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THE HELIAND  
MANUSCRIPT

Cotton Caligula A. VII

in the BRITISH MUSEUM

*A Study*

by

R. PRIEBSCH

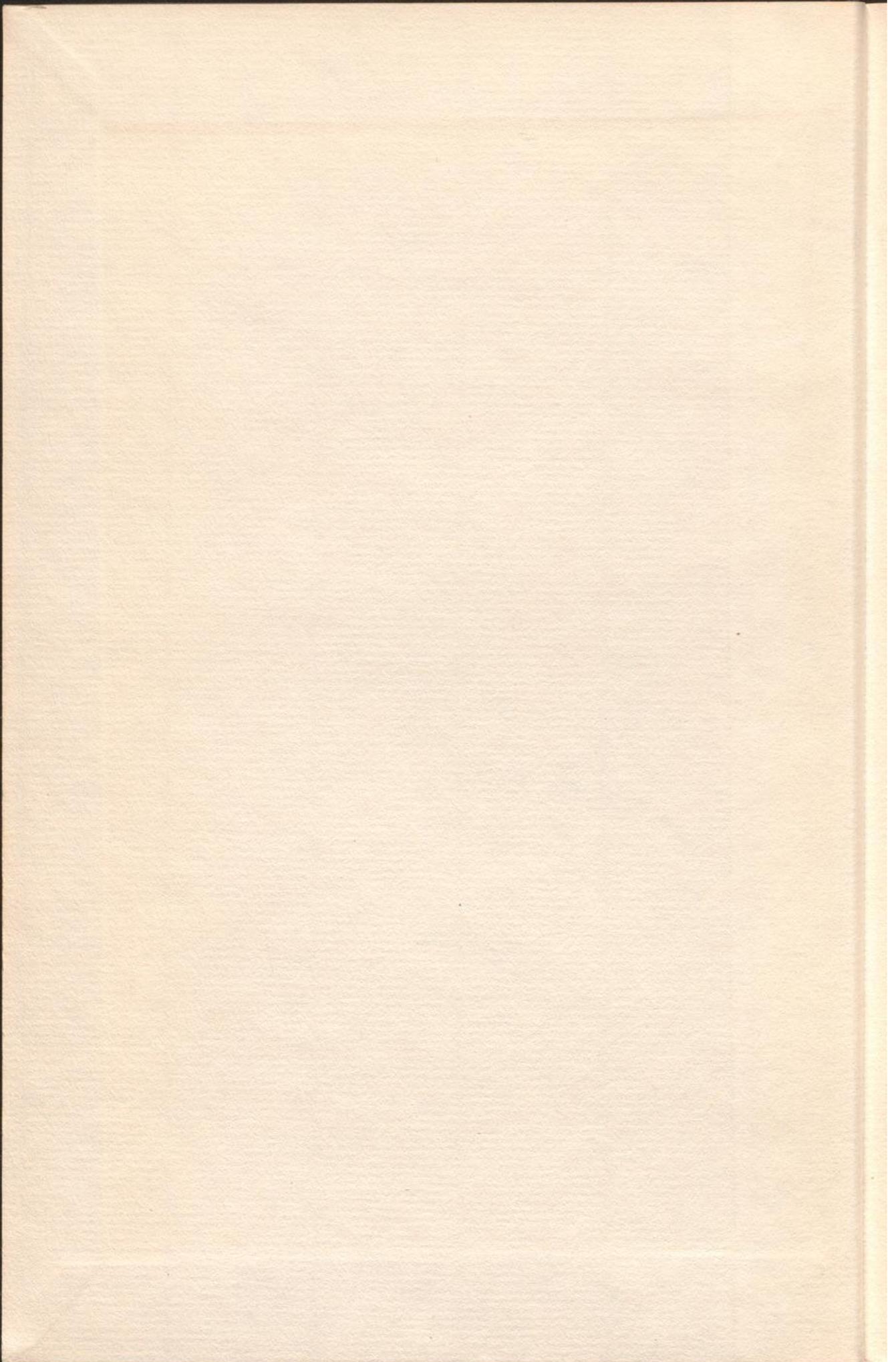
Professor of German Language and Literature  
in the University of London

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1925

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I.

# THE HELIAND MANUSCRIPT

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THE HEBLAND

MANEFOURIST

Canon Calista A. W.

in the University

A. W.

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TO  
J. G. ROBERTSON  
COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND  
THESE LEAVES ARE INSCRIBED

ROBERTSON

COLLEGE

PHILADELPHIA

## PREFACE

How far the attempt made in the following pages to suggest a solution of the vexed question of the origin and home of Heliand C—Cotton Caligula A. VII of the British Museum—will prove convincing, I must leave to the reader to judge. The difficulty inherent in investigations of this type where the MS. presents no external clue to its provenance, is aggravated in this case by the inadequacy of our present knowledge concerning the development of the handwriting prevalent in the various *scriptoria* of southern England during the 10th and early 11th centuries. Similar difficulties confront us where questions of Comparative Palaeography are involved, i. e. in the *subtle* differences marking off the Insular from the Carolingian minuscule of the aforesaid period, or still more in distinguishing the Continental type of the Carolingian minuscule from that used in A.S. schools of writing or by individual scribes. As an example of such problems I would cite the case of the ligature of f and τ, discussed below. It will thus readily be understood that the detailed presentment of the palaeographical features of the codex has necessitated a considerable amount of spade work among the rich stores of original MS. material and facsimile publications available in the British Museum, without which institution the work could never have been done; but the ever-ready assistance of the Museum officials has lightened this heavy task wherever possible.

I desire especially to record the names of Messrs. J. A. Herbert, R. Flower, and D. T. B. Wood of the MSS. department, and of A. Ellis of the department of printed

books. I am further gratefully indebted to Mr. Kenneth Sisam of the Clarendon Press with whom, in conversation and by letter, I could fruitfully discuss several points relating to the Heliand MS. and to English MSS. of the 10th and 11th centuries in general, and whose ready help has considerably mitigated the technical difficulties inseparable from the printing of a work of this character; to Sir Israel Gollancz for kindly lending me an advance copy of his forthcoming facsimile-reproduction of the Bodleian MS. Junius 11; to my friend Professor W. E. Collinson for kindly reading a copy of the proofs. Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the help given towards the expenses of the publication by a grant of the Senate of the University of London from their Publication Fund.

The five plates inserted afford full-size reproductions of the MSS. from which they are taken, and have been selected with a view to illustrating the most salient of the palaeographical and ornamental features of Cotton Caligula A. vii.

R. P.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

*September 1924.*

WHEN A. Schmeller<sup>1</sup> first brought out his complete edition of the Heliand, the life of Christ in O.S. alliterative lines, he had never set eyes upon the Cottonian MS. of the poem—Caligula A. VII—then as now one of the coveted treasures of the British Museum. Relying, it would appear, on the opinion of English advisors like J. M. Kemble, R. Cleasby and Th. Banfield, he had little doubt that the codex was written in England. *Codicem istum in ipsa Anglia exaratum quo minus nos quidem credamus, character scripturae italicus non obstat* he says on p. vii of the introduction to vol. II, and he proceeds to point out the A.S. shape of the letters f and r in two or three words, as also some word-forms pointing in the same direction. His assurance is not shared by later editors, nor by those numerous scholars whose monographs discuss the MS. source of the poem. E. Sievers, in his monumental edition (1878), it is true, recognizes (cf. pp. xv, xxxiii) the influence of an A.S. scribe in certain word-forms, but he does not stress it or make it quite clear at what stage this A.S. influence comes into play. In consequence, R. Kögel, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1894, vol. I, p. 282, and in the *Ergänzungsheft zu Bd. I* (1895), p. 19, does not do more than hint at the possibility of an A.S. copyist and the English origin of Heliand C (= Caligula A. VII),<sup>2</sup> and we seek in vain for any

Survey of  
views on  
the pro-  
venance  
of Heli-  
and C.

<sup>1</sup> Heliand, *Poema Saxonicum seculi noni*, vol. I, Text, Monachii, 1830; vol. II, *Glossarium Saxonicum e poemate Heliand*, Monachii, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> In his article in *Pauls Grundriss*, I<sup>2</sup> (1901), p. 96, even this is discarded and Werden a/d Ruhr taken as home of the MS.

discussion of this point in the introduction to P. Piper's *Die altsächsische Bibeldichtung*, 1897, although the editor collated the MS. at the British Museum and noted underneath his text most cases where C shows the A.S. letters *ƿ* and *ƿ*. J. H. Gallée, *Altsächsische Sprach-Denkmäler*, 1894, p. 7, comes to the conclusion that the character of the writing and the form of the M initial (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>) are against the assumption of an A.S. scribe. It was not until 1899 that Schmeller's view was taken up again and vigorously championed by F. Wrede, *Die Heimat der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 43, 353 f. Not having access to the MS. he could not give any new reasons, nevertheless he holds that C owes its origin to an A.S. scribe and was probably written by him in England itself as we do not hear of the MS. ever having been outside of England. His opinion was, as far as I know, only endorsed by W. v. Unwert and Th. Siebs, the editors of the latest History of German Literature to the middle of the 11th century, 1920, p. 120, whilst G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte d. deutsch. Lit. bis z. Ausgang d. Mittelalters I* (1918), p. 151, takes no cognizance of it. Quite recently, O. Basler, *Altsächsisch. Heliand Genesis und kleinere Denkmäler*, Freiburg, 1923, has advanced—p. 90—the opinion that C was written, corrected, and annotated by three Anglo-Saxons in some monastery which as yet has escaped identification.

Purpose  
and scope  
of the  
study.

On the following pages an attempt will be made to arrive at a plausible, if not a definite, conclusion on this question by a more minute examination of the palaeographical features and the ornamentation of the codex than hitherto has been bestowed on it, as well as by considering or re-examining matters bearing on its antecedents or the conditions of the period whence, in our opinion, the MS. dates. Finally we shall venture an hypothesis concerning the person of the scribe and the *scriptorium* where the book was written by him and ornamented by him with or without the assistance of others.

There is, unfortunately, no clue to tell us how Sir Robert Cotton came into possession of the codex or, more strictly speaking, of that part of it—fol. 5 to 170—which contains the Heliand. The bulk of the Cotton library certainly hails from secularized English monasteries, but there are among the MSS. also several Chronicles in Dutch and a German MS., the gift of F. Selden to Sir Robert Cotton, all described in my book *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, ii (1901), pp. 1-5; moreover, the eight 12th century Psalter illuminations which Sir Robert Cotton had bound in front of the Heliand, are undoubtedly of German origin<sup>1</sup> and Cott. Nero A. II of Italian. Whilst Cott. Vitellius A. xv—the famous Beowulf codex—bears the signature of Lawrence Nowell and thus betrays at least one stage of its history before it became the property of Sir Robert Cotton, Caligula A. VII does not show the signature of any library or private owner. Under such adverse circumstances it would appear that only a careful palaeographical examination of the codex and its ornamentation might have a fair chance of making it yield its message. The presence of a number of A.S. word-forms is in itself not sufficient to serve as basis for an hypothesis, for they could have been mechanically taken over by the scribe from an exemplar which might have been written in the 9th century by some Anglo-Saxon on the continent.

No outward clue to provenance of Cotton Caligula A. VII.

We will start with a short description of the MS. stressing the points especially relevant to our task, whilst we refer the reader also to the introductions of Sievers' edition, p. xiii f., and Piper's, p. ix f.

Description of the Codex.

Caligula A. VII contains under a modern leather cover (made between 1860 and 1870?) four originally quite independent parts which Sir Robert Cotton directed to be bound together.

(I) Six parchment leaves, blank, with the exception of the 3rd, 5th and 6th; of these, the first contains some

<sup>1</sup> Cf. George F. Warner, *Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1903, Plate 17.

lines of a legal document in French [1545] in addition to the press-mark and a direction to the binder in the hand of Sir Robert Cotton, the second (on the back) again the press-mark, the third the summary of the contents of the MS., partly in the hand of R. James, the Cotton librarian (this and the above direction reprinted by Sievers and Piper, loc. cit.). The leaves 3 and 6 are numbered in pencil as 1 and 2 by a modern hand; a second hand has numbered the leaves 3-6 as 1, 2, 3, 4, but the numbers 3 and 4 were afterwards crossed through. The first modern hand is apparently anterior to 1884, for the Museum official who, in June of that year, examined the codex gives in an entry on the back fly-leaf [174] the number of leaves according to this foliation [cf. below under II-IV] which takes into account the leaves 3 and 6.

(II) The above-mentioned eight Psalter illuminations which Sir Robert Cotton had pasted together, two by two, thus making them four leaves, numbered 1-4 by an older hand, perhaps R. James? When the new binding was given to the volume, they were separated again; the same hands which numbered some of the leaves of (I), numbered them accordingly 3-10 and 5-12.

(III) The Heliand, fols. 5-170 [170 blank] according to the older foliation; the first of the recent hands counts ff. 11-175 [176 = 170, the blank leaf, being left without a number], the second only marked the first three leaves with 13, 14 and 15, but these figures were crossed through afterwards. We quote in what follows, like Sievers and others, the older foliation throughout.

(IV) A.S. charm to cause fertility of the earth (or for bewitched land). Printed: O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, 1864-66, i, p. 398; Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, i, p. 312; F. Kluge, *Angelsächs. Lesebuch*, 3rd ed., 1902, p. 121. Fols. 171-4 [174 blank; its old number 174 crossed out], recent foliation 176-8. This part now consists of a single

<sup>1</sup> So also (J. Planta) *A Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum*, 1802, p. 43.

leaf, marked BB (cf. below) + a double leaf (CC) + the blank leaf 174, an addition it seems by Sir Robert Cotton's binder.

We return to part III. The 166 parchment leaves (23.5 cm. by 15.3 cm.) on which Heliand C has been transmitted, are made up in the following way: 20 quires of 8 leaves each, followed by 5 leaves, i. e. the remnant of a quaternion, of which leaves 6-8 (blanks?) were at some time cut out, plus a single blank leaf (170) added perhaps by the binder. Some of the gatherings still preserve the old signatures in capitals at the end (only ·B· at the head!) in the middle of the lower margin. We find: ·A·, ·B·, D (without dots), ·E·, ·H·, ·I·. The others were apparently cut away by the binder's knife. In addition to this older marking there is a later one (R. James's?) from E to Z and AA, whilst the letters A to D must have been given to the Psalter illuminations (II), A being indeed still visible on the first leaf. As already stated the letters BB, CC mark part IV of the MS. The parchment is of an inferior kind, mostly rather thick, of a yellowish hue, and in parts of a rough surface, a feature that has affected the writing in places. Holes and tears appear on leaves 74, 96, 97, 103, 105, 107, 121, 127, 129, 149. They have been carefully repaired with tissue paper or parchment—first, it appears, by Sir Robert Cotton's binder, for the copy of the text made for G. Hickes (now MS. Harleian 439) shows the loss of a few letters or parts of them (fol. 107<sup>r</sup> and 129<sup>r</sup>) caused by the repair of two such holes. Vertical lines, ruled with the *stilus* bound the text (written in *one* column!) laterally, but the scribe paid scanty attention to them at the end of the lines. Pricks with the *circinus*, still visible at the outer margin of many leaves, and occasionally faint traces of the lines themselves, show the presence of horizontals which were to receive the writing. Although the size, but not the formation, of the letters and the carefulness of the writing varies in several places (cf. e. g. fol. 45<sup>r</sup>, the beginning of a new quire where the parchment is especially rough!), yet there is no reason

to suppose that there was more than one scribe at work (cf. also E. Sievers in *Germania*, 24, p. 77 where the opinion of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson is quoted as against that of K. Bartsch). To this *one* scribe I am inclined, against Sievers, loc. cit., p. xiv, to assign also the marginal note on fol. 111<sup>r</sup> be f c̄a marian and this for the following reasons, which, I admit, are not absolutely decisive: (1) There are two other marginal notes, on fol. 6<sup>v</sup> and 106<sup>v</sup>, written by a different, though contemporary, scribe in the A.S. pointed hand with black ink, whilst this one is in red ink. (2) The character of the letters (cf. especially the ligature -rī-, Pl. I, l. 4; the other scribe uses the A.S. p!) fully agrees with that of the text, e. g. the same word maria on the same page l. 16 or mariun 13<sup>r</sup>, 3. (3) Whilst the two other notes show no ruling, here—and only here—two horizontals are ruled across the margin to the pricks of the *circinus*, and besides an intermediate line has been drawn on which the words be f c̄a are standing. It looks as if the scribe desired to call special attention to this note which he had either seen in his exemplar or desired to add himself, in which latter case he may have wished to show his reverence for the Virgin. We shall also take note of the word-forms be and marian. Several hands, possibly three, are in addition to the text-hand responsible for numerous corrections, but as these consist only of single letters or, at the best, of a short word, it seems impossible to separate them clearly in every case from each other or from the text-hand. Even different shades of the ink (blacker or paler) do not afford distinct proof, for such variations also occur within the text.

The  
palaeo-  
graphical  
features  
of the MS.

The following types of writing were used by the scribe of the text who, as we shall have occasion to explain later on, wrote in the second half of the 10th century: (1) Square capitals and uncials, the first kind for the two Latin headings on fol. 5<sup>r</sup> and 126<sup>r</sup>, as also—but with uncial G (cp. Pl. IV, l. 3)—for the first two words of the O.S. poem[M]<sup>1</sup> ANEGA

<sup>1</sup> The first of nine large coloured initials; cf. below.

W A R O N, both kinds indiscriminately for letters marking the beginning of periods, verses, occasionally proper names, &c. (2) For the remaining text a very upright minuscule, evidently based on the Carolingian minuscule, yet a rather peculiar hand as compared with the normal type of this script. In fact, if we examine the facsimiles of Heliand M (Bamberg-Munich) and V (Vatican), both fine examples of the Carolingian minuscule though of an earlier date (9th cent.) than Heliand C, or any 10th century specimen of French or German origin in that type of writing, however marked their individual diversity may be from the normal type, and then with these impressions fresh in our mind turn to Caligula A. VII, we shall at once have the distinct feeling that there is something exceptional and at the same time forced and imitative in this angular hand. The force of this general impression remains unimpaired after a careful scrutiny of the shape of single letters and ligatures. To do this must be our first task. It will then be time to hazard an explanation of this phenomenon.

### I. *Single letters.*

Single  
letters.

**a**: It should be stated at once that the common form of the Carolingian minuscule, the uncial **a**, is completely wanting. We find (1) in accordance with the Insular script, though also used on the Continent, **a** (= our modern cursive a) where the loop is fastened to the top of the shaft; (2) the letter is made in three strokes, two more or less vertical strokes connected by a hair-stroke at an angle of about 45° or less, sometimes showing almost flat at the top. Cf. 28<sup>r</sup>, l. 18 a n, 67<sup>r</sup>, l. 22 a l a s u n, 70<sup>r</sup>, l. 2 f c a t t, and Pl. I, ll. 13, 20; Pl. II, ll. 14, 15; Pl. III, l. 8 (f a n), 17. The form is characteristic of the Insular in the later half of the 10th century (E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1912, p. 394; W. Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, 1906, s. 36). Examples of the extreme, square form are furnished by the Lauderdale MS. of Alfred's *Orosius*, the Exeter MS. of A.S. poetry

(Thompson, Pl. 146), the Sherborne Pontifical (Pl. 148), the second scribe (D) of Beowulf (M. Förster, *Die Beowulf Handschrift*, 1919, pp. 30 and 40), the MS. of A.S. Homilies Roy. 7 C. XII (11 cent.!), and for a somewhat debased form cf. the 'Cædmon' MS. Bodleian, Jun. 11; (3) a form resembling o + c in close combination. It occurs five times: four times before r, once between two n's: 7<sup>r</sup>, l. 3 (Pl. I) uuaruhtun, 14<sup>v</sup>, l. 11 uuardoda, 24<sup>v</sup>, l. 6 barn, 51<sup>v</sup>, l. 4 fastaro (but l. 24 the same word with a of type 2) and enan 163<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 (Pl. III). It is the form of the half-uncial (e. g. M. Thompson, Pl. 141 from the Gospel MS. Roy. 1 E. vi or Keller, loc. cit., Pl. I from Cott. Aug. II. 79, Charter 805-10); it is interesting to note that this form reappears after r in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, written, according to G. Warner and Wilson, at Old Minster, Winchester, about 980, further in the sister MSS., Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 987 (N. Pal. Soc., ser. i, Pls. 83 and 84) and the Vatican Psalter Regin. 12 (St. Edmundsbury 1019/20; cf. F. Ehrle and Liebaert, *Specimina Codic. Lat.*, Pl. 34, l. 5); in a charter of Bishop Oswald of Worcester 969 (Additional Chart. 19792 of the British Museum, cf. Keller, loc. cit., Pl. V); in the Worcester Chartulary (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, London, 1885-93); in the Gospel MS., Trinity Coll., Cambridge, B. 10. 4 (11th cent.; probably Winchester, N. Pal. Soc., ser. i, Pl. 12), and even as late as 1058 in a charter of Bishop Ealdred of Worcester (Add. Charter 19801; cf. Keller, Pl. X, l. 4 pratif). In the 'Cædmon' Bodl. Jun. 11 I notice it, p. 14, l. 1 in ealpalda, p. 8, l. 15 folca. It may be questioned whether the revival of this form is connected with a similar occurrence in French MSS. of the 9th and 10th centuries<sup>1</sup> or is due to renewed direct influence of the older English half-uncial on the writing of the 10th century,<sup>2</sup> but what chiefly matters here is the fact of its occurrence in English MSS. and

<sup>1</sup> O. Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Keller, loc. cit., pp. 26, 30, and 35.

that siu habda barn under iru Hiuuanda  
 thes mid uultra neua that iru that uulb  
 habdi gwardot souuartico Hiuuiffe hie  
 uualdandes thuo noh bli thi sibod sepi  
 nuualda sia in tebrudi thuo halon in  
 a huuon Acbesan in thuo anis hugie  
 then kean huohie sia thuo farlita so  
 iru thar nuuar di le thes odan ar bedies  
 Heuuelda sia after thuu mel don for  
 menigi andried that sea manno barn  
 libu brnamin Souuas thero liudeo thau  
 thuru then aldou eu ebreo folces so  
 huulik so thar anunreht idis ghiuuada  
 that siu simla thena bed sepi bug  
 sean scolda frimid iru fera humi uuas  
 gio thuu fehmea so guod That siu gio  
 mid them liudion leng libbean mofa  
 uuesan under them uerode Thuo  
 bigan in the uuiso man furtho god  
 gumo Ioseph anis muode thenkean the  
 ro thingo huohie thea thornun tho  
 listion forlita Thuo nuuas lang a  
 thuu that in thar androme quam  
 drohtanesengil heban cuninges bodo



charters of the 10th and 11th centuries written in monasteries (Winchester, Worcester) intimately connected with the monastic reform.

**b and l:** These two letters may be considered together, because their formation frequently shows a trait akin to that of the A.S. half-uncial, i. e. their stems, commencing with a triangular thickening, bulge out to the left and the bow or curve is well rounded. This is best seen where the letters have the majuscule form (cf. 158<sup>r</sup>, 1 balouues; 144<sup>v</sup>, 20 be-; 66<sup>r</sup>, 11 liet; 66<sup>r</sup>, 14 lethes; also the coloured L initial,<sup>1</sup> fol. 34<sup>v</sup>, Pl. V), but often enough the minuscule form of these letters shows the same tendency. Good examples for b: 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 11 scriban; 5<sup>v</sup>, 6 bi-; 9<sup>r</sup>, 16 hebbean; 12<sup>r</sup>, 24 brudi; 32<sup>v</sup>, 24 brukan; 45<sup>r</sup>, 8 gibed; 162<sup>r</sup>, 24 barn; 169<sup>v</sup>, 13 bift. For l: 6<sup>v</sup>, 22 simblon; 13<sup>r</sup>, 5 uuel; 15<sup>v</sup>, 5 himilo; 60<sup>r</sup>, 13 biduelida; 67<sup>v</sup>, 15 spell; 95<sup>r</sup>, 1 uuelono; 123<sup>v</sup>, 5 liudi, logna; 124<sup>r</sup>, 2 folke. Cf. also Pl. I, ll. 1, 2, 5, 22; Pl. II, l. 9; Pl. III, l. 7; Pl. IV, ll. 5, 9, 11.

**d:** the scribe uses throughout the straight minuscule form d which, of course, was no stranger to A.S. calligraphy, more especially for 'non-English' texts, in the second half of the 10th century; in six instances—occurring significantly enough—at the very beginning of the work he writes the uncial form  $\delta$  on fol. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 11 (cf. Pl. IV), 6<sup>r</sup>, ll. 3, 8, 9, 23; 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 22; once  $\delta$  in e $\delta$ ili 6<sup>v</sup>, 9. Two more examples of  $\delta$ , in ha $\delta$ ba (< ha $\delta$ ba) 31<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 and in  $\delta$ o $\delta$ o 103<sup>v</sup>, 21 may be attributed to a corrector.

**e:** as a rule the letter appears in the ordinary closed minuscule form with a well-developed tongue, but sometimes it is left open, thus resembling a small uncial  $\epsilon$  (e. g. 30<sup>r</sup>, 7 endi; 43<sup>v</sup>, 13 suokie; 63<sup>v</sup>, 2 te; 70<sup>r</sup>, 5, 6 hie; Gallée, loc. cit., Pl. I<sup>c</sup>, ll. 2, 8, and our Pl. II, l. 20 the). We notice this latter form in the Continental half-cursive and early

<sup>1</sup> As a majuscule letter, i. e. as initial on an ornamented page, but not in the ordinary text, the rounded L is also to be found on the Continent in the so-called Franco-Saxon calligraphy (cf. L. Delisle, *L'Évangélaire de Saint Vaast d'Arras*, 1888, p. 8 f., and Pl. III).

Carolingian minuscule, but also in the A.S. half-uncial (Thompson, loc. cit., Pl. 141, ll. 1 and 6) and minuscule, e. g. in the Bodleian MS. Hatton 20 of Alfred's *Cura pastoralis*; cf. Keller, Pl. III, ll. 1, 4, 6 or—and this is for our purpose of special interest—in the word *pegiŕ* of the marginal note on fol. 6<sup>v</sup> of our Heliand MS., a note which, as already indicated, was doubtless written by a contemporary A.S. hand.<sup>1</sup> Of more importance, however, is the appearance of 'high' e when linked with a, g, m, n, r, s, t, e. g. 12<sup>v</sup>, 7, 22 (Pl. II) *lieti*; 14<sup>r</sup>, 1 *giuuet*; 4 *bethero*; 15<sup>v</sup>, 12 *ſea*; 17<sup>v</sup>, 21 *them*; 23<sup>v</sup>, 19 *egan*; 28<sup>v</sup>, 7 *miner*; 86<sup>r</sup>, 15 *peter*. It is a characteristic feature of the Insular down to the early 11th century (cf. the 'Cædmon' Bodl. Jun. 11) and not to be found in the Carolingian minuscule at so late a period. Attention should finally be drawn to an e formed with two strokes, i. e. bow and tongue have been added to the stem: cp. 13<sup>r</sup>, 15, 96<sup>v</sup>, 21 *mer*, 165<sup>r</sup>, 21 *graþe* and Pl. II, ll. 14, 17, 24; Pl. III, l. 12. M. Thompson's Facs. Nos. 146, 147, 149, 150, 151 may illustrate its use by English hands of the 10th and 11th centuries, whilst I am unable to point to corresponding Carolingian examples of that period except a Düsseldorf MS.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes f, i, 12<sup>v</sup>, 3, 12 (Pl. II), 13<sup>r</sup>, 2 *hie*, 5 *uuel*, the final stroke is carried up to the tongue, as is often the case in the Exeter Book.

**f**: the dominant form throughout is the high f of the Carolingian minuscule, yet the scribe has on five occasions introduced the low A.S. form, i. e. 53<sup>v</sup>, 5 *fiendon*; 140<sup>r</sup>, 22 *hoſ*; 154<sup>v</sup>, 1 *ferhe*; 161<sup>v</sup>, 19 *frumu*; 163<sup>r</sup>, 1 (Pl. III), *neflu*.

**g**: Looking closely at this letter it appears that its form is really based upon the A.S. *g* but with a curved tag, reaching often up to the stem, attached to the left end of the head-stroke. It is in several instances quite apparent

<sup>1</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur lat. Palaeographie*, 1886, p. 48, quotes *ε* as often occurring in A.S. documents.

<sup>2</sup> Gallée, *Alts. Sprachdenkmäler*, Pl. III<sup>b</sup>.

163.

cuman nahrt mid neflu nith folc in  
 deono uuarch anmoragan eft men  
 si. si samnod Rekidun anrunon huat  
 thu uuest huo thit rikiuuas thuru  
 thesan encen man all grauflic.  
 Uuerod giuorran nu ligid hie uuun  
 don si of diopa bidolban hie sagda  
 simnen that hie scoldi fandode  
 astandan anchriddian dage thus  
 thiod gilobit tefilo Thit uuerod  
 after is uuordon nu thu hier uuar  
 don het obar them grabe gomian  
 that ina isungron thar nefar  
 stelan anthemo stene endi seg  
 gian than that hie astandan si riki  
 fan raston than uuir thit thit  
 rinca folc mer gimeryid effiabi  
 ginnat marian hier Thuo uuir  
 thun thar giscerida fan thero sco  
 lu iudeono uuerof techero uuah  
 tu giuurtun im mid wo giuuar  
 mon tharod Techem grabe gan  
 gan thar sia scoldun thes godes  
 barnes hreues huodian uuarch



that the letter was made in three strokes, i. e. the tag was added to the A.S.  $\mathfrak{z}$ . Cf. 32<sup>r</sup>, 16 giuuald; 49<sup>r</sup>, 3 giduot; 120<sup>v</sup>, 10 gifithon; 121<sup>v</sup>, 8 helag,<sup>1</sup> but in most cases tag and head are made in one stroke. Cf. for further examples Pl. I, ll. 8, 11, 12 (third g in gigen gi), 16; Pl. II, ll. 3, 19 (god); Pl. IV, 10 (helag). We may consider this form a compromise between the A.S. and the Carolingian shape and compare with it some of the  $\mathfrak{z}$  of the second scribe of the Beowulf (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xi. 337, note 2) or of Roy. 15 A. xvi (11th cent. S. Aug., Canterbury) e. g. in  $\mathfrak{z}$  audia fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, last line beside ordinary open Carolingian g. However, a somewhat similar tagged form occurs sporadically in the early English half-uncial, e. g. in the *Epinal Glossary* (H. Sweet, p. 10, C 34, 35, E 6, 14, 38, &c.). Beside this compromise form the ordinary A.S.  $\mathfrak{z}$  is found, e. g. 52<sup>r</sup>, 8 se $\mathfrak{z}$ gean; 56<sup>r</sup>, 21 manag; 104<sup>v</sup>, 17 bur $\mathfrak{z}$ ; 150<sup>v</sup>, 24  $\mathfrak{z}$ ifcriban; 151<sup>v</sup>, 18 mu $\mathfrak{z}$ i; and also when linked to the 'high' e: as e. g. in 23<sup>v</sup>, 19, 42<sup>r</sup>, 12, 164<sup>v</sup>, 2 e $\mathfrak{z}$ an; 67<sup>v</sup>, 1 uue $\mathfrak{z}$ ; 155<sup>r</sup>, 15 ple $\mathfrak{z}$ an. Sometimes the cross-beam starts with a dot or bead: 73<sup>r</sup>, 18 a $\mathfrak{z}$ e $\mathfrak{z}$ e; 96<sup>v</sup>, 19  $\mathfrak{z}$ aro; 165<sup>r</sup>, 16 la $\mathfrak{z}$ ; 166<sup>v</sup>, 16 fa $\mathfrak{z}$ din. Cf. Pl. II, l. 16  $\mathfrak{z}$ io; Pl. III, l. 9, but they are not very good examples. A word might be added as to the occasional majuscule form of this letter. The uncial G in the first word of the text (5<sup>r</sup>, 3, cf. above, p. 12) is paralleled by two in the charter Cott. MS. Aug. II. 83 of the same period (an. 974): l. 5 e $\mathfrak{G}$ o, o $\mathfrak{S}$  $\mathfrak{P}$  $\mathfrak{I}$  $\mathfrak{G}$ ,<sup>2</sup> whilst the angular  $\mathfrak{G}$  52<sup>r</sup>, 18 Gibod, 118<sup>v</sup>, 10 Giuet has its parallel in that of the opening line of the 'Beowulf', of the Vercelli Codex, fol. 43, and of Harley 2965, fol. 18<sup>v</sup> (from Winchester). [Angular C(L) in the Hamilton Psalter (New Pal. Soc., ser. ii, Pl. 34<sup>c</sup>) and in the Evangelistarium, Barberin. 570, 8th cent., cf. Ehrle and Liebaert, *Spec. Cod. Lat.*, Pl. 21, l. 4; also Keller, *l. c.*, p. 10, and Pls. V and VI.]

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the small tag rests, as it were, on the top of the cross-beam: 56<sup>v</sup>, 15 helagna; 157<sup>r</sup>, 22 mag. Cf. Ehrle and Liebaert, *Spec. Cod. Lat.*, Pl. 21, ll. 3, 4, 6 and 6<sup>b</sup> (ags. half-uncial, 8th cent.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, i, p. 21, note 2.

**k.** It often shows the vertical stroke carried well below the bottom line; cf. Pl. III, ll. 3, 4, 7, 15. This form is distributed in the text as follows: occasional use at the beginning, fols. 5 and 6, and again from fol. 33<sup>v</sup> onward, increasing prevalence after fol. 89<sup>v</sup>, dominant and of very pronounced character towards the close. This form is not unknown to the early Carolingian minuscule; cf. e. g. W. Grimm, *Exhortatio ad plebem Christianam*, 1848, Pl. D, col. 2, l. 6; Pl. F, col. 4, l. 4, but it soon gives way to the ordinary k-form, whilst in the Insular script it keeps its place beside the other down to the 11th century. Cf. Bede's Martyrologium (811-14; Thompson, *l. c.*, Pl. 143); Alfred's Cura pastoralis (Keller, Pl. III), the Abingdon recension of the A.S. Chronicle in Cott. Tib. B. 1, the calendar in Cott. Galba A. xviii (10th-11th cent.), the first Beowulf hand (Förster, *l. c.*, Pl. 2, ll. 15, 16 kyning); Roy. 8 C. III, late 10th cent., fol. 61; the Salisbury Psalter fol. 151<sup>v</sup> kypieleison; also Charters, e. g. Stowe Ch. 28 (a. 961).

**m** and **n**: It is noteworthy that the last shaft of these letters does not end, as we should expect from a Frankish scribe of this period, in a slight upward turn to the right or in a short horizontal attached to it, but is mostly blunt or a little thickened on the line.<sup>1</sup> Cp. Thompson, Pls. 144, 145 (partly); Keller, Pl. III (Cura pastoralis, Hatton MS.) and Facs. pp. 26, 27, 31. Frequently in 'Cædmon' Bodl. Jun. 11. Uncial n occurs medially and finally, e. g. 33<sup>v</sup>, 8 iungron; 59<sup>v</sup>, 18 biun; 65<sup>r</sup>, 19 fcin.

**p**: Two points should be noticed: (1) the shortness of the vertical main stroke,<sup>2</sup> e. g. 12<sup>v</sup>, 20 (Pl. II) Ioseph; 163<sup>v</sup>, 16 upp; 33<sup>r</sup>, 10 helpa; 136<sup>r</sup>, 21 farcopod; 147<sup>v</sup>, 7 sprikif. In spiloda (77<sup>r</sup>, 20) the stroke was so short, that a later hand thought fit to lengthen it; (2) that the bow is often left open and ends in a dot. The Insular half-uncial shows both points.

<sup>1</sup> The same applies to the i and the last stroke of the u.

<sup>2</sup> This holds also good of the q, e. g. 121<sup>r</sup>, 11 quicon; 136<sup>r</sup>, 8 quala.

**r**: The regular form is that of the Carolingian minuscule *r*; the main stroke frequently goes well below the bottom line, as is often the case in English (Lat.) MSS. of the late 10th century, influenced by the foreign minuscule, cf. Thompson, Pl. 171 and British Museum MS. Harl. 5431 (from St. Augustin, Canterbury); occasionally the form comes near a compromise between the Carolingian minuscule and the A.S. *ƿ*: cf. 5<sup>v</sup>, 15 *starkan*; 18 *fingron*; 6<sup>v</sup>, 19 *Zacharias*; and Pl. II, l. 8 *uurđi* (in immediate neighbourhood of *thap*); Pl. IV, l. 6; but there are, at any rate, eighteen cases—the first 5<sup>r</sup>, 22 *baƿno*, the last 150<sup>r</sup>, 3 *lungƿa* where the A.S. form appears, pure and simple, cf. Pl. II, ll. 5, 8; in some instances (86<sup>r</sup>, 15 *baƿn*; 54<sup>v</sup>, 14 *aƿundi*) by correction from *n*, just as in the MS. Gg. v, 35 of the Cambridge Songs, fol. 433<sup>r</sup><sup>b</sup>, l. 37 *f̄em* < *f̄n̄em*; this correction was easy enough for an A.S. scribe! Notice also *r* from *ƿ* in *auaron* 6<sup>v</sup>, 13. Further we observe the presence of uncial *R* (e.g. 61<sup>v</sup>, 24 *muoder*; 149<sup>r</sup>, 17 *erodes*) which has its place in the Carolingian minuscule as well as in the Insular, but it may be worth mentioning that in Cott. Calig. A. xv (10th cent. from Canterbury) this uncial *R* is the rule. After *o* the small curved 2, i.e. the uncial form minus stem and upper bow, is found about twenty-two times, e.g. 23<sup>r</sup>, 4 *uuord*, 36<sup>v</sup>, 23 *nahor*. For its appearance in English MSS. of the 10th century, cf. Roy. 4 A. xiv and 2 B. v (Regius Psalter, probably from Winchester), and as early as the 9th century the Corpus Christi College MS. of the A.S. Chronicle (Winchester *c.* 891), cf. Thompson, Pl. 145, l. 5 *sumor*.

**f**: The usual form of the letter is the high *f* as in the Carolingian minuscule, standing on the line or going but a little below it, the top half sometimes breaking away from the lower to the right (e.g. 34<sup>v</sup>, 11 *thef*; cp. Thompson, Pl. 144). Three times; however, always linked with 'high' *e*, we find the Insular low *f*; 23<sup>r</sup>, 5 *thinef*; 28<sup>v</sup>, 7 *minef*; and in juxta-position 30<sup>r</sup>, 2 *gilicneƿfe*.

Attention may finally be called to a very broad uncial *s*

or rather one which from the vertical has been turned round to a horizontal position, thus:  $\infty$ . It appears on fol. 34<sup>v</sup>, 24/25 in connexion with two other uncial letters, Iohan|N $\infty$ , 68<sup>r</sup>, 24 (last word of the page)  $\infty$  a d and 169<sup>v</sup>, 14 the last word of the text: folca  $\infty$ . The same form may be seen occasionally in Roy. 5 F. III (9th cent.), Roy. 7 D. XXIV (10th, Ch. Church, Canterbury?), Cott. Galba A. XIV (early 11th, Winchester), in the Charter MS., Aug. II, 45 (of Eadwig *a.* 956), and as late as 1080 in an historical note on fol. 86<sup>v</sup> of Cott. Tiberius B. IV:  $\infty$  cotta. I cannot say whether or where it occurs in Carolingian MSS.

**t**: The well rounded form of this letter, with the heaviest pen pressure at the beginning of the curve and with the main stroke often fastened to the right end of the well developed cross-beam<sup>1</sup> is much nearer to the  $\tau$  in English MSS. of the 10th century than to the mostly meagre  $\tau$  of the Carolingian minuscule of that period. Still more importance attaches to the same well rounded letter with a dot at the end of the bow which occurs about twenty times spread over the text, first instance 5<sup>r</sup>, 6 in cri $\tau$  (Pl. IV), last 130<sup>r</sup>, 21 gi $\tau$ hingot. Cf. also Pl. I, l. 1. It is a well-known trait of the Insular,<sup>2</sup> both of charters e.g. MS. Cotton Aug. II, 23 (Aethelstan *a.* 939) and MSS. down to the end of the 10th century, cf. the 'Exeter Book'; the Salisbury Psalter (Thompson, Pl. 147); Roy. 2 B. v; Roy. 4 A. XIV; Cott. Galba A. XIV (early 11th cent.!), but, as far as I know, not to be found in the Carolingian minuscule.

**u**: That its second shaft stands blunt on the line, has already been mentioned (p. 18, note 1). A remarkable feature<sup>3</sup> is a very open winding form of this letter ( $\infty, \infty$ ) which occurs five times, always in uo, i. e. the High German diphthong

<sup>1</sup> This is a prominent feature in the Regius Psalter Roy. 2. B. v.—Standing at the end of a line the cross-beam of the  $\tau$  is sometimes (e. g. 146<sup>r</sup>, 15, 147<sup>r</sup>, 14) lengthened out and curved upward ending with a dot. Similarly also the tongue of e in this position. <sup>2</sup> Keller, *l.c.*, pp. 22 and 26.

<sup>3</sup> As early as 1703 G. Hickes had noticed this particularity, see *Institutiones Gramm. Franco-Theotiscæ*, Oxford, 1703, p. 6. (Part II of *Linguarum vet. Septentrional. Thesaurus*.)

< Germanic  $\bar{o}$ , viz. 13<sup>v</sup>, 12; 23<sup>r</sup> 18; 127<sup>v</sup>, 7 u o d i l; 76<sup>v</sup>, 1 u o b i a n; 161<sup>r</sup>, 5 h u o d i a n. It is evidently the form of the suprascript u (v) of which W. Lindsay, *Palaeogr. Lat.*, i, p. 55 (4) says: 'sometimes the right side shoots up in a hair line, a favourite form with Insular scribes.' Cf. H. Sweet, *Epinal Gloss.*, 2 B 28, 10 B 6, 10 F 14. It might be suggested that the scribe found in his exemplar  $\ddot{o}$  or  $\ddot{ö}$  and brought the suprascript v on to the line in the shape known to him. Cf. also a l l e m of the Altsächs. Taufgelöbnis, Gallée, *Alts. Sprachdenkmäler*, Pl. XI<sup>a</sup>, l. 4 (A.S. pointed hand from Fulda).

**y**: Both the v-type and the s-type ( $\gamma$ )<sup>1</sup> are used, always undotted. This corresponds with the usage of A.S. MSS. of the second half of the 10th century, cf. also the second scribe of the 'Beowulf'.<sup>2</sup>

**z**: a letter naturally of rare occurrence in the O.S. Heliand; we find two forms  $\mathfrak{z}$ ,  $\mathfrak{I}$  and  $\mathfrak{z}$ ,  $\mathfrak{I}$  ('projecting the lower angle in a longish spear or horn', Lindsay, *l. c.*, p. 61). They can certainly be paralleled in A.S. (Latin) MSS. from the 8th to the 11th century. Cf. Canterbury Gospels (Thompson, Pl. 141, l. 5), *Epinal Gloss.*, 1 C 32, 18 C 36, &c.; Cott. Tiberius C. II (Bede's Hist. Eccles., 8th cent., fol. 91<sup>r</sup>; 156<sup>r</sup>); Roy. 5 F. III (fol. 18<sup>v</sup>; 21<sup>v</sup>); Cott. Vespas. D. XVI (11th cent.); Cambridge Songs MS. Gg. v. 35 (11th cent.), fol. 437<sup>v</sup>, 18, 22.  $\mathfrak{z}$  appears also on the Continent e. g. St. Gall 56 (OHG. translation of Tatian; G. Könecke, *Bilderatlas*, Marburg, 1895, p. 10). Once we find the usual Carolingian form in Zacharias 7<sup>r</sup>, 22 (Pl. I).

II. *Ligatures*. (1) The linking of 'high' e with a,  $\mathfrak{z}$ , n, m, r,  $\mathfrak{r}$ , t, a characteristic feature of the Insular script, even as late as the end of the 10th century, has already been mentioned. Frequently we meet (2) with the linking of a and e ( $\mathfrak{ae}$ ), which here stands for O.S. a, e and, in a few

Combinations of letters.

<sup>1</sup> Lindsey, *l. c.*, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Förster, *l. c.*, p. 40. It is not quite correct to say that the  $\gamma$  form is not at all known to the first scribe (C); cf.  $\gamma$  m b l. 9 in the first facsimile of 'Beowulf', ed. by R. W. Chambers, 1914.

cases, = ē (Germanic ē<sub>2</sub> and ai), whilst in the Heliand MSS. M and V this sign is restricted to O.S. short a and e in endings (only once bæ r h t e r o M 3173). Examples: 5<sup>r</sup>, 17 c r i s t æ; 6<sup>v</sup>, 23 æ f t e r; 63<sup>r</sup>, 21 a n d r æ d i n; 63<sup>r</sup>, 18; 116<sup>r</sup>, 2 a r æ f; 78<sup>r</sup>, 10 g æ s t a f; 87<sup>v</sup>, 6 h æ b a n c u n i n g; 121<sup>v</sup>, 24 b u æ n d e o n. Its extensive use in Heliand C speaks for an A.S. scribe or, at any rate, one versed in A.S. orthography. (3) t+i. This combination, which is quite a feature of the palaeography of the MS., has the shape of τ (resembling a q), i. e. the i-shaft, fastened to the cross-beam of τ, goes considerably beneath the line. Examples: cf. Pl. I, ll. 5, 18; Pl. II, ll. 2, 6, 17, 22, 24. The early Carolingian minuscule (8th and 9th cent.) has this ligature as well as the Insular script. Cf. Heidelberg MS. Pal. 52 of Otfried's Gospel Book, Facs., p. 12 in G. Könnecke, *Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*, ll. 7 and 10; the Weissenburger Charter, No. 254 in J. Kelle, *Otfrieds von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch*, 1869, vol. ii, Pl. 2, b; Heliand M, Könnecke, *l.c.*, Facs., p. 11, l. 5 a l e τ; Heliand V, Zangemeister-Braune, *Bruchstücke der alts. Bibeldichtung*, Pl. VI, l. 13 u a n f c e f τ; Munich Cod. Lat. 14747 (Em. B. 1) in E. Petzet and O. Glauning, *Deutsche Schrifttafeln des IX. bis XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Pl. XI, A, col. 2, l. 17; B, col. 2, l. 10; for the early Insular<sup>1</sup> (round and pointed hand) cf. Cod. Barberin. 570 Evangelistarium, 8th century, in Ehrle, *Spec. Cod. Lat.*, Pl. 21, col. 2, l. 9; *Epinal Gloss.*, 1 E 29, 10 F 38, 10 E 7 (beside the form with 'dropped' i, 1 B 9, 3 B 26); Beda's Martyrologium (811-14), Thompson, Pl. 143, l. 12, and Harleian 7653 (from Winchester), fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, 5. In the Carolingian minuscule the ligature or, at any rate, the lengthening of the i-shaft seems to disappear with the end of the 9th century<sup>2</sup> and altogether to be confined to the end

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica*, München, 1910, pp. 25, 49.

<sup>2</sup> The occasional presence of it in Munich Cod. Lat. 14747 is for the editors of the *Schrifttafeln* one of the reasons for putting the MS. 'noch in das IX. Jahrhundert'

of the word; in the Insular, on the other hand, it maintains itself, both at the end and within the word till late into the 10th century, cf. the Psalter, Bodleian Jun. 27, N.P.S., ser. ii, Pl. 62, ll. 10, 11;<sup>1</sup> or the Sherborne Pontifical, Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie*<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 71a; or especially the Regius Psalter Roy. 2 B. v (cf. below under 4) where it is the rule as in the Heliand MS.; further the Lauderdale MS. of Alfred's Orosius; only occasionally in 'Cædmon' Bodl. Jun. 11, e. g. p. 97, l. 10  $\tau\pi$ ; p. 210, l. 7  $mih\tau\zeta\pi an$ . In the conservative Irish script we find it much later, cf. e. g. Gospels of Maelbrigde, A. D. 1138 (Thompson, Pl. 139) or Psalterium c. glossis Petri Lombardi, saec. xii-xiii, Ehrle, *Spec. Cod. Lat.*, Pl. 24, ll. 2, 6, 8, &c. (4)  $f + \tau$ . Beside separate  $f\tau$  and the usual ligature of the Carolingian minuscule  $ft$ , the scribe very frequently makes use of a ligature wherein the bow of the  $f$ ,<sup>2</sup> more or less rounded, rests on the left end of the cross-beam of the  $\tau$  which may or may not reach the shaft of the  $f$ . The first example of this form occurs on 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 6 (Pl. IV)  $\cdot cri f\tau$  where, as we have already remarked, the  $\tau$  is beaded. For other examples cf. Pl. I, ll. 9, 18; Pl. III, ll. 4, 9, 14, 15. At first sparsely used, this ligature presently becomes the dominating form, towards the end mostly in the wide shape where the  $\tau$  does not reach the shaft of the  $f$ ; cf. Pl. I, l. 18. Moreover, in a good many instances an original  $f\tau$  has been altered into our ligature, partly by the scribe, partly by a corrector, as far as we can gather from a difference in the colour of the ink. Cf. Pl. II, ll. 17, 22; Pl. III, l. 16. This tends to show that the ligature was characteristic of the *scriptorium* where the scribe wrote and where his copy was later on looked over by others. This form is not in itself remarkable; it could easily arise by chance wherever the half-uncial, the Insular, or the tall cursive  $f$  was formed with a big curve instead of

<sup>1</sup> 'Written perhaps at Winchester but glossed more probably at Canterbury.' Mr. Sisam sees no reason why the gloss, which is in the hand of the text, should be written at Canterbury.

<sup>2</sup> Where it stands by itself, it never shows a bow, but only a dot.

a bead at the end. It is thus not difficult to find sporadic instances of a form answering to our requirement in the early half-uncial,<sup>1</sup> in the pointed Insular hand,<sup>2</sup> even in the Carolingian minuscule,<sup>3</sup> but such isolated cases cannot be considered as an *intentional* form of the ligature. Matters became different in the English minuscule of the 10th century. We now see our form (the tall cursive f linked with beaded τ) in a well developed shape in charters<sup>4</sup> written under Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgar between the years 931 and 966, for and, as we think, with H. Hall, *Studies in Engl. Official Historical Documents*, pp. 174ff., also in the monasteries of Canterbury (Christ Church), Winchester, Abingdon.

After 966—in the Harleian Charter 43 C. 5 of this year there is only one isolated instance in the signature æ l p f τ a n—the ligature, as far as I can see, disappears again from the charters. In some it is restricted to the Latin part, and even there is very infrequent both at the beginning and towards the end of the period indicated; in others it occurs rather more frequently and extends into the A.S. part. However st, ft, ft remain in the ascendancy throughout.

In MSS. of this period the ligature occurs frequently and may be found here down to the first or second decade of the 11th century. For our immediate purpose it will suffice to point to some characteristic specimens which can be located, but full statistics are an urgent desideratum. Codices in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Thompson, Pl. 98, l. 3, 4, 9 (St. Hilary, before A. D. 509–10) or A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica*, 1899, &c., Part VII, Pl. 1–2, (Cuthbert Gospels).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Steffens, *Lat. Palaeographie*<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 54, l. 19 (Chartulary of Fulda from A. D. 828) or New Palaeogr. Soc., i, Pls. 7–8 (Alfred's Cura Pastoralis, 890–97?), or, though rarely, beside st, ft, fτ, ft in Roy. 5 F III of the Brit. Museum (Aldhelm, De virginitate, 9th cent.).

<sup>3</sup> Quite sporadic in the Freising Otfried; cf. Petzet and Glauning, *Deutsche Schrifttafeln*, i, Pl. VIII, ll. 11 and 15; the scribe's form is apparently ft.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cotton Chart. VIII, 16<sup>a</sup> (931), Cott. MS. Aug. II, 65 (934), II, 23 (939), II, 62 (940), II, 63 (944), II, 73 (946), II, 83 (947), II, 44 (949), Cott. Chart. VIII, 12 (956), Stowe Chart. 27 (958).

which the *f* is only linked with *τ* should then be separated from those where a similar combination is also effected with *c*, *p*, *a* (i. e. the 'a' made in three strokes). Subject to correction I have the impression that the South and South East (or better certain *scriptoria* of that region) started and soon favoured our combination as an intentional peculiarity or ornament of their schools. I am not at present prepared to say how far—if at all—this usage spread to the West, though I suggest the 'Exeter Book' of A.S. poetry as a possible example. As to the Midlands and the North I do not think it was ever favoured in the *scriptoria* there.<sup>1</sup>

Can we point to a centre (or centres) from which at this period documents emanate wherein this ligature plays as conspicuous a part as in Heliand C? Winchester (Old and New Minster) and Canterbury (Christ Church) may be taken as such. Unfortunately opinions as to the descent of two of our principal witnesses—the Regius Psalter Roy. 2 B. v and its sister MS. Roy. 4 A. xiv—are divided between Winchester (New Minster or St. Mary's Nunnery) and Christ Church, Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> To the latter place Dr. M. R. James<sup>3</sup> attributes the Orosius copy in Cott. Tib. B. 1 and also that of Alfred's Boethius in Cott. Otho A. vi wherein, however *ꝛ*, *ꝛ* and *ꝛ* are in the majority. I have no doubt that a systematic examination of Canterbury MSS. of this period would yield more examples in conformity with the use of the ligature in Canterbury charters.

<sup>1</sup> When L. Traube—the only one, as far as I am aware, who took cognizance of the form, adduces it (*Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, ii. ed. by F. Boll, München, 1911, p. 25) along with other ligatures among the cursive formations of Ireland and England as 'Neuschöpfung', this statement appears to me to be too wide and general.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. Wildhagen, *Zur Datierung und Lokalisierung der altengl. Psalterglossen* (Verhandlung. der 51. Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Posen, 1911), p. 97; *Catalogue of the Royal MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, p. 40. The attribution to Winchester depends on some added leaves at the beginning. Mr. Sisam tells me there are indications that the MS. was at Christ Church—at least in later times.

<sup>3</sup> *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, p. xxviii.

As regards undoubted Winchester MSS. I would point to that hand (about 960) of the A.S. Chronicle of which the New Pal. Society, i, Part VI, Pl. 135 gives a facsimile; further to Cott. Galba A. xiv a book of prayers, the home of which according to E. Bishop<sup>1</sup> is to be sought at New Minster or Nunna Minster, Winchester and which can be dated at or soon after 1013, on the evidence of a prayer for King Ethelred entered by the principal hand. Our ligature<sup>2</sup> is a feature of this hand (fols. 37<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>; 45<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>; 71<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>; 76<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>; 104<sup>r</sup>-117<sup>v</sup>; 118<sup>v</sup>-119<sup>v</sup>; 120<sup>r</sup>-125<sup>r</sup>). The same holds good of the very similar but hardly identical hand which entered the collect of St. Aethelwold on fol. 125<sup>r-v</sup>. It is noteworthy that on fol. 48<sup>v</sup> our ligature in the word *a ccepif t i* was subsequently altered into the ordinary *f t*—which shows that to the corrector (or reader) the form must have appeared to be unusual. Cf. the opposite proceeding in the Heliand MS. referred to on p. 23.

In connexion with Galba A. xiv I should like to mention the hand which on fol. 8<sup>v</sup> to 10<sup>v</sup> of the first, originally independent, gathering of Cotton Nero A. 2 has entered the very curious poem on and prayer of King Aethelstan<sup>3</sup> which W. Stubbs printed in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* (Rolls Series), London, 1874, p. xiii, note 1 and which has been dealt with by W. H. Stevenson, *Historical Review*, xxvi, 482 and J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of S. Dunstan*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 67 ff. The hand cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 11th century as is shown by the calendar immediately preceding in the same gathering, though by a different hand.<sup>4</sup> The hand of the poem and prayer bears such a remarkable resemblance to that on

<sup>1</sup> *Downside Review*, March, 1907, p. 58 ff. and *Liturgica Historica*, 1918, pp. 384-95.

<sup>2</sup> The linking is restricted as in Heliand C to the letter *τ*.

<sup>3</sup> The latter also in Galba A. xiv, fol. 3 together with an A.S. translation; cp. H. Wanley, *Librorum Vet. Septentrionalium qui in Angliae Bibliothecis exstant, . . . catalogus*, Oxford, 1705, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. A. Robinson, *l. c.*, p. 68.

fol. 125 of Galba A. XIV (Collect of St. Aethelwold) even in matters of minute detail, e. g. the peculiar ornamentation of the initial letter ð, that I feel no hesitation in tracing both hands—if indeed they are not identical—to the same *scriptorium* at Winchester. And with both our ligature forms a distinct feature of the writing!

That the ligature was still alive a little later at New Minster (Hyde Abbey) is proved by the *Liber vitae* of Hyde Abbey in Stowe MS. 944.<sup>1</sup> There the scribe who, at the time of King Canute (1016–35), wrote fols. 29<sup>v</sup>–39<sup>v</sup> and perhaps also fol. 57 uses it (fols. 37<sup>v</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup>) in a bold shape, though only rarely as compared with *ſc* and *ſt*. However the hand makes an archaic impression and uses (fol. 57<sup>r</sup>, l. 3) the old *p* form of *y*.

The two New Minster MSS. Tit. D. XXVI and XXVII from about the middle of the 11th century no longer show any trace of our ligature.

As the ligature is practically absent from the Carolingian minuscule, but is well known to the English of the 10th cent. and flourishes, as we have seen, in Canterbury and Winchester documents, it is safe to say that its prominence in the Heliand C must be classed with the other traces of A.S. palaeography in this copy.

III. *Punctuation.* Attention may be drawn to the signs <sup>Punctuation.</sup> *.,* or *;*, which occur at the end of chapters and once 7<sup>r</sup>, 18 on the margin; e. g. 43<sup>r</sup>, 12; 50<sup>v</sup>, 6; 81<sup>r</sup>, 10; 85<sup>v</sup>, 17. Cf. Pl. I, l. 18. They correspond to English usage; it will suffice to point to the marginal note, in an A.S. hand on f. 106<sup>v</sup> . . . *ſermone; et r i i*.

There is no reason for dating the writing of the Codex earlier than the second half of the 10th century, but the preceding palaeographical survey also shows that, as regards the shape of single letters and some combinations of such, the Carolingian minuscule of the scribe is so strongly tinged by the influence of the Insular script of that period that to <sup>General conclusions from palaeographical and linguistic features of the MS.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by W. de G. Birch, 1892 (*Hampshire Record Society*).

speak of some sporadic instances only or of a mere suggestion of the Insular would hardly meet the actual conditions of the case. It is partly due to this influence which involved, to some extent, a different distribution of pen pressure (notably in the  $\tau$ ), that the general impression of the script, as measured by other Carolingian MSS. of the 10th century, strikes the eye as unusual and peculiar. To the palaeographical evidence has now to be added the occasional presence of A.S. word-forms in the context, such as *w e a r d*, *georno* (close to *gerno*) 7<sup>v</sup>, 16; *steorra*, *modor*, *dohtor*, *drihtnes*, *æfter*, *scealt*, *on*, *of*, perhaps also the root vowel in *temig* and *fisid*,<sup>1</sup> and if we are right in attributing it to the scribe, the note on the margin of fol. 11<sup>r</sup> *bescāmarian*.

How then are these peculiar palaeographical and phonological conditions to be explained?

We would suggest two alternative theories.

(1) The scribe was an Anglo-Saxon by birth who learnt to write the Carolingian script abroad. He does not use that variety of foreign minuscule which in England, in the schools of St. Dunstan, Aethelwold, or Oswald, assumes a broad, round and withal somewhat conservative style. Perhaps while still a youth, before his hand was firmly set, he acquired the script at some provincial *scriptorium* on the Continent where a somewhat cramped and angular minuscule more German in style than French was taught and practised. These points require to be strongly emphasized. Either there or, as further examination will show, more likely after his return home, he was set the task of copying a Continental MS. He did this as well as he was able in the foreign style he had learned but, naturally enough, he interspersed Insular letters including the characteristic combination of *f* and  $\tau$  then 'fashionable' in certain centres, modified others in the direction of closer approximation to

<sup>1</sup> F. Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*<sup>2</sup>, § 30; R. Kögel, *Idg. Forschungen* 3, p. 289/90 (Holthausen, § 234 and n. 2).

native usage (cf. b, l, beaded  $\tau$  and 'high' e), and involuntarily broke into A.S. word-forms here and there, where everyday words were concerned.

(2) The original home of the scribe was on the Continent, but he had found a new one in England, either as a member of a monastic community or as an unattached clerk. There he was employed as a scribe, and acquired, in this capacity, practice in writing the Insular, particularly in its 'reformed' shape with its half-uncial traces as seen in certain forms of a, b, l,  $\tau$  and  $f + \tau$ , and, in course of time, gained some knowledge of the A.S. tongue. When the monastery which—let us say by way of anticipation—possessed the exemplar of Heliand C, desired this MS. to be copied he was entrusted by them with this task, but because it was a non-English document, he used or was required to use the foreign script. His familiarity with the Insular, however, vitiated his native script and its style, just as his knowledge of the A.S. tongue would account for the occasional use of A.S. forms.

We shall have to revert to these theories in the course of our study and shall find it difficult to favour the one to the final exclusion of the possibility of the other, but first we propose to glance at the ornamentation of the Codex.

The principal ornament of Cott. Caligula A. VII consists of nine large initial letters which are thus distributed over the text: (1) M = fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (i); (2) h = fol. 15<sup>v</sup> (vi); (3, 4, 8, 9) S = fol. 29<sup>r</sup> (xii), fol. 30<sup>v</sup> (xiii), fol. 40<sup>r</sup> (xvii), fol. 126<sup>r</sup> (LIII); (5) U = fol. 33<sup>r</sup> (xiii); (6) L = fol. 35<sup>v</sup> (xv); (7) T = fol. 37<sup>v</sup> (xvi). That is to say the initials stand at the head of sections (vitteae = lectiones, sententiae, cf. Praefatio A in Sievers' Heliand edition, p. 4, ll. 18 ff.), indicated by Roman figures (as above) by the scribe, excepting I (the beginning of the poem) where there is no number at all. As, however, the fytte-number xv was wrongly placed by the scribe, the L initial (fol. 35<sup>v</sup>) does not fall, as is the case else, on the first word of this section but

The ornamentation of the MS.

on one within the last sentence of section XIII, i. e. *li u d e o n*<sup>1</sup> (l. 1211).

Whilst S (8) on fol. 40<sup>r</sup>, though of the same zoomorphic style as the rest, is merely drawn by the pen, the other eight initials are coloured, rust-brown being in preponderance beside dull-blue and yellow, wherewith the colouring of the initials in the Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 7 D. xxiv (10th century) and to some extent in the Salisbury Psalter (c. 960) may be compared. At the heads of all other sections (fyttes) totalling 71, the majuscule letters are usually simple in character and only occasionally fanciful. They were evidently made by the scribe during the actual process of copying; those at the head of the sections II, III, XIII have been dabbed with red and yellow as also have the other letters of the opening word which is in all three cases *Th u o*. Filling in of letters with patches of yellow or red or both constitutes a minor element of ornamentation of the MS., but it extends only from fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (commencement of the text) to fol. 13<sup>r</sup> (last period of fyte III).<sup>2</sup> The letters thus distinguished, have mostly—not always!—majuscule form; they mark the beginnings of smaller periods and within them that of alliterative lines or half lines (the lines are written continuously like prose). However, no clear principle is recognizable as by no means every line or half line is marked in this way.

Finally, on fols. 5<sup>r</sup> and 126<sup>r</sup> we find coloured (yellow and dull-blue) bands which serve as a background and framework to the headings in Roman capitals and to the two first words of the poem (cf. above, p. 12). The same holds good of the section (fyte)-numbers XII to XVI and LXIII, i. e. those

<sup>1</sup> We hold with W. Bruckner, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philologie*, 35, 533, now followed by O. Behaghel in his latest edition of the *Heliand* (1922), that the right place for xv is in the caesura of l. 1211, so that *oft*, now written with minuscule o, should have the initial letter.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards only the letter o immediately following the coloured initials S (4 and 9) on fols. 30<sup>v</sup> and 126<sup>r</sup> in the word *So* is filled in with yellow.

standing on the same pages as, and immediately preceding the coloured initials 3 to 7 and 9, whilst the numbers II, III, IIII, i. e. those falling within the fol. 5<sup>r</sup> to 13<sup>r</sup> are in red without such bands. The band-ornament and the filling in of letters with patches of colour call for no special remark; they are both to be found in Continental and Insular MSS. alike, the only noteworthy point in our case being the calligraphic, spiral ornament in which most of the bands end.<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of Dr. H. Hieber it is of Byzantine origin and occurs in Greek MSS. especially at the end of lines or chapters. Of greater importance for our investigation is the decorative style of the coloured initials.

The elements of which they are composed are the following: (1) of a zoomorphic kind; birdlike bodies with wings at rest, but without legs and with a snake's or a dog's head; (2) leaf ornaments, especially one sprouting out of the animals' mouths (see Pl. V); (3) angular and knotty bandwork which often encircles the animals' necks as if strangling them.

All such characteristics as the close interweaving of these elements to form a well-knit artistic whole and the peculiar use, referred to above, of bands and ornamental leaf, are in close agreement with the style of initial letters in MSS. emanating from Southern English schools of painting in the 10th and 11th centuries and, in a more primitive form, even earlier. O. Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912, has apparently this style in mind, when, on p. 3 f., he speaks of the initial-ornamentation of a certain 'Canterbury group' of MSS. which of course does not exclude the application of the same technique in other centres of the South. For our purpose it will suffice to adduce a few examples for comparison.

The ornamental leaf characteristically sprouting out of the animals' mouths, the bandwork drawn round their necks,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Facs. of the top of fol. 5<sup>r</sup> in T. H. Gallée's *Alts. Sprachdenkmäler*, Leiden, 1905, Pl. I<sup>c</sup>, where the reproduction in colour is, however, inadequate, and our Pl. IV.

and the prevalence of rust-brown in the colour scheme, can all be observed in the initials of the Aldhelm MS., Royal 7 D. xxiv of the British Museum, 10th century, possibly from Christ Church, Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> Harl. 5431 of the British Museum, late 10th century and from St. Augustin, Canterbury<sup>2</sup> (fol. 2<sup>r</sup> Di XIII, Gra. 1 *Et est lib scti Augusti. Cant<sup>s</sup>*) has only pendrawn initials (cf. the S in Heliand fol. 40<sup>r</sup>) but though far superior in artistic execution, they correspond in style, a special point for comparison being afforded by the L-initial of the Heliand fol. 35<sup>v</sup> and the S, fols. 50<sup>v</sup> and 61<sup>r</sup> of this Harl. MS. in as far as the animals' heads are joined to each other in the reverse direction. The same is the case (cf. Pl. V) with the C-initial on fol. 13<sup>r</sup> of the Salisbury Psalter,<sup>3</sup> Cathedral library no. 150, c. 969 for which Sherborne or Shaftesbury (Mr. K. Sisam) has been suggested as its home; still more striking is the similarity in motives and their arrangement between the M-initials (Pl. IV) in Heliand (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>) and this Psalter (fol. 86<sup>v</sup>), although a mere bookornament stands here against a realistic representation. In the same way we compare the h-initial, fol. 15<sup>v</sup> of the Heliand with that on p. 14 of the 'Cædmon' Bodl. Jun. 11 (Pl. V), a MS. to which we shall have to revert later on. See also the same initial fol. 49<sup>r</sup> of the 'Vercelli Book'. But the same observation we made when adducing Harl. 5431 applies here with equal force: the technique shown by the miniator of Jun. 11 is far superior to the modest endeavours seen in the Heliand MS.

Are  
scribe and  
illumi-  
nator  
identical?

Having thus briefly described the ornamentation of the Codex one question still remains to be discussed: are scribe and *illuminator* identical, or are they two separate persons? It appears difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point. The filling in of letters on fol. 5<sup>r</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 517.

<sup>3</sup> This reversed position forms almost a feature of the ornamentation here. Cf. the D-initials on fols. 27<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>r</sup>, the M-initial fol. 146<sup>v</sup>, &c.—It occurs once (O-initial) in the 'Cædmon' MS. Bodl. Jun. 11, p. 63.



Euangelia in lingua  
Dantea

IN I. PIT. C. <sup>CVATVO</sup> 5

OR. EVANGELIV.

ANECAWARON

chesiaromod gespon thāsia .  
 bi sunnun uuordgodes reckean  
 that giruni that thi riceo criste  
 undar mancunnea martha gifrumida  
 mid uuordun endi mid uuercun That  
 uuolda tho uuifara filo ludo barno  
 lobon lera cristes belag uuordgodes  
 endi mid iro handon scriban berech

Caligula A. VII. Folio 5r.

Incipit euangeliu in lingua  
Ingressus I

mont  
mil  
I sb  
nun  
on  
I na  
le n bock  
tione adnu  
hve on miba

Salisbury Cath. Lib. No. 150. Fol. 86v.

scin lac a  
 drohtan i  
 helpu qua  
 manno ba  
 iudeon ta  
 nie that  
 thar tor

Caligula A. VII. Fol. 35v.

Incepit  
 hon ne ic el  
 VM mi  
 god rht ppi  
 ds iustat  
 dno brw  
 ne dilata  
 mildia me  
 M istishe mei. &

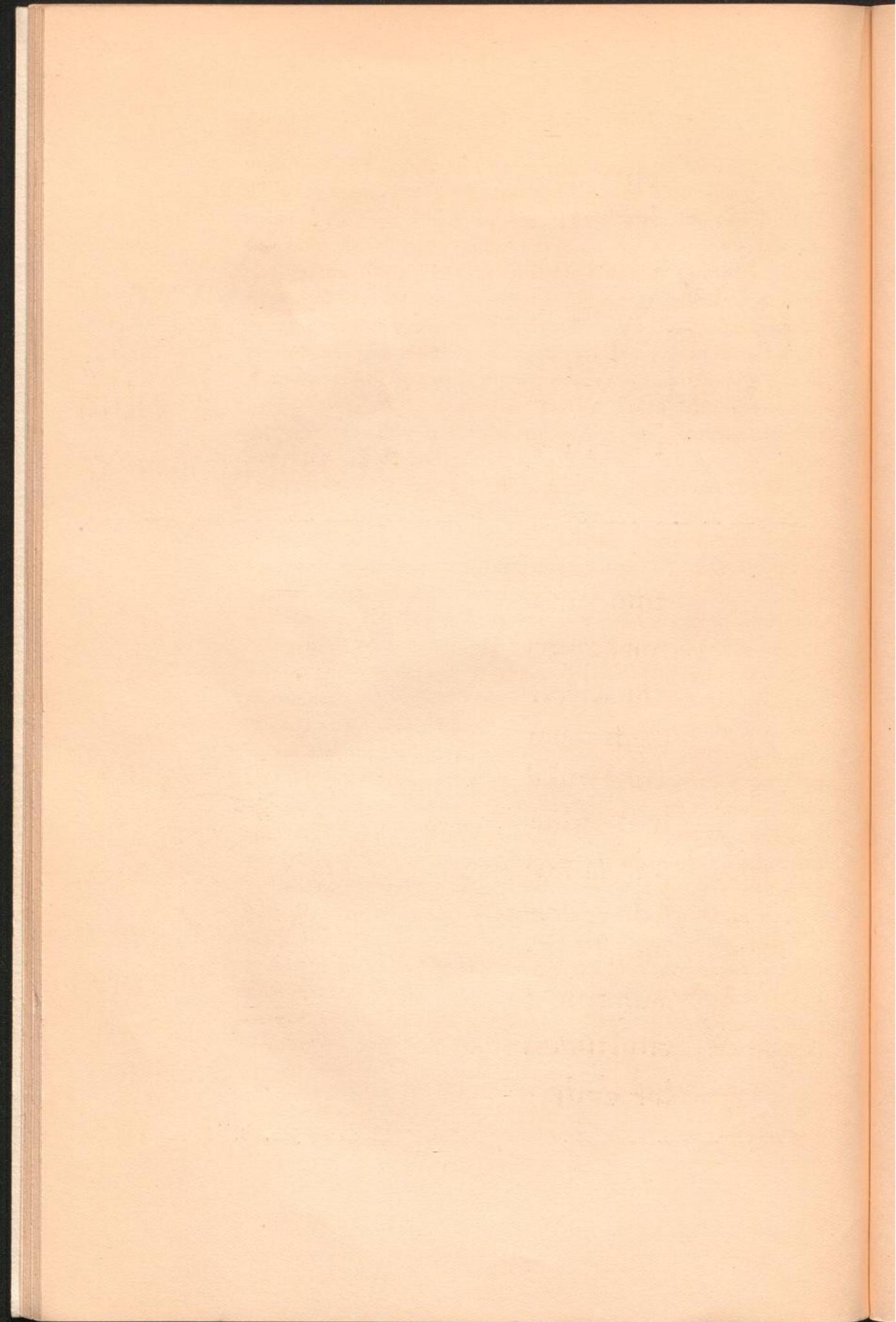
Salisbury Cath. Lib. No. 150. Fol. 13r.

thia herc  
 masas  
 thi sibod  
 leem thar  
 niud mikil  
 han muo  
 Abda im  
 id toroh  
 im selbon  
 mahzun. &  
 an liudo  
 lof eode.

Caligula A. VII. Fol. 15v.

14.  
 Hæfd  
 mæ  
 hega  
 fyligan p  
 hlm gþit  
 lig dpuht  
 ænne hæp

Bodleian Jun. 11. P. 14.



13<sup>r</sup> as referred to above may in all probability be attributed to the scribe and this for the following reasons: when on fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, 20 (= l. 76) the proper name *Zacharias* appears for the first time, opening the alliterative verse, the first letter—without doubt originally a minuscule *z*—has been erased and then replaced by a red majuscule *Z*, whilst at the second and third occurrence on fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, 22 (l. 96) and 8<sup>v</sup>, 2 (l. 139) the name in the same position (i. e. beginning of the alliterative line)—opens with a minuscule *z*—dabbed with red and yellow. How should a later independent illuminator have hit on this fine distinction, the more as the lines are not written stichically? The same question can be asked, when we note that on fol. 11<sup>r</sup>, 13 (l. 249<sup>b</sup>), in the middle of the MS. line, the first word (*Quarth*), introducing the chapter of the annunciation of St. Mary is distinguished by a red majuscule filled in with yellow and red, and that opposite on the margin, specially ruled for the occasion, there appears the note *beſca marian* (cf. above, p. 12) in red in a writing closely akin to that of the text. We may also ascribe to him the coloured (red) section numbers II, III, IIII,<sup>1</sup> namely those that fall within the compass of the filled in letters. In the case of II and III this distinction must have been an afterthought, in so far as the original black figures standing in the middle of the line were erased and the new red ones were now placed at the end close to the margin, a position which IIII occupied from the outset.<sup>2</sup> The filling in of letters, whether done along with the writing or afterwards, was a somewhat laborious and painstaking task of which the scribe soon grew weary, at least we cannot discover any other reason for their sudden cessation. Matters are more complex with regard to the rest of the ornamentation. This much we may say for certain that the most prominent places of the poem, its beginning (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>) and the 'Passio' (fol. 126<sup>r</sup>) were

<sup>1</sup> As stated before I was not set down at all.

<sup>2</sup> To bring II and III into harmony with IIII as to position may have been the reason for their replacement and colouring, but who can tell?

meant at the outset to receive large initials and headings. This is proved by the spacing of the lines of the text in each case (cf. Pl. IV). Such spacing is not found with the 7 other coloured initials, moreover—a fact to which my friend R. Flower and Mr. K. Sisam drew my attention—they all stand on erasures excepting the pen-drawn S (8) on fol. 40<sup>r</sup>. In the case of the coloured  $\mathcal{T}$ -initial (7) on fol. 37<sup>v</sup> faint traces of the erased plain majuscule  $\mathcal{T}$ , like that which heads section III, are still discernible. But more is revealed by a close examination of the initial  $\mathcal{U}$  (5) on fol. 33<sup>r</sup>. Here an erasure is to be noticed which extends above the initial into what is now a blank line. The explanation seems to me to be this: originally the last word (or rather the second part of the compound [he $\beta$ an]cunige) of section XIII and the Roman figure of the new section XIII stood at the beginning of this line. As the coloured initial bigger than the primary majuscule letter required more space than was available for its top part, word and figure had to be erased and were replaced at the end of the line so that c u n n i g e now stands below h e  $\beta$  a n and XIII really on the right margin. I am convinced that the scribe himself is responsible for the erasures and substitution, and not a later illuminator imitating his hand, for the characters, though perhaps a shade thinner and less carefully drawn, just as would be expected under the circumstances, fully agree with his (the scribe's) writing including the test letter g with its lower bow closed by a hairstroke, the corresponding form of which occurs fol. 69<sup>v</sup>, 12, 24; 90<sup>v</sup>, 14; 91<sup>r</sup>, 1. If on the strength of this evidence we must attribute this  $\mathcal{U}$ -initial to the scribe, we shall feel inclined to do the same with the other five initial letters where, as we said before, erasures are also noticeable. It is conceivable that the ornamentation of the MS. was accomplished in different stages: (1) The letters on fol. 5<sup>r</sup> to 13<sup>r</sup> were filled in and fol. 40<sup>r</sup> was provided with a zoomorphic initial S drawn by the pen (without erasure or spacing!) to form the heading of the section XVII containing

the kernel of the Sermon on the Mount—both processes being carried out *pari passu* with the writing of the text. (2) After the text was written the principle initials (I and 9) on fols. 5<sup>r</sup> and 126<sup>r</sup> (P a s s i o) and the bands for the headings, all planned at the outset, were added. These two initials appear to me to be somewhat superior in workmanship;<sup>1</sup> they may be the contribution of a more practised illuminator who then presumably worked with the knowledge and under the eyes of the scribe. (3) The scribe added, 'as an afterthought, five initial letters, and was obliged in each case first to erase his own plain capital letters as already exemplified; he also coloured and framed the immediately preceding fytte-numbers, forgetting however VI (black and without frame!). Why he should have distinguished just these sections (VI, XII to XVI) by supplementary initials we cannot tell, but this seemingly erratic proceeding would be still less accountable on the part of a later illuminator working independently of the scribe. The work, however, is poor, and gives one the impression of models painfully copied. But however this may be, what principally matters to us is the close agreement in style of the initials in Calig. A. VII with the practice of A.S. book ornamentation in the south and south-east of England from the 9th to the 11th century.

Thus on ornamental, palaeographical, and even—in view of certain word-forms—linguistic grounds, the evidence would seem to point to England as the home of the MS. of Heliand C.

We have now to see whether any further support is forthcoming from other quarters. Cott. Calig. A. VII is evidently a copy. Where then was the exemplar when this copy was made? The following points are in favour of an English monastic library. The text shows numerous corrections which are by no means all from the hand of the

Con-  
sensus of  
orna-  
mental,  
palaeo-  
graphical,  
and lin-  
guistic  
features  
as to the  
home of  
the MS.  
Further  
support  
of this  
theory:

<sup>1</sup> It should be taken into account that the M-initial and the band ornament on fol. 5<sup>r</sup> have lost a good deal of their freshness because they are on the first leaf of the MS. which was apparently unprotected.

(a) from the nature of textual corrections and marginal notes. scribe. Some undoubtedly betray acquaintance with the exemplar,<sup>1</sup> and several among these, written by two or three different hands, show one or the other A.S. form of letters:  $\text{ftuod } 30^v, 13$ ;  $\text{si gruotta } 34^r, 18$ ;  $\text{b}^{\text{an}} 44^r, 8$ ;  $\text{hela}^{\text{a}} 80^r, 5$ ;  $\text{z o d o } 103^v, 21$  (like the other instances supplemented above the line). Whilst they, from their nature, necessitate the existence and consultation of the exemplar at the place where they were made, these corrections as well as the two marginal notes on fol.  $6^v$  and  $106^v$ , in a clear contemporary A.S. minuscule,<sup>2</sup> also prove a certain interest for the copy of the O.S. poem in this undoubtedly monastic institution.<sup>3</sup>

(b) from the history of the A.S. 'Younger Genesis'. Further support can be derived from the history of the A.S. Genesis B (or 'Younger Genesis'). In 1894 K. Zangemeister discovered the Vatican fragments of the O.S. Genesis;<sup>4</sup> thus E. Sievers' prior hypothesis<sup>5</sup> framed on philological grounds was fully borne out, and we know now for certain that a part of the A.S. Genesis, formerly attributed to Cædmon,<sup>6</sup> comprising *The Fall of the Angels* and *Paradise Lost*, ll. 235 to 851, is an interpolation, a translation from this O.S. source. Whether this interpolation was caused simply by the desire to fill up a gap in a MS. of the original A.S. Genesis poem (Genesis A) or—what is much

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the frequent crossing of  $b : \bar{b}$ ,  $d : \bar{d}$  by a later hand (Sievers, *Heliand*, p. xiv).

<sup>2</sup> Two quotations from St. Luke pointing to the relevant passages in the O.S. text. Sievers (p. xxxiii<sup>b</sup>) referring to the last sentence of Praefatio B (*l. c.*, p. 4, ll. 30 ff.) *Ut . . . lectoris intentio facilius quaeq; ut gesta sunt possit inuenire, singulis sententiis (= sections), iuxta quod ratio huius operis postulare, capitula (= short summary of contents?) annotata sunt*, is inclined to take them as copied from the exemplar or added in accordance with the similar usage in it. Anyhow, it was an A.S. scribe who wrote them.

<sup>3</sup> Sievers, p. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> K. Zangemeister und W. Braune, *Bruchstücke der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung*, Heidelberg, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> E. Sievers, *Der Heliand und die ags. Genesis*, Halle, 1875.

<sup>6</sup> But cf. A. Brandl, *Geschichte der altengl. Literatur*, Strassburg, 1908, p. 88 (1028); H. Bradley, *The numbered sections in Old English Poetical MSS.* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. vii), p. 18.

more probable—because the far greater poetical value of the corresponding scenes of the O.S. version was recognized and admired, that is to say on account of a mere aesthetic interest,<sup>1</sup> may be a disputable question, but does not alter the fact. After all the Continent would only be repaying a part of its debt, for without the A.S. religious epic Heliand and O.S. Genesis are unthinkable. Ability to use the O.S. text presupposes, nay necessitates, the presence of an O.S. MS. of the poem in the country, presumably of course in one of its monastic communities.

It is hardly too rash to go a step further and to argue that the same Codex may also have contained along with the O.S. Old Testament poem the New Testament poem—the Heliand, just as, in all probability, was the case with the exemplar of the Vatican MS. v.<sup>2</sup> This view would derive further support from the Praefatio A, if we regard it with Sievers (*l. c.*, p. xxxiii<sup>b</sup>, note 1) as a letter accompanying the sending of the exemplar to England from abroad: ‘*Igitur a mundi creatione initium capiens . . . ad finem totius veteris ac novi Testamenti interpretando more poetico satis faceta eloquentia perduxit.*’ If this was so, then the fact that the text of Heliand C breaks off in the middle of the last page (169<sup>v</sup>) within an incomplete sentence, tempts us to conclude that the Genesis preceded the N.T. poem in the exemplar, the final leaves (last quire?) of which were already lost at the time when the copy was made.<sup>3</sup>

Exemplar  
sent to  
England  
contained  
O.S.  
Genesis  
and  
Heliand.  
When  
and  
whence  
was it  
sent?

It is unfortunately a matter of mere conjecture by whom and at what time this MS. of the two O.S. poems was sent over to England or which monastery was the recipient.

<sup>1</sup> Brandl, *l. c.*, p. 150 (1090), Bradley, *l. c.*, p. 11; cf. also the fine appreciation of the O.S. version by W. P. Ker, *Dark Ages*, 1904, pp. 256 ff. There is no reason why an A.S. monk of the 10th century who was conversant with the O.S. tongue should not have likewise possessed a sense of beauty.

<sup>2</sup> Zangemeister und Braune, *l. c.*, p. 11 (211), R. Kögel, *Ergänzungsheft*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> It is quite possible to assume that the exemplar together with a preface was sent unbound in loose sheets.

The period from about the middle of the 9th century to the last quarter of the 10th is a long one, and yet at any time within it this MS. may have found its way here, at least as long as no earlier date than the last-mentioned has been proved for the composition of Genesis B. These are some of the landmarks within a vast area of possibilities. Speaking of the channel by which the exemplar of Heliand C may have come to this country, Wrede<sup>1</sup> lays stress on the old relations between the Anglo-Saxon church and the Archbishopric of Mayence held at the time of the Heliand poet by Otgar († 847), a relative of archbishop Rickulf who was himself a disciple of Alcuin of York. More commonly the Old Saxon monk John is taken as intermediary,<sup>2</sup> he whom King Alfred made abbot of Athelney and whom L. Delisle<sup>3</sup> connects with Corbie. Indeed, Corbie, the mother of Corvey in the land of the Saxons, might well have possessed a copy of the O.S. poems among the MSS. of its famous library, and it is conceivable that if John really went to England from there he should have thought fit to take it with him. Another link with the same monastery may be mentioned at once: Aethelwold whilst abbot of Abingdon called monks over from there *quos in legendo psallendoque sui imitarentur*.<sup>4</sup> Or again we might point to Grimbold († 904), the first abbot of New Minster, Winchester, who came from St. Bertin in the Lowlands, *ut litteraturae studium in Anglia sopitum et pene emortuum sua suscitareret industria*;<sup>5</sup> or the Codex might even have been amongst those King Aethelstan (924-40) received from Otho I or had himself procured from the Continent, mostly as gifts to monasteries in which he was interested. Some—and scarcely the inferior ones—will have remained

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, vol. xliii, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> A. Brandl, *Geschichte d. altengl. Literatur*, p. 150 (1090).

<sup>3</sup> *Le Cabinet des MSS.*, ii, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, i, 129 (ed. T. Stevenson, *Rolls Ser.*).

<sup>5</sup> W. of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Angl.* (*Rolls Series*), p. 130. Cf. Asser, *De rebus gestis Alfredi* (ed. W. H. Stevenson, 1904), section 78.

at Winchester, the seat of the Government and chief residence of the court.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the intimate relations must be stressed which, at the time of the great monastic reformers, Dunstan, Aethelwold, and Oswald, existed between their sees (Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Abingdon) and Benedictine monasteries in the north of France (Corbie as we just have said, especially Fleury and others) and, in the Lowlands, St. Bertin and Blandinium—St. Peter—at Ghent at the latter of which St. Dunstan had lived for two years (956–8), whose Abbot Womar, Dunstan's host, seems to have paid a visit to England and had been received into the confraternity of Old Minster, Winchester, and which owned land at Greenwich, Woolwich, and Lievesham, the gift of Aelfthrytha, King Alfred's daughter and wife of Baldwin II of Flanders.<sup>2</sup> Dunstan, remembering his obligations to St. Peter, successfully urged King Eadgar to confirm the gift. To him also Abbot Wido of Blandinium (St. Peter) turned for help, when Flanders was suffering from the effect of a bad harvest.<sup>3</sup>

To choose among these possibilities—their number no doubt could be increased—is difficult and, unless a happy chance or lucky find throws a stronger light on one of them than is now available, will remain a matter of subjective taste. It seems to me that the period of the Benedictine reform offers as good a chance as any other, or perhaps even a better one. It was a time marked by intense devotion and a fresh interest in learning, poetry, and fine art (book painting);<sup>4</sup> a time which, thanks to diligent copying and re-

Probability in favour of the period of the Benedictine reform.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wildhagen, *Studien zum Psalterium Romanum*, 1913, pp. 27 ff.; Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 279; Sir G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold*, Roxburghe Club, 1910; M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries*, &c., pp. xxv, lxix; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 51–71.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. M. Toll, *Englands Beziehungen zu den Niederlanden*, Berlin, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Memorial of St. Dunstan (Rolls Series)*, p. 380, Epistola XVII; Toll, *l. c.*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, British Academy Supplement, Paper V, p. 12; O. Homburger, *l. c.*,



writing, down to  $\pm 1000$ , has preserved for us so many older poems whereof the Exeter and Vercelli book, the Beowulf and the Cædmon MS. (Junius 11) remain incorruptible witnesses; a time when MSS. wandered from England across the channel—not always lawfully<sup>1</sup>—and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> And because the spirit of sincere devotion was alive once more, the aesthetic sense rekindled—cf. the book illuminations of the Winchester and Canterbury *scriptoria*—and a more international wave invaded the monastic life of southern England, the later part of that period, when the reform was firmly established, seems to be a suitable time for acquiring a MS. with biblical matter from abroad, and for the subsequent translation of the poetically superior portion of the O.S. Old Test. poem contained in this MS. into A.S. verse and the copying of another part of this Codex—the Heliand.

Question  
of date  
and place  
of the  
A.S.  
'Younger  
Genesis'.

Southern England and the 10th century are now, by general agreement I believe, taken as place and date for the composition of the 'Younger Genesis'. A. Brandl,<sup>3</sup> it is true, suggests the first half of that century, whilst according to Gordon Hall Gerould<sup>4</sup> there is nothing in the language of the poem precluding the last quarter of it. And this, I am permitted to say, is also the opinion of Sir Israel Gollancz who is preparing a facsimile edition of the only MS. which contains the text, Bodleian Junius 11. This MS.—apparently a copy—does not militate against the later date as its two hands are certainly not earlier than the turn of the 10th century, probably even a decade or two later, but this of course proves nothing. Unfortunately the original home of it cannot be determined with certainty, but by naming

p. 7; W. Hunt and W. R. W. Stephens, *A History of the English Church*, i (1907), pp. 377 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *l. c.*, Epistola V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Epistola XIV. J. Armitage Robinson, *l. c.* p. 97 f.

<sup>3</sup> *l. c.*, p. 150 (1090).

<sup>4</sup> 'The transmission and date of Genesis B', *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxv (1911), pp. 129-33.

Winchester or (perhaps still more likely) Christ Church, Canterbury,<sup>1</sup> we shall hardly go wrong. This again leads us to two of the most important centres of the reform movement.

I cannot help thinking that there was some connexion between the A.S. adaptation of part of the O.S. Old Testament poem and the copy of the New Testament poem—the Heliand C, especially if the exemplar as stressed above, contained both poems. At any rate, it seems permissible to suggest, that in that English monastery where considerations, in our opinion chiefly of an aesthetic nature, led to the adaptation of the one, there may have been sufficient interest for the other poem to awaken a desire for having it copied, either for their own library—perhaps the exemplar was only on loan there—or for that of a brother-institution. The translation of the one poem required a man versed in the art of A.S. alliterative poetry; the copying of the other, as the result shows, a scribe who knew how to write the foreign minuscule. Moreover he could hardly have performed his lengthy task without some knowledge of the O.S. tongue. This latter applies, of course, to the translator as well, unless he was furnished with a very close (one might say interlinear) rendering of the piece into A.S. either by the Heliand scribe or somebody else who understood the tongue.

Our palaeographical examination of Cott. Calig. A. VII resulted (p. 28 f.) in our concluding the scribe to have been either an Anglo-Saxon who, in his youth, had stayed and learnt the use of the Carolingian minuscule at some provincial *scriptorium* abroad or a Continental clerk who had been living in England long enough to acquire, in pursuance of his calling, some facility in using the A.S. script and language. At the same time, there are sufficient traces in the formation of certain letters and ligatures to attribute

Possible link between the translation of the O.S. Genesis and the copying of the Heliand.

Hypothesis as to the person and nationality of the scribe of Heliand C.

<sup>1</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries, etc.*, pp. xxv and 509; O. Homburger, *l. c.*, p. 5.

the copy to the period which we, for internal reasons, considered the most suitable for taking a living interest in the O.S. poems, i. e. the last quarter of the 10th century. It is further clear that such a personage, provided he hailed from Saxony or the Low Countries or if an Anglo-Saxon had lived there for some time, would or could fulfil our requirements, both as scribe of the Heliand MS. and, if need be, as linguistic adviser to the Genesis translator. Is it possible to point to a man living at that time in England who would fit the picture? The answer can only take the form of a hypothesis, but it will serve, at any rate, as a good symptomatic illustration of the possibility of our theory.

The credit of the discovery of such a personage is due to the ingenuity of Bishop Stubbs; recently (1911) G. H. Gerould, in his article quoted already (p. 40, n. 4), has brought him into connexion with the 'Younger A.S. Genesis' as the man likely to have brought over with him to England the O.S. Genesis exemplar. This probability seems to me very small, as will be shown subsequently, but on the other hand, it is well worth while, with the strong evidence from the palaeographical features of the Heliand MS. now before us, to examine the possibility of a connexion between him and this copy. These are briefly the facts of the case.<sup>1</sup> The author of the first life of St. Dunstan styles himself '*B. omnium extimus sacerdotum vilisque Saxonum indigena*'.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Stubbs sees in him an expatriated Continental Saxon, scarcely a monk, but rather a scholar who may have found a temporary home at St. Augustin, Canterbury, and must at any rate, as his *vita* of the Saint shows, have been in close touch with the archbishop and his friends and followers. In furtherance of his theory Stubbs also attributes to him three letters which he found in MS. Cott.

<sup>1</sup> W. Stubbs, *Memorial of St. Dunstan*, 1874, Introduction, pp. x-xxx; G. H. Gerould, *l. c.*

<sup>2</sup> For conjectures as to the full name indicated by the initial B, cf. Stubbs, *l. c.*, p. xxvi, and Gerould, *l. c.*, p. 130 and note 14.

Tiberius A. xv and partly in Vespasian A. xiv of the British Museum; however, only one of these—epistola XXI<sup>1</sup>—directed to Aethelgar, the immediate successor of St. Dunstan at Canterbury, shows the initial of the name, i.e. *B* with the addition ‘*omnium faex Christicolarum*’, whilst according to Stubbs the two others—epist. XIII to St. Dunstan<sup>2</sup> and epist. XIII to N (?)<sup>3</sup>—‘can be brought only by their similarity of style and juxtaposition in the MS. into conjectural bearing upon the subject’. From the letter to Aethelgar (988 to 989) we gather three interesting and important facts: (1) that the writer *B*, in his younger days, had studied at the Episcopal school at Liège under the learned bishop who, as Stubbs points out, must have been Bishop Everaker (959 to 971), a Saxon by birth and before his election to the episcopate provost of Bonn; himself a pupil of Ratherius and Archbishop Bruno of Cologne who helped him to the episcopate, he was one of the principal patrons of intellectual life<sup>4</sup> at Liège, where he established the school at St. Martin; (2) that *B* on the bishop’s death (971) left Liège and the country for England, but bears his teacher, it is pleasing to note, a grateful memory even after twenty-eight years; (3) that Aethelgar, formerly abbot of the New Minster at Winchester, had commissioned him to go there ‘*ut Eadelmi ibidem percurram de parthenali laude libellum*<sup>5</sup> et cetera quae usui necessaria fore videntur’.

In the letter to Dunstan the writer who there styles himself *exilii catenulis admodum retitus servus* places himself under the protection (*mundiburdium*) of the archbishop, addresses him as his *senior* or lord, and finally breaks into

<sup>1</sup> *l.c.*, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Qui primus in hac urbe studium et religionem iniciavit’, *Vita Balderichi*, 18; *Mon. Germ. hist. Scriptores*, iv, p. 731, quoted by A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, iii (1920), p. 323; G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au x<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1905.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. Aldhelm’s *De laudibus virginitatis*.

indifferent hexameters, in which he entreats Dunstan to obtain for him, with the help of the king, permission to return to his own country.<sup>1</sup>

In the third letter to N the writer mourns his fate that after leaving him and crossing the sea he now stands in danger of being sold because he has run into debt for the hire of a horse which died on the road. He implores N for help.<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Stubbs' hypothesis has earned the full approval of W. Hunt and W. R. W. Stephens, *l. c.*, p. 345, G. H. Gerould (*l. c.*) and of J. M. Toll<sup>3</sup> who sees a clear sign of the near relations of the Low Countries to England in the fact that two *vitae* of St. Dunstan (those of B and of Adelard) were composed by Low Country men. A. Hauck<sup>4</sup> agrees with the identification of the B of the *vita* and the B of the letter to Aethelgar without, however, pronouncing on B's nationality, but G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, Paris, 1905, p. 30, when speaking of Eracle of Liège, introduces B's letter to Aethelgar as written by an Anglo-Saxon *qui ne se désigne que par l'initiale de son nom*. Kurth does not give any reason; it is true, however, that a strict proof of B's foreign nationality could only be deduced from the letter to St. Dunstan (*exilii catenulis admodum retitus servus*), but its attribution to B is, as we have heard, merely conjectural. Our present material does not, we think, permit a clear decision. Yet, however this may be,

<sup>1</sup> The letter is only preserved in Cott. Tib. A. xv, fol. 165. The Codex being one of those badly damaged by the Cottonian fire of 1731, it is possible that the initial letter B followed after the *servus* of the heading.

<sup>2</sup> In my opinion the writer whoever he was, had crossed from England and was travelling in France when the mishap occurred to him. (Cf. the passage: *tantum mediam (libram) susciperam a clerico Remis*.) If B was the writer we take it that he was sent on some business to France just as in his letter to Aethelgar he professes his readiness to serve him *etiamsi sit cis vel citra (l. ultra) imi aequoris*.

<sup>3</sup> *l. c.*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. iii, p. 323, note 5.

this much is certain that accepting B as scribe of Cal. A. VII, the presence of A.S. forms of letters (single ones and ligatures) and of the A.S. word-forms could satisfactorily be explained, though in a different way, according to the view we take as to his nationality (cf. above, pp. 28 f., 41 f.). It should be pointed out that the writer of Caligula A. VII cannot be reckoned among the class of careful, painstaking scribes; certain puzzling features in his sound notation as *uo* for *ǒ* or *ō* < Germ. *au*, further a considerable number of bad mistakes, word mutilations and omissions,<sup>1</sup> would rather point to an A.S. who possessed, at the best, but a slender knowledge of the O.S. tongue. Applied to our case we would argue that the *Anglo-Saxon* B whilst studying at Liège in his youth—the universal language of scholars being Latin—may in the course of his stay there have picked up some Low Franconian, a dialect closely related to the O.S., and possibly heard some O.S. from the mouth of his master, Bishop Everaker, a Saxon by birth, without however obtaining real proficiency in it himself. After his return to England he sought for and received help and temporary employment from several church dignitaries, including Archbishop Dunstan, and to judge from indications in the *vita* he was also acquainted with members of the circle around the archbishop. Now to St. Dunstan we have already, on the strength of his relations to the Low Countries, pointed as a possible recipient of the exemplar. This possibility increases in weight, when we add here, that Caligula A. VII betrays an unmistakable and strong trace of Low Franconian linguistic phenomena which, on the whole, must certainly be ascribed to the exemplar,<sup>2</sup>—itself a copy of an older (lost) MS.—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sievers in *Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Altertum*, vol. xix, pp. 64, 58 f. and Wrede, *ibid.*, vol. xliii, p. 353. The great number of mistakes of this kind make it most probable that the interpolations with which Sievers (p. 63 f., also p. 55 f.) credits the scribe of C are to be ascribed to the exemplar whose *uo* (cf. p. 20/21) may have influenced his curious *uo* notation.

<sup>2</sup> Wrede, *l. c.*, p. 354; R. Kögel, *Idg. Forschungen*, iii, p. 288. When we bear in mind that frequent letters passed between St. Dunstan

though B's presumable acquaintance with this dialect might stand as an additional factor. Further we have learned from B's letter to Aethelgar that his clerical skill in reading and copying MSS. has been made use of in connexion, apparently, with Winchester. And Canterbury and Winchester influences in writing and ornamentation have repeatedly been urged here in connexion with Heliand C! Thus B would indeed appear to be an appropriate personage to have been entrusted by the good monks of Canterbury (Christ Church) or Winchester—for even if the exemplar was, as we think, at Canterbury they might have desired a copy at Old or New Minster at Winchester—with copy- and Count Arnulf of Flanders as well as religious houses in the Low Countries, it appears not at all improbable that the MS. sent over from those parts was accompanied by a letter or a preface on a separate loose sheet, setting forth, in accordance with an old tradition, the authorship of the poems, their scope, and the arrangement of the copy sent (= Praefatio A + last sentence of Praefatio B), and that a copy thereof, together with Praefatio B and versus composed perhaps in England, was still extant in the 16th century when Marcus Wagner, the agent of Matthias Flacius Illyricus, may have copied the document for his employer (Sievers, pp. xxiv ff.).

Furthermore, if it is agreed that the Praefatio A, to the extent just stated, accompanied the exemplar in the form as stated above, we may also conclude that the *capitula* mentioned in its last passage (cf. above, p. 36, n. 2) referred to the section numbers with which the senders furnished the text for the greater convenience of the English readers and which are consequently now only to be found in the British Museum copy, not in M (Munich-Bamberg MS.). Now if the exemplar, as has been suggested independently by W. Bruckner (*Zeitschrift f. deutsche Philologie*, xxxv, 533) and M. Förster (*Die Beowulf Handschrift*, p. 84, n. 2), was written stichically and such section-numbers as should by rights stand in the caesura of a long line were marked in the margin, this would indeed satisfactorily explain their frequent misplacement in our copy (written non-stichically) and, in this connexion, the faulty marking of the coloured L-initial (cf. p. 29) as well.

Although I cannot accept the main arguments advanced by H. Bradley in *The Numbered Sections in Old English Poetical MSS.* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. vii), it is interesting to note that, though unaware of the two publications just mentioned, he apparently holds the view that the original MS. of the Younger Genesis showed the same stichical arrangement. I suggest this was done in imitation of the exemplar—the O.S. Genesis. And thus we gain additional support for the theory that the exemplar contained both O.S. poems (cf. p. 37).

ing a rather voluminous MS. written in the O.S. tongue and in the Frankish minuscule which, it being a foreign document, was to be reintroduced in the copy.

On the other hand, though we may feel inclined to see in B the man who first drew attention to the poetic superiority of the O.S. version of the *The Fall of the Angels* and *Paradise Lost*, and who acted as a sort of linguistic assistant to the A.S. author of the Younger Genesis, we cannot find any efficient reason for laying the authorship of the poem itself to his credit; nor is there, as far as we can see, any real support forthcoming for G. H. Gerould's rather decidedly expressed opinion that B 'put two or three MSS. in his wallet before he fled into exile' and thus brought the O.S. exemplar of the Younger Genesis over to England; for what Gerould says about the raiding and possible looting of the Episcopal palace at Liège and the confusion in which Bishop Evraclus (Evraker) probably left his affairs at the time of his death, belongs to the realm of romance, but even if it approximated to reality, we should deem it a strange procedure on B's part to stuff some MSS.—not his own but his master's property—into his wallet, and instead of depositing them safely at the library of St. Martin or some other appropriate place, to take them stealthily away with him across the channel. However, all that we can learn, and that is set forth in the biographical notice of Evracle in the *Bibliographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. vi (1876), pp. 616 ff.,<sup>1</sup> is that a troop of citizens, led by a certain Henri de Marlayne, broke open and entered the bishop's wine cellars situated on the mount of St. Martin, apparently under the palace, and did their work of destruction so thoroughly that a stream of red wine ran down into

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vita Euracii in B. Pez, *Thesaurus anectodorum*, iv, 3, c. 160 . . . aliquotiens per suos etiam cives Euraclo adversatus est eatenus quod vice quadam cellaria ipsius vinaria in monte Sancti Martini sita, tamquam filii Belial . . . ter effregerint, rubeosque Wormatiensis vini rivos in subterfluentem Mosam per prona diffuderint . . ., and *Anselmi Gesta episcoporum Leod.* ii, 24, *M. G. Scriptores*, vii, p. 102.

the *Meuse*; but the bishop forewent any revenge. Soon after he died peacefully as he had lived and was interred in the church of St. Martin in accordance with his wish. The death of his beloved patron and master was then, as far as one can see, the sole reason for B to quit the country and, we would say, return home to England. There remains the possibility which should not go unrecorded, namely, that Bishop Evraker, during his lifetime, presented B with the (Genesis) exemplar or that he took a copy of it then and there. Whilst such a possibility cannot be denied altogether, it would seem very small compared with the probability, considered above, that a codex comprising both Genesis and Heliand and accompanied by a letter (Praefatio A) was sent to Canterbury from one of the religious houses (St. Peter at Ghent?) of the Low Countries.

Missionary zeal had been a primary cause of these Biblical poems being written. However, this was not the motive which caused the Low Country community to send a copy of the poems to England, but rather the friendly interest they would naturally take in the new spiritual and literary activity of their brethren across the sea, an interest not unmingled perhaps with some just pride that their own native-land could boast an ancient religious poetry fully worthy to take its place beside similar works of the Anglo-Saxons.

King  
Canute  
a former  
possessor  
of the  
Codex?

One last observation we would add here. In his summary of the contents of Cal. A. VII (cf. above, p. 10), R. James, the Cotton librarian, designates the Codex as *Liber quondā Canuti regis*.<sup>1</sup> We do not know on what grounds; it may have been a mere guess on his part, a consequence perhaps of the opinion expressed in the statement

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Catalogus veterum librorum septentrionalium*, Oxoniae, 1689, p. 146, where James's simple statement has developed into the following legend: 'Excerpta ex Evangelica Historia Dano-Saxonica, scripta in usum Canuti Regis, adhuc imbuendi primis Religionis Christianae elementis'; but a few years later Thom. Smith, *Catalogus libr. manuscritorum Bibl. Cottoniae*, Oxon., 1696, p. 33, says 'Liber dicitur fuisse quondam R. Canuti. Unde vero id probari possit, mihi non constat'.

on fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (cf. Plate IV): *Euangelia in lingua Danica*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand there may be some tradition, now lost to us, behind it; the trend of our examination would suggest to us as a reasonable probability that the Codex was a gift of Christ Church, Canterbury, to the king who as overlord of Slesvig may have been (or was supposed to be) interested in a work hailing from the land of the Continental Saxons.

King Canute presented a fine Gospel Codex, now Royal 1 D. IX of the British Museum, to Christ Church. Was this Latin Gospel, perhaps, given in return for the Old Saxon or vice versa?

With this I bid farewell to Cotton Caligula A. VII. <sup>Con-</sup>clusion.  
It was not quite easy to make this MS. speak at all, but in the face of the very divergent views on its history and home a serious attempt towards settling these points seemed desirable. I do not indeed flatter myself to have brought matters to their final stage. Others may glean more from these parchment sheets than I have gleaned, may see the same things in a different light or maybe a lucky find—a contingency not without precedent in the history of these O.S. poems—may change twilight into bright day. The principal result, the fruit of much serious labour, is after all but a confirmation of what Schmeller's English advisers (cf. p. 7) and George Hickes surmised, perhaps by mere intuition: *Codicem istum in ipsa Angliā exaratum quo minus nos quidem credamus*. And this may teach one—modesty!

<sup>1</sup> See the fanciful conclusions drawn from this late (17th cent.) entry by F. Jostes, 'Saxonica' in *Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum*, xl, pp. 161 and 183, and by E. C. Metzenthin in *Journal of Engl. and Germ. Philology*, xxi (1922), p. 490.

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