of Ælfric’s First and Second Series homilies replicating the punctuation from their exemplars.⁴⁶ At the same time, some scribes ‘varied in their attitude to all three marks, some avoiding the *elevatus* altogether or using it rarely, and few using the *interrogativus* at all’.⁴⁷ By conducting a detailed survey of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115, Scragg has been able to

³⁹ Esteban Segura, pp. 33-41.

⁴⁰ Esteban Segura, pp. 41-42.

⁴¹ Willard, p. 32.

⁴² Scragg, ‘Old English Manuscripts’, p. 245, n. 1.

⁴³ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Willard, p. 32.

⁴⁶ Scragg, ‘Old English Manuscripts’, p. 252-53. The manuscripts to which Scragg refers here are London, British Library, MS Royal 7. C. xii and Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 3. 28, associated with Cerne Abbas.

⁴⁷ Scragg, ‘Old English Manuscripts’, p. 253.

identify not just the punctuation pattern of that scribe and the exemplar used, but also previous layers of punctuation in the earlier witnesses in the line of transmission.⁴⁸ Similarly, Willard concludes that between multiple copies the original source's pointing can be discerned, over which each individual scribe has made individual alterations.⁴⁹ Scragg and Clemons have both also used punctuation as evidence for manuscript relatedness, sometimes in opposition to conclusions drawn using textual evidence.⁵⁰

It has been acknowledged that scant attention is paid to medieval punctuation and those studies that do exist are notable for their 'lack of scholarly agreement'.⁵¹ Pamela Gradon goes so far as to say 'the punctuation of medieval manuscripts has long been a matter of contention, speculation or even despair'.⁵² A contributing factor to the relative scarcity of notice paid to punctuation systems is that they are 'rarely reproduced in a modern edition'.⁵³ While some editors do acknowledge their treatment of punctuation, Rodríguez Álvarez observes that 'the editor only says that punctuation is editorial, making no reference to the original punctuation'.⁵⁴ More commonly, Willard argues, 'the general practice of editors has been, with rare exceptions, to disregard completely the actual usage of the manuscript and to punctuate and capitalize according to current fashion'.⁵⁵ In part, this is due to a need to modernize punctuation to increase accessibility,⁵⁶ but it does neglect the importance and potential value of punctuation. The study of punctuation can both increase our knowledge of a text, and can give invaluable insight into how the scribes in question 'used [their] language'.⁵⁷ Parkes, while admittedly biased, argues that punctuation is essential to medieval writing,⁵⁸ and that

⁴⁸ Scragg, 'Old English Manuscripts', p. 254.

⁴⁹ Willard, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Scragg, 'Old English Manuscripts', p. 257.

⁵¹ Esteban Segura, p. 29.

⁵² Pamela Gradon, 'Punctuation in a Middle-English Sermon', in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds*, ed. by E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), pp. 39-48 (p. 39).

⁵³ Scragg, 'Old English Manuscripts', p. 245.

⁵⁴ Alicia Rodríguez Álvarez, 'The Role of Punctuation in 15th-century Vernacular Deeds', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 19 (1999), 27-51 (p. 27); Esteban Segura, p. 30.

⁵⁵ Willard, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Javier Calle Martín, 'Punctuation Practice in a 15th-century Arithmetical Treatise (MS Bodley 790)', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 4 (2004), 407-22 (pp. 407-09); Mitchell, 'The Dangers of Disguise'.

⁵⁷ Arakelian, p. 615.

⁵⁸ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 1.

Until one analyses the punctuation of a copy one cannot tell how well the scribe or corrector understood the text – if at all. [...] it is facile to assume that because an English scribe spoke English he could therefore understand every text in that language.⁵⁹

Similarly, Ker demonstrates the importance conferred on punctuation by medieval users, which ‘is evident from the manuscripts in which alterations and additions to punctuation are often conspicuous’, and which is particularly evident in the work of Ælfric and Wulfstan.⁶⁰

10.5 Methodology

As mentioned above, it is sometimes hard to distinguish between punctuation intended by the original scribe of a copy, and that which has been added later. In cases where the spacing is clear, this can be an indication, such as whether it appears sufficient space was left for the mark in the text or if it ‘fits into it awkwardly’.⁶¹ Further confusion can arise between marks which are intended as punctuation and a mark which is not, such as ‘accidental spots, an ink spatter, or a flyspot’.⁶² Otiose strokes may also be confused for marks of abbreviation.⁶³

When studying the punctuation system of a manuscript or of a scribe, the usage across a text or body of work must be assessed together, taking into account the form of a mark, its position in the text and its relation to other marks:⁶⁴

The fundamental principle for interpreting punctuation is that the value and function of each symbol must be assessed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context, rather than in relation to a supposed absolute value and function for that symbol when considered in isolation.⁶⁵

As well as paying attention to the internal punctuation system of a text or scribe, the comparison of the punctuation usage between multiple copies of a text can also yield new information, as ‘Two scribes can copy the same text and place punctuation in the same

⁵⁹ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 46.

⁶¹ Willard, p. 28.

⁶² Willard, p. 28.

⁶³ Dahood, pp. 141-49.

⁶⁴ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 2.

positions, but employ different symbols, or apparently attribute different values to the same symbol'.⁶⁶

10.6 S 1280: Punctuation

10.6.1 S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* Punctuation

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 shows forty-one extant punctuation marks – that is, punctuation marks which have not been lost from the damaged pages. Two of these marks are *puncti elevati*,⁶⁷ one is a *punctus versus*,⁶⁸ and one is a double *punctus* followed by a dash <:->.⁶⁹ The remaining thirty-seven punctuation marks are single *puncti*, all of which are at a medial height with the exception of a sole instance on line 21 which is on the base-line.

The punctuation marks in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 perform a variety of functions: eleven of these *puncti* surround Roman numerals, twelve separate names in the witness list, and the remaining seventeen are dispersed throughout the main body of the text. The use of punctuation surrounding numerals will be discussed later. The use of punctuation in the witness list, used in conjunction with crosses, is wholly graphical and will be considered as distinct from the use of *puncti* elsewhere in the text.

10.6.1.1 Punctuation Separating Diplomatic Formulae

One function the *puncti* in the main text perform is to separate charter formulae. The first separates the diplomatic from the dating clause, the second the dating clause from the Old English portion of the text detailing the grantor and grantees. This portion of text leads directly into the first of the three sets of bounds without any punctuation. There are *puncti* marking the limits of each of these sets of bounds, but, as with the start of the first set of bounds, there is no *punctus* to differentiate the end of the final set of bounds from the text that follows.

The next *punctus* to divide diplomatic formulae falls on line 35 and marks the end of the Old English portion of the text and the resumption of the Latin. It also marks the transition from the dispositive section and the sanction. Marking the end of the sanction and the onset of an Old English invocation is a *punctus versus*, which may indicate a

⁶⁶ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 2 and Willard, p. 5.

⁶⁷ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 24.

⁶⁸ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 39.

⁶⁹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 41.

different relationship between the formulae than is indicated by the *puncti* previously mentioned, or which may be taken as evidence either that the scribe did not have a consistent system of punctuation or that for this purpose the *punctus* and *punctus versus* are interchangeable.

The final punctuation dividing formulae marks the introductory clause to the witness list, ‘7 eac þara frionda noman þe / we us to gewitnesse gecuron’.⁷⁰ The onset to this is the double-*punctus* and dash mark, <:->, and it ends with a *punctus*, indicating the start of the witness list itself. Here, the double-*punctus* and dash indicate the end of the main text, suggesting that the variety of punctuation marks used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe form a hierarchy of function, in which the double-*punctus* and dash mark the end of the largest sense units, and the other marks subdivide smaller sections within that.

10.6.1.2 Punctuation for Sense

Eleventh-century scribes had developed a hierarchy of punctuation marks ‘registering a hierarchy of relationships between and within the *sententiae* themselves’.⁷¹ This reflects the shift from Antiquity where ‘punctuation was regarded as a guide to the oral performance of the written record of the spoken word, and the details of this performance were, for the most part, left to the discretion of the reader’.⁷² Elements of this eleventh-century style of punctuation are evident in the work of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe. They will be discussed here in the order in which they appear in the Latin and Old English portions of the text.

10.6.1.2.1 Punctuation for Sense in Latin

The Latin portions of the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 are more sparsely punctuated than the Old English and, where punctuation has been used, it is predominantly used for the purpose of separating formulae. The first punctuation of *sententiae* falls within the sanction:

Augentibus & custodientibus retributio aterne beatitudi
nis augeatur In celo . minuentes et frangenTes sempiTerna
IncrepaTione redarguanTur nisi prius digna satisfactione
emendauerinT⁷³

⁷⁰ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 41-42, ‘and each of the names of the friends we chose as witnesses for us’.

⁷¹ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 69.

⁷² Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 68.

⁷³ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 36-39. Jones’ translation reads, ‘May those who enrich and guard it be enriched by the reward of everlasting happiness in Heaven, and may those who diminish and

In this instance, the scribe has used the *punctus* to separate the two main clauses, but has not used one to indicate the subordinate clause starting ‘nisi...’. The use of this *punctus* may be to increase clarity of understanding for the reader, although the syntax here is not so complex that extra help is necessary. It may be being used to indicate a pause for breath if the text is to be read aloud, but if that were the case we might expect to see more consistency of usage like this throughout the text and as this is the first instance of punctuation of *sententiae* at line 37, it is unlikely.

10.6.1.2 Punctuation for Sense in Old English

Each set of bounds in S 1280 is punctuated in this *Liber Wigorniensis* copy. These bounds are not regularly punctuated, and each set is punctuated differently. Set 1 shows one internal *punctus* which divides the final set of directions from the previous directions:

se is from þære ea seolfre bi þam norð
 wealle east weardes . xxviii . roda lang 7 þanon suðweardes
 . xxiiii . roda brad . 7 eft þanon west weardes on sæferne . xviii.
 roda long⁷⁴

Mid-way through the second set of bounds the sole *punctus* in this set falls on line 21 and appears above the base-line. It cannot be observed to be performing a function any different from the *punctus* which falls within the first sets of bounds. This different height may be meaningless and indicate that the scribe did not distinguish between *punctus* positions, or it may be replicated from an earlier exemplar which preserved the punctuation of each individual set if they originally came from different sources with different conventions.

The two *puncti elevati* in the third set of bounds perform the same function as the punctuation marks in the previous two, and again are not used consistently throughout the bounds. This lack of consistency in the type of punctuation used may be a result of the scribe copying each set of bounds from a different exemplar and thereby being influenced by three different systems of punctuation. If this is the case, then there should be further differences between the three sets of bounds, possibly in orthographic choices, indicating

break it be confounded by everlasting censure, unless they first make amends with proper satisfaction’. Jones, *Anglo-Saxon Worcester*, pp. 98-100.

⁷⁴ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 15-18, ‘that is from the river itself by the north wall, eastwards 28 rods long, and thence southwards 24 rods broad, and back thence westwards to the Severn 28 rods long’.

that the scribe's copying style is that of a Mixer or Literatim copyist carrying over more than just punctuation from the exemplar.⁷⁵

The following ten lines of Old English text are more heavily punctuated than the Latin portions of S 1280. These *puncti* divide larger *sententiae* and make the terms of the granting of these areas of land and their eventual reversion to the Church clearer. As with the witness list, it is possible that there was further punctuation at the top of fol. 7^r which has suffered severe fire damage. The punctuation of the Nero Middleton copy cannot be used as a guide here as, in copying the text, the scribe has punctuated much more extensively, as will be discussed below.

The use of punctuation in this way, to divide *sententiae*, furthers the purpose of a charter, ensuring that the important information, which will be relevant for several generations after its composition, and which will be used by Worcester long after, is as clear from ambiguity as it can be.

10.6.1.3 S 1280 Nero Middleton Punctuation

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 has many of the same *puncti* as the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, although there is none of the variety in form found in the exemplar; each punctuation mark in Nero Middleton is a *punctus* at medial height regardless of position or function. Where the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy has a *punctus elevatus* or *versus*, the Nero Middleton copy shows a *punctus*.

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 shows nineteen more marks of punctuation than the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, although it is possible that at least two of these may have been present in *Liber Wigorniensis* before the fire damage.⁷⁶ There are no *puncti* in *Liber Wigorniensis* that are not also found in Nero Middleton, showing that the Nero Middleton scribe replicated the position of the punctuation marks from the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar as well as adding more. The *puncti* which are unique to the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 all divide *sententiae*, but more regularly than those found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy.

As with the discussion of the punctuation of *Liber Wigorniensis*, the additional punctuation of the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 will now be discussed in the order that it appears, by language.

⁷⁵ This will be returned to in the discussion of the scribe's orthography in Chapter 12.

⁷⁶ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 22-24 corresponding to S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 26.

10.6.1.4 Punctuation in Latin

Two of the nineteen *puncti* unique to the Nero Middleton copy fall within the Latin portion of the text. The first of the *puncti* unique to the Nero Middleton copy is within the initial diplomatic, and appears as follows:

[O]MNIB; NAMQ; SAPIENTIB; NOTŪ AC MANIFESTŪ CON-
stat . qđ dicta hominū uel facta p multiplicib:
criminū pturbationib. & cogitationū uagationib:
frequent̄ ex memoria recedunt nisi litterarū apicib:
& custodiae cautela script² arū reseruent² & ad memo-
riā reuocent²⁷⁷

The *punctus* added by the Nero Middleton scribe here seems to divide the text into *sententiae*, marking the point between the main and subordinate clause. This may be an effort by the scribe to make a long sentence more accessible to the reader. The final *punctus* unique to the Latin portion of the Nero Middleton copy appears as follows:

Augentib; & custodientib:
retributio æternæ beatitudinis augeat² in cælo . mi-
nuentes & frangentes sempitna increpatione redargu-
ant² . nisi pri² digna satisfactione emendauerint⁷⁸

As with the previous instance, the *punctus* added by the Nero Middleton scribe here marks a subordinate clause. This further refines the punctuation in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy which marks only the main clauses.

This refinement of the punctuation system may reflect either a different ability in Latin, or, more likely, a different system of writing it, possibly born out of training, perhaps in keeping with the trend noted by Parkes for eleventh-century scribes to reflect a hierarchy of sense with a hierarchy of punctuation.⁷⁹ However, while this scribe's use of punctuation

⁷⁷ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 2-7. Equivalent to 'Omnibus namq; sapienTibus notum ac manifestum con / stat quod dicta hominum uel / facTa p multiplici erumnarū / [...]turbatione & cogitationū uagatione frequenter ex memo / ria recedunt nisi litterarū apicibus & custodie cauTela / scripturarū reseruenTur & ad memoriā reuocenTur' (S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 5-9). *PASE*'s translation reads, 'It is known and manifest to all the wise that the words and deeds of men frequently slip from the memory, through the manifold agitations caused by wicked deeds, and as the result of wandering thoughts, unless they are preserved and recalled to mind in the form of words and by the precaution of entrusting them to writing'. 'S 1280', *PASE* [accessed 23 February 2012].

⁷⁸ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 33-36. The *punctus* added by the Nero Middleton scribe falls on l. 36, in 'redarguant² . nisi'. Equivalent to 'Augentibus & custodientibus retributio aterne beatitudi / nis augeatur In celo . minuentes et frangenTes sempiTerna IncrepaTione redarguanTur nisi prius digna satisfactione / emendauerinT' (S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 36-39). For a translation see n. 73 above.

⁷⁹ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 69.

reflects a syntactic hierarchy, it is not expressed through a hierarchical system of punctuation of the type used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe.

10.6.1.5 Punctuation in Old English

In copying the boundary clauses, the Nero Middleton scribe has supplemented the variety of punctuation marks found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy with further *puncti*. This has resulted in each set of bounds being regularly punctuated, with directional phrases within a set of bounds being separated by a *punctus*. The scribe has also added *puncti* to mark the start of the first set of bounds and the end of the third, thereby differentiating the bounds from the surrounding text. The regularity of the Nero Middleton's use of punctuation in the bounds of these two charters shows a uniformity of use and suggests that the scribe would always punctuate bounds in this way. The regular and frequent punctuation divides up a repetitive text which can easily be confusing to a reader, and thus increases the clarity and the usefulness of the charter.

The following section of diplomatic outlining the terms of the lease and the grant's reversion to the Church is much more densely punctuated than in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy.⁸⁰ While the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has punctuated on a sentence and clause level, the Nero Middleton scribe has, in places, punctuated between phrases, dividing the text into units that parse like a boundary clause.

The final instance of unique punctuation is undoubtedly graphical and comes at the end of the text before the witness list, following the final word, *gewriton*, which appears in majuscule, stretched to reach the right-hand margin of the text block. Overall the Nero Middleton scribe punctuates much more frequently than the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, particularly in Old English, and punctuates for a different purpose between languages.

10.6.2 S 1280: Punctuation and Numerals

As well as punctuating for sense, both scribes of S 1280 have used punctuation with numerals, the use of which will be discussed separately. The numerals in S 1280 appear punctuated as follows:

⁸⁰ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 23-34.

<i>Liber Wigorniensis</i>		Nero Middleton	
. dcc ^o cc . ii ^o ii .	l. 10	dcc ^o cc . ii ^o ii .	l. 8
. i .	l. 11	. i .	l. 8
. xxviii .	l. 16	. xxviii .	l. 13
. xxiiii .	l. 17	. xx . iii .	l. 14
. xviii.	l. 17	. xix .	ll. 14-15
Sextig	l. 23	. lx .	l. 20
Sextig	l. 24	. lx .	l. 21
twelf	l. 25	. xii .	l. 22
twelf	l. 40	. xii .	l. 38

Table 7: The punctuation of numerals in S 1280.

Other than the difference between use of Roman numerals and words to express the numbers in S 1280, the chief difference between the two scribes' representation of numerals is the punctuation.⁸¹ Some uses of *puncti* are universally used by each scribe, and some differ. Where a scribe has used numerals, they are framed by *puncti*. With the exception of the date on line 8 of Nero Middleton, this is consistent in both scribes' usage. The date on line 8 immediately follows a column break, which may explain the absence of the otherwise consistently used *punctus*.

Where a number exceeds one hundred it is convention for both the Nero Middleton scribe and the scribes of *Liber Wigorniensis* to place medial *puncti* between the <d> or <c> numerals and the <x>, <v> and <i> numerals.

A survey of the treatment of punctuation use surrounding numerals in the rest of the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton manuscripts demonstrates that both manuscripts use *puncti* to surround Roman numerals with very few exceptions. This practice appears in the work of each of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes, as well as in the work of the Nero Middleton scribe, suggesting that it is universally adhered to, as was observed across Anglo-Saxon diplomas by Thompson.⁸² This is a common feature of punctuation and is not restricted to Worcester. Daniel Donoghue describes it as 'solely graphic', equivalent to multiple punctuation marks at the end of a poem.⁸³ The use of *puncti* in this

⁸¹ For the development of Roman numerals, see Charles Burnett, 'Learning to Write Numerals in the Middle Ages', in *Teaching Writing, Learning to Write: Proceedings of the XVIth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. by P. R. Robinson (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 2010), pp. 233-40.

⁸² Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 110.

⁸³ Daniel Donoghue, 'A Point Well Taken: Manuscript Punctuation and Old English Poems', in *Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 38-58 (p. 55).

way is undoubtedly to aid the reader and to avoid confusion between numbers and the words surrounding them, as part of what Parkes calls the ‘grammar of legibility’.⁸⁴ This serves the purpose of a charter by reducing confusion for ‘an indeterminate audience disseminated over distance or time, or both’.⁸⁵

As observed in S 1280, and in the wider manuscript usage, the scribes uniformly use *puncti* before and after Roman numerals, and typically subdivide those figures which exceed a certain length.⁸⁶ Due to the purpose for which numerals are used in charters, these higher figures tend to express dates and the lower figures denote land sizes or objects and money counted for transactions.

The Nero Middleton scribe does not follow the patterns of use of *Liber Wigorniensis* uniformly. While both manuscripts show similarities of practice, they are not total. In some cases, a *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe uses a *punctus* which is not replicated in Nero Middleton, and, in others, the Nero Middleton scribe uses a *punctus* not found in *Liber Wigorniensis*.

While Hough is able to use scribal treatment of numerals as evidence for textual transmission,⁸⁷ the evidence found in the Worcester cartularies is not strong enough to add any real support to the argument that the Nero Middleton scribe uses *Liber Wigorniensis* as their exemplar. However, the usage does suggest that a system of punctuation was in place and known to the scribes of these cartularies, if not adhered to with complete consistency. This system enhances the clarity of the text, aiding the reader’s comprehension and ensuring the integrity of the charter. A wider study of the use of punctuation surrounding numerals might highlight conventions which could point towards the role this feature played in scribal training, particularly as differences may be observed between scriptoria, or in date within scriptoria.

⁸⁴ M. B. Parkes, ‘Contributions of Insular Scribes of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries to the “Grammar of Legibility”’, in *Grafia e Interpunzione del Latino nel Medioevo*, ed. by A. Maierù (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1987), pp. 15-30 (p. 16).

⁸⁵ Parkes, ‘Contributions of Insular Scribes’, p. 16; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 23.

⁸⁶ This is not unique to the Worcester Cartularies and is seen in, for example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173 (the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), which also shows dates subdivided by *puncti*. My thanks to Thom Gobbitt for directing my attention to this.

⁸⁷ Carole Hough, ‘Numbers in Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Law’, in *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), pp. 114-36 (p. 120).

10.6.3 S 1280: The Witness List

As mentioned above, the witness list is heavily punctuated and should be treated separately from the main text. Due to fire damage, most of the witness list in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy is missing but some patterns can be discerned. The two copies show differences in the order in which the names appear, and the titles with which some names are associated, so in copying this portion of the text the Nero Middleton scribe has updated more than just the punctuation or spelling choice as seen elsewhere in the text.

Both scribes punctuate their witness lists with both *puncti* and crosses. The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe uses a *punctus* consistently between each entry on the witness list – of those which have survived the damage – with the exception of ‘[Uu]lfred + Uullaf’.⁸⁸ The Nero Middleton scribe has punctuated consistently between each entry on the witness list without exception. The witness list is subdivided into three columns. In the first two columns the *puncti* directly follow the preceding name, while in the third column the line-final *puncti* are justified with the right-hand margin of the text block. This is in keeping with the scribe’s stylistic choices elsewhere, such as the efforts made to ensure justification to the right-hand margin through extended majuscules. This suggests that, in this context at least, the Nero Middleton scribe considers *puncti* a purely graphical tool.

As well as the *puncti*, both scribes have used crosses before entries on the witness lists. The *Liber Wigorniensis* has used these crosses intermittently and, without knowing the identities of each person, it is not possible to know whether these crosses indicate status.⁸⁹ In copying the witness list, the Nero Middleton scribe has used crosses before every name suggesting, again, that this is some kind of graphical convention for the scribe, not that the crosses convey any meaning particular to the names to which they are attached.

10.7 S 1556: Punctuation

The two copies of S 1556 show very different systems of punctuation. The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy has no punctuation other than a final *punctus* to close the text. This acts in a purely graphical capacity, much like an initial marking the start of a text. In contrast, the Nero Middleton copy shows *puncti* between every directional clause in much the same

⁸⁸ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 49.

⁸⁹ Many of the names in the witness list are presented in *PASE* as a witness to the charter with no further information.

way as was seen in the bounds of S 1280. Where there is repetition of a landscape feature the scribe has inserted a *punctus* between the two repeated noun phrases, as in, for example:

[E]rest of onna forde innon tilnoð . ondlong tilnoðes to wacles
cumbe . betwyh wacles cumbe 7 ealdan slæde⁹⁰

Where there is no repetition (for example, where the Nero Middleton scribe has used a phrase with *þonon* onset) the scribe has inserted a *punctus* between these two phrases, as in:

of horswege innan gatan stige . þonon
on denebroc⁹¹

The only instance where the Nero Middleton scribe does not punctuate in this regular way is where the structure of the text does not conform to this regular pattern, as in, for example, the line ‘to þā þorne on annandune’ discussed in relation to the scribe’s structural changes, where it was demonstrated that the Nero Middleton scribe was clearly punctuating with reference to a personal mental conception of the landscape.⁹² Other irregular punctuation by this scribe occurs in conjunction with the structure <and swa>. Here, the scribe punctuates around a single landscape feature, two landscape features, or sometimes three:

7 swa on suphalf þæs mores to wogan æc⁹³
7 swa eft on beamweig⁹⁴
7 swa to þæm fulan wege to nateleages æsce⁹⁵
þonon ondlong mærweges to birc/siges hale 7 swa to pican stapole⁹⁶

This irregular punctuation serves to reduce the formulaic, repetitive nature of the text, and complements the alterations the scribe has made to the text itself. These divisions are not dependent on the scribe knowing the landscape, but are dependent on the sense units within the text. Each unit contained between *puncti* creates a mental direction for the reader and helps in making sense of and simplifying the text, and thus the landscape, for users and readers of the charter.

⁹⁰ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 2-3, ‘First from Anna’s ford, into the Tilnoth. Along the Tilnoth to ‘wacles’ coomb. Between ‘wacles’ coomb and the old valley’.

⁹¹ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 4-5, ‘From the horse-way into goat-path, thence to valley-brook’.

⁹² S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 33, ‘to the thorn on Anna’s hill’.

⁹³ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 9, ‘And so from the south side of the marsh to the bent oak’.

⁹⁴ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 11, ‘And so back to the tree way’.

⁹⁵ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 14, ‘And so to the muddy path to the wet wood’s ash’.

⁹⁶ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 15-16, ‘Thence along boundary way to Beorhtsige corner and so to “pican” post’.

While the scribe did not need to be aware of the landscape described here and probably was not aware of it, the insertion of *puncti* in this way serves to build a mental landscape formed of physical relationships between the landscape features held between each *punctus*. Rumble has suggested that the Nero Middleton scribe's use of punctuation in S 1556 could reflect the physical landscape and that the punctuation marks indicate points where, when walking the bounds, the reader needs to change direction.⁹⁷ However, as mentioned above, the scribe was probably not aware of the landscape when copying the bounds, and so these *puncti* must be based on the sense and syntax of the text. That is, while the *puncti* divide the text into units which reflect the physical direction the bounds take through the landscape, these units were created without reference to that. Instead, the Nero Middleton scribe used punctuation dependent on the sense units within the text and the perception of the landscape constructed from that. This may be connected to the syntactic changes the scribe made throughout the text, in removing or simplifying repeated noun phrases. The effect produced by this is noted by Parkes in the work of an eleventh-century copying scribe:

The frequency of the punctuation marks makes it easier for a reader to construe the text, although the use of a single mark does not facilitate the identification of the nature of the relationships between the grammatical elements⁹⁸

The effect is the same in Nero Middleton; the text has been broken up into smaller units which makes the repetitive content easier for readers and users of the text, regardless of their familiarity with the landscape, and reduces confusion by separating repeated noun phrases. It may also have served as an aid to the scribe in copying the text, as a marker to indicate the end of a completed sense unit, particularly when copying a text with this level of repetition.

10.8 Conclusion

10.8.1 The *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribes' Use of Punctuation

The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1556 has used no punctuation other than a *punctus* to mark the end of the text. By contrast, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 has used a variety of different forms of punctuation, although these do not correlate to a hierarchy of function. The scribe has used punctuation to perform a number of functions, including the

⁹⁷ Personal correspondence at *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220 Second Symposium* (The University of Leicester, 27-28 April 2010).

⁹⁸ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 71.

separation of diplomatic formulae, although this is not used consistently, and to mark *sententiae* although, again, this is not consistent throughout the text. There is also evidence that in copying S 1280, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe was influenced by an exemplar, or multiple exemplars, and carried over punctuation use from these rather than imposing a new system on the copy.

The lack of conformity between these two scribes' work suggests that there was no scriptorium- or externally-imposed standard of punctuation usage for the production of *Liber Wigorniensis*. Or that, if there were, it did not apply to the scribe of S 1556 who added this text as a later addition some time after the original wave of production.⁹⁹

10.8.2 The Nero Middleton Scribe's Use of Punctuation

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1556 is regularly punctuated. The bounds are divided into prepositional phrases, or, where the syntax is more elaborate, into phrases that reflect the sense being expressed. The Nero Middleton scribe has added regular and consistent punctuation to a text which was unpunctuated in the exemplar.

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 is also more heavily punctuated than its *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar. The Nero Middleton copy shows the punctuation found in the same places as in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, but with several additions. Where the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used a variety of different punctuation marks, the Nero Middleton scribe has used medial height *puncti* only. These *puncti* are used to perform a hierarchy of functions, from dividing diplomatic formulae, to dividing sentences, main clauses, subordinate clauses and phrases. The scribe has also rendered the irregular punctuation of the *Liber Wigorniensis* bounds regular by adding further *puncti*. This has resulted in three sets of bounds which are punctuated in a style similar to those of S 1556. The scribe has punctuated the Old English more heavily than the Latin portions of the charter text. The Old English diplomatic, in particular, is very densely punctuated, sometimes at a phrase level. It is possible that in doing this the scribe has been influenced by the preceding bounds. It is also possible that these portions of text are more thoroughly punctuated to aid the reader and to ensure the charter continues to serve its purpose by being as clear and unambiguous as possible.

⁹⁹ To support this, Ker describes the late eleventh-century scribe of MS Hatton 113 and 114 and MS Junius 121 as using 'high point' punctuation, presumably consistently. Ker, *Catalogue*, §§338 and 331.

The lack of uniformity across the two manuscripts, and within *Liber Wigorniensis*, suggests that Worcester did not impose standards of punctuation upon scribes and that it was perhaps left to their discretion. Each scribe's different style of usage, in particular that of the Nero Middleton scribe, indicates that they might learn a style of punctuation through training and impose that on the texts that they copy. The different uses of *puncti* and the differences between Latin and Old English punctuation show that some standard usages were taught. The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 shows evidence of copying punctuation unchanged from an exemplar, suggesting that, as with other aspects of scribal copying, scribes' use of punctuation might be categorized as Literatim, Mixing or Translation. While none of the scribes here seem to be punctuating to avoid difficulties in reading the texts, they do seem to be making efforts to aid the reader by making the diplomatic formulae as clear and distinct as possible. Where the content of the charter is specific to the grant in question, rather than being more general, like the sanction, the Nero Middleton scribe has increased the frequency of punctuation dramatically. This shows an awareness of the elements of the charter that are important for the reader to be able to access most easily and with the least opportunity for confusion or misreading.

11 CHAPTER 11: Abbreviation

11.1 Types of Abbreviation

Typically, abbreviations fall into one of two groups. The first of these is known variously as ‘truncation’,¹ ‘suspension’² or ‘curtailment’.³ In this group, the end of a word is omitted, ‘staying the pen and leaving writing “suspended”’.⁴ It is abbreviations of this type which constitute the majority of the Worcester scribes’ usage in S 1556 and S 1280.

The most extreme examples of suspension or truncation are *sigla*, ‘representation[s] of a whole word by its initial letter alone’.⁵ The *siglum* is typically the first letter or, where a compound is abbreviated, the first letter of each composite word.⁶ *Sigla* became used for ‘the most frequently used words and phrases’⁷ – such words would be most easily interpreted from a single character and would cause the least confusion. Due to the difficulty of interpreting *sigla*, their use declined in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁸

The second group of abbreviations is contractions. This is the removal of medial letters from a word. Contractions were introduced to reduce the confusion caused by widespread suspension-type abbreviations where the prevalent use of initial letters could stand for any number of words. Contractions consist of either only the first and last letters of the word, or have some medial letters retained. As the retention of the final letters of words allowed for a contraction to signal explicitly the same grammatical content as the unabbreviated form, contraction-type abbreviations were particularly common in Greek and Latin.⁹

¹ Adriano Cappelli, *The Elements of Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Palaeography*, trans. by David Heimann and Richard Kay (Kansas: University of Kansas Libraries, 1982), p. 1.

² L. C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1966), p. 28.

³ Félix Rodríguez and Garland Cannon, ‘Remarks on the Origin and Evolution of Abbreviations and Acronyms’, in *English Historical Linguistics 1992: Papers from the Seventh International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22-26 September, 1992*, ed. by Francisco Fernández, Miguel Fuster and Juan José Calvo, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 113 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), pp. 261-72 (p. 262).

⁴ Rodríguez and Cannon, p. 262, and Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 1.

⁵ Hector, p. 28.

⁶ Rodríguez and Cannon, p. 262.

⁷ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, pp. 3-4.

⁸ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 6.

⁹ Rodríguez and Cannon, pp. 262-63.

Rather than treating these varieties of abbreviation as distinct, coexisting groups, W. M. Lindsay's early description of the types of abbreviation treats them as stages of development, where suspension-type abbreviations develop into contractions, and finally the 'finishing-stage', which combines abbreviation with a specific mark, aesthetically formed.¹⁰ Similarly, Félix Rodríguez and Garland Cannon believe that by the eighth century contractions had almost entirely replaced the use of suspension.¹¹ The use of abbreviation by the three Worcester scribes discussed here runs counter to this, as suspension-type abbreviations and *sigla* are used frequently.

11.2 Types of Abbreviation Mark

The marks which accompany and identify abbreviations fall into two general categories based on two functions. The first is a 'general' mark, which indicates to the reader that a letter or letters have been omitted, but which does not specify what. These are useful in avoiding confusion between abbreviated forms and the unabbreviated words which they may resemble.¹² The second type of abbreviation mark, 'special', contains extra information indicated by its form, signalling to the reader exactly which letters have been omitted.¹³ However, despite these distinctions, much use of abbreviation is not fixed and there is often no consistent correlation between a mark and the omission it indicates.¹⁴ As L. C. Hector notes, 'the medieval system did not aspire to the mechanical precision of a shorthand in which each symbol is given a constant equivalence; and the shape of a mark is not always a certain indication of its function in its context'.¹⁵ For example, the superscript dash can be used both as a general indication of abbreviation and also to indicate specific abbreviations. Cappelli describes the superscript dash as being used 'especially to indicate the omitted letter *m* in the endings *-am*, *-em*, *-um*' in Latin.¹⁶ Likewise, Old English usage typically

¹⁰ W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae: An Account of Abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700-850)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), p. 4.

¹¹ Rodríguez and Cannon, p. 263.

¹² Hector, p. 28.

¹³ Hector, p. 28.

¹⁴ This has implications for the role of abbreviations in scribal training. A lack of fixity across Anglo-Saxon usage or even within regions or scriptoria suggests that it was not taught in a standard way to scribes.

¹⁵ Hector, p. 28.

¹⁶ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 14.

shows it marking the absence of *-m*.¹⁷ While usually in the form of a superscript dash, its form varies: ‘The mark of abbreviation is usually a straight horizontal line, which may be hooked at each end. Some scribes used this mark only in OE and a more or less wavy mark in Latin’.¹⁸

11.3 The Origins of Abbreviation

Abbreviation, as found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, came into use from the Greek and Latin systems via Irish in the seventh century.¹⁹ There is no clear evidence for how this process happened, nor for the extent to which this was either a formal or informal process.

There are many possible motivations given for the use of abbreviation: speed of writing,²⁰ economy of space,²¹ ease of reading,²² aesthetics,²³ and religious intent.²⁴ The abbreviation of word-final *<-m>* is perhaps the most common abbreviation in Anglo-Saxon documents. Thompson goes so far as to say that ‘it is used so extensively that it is more useful to note the documents which do not contain it’.²⁵ Its popularity may be due to the letter’s frequency in Latin.²⁶ It may have come into use as a way to avoid words being misleadingly split across line-breaks,²⁷ or crossing the margin of the text block.²⁸ This has been explained as an appropriation from a Greek practice of marking abbreviated *<-n>* with a horizontal stroke.²⁹ Another possible impetus for the popularity of the abbreviation of

¹⁷ Campbell, §24.

¹⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxxv. Ker describes further forms elsewhere: ‘The common mark of abbreviation, instead of being wavy or cupped, becomes again a straight stroke, as it had been in eleventh-century book-hand and always in current writing. For a time some scribes used both kinds of stroke indifferently, whilst others keep the wavy stroke to denote omission of **m** and use the straight stroke to mark contractions and the omission of **n**.’ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 39.

¹⁹ Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 90-91.

²⁰ Hector, p. 28.

²¹ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 2.

²² Hector, p. 30.

²³ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 1.

²⁴ ‘Traube in his ‘*Nomina Sacra*’ (Munich, 1907) has shewn that these symbols were not really devised to lighten the labours of the scribe, but rather to shroud in reverent obscurity the holiest words of the Christian religion’. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 1.

²⁵ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 102.

²⁶ Bischoff, p. 151.

²⁷ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 1.

²⁸ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 3.

²⁹ Bischoff, p. 151.

<m> and <n> may be that its use reduces the number of minims in a word and thereby reduces possible confusion for the reader.³⁰ It is likely that the combination of both of these factors contributed to the use of this abbreviation and resulted in its prevalence. Its multiple functions also increase the likelihood that it can be used in more languages than Latin, perhaps explaining its easy transition to Old English.

11.4 Trends in Abbreviation by Language

Each culture's system of abbreviation can be characterized differently. Albert Derolez presents surveys of abbreviations typical to certain regions, showing characteristic trends of usage. These trends are as distinct as the scripts with which they are associated, not just in the variations of appearance or form of each mark, but in the different marks used, the abbreviations they indicate, and the frequency with which they are used.³¹

The Anglo-Saxon system of abbreviation is 'slightly adapted' from the Irish system and came into use along with the acquisition of the writing system.³² Lindsay credits the Irish use of abbreviation to the need for space-saving, along with cramped, small writing, all used with the aim of saving as much vellum as possible.³³ Bernhard Bischoff distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon style as using fewer abbreviations than the Irish, and as having several forms which he terms 'peculiar', but which must simply be unique to the Anglo-Saxon system.³⁴ Like Old English, Anglo-Norman was also typically less heavily abbreviated than Latin.³⁵ Hector states that 'English was even less fitted than Anglo-Norman French to make full use of the devices intended to shorten the labour of writing Latin'.³⁶ It is not immediately obvious why he believes this to be so, perhaps it is because the letters or groups of letters which are most commonly abbreviated in Latin do not appear as frequently in Old English. Rodriguez and Garland believe it is due to 'the canonic form of the words of such languages [i.e. the rules to which the words conform]'.³⁷ However, the system could be, and was, adapted to suit the purposes of each scribe, and these variations

³⁰ Hector, p. 30.

³¹ Derolez, pp. 96-99, 109-11 and 153-54.

³² Bischoff, pp. 90-91.

³³ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 2.

³⁴ Bischoff, p. 153.

³⁵ Hector, p. 36.

³⁶ Hector, p. 37.

³⁷ Rodríguez and Cannon, p. 264.

combine to form a distinct and functioning system for Old English. Hector suggests that abbreviations found their first use in Old English in the writing of English proper names in Latin documents, 'which were terminated by a mark of suspension to preserve the fiction that they were declinable Latin words'.³⁸ Although personal names are likely to have been the first Old English words represented using the Roman alphabet, it seems unlikely that abbreviations entered English through a specific use on a limited word class and limited genre of text as their extension to the wider language would require further explanation. Moreover, few Old English personal names end <-m>, leaving too small a corpus for this method of appropriation to be feasible.

It is possible that abbreviation systems are different between languages due to the purposes for which that language is used. The stronger the orthographic tradition, the more likely abbreviations are to flourish, for which reason Scahill credits Latin manuscripts with being 'much richer in abbreviation than English ones'.³⁹ To some extent this is feasible, as familiarity and frequent use would lead to the abbreviation of universally recognized elements, and, as will be discussed below, the rise in abbreviation use in English until the twelfth century reflects this.⁴⁰ However, it is unclear what Scahill would consider a long orthographic tradition sufficient to foster such abbreviation use.

11.5 Trends in Abbreviation by Date

As with geographic trends in abbreviation, it is inevitable that tastes and fashions in abbreviation change diachronically. This would be evident not just in the types of abbreviation used (as previously noted, the early preference was for suspension-type abbreviations, and later for contractions) but also in the frequency of abbreviation use. Abbreviation use peaked in the sixth century prompting a law by the Emperor Justinian to prevent excessive use leading to confusion and error. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period abbreviation use increased again until the twelfth century when the appearance of new abbreviations stopped.⁴¹ Thus, the eleventh century, the focus of the present study, must exhibit signs of a developing system with the introduction of new forms, and, perhaps, an element of instability and irregularity.

³⁸ Hector, p. 37.

³⁹ John Scahill, 'Abbreviations in the Orthographies of the *Owl and the Nightingale* and their Textual Implications', *Notes and Queries* (1995), 426-28 (pp. 427-28).

⁴⁰ Rodríguez and Cannon, pp. 263 and 264.

⁴¹ Rodríguez and Cannon, pp. 263 and 264.

Detailed study has added nuance to these wider trends in usage; Lindsay and Doris Bains use abbreviations as an aid in dating a scribe's work.⁴² Lindsay in particular notes the shift in the abbreviated forms of *tur* in the ninth century from <t'> to <t²>.⁴³ Studies such as these can provide context for any forms found in a scribe's work.

11.6 Trends in Abbreviation by Scriptorium

Within these different traditions of languages and dates, 'smaller units and even some individual scriptoria clung to peculiarities'.⁴⁴ It is through these 'peculiarities' – which might be better called variations of use – that trends may be detected, and through which it may be possible to distinguish between individual scribes' usage and that of scriptoria, both of which form an overarching national tradition. However, due to the incomplete survival of a scriptorium's output, it is impossible to say with certainty which forms were, or were not, used:

If this or that symbol does not appear in a MS. or in a small batch of MSS. from one scriptorium, it is not always safe to infer that the symbol was unknown to the scribe or not used at the scriptorium.⁴⁵

Rather, an incomplete picture can be built of the system a scriptorium uses that may show variances of practice different from the output of another scriptorium, with the proviso that further evidence may change the picture.

There is evidence for this sort of external influence on abbreviation use which indicates some level of standardization from an external authority at a level above individual scribes. Thompson notes that, as well as trends in diploma layout such as the shape of single sheets, there is 'an almost total lack of abbreviations' in the diplomas issued during the reign of King Edgar, suggesting that there was some kind of organized, top-down, convention for abbreviation use, to which scribes conformed.⁴⁶

11.7 The Role of Abbreviation in Training

It is not clear how scribes learned to use abbreviations in Old English. Trends in usage are evident, in both Latin and Old English abbreviation use, which suggest some level of

⁴² Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, and Doris Bains, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae: Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of 850 to 1050 A.D.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

⁴³ W. M. Lindsay, 'Forward', in Bains, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae*, pp. v-xii (p. vi).

⁴⁴ Bischoff, p. 153.

⁴⁵ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 146.

standardization. As discussed above, trends can be observed which distinguish Latin from Old English abbreviation use, and different national usages from each other. They can also be observed within smaller clusters such as the diplomas of King Edgar, although this trend suggests that the system was acquired when scribes joined Edgar's problematic chancery, rather than during their training.⁴⁷ However, it is entirely possible that scribes were only taught to abbreviate Latin, and abbreviated Old English either through influence of texts they encountered or by extending the marks they knew from Latin to Old English when they felt like it. There is no way of proving this without any explicit evidence or a wider dedicated study, but it explains the lack of uniformity and the fact that Old English is less heavily abbreviated. The existence of Old English-only marks might counter that, but they can be explained by scribal innovation which then spread, adapting the system to suit the needs of Old English.

11.8 Abbreviation in Copying

Scahill observes that, in copying from an exemplar of the *Owl and the Nightingale*, the scribe he is describing updates to a new system of abbreviation with varying degrees of consistency.⁴⁸ This implies that the usage of the exemplar is not necessarily something to be replicated. Scribes may have their own preferred usage and, therefore, abbreviation is something that may be unique for each scribe and can then be used to identify them. On occasion the abbreviations in the exemplar appear to have been misinterpreted in the copying process, particularly those that are less common and presumably less familiar to the scribe.⁴⁹ There are more extreme examples of scribes being unable to recognize forms of abbreviation; Ker gives examples of scribes encountering abbreviations with which they were unfamiliar, and which they did not know how to expand. They either replicated the unknown abbreviation mark or expanded it wrongly.⁵⁰ Similarly, F. W. Shipley describes the scribe Landemarus having made so many errors of expansion that he eventually made his copy a facsimile of the exemplar to avoid 'further blunders'.⁵¹ These cases of

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 146.

⁴⁸ Scahill, 'Abbreviations', pp. 426-28.

⁴⁹ Scahill, 'Abbreviations', pp. 426-27.

⁵⁰ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 53-54.

⁵¹ F. W. Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), p. 55.

problematic copying suggest that the norm in copying was for a scribe to replace the exemplar's system of abbreviation with their own.

Some work has been done on identifying and describing individual scribes' systems of abbreviation. Dahood distinguishes between different types of scribal mark – abbreviations and otiose strokes – and establishes that their distribution and application is unique to that scribe's usage and differs between language. His purpose in this is to inform editorial practice, but he also acknowledges the value of this type of study in identifying scribal features as distinct from authorial features, and in finding geographical trends in scribal convention.⁵²

In distinguishing between the work of two scribes copying from the same model, at the same time, and in the same workshop, Carleton W. Carroll uses abbreviation to identify differences between them, both in their distribution and their form.⁵³ The focus of this description is the two scribes' treatment of *que*, where each uses a different mark to indicate its abbreviation, and shows a different distribution and frequency of abbreviation.⁵⁴ Due to the similarities between the two scribes' work – their shared exemplar, and the time and place in which they were working – it must be concluded that these variations are the result of the scribes' own initiative rather than an external influence such as convention of the scriptorium, current trends, or usage in their exemplar. The results of these studies show that there is great variety to be found in abbreviation use and much can be inferred from its role in the copying process.

11.9 The Uses of Studying Abbreviation

Abbreviations could be used to identify the work of individual scribes as distinct from each other and their exemplars if similarities can be found to connect one scribe's work with another at the same scriptorium, and to detect trends common to scriptoria, national styles, or trends in usage by date. With enough evidence, abbreviations could be another tool to aid in localizing manuscripts and scribes using a method akin to the 'fit'-technique.⁵⁵

⁵² Dahood, pp. 141-42.

⁵³ Carleton W. Carroll, 'One Text, Two Scribes: Manuscript P of *Enec et Enide* (Paris, BnF, fr. 375)', in *De Sens Rassis: Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens*, ed. by Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot and Logan E. Whalen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 109-24.

⁵⁴ Carroll, pp. 113-14.

⁵⁵ Benskin, pp. 9-26.

Orthographic studies of individual manuscripts or scribes often focus on spelling choice and very rarely is attention paid to paralinguistic features such as punctuation and abbreviation. The study of abbreviation, in particular, is hampered by editorial practice which typically expands abbreviations. Silent expansion eliminates all evidence of the abbreviation, but even where expansion is marked the original mark is lost and the only acknowledgment in the edited text will be the presence of an abbreviation. As will be shown below, the variety of marks used is as wide and as valuable a resource as the abbreviations themselves.

Studying each scribe's use of abbreviations will allow for an exploration of the extent to which this feature is considered an important aspect of a text to be preserved during the copying process, and to what extent it is a feature entirely up to the scribe's discretion (and how much it was actually the scribe's personal choice). Each scribe's abbreviation use might also provide evidence of the degree to which a text's integrity is dependent on features such as abbreviation, and whether there is a limit on the number of abbreviations used before a text would be considered unsuited for its purpose. It will also provide insight into the application of abbreviations and whether it is only certain word classes that are abbreviated, and why certain words and phrases are abbreviated and not others.

Following the example of others who have used abbreviations to gain insight into scribal copying and the wider range of issues surrounding the process, this study will consist of a description of the abbreviations used by each scribe, taking note of their type, the mark used, and their contexts. The scribes' use of abbreviation in each charter will be compared, both to the other copy of that text and to wider examples of the scribe's work. In doing so, trends may emerge within each copy of the texts, within a scribe's work, within each manuscript, and overall, that could give insight into how abbreviation was used at Worcester in the eleventh century and how it was used by each scribe. The usage described here will be taken from my own transcriptions of the manuscripts which include the type and form of all abbreviations, and any idiosyncrasies which were observed.

11.10 S 1280: Abbreviation

11.10.1 S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* Abbreviation

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 shows seventeen instances of abbreviation. The majority of these abbreviations are of the 'truncation' or 'suspension' type, supposed to

have been replaced by contractions. With the exception of a few instances, these abbreviation marks are restricted to the Latin portions of the text, reflecting the wider trend for Old English to be less heavily abbreviated than Latin.

Each of the abbreviations in Old English is a suspension. The first instance in Old English falls on line 14, as <hlafordū> for *hlafordum*. The second Old English abbreviation is on line 31, in the form <ælfw̄> for *Ælfwyn*. The final word of the text, *bisceop*, is abbreviated as <bisc.>, and is followed by a *punctus* which may be an indication of abbreviation, but which may also be acting as a graphical marker to signal the end of the text.⁵⁶

The fourteen instances of abbreviation in the Latin portion of the text occur evenly split between the first section of Latin diplomatic and the witness list. The first nine lines of the text, consisting of the diplomatic before the dating clause, contain seven abbreviations. The remaining seven abbreviations appear in the witness list.

Of the seven abbreviations in the diplomatic portion of the text, five are of word-final nasals, marked with a superscript dash over the final vowel; four of these abbreviations are in <ū> and one is in <ā>. These abbreviations do not represent a consistent effort by the scribe to abbreviate every instance of word-final nasals as several remain unabbreviated both in these first nine lines and throughout the text. Furthermore, they do not show any pattern of distribution that suggests their use is influenced by space considerations; they appear line-initially and -medially as well as -finally.

The remaining two abbreviations in the first nine lines of text are <namq;> for *namque* and <p> for *pro*. As with the superscript dash to mark the absence of word-final nasals, these are commonly occurring abbreviations. These abbreviations are both of the truncation-type and have a standardized, accepted usage.

The semi-colon form abbreviation symbol is commonly used and performs a variety of functions in different contexts. When ‘;’ follows *q*, it marks the abbreviation of *-ue*.⁵⁷ In

⁵⁶ This portion of the manuscript is severely damaged so it is not possible to see whether the text continues beyond the punctus. The Nero Middleton copy continues with another half-line which, despite the changes made to the witness list, suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar must also have continued here. It has been treated as a *punctus* in the discussion of punctuation above, and the Nero Middleton scribe has replicated this mark as punctuation, suggesting that they also viewed it as such.

⁵⁷ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, pp. 20-21, and Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 92.

the eighth to tenth centuries, this symbol was in use but served two functions, marking the abbreviation of both *-que* and *qui*.⁵⁸

The abbreviation of *pro* is still a form of truncation although it reduces the word to a *siglum* with an abbreviation mark cutting across the descender, of the type described by Cappelli as ‘an oblique line cutting across a siglum or the last letter of an abbreviation [...] used simply to indicate truncation’.⁵⁹ This abbreviation appears in three forms across Anglo-Saxon diplomas, of which two are formed with a dash intersecting the descender of <p> at different angles, and one in which the abbreviation is marked with a superscript dash. Of these, the form marked with the superscript dash is by far the least common, so in using the intersected form the scribe is using a well-recognized *siglum* to mark *pro*.⁶⁰

The witness list of the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy shows abbreviations of a type different from the rest of the text. The Latin abbreviations and those in Old English elsewhere in the text are suspension-type. The abbreviations found in the witness list are largely contractions. The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe uses contraction-type abbreviations in the witness list, as well as the suspension-type abbreviations seen in the rest of the text.

Presbyter consensi appears as an abbreviated phrase in the witness list twice on the same line in the form <pr̄ ɔs̄>.⁶¹ Each of these abbreviations is attested elsewhere. Thompson lists ‘pr̄’ as a common contraction type abbreviation, evidently taking the <r> to be the final, rather than medial, <r> of *presbyter*. This form is found in diplomas from the early- to mid-ninth century and is replaced by the form ‘p̄b̄’ c. 860.⁶² *Consensi* appears as <ɔs̄> in conjunction with *presbyter*. This form uses <ɔ> for *con*, a commonly used abbreviation in Latin manuscripts.⁶³ The form ‘ɔs̄’ is an early abbreviated form of *consensi*, appearing in S 153, a charter from the eighth century.⁶⁴ The co-occurrence of these two early forms may be a result of influence from the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe’s exemplar. As the text’s original composition is AD 904, it is possible these abbreviations appeared in the original charter, which was potentially the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe’s exemplar. However, as

⁵⁸ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 50, n. 16 and 17.

⁵⁹ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 23.

⁶⁰ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 93.

⁶¹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 46.

⁶² Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 103. This form is also attested in Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 288.

⁶³ Bischoff, p. 151.

⁶⁴ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 101.

Thompson gives a date earlier than the charter's composition for the form of each of these abbreviations, it must be assumed that the scribe of the original text was using archaic forms, or that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is producing archaic forms without reference to the exemplar.⁶⁵

The repeated use of these abbreviations in co-occurrence suggests some kind of collocation; that the scribe would typically expect to see these two words together in the context of a witness list, and that the reader would understand their abbreviated form without needing further information. This shows an awareness by the scribe of what is typical of charter formulae, and what a reader might expect to see and accept in an abbreviated form. However, each of the words in the witness list that is not a personal name has been abbreviated, with the exception of 'Eadgar bisceop' and 'Æþelfrið ealdormon'.⁶⁶ As such it seems most feasible that the abbreviations in the witness list are due to spacing considerations, more so than elsewhere in the text. Here, the text block is split into multiple narrow columns, where the contents of the first column must be short enough to ensure the alignment of the second column.⁶⁷ <Bisceop> and <ealdormon> must be short enough to fit in the text block, whereas *presbyter consensi* would be too long. However, it has a commonly used and easily interpreted abbreviated form of which the scribe could make use.

An abbreviation similar to that of *presbyter consensi* in the witness list is <diac suþ> for *diaconus subscripsi*.⁶⁸ This form of *diaconus* also appears on its own earlier in the witness list.⁶⁹ Neither instance of *diaconus* shows any marks to indicate its abbreviation, setting it apart from the other abbreviations used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe and making it atypical for abbreviations in general. However, Thompson shows an example of 'diac', seemingly without any mark of abbreviation, as a form frequently found in ninth-century episcopal documents.⁷⁰ The abbreviated form of *subscripsi* is the most commonly used of the thirteen variant forms found in diplomas. The texts in which this form appears date

⁶⁵ However, it must be noted that Thompson's corpus consists of single-sheet charters, a small corpus which cannot be definitely shown to be original. As such, conclusions drawn from this work must take these issues into consideration.

⁶⁶ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 50 and 51.

⁶⁷ Thompson notes a similar behaviour in S 753. *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 139.

⁶⁸ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 48.

⁶⁹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 45.

⁷⁰ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 104. Again, the nature of Thompson's corpus must be taken into account here.

from the eighth and ninth centuries, suggesting that this is another early form used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe either due to influence from the exemplar, influence from other texts seen by the scribe or because it was still in use.

Both *diaconus* and *subscripsi* are to be expected in this section of text, and *subscripsi* also appears unabbreviated on line 45. The reader does not require extra information or prior knowledge of them to be able to interpret their meanings, particularly if they are familiar with the genre and its typical formulae and language. These archaic abbreviations found in an eleventh-century copy suggest that forms continued to be used in copies beyond the date they ceased to be used in original documents, and that scribes and, presumably, readers were familiar with them and their meanings.

The final Latin abbreviation in the witness list of S 1280 is <eps̄> for *episcopus*.⁷¹ This is listed by Cappelli as a stem ‘commonly contracted or truncated’.⁷² However, while the form <eps̄> is first seen in Offa’s grant (AD 767), it does not become common until ‘the first three-quarters of the tenth century’ in Anglo-Saxon diplomas.⁷³ Unlike many of the forms used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe in the witness list, this is a form found after the date of composition for S 1280 which makes it likely to have been introduced by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe for the same possible reasons as the other archaic abbreviations found in the witness list. The length of *episcopus* may be an influence on the scribe’s decision to abbreviate, but as large portions of that line of the text are missing due to fire damage, there is no way of knowing the intended or final length of that line. The Nero Middleton copy may be an indication, but there are several differences between the two copies’ witness lists at both a word- and phrase-level, so their similarity is not certain.

11.10.2 Conclusion: S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis*

The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used few abbreviations. These are largely restricted to the Latin portions of the text and are clustered in the first nine lines and final nine lines. These abbreviations are largely simple suspensions, omitting the final letter of a word, and marked with a superscript dash. A number are extreme truncations, but are still marked with a superscript dash. Two abbreviations are marked differently, but are commonly used in both Latin and Old English.

⁷¹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 44.

⁷² Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 9.

⁷³ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 98.

The distribution of these abbreviations, being limited to the start and end of the text, may have several causes. Their use may be guided by space considerations, particularly in the witness list; the start and end of the text are perhaps the parts of the text where the scribe might be most concerned about space-saving. At the start of the text the scribe might be most concerned with ensuring that there is sufficient space for the whole text, and on reaching the end of a page, they might be trying to ensure the complete text can be copied into the space available. The witness list also has a more restrictive text block with shorter lines, encouraging the use of abbreviations, particularly for longer titles and particularly common, formulaic phrases.

The scribe's use of more frequent abbreviation in these sections of the text might also be influenced by their function. These two sections, the early diplomatic which is unrelated to the specifics of the charter and the witness list, are highly formulaic. The first nine lines which precede the dating clause contain no information that is specific to Worcester, the grantor, the recipients, the land, or the act of the grant itself, rather they give the rationale for the production of a charter as a record and insurance against the fallibility of memory. This exposition could be attached to any charter without alteration, and as such does not contain any information that must be preserved in order that the charter retains its function. It is possible, then, that the scribe felt able to abbreviate it without the danger of introducing ambiguity for future readers or invalidating the legal properties of the text.

Similarly, the scribe may have felt that, as long as the names of the signatories on the witness list were preserved, the formulaic details could be safely abbreviated, as, for example, the presence of their names means that *consensi* is implicit. The roles of the signatories could also be abbreviated, both because such titles are to be expected in a witness list and because those roles may change over time, and someone who had one role or title at the time of the charter's production may have changed role since. Furthermore, by the time the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy was produced, 200 years had passed and the roles of the members of the witness list were less likely to be immediately relevant to users of the charter.

A final possible influence on the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's use of abbreviation here is from the exemplar. This is particularly true in the case of forms which typically appear in earlier manuscripts, such as those discussed above. To assess the extent to which this abbreviation use is the result of mechanical copying, the scribe's work elsewhere must be

compared to that of S 1280.⁷⁴ A brief survey of a selection of other texts copied by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 shows that the scribe uses similar types of abbreviations consistently, although often more regularly and more evenly distributed throughout a text than is seen in S 1280.⁷⁵ The portion of Old English that is also in the scribe's hand shows minor abbreviation of a type different from that seen in S 1280. However, this text is fifty folia later and may be part of a different scribal stint, by which time different external influences may be acting on the scribe.

There is no obvious correlation between the concentration of abbreviation and the function of the passage of text in which it is used. In S 1280 the heaviest abbreviation appears in the witness list and the initial diplomatic. As this does not occur in other texts copied by this scribe it is possible that this focus is specific to the text, perhaps due to the use of abbreviation in the scribe's exemplar.

However, the consistency in type of abbreviation across this scribe's work makes it more likely that these are not the result of mechanical copying directly from the various exemplars. There is not sufficient Old English in the scribe's work to definitively conclude that it is typical of the scribe to consistently abbreviate Latin and not Old English, but the frequency of abbreviation in the Latin texts matches that of the abbreviation of the first and last nine lines of S 1280. There is not, however, a formulaic distribution, where abbreviation use is restricted to certain sections of the text, so the appearance of this in S 1280 must be text-specific, either due to the importance of the text, the exemplar, or some external influence.

11.10.3 S 1280 Nero Middleton Abbreviation

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 shows much more abbreviation than that of *Liber Wigorniensis*, with a total of sixty-four abbreviation marks appearing in sixty-two words. This is strikingly different from both the behaviour of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe and from what is expected of abbreviation use in each of these languages. As in *Liber Wigorniensis*, abbreviation is also not limited to Latin, and occurs in both the Latin and Old English portions of the text. These abbreviations are more heavily concentrated at the

⁷⁴ Similar comparisons are not possible for the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1556 whose work can only be identified in that charter, which was a late addition to the manuscript.

⁷⁵ These texts are S 428, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 4^v-6^t; MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, 182^r; S 117, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 6^{rv}; MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, 182^r; S 95, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 7^r; MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, 182^{rv} and S 1346, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 57^r-58^r; MS Additional 46204.

start of the text, but appear throughout. With the exception of the abbreviations in the witness list, the Nero Middleton scribe has replicated each of the abbreviations used in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy in position if not form.

The high concentration of abbreviation marks in the first six lines of text appears to be influenced by the page layout. The first six lines of text fall at the end of the left-hand column of the page, and the rest of the text continues down the second column, after which the abbreviations are markedly less frequent. The column division seems to have encouraged the scribe to use a heavier concentration of abbreviations than elsewhere in the text. By contrast, the last section of the text before the witness list shows comparably few abbreviation marks, with a stretch of five lines showing no abbreviations. This may, again, be the result of the page layout, that the scribe is aware of having more than enough space to fit in the remaining text and is trying to expand it as far as possible. This is given further credence by the presence of the rubric for the next text falling on the final line of the text block, suggesting the scribe had perhaps been trying to fill the text block entirely, allowing the next text to start at the top of the next page.

11.10.3.1 S 1280 Nero Middleton: Latin

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 shows thirty-eight instances of abbreviation in the Latin portions of the text and twenty-seven in the Old English. The majority of the abbreviations in Latin are suspensions of the final few letters of words, both inflectional endings and not. As with the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's usage, this contradicts the wider trend for contractions over suspensions.

Of the thirty-eight abbreviations in Latin, six are marked with a word-final <: >, five of which are used to mark the abbreviation of word-final <-us>. The final use of <: > is in <namq: > for *namque*.⁷⁶ This is a typical use of the <: > abbreviation mark, which can be used to mark the abbreviation of both <-bus> and <-que>.⁷⁷ However, the abbreviation of <-bus> with <: > is early, and from the tenth century it is rarely used.⁷⁸ The abbreviation of <-que> varies; <q: > is most used before the late ninth century and after the late tenth century, with <q. > being used for a brief period in between.⁷⁹ As such, the appearance of <q: > in Nero Middleton appears to be an element of the scribe's own system. The *Liber*

⁷⁶ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 2.

⁷⁷ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 92.

⁷⁸ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 92.

⁷⁹ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 92.

Wigorniensis version of this text abbreviates <-que> with <q;>, further suggesting that the Nero Middleton scribe has updated the abbreviation to a more current form.

As well as using <: > to indicate <-us>, the Nero Middleton scribe has used <pturbationib.> for *perturbationibus*, <pri⁹> for *prius* and <diacon⁹> for *diaconus*.⁸⁰ The first abbreviation here, of <-us> in *perturbationibus*, uses a medial height *punctus* mark, the second and third, in *prius* and *diaconus*, use a superscript mark which Cappelli renders with a superscript <⁹>. Both of these appear to be deviations from the scribe's typical treatment of word-final <-us> and, while the <⁹> is commonly used, particularly in Latin, the medial *punctus* is less common.

A further nine abbreviations in the Latin text are of the word-final nasal, marked by a superscript dash. Of these, six follow <u>, two follow <-a-> and one follows <-e->. All but two of these abbreviations are also found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of the text, suggesting that these abbreviations appear more as a result of copying than because they are a commonly used part of the Nero Middleton scribe's repertoire. While this is an incredibly frequent abbreviation, the Nero Middleton scribe has chosen to replicate the forms found in *Liber Wigorniensis* and only add a further two.

As well using a superscript dash to mark a truncated word-final nasal, the Nero Middleton scribe also uses a superscript mark over the final <-u> as seen in figure 13:

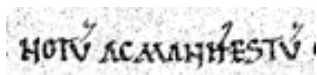


Figure 13: Majuscule abbreviation of word-final <-m>.⁸¹

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182').

This mark is only found in the first line of the main text, which the scribe has written wholly in majuscule. In light of this restricted distribution, this abbreviation mark may be a version of the standard superscript dash used elsewhere in the scribe's work represented in a different form above a majuscule portion of text. However, there is not sufficient text in majuscule by the scribe to confirm this, nor are there enough other forms of abbreviation in the majuscule text to suggest that the scribe has two systems of abbreviation mark for the two forms of script. The use of different forms is not unprecedented; the superscript dash shows great variety across the corpus of medieval manuscripts, including curved lines, wavy

⁸⁰ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 4, 36 and 45.

⁸¹ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 2. 'NOTŪ AC MANIFESTŪ'.

lines and a ‘papal knot’ form.⁸² The form found in the Nero Middleton majuscule text may simply be another variation.

A further five abbreviations in the Nero Middleton copy are of <-ur>. Each of these is marked with a superscript <²> shape. Cappelli groups this with other symbols that are ‘significant in themselves’, which will always perform the same function and mark the omission of the same characters, regardless of how they are used.⁸³ He describes its use as being generally word-final and used most often to mark <-ur> or <-tur>,⁸⁴ whereas Hector describes its use in both suspensions and contractions past the twelfth century.⁸⁵ Of the five abbreviations of <-ur>, four are word-final. In one instance, the abbreviation appears word-medially, marked with <²>, in <script²arū> for *scripturarum*.⁸⁶ This is the only example also found in *Liber Wigorniensis*, so we may conclude that word-final abbreviation of <-ur> with <²> is an element of the Nero Middleton scribe’s system of abbreviation rather than produced through influence from the exemplar, and that the instance in *scripturarum* is simply copied from the exemplar.

The Nero Middleton copy shows two instances of abbreviation of <-er-> marked with a superscript dash, in <frequent̄> for *frequenter* and <sempit̄na> for *sempiterna*.⁸⁷ These appear to be examples of the superscript dash being used in its capacity as the generic abbreviation mark to indicate missing characters, with the assumption that it is evident to the reader exactly what has been omitted without providing further information coded within the abbreviation mark. Each of these is unique to the Nero Middleton copy. It is notable that while the scribe uses the superscript dash in its specific function less frequently than does the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, it is used as a general mark for a wider variety of functions.

The final example of simple suspension used by the Nero Middleton scribe in the Latin portion of S 1280 is <indict⁷> for *indictione* in the dating clause. Here, the truncation is marked with a superscript <⁷>.⁸⁸ Abbreviation of *indictione* is common, with a variety of

⁸² Hector, p. 29.

⁸³ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 13. Bischoff also categorizes this abbreviation among the ‘most important examples’. p. 157.

⁸⁴ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, pp. 16-17.

⁸⁵ Hector, p. 30.

⁸⁶ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 6.

⁸⁷ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 5 and 35.

⁸⁸ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 8.

forms appearing in Anglo-Saxon diplomas.⁸⁹ Of these, the recorded form most similar to that found in S 1280 is 'indict̄', which was most common in the ninth century.⁹⁰ Cappelli shows a variety of abbreviations of *indictione* in his *Dictionary*, with different degrees of truncation and contraction.⁹¹ While the first half of *indictione* is now missing from the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280, <[...]tionē> remains. This abbreviation of *indictione* appears to be in keeping with the treatment of the word across many charters, according to Thompson,⁹² and the Nero Middleton scribe has incorporated it into this copy.

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 shows two instances of <ƿ> for *pro*, which is found twice in the text. One instance of it is also found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy and the other is found in <ƿpria> for *propria*.⁹³ While one use of *pro* here may be replicated from an exemplar, the second instance is not found in *Liber Wigorniensis* and is at the end of the text, thirty-nine lines later. Influence from the early use in *Liber Wigorniensis* is unlikely here, which suggests that it is part of the Nero Middleton scribe's repertoire. Due to the common use of this abbreviation in medieval manuscripts,⁹⁴ it is likely that the scribe was familiar with it. Thompson dates its first use to AD 956 (S 587) in what may actually be a later copy of the text, but it is found most frequently in the eleventh century.⁹⁵ This makes the Nero Middleton scribe's use of this form typical of contemporary usage. This is in keeping with the scribe's use of abbreviation as discussed above.

The remaining abbreviations used by the Nero Middleton scribe can be less easily grouped. However, they are all commonly used contractions. These are: <qđ> for *quod*,⁹⁶ <dn̄icæ> for *dominicæ*,⁹⁷ <eps> for *episcopus*,⁹⁸ and three occurrences of <p̄r> for *presbyter*.⁹⁹ With the exception of *quod* and *dominicæ*, each of these is found in the witness list. All of

⁸⁹ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 100.

⁹⁰ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 100.

⁹¹ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 100.

⁹² Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 100.

⁹³ *Pro* is in S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 6 and S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 3 and 42.

⁹⁴ Described by Cappelli as an oblique line used to mark suspensions, and given as a common contraction by Thompson. Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, pp. 23 and 27, and Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 93

⁹⁵ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 93.

⁹⁶ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 3.

⁹⁷ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 7.

⁹⁸ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 44 and S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 42.

⁹⁹ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 43-44.

the titles in the witness list are found abbreviated (including <ḅ> for *bisceop*) except <ealdor mann>, which also appears unabbreviated in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280. As space considerations have already been discussed as a cause for the abbreviation in the witness lists, it is possible that <ealdor mann> remained unabbreviated by each scribe because it does not have a commonly used, easily recognized abbreviated form.

Cappelli shows that *dominica* is typically rendered with a dash intersecting the ascender of <d>, but the Nero Middleton scribe has used the superscript dash over the <n> to mark this abbreviation.¹⁰⁰ The form of *dominica* is to be expected; when abbreviated, it is always in the form ‘dn̄ic’ and is frequently abbreviated in Anglo-Saxon diplomas.¹⁰¹ In contrast, Cappelli gives the typical abbreviation for *quod* as having a superscript dash over the <d>, but here the Nero Middleton scribe has used a dash to intersect the ascender.¹⁰² Thompson shows three forms for this abbreviation in Anglo-Saxon documents. Of these, the form used by the Nero Middleton scribe is dominant in the mid-tenth century.¹⁰³ The abbreviation of *episcopus* is also found in *Liber Wigorniensis* and has been discussed above. The remaining abbreviations are the three occurrences of <pḅr> for *presbyter* in the witness list. This form is given by Cappelli, and its repeated use in the witness list must demonstrate that the scribe was aware of its common use and was confident that its use would be understood by future readers of the text.¹⁰⁴ The discussion of spacing considerations in the witness list of *Liber Wigorniensis* is applicable here. Again, the majority of titles have been abbreviated. Spacing is a particular concern for the copying of <cinað diacon⁹> where the abbreviation is necessary to ensure the column structure is preserved.¹⁰⁵

11.10.3.2 S 1280 Nero Middleton: Old English

The majority of the abbreviations used by the Nero Middleton scribe are in Latin rather than Old English. Of those abbreviations in Old English, the majority are of <ḟ> for *ḟæt*. These abbreviations constitute all but one of the instances of *ḟæt* in the text. The instance which is not abbreviated marks the onset of the Old English diplomatic, and has a

¹⁰⁰ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 105.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 102.

¹⁰² Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 307.

¹⁰³ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁴ Cappelli, *Elements of Abbreviation*, p. 263.

¹⁰⁵ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 45.

majuscule thorn following a *punctus*. As such, this unabbreviated form might be graphically motivated, for emphasis.

Comparison with the wider corpus of the Nero Middleton scribe's work shows widespread use of <þ>. The near-total abbreviation of *þæt* suggests that it is the scribe's preference to use the intersected thorn *siglum* wherever it appears, regardless of space considerations or usage in an exemplar. The Nero Middleton scribe's copy of S 1556 contains no instances of *þæt* but the scribe shows a repeated tendency to abbreviate function words, such as the phrase *fram þæm*.

The Old English section of text in S 1313 is heavily abridged in Nero Middleton, but each of the three instances of *þæt* are abbreviated. The text of S 1432 contains seven instances of *þæt*, each of which is abbreviated in the Nero Middleton copy. The Nero Middleton copy of S 64 contains bounds with *þæt* appearing regularly. Each of these nine instances is abbreviated, and there are no unabbreviated occurrences of *þæt*. This usage across the scribe's work, which does not mirror the appearance of *þæt* in *Liber Wigorniensis*, strongly implies that this is a feature of the scribe's usage, either as a result of training, because of the scribe's personal preference, or because of a rule imposed by the scriptorium for the production of this manuscript. What is evident is that the use of the abbreviated form *þ* is not dependent on the form of the Nero Middleton scribe's exemplar.

If this consistent abbreviation of *þæt* is discounted from the abbreviations used by the Nero Middleton scribe, there are seventeen remaining abbreviations in the Old English portions of text. Of these, two are also found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 and may have been copied mechanically. The majority of the remaining Old English abbreviations are of closed class or function words. Three are <þon̄> for *þonne*, two are of *fram* and *þæm* which are also seen abbreviated by the scribe in S 1556. Three appear in pronouns (<hī, heō and hieō>).¹⁰⁶

The remaining abbreviations of Old English appear in <ḅ> for *bisceop* which occurs once in the main text and three times in the witness list, <mor̄>, which the scribe has used where the *Liber Wigorniensis* text shows <mor on>, and <ælcū> where the *Liber Wigorniensis* text shows <æg hwelcum>. It is possible that the scribe did not intend an

¹⁰⁶ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 15, 23 and 25. <hieō> is here being treated as a pronoun because the corresponding word in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of the text is *him* which appears to have been miscopied by the Nero Middleton scribe.

abbreviation mark over <mor>.¹⁰⁷ There is a supralinear stroke above the <r> of *mor*, but it is higher and freer in form than those used elsewhere by the scribe, and is drawn at an angle, rather than horizontally, as seen elsewhere. This can be seen here, in the first example compared with the typical superscript mark used elsewhere:

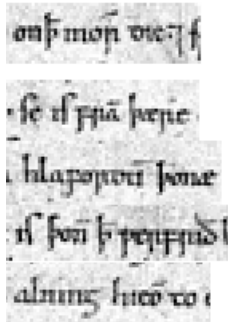


Figure 14: Comparison of supralinear strokes in Nero Middleton.¹⁰⁸

Image (c) British Library Board (MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2, fol. 182^v).

This may be an example of an otiose stroke, which Parkes identifies as being ‘one which does not form part of the letter, and which does not indicate an abbreviation’.¹⁰⁹ As such, this could be discounted as an example of abbreviation.

11.11 S 1556: Abbreviation

11.11.1 S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* Abbreviation

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 shows sixteen instances of abbreviation. Each of these is of <-m-> and is marked with a superscript dash. Of these sixteen, half are of the final <-m> of *þam*, appearing as <þā>. A further six abbreviations are of *fram*, appearing as <frā>, and the final two abbreviations are of *cumbe*, appearing as <mærcūbe> and <cūbes>.¹¹⁰ Campbell and Hogg give this abbreviation mark, of a stroke over the vowel to mark an omitted <m>, as the most commonly used in Old English, although it can be used to abbreviate all classes of words with no marked preference for function words as seen in S

¹⁰⁷ ‘þ hit cȳmð west ut on þ moꝛ dic’, ‘that it comes west out on the moor ditch’. S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 17. The scribe’s copying of <mor> here was discussed in Structural Changes, where it was suggested that the scribe was unsure about the copying of this noun phrase. §8.1.1.

¹⁰⁸ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 17, 12, 11, 9 and 25.

¹⁰⁹ M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands: 1250-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, reprinted 1979), p. xxvi.

¹¹⁰ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 18 and 19.

1280.¹¹¹ It has been noted above that function words are more commonly abbreviated, so this may be a sign of slightly conservative usage by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe.

It is also notable that the scribe has limited the use of abbreviation here to the omission of <-m->, indicated by a superscript dash. There are a wide variety of other abbreviations available to scribes copying Old English in the eleventh century, as was suggested by Rodríguez and Cannon above. Consequently, the limited use of abbreviation here is striking, as is the limited application of the abbreviation to only three words, when its use could be extended to all words in the text containing <-m->.¹¹²

The six abbreviated forms of *fram* and the eight of *þam* constitute all but three occurrences of each of these words.¹¹³ This suggests that in copying, the scribe's norm is to abbreviate every instance of *fram* and *þam*, and that the few unabbreviated forms were perhaps an anomaly.

Line position does not appear to be an influence on abbreviation use here. The abbreviations occur near the start of lines, in the middle and at the very end. Furthermore, there is no immediately obvious correlation between abbreviation use and line-length, either total physical length in the text box or the number of characters used. The abbreviations used by the scribe are largely found in the second half of the first page, fol. 114^r, with a second, smaller cluster found at the end of the text.

Of the sixteen words with abbreviation marks in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556, ten appear as part of the phrase <frā þā>. This often appears with so small a gap between the two words that it seems the scribe considers it a complete unit and is treating <frā þā> as shorthand for the full, unabbreviated *fram þæm*. The smaller word gap is harder to define and prove without taking detailed measurements from the manuscript, but it does not necessarily need to be shown to exist to see that the two words form a common collocation.¹¹⁴ The repeated use of the phrase in its abbreviated form suggests a close relationship between the two words for the scribe. However, it is more likely that the appearance of the abbreviated words in phrase groups such as this is due to the scribe having chosen to abbreviate instances of *fram* and *þam*, and, because of the structure and

¹¹¹ Campbell, §24; Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.3.

¹¹² This cannot be a case of the scribe only abbreviating word-final <m> although it is predominantly so, due to the two uses of abbreviation in *cumbe*.

¹¹³ The three instances of unabbreviated *þam* fall on S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 11, 20 and 23.

¹¹⁴ The influence of collocation on copying behaviour has also been observed in scribes' choice of lexemes. Richard Dance, 'Ealde æ, Niwe Laze: Two Words for "Law" in the Twelfth Century', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 149-82 (p. 165).

form of the text, these words invariably occur together in this way. The instances where *fram* or *þam* appear abbreviated individually are simply due to their appearing in the text individually.

The scribe's choice to abbreviate closed-class words such as prepositions and articles rather than open-class words such as nouns, with the exception of *cumbe*, may be influenced by the genre of the text being copied.¹¹⁵ In charter bounds, the noun phrases contain the majority of the semantic content as well as the most vital information, and the prepositions and articles are less necessary. They are also less likely to cause confusion if their abbreviated form is unclear.¹¹⁶ This may be evidence that the scribe is guided by the text genre in this abbreviation use, and that a text of a different genre with different priorities might result in the scribe using abbreviations differently.

11.11.2 S 1556 Nero Middleton Abbreviation

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1556 shows only four instances of abbreviation. Each of these appears as <þæ̅> for *þam* and, as in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, uses the common superscript dash to indicate the omission of <-m>. These four instances constitute only half of the total instances of *þam* in the Nero Middleton copy of the text, the remaining four appearing unabbreviated. The abbreviated and unabbreviated forms of *þam* seem to be restricted to different portions of the text; the abbreviated forms are used largely in the first half and the unabbreviated forms are largely in the second half. Line 14 at the mid-point of the text contains both an abbreviated and an unabbreviated form of *þam*. While the exact placement of these forms is dependent on when *þam* occurs in the text, the scribe's treatment of it does appear to have progressed from abbreviating it to not, suggesting a change in the scribe's habit for some reason. This might be connected to the shift during which the scribe made more structural and lexical changes at the start of the text. It is also possible that the scribe was influenced by the usage in the exemplar before their own system of usage replaced it.

¹¹⁵ E. M. O'Dowd, *Prepositions and Particles in English: A Discourse-Functional Account* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 176; and Luis Iglesias-Rábade, 'Prepositions Referring to Path in Middle English: *Bi* and *Purgh*', in *New Trends in English Historical Linguistics: An Atlantic View*, ed. by I. Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño and Begoña Crespo Garcia (Coruña: Universidad da Coruña, 2004), pp. 117-48 (p. 118).

¹¹⁶ This is discussed in greater detail in Wiles, 'The Treatment of Charter Bounds', pp. 124-25.

Of the four abbreviated forms in the Nero Middleton copy, only one appears in the same place as an abbreviated form of *p̄am* in *Liber Wigorniensis*.¹¹⁷ Of the remaining seven instances of *p̄am* in the text, there is no indication that the scribe has been influenced by the abbreviation use of the exemplar. Instances of *p̄am* in *Liber Wigorniensis* which are unabbreviated sometimes appear abbreviated in Nero Middleton, and sometimes do not. Those which appear abbreviated in *Liber Wigorniensis* often do not appear in Nero Middleton due to phrasing differences between the two copies of the text.

11.12 Abbreviation: Conclusions

11.12.1 Comparison of the Copies of S 1280

With the exception of the abbreviations in the witness list which show many differences between the two copies, every word that is abbreviated in *Liber Wigorniensis* is also abbreviated in Nero Middleton. Furthermore, each copy shows the same abbreviation mark with the exception of *namque* which appears as <namq;> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <namq:> in Nero Middleton,¹¹⁸ and *scripturarum* which appears as <scripturarū> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <script²arū> in Nero Middleton.¹¹⁹

There does not appear to be any correlation in either copy between abbreviation use and line position. That is, use of abbreviation does not increase towards the ends of lines as the scribe struggles to fit text in. It appears from the differences between the two manuscript copies of S 1280 that the Worcester scriptorium did not dictate what was abbreviated nor how. If these scribes were trained in the same place then, according to the evidence found in the two copies of S 1280, the choice of words to be abbreviated and how were not fixed. Each scribe appears to have an individual system of abbreviation, which is particularly noticeable in the Nero Middleton scribe's systematic treatment of *p̄at*, but they also seem to be open to influence from other sources, such as exemplars, language, and contemporary trends of abbreviation which may use different marks or prefer abbreviation of different elements.

¹¹⁷ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 14; Nero Middleton, l. 21.

¹¹⁸ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 5 and S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 2.

¹¹⁹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 9 and S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 6.

11.12.2 Comparison of the Copies of S 1556

By only abbreviating *þæm*, the Nero Middleton scribe shows an even more limited use of abbreviation than the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe. As well as the instances of *þæm* which remain unabbreviated, there are further closed-class words, such as *fram*, which have not been abbreviated, nor have any other words containing <-m->. Therefore, while the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe appears to be applying abbreviation of <-m-> to a restricted group of words, the Nero Middleton scribe has simply abbreviated one word sporadically. It is possible that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's preference for abbreviating prepositions and articles over more semantically full words has influenced the Nero Middleton scribe's choice in what to abbreviate, or that the similarity is a result of a connection between their training, that both scribes were taught to abbreviate a limited class of words in a certain way. It is clear that each scribe has approached the use of abbreviation in S 1556 in a similar way. Each seems to view the relative status of noun phrases, prepositions and articles in the same way. The appearance of a similar style of abbreviation in Nero Middleton as in *Liber Wigorniensis* cannot simply be a result of mechanical copying as there is so little overlap in the position of the abbreviations in each copy. Thus, the scribes must have chosen to abbreviate their texts independently and used similar styles.

11.12.3 Comparison of Latin and Old English in Nero Middleton

The Nero Middleton scribe has used abbreviation very differently between Latin and Old English in S 1280. As has already been noted, the use of abbreviation is much more frequent in Latin than in Old English, with thirty-eight instances compared to twenty-seven. The majority of the instances of abbreviation in Latin occur in the first seven lines of the text, which come before the column break, suggesting that the scribe was influenced by the size of the text block, but which is most likely to coincide with the transition between languages falling at this point, reflecting the scribe's preference for heavily abbreviating Latin. A further concentration of abbreviations is present in the witness list. These abbreviations may be attributed to the repetitive and formulaic nature of the witness list; it consists of ecclesiastical titles, which are comparatively long words, repeated multiple times in a context where a heavily abbreviated form is still easily reconstructed by the reader. The concentration of abbreviations in the end portion of the text in the witness list may also be a response to the size of the text block, as the text ends at the page-end, and to the layout of the text in columns, requiring much shorter phrases to ensure alignment of the next column.

The abbreviations found in the Latin portions of the text show much more variety than those found in the Old English. This is true both of the elements of words that are abbreviated, and the marks used by the scribe to indicate those abbreviations. In copying the Old English portions of text the scribe has consistently abbreviated one word to its siglum (*þæt*) and has elsewhere either abbreviated word-final nasals using a supralinear stroke, or has abbreviated *biscep* with a dash intersecting the ascender of . In contrast, the Latin portions of text display a wide variety of forms marking a wide variety of abbreviations, with a degree of consistency as to which form marks which abbreviation, although this is not total. Several of the forms introduced by the scribe here are found, by comparison with the work of other scribes, to be typical of usage from the late tenth century onwards (such as the scribe's use of <qđ> for *quod*), suggesting the scribe is updating to contemporary usage rather than being influenced by the exemplar.

It is also notable that, while the Nero Middleton scribe uses the superscript dash to mark abbreviation, it is distributed very differently than in the work of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe. Discarding those abbreviations which are common to both copies, the Nero Middleton scribe has produced few instances of the superscript dash as a specific marker for the abbreviation of <m>, and several instances of it as a general marker for abbreviation.

11.12.4 Comparison of S 1280 and S 1556

The use of abbreviation between the two copies of S 1556 shows little overlap. However, this is largely due to the structural differences between them which have resulted in words that are abbreviated in *Liber Wigorniensis* not being present in the Nero Middleton version of the text. The Nero Middleton copy of S 1556 shows far fewer abbreviations than the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy. By contrast, the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 is much more densely abbreviated than its *Liber Wigorniensis* copy, particularly in the Latin portions of the text.

The Nero Middleton copy of S 1556 shows very few abbreviations at all in Old English and they are applied to a very narrow variety of words, i.e., solely to *þem*. The Nero Middleton copy of S 1280, showing a high incidence of <þ> for *þæt*, and in comparison with the use of Old English in the rest of the Nero Middleton charters, shows that the scribe consistently abbreviated function words such as prepositions and articles. Each of the texts discussed here shows that the Nero Middleton scribe has a strong preference for abbreviating <-m->, marked with a superscript dash in the minuscule script

and a hook in the majuscule. The scribe also shows a preference for abbreviating function, or closed-class words.

The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1556 also shows a preference for abbreviating function words, and seems to abbreviate infrequently, like the Nero Middleton scribe. The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe abbreviates the Old English portions even less frequently than the Nero Middleton scribe on that text. Comparison with the other texts with copies in both *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton shows that Latin texts are much more heavily abbreviated than Old English. This is typical of the trends for both Latin and Old English as described by Bischoff, Lindsay, Hector and Thompson, as discussed above.¹²⁰

As shown above in the discussion of S 1280, the Nero Middleton scribe abbreviates Old English much less frequently than Latin. It may be for this reason that the Nero Middleton copy of S 1556 is so sparsely abbreviated. We might tentatively conclude that the scribe does not use many abbreviations in Old English, and it is only the high concentration of Latin abbreviations that makes S 1280 seem so heavily abbreviated.

While the Nero Middleton scribe's use of abbreviation is minimal, in S 1280 it is influenced by the language of each text. Where there is Latin in the text it will be more heavily abbreviated than the Old English, while the Old English abbreviations are either of *pet*, of particles, or of word-final <m>, with little variety of marks used. By contrast the Latin abbreviations show a variety of marks and applications.

In S 1556 the Nero Middleton scribe uses forms of abbreviation that are in keeping with abbreviation typical of the eleventh century, while the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe uses many older forms. This is perhaps evidence that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is copying from an earlier exemplar, or is being influenced by older forms. There does not appear to be any external direction on abbreviation use. If scribes' use of abbreviation is learned during training, then these scribes were trained in different places, by different people, or at different times. Moreover, few conclusions can be drawn about the influence of the scriptorium on abbreviation use without comparison with a larger proportion of Worcester's output and with the output of other scriptoria.

¹²⁰ Bischoff, pp. 90-91; Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 2; Hector, p. 36, and Thompson, p. 91.

12 CHAPTER 12: Orthography

12.1 Introduction

Considering the role and function of the spoken language in relation to the written is key to the understanding of scribal language and its role in copying. Spoken Old English is frequently central to scholarly discussion of the written language, and conversely, the written records we have are an access point for everything we know and say about the spoken language. As Angus McIntosh observes, ‘the linguistic status of written language (with special reference to later Middle English), and its relationship to spoken language’ is ‘a matter of quite central importance to these enquiries’.¹ Therefore, before looking in depth at the spelling choices of the scribes of S 1280 and S 1556, the possible motivations behind these choices, and the extent to which their spoken languages might have affected these choices, it is important to define exactly how we talk about both written language and written Old English, and how spoken and written languages are related, both in general and in relation to Old English. It is also important to establish how we might determine these relationships in Old English through the manuscript evidence, and by determining how the evidence compares with what we know of modern languages. The first step here is to establish how written systems reflect their spoken counterparts and, then, how Old English works within the range of systems. In particular, it is important to determine the extent to which it might be argued that spoken Old English had an influence on the written language, and the extent to which this is evident in the behaviour of these copying scribes. This will allow the following discussion to be grounded on the best, or most logical, assumption that can be made about the linguistic and graphic situation in which these scribes were working.

12.2 Types of Writing System

The main purpose of a written language is to act as a non-verbal means of expressing the spoken.² Just as spoken languages vary in form, so their written counterparts represent the

¹ Angus McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 55 (1956), 26-55 (p. 26) (repr. in *Middle English Dialectology*, ed. by Laing, pp. 1-21).

² Leonard Katz and Ram Frost, ‘The Reading Process is Different for Different Orthographies: The Orthographic Depth Hypothesis’, in *Orthography, Morphology, and Meaning*, ed. by Ram Frost and Leonard Katz, *Advances in Psychology*, 94 (Holland: Elsevier, 1992), pp. 67-84 (p. 67); Nick C. Ellis and others, ‘The Effects of Orthographic Depth on Learning to Read Alphabetic, Syllabic, and Logographic Scripts’, *Reading Research Quarterly*, 39 (2004), 438-68 (p. 438).

spoken forms using different methods and techniques.³ Alphabetic systems can represent the spoken language in a number of different ways, resulting in a diversity of systems. Leonard Katz and Ram Frost have described this diversity by saying that ‘most languages get the orthography that they deserve’.⁴ The underlying process this statement expresses is one of adaptation and evolution, that writing systems develop, shift and change organically to suit the language and the needs of its users. A written system must ultimately form the most efficient way of expressing the variations in phonology, morphology and sense in a language, ‘a conventional means for representing linguistic content’, which its users find necessary for communication.⁵

As a relationship between spoken and written language cannot be denied, particularly in Old English, an important issue to be resolved is the extent to which a written language is a representation of the spoken and then, the extent to which written Old English is a representation of spoken Old English. This is not a universal, and the relationship varies between writing systems. A written, alphabetical (as opposed to picto- or logographic) language must fall at some point along a continuum between a wholly phonetic transcription and a system which bears no relation to the spoken form of the language. Thus, a distinction must be drawn between transcription, both phonetic and phonemic, and alphabetic writing. The two are different in both form and function, and cannot be used truly interchangeably. W. Haas defines the distinction thus: ‘phonemic transcription serves linguistic analysis, alphabetic writing serves communication’.⁶ Furthermore, alphabetic spelling choices are the ‘application’ of phonological features for the purpose of communication.⁷ Because of this distinction, Haas also notes that a practical orthography should be less detailed than a transcription, ‘For speech is more than sound, and communication is more than speech’.⁸ Thus, the discussion of any written language must first establish where its form and function fall within this distinction.

³ Ram Frost, ‘Orthography and Phonology: The Psychological Reality of Orthographic Depth’, in *The Linguistics of Literacy*, ed. by Pamela Downing, Susan D. Lima and Michael P. Noonan, *Typological Studies in Language*, 21 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992) pp. 255-74 (pp. 255 and 257).

⁴ Katz and Frost, p. 67.

⁵ Jean-Pierre Jaffré, ‘From Writing to Orthography: The Functions and Limits of the Notion of System’, in *Learning to Spell: Research, Theory and Practice across Language*, ed. by Charles A. Perfetti, Laurence Rieben and Michel Fayol (Mahwah: Erlbaum, 1997), pp. 3-20 (p. 10).

⁶ W. Haas, *Phono-Graphic Translation* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1970), p. 3.

⁷ Haas, p. 3.

⁸ Haas, p. 4.

The way in which a written orthography reflects the spoken form of a language and the degree to which it does so are dependent on many factors in the spoken language which are better suited to being expressed in different ways. These include phonology, morphology, phonemic structure, derivation and sense. Of these, the two most influential on the development of an orthography are phonology and morphology.⁹ As well as these linguistic influences, the way in which an orthography might develop is also subject to political, cultural or economic influences.¹⁰ For example, a logographic written system is best suited to Chinese because of its morpheme structure and the high frequency of homophony which could result in ambiguity in an alphabetic orthography. Instead, the written system that developed combines semantic information with the phonological.¹¹ Indo-European languages, however, have fewer homophones than Chinese and more complex syllable structures which are not suited to a logographic writing system based on syllables.¹² Within the range of writing systems, Old English spelling appears to fall somewhere between Serbo-Croatian (which, following a spelling reform, shows a one-to-one correspondence between spelling and sound) and Modern English. Influence from the Classical Latin system of spelling can be found in the spelling system of Old English. That is, like Latin, from which it draws many written conventions, it appears that Old English functions at a roughly phonemic level, where one graph or digraph corresponds to one phoneme. Written Old English then represents individual phonemes less consistently and regularly than Serbo-Croatian, but more so than Modern English, and also attempts to maintain morphological regularity although, unlike Modern English, retaining spellings to represent morphological relations is less of a priority than phonological information.

12.3 Orthographic Depth Theory

The difference in degree of closeness between phonemes and their graphemic representations in alphabetic languages is known as orthographic depth. A written language can be called orthographically deep or shallow.¹³ An orthography in which the graphemes

⁹ Katz and Frost, p. 67.

¹⁰ Katz and Frost, p. 70.

¹¹ Katz and Frost, p. 68.

¹² Katz and Frost, p. 69.

¹³ I. Y. Liberman, and others, 'Orthography and the Beginning Reader', in *Orthography, Reading and Dyslexia*, ed. by J. F. Kavanagh & R. L. Vanezky (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1980), pp. 137-53; Derek Besner and Marilyn Chapnik Smith, 'Basic Processes in Reading: Is the

and phonemes share a one-to-one relationship, in which the pronunciation of a word could be accurately determined based on spelling alone, is orthographically shallow, and an orthography where the graphemes do not reflect the pronunciation, where spellings seem arbitrary and individual graphemes represent more than one phoneme or individual phonemes are represented by more than one grapheme, is orthographically deep.¹⁴ It is this terminology which will be used when discussing the relationship between spoken and written language in this thesis.

The focus of the majority of research into orthographic depth has been on the variation between languages and writing systems, although depth can vary within individual languages.¹⁵ While the relationship between morphology and phonology is a dominant influence on language depth between languages, it is more likely to be frequency of use and history that inform the variation in orthographic depth within a language, as phonology and morphology form a consistent system across a language. An initial look at Old English suggests that the orthographical depth of written Old English varies. In certain respects written Old English appears to be of a similar orthographical depth to Serbo-Croatian, but at other times it is closer to Arabic or Modern English. While a study of the full scale of this alternation is not viable here, an analysis of isolated instances of variation between cases of shallower or deeper orthography may go some way towards illustrating the approach of these specific scribes to their orthographies.

12.4 Reading Orthographic Systems

The depth of an orthographic system might potentially influence the way in which a reader accesses the language. The crux of reading an alphabetic written system is that the reader must recognize the combinations of graphemes on a page and match them to a mental lexical item. That is, they must see the letters on the page and recognize them as a word. This string of graphemes can be understood both orthographically and phonologically, and the way in which the written and spoken systems interact must therefore influence the way in which the reader accesses the language.¹⁶ This idea, that the reading process must in some way be affected by a language's orthography, is at the root of the Orthographic Depth

Orthographic Depth Hypothesis Sinking?', in *Orthography, Morphology, and Meaning*, ed. by Ram Frost and Leonard Katz, *Advances in Psychology*, 94 (Holland: Elsevier, 1992), pp. 45-66 (p. 45).

¹⁴ Katz and Frost, p. 70; Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 45.

¹⁵ Frost, p. 258; Jaffré, p. 5.

¹⁶ Frost, p. 256; Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 45.

Hypothesis.¹⁷ The orthographic depth of a written language system must then have an effect on the way a reader processes the language,¹⁸ and languages that vary in their regularity must, by necessity, require different approaches to reading than languages which are regular.¹⁹ Thus, we might find that the work of Old English scribes reflects some of these different processes, and may shed some light on the role of reading Old English in training.

Frost recounts two theories for how orthography influences reading. The first is that an early stage of the reading process is translating orthographic information into phonological information, meaning that the process of matching the string of letters to a lexical item becomes very similar to hearing and processing spoken language.²⁰ This technique for processing written language is efficient and not dependent on the reader possessing a 'visually coded grapheme-based lexicon, one that matches each of the words to spelling patterns in the language'.²¹ Rather, all that is needed is the knowledge of how phonemes and graphemes map onto each other, and the reader can access every written word in the same way as they would a spoken word.²² This has the potential to be very important for how we believe an Old English scribe may have copied a text, as the scribe's relationship with the orthographical, phonological and lexical facets of a word are central to how that word would be processed and then copied. If there exists a one-to-one relationship between phonemes and graphemes in Old English, the scribe may have been dependent on the translation to the phonemic form to fully recognize a written word's lexical force. Thus, the relationship between Old English and its orthography is integral to how scribes copy.

The second theory for the processing of written language is dependent on the reader possessing an orthographic lexicon alongside the phonological one.²³ This would result in readers being able to recognize a lexical item through both their phonological and

¹⁷ The Orthographic Depth Theory is widely discussed, but was started by Ram Frost in 'Orthography and Phonology'.

¹⁸ L. Katz and L. B. Feldman, 'Linguistic Coding in Word Recognition: Comparisons between a Deep and a Shallow Orthography', in *Interactive Processes in Reading*, ed. by A. Lesgold and C. Perfetti (Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1981).

¹⁹ Bruce Bridgeman, 'Is the Dual-Route Theory Possible in Phonetically Regular Languages?', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 10 (1987), 331-32 (p. 331).

²⁰ Frost, p. 256.

²¹ Frost, p. 256.

²² Frost, p. 256.

²³ Frost, p. 256.

orthographical systems or, through the orthographic information alone, without reference to the phonological form of the word.²⁴ This has the benefit of producing a faster reading process as it requires fewer stages of processing,²⁵ but it requires that the orthographic lexicon be as complete as the phonological one, and that the reading process makes no reference to the spoken language. Again, this theory has implications for how we treat Old English scribal copying. In the extreme form of this approach, it would be possible for scribes to read and recognize a word without reference to its spoken form, and then copy it out using their own orthographic form (regardless of whether it is the same as that of their exemplar) without reference to the spoken dialect. In this way, dialectal variations in the orthographies of Old English could develop and change without reference to the spoken language, but would presumably be hindered by particularly foreign orthographical forms which scribes could not recognize. Evidence exists, of course, to suggest that the spoken language influences the process, but this theory is, hypothetically, possible.

Derek Besner and Marilyn Chapnik Smith outline three further routes through which the reader can transform written English, a deep orthography, into speech.²⁶ These routes have implications for the writing portion of the copying process as well as the reading as they involve the production of language, not just its recognition and comprehension. The first route bypasses the phonological information altogether and suggests that the orthographical form directly links to the mental lexicon, which provides semantic information before being processed as speech.²⁷ The second route is purely orthographical-phonological, in which the orthographical input leads directly to a phonological output without reference to any semantic information.²⁸ The third route is the ‘assembled route’ wherein the reader interprets the graphemic information using pre-existing knowledge about the phoneme-grapheme correspondence to interpret ‘subword orthographic segments’, such as letter combinations or syllables, into their phonological equivalents, which are then articulated in speech.²⁹ This route also uses lexical information to supplement the process.³⁰ However, this route is not dependent on lexical information

²⁴ Frost, p. 256.

²⁵ Frost, p. 256.

²⁶ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 47.

²⁷ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 47.

²⁸ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 47.

²⁹ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 47.

³⁰ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 47, n. 2.

for the reader to be able to articulate, or ‘name’ a word, because it works on a subword level and does not require the reader to know the word to be able to say it.³¹ Tests on readers’ ability to pronounce nonwords require a similar process. English speakers’ ability to pronounce example nonwords such as ‘*nabe* or *sloppendasb*’ shows that unfamiliar words can be decoded and worked out using known grapheme-phoneme correlations.³² Often, however, particularly in routes dependent on some level of lexical information, word frequency can be a major influence on a reader’s ability to ‘name’ a word (that is, to know and pronounce it).³³ Here, Besner and Chapnik Smith give the example of the graphs <ou>, which can be pronounced differently depending on their context (as in *cough*, *through*, *bough*, *dough* or *four*). Without lexical information, phonology alone is not sufficient for the reader to be able to pronounce these words correctly.³⁴ Reference might be made by analogy to words with similar strings of letters or words which are apparently derivationally related (for example, *throughout* might be correctly known by analogy with *through* and *out*), but there is no certainty of accuracy without reference to lexical and semantic information. Similarly, more deeply orthographic words such as ‘*island* or *Wednesday*’ demonstrate the fact that lexical information must play a part in the reading process.³⁵

Evidence for the implications of orthographic depth on scribal copying might be found in the types of error that are produced. Readers of languages with shallow orthographies demonstrate a higher ability to read nonwords³⁶ and, it must be assumed, low frequency or unfamiliar words. Typically, users of shallow orthographies make errors that are spelling errors or mispronunciations, while users of deeper orthographies produce errors that are egg corns, confusions with similar sounding words.³⁷

12.5 The Relationship between Spoken and Written Language

One of the foundations upon which this discussion must be based, and which can be considered alongside the orthographic depth of a written system, is the establishment of the

³¹ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p. 48.

³² Ellis and others, p. 441.

³³ Besner and Chapnik Smith, p, 48.

³⁴ Besner and Chapnik Smith, pp. 48-49.

³⁵ Ellis and others, p. 441.

³⁶ Ellis and others, p. 441.

³⁷ Ellis and others, p. 441.

hierarchy of spoken and written language. That is, whether we may consider written language to be a phenomenon independent of the spoken language or one dependent upon, and secondary to, the spoken language. Within that hierarchy, we must then determine the relationship between them, if any, and the way and degree to which the written language reflects the spoken. This also entails the establishment and definition of the nature of written Old English itself. Before determining the relationship between spoken and written language, we must first establish that any relationship exists between them. John C. McLaughlin claims that no discussion of this can be meaningful unless we assume a relationship between the written text and the phonological structure, and the grapheme and the phoneme.³⁸ Frost states the issue thus:

is phonology necessary for printed word recognition to occur, or is it just an epiphenomenon that results from it? In other words, is phonology derived pre-lexically from the printed letters, serving as the reader's code for lexical search, or, rather, is lexical search based on the word's orthographic structure while phonology is derived post-lexically?³⁹

McLaughlin offers a full discussion of the history of this debate, which need not be recounted in full here.⁴⁰ In this, his summaries of the works of Leonard Bloomfield, H. J. Uldall and Josef Vachek are notable. The debate has two sides: one theory concludes that spoken and written language are of equal weight as 'independent systems' and thus can be 'independently described'.⁴¹ Using the orthographic depth terminology, this might be deemed a deep orthography. The other is that any written language is to some extent dependent on the phonology of the spoken.⁴² This would be a shallow orthography.

12.5.1 The Written Language as Secondary to Spoken Language

Establishing the hierarchy between spoken and written language is a slightly different concern from establishing the orthographic depth of a written language. The traditional view of written language, and that of Bloomfield⁴³ and Saussure,⁴⁴ is that it is a reflection of

³⁸ McLaughlin, p. 28.

³⁹ Frost, p. 257.

⁴⁰ McLaughlin, pp. 19-23.

⁴¹ McLaughlin, p. 23.

⁴² McLaughlin, p. 23.

⁴³ Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), p. 282.

⁴⁴ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris: Payot, 1972), p. 45.

the spoken language, dependent on it for meaning and form, and therefore lesser.⁴⁵ This is a trend upon which Uldall has commented: ‘the substance of ink has not received the same attention on the part of linguists that they have so lavishly bestowed on the substance of air’,⁴⁶ and which McIntosh describes as the view that: ‘anything connected with utterance is in some way much more part and parcel of the “fabric of the language” than ink-marks on paper or parchment can ever be’.⁴⁷ In describing Old English, Julia Crick has said, ‘The reduction of a spoken language to a written one, the rendering of the aural as visual meant in effect the subordination of the mother tongue to the alphabet and forms of a learned and indeed imported language, Latin’.⁴⁸ In Middle English scholarship too, the focus has been chiefly on the ways in which a spelling system reflects ‘distinctive elements in the spoken system’.⁴⁹ As such, orthographic variation is chiefly used as a method for gaining clues about phonology.⁵⁰ It is in light of this perceived hierarchy that determining the depth of the orthography is of importance.

Discussion of the relationship between sound and letter finds its roots in Aristotle’s *De Interpretatione* where ‘spoken words are the symbols of mental experience and written words are the symbols of spoken words’.⁵¹ McIntosh places the origins of this view in current scholarship in the hands of linguists who approach the written language as a means for determining the spoken.⁵² This may be understandable, as he acknowledges, particularly in the case of Old English for which we only have written evidence for the phonology. Certainly, there is evidence that early Old English scribes made spelling choices ‘related to actual pronunciation in an intelligent manner’, despite existing alongside orthographic conventions, although this phonologically motivated spelling is neither consistent nor total.⁵³ Studies have shown that speakers and listeners of Modern English without any

⁴⁵ W. Nelson Francis, ‘Graphemic Analysis of Late Middle English Manuscripts’, *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 32-47 (p. 34).

⁴⁶ H. J. Uldall, ‘Speech and Writing’, *Acta Linguistica*, 4 (1944), 12-13, discussed in McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 38, n. 1.

⁴⁷ McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 38.

⁴⁸ Crick, ‘English Vernacular Script’, p. 176.

⁴⁹ McLaughlin, p. 7.

⁵⁰ McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 35.

⁵¹ Angus McIntosh, ‘“Graphology” and Meaning’, in *Patterns of Language: Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics*, ed. by Angus McIntosh and M. A. K. Halliday (London: Longmans, 1967), pp. 98-110 (p. 99).

⁵² McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 37.

⁵³ Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.7.

training in phonetics are able to perceive phonemes, and may further be able to distinguish allophones and some sub-phonemic distinctions.⁵⁴ Given this, it seems reasonable to accept that Old English speakers must have had a similar ability to recognize phonological contrasts. The position taken by Thomas E. Toon, which echoes Karl Luick's dictum 'man schreib wie man sprach', that there is a direct correlation between sound and letter in Old English, may be too simplistic and leads to many problems.⁵⁵ Indeed, Anne King calls it a 'naïve and dubious supposition'.⁵⁶ As King argues, Toon's stance fails on several fronts: it necessitates knowledge about the scribes which we do not have, regarding their identities, backgrounds, age, and experience with the written language, as well as how representative their language was of their speech community and what precisely that community was.⁵⁷ Similarly, we can very rarely know exactly where and when a manuscript was written, which adds further unknown factors into the relationship assumed by Toon.⁵⁸

Historically, the treatment of the spoken language's influence on the written has not always been beneficial to the study of the written. As McIntosh notes, study of the written language that makes 'side-glances at certain tempting aspects of the "underlying" spoken language' results in a 'compromise in which full justice was rarely done to the facts of the written language and in which special prominence was given to some aspects of spoken language and (necessarily) to some only'.⁵⁹ As such, it must be necessary to find a balance in acknowledging the spoken language, between giving it undue focus and doing it a disservice. McLaughlin, building on McIntosh, describes the required process as comparative rather than descriptive, an act which must follow the description of each or any system independently. McLaughlin believes that 'there should be no real question [...] of one kind of expression revealing something significant about the other'.⁶⁰ Thus, we

⁵⁴ Bruce L. Derwing and others, 'On the Phoneme as the Unit of the Second Articulation', *Phonology Yearbook*, 3 (1986), 45-69 (p. 53), but see also Per Linell, *Psychological Reality in Phonology: A Theoretical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), Chapter 5.

⁵⁵ Karl Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I, part 2 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, reprinted 1964 by Blackwell, Oxford, 1921-1940), §27; Thomas E. Toon, *The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change*, Quantitative Analyses of Linguistic Structure Series, 2 (New York: University of Michigan Academic Press, 1983), pp. 210-11.

⁵⁶ Anne King, 'You Say [æjðr] and I Say [æjhwæðr]? – Interpreting Old English Written Data', in *Evidence for Old English: Material and Theoretical Bases for Reconstruction*, ed. by Fran Colman (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd, 1992), pp. 20-43 (p. 32).

⁵⁷ This sentiment has been echoed by Julia Crick. Crick, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 176.

⁵⁸ King, p. 31.

⁵⁹ McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', p. 37, n. 2.

⁶⁰ McLaughlin, p. 28.

might conclude from this that the written system must be approached primarily as a means unto itself, as an autonomous system, and therefore the written language can be assessed independently of the spoken, without the motivation of learning from it anything about the spoken language.

Regarding Old English, and considering the evidence available, it seems only practical to approach the written language on its own merits, for, 'As far as the study of Old English is concerned, the written language in which it is recorded for us is primary, and any deductions we may make about sounds are secondary'.⁶¹ The position of written early Old English may be called intermediate, or 'partially subordinate' to the spoken language, which Gero Bauer also calls 'Autonomy in the making'.⁶² If this is the case, then any approach to the study of written Old English must always treat it as orthographically shallow, a reflection of the spoken, and not as an independent system.

There are instances where scholars have noted patterns of usage that indicate a phonological influence. This is not always the case: 'often one reads accounts of "sound changes" which suggest that the writers have merely been conscious of changes of symbols'.⁶³ Bauer, echoing Toon, suggests that 'medieval scribes [...] wrote and spelt, at least to some extent, 'with sounds of their language or dialects in their ears'.⁶⁴ However, it is unclear precisely what he means by this, and whether he is suggesting that scribes were aware of the relationship between the written language and the spoken, or whether they actively reflected the spoken in the written. If it is the latter, it is unlikely to be as simple a process as is implied here. Furthermore, it is unclear whether this would be scribes' own language or a result of the way they have been trained to write. At best we can establish whether a form is representative of a deep or shallow orthography, but not whether – if it is shallow – it reflects scribes' pronunciations or is a result of their training. Bauer's view is that the variable spelling seen across most of Old English, with the noted exception of late West-Saxon – which will be returned to later – is due to scribes adapting their spellings to match 'changing phonemic conditions'.⁶⁵ In saying this, Bauer assumes a shallow

⁶¹ D. G. Scragg, 'Spelling Variation in Eleventh-Century English', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 347-54 (p. 348).

⁶² Bauer, p. 207.

⁶³ C. L. Wrenn, 'The Value of Spelling as Evidence', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 42 (1943), 14-39 (p. 16).

⁶⁴ Bauer, p. 201.

⁶⁵ Bauer, p. 207.

orthography, strongly dependent on the phonology, such that spelling variations cannot ever be deeply orthographic. This raises the question of how Bauer accounts for the development of orthographic traditions such as late West-Saxon, and why, despite its apparent spread and influence, that trend for deeper orthography was not adopted elsewhere.

The implication inherent in assuming a shallow orthography is that, if several variant spellings of a word exist, there must then have existed an equivalent variety of forms in the spoken language which corresponded to these written forms.⁶⁶ However, if Old English orthography is considered to be independent of the spoken language, variations in the written language must be considered, first and foremost, solely written variations.

Individual graphemes can be shown to hold both deep and shallow orthographic force. That is, they can be representative of a phonological value, or bear no relation to the phonology at all. Within this a distinction must be drawn between spellings which the scribe intended to have a shallow orthographic force, those which have an historically shallow orthography, and those which may have a shallow orthographic force, but which the scribe may not have been aware of. This is not a simple distinction, however, and as has been touched on above, both levels of representation can be present in a single orthographic system. For example, in his description of the morphemic properties of graphemes, McIntosh uses the example of which in *bat* distinguishes it from *at* and *cat*, but which in *lamb* has no phonological value, only orthographic. Similarly, <s> and <h> each have independent phonic values, but act differently in <sh>.⁶⁷ Because of this, McIntosh argues, we must consider the written language as having value regardless of its relationship with the spoken language.⁶⁸ This example also illustrates the difficulties inherent in determining the influences at play in forming an orthographic system.

Rather than assuming a truly shallow orthography, or phonetic relationship, between spoken and written Old English, King prefers a phonological basis for the spelling system. A phonetic system would be wholly impractical and would hinder the reader's ability to access a text by obscuring its meaning in excessive phonetic information that would require interpreting. Moreover, the evidence we do have from the surviving manuscript corpus suggests that, if such a system were used, there would be much less

⁶⁶ McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', p. 28.

⁶⁷ McIntosh, "'Graphology' and Meaning', p. 108.

⁶⁸ McIntosh, "'Graphology' and Meaning', pp. 100-01.

regularity and stability of graphic usage than is found in the evidence. That is, the Old English system found in the current extant corpus shows too much uniformity across the work of different scribes to be a truly shallow system.⁶⁹ McIntosh, describing Middle English, also considers the lack of sufficient graphs to be a hindrance to any seriously shallow orthography.⁷⁰ Richard C. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin, said in 1855 that ‘Pronunciation... is far too fine and subtle a thing to be more than approximated to, and indicated in the written letter’.⁷¹ This sentiment is echoed by King when she suggests that such a system would be so complex that it would obscure the actual meaning of the words being conveyed.⁷² Despite this, Bauer has observed that, to a certain extent, ‘traditional historical linguistics has often relied too uncritically on the twenty odd letters of the Latin alphabet as a mirror of the “pronunciation”’.⁷³

In early Old English, the situation is different from that of late Old English and early Middle English. Early Old English scribes endeavoured to represent the spoken language, a system which often results in variation of spelling being judged as inconsistency, and Hogg says they should be respected for their success in this.⁷⁴ By the eleventh century, the spelling of Old English had mostly stabilized, meaning that the phonological changes underway at this time, such as the development of accented vowels, are only evident in the more variable spellings of Middle English.⁷⁵ This changing situation should be remembered, as rules that may apply to one period of written Old English may not be applicable to the eleventh-century Worcester scribes.

12.5.2 The Written Language as an Independent System

While the prevailing attitude in scholarship is that there is a hierarchy between spoken and written language, McIntosh questions the extent to which we should take such a relationship – in which the written language is dependent on the spoken – for granted.⁷⁶ The written language can be viewed as equal to the spoken language, with its own

⁶⁹ King, p. 33.

⁷⁰ McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 28.

⁷¹ Richard C. Trench, *English, Past and Present: Five Lectures*, 1st edn (London: Parker, 1855), p. 170 (quoted in McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 28).

⁷² King, p. 33.

⁷³ Bauer, p. 201.

⁷⁴ Hogg, ‘On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology’, p. 199.

⁷⁵ Campbell, §329.

⁷⁶ McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 27.

structures, forms and history, which are similar to, but not wholly dependent upon, the spoken language.⁷⁷ Regardless of the orthographic depth of a written language, it can be considered independently of the spoken language it may, or may not, represent.

McIntosh views the written language as equal to the spoken, in that each is a manifestation of a linguistic system which interacts with the mental system in different, complementary ways, where the written system is ‘one which appeals to the eye rather than to the ear’.⁷⁸ The disparity between these two systems of language is not an impediment to understanding, nor is the difference between individual users’ systems, due to the ‘faculty of abstraction’ in the brain which allows us to recognize a language element whatever its form.⁷⁹ In view of this, it is perhaps not necessary to consider the relationship between written and spoken language as much as their individual relationships with the reader and hearer. Using Aristotle’s terminology, McIntosh believes that ‘written language and spoken language *both* symbolize mental experience, but that written language, by virtue of its graphological system, *also* symbolizes spoken language’.⁸⁰ McIntosh feels the best approach to a situation in which there are contrasting written forms, for his purposes in building *LALME*, is not to treat them as two contrasting phonemic forms, but ‘as a contrast in graphemes irrespective of their phonemic “value”, or, to speak in more mediaeval terms, as a contrast in *figurae* irrespective of the *potestas* of each’.⁸¹ However, this approach does, as he acknowledges, have implications for how we might view an orthography. There are, for example, the dialectal differences in written form, or *figurae*, regardless of whether they reflect different phonic situations. Similarly, there are graphic variations which do reflect differences in pronunciation, but which, if approached as such, become ‘debatable derivative conjectures’.⁸² That is, they become suppositions of our own creation, often reached by logical reconstructions, but still not known, primary, evidence of the situation. Whenever we try to find a phonological impetus behind a graphical form we are dependent

⁷⁷ Nelson Francis, p. 33.

⁷⁸ McIntosh, “‘Graphology’ and Meaning”, p. 99.

⁷⁹ Ernst Pulgram, ‘Phoneme and Grapheme: A Parallel’, *Word*, 7 (1951), 15-20 (p. 16).

⁸⁰ McIntosh, “‘Graphology’ and Meaning”, pp. 99-100.

⁸¹ McIntosh, ‘A New Approach’, p. 24.

⁸² McIntosh, ‘A New Approach’, p. 24

on reconstructions and the primary evidence.⁸³ In response to this viewpoint, W. Nelson Francis argues that:

The important point, it seems to me, is to recognize that although the substance of what is communicated by a written text is derived from an actually or potentially spoken text, the medium in which it is represented is a distinct system with its own conventions of structure, susceptible to primary analysis.⁸⁴

This stance acknowledges that the written language is a system which must be viewed in its own right and which must be subject to ‘primary analysis’, but which is also at some level dependent upon or related to the spoken language. Scragg holds that, while written Old English can show much about the phonological development of Old English to Middle English, we should not approach the written language under the assumption that it will act according to known phonological phenomena. Echoing Nelson Francis,⁸⁵ he says, ‘However poorly spelling variation charts developments in eleventh-century phonology, it gives ample evidence of scribal habits, manuscript relations, scriptorium practices and the development of a formal written language’.⁸⁶ In making *LAEME*, Laing took a similar approach as the central principle, saying that ‘written language should be examined in its own right, not just as an imperfect reflection of the “primary” spoken language’.⁸⁷ Building on this, she continues, ‘the evidence of the orthography may [...] be used to support a reconstructed phonology’.⁸⁸ Here, Laing is suggesting a closer link with the spoken language than Scragg, perhaps due to the less standardized nature of written Middle English. While the written language may be used to access aspects of the spoken, that should not be seen as its only value, and it must be studied as an independent system without reference to the spoken.

In approaching the two language systems, McLaughlin, drawing on McIntosh, suggests that the written language be a ‘point of departure’, not to be taken as a direct

⁸³ This sentiment is also expressed by McIntosh in relation to Late Middle English. McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 27.

⁸⁴ Nelson Francis, p. 34.

⁸⁵ ‘[A] written text may be something other than an inaccurate secondary visual representation of an actually or potentially spoken primary: in fact that it may be a sort of primary itself, with its own structure deriving from a separate system having a history of its own, closely related to but not directly dependent upon the spoken language.’ Nelson Francis, p. 33.

⁸⁶ Scragg, ‘Spelling Variation in Eleventh-Century English’, p. 348.

⁸⁷ Laing, ‘*Never the Twain Shall Meet*’, p. 98.

⁸⁸ Laing, ‘*Never the Twain Shall Meet*’, p. 98.

representation of the spoken language.⁸⁹ Indeed, the nature of written Old English makes this a necessity, as ‘only by understanding the limitations of the correlation [between the two systems] can we, for one thing, make proper use of the available written material as evidence about the spoken language’.⁹⁰ Thus, our focus in approaching the written language of Anglo-Saxon scribes must be to establish a written idiolect, which might be combined with other similar written idiolects and in that way establish and ‘define’ a written dialect.⁹¹ These written dialects may show variations that can be seen to be regional, and which may coincide with the so-called spoken ‘dialect’ boundaries, but that does not necessarily imply a connection between the two.⁹²

12.6 The Old English Orthographical System

While the relationship between written and spoken Old English may be said to be non-dependent, and the written language may be studied independently of the spoken, it must be acknowledged that the spoken is, to a degree, reflected in the written regardless of how deep or shallow we consider its orthography to be. Hogg’s description of the written conventions of Old English has it as a compromise between deep and shallow orthographies, with certain features reflecting one or the other system, which is a measured and practical conclusion:

There is some evidence that OE spelling was often closely related to actual pronunciation in an intelligent manner, even when the standardized conventions of the Æthelwoldian *Schriftsprache* were in force [...]. Nevertheless there are several cases where the OE spelling is an unreliable guide to pronunciation.⁹³

Current scholarship on the distinction between spellings that represent a deep or shallow orthography and the varying relationship between phoneme and grapheme in Old English, needs further clarification. For example, it is unlikely that it is possible for any spellings to be wholly shallow. There is always some form of orthographic convention guiding the scribes’ letter use. Similarly, even deep orthographic forms in Old English historically demonstrate some effort to represent the spoken pronunciation, even if the eleventh-century scribes were not using them in this way.

⁸⁹ McLaughlin, pp. 36-37.

⁹⁰ McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 28.

⁹¹ McLaughlin, pp. 41-42.

⁹² McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 35.

⁹³ Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.7.

Another practicality that must be considered is the nature of the language recorded, and, if it relates to a spoken language, what that language may be. Each scribe is using a language that is part of a complex combination of influences. If we consider the written dialect built of written idiolects, we still cannot state that it may 'be correlated with a particular spoken dialect; it is certainly under no compulsion to be so correlated'.⁹⁴ Similarly, if we accept that a written system is a reflection of a spoken system, it must be with the awareness that the language recorded is not that of the majority of speakers in Anglo-Saxon England, but is of a restricted social group with an atypical level of education.⁹⁵

Hogg argues against Campbell that we should not consider a written idiolect or dialect as being connected to the four main dialect groups, which he considers arbitrarily constructed and therefore misleading.⁹⁶ Rather, we should view texts, or groups of texts, as independent and discrete.⁹⁷ And their 'spelling-systems must [...] be assessed in their own cultural and chronological terms'.⁹⁸ Similarly, Machan argues, when talking about the twelfth century:

these representations cannot be simply accepted as exact and unmediated accounts of twelfth-century linguistic reality. It may well be that post-Conquest historiography tells us as much about how specific historical groups or personages really used specific linguistic varieties in specific situations. Or it may be that it tells us very little.⁹⁹

This debate, then, has implications for the study of the written language as, if the two systems are treated as unequal, the study of written language will always be as an

⁹⁴ McLaughlin, p. 42.

⁹⁵ Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology', p. 189; Hildegard L. C. Tristram, 'Diglossia in Anglo-Saxon England, or What Was Spoken Old English Like?', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 40 (2004), 87-110 (p. 103).

⁹⁶ Hogg, in his discussion of early West-Saxon, is working on the assumption that forms which Campbell considers not typically West-Saxon are 'a real attempt to represent accurately the forms of speech of the writers of the texts'. Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology', p. 189. This connects to the discussion of the establishment of dialects above. §4.5.

⁹⁷ He concludes this, however, with the caveat that 'no text is an island'. Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology', p. 189.

⁹⁸ Cecily Clark, 'The Myth of "the Anglo-Norman Scribe"', in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Matti Rissanen, Ossi Ihalainen, Terttu Nevalainen and Irma Taavitsainen, *Topics in English Linguistics*, 10 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 117-29 (p. 123).

⁹⁹ Tim William Machan, 'Language and Society in Twelfth-Century England', in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 43-67 (p. 45).

afterthought to the spoken. However, if we are to consider the relationship between written and spoken language as equal, as was established above, their study must be the same and there must be an ‘application to written language of techniques of analysis at least as rigorous as those at present applied to spoken language’.¹⁰⁰ As noted above, written eleventh-century Old English can tell us about ‘scribal habits, manuscript relations, scriptorium practices and the development of a formal written language’, if not the spoken language.¹⁰¹ Therefore, certainly in the case of Old English, a graphical approach seems to be sensible and the most productive. We can view written Old English as a language system independent of the spoken and make any comments on the spoken aspects of language as secondary to conclusions on the written language.

12.6.1 Written Standards in Old English

While much evidence can be found in support of the argument that Old English has a shallow orthography and that spellings are closely connected with the spoken language, the existence of written standards stands in opposition to this as, if a written system is standardized, its forms are dictated by these conventions rather than by the spoken language.¹⁰² Regarding ‘[t]he term *standard*’, Smith says, ‘[m]odern scholarship holds that a variety has undergone standardization when it has been subjected to processes of selection, elaboration, codification and acceptance’.¹⁰³ However, this definition of ‘standard’ requires codification by a more explicit form than can be expected for written Old English, as will be discussed in this section. Richard Hudson defines the codification of a selected language variety as ‘some agency such as an academy [which] must have written dictionaries and grammar books to “fix” the variety’.¹⁰⁴ While certain evidence can be observed in Old English which points to efforts of standardization, Scahill concludes that these observations exist solely ‘in the findings of modern researchers’, and that scribal evidence itself points to these standards arising as a result of other contributing factors.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ McIntosh, ‘The Analysis of Written Middle English’, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ Scragg, ‘Spelling Variation in Eleventh-Century English’, p. 348.

¹⁰² Andrew Linn, ‘Vernaculars and the Idea of a Standard Language’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, ed. by Keith Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 359-74.

¹⁰³ Smith, ‘The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>’, p. 84. See also, Jeremy Smith, ‘Standard Language’, p. 127. For further discussion of standards, see J. Milroy and L. Milroy, *Authority in Language: Investigating Language Standardization And Prescription* (London: Routledge, 1991).

¹⁰⁴ Richard Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 33.

¹⁰⁵ Scahill, ‘Prodigal Early Middle English Orthographies’, p. 248.

The presence of standards in Old English is contentious. It cannot be denied, however, that the spelling system of Old English was, overall, stable and consistent across the period for which we have records, in particular during the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁰⁶ As Scragg notes, ‘The success of the scribal tradition in stabilizing spelling cannot be overstressed’.¹⁰⁷ The output of a scriptorium may show a ‘common core of shared features’ (indeed, it is in part through these that manuscripts can be ascribed to a scriptorium), produced by different scribes and similar to a shared written dialect, but a distinction must be drawn between observing these shared features and assuming from them the existence of a shared spoken dialect, although it is very possible the scribes did share spoken forms.¹⁰⁸ Smith believes that, even when scribes are updating the language of their exemplar when copying, they are treating the language as ‘writing systems’ which are inherited and which reflect local practices, rather than as a spoken system.¹⁰⁹

In Old English, certain spelling variations have been determined to be variations not dependent on regional variations in pronunciation.¹¹⁰ The notion of Anglo-Saxon scribes producing spellings that are of a deeper orthography is not unreasonable. They would have been introduced to the concept of standardized spelling when they learned Latin, and the concept of spellings which are universal and constant regardless of variations in the pronunciation of the spoken language.¹¹¹ Cecily Clark has also shown that eleventh-century scribes were able to make use of orthographic conventions in the *Domesday Book* to Latinize their spellings, rather than to use them to reflect a spoken pronunciation,¹¹² demonstrating that scribes, including eleventh-century scribes, were able to adjust their orthographies without reference to phonological systems.

The role of standards in Old English spelling is not a constant throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and a distinction must be drawn between orthographic forms which are intended by the scribe using them to be shallow, and those which are used with the

¹⁰⁶ Tristram, p. 89.

¹⁰⁷ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ McLaughlin, p. 42.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, ‘The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>’, p. 85. Scahill also describes this behaviour in an individual case study. Scahill, ‘Early Middle English Orthographies’, p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, p. 11.

¹¹¹ Clark, ‘The Myth of “the Anglo-Norman Scribe”’, p. 123.

¹¹² Cecily Clark, ‘Domesday Book – a Great Red-Herring: Thoughts on some Late-Eleventh-Century Orthographies’, in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 317-33 (p. 320).

intent of a deep orthography. Some spelling variants reflect a phonological situation that has changed since the forms came into use. For example, the alternation between <i> and <y> originally represented two distinct phonemes, though by the eleventh century they had started in some words to be used as allographs of the same phoneme.¹¹³ Scragg goes on to describe some 'short-lived' efforts to establish orthographical systems for the use of <i> and <y>, so that, for example, <i> would be used more frequently near graphs for the palatal consonants, <c>, <g> and <h>.¹¹⁴ This suggests that spelling systems were not necessarily as initially fluid and changeable as they could be. If two spelling variants continue to be used after the two sounds they represent have fallen together, the orthographical system has shifted from a simple shallow representation with a one-to-one correspondence between sound and graph to a system in which two graphs are performing the same shallow function. This suggests that multiple systems can co-exist within one orthography as a 'mixed system'.¹¹⁵

Of the so-called standards, the written forms of West-Saxon are the most influential, as 'most Anglo-Saxon scholars are agreed that a written standard in the vernacular, standardized in the representation of inflexional endings and stressed vowels on the basis of the late West Saxon dialect, came into existence in the late tenth century'.¹¹⁶ This written tradition originated at Winchester, where Æthelwold's scriptorium at the Old Minster led the way in spreading the standard for West-Saxon. Winchester had such a strong influence over the West-Saxon kingdom from its royal power and from its position as a major centre of the Benedictine Reform, that it seems inevitable that a linguistic reform would have been instigated here too.¹¹⁷ Helmut Gneuss shows evidence for this standard in lexical items, which shows an awareness of language use and standardization at Winchester which could also be evident in its spelling conventions and attitudes towards the copying process.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, p. 10.

¹¹⁴ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, pp. 10-11.

¹¹⁵ Jaffré, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ Mechthild Gretsch, 'A Key to Æfric's Standard Old English', in *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by Mary Swan, Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 37 (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, 2006), pp. 161-77 (p. 161).

¹¹⁷ Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English', p. 71.

¹¹⁸ Following on from the West-Saxon 'standard' and the output of the Winchester scriptorium, the AB Language, for example, shows 'an unbroken continuity' of form which was consistent across the work of at least one scriptorium, which evidently made deliberate efforts to standardize its output. Tolkien, pp. 104-26, cited in Benskin and Laing, *Mischsprachen*, p. 55; Black, p. 157.

Scragg describes the late West-Saxon standard as a ‘remarkably rigid system’ used throughout England, which was instrumental in stabilizing spelling.¹¹⁹ He concludes that, ‘As a whole, Old English spelling as developed in the West Saxon tradition was much nearer a one-to-one relationship with sounds than is its Modern English descendant’.¹²⁰ However, despite being dubbed a ‘standard’, the Winchester Standard as it appears in the manuscript witnesses actually demonstrates so much variation in spelling that Wrenn believed it would fail to be considered a standardized language.¹²¹ Scragg’s conclusion also appears difficult to reconcile with that of Bauer,¹²² that West-Saxon had a relatively shallow orthography. The distinction between the contrasting views of Old English standards may then be a difference in the same way that modern standard written English and modern standard spoken English are treated, which Smith described as a distinction between ‘focus’ and ‘fixity’. That is, ‘they represent focussed usage rather than absolute fixities’. A written standard permits much less variation than a spoken standard and, of these two, a standard written Old English behaves much more like standard modern spoken English.¹²³

The establishment of apparent standards in scriptoria may well have initially begun with local ‘spelling habits’, in which certain forms were preferred for certain phonological situations and were used in preference to others.¹²⁴ Bauer suggests that this may have caused a ‘kind of feedback’ in which the use of written conventions was sustained by usage in the spoken language, and that scribal deviations from these preferred written forms arose when the spoken language deviated far enough from the original phonological situation to require a new graphical representation.¹²⁵ Smith suggests that ‘in the various usages of the South-West Midlands, we are dealing not with a “standard” surrounded by deviant usages, but rather with various local attempts to reorganise the traditional spelling of the area’, suggesting a deep orthographical motivation for spelling variation, perhaps to reflect a changing phonological system.¹²⁶ Indeed, he concludes, speaking of the shift from Old to Middle English, that ‘we are dealing not with the emergence of a “standard” language but

¹¹⁹ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, p. 7.

¹²⁰ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, p. 11.

¹²¹ Gretsche, ‘Winchester Vocabulary’, p. 42; C. L. Wrenn, ‘“Standard” Old English’, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 32 (1933), 65-88 (pp. 73-74).

¹²² Bauer, p. 207.

¹²³ Smith, ‘Standard Language’, p. 129.

¹²⁴ Bauer, p. 207.

¹²⁵ Bauer, p. 207.

¹²⁶ Smith, ‘Standard Language’, p. 130.

with the kind of gradual evolution a spelling system can undergo as it is reorganised to reflect phonological usage'.¹²⁷

The introduction of an orthographical standard in the tenth century was slow to develop, which may be attributed to the necessity of training enough scribes to disseminate the new system.¹²⁸ This resulted in what Kenneth Sisam and John C. Pope call the heyday of standardization in the eleventh century.¹²⁹ The written system in the eleventh century appears to be predominantly a system of deeper orthography, in which, with a few exceptions, certain words, particularly higher frequency words, had standardized spellings while for lower frequency words scribes returned to the spoken pronunciation to guide their orthographical choices. Scragg identifies exceptions to this that include doubled consonants and the treatment of unstressed vowels, which may still be seen to reflect spoken pronunciations or to constitute 'phonemic transcription' as an element of a shallower orthography.¹³⁰ In the Old English orthography then, there was an established tradition of standardized spelling, or deep orthography, interspersed with some forms which are orthographically shallower. The work of the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton scribes may be assumed to fall within this tradition, and thus their orthographies can be interrogated for both deep and shallow systems.

The combination of influences at play in forming Middle English scribes' spelling systems results in systems that reflect not just pronunciation, but also their exemplars, the 'usages they had inherited', and systems and practices they encountered through copying other languages. Thus, rather than seeing them as descriptive phonologists, even when phonology is at play in their spelling systems, Smith calls them 'witnesses to pronunciation', who should be treated as fallible and whose observations should be open to evaluation and questions.¹³¹ McIntosh stresses, however, that even when a variety of written forms suggests an equivalent variety in the spoken language, these forms 'offer us no very precise information about the way their equivalents sounded in the appropriate varieties of

¹²⁷ Smith, 'Standard Language', p. 131.

¹²⁸ Gretsche, 'Winchester Vocabulary', p. 70.

¹²⁹ Gretsche, 'Winchester Vocabulary', p. 70; Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 153; *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, Early English Text Society, o.s. 259-60, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1967-68), I, pp. 177-78.

¹³⁰ Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, p. 13.

¹³¹ Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>', p. 87.

the spoken language'.¹³² As Smith has observed here, we are seeing these forms through the filter of scribes' observations of the language, combined with the various other influences.

Certain spellings seem to be problematic, and logical reconstructions by modern scholars are at odds with actual scribal usage. For example, Fran Colman contrasts the evidence for the <ie> diphthong with the generally held belief that early West-Saxon had monophthongized it. If that were the case, she asks, why were the scribes using the <ie> form?¹³³ While a scribe may intend to represent a certain pronunciation by using a specific spelling, it does not follow that every reader who encounters that form will connect the form to the same pronunciation. Rather, they will relate it to their own pronunciation, or their own interpretation of what that written form might represent. Thus, as McIntosh concludes, 'the written form of the word is no precise visual equivalent of any particular pronunciation. *A fortiori*, it can in itself provide the modern student with only an approximate idea of the different varieties of spoken Middle English'.¹³⁴

King's conclusions also reflect the variation inherent in the Old English spelling system, which alternates between shallow and deep orthographies:

[...]the available written evidence suggests strongly that (1) The orthographic and phonological systems of Old English operated partially independently of each other; (2) The orthographic system of Old English operated at a fundamentally phonemic level; (3) Old English spelling variation did not always correspond with, or reflect, Old English phonological change; and (4) Phonological change was not necessarily represented in Old English orthography.¹³⁵

This more explicitly outlines the variable nature of written Old English than Scahill's conclusion. The chief difference between the two conclusions is the acknowledgement of where and how scribes acquired their written conventions, which King does not broach. Her conclusions are detached from scribal involvement, perhaps due to her conviction that, as we cannot know anything concrete about them, no conclusions can be complete. However, as McIntosh points out, all we have is this evidence. As is clear throughout her work, King demonstrates more faith in current scholarly attempts to discern information on the phonological situations expressed in spelling systems than Scahill. Within King's conclusion, however, is the caveat that, even when Old English spellings are of a shallower

¹³² McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', p. 28.

¹³³ Colman also questions Campbell calling the <ie> form appearing in the early texts 'archaic'. Fran Colman, 'Old English <ie>: That Is (,) an Orthographic Problem (*Noch Einmal*)', in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 31 (1997), 29-41 (p. 30).

¹³⁴ McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', p. 28.

¹³⁵ King, p. 32.

orthography, they will ‘represent only the most significant/distinctive phonic segments, i.e., phonemes [eg minimal pair d/t]’,¹³⁶ suggesting that any reconstruction aimed at discerning the nuances and differences between vowel variations might be a futile exercise, and only discussion of these most distinctive variations would be meaningful. The degree to which scribes used shallower or deeper orthographies may not be as instinctive or dependent on training as is assumed and as the above comparisons of influencing factors suggest. Cecily Clark, for example, makes reference to late eleventh-century scribes who were still able to produce work with ‘impeccable Late-West-Saxon spellings’.¹³⁷ This suggests that, as with the ability to switch scripts depending on the language they were writing in or the purpose for which they were writing, scribes – in the eleventh century at least – were also able to switch their spelling systems. This may be a result of training in Latin as well as Old English, that the scribes were taught to read and write using both the fixed spellings of Latin and the variable spellings of English, and thus could conceive of using deeper orthographies in English despite that not being their usual habit.

12.7 Copying Scribes’ Language

The orthographic depth of written Old English must be different in the work of a copying scribe who is not copying Literatim or Translating. The resulting orthographic system, or *Mischsprache*, may involve several different levels of orthographic depth. Merja Stenroos calls the interaction between different language systems ‘systemic clashes’ or ‘a contact situation between different systems’.¹³⁸ Her outline of the different forms these clashes may take is useful as a way of visualizing the various interactions between layers of language, and it includes a distinction between written and spoken systems. She portrays the systemic clashes as follows:

written system 1 / written system 2
 written system / standard or similar model (when not definable as written system 2)
 written system / spoken system
 written system / spoken system 1 / spoken system 2

scribe’s written system / exemplar
 scribe’s written system / exemplar system 1 / exemplar system 2.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ King, p. 33.

¹³⁷ Clark, ‘Domesday Book’, p. 320.

¹³⁸ Stenroos, pp. 460-61.

¹³⁹ Stenroos, pp. 460-61.

This shows the variety of different systems which may be at play in producing a scribe's copy, and the multiple ways in which these systems may be combined.¹⁴⁰ In particular it demonstrates a prominent role for the written system which supports the idea of copying scribes treating the written language as a deep orthography, but with elements of shallow orthography for certain features. This alternation can be affected by a scribe's purpose in copying, and the orthographic depth of the exemplar used. That is, in copying a text, scribes could adapt the language they encountered towards a shallower orthography that more closely reflected the phonological systems used by their readers, making it easier for them to read.¹⁴¹ Considering the need for charters to be used and recited after their construction, this may be particularly applicable to the copying of charters and thus a consideration for the scribes copying them. This might be a motivating force behind the language changes frequently seen in later copies.

Celia Sisam discusses the relationship between the orthographies scribes produced and the dialects they spoke in her work on the *Lambeth Homilies*, discussing spelling variations and the spoken language forms to which they may correspond.¹⁴² However, because the *Lambeth Homilies* are the work of one scribe, a 'fairly faithful transcriber'¹⁴³ who was copying the work of multiple scribes, it is easier to discern those forms unique to the copying scribe and those forms belonging to the exemplar than it is when looking at S 1556 or S 1280 in isolation. Scahill's conclusion regarding the perceived relationship between spoken and written language is reasoned, and ties together the various influences at play in an extant copy of a text:

Though there were, undoubtedly, practices and conventions in the minds of scribes, interacting with those implicit in their exemplars, and we can derive mappings between spellings and sounds from what they wrote, the system is essentially epiphenomenal: it is the outcome of other processes, and exists in the findings of modern researchers.¹⁴⁴

It is from this standpoint that we can move forward, with the acknowledgement that a written system produced by a copying scribe contains a combination of factors, some their own conventions, arrived at through various motivations, some replicated from their exemplar, and some from external sources. These may be indicative of the scribe's spoken

¹⁴⁰ Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>', p. 87.

¹⁴¹ Smith, 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a>', p. 86.

¹⁴² Sisam, 'The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*', p. 106.

¹⁴³ Sisam, 'The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*', p. 107.

¹⁴⁴ Scahill, 'Prodigal Early Middle English Orthographies', p. 248.

system, but, as has been established, that is a secondary reconstruction to be made from the evidence available.

12.8 Methodology

The ways in which spoken language can be expressed in a written form show wide variation. These forms are inevitably influenced by the nature and requirements of the spoken language they reflect, and the needs of their users. The Old English orthography is a system which varies its orthographic depth depending on a number of factors. The orthographic depth of a word in Old English is dependent on the history and frequency of that word, the spoken dialect of the scribe who forms it and, perhaps more importantly, the written ‘focused’ dialect the scribe is trained to write in or is working in at the time the form is produced, in addition to the forms of the scribe’s exemplar and their relation to the scribe’s orthographical system. Therefore, scribes’ orthographic choices should be treated as part of a system independent of their spoken language, as the spoken language is only one of a number of influences which combine to form a written system. Each of the factors listed above will be considered as influences when investigating the orthographical choices of the scribes of S 1280 and S 1556 in an effort to establish how these scribes’ spelling choices are formed and what influences act on them when copying a text.

Due to the comparative nature of this study, the analysis of the scribes’ orthographical systems here will be predominantly focused on the usage of the Nero Middleton scribe. As Aidan Conti notes, ‘if the scribe and/or the exemplar remain unidentified, we cannot ascertain the active contributions of an individual scribe’.¹⁴⁵ The differences between each copy of the two texts will be highlighted and each scribe’s orthography will be compared against the wider usage in Old English as represented by the *DOEC* and the transcriptions found in the *LangScope* database.¹⁴⁶ The *DOEC* is used here with an awareness that its corpus is ‘comprehensive, not exhaustive’, typically containing

¹⁴⁵ Aidan Conti, ‘Individual Practice, Common Endeavour: Making a Manuscript and Community in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 253-72 (p. 257).

¹⁴⁶ This follows, in part, Laing and McIntosh’s methodology for their study of Trinity College MS 335, comparing individual scribal usage of lexical choices with the distribution as seen in the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*. Laing and McIntosh, pp. 30-34. Manuscript evidence has also been used by Richard Dance to track the development of words as actually used by copying scribes in late Old English. This has ‘afforded a valuable cross-section of the sorts of real scribal behaviour that underlie the historical trends we might extrapolate from a dictionary’. Dance, p. 173.

only ‘one copy of a text’, and as such cannot be truly representative of Old English usage.¹⁴⁷ Combined with the loss-rate of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, this dataset for comparison of the forms used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton scribes is, at best, only a guide to Old English usage.

A comparison of only those features which are different between each copy of the texts will not provide a complete scribal profile. However, a “total” description’ of a scribe’s orthographic system is neither possible nor necessary. Therefore, only as many features as will help to identify the scribe’s practices will suffice.¹⁴⁸ The features identified will provide insight into each scribe’s orthographical systems and, in particular, into the Nero Middleton scribe’s copying style and the relationship this displays with the language of the exemplars.

12.9 Orthography: The *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribes

As the orthographical forms highlighted here are those which the Nero Middleton scribe altered in the copying process, the features identified will not constitute complete scribal profiles. The forms surveyed in the work of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes are predominantly those which use a deep orthography, being typically standard, widely used spellings found across the Old English corpus or extensively in Worcester, and whose usage demonstrates no idiosyncratic representations of phonology. A few spellings suggest a shallow orthography in which the scribes are either producing or replicating from their exemplars, spellings which are not found in widespread usage or demonstrate a contrast with other forms. As we are lacking the exemplars for these scribes’ work, in contrast to the Nero Middleton scribe, the study of their work will provide little insight into the copying practices of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes, but will provide a base against which the Nero Middleton scribe’s work can be compared.

12.10 Orthography: The Nero Middleton Scribe

As the Nero Middleton scribe has copied both the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies of S 1280 and S 1556, this analysis of the scribe’s work will discuss the treatment of features as they appear across both texts, making reference to the data and conclusions of the previous two sections.

¹⁴⁷ Antonette DiPaolo Healey, personal correspondence, 09 February 2011.

¹⁴⁸ McIntosh, ‘Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts’, pp. 33-34.

12.10.1 Features Suggesting a Deep Orthography

12.10.1.1 Alternation of <a>/<o> before a Nasal

As it is yet to be determined by even dedicated studies whether this alternation is indicative of a deep or shallow orthography, and if it is shallow, what phonological situation it is reflecting, a case study such as this is unlikely to answer the question, but may indicate the role these graphs play in the three scribes' writing systems.¹⁴⁹ As the alternation between <a> and <o> is so widespread, a total comparison with the usage across the corpus of Old English is not possible. However, the usage of these three Worcester scribes can show their behaviour and how the Nero Middleton scribe interacts with the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplars.

It is generally concluded that the alternation between <a> and <o> before a nasal is most evident in a stressed environment before the tenth century.¹⁵⁰ Wright and Wright add to this that it may occur in unstressed pronouns and adverbs.¹⁵¹ Hogg also allows that '[T]he choice of symbol is subject to variation according to date and dialect'.¹⁵² As such, any assessment of the <a>/<o> alternation will take into account stress patterns and, where reference is made to the wider corpus of Old English, any date or dialect patterns of distribution will be noted.

Comparison of the copies of S 1280 shows that neither scribe of this charter has a significant preference for either <a> or <o> in positions where we might typically expect to see <o>. In an unstressed position where we might expect <a>, both scribes prefer <a>. Thus, the Nero Middleton scribe, when using *Liber Wigorniensis* as an exemplar, has not updated the spellings to a significant degree. Both scribes use <o> more frequently in the positions where it is expected, but it is not more frequently used than <a>.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ For an introduction to this, see King; Fran Colman and John Anderson, 'Front Umlaut: A Celebration of 2nd Fronting, *i*-Umlaut, Life, Food and Sex', in *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. by M. Davenport, E. Hansen and H. F. Nielsen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983), pp. 165-90 (p. 169), and S. Kuhn, 'The Syllabic Phonemes of Old English', *Language*, 37 (1961), 522-38.

¹⁵⁰ King, p. 20; *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898), pp. 507-08, 666 and 668-89; Campbell, §130, n. 2; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.3 and 5.5.

¹⁵¹ Wright and Wright, §59.

¹⁵² Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.13.

¹⁵³ The words showing alternation between <a> and <o> in the copies of S 1280 appear as follows: *andlang* as <andlang> in both copies, and *ponon* as <panon> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <ponon> in Nero Middleton.

In S 1556 in positions where we might expect <o>, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used almost entirely <a>, while the Nero Middleton has used <o> with the same consistency, but, unlike in S 1280, here the scribe has updated all but two instances of <a> to <o>. In unstressed positions, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has again consistently used <a>, while the Nero Middleton scribe has used almost equal amounts of <a> and <o>, again updating several instances of <a> to <o>. This suggests that both scribes are using a preferred form regardless of the stress position: the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe prefers <a> and the Nero Middleton scribe uses <o> but has perhaps made some concessions for the stress positions.¹⁵⁴

It is notable that within this dataset of words containing <a> or <o> before a nasal consonant, *andlang* is typically updated from <andlang> in *Liber Wigorniensis* to <ondlong> in Nero Middleton, regardless of the stress conditions. As such, an investigation of the scribes' treatment of *andlang* in the contexts of the wider corpus of Old English is valuable.

12.10.1.1.1 Andlang

In copying the single instance of *andlang* from the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 the Nero Middleton scribe has retained the form <andlang> from the exemplar.¹⁵⁵ However, when copying each instance of *andlang* (including the two instances with *tironian notae* and the potentially erroneous <lang>) in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556, the Nero Middleton scribe has changed each one to <ondlong>.¹⁵⁶ None of these is an innovation by the scribe. That is, each has been copied from the exemplar and is not part of a newly constructed or altered phrase.

Of the eleven instances of *andlang* in S 1556, The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe uses spellings in <a> throughout, with the exception of one occurrence of <o> in <7long>.¹⁵⁷ It is possible that the scribe has produced this inconsistency through the copying or writing process, perhaps replicating a relict form from the exemplar. Both this form and the <lang>

¹⁵⁴ The words showing alternation between <a> and <o> in the copies of S 1556 appear as follows: *andlang* as <andlang> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <ondlong> in Nero Middleton, *Anna* as <anna> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <onna> in Nero Middleton, *ponon* as <panon> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <ponon> in Nero Middleton, *innan* as <innan> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <innon> and <innan> in Nero Middleton and *heafod* as <heafdon> and <heafdan> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and <heafdon> in Nero Middleton.

¹⁵⁵ S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 19; S 1280 Nero Middleton, l. 16.

¹⁵⁶ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 2, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20 and 22.

¹⁵⁷ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 2-3, 8, 10, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 27, 30 and 32-33. Line 8 shows <7long>.

on line 19 are line-initial, and this may have affected the way the scribe produced these forms. These spellings are consistent with how <a> and <o> before a nasal are used by this scribe. A similar distribution is also seen in the scribe's treatment of words such as *anna*, *innan* and *panon* each of which is spelled in <a>.

In copying S 1556, the Nero Middleton scribe has updated each form to <ondlong>. This demonstrates consistent and uniform updating of the graphs to the scribe's own system in keeping with the scribe's wider preference for updating <a> to <o> in the contexts of a nasal regardless of stress. As well as these instances of *andlang*, the Nero Middleton copy has one occurrence of *and* in <a>, while the rest of the occurrences of *and* are either *tironian notae* or <ond> when found in *andlang*. The one instance of <and> in Nero Middleton is in a phrase that is unique to this copy of the text and which is not found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy. The consistent translating of the forms of the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar into <o> suggests that <o> is a feature of the Nero Middleton scribe's orthographic system. As such the composition of a new phrase with <and> is surprising. It is possible that the scribe treats them differently and does not recognize *and* as the first element of *andlang*. However, the replication of <andlang> in the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 suggests that the scribe used both forms in <a> and <o> in their orthography, and perhaps preferred <o> in S 1556 for some reason.

The *DOEC* shows a marked preference for forms in <andlang> with <a> in both the primary and secondary vowel position, with comparatively few occurrences of <ondlong> and even fewer showing alternation between the vowel graphs.¹⁵⁸ Some of the texts showing uses of <ondlong> in the *DOEC* also contain <andlang>, often in very close proximity. This suggests that it was not the case everywhere that scribes used a single spelling of *andlang* as consistently as the scribes of S 1556 have. The *DOEC* shows <ondlong> forms appearing in forty-four texts, thirty-three of which are charters associated with Worcester and have a copy either in *Liber Wigorniensis*, Hemming's Cartulary, or both.¹⁵⁹ A free-text search of *LangScape* supplements this, and produces fifty charters

¹⁵⁸ The *DOEC* shows 2233 instances of <andlang>, 192 of <ondlong>, thirty-nine of <andlong> and eighty-eight of <ondlang>. There are also 163 recorded instances of <&lang> and two of <&long> (although here the *DOEC* Word Wheel only counts one).

¹⁵⁹ The Worcester charters containing <ondlong> are as follows: S 1327, S 1337, S 1338, S 1342, S 1373, S 1374, S 55, S 212, S 216, S 217, S 1185, S 1254, S 1297, S 1300, S 1301, S 1306, S 1314, S 1321, S 1322, S 1323, S 1325, S 1329, S 1330, S 1335, S 1348, S 1351, S 1352, S 1353, S 1356, S 1370, S 1573, S 1596 and S 1600. Data taken from *DOEC* Word Wheel searches. For charter texts, the Sawyer number will be used, for other texts the Cameron Number will be used ('List of Texts Cited in the Dictionary of Old English', *Dictionary of Old English* (University of

containing <ondlong>, of which forty-one are from Worcester manuscripts and are almost entirely from *Liber Wigorniensis*, Hemming's Cartulary and Nero Middleton.¹⁶⁰ Each occurrence of <ondlong> in Hemming's Cartulary is found in folios copied by Hand 3, which Ker describes as typical of the 'last decade of the eleventh century'.¹⁶¹ The majority of the instances of <ondlong> in *Liber Wigorniensis* are the work of Hand 4.¹⁶² S 1556 and S 1280 are the only texts in Nero Middleton containing instances of *andlang* in any form. S 1405, a single-sheet charter believed to be the work of the Nero Middleton scribe, also has a single instance of *andlang* spelled <andlang>.¹⁶³ Thus, of the three texts attributed to the Nero Middleton scribe containing *andlang*, two contain single instances of <andlang> and one shows systematic and consistent updating to <ondlong>. This feature cannot therefore be deemed a fixed part of the scribe's written system. However, the consistency and frequency of its use and the clear evidence of updating in S 1556 compared to the single instances in S 1280 and S 1405 might suggest that in S 1556 the scribe was making an effort to use <ondlong> here, and that the uses of <andlang> are a less frequently used variant in the scribe's orthography.

Despite the prevalence of <ondlong> in Mercia, <andlang> is still more commonly used and occurs alongside <ondlong> in Worcestershire confirming that its use was not regulated or standardized more widely than on a scribe-by-scribe or text-by-text basis. A search in *LangScape* of the charters from Worcester, most of which are found in *Liber Wigorniensis*, which contain <ondlong> shows that, with a few exceptions, the scribes consistently use <ondlong> throughout a text. The few texts which contain both <ondlong> and <andlang> are all found in *Liber Wigorniensis* and can all be found in the portion of the manuscript copied by Hand 4.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that this scribe was one of the

Toronto: 2009) <<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/st/>> [accessed 06 September 2013]). Manuscript information will be supplied where specific witnesses are referred to.

¹⁶⁰ Those charters from Worcester but not from these three manuscripts are: S 1385, London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19795; S 1597 and S 212, both now lost and preserved in eighteenth-century editions; S 786, London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 6. Those charters not associated with Worcester are S 663, S 404, S 587, S 898, S 1026, S 677, S 348, S 801 and S 416.

¹⁶¹ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 50; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 138-39.

¹⁶² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 122-23.

¹⁶³ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 50; S 1405, London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19801. Transcription from 'S 1405', in *LangScape* [accessed 20 December 2012].

¹⁶⁴ S 1320, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 80^v-81^r; S 1370, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 70^r-71^r; S 1342, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 67^r-68^v; S 1314, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fol. 86^v. Hand allocation by Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 123.

first to introduce this form, and so had not yet fixed its usage. Every other Worcester charter which contains <ondlong> uses it consistently. The prevalence of <ondlong> in *Liber Wigorniensis* and the consistency with which it is used in those texts which have adopted it suggest that this could be a late Worcester development and personal preference of those individual scribes – excluding Hand 4 – or a convention set in place for that manuscript. This could be an indication that this new form was introduced into the training of the Worcester scribes and was thus adopted by these scribes and used in *Liber Wigorniensis*.

The distribution of <ondlong> discussed above shows that it was a form used primarily in charter manuscripts associated with Worcester in the eleventh century. This demonstrates that the distribution of <ondlong> is not a common or widespread variant. Rather, the *DOEC* and *LangScape* results imply that the spelling is largely found in *Liber Wigorniensis* and is predominantly the work of one scribe. Its use might be a shallow representation of a recent phonological shift introduced by one scribe and perhaps spreading through exposure to contemporary scribes. The use of two orthographical forms by the Nero Middleton scribe means that, in this case at least, it represents a deep orthography, but demonstrates the adoption of a recent, local form.

The difference in use of the two forms of *andlang* between the scribes' work in S 1280 and S 1556 suggests that the Nero Middleton scribe was performing a Translation of the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar into a new language system. Other spellings by the scribes are not as consistent within a text and sometimes show variation. An influencing factor may be the fact that *andlang* is a high-frequency word and as such rules and conventions about its appearance are more likely to be in place than for rarer words such as local landscape feature name elements with which the scribes are less likely to be familiar.

These spellings are consistent with how <a> and <o> before a nasal are used by the Nero Middleton scribe, as will be discussed in the following section. A similar distribution is seen in the scribe's treatment of words such as *anna*, *innan* and *panon*, all of which are spelled in <o> by the Nero Middleton scribe.

An analysis of the use of <a> and <o> in S 1556 would suggest that the Nero Middleton scribe had a strong preference for <o> and would update <a> to <o> whenever possible. However, the same analysis of S 1280 and reference to other work by the scribe shows that this is not the case, and that it varies between texts. Due to the extent of the updating in S 1556 we can say that the differences between the Nero Middleton scribe's

work here is not due to influence from the exemplar, unless we posit influence from another, unknown, exemplar.

12.10.1.1.2 Anna

As a personal name, *anna* may be treated differently from other nouns, even though it is used as a noun phrase element in descriptive noun phrases and place-names. It is also likely to be treated differently from more common words such as *andlang*, and this may affect the way the scribes write and copy it. Campbell says that,

in using names for linguistic purposes it should always be remembered that in them archaic and dialectal forms tend to be crystallized, so that they do not reflect the dialect of the writers of the texts in which they are preserved.¹⁶⁵

Bearing this in mind, it is perhaps surprising that the two copies of S 1556 show spellings consistent with the rest of each scribe's language use. This may be another indication that these spelling choices are deeply orthographic and do not reflect either one or both scribes' spoken language use.

Anna appears four times in S 1556 and the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used the <a> graph in each instance.¹⁶⁶ This consistency of spelling, which is in keeping with the orthographical choices made for similar phonological situations elsewhere in the scribe's work, may suggest that this spelling is a deep orthography, where the form of a name is being brought in line with the rest of the scribe's orthography.

In copying the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar of S 1556, the Nero Middleton scribe has updated each instance of *anna* to <onna/-n>.¹⁶⁷ The final instance in this copy is written in majuscule letters stretched to reach the line-end in the Nero Middleton copy ('ON NaN ford :— '), but this has not affected the scribe's consistency in spelling.¹⁶⁸ The fact that the word is spelled in this way despite the unusual palaeography might suggest that the chosen spelling is a conscious decision and is not just reflecting whim or arbitrary decisions on the scribe's part. The switch between minuscule and majuscule letters, as well as the awareness of spacing considerations, would have forced the scribe to be more conscious of the word when copying it thereby reducing the ability to write it instinctively. The uniformity of spelling also means that, as with *andlang* above, the scribe would have had to Translate the forms of the word every time it was copied from the exemplar.

¹⁶⁵ Campbell, §7.

¹⁶⁶ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 2, 33, 34 and 35.

¹⁶⁷ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 2, 23 and 24.

¹⁶⁸ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 24.

The position of the occurrences of *anna* in S 1556 might provide further evidence that the difference in spellings between the two copies of the text is a conscious decision on the scribe's part to bring it in line with a personal orthographic system. The first occurrence of *anna* falls within the first two lines of the text, and each of the remaining three occurrences is in the final three lines of the text. With such a physical distance between the first use and the later occurrences, it would be understandable that the scribe had forgotten which form had been used at the start of the text, or indeed that it had already been written once, particularly if it were being copied from an exemplar with a different form. Several occurrences of the same word in close proximity to each other are more likely to influence the scribe and encourage uniformity and consistency of form, but an early initial use is less likely to influence those copied later in a text.

The pattern of word division might also be an indication of how they viewed the name. The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has removed the word division between *anna* and the generic noun with which it is compounded. This is notable enough that the *DOEC* has tagged <annandune> and <annanford> as distinct lexemes from <anna>. If the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe sees the compound noun as a discrete place-name they might copy it as such.

The *DOEC* shows that *anna* most frequently appears in <a> as we might expect with the stressed first syllable.¹⁶⁹ However, the absence of <onna> forms from S 1556 presented in the *DOEC* demonstrates the incompleteness of the *Corpus*. As such the distribution here may not accurately reflect the distribution of forms in the complete corpus of Old English.

As *anna* is a personal name, it is possible that one or both of the scribes were aware of it as a personal name and as such were influenced by its use in the spoken language, although it was not common (only six individuals are identified with that name in *PASE*). It is unlikely that its use as a naming element in the bounds of Withington would influence how the scribes copied it, but the person or people for whom the landscape features were named may have been an influence if they were known to either of the scribes. *PASE*'s Anna 2 was abbot of Gloucester in the early eleventh century. Equally, Anna 3 was a holder

¹⁶⁹ The *DOEC* shows eighty-three instances of *anna* in <a>, and three in <o>. Of the three in <o>, two occurrences of <onna> are both from versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the occurrence of <onnan> is from the Old English Martyrology. However, it is likely that many of these refer to St Anne, and are not necessarily a viable comparison to the subject of the S 1556 bounds.

of a house in Worcester in the eleventh century and might have been known to the scribes.¹⁷⁰

The difference in spelling between <anna> and <onna> would therefore have to be due to the orthographic conventions of individual scribes rather than a difference in pronunciation. If the pronunciation of the name had changed in the fifty years between the two manuscripts' production, we might expect to see <onna> appearing in other sources. *LangScape* shows one further occurrence of *anna* in a charter in S 56, a charter for Andoversford which has a copy in *Liber Wigorniensis* and another in single-sheet form.¹⁷¹ Both the *Liber Wigorniensis* and the single-sheet copy of S 56 have the <onna> form which is not found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556. As this cartulary is the work of multiple scribes, it can be concluded that the spelling of *anna* was not dictated by the scriptorium, or that, if it was, it was not followed universally. As such, the different forms must be of a deep orthography, according to the personal preferences or training of each scribe.

12.10.1.1.3 Ponon

Ponon is a word which occurs in both S 1280 and S 1556 and which is used heavily by the Nero Middleton scribe, particularly in S 1556. The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 shows only two instances of *ponon*, both in the form <panon>.¹⁷² In the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 there are three instances of <panon>, again, each time with an <a> in the first syllable and <o> in the second.¹⁷³ In copying both texts, the Nero Middleton scribe has translated these consistently to <ponon>.¹⁷⁴ As a result of the syntactic differences between the two copies of the text of S 1556, the Nero Middleton copy has seven further uses of <ponon> than its exemplar, each time spelled with <o>. This shows the same distribution of <a> and <o> before nasals that is seen with *andlang* and *anna*, with the Nero Middleton scribe consistently using <o> where the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes uses <a>, and continuing to use this form when composing new phrases.

¹⁷⁰ 'Anna', in *PASE* [accessed 24 January 2011].

¹⁷¹ 'S 56', in *LangScape* [accessed 20 December 2012]; single sheet charter at London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19789.

¹⁷² S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 16 and 17.

¹⁷³ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 6, 15 and 28.

¹⁷⁴ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 13 and 14; S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 4, 6, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20.

The *DOEC* shows some evidence of this alternation, although there is a clear preference for forms in which the second vowel is <o>, and, of those, by far the most frequently used is <þonon>.¹⁷⁵ A search of *LangScape* gives about twenty-four texts (allowing for variations in multiple copies and overlaps in content between two texts) containing <þanon>, with no immediately obvious regional preference for its use. A search for <þonon> in *LangScape* shows several instances of <þonon> in sixty-three texts from Berkshire, Devon, Worcester and Sussex. The wide variety of forms without an immediately obvious regional bias and the near-equal distribution of the initial vowel suggest that this is not indicative of widespread shallow orthography, but that it is a deep orthographical variation indicating the nasalized /a/, where either graph is accepted.

Of the forms shown by the *DOEC* and *LangScape*, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe here uses the most common. The forms chosen would have been commonly used in texts the scribe is likely to have encountered, in the usage of their contemporaries, and perhaps in their training, so the usage here is not unexpected. The consistency of use suggests a personal preference which the scribe uses consistently regardless of exemplar use or other texts in the cartulary. In using <þonon>, the Nero Middleton scribe is Translating from one commonly found form of a word that is frequently found spelled in several different ways into another more suited to their orthography.

12.10.1.1.4 Innan

Contrary to the examples discussed thus far, in copying *innan* from the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar, the Nero Middleton scribe shows inconsistency. Where the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy shows two instances of <innan>, the Nero Middleton scribe has produced one in <innon> and one in <innan>.¹⁷⁶ The introduction of the form in <o> is in keeping with the previous examples of <ondlong> and <onna>, in which the scribe shows a preference for <o> before a nasal where the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has <a>.

The distribution in Old English shown by the *DOEC* shows 774 instances of <innan> and 154 of <innon>. The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used the most commonly occurring form, suggesting adherence to a fixed orthography. The form

¹⁷⁵ The *DOEC* shows the following distribution: 106 instances of <þanan>, 299 instances of <þonan>, 572 instances of <þonon> and 1050 instances of <þanon>. The variation between thorn and eth has here been included, with the total of each represented as thorn. Further variations, including <-nn> are found, but they are not sufficiently numerous to affect the distribution shown here.

¹⁷⁶ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 2 and 4; S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 2 and 4.

<innon> used by the Nero Middleton scribe is a commonly used variation, and as the scribe's use of it is in keeping with their other spelling choices in the text, it is likely that this spelling is another example of a deep orthographical form and is not dependent on any spoken-language variation. The instance in <a> may be an example of Mixing, in which, rather than Translating the forms of the exemplar, the Nero Middleton scribe sometimes reproduces them Literatim.

12.10.1.1.5 Heafod

In contrast to many of the other forms discussed here, the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe demonstrates inconsistency in the forms of *heafod*, rendering it once as <heafdon> and once as <heafdan>.¹⁷⁷ This alternation within the scribe's work could either suggest a deep orthography in which both forms are acceptable, or a shallow orthography reflecting the appearance of schwa in the unstressed syllable, for which no fixed orthographic form had become established. The variation might also have arisen as a result of influence from the scribe's exemplar, in which the <o> form was copied, rather than Translated into <a> which is to be expected from the scribe's orthographical choices elsewhere.

The two occurrences of *heafod* which appear in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar of S 1556 as <heafdon> and <heafdan> are both copied by the Nero Middleton scribe in <heafdon>.¹⁷⁸ This, again, shows consistent updating by the Nero Middleton scribe of forms in the exemplar into a new orthographic system.

12.10.1.2 Further Spelling Variations

12.10.1.2.1 Beorhtsige

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 has <byrcsies> for the personal name *Beorhtsige*.¹⁷⁹ *LangScape* glosses this with the note, 'MS 2 [*Liber Wigorniensis*] reads "byrcsies" with apparent scribal misreading of "t" as "c"'.¹⁸⁰ In copying <byrcsies> from the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar, the Nero Middleton scribe has preserved the <c> reading in <bircsiges>.¹⁸¹ The final spelling variation between the two forms of *Beorhtsiges* is the lack in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of <g>, reinstated by the Nero Middleton scribe.

¹⁷⁷ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 12 and 19 respectively.

¹⁷⁸ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 8 and 13.

¹⁷⁹ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 22.

¹⁸⁰ 'S 1556', *LangScape* [accessed 20 December 2012].

¹⁸¹ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 15-16.

PASE shows forty-two people with this name of whom twelve are moneyers.¹⁸² Instances of moneyers found on coins are excluded from this discussion as the coins and their content are produced by people with different training from those who produced manuscripts.¹⁸³ Instances from the *Domesday Book* are excluded for the same reason.¹⁸⁴ These figures consist of the remaining twenty-nine entries from *PASE* which have recorded names, largely from charters, with one entry from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Each of these is counted, as the focus here is on the distribution of spelling variations rather than the number of people with the name. The dates given below are dependent on the date of each text as provided by Sawyer.¹⁸⁵ While the dates of each manuscript variant would be preferable, where there is more than one it is difficult to know which is the copy presented in Sawyer. The dates given therefore show the earliest date each form was used.

The spellings include more variation than the vowels in question, but for the purposes of this discussion the focus will be on the vowel graph used in the first element of the name. The vowels that appear in the names provided in *PASE* are as follows:

Vowel graph	Number of occurrences	Date range of occurrences
<e>	5	871 – 955
<eo>	19	879 – 951
<i>	4	932 – 965
<io>	4	931 – 935
<u>	1	931
<y>	10	904 – 1052

Table 8: The distribution of vowel graphs in *Beorhtsige*.

This distribution shows that spellings in <e> and <eo> were used earlier and dropped out of usage in the mid tenth century, spellings in <i>, <io> and the isolated instance of <u> were used across the early to mid tenth century, and <y> was used from the early tenth century until the mid-eleventh century, at the point when the two extant copies of S 1556 were produced.

¹⁸² ‘Beorhtsige’, in *PASE* [accessed 20 December 2012].

¹⁸³ Fran Colman, *A Philological Study of the Moneyers’ Names on the Coins of Edward the Confessor* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1981); Fran Colman, ‘Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Old English Phonology’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 5 (1984), 91-143; Fran Colman, *Money Talks: Reconstructing Old English* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1982).

¹⁸⁴ Clark shows that the Domesday scribes were working with different orthographies than Anglo-Saxon scribes. Clark, ‘Domesday Book’, pp. 317-33.

¹⁸⁵ *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 20 July 2013].

This seems to demonstrate a shift in spelling, which, as these results cover a large time span and geographic area, must reflect a change in pronunciation. The two spellings appearing in S 1556 therefore reflect the later pronunciation where the diphthong has monophthongized to the high front vowel represented by <i> and <y>. This shift is rare apart from in personal names which Campbell attributes not to palatal umlaut, but to ‘a special development of *beor-* seen also in *Byrn-* in names for *Beorn-* [...]. *Bern-* for *Beorn-* in moneyers’ names on ninth-century W-S coins may reflect the beginning of the change’.¹⁸⁶

LangScape suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has confused the medial <t> for <c>, which implies a lack of recognition that this is a commonly occurring personal name and might reflect a lack of inclination to correct or update the text of the exemplar. However, the survey of the instances of *Beorhtsige* in *PASE* suggest that spellings in <c>, <x> and <h>, reflecting a shift to a palatal consonant, were common, particularly as names of moneyers and in the *Domesday Book*, and that spellings in <t> were most common in the South, particularly in texts from Winchester. This reflects the pattern described by Olof von Feilitzen of consonant loss before another consonant.¹⁸⁷ As such, the <c> appears to be a recognized spelling of this personal name and the two scribes of S 1556 cannot be assumed to have misread or miscopied it.

The final notable aspect of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe’s orthographical choice here is the absence of the [j] consonant represented by <g> in the second syllable. The form used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe appears less frequently in the dataset from *PASE*, and is most seen in occurrences of the name from *Domesday Book*, suggesting it is a later loss and that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is therefore representing either a changed pronunciation or shift in written convention. The Nero Middleton scribe has used the more common form for the second element, perhaps demonstrating a preference for representing that consonant, or simply because the scribe was more familiar with the more common form.

12.10.1.2.2 Cniht

Only one instance of *cniht* appears in S 1556 and the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used the form <cnictes>.¹⁸⁸ Here, the scribe is using <c> to represent either /x/ or /ç/, most likely /ç/

¹⁸⁶ Campbell, §305, n. 1; Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.114.

¹⁸⁷ Olof von Feilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1937), p. 95.

¹⁸⁸ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 10.

as the following <e> suggests the absence of a back vowel in the next syllable.¹⁸⁹ It might also reflect a falling-together of /x/ or /ç/ with /k/. The form used here seems to follow the usage seen above with the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's use of <c> to represent the palatal consonant in *Beorhtsige*. In copying <cnictes> the Nero Middleton scribe has produced the form <cnihtes>.¹⁹⁰

The *DOEC* gives one instance of <cnict> and no other declensions. This one instance is from the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556. In contrast, there are 288 instances of <cnicht> and seventy-four of <cnihtes> in the *Corpus*. Combined with the evidence of *Beorhtsige* above, it might be concluded that the use of <c> by the S 1556 scribe is intended as a shallow representation of a palatal consonant. These two forms appear to represent two orthographies for the same sound. As outlined above, the *DOEC* shows a strong preference for forms in <h> suggesting that, again, the Nero Middleton scribe has Translated the form found in the exemplar to one which is found in widespread use across the corpus of Old English.

12.10.1.2.3 Seolf and Sellan

Seolf and *sellan* are grouped together here because, as will be discussed below, the Nero Middleton scribe has updated the vowel graphs of each to <y>. The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has rendered *seolf* in <eo> and *sellan* in <e>.¹⁹¹

/l/ typically causes non-West-Saxon breaking when followed by a velar, or an /f/.¹⁹² This results in *self* appearing as non-West-Saxon *seolf*, Early West-Saxon *self* and Late-West-Saxon *sylf*.¹⁹³ Campbell finds few instances of the change from <e> to <y> outside of West-Saxon, despite the Middle English forms suggesting that it was widespread.¹⁹⁴ Ninth-century Kentish also shows a raised first element, so <siolf>, and in Mercian and West-Saxon *eo* and *io* became *eo*.¹⁹⁵ This suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's usage here is typical of Mercian development.

¹⁸⁹ Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.26.

¹⁹⁰ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 7.

¹⁹¹ <seolfre>, S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 15; <sellad̄>, S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 18, 22 and 26.

¹⁹² Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.22.

¹⁹³ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.22; Campbell §146.

¹⁹⁴ Campbell, §§325-26.

¹⁹⁵ Campbell §297.

The *DOEC* shows that instances of *seolf* in <eo> and <y> are substantially more frequently used than either <e> or <io>. ¹⁹⁶ Due to the high frequency of occurrences of each form represented in these manuscripts, an analysis of the distribution of their use is not feasible here. However, very few charter bounds in *LangScape* appear to contain instances of *sylf* in any form. Of the nine recorded forms, two appear in S 1280. A further Worcester example is <silfne> by Hand 3 in *Liber Wigorniensis*, and a further two instances are found in the Abingdon cartulary, London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B. vi. The Worcester examples from the eleventh century are the earliest, the others all dating from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. It is notable that all but the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 show *sylf* in <i> or <y>, demonstrating more frequent use of the Late West-Saxon form. ¹⁹⁷ Campbell and Hogg's conclusions suggest that here the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is using a typical Mercian form, while the Nero Middleton scribe has adopted the widespread Late West-Saxon form.

The development of the Late West-Saxon form of *sellan* is 'unexplained', and where analogous spellings of *syllan* appear in Northumbrian texts they are ascribed to West-Saxon influence. ¹⁹⁸ The *DOEC* shows that instances of *sellan* in <y> are more frequently used than those in <e>, as might be expected for the Late West-Saxon form. ¹⁹⁹ Of the ninety-four instances of <sellað> counted, all but one are from the ninth century onwards. Twenty are found in manuscripts associated with Winchester and Canterbury. The remaining instances of *sellan* in <e> are found in late, non-West-Saxon manuscripts. This is in keeping with the distribution described by Campbell and Hogg. Here, then, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is using a non-West-Saxon form again. It is notable that no Worcester manuscripts shows *sellan* in <e> beyond the ninth century, other than *Liber Wigorniensis*.

The Nero Middleton scribe has applied the same orthographical choices to *sellan* as to *seolf* by consistently updating it to <y>, the Late West-Saxon form of <sel->. ²⁰⁰ The distribution of forms found in the *DOEC* shows that forms in <y> are considerably more widely used, as might be expected for the Late West-Saxon form. Here, the Nero

¹⁹⁶ The *DOEC* shows 1300 instances in <eo>, 1478 in <y>, <279> in <e> and two in <io>.

¹⁹⁷ One further exception is <sulfre> from S 469, appearing in London, British Library, MS Harley 436, a thirteenth-century manuscript from Wilton.

¹⁹⁸ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.171, n. 2.

¹⁹⁹ The *DOEC* shows 422 instances of *sellan* in <y> and 212 in <e>. These totals include declined forms.

²⁰⁰ Campbell, §325.

Middleton scribe has systematically replaced the non-West-Saxon form with the West-Saxon form. This may be because it was commonly in use. Indeed, as mentioned above, no Worcester manuscripts show *sellan* in <e> beyond the ninth century, other than *Liber Wigorniensis*.

12.10.1.3 Alternation between <io> and <eo>

The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 shows consistent alternation between the graphs <io> and <eo> in a variety of lexical items, in which the overriding preference is for forms in <io>. It is possible that forms in <io> are the scribe's preferred form and that typically the forms of the exemplar are Translated into <io>, but occasionally <eo> is copied Literatim. It is also possible that each of these is replicated from the scribe's exemplar, or that the scribe considered both spellings to be part of one orthographical system and alternated between them.

S 1556 shows no variation between <eo> or <io>, contains no words with a headword form in <io>, and only shows <betwyh> *between*, <hreed> *reed* and <bircsiges> *Beorhtsige* with a headword form in <eo>. The form <hreed> appears in <eo> in both *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton, with the second diphthongal element raised compared to its most frequent variant, <hread>.²⁰¹ The *DOEC* shows <hread> appearing four times only in the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss, and once in the Rushworth Gospels.²⁰² By contrast, <hreed> shows forty-nine results with isolated instances across a wide variety of manuscripts. As such, <hread> appears to be a rarer form with no widespread usage, and it is not unexpected that both Worcester scribes use the more typical form here.

While the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 produced forms largely in <io> with the occasional use of <eo>, the Nero Middleton scribe has copied these forms with much more variation, producing forms in <e>, <eo>, <i> and <y> where the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar shows <io> or occasionally <eo>. It is noticeable that the Nero Middleton scribe has not copied any instance of <io>, but has changed each to <eo>, <i> or <y>, and where *Liber Wigorniensis* shows <eo>, the Nero Middleton scribe has produced <e>. Those alternations, which appear to represent a deep orthographical usage by the Nero Middleton scribe, will be discussed in the following section.

²⁰¹ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.45; Campbell, §281.

²⁰² London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. iv; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctorium D. ii. 19.

12.10.1.3.1 Freond

S 1280 shows two instances of *freond* which the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has rendered with both <eo> and <io>.²⁰³ The Nero Middleton scribe has copied both instances in <eo>.²⁰⁴

Hogg notes the distinction between long and short <io> and <eo> in Northumbrian texts resulting in the ‘oddities’ of <friond> and <freond> coexisting in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospel glosses.²⁰⁵ The two digraphs are also distinguished in early Mercian, but not in Late West-Saxon where <eo> is used for both /io/ and /eo/.²⁰⁶

The form <io> in *freond* comes from the inherited /i:ɔ/ diphthong,²⁰⁷ and the use of these two forms within the work of one scribe seems to suggest that the scribe is using them interchangeably to represent the same phonological situation, possibly due to the influence of multiple forms in use at the time. But again, the predominance of <io> suggests that this is the scribe’s preferred form and the instances of <eo> are anomalies, perhaps appearing due to influence from the exemplar. The *DOEC* shows a preference for forms in <eo> over forms in <io>.²⁰⁸ Of the twenty-five instances of <friond> found in the *DOEC*, eighteen are found in the glosses of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels.²⁰⁹ The remaining few are found in Canterbury and Winchester manuscripts, with an isolated instance in a ninth-century Worcester manuscript.²¹⁰ None of these is close enough in date or location to have been a considerable influence on the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe’s spelling system, so we must conclude that this is not a specific spelling acquired either through external influence of this sort or through training, as we might expect to see more widespread use of the form in Worcester manuscripts of this date. Rather, this appears to be another instance of the scribe preferring one graphical representation of the phonological situation.

The distribution shown by the *DOEC* demonstrates the widespread use of *freond* in <eo> which reinforces the idea that this aspect of the Nero Middleton scribe’s orthography is in keeping with a fixed system. That two variations have been updated to one form also suggests that this form is a fixed part of the scribe’s written system.

²⁰³ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 27 and 41.

²⁰⁴ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 24 and 39.

²⁰⁵ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.159.

²⁰⁶ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.155, 5.156, 5.157 and 5.158.

²⁰⁷ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.155, 5.156, 5.157 and 5.158.

²⁰⁸ Forms of <friond#> number thirty-two, forms of <freond#> number 450.

²⁰⁹ Cotton MS Nero D. iv and MS Auctorium D. ii. 19.

²¹⁰ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1; London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 92; London, British Library, MS Additional 15350 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20.

12.10.1.3.2 Pri

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 shows two instances of *pri* which appear in both <io> and <eo>.²¹¹ The Nero Middleton scribe has copied both of these in <eo>.²¹² These instances show the same alternation of the long diphthong as was seen with *freond* above, with the addition of the genitive plural ending *-ra*.²¹³ As with the other instances discussed here, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe shows alternation between <io> and <eo>, probably acting as a feature of a deep orthography, not intended to reflect any phonological alternation.

The *DOEC* again shows a preference for forms in <eo> over <io>.²¹⁴ A survey of those forms in <io> shows them largely to be later Old English, the earliest being a single instance in Alfred's translation of Boethius and another in the headings of *Orosius*.²¹⁵ Two instances are found in *Liber Wigorniensis*, one is the work of Hand 1, the scribe of S 1280, and the other of Hand 4.²¹⁶ The use of <þpriora> by the S 1280 scribe in two texts may be considered evidence that this is a feature of the scribe's own written system and not a feature copied from an exemplar.

In using <eo> here it is possible the Nero Middleton scribe is demonstrating typically West Saxon usage. It is also possible that, as with *freond*, the scribe is using the most widely distributed form of the word, as demonstrated by the usage seen in the *DOEC*, in which <io> occurs much less frequently.

12.10.1.3.3 Neoþan

The <io>/<eo> alternation found in *neoþan* is not representing the same phonological situation as the other examples discussed here, but as each scribe has copied it in keeping with their orthographical choices elsewhere it will be discussed alongside them. There is

²¹¹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 33 and 34.

²¹² S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 30 and 32.

²¹³ Hogg, §3.19 (3); Richard M. Hogg and R. D. Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English, Volume 2: Morphology* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), §4.85.

²¹⁴ The *DOEC* shows 247 instances of <þreora> and seven of <þpriora>. Forms in both thorn and eth are counted here.

²¹⁵ London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A. vi; Janet Bately, *The Old English Orosius*, The Early English Text Society, s.s. 6 (London: The Early English Text Society for the Oxford University Press, 1980).

²¹⁶ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 122-23.

only one instance of *neopan* in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280, which the scribe has rendered in <io> and which the Nero Middleton scribe has copied in <eo>.²¹⁷

Again, the Nero Middleton scribe appears to use <eo>, the standard late West Saxon and Mercian. As elsewhere, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has shown a preference for <io> over <eo>, which is contrary to the trend found overall in the *DOEC* where only three instances of <niopan> are found.²¹⁸ The three instances in <io> are not from manuscripts close to *Liber Wigorniensis* in location,²¹⁹ but, again, if the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is applying these digraphs indiscriminately, this is not unexpected, and the low incidence of this word across the corpus makes it less likely to find a strong pattern of distribution for its use.

12.10.1.3.4 Conclusion of <io>/<eo> Alternation

The consistent use of <io> by the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe alongside other forms in <eo>, such as <freond> and <bisceop>, might suggest some differentiation on the part of the scribe between two diphthongs, long and short /io, eo/.²²⁰ However, there are instances of alternation within the scribe's work, which make it more likely that the scribe is using a deep orthographical representation, with two digraphs representing a single phonological situation.

The consistent Translating by the Nero Middleton scribe of forms which alternate between <io> and <eo> in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar strongly suggests that this is a fixed part of the orthographical system which the scribe is choosing to update rather than reproduce Literatim. The widespread (or comparatively widespread) use of each of these forms in the *DOEC*, which are typically of West-Saxon origin, implies that the scribe is either working with West-Saxon influence, or is using forms which are considered more standard.

²¹⁷ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 22; S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 19.

²¹⁸ The *DOEC* shows three instances of <niopan> and twenty-eight of <neopan>. Forms in both thorn and eth are counted here.

²¹⁹ Exeter Book: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library, MS 3501; 'Riddle 61', London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii, an eleventh-century Canterbury manuscript. Fred C. Robinson, 'The Devil's Account of the Next World', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 73 (1972), 362-71; London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A. iii, a tenth-century Canterbury manuscript.

²²⁰ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.157.

12.10.1.4 *Āc*

There are two occurrences of *āc* in S 1556, each of which the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has written as <æc>.²²¹ Contrary to the scribe's behaviour as discussed thus far, here, the scribe has used the form least commonly seen across the Old English corpus.²²²

In copying the two instances of *āc* in <æ> found in *Liber Wigorniensis*, the Nero Middleton scribe has replicated one in <æ> and Translated one to <a>.²²³ The two occurrences of *āc* in Nero Middleton appear on the same line, so the Nero Middleton scribe cannot be using the <a> form under the influence of either the exemplar or of previous usage, and thus it must be representative of the scribe's own orthographical usage. The second occurrence is part of a noun phrase which has been reduced in both copies from 'to wogan æc' to 'of ðære ac'.²²⁴ The loss of repetition may have affected how the Nero Middleton scribe copied the second instance, but were that the case we might expect to see more instances of variation in the second occurrence of noun phrases elsewhere in the text.

It is likely that the Nero Middleton scribe's choices here are reflecting a deep orthography, the first instance, <æc>, being produced Literatim from the exemplar, and the second instance perhaps being the scribe's preferred form or a form produced under the influence of other texts with which the scribe has worked.

12.10.1.5 *Earnian*

The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used the form <earnigan> to represent the verb *earnian*.²²⁵ This appears to be another example of shallow orthography, in which an epenthetic [j] has been inserted between two vowels in hiatus. The *DOEC* shows that <earnigan> in S 1280 is the only recorded instance of this form in the Corpus, although further instances may exist in manuscript witnesses which have not been included. While <earnigan> is unattested elsewhere, the orthographic representation of a vocalized [j] is not uncommon.²²⁶ The use of this form may be an innovation by the scribe intended as a

²²¹ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 13 and 14.

²²² The *DOEC* shows 9471 occurrences of <ac> compared to 335 of <æc>. It is likely that many of these occurrences are smoothed forms of *ēac* but the dataset is too large to feasibly distinguish the forms of *āc*.

²²³ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 9.

²²⁴ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 9.

²²⁵ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 28.

²²⁶ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§7.75 and 7.76.

shallow representation of spoken language using a recognized orthographic convention, or it may be a form copied from the scribe's exemplar which was originally used as a shallow representation of an earlier pronunciation.

Where the *Liber Wigorniensis* S 1280 scribe has used the unique form <earnigan> for the verb *earnian*, the Nero Middleton scribe has used <earnien>.²²⁷ The *DOEC* contains two instances of <earnien>, one in the Vercelli Book and one in Alfred's translation of *Boethius*, both tenth-century manuscripts.²²⁸ However, these are both standard forms of the present subjunctive plural, unlike the Nero Middleton instance which is infinitive, and therefore comparison is not relevant. The form used by the Nero Middleton scribe in <-en> is likely reflecting the reduction of the unstressed ending in the infinitive. Thus, each scribe is here using a unique, or near-unique form.²²⁹

12.10.1.6 Geong

The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe renders *geong* as <gegiung> in one instance, mentioned here because the Nero Middleton scribe updates the form in copying to <ge iunge>.²³⁰ West-Saxon <geong> becomes <geō>, <geong>, Northumbrian has <giung> and sometimes <ging>.²³¹ Other variants include <iū>, <iō> and <iung>.²³² In Early West-Saxon, /ju(:)/ is represented with <geo>, and in Late West-Saxon <iu-> is more common.²³³ Hogg describes each of these forms as 'no more than expected orthographic variations' confirming a diphthongization from [ju(:)] > [jju(:)].²³⁴ As <iu> and <geo> spellings are found alongside each other, he argues it is unlikely that <iu> spellings specifically represent /ju(:)/, but that both spellings probably represent a diphthong.²³⁵ In Mercian, Hogg says:

it is most probable that the <iu> spellings indicate the same development as in LWS [...] and the <gu> spellings in [The Vespasian Psalter] are more likely to show orthographic uncertainty over the correct representation of [jju] than a failure of diphthongization, that is to say, <gu> and <iu> are here equivalent spellings.²³⁶

²²⁷ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 25.

²²⁸ <earnien> found in B3.4.9 and B9.3.2.

²²⁹ The *DOEC* shows nineteen instances of <earnian>, half of which are from the Homilies of Wulfstan, and which might therefore be known to both scribes.

²³⁰ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 39; S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 37.

²³¹ Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.68.

²³² Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.68, n. 2.

²³³ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.60.

²³⁴ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.60.

²³⁵ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.60, n. 4.

²³⁶ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.62.

Hogg also considers the <giu> form used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe here to be equivalent to <gio> and thus <geo> due to the merger with <io> and <eo> discussed above.²³⁷ This is in keeping with the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's use of forms in <io> alongside <eo> elsewhere. As such, this seems to be a widely used form and another instance of deep orthography in this scribe's system. The *DOEC* shows nine instances of *geong* in <giu> which are found largely in the tenth century, and mostly from Mercia and Northumbria. This suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 is representing a usage which is perhaps more typical of Worcester at this date. The Nero Middleton scribe seems to be using the late West-Saxon form in <iu->, although this is often interchangeable with <geo> and thus must be assumed to be a deep orthography.

12.10.1.7 Ford

The instances of *ford* appear in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 six times, five in <forda>, one in <ford>.²³⁸ Here, the scribe uniformly uses <-a> for the dative singular ending, suggesting that the scribe has an orthographic system in place. Several of the instances of *ford* found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 are lost due to phrase changes made by the Nero Middleton scribe. Thus, where *Liber Wigorniensis* shows six instances of *ford*, the Nero Middleton copy shows three instances of dative <forde> and one of accusative <ford>.²³⁹

This distribution shows that, like the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, the Nero Middleton scribe is consistent in the usage for the dative singular ending. This suggests that this scribe also has an orthographic system in place and has systematically Translated this form. However, it is interesting that the same preferences are not found applied to other words, just to *ford*.

The *DOEC* shows a marked preference across the corpus for dative singular forms in <a> over <e>.²⁴⁰ As such, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is using the most frequently found form, perhaps as part of a fixed, deep orthography and without reference to any spoken system. As with other forms the Nero Middleton scribe has chosen to use, the form used here is the least common of those found in the extant corpus of Old English. The sixty-four

²³⁷ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.60, n. 4.

²³⁸ <forda> is found at S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 2, 17, 18, 26 and <ford> at 35.

²³⁹ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 2, 12, 17 and 24.

²⁴⁰ The *DOEC* shows 294 instances of the uninflected <ford>, 263 of <forda> and sixty-four of <forde>.

forms of <forde> are found largely in charters. These charters show no diachronically or synchronically biased distribution and appear equally in cartularies from York, Exeter, Shaftesbury, Abingdon and elsewhere, dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries.²⁴¹ Thus, it might be concluded that the use of <e> here is a later development. It is possible that the two scribes' usage in S 1556 reflects a difference in training, or a shift in practice in Worcester between the production of these two cartularies, potentially motivated by a widespread uncertainty over the graphical representation of an unstressed schwa. The use of this may be a preference by the Nero Middleton scribe, or might suggest a different place of, or shift in, training.

12.10.1.8 Lēah

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe shows inconsistency in the forms used for *lēah*, which is surprising in light of the consistency demonstrated thus far. The forms used by the scribe are <lea>, <leah>, <leahes> and <lehes>.²⁴²

The various forms of *lēah* used by the scribe vary in two ways, excluding the accusative and dative endings: in the use of <h> and in the medial <ea> and <e> vowel graphs. The forms in <lea> constitute the first two occurrences of *lēah* and are part of the compound noun *mēnanlea* which occurs twice in *Liber Wigorniensis*,²⁴³ although the two occurrences are in accusative and dative, respectively. The scribe's treatment of this compound noun might suggest that it is being treated as a proper noun and that its morphology has fossilized, resulting in the lack of differentiation between case, or that the scribe does not recognize *lēah* in this form and is unsure of its treatment.

The first and third occurrences of *lēah* (<lea> and <leah>) are both in the accusative, following <innan> and <on> respectively. However, the scribe has used a different form for each. This may be due to the possible properhood of *mēnanlea*; the latter is part of the prepositional phrase, 'on flod leah', suggesting that the scribe viewed *lēah* in this instance as a discrete semantically referring item.

²⁴¹ Those charters containing <forde> are as follows: S 582, S 1196, S 1440, S 179, S 229, S 255, S 292, S 326, S 386, S 396, S 424, S 429, S 468, S 492, S 523, S 562, S 587, S 588, S 592, S 617, S 633, S 659, S 679, S 702, S 705, S 710, S 727, S 737, S 743, S 765, S 786, S 834, S 850, S 878, S 892, S 896, S 899, S 910, S 920, S 930, S 1028, S 1031, S 1165, S 1307, S 1380, B15.8.646, B15.8.649 and a gloss, D25.

²⁴² S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 5, 15, 20 and 28.

²⁴³ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 4-5.

The final occurrence of *lēah* is in the compound noun <weallehes>. This shows a possibly Mercian smoothed version of *lēah*, according to Ekwall and Campbell.²⁴⁴ However, it is also possible that, as with *mananlea* above, *weallehes* has become fixed as a proper noun. The text does not repeat any part of this noun phrase and thus does not split it, so there is no evidence of either element of the phrase still existing as a semantically functional common noun.

Like the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, the Nero Middleton scribe shows variety in the treatment of *lēah*, producing the forms <lea>, <læh>, <leages> and <lehes>.²⁴⁵ Of these, the forms <lea> and <lehes> are the same as those found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar. It is possible that in updating <leahes> to <leages> the Nero Middleton scribe is showing the same preference between <g> and <h> as will be seen in *wohan*, discussed below. The variation between <h> and <g> may also be analogous with the ‘interchange of *h* and *g*’ described by Campbell, which gives rise ‘to forms like *hēage*, *bleoge*, from *hēah*, *blēoh*’, where each symbol is used to represent the same phoneme in a medial position.²⁴⁶ If this is the case, the two forms used by each scribe represent different orthographic conventions for the same phonological situation, comparable with the <io>, <eo> alternation discussed above.

The final variation is the Nero Middleton scribe’s use of a different vowel graph, <æ> where the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used <ea>.²⁴⁷ This form is only found once in the *DOEC* in S 1297, a Worcester charter copied by Hand 4 in *Liber Wigorniensis*, and with copies in Hemming’s Cartulary. This suggests that the form may have been in occasional use in Worcester and that the Nero Middleton scribe may have encountered it either in contemporary use, or that there is some connection with Hand 4 of *Liber Wigorniensis*.

12.10.1.9 Alternation between <i> and <y>

Opinion as to the status of the <i> and <y> graphs is split. Campbell and Hogg treat <i> and <y> as representative of different phonemes, both high-front vowels, where <i> is unrounded and <y> is rounded.²⁴⁸ In contrast, Scragg discusses variation between <i> and

²⁴⁴ Campbell, §14, n. 2.

²⁴⁵ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 3, 10, 14 and 19.

²⁴⁶ Campbell, §447.

²⁴⁷ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 15; S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 10.

²⁴⁸ Campbell, §§35 and 36; Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.

<y> as being deeply orthographical as ‘they are effectively different shapes of the same letter rather than different letters in late Old English’.²⁴⁹ The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe typically prefers forms in <i> to forms in <y>, the alternation between which is indicative of each graph acting as deep. The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe prefers <y>. The Nero Middleton seems to use <i> and <y> interchangeably, and this usage is rarely influenced by the forms of the exemplar.

12.10.1.9.1 Cynr

Cynr appears in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556, once in the form <cynr> and in Nero Middleton as <cirn>.²⁵⁰ This is a proper noun, the name of a river, which appears to be specific to this region. As such it is unlikely to have any standardized form. If the scribes had encountered it before copying S 1556 it is only likely to have been in their exemplar for S 1556 or in other charters relating to the area. No instances of <cirn> are found in the *DOEC*. Several occurrences of <cynr> are found in S 896, an Abingdon charter relating to South Cerney, a settlement very close to Withington describing the same river as S 1556. However, the copies of this text are from manuscripts produced later than both *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton.²⁵¹ As they were produced at or for Abingdon, and at a later date, no conclusions can be drawn about whether this spelling is specific to a scriptorium.

12.10.1.9.2 Gebinnan

Two instances of *gebinnan*, ‘within’, appear in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280, one in <i> as <binnan> and one in <y> as <gebynnan>.²⁵² This scribe appears to have no preference, and is treating the two graphs as equal deep representations of a high-front vowel. The Nero Middleton scribe has copied the two instances of *binnan* in <i>.²⁵³ The *DOEC* shows a substantial preference for forms in <i> over <y>.²⁵⁴ The instances of

²⁴⁹ Scragg, ‘Ælfric’s Scribes’, p. 183.

²⁵⁰ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 18; S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 12.

²⁵¹ Grundy, pp. 61-64; R. A. Forsberg, *A Contribution to a Dictionary of Old English Place-Names*, *Nomina Germanica*, 9 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1950), p. 13; Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, i, pp. 12 and 58-60. *LangScape* shows four instances in <y> in MS Cotton Claudius B. vi (thirteenth century) and four in <y> in London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius C. ix (twelfth century).

²⁵² S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 14 and 30.

²⁵³ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 11 and 27.

²⁵⁴ Forms in <i> (as <binnan>) number 477 while forms in <y> (as <bynnan>) number thirteen.

<bynnan> are chiefly found in manuscripts from Winchester and Exeter in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²⁵⁵ This seems to show that the use of <y> here is a later development, perhaps originating in the South, and may be a stylistic feature. Its use in prestigious texts such as Ælfric's and Wulfstan's homilies may have been an influence on the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe,²⁵⁶ although were that the case its use might be more consistent. Rather, it appears that the scribe has two graphical forms for the same phoneme. The Nero Middleton scribe's usage here appears to be an example of deep orthography in which the scribe has replaced two graphical forms with a preferred, more standard form.

12.10.1.9.3 Hwil

Two instances of *hwil* are found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280, each in the form <hwile>.²⁵⁷ The Nero Middleton scribe has translated the first instance into <y> and preserved the second instance in <i>.²⁵⁸ Unlike the majority of forms used by the scribes discussed here, the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe shows consistency of spelling for this word, while the Nero Middleton scribe has introduced variation.

The *DOEC* shows a substantial preference for *hwil* in <i> over <y>.²⁵⁹ The forms in <y> show no close pattern of distribution and appear in manuscripts from all dialect areas and dates.²⁶⁰ One notable instance is in S 218, a Worcester charter which has a copy in *Liber Wigorniensis* produced by Hand 1, the scribe of S 1280. This suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe did alternate between *hwil* in <i> and <y>, and that this usage was not as regular as the two instances in S 1280 suggest. The usage shown here may be indicative of a deep orthography with variation between two graphs representing a single sound. Of the possible conclusions, this seems most likely, and further exploration with a wider dataset could confirm this.

²⁵⁵ Cameron numbers: B1.1.2, B1.1.10, B8.5.2.1, B8.5.4.1, B15.1.35, B15.1.200, B19.2.1.

²⁵⁶ B1.1.2, B1.1.10 and B3.4.40.

²⁵⁷ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 31 and 32.

²⁵⁸ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 28 and 29.

²⁵⁹ Forms in <i> (<hwile>) number 887, while forms in <y> (<hwyle>) number only thirty-three.

²⁶⁰ These include some of the same manuscripts as <bynnan>, such as the Homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan, and the Gospel of Nicodemus, as well as the Rushworth Gospels, the Junius Manuscript, and an Exeter charter.

12.10.1.9.4 Willan

The verb *willan* appears once in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 and twice in Nero Middleton.²⁶¹ However, the first instance of <wyllað> in the Nero Middleton copy is ambiguous. It is transcribed here as <w> (representing wynn), but the wynn has a tall ascender that looks like an <s> over- or under-written, and as such it is unclear which character the scribe intended. This could be another instance of the Nero Middleton updating on a word level to *willan*, or could be an error, where *sellan* (the form found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar) was intended. Della Hooke has transcribed this as ‘syllað’, which, as the scribe has produced this form elsewhere in the text as well, is a possible transcription.²⁶² Both words would work in the charter, and their use would not alter the meaning of the line. The Nero Middleton copy reads ‘Eac hi syllað him / beferburnan’, ‘likewise, they give them Barbourne’.²⁶³ The use of *sellan* in place of *willan* still conveys the act of giving, and does not alter the sense of the text.

Due to the graphical ambiguity, this instance should be excluded from the discussion of the alternation between <i> and <y>. The remaining instance appears to be consistent with each scribe’s usage of the graphs elsewhere in the text: the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has alternated between both <i> and <y>, and the Nero Middleton scribe has consistently used <y>.

12.10.1.9.5 Swiðe

Despite the loss of a portion of this word, it can be seen that the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has written *swiðe* in <i>.²⁶⁴ Again the *DOEC* shows a marked preference for forms in <i> over <y>.²⁶⁵ Each of these forms is common enough that its use by either scribe is not unexpected. Unfortunately, their frequency across the *Corpus* makes any kind of analysis of their distribution impractical here, but an assessment of their use might go some way to establishing whether the two graphs <i> and <y> represent different phonological situations or not.

²⁶¹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 28; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 15 and 25.

²⁶² Della Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), p. 241; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 19-20.

²⁶³ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 19-20.

²⁶⁴ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 24.

²⁶⁵ The *DOEC* shows 4036 instances of *swiðe* in <i> and 1435 in <y>. These figures include variation between thorn and eth.

12.10.1.9.6 Conclusion of <i>/<y> Alternation

The Nero Middleton scribe has consistently updated the forms from the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplars differently between each text. S 1556 shows consistent (as far as two instances may be considered consistent) updating to <i>, and S 1280 shows almost consistent updating to <y>, despite an exemplar which shows alternation.

12.10.1.10 Double and Single Consonants

The two copies of S 1280 show some occasional doubling of consonant graphs by the Nero Middleton scribe where single graphs are used in *Liber Wigorniensis*. Where the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* copy has <ealdormon> and <gerædnis>, the Nero Middleton copy has <ealdor mann> and <gerædnese>.²⁶⁶ Hogg describes gemination as occurring in specific phonological contexts such as between a long vowel and /r/ or in the vicinity of syncope.²⁶⁷ Geminate consonants were also shortened following a stressed vowel word-finally, which resulted in <man> from <mann>.²⁶⁸ However, the results of this shortening are inconsistently portrayed orthographically, with, for example, <mann> and <eall> persisting.²⁶⁹ Hogg ascribes this alternation to shortening being a later feature in Old English, and the spellings being influenced by the inflected forms with vowel suffixes containing a double consonant. They are, however, ‘unlikely to be phonological’.²⁷⁰ Conversely, Campbell considers this alternation to be a ‘graphic simplification’, where word-final double consonants are frequently simplified.²⁷¹

As neither of the situations causing gemination is present here, and as the process of gemination of consonants was a ninth-century phenomenon and undoubtedly long complete by the eleventh century,²⁷² it might be concluded that the doubling of the consonants by the Nero Middleton scribe here is a purely orthographical preference, an example of deep orthography.

²⁶⁶ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 51 and 53; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 48 and 49.

²⁶⁷ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§7.78 and 7.79.

²⁶⁸ Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.80.

²⁶⁹ Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.81.

²⁷⁰ Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.81.

²⁷¹ Campbell, §66.

²⁷² Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.78.

The *DOEC* shows that forms of *ealdorman* with single consonant graphs are much more frequently used.²⁷³ However, doubled consonants are more common when followed by an inflected suffix, as in <ealdormonna>, <ealdormonnan>, <ealdormonnes>, <ealdormonnum>, <ealdormanna>, <ealdormannes> and <ealdormannum>, as described by Hogg above. Thus it seems likely that the Nero Middleton scribe is here treating the double consonant <nn> as an element of deep orthography, not representative of the lengthening of the consonant or the syllable. The doubling of <s> in <gerædnesse> on the other hand shows the addition of a word-final vowel which may have resulted in the doubling of the consonant, an orthographic convention reflecting a changed phonological situation. In this instance, the two scribes appear to have distinct deep orthographies for representing the same situation, which, as described by both Campbell and Hogg, is typical.

12.10.2 Features Suggesting a Shallow Orthography

12.10.2.1 -Weardes

The directional suffix *-weardes* is used four times within one set of bounds in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 and is consistently spelled with the digraph <ea>. The Nero Middleton scribe has updated each of these to <a>.²⁷⁴ The *DOEC* does not allow for affixes to be searched for independently. As such, a survey for recorded instances of *north-*, *south-*, *east-* and *west-wards* produces a huge variety of forms (*northwards* alone shows sixty-six different spelling variations). Of these, spellings with *-weard* in <ea> are by far the most frequently occurring, followed, some distance behind, by spellings in <a>.²⁷⁵ Several isolated instances of further graphs are found, such as <y> or <u>. Where multiple instances of the same form appear – other than <ea> or <a> – they are generally all found within the work of individual scribes meaning they are not widespread or part of a larger usage, but represent the quirks of certain scribes.

The forms in <ea> appear to be the norm. This is perhaps a fixed form, transmitted through training, or fixed by frequency and spread of use. Their usage is too widespread to investigate their distribution. However, the instances of *-weard* in <a> are few enough that

²⁷³ The *DOEC* shows seventy-one instances of <-nn> and 402 of <-n>.

²⁷⁴ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 21, 16 and 17; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 13, 14 and 18.

²⁷⁵ The *DOEC* shows 489 instances of *-weardes* in <ea>, 107 in <a>, thirty-six in <e>, six in <æ>, two in <æa> and <y>, and single instances of <eu> and <u>.

a survey of their usage can be conducted, starting with instances in manuscripts associated with Worcester. Instances of *-weard* in <a> appear in two charters in *Liber Wigorniensis*, and two in Hemming's Cartulary. The instances from *Liber Wigorniensis* appear in S 361 and S 1346.²⁷⁶ These texts are the work of Hands 2 and 1 respectively, while S 1280, also the work of Hand 1, shows consistent use of <ea>. Ker's attribution of the hands shows that each of these copies was produced as part of the original composition of *Liber Wigorniensis*, and each was written by one of the original, contemporary, five hands.²⁷⁷ However, Hand 1 which consistently used <ea> in S 1280 also produced three instances of <norðward-> in S 1346, and none in <ea>. This suggests that spellings in <ea> are not a fixed part of the scribe's repertoire and that these variable spellings are appearing due to influence from the exemplars for one or all of these texts. Hemming's Cartulary is the work of three scribes, and the instances of *-weard* in <a> appear in S 402 and S 179.²⁷⁸ S 402 is ascribed to Hand 1 of Hemming's Cartulary. S 179 is not strictly a part of Hemming's Cartulary but is a later insertion in a twelfth-century hand.²⁷⁹ This hand has produced *-weard* in both <ea> and <a>.

The Nero Middleton copy text of S 1280 is the only occurrence of *-weard* in that manuscript, as far as the charters listed by Sawyer and the transcriptions on *LangScape* show. As such, it is impossible to tell whether the Nero Middleton scribe would spell it in <a> consistently. The thorough updating from the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar seems to suggest however that this would be the case.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius, B. iv is also associated with the group of scribes working at Worcester in the late eleventh century, at the point when *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton were produced.²⁸⁰ As such, the appearance of a single instance of '*-weard*' in <a> might be attributed to the influence of its use in Worcester at the time.

²⁷⁶ S 361, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 30^v-31^r and S 1346, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 1-118, fols 57^r-58^r.

²⁷⁷ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', pp. 51-52.

²⁷⁸ S 402, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 119-200, fols 171^v-72^v and S 179, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols 119-200, fols 152^r-54^r.

²⁷⁹ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 62.

²⁸⁰ Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 103. The *EM 1060to1220* project dates this manuscript to s. xi med- xi2, with possible Worcester provenance. 'MS Cotton Tiberius B. iv', *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 13 January 2013].

With the exception of MS Cotton Claudius B. vi, most of the manuscripts which show multiple uses of *-weard* show it consistently spelled in <a>.²⁸¹ MS Cotton Claudius B. vi shows a wide variety of forms within multiple texts, suggesting that the scribe or scribes chose not to use one fixed form. This could be an indication of a different type of training with less focus on fixity or on consistent updating of forms during copying, or it might reflect a phonological shift in progress, which has not yet found a single graphical representation.

The variation of the vowel seen in the *Liber Wigorniensis* examples may be an indication of the changing pronunciation meaning the fixed form in <ea> was no longer accurately representing the scribes' new pronunciation, but no new graphical form to replace it had become widespread.

The <a> spelling change seems to reflect breaking of <ea> before the consonant cluster <rd>.²⁸² Irvine classes this type of spelling variation in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, using <-ward> as an example, as a phonological feature rather than orthographical. She ascribes this change to the shift towards the Middle English pronunciation of the word, rather than influence from Northumbrian.²⁸³ The *DOEC* seems to corroborate the explanation that this is a late-Old English development, as the use of *-weard* in <a> first appears in the eleventh century and becomes increasingly widespread from that point. This spelling change therefore appears to reflect a changing phonological situation, which the Nero Middleton scribe is representing with the graph <a>.

12.10.2.2 <ea/a + lC>

Several words which appear in <ea> in the contexts of the consonant cluster /lC/ in *Liber Wigorniensis* then appear in <a> in Nero Middleton. These words are *eald*, *healf*, *healh* and *weall*. Of these, the <a> form could be reflecting a general shift across Old English of /æa/ > /æ/ > /a/, but which may also be reflecting retraction of early /æ/ to /a/ before /lC/ typical of Anglian texts.²⁸⁴ However, these examples do not constitute every instance of <ea/a + lC> in the texts, as the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 also shows <alning> and <aldorman>

²⁸¹ London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B. vi. A thirteenth-century manuscript associated with Abingdon. *Electronic Sawyer* [accessed 16 January 2013].

²⁸² Campbell, §§88 and 338; Hogg, *Grammar*, §2.89.

²⁸³ Susan Irvine, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition: The E-Text* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), p. cxv.

²⁸⁴ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.15, 5.212, 5.215-16. My thanks to Richard Dance for his help with this section.

and <ealdormon> (replicated each time by the Nero Middleton scribe), demonstrating some inconsistency by the Liber Wigorniensis scribe in this context.²⁸⁵

12.10.2.2.1 Eald

As discussed above, both the S 1280 and S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes show *eald* in <a> with sole the exception of one instance in <ealdormon>. In copying these, the Nero Middleton scribe shows much more distinction between <ea> and <a>.²⁸⁶ The *DOEC* shows that forms of *eald* in <ea> are substantially more common.²⁸⁷ It seems likely that forms of *eald* in <a> are reflecting the overall pronunciation shift from Early Old English (particularly Mercian and Northumbrian) *ald* to Late Old English *āld*.²⁸⁸

As with each other example discussed here, the Liber Wigorniensis scribes have used the form most commonly found in the *DOEC*.²⁸⁹ Due to the number of instances in <ea> an individual discussion of each instance is not feasible. However, it might be assumed that they are distributed across the corpus of Old English and that, if there were a pattern to this distribution, it could be observed by identifying the distribution of forms in <a>.

It is notable that the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, who is not one of the main five scribes of that manuscript, also produced two instances of <aldan> in S 1549, while copying S 1556 entirely in <ea>. This may suggest that this scribe was replicating the forms found in the exemplars for each of these texts.

Forms in <a> are most frequently found in Mercian and Northumbrian texts. The attested forms first appear in the seventh century,²⁹⁰ but are, unsurprisingly, more frequent in later Old English, reflecting the comparative wealth of later manuscripts rather than an expansion of the form's usage. In a few manuscripts they can be seen to occur frequently, for example, *Liber Wigorniensis*, the Vespasian Psalter, the Lindisfarne Gospels, and

²⁸⁵ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 28, 42 and 51 which appear at S 1280 Nero Middleton, ll. 25, 40 and 48.

²⁸⁶ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 39 and 51; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 37, 40 and 48; S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 4, 11, 30 and 31; S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 3, 8, 20 and 21.

²⁸⁷ The *DOEC* shows 1715 instances of declensions of *eald* in <ea> and 116 in <a>.

²⁸⁸ Jerzy Welna, *A Diachronic Grammar of English, Part One: Phonology* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), §§1.21 and 2.11.

²⁸⁹ The *DOEC* shows 1715 instances of declensions of *eald* in <ea>, and 116 in <a>.

²⁹⁰ London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. i. shows eight instances of *eald* in <a> in the glosses.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 144.²⁹¹ These manuscripts cross a 500-year period, and are all from Mercia or Northumbria. Isolated instances of *eald* in <a> also appear in manuscripts from, for example, Exeter, Winchester and Canterbury, but are not widespread enough to suggest a predominantly Anglian distribution.

Earlier Mercian manuscripts do show instances of *eald* in <a>, but its use is notably frequent in Worcester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, contemporary with the production of *Liber Wigorniensis*, Nero Middleton and Hemming's Cartulary. Forms in <a> can be found in the work of seven scribes, although four of these produce it only once or twice, which may not be indicative of their spelling systems. The scribe of S 67 shows only one instance of <aldan>.²⁹² Hand 2 of *Liber Wigorniensis* shows a single instance of <aldan> in S 98 and another in S 94 with no instances of *eald* in <ea> in either.²⁹³ Hand 3 of *Liber Wigorniensis* also shows two isolated instances of <aldan> in S 1254 and S 1441.²⁹⁴ The final scribe to use an isolated instance of *eald* in <a> is the scribe of S 1559, but the charter also shows three instances of <ealdan>, suggesting that the sole use of <a> is an anomaly.²⁹⁵ The remaining instances of *eald* in <a> are found in the work of the *Liber Wigorniensis* Hand 4 and Hemming Hand 3. The *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe designated Hand 4 has produced instances of *eald* in <a> in eight charters.²⁹⁶ Of these, S 1351, S 1369, and S 1370 contain multiple occurrences of *eald*, and with the exception of one instance of <ealdre> in S 1370, each of these is in <a>. This suggests that the use of <a> here is a feature of the scribe's spelling system, and that the scribe made a systematic effort to update the forms of the exemplars, and did so almost completely. Hand 3 of Hemming's Cartulary

²⁹¹ That these forms appear in such prominent manuscripts might explain the use of <ald> as a headword form despite its limited use.

²⁹² S 67 found in London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19788, verified by *LangScape's* transcription.

²⁹³ Hand assignments following those of Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 122-23. S 98 has not been transcribed by *LangScape*, but the appearance of <aldan> in S 94, which has, suggests that the *DOEC* is reflecting the manuscript form.

²⁹⁴ Hand assignments following those of Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 122-23. Each of these is attested by *LangScape's* transcriptions.

²⁹⁵ S 1559, London, British Library, MS Harley 3763, fols 70^v-71^r. This manuscript is the Cartulary and Register of Evesham, dated to the late twelfth, early thirteenth centuries, so cannot be strictly associated with the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Nero Middleton scribes. 'Detailed Record for Harley 3763', in *The British Library: Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* <<http://prodigi.bl.uk/illcat/record.asp?MSID=7360&CollID=8&NStart=3763>> [accessed 17 December 2012]. Spellings attested in *LangScape*.

²⁹⁶ Forms in <a> by Hand 4 are found in S 1337, S 1300, S 1323, S 1351, S 1369, S 1301, S 1370 and S 1339.

copied two texts containing *eald* in <a>.²⁹⁷ Of these, S 1591 contains only one instance of *eald*. S 201 contains nine instances of *eald*, of which five are in <a>. This inconsistency may be ascribed to the later date of this scribe's work, or that the scribe was copying Literatim from a variable exemplar or was inconsistently updating the spellings.²⁹⁸ Similarly, the instances of <a> in S 179 are in a section of manuscript inserted much later in the twelfth century.²⁹⁹

The distribution and spread of forms in <a> across the Old English corpus suggest a shallow orthography reflecting the early phonological shift and later use of that form, predominantly in Mercian and Northumbrian manuscripts. However, the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's use of both forms in two different texts suggests that neither is being used with shallow intent, but that these forms are being copied from the scribe's exemplars. As both forms are prevalent in Worcester and in use in the eleventh century, this suggests the scribe would be familiar with both.

The usage of the Nero Middleton scribe can also be added to the instances of *eald* in <a> produced at this time. It is possible that the Nero Middleton scribe is picking up these forms in <a> from using *Liber Wigorniensis* and the texts discussed above as an exemplar. It is also possible that *eald* in <a> was a commonly used spelling in the Worcester scriptorium and the Nero Middleton scribe was influenced by seeing it in use, not necessarily through contact with those texts discussed above. The presence of an instance of *eald* in the Nero Middleton version of S 1280 in a phrase which does not exist in *Liber Wigorniensis* suggests that when the scribe is composing rather than copying, <a> is the preferred form.

The rise in use of <a> reflects the phonological shift, which is seen in the distribution of these forms in Mercian and Northumbrian texts described above. The attested forms first appear in the eighth century,³⁰⁰ but are more frequent in later Old

²⁹⁷ S 1591 and S 201.

²⁹⁸ This text is found in a portion of the manuscript copied some time after Wulfstan's death in AD 1095. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 61.

²⁹⁹ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 62.

³⁰⁰ These examples are found in the gloss of CCCC, MS 144 and later in the Mercian glosses of the Vespasian Psalter, Cameron numbers C11.6 and C7.7. 'MS 144', *Parker Library: On the Web* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College), <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=144> [accessed 29 August 2013]; J. H. Hessels, ed., *Corpus Glossary: An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary, Preserved In The Library Of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. No. 144)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890); Phillip Pulsiano, 'The Originality of the Old

English. The Nero Middleton scribe's use of both is not unusual, as has been shown here, and suggests that each was acceptable in representing the same phonological situation.

12.10.2.2.2 Weall

The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has one instance of *weall*, in the form <wealle>.³⁰¹ The *DOEC* shows a strong preference for forms in <ea> over forms in <a> – the form used by the Nero Middleton scribe – showing, again, that this scribe has used the most common form.³⁰² As the frequency of forms in <ea> is quite high, a focused look at their distribution is not feasible within the confines of this project. However, the distribution and contexts of *wealle* in <a> will be discussed below.

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has elided *weall* and *leah*, possibly as an indication of this noun phrase's status as a proper noun – although the point at which it gained properhood is not known – using the digraph <ea> in *weall*.³⁰³ The *DOEC* has recorded <weallehes> as a single word, although it is the only example of it. The *English Place-Names Survey* has also recorded <weallehes> and the Nero Middleton equivalent, <wallehes> as a single word in the etymology of 'Whalley Farm'.³⁰⁴ As the *DOEC* records no other occurrences of this compound form, a comparison of its usage across Old English is not possible. However, the scribe's use of <ea> here suggests that the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is using the standard, fixed form.

In copying the instances of *weall* in <ea>, the Nero Middleton scribe has Translated both to <a>.³⁰⁵ The elided form of *weall* and *leah* may have affected the development of the vowel in *weall*, causing the monophthongization in the Nero Middleton version. However, the presence of the <a> graph in S 1280 also suggests that this is the Nero Middleton scribe's preferred form, and that *weall* would be updated to <a> in every instance.

As was discussed above, the *DOEC* shows that forms in <ea> are markedly more commonly found in Old English than forms in <a>. The earliest forms in <a> given by the *DOEC* are from the mid-ninth and tenth centuries and come from the Vespasian,

English Gloss of the Vespasian Psalter and its Relation to the Gloss of the Junius Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 37-62 (p. 38); David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), p. 1.

³⁰¹ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 16.

³⁰² The *DOEC* shows 276 instances of *weall* in various declensions in <ea>, and forty-six in <a>.

³⁰³ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 28.

³⁰⁴ Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, i, p. 185.

³⁰⁵ S 1280, Nero Middleton, l. 13; S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 19.

Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses associated with Northumbria and Mercia. The earliest charter uses of *weall* in <a> appear in Worcester; two in Hemming's Cartulary and three associated with Evesham.³⁰⁶ There are also several examples of these forms in a series of charters from a fifteenth-century Shaftesbury cartulary which must be discounted as being produced too late to reflect usage of even late Old English.³⁰⁷ Finally there are several uses of <walle-> in copies of Bede and its glosses, found in the tenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10.³⁰⁸ The uses of <walle-> appear in glosses and charters in Mercian and Northumbrian manuscripts from the mid-ninth century onwards, suggesting that this spelling reflects a late-Old English dialectal feature.

The use of <a> represents the retraction of *ae* before *lc* which Campbell describes as appearing in late Anglian (Mercian and Northumbrian) texts in which <wall> appears rather than <weall>.³⁰⁹ However, the distribution seen in *Liber Wigorniensis* suggests that this shift is not as total as Campbell states and might be either a later development postdating the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's work, or a feature which the scribe was not trained to, or chose not to, use. Hogg gives examples of spellings in <ea> and <a> where neither is universal and says that '[i]n the circumstances the <a> spellings cannot be said to provide convincing evidence of the persistence of an *a*-dialect'.³¹⁰ This seems more consistent with the evidence presented above, and suggests that, if the Nero Middleton scribe is representing a different pronunciation, it is not one wholly adopted in the orthographic systems of Anglian scribes.

³⁰⁶ Hemming's Cartulary shows two instances of <walle> in S 1227, Cameron number B15.8.537. <walles> and two uses of <walle> appear in S 1599 in MS Harley 3763, and S 1548 in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian B. xxiv respectively.

³⁰⁷ The Cameron numbers for the texts containing forms in <a> are as follows: <wall>: A1.3, B9.6.3, C7.7, C8.2.1, C11.6. <walla>: C8.1.1. <wallas>: B9.6.5, C7.7, C8.1.1, C8.1.2, C8.1.3, C8.2.2, C8.2.4, C45.1.2. <walle>: B9.6.5, B9.6.7, B15.8.55, B15.8.242, B15.8.291, B15.8.537, C7.7, C11.6, C45.1.2. <walles>: B15.8.242, B15.8.291, B15.8.630.

³⁰⁸ Thomas Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Early English Text Society o.s. 95-96 (London: Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, 1890), p.xxii. This manuscript is the work of five scribes and may have palaeographical ties to the Abingdon Chronicle London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. vi.

³⁰⁹ Campbell, §143.

³¹⁰ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.15.

12.10.2.2.3 Healf

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 shows one instance of *healf*, for which the scribe has used <ea>.³¹¹ In keeping with the other instances of Translation discussed here, the Nero Middleton scribe has copied the sole instance of <healf> found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 as <half>.³¹² The *DOEC* shows a strong preference for forms in <ea> over those in <a>.³¹³ This suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is using a fixed form which is in widespread usage, probably as part of a deep orthographic system.

The instances of <half>, as used by the Nero Middleton scribe, are largely from charters, and are in particular found in a late thirteenth-century cartulary from Bury St Edmunds.³¹⁴ There are also instances of <half> in multiple charters from Canterbury and Winchester. The manuscripts with the <half> variant are largely from the eleventh century onwards, and are, with the exception of a few from Lindisfarne, from the south east.³¹⁵ This form is in keeping with the other words discussed here, such as *eald* and *weall*, appearing only in later Old English. However, unlike the form of *eald* in <a>, <half> is not commonly found in Worcester. This could suggest that the scribe is being influenced by non-Worcester and late-West-Saxon forms as has frequently been seen elsewhere in this section.

The form <half> appears as a result of the same phonological process that produced the <ald> form discussed above,³¹⁶ although the distribution shown by the *DOEC* as previously demonstrated does not seem to reflect this, as forms in <a> are found largely in manuscripts from the south east.

³¹¹ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 13.

³¹² S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 9.

³¹³ The *DOEC* shows fifty-seven instances of <half> and 291 instances of <healf>.

³¹⁴ Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 2. 33. McIntosh notes that the scribes of the Bury St Edmunds cartularies follow their exemplars very closely. McIntosh, Angus, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of *Havelok the Dane*', in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 224-36 (pp. 228-29) (first publ. in *Medium Ævum*, 45 (1976), 36-49). Lowe also discusses the behaviour of these scribes in detail. Lowe, 'Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies'.

³¹⁵ The manuscripts containing <half> are the following, by Cameron number: B14.15, B15.1.46, B15.1.77, B15.1.78, B15.1.86, B15.1.173, B15.1.182, B15.4.5, B15.6.1, B15.6.9, B15.6.17, B15.6.33, B15.6.35, B15.6.40, B15.6.41, B15.6.45, B15.6.48, B15.8.23, B15.8.26, B15.8.78, B15.8.563, B15.8.627, B16.5.3, B16.5.4, B16.23.4, B17.9, B19.5, B22.2, C8.1.2, C8.1.3, C8.1.4, C8.2.2 and D4.2.

³¹⁶ Campbell, §143.

12.10.2.2.4 Healh

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has written *healh* three times, each in the form <heale>.³¹⁷ Contrary to the other forms discussed here, the *DOEC* shows that forms in <a> are much more prevalent than those in the standard West-Saxon <ea>.³¹⁸ However, the much larger proportion of instances of <hal> and <hale> shown in the *DOEC* can probably be attributed to being instances of *hal*, ‘whole’, *healh*, *heall*, ‘hall’, or *heall*, ‘stone’, ‘rock’. As the number of results returned for these forms by the *DOEC* is too high to individually identify those which are of *healh* meaning ‘corner or nook’, the *DOEC*’s results might be excluded here. A free text search of *LangScape* shows four instances of <hal> in charter bounds (all from S 770 in Exeter) and thirty of <hale>. If we allow for further occasional instances of these forms in the wider Old English corpus outside of charter bounds, the number of instances is more in keeping with the number of the other forms used.³¹⁹ It also suggests that the distribution of forms of *healh* in <ea> and <a> is evenly split.

When copying two of the three instances of dative singular *healh* from the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar of S 1556, the Nero Middleton scribe has updated the form <heale> to <hale>.³²⁰ There is no equivalent for the instance of *healh* on line 22 of *Liber Wigorniensis* in Nero Middleton because the scribe has changed the line from ‘fram þa heale andlang mærweges’ to ‘þonon onndlong mærweges’, deleting that element of the phrase.³²¹ Unlike the scribe’s treatment of *eald*, there is no variation in the forms of *healh* in Nero Middleton.

Forms in <ea> appear mostly in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, and the *DOEC* shows no attested uses of *healh* in any form before the tenth century. In the eleventh century these are found chiefly in Worcester with a few occurrences in Winchester manuscripts. This may be because the word is found primarily in charter bounds and so, if forms in <ea> are a later development, the first cartularies that were written were in Worcester in the eleventh century. In the twelfth century, forms in <ea> appear in Bath

³¹⁷ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 21, 22, 23.

³¹⁸ The *DOEC*, supplemented by *LangScape*, shows 806 instances of *healh* in <a> and sixty-two in <ea>. These forms include the various declined forms of each.

³¹⁹ The instances of other forms of *healh* are predominantly found in charter bounds, with only occasional, isolated instances found in non-charter texts. As such a search of *LangScape* would give a reasonable approximation of the frequency and use of these forms in the extant corpus of Old English. However, without testing this against the forms in the *DOEC*, this can be no more than supposition.

³²⁰ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 15 and 16.

³²¹ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 21-22; S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 15.

and Winchester, where they are mostly found in the *Codex Wintoniensis*, which is yet to be transcribed by *LangScape*. The thirteenth-century attestations are found in Abingdon, where they frequently appear in MS Cotton Claudius B. vi. Unlike the spellings of *-weard* in this manuscript which show variation in the vowel graph used, instances of *healh* in MS Cotton Claudius B. vi are consistently spelled in <ea>. A survey of the texts containing instances of *healh* in <ea> shows that where a text has multiple instances of *healh*, of which one is in <ea>, all other instances of the word in that text are also in <ea> suggesting that, when a scribe uses <ea>, it is a total shift.

The early instances of both <heal-> and <hale-> are found largely in Worcester manuscripts.³²² Forms in <ea> and <a> are found in six and seven texts respectively, showing no significant preference in Worcester for one form over the other at this date.³²³ The majority of the instances in <a> are found in the work of *Liber Wigorniensis* Hands 1 and 4, although this is restricted to four texts so cannot be said to be representative of any wider pattern of usage.³²⁴ Later instances of *healh* are predominantly in <ea> suggesting that it was introduced in Worcester in the eleventh century and was adopted elsewhere, becoming more widespread.

Inflected forms of *healh* should demonstrate compensatory lengthening, and thus the appearance of *healh* in <a> is unusual. It is possible that this vowel was produced by analogy with a non-oblique part of the paradigm, or it may come from the un-broken Mercian vowel before /lC/ **halh-e*.

If these two forms, <ea> and <a>, are interchangeable, the forms preferred by the scribe are consistent with their usage throughout S1556 with other words of this <ea +lC> type. The scribe's consistent usage of one orthographic form over another suggests that, of the variants – which may have been influenced by a phonological shift – they have chosen to represent the phonological situation with orthographic consistency which may be a result of their training.

³²² The only instances of either form in the eleventh century or earlier not from Worcester are in S 360, a charter from Winchester, S 175 from Canterbury and S 196 from St Albans. Each of these is in <ea>.

³²³ Texts containing *healh* in <ea> are S 772, S 786, S 1307, S 1556, S 1314 and S 141. Texts containing *healh* in <a> are S 67, S 1556, S 1307, S 1317, S 1314, S 1370 and S 201.

³²⁴ S 1307, S 1317, S 1314 and S 1370. One further example of *healh* in <a> is found in S 201 in Hemming's Cartulary, in the work of Hand 3.

12.10.2.2.5 Conclusion of <ea/a + lC>

The words *healh*, *weall*, *eald* and *healf* represent every instance of <ea+lC> which differ between the two texts. The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe uses <ea> representing /æa/ throughout with the exception of <alning> and <aldorman>. The scribe's usage suggests either replication of an inconsistent exemplar, or Mixed updating to the scribe's own orthographic system. The use of these forms in <ea> seems here to be indicative of a deep orthography where the scribe is using the standard, common form with regularity. As will be discussed below, the forms used by the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe and the Nero Middleton scribe suggest that the phonological situation in question was in the process of a shift here. As such, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's adherence to <ea> here might suggest more strongly that it is a fixed aspect of the scribe's orthography.

In copying S 1280 and S 1556 the Nero Middleton scribe has inconsistently updated the forms found in the exemplars, possibly to reflect /a/ rather than /æa/. The variation of the Nero Middleton scribe's usage suggests that this was not a thorough Translation to the new system, rather that there was either influence from the exemplar, or that the scribe's orthographic system allowed for variation in this case. As the Nero Middleton scribe has shown variation in forms elsewhere, and often does so without reference to the forms of the exemplar, this seems to be an instance of orthographical variation, perhaps reflecting the fact that a phonological shift was in progress.

12.10.2.3 Stapol

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used *stapol* once in this text, in the form <stapule>.³²⁵ The Nero Middleton scribe has copied this as <stapole>.³²⁶ The *DOEC* shows the vowel graphs <o>, <e> and <u> being used in *stapol*, of which the most frequently used is <o> and the least is <u>.³²⁷ Although forms in <u> are less frequently occurring in the *DOEC*, the omissions from the *Corpus* make it very likely that this does not reflect the actual distribution of forms, particularly when the total number of results is this small. Regardless, the three forms shown here seem to be of equal frequency.

Of the fourteen instances of *stapol* in <u>, eight are in <stapul>. These do not seem to have any dialectal or datable origin, being found in poems, charters and glosses from

³²⁵ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 24.

³²⁶ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 16.

³²⁷ The *DOEC* shows fifty-four instances of *stapol* in <o>, twenty-one in <e> and fourteen in <u>.

Anglia, Exeter, Winchester and Worcester.³²⁸ In contrast, the <stapule> forms are all from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and are all from charters, three from Abingdon, one from Wiltshire, and the instance in *Liber Wigorniensis*.³²⁹ Overall, however, the forms in <u> do not seem to show any cohesive distribution in the *DOEC* and in particular do not seem to be specific to Worcester. Due to the lack of any kind of strong distribution pattern for forms in <u>, we might conclude that they do not reflect any spoken language variation, but are orthographical variants reflecting the same unstressed vowel.

The instances of <stapol> cited in the *DOEC* are all from charters.³³⁰ Of these, all but one are from manuscripts dated to the twelfth century or later, and are largely found in the *Codex Wintoniensis*. Two instances of <stapol> are found in *Liber Wigorniensis* in the work of Hand 2, in a charter which was also copied by the Nero Middleton scribe but in an abbreviated form which does not include either instance of *stapol*.³³¹

This distribution of *stapol* in <o> shows a strong late-Old English distribution, centred on Winchester, which became most widespread after the time in which the Nero Middleton scribe was working. It is possible the scribe was influenced by two instances in S 55, but were that the case the example in the S 1556 exemplar would have been a stronger influence. Instead, the Nero Middleton scribe has Translated the form found in the exemplar into one which was unlikely to have been encountered widely elsewhere, suggesting this might be a personal innovation, perhaps representing a shallow orthography.

12.10.2.4 Weg

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* copy shows sixteen instances of *weg*, which are consistently spelled in <e>.³³² They are used both as simple nouns and as headwords in compound nouns by both scribes. The consistency of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's spelling here – particularly in light of the alternation introduced by the Nero Middleton scribe, which

³²⁸ <stapul> forms are found in the following texts: Cameron number A2.1 (Andreas from the Vercelli Book), charters S 255 (Exeter, s. xi), S 381 and S 891 (both from *Codex Wintoniensis*), Ch IWm (from *Liber Wigorniensis*), and from the glosses D1.2 and D8.1.

³²⁹ <stapule> forms are found in the charters S 577, S 761, S 964, S 1811 and S 1556.

³³⁰ S 1212, S 1215, S 1588, S 179, S 1811, S 229, S 275, S 360, S 378, S 381, S 412, S 463, S 492, S 493, S 511, S 55, S 591, S 619, S 635, S 693, S 695, S 726, S 754, S 766, S 767, S 772, S 786, S 800, S 944 and S 962.

³³¹ S 55.

³³² S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 27, 28 and 29.

demonstrates the potential for a shallow orthographical form in this context – suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe is using the fixed, deep orthographical form here.

The Nero Middleton scribe's treatment of *weg* appears to be the most clear example any of these three scribes has produced of a shallow orthography. Each of the instances of *weg* in the S 1556 copy in *Liber Wigorniensis* is in <e>, while the Nero Middleton copy shows alternation between <e> and <ei>.³³³

The alternation of <e> and <ei> in Nero Middleton reflects a change in pronunciation of the medial vowel in reaction to the addition of a word-final dative <-e> following the prepositional phrase onset *on*. Where there is an ending, the scribe consistently uses <wege> or <weges>, and where there is no ending, uses <weig>, reflecting the development of *weg* to its Middle English form:

[...] in ME vocalization and diphthongization took place over the following syllable boundary: not only was restored *weg* re-changed to *wei*, but *weges* became *wei-es*.³³⁴

This suggests that the diphthongization occurred first in non-singular forms of *weg*, and then spread by analogy through the paradigm. Thus, the motivation behind this variation in the Nero Middleton copy might be indicative of a shallow orthography reflecting a changed pronunciation. There must have been a difference, if not in the local dialect then perhaps in the scribe's idiolect or in the language of the scriptorium. However, it might be a difference that the scribe is not intentionally trying to represent, but which is a result of a learned orthography.

The *DOEC* shows a substantial preference across the corpus for both inflected and uninflected forms in <e> over those in <ei>.³³⁵ The instances of <weig> are found in thirty-three texts, twelve of which are versions of *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*. A further six are from saints' lives and homilies, and eight are from religious texts. The *DOEC* also shows seven charter texts containing <weig> from Abingdon, Worcester, Exeter, Burton and Evesham.³³⁶ As with previous searches of the *DOEC*, the results have not included S 1556 despite the use of <weig> in the Nero Middleton copy of the text. The distribution of <weig> in the Old English corpus shows, with the exception of Exeter, a Mercian distribution, although it appears most frequently in texts from Abingdon. Again, these are

³³³ S 1556, Nero Middleton, ll. 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18 and 19.

³³⁴ Campbell, §266, n. 3.

³³⁵ The *DOEC* shows 1114 instances of <weg>, 376 of <weges>, fifty-nine of <weig> and nineteen of <wege>.

³³⁶ S 1208, S 115, S 179, S 433, S 567, S 993 and S 879.

found in MS Cotton Claudius B. vi.³³⁷ The scribe or scribes of this thirteenth-century manuscript share many features with the scribes of S 1280 and S 1556.

The appearance of <weig> in a Hemming charter is interesting. Yet again it appears in a leaf added in the later twelfth-century.³³⁸ This may be an indication of a phonological change occurring in the later eleventh century, after the production of *Liber Wigorniensis*, or at least after the training of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes.

The use of <ei> here appears unambiguously shallow. The distribution of this form across the corpus of Old English suggests a late Mercian phonological shift which was reflected in the orthography.

12.10.2.5 **Betweenh**

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has one instance of *betweenh* in the form <betweoh> which the Nero Middleton scribe has copied as <betwyh>.³³⁹ A survey of the *DOEC* for various spellings of *betweoh*, *betwux*, *betwyh* shows that forms in <u> are by far the most common, while forms in <eo> are second most common.³⁴⁰ If a phonological motivation is assumed for the spellings seen here, it is likely <i> and <y> represent the same sound. As such, forms in <i> and <y> number 260 and are almost as frequent as those in <eo>, which suggests that both scribes were using frequently occurring forms of this word.

Forty-eight occurrences of <betwyh> are listed by the *DOEC*. These examples show <betwyh> being used in manuscripts from all dialect areas across a large time range, suggesting that it is not indicative of a particular dialect or language shift.³⁴¹ Scragg says <betwyx> is a 'common eleventh-century spelling' of *betwux*.³⁴² He surveys a variety of forms of *betwux* being used in Ælfric's manuscripts but only discusses their distribution, not the implications for the spoken language they might reflect. The rise of high-front vowel graphs such as <i> and <y> may be indicative of smoothing of */iu/ due to

³³⁷ S 993 and S 1208.

³³⁸ Fol. 153, Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 52.

³³⁹ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 3; S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 3.

³⁴⁰ The *DOEC* shows 514 instances of <betwuh> and <betwux>, 336 instances of <betweoh> and <betweox>, 147 instances of <betwyh> and <betwyx>, 113 instances of <betwih> and <betwix> and sixteen instances of <betwioh>.

³⁴¹ The Cameron numbers of those texts with <betwyh> are: B3.2.23, B3.49, B9.5.2, B9.5.4, B9.5.5, B9.5.6, B9.6.3, B9.6.7, C9.1, B10.3.1.1, B11.5.1, B19.5, B22.2, B23.3.3.7, C7.1, C24.

³⁴² Scragg, 'Ælfric's Scribes', p. 184.

breaking.³⁴³ The spelling <betweoh> used here appears to be phonologically shallow and may reflect the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's spoken language, perhaps reacting to the phonological environment of the vowel sound. The form used by the Nero Middleton scribe appears to be orthographically shallow and may reflect the language of the scribe, reacting to the phonological environments of the vowel sound.

12.10.2.6 Hira

Hira appears five times in S1280, and the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has rendered it using three vowel graphemes: two instances of <eo>, two of <io> and one of <y>.³⁴⁴ The Nero Middleton scribe has Translated each of these to <eo>.³⁴⁵

Here the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has again alternated between the West Saxon and non-West Saxon forms, and has also introduced a 'levelled' umlaut in <hyra> which Hogg has observed in later Northumbrian and Mercian texts.³⁴⁶ As the merging of /io/ and /eo/ which resulted in the indiscriminate use of <io> and <eo> involved a lowering of the first element of /io/ towards the Middle English form, the presence of <y> here might suggest that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's phonemic system had not yet experienced this lowering.³⁴⁷ Hogg attests both <heora> and <hiora> across the different dialect groups of Old English in different degrees of alternation, but Mercian shows a preference for <eo> particularly before /r/.³⁴⁸ This seems to be the case for the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, although the instance in <y> might suggest that the scribe is treating the orthographic alternation as occasionally deep.

The *DOEC* shows a marked preference across the corpus for forms in <eo>.³⁴⁹ Each of the results from the search of the *DOEC* is too numerous to conduct any kind of distribution analysis. An equivalent search of *LangScape's* database does not give representative results as pronouns are typically unlikely to appear in charter bounds. A free-text search for each form gives three results for <hyra> in a copy of S 1892 in London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. viii, a sixteenth-century copy of a tenth-century

³⁴³ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.95 and 5.25.

³⁴⁴ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 14, 26, 29, 32 and 34.

³⁴⁵ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 11, 23, 26, 30 and 31.

³⁴⁶ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.104.

³⁴⁷ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.155.

³⁴⁸ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.158.

³⁴⁹ The *DOEC* shows 8922 instances of <heora>, 1303 of <hyra> and 1072 of <hiora>.

Coventry charter which may or may not replicate the spellings of its exemplar. The forms in <io> and <eo> are likely to be instances of deep orthography representing the same phonological situation. The possibility of <y> representing a deep orthography might be considered cause for some of the variation, if the scribe's orthographical system is at odds with a changing phonological system.

The Nero Middleton scribe's use of <eo> is showing back umlaut plus the typical Mercian lowering of the second element in the diphthong.³⁵⁰ Here, <eo> is orthographically shallow, representing a distinctly separate phonemic situation from <io>, and is intended to show a contrast, unlike in late-West-Saxon.³⁵¹ Campbell cites the Vespasian Psalter gloss as using the form in <eo> 'rarely', suggesting a Mercian connection for it.³⁵²

12.10.2.7 Hie

The majority of forms in <io> are found in the third person pronoun which appears ten times in S1280. Of these, each is spelled <hio> by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, with the exception of one where the final letter is lost due to damage to the manuscript, but which can be assumed to have been <hio> originally.³⁵³ Apart from the instance on line 32, each of these is being used as the plural nominative and accusative form *hie*, 'they'. In copying the regular instances of <hio> from the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280, the Nero Middleton scribe has produced three forms: the majority are in <hi>, two instances are <hig> and a final one in <heo>.³⁵⁴

The exception to the plural nominative and accusative instances refers to Ælfwyn, the daughter of Æthelflæd and Æthelred, and in copying it, the Nero Middleton scribe has corrected the pronoun to <heo>. As with *seseo* above, the Nero Middleton scribe appears to have monophthongized the pronoun *hie* to <hi> throughout. It is possible that the two forms in <hig> are influenced by their phonological contexts, as each is followed by a word in <h-> and the scribe is representing an epenthetic velar consonant in the transition from the high-front vowel to the [h] – which in *hit* would have a palatal point of articulation

³⁵⁰ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.45, 5.104 and 5.155

³⁵¹ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.155, 5.156, 5.157 and 5.158.

³⁵² Campbell, §704.

³⁵³ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 18, 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32 and 35. The damaged <hi[.]> is on l. 26.

³⁵⁴ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 32.

possibly resulting in the insertion of a velar [g].³⁵⁵ However, the instance on line 28 is in the same context and the scribe has not inserted a <g> here.

The *DOEC* shows a substantial preference for <eo> over <io> which, as can be seen, is typical of each of the lexical items which have been discussed here.³⁵⁶ The consistency of form used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe may be influenced by word frequency, as the more frequently used words, such as pronouns, are more likely to become fixed in a scribe's orthography. The scribe has chosen the least common of the orthographical variants.

12.10.2.8 Mylen

One instance of *mylen* is found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 which is in the form <mylen>.³⁵⁷ The Nero Middleton scribe has copied this as <myln>.³⁵⁸ Bosworth-Toller has <mylen> as the headword for two lexemes: one, masculine, meaning 'mill', the other feminine and neuter and meaning 'water mill'. It is not clear which form is intended here. Both forms show <myln> in their cited examples. Conversely, *LangScape* gives <myln> as the headword form.

A survey of the *DOEC* gives six instances of <myln> and eighteen of <mylen>. It also has a single occurrence of <mylepul> alongside <mylenpulle> in another charter from *Liber Wigorniensis*, copied by Hand 1, the scribe of S 1280.³⁵⁹ The six instances of <myln> are nearly all from charters in manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards with no geographical bias beyond not appearing in texts or manuscripts from Northumbria, although the comparative scarcity of Northumbrian manuscripts means this is not necessarily significant.³⁶⁰ The <mylen> forms also show no geographical bias and appear in texts, largely charters, from the tenth century onwards.³⁶¹ Hogg and Campbell give the headword for this lexeme as <myl(e)n> in discussing the loss of medial vowels in disyllabic uninflected forms. They describe <myln> and similar forms as less common than their

³⁵⁵ Hogg, *Grammar*, §7.15.

³⁵⁶ The *DOEC* shows 1056 instances of <hio> compared to 7173 instances of <heo>, although it is not possible with a set of results this large to determine the case and number of each instance.

³⁵⁷ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 31.

³⁵⁸ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 21.

³⁵⁹ S 218.

³⁶⁰ The charters containing <myln> are S 1489 (Bury St Edmunds), S 517 and S 840 (Winchester), S 977 (Evesham), and S 1019 (Canterbury). It also appears in B1.9.2.

³⁶¹ The texts containing <mylen> are as follows: B10.3.1.1, S 179, S 345, S 360, S 536, S 552, S 586, S 620, S 621, S 630, S 874, S 1044, S 1347, S 1556, B16.9.1 and D8.1.

disyllabic counterparts.³⁶² This suggests that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, in using the <mylen> form, is reflecting an orthographical convention, representing the disyllabic phonemic situation.

The late appearance of <myln> is in keeping with the loss of medial vowels in disyllabic uninflected forms.³⁶³ This suggests that the Nero Middleton scribe, in using the <myln> form, is reflecting a changed pronunciation, perhaps reflecting the later date at which the scribe was working.

12.10.3 Forms which Are of Inconclusive Depth

12.10.3.1 Bēon

The present subjunctive singular of the verb *bēon* ‘to be’, *sīe*, appears twice in the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1280 as <sio>, which the Nero Middleton scribe has produced as <sy>.³⁶⁴ Typically, in instances of stressed long vowel + unstressed vowel, the unstressed vowel is lost.³⁶⁵ The exception to this comes in **ī+e* sequences in which, Hogg has noted, the unstressed vowel is preserved in all dialects, or, according to Campbell, in all non-West Saxon dialects.³⁶⁶ As such, the apparent loss of the unstressed vowel in Nero Middleton may be an indication of West Saxon usage. The use of <sio> by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, however, is unusual. It appears to preserve both elements of the vowel sequence, in keeping with non-West Saxon usage, but the use of <-o> has no obvious phonological motivation. It is possibly the result of a misreading of <e> for <o>, but its use twice, twelve lines apart, makes this unlikely. It is possible that this form was a part of the scribe’s orthographic system – albeit one not observed elsewhere – or that it was copied Literatim from the exemplar, and the scribe who produced that exemplar used this form. The final possibility is errorresulting from a lack of understanding of the text, but rest of the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe’s work demonstrates a sufficiently high level of ability to make this unlikely.

³⁶² Hogg, *Grammar*, §6.68; Campbell, §390.

³⁶³ Hogg, *Grammar*, §6.68; Campbell, §390.

³⁶⁴ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 31 and 43; S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 29 and 31.

³⁶⁵ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.131.

³⁶⁶ Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.131; Campbell, §234.

12.10.3.2 Byrig

The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has <byrig> and <byrg> for dative *byrig*.³⁶⁷ In copying these the Nero Middleton scribe has produced <byri> and <byrig> respectively.³⁶⁸ It is possible that the lost <i> in <byrg> is an error, or is reflecting the scribe's or the exemplar's pronunciation, although the appearance of fifty-nine instances of <byrg> (of which the overriding majority are dative) in the *DOEC* suggests that this is not an error.³⁶⁹ The majority of <byrg> forms are found in the Old English *Orosius* of Winchester origin.³⁷⁰ Several instances of <byrg> are also found in charters. These show no particular regional bias, but appear in manuscripts dating from the tenth century onwards, suggesting this might be a later form.³⁷¹ One instance of <byrg> in the dative is found in S 223, which was also copied by *Liber Wigorniensis* Hand 1, the scribe of S 1280, suggesting that this form is part of the scribe's repertoire as much as <byrig> was, and that it is unlikely this form was copied over from the scribe's exemplar.

It is notable that the Nero Middleton scribe has produced two different forms of this word, each of which is different from that of the exemplar at the same point. The form <byri> may have arisen as a result of palatalization of the <g> leading to its being lost on occasion. This would mean that this instance at least is an example of a shallow orthography produced by the Nero Middleton scribe. The *DOEC* shows that this form is rare in comparison with <byrig>.³⁷² The instances of <byri> show a very restricted usage in a ninth-century copy of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* from Worcester, and in the eleventh-century Exeter copies of Ælfric's *Homilies*. The remaining instances of <byri> appear from the twelfth century onwards and show no regional pattern of distribution.³⁷³ The Worcester and Exeter examples suggest that these are isolated instances, not indicative of a widespread

³⁶⁷ S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis*, ll. 14 and 30.

³⁶⁸ S 1280, Nero Middleton, ll. 11 and 27.

³⁶⁹ The *DOEC* also shows 895 instances of <byrig>.

³⁷⁰ 'Detailed record for Additional 47967', *The British Library: Catalogue* <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8372&CollID=27&NStar=47967>> [accessed 14 July 2013].

³⁷¹ <byrg> is found in the charters S 223, S 582, S 1188, S 1202, S 364, S 366, S 369, S 495 and S 563.

³⁷² The *DOEC* shows 895 instances of <byrig> and twenty-five of <byri>.

³⁷³ The Worcester examples are found in B9.5.8.2 and B9.5.10.2, the Exeter examples are found in B1.1.8, B1.1.17, B1.1.28, B1.1.29, B1.1.31 and B1.4.24. Three instances are found in two thirteenth-century charters from Bury St Edmunds: S 1521 and S 1528.

usage, and are perhaps idiomatic quirks of individual scribes. The example in S 1280 may have been produced in error or may be reflecting the loss of the final consonant.

12.10.3.3 Wohan

The *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556 shows one instance of *wohan* which the scribe has rendered <wohan>.³⁷⁴ The Nero Middleton scribe has copied this as <wogan>.³⁷⁵ In the context of ‘to wohan ac’, the adjective *wohan* has been declined with the weak ‘-an’ ending, despite appearing in a strong context. Every other occurrence of either <wogan> or <wohan> in its weak form in the *DOEC* appears in the context of a determiner.³⁷⁶ This suggests either that the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has made a mistake here, which is not unprecedented, or that the determiner was lost when the phrase achieved properhood, and the weak form became fossilized.

Campbell shows that in the inflected form <wohan>/<wogan> the medial consonant is often lost.³⁷⁷ Its use here is perhaps another sign that one or both of the scribes is preserving the form found in their exemplar. The <h> and <g> appear to be two orthographies expressing the medial velar voiceless fricative consonant /χ/, rather than forms expressing different spoken forms.

That neither scribe has altered the ending suggests either that neither scribe knew to correct it, or that they chose not to correct it, perhaps to preserve the text. However, in light of the other alterations and corrections made, at least by the Nero Middleton scribe, it must be concluded that this is a case of one or both scribes transmitting an error without correcting it. The use of the <g> in place of the <h> here might be a deep orthography, in which the two consonant graphs represent the same medial consonant. As with elsewhere, the Nero Middleton scribe has used the form which is, at least within the *DOEC*'s corpus, the less frequently used.

³⁷⁴ S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis*, l. 13.

³⁷⁵ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 9.

³⁷⁶ The texts in which <wogan> appear are as follows: B1.4.17, B15.8.68, B15.8.314, B15.8.580, B15.8.619 and B21.1.1.2. The sole occurrence of <wohan> is in S 1556.

³⁷⁷ Campbell, §643.2.

12.10.3.4 **Beam**

In producing the *Liber Wigorniensis* copy of S 1556, the scribe produced an error in copying the two instances of *beam*, producing one in <-n>. As the Nero Middleton scribe has done elsewhere, in copying <bean> this error has been corrected to read <beam>.³⁷⁸

12.10.4 **Conclusion: S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribe's Orthography**

Of the features selected for discussion here, the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe shows a strong preference for using widespread forms which are used across the Old English corpus without any strong dialectal bias. The majority of these represent a deep orthography, particularly where the scribe shows alternation between two or more forms representing the same phonological situation. Equally, the consistency of certain high-frequency words suggests an element of fixity in the scribe's system, and that these also represent a deep orthography.

It is also notable that the scribe – despite producing this copy at a time in which contemporary scribes are introducing new, shallow orthographical forms to reflect a shifting phonology – continues to use the fixed, widespread forms. This suggests that the scribe is copying Literatim from an older exemplar and is preserving these forms (a theory perhaps supported by the replication of the different punctuation systems found in each set of bounds). It might also suggest a conservative approach to copying, that the scribe might be older, and that the acquired orthographic system, learned in training, is less open to change.

12.10.5 **Conclusion: S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribe's Orthography**

The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has, from the examples discussed here, written in the majority of cases using a deep orthography, typically using forms which are widespread across the Old English corpus. In some instances it can be seen that a phonological shift is in progress at the time the scribe was working, but the scribe, much like the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, has chosen to maintain the fixed form rather than update or adapt the orthography. This might suggest some conservatism in the scribe's written system. The orthographical choices highlighted here also show consistency in the system, suggesting an awareness of a fixed orthographic system which may be a result of training. This scribe uses

³⁷⁸ S 1556, Nero Middleton, l. 11.

a few more forms which seem to represent a shallow orthography than the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe.

12.10.6 Conclusion: Nero Middleton Scribe's Orthography

As seen with the two *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes, the Nero Middleton scribe's orthographical system is not wholly consistent, and while in several cases the scribe eliminated variation from the exemplars, new variation was also introduced. Contrary to Ker's description of the Nero Middleton scribe's carelessness, the repeated corrections of errors in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplars demonstrates that, in this regard at least, the Nero Middleton scribe took care in copying.

This study has shown that the Nero Middleton scribe is, with a few exceptions, consistent in the spelling choices used within each text. This level of regularity of spelling suggests a consistent written standard either as a result of the scribe's training, as dictated by the scriptorium, or as a convention that has developed through influence of the scribes and texts the scribe has encountered, or both. Whichever of these is the case, it still suggests that the scribe's spelling choices are due to written convention. If they represent a shallow orthography, it is often one with recorded examples produced by other scribes, which suggests some level of orthographic fixity or convention for shallow orthographies. Thus, shallow orthographies become fixed and become deep as the spoken language continues to change. Forms used by the Nero Middleton scribe which appear to be shallow are, then, forms which reflect recent sound changes.

The scribe is consistent in the letter choices made and frequently updates the language of the exemplar to conform to preferred forms, typically introducing consistency in place of variable forms found in the exemplars. Very often the forms chosen by the Nero Middleton scribe are forms which can be seen to be later developments. The spellings which are most consistent in the Nero Middleton scribe's system are typically those which follow West-Saxon usage, and the forms used by the Nero Middleton scribe which are less consistent, or are found in less widespread use in the *DOEC*, appear more frequently in Worcester than elsewhere. This suggests that the chief motivating forces behind the scribe's spelling choices are fixed orthographic forms, often reflecting fixed and widespread West-Saxon conventions, and more current trends in use in Worcester, which might lead us to conclude that this scribe received training to use different forms from those used by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes. While the roughly fifty-year time span between the two manuscripts' production means it is highly likely the scribes were trained at different times,

this evidence suggests that the training, if it were conducted in the same place, had been updated and incorporated different forms, with a different degree of internal regularity.

Evidence for a shift in training might be observed in the consistency of each scribe's use of the <a>/<o> alternation. Each scribe demonstrates a clear, fixed orthographic usage here, but the Nero Middleton scribe's preference for <o>, a form which in this later period was more distinctively Mercian, suggests the scribe acquired a different system from the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes.³⁷⁹ Similarly, the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's use of *weg* in <e> shows a fixed, deep orthography, while the Nero Middleton scribe's orthographical system allows for a consistent, shallow representation here.

It is also notable that, in large part, the words which show variation between the two copies, and which have been updated by the Nero Middleton scribe with a high degree of consistency, are comparatively high-frequency words, such as *weg*, *andlang* or *-weardes*. This may be an influence on the scribe's treatment of them, as the scribe is more likely to be familiar with such words than with proper names for local landscape features, and as such is more likely to have a previously established orthographical system in place for them, which can be used in preference to the forms found in the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar. Unfamiliar proper nouns, on the other hand, might perhaps be copied *Literatim* to prevent the introduction of unnecessary errors. This is in keeping with Scragg's statement that 'very common words [...] normally have a high degree of spelling variation'.³⁸⁰ That is, that there is variation within the corpus, and multiple forms that the scribes might choose between. However, within their own orthographical systems, these scribes seem to show much consistency. The exception to this is seen in each scribe's treatment of pronouns, which show internal inconsistency and whose forms are possibly being represented with shallow orthographies.

The Nero Middleton scribe shares features with many other scribes, most of which are isolated instances. However, some appear – from the features surveyed in this work – to share a higher proportion of forms with the Nero Middleton scribe. These scribes include *Liber Wigorniensis* Hands 1, 2, 3 and 4, Hemming Hand 3, the scribe of the later-inserted fol. 153, MS Cotton Tiberius, B. iv, an eleventh-century Chronicle manuscript of possible Worcester provenance,³⁸¹ the *Codex Wintoniensis* scribes, and the producer of London,

³⁷⁹ Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.3-5.5.

³⁸⁰ Scragg, 'Ælfric's Scribes', p. 184.

³⁸¹ 'MS Cotton Tiberius B. iv', in *EM 1060to1220* [accessed 22 January 2013].

British Library, MS Harley 61, a fifteenth-century cartulary from Shaftesbury Abbey, compiled of copies of earlier sources.³⁸² It is notable that there are no overlaps thus far with the usage of *Liber Wigorniensis* Hand 5, but, as this scribe only copied seven texts in the manuscript, it is possible that the forms under scrutiny in this study are not used in the texts copied by this scribe.

The similarities with these other scribes and manuscripts might suggest some kind of shared training or shared influence with the Nero Middleton scribe. They also point towards a unified sense of scribal activity at Worcester across the eleventh century, possibly pointing towards a Worcester school. The non-Worcester manuscripts do not share a provenance and are linked only by the fact that they are all later productions, thus it is more likely that the features the Nero Middleton scribe chose to update are those which lasted and became common enough to be copied by later scribes beyond Worcester. This might be due to the scribe frequently using West-Saxon forms which are particularly found in the *Codex Wintoniensis*, and which, due to Winchester's prominence, are more likely to survive.

12.11 Conclusion

None of the three scribes working on S 1280 and S 1556 is wholly consistent in their spelling choices, but each scribe's work is characterized by certain trends or tendencies which distinguish them and potentially give insight into the influences at play when they copy from their exemplars. With very few exceptions, the majority of spellings used by each scribe appear to be indicative of a deep orthographical system. Where forms are clearly motivated by a shallow orthography, it is not clear whether these are innovations on the part of individual scribes, or whether they are forms which represent a phonological system, but which the scribes have incorporated into their orthographical systems without the intention of conveying specific phonological information (although these are not mutually exclusive). Very often, the frequency and type of usage of a form across the corpus of Old English gives insight into the likelihood of these different possibilities. Several forms show a later date of usage, which became geographically widespread, suggesting that the forms reflect a later phonological change, and the written form became fixed, either reflecting the spread of the phonological form or because of the spread of an orthographical convention.

³⁸² Robertson, p. 281; Kathleen Cooke, 'Donors and Daughters: Shaftesbury Abbey's Benefactors, Endowments and Nuns c. 1086–1130', *Anglo-Norman Studies XII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1989*, 12 (1990), 29–46 (p. 29); MS Cotton Tiberius, B. iv; MS Harley 61.

Other patterns of distribution which suggest a shallow orthography are those forms which appear to be used by a few scribes repeatedly, making them appear more common than they are. These may have been used as phonological representations by those scribes, however, as they are not shared by other scribes working at the same location or date and are not adopted more widely, they may not be representing a spoken form in a way which other scribes recognize or which replaces any existing forms.

While much has been said here about the differences between the Nero Middleton copies and their exemplars, it must also be noted that the Nero Middleton scribe has, in large part, preserved the forms of the exemplars. This has resulted in a mixed copying style which shows more instances of Literatim copying than Translating. It is likely that this is due to similarities between each scribe's orthography resulting from similarities in their backgrounds such as spoken dialect and a shared Worcester training. The differences between each scribe's work, such as the features which are updated in copying or which show internal consistency or inconsistency, might provide insight into which aspects of scribal language are dictated by their training and which features are left to a scribe's discretion or personal preferences.

While some conclusions may be drawn about these scribes' usage, the small scope of this study also highlights some inconsistencies which can only be answered by expanding the study to include a wider selection of each scribe's work. For example, the Nero Middleton scribe consistently updates <a> to <o> in S 1556, but shows a different pattern in S 1280, and the same inconsistency can be seen in the use of <i> and <y>. This might be due to influence from the exemplar, but no concrete conclusions can be drawn without further comparative work.

13 CHAPTER 13: Conclusion

This thesis has produced descriptions of scribes' writing systems, and demonstrates that such systems consist not only of their palaeographical features or orthographical choices, but also of their punctuation and abbreviation systems, their choices of lexical and structural phrasing, and the ways in which they choose to apply each of these. These scribes' writing systems are not fixed constructs, but are the culmination of some kind of formalized training, the influence of the other usages they encounter, top-down instruction in their working environment, their exemplar, and the needs and circumstances of their copy's production. Each of these factors combines to build a system which is unique for each scribe.¹

The research presented here has provided insight into the behaviour of a selection of copying scribes in the eleventh century, and into Worcester and the production of its cartularies.² It has provided, beyond just studying the texts and the scribes' work, further detail about the relationships between the scribes at work here, the similarities and differences between them, and potential insight into the way in which scribes were trained and worked in Worcester. It has also identified a further scribe, the rubricator of Nero Middleton, which suggests that the cartulary was a collaborative work with scribes working together at the same time on the manuscript, perhaps indicating a hierarchy between them as has been identified elsewhere.³

Each of the scribes included in these case studies has exhibited different behaviour in their copying. In the absence of exemplars for the two *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes, fewer concrete observations can be made about their copying styles: features of their writing styles could be innovations produced in the copying process, or could be transferred Literatim from their exemplars. As such, any statements made about the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies must primarily concern the work they have produced rather than possible conclusions about their copying styles.

13.1 The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribe

The majuscule <t> graph used by the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe in the copying of several texts in this stint suggests an effort at archaizing as the scribe has appropriated a

¹ This was set out in Section One, particularly in Chapters 1 and 2.

² The need for this was set out in Section One, Chapter 4.

³ As suggested by Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 29.

ninth-century form. Several factors point to this being a feature of the scribe's writing system rather than being a feature replicated from the exemplars. These include its appearance across several texts presumably copied from exemplars by multiple scribes; the distribution across all word and sentence positions which is different from its original ninth-century application, and the absence of this graph in the work of any of the other *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes.

The presence of multiple sets of bounds within this charter, each with different conventions in style, structure, punctuation and word-choice presumably resulting from what were, originally, separate exemplars, provides an opportunity for some conclusions to be drawn about the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's copying style. That is, that even if the scribe did introduce new practices to these bounds, enough differences persist between them to suggest that the scribe was copying these features Literatim.

The punctuation used by this scribe shows a wide variation in both form and function, varying not just between each set of bounds, but between the Latin and Old English portions of text, and within the Old English portions of text appears to show multiple systems at work simultaneously. From this it might be concluded that the scribe has preserved the punctuation of the exemplar and added further marks to those already there. The abbreviation use seen in this text is restricted to the beginning and end of the text, possibly under influence from the manuscript page layout or due to the function of those portions. The scribe has abbreviated the Latin and Old English differently, showing distinct conventions. It is possible these are replicated from the scribe's exemplar, but the apparent influence of the *Liber Wigorniensis* page layout on their distribution suggests the scribe at least made adaptations to the system, if not imposed a new system on the text.

The S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe shows quite a fixed orthography which rarely introduces new spellings. The predominance of these archaic forms either suggests a conservative, or older, scribe, or a scribe copying Literatim from an exemplar which contains these older forms. In conclusion, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe of S 1280 appears to be a scribe who followed the forms of the exemplar very closely and who, when introducing forms or features in the copying process, used conservative and even archaic forms which had perhaps been encountered earlier in the scribe's career.

13.2 The S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* Scribe

Both copies of S 1556 contain extensive, formulaic repetition. Of the two scribes who have produced the extant copies of this text, the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has produced the most

repetition, but without that scribe's exemplar it is impossible to know what alterations were made to the structure of the text. Unlike the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, this scribe has produced almost no punctuation, either replicating a punctuation-free exemplar, or removing any punctuation when copying the text. It is possible that both the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes copied the punctuation of their exemplars, suggesting a similarity in practice between them. However, it is equally, or perhaps more, possible that the scribes show very different punctuation styles which they imposed upon their copies, which suggests that, if these two scribes were both trained at Worcester at a similar time, the use of punctuation, in Old English at least, was not a standardized part of their training. Similarly, the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe has used very little abbreviation, and the abbreviation which is used shows a very restricted application, being applied only to the word-final <-m> of some function words. Again, the differences between the two *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes in this respect suggest that abbreviation use in Old English was not something formalized or dictated by the scriptorium. However, the orthographical system of the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe does show similarities with that of the S 1280 scribe. The S 1556 scribe has a consistent orthography which appears to be relatively fixed. Again, this scribe has chosen to use older forms rather than introduce forms which represent changes to the phonological system.

Less can be said about the copying style of the S 1556 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe than about the S 1280 scribe. It is notable, however, that in producing this copy of the text, strikingly little punctuation and abbreviation has been used, either because the scribe's own system calls for such usage or because this copy was produced Literatim from an exemplar with this usage.

13.3 The Nero Middleton Scribe

Like the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, the Nero Middleton scribe has used palaeography for stylistic effect, in this case using word-final majuscules to stretch line-lengths, something which the scribe does across multiple texts and which is intrinsically linked to the page layout of the manuscript. The use of palaeographical features in this way must therefore be a feature which scribes are able to alter in copying without reference to the usage of their exemplars.

In copying the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplars, the Nero Middleton scribe has made changes on every level. It could be suggested that these changes were made with the awareness that the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplars existed and thus these copies did not need

to preserve the integrity of the texts in the same way. However, none of the changes made truly alter either text. In copying the bounds of each text the scribe has made structural changes: in S 1280 some of the different conventions preserved by the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe have been standardized, and in S 1556 some of the repetition has been removed. In copying S 1280 the Nero Middleton scribe has also made phrase- and lexis-level changes which do not alter the meaning of the text, but rather suggest different stylistic preferences. In some cases the scribe has corrected errors, although not consistently. The changes made to the phrasing of the texts suggest that, in copying them, the Nero Middleton scribe was holding sense units as short phrases mentally and then writing them out, rather than copying on a word-by-word or letter-by-letter basis.

The Nero Middleton scribe has been consistent in punctuating. The punctuation of both the *Liber Wigorniensis* copies of S 1280 and S 1556 has been preserved by the Nero Middleton scribe, and the scribe has added extensive further punctuation to both. However, unlike the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe (who replicated multiple punctuation systems from the exemplar), the Nero Middleton scribe has consistently used one punctuation mark to perform a variety of functions. The scribe also uses different systems of punctuation for Latin and Old English, suggesting that, even if none of the scribes received training in punctuation use for the vernacular, the Nero Middleton scribe at least was treating them as independent systems, rather than simply applying the Latin system to Old English.

The Nero Middleton scribe shows different styles of abbreviation in each text, possibly influenced by the usage in the exemplars. In copying S 1280, the scribe has introduced more abbreviation, using different systems for the Latin and Old English portions of the text. While the Latin text is heavily abbreviated, with marks that show a variation in form and function, the Old English section is sparsely abbreviated, showing only the word-final <-m> and <þ> for *þæt*. Conversely, the Nero Middleton copy of S 1556 shows even less abbreviation than its exemplar, in this case only of word-final <-m> in restricted use. These two texts show that the Nero Middleton scribe had a sparse system of abbreviation for Old English which was applied to the texts the scribe copied regardless of the forms found in the exemplars. Each of these scribes uses very little abbreviation for Old English. It is possible that this is a result of their training.

Overall, the Nero Middleton scribe shows some consistency in the orthographical system, particularly where forms represent a more explicitly deep orthography, suggesting

that certain forms are fixed as conventions in the scribe's system. Many of these forms show a connection to West-Saxon usage, such as the use of <sy> for the present subjunctive singular *sie* which replaced the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe's unusual use of <sio>. The scribe's treatment of more widespread features such as the alternation between <eo> and <io> is also more typically West Saxon. The use of these forms may be indicative of a shift in training at Worcester since the *Liber Wigorniensis* scribes were trained, perhaps just to reflect changes in typical usage across Anglo-Saxon England. This may also suggest that the scribe was trained elsewhere, and that this resulted in the West-Saxon influence.

13.4 The Implications of these Scribal Profiles

The overriding conclusion which can be drawn from this thesis is the worth to be found in studying scribal activity, and the wealth of information found when studying individual witnesses without recourse to an original and without editorial intervention. Scribes' work is valuable, and copying scribes produce work with much scope for further study, which should not be neglected in favour of an 'original' version of a text. They are not corruptors: rather, their changes have worth. While this is not a new argument, this thesis has produced ample supporting evidence. The transcriptions produced for this thesis have preserved majuscules, punctuation (in both position and form), abbreviations (in both position and form), and individual spelling variations. Such details are rarely presented in editions and the loss of this information, while making the editions better suited for other purposes, has resulted in the neglect of these features, and in an incomplete or altered picture of scribal behaviour. The use of multiple witnesses for each text has also provided insight which is lost in best text practice. For example, the loss of *Ludading wic* in the Nero Middleton copy of S 1280 may be indicative of administrative changes which remain unexplored when the two witnesses are not presented thus.

The later chapters of this thesis have indicated some problems inherent in the tools used for research. At present, the *DOEC*, the most complete resource available for Anglo-Saxon scribal behaviour, does not contain transcriptions of many individual witnesses and is largely drawn from editions. The incomplete nature of this corpus, and its use of editions, inevitably leads to problems in using it for such purposes as manuscript and scribe localization. The *DOEC* also does not preserve abbreviations and instead, it must be assumed, silently expands them, resulting in a warped picture of scribal usage.

This thesis has demonstrated that there is much scope for further work on abbreviation and punctuation use. At present there exist a few isolated studies of individual

scribes, and some wider surveys, but there is the potential for much further study. Such work would again have to be conducted using individual manuscript witnesses or facsimiles and is hampered by the lack of available resources such as databases which take account of these features.

As was established in Chapter 1 of this thesis, much less can be said about the training scribes underwent in Old English than can be said about their training in Latin and in the acquisition of scripts. As a result, the extent to which the teaching of certain features was formalized is unclear, such as the use of abbreviation or punctuation in Old English, the conventions of orthography, or the different ways in which a scribe could copy a text. The role of the scriptorium in the formation of a scribe's writing system is also unclear, as is the extent to which systems and conventions were developed organically as a result of scribes working closely together over a period of time. The aim of comparing near-contemporary scribes' work, and of comparing the work of copying scribes with their exemplars was to differentiate those features of their work which were indicative of their own writing systems from those which were replicated from their exemplars. From this, conclusions can be drawn about the scribes' copying practices and their writing systems, which can give insight into their training and working environments. These conclusions would fit within the pre-existing picture of scribal training and activity in Anglo-Saxon England.

This study has identified conventions used by the scribes in Latin which are different from those used in writing and copying Old English. These patterns used by the Worcester scribes are in keeping with the trends in usage which can be observed across Old English: for example, each scribe's use of the abbreviation of <-m> using a superscript dash, which is typical of Old English abbreviation, alongside extensive and varied abbreviation in Latin. If abbreviation use in Old English were merely a case of each scribe applying the conventions that had been taught for Latin without any instruction, we might expect to see much more variety and use of abbreviations in Old English. The same can be said for the system of punctuation used by each scribe, which shows internal consistency of use and an awareness of the structures of Old English which was unlikely to have developed across the Anglo-Saxon scriptoria without some kind of instruction. However, the scribal profiles presented here show different styles of abbreviation and punctuation used by each scribe, and also by the Nero Middleton scribe between two texts, which suggests that these features were not taught as fixed systems. The Nero Middleton scribe imposed different styles onto the two texts, demonstrating that these different systems are not the result of *Literatim*

copying, but are part of the scribe's own writing system and must have been acquired at some point prior to working on that manuscript. The *Liber Wigorniensis* S 1280 scribe's work, however, shows a very different style of abbreviation and punctuation which points to a style of copying much closer to Literatim. This leads to the conclusion that these scribes did receive some kind of formalized training in abbreviation and punctuation use in Old English but that this training did not necessarily result in a fixed system. It also suggests that, in the time between these two scribes working, the teaching of copying at Worcester changed, or that the scribes were trained in different places.

The linguistic aspects of the scribal profiles show comparatively few differences between the scribes' work, particularly on a lexical, morphological and syntactical level, as the Nero Middleton scribe has produced copies with more similarities with the *Liber Wigorniensis* exemplar than differences. The orthographical changes made to the two texts suggest that the Nero Middleton scribe was either a Mixing scribe, or a Translator whose orthographical system was very close to that of the exemplars. As the level of change is similar across the two texts in this case study, the exemplars of which were produced by two different scribes, the most likely conclusion is that, while each scribe shared a common set of features, the Nero Middleton scribe's copying style was that of a Mixer, sometimes reproducing the forms of their exemplar, sometimes imposing their own. The similarities between each scribe's work suggest some kind of orthographic fixity which stretched from the point of the oldest scribe's training, prior to the production of *Liber Wigorniensis*, to the point of Nero Middleton's production. This could potentially cover a stretch of almost one hundred years, and fits with the narrative of a strong tradition of written Old English at Worcester, as has been described elsewhere.⁴ The types of changes made by the Nero Middleton scribe do, however, suggest some differences in training, as touched on above. The updated forms, and apparent West-Saxon influence, suggest either that the Nero Middleton scribe was trained or lived elsewhere, or that, if orthographical forms are in any way fixed, the training at Worcester changed to include these forms.

However, the relatively close style of copying observed in S 1280 and S 1556 is out of character for what has been observed of the Nero Middleton scribe's behaviour elsewhere in the manuscript, which shows heavy editing of the texts being copied.⁵ This demonstrates

⁴ Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 34 and 81-82; Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester', p. 62; Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Documents*, p. 40.

⁵ Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 66; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 127.

that the scribe was capable of working with multiple copying styles and behaviours, and could adapt them depending on the contexts and needs of the texts, or manuscripts, in question. This, in conjunction with the apparent Literatim copying of the S 1280 *Liber Wigorniensis* scribe, suggests that scribes at Worcester at this date copied in a variety of styles, perhaps indicating that the practice was not something formally taught or standardized at Worcester, or, if the Nero Middleton scribe were trained elsewhere, that the scriptorium did not impose a uniform copying style across its production.

The comparative nature of this thesis has shown that the Nero Middleton scribe has used different copying styles in different texts. The exemplar seems to be a strong influence on the scribe's work, and some of the choices made by the scribe can clearly be seen to be guided by the exemplar, as in, for example, the replication of some instances of abbreviation and punctuation. However, many of the changes made by the Nero Middleton scribe show one behaviour within S 1280 and another in S 1556, such as the scribe's spelling of *andlang*, which is different between the two texts, their use of <i> and <y> which is also different between the two, and their application of punctuation and abbreviation which again shows different behaviours in the addition of new marks to those found in the exemplars. This means that, for this scribe at least, copying a text is not simply the process of applying a personal system to the forms and language of the exemplar, but that the scribe's system is changeable and not a fixed thing. This has implications for how we think about scribes and their work, and how we perceive the language produced by copying scribes.⁶ The layering of spoken and written language systems, already far from simplistic, appears to show further complications if each scribe's written system is treated as changeable. The role of training and its influence in the formation of a scribe's writing system also merits further investigation, as the source of this changeable system requires exploration. The lack of standardized behaviour here is at odds with the signs of consistency observed in the scribes' work overall, and the strong tradition of written Old English at Worcester. The combination of similarities and differences between each scribe's work seems to suggest that their written systems for Old English are more influenced by working alongside other scribes and assimilating each other's behaviours, rather than being acquired by top-down training along with Latin and script. This collaborative route would

⁶ As in, for example, the layering of systems described by Laing 'Multidimensionality', pp. 49-93; Benskin and Laing, '*Mischsprachen*', pp. 55-106, and Stenroos, pp. 460-61.

produce many similarities between scribes' work without exhibiting signs of overarching standardization or consistency.

The changeability of a scribe's copying behaviour also has practical implications for the identification of scribes based on their language choices, particularly using their orthographical systems. If a scribe exhibits different copying behaviours on different texts, it is possible that this has resulted in the identification of too many individual scribes. Indeed, using the Nero Middleton scribe's behaviour as a guide, it appears to be infeasible to identify a scribe by their behaviour in certain situations using features such as their orthographical or abbreviation and punctuation systems if they alter their behaviour between copies. McIntosh's scribal profiles acknowledge that spelling systems alone cannot be used to identify and distinguish between scribes, and thus included a graphological profile.⁷ This thesis shows that, to a certain extent, a scribe's abbreviation and punctuation use could be a valuable contribution to the identification and description of scribes and their work, as these are different within each scribe's system, as long as each of these features is used with an awareness of the changeability of a scribe's writing system.

13.5 Further Work

This thesis has demonstrated the value of studying the copying process rather than using copies solely as a means of identifying scribes and differentiating between them, or as an access to the 'original' form of the text. The process can be expanded to include further texts copied by each of these three scribes in order to test whether the observations made here are applicable to their work copying further exemplars, but can also be expanded to include all of Worcester's output in the eleventh century to build a picture of the scribes working there and the degree of relatedness – or its lack – between them.

Furthermore, a comparison of scribal copying of charters with other genres of text would allow further insight into the role genre plays in influencing scribes' copying behaviours. As has been highlighted above (Chapter 4), the current picture of scribal behaviour in Anglo-Saxon England is biased towards literary texts.⁸ Charters' use as a resource for scribal activity would further reinforce the place of charters and cartularies in

⁷ McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', p. 33.

⁸ Lass, p. 4; Laing, '*Never the Twain Shall Meet*', p. 103; Donald Scragg, 'Ælfric's Scribes'.

the literary culture of Anglo-Saxon England, an area from which they are typically neglected.⁹

A wider study of the copying styles of scribes of this type would allow more concrete conclusions to be drawn, not just about the form of scribes' writing systems and their copying habits, but also about the training they underwent and the circumstances in which they worked. This would go some way towards developing a more complete picture of scribal culture in Anglo-Saxon England, and of the place of Old English within that culture.

⁹ The omission of charters and cartularies from many studies of Anglo-Saxon manuscript production was discussed above, in Section One, Chapter 4.

Appendix 1: S 1280, *Liber Wigorniensis* Transcription¹

- fol. 6^v 1 Læn haga
 7 land læn.
 æþereðe
 and æþelflæde.
- 5 Omnibus namq; sapienTibus notum ac manifestum con
 stat quod dicta hominum uel facTa p multiplici erumnarū
 [...]turbatione & cogitationū uagatione frequenter ex memo
 ria recedunt nisi litterarū apicibus & custodie cauTela
 scripturarū reseruenTur & ad memoriā reuocenTur .
- 10 Quam ob rem anno dominicæ Incarnationis . dcc^occ . ii^oii .
 [...]Tione uero . i . has ob memoriam posTeritatis litteras scri
 bere Iussimus . Ðæt is ðonne ðæt uuerfrið bisceop 7 seo
 heoredden æt weogerna ceasTre syllað 7 gewritað æþelræde
 7 æþelflæde heora hlafordū þone hagan binnan byrig Æt
- 15 wiogerna ceasTre se is from þære ea seolfre bi þam norð
 wealle east weardes . xxviii . roda lang 7 þanon suðweardes
 . xxiiii . roda brad . 7 eft þanon west weardes on sæferne . xviii .
 roda long . 7 eac hio sellað him þæt medwe lande bi westan sæ
 ferne on efen þone hagan an^dlang þære bisceopes dice of
- 20 ðære ea þat hit cȳmð west ut on þæt mor on dic 7 swa norð
 ut on efen þæt gelad . 7 swa east weardes þæt hit cȳmeð eft
 wið nioðan þat gelad on sæferne . Eac hio sellað him be befer
 burnan þa ludading wic 7 ec þær To sextig æcera earð londes
 be suðan beferburnan : 7 oþer sexTig be norðan : 7 ec swið[.]
- 25 rumod lice Twelf æceras þær to ful godes mædwe landes 7 ea[.]
 hio sellað þis him hiora milde mode 7 wilniað him to þæt hi[.]
- fol. 7^r sion ægðer ge hl[.]fardes freond ge þære [...]
 7 hio his willað alning him To earnigan dægges and nehtes

¹ London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius, A. xiii, fols 6^v-7^r.

- mid heora godcundnesse swa hio bestð magon . 7 hio hit
 30 hæbben a gebýnnan býrg gebutan un besacen wið ælce
 hand þa hwile þe hio lifgean . 7 gif ælfw leng sio . þonne sy
 hiT hýre swa un be sacen þa hwile þe hio lifge. 7 ofen hyra
 þreora dæg agefe hit mon eft þære Circan hlafarde swa
 gegodad swa hit þonne sio for hiora þpiora saule butan æg
 35 hwelcum geflite gif god wile þæt hio hit gegodian moton .
 Augentibus & custodientibus retributio aterne beatitudi
 nis augeatur In celo . minuentes et frangenTes sempiTerna
 IncrepaTione redarguanTur nisi prius digna satisfactione
 emendauerinT; Pas gerædnisse eall se hio red gegiung ge eald
 40 mid crisTes rode Tacne gefæstnodon . 7 þara Twelf noman her
 sTondað awriTene be æftan :– 7 eac þara frionda noman þe
 we us to gewitnesse gecuron. + Æþred aldorman and æþelflæd
 [..]rcna hlafardas mid us hit gewriotan [...]
 [..]o uuerfrið ep̄s propria [...]
- 45 Ego Cynhelm diac et abbas subscripsi .
 Ecfyð p̄r os̄ . + Wiglaf p̄r os̄ .
 Oslac [...]
 Cynað diac suḅ . Bernhelm . + earduulf .
 [..]lfred + Uullaf . Ciolhelm .
- 50 Alhmund . + Eadgar bisceop . Aldred .
 Æþelfrið ealdormon . + Ælfred. + Ælfstan.
 Eadric . + Uulfhun . [...]
 æðeredes gerædnis 7 æðelflæde wið wærfrið bisc.

Appendix 2: S 1280, Nero Middleton Transcription¹

- 1 EÐEREDES GERĘDNESSE 7 EÐELFLEDE WIÐ WERFRID . B̄:-
 [O]MNIB: NAMQ: SAPIENTIB: NOTŪ AC MANIFESTŪ CON-
 stat . qđ dicta hominū uel facta,p multiplicib:
 criminū pturbationib. & cogitationū uagationib:
 5 frequent̄ ex memoria recedunt nisi litterarū apicib:
 & custodiæ cautela script²arū reseruent² & ad memo-
 riā reuocent² . Quamobrē Anno dn̄icæ incarnationis
 New column dcc^occ . ii^oii . indict¹ . i . has ob memoriā posteritatis lit-
 teras scribere iussimus . Ðæt is þon̄ þ werfrið b̄ 7 se
 10 hired æt wigra ceastre sýllað 7 gewritað æþelrede
 7 æþelflæde heora hlafordū þonæ hagan binnan byri
 æt wigraceastre . se is frā þære ea sylfre bi þæ norð
 walle east wardes . xxviii . roda lang . 7 þonon suþwardes
 . xx . iiiii . roda brad . 7 eft þonon westwardes on sæferne .
 15 xix . roda long . 7 eac hi wýllað hī þ medwe land bewestaN
 sæferne on efen þone hagan . andlang þæs bes dic of
 þære ea þ hit cýmð west ut on þ mo^rdic . 7 swa norð þ
 hit cýmð ut on efen þ gelad . 7 swa estwardes þ hit cymð
 eft wið neoþan þ gelad on sæferne . Eac hi sýllað him
 20 beferburnan . 7 eac þær to . lx . æcera earð londes besuþan
 beferburnan . 7 oþre . lx . benorðan . 7 ec swýþe rumed
 lice . xii . æceras þær to fulgodes mædlandes . 7 eall hi
 sýllað þiss heō mid milde mode . 7 wilniað him to þ hi
 syn eigðer ge hlafordes freond ge þara hina . ge þære
 25 cýrcan . 7 hig his wýllað alning hieō to earnien dæges
 7 nihtes mid heora godcundnesse . swa hi betst magoN .
 7 hi hit habban á gebinnan býrig ge butan unbesacen
 wið ælce hand þa hwýle þe hi lifgean . 7 gif ælfw leng
 sy . þon̄ sý hit swa un besacen þa hwile þe heo lifige . 7

¹ London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, part 2, fol. 182^r.

- 30 ofer heora þreora dæg . agefe hit mon eft þære cir-
 cean hlaforde . swa gegodad swa hit þon̄ sý . for heora
 þreora sawle . buton ælcū geflite . gif god wile þ̄ hig
 hit godian motan . Augentib; & custodientib:
 retributio æternæ beatitudinis augeat² in cælo . mi-
 35 nuentes & frangentes sempit̄na increpatione redargu
 ant² . nisi pri³ digna satisfactione emendauerint . þas
 gerædnesse eall se hired ge iunge ge ealde mid cristes
 rode tacne gefæstnodon . 7 þara . xii . noman her standað
 awritene bæftan . 7 eac þara freonda noman þe we us
 40 to gewitnesse curon . + Æþelred aldor man 7 æþelflæd
 myrcna hlafordas mid us hit ge W R I T O N .
 + Ego werfrið ep̄s̄ppria manu consensi & corroboro .
 + Ego kinelm abb̄ . + Ego ecgfrið p̄br̄ consensi .
 + Ego wiglaf p̄br̄ . + Ego oslac p̄br̄ .
 45 + Ego cinað diacon^o . + Bernhelm . + EardwulfuS .
 + Wlfred . + Ceolhelm . + Wllaf .
 + Alhmund . + Edgar b̄ . + Aldred .
 + Æþelfrið ealdor mann . + Ælfred . + Ælfstan .
 + Eadric . + Wlfhun . + Æþeredes gerædnesse 7
 50 æþelflæde wið werfrið b̄ 7 wiþ þone hired on weger
 na ceaSTER .

Appendix 3: S 1556, *Liber Wigorniensis* Transcription¹

fol.114^r 1 Ðis synd þa land gemær into widiandune
 Ærest of a[~]na forda innan tilnoþ and
 lang tilnoþes to waclescumbe betweoh
 waclescumbe 7 ealdan slæde innan mæ
 5 nanlea frā mænanlea on horsweg of
 horswege innan gatanstige þanon innon
 denebroc of denebroce innon tilnoþ
 7long tilnoþes to halgan wýllan of þære
 wýllan in hreod cumb ðanon in þa mærdic
 10 andlang þære dic to cnictes ferwege
 of þam wege on ealdan stanwege of stanwege
 on posecumbes heafðon 7 swa on suð
 healf þæs mores to wohan æc from
 þære æc þurh þone sceagan on flod
 15 Leah þanon on beamweg frā þā wege on
 buccan slæd 7 swa eft on beanweg andlang
 ðæs weges to colesburnan forda frō þā
 forda innon cyrn ēa 7lang ēa to mærcūbe
 lang cūbes to lind ofres heafdan 7 swa
 20 to þam fulanwege to nataleahes æsce
 frā þā æsce to duddan heale frā þā
 heale andlang mærweges to byrcsies
 heale 7 swa to piçan stapele of þam
 stapule in catteshlinc frā þā hlince
 25 innan mærbroc andlang broces to
 mærforda of þā forda to sceapan ecge
 fol. 114^v 7 swa on þone grenanweg andlang weges
 to weallehes wege 7 þanon on stanihtan
 weg to alre wýllan of alre wýllan to þære

¹ London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols. 114^r.

- 30 ealdan dic andlang dic ofer huniburnan
in þa oþre ealdan dic 7 swa in þone mýlen
pol of þā pole to þære port stræte and
lang stræte to þā þorne on annandune
of þære dune into annancrundele 7
- 35 swa æfter stræte in annanford.

Appendix 4: S 1556, Nero Middleton Transcription¹

- 1 DIS SYNDON LAND GEMÆRV . TO WIDIANDUNE : —
 [E]rest of onna forde innon tilnoð . ondlong tilnoðes to wacles
 cumbe . betwýh wacles cumbe 7 ealdan slæde in mænanlea .
 þonon on horsweig . of horswege innan gatan stige . þonon
 5 on denebroc . of þæ broce in tilnoð . ondlong tilnoðes to
 halgan wýllan . of þære wýllan in hreodcumb . þonon in
 þa mærdic . ondlong þære dic to cnihtes fer wege . of þæ
 wege on ealdan stan weig . of þæ wege on pose cumbes heafdon .
 7 swa on suphalf þæs mores to wogan æc . of ðære ac þurh
 10 þone sceagan on flodlæh . þonon on beam weig . of þæm
 wege on buccanslæd . 7 swa eft on beamweig . ondlong þæs
 weges to coles burneforde . þonon in cirn ea . ondlong ea
 to mær cumbe . ondlong cumbes to lind ofres heafdon .
 7 swa to þæm fulan wege to nateleages æsce . fram þæ
 15 æsce to duddan hale . þonon ondlong mærweges to birc
 siges hale 7 swa to pican stapole . þonon on cattes hlinc .
 and swa on mærbroc . ondlong broces to mærforde . þonon
 to sceapan ecge . 7 swa on þone grene weig . ondlong weg
 to wallehes wege . þonon on stanihtan weig . to alre wýllan .
 20 þonon to aldan dic . ondlong dic ofer huniburnan . IN
 þa oðre aldan dic . 7 swa on þone mýlnpol . of þæm pole
 to þære port stræt . ondlong stræte to þæm þorne on
 onnan dune . of þære dune into onnan crundele .
 7 swa æfter stræte in ON NaN ford :—

¹ London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fol. 181^r.

Bibliography

- Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series. Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society s.s. 17 (London: Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, 1997)
- An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898)
- An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth: Supplement*, ed. by Toller, T. Northcote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921)
- An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth: Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement*, ed. by Alistair Campbell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)
- An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ed. by Thomas Northcote Toller and others. Comp. by Sean Christ and Ondřej Tichý (Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 21 July 2010) <<http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/>> [accessed 20 December 2012]
- 'Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clauses', in *LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* <<http://www.langscape.org.uk/about/boundaries.html>> [accessed 02 March 2013]
- Arakelian, Paul G., 'Punctuation in a Late Middle English Manuscript', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 76 (1975), 614-25
- 'Aspects of Charters', in *Kemble: The Anglo-Saxon Charters Website* <<http://www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk/node/8>> [accessed 02 March 2013]
- Augustine, *De dialectica*, trans. by B. Darrell Jackson (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1975)
- Bains, Doris, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae: Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of 850 to 1050 A.D.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936)
- Baker, Nigel and Richard Holt, 'The City of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 129-46
- , *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Barret, Sébastien, *Reading the Charters is not Enough: Palaeography and the Diplomatist*, unpublished paper delivered at The International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 2011
- Barrow, Julia, 'The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester from c.1000 to the early Twelfth Century', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 105-22
- Bately, Janet, *The Old English Orosius*, The Early English Text Society, s.s. 6 (London: The Early English Text Society for the Oxford University Press, 1980)
- Bates, David, '1066: Does the Date Still Matter?', *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 443-64

- Bauer, Gero, 'Medieval Scribal Practice: Some Questions and some Assumptions', in *Linguistics Across Historical and Geographical Boundaries: In Honour of Jacek Fisiak on the Occasion of his 50. Birthday*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986), pp. 199-210
- Baxter, Stephen, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 161-205
- Benskin, Michael, 'The "Fit"-Technique Explained', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of 'A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English'*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), pp. 9-26
- Benskin, Michael and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So Meny People, Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55-107
- Benskin, M., M. Laing, V. Karaiskos and K. Williamson, 'An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English' (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2013) <<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>> [accessed 25 May 2013]
- Besner, Derek and Marilyn Chapnik Smith, 'Basic Processes in Reading: Is the Orthographic Depth Hypothesis Sinking?', in *Orthography, Morphology, and Meaning*, ed. by Ram Frost and Leonard Katz, *Advances in Psychology*, 94 (Holland: Elsevier, 1992), pp. 45-66
- Bierbaumer, Peter, 'Slips of the Ear in Old English Texts', in *Luick Revisited. Papers Read at the Luick Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15-18 September 1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Narr, 1988), pp. 127-37
- Bischoff, Bernhard, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Black, Merja, 'AB or simply A? Reconsidering the Case for a Standard', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 100 (1999) 155-74
- Bloomfield, Leonard, *Language* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962)
- Bouchard, Constance B., 'Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity', in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. by Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), pp. 22-32
- Brett, Martin, 'Forgery at Rochester', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1988), IV, pp. 398-412
- Bridgeman, Bruce, 'Is the Dual-Route Theory Possible in Phonetically Regular Languages?', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 10 (1987), 331-32
- Brooks, Nicholas, 'Introduction: How Do we Know about St Wulfstan?', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 1-22

- Brown, Elizabeth A. R., 'Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis: Medieval Forgers and Their Intentions', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1988), I, pp. 101-19
- Brown, George Hardin, 'The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 77 (1995), 109-42
- Brown, Michelle P., 'Mercian Manuscripts? The "Tiberius" Group and its Historical Context', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 281-91
- , *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London: The British Library, 2003)
- , 'Writing in the Insular World', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 121-66
- Bullough, D. A., 'The Education Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *utriusque linguae*', *Settimane*, 19 (1972), 453-94
- Burnett, Charles, 'Learning to Write Numerals in the Middle Ages', in *Teaching Writing, Learning to Write: Proceedings of the XVIth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. by P. R. Robinson (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 2010), pp. 233-40
- Calle Martín, Javier, 'Punctuation Practice in a 15th-century Arithmetical Treatise (MS Bodley 790)', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 4 (2004), 407-22
- Campbell, Alistair, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959)
- Cappelli, Adriano, *The Elements of Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Palaeography*, trans. by David Heimann and Richard Kay (Kansas: University of Kansas Libraries, 1982)
- , *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6th edn (Milan: Hoepli, [1987(?)])
- Carroll, Carleton W., 'One Text, Two Scribes: Manuscript P of *Enec et Enide* (Paris, BnF, fr. 375)', in *De Sens Rassis: Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens*, ed. by Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot and Logan E. Whalen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 109-24
- Carruthers, Mary J., *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Cartlidge, Neil, 'Orthographical Variation in the Middle English Lyrics of BL Cotton Caligula X. ix', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 98 (1997), 253-59
- Chaplais, Pierre, 'The Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 39 (1966), 1-34
- , 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1969), 526-42
- , 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: From the Diploma to the Writ', in *Priscia Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History, Presented to Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender*, ed. by Felicity Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), pp. 43-62

- , ‘The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma’, in *Priscia Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History, Presented to Dr. A. E. J. Hollaender*, ed. by Felicity Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), pp. 28-42
- , ‘The Royal Anglo-Saxon “Chancery” of the Tenth Century Revisited’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. by H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 41-51
- Chardonnes, László Sándor, ‘London, British Library, Harley 3271: The Composition and Structure of an Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany’, in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D’Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 3-34
- ‘Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France’, in *ARTEM* <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/>> [accessed 01 November 2012]
- Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993)
- Clark, Cecily, ‘Domesday Book – a Great Red-Herring: Thoughts on some Late-Eleventh-Century Orthographies’, in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 317-33
- , ‘The Myth of “the Anglo-Norman Scribe”’, in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Matti Rissanen, Ossi Ihalainen, Terttu Nevalainen and Irma Taavitsainen, *Topics in English Linguistics*, 10 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 117-29
- Clarke, H. B. and C. C. Dyer, ‘Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman Worcester: The Documentary Evidence’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd Series, 2 (1968–1969), 27-33
- Clemons, Peter, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts*, Occasional Papers, 1 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, 1952)
- Cohen-Mushlin, Aliza, ‘A School for Scribes’, in *Teaching Writing, Learning to Write, Proceedings of the XVIth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. by P. R. Robinson (London: King’s College London Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 2010), pp. 61-87
- Cole, Gavin, ‘The Textual Criticism of Middle English Manuscript Traditions: A Survey of Critical Issues in the Interpretation of Textual Data’, *Literature Compass*, 6 (2009), 1084-93
- Colman, Fran, *A Philological Study of the Moneyers’ Names on the Coins of Edward the Confessor* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1981)
- , *Money Talks: Reconstructing Old English* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1982)
- , ‘Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Old English Phonology’, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 5 (1984), 91-143

- , 'Old English <ie>: That Is (,) an Orthographic Problem (*Noch Einmal*)', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 31 (1997), 29-41
- , 'On Interpreting Old English Data as Evidence for Reconstructing Old English: In Part a Defence of Philology, with Special Reference to Personal Names on Anglo-Saxon Coins', in *New Trends in English Historical Linguistics: An Atlantic View*, ed. by Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño and Begoña Crespo García (La Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2004), pp. 75-114
- Colman, Fran and John Anderson, 'Front Umlaut: A Celebration of 2nd Fronting, *i*-Umlaut, Life, Food and Sex', in *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. by M. Davenport, E. Hansen and H. F. Nielsen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983), pp. 165-90
- Conner, Patrick W., *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, ed. by David Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993)
- Conti, Aidan, 'Imagining How Scribes Worked #1', in *Nugatorius Scriptor: Scribbling on the Textual Culture of the Middle Ages and Beyond* <<http://scribalculture.org/weblog/2010/09/22/imagining-how-scribes-worked-1/>> [accessed 15 June 2012]
- , 'Malcolm Parkes's Transfer Units', in *Nugatorius Scriptor: Scribbling on the Textual Culture of the Middle Ages and Beyond* <<http://scribalculture.org/weblog/2010/09/02/Malcolm-parkess-transfer-units/>> [accessed 15 June 2012]
- , 'Individual Practice, Common Endeavour: Making a Manuscript and Community in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 253-72
- Cooke, Kathleen, 'Donors and Daughters: Shaftesbury Abbey's Benefactors, Endowments and Nuns c. 1086-1130', *Anglo-Norman Studies XII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1989*, 12 (1990), 29-46
- Cranage, D. H. S., *Home of the Monk: An Account of English Monastic Life and Buildings in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926)
- Crick, Julia, 'The Case for a West Saxon Minuscule', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), 63-79
- , 'English Vernacular Script', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 174-86
- , 'Learning and Training', in *A Social History of England, 900-1200*, ed. by Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 325-72
- Cubitt, C., *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 258-59
- Dahood, Roger, 'Abbreviations, Otiose Strokes and Editorial Practice: The Case of Southwell Minster MS 7', in *New Perspectives on Middle English Texts: A Festschrift for R. A. Waldron*, ed. by Susan Powell and Jeremy J. Smith (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), pp. 141-49

- Dance, Richard, 'Ealde æ, Niwe Laze: Two Words for "Law" in the Twelfth Century', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 149-82
- Da Rold, Orietta, 'Manuscript Production before Chaucer: Some Preliminary Observations', in *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts, Essays and Studies*, ed. by Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2010), pp. 43-58
- , 'Textual Copying and Transmission', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. by Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 33-56
- , 'English Manuscripts in Context: The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060–1220', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/culturalcontexts/1.htm>> [accessed 23 February 2013]
- Davis, G. R. C., *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958)
- Derolez, Albert, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Derwing, Bruce L. and others, 'On the Phoneme as the Unit of the Second Articulation', *Phonology Yearbook*, 3 (1986), 45-69
- Donoghue, Daniel, 'A Point Well Taken: Manuscript Punctuation and Old English Poems', in *Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 38-58
- Drage, E. M., 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050-1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1978)
- Drögereit, R., 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 8 (1935), 335-436
- Dumville, David N., *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992)
- , *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, AD. 950-1030* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993)
- Ellis, Nick C. and others, 'The Effects of Orthographic Depth on Learning to Read Alphabetic, Syllabic, and Logographic Scripts', *Reading Research Quarterly*, 39: 4 (2004), 438-68
- English Historical Documents*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), 1
- Esteban Segura, Maria Laura, 'The Punctuation System of the West-Saxon Version of the Gospel According to Saint John', *Linguistica e Filologia*, 21 (2005), 29-44
- Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. by E. A. Bond, 4 vols (London: British Museum, Published by Order of the Trustees, 1873-78), 1
- Finberg, H. P. R., *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961)
- , *Lucerna: Studies of some Problems in the Early History of England* (London: Macmillan, 1964)

- , 'Anglo-Saxon England to 1042', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), I
- Fischer, Andreas, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels: The Preservation and Transmission of Old English', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997), pp. 353-67
- Forsberg, R., *A Contribution to a Dictionary of Old English Place-Names*, Nomina Germanica, 9 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1950)
- Frantzen, Allen J., *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990)
- Franzen, Christine, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)
- , 'Late Copies of Anglo-Saxon Charters', in 'Doubt Wisely': *Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 42-71
- Frost, Ram, 'Orthography and Phonology: The Psychological Reality of Orthographic Depth', in *The Linguistics of Literacy*, ed. by Pamela Downing, Susan D. Lima and Michael P. Noonan, *Typological Studies in Language*, 21 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992) pp. 255-74
- Galbraith, V. H., 'Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096–1112)', *The English Historical Review*, 2 (1967), 86-101
- Gameson, Richard, 'Manuscripts Normands à Exeter aux xi^e et xii^e siècles', in *Manuscripts et enluminures dans le monde normand (Xe-XVe siècles)*, ed. by Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat (Caen: Presses Universitaires, 1999), pp. 107-27
- , 'St Wulfstan, the Library at Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 59-104
- , 'Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 94-120
- Ganz, David, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule', *Viator*, 18 (1987), 23-44
- Garzya, A., 'Testi letterari di uso strumentale a Bizanzio', in *Il Mandarino e il quotidiano. Saggi Sulla letteratura tardoantica e bizantina*, ed. by A. Garzya (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1985), pp. 36-71
- Geary, Patrick J., *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)
- Glunz, H. H., *A History of the Vulgate in England, from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: Being an Enquiry into the Text of some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933)
- Gneuss, Helmut, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 63-83
- , 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, 72 (1990), 3-32

- , *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2001)
- Gobbitt, Thomas John, 'The Production and Use of MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 in the Late Eleventh and First Half of the Twelfth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Leeds, 2010)
- Godden, Malcolm, 'Old English', in *Editing Medieval Texts: English, French and Latin Written in England: Papers Given at the Twelfth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto 5-6 November, 1976*, ed. by A. G. Rigg (New York: Garland Publishers, 1977), pp. 9-33
- , 'King Alfred's Preface and the Teaching of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2003), 596-604
- , 'Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 580-90
- Gradon, Pamela, 'Punctuation in a Middle-English Sermon', in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds*, ed. by E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), pp. 39-48
- Gretsch, Mechthild, 'Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 83 (2001), 41-87
- , 'A Key to Æfric's Standard Old English', *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by Mary Swan, Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 37 (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, 2006), 161-77
- Grundy, G. B., *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire* ([Gloucester]: Council of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1935-36)
- Gullick, Michael, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *English Manuscript Studies*, 7 (1995), 1-24
- Gwara, Scott, 'Anglo-Saxon Schoolbooks', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I: c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 507-24
- Haas, W., *Phono-Graphic Translation* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1970)
- Harlow, C. G., 'Punctuation in some Manuscripts', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 10 (1959), 1-19
- Harmer, F. E., *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952)
- Hazeltine, Harold Dexter, 'General Editor's Note', in *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. xiii-xvii
- Hearne, Thomas, *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis. e codice MS penes Richardum Graves, etc.* (Oxford: [n. pub.], 1723)
- Hector, L. C., *The Handwriting of English Documents* (London: Arnold, 1966)
- Herold, Jonathan, 'The St. Wulfstan Cartulary', in *Early Medieval Record Keeping* <<http://individual.utoronto.ca/emrecordkeeping/Pages/StWulfstanCartMain.html>> [accessed 27 February 2013]

- Hessels J. H., ed. *Corpus Glossary: An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary, Preserved In The Library Of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. No. 144)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890)
- Hiatt, Alfred, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2004)
- Hill, Joyce, 'Ælfric's Grammatical Triad', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 285-308
- Hofstetter, Walter, 'Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 17 (1988), 139-61
- Hogg, Richard M., 'On the Impossibility of English Dialectology', in *Luick Revisited: Papers Read at the Luick Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15-18 September 1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1988), pp. 183-203
- , *A Grammar of Old English, Volume 1: Phonology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992)
- Hogg, Richard M. and R. D. Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English, Volume 2: Morphology* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011)
- Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, Early English Text Society, o.s. 259-60, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1967-68), I
- Hooke, Della, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985)
- , *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990)
- , 'Mercia: Landscape and Environment', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 161-72
- Hough, Carole, 'Numbers in Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Law', in *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), pp. 114-36
- Howe, Nicholas, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008)
- Hudson, Richard, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- Iglesias-Rábade, Luis, 'Prepositions Referring to Path in Middle English: *Bi* and *Durgh*', in *New Trends in English Historical Linguistics: An Atlantic View*, ed. by I. Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño and Begoña Crespo Garcia (Coruña: Universidad da Coruña, 2004), pp. 117-48
- Insley, Charles, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria in the Anglo-Saxon South-West', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (1998), 173-97
- 'Intellectual Origins: The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220', *EM 1060to1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/culturalcontexts/1.htm>> [accessed 23 February 2013]

- Irvine, Martin, 'Review: *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* by Mary Carruthers', *Modern Philology*, 90 (1993), 533-37
- , *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Irvine, Susan, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition: The E-Text* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004)
- Jaffré, Jean-Pierre, 'From Writing to Orthography: The Functions and Limits of the Notion of System', in *Learning to Spell: Research, Theory and Practice across Language*, ed. by Charles A. Perfetti, Laurence Rieben and Michel Fayol (Mahwah: Erlbaum, 1997), pp. 3-20
- Jones, A. E. E., *Anglo-Saxon Worcester* (Worcester: Baylis & Sons, 1958)
- Jones, Jonathan A., 'The Irregular Life in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 37 (2006), 241-60
- Katz, Leonard and L. B. Feldman, 'Linguistic Coding in Word Recognition: Comparisons between a Deep and a Shallow Orthography', in *Interactive Processes in Reading*, ed. by A. Lesgold and C. Perfetti (Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1981)
- Katz, Leonard and Ram Frost, 'The Reading Process is Different for Different Orthographies: The Orthographic Depth Hypothesis', in *Orthography, Morphology, and Meaning*, ed. by Ram Frost and Leonard Katz, *Advances in Psychology*, 94 (Holland: Elsevier, 1992), pp. 67-84
- Kelly, Susan, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 36-62
- Kemble, Johannis M., *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols (London: English Historical Society, 1839-1948)
- Ker, N. P. R., 'Hemming's Cartulary: A Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 49-75
- , *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957)
- , 'English Manuscripts in the Century After the Norman Conquest', *The Lyell Lectures 1952-3* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960)
- , 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 315-31
- , 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)
- Keynes, Simon, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016: A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life & Thought, Third Series, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

- , 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Rosamund McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 226-57
- , 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and His Sons', *The English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), 1109-49
- , 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: Lost and Found', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 45-60
- King, Anne, 'You Say [æjðr] and I Say [æjhwæðr]? – Interpreting Old English Written Data', in *Evidence for Old English: Material and Theoretical Bases for Reconstruction*, ed. by Fran Colman (Edinburgh: Donald, 1992), pp. 20-43
- Kitson, Peter R., 'The Nature of Old English Dialect Distributions, Mainly as Exhibited in Charter Boundaries', in *Medieval Dialectology*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), pp. 43-135
- , 'When Did Middle English Begin? Later than you Think!', in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 103 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 221-71
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, 'Afterword: "Creativity" and "Tradition"', *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 247-58
- Kristensen, Gillis, 'The Old English Anglian/Saxon Boundary Revisited', in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 103 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 271-81
- Kuhn, S., 'The Syllabic Phonemes of Old English', *Language*, 37 (1961), 522-38
- Laing, Margaret, 'Introduction', in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. ix-xiv
- , 'Never the Twain Shall Meet: Early Middle English – The East-West Divide', in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 97-124
- , 'Multidimensionality: Time, Space and Stratigraphy in Historical Dialectology', in *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, ed. by Marina Dossena and Roger Lass, Linguistic Insights, 16 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 49-93
- , *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150-1325* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2008) <<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html>> [accessed 02 May 2013]
- Laing, Margaret and Roger Lass, 'Introduction: Chapter 1, Preliminaries', in *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1_frames.html> [accessed 29 May 2013]
- Laing, Margaret and Angus McIntosh, 'Cambridge, Trinity College, 335: Its Texts and Their Transmission', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995), pp. 14-52

- LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* (London, 2008), version 0.9 <<http://www.langscape.org.uk/index.html>> [accessed 20 December 2012]
- Lapidge, Michael, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: [I] The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 99-140
- , 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 29 (2000), 5-41
- Lass, Roger, *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Law, Vivien, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982)
- Lees, Clare A., *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, *Medieval Cultures*, 19 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
- Lendinara, Patrizia, 'Instructional Manuscripts in England: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Codices and the Early Norman Ones', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 59-114
- Liberman, I. Y. and others, 'Orthography and the Beginning Reader', in *Orthography, Reading and Dyslexia*, ed. by J. F. Kavanagh & R. L. Vanezky (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1980), pp. 137-53
- Lindsay, W. M., *Notae Latinae: An Account of Abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700-850)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915)
- , *The Corpus, Epinal and Leyden Glossaries*, *Publications of the Philological Society*, 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921)
- , 'Forward', in Doris Bains, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae: Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of 850 to 1050 A.D.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. v-xii
- Linell, Per, *Psychological Reality in Phonology: A Theoretical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
- Linn, Andrew, 'Vernaculars and the Idea of a Standard Language', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, ed. by Keith Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 359-74
- 'List of Texts Cited in the Dictionary of Old English', *Dictionary of Old English* (University of Toronto: 2009) <<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/st/>> [accessed 06 September 2013]
- Liuzza, Roy Michael, 'Scribal Habit: The Evidence of the Old English Gospels', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Trehearne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 143-65
- 'London, British Library, Additional 46204', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Add.46204.htm>> [accessed 9 September 2011]

- 'London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, pt 2', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220*
<<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Nero.E.i.htm>> [accessed 27 February 2013]
- 'London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220*
<<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Tibe.A.xiii.htm>>
[accessed 27 February 2013]
- Lowe, Kathryn A., 'Two Thirteenth-Century Cartularies from Bury St Edmunds: A Study in Textual Transmission', *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, 93 (1992), 293-32
- , 'Lay Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and the Development of the Chirograph', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by P. Pulsiano and E. M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 161-204
- , 'William Somner, S 1622, and the Editing of Some Old English Charters', *Neophilologus*, 83 (1999), pp. 291-97
- , 'S 507 and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds: Manuscript Preservation and Transmission in the Middle Ages', in *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts, 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar Held at the Royal Library, Copenhagen 19th-20th October 2000*, ed. by Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Peter Springborg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), pp. 85-105
- Lučić, Ana and Catherine L. Blake, 'A Syntactic Characterization of Authorship Style Surrounding Proper Names', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 28 (Advance Access published June 29 2013), 1-18
- Luick, Karl, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, 1, part 2 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1921-1940, reprinted 1964 by Blackwell, Oxford)
- Machan, Tim William, 'Language and Society in Twelfth-Century England', in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 43-67
- Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (MANCASS): C11 Project*,
<<http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/mancass/C11database/>> [accessed 10 September 2011]
- 'Manuscript 144', *Parker Library: On the Web* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi),
<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=144> [accessed 29 August 2013]
- Markey, T. L., 'West Germanic *he/er* – *hiu/siu* and English "She"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 71 (1972), 390-405
- Markus, Manfred, 'Reasons for the Loss of Gender in English', in *Luick Revisited: Papers Read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloß Liechtenstein, 15. – 18.9.1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1988), pp. 241-58
- McIntosh, Angus, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 55 (1956), 26-55 (repr. in *Middle English Dialectology*, ed. by Laing, pp. 1-21)
- , 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology', *English Studies*, 44 (1963), 1-11

- , ‘“Graphology” and Meaning’, in *Patterns of Language: Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics*, ed. by Angus McIntosh and M.A.K. Halliday (London: Longmans, 1967), pp. 98-110
- , ‘The Language of the Extant Versions of *Havelok the Dane*’, in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 224-36 (first publ. in *Medium Ævum*, 45 (1976), 36-49)
- , ‘Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English’, *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 86-97 (first publ. in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 211 (1973), 55-66)
- , ‘A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology’, in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 22-32
- , ‘Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts’, in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 32-45
- , ‘Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes’, in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 46-63
- , ‘Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English’, *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 86-97 (first publ. in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 211 (1973), 55-66)
- McKitterick, Rosamond, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- McLaughlin, John C., *A Graphemic-Phonemic Study of a Middle English Manuscript* (The Hague: Mouton & co., 1963)
- Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989)
- Miller, Thomas, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Early English Text Society o.s. 95-96 (London: Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, 1890)
- Millett, Bella, ‘Scribal Geography’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 183-97
- Milroy, J. and L. Milroy, *Authority in Language: Investigating Language Standardization And Prescription* (Routledge: London, 1991)
- Mitchell, Bruce, ‘The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation’, *The Review in English Studies*, n.s. 31 (1980), 385-413
- Nelson Francis, W., ‘Graphemic Analysis of Late Middle English Manuscripts’, *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 32-47
- O’Dowd, E. M., *Prepositions and Particles in English: A Discourse-Functional Account* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

- Orton, Peter R., *The Transmission of Old English Poetry*, Westfield Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000)
- Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (1989: online version December 2011) <<http://www.oed.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/Entry/173582>> [accessed 15 February 2012]
- 'Parishes: Withington', in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 9: Bradley Hundred. The Northleach Area of the Cotswolds* (2001), pp. 248-79 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=66474>> [accessed 01 March 2013]
- Parker Library: On the Web* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College), <<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/>> [accessed 29 August 2013]
- Parkes, M. B., 'The Literacy of the Laity', in *Literature and Western Civilisation*, ed. by D. Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London: Aldus, 1973), pp. 555-77
- , 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5 (1976), 149-71
- , *English Cursive Book Hands: 1250-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, reprinted 1979)
- , 'The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow', Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St. Paul's Church, 1982)
- , 'The Contribution of Insular Scribes of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries to the "Grammar of Legibility"', in *Grafia e Interpunzione del Latino nel Medioevo*, ed. by A. Maierù (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987), pp. 15-30
- , *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991)
- , *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992)
- , 'Rædan, Areccan, Smeagan: How the Anglo-Saxons Read', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), 1-22
- , *Their Hands Before our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes: The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)
- Petrucci, Armando, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. by Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)
- Pitt, Frances Mary, 'From Old English to Middle English: Who Wrote Them and Why? A Survey of Charters Produced in the Three Decades after the Norman Conquest, Held up Against their Contemporary Background and some Modern Theory' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Exeter, 2007)
- Pollard, Justin, *Alfred the Great: The Man who Made England* (London: Murray, 2005)
- Porter, David W., 'Introduction', in *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. by Scott Gwara (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 1-78
- Prescott Parsons, Mary, 'Some Scribal Memoranda for Anglo-Saxon Charters of the 8th and 9th Centuries', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 14 (1939), 13-32
- Pulgram, Ernst, 'Phoneme and Grapheme: A Parallel', *Word*, 7 (1951), 15-20

- Pulsiano, Phillip, 'The Originality of the Old English Gloss of the Vespasian Psalter and its Relation to the Gloss of the Junius Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 37-62
- Robertson, A. J., *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939)
- Robinson, Fred C., 'The Devil's Account of the Next World', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972), 362-71
- , 'Metathesis in the Dictionaries: A Problem for Lexicographers', in *Problems of Old English Lexicography: Studies in Memory of Angus Cameron*, ed. by Alfred Bammesberger (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1985), pp. 245-65
- Robinson, Pamela R., 'A Study of Some Aspects of the Transmission of English Verse Texts in Late Mediaeval Manuscripts' (unpublished B. Litt dissertation, University of Oxford, 1972)
- Rodríguez, Félix, and Garland Cannon, 'Remarks on the Origin and Evolution of Abbreviations and Acronyms', in *English Historical Linguistics 1992: Papers from the Seventh International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22-26 September, 1992*, ed. by Francisco Fernández, Miguel Fuster and Juan José Calvo, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 113 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994), pp. 261-72
- Rodríguez Álvarez, Alicia, 'The Role of Punctuation in 15th-century Vernacular Deeds', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 19 (1999), 27-51
- Rumble, Alexander R., 'The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis', in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, IV, ed. by R. Allen Brown, Anglo-Norman Studies, 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981), pp. 153-66
- , *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Related to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002)
- , 'Cues and Clues: Palaeographical Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 115-30
- Rushforth, Rebecca, Susan Kelly and others, *Electronic Sawyer: Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 2007 <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk>> [accessed 20 July 2013]
- 'S 1280', in *LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside*, version 0.9 (London, 2008)
<http://www.langscape.org.uk/descriptions/editorial/L_1280.1_000.html> [accessed 31 July 2010]
- 'S 1556' in *LangScape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside*, version 0.9 (London, 2008)
<http://www.langscape.org.uk/descriptions/glossed/L_1556_000.html> [accessed 31 July 2010]
- Samuels, M. L., 'Scribes and Manuscript Traditions', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays in Celebrating the Publication of 'A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English'*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), pp. 1-7

- Saussure, Ferdinand de, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris: Payot, 1972)
- Sawyer, P. H., *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968)
- , ed., *Charters of Burton Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979)
- Sayers, Jane, “Original”, Cartulary and Chronicle: The Case of the Abbey of Evesham’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1988), IV, pp. 371-95
- Scahill, John, ‘Early Middle English Orthographies: Archaism and Particularism’, *Medieval English Studies Newsletter*, 31 (1994), 16-22
- , ‘Abbreviations in the Orthographies of the *Owl and the Nightingale* and their Textual Implications’, *Notes and Queries* (1995), 426-28
- , ‘Prodigal Early Middle English Orthographies: Minds and Manuscripts’, in *Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English: A Festschrift for Minoji Akimoto*, ed. by Merja Kytö, John Scahill and Harumi Tanabe (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 239-52
- Schendl, Herbert, ‘Beyond Boundaries: Code-Switching in the Leases of Oswald of Worcester’, in *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. by Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 47-95
- Scragg, D. G., *A History of English Spelling* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974)
- , ‘Spelling Variation in Eleventh-Century English’, in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 347-54
- , ‘Ælfric’s Scribes’, *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 37 (2006), 179-89
- , ‘Old English Manuscripts, their Scribes, and their Punctuation’, in *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A. N. Doane*, ed. by Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 245-60
- , *A Conspectus of Scribal Hands Writing English, 960-1100*, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 11 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012)
- Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by F. E. Harmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914)
- Shaw, Philip A., ‘Adapting the Roman Alphabet for Writing Old English: Evidence from Coin Epigraphy and Single-Sheet Charters’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 21 (2013), 115-39
- Shipley, F. W., *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York: Macmillan, 1904)
- Sims-Williams, P., *Religion and Literature in England, 600-800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

- Sisam, Celia, 'The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s. 6 (1951), 105-13
- Sisam, Kenneth, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953)
- Skeat, Walter W., *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892)
- Smith, A. H., *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, English Place-Name Society, 38-41, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964-65), 1
- Smith, Jeremy, 'Standard Language in Early Middle English', in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 125-39
- , 'The Spellings <e>, <ea> and <a> in Two Wooing Group Texts (MSS London, Cotton Nero A. xiv and London, Lambeth Palace 487)', in *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group*, ed. by Susannah M. Chewning (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 84-95
- Stanley, Eric Gerald, 'Karl Luick's "Man schreib wie man sprach" and English Historical Philology', in *Luick Revisited. Papers Read at the Luick Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15-18 September 1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen: Narr, 1988), pp. 311-34
- Stenroos, Merja, 'Free Variation and Other Myths: Interpreting Historical English Spelling', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 38 (2002), 445-68
- Stenton, F. M., *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950)
- Stevenson, W. H., 'Trinoda Necessitas', *English Historical Review*, 29 (1914), 689-703
- Stokes, Peter A., 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 37 (2008), 31-78
- , 'Rewriting the Bounds: Pershore's Powick and Leigh', in *Place-Names, Language and the Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, ed. by N. Higham and M. Ryan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 195-206
- Swan, Mary, 'Memorialised Readings: Manuscript Evidence for Old English Homily Composition', in *Anglo Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 205-17
- , 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 and the Blickling Manuscript', *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*, Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 37 (2006), 89-100
- , 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 29-42
- Swan, Mary and Elaine M. Treharne, eds, *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Sweet, Henry, *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical, Part I: Introduction, Phonology, and Accidence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1892)

- Szarmach, Paul E., 'The Recovery of Texts', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 124-45
- The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961)
- The British Library: Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* <<http://prodigi.bl.uk/illcat/>> [accessed 17 December 2012]
- The Dictionary of Old English* (University of Toronto, 2001) <<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/>> [accessed 27 March 2012]
- The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (University of Toronto, 2009) <<http://0-tapor.library.utoronto.ca.wam.leeds.ac.uk/doecorpus/>> [accessed 27 March 2012]
- The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 2010) <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/>> [accessed 25 October 2010]
- The Middle English Grammar Project* <<http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/STELLA/ihs1/projects/MEG/meg.htm>> [accessed 12 June 2013]
- The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society o.s. 95-96 (London: Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, 1890)
- The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220*, ed. by Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2010), <<http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220>> [accessed 01 October 2007]
- The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* <<http://pase.ac.uk/index.html>> [accessed 23 February 2012]
- Thompson, Susan D., *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: A Palaeography*, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006)
- , *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Documents: A Palaeography*, Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, Occasional Publications, 1 (Manchester: Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2010)
- Thomson, R. M., 'The "Scriptorium" of William of Malmesbury', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 117-42
- , 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by David Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986)
- , *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2001)
- , *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis'*, The Lyell Lectures 2000-2001 (Walkern: Red Gull Press, 2006)
- Tinti, Francesca, 'Si litterali memorię commendaretur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-Century Worcester', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. by S. Baxter, C. E. Karkov, J. L. Nelson and D. Pelteret (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 475-97
- , *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

- Tolkien, J. R. R., 'Ancrene Wisse and *Hali Meidhad*', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, 14 (1929), 104-26
- Toon, Thomas E., *The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change*, Quantitative Analyses of Linguistic Structure Series, 2 (New York: University of Michigan Academic Press, 1983)
- Traxel, Oliver M., *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Evidence of Cambridge University Library, Ii. 1. 33* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004)
- Treharne, Elaine M., ed. *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1400* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004)
- , 'Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century', *New Medieval Literatures*, 8 (2006), 248-75
- , 'Bishops and their Texts in the Later Eleventh Century: Worcester and Exeter', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 13-28
- , 'Scribal Connections in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 29-46
- , 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. by Stephen Baxter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 521-38
- Treharne, Elaine M. and Mary Swan, 'Introduction', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-10
- Trench, Richard C., *English, Past and Present: Five Lectures*, 1st edn (London: Parker, 1855)
- Tristram, Hildegaard L. C., 'Diglossia in Anglo-Saxon England, or What Was Spoken Old English Like?', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 40 (2004), 87-110
- Uldall, H. J., 'Speech and Writing', *Acta Linguistica*, 4, (1944), 12-13
- Vachek, Josef, *Written Language: General Problems and Problems of English* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1973)
- von Feilitzen, Olof, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1937)
- Wainwright, F. T., *Scandinavian England: Collected Papers by F. T. Wainwright*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975)
- Wakelin, Daniel, 'Writing the Words', in *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34-58
- Webber, Teresa, *Scribes and Scholars of Salisbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)
- Welna, Jerzy, *A Diachronic Grammar of English, Part One: Phonology* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978)

- West, Martin L., *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993)
- Whybra, Julian, *A Lost County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 1 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990)
- Wiggins, Alison, 'Are Auchinleck Manuscript Scribes 1 and 6 the Same Scribe? The Advantages of Whole-Data Analysis and Electronic Texts', *Medium Ævum*, 73 (2004), 10-26
- Wiles, Katherine, 'Scribal Practice and Textual Transmission in Selected Winchester and Chertsey Charters' (unpublished master's thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2006)
- , 'The Treatment of Charter Bounds by the Worcester Cartulary Scribes', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 113-37
- Willard, Rudolph, 'The Punctuation and Capitalization of Ælfric's Homily for the First Sunday in Lent', *University of Texas Studies in English*, 29 (1950), 1-32
- Wilson, R. M., 'The Provenance of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss: The Linguistic Evidence', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemons (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 292-310
- Wormald, C. P., 'The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its Neighbours', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 27 (1977), 95-114
- Wrenn, C. L., "'Standard" Old English', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 32 (1933), 65-88
- , 'The Value of Spelling as Evidence', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 42, (1943), 14-39
- Wright, Joseph and Elizabeth Wright, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925)
- Yerkes, David, *Syntax and Style in Old English: A Comparison of the Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982)

Manuscripts Referenced

Cambridge, Clare College, MS 30

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 144

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 162

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 335

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1

Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 2. 33

Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 3. 28

Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35 (The Canterbury Classbook)

Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk, 3. 18

Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library, MS 3501 (Exeter Book)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1 (*Codex Amiatinus*)

London, British Library, MS Additional. 15350 (*Codex Wintoniensis*)

London, British Library, MS Additional 37777

London, British Library, MS Additional 45025

London, British Library, MS Additional 46204 (Nero Middleton)

London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19788

London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19789

London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19795

- London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 19801
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 6
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 10 (*Coenwulf of Mercia*, 1 August 811)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 18 (*Berctwald, Archbishop*, AD 693-731)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 20 (*Ecgberht*, A.D. 838)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 92
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Charter viii. 32
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. viii
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B. vi
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius C. ix
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A. iii
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. iv (Lindisfarne Gospels)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i, Part 2 (Nero Middleton)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A. vi
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. vi
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (I), fols 1-118 (*Liber Wigorniensis*)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (II), fols 119-200 (Hemming's Cartulary)
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius, B. iv
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. i
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian B. xxiv
- London, British Library, MS Harley 61
- London, British Library, MS Harley 436
- London, British Library, MS Harley 3271
- London, British Library, MS Harley 3763
- London, British Library, MS Harley Ch. 83. A. 3

London, British Library, MS Royal 7. C. xii

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctorium D. ii. 19 (Rushworth Gospels)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctorium F. 4. 32 (St Dunstan's Classbook)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 113

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10

Somers Ch. 24 (lost)

Worcester Cathedral Library, Alveston Charter

Charters Referenced

S 55	S 199	S 361
S 56	S 201	S 364
S 64	S 212	S 366
S 66	S 216	S 367
S 67	S 217	S 369
S 94	S 218	S 378
S 95	S 221	S 381
S 98	S 223	S 386
S 115	S 225	S 396
S 117	S 229	S 402
S 141	S 255	S 404
S 153	S 275	S 412
S 154	S 292	S 416
S 175	S 326	S 424
S 179	S 345	S 428
S 180	S 348	S 429
S 196	S 360	S 433

S 463	S 702	S 964
S 468	S 705	S 971
S 469	S 710	S 977
S 492	S 726	S 993
S 493	S 727	S 1019
S 495	S 737	S 1020
S 511	S 743	S 1026
S 517	S 753	S 1028
S 523	S 754	S 1031
S 536	S 761	S 1044
S 552	S 765	S 1165
S 562	S 766	S 1185
S 563	S 767	S 1188
S 567	S 772	S 1196
S 577	S 786	S 1202
S 582	S 800	S 1208
S 586	S 801	S 1212
S 587	S 834	S 1215
S 588	S 840	S 1227
S 591	S 850	S 1254
S 592	S 874	S 1272
S 617	S 878	S 1280
S 619	S 879	S 1297
S 620	S 891	S 1300
S 621	S 892	S 1301
S 630	S 896	S 1306
S 633	S 898	S 1307
S 635	S 899	S 1313
S 659	S 910	S 1314
S 663	S 920	S 1317
S 677	S 930	S 1320
S 679	S 944	S 1321
S 693	S 962	S 1322
S 695	S 963	S 1323

S 1325	S 1559
S 1327	S 1568
S 1329	S 1573
S 1330	S 1588
S 1335	S 1591
S 1337	S 1596
S 1338	S 1597
S 1339	S 1599
S 1342	S 1600
S 1346	S 1811
S 1347	S 1892
S 1348	
S 1351	
S 1352	
S 1353	
S 1356	
S 1369	
S 1370	
S 1373	
S 1374	
S 1380	
S 1385	
S 1405	
S 1409	
S 1429	
S 1432	
S 1440	
S 1441	
S 1489	
S 1521	
S 1528	
S 1548	
S 1549	
S 1556	

Cameron Numbers Referenced

A1.3	B15.1.35	B15.8.630
A2.1	B15.1.46	B15.8.646
B1.1.2	B15.1.77	B15.8.649
B1.1.8	B15.1.78	B16.5.3
B1.1.10	B15.1.86	B16.5.4
B1.1.17	B15.1.173	B16.9.1
B1.1.28	B15.1.182	B16.23.4
B1.1.29	B15.1.200	B17.9
B1.1.31	B15.4.5	B19.2.1
B1.4.17	B15.6.1	B19.5
B1.4.24	B15.6.9	B21.1.1.2
B1.9.2	B15.6.17	B22.2
B3.2.23	B15.6.33	B23.3.3.7
B3.4.9	B15.6.35	C7.1
B3.4.40	B15.6.40	C7.7
B3.49	B15.6.41	C8.1.1
B8.5.2.1	B15.6.45	C8.1.2
B8.5.4.1	B15.6.48	C8.1.3
B9.3.2	B15.8.23	C8.1.4
B9.5.2	B15.8.26	C8.2.1
B9.5.4	B15.8.55	C8.2.2
B9.5.5	B15.8.68	C8.2.4
B9.5.6	B15.8.78	C9.1
B9.5.8.2	B15.8.242	C11.6
B9.5.10.2	B15.8.291	C24
B9.6.3	B15.8.314	C45.1.2
B9.6.5	B15.8.537	D1.2
B9.6.7	B15.8.563	D2
B10.3.1.1	B15.8.580	D4.2
B11.5.1	B15.8.619	D8.1
B14.15	B15.8.627	