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Series Latina

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ALDHELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS
PROSA DE VIRGINITATE

CVM GLOSA LATINA ATQVE ANGLOSAXONICA

Praefatio Indices

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MALMESBIRIENSIS
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CVM GLOSA LATINA ATQVE ANGLOSAXONICA

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MEAE RVDIS INFANTIAE ERVDITISSIMIS PRAECEPTORIBVS

DAVID N. DUMVILLE

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

her mon mæg giet gesion hiora swæð

– King Alfred the Great

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Scottus Gwara
12 January 2000

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ALMA	<i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin du Cange)</i>
<i>Archbishop Theodore</i>	M. LAPIDGE, ed., <i>Archbishop Theodore</i> (Cambridge, 1995)
ASC	C. PLUMMER and J. EARLE, ed., <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> (reprinted Oxford, 1952), vol. 1
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BCS	W. DEG. BIRCH, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> (reprinted New York, 1964)
BL	British Library (London)
BC	B. BISCHOFF and M. LAPIDGE, <i>Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian</i> (Cambridge, 1994)
BISHOP, <i>Minuscule</i>	T. A. M. BISHOP, <i>English Caroline Minuscule</i> (Oxford, 1971)
BISHOP II	T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part II', <i>TCBS</i> 2 (1954-8), 185-92
BISHOP III	T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part III: MSS. Connected with Exeter', <i>TCBS</i> 2 (1954-8), 192-9
BISHOP IV	T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part IV: MSS. Connected with St. Augustine's, Canterbury', <i>TCBS</i> 2 (1954-8), 323-36
BISHOP V	T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part V: MSS. Connected with St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Continued', <i>TCBS</i> 3 (1959-63), 93-5
BISHOP VI	T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part VI: MSS. Connected with St. Augustine's Canterbury, Continued', <i>TCBS</i> 3 (1959-63), 412-13
BISHOP VII	T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part VII: The Early Minuscule

- of Christ Church, Canterbury', *TCBS* 3 (1959-63), 413-23
- BROOKS, *Early History*** N. BROOKS, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984)
- BROWN, 'Épinal Glossary'** A. BROWN, 'The Épinal Glossary Edited with a Critical Commentary of the Vocabulary' (diss., Stanford, 1969)
- Cat. Roy. Mss.*** G. WARNER and J. GILSON, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921)
- Cdv*** *Carmen de virginitate*, ed. EHWALD, pp. 327-471
- CLA II** E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, part II, second edn. (Oxford, 1972)
- CMCS** *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* (to 1992); *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (1993-)
- COULSTOCK, *Wimborne*** P. COULSTOCK, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge, 1993)
- Cp** The 'Corpus Glossary', ed. W. M. LINDSAY, *The Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge, 1921)
- diss.** (Ph.D.) dissertation
- EDWARDS, *Charters*** H. EDWARDS, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom* (Oxford, 1988)
- EE** The 'Épinal-Erfurt glossary'
- EEWC facs.** B. BISCHOFF *et al.*, *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries* (Copenhagen, 1988)
- EHWALD** R. EHWALD, *Aldhelmi Opera*, MGH auctores antiquissimi (Berlin, 1913-19)
- Ep** The Épinal portion of the 'Épinal-Erfurt glossary'
- EpGl, ErfGl** J. PHEIFER, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, 1974)
- Epist*** *Epistola ad Heahfridum*, ed. GWARA, 'Pedagogy'
- Erf. I** The first glossary in the Erfurt portion of the 'Épinal-Erfurt glossary'
- Erf. II** The second glossary in the Erfurt portion of the 'Épinal-Erfurt glossary'
- Erf. III** The third glossary in the Erfurt portion of the 'Épinal-Erfurt glossary'

- FRANKLIN, 'Passio' C. FRANKLIN, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 175-203.
- GOOSSENS, *Brussels* L. GOOSSENS, *The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library, 1650 (Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis)* (Brussels, 1974)
- GP William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum anglorum*, ed. N. HAMILTON, Rolls Series, vol. 52 (London, 1870)
- GWARA, 'Pedagogy' S. GWARA, 'A Record of Anglo-Saxon Pedagogy: Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Heahfridum* and its Gloss', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 6 (1996), 83-134
- HE B. COLGRAVE and R. A. B. MYNORS, ed., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969)
- HERREN, 'Stress Systems' M. HERREN, 'The Stress Systems in Insular Latin Octosyllabic Verse', *CMCS* 15 (1988), 63-84
- HIGGITT, 'Glastonbury' J. HIGGITT, 'Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts', *Art History* 2 (1979), 275-90
- Intellectual Foundations* M. GRETSCH, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999)
- JAMES, *Ancient Libraries* M. R. JAMES, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903)
- JAMES, *Corpus Christi* M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912)
- KER, *Catalogue* N. R. KER, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)
- KER, *Medieval Libraries* N. R. KER, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, second edn. (London, 1964)
- KIRBY, *Kings* D. KIRBY, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 1991)
- LH M. HERREN and M. LAPIDGE, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich, 1979)
- LINDSAY, *Etymologiae* W. M. LINDSAY, *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX* (reprinted Oxford, 1966)

- LR M. LAPIDGE and J. ROSIER, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985)
- MADAN, SC F. MADAN, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1905)
- MERITT, *Glosses* H. D. MERITT, *Old English Glosses* (New York, 1945)
- MORRISH, 'Datable Manuscripts' J. MORRISH, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts Copied in England During the Ninth Century: A Preliminary List', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), 512-38
- NAPIER, *Glosses* A. S. NAPIER, *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished* (Oxford, 1900)
- NORTH, *Heathen Gods* R. NORTH, *Heathen Gods in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1997)
- ORCHARD, *Poetic Art* A. ORCHARD, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994)
- PAGE, 'Glosses' R. I. PAGE, 'More Aldhelm Glosses from CCCC 326', *English Studies* 56 (1975), 481-90
- Pdv* *Prosa de virginitate*
- PHEIFER, OEG J. D. PHEIFER, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, 1974)
- PHEIFER, 'School of Canterbury' J. D. PHEIFER, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury', *ASE* 16 (1987), 17-44
- QUINN, 'Minor Glossaries' J. QUINN, 'The Minor Latin-Old English Glossaries in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.iii' (diss., Stanford, 1956)
- S P. SAWYER, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 1968)
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'Continental Influence' P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'Continental Influence at Bath Monastery in the Seventh Century', *ASE* 4 (1975), 1-10
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature* P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge, 1990)
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid' P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid and Two Charters Dated A.D. 676 and 680', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), 163-83
- STENTON, *Anglo-Saxon England* F. STENTON, *Anglo-Saxon England*, third edn. (Oxford, 1971)

- STRYKER, 'Glossaries' W. STRYKER, 'The Latin-Old English Glossary in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.iii' (diss., Stanford, 1951)
- TCBS *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*
- WIELAND, *Latin Glosses* G. WIELAND, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library Manuscript Gg. V.35* (Toronto, 1983)
- WILSON, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* D. WILSON, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (London, 1992)
- WINTERBOTTOM, 'Style' M. WINTERBOTTOM, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and Its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39-76
- YORKE, *Wessex* B. YORKE, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1995)

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

ALDHELM'S POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL CAREER

The Sources of Aldhelm's Biography

Aldhelm of Malmesbury stands out as the most eminent man of letters in early England, a belletrist admired not only during his lifetime but also in the centuries following his death in 709. (1) While Aldhelm's posthumous reputation rested squarely on his idiosyncratic Latin compositions, his evangelizing among West-Saxon, Mercian, and Dumnonian confederates earned him fame as a missionary saint. Indeed, elevated to bishop of Sherborne in 705, Aldhelm ended his days administering at least one territory he helped convert to Roman Christianity. Further-

(1) Versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* enter Aldhelm's death *s.a.* 709, but the date was taken from *HE* and has been challenged; Herren and Lapidge (LH, p. 10) argue that 710 is chronologically more likely, but Edwards (*Charters*, pp. 109-10) supports Bede's accuracy. The details of Aldhelm's biography derive mainly from William of Malmesbury's *GP* in which book V (pp. 330-443) comprises the *Vita S. Aldhelmi*. William criticizes an earlier *vita* written by the Italian Faricius of Arezzo (ed. J. GILES in *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera* (Oxford, 1844), pp. 354-82; reprinted in *Vita Quorundam Anglo-Saxonum* (London, 1854), pp. 119-56; cf. LH, p. 181 note 2). Faricius was a well-regarded physician, cellarer of Malmesbury, and abbot of Abingdon. He composed the *Vita ca.* 1078, at the time of Bishop Osmund of Salisbury's re-sanctification of Aldhelm. Faricius reports a number of ostensibly mistaken claims and spurious illustrations of Aldhelm's devotion to chastity (p. 359), a preoccupation of the saint's father (p. 356). William's *vita* is later condensed and embroidered with material from Geoffrey of Monmouth in the so-called *Eulogium historiarum*, written by a monk of Malmesbury (? 'Thomas') just after the middle of the fourteenth century; the chronicle ends at 1366 (F. HAYDON, *Eulogium historiarum siue temporis*, Rolls Series, vol. 9 [London, 1858-63]). The story of Aldhelm's death had circulated in Dominic of Evesham's *Vita S. Ecgwini*, for which cf. M. LAPIDGE, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*', *AB* 96 (1978), 65-104, at pp. 72-3. Many of the biographical sources were compiled by A. S. COOK in 'Sources of the Biography of Aldhelm', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28 (1927), 273-93. Other biographies and short notices, most superseded, have been published, among which two remain valuable in their detail: R. EHWALD, 'Aldhelm von Malmesbury', *Jahrbuch der königlichen Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften in Erfurt* 33 (1907), 91-116; M. MANITIUS, 'Zu Aldhelm und Beda', *Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl. 112 (1886), 535-634. For further references consult the bibliography in LR, pp. 26-33.

more, exploiting his presumed family ties to the West-Saxon nobility enabled Aldhelm to found and endow two monasteries at Malmesbury and Frome, to construct minster churches at Wareham, Bruton, and Bradford-on-Avon, and to raise a cathedral at Sherborne.⁽²⁾ In my mind, Aldhelm's biography transcends those of his peers: he was a zealous missionary and (reportedly) a pilgrim like Wilfrid, as well as a thoroughgoing Latin scholar like his coeval, the venerable Bede.

The evidence used to reconstruct Aldhelm's biography derives from a variety of works, above all Aldhelm's compositions. Most of these have been edited and translated; many have been intensively studied. First and foremost, the *Prosa de virginitate*, or 'prose treatise on virginity' (*Pdv*), is the name given to the prose version of Aldhelm's Latin *opus geminatum* in praise of virginity.⁽³⁾ In it Aldhelm supplies *exempla* of heroic male, female and married (chaste) saints, and ends with an exhortation to shun elaborate dress in the convent. In the manner of Caelius Sedulius's *Opus paschale* and *Carmen paschale*, Aldhelm composed an hexameter version of the treatise, called the *Carmen de virginitate* (*Cdv*).⁽⁴⁾ This work introduces a number of alterations to

(2) Cf. LH, pp. 9, 183-4 notes 26 and 27. According to William, Aldhelm built two churches at Malmesbury. The church at Bradford-on-Avon may have been associated with a monastery, but the sole evidence for this comes from a forged document (EDWARDS, *Charters*, pp. 115, 127) which William of Malmesbury uncritically accepted (*GP*, p. 346). The church still standing at Bradford may have been constructed by Aldhelm; cf. LH, p. 184 note 27. William alone claims that Aldhelm built churches at Wareham (*GP*, pp. 363-4), Bruton (two, in fact, *ibid.*, p. 374), and Sherborne (*ibid.*, p. 378); the church at Wareham seems to be distinct from the foundation at Frome (LH, p. 183 note 26).

(3) EHWALD, pp. 211-323; translated LH, pp. 59-132. While the literary productions are titled in manuscripts and medieval library catalogues, few sources agree on titles, and Aldhelm, infrequently referring to his own oeuvre, never supplied definitive ones. (He calls *Pdv* 'pulcherri-mae uirginitatis libellus', 59.1.) Titles of *Pdv* from manuscripts and booklists include: 'Aldhelmus ad uirgines sacras', '(Sancti Aldhelmi) liber (libellus) de uirginitate', 'Liber de laudibus sanctorum uirginum', 'De laude uirginum', 'prosa Aldhelmi Episcopi' (*capitulum* of London, BL Ms Royal 5 F.iii), 'De uirginum laude' (Faricius); the volume is called 'liber de laude uirginitatis' in an Anglo-Saxon booklist (M. LAPIDGE, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. LAPIDGE and H. GNEUSS (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-89, at p. 60).

(4) EHWALD, pp. 327-471; on Aldhelm's verse, cf. A. ORCHARD, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994); M. LAPIDGE, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', *Comparative Literature* 31 (1979), 241-314; P. GODMAN, 'The Anglo-Latin *Opus Geminatum*: From Ald-

Aldhelm's lists of saints (not only omissions and insertions but also variable treatments), and concludes with a tractate on vices and virtues modelled on Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. One octosyllabic poem of Aldhelm's also survives (the 'Carmen rhythmicum') in addition to others embedded in *Pdv.*⁽⁶⁾ Ten letters from Aldhelm exist in two sources: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ms Vindobonensis 751⁽⁶⁾ and William of Malmesbury's *GP*, which concludes with a *Vita S. Aldhelmi* comprising all of book V. One additional letter, the *Epistola ad Heahfridum* (*Epist*), boasts an independent manuscript circulation and now survives in seven English sources.⁽⁷⁾ Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Acircium*, a composite document that includes a disquisition on the number seven, the hexametrical *Aenigmata*, the tracts *De metris* and *De pedum regulis*, was addressed to King Aldfrith of Northumbria (d. 705), one of Aldhelm's close associates. Dedicatory *tituli* meant to be inscribed in newly founded churches, possibly on altars, document Aldhelm's assiduous efforts in expanding

helm to Alcuin', *Medium Aevum* 50 (1981), 215-29; G. WIELAND, 'Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. M. HERREN (Toronto, 1981), pp. 113-33.

(5) On the 'Carmen rhythmicum' (translated LR, pp. 171-9) cf. M. LAPIDGE, 'Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 260-80; D. HOWLETT, 'Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum', *ALMA* 53 (1995), 119-40. The system of versification is discussed in D. NORBERG, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm, 1958). Further elaboration can be found in M. HERREN, 'The Stress Systems in Insular Latin Octosyllabic Verse', *CMCS* 15 (1988), 63-84.

(6) EHWALD, pp. 475-503; translated LH, pp. 152-70. Vienna 751 preserves letters IV and VI-VIII, while William of Malmesbury preserves letters II, III and IX-XIII. Letter I (to Leuthere) is transmitted both in *GP* and in the Vienna manuscript. A facsimile of the Vienna codex has been produced: F. UNTERKIRCHER, *Sancti Bonifatii Epistolae: Codex Vindobonensis 751 der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz, 1971). We learn from Faricius that Aldhelm received letters from Boulogne-sur-Mer, Cologne, Paris and Montpellier ('et caeteris partibus forinsecis'), but about these contacts we know nothing.

(7) Translated LH, pp. 160-4. There are three modern editions of the letter: EHWALD, pp. 488-94; D. HOWLETT, 'Aldhelm and Irish Learning', *ALMA* 52 (1994), 37-75, at pp. 38-42 (translated pp. 42-5); GWARA, 'Pedagogy'. The date Howlett proposes, A.D. 672 ('A Possible Date for Aldhelm's "Letter to Heahfrith"', *ALMA* 54 (1996), 99-103) is preposterous, and not merely because Howlett fails to observe that *Annus Domini* datings, popularized by Bishop Wilfrid, occur first in a charter of A.D. 676 (cf. P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid and Two Charters Dated A.D. 676 and 680', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), 163-83, at 163-4; K. HARRISON, 'The *Annus Domini* in Some Early Charters', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4 (1970-3), 551-7, at p. 553).

the Christian presence throughout Wessex.⁽⁸⁾ Finally, various charters (most surviving in late cartularies) have recently been subjected to new scrutiny and acclaimed as authentic evidence of Malmesbury's growth and patronage.⁽⁹⁾ From these writings, supplemented by Faricius of Arezzo's *Vita S. Aldhelmi*, Bede's *HE*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and, above all, William of Malmesbury's *GP*,⁽¹⁰⁾ we gain wide latitude in authenticating Aldhelm's substantial career.

(8) On such *tituli*, cf. ORCHARD, *Poetic Art*, pp. 203-12.

(9) Ehwald printed five charters as Aldhelm's writings (pp. 507-16), but Lapidge and Herren, demurring with H. HAHN (*Bonifaz und Lul* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 8, 84) and L. BÖNHOF (*Aldhelm von Malmesbury* (Dresden, 1894), pp. 59-60) *inter alios*, reject the authenticity of all (i.e. S230, S1166, S1245; BCS 105/6, 114). Edwards, however, suggests that the bull of Sergius probably has an authentic background and that S1245 (Leuthere to Aldhelm) may disclose an authentic witness-list from a seventh-century charter; cf. EDWARDS, *Charters*, pp. 79-127; *eadem*, 'Two Documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 59 (1986), 1-19.

(10) *GP* was composed ca. 1125; cf. R. THOMSON, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 44-5. The information William supplied on Aldhelm's pedigree, his early education and especially his miracles presupposes an earlier Anglo-Saxon *vita* which no longer survives, even though Lapidge has reasoned (LR, p. 224) that the sources will not pre-date Dominic of Evesham's *Vita S. Ecgwini*. Information found there on Aldhelm's death and funeral procession did not originate in Byrhtferth of Ramsey's earlier account of Ecgwine and must therefore be spurious; cf. LAPIDGE, 'Dominic of Evesham', p. 73. Nevertheless, Aldhelm was beatified in 1078, and Dunstan (d. 988), archbishop of Canterbury, not only commemorated Aldhelm with inscribed objects (M. LAPIDGE, 'St. Dunstan's Latin Poetry', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 101-6) but also had a stone tomb built for his remains (*GP*, p. 408). Aldhelm's best-known miracles were reputedly depicted on a reliquary casket dating to King Æthelwulf's time, ca. 840 (*GP*, p. 389; Giles, *Opera*, p. 371). Furthermore, Faricius states that some of his evidence derives from a *liber miraculorum*, which perished in Viking raids: 'qui se volumen ex virtutibus eius lucido stylo dicebant legisse' (p. 355; perhaps 'lucido stylo' means 'hermeneutic style'.) Clearly, traditions regarding Aldhelm's sanctity were rooted in the Anglo-Saxon period. Nevertheless, William did voice suspicions over his authorities. For example, although he propounds that Aldhelm was no younger than seventy when he died (*GP*, p. 332), he later admits to having no firm evidence in support of Aldhelm's age (*ibid.*, p. 385). Furthermore, William observes that Aldhelm could not have been King Ine's nephew, as some allege ('ferunt quidam'), for Ine would then have been considerably younger than Aldhelm, and historical sources confirm that Ine had only one brother, Ingeld, who predeceased him. Finally, William likely errs in assuming that *Pdv* was addressed to the sorority of nuns at Barking Abbey.

Aldhelm's Early Years

Given that Aldhelm died in 709 and, by William's reckoning, *may* have been a septuagenarian at his death, Aldhelm's date of birth might have been *ca.* 640. Chronology endorses William's source: corroborating evidence proves that Malmesbury was founded in the mid-670s, ⁽¹¹⁾ at which time Aldhelm's maturer years, political discernment, and family associations would have earned him authority over a colony of monks. Had Aldhelm been born around 640, he could have been a first-generation Christian, converted as a boy or raised as a Christian from his infancy. His parents may have been converted and baptized by one of St. Augustine's Roman entourage who remained in Kent from their arrival in 597; another wave arrived under Laurence and Mellitus in 601. The last of Augustine's party, Archbishop Honorius, lived until 652, and was succeeded by the native Deusdedit (d. 664), whose Anglo-Saxon name later tradition records as Friðuwine. ⁽¹²⁾ A second hypothesis is far more plausible: Birinus, a Frank who evangelized in the kingdom of the Gewisse (i.e. West Saxons) ⁽¹³⁾ and who baptized members of the royal house, including King Cynegils *ca.* 635, may have promoted Frankish provincial Christianity among Gewissan elites before Aldhelm's birth. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Less likely, Aldhelm's family may

(11) See below, pp. 38-9.

(12) STENTON, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 121-2; BROOKS, *Early History*, pp. 67-8. However, Pope Gregory's project relied heavily on (West) Frankish interpreters and priests; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 5, 7. Moreover, it is not certain whether the Gregorian mission had any impact outside eastern England.

(13) H. WALKER, 'Bede and the *Gewissae*', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12 (1956), 180-2.

(14) *HE* III.7; Yorke calls Birinus's nationality 'uncertain', but his name could be Frankish (*Wessex*, p. 171); Stenton says of him, 'his name suggests that he was of Germanic stock' (*Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 117). On the date of Birinus's mission cf. P. BLAIR, 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3-32, at p. 27 note 148. N. Higham explores issues related to Birinus's mission in *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 215-17. On the question of British Christianity in the period, cf. R. MEENS, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 5-17.

have encountered vestigial British Christianity or even Christian Irish anchorites settled in the southwest. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Confusion persists about William's statements on Aldhelm's paternity. Lapidge, Herren, and Rosier say that William doubts Aldhelm's descent (as son) from 'Kenten', an unknown *brother* to King Ine. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Yet William objects only to Aldhelm's putative relationship to Ine, claiming on the evidence of King Alfred's *Enchiridion* that Kenten, arguably a spelling of Centwine, was *not* Ine's *brother* but 'arctissima necessitudine consanguineus'. (Interestingly, sources of West-Saxon history record that Cwichelme was the name of Centwine's elder brother, who died soon after baptism by Birinus ca. 636-7, and the name shares a theme with Aldhelm.) No matter the exact relationship, Aldhelm's influence and connections in Wessex and Mercia arguably manifest some degree of royal patronage. Perhaps Aldhelm could boast of political connections to the West Saxon nobility through the marriage of a sister, the relationship to 'Kenten' of *brother-in-law*. Aldhelm never writes about his upbringing (his race is mentioned in an anonymous letter), ⁽¹⁷⁾ although he remarks in the dedication of *Pdv* that a nun Osburg was related to him by the familial bonds of close kinship (see below, p. 51), perhaps meaning that Osburg was his sister. Aldhelm was allegedly the spon-

(15) H. LOYN, 'The Conversion of the English to Christianity: Some Comments on the Celtic Contribution', in *Welsh Society and Nationhood*, ed. R. DAVIES *et al.* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 5-18. Admittedly, native Christianity must have flourished somewhere in the Saxonized regions of Wessex before Birinus's mission: Deusdedit was a West-Saxon (*HE* III.20), but the interval between his ordination and archiepiscopal accession makes Birinus's influence seem very remote; cf. BROOKS, *Early History*, pp. 67-8.

(16) Cf. LH, p. 6; LR, p. 6. William also doubts the surmise in the first recension of the *Gesta regum anglorum* (W. STUBBS, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi De gestis regum anglorum*, Rolls Series, vol. 90 (London, 1887), p. 35). William's information finds support in the 'official' West Saxon genealogy compiled in Alfred's reign (cf. KIRBY, *Kings*, appendix, fig. 4; D. DUMVILLE, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts', *Anglia* 104 (1986), 1-32, at p. 23). The words 'arctissima necessitudine' exaggerate the relationship; perhaps William misinterpreted a regnal list which included Centwine or misconstrued a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It has to be admitted that William himself never makes the connection between Kenten and Centwine, which he spelled 'Kentuuinus' throughout *GP*.

(17) EHWARD, p. 499; William claims that this letter is addressed to the Irishman Coelán of Péronne (*GP*, p. 333).

sor-at-confirmation of King Aldfrith of Northumbria,⁽¹⁸⁾ a Maecenas of learning to whom he dedicated the *Epistola ad Acircium*. This intellectual alliance may have reified political expedience, as Wessex and Northumbria had a common enemy, Mercia. Alternatively, Aldhelm could have benefited from the friendship between Aldfrith and Agilbert, *quondam* bishop of the West Saxons and one of Aldhelm's staunchest patrons.

Aldhelm was in touch with eminent political, ecclesiastical, and literary figures of his day. In Europe Aldhelm's fame penetrated to northern France, for one of his correspondents was the Irish poet Coelán (Cellanus) who resided in Péronne.⁽¹⁹⁾ Aldhelm may have passed through Péronne on a pilgrimage to Rome, if we can trust either an anonymous letter disclosing the fact or the oral traditions behind the 'miracle of the chasuble'.⁽²⁰⁾ At home Aldhelm supported the choleric Bishop Wilfrid, who had been uncanonically deposed from his see at York, with the consent of the opportunistic Theodore, archbishop of

(18) Aldhelm seems to have sponsored Aldfrith between 665 and 675, at which time Aldfrith would have received episcopal confirmation of his baptism, a rite typically delayed until a sponsor of station emerged; cf. J. LYNCH, *Christianizing Kingship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), pp. 112-16. For the view that Aldhelm sponsored Aldfrith at baptism, cf. LH, pp. 12, 32. Making Aldhelm a sponsor-at-confirmation would mean re-dating the *Epistola ad Acircium* to ca. 685 x 695.

(19) Much has been written about this contact, Coelán's writings and the ironic implications of the letter; cf. LH, pp. 149, 167; L. TRAUBE, 'Perrona Scottorum', *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München 1900* (Munich, 1901), 469-538; K. MEYER, 'Verses from a Chapel dedicated to St. Patrick at Péronne', *Ériu* 5 (1911), 110-11; W. LEVISON, 'Zu den versen des abtes Cellanus von Péronne', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 20 (1933-6), 382-90; M. LAPIDGE, 'Some Remnants of Bede's Lost *Liber Epigrammatum*', *English Historical Review* 90 (1975), 798-820, at pp. 804-5; D. HOWLETT, 'Aldhelm and Irish Learning', *ALMA* 52 (1994), 37-75, at pp. 68-74. On Aldhelm's posthumous influence in Spain, cf. A. BREEZE, 'The Transmission of Aldhelm's Writings in Early Medieval Spain', *ASE* 21 (1992), 5-21.

(20) EHWALD, p. 494; translated LH, p. 164. On the context of such pilgrimage cf. J. STEVENSON, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 9. Aldhelm plausibly obtained the bull from Pope Sergius I during his trip to Rome (EDWARDS, *Charters*, p. 104); it is tempting to speculate that Aldhelm accompanied Cædwalla to Rome, since Cædwalla endowed Malmesbury with a large tract of land and lived (briefly) in Rome during Sergius's papacy (*HE* V.7). In the vein of St. Bridget's washing, the miracle describes how Aldhelm's chasuble catches on a sunbeam while he celebrates mass in Rome.

Canterbury. (Even so, Wilfrid cannot necessarily be counted as one of Aldhelm's allies.) He dedicates *Pdv* to a constellation of West-Saxon abbesses, including Hildelith, abbess of Barking, who not only ruled a major center of English Christianity but perhaps also exhibited a literary interest in religious visions (*HE* IV.7-9). Aldhelm may have served in King Ine's *witan*⁽²¹⁾ and may have known Hæddi, bishop of the West Saxons before him. As a synodal delegate Aldhelm drafted the doctrinaire epistle to King Geraint (Geruntius) of Dumnonia with the approval of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.⁽²²⁾ Aldhelm admonishes his student Wihtfrith (and the otherwise unknown Heahfrith, too)⁽²³⁾ for committing themselves to the 'salty and putrid waters' of Irish learning, while Aldhelm's disciple Æthilwald submits some hexametrical and octosyllabic compositions for his master's correction. Finally, Leuthere (=Eleutherius), bishop of the West Saxons, receives tidings from Aldhelm along with a report of the educational curriculum at Canterbury, where the most respected school of the early English Middle Ages had been established in 670.

Aldhelm attended the school of Theodore (602-690, Archbishop of Canterbury from 669) and Hadrian (Abbot of Saints Peter and Paul, later St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 670-710), studying with Hadrian for two or three years during, or just prior to, his abbacy.⁽²⁴⁾ According to Bede (*HE* IV.2) they set about creating a school that became nationally prominent, producing alumni appointed to the highest ecclesiastical positions.

(21) LR, p. 6.

(22) *HE* V.18. There seems to be universal agreement that Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Geruntium* is the communication Bede describes (LH, pp. 140-3).

(23) A. S. COOK, 'Who was the Ehfrid of Aldhelm's Letter?', *Speculum* 2 (1927), 363-73.

(24) LR, p. 7. In a letter to Hadrian (EHWALD, p. 478) Aldhelm talks about two periods of instruction, including one of elementary learning. A letter to Bishop Leuthere describing his studies at Canterbury (LH, pp. 476-7) could be datable to the years 670-6. It remains possible, however, that the letter was addressed to Hæddi, as William alleged (*GP*, pp. 341-2). On Theodore's school cf. V. STALLBAUMER, 'The Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian', *American Benedictine Review* 22 (1971), 46-63; M. LAPIDGE, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *ASE* 15 (1986), 45-72; J. D. PHEIFER, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury', *ASE* 16 (1987), 17-44; B. BISCHOFF and M. LAPIDGE, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994).

In the peculiar *Epist* Aldhelm alludes to his education under Theodore and Hadrian, praising Theodore in particular for (Latin) grammar, ⁽²⁵⁾ and in the *Epistola ad Leutherium* he appears to outline the school curriculum which currently engages him. ⁽²⁶⁾ While it is generally assumed that Aldhelm attended the Canterbury school between 670-672/3, these dates are by no means incontrovertible, based as they are on the hypothetical date of Aldhelm's elevation to abbot of Malmesbury.

Michael Lapidge has recently written an important volume (BC) on Theodore and Hadrian, who shaped two generations of scholars during their tenure at Canterbury. Theodore came from Tarsus, now Gözlu Kule, in southern Turkey. ⁽²⁷⁾ In the absence of evidence for any medieval school in Tarsus, Lapidge presumes that Theodore ventured to Antioch, ⁽²⁸⁾ possibly traveling to Constantinople to escape the Arab conquest of Antioch. Lapidge supplies a learned assessment of the kind of education Theodore might have received in Constantinople under a assembly of outstanding academicians. By 649, according to Lapidge, Theodore is found in Rome, where he makes the acquaintance of Hadrian. ⁽²⁹⁾

Hadrian's biography is more thinly documented than Theodore's. ⁽³⁰⁾ An African probably from the Greek-speaking Libyan province of Cyrenaica, he may have fled the Arab overthrow of Cyrene, eventually entering one of the numerous monasteries in or surrounding Naples. ⁽³¹⁾ Lapidge reasons that Hadrian, who seems to have been a confidante of Pope Vitalian and ambassador of sorts for Emperor Constans II, played no

(25) *Epist*, p. 114, line 95 and note (p. 131).

(26) LH, pp. 137, 152-3.

(27) BC, pp. 5, 13.

(28) *Ibid.*, pp. 14-27; M. LAPIDGE, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 1-29, at pp. 3-4. Lapidge admits that, while sources are silent on any established Antiochene school, authors writing from Antioch *ca.* 600 suggest that one was flourishing *ca.* 620. Other conjectures about Theodore's past are made in A. S. COOK, 'Theodore of Tarsus and Gislenus of Athens', *Philological Quarterly* 2 (1923), 1-25.

(29) The name 'Theodorus monachus' was published in the *Acta* of a council in 649 convened to condemn Monotheletism (BC, p. 78). One other document confirms Theodore as an ally to the Roman position (*ibid.*, p. 79).

(30) A. S. COOK, 'Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England', *Philological Quarterly* 2 (1923), 241-58; BC, pp. 82-132.

(31) Cf. R. POOLE, 'Monasterium Niridanum', *English Historical Review* 36 (1921), 540-5.

minor part in the political machinations of his day. ⁽³²⁾ By 667, Abbot Hadrian was urging Pope Vitalian to consecrate Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, mostly because Theodore had championed orthodoxy in the Monothelete controversy and would oppose competing, heterodox Christian attitudes in an area of emergent faith.

Once in Britain, Theodore set out to establish a school, call councils specifically focused on Roman orthodoxy, and carve out new bishoprics for the growing Christian population. At the same time, Theodore gave himself to the cultivation of letters, and among works attributable to him are a 'penitential', ⁽³³⁾ four poems based on Greek meters, ⁽³⁴⁾ and *Iudicia* or church councils. ⁽³⁵⁾ Theodore and Hadrian together lectured to Canterbury students on the Bible, and some of their commentaries have been transmitted as biblical glosses. These glosses, chiefly preserved in a codex at Milan, ⁽³⁶⁾ were intermingled with others drawn from a range of non-biblical (mostly Patristic) sources. ⁽³⁷⁾ Theodore and Hadrian's teaching could not be called typical of *lectio divina* in Aldhelm's time, as the commentaries make plain. The approach has been called Antiochene or 'literal', concerned with the identification of biblical venues or historical events, as well as the philological explication of foreign terms – in other words, the method opposite to that taken by the contemporary Irish, who followed the metaphorical, Alexandrine mode of interpretation. ⁽³⁸⁾ Together, these Canterbury glosses

(32) *BC*, pp. 128-30.

(33) On the problems associated with the Theodoran penitential cf. T. CHARLES-EDWARDS, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 141-74.

(34) Cf. M. LAPIDGE, 'Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 260-80; *idem*, 'A Seventh Century Insular Latin Debate Poem on Divorce', *CMCS* 10 (1985), pp. 1-23; P. DRONKE, "'Ad Deum Meum Convertere Volo" and Early Irish Evidence for Lyrical Dialogues', *CMCS* 12 (1986), 23-32.

(35) P. FINSTERWALDER, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929); T. O'LOUGHLIN and H. CONRAD-O'BRIAIN, 'The "Baptism of Tears" in Early Anglo-Saxon Sources', *ASE* 22 (1993), 65-83. Theodore may also have authored a creed; cf. *BC*, p. 146; LAPIDGE, 'School', pp. 50-2.

(36) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS M. 79 sup., written in northern Italy in the second half of the eleventh century (cf. *BC*, pp. 275-87).

(37) *BC*, pp. 284-6.

(38) *Ibid.*, pp. 243-9.

form a group of vocabularies disseminated all over Europe, ⁽³⁹⁾ and they transmit material plausibly studied by Aldhelm.

It is not certain exactly what Aldhelm took away with him from his years at Canterbury, ⁽⁴⁰⁾ but the indebtedness could range from mere vocabulary ⁽⁴¹⁾ to the comprehensive ideas espoused in *Pdv*. A recent article has suggested that Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* were influenced by Byzantine riddles. ⁽⁴²⁾ In 1983 Vivien Law reasoned that one obscurity relating to the six $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ in Aldhelm's grammatical knowledge might be traced to Hadrian's teaching. ⁽⁴³⁾ Furthermore, a rare Anglo-Latin translation of a Greek acrostic poem was also known to Aldhelm; perhaps he picked it up from his Canterbury contacts. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ One arguable influence of Theodore's school may be seen in Aldhelm's tripartite division of virginity, which might stem from a version of the

(39) *Ibid.*, pp. 287-94.

(40) On this problem, cf. STEVENSON, *Laterculus Malalianus*, pp. 17-20. Aldhelm's wide reading has been explored in many works; cf. MANITIUS, 'Zum Aldhelm und Baeda'; ORCHARD, *Poetic Art*; N. WRIGHT, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 134-51; *idem*, 'Imitation of the Poems of Paulinus of Nola in Early Anglo-Latin Verse: A Postscript', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 392-6; M. LAPIDGE, 'Beowulf, Aldhelm, the *Liber Monstrorum*, and Wessex', *Studi Medievali* 23 (1982), 151-92 (on Lucan's 'Orpheus'). Patrick Sims-Williams has written eloquently on the method of biblical study in early England, and his conclusions may bear on Aldhelm's interests and methods; cf. *Religion and Literature*, pp. 177-210.

(41) *BC*, pp. 505, 522.

(42) Ć. MILOVANović-BARHAM, 'Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and Byzantine Riddles', *ASE* 22 (1993), 51-64; see also M. LAPIDGE, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury in the Seventh Century', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks*, ed. M. HERREN (London, 1988), pp. 169-94. For the suggestion that Theodore introduced the so-called *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana* to England, cf. C. DIONISOTTI, 'From Ausonius' Schooldays? A School-book and its Relatives', *Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982), 83-125, at p. 91 (yet the earlier *Hisperica Famina* are also clearly dependent in structure on the *Hermeneumata*). On certain problems associated with Greek learning in early England, cf. GWARA, 'Pedagogy', p. 122; M. BODDEN, 'The Preservation and Transmission of Greek in Early England', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. SZARMACH (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), pp. 53-63.

(43) LH, p. 8; V. LAW, 'The Study of Latin Grammar in Eighth Century Southumbria', *ASE* 12 (1983), 43-71, at p. 51; M. HERREN, 'Die Anfänge der Grammatikstudien auf den britischen Inseln: von Patrick bis zur Schule von Canterbury', in *Medialität und Mittelalterliche insulare Literatur*, ed. H. TRISTRAM (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 57-79.

(44) LR, p. 16; W. BULST, 'Eine anglo-lateinische Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen um 700', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 75 (1938), 105-11.

Vita SS. Victoriae et Anatholiae treating the saints jointly. (45) Carmela Franklin has claimed that a tenth-century Bobbio manuscript, now Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale ms F. III. 16, transmits a Latin version of the Greek *Acta* of S. Anastasius which could only derive from an interlinear version. (46) The source manuscript, Franklin convincingly maintains, was imported by Theodore and translated by him at Rome. (47) He then conveyed it to England, where a student disregarded the Greek syntax and produced a prose version full of grammatical malapropisms. Ultimately, however, Aldhelm's education seems to have been only colored by Theodore's school, and, by extension, the intellectual traditions he embodied in his writings have to be sought elsewhere.

Other Strains of Learning in Aldhelm's Education

Three additional, or alternative, influences by which Aldhelm gained his impressive learning could be theorized. First, Aldhelm may have become acquainted with Iberian or Frankish education through the influx of Frankish books and personnel during the political consolidation of Wessex. (48) The vague ca-

(45) C. FRANKLIN, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 175-203.

(46) On the manuscript cf. A. PONCELET, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Taurinensis', *AB* 28 (1909), 417-75, at p. 431. The decapitated head of St Anastasius, a Persian soldier martyred by strangulation in 628, was transported by refugees to Theodore's Roman monastery *ad Aquas Salvias* by 650 at the latest. Berschin first proposed that the cult of Anastasius had been introduced into England by Theodore (W. BERSCHIN, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1986-), vol. 1, p. 292). Bede's revision of this crude translation has been identified in C. FRANKLIN and P. MEYVAERT, 'Has Bede's Version of the *Passio S. Anastasii* come Down to us in BHL 408?', *AB* 100 (1982), 373-400.

(47) FRANKLIN, '*Passio*', p. 203.

(48) On the Frankish connection cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 109-13; *idem*, 'Continental Influence at Bath Monastery in the Seventh Century', *ASE* 4 (1975), 1-10. Sims-Williams finds evidence of the connection between Gaul and Wessex in chapter 6 of the *Vita Bertilae* (abbess of Chelles ca. 658-705); cf. W. LEVISON, 'Vita Bertilae abbatisse Calensis' in *Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Aevi Merovingici*, ed. B. KRUSCH and W. LEVISON, MGH scriptores rerum merovingicarum (Hannover, 1913), vol. 6, pp. 95-109, at pp. 106-7. Connections between Britain and Gaul persisted for centuries; cf. N. CHADWICK, 'Intellectual Contacts Between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth Century', in *Studies in*

reer of the Frank Birinus, whose episcopal seat was at Dorchester-on-Thames, began before the middle of the century. Following Birinus, Bishop Agilbert of Winchester studied in Ireland (?Lismore) but came from the Soissonais.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Agilbert's successor Bishop Wine had trained in Gaul, perhaps in the Seine valley, as well.⁽⁵⁰⁾ From this milieu likewise came Wine's successor Leuthere, a Frank and Agilbert's nephew, with whom Aldhelm probably corresponded. Leuthere, however, arrives too late on the scene to have prejudiced Aldhelm's learning in any degree. Yet many other earlier ecclesiasts based in Wessex are known to have come from foundations near Paris (Chelles, Brie and Andelys-sur-Seine), as Bede relates.⁽⁵¹⁾ The English system

Early British History, ed. H. CHADWICK *et al.* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 189-253.

(49) On Agilbert's career, cf. BLAIR, 'Whitby', pp. 3-32, at pp. 30-2.

(50) *HE* III.7; cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 112-13.

(51) *HE* III.8; cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'Continental Influence', p. 2. Books from the Continent (primarily Italy and Gaul) figured centrally in the early missionary movement as pilgrims sought to stock libraries for incipient monastic centers. The sojourner Otfro brought volumes from Rome and Gaul to Mercia; cf. *HE* IV.23; SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 193-4. (Sims-Williams's interest lies in determining the route of the so-called 'Cuthswith Jerome' (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek ms M. p. th. q. 2) from Europe to Inkberrow.) The exceptionally profound influence of Italy on seventh- and eighth-century Northumbrian book-production has been a paleographical commonplace since E. A. LOWE's *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960). Furthermore, the book-buying of Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid is legendary, having been praised throughout *HE* and Bede's *Historia abbatum*. When imported, many continental volumes were already a century old – or more in the case of a Vergil manuscript; cf. J. CRICK, 'An Anglo-Saxon Fragment of Justinus's Epitome', *ASE* 16 (1987), 181-96, at p. 192. Given that calligraphic Uncial lasted into the seventh century and that word-division in Italian manuscripts was not practiced until the tenth century (cf. P. SAENGER, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), p. 235), unintelligibility would not justify the sale of old volumes. On the contrary, old books are more likely to preserve excellent texts, a prime *desideratum* in the missionary endeavor, when many libraries across England would copy the same ancient manuscript as the authority for all local monastic libraries. Ironically, some evidence does suggest that imported texts were not uniformly authoritative. David Dumville has compiled lists of continental books certainly and possibly brought into England at this time ('Mediterranean Manuscripts in Theodore's England', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 96-119). These volumes reflect missionary concerns: Gospels, Juvenius, Maccabees, *vitae patrum*, Jerome's commentary on *Ecclesiastes*, a Greek *Acts of the Apostles*; cf. CRICK, 'Fragment', p. 191: 'The works named [in an early eighth-century booklist of an active missionary, now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms lat. 210] were of practical

of double monasteries housing both monks and nuns ruled over by an abbess had very probably been spawned from Frankish monasticism, too. ⁽⁵²⁾

A further dimension of Aldhelm's learning may be Irish, although this *fond* is the most troublesome to document, insofar as Aldhelm expresses disgust with the Irish in two sources, and a hedging disdain in others. ⁽⁵³⁾ A cardinal red herring of Aldhelm scholarship concerns Aldhelm's training under an Irishman named Maíldub, ⁽⁵⁴⁾ a tradition which William of Malmesbury

value for the missionary field – gospel books, patristic texts, hagiography, and liturgical material'. Dumville's second list contains nineteen books reflecting a wider distribution of texts, including gospel-books, patristic commentaries, laws and canons, and the odd classical work (Vergil, Livy). Aldhelm may have consulted some of these, either directly or in copies. On the earliest Anglo-Saxon libraries, cf. H. GNEUSS, 'Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform', reprinted in *Books and Libraries in Early England*, ed. H. GNEUSS (Aldershot, 1996), § II. For a discussion of the Bible in this period cf. R. GAMESON, 'The Royal 1 B.vii Gospels and English Book Production in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. R. GAMESON (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 24-52.

(52) On double monasteries see the references in LH, p. 191, note 5. On Merovingian monasticism under Queen Balthild, an Anglo-Saxon emigrée, cf. I. WOOD, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London, 1994), pp. 197-202.

(53) GWARA, 'Pedagogy', p. 87; *idem*, 'Aldhelm's Ps and Qs in the *Epistola ad Efridum*', *Notes and Queries* 234 (1989), 290-3; on Irish contacts with the English church in the seventh and eighth centuries, cf. K. HUGHES, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. CLEMOES and K. HUGHES (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 49-67.

(54) Michael Herren attempted to identify Maíldub with a man of that name mentioned in the *Martyrology of Oengus*; cf. 'Some Conjectures on the Origins and Traditions of Hisperic Poem *Rubisca*', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 70-87, at pp. 85-6. Lapidge asserts that no source earlier than GP attests to Aldhelm's training by an Irishman, but William draws his information from King Alfred's *Enchiridion*. The link between the name Maíldub and Malmesbury appears to have antecedents in such regional names as Congresbury (=St. Congar's 'hill-fort'); cf. YORKE, *Wessex*, p. 162. Perhaps the Anglo-Saxons assumed that Aldhelm had studied with Maíldub because of the place-name, which even Bede records as 'Maildubi urbs' (*HE* V.18). While the Old English translator of Pope Sergius's bull in favor of Malmesbury called Malmesbury 'Meldumes burh', only the Latin version – a translation from the Old English! – says that Maíldub had founded the abbey (EDWARDS, *Charters*, p. 101). According to the *Eulogium*, Maíldub abandoned 'Scotia' 'a praedonibus et latronibus fatigatus' and settled at De Bladon or Ingelbourne Castle (Brokenburgh or Brokenbern, in the editor's opinion).

unsceptically records. William's accounts could find corroboration by an anonymous letter in Aldhelm's epistolary dossier. The *Epistola ad Aldhelmum* not only mentions that Aldhelm 'has been nourished by a certain holy man from our nation' but follows the superscription *scottus ignoti nominis*. The scribe's failure to record the name suggests that he attributed the letter to an Irish hand because he had heard of Aldhelm's education by an Irishman. Less casually, Orchard's volume on Aldhelm's poetic style makes a strong case that 'Aldhelm inherited a rather flexible octosyllabic verse-form from Hiberno-Latin models',⁽⁵⁵⁾ and although Stevenson expresses mild scepticism about Aldhelm's acquaintance with the Hiberno-Latin *Altus prosator*, Orchard is more enthusiastic about the possibility.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Furthermore, Aldhelm does quote the septinarian verses attributed to the Irish Vergilius Maro Grammaticus, but only in a way that could lend doubt to his understanding of them.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Finally, aspects of Aldhelm's spelling were arguably Irish in habit, exhibiting the geminations of single consonants and simplifications of double consonants potentially characteristic of Irish practice (see below, p. 79 note 22).

One final strain of learning emerges from Aldhelm's own native Germanic tradition, although, as expected, the vernacular poetic inheritance influenced Aldhelm's verse far more than his prose. William of Malmesbury stated that Aldhelm recited vernacular poetry on a bridge at Malmesbury as a way of preaching to the native population.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Michael Lapidge observed recently

(55) ORCHARD, *Poetic Art*, p. 54.

(56) J. STEVENSON, 'Altus Prosator: A Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Poem' (diss., Cambridge, 1985), pp. 67-81; ORCHARD, *Poetic Art*, pp. 54-60.

(57) Cf. S. GWARA, 'Doubles Entendres in the Ironic Conclusion to Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Heahfridum*', *ALMA* 53 (1995), 141-52; M. HERREN, 'Some New Light on the Life of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 79C no. 2 (1979), 27-69; *idem*, 'The Hiberno-Latin Poems in Virgil the Grammarian', in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes*, ed. L. HOLTZ and J.-C. FREDOUILLE (Paris, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 141-55; M. WINTERBOTTOM, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and Its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39-76, p. 46-62. In his volume on Old Irish and Old English literary contact, Charles WRIGHT discloses no evidence that belletristic Irish conventions influenced Aldhelm's Latin (*The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* [Cambridge, 1993]). Nevertheless, Aldhelm seems to have been familiar with the Hiberno-Latin *Hisperica famina* (cf. P. GROSJEAN, 'Confusa caligo: Remarques sur les *Hisperica famina*', *Celtica* 3 (1956), 35-85).

(58) *GP*, p. 336; cf. R. FRANK, 'The Search for Anglo-Saxon Oral Poet', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 75 (1993), 11-36.

that Aldhelm's hexameter verse exhibited stylistic features traceable to Old English metrical practice, and Lapidge's conclusions have been convincingly extended by Orchard. Most persuasively, Orchard has noted that Aldhelm composed hexameter verse in collocations, a feature of his poetry called 'lexical localization' and directly traceable to Old English style. While Aldhelm's prose owes less to such affectations, Aldhelm does seem to have incorporated at least one reference to the Germanic war-band or *comitatus*.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The Political Landscape

Appointed bishop of Sherborne in 705⁽⁶⁰⁾ Aldhelm benefited from an English ecclesiastical policy aimed at dividing vast episcopal sees; he governed a diocese carved out of Bishop Hæddi's extensive territory.⁽⁶¹⁾ Bishop Daniel administered the other half of the region from Winchester, perhaps unsuccessfully.⁽⁶²⁾ He seems to have been considerably younger than Aldhelm, for he served as one of Bede's two informants on the Christianization of Wessex. Bede's other source, bishop Pethelm of Whit-horn (d. 735), knew Aldhelm intimately at Malmesbury as a monk and deacon, at least by Bede's testimony.⁽⁶³⁾ But even though Pethelm could claim a providential connection to Aldhelm, his account of the conversion either ignored Aldhelm's role in the second half of the seventh century, or else Bede utterly invalidated it. For Bede, Aldhelm's major act of evangelism was the preparation of the letter to King Geraint on the dating of Easter; Aldhelm may have brought this matter before the

(59) P. JONES, 'Aldhelm and the Comitatus-Ideal', *MLN* 47 (1932), 378.

(60) Some considerable dispute (LH, p. 10) over the exact date of Aldhelm's episcopal succession has been lately settled; cf. EDWARDS, *Charters*, pp. 109-10.

(61) GP, p. 332; cf. F. MAGOUN, 'Aldhelm's Diocese of Sherborne *be westan wuda*', *Harvard Theological Review* 32 (1939), 103-14; Sims-Williams, 'St. Wilfrid', pp. 168-9.

(62) The account of an infernal vision addressed to Boniface records that innumerable children unbaptized by Daniel were tortured in Hell; cf. M. TANGL, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH *epistolae selectae* (Berlin, 1916), vol. 1, p. 249 (translated E. EMERTON, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940), p. 190); T. ALLISON, *English Religious Life in the Eighth Century* (London, 1929), p. 47.

(63) HE V.18. Given Pethelm's close connection to Aldhelm, it seems odd that Bede mistakenly called Aldhelm's letter to Geraint a 'liber'.

council that suborned it, taking advantage of his new position as abbot. In my view, however, Aldhelm contributed significantly more to consolidating Christianity among Anglo-Saxons and Britons.

Aldhelm's affairs were completely dominated by the political discord of the times. In the southwest the dominant Germanic tribe known as the Gewisse (later called West Saxons) had undertaken migratory incursions in the early sixth century, gradually pushing westward into the Thames valley – and ultimately Devon – over the next two hundred years. The kingdom of Wessex was forged in the second half of the seventh century, as competing dynastic *subreguli* – powerful descendants of the original settlers – vied for supremacy. According to Yorke, these *coups d'état*, developed out of the pattern of settlement in the region :

Kings generally seem to have preferred to make such delegations of power to close relatives, but ... extremely distant cousins might also be found as subkings. In these cases we might postulate that a royal branch line had successfully hung on to its position for several generations, establishing a hereditary right to rule in part of Wessex. This would help to explain the explosive situation in Wessex in 672 when several branches seem to have been in a position to launch a claim for the throne ... (64)

The leader of one royal branch was the arguably obscure Centwine. He ruled from *ca.* 676, (65) and under his aegis Wessex became an ambitious political entity challenging Mercians to the North and Celts to the south.

To understand the violent developments in the 670s, we need to examine the family relationships of the rival dynasts. Although the kin branches have been reconstructed from historical sources, these frequently contradict and render the corresponding reconstructions provisional. (66) Weighing the explanations of other historians, I have followed Barbara Yorke's reconstruction and offer competing views where relevant. (67)

Verifiable or not, historical sources declare that most West Saxon kings descend from the legendary Cynric, among whose

(64) YORKE, *Wessex*, pp. 83-4.

(65) *ASC s.a.* 676.

(66) On the interpretation of the written record, cf. D. KIRBY, 'Problems of Early West Saxon History', *English Historical Review* 80 (1965), 10-29; DUMVILLE, 'Chronology'; *idem*, 'Regnal List'; KIRBY, *Kings*, pp. 48-60, especially figure 4 in the appendix.

(67) YORKE, *Wessex*, p. 81 (figure 22).

three sons the West Saxon dynastic rivalry originated. The first son to rule was Ceawlin, the eldest, but supremacy was then transferred to a cadet branch springing from the second son, Cuthwulf. A king named Cynegils follows Ceawlin's nephew(s) Ceolric/Ceolwulf (the identity is impossible to ascertain and may represent a doublet), but the exact relationship cannot be inferred from the evidence. Cynegils was the first Gewissan king to be baptized. Rule remained in this cadet branch of the family (a matter of intense debate)⁽⁶⁸⁾ until an historical moment of instability, when, by Bede's testimony, Cenwalh, Cynegils's son, is succeeded by his wife Seaxburh, then by a descendant of Cynric's third son, Æscwine, then by Centwine. In fact, the 'succession' probably took the form of consensual power-sharing, with supremacy passing from one faction to the next.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Centwine is nowhere mentioned in *HE*, but Yorke speculates that he, not Cædwalla, curbed the influence of the *subreguli*.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Yorke's theory not only explains chronological difficulties in *HE* but also

(68) Consult the competing view in KIRBY, *Kings*, p. 51.

(69) Cf. YORKE, *Wessex*, p. 82; P. WORMALD, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. WORMALD *et al.* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99-129, at pp. 114-15.

(70) YORKE, *Wessex*, p. 82. Centwine either died or retired to a monastery *ca.* 685, after which time Cædwalla reigned until *ca.* 687. He undertook a pilgrimage to Rome after a brief rule (cf. C. STANCLIFFE, 'Kings Who Opted Out', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. WORMALD *et al.* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 154-76, at pp. 156-7). Cædwalla's nephew, Ine, succeeds him and rules for some 37 years, establishing the laws appended to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in King Alfred's day. Aldhelm may have promoted these royal edicts, insofar as he is known to have studied Roman and ecclesiastical law, both of which subjects were a staple of the seventh-century monastic curriculum. In fact, a letter from Boniface to Pehthelm (Aldhelm's deacon at Malmesbury) poses a question of canon law (TANGL, *Die Briefe*, no. 32; translated EMERTON, *Saint Boniface*, pp. 61-2). On Aldhelm's role as Ine's advisor, cf. LAPIDGE, 'Beowulf', p. 155. A charter of debated authority also credits Aldhelm as an advisor to Ine (EDWARDS, *Charters*, p. 114). On the issue of Roman law, cf. A. S. COOK, 'Aldhelm's Legal Studies', *JEGP* 23 (1924), 105-13; M. R. JAMES, *Two Ancient English Scholars* (Glasgow, 1931), pp. 13-14; R. THOMSON, 'Identifiable Books from the Pre-Conquest Library of Malmesbury Abbey', *ASE* 10 (1982), 1-19, at pp. 14-16; J. WINKLER, 'Roman Law in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Journal of Legal History* 13 (1992), 101-27. A. S. Cook's suggestion that the southern French copy of the *Breviarium Alarici*, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 22501 (s. vi), might have been used by Aldhelm at Malmesbury has been doubted by David Dumville ('Mediterranean Manuscripts', p. 116).

embraces other historical contingencies. Centwine gained prominence for his military expeditions, which may not have been undertaken solely against his Mercian 'overlords' or Dumnonian Britons. While the *Chronicle* records only one of his battles, ⁽⁷¹⁾ three great victories are mentioned in the third of Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica*. ⁽⁷²⁾ Any of these may have been waged in Wessex against the *subreguli* and, potentially, their Mercian allies, whose power had been threatened by Centwine's dominance.

In addition to dynastic plots, the Gewisse faced persistent threats from neighboring Germanic and British kingdoms, although Mercia menaced West-Saxon sovereignty more than that of any other kingdom. Mercia grew to exercise authority over the other Germanic provinces of Britain during the middle of the seventh century, and only when Cædwalla (685-8) came to power did Mercian 'overlordship' subside to any degree. Mercian kings, especially Penda (d. 655) and his son Wulfhere (d. 675), so thoroughly asserted themselves in the south that much of Aldhelm's personal experience and memory would have been centered on the struggle against Mercian imperialism. Both Penda and Wulfhere drove armies into the northern borders of the Gewisse, and the battle of Ashdown in 661 marks a highpoint of Mercian domination under Wulfhere along the frontier. A decisive Mercian strategy was to subdue and control the smaller kingdoms surrounding the Gewisse. Indeed, across the Avon to the north lay the territory of the Hwicce, a long-standing Mercian dependency, and the conquest of the South Saxons, as well as the Jutes on the Isle of Wight and in Hampshire ⁽⁷³⁾ conspicuously restrained Gewissan expansion, if not influence. Correspondingly, one Gewissan policy throughout the century was to enlist the aid of Northumbria as an ally, and although the Gewissan kings made alliances with the East Angles as well, Northumbria became its traditional partner in anti-Mercian hostilities. Centwine alone in this period seems to have sustained a *détente* with his Mercian overlords, but his successor Cædwalla launched an offensive (long before his investiture!) to

(71) ASC *s.a.* 682; cf. L. ALCOCK, *Economy, Society, and Warfare Among the Britons and Saxons* (Cardiff, 1987), p. 232.

(72) LH, p. 48. An interpretation of these battles may be found in H. FINBERG, 'Sherborne, Glastonbury, and the Expansion of Wessex', in *Lucerna*, ed. H. FINBERG (London, 1964), pp. 95-115, at pp. 99-100.

(73) B. YORKE, 'The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the Origins of Wessex', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. BASSETT (Leicester, 1989), pp. 84-96.

regain former West-Saxon dependencies, such as the Isle of Wight. Only in Ine's reign, however, did Mercian influence abate enough for us to say that Ine actually expanded the West-Saxon presence that Centwine had once only asserted.

Interestingly, Centwine's royal accession appears to coincide almost exactly with Aldhelm's installation as abbot of Malmesbury. The years assigned to Aldhelm's abbacy have been controversial, but scholars generally agree on a date after 672 but before 676 as a *terminus post quem*, regarding 705, the date of Aldhelm's episcopal elevation, as the *terminus ante quem*. Lapidge and Herren argue that the *Epistola ad Geruntium* was composed soon after the council of Hertford (672), since it dealt with canonical Easter observance in terms similar to those expressed in the *Acta* of this council, which have been recorded by Bede.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Because Aldhelm calls himself 'abbot' in the letter ('abbatis officio functus'),⁽⁷⁵⁾ he must have held the position in 672, '674 at the latest'.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Nevertheless, William supplies a date of 675 for Aldhelm's appointment,⁽⁷⁷⁾ although he relies on a spurious charter assigning Aldhelm 'possession' of Malmesbury abbey.⁽⁷⁸⁾ An outrageous counterfeit, such a grant is completely unparalleled in authentic historical records, although Edwards maintains that it may preserve an original witness list. Even though the charter is concocted, however, the date of Aldhelm's succession may lie beyond suspicion. Not all forgeries fabricate every detail, and this one could assert a long-standing tradition that Aldhelm was installed as abbot in 675. The date fits substantially within the context of Centwine's brisk rise to power, an elegant historical validation that William unintentionally endorses by calling Aldhelm the son of 'Kenten'. Moreover, William's date follows soon after the Mercian King Wulfhere's devastating defeat at the hands of the Northumbrian king Ecgfrith (674). The robust

(74) LH, p. 141. As noted there, Hahn proposed a date of 679, the letter condoned by the synod of Hatfield (HAHN, *Bonifaz und Lul*, p. 39), which, however, specifically addressed the heresy of Monophysitism.

(75) EHWALD, p. 481.2.

(76) LR, p. 8.

(77) GP, p. 385: 'Excessit anno ... postquam abbas a Leutherio factus est .xxx^o.iiii^o ...'. Lapidge and Rosier make much of William's correction of 'xliiii' to 'xxxiiii': 'That William was not entirely confident of the date is shown by the fact that he tampered with it in his autograph copy of the *Gesta Pontificum*' (LR, p. 223 note 21); but the erasure only highlights a trivial subtraction error.

(78) GP, pp. 347-9: 'Actum publice, juxta flumen Bladon, .vii. Kalendaris Septembris, anno incarnationis Christi .dc^{mo}.lxx^o.v^{to}' (p. 349).

Mercian confederation dissolved rather quickly in the north, but the foundation of Malmesbury in 675 need not have resulted from the strong ties between Ecgfrith, the victor, and Centwine, who had married Ecgfrith's sister-in-law. ⁽⁷⁹⁾ In fact, Mercia at this time established multiple bishoprics under Theodore's direction, ⁽⁸⁰⁾ probably to advance Wulfhere's (or his successor Æthilred's) abiding interest in Christianity. Aldhelm's foundation therefore prospered under the patronage of Mercian (i.e. Hwiccan) and West-Saxon elites precisely because the pagan Centwine had been pressured politically to support the new religion.

Heather Edwards has concurred with Barbara Yorke ⁽⁸¹⁾ that 'Aldhelm ... used his connections with the kings of Wessex and Mercia to neutralise the risks inherent in Malmesbury's border situation'. ⁽⁸²⁾ The fruitful coalition between Malmesbury and Mercia persisted long after Malmesbury's foundation. The earliest authentic grant associated with Malmesbury is from A.D. 681 and awards fifteen hides at Tetbury in Gloucestershire. ⁽⁸³⁾ King Æthilred of Mercia together with his 'patricius' and 'propinquus' Coenfrith are the joint donors. Another Mercian *subregulus* named Berhtwald, possibly King Æthilred's nephew, granted an estate of 40 hides at Somerford Keynes, where the doorway of a church there may be that of the chapel Aldhelm constructed on the estate. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ Aldhelm is the beneficiary of 132 hides from King Cædwalla in a charter which exists in two discrepant versions but which probably has an authentic basis. ⁽⁸⁵⁾ In this case the West-Saxon king Cædwalla grants land north of Malmesbury within the border territory between Wessex and the Hwicce. Cædwalla may be seen here disposing of land won through his conflicts against the Mercians. The famous bull of

(79) STENTON, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 85. It must be conceded that Mercia established a see at Dorchester-on-Thames, traditionally a West-Saxon bishopric. The West-Saxon bishopric was thereafter moved to Winchester (*ibid.*, p. 68).

(80) SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid', p. 168. The year 675 was a watershed for Christianity in Mercia and Wessex: Bishop Wynfrith of Lichfield was deposed, allowing for the creation of new Mercian dioceses, and Bath abbey was re-founded (under Æthilred of Mercia, Wulfhere having died).

(81) YORKE, *Wessex*, p. 61.

(82) EDWARDS, *Charters*, pp. 104-5.

(83) *Ibid.*, pp. 90-2; S71 is authentic, whereas S73 is an interpolated copy.

(84) *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

(85) *Ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

Pope Sergius (687 x 701), lately called an Old English translation of a genuine document, is attested by King Æthilred of Mercia and King Ine of Wessex and guarantees peace from incursions that either party might make in the event of war.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The remaining charters relating to Malmesbury in Aldhelm's day underscore the predictable support of West-Saxon kings and landholders. One early charter enacted during the reign of Centwine records an exchange of 100 hides between Baldred, a sub-king of the West Saxons, and abbot Aldhelm, which could have been 'made as part of a policy of consolidating the [Malmesbury] community's landholdings near to the monastery'.⁽⁸⁷⁾ These documents not only communicate Aldhelm's anxiety to consolidate the privileges of his monastery but also measure his success in real terms: Aldhelm's accomplishments for the early English church highlight an initiative that only Bishop Wilfrid could match.

Yet Aldhelm's missionary work carried him even further into newly won territory in Devon. The political situation in Dumnonia cannot be detached from that in Wessex, since encroachment on Devon became a matter of policy for seventh-century Gewissan rulers. Wessex must have exercised some influence over the upper peninsula, for Aldhelm's letter to Geraint, while cordial, reflects a self-righteous conviction. Furthermore, the *Chronicle* records a battle between Cædwalla and Geruntius that ended in defeat on the British side.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The threat implicit in Aldhelm's letter might have found validation in this conquest. Obviously, Anglo-Saxon Christianity must have penetrated to Devon quite early, since Boniface's parents had settled at Exeter in the 670s and entered him at a local monastic school. Exeter, it seems, already boasted a Christian community and chapel before the advent of the West-Saxons,⁽⁸⁹⁾ and Aldhelm's efforts at Christianization may have been directed as much at bringing the Christian population into Roman observance as at converting heathen Britons. We do know that Aldhelm proselytized in Devon, for his 'Carmen rhythmicum' records his visit to a min-

(86) The bull also survives in a Latin version, which was probably translated from the Old English for Faricius's *Vita*; cf. EDWARDS, *Charters*, pp. 100-5; *eadem*, 'Two Documents', pp. 9-13.

(87) EDWARDS, *Charters*, pp. 94-7, quoted at p. 95. Edwards offers some insights on the later disposition of a portion of the lands awarded to Malmesbury in this exchange. It might be argued that the property traded by Aldhelm east of Braydon Wood was his ancestral estate.

(88) FINBERG, 'Sherborne', pp. 95-115.

(89) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

ster there during a storm.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Furthermore, it may be said that his appointment as bishop of Sherborne reflects the practical efforts he made at conversion in those parts.

Conversion of the Pagan and the Heterodox to Roman Observance

Malmesbury became an important religious center in the seventh and eighth centuries, and seems to have supported a school⁽⁹¹⁾ and minster church. The foundation itself departed from the Merovingian model in which nuns and monks were housed separately in the same establishment, with strict rules forbidding fraternization. The so-called double monastery was ruled over by an abbess, frequently a royal (or otherwise landed) patroness. Malmesbury, however, was settled as a monastery and ruled by abbots throughout its history, and although the rule that Aldhelm followed is not known, his interest in Benedictinism could be inferred from Boniface's.⁽⁹²⁾ Benedictine monasticism had just been introduced and popularized by Wilfrid, and the earliest copy of the *Benedictine Rule*, Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms Hatton 48 (from the early eighth century), was probably produced in Mercia (Worcester) or in the kingdom of the Hwicce (Bath), Mercia's southern dependency.⁽⁹³⁾ Whatever the character of monasticism at Malmesbury, Aldhelm plausibly ran his foundation to 'convert' the pagan or irregular (British Christian) population of Wessex, the Hwicce, or Mercia, and to disseminate Roman Christianity, perhaps as political propaganda. Aldhelm's mission of social integration would have included training priests to disseminate Christian learning throughout a territory where British, and especially Germanic, paganism may still have endured in isolated locales.

(90) EHWALD, pp. 524-8; cf. LR, pp. 171-9.

(91) S. GWARA, 'Glosses to Aldhelm's "Prosa de virginitate" and Glossaries from the Anglo-Saxon Golden Age, ca. 670-800', *Studi Medievali* 38 (1997), 561-645.

(92) Because Merovingian monasticism was largely Columbanan and because Merovingian practice heavily influenced early Anglo-Saxon monks, Aldhelm's rule might have been Columbanan in character; on Columbanus's *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis* cf. J. STEVENSON, 'The Monastic Rules of Columbanus', in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. M. LAPIDGE (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 203-16. On other early *regulae* cf. A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Les règles monastiques anciennes (400-700)* (Turnhout, 1985).

(93) SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, p. 205.

The tide of Christianity in the British Isles swept away almost all vestiges of Anglo-Saxon paganism, so that our knowledge of heathen practices will forever remain vague and, where documentable, insubstantial.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The same can be said of the quiddities of British and Irish Christianity, to the extent that 'uncanonical' Celtic practices will remain ill-defined, the prime exceptions being paschal observance, baptism, tonsure and episcopal confirmation. As we have seen, by the time of Aldhelm's *floruit* some West-Saxons may have been nominally converted through several channels: native British Christianity, which the Germanic tribes would have encountered during and after the migration, Frankish Christianity through the work of Bishop Birinus, Roman Christianity introduced by the Augustinian mission, or Irish Christianity, which had penetrated from the north and west. Nevertheless, the usual pattern of conversion in which kings and nobles were baptized and agreed to permit proselytes to travel under the royal aegis did not assure that the peasantry recognized the faith to the same degree as the elites. Moreover, it has long remained unacknowledged that the West-Saxon kings of Aldhelm's day were pagan. Aldhelm's *titulus* for Bugga's church (*Carmen ecclesiasticum III*) records that Centwine converted just before retiring to the cenobitic life (*ca.* 685) and that Caedwalla only received baptism after he journeyed to Rome.⁽⁹⁵⁾ In my mind, scholars writing about the seventh century too eagerly trumpet the views of Christian proselytes and

(94) For a summary of issues, cf. J. STEVENSON, 'Christianity in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Southumbria', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. M. CARVER (Ipswich, 1992), pp. 175-83. Almost all of the volumes and articles concerning Germanic paganism for this period of English history rest on few facts: E. JOHN, *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 22-49; F. STENTON, 'The Historical Bearing of Place-Names Studies: Anglo-Saxon Heathenism', reprinted in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. STENTON (Oxford, 1970), pp. 281-97; E. PHILIPPSON, *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen* (Leipzig, 1929); G. OWEN, *Rites and Religions of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1981); R. HUTTON, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles* (Oxford, 1991); B. BRANSTON, *The Lost Gods of England* (London, 1957); E. STANLEY, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (Cambridge, 1975). Among the best studies are those based on place-names and archeology, in addition to North, *Heathen Gods*; D. WILSON, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (London, 1992).

(95) EHWALD, p. 15: 'Sic rexit regnum plures feliciter annos, / Donec conuersus cellam migravit in almam' (lines 12/13); 'Cuius [Caeduuallae] in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae... Dum mergi meruit baptismi gurgite felix' (lines 26, 28); cf. *HE* IV.16; KIRBY, *Kings*, p. 118.

dismiss competing evidence of heathenism in acclaiming the advent of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.

Although Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the period had exposure to Christianity, many 'converts' apparently espoused a marginal faith. Priests were almost certainly scarce. As Yorke points out, Ine's *Laws* (ca. 688-94) enact stiff penalties to those breaking even the simplest provisions of infant baptism and sabbath observance.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Correspondingly, Theodore's 'penitential', a composite work promulgated in his name by 725, seems to have addressed issues of residual paganism in the form of superstitious beliefs.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Insofar as Theodore 'authored' the work, he seems to concern himself mostly with Germanic paganism. In the generation after Aldhelm a letter from Daniel to Boniface takes a practical attitude towards pagan conversion, suggesting some detailed critiques to confuse and embarrass the heathen.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Had Daniel deployed these arguments in his own territory? Finally, the curious proem of the Bath foundation charter, which 'may belong to 675',⁽⁹⁹⁾ suggests that Bath and other regional abbeys were founded specifically to combat heathenism in the region.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Sims-Williams finds the charge anachronistic, whereas Harrison thinks a resurgence of paganism had taken place.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Sims-Williams concludes, 'the simplest solution may be to take the proem ... as a literary flourish'.⁽¹⁰²⁾ On the contrary, the simplest solution would be to accept the charter's claim of pagan influence in the kingdom of the Hwicce (no matter how much the assertion conflicts with the meager evidence of pagan inhu-

(96) YORKE, *Wessex*, p. 174.

(97) NORTH, *Heathen Gods*, pp. 315-16.

(98) TANGL, *Die Briefe*, no. 23; translated EMERTON, *Saint Boniface*, pp. 48-50.

(99) SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid', p. 171.

(100) *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70. The proem states: 'Cum nobis euangelica dogmata post baptismi sacramentum Deo suffragante fuissent delata, et omnia simulachrorum figmenta ridiculosa funditus diruta, tum primitus ad augmentum catholicæ et orthodoxæ fidei, pontificalem dumtaxat cathedram [erigentes] iuxta sinodalia decreta construere. At uero nunc, cum gratia superna longe lateque profusius enitesceret, cenobialia etiam loca sparsim uirorum sparsimque uirginum Deo famulantium erigenda statuimus, ut ubi truculentus et nefandus prius draco errorum deceptionibus seruebat, nunc uersa uice æcclesiasticus ordo in clero conuersantium Domino patrocinate gaudens tripudiet' (cited from SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid', pp. 167-8, as emended by him).

(101) HARRISON, 'Annus Domini', p. 553.

(102) SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid', p. 170.

mation), into which historical context Aldhelm's own mission for Malmesbury would fit.

Anglo-Saxon paganism may have competed with native British paganism as a potent force in the border regions that Aldhelm administered. Admittedly, historical evidence proves that the royal houses of England had at least been *introduced* to Christianity by mid-century. However, King Penda of Mercia (ruled from 632) was a confirmed heathen, although his son Peada was baptized in 653.⁽¹⁰³⁾ When Penda died in 654 a Christian bishopric under Irish oversight was established in Mercia. King Cenwalh of Wessex remained a pagan at least until 645, around the time of Aldhelm's birth, but he was admittedly 'converted' during his exile with King Anna of the East Angles. And we have seen that Centwine and Cædwalla in the next generation had been converted very late in life. We can be certain, too, that the general population kept pagan practices alive into the eighth century. Unfortunately, only place-name data and inhumations yield any further information about pagan entrenchment,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and there is no abundance of recoverable details. Margaret Gelling has deciphered place-names in Wessex referring to the gods Woden and Thunor (Thor),⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ and these appear throughout Wiltshire, often close to the environs of Malmesbury. While literature is often thought to be a misleading index of social practice, Richard North has recently posited a view of Anglo-Saxon paganism deriving from literary sources, comparing them to Old Icelandic works of the tenth century and later.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ North concludes that elements of heathenism among the peasantry persisted for centuries after the 'official' conversion: 'the peasants

(103) A. ANGENENDT observes that, contrary to continental practice, Anglo-Saxon kings did not have their heirs baptized, perhaps leading to pagan recidivism in post-conversion generations; cf. *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe: Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 176-81.

(104) On the distribution of grave goods, cf. H. GEAKE, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c. 600-850* (Oxford, 1997); *eadem*, 'Burial Practice in Seventh- and Eighth-Century England', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, ed. M. CARVER (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 83-94.

(105) 'Place-Names and Anglo-Saxon Paganism', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 8 (1961-2), 7-25; *eadem*, 'Further Thoughts on Pagan Place-Names', in *Place-Names Evidence for Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlement*, ed. K. CAMERON (Nottingham, UK, 1975), pp. 99-114. For place-names with the element Woden in Wiltshire cf. WILSON, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, p. 11; NORTH, *Heathen Gods*, pp. 51-2. On the connection between Woden and idols, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

(106) NORTH, *Heathen Gods*, pp. 51-2; LH, p. 201 note 25.

are rarely mentioned in the sources, but it can be assumed that some of their old ways continued within Christianity until these ways were given a new lease of life by the Vikings in the ninth-century Danelaw'.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

British cults probably abounded throughout the territories in which Aldhelm preached, and a difficulty lies in concluding whether native or Anglo-Saxon paganism most exercised him. *Pdv* probably answered both native and Germanic challenges made against Christian conversion, although I am prepared to argue that Aldhelm's *Epist* preserves a passage describing Germanic cult practice, arguably the worship of the deity Woden.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Boasting about the eradication of heathen worship to his ally Heahfrith, Aldhelm recalls what it had been like before the Christian missions:

... ubi pridem eiusdem nefande natricis ermula cerbulusque
cruda fanis colebantur stoliditate in profanis, uersa uice disci-
pulum gurgitia, immo alme oraminum ædes, architecti in-
genio fabre conduntur.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

One pagan temple excavated at Yeavinger (*Ad Gefrin*) – though Northumbrian and part of a complex built two generations before Aldhelm's ministry – supplies an interpretation of Aldhelm's report.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Structure D2 consists of double walls, over 13 meters long and 8 meters wide, with meter-wide openings centered along the length. Inside were discovered three equidistantly spaced post-holes, carefully filled in with stones, and a pile of ox skulls – from sacrifice – filling a deep pit. Outside the structure to the south was a cemetery. The post-holes were undoubtedly for idols, which Aldhelm may be describing in the preceding passage as *hermulæ* or 'little hermas'. The herma consisted of a carved head surmounting a pole which stood both in public spaces and adjacent to large private dwellings.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Ald-

(107) *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18 and elsewhere: 'Although a belief in Woden may have been dying out in England by the beginning of the eighth century ...' (p. 80, my emphasis).

(108) The passage may also describe a native British cult practice; cf. D. WATTS, *Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain* (London, 1991), p. 187.

(109) GWARA, 'Pedagogy', p. 113.

(110) B. HOPE-TAYLOR, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977). On the form of pagan temples in Anglo-Saxon England, cf. J. BLAIR, 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and Their Prototypes', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 8 (1995), 1-28.

(111) Cf. J. SIMPSON and E. WEINER, ed., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edn. (Oxford, 1989), s. v. 'Herma'.

helm's *hermula* conjecturally represents Woden, whom Tacitus in the first century AD associated with Mercury (=Hermes).⁽¹¹²⁾ In the same quotation Aldhelm describes *gurgustia*, or small dwellings for the disciples of the pagan deities, and such huts might have been erected adjacent to the primary *fanum*. The Yeavinger excavations disclose shallow post-holes of numerous small huts encircling the temple. Hence, worship of an idol, probably carved with an image of Woden, could represent one pagan practice familiar to Aldhelm.

Even the present state of our knowledge encourages us to believe that Aldhelm founded a missionary outpost in a defiantly pagan territory. As I shall reason in chapter II, rather than assert the rights of noble spouses who divorce their husbands and enter the convent under an inferior status vis-à-vis their purity, *Pdv* vindicates women who shun marriage with pagan (?British Christian) husbands, a primary preoccupation of the Roman saints whom Aldhelm mentions. Indeed, the problem of sanctity in Aldhelm's hagiology rests on religious defilement engendered specifically by pagan marriage and not marriage *per se*. Such a deduction places Aldhelm in a new light: not merely an autodidact whose incomparable learning begot a *literary* cult, but a pragmatic missionary fostering the Christian cause by launching outposts of native converts. Aldhelm's reputation in later years was recognized by legends surrounding his sanctity, and while Malmesbury came to be eclipsed in wealth by her rival Glastonbury, Aldhelm's works once more gained an impassioned audience in the tenth century. In fact, from the reign of Æthelstan to the first generation of the eleventh century, Aldhelm was an *eminence grise* behind the re-foundation of Benedictinism and the emergence of Anglo-Latin letters. Even though Aldhelm's influence derives 'accidentally' from the growth of Alfred's Wessex into the preeminent English power, Aldhelm's accomplishments secured his fame. His reputation might have been eclipsed after the Norman Conquest, but it never really passed into obscurity until the late Middle Ages.

(112) W. PETERSON, *Tacitus: Dialogues, Agricola, Germania* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), p. 276.

CHAPTER II
THE PROSA DE VIRGINITATE

Date and Dedication

Pdv represents a foundational document for the Anglo-Saxon missionary movement and for English belles-lettres. An unexaggerated *succès d'estime*, the work addressed an audience of newly converted reformers, male and female, and taught lessons of Christian suffering in the face of pagan derision. The date of the work cannot be established with authority, but many have placed it in the years following Aldhelm's election as abbot of Malmesbury (ca. 675), (1) observing that Aldhelm apologizes for his delay in writing because church *administration* ('ecclesiastici regiminis sollicitudo', 59, 12/13) prevented him from finishing sooner. This admission means that we could consider *Pdv* a product of Aldhelm's mature years, probably *post* 675. Furthermore, William of Malmesbury identified two dedicatees whose personal circumstances (as we shall see) would place the composition of the text in the years after 675 and probably after 685.

Pdv begins with the following address:

To the most reverend virgins of Christ, who are to be venerated with every affection of devoted brotherhood ... Hildelith, teacher of the regular discipline and of the monastic way of life; and likewise Justina and Cuthburg; and Osburg, too, related to me by family bonds of kinship; Aldgyth and Scholastica, Hydburg and Beorngyth, Eulalia, and Thecla – to all these nuns unitedly ornamenting the Church through the renown of their sanctity, Aldhelm ... sends his best wishes for perpetual prosperity. (?)

On the basis of the dedication many have presumed that *Pdv* was addressed to Hildelith, abbess of Barking Abbey, and her consorority, a claim originating with William of Malmesbury. William, it seems, had learned about Hildelith from *HE*, and his assertion (it can be called nothing more) about the dedication of *Pdv* to Hildelith and the Barking community has persisted. That *Pdv* was dedicated at least to Hildelith of Barking seems plausible, as Lapidge reasons, for the name was rare, and Aldhelm's

(1) LH, p. 14; cf. above, pp. 38-9.

(2) LH, p. 59; prol. 1/12.

dedication was arguably directed to an abbess. Florence of Worcester likewise reports that Hildelith became abbess in 675, a date that fits neatly within the confines of Aldhelm's political maturity. (3)

More troubling, however, is Lapidge's subsequent claim, ultimately based on William's, that 'from the identification of Hildelith the identification of the monastery in question (Barking) may be determined'. (4) The sole evidence in the preface (or, for that matter, in the companion hexameter version) suggesting that Hildelith and the Barking nuns were joint dedicatees is the coincidence that Hildelith is named first in the treatise and described fulsomely as a teacher of monastic discipline. (5) At no other point does Aldhelm remotely imply that *Pdv* had been written for a single community. Even in the close he addresses all the nuns by the same epithets: 'flores ecclesiae, sorores monasticae, alumnae scolasticae, Christi margaretae, paradisi gemmae et caelestis patriae participes' (60, 65/67). Unfortunately, a further confusion propagated by William has led some to infer that the woman Cuthburg named in the treatise was also a Barking intimate, a circumstance validating the joint dedication.

Manuscripts of the first recension of William's *Gesta regum anglorum* report that Cuthburg, sister to King Ine of Wessex and wife to Aldfrith of Northumbria, was at one time cloistered at Barking. As William notes, Cuthburg was the foundress of Wimborne abbey:

Habit sane Ina sorores Cuthburgam et Quenburgam: Cuthburga Alfredo Northanimbrorum regi nuptum tradita, sed, non post multum coniugio diducto, primo apud Berkingum sub abbatisa Hildelida, mox ipsa magistra regulae Wimburnae Deo placitam vitam transegit. Vicus est modo ignobilis, tunc temporis insignis, in quo frequens virginum chorus, terrenis desideriis castratis, superos suspirabat amores. Accessit sa-

(3) LH, p. 51.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 193. The same claim appears in Lapidge's introduction to the treatise: 'Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate* is addressed to abbess Hildelith and a number of her nuns in the monastery at Barking, Essex' (LH, p. 51).

(5) Note that Aldhelm makes no reference to multiple copies of his work, but does opine that the re-copying of it took considerable time: '... hac morosa tricatione euenit, ut pollicita codicelli rescriptio tanto temporis interuallo protelaretur' (59, 30/32). The frontispiece to Aldhelm's work in Lambeth 200 (reproduced in Ehwald's book, following page 323) reveals a group of nuns with two books, obviously the prose and poetic versions of the treatise.

cri caelibatus studio librorum Aldelmi De virginitate lectio, Berkingensium quidem nomini dedicata, sed omnibus eandem professionem anhelantibus valitura. (6)

No doubt William derived some of this information from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (probably a version akin to the Peterborough recension), which documents that Aldfrith's wife left him after their marriage:

Her Ingild forðferde Ines broðor. 7 heo[ra] swustra wæron Cwenburh 7 Cuðburh. 7 seo Cuðburh þæt lyf æt Winburnan ærerde. 7 heo wæs forgifen Norðhymbra cininge Ealdferðe. 7 heo be him lifigendum gedældon. (7)

Aldfrith became king in 685 and died in 705, but it is not certain when he married, although Bede records that his son Osred was eight years old at Aldfrith's death. (8) We do not know, however, whether Osred was legitimate issue (Aldfrith was himself illegitimate) or whether Cuthburg was Aldfrith's sole legitimate spouse.

The *Chronicle* entry cited above reports that Aldfrith 'divorced' Cuthburg, who then went on to found Wimborne. While we have no firm evidence for Wimborne's foundation, I agree with Coulstock that it had certainly been established somewhat before 705. (9) The spurious charter granting Aldhelm continued rule over three abbeys, including Malmesbury, during his episcopate (and allowing free elections after his death) is said to have been agreed upon at Wimborne under abbess Cuthburg and endorsed at a meeting held in 705 (*BCS* 114). Although inauthentic, the charter could record genuine evidence that Wimborne had been founded by 705, and probably before, since Wimborne had achieved enough importance to sponsor

(6) LH, p. 52: 'Now among the nuns at Barking to whom Aldhelm's treatise is dedicated is found one Cuthburg who had abandoned her royal husband and who later became foundress of Wimborne'.

(7) *ASC*, s. a. 718; Florence of Worcester records similar information.

(8) *HE* V.18; Coulstock alleges, 'there is no mention that Aldfrith had any other wife, but failure to mention royal wives of Anglo-Saxon kings is not unusual' (*Wimborne*, p. 41). By extension, Cuthburg could have founded Wimborne *ante* 697. Unfortunately, the date of Aldfrith's marriage to Cuthburg is unknown and may have occurred before his accession in 685.

(9) COULSTOCK, *Wimborne*, pp. 35-8.

such a meeting. ⁽¹⁰⁾ What *may* be deducible from the evidence is that Cuthburg founded Wimborne perhaps after 685 and possibly before 705. That she is mentioned in the dedication to *Pdv* seems likely, in my view, although no evidence – in the treatise or elsewhere – corroborates William's view that she fetched up at Barking after her 'divorce', and it would be absurd to imagine that she had been a nun before her marriage.

Indeed, William is the *fons et origo* of the fiction that Cuthburg had been installed at Barking after she left Northumbria, and he based the association on an inspired reading of Aldhelm's dedication, which he studied in preparing *GP*. ⁽¹¹⁾ (William's claim that Cuthburg established a convent at Wimborne 'immediately' (*mox*) after she arrived at Barking implies his unease over the conjecture.) The rationale for associating Aldhelm's dedicatees with the nuns of Barking is therefore circular: William takes Hildelith abbess of Barking as the foremost of Aldhelm's *destinées*, presuming that her entire community were dedicatees; he deduces that Cuthburg, the only other figure he can identify, was Aldfrith's former wife and foundress of Wimborne, and because the name Cuthburg is mentioned in the dedication, she must have resided at Barking, too!

Many, including myself, have followed William's reasoning, with the result that Aldhelm's presumed favoritism towards the Barking community now bears the force of conviction. When Rudolf Ehwald edited *Pdv*, he relied on William's testimony, dating the work *post* 685, the date of Aldfrith's accession and presumably his marriage; it represents, therefore, the earliest possible date of his 'divorce'. Even earlier (1903) the Right Reverend George Browne, bishop of Bristol, wrote, 'Aldfrith is said to have married Cuthburga ... she left him to become a nun at Barking, to which sisterhood Aldhelm addressed his *Praise of Virgins*, and eventually became foundress and abbess of Wimborne'. ⁽¹²⁾ When discussing the early charters of Barking abbey, Cyril Hart averred, 'Cuthburga, sister of King Ine, was a nun at Barking Abbey c. 686'. ⁽¹³⁾ He cites Eleanor Shipley Duckett's

(10) Edwards (*Charters*, p. 115) declares that 'Malmesbury is not known to have had any direct connection with [Wimborne]', but her claim is mooted by my argument that Aldhelm dedicated *Pdv* to her and other Anglo-Saxon abbesses.

(11) No *vita* known to me, including Capgrave's, records that Cuthburg had been cloistered at Barking Abbey.

(12) *St. Aldhelm: His Life and Times* (London, 1903), p. 271.

(13) *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), p. 121.

cento of pious ruminations, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars*. Duckett remarks, 'we can imagine the Sisters sitting at their sacred embroidery while the abbess Hildilid essayed to explain to them Aldhelm's interminably complicated periods of minute description'.⁽¹⁴⁾ (Duckett, I think, is embroidering here.) In fact, I do not disagree entirely with elements of William's surmise. Hildelith seems to be accurately identified, as does Cuthburg.⁽¹⁵⁾ But Cuthburg was joint dedicatee as abbess of Wimborne and not as a nun of Barking, a hypothesis that substantiates Ehwald's dating of *Pdv*. In my mind, Aldhelm wrote *Pdv* for the abbesses of double monasteries throughout Wessex, and I believe that at least one other abbess may be identified with near certainty and that fourth might be mentioned in an eighth-century document.

In 1975 Patrick Sims-Williams studied two charters from the Bath Cartulary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 111, s. xii), the second one (S1168) almost certainly referring to Bath Abbey and mentioning one 'Bernguidi uenerabili abbatissae'.⁽¹⁶⁾ The authentic charter is datable to 681. Sims-Williams observes, 'the name of [this] abbess is Beorngyth. The spelling ui for y preserves an early orthography'.⁽¹⁷⁾ Beorngyth succeeded the first abbess Berta, a Frank mentioned in the foundation charter. It cannot be a coincidence that the name Beorngyth (Bern-githae) appears among the dedicatees of *Pdv*, since the name was exceedingly rare. But if we imagine that Aldhelm dedicated the treatise to local abbesses, Beorngyth would be a prominent candidate. I suspect, then, that Beorngyth, second abbess of Bath, represents a third identifiable dedicatee of Aldhelm's treatise and consider it unfortunate that the date of Beorngyth's (and Cuthburg's) death is unknown.

One other abbess may be identifiable in historical records. *Pdv* mentions a sister named Osburg in the dedication, and she is described as *mihi [scil. Aldhelmo] contribulibus necessitudinum nexibus conglutinata* ('related (to me) by family bonds of kinship',

(14) Reprinted Hamden, CT, 1967, p. 61. Hart cites note 159, citing Ehwald, who cites William. Elsewhere Duckett makes the identical claim (p. 88), referencing sources that refer back to William.

(15) The identity of Cuthburg as abbess and dedicatee may be strengthened by an extant letter (ca. 732) to Boniface from Leofgyth, a nun at Wimborne (SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 211-12 and 243); the letter discloses a familiarity with Aldhelm's hexameter verse (TANGL, *Die Briefe* no. 29 [pp. 52-3]).

(16) SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'Continental Influence', p. 3.

(17) *Ibid.*

prol., 7/8).⁽¹⁸⁾ In his examination of Aldhelm's *Carmen ecclesiasticum III*,⁽¹⁹⁾ Lapidge endeavors to identify this Osburg as the figure Bugga mentioned in the *titulus*, inasmuch as Bugga represents a hypocorism derived from the second element of an Anglo-Saxon dithematic name like 'Æthelburg, Cuthburg, Cwenburg, Heahburg, Osburg'.⁽²⁰⁾ The *carmen* records that Bugga was the daughter of King Centwine, the 'Kenten' who may have been Aldhelm's father according to William of Malmesbury. Lapidge ingeniously concludes that if Bugga is daughter of Centwine and Aldhelm his son, and if Bugga corresponds to that Osburg mentioned in *Pdv*, then Osburg could be Aldhelm's sister.

Unfortunately, Bugga was a common hypocorism, as were Anglo-Saxon names terminating in '-burg'. Furthermore, the term *contribulis* 'of the same *tribus*' in Aldhelm's phrase implies a distant family relationship and may even mean 'of the same religion' (as in Sidonius Apollonaris);⁽²¹⁾ unless Aldhelm uses a *litotes* here, 'sister' would seem a misleading hypothesis. However, working from the assumption that Aldhelm dedicates *Pdv* to abbesses ruling in the second half of the 680s at least, another possibility seems more attractive.

An important and oft-discussed synodal decree (S1429) mentions the abbess Bucga, who had been granted land with her mother Dunne near Withington on the Coln river for the foundation and maintenance of a monastery in the reign of Æthelred of Mercia, A.D. 674 x 704.⁽²²⁾ The site of this property lies less than 20 miles from Malmesbury. This Bucga may be the wo-

(18) LH, p. 59.

(19) LR, pp. 40-1.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

(21) *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900-), vol. 4, p. 776 s.v. *contribulis*.

(22) H. FINBERG, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), no. 5: 'Ethelred, king of the Mercians, and Oshere, under-king of the Hwicce, to Dunne and her daughter Bucge. 20 'cassati' by the river Tillath (Coln) for the foundation of a [monastery]'. The date may be narrowed to 691 x 704, if, as Finberg argues (*Lucerna*, p. 21), the foundation may have resulted from Bishop Wilfrid's contact with Æthilred of Mercia. This charter and the disposition of the title under Bishop Milred has been the subject of recent discussion in SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 130-1, 351. Sims-Williams remarks that Dunne seems to have been more widely known than Bucga, who probably pre-deceased her. That would hold no problem for Aldhelm's dedication: a work on virginity would have been addressed to a virgin abbess, not (in this case) Dunne. In fact, Dunne had another (married) daughter, into whose own daughter's possession the monastery had been bequeathed.

man Osburg mentioned in *Pdv*,⁽²³⁾ and she should not be confused with the other Bugga, daughter of Centwine, mentioned in Aldhelm's *titulus*. If we designate Osburg provisionally as Bucga, abbess of Withington, we could claim that four of Aldhelm's dedicatees were arguably abbesses. The case is completely circumstantial, of course, but it defies coincidence that three (or four) women who were abbesses during Aldhelm's life and who shared names with dedicatees of *Pdv* are not those mentioned in the work. To cut the Gordian Knot one could assume that Aldhelm addressed his text to West Saxon abbesses generally, most probably the women whose acquaintance he had made during his tenure as abbot of Malmesbury.

My hypothesis that Aldhelm dedicated his treatise to the abbesses of double monasteries in Wessex would mean that the work was written after 685, and perhaps closer to 700 (or later), if we allow a suitable period of time for Cuthburg to leave her husband and establish Wimborne Abbey. Dating *Pdv* to ca. 700 gives rise to one slight chronological complication requiring explanation. The Bath foundation charter, preceding the document naming Beorngyth in the Bath Cartulary at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is internally dated 675. Its proem, quoted above (p. 43 note 100), was written in hermeneutic Latin obviously indebted to *Pdv*.⁽²⁴⁾ In 1988 Sims-Williams discovered sources for this passage in Aldhelm's accounts of St. Benedict and St. Martin. In fact, even more Aldhelmian parallels can be adduced (examples with asterisks (*) contributed by Sims-Williams):

1. *euangelica et apostolica dogmata* : orthodoxis dogmatibus (*30, 25/26); *euangelica falce* (*30, 28)
2. *post baptismi sacramentum* : per baptismi sacramentum (*De metris*, 70.5)
3. *Deo suffragante* : suffragante Christo (*De pedum regulis*, 204.7); *suffragante Deo* (*Cdv* 1015)
4. *simulachrorum figmenta ridiculosa funditus diruta* : funditus ... ut ridiculosum fantasma (*26, 43/44); *ueterum ... figmenta deorum* (*Cdv* 1052); *simulacrorum toracidas ad solum cernuas diruit* (38, 9/10); *Diruit ad fundum sternens molimina prisca* (*Cdv* 1326); *post deruta simulacrorum sacella* (*30, 20)

(23) The suggestion was first made by G. Browne (*St. Aldhelm*, p. 243-4) but dismissed by Duckett (*Saints and Scholars*, p. 67 note 171).

(24) SIMS-WILLIAMS, 'St. Wilfrid', pp. 167-8. Sims-Williams discussed the charter earlier but had not noticed the Aldhelmian reflexes at the time ('Continental Influence'). See also his *Religion and Literature*, pp. 111-12, 120, 145, 204, 384.

5. *construxisse coenobia* : construxisse coenobia (*30, 23/24)
6. *ad augmentum* : ad augmentum sinmistis mistisque (*Epist* 29-30)
7. *pontificalem dumtaxat cathedram* : pontificalis cathedrae (25, 20)
8. *sinodalia decreta* : decretis sinodalibus (32, 70)
9. *gratia superna* : superna gratia (*Epistola ad Leutherium*, 477.16)
10. *longe lateque* : 32, 53 ; 50, 5 ; *Epistola ad Geruntium*, 482.20 ; *Epistola ad Abbates Wilfridi*, 501.1
11. *nefandus ... draco* : nefandae natricis (*Epist* 10)
12. *uersa uice* : *Aenig.* 100.59 ; *De pedum regulis*, 10.2, 12.15, 36.74, 43.25, 47.51, 170.8, 193.10, 201.13 ; *Epist* 11-12
13. *conuersantium* : conuersationis (*30, 24)

While Sims-Williams made a convincing case that the writer of the proem borrowed liberally from Aldhelm's treatise, the writer must also have been completely steeped in Aldhelmian phraseology, for Aldhelm's stylistic mannerisms recur throughout this brief passage. Nevertheless, Sims-Williams's conclusion is undoubtedly correct: even if the writer were Aldhelm, he (or if a Bath nun, she) must have written the proem after *Pdv* and, as I conjecture, perhaps *Epist* and *Cdv*, too.⁽²⁵⁾ That the charter proem is fraudulent conveniently fits the deductions I made above concerning the date of *Pdv*, post 685. The proem must therefore have been concocted at Bath ca. 700, not (*pace* Sims-Williams) ca. 675, and it could imply that Aldhelm had sent a copy of *Pdv* there in the days of Beormgyth's supervision.

An important deduction could be said to stem from my hypothesis that the treatise on virginity constituted a general letter to West-Saxon and/or Hwiccan abbesses. Lapidige infers that, because Cuthburg was divorced from Aldfrith, the treatise may have been written to justify the position of chaste 'divorced' women (like her) in the convent, where virginity was plainly esteemed. Other dedicatees bear the names of Italian saints, however: Thecla, Justina, Scholastica and Eulalia. Aldhelm writes about each of these women in his treatise, two (and perhaps three) of whom spurned Roman paganism. Thecla (first century A.D.) converted to Christianity during her adolescence, and only after she had been betrothed to a pagan husband (46). She despised her future marriage, even after hearing the blandishments of her mother and of the suitors seeking her hand (46, 6/

(25) I have speculated that Aldhelm cites *Cdv* in *Epist*, which therefore postdates the poem; cf. GWARA, 'Pedagogy', pp. 88-9.

9). Justina (of unknown *floruit*) likewise refused to marry a pagan husband and resisted the sorcery used against her (43, 8/12), to the extent that her astonishing faith actually 'baptized' Cyprian, one of her tormentors and later a Christian bishop (43, 13; 27/29). Having endured countless tortures, Justina was beheaded for protesting an imperial edict to worship at pagan shrines (43, 45/50). Finally, while Aldhelm's source of information on Eulalia is unknown, ⁽²⁶⁾ he does record that she spurned marriage, almost certainly with a pagan husband (46, 20/21). On the evidence of their names, it seems plausible that the English abbesses named after these Roman saints came from pagan families or had been betrothed to pagans and entered monasteries to preserve their emergent faith. In fact, Aldhelm's reluctance to elaborate on Roman paganism (although he does mention pagan deities, festivals and sacrifices) constituted a deliberate attempt to universalize the theme of Christian resistance and suffering in the face of heathenism. Throughout *Pdv* saints foil lustful pagan husbands, denounce heathen practices, and exterminate demonic serpents. Many suffer gracefully during the Diocletian persecution. A major aim of *Pdv* must therefore have been to offer solace and encouragement to young women whose families still had some pagan attachments, even as late as 700.

Christian Behavior Towards the Pagan Adversary

Drawing on an anonymous *Passio S. Anastasii* for his general scheme (above, pp. 29-30), Aldhelm describes three theoretical states (*gradus*) of sexual practice. First, *uirginitas* represents physical and spiritual integrity, both for men and women. By contrast, *castitas* 'is the state attained by someone who has once been married but who has rejected this marriage for the religious life'. ⁽²⁷⁾ According to Lapidge, Aldhelm's special category of chastity had a practical aim; by promulgating it he 'was able to flatter his audience of once-married nuns and to maintain an orthodox position on the question of marriage-versus-virginity'. ⁽²⁸⁾ For women who abandoned their husbands for the conventual life, the treatise affirmed a substantial rank in the hierarchy of celibacy. A second position taken on *castitas* did not entail the dissolution of marriage but encouraged absolute chas-

(26) LH, p. 178.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 56.

(28) *Ibid.*

tity within it; this state had to be consensual, negotiated between spouses. *Iugalitas*, of course, simply denoted marriage, intended for procreation.

Aldhelm's aims are to define each grade in his hierarchy, to illustrate the first two states with *exempla* drawn from dozens of sources, and to emphasize how each saint frustrates pagan detractors. Aldhelm then adds a brief but stinging rebuke on the vanity of dress in the convent (chapter 58). Some nuns, it seems, were given to dressing lavishly and to filing their nails! Concluding his prose treatise, Aldhelm begs forgiveness for his delay in writing and apologizes for any faults in his book (chapter 59).

Despite its tendentious title, Aldhelm's treatise 'on virginity' is not wholly concerned with virginity, but with conversion and reconciliation along the lines of St. Paul's miraculous transfiguration. Judging from its focus on the struggles of Christian converts against those hostile to the faith, *Pdv* must have been composed against the backdrop of tenacious (or resurgent) paganism. As mentioned above, Aldhelm almost certainly based his tripartite scheme of virginity on a *Passio S. Anastasii* possibly imported by Archbishop Theodore. Yet in this literary archetype Aldhelm also discovered – and exploited – a strong parallel to a paramount religious controversy of his day, as well as a literary palliative meant to vindicate the recent convert, monastic or otherwise. According to the *Passio S. Anastasii*, Anastasius spurned his pagan wife after conversion, a case similar to that of the male saints in *Pdv*. Virginity or chastity were not merely *desiderata* of martyrdom but also distinctions earned by the most serious and dedicated proselytes. Correspondingly, female Christian saints throughout *Pdv* repudiate their pagan suitors, and both sexes enhance the Christian cause not merely through their patient suffering but also through their evangelizing. Aldhelm's militant virginity therefore finds expression in the dire confrontations between the pure Christian and the foul heathen, who may, in fact, be parent, spouse, or betrothed.⁽²⁹⁾

Christian resistance to idolatry permeates Aldhelm's text to such a degree that almost no *exemplum* fails to narrate the tension between the saint and his or her pagan (or Judaic!) context. In

(29) I do not mean to simplify as complex an issue as the Anglo-Saxon understanding of virgin martyrs. Some of the complications are treated in K. WINSTEAD, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY, 1997); further references may be found in Winstead's bibliography and in J. BUGGE, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea* (The Hague, 1975).

the Old Testament Elisha's birth is said to foretell the collapse of idolatry in the region (20, 18/21). Daniel's adversary was the pagan king Nebuchadnezzar, whose monarchy is 'numbered, weighed and divided' in the biblical prophesy (21, 39/40). Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego are pressed to worship a statue of the Chaldean king, and when they refuse, get boiled in naphtha – a torture they endure through angelic aid and virginal purity (21, 57/66).

Turning to the New Testament, Aldhelm finds John the Baptist a suitable virgin, insofar as he was a Christian proselyte preaching to Jews and Samaritans, among others. His virginity, it turns out, afforded him the power of interpreting biblical truths and of foreseeing the coming of a redeemer (23, 4/5). Thomas, a disbeliever, preached to the heathen throughout India, 'where he totally annulled the execrable rites of pagan sanctuaries and the empty offices of their priests ...'.⁽³⁰⁾ Aldhelm emphasizes St. Paul's assaults against heathen practice when he describes the command of silence to a sorceress (24, 5/7). Converted by divine grace, Paul 'compelled the sorceress to place a door of mute taciturnity in front of her insolent lips, when she was prophesying frivolities of falsehood through the spirit of necromancy'.⁽³¹⁾ She is quite obviously a pagan witch.

Aldhelm gives prominent attention to the evangelical virgin popes, beginning with Clement, another convert to Christianity who 'spurned the religion of the gentiles'.⁽³²⁾ According to Aldhelm, Clement followed Peter as a proselyte 'sowing the seeds of the divine Word and cultivating the shoots of the gospel-vine in the ditches of the believing, and destroying at the root the lethal wild vines of Simoniacal necromancy'.⁽³³⁾ Correspondingly, Pope Sylvester destroyed a terrifying dragon with the power of his 'uncontaminated chastity'.⁽³⁴⁾ According to Aldhelm's source, the Roman population worshiped this serpent and 'offered up the pollutions of idolatrous sacrifices in order to appease the insanity of its fury'.⁽³⁵⁾ Sylvester consequently abolished the practice of human sacrifice to this dragon. Sacrifice to idols, of course, was arguably a prevalent feature of Anglo-Saxon paganism.

(30) LH, p. 81.

(31) *Ibid.*

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 82.

(33) *Ibid.*

(34) *Ibid.*

(35) *Ibid.*, p. 83.

St. Martin of Tours comes under Aldhelm's scrutiny as a reformer and missionary whose success as a Christian was underscored by wondrous portents even before his birth. Numbered among Martin's achievements in the *Vita* were the toppling of idols, the vanquishment of the demonic sorcerer Anatolius, and the felling of a pine tree sacred to pagan mysteries (26, 35/49). The activities which Aldhelm enumerates might well describe the state of affairs in pagan Wessex or Mercia in Aldhelm's day: 'the sanctuaries of the ancient pagans, which had been constructed from stones polished by the masons and covered with red roof-tiles, he shattered, overturned and destroyed by casting them to the ground ...'.⁽³⁶⁾

Aldhelm begins with St. Felix to describe martyrdom at the hands of pagans, a practice which some may have interpreted as ritual sacrifice (27, 49/53). Anthony, virtual founder of hermetic Christian monasticism, is described as having set an example for Egyptians: 'Afterwards, the Egyptian land, which the Nile fecundates with recurring floods, brought forth thousands of sheaves of souls, springing up in the fruitful fallow land of the church'.⁽³⁷⁾ Hilarion, another desert father, was 'born of heathen parents' and retained his virginity as a monk.⁽³⁸⁾ His chastity enabled him to immolate a vicious dragon and to quell a raging sea for the citizens of Epidaurus (chapter 29).

Benedict of Monte Cassino receives special treatment in *Pdv*, perhaps suggesting that his *Rule* had become established as the dominant brand of monasticism at Malmesbury. Benedict combats paganism in northern Italy, 'after the sanctuaries of idols had been destroyed and the ceremonies of fanatical paganism had been routed'.⁽³⁹⁾ He later founds twelve monasteries (30, 23/24). Chapter 33 introduces Babilas as a Christian martyr who forbade Numerianus Augustus to 'profane the sanctuary of the basilica by entering with his polluted feet'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ After refusing to worship the pagan idols, Babilas was put to torture and died with three Christian brothers, his spiritual 'sons', by beheading.⁽⁴¹⁾

The subsequent chapters on male virginity concern the persecution of Diocletian and form a unit in Aldhelm's text. Hence,

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 87.

(38) *Ibid.*, p. 88.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 94.

(41) *Ibid.*, p. 95.

the twins Cosmas and Damianus refused to apostasize and burn incense at pagan idols (34, 11/13). For their renunciation, they sustain innumerable torments: being cast into the sea in shackles, being thrust into a furnace, and finally suffering capital punishment (34, 34/38). Chrysanthus, a pagan who converted after his education in the Stoic tradition, presents a case rather unlike that of Cosmas and Damianus. He resists the blandishments of his father, who first imprisons him and later has servants ply him with wine and tempt him with prostitutes (35, 31/37). Chrysanthus marries Daria, with whom he lives 'under the simulated intercourse of marriage, until at length Daria was purified through the water of the redeeming font'.⁽⁴²⁾ According to the *vita*, their lives were punctuated by zealous missionary enterprises, during which they converted multitudes from pagan practices. When Chrysanthus ultimately refuses to honor Hercules (the god associated with Woden in the Germanic pantheon), he is punished by the tribune Claudius with abominable tortures: soaked in a bath of urine, bound in a moist ox-hide under the burning sun, harnessed in tight chains and imprisoned in a dungeon (35, 76/93). Through his perseverance and divine intervention, however, Chrysanthus converts Claudius and the tribune's household (35, 93/100). Unfortunately, they do not escape the decrees of Numerianus and are put to death after some further tortures (35, 112/116).

Julian, a noble victim of the persecutions of Diocletian, also suffers for his faith by confronting pagans. Like Chrysanthus, Julian marries chastely, living with Basilissa but abstaining from sexual relations. Among Julian's accomplishments was the destruction of pagan shrines: 'he threw to the ground, shattered, and overturned more than five hundred impious statues of idols, to which temple-priests were offering incense, offering up libations like dervishes'.⁽⁴³⁾ Like many other martyrs, Julian performs a resurrection (36, 80/85). Multitudes were converted to Christianity through their example, and ten thousand monks and nuns inhabited the monasteries they founded (36, 46/49). Persecuted for their messianic zeal, both Julian and Basilissa are tortured and beheaded (36, 114/116).

In the time of Julian the Apostate, Apollonius of Thebes entered the desert to become abbot of a monastery enrolling some five hundred monks (38, 17/19). When Apollonius refused to

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 101.

take up his military service, he was persecuted (38, 34/41). While imprisoned, he managed to silence a crowd of pagans encircling (and presumably worshipping) an effigy, and these same idolators he converted to orthodox Christianity by his fortitude and encouragement (38, 42/51). On another occasion Apollonius intervened in a skirmish between two neighboring factions, one pagan, the other Christian (38, 52/61). The pagan leader refused a peaceful settlement and received the saint's curse (38, 61/68). Aldhelm closes his discussion of male virgins with Apollonius, and his aims have been transparent: prompting monks (housed in double monasteries) to proselytize among the heathens of southern England – to become empowered with holiness by their virginity and then to court the risk of martyrdom on behalf of the Christian cause.

Aldhelm proceeds to praise female virgins in the next section of his work, but his treatment of women differs substantially from that of men. Women are not typically encouraged to seek the trials of proselytizing and the agonies of martyrdom among the heathen. On the contrary, their peculiar martyrdom is to resist marriage to pagan suitors, even when such resistance means torture and death. Their Christian magnanimity most directly affects their suitors or persecutors, more rarely the wider pagan world. Thus, Caecilia, 'refused the companionship of a conferred marriage and the betrothal ceremonies of her suitor'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ As a result of her refusal, she converted her fiancé to Christianity (40, 21/27). By contrast, Agatha earns the martyr's palm for her struggle against heathen malice (41, 5/10). She suffered under the cruel edicts of Diocletian and was tortured to death. Lucia, patron saint of Sicily, refuses to marry Paschasius, whom Aldhelm depicts as a lustful and rapacious consul. Paschasius has Lucia burned on a pyre, but the fire is miraculously extinguished by a divine shower (42, 33/37). The contest here lies between virtuous Christian virgin (faith) and greedy pagan suitor (superstition), not simply between virginity and conjugality.

The identical theme of faith-versus-superstition recurs in Aldhelm's treatment of Justina, another victim of Diocletian. Justina scorns pagan blandishments and appears unfazed by the spells of sorcerers, including Cyprian, a heathen magus who converts after witnessing Justina's victory over magic (43, 12/22). Eugenia's case resembles Lucia's. Eugenia rejected her classical education to embrace Christianity, but her father urged her to the

(44) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

marriage bed (44, 3/9). She secretly ran off to the protection of a local convent where rumor finally revealed her presence (44, 10/15). Her opponent Melanthia had her imprisoned in a brothel, where she nevertheless capably preserved her chastity (44, 34/38). Agnes, of course, suffers the same fate in a subsequent chapter, but Agnes' suitor enters the brothel with the intention of raping her (45, 21/24). Struck dead on the spot, he is revived by Agnes' prayers (45, 34/37)!

Thecla and Eulalia continue Aldhelm's theme of 'militant virginity'; both are executed for embracing Christianity and reviling potential husbands of rank. Scholastica, Christina, and Dorothea are treated together in *Pdv*, although they have different profiles. For example, Scholastica was not martyred ('no opportunity for a bloody martyrdom presented itself'),⁽⁴⁵⁾ whereas Christina despised Roman superstition even though she was forced to heathen rites by her high-born father (47, 18/24). Christina goes on to smash the fanes of Jupiter, Apollo and Venus, for which deed she is tortured (47, 25/30). Dorothea endured punishment and death for refusing to marry as well as execute pagan rites (47, 45/47). Before her death she managed to convert two apostate women charged by Sapricius to seduce her to pagan worship (47, 49/54). The virgin Constantina, daughter of the Emperor Constantine, converted noble ladies of Constantine's court to Christian belief (48, 14/25). Moreover, because Constantina was slated to wed Gallicanus, Constantine's champion, he turned from his pagan ways in capitulation. The three virgins Chionia, Irene and Agape lived under Diocletian, who tried to force them from their faith, to seduce them with imperial titles, and to marry them off to pagan husbands. Sustained in part by St. Anastasia's liberality, the sisters maintain their virginity even when a guard attempted to rape them (50, 15/18). Instead of propitiating the pagan divinities, then, they suffered martyrdom at the hands of Sisinnius (50, 56/57). Two other sisters Rufina and Secunda are treated in chapter 51. In the reign of Valerian and Gallienus, who savagely persecuted Christians, the women escaped marriages to men recently lapsed into paganism (51, 9/14). When betrayed, they were (at a stroke, one might say) admired for their virginal fortitude and decapitated (51, 34/36). The two virgins Anatolia and Victoria sustained the poor from their Tuscan estates, but they were forcibly removed by imperial decree (52, 9/13). Carried to Tribula, Victoria pro-

(45) *Ibid.*, p. 113

mised to banish a fearful serpent that terrorized the town, so long as all the inhabitants agreed to embrace Christianity (52, 25/28). When they did so, she evicted the monster from his cave and founded a monastic cell in it (52, 47/54).

While Aldhelm's treatise is trained on individual male and female martyrs, the work addresses communities of such men and women, insofar as its focus on virginity implies monasticism, indeed the brand of monasticism common throughout seventh-century England. One can imagine how these monasteries functioned as enclaves of converts, attracting (landed) women and educating monks to preach in the locales where Christianity was just making inroads. Aldhelm apparently felt a strong need to vindicate virginity not only as a source of prestige but also as a state engendering, first, a 'magical' power necessary to drive conversion among heathens, and, second, a faculty that enabled one to endure, and even overcome, suffering. The message was as appealing as it was pragmatic, and *Pdv* seen in this light reveals itself to be the major missionary statement to have survived from the era of conversion. It has to be studied, however, not only as a missionary document marketing Aldhelm's personal idealism but also as a statement about Latin learning as a key to understanding Christian texts. The new religion required negotiation; its text were in a foreign language with a foreign idiom. Sexual purity implied one kind of authority, mastery of that language and idiom another. For Aldhelm monasticism also meant zeal for erudition that would permit one to teach the Gospel as a confident and charismatic interpreter. In these terms *Pdv* could also be called a self-conscious declaration about the centrality of Latin learning in the missionary movement.

Aldhelm's Prose Style

Notwithstanding the breadth of reading which underlies *Pdv*, its most outstanding feature is Aldhelm's 'hermeneutic' Latin style. As a style hermeneutic Latin had a long and varied career in England, and while such Latin prose can be characterized by certain syntactic and lexical elements, not all elements of Aldhelm's style will be present in tenth-century hermeneutic Latin. The layman Æthelweard's (tenth-century) *Chronicon*, for example, betrays accusative absolutes and faulty appositions, (46) while

(46) A. CAMPBELL, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London, 1962), pp. li-liii.

Byrhtferth, a monk living at Ramsey abbey at the turn of the millennium, confused the passive and active infinitives.⁽⁴⁷⁾ None of these features has ever been called characteristic of hermeneutic Latin prose (especially in Aldhelm), even though these authors were heavily influenced by the hermeneutic style. Furthermore, while hermeneutic Latin was once compared to 'hisperic' Latin on account of its difficulty,⁽⁴⁸⁾ the hermeneutic style cannot be considered a genre of abstruse or *recherché* Latin. Notwithstanding these few serious objections, one can isolate the distinguishing features of hermeneutic Latin – syntactic and lexical – as they apply to Aldhelm's prose. In a sense, Aldhelm's prose style is the hermeneutic style, since it served as the principal model of hermeneutic Latin for generations of writers.

Aldhelm's Latin is deliberately mannered, often displaying varieties of syntactic symmetry, hyperbaton, parallel desinence (rhyme), assonance and rhythm (the *cursus* only infrequently). Aldhelm constructed long periods, but, as Michael Winterbottom explains in his important study of Aldhelm's latinity, they are also logically ordered.⁽⁴⁹⁾ A random example helps illustrate certain fundamental elements:

- 1 *Quamdiu enim antiquas inhabitare sedes*
 ET *exigua fouere tuguria*
 gracillimis contexta uiminibus
 SEV *cauatis consuta codicibus*
- 5 ille, qui inter ceteras magistratus officio fungitur, decreuerit,
 nulla ex immensa multitudine
 fugitiuis discursibus ET passiuus uolatibus
 (per aethera uagatur) ...
- nusquam apud mortales uideas
- 10 **extorrem propria pulsum patria**
 TAM *densis exercituum agminibus*
 TAMQVE *spissis legionum cohortibus*
 constipari (6, 7/17)

Aldhelm's prose is recognizable by its balanced phrasing. In lines 1/2, *antiquas inhabitare sedes* parallels *exigua fouere tuguria*, just as *gracillimis contexta uiminibus* balances *cauatis consuta codicibus* (line

(47) Cf. M. LAPIDGE, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 331-53, at p. 336.

(48) M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911-31), vol. 1, p. 139; W. M. LINDSAY, 'Columba's *Altus* and the *Abstrusa Glossary*', *Classical Quarterly* 17 (1923), 197-9, at p. 199; P. GROSJEAN, '*Confusa Caligo*: Remarques sur les *Hisperica Famina*', *Celtica* 3 (1956), 35-85, at pp. 66-7.

(49) WINTERBOTTOM, 'Style', pp. 39-46.

4). Aldhelm characteristically pairs phrases consisting of past participles with dependent ablatives. (Triplets seldom occur, quadruplets never.) At times he places the verb centrally, but he can (more rarely) produce asymmetrical phrases: 'politissimis compacta petris rubrisque tegularum imbricibus tecta' (26, 45/46). In another variation Aldhelm places the verb at the end of the clause: 'perennis pudicitiae sertis coronatam et floridae uirginitatis uexillo armatam' (44, 1/3). Similar phrases made up of ablative absolutes, accusative object plus genitive modifier, and noun phrases are just as common:

uerbosa garrulitas aut garrula uerbositas (19, 35/36)
 abstrusam heremi uastitatem petiit et friuola aemulorum machinamenta delitescit (32, 31/32)
 minacem obolisci proceritatem et rotundum sperae apicem (36, 91/92)
 racemis turgentibus et botris flauescensibus (38, 90/91)
 cursum consummatura et fidem seruatura (46, 18/19)

Winterbottom calls these expressions 'synonymous doublets', and they crop up everywhere in *Pdv*, exposing Aldhelm's obsession to vary his vocabulary and phrasing. Yet Aldhelm does not always repeat the same idea in these pairs. He regularly sets off his first phrase with another comparable in order but not in class, as in 'pauculis panum crustulis et sale aspersis holerum fasciculis' (38, 73/74). Here Aldhelm maintains the parallelism between foods, which he specifies, first, as bread and, second, as vegetables. This doublet, then, differs only in content but not in principle from those which Winterbottom cites in his study of Aldhelm's style.

Still later in my extract (line 10) appears another of Aldhelm's characteristic devices – hyperbaton: (*uideas*) *extorrem propria pulsum patria* (... *constipari*). This example does not conform to the prevailing type of Aldhelmian hyperbaton, which incorporates adjective plus noun in the genitive and adjective plus noun in any case but the genitive: 'eoae triperititas Indiae prouincias' (23, 54); 'libidorum fraudulentia aemulorum factio' (26, 40/41); 'residua canonicarum commentariola scripturarum' (49, 11/12). Disagreeing with Kerlouégan, who argues that this hyperbaton was a Celtic innovation,⁽⁵⁰⁾ Winterbottom maintained that this in-

(50) F. KERLOUÉGAN, 'Une mode stylistique dans la prose latine des pays celtiques', *Études celtiques* 13 (1972), 275-97, rebutted by M. WINTERBOTTOM in 'A "Celtic" Hyperbaton?', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic*

terlaced word-order 'was born in the rhetorical schools, and it was they who fostered it from the last days of the Republic to the time of Ennodius and beyond'.⁽⁵¹⁾ Whatever its origin, however, this phrasing does not typify Aldhelm's word-order. A glance at *Pdv* shows that Aldhelm most frequently positions genitive modifiers in the *middle* of his phrases, whether they are verbal (consisting of a past participle, for instance) or nominal (consisting of a nominative, accusative, dative or ablative adjective plus noun). The following examples illustrate a typical phrase of Aldhelm's having two or more genitives:

cetera argenti et electri stagnique metalla (15, 30)
 rubicundo uenustae pubertatis flore (25, 61)
 ostenso fallacis pepli ludibrio (26, 41/42)
 regularem monasticae conuersationis normam (27, 27)
 suppositis crepitantis rogi torribus (36, 89/90)
 reciproca tortoris nefandi ferocitas (36, 95/96)
 scrupulosa ecclesiastici regiminis sollicitudo (59, 12/13)

These passages represent a variation on one of Aldhelm's most basic stylistic patterns, an example of which can be found in lines 11/12 of the extract: *tam densis exercituum agminibus tamque spissis legionum cohortibus*. Here Aldhelm places a single genitive plural noun between two ablatives in two separate phrases. In hundreds, perhaps thousands, of phrases with only three words, Aldhelm uses this grammatical form. He might, for example, place an infinitive between two accusative objects, as he did in lines 1/2 of the extract. Alternatively, he might put a past participle between dependent ablatives, as he did in lines 3/4. Paired as well as single examples are numerous: 'teretes ... scopulorum glareas et rotundos scuporum lapillulos' (23, 24/25), 'gemellis oculorum obtutibus' (32, 27/28), 'cruenta carnificum saeuitia' (35, 91), 'acra testularum fragmina' (41, 7/8). Such phrases as these are linked with *et*, *uel*, *aut*, *nec*, *ac*, *atque*, *ast* and other conjunctions to create Aldhelm's doublets.

The preceding citations recall the symmetry Aldhelm aimed for in his doublets. But there are times when this balance is overlooked. Hence, where we expect to find a series of genitives, we find a genitive and ablative instead: 'corpore frugalitatis parsimonia macilento' (25, 68/69). Aldhelm might have sensed a

Studies (1977), 207-12. Kerlouégan claims that double hyperbaton occurs most frequently in *Epist* (p. 288).

(51) WINTERBOTTOM, 'Style', p. 51.

need to ease the repetition of this passage with a kind of variation he uses from time to time. This variation arises even in the symmetrical doublets; the rhythm may be symmetrical, but the grammar is not. Thus, Aldhelm occasionally reverses the order of dependent genitives: 'olfactum ambrosiae et nectaris flagrantiam' (36, 75/76); 'pauperulae direpta et depeculata mulierculae' (37, 30). At other times, he fails to maintain expected grammatical correspondences: 'squalentis ceni contagia uel uenenatum aspidis morsum' (37, 4/5); 'caelibes integritatis aemulatores et carnalis spurcitiae contemptores' (45, 2/3). These passages augment Winterbottom's observations on Aldhelm's 'symmetrical doublets', which describe Aldhelm's artificial prose in general terms.

Other features of Aldhelm's prose style center more on morphology than on grammatical phrasing. In the participial phrases in lines 3/4 of my first example, Aldhelm highlights similarities in the types of bee-hives not only through verbal symmetry but also through grammatical concordance: *-is contexta -ibus // -is consuta -ibus*. The choice of third declension adjectives and of verbs in *con-* is less ornamental than functional, for Aldhelm uses rhyme for emphasis and clarity throughout *Pdv*. In line 7 the same 'formula' recurs: *fugitiuis discursibus et passiuis uolatibus*. Aldhelm varies his phrasing but maintains a parallelism: adjectives terminating in *-uus* and fourth declension ablative nouns. Other examples of Aldhelm's rhyme can be found on every page: 'per allegoriae regulam rimamini et ... per tipicum tropologiae scrutinium scrutamini' (15, 35/37); 'udis et crudis neruorum nexibus' (35, 70/71); 'in fundo maris profundo' (24, 8); 'plus ratum et gratum' (59, 5). These last examples exhibiting full rhyme ought to be contrasted with those having only parallel desinence. Parallel desinence appears more commonly in *Pdv* than full rhyme, which Aldhelm seems to have reserved either for setting off parallelisms in clauses or for short phrases.

Common, too, in Aldhelm's Latin prose is assonance, by which he plays on the *stylus Isidorianus*, the association of similar sounds from which many medieval etymologies derive. In phrases like 'integritatis gratia gratatur' (16, 5/6) and 'gulosa uentris ingluuie uoraciter gluttire soleat' (29, 21/22) Aldhelm links sound and meaning. *Integritas*, he implies, derives from *gratia*. Likewise, glutting oneself (*gluttire*) involves filling the stomach (*uenter*) voraciously (*uoraciter*). There can be no doubt that Aldhelm adapted Isidorean analogies in his prose, for he alludes to such definitions in *Pdv*:

Aldhelm: *parcarum grassatrix nulli parcentum atrocitas* (26, 29/30)

Isidore: [Parcae] *quod minime parcant* (52)

Aldhelm's assonance, then, pertains to style as well as meaning and constitutes an important aspect of his hermeneutic latinity.

Winterbottom also underscores Aldhelm's rhythm as diagnostic of his hermeneutic prose, and the cited example is appropriate: (53)

Non enim furua uoracis mergulae factúra confúnditur et atra cornicis creatúra contémpnitur, licet uersicolor paonis gloria tereti circulorum rotunditáte praecéllat, cuius penna pulchritudo nunc crocea qualítate flauéscit aut purpurea uenustáte rubéscit, nunc glauco coloris uiróre fulgésцит aut flaua auri spécie splendéscit (9, 25/31).

Aldhelm often strives for clarity by expressing the construction of his periods, however complex, with this kind of rhythm: (xxx)xxx̄(xx). In his octosyllabic verses Aldhelm contrasts rhythm and vowel length, but his prose is purely rhythmic. (54) No doubt a close analysis of Aldhelm's rhythm would yield other patterns.

Alliteration, an indispensable element in Aldhelm's verse, looms large in *Pdv*. Aldhelm frequently alliterates on vowels as well as the consonants 'b', 'c', 'd', 'f', 'g', 'l', 'm', 'p', 's', 'sc', 't', 'u', and alliteration aptly highlights parallel sections in his prose, as in 'de *latebroso leti barathro et trucis Tartari tormento uoti compos rediit ad superos*' (26, 34/35). Another example serves as an object lesson: 'ut pudicis pudicitiae praemia promerentur et mundis munditiae munera mitterentur' (59, 6/7). These alliterative passages betray Aldhelm's technique in managing symmetry and alliteration.

Other syntactic elements of Aldhelm's prose style are less significant than symmetry, rhyme, rhythm and alliteration, if only because they verge on the lexical: unusual declensions (especially in third-declension nouns), peculiar conjugations (most often of the third conjugation), deponent verbs with active forms and

(52) W. M. LINDSAY, *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX* (Oxford, 1929): 8,11,93; cf. 26, 29 *PARCARVM* *Parcas fatas dicunt gentiles; parce dicte eo quod neminem parcent O P.*

(53) WINTERBOTTOM, 'Style', p. 42.

(54) HERREN, 'Stress Systems', pp. 77-8.

idiosyncratic conjunctions (such as *neu* for *nec* and *dudumquam* for *antequam*).⁽⁵⁵⁾

On the lexical level, Aldhelm's hermeneutic style is more easily approached. Other writers – Campbell, Lapidge and Winterbottom among them – have listed the lexical features not only of Aldhelm's language but of the hermeneutic style generally.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In Aldhelm, these are: ⁽⁵⁷⁾

i) Greek-derived words. Examples number in the hundreds, and I give only a few: *adiaforos*, *agonitheta*, *antibachus*, *barbita*, *carbatus*, *celydrus*, *cincinnus*, *clibanus*, *cribussus*, *dogmatista*, *epithalamium*, *gigas*, *inerguminus*, *lagoena*, *mistis*, *napta*, *olosericus*, *peripsema*, *sinzigia*, *tufus*, *zizania*.⁽⁵⁸⁾

ii) Rare glossary words. Ehwald lists about two dozen such words, including *allox*, *bascauda*, *catax*, *cittum*, *gurgustium*, *indruticans*, *mafros*, *mastruca*, *saburro* and *sartago*.⁽⁵⁹⁾

iii) Adjectives terminating in *-osus*: *dignitosus*, *factiosus*, *salebrosus*, *senticosus*, *sinuosus*, *strosfosus*, *sumptuosus*.⁽⁶⁰⁾

iv) Polysyllabic adverbs terminating in *-tim* and *-(i)ter*: *caternatim*, *certatim*, *gregatim*, *guttatim*, *manipulatim*, *membratim*, *minutatim*, *nominatim*, *particulatim*, *paulatim*, *pedetemptim*, *praesertim*, *sequestratim*, *singillatim*, *strictim*, *suatim*, *summatim*, *ubertim*; *arroganter*, *audaciter*, *concorditer*, *contumaciter*, *corporaliter*, *fallaciter*, *feliciter*, *fidenter*, *flebiliter*, *historialiter*, *iactanter*, *inconuenienter*, *infeliciter*, *inhianter*, *instanter*, *iugiter*, *letaliter*, *lugubriter*, *mirabiliter*, *muliebriter*, *nauiter*, *neglegenter*, *notabiliter*, *nugaciter*, *originaliter*, *patenter*, *pellaciter*, *perniciter*, *specialiter*, *suauiter*, *taliter*, *tripliciter*, *turpiter*, *ueraciter*, *uiolenter*, *uiriliter*, *uitaliter*.

(55) Cf. EHWALD, pp. 752, 754.

(56) A. CAMPBELL, 'Some Linguistic Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse and its Use of Classical Models', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1953), 1-20; WINTERBOTTOM, 'Style', pp. 43-5, 48; M. LAPIDGE, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4 (1975), 67-111; *idem*, 'Æthelwold's School', pp. 86-9; J. MAREN-BON, 'Les Sources du vocabulaire d'Aldhelm', *ALMA* 41 (1979), 75-90; F. KERLOUÉGAN, 'Une liste de mots communs à Gildas et à Aldhelm', *Études Celtiques* 15 (1978), 553-67.

(57) I have not tried to be inclusive in the following lists. Examples of Greek-derived and glossary nouns are taken from Aldhelm's entire corpus, whereas the adverbs in *-tim* and *-iter* as well as adjectives in *-osus* are taken only from *Pdv*.

(58) EHWALD, pp. 752-3.

(59) *Ibid.*, pp. 753-4.

(60) On such adjectives cf. M. NIEDERMANN, 'Les dérivés latins en *-osus* dans les *Hisperica Famina*', *ALMA* 23 (1953), 75-102.

v) Numeric expansions (a poeticism): *bis quinis* (4, 30), *septies uicena et quaterna* (7, 43), *bis quaternos* (12, 1), *duodecies quinquagenis* (12, 26), *bis quingentenos* (36, 49/50), *semis et bis terni* (43, 22/23), *sexies terna uel ter sena* (49, 9/10)

vi) Paronomasia: Aldhelm punned frequently, at times on a personal name, as in 'Ambrosium uero superni nectaris ambrosia redolentem' (26, 1/2) or 'cruentus carnifex uictoriam de Victoria nanctus est' (52, 59). At other times, he is more subtle, as when calling a group of astronomers a *constellatio* (30, 23), St. Cecilia a *caelicola* (40, 24), the *uirgo* Constantina a *uirago* (48, 1). Even more clever are: 'nequaquam effecta sed effeta uoluntate' (50, 33/34), 'copia et cibi inopia' (52, 24/25) and 'municipes quorum municipatus in Tribulano municipio fuerat' (52, 26/27). Occasionally, Aldhelm balances his phrases with word-play: 'mirabiliter maturescere ... miserabiliter marcescere' (9, 42/45).

These hermeneutic elements give the impression of abstruse Latin learning, although some evidence, in fact, suggests that Aldhelm occasionally did not understand a Latin term he used.⁽⁶¹⁾ Yet however idiosyncratic his Latin, Aldhelm strove to impart a sense of hermeneutic *gravitas*. His efforts appealed to Anglo-Saxon writers of the tenth century, which witnessed the eventual political 'unification' of England as well as the renewal of Benedictinism. By the 930s, we find Aldhelmian diction and phrasing in the charters of Æthelstan,⁽⁶²⁾ and even later in the works of Dunstan, Æthelwold, Wulfstan of Winchester, Ælfric Bata and Byrhtferth of Ramsey.⁽⁶³⁾ As a parallel development,

(61) The best example is found in *Epist*: 'ceu aper truculentus molorum catasta ringente uallatus' (lines 93-4). The passage is based on Gildas (*De Excidio Britanniae*, ed. T. MOMMSEN, MGH auctores antiquissimi XIII (Berlin, 1898), p. 39): 'mittit satellitum canumque prolixiorum catastam'. Gildas stretched the meaning of *catasta* ('platform used for the auction of slaves') to mean 'troop (suitable to be sold as slaves on a *catasta*)'; in Aldhelm it must mean a pack of hounds. On the meaning of the term *catasta*, cf. M. LAPIDGE, 'Gildas's Education and the Latin Culture of Sub-Roman Britain', in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. M. LAPIDGE and D. DUMVILLE (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 27-50, at p. 36.

(62) Cf. LAPIDGE, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 99-101; S. KEYNES, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 16-17, 23-8.

(63) For Dunstan: LAPIDGE, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 108-11; Æthelwold: *idem*, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. B. YORKE (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89-117, at pp. 97-100; Wulfstan: M. LAPIDGE and M. WINTERBOTTOM, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St. Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991), pp. xcix, cix; Ælfric Bata: S. GWARA, *Latin Colloquies from Pre-Conquest Britain*

the tenth century also saw the re-emergence of Aldhelm as a 'curriculum author'. The Anglo-Saxon monastic school was centred on the progressive study of individual books. Having mastered the Psalter, for example, an oblate would proceed to the works of Pseudo-Cato, Juvencus and Caelius Sedulius, among others, and end his study with the Bible. Aldhelm figured at the top of this program, and *Pdv*, *Epist* and *Cdv* were diligently studied.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Among these works, however, *Pdv* represented the foundation of any serious study of Aldhelm. Its vocabulary and structure offered readers the advantages of a mature native style developed by a Anglo-Saxon from a Golden Age of learning. Of course, Aldhelm's implicit message of conversion would have to be minimized as an irrelevancy, but while his contingent concern for virginity would seem to have been apposite in a time of renewed monasticism, Aldhelm's tenth-century readers made no reference to the content of *Pdv*. In fact, the tenth-century interest ('mania' might be a better word) in Aldhelm's writings centered almost wholly on his style, particularly his diction. Manuscripts of *Pdv* graphically reflect the zeal for Aldhelm's language in the range and density of glosses, almost 60,000 in the entire corpus. Although it has to be admitted that these glosses developed over centuries of continuous study and annotation, and that the manuscripts are not annotated in the same manner or degree, at the very least they constitute an index to Aldhelm's popularity in late Anglo-Saxon literary life.

Aldhelm in the Tenth Century

Including far-flung *membra disiecta*, nineteen manuscripts of Aldhelm's *Pdv* survive, twelve of which were consulted in tenth- and eleventh-century England. A peculiarity of these manuscripts, like those of other curriculum authors, is their large number of glosses in Latin and Old English – the tangible consequence of Aldhelm's stylistic pretensions. These glosses were typically compiled by different scribes over many generations, having been transmitted and augmented as copyists wrote them

(Toronto, 1996), pp. 93-6, 98-9, 105; Byrhtferth of Ramsey: LAPIDGE, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 90-5; P. BAKER and M. LAPIDGE, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion* (Oxford, 1995), p. 176.

(64) M. ROGER, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905); P. RICHÉ, *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare, VI^e-VIII^e siècles*, third edn. (Paris, 1962).

into other manuscripts of *Pdv*. The glosses were also transmitted in various Latin-Latin and Latin-Old English glossaries, which also seem to have incorporated glosses from lost Aldhelm manuscripts. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

Before the publication of Gernot Wieland's *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library Manuscript Gg.V.35* (Toronto, 1983), there was a tendency to ignore Latin glosses in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts; the same attitude held for the thousands of Latin glosses to Aldhelm's works. (The vast number of glosses in Aldhelm manuscripts astounded Ehwald, but he used them only to restore textual corruptions.) By contrast, Old English glosses (in Aldhelm and elsewhere) have been published and studied for some time, in the case of Aldhelm beginning most seriously with Bouterwek's 1853 edition, 'Angelsächsische Glossen. (1) Die Ags. Glossen in dem Brüsseler Codex von Aldhelms Schrift *De Virginitate*'. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ Under Wieland's direction, however, scholars have begun to realize the value of printing both Latin and Old English glosses, at least in single manuscripts. Hence, in 1990 Nancy Porter Stork edited and studied the Latin and Old English glosses in London, BL ms Royal 12 C. xxiii, a version of Aldhelm's *Enigmata*. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ The complex transmission of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* prevented Stork from preparing a critical edition of all *Enigmata* glosses, although her hypothetical groupings of glossed manuscripts give an impression of their relationship. Stork's edition, then, reflects new thinking on the value of Latin glosses as a reflection of interpretation. Therefore, notwithstanding the complications related to the function of glosses, the publication of Latin glosses to *Pdv* would arguably further our appreciation of Aldhelm's impact on tenth-century learning.

Unlike the *Enigmata* glosses, the Latin and Old English *Pdv* glosses from any manuscript have never been presented together in a full edition. They have never been critically edited, either. From time to time, the Latin glosses have been plundered for lexicographical information, even as early as 1733 in the case of

(65) Largely in London, BL MS Cotton Cleopatra A.iii (cf. STRYKER, 'Glosses', pp. 11-14, 23-4). Other Aldhelm-based glossaries are listed in GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 14-16, and one bifolium in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 163 has been the subject of a study by P. LENDINARA: 'Il Glossario del ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163', *Romanobarbarica* 10 (1988-9), 485-516.

(66) *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 9 (1853), 401-530.

(67) *Through a Gloss Darkly: Aldhelm's Riddles in the British Library MS Royal 12 C. xxiii* (Toronto, 1990).

glosses from *Epist.* (68) A different history obtains for the Old English glosses, which have been printed and studied on many occasions, mainly in Arthur Napier's *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished* and Louis Goossens's indispensable work, *The Old English Glosses of MS Brussels Royal Library 1650 (Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis)*. (69) All the Aldhelm glosses in these standard editions have been edited manuscript by manuscript. Unfortunately, Napier and Goossens have omitted the Latin glosses not found in context with Old English. Thus, in a text of some 20000 potential lemmata, about 5500 are glossed in Old English and Latin, while an additional 8500 are glossed only in Latin. In light of this vast quantity of unstudied material, a comprehensive edition of all the Aldhelm glosses is justifiable.

Yet other reasons compound the value of a critical edition of Aldhelm glosses. First, editing only the Old English glosses produces faulty *stemmata codicum*, as a survey of vernacular glosses

(68) Charles DU FRESNE (DU CANGE), *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1733), vol. 3, column 1006, s.v. GVRGO (citing an even earlier mention of *Epist* by James Ussher, bishop of Armagh).

(69) Some important studies of the Aldhelm glosses include: R. DEROLEZ, 'De Oudengelse Aldhelm-glossen in Hs. 1650 van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te Brussel', *Handelingen der Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, (1955), 37-50; *idem*, 'Zu den Brüsseler Aldhelm-glossen', *Anglia* 74 (1957), 153-80; *idem*, 'Aldhelmus Glosatus III', *English Studies* 40 (1959), 129-34; 'Aldhelmus Glosatus IV', *Studia Germanica Gandensia* 2 (1960), 81-95; *idem*, 'Aldhelm and the Lexicographer', in *Problems of Old English Lexicography: Studies in Memory of Angus Cameron*, ed. A. BAMMESBERGER (Regensburg, 1985), pp. 91-105; *idem*, 'Aldhelm im Schulzimmer: Einige Bemerkungen zu einer Brüsseler Aldhelmhandschrift', in *Wortes Anst-Verbi Gratia: Donum natalicium Gilbert A. R. de Smet* (Leuven, 1986), pp. 117-27; *idem*, 'Good and Bad Old English', in *The History and the Dialects of English: Festschrift for Eduard Kolb*, ed. A. FISCHER (Heidelberg, 1989), pp. 91-102; H. METTKE, *Die althochdeutschen Aldhelm-glossen* (Jena, 1957); K. SCHIEBEL, *Die Sprache der altenglischen Glossen zu Aldhelms Schrift De Laude Virginitatis* (Halle, 1907); T. MUSTANOJA, 'Notes on Some Old English Glosses in Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitatis*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 51 (1950), 49-61; O. SCHLUTTER, 'Zu den Brüsseler Aldhelm-glossen', *Anglia* 33 (1919), 232-8; E. STEVERS, 'Zu den angelsächsischen Glossen. 1. Zu den neuen Aldhelm-glossen', *Anglia* 13, 26ff., *Anglia* 13 (1891), 309-32; M. BODDEN, 'Evidence for Knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 17 (1990), 217-46; P. BIERBAUMER, 'Research into Old English Glosses: A Critical Survey', in *Problems of Old English Lexicography*, pp. 65-77; H. SCHABRAM, 'Ae. *smylting* "electrum". Polysemie lat. Wörter als Problem der ae. Lexikographie', in *Problems of Old English Lexicography*, pp. 317-30; *idem*, 'Ae. *eoilhsand* "electrum": Über den Umgang mit Glosengelegen', in *History and Dialects*, pp. 115-30; M. GRETSCH, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999).

alone cannot explain the potentially separate transmission of the Latin. For such a large body of manuscripts, the transmission can lead to an understanding of the growth and dissemination of gloss *corpora*. Second, an edition of only vernacular material undervalues the relationship of the English Aldhelm glosses with those surviving in continental manuscripts. Likewise, it obscures the relationship between glossed text and glossary. Identifying sources for Latin-Latin and even Latin-Old English entries in the 'Cleopatra' and 'Harley' glossaries, which contain substantial Aldhelm batches, becomes impossible without manuscript facsimiles. An edition of all glosses might even allow researchers to associate certain class-glossaries with particular Aldhelm manuscripts. Third, such an edition would also reveal the kinds of materials the Anglo-Saxons consulted when reading Aldhelm, the extent of their dependence on these sources and the information they obtained from them.

Most significantly, however, an edition of both the Latin and Old English glosses would serve as a guide to *Pdv* as well as a gauge of literacy in the late Anglo-Saxon period. The glosses often reveal how an Anglo-Saxon reader who was not proficient in Aldhelm's peculiar latinity made (non)sense of it. In other words, the glosses expose different interpretations among different readers. On examination of extant Latin writings from pre-conquest England, we could only conclude that the authors of them were uniformly competent. But the evidence is prejudicial: only a handful of works survive from this time, and these are substantially fluent. To be sure, tenth-century England was a time of exceptional learning. Yet not every one who could read pseudo-Cato could read Arator, and not every reader of Sedulius could tackle Aldhelm. In my view, an examination of all the Aldhelm glosses reveals that different readers not only had different interests in Aldhelm (diction versus syntax, say) but also had different levels of competence. A comprehensive edition of Aldhelm glosses would therefore benefit anyone interested in Anglo-Saxon learning generally, and I have edited all the *Pdv* glosses with this purpose in mind.

CHAPTER III
THE GLOSED MANUSCRIPTS OF *Pdv*

The Textual Criticism of Pdv

Ehwald's *Aldhelmi Opera* included a modest survey of *Pdv* manuscripts, (1) which supplemented the *précis* appended to Arthur Napier's edition of glosses (2) as well as a few more detailed studies from the previous century. While Ehwald's prefatory remarks vastly improved on Napier's treatment of the manuscripts, Ehwald did not collate all the extant copies of *Pdv* and, as a result, could not produce a comprehensive *stemma codicum*. He likewise failed to inventory the different gloss-hands in each manuscript, and while consulting the *Pdv* glosses to restore many readings, Ehwald did not explore how the glosses had been transmitted. The following manuscript descriptions, then, are primarily intended to update Ehwald's survey of *Pdv* manuscripts in respect to construction, origin, dating, provenance, ownership history and text-hands. The major gloss-hands in each witness are fully recorded as well, since chapter IV will concern the transmission of *Pdv* glosses, which often have a circulation separate from that of the text. Secondly, my synopses of manuscripts allow us to modify Ehwald's manuscript classifications and to produce a reliable stemma. Hence, in addition to describing unrecorded features of *Pdv* codices, I establish a line of descent for most of the English and continental manuscripts of *Pdv*. In so doing, I have taken the liberty of modifying some deductions I made in 1994 about the transmission of Aldhelm's text. My assertion that most *Pdv* manuscripts descended from a single extant archetype must be disregarded in the light of a radical, rather than intuitive, stemma. My current hypothesis relies more on collation than on the spread of a single (albeit portentous) corruption, which seems to me now to have been perpetuated through contamination.

Modern textual criticism of *Pdv* justifiably began with Ehwald. While collating *Pdv* texts, he noted three distinct manuscript families, predominantly on the basis of several variant lines from chapter 37 which came inexplicably to precede chap-

(1) EHWALD, pp. 211-25.

(2) *Glosses*, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

ter 30 ('Amos primus Nitriae ... conspexit'). This significant interpolation, Ehwald reasoned, divided *Pdv* manuscripts into two fundamental groups: those which lack the so-called 'Amos interpolation' and those which do not. The manuscripts which lack the interpolation Ehwald thought to preserve superior texts, and he called them 'Class I' codices. To the 'Class I' family belong five manuscripts, two of which are English: New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library mss 401+401A, etc. (the 'Yale Fragment') and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms 1650. The others are continental: Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek ms M. p. th. F. 21 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek ms Helmstadtensis 365, fols. 1-43, a copy of the Würzburg manuscript.⁽³⁾ On the basis of collation, I would add to the 'Class I' continental *Pdv* manuscripts the ninth-century *membrum disiectum* from central Germany, Cambridge, University Library ms Additional 4219.

Manuscripts having the 'Amos interpolation' belong either to Ehwald's 'Class II' or 'Class III' families, with those belonging to 'Class III' distinguishable by a further disjunctive 'error'. 'Class II' manuscripts have the 'Amos interpolation' but not the substantial *capitula* headings prefacing each chapter and comprising a table at the opening. Because the Würzburg, Yale and Brussels manuscripts of *Pdv* do not bear *capitula* headings or tables, Ehwald reasoned that these indexes must have been composed after the 'Amos interpolation' arose. In fact, Ehwald concluded that the 'Amos interpolation' antedates the addition of the internal *capitula* numeration, which is wanting in the pure texts of 'Class I'. He noticed that the Amos *precis* appears universally in extant *capitula* tables, circumstantially proving that the *capitula* had been confected from a manuscript with the Amos corruption. Despite his characteristically shrewd insights, Ehwald erred in presuming that both English manuscripts of 'Class I' lacked the *capitula* table preceding Aldhelm's dedicatory epistle. While it is true that the 'Class I' manuscripts *do* lack the internal capitulation and numeration, they may have contained the prefatory *tabulae*. The Yale leaves are defective at the beginning, and the Brussels volume, which once comprised part of a larger codex, begins neatly at a quire; it may be missing an additional gathering which contained the *capitula* table. More narrowly, then, Ehwald's second manuscript family ('Class II') con-

(3) O. VON HEINEMANN, *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Die Helmstedter Handschriften* (reprinted Frankfurt, 1963), vol. 1, p. 294 (no. 400).

sists of books which have the 'Amos interpolation' but lack *internal capitula* and numeration. Two English manuscripts from this 'Class II' family survive: London, BL ms Royal 5 F.iii⁽⁴⁾ and London, Lambeth Palace ms 200 *pars ii* (fols. 66-113). (Royal 5 F.iii, it should be noted, contains abbreviated internal *capitula* inserted by a later scribe.) While Ehwald classified Hereford, Cathedral Library ms P.I.17 as a 'Class II' book, it descends from Oxford, Bodleian Lib. ms Digby 146, a 'Class III' manuscript;⁽⁵⁾ its *capitula* table and headings must therefore have been omitted during a late stage of transmission.

Ehwald's third family of *Pdv* manuscripts, which I call 'Class III', comprises all remaining English codices. In Ehwald's view these books have the 'Amos interpolation' preceding chapter 30, in addition to the *capitula* prefacing both the epistle and the individual chapters:

Ei, quos hucusque enumeravi, codices omnes [Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek ms M. p. th. F. 21, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek ms Helmstadtensis 365, fols. 1-43, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms 1650, and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library mss 401+401A, etc. (the 'Yale Fragment')] inter se eo coniuncti sunt, quod et soli liberi ab ea interpolatione, quae ceteros initio capituli XXX obsedit, nec capitulorum tabulam, quae in ceteris praeter Lambethanum et Herefordensem textui praemittitur, habent.⁽⁶⁾

Within this group Ehwald noted that London, BL ms Royal 7 D.xxiv, Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Digby 146 and Salisbury, Cathedral Library ms 38 must be related, since they end with the text arranged in an inverted triangle. Ehwald did not test this hypothesis on the relationship of these manuscripts, but at least one of his deductions proves to be true. In fact, collation shows the Royal Book to be the parent of Digby 146. Yet the Salisbury manuscript is only a distant collateral relative of Royal and Digby, and it is textually allied with at least three other Canterbury manuscripts of *Pdv*. Unfortunately, widespread contamination complicates the textual transmission of almost all the tenth- and eleventh-century *Pdv* copies, and as Royal 7 D.xxiv was once housed at Canterbury, it inevitably betrays emenda-

(4) This Royal volume is missing a quire which, according to the *capitula* tables, must have contained the 'Amos interpolation'.

(5) Cf. S. Gwara, 'The Continuance of Aldhelm Studies in Post-Conquest England and Glosses to the *Prosa de Virginitate* in Hereford, Cath. Lib. ms P.I.17', *Scriptorium* 48 (1994), 18-38.

(6) EHWALD, p. 216.

tions attributable to a Canterbury tradition. Although my survey of *Pdv* manuscripts will therefore clarify and augment many details of Ehwald's study, I can propose only an impressionistic textual history for this Salisbury volume and its closest relatives.

'Class I' Manuscripts

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek ms M. p. th. F. 21 (*W*)

The Würzburg manuscript (*olim* Würzburg, Cathedral Library ms 82), which is currently bound with a fragment of Prudentius ('Peristephanon'), bears hallmarks of rapid copying but contains a reliable and relatively old text of *Pdv*.⁽⁷⁾ The volume comprises 50 folios, which Hans Thurn collated as follows: 2 × IV(16) + 4 × II(32) + 2 × IV(48) + I(50).⁽⁸⁾ On the testimony of a colophon the manuscript can be dated to the years 842 × 855: 'Quicumque legerit hunc librum depra <ecetur> pro Gozbaldo episcopo, qui iussit eum fieri'.⁽⁹⁾ Other similar commissions can also be attributed to Gozbold, bishop of Würzburg (d. 855); these include Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Laud. Misc. 120, 124 and 135, which Bischoff called the 'NT-nt Gruppe' on the basis of prevalent ligatures.⁽¹⁰⁾ Defined by an admixture of Insular forms with Fulda features, these manuscripts appear early in Gozbold's career and may convey a sample of his own writing.⁽¹¹⁾

The Würzburg *Pdv* was executed by countless scribes, especially on later folios where some scribal contributions consist of only a few lines. The copy might have been executed at Fulda,

(7) The text on virtually every folio is marred by the omission of syllables, which reflects the pace of copying as well as the readability of the exemplar. Most of these errors are transparent and correctable, however. Nevertheless, the manuscript does preserve a number of *lectiones variae solitariae* (some of which I have corrected against other witnesses) as well as inversions of words that seem erroneous. For further information on the readings of *W*, consult chapter 5 below.

(8) H. THURN, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der egemaligen Dombibliothek* (Wiesbaden, 1984), vol. 3.1; G. MÄLZER and H. THURN, *Die Bibliothek des Würzburger Domstifts 742-1803* (Würzburg, 1988), pp. 55-6.

(9) Relying on Steinmeyer's notes and his own observation, Ehwald had diverged from Thurn's reading of the colophon: '... de <virginitate oret> pro ...' (p. 211).

(10) Bischoff and J. HOFMANN, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), p. 18.

(11) *Ibid.*

inasmuch as Bischoff characterizes a scribal contribution on fol. 36 as a Fulda script.⁽¹²⁾ If the book had been produced at Fulda, at least one Anglo-Saxon, and probably more, resided there, for the manuscript preserves Insular script on fols. 37r, 40v, 41v, 45r and 48v, in addition to six lines of phase IB Insular Set Minuscule on fol. 42v.

Of course, the manuscript descends from an Anglo-Saxon original, and both Bischoff and Hofmann noted its degraded continental Insular Minuscule as well as standard Insular abbreviations for *autem*, *enim* and *et*.⁽¹³⁾ Still other conventions allow us to refine our understanding of the Würzburg exemplar. This hypothetical codex was formatted with *litterae notabiliores*, since vestiges of this layout recur, for example, on fols. 33r, 37v and 38r. Here the indented text, marked by a dipole, continues above the line and fills the space left when a new clause or period resumed.⁽¹⁴⁾ Such *litterae* do not only appear in chapter headings or at major textual divisions, inasmuch as frequent misreadings and intrusive capitals indicate that *Pdv* was laid out by clause. Furthermore, the Würzburg manuscript preserves abundant errors engendered by a confusion over the letters 'a', 'o' and 'c'. In the following examples, letters 'a' or 'c' have been mis-transcribed when they occur in the environment of another rotund letter-form, either 'o' or 'c':⁽¹⁵⁾ 10v5 *th'oracibus*,⁽¹⁶⁾ 12r8 *calumniam*,⁽¹⁷⁾ 15v15 *fa'c'ta*, 16r15 *spectuculum*,⁽¹⁸⁾ 17r6 *relatur*,⁽¹⁹⁾

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 32: '... auf fol. 36v von einer eigentümlichen aufgerichteten und strengen Hand her, die an Fulda erinnert'.

(13) *H* for 'enim' on fols. 4v2, 5v11, 14r10, 26r17, 28v1, 48v20; *p* for 'per' on fols. 8v23, 9r27, 9v22, 30r20, 30v2, 30v10, 35v5, 44v11, 45r12; *h* for 'autem' on fols. 18r20, 18r25, 18v10, 18v23, 25r19, 25r22, 25v8, 32r7; backwards *c* for 'con' on fols. 18v24, 21v1, 22r20, 29r21, 30v14, 49r10; Tyronian nota 7 for 'et' on fol. 30r19.

(14) Additional evidence for such *litterae notabiliores* surfaces in certain frequent errors involving the omission of substantial syllables. On fol. 32v4, for example, the termination 'mento' to the word 'fundamento' occurs just before capital 'Ad'. Identical and frequent examples of omitted syllables as well as the retention of Insular syllabification indicate that the exemplar may have been liable to this kind of misreading.

(15) Other examples abound: 22v25 *biothanatas* altered from *biathanatas*, 25v24 *monaptalmis*, 29r1 *quingentos* altered to *quingentas*, 29r20 *abolisci* (= *obolisci*), 29v23 *morsum* altered from *marsum*. Note that some of these errors occur in the context of a rotund graph, either 'b', 'p' or 't'.

(16) Letter 'a' altered from 'o', which seems to have been derived from an 'oc' form of 'a'.

(17) First letter 'a' altered from 'o'; the letter-form now resembles an 'oc' form of 'a'.

(18) Altered to *spectaculum*.

19v13 *auda'cter*, 19v21 *grammati'corum*, 21r5 *practia* (for *practica*), 22v16 *caruerit*, ⁽²⁰⁾ 24r10 *'catholica*, 25v22 *euangeli'co*, 36r16 *accusationis*, 41v1 *conocmine*. Similarly, because the Insular graph 'c' often resembles 't', scribes have left traces of confusion in the Würzburg manuscript: 17v15 *glatiales*, 20v14 *crutiatiibus*, 36r4 *pu-ditiitæ*, 39v21 *pittatiolis*, 41v10 *spurtitia*, 43v14 *cicius*. We can observe similar confusion over the Insular graphs for 'r', 'n' and tall 's', leading to such words as 2r9 *ber'n'gide*, 14r21 *samusculis* (for *ramusculis*), 18v24 *hodiesnum*, with a rather idiosyncratic 's' (for *hodiernum*), 22v2 *futurnæ*, altered to *furturæ* (for *fortunæ*), 23v2 *lymphān* (altered to *lymphas*), 25v15 *reerandor dorum* (altered to *reserando surdorum*), 29r18 *crepitant'is'rogi* (an eye-skip error resulting from confusion of 's' and 'r'), 43r13 *cennentes* (altered to *cermentes*). Found in this proto-Caroline hand are potentially Insular features and letter-forms: Uncial/Half-Uncial 'd' (2v13 *de*, 7r4 *deinceps*, 11r5 *Sed*, 16r1 *putidos*), Insular 'r' (6r21 *lunaris*, 12r14 *cernua*), an example of Half-Uncial 'l' (17r14 capital 'l'), a possible confusion of 'p' with open bow (2v5 *gimosoff'h'istas*), capital N+T ligature (18v16 *regnabunt*), capital abbreviation DNS for 'dominus' (24r6), and Insular capital 'U' (50r1 *Uniuersitatis*). ⁽²¹⁾ Finally, numerous geminations and simplifications in the manuscript almost certainly reflect Aldhelm's Insular spelling. ⁽²²⁾

Cumulatively, this evidence implies that the script of a Würzburg exemplar was Half-Uncial or Hybrid Minuscule. These formal grades of script adopted the 'cc' or 'oc' form of 'a',

(19) Letter 'a' resembles 'ac', as if *relactur*.

(20) Altered from *conuerit*.

(21) In this last example, the Insular 'a' resembles that in London, BL ms Harley 2965, the 'Book of Nunnaminster'. On fol. 21r2 appears the phrase *transferente est*, 'est' having been expunged. Perhaps the decoration of the manuscript looked like an Insular abbreviation.

(22) Fols. 2r18 *eclesiastica*, 2r18 *promisorum*, 2r19 *pol'licitatione*, 4v9 *extor'rem*, 4v24 *omiss'a*, 5r17 *assia*, 7r13 *quærellosis*, 7v8 *parassitorum*, 8v16 *suff'ocato*, 9r8 *alophilorum*, 9r20 *solicitudinis*, 9v6 *obliterantes*, 9v17 *defflenda*, 11v12 *cincinorum*, 11v15 *cessariæ*, 11v25 *thesaurum*, 13r18 *pululantes*, 15v26 *po'l'luta*, 16r27 *pa'l'idus*, 17v20 *perenniter*, 19r12 *efulserit*, 19r16 *titationum*, 20r7 *col'l'igi*, 20r14 *apollogitico*, 20r15 *cap'padox*, 21r14 *indefessis*, 21v22 *humilima*, 22r16 *appellationis*, 22r26 *tutella*, 23r17 *malluit*, 23r18 *transfosus*, 23r26 *Anastassis*, 23v24 *clientella*, 24v14 *mollientes*, 26r11 *sagitarum*, 27v24 *tutellam*, 28r20 *suassionis*, 28r22 *occassionem*, 28r28 *suassionis*, 29r3 *hircita'l'lo*, 29r9 *tollerantibus*, 29v20 *acola*, 32r9 *parassitis*, 32r20 *fa'r'ris*, 32v9 *a'm'miniculum*, 33v3 *opidi*, 33v17 *so'l'lemnia*, 34r21 *cummularentur*, 35r3 *medulitus*, 38r7 *occassio*, 39v15 *aparatu*, 40v23 *nauffragarent*, 41r16 *utensilia*, 41r23 *parassitis*, 41v11 *inflamatis*, 44v1 *tene'l'lus*, 49r11 *laudacissmi*.

which could have engendered the numerous confusions I have mentioned above; the vestigial, monumental 'CC' form may likewise be a reflex. The rotund 'a' of these scripts frequently gave rise to misreadings as well, especially of unfamiliar Latin. The script may have been a Southumbrian example from the evidence adduced below, so I turn my attention to such Southumbrian examples as survive. I do not mean to discount the possibility that the hypothetical specimen was Northumbrian but rather to contend that a Southumbrian scriptorium would more adequately befit historical circumstances of the continental transmission for Aldhelm's work.

Numerous specimens of the refined Southumbrian variety of Half-Uncial (called 'phase IIB' in Julian Brown's terminology) offer convincing parallels to the kind of script in which the Würzburg *Pdv* exemplar had been transmitted. Most date from *ca.* 750-800: London, BL ms Royal 2 A.xx (CLA II.215, s. viii/ix), Worcester, Cathedral Library ms Additional 3 (CLA II.264, s. viii²) and Additional ms 1 (CLA II.262, s. viii²). An inspection of E. A. Lowe's plates of these Half-Uncial manuscripts betrays the same admixture of forms – particularly the tendency towards perfectly circular graphs – which crop up in the Würzburg *Pdv*: abbreviations for 'enim', 'per', 'con', etc.; 'cc' form of 'a'; 'n' and 'r' which closely resemble each other; rotund letter-forms including 't', 'c' and 'd', which often has an attenuated horizontal ascender; as well as *litterae notabiliores*.

Identical conventions are found in 'Hybrid Minuscule', which employs the Half-Uncial alphabet without the straight pen of the more formal Half-Uncial. Half-Uncial can also be distinguished from Uncial by the increased frequency of ligatures and the tendency for rapid articulation. The best Southumbrian examples again hail from the period *ca.* 750-800: London, BL ms Royal 1 E.vi (CLA II.214, s. viii^{ex}), Hereford, Cathedral Library ms P.I.2 (CLA II.157, s. viii^{ex}), London, BL ms Harley 7653 (CLA II.204, s. viii/ix), London, BL ms Harley 2965 'Book of Nunnaminster' (CLA II.199, s. viii/ix). Rather few ninth-century examples of these scripts survive, perhaps indicating that the styles were not practised long after the turn of the ninth century. However, Half-Uncial and Hybrid Minuscule were prevalent for over a century, but among the preceding examples only those from the second half of the century incorporate the rotundity that, in my opinion, led to the recurrent transcription

errors found in the Würzburg *Pdv*.⁽²³⁾ We can therefore deduce that the Würzburg exemplar (or an exemplar) likely dated from the second half of the eighth century (*ca.* 750 × 800), between 50 and 100 years prior to the date of the manuscript.

In 1919 Ehwald argued that an exemplar of the Würzburg *Pdv* had been carried to the continent at the request of Lul, archbishop of Mainz (754-86) and admirer of Aldhelm's oeuvre.⁽²⁴⁾ An extant letter of Lul's (*ca.* 732-47) charges a Malmesbury monk named Dealwine to send him a copy of *Pdv* ('opuscula ... prosarum'): 'Similiter obsecro, ut mihi Aldhelmi episcopi aliqua opuscula seu prosarum seu metrorum aut rithmicorum dirigere digneris ad consolationem peregrinationis meae et ob memoriam ipsius beati antestitis'.⁽²⁵⁾ Lul was stationed at Mainz and would have had obvious and indisputable connections to Fulda.⁽²⁶⁾ But the obvious did not prevent Georg Baesecke from reasoning that the Würzburg exemplar was imported directly from Canterbury to Würzburg, where English *emigrés* copied it.⁽²⁷⁾ Baesecke's argument serves to highlight 'wishful thinking'

(23) I do not believe, then, that the exemplar was contemporaneous with Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Douce 140, which preserves Boniface's hand. Note that Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 144 (the 'Corpus Glossary'), likewise written in Hybrid Minuscule, betrays the same letter-forms, including the mannered capital 'A' that the Würzburg exemplar must have had (fol. 45r7).

(24) Lul presumably oversaw the production of the Aldhelmian correspondence and verses in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ms 751 (Mainz, s. x^{med}); cf. LR, p. 171.

(25) E. DÜMMLER, *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, MGH *epistolae*, vol. 3, 1.338.

(26) Fulda did possess Aldhelm manuscripts in the sixteenth century, and some of these may have been Anglo-Saxon or derivative of Anglo-Saxon copies; cf. F. FALK, *Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis und Bibliotheca laureshamensis*, in *Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 26 (Leipzig, 1907), p. 95.12, 95.17, 95.101. On Lul and his Fulda career, cf. HAHN, *Bonifaz und Lul*, pp. 236-343. According to Georg Baesecke, the acrimonious relationship between Lul and Fulda vitiated Ehwald's supposition; cf. *Der Vocabularius Sancti Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission* (Halle, 1933), p. 97.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 97 and L. TRAUBE, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (Munich, 1910), pp. 60-1. Yet there was no ostensible English community at Würzburg. S. HELLMANN (*Sedulius Scottus* [Munich, 1906]) speaks of Irishmen: '... und hier [= Würzburg] gab es ... eine irische Kolonie' (p. 187). Note that Ehwald exaggerates Hellmann's claims in stating 'colonia monachorum insularium etiamtum Wiceburgi degebat' (p. 211). Ehwald reproduced the folio preserving one Insular intervention between pages 554-5.

theories such as Ehwald's. Of course, we are merely speculating on unknowable textual origins.

The claim that Lul ordered an exemplar of the Würzburg *Pdv* could nevertheless satisfy Ehwald's theory. Lul died in 786, having left of corpus of letters replete with Aldhelmian conceits and phraseology. He lived at a time when the Würzburg exemplar could indeed have been penned, and the extreme date (747) for his request to Dealwine conforms to the date of the script I have conjectured for a Würzburg exemplar. In other words, the suggestion that the Würzburg text is roughly 'Bonifatian' squares with Ehwald's view that the Würzburg exemplar could have been sent from Malmesbury.

Yet the number of Anglo-Saxons with connections to Malmesbury and other foundations where *Pdv* was known or taught renders Ehwald's remarks somewhat speculative. Boniface (=Wynfrið, d. 754), who had been schooled at Nursling, knew *Pdv* intimately.⁽²⁸⁾ His disciple, the Anglo-Saxon Burchard, who became the first bishop of Würzburg (741), probably knew *Pdv*, too. Hrabanus Maurus, based at Fulda, certainly did.⁽²⁹⁾ Boniface's collaborators, Willibald, Wynnebald, and Leobgytha (all relatives) hailed from the Southwest and were obviously acquainted with Aldhelm's prose.⁽³⁰⁾ When Wynnebald died (761), his sister Waldburg became abbess of Heidenheim, where the celebrated Hygeburg wrote the *Lives of Willebald and Wynnebald*, unashamedly indebted to Aldhelm's style.⁽³¹⁾ If Aldhelm's works were admired at Heidenheim, it must have been with Wynnebald's and Waldburg's blessings. Wynnebald's sister Leoba may also have promoted *Pdv*. She had been educated at Minter (Thanet) and Wimborne and became abbess of Taibersbischofsheim.⁽³²⁾ Her relative, Thecla, became abbess of Kitzingen and, possibly, Ochsenfurt.⁽³³⁾ These women may have venerated Aldhelm's prose, finding *Pdv* in particular to be a foundational text of the English convent. After all, it had been written for West-Saxon nuns, among others, as a justification of religious chastity.

(28) TANGL, *Die Briefe*.

(29) Cf. LR, p. 257 note 2.

(30) W. LEVISON, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 6, 76.

(31) O. HOLDER-EGGER, *Vita Germanorum Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi*, MGH scriptores (Hannover, 1887), vol. 15.1, pp. 80-117.

(32) LEVISON, *England and the Continent*, p. 76.

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 77

About other missionaries we have less information. Wigbert, first abbot of Fritzlar and later of Fulda, may have read *Pdv*, as he was Boniface's colleague and suffragan.⁽³⁴⁾ The problematic Wera seems to have been Northumbrian, as was Pleghelm,⁽³⁵⁾ but Aldhelm's influence in Northumbria is attested at least by his metrical treatise, the *Epistola ad Acircium*.⁽³⁶⁾ Indeed, Willibald, who chronicled Boniface's achievements in Germany, asserted that a multitude of Anglo-Saxon men and women flocked to Germany to join the missionary movement.⁽³⁷⁾ No doubt they brought books, perhaps copies of *Pdv*, any of which could have served as the Würzburg exemplar. However, with only a single 'Class I' manuscript antedating the Würzburg copy, we cannot do better than surmise that the Würzburg exemplar was probably written in the eighth century.

The Würzburg *Pdv* has been annotated with over a hundred Latin and Old High German glosses in many hands. These are spread unevenly over the codex, although the vernacular glosses are concentrated on certain folios. As I shall argue later, the glosses emanate from an eighth-century school, either at Malmesbury or Canterbury. While written in many hands, most of the annotations were arguably transferred from a *Pdv* copy (or copies) over a period of years. Only in a few circumstances could the glosses be considered spontaneous reactions by readers of Aldhelm's prose.

Cambridge, University Library ms Additional 4219 (*Add. 4219*)

Ehwald assigned ms Additional 4219 the *siglum* *A*¹ but confusingly called it 'Fragmenta Cantabrigiensia' in his *conspectus siglorum*. In fact, the manuscript is a partial conjoint bifolium, almost certainly fols. 3 and 6 of a quaternion beginning at chapter 36, line 88 (sulfurisque) and concluding in chapter 40. The continental script most likely comes from the area of the Anglo-Saxon missions in Germany and can be dated to the ninth century.⁽³⁸⁾ The leaf measures 29.2 × 21 cm (with a written space of 22.5 × 18.5 cm) and, having been removed from a binding, is obscured in parts by a green wash from dyed leather. Lowe observes that the wash is consistent with sixteenth- or seventeenth-

(34) *Ibid.*, p. 76.

(35) *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

(36) LR, p. 183.

(37) W. LEVISON, *Vita S. Bonifatii*, MGH *Scriptores rerum germanicarum* (Hannover, 1905), pp. 1-57.

(38) CLA II.135.

century German bindings. ⁽³⁹⁾ Now oddly cut, only portions of chapters 36-7 and 39-40 are visible.

There can be little doubt about the close relationship between this text and that preserved in the Würzburg manuscript. Both manuscripts share unique variants and spellings:

- 36, 91 abolisci] abolisci *W Add. 4219*
 36, 107 carperentur] carpentur *W Add. 4219*
 36, 110 biluarum] *sic W Add. 4219*
 36, 111 hiulcas] *l corr. ex i W, hiucas Add. 4219*
 39, 7 carpere] capere *W Add. 4219*

Furthermore, *Add. 4219* also transmits an ancient corruption that appears in the early ninth-century 'Yale Fragment' and in the late ninth-century Royal 5 F.iii (discussed below, pp. 85-94 and 101-6 respectively): 36, 117 uenissent] *om. WR2 R1 R5 A PL Add. 4219, in ras. B*. Two readings suggest that the Cambridge manuscript descends from Würzburg. First, the reading *hiucas* (*ante correctionem*, line 111) in *W* seems to have been corrected to *hiucas* in *Add. 4219*, since *hiucas* is most likely to have been corrected from *W* rather than *W* mis-corrected to the obviously absurd *hiuicas*. In fact, the error of 'i' for 'l' is just the kind of mistake made by the various transcribers of the Würzburg exemplar, who were often confused by the Insular letter-forms they had to copy. This kind of error could likewise account for the spelling *abolisci* rather than *obolisci* (36, 91), for a major mistake of the Würzburg scribes was to mis-transcribe rotund letter-forms, especially the 'oc' form of 'a' for which they often wrote 'o'. As I have argued above, these copyists were also prone to misinterpret Insular letter-forms like 'r' and 's'. Perhaps this kind of error accounts for the reading *capere* for *carpere*, inasmuch as Insular 'r' and 'p' look much alike; side-by-side they may have confused a scribe, who thought *carpere* was *cappere*. Since the Würzburg exemplar preserved innumerable geminations, the copyist may have simplified the consonants as he wrote, thus producing *capere*. Finally, one error to which the Würzburg copyists were prone was the omission of syllables, just the kind of mistake observable in the reading *carpentur* for *carperentur* (line 107); in this case, the scribe may have failed to interpret or observe an unfamiliar Insular abbreviation for *per* (þ̅). However, for reasons to be made clear, some of these faults could be traced to an exemplar from which the so-called 'Yale Fragment' also descends. Admittedly, the *Add. 4219* scribe made

(39) *Ibid.*

the same kinds of errors in his book as the Würzburg copyists, but I find it unlikely that the identical mistakes were polygenetic. In my mind, the *Add. 4219* manuscript realistically descends from the Würzburg copy, which, in all events, was probably considered an authoritative text and worthy of transcription. The *Add. 4219* manuscript contains no glosses.

- Cambridge, University Library ms Additional 3330 ⁽⁴⁰⁾+
 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library mss 401 [*olim* Phillipps ms 8071], 401A [*olim* Phillipps ms 20688, fols. 9-10] ⁽⁴¹⁾+
 London, BL ms Additional 50483K ⁽⁴²⁾+
 London, BL ms Additional 71687+
 Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Arch. A. f. 131 (*olim* Donation f. 458) ⁽⁴³⁾+
 Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Lat. th. d. 24, fols. 1, 2+
 Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection ms ET 121+
 Oslo, Collection of Martin Schøyen ms 197 ⁽⁴⁴⁾ (*olim* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum ms Ludwig XI 5; Aachen, Dr. Peter Ludwig's Library ms XI 5; ⁽⁴⁵⁾ W. Merton Collection ms 41) (A)

For convenience, I call this group of early ninth-century *membra disiecta* the 'Yale Fragment', since Yale University owns the largest extant portion of the manuscript. Together, the fragments preserve about one-third of *Pdv*, and the text is closely related to the Würzburg copy. Arguably the oldest manuscript of *Pdv*, ⁽⁴⁶⁾ the 'Yale Fragment' pre-dates the Würzburg copy by at

(40) The cover of N. BOWNDE, *Unbeleefe of St. Thomas* (London, 1608).

(41) A. N. L. MUNBY, *The Phillipps Manuscripts* (London, 1968), pp. 121, 382; ms 20688 is therein called 'Humani Corporis descriptio'.

(42) Once forming the cover of John JONES, *Our Saviors Journey to the Gadarenes* (London, 1615) (cf. N. R. KER, 'A Supplement to *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*', *ASE* 5 (1976), 121-31, at p. 122).

(43) This leaf formed the cover of William PERKINS, *Satans Sophistrie (answered by our Saviour Christ ...)* (London, 1604).

(44) *The Schøyen Collection of Western Manuscripts: A Preliminary Checklist* (Oslo and London, 1990), p. 6.

(45) A. VON EUW, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* (Cologne, 1982), vol. 3, pp. 66-9.

(46) T. MORSTON, 'The Earliest Manuscript of St. Aldhelm's *De Laude Virginitatis*', *Yale University Library Gazette* 44 (1970), 204-6; cf. W. CAHN and J. MARROW, 'Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at

least a generation. The leaves measure 16 × 21.5 cm, with a written area of 11.5 × 17 cm. Pricking is still visible on inside and outside margins. Ruled variously from 19 to 23 lines per page, the parchment is well-prepared and carefully laid out. Space does not seem to have been left for glossing.

The history of this codex can be traced from the early nineteenth century, at which time it was being broken up by a Brighton bookseller named Bohn.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Much of the manuscript was dispersed (and portions lost) in this way, but Charles Singer, Librarian to the Royal Institute, managed to obtain a large part, now Beinecke Library MS 401. He gave one leaf to Sir Thomas Phillipps, who later reunited it with its conjoint parts when he acquired the rest of the book in 1836 at the Heber Sale.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Phillipps bought an additional bifolium (Beinecke Library MS 401A) at the Guglielmo Libri sale in 1859 (lot 1111).⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Cambridge leaves were obtained by the University Librarian Francis Jenkinson on separate occasions, the first from Mr. Bohn, the second from a Mr. W. V. Daniell.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Similarly, the Bodleian obtained their leaves at different times, cataloguing them in 1895 and 1942 (they now constitute MS Lat. th. d. 24, fols. 1, 2; the Arch A. f. 131 leaf was bought from Messrs. Blackwell in 1965).⁽⁵¹⁾ Two more fragments have as checkered a history. The Schøyen leaves, deaccessioned by the Getty Museum, belonged to the German collector Dr. P. Ludwig, who obtained them from the firm of H. P. Kraus. H. P. Kraus offered them in their 1958 and 1961 catalogues.⁽⁵²⁾ Before 1958 they belonged to Wilfred Merton, who had obtained them from Tregaskis in 1931. Before this time they are untraced. The Philadelphia leaves

Yale: A Selection', *Yale University Library Gazette* 52 (1978), 173-283, at pp. 178-9.

(47) R. COLLINS, *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Manuscripts in America* (New York, 1976), p. 34.

(48) Hence the notes on MS 401, fol. 22v top margin: 'Preserved from the cover of a book by ... Singer Librarian to the Royal Institution and by him presented to Sir. Thos. Phillipps Bart 1827'; bottom margin: 'This leaf only was given by Mr. Singer. The others I bought at Heber's Sale 1836' (cf. COLLINS, *Vernacular Manuscripts*, p. 34).

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 35.

(50) *Ibid.*, p. 34.

(51) F. MADAN, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1905), no. 30591 (the entry was prepared by E. Nicholson); cf. KER, 'Supplement', p. 122.

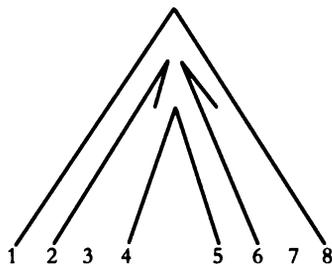
(52) Respectively, *Fifty Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (catalogue 88, no. 5, pp. 11-13) and *Twenty-Five Manuscripts* (catalogue 95, no. 3, pp. 13-15).

were acquired by John Lewis (1860-1932) in 1914;⁽⁵³⁾ before that, they had been presented in 1855 by an unidentified Mr. R. Contan⁽⁵⁴⁾ to a nameless individual. The date is important, for it proves that the leaves were being dispersed long before Bohn used them for book wrappers. Finally, the British Library's MS Additional 71687 was discovered in 1997 as the wrapper to Jacobus Bornitius's *Emblemata ethicopolitica* (Mainz, 1669) and transferred to the Department of Western Manuscripts.

When the Yale portion of the manuscript was offered for sale in 1969, an anonymous Sotheby's cataloguer determined how the various fragments ought to be placed and devised the following schema:⁽⁵⁵⁾

[3] New Haven, fols. 1-2 [2] fols. 3-5 [1] fol. 6 [4] fols. 7, 9 [3] Cambridge 3330 fol. 1, New Haven fols. 8, 10-15 [1] fols. 16, 17 [3] fols. 18-19 [4] fol. 20 [1] Oxford fol. 1 [1] fol. 22 [?] Oxford fol. 2 [1] New Haven 401A fol. 9 [2] fol. 10 [5] Cambr. 3330 fol. 2 [1] Philadelphia fol. 1 [2] New Haven 401 fol. 21 [1] Merton fol. 1, New Haven fols. 23-24, Merton fol. 2, New Haven 401 fols. 24-25 [?15].

In light of recent work on the manuscript's structure, this rough guide is invaluable in determining the size of the original codex. The current structure of the Beinecke book does not even remotely resemble the alleged construction: I⁶ (wants 4)+II²+III² (now cut to 10 × 14.5 cm)+IV⁸ (wants 7)+V, which is anomalous. QV consists of three parts, now joined:



(53) On Lewis and his collection, cf. J. TANIS *et al.*, *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 5-13.

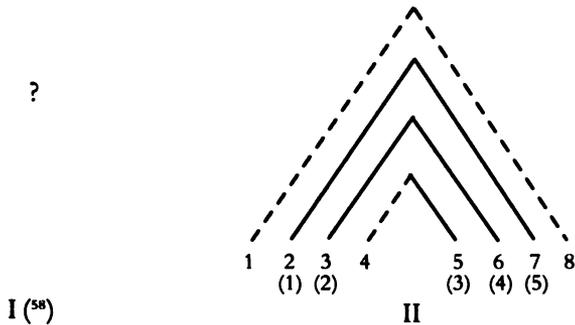
(54) Or Conitan or Comtan (cf. COLLINS, *Vernacular Manuscripts*, p. 33); the information comes from a note on the manuscript.

(55) *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 25 November 1969, lot 442; the figure enclosed in brackets indicates the number of intervening folios which are missing. The cataloguer did not include BL ms Add. 50483K, MS Add. 71687 or Bodleian Library ms Arch. A. f. 131, though he or she was the first to take the Philadelphia fragment into consideration.

This account differs from the analysis provided in Barbara Shailor's catalogue of Beinecke manuscripts. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ She reconstructs the folios as follows:

- fols. 1-5: a quaternion, wanting 1, 4 and 8
- fols. 6-7: the outermost bifolium of a quaternion
- fols. 9, 8: the outermost bifolium of a quaternion, reversed
- fols. 10-16: a quaternion, wanting 7
- fols. 17-19: a trinion, wanting 2, 3-4
- fol. 20: a singleton
- fol. 22: a singleton
- fols. 21, 23-6: a quaternion, wanting 2-3, 6

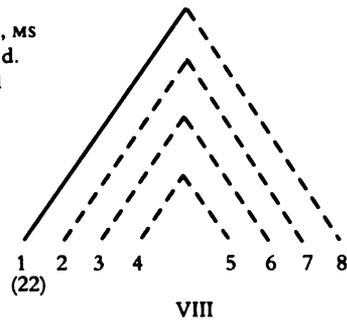
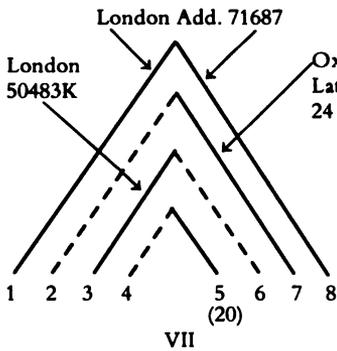
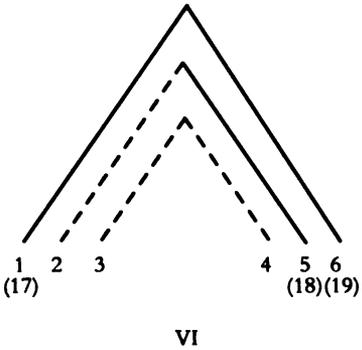
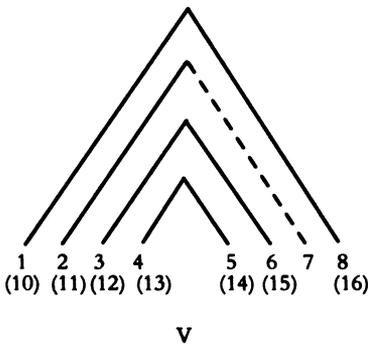
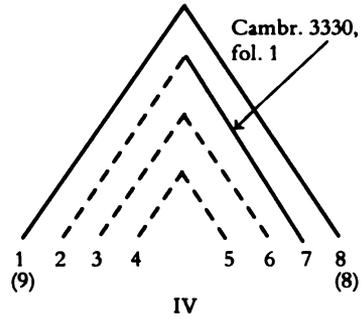
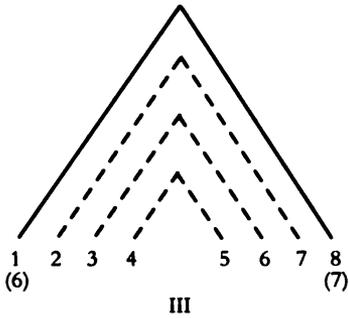
For ms 401A she proposed, fols. 1-2: leaves 3 and 6 (conjugate) from a gathering of unknown dimensions. By referencing Shailor's work with that of the Sotheby's cataloguer, it is possible (if speculative) to reconstruct the format of the entire book as follows: ⁽⁵⁷⁾

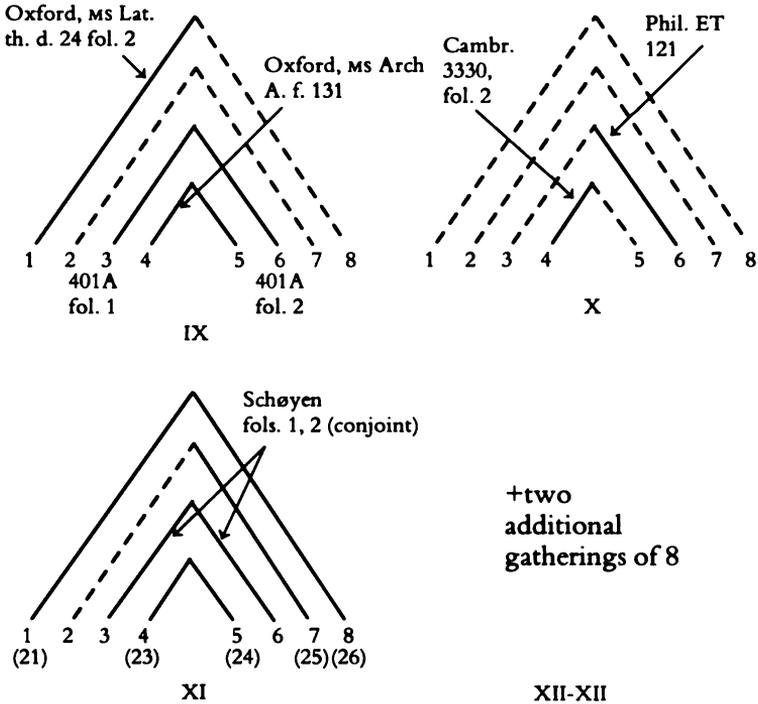


⁽⁵⁶⁾ *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* (Binghamton, NY, 1987), pp. 280-4. Ker examined the manuscript after Yale acquired the leaves, but I was denied permission to see his notes on the collation. Shailor may have based her findings on these.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Using as a guide 18 lines (in Ehwald's text) per folio in the large hand of the extant volume and 23 lines per folio in the small.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Two leaves are necessary for the prefatory letter, and possibly four for the *capitula*, if they had been written by this time. If this quire were a quaternion, it might have had unusual spacing or decoration to account for the lack of material.





This Aldhelm manuscript once probably consisted of 13 quires and just over 100 folios. Forty leaves survive today, many of which are conjugate.

E. A. Lowe pointed out in 1927 that these leaves derive from one book written by two collaborating scribes,⁽⁵⁹⁾ both of whom write a Cursive Minuscule which could be termed *scriptura continua*. A *scriptura continua* exhibits unorthodox word-divisions and verbal groupings, partly because the script is comprised of cursive elements: ligatures as well as the absence of discrete pen-lifts. The continuous scripts recall a time when word-division was otiose in medieval records. Readers sounded out words as they read, and their method of copying, often by syllable, reflected their way of reading.

(59) 'Membra disiecta', *Revue Bénédictine* 39 (1927), 191-2. Damage to the text on fols. 26r-v has been corrected in an Anglo-Caroline of s. x^{cx}.

Jennifer Morrish, who describes the scripts as 'hybrid', has recently dated the 'Yale Fragment' s. IX¹: (60)

The deliberate, decorative nature of its hybrid minuscule and precise layout are enough to suggest that the copy of Aldhelm's *De laude virginitatis*, now surviving in thirty-eight *membra disiecta*, was produced in the first half of the ninth century. (61)

Morrish later narrows her dating to the early part of the century. In her opinion, the hands closely resemble – but are not identical to – those in two charters: London, BL MS Additional Charter 19790 (793 × 796) and London, BL MS Cotton Augustus II.79 (805 × 810). (62)

The first scribal hand in the 'Yale Fragment' is larger and more ornamental than the second. Uncial 'A' is frequently found at the beginnings or ends of words and phrases. The 'oc' form of 'a' appears in other positions. Uncial 'd' has a back parallel to the bounding line; it consistently shows up alongside the straight-backed form. Letters 'q' and 'z' are exceptionally stylized, and 'p' has an open bow. Uncial 'R' occurs everywhere in ligature with preceding tall 'e', which elides, too, with 'f', 'g', 'm', 'n', 'r', 't', and 'x'. Finally, underslung 'i', which occurs at line-ends, has become a ubiquitous formal element of the cursive script written by this scribe.

Scribe 2 practices conventions similar to those of his collaborator: underslung 'i', tall 'e' in ligature with 'f', 'g', 'r' and 's', Uncial 'R' in ligature with preceding tall 'e', and 'p' with open bow. By contrast, however, Uncial 'd' is not delimited by the bounding line, and Insular 'a' appears along with the 'oc' form. Uncial 'A' is seldom found. All in all, the writing of this second scribe is more controlled, and consequently more readable, than that of the first scribe.

There are a number of tenth-century ink glosses in the Yale manuscript, printed mainly by Napier in his *Old English Glosses*

(60) 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts Copied in England During the Ninth Century: A Preliminary List', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), 512–38; a date as early as s. viii^{cx} would not be unreasonable, in my opinion.

(61) 'Datable Manuscripts', p. 527; Morrish mentions, too, that Ehwald did not know of two fragments and that he regarded the Yale leaves and the Bodleian MS Lat. th. d. 24 leaves as separate witnesses (EHWALD, p. 225).

(62) S139, S1188.

and by Meritt in two publications. ⁽⁶³⁾ Meritt noticed a number of scratched glosses in the volume and transcribed 26 of these, but he omitted about 140. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ There are two major hands among the ink glosses:

HAND 1: This main glossing hand is a sloping, sometimes irregular, Anglo-Caroline of s. XI¹ for Latin glosses. The pen is slightly shaded. Letter-forms are: 'a', upright 'd', Caroline 'g', 'r', tall 's', 'or' and 'st' ligatures. This same scribe also writes many Old English glosses in a hybrid script containing both Insular and Caroline features. Caroline 'a', upright 'd', 'f', 'g', 'r' and 's' are found alongside the vernacular special characters, as well as sloped 'd'. The Old English script of **HAND 1**, however, is predominantly Anglo-Caroline.

HAND 2: This scribe contributes several Old English glosses on fols. 3r-8v in an unshaded pen. He writes a messy Insular hand unaffected by Caroline influences except for an occasional 'or' and 'st' ligature, and 'u' for medial 'f'. Insular features are generally consistent: 'a', sloped 'd', 'f', 'g', 'r', 's', alongside the Anglo-Saxon characters 'æ', 'ð', 'þ', 'wynn'. The scribe betrays the unusual practice of writing 'G' for 'g', of having no abbreviation for *id est* and *scilicet*, and of writing *caudae* on 'e' in Old English. In addition to copying the scratched glosses, many of which are now illegible, this scribe contributes a small number of his own glosses. On occasion, it is possible to see the scratched glosses below his ink ones. The same phenomenon occurs in Royal 5 E.xi, where a scribe has simply repeated illegible scratched glosses in ink. Almost all of the many glosses in **HAND 2** are found on these five folios. The scratched glosses, too, are more numerous here.

HAND 1 appears throughout the volume, whereas **HAND 2** is concentrated only on fols. 3-8. Glosses in both hands do not occur above the same lemma, and it is consequently impossible to establish the relative chronology. Whether the scratched glosses preceded the inked glosses in **HAND 1** cannot be known, but this is not likely for the same reason.

When the 'Yale Fragment' is collated with the Würzburg *Pdv*, its textual affiliation becomes transparent. Both the Yale leaves and the Würzburg manuscript share unique common er-

(63) H. D. MERITT, 'Old English Aldhelm Glosses', *Modern Language Notes* 47 (1952), 553-4; *idem*, 'Old English Glosses, Mostly Drypoint', *JEGP* 60 (1961), 441-50, at p. 441.

(64) Cf. P. RUSCHE, 'Dry-Point Glosses to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virgininitatis* in Beinecke 401', *ASE* 23 (1994), 195-213.

rors proving their indisputable descent from a common hyparchetype:

- 3, 14 illi] ill'ī *W A*
 3, 15 nos] uos *W*, corr. ex uos *A*
 16, 22 possimus] corr. ex possumus per ras. *W A*
 29, 2 culturae] cultura *W A*
 31, 26 instinctu] instin'ctu *W A*
 38, 25 filorum] corr. ex filiorum per ras. *W A*
 46, 19 rumigerulae] rumigerula *W*, rumigerule (eult. corr. ex) *A*
 48, 12 suspiria] su'spiria *W A*
 48, 15 pudicitia] puditia *W*, pudic'itiā *A*
 49, 14 desudauit] desudans *W A*
 49, 19 oriundam] orundam *W*, or'undam *A*
 50, 22 consparsione] sic *W A*
 50, 33 ludificatus] lu'dificatus *W A*
 50, 59 Portunalia et] sic *W A*, portunalia perpetrando et cett.

Certainly, the most telling variants in this list are the omissions of letters implied by insertions (*ill*, *instintu*, *supiria*, *puditia*, *orundam*, *dificatus*) as well as the omission of the word *perpetrando* (correct in this instance). The conjunctive errors *possumus*, *cultura*, *filiorum*, *rumigerula*, and *desudans* again reveal the common origin of both texts in a manuscript almost certainly datable to the eighth century. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

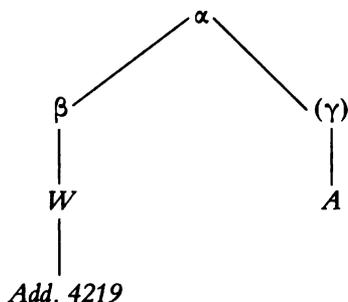
But even more variation confirms this relationship. On the one hand, these books preserve orthographical peculiarities probably traceable to Aldhelm's own spelling, which was prone to geminations, simplifications, vowel substitutions (stressed and unstressed), and etymological spellings of some common and uncommon assimilations:

- 2, 33 clasicis] sic *W*, cla's'icis *A*

(65) Nevertheless, collation of 17 folios of the Yale manuscript reveals widespread disagreement between *A* and *W*: 1r7 *comunt A*/2v24 *comant W*, 1r14 *celerrimam A*/3r1 *om. W*, 1r16 *crepante/3r2 crepitante*, 1v4 *interioris gestibus geruntur/3r7 interioris hominis geruntur gestibus*, 2r2 *accipiant/3r17 om.*, 2r3 *sic pugno non/3r18 si*, 4v13 *queso/4v14 om.*, 4v14 *ualet/4v14-15 ualet natura*, 5v4 *assiae ecclesias/5r17 aeclesias assiae*, 6v11-12 *incudis/6r16 incudinis*, 7r9-10 *florulentae/7v8 florulentis*, 10v8 *trudatur/12r6 trudat*, 11r6 *triquadra/12r19 quadra*, 11r7 *repleretur/12r20 repletur*, 11r15-16 *uoluntatis examine dediti et electionis arbitrio praediti/12r21-2 uoluntatis arbitrio dediti electionis examine praediti/11v3 deprecimus/12v6 precimus*, 13r1 *coronam/13r24 gloriam*, 13r7 *quique/13v3 qui et*, 14r4 *euangelii/14r5 euangelica*, 15r10-11 *participem ultroneos castitatis celibes sed inuitos spadones/14v17-18 participem spadones*, 16v5 *sablonibus/16r11 sablonis*, 17r2 *trucis/16r25 christi*, 17v3 *inquit/16v15 enim*.

- 6, 28 gurgustio] gurgusio *W*, gurgussio (t *sup.* s *sec.*) *A*
 20, 13 denoscitur] *sic W A*
 26, 17/18 titulationum] titillationum *corr. ex titulationum W*,
 titulationum (l *sup.* u *sec.* et *infra* u *punctum*) *A*
 31, 37 malluit] *sic W A*
 36, 21 suassionis] *sic W A*

On the other hand, some conjunctive errors are also shared by *W* and six other manuscripts, including London, BL ms Royal 5 F.iii (*R1*, a 'Class II' book), which dates from the ninth century. Setting aside these other volumes for the time being, we can conclude that the Würzburg text descends from a *Pdv* version related to the 'Yale Fragment' in the following way:



The hyparchetype γ depends on arguments to be made in subsequent pages.

Brussels, Royal Library ms 1650 (*olim* 1580) (*B*)

The Brussels manuscript has been carefully described, first by Van Langenhove in his facsimile volume, ⁽⁶⁶⁾ later by Ker in his *Catalogue*, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ and most recently by Goossens in his edition. ⁽⁶⁸⁾ The following remarks derive from these authors'. The Brussels Aldhelm is foliated i+56+i, collated I^B-VII⁸; it measures 28 × 44 cm, with a written space of 22.5 × 15 cm. Ruled in dry-point with twenty-two long lines per page, the manuscript was written by a single scribe of s. xi¹ in a hand closely resem-

(66) G. VAN LANGENHOVE, *Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis with Latin and Old English Glosses: Manuscript 1650 of the Royal Library in Brussels* (Bruges, 1941), pp. 7ff. There is also a brief description by R. Derolez in 'De Oudengelse Aldhelm-glossen'.

(67) KER, *Catalogue*, no. 8.

(68) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 5-8, 28-32, 37-52.

bling eleventh-century Style IV Anglo-Caroline from Canterbury. The letter forms 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'g', 'o', 'p' and 'q' are rotund. Upper and lower members of 'g' are proportional and sometimes connected by a small stem; 'e' has a narrow upper compartment, unlike 'a', which is well-formed with a large upper member. Common ligatures are 'rt', 'st' and 'r'+ 'oc' form of 'a'; '&' is used freely, even with *caudae* representing 'aet' or 'e'-caudata plus 't'. Chapter-headings are written in Uncials, and syntactic glossing, probably in the main scribal hand, appears consistently. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

Besides the Aldhelm, there are some stray additions to the manuscript, the longest of which (55v18 to 56r9) is a note on certain sayings attributed to Solomon, later corrected to *Ecclesiasticus* (42.14): 'Ergo Siriacydes non Salomon'. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ Six modern additions, some by known annotators, are written in or bound with the manuscript; these are listed by Goossens. ⁽⁷¹⁾ None is of particular importance for the medieval history of the book except Goossens's first entry, 'Notes and Catchwords', which prove that the manuscript was mis-bound in the fifteenth century. ⁽⁷²⁾

The later history of the volume is relatively well-documented. Some time in the sixteenth century, possibly during the Dissolution, the book was brought to the Continent. ⁽⁷³⁾ John Bale may

(69) I have not surveyed the syntactic glosses in *Pdv* manuscripts, but these are discussed in a number of places: F. ROBINSON, 'Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance', *Speculum* 48 (1973), 443-75; M. KORHAMMER, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und altenglische Wortstellung', *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 18-58; cf. M. DRAAK, 'Construe Marks in Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde* 20 (1957), 261-82.

(70) This is followed immediately by an interpretation of Isaiah 42: 3, 'Calamum quassatum non conteret et linum fumigans non extinguet'. There are some unrelated materials in the margins as well: on fol. 54v left margin, the seven ecclesiastical grades; on fol. 55v left margin, a Latin-Latin glossary with one Latin-Old English entry (printed EH-WALD, p. 216 note 1).

(71) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 6-7.

(72) VAN LANGENHOVE, p. 7; gatherings were once ordered I, III, IV, II, V-VII.

(73) J. VAN DEN GHEYN (*Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1902), p. 148) unjustifiably claims that the manuscript came from Oxford: 'Codex apporté probablement d'Angleterre (d'Oxford)'.

have owned the volume, ⁽⁷⁴⁾ but its first recorded owner was Abraham Ortelius (1527-98), who joined the Jesuit community of Antwerp and apparently left the book to the library there. ⁽⁷⁵⁾ A note bound with Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms 4164-6 (a seventeenth-century transcript of *Pdv*, fols. 11-74) confirms Ortelius's ownership; it was written in the hand of another Jesuit, H. Rosweyde (1569-1629), who (in Goossens's view) was one of the first to study the Brussels manuscript on the Continent. ⁽⁷⁶⁾ Andreas Schott (1552-1629), too, examined the book and left some notes on the flyleaves. ⁽⁷⁷⁾ At the end of the eighteenth century, the volume left the Jesuit *domus* and entered the collection of the Dukes of Burgundy, later forming part of the Bibliothèque Royale. ⁽⁷⁸⁾

The Brussels Aldhelm once belonged to a single volume of 242 folios comprising three items, but now broken up into four fragments. Apart from the Brussels portion there is: (a) Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum ms 47 (Salle iii.68) + (b) London, BL ms Additional 32246 [Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 2]; (c) Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum ms 190 (Salle iii.55) [Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 3]. The Antwerp 190 section contains a densely glossed copy of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*. ⁽⁷⁹⁾ Fifteenth-century marginal notes on fols. 36r, 72r and 111v prove that this section of the codex – and maybe the entire volume – was still in England at that time. ⁽⁸⁰⁾ The Antwerp 47 and joint London fragments contain a glossed copy of *Excerptiones de*

(74) H. McCUSKER, 'Books and Manuscripts Formerly in the Possession of John Bale', *The Library* 16 (1935), 144-65; cf. EHWALD, p. 215: 'Primus codicem possedisse videtur I. I. Baleus, qui in folio prefixo altero nonnullis de vita Aldhelmi allatis posposuit nomen suum'.

(75) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 8.

(76) *Ibid.*; cf. VAN DEN GHEYN, p. 409 note 5.

(77) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 8.

(78) C. BOUTERWEK, 'Angelsächsische Glossen. (1) Die ags. Glossen in dem Brüsseler Codex von Aldhelms Schrift de Virginitate', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 9 (1853), 401-530, at p. 403.

(79) The Boethius gloss in Antwerp 190 and the gloss to Priscian in Antwerp 47 contain the abbreviation *est* for 'est' associated with late tenth- and early eleventh-century Fleury (cf. BISHOP, *Minuscule*, p. xii and E. PELLEGRIN, 'Membra disiecta Floriacensia', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 117 (1959), 5-56, at pp. 14-15). Bishop (1971, p. 13) suggests that the scribe of Lincoln, Cathedral Library ms 182, fols. 118-38, 161-81 (Bede's 'Sermons on the Gospels') appears in Antwerp 190 (fols. 16ff.).

(80) The notes record the names of Englishmen: Sutton, Trivet and Richard Swineshead; cf. KER, *Catalogue*, p. 3.

Prisciano,⁽⁸¹⁾ with a number of glossaries written in the margins.⁽⁸²⁾ Among the glossaries listed by Ker (pp. 1-2), item (b) is an alphabetical and predominantly Latin-Latin glossary 'spaced so that a new letter of the alphabet begins at every fourth leaf'. Item (c) is a Latin-Old English glossary containing only entries A through E. Item (d) is a Latin-Old English class-glossary related to a similar glossary transcribed by Francis Junius, now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 71.⁽⁸³⁾

The Antwerp and London fragments have a complicated collocation, which Ker reconstructed as follows:

Ff. 50 in Antwerp (P), foliated 1-19, 19*, 20-49, and ff. 24 in

(81) Cf. V. LAW, 'Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric's "Excerptiones de arte grammatica"', *Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 9 (1987), 47-71, at p. 50.

(82) Eight Old English interlinear glosses were printed by H. D. MERITT in *Old English Glosses* (New York, 1945), no. 22. The interlinear Latin glosses remain unpublished. The Antwerp 47 fragment has received considerable attention, because it was thought to have been in the possession of Peter Paul Rubens; cf. H. LÜBKE, 'Über verwandschaftliche Beziehungen einiger altenglischer Glossare', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 85 (1890), 383-410; *idem*, 'Zu den Rubensschen Glossen', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 86 (1891), 398-405; J. ZUPITZA, 'Sitzungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für das Studium der neueren Sprachen', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 79 (1887), 88-90, at pp. 88-9. The standard editions and most thorough discussion of the glossaries in Antwerp 47 and Add. 32246 are: M. FÖRSTER, 'Die altenglische Glossehandschrift Plantinus 32 (Antwerpen) [=Antwerp 47] und Additional 32246 (London)', *Anglia* 41 (1917), 94-161; L. KINDSCHI, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32, 246' (diss., Stanford, 1955); C. LADD, 'The "Rubens" Manuscript and Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary', *Review of English Studies* 11 (1960), 353-64. On the paleography of these fragments, cf. T. A. M. BISHOP, 'Lincoln Cathedral MS 182', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* (1967), at p. 73, and *idem*, *Minuscule*, p. xxiv: 'The later Canterbury script is distinguished from the general aspect of later English Caroline minuscule mainly by relatively light stroke production. This seems to be a developed or degenerate form of Style I, retaining the mass, losing the energy; the change, at what may have been the original home of the style, appears in the contrasting hands in the Abingdon MS. Antwerp 47 ... Bad proportions, knobby ornament and occasionally perverse shapes leave the script legible and typically rounded'.

(83) The Junius transcript was printed in T. WRIGHT and R. WÜLCKER, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* (London, 1884), §§ IV-V. Kindschi analyzes the relationship between the Junius transcript and this class-glossary ('Latin-Old English Glossaries', pp. 13-37) and maintains (*ibid.*, p. 37) that the Antwerp and London fragments are the direct 'source' of Junius 71.

London (L), foliated 1-24. P f. 1 and L f. 1 are early flyleaves. Collation of P ff. 2-49, L ff. 2-24: 1-48 (P f. 2, L ff. 2-7, P f. 3, L ff. 8-15, P ff. 4-19), 58+1 leaf inserted after 8 (L ff. 16-24), 68+1 leaf inserted before 1 (P ff. 19*, 20-27), 7-88 (P ff. 28-43), 98 wants 1, 8 (P ff. 44-49). The inserted leaves L f. 24 and P f. 19*, a half-leaf cut vertically, supply omissions in the text ... (84)

Folios 2-7 of the London leaves constitute the inner three bifolia from the first quire of the original codex; folios 8-15 represent the third quire. The remaining folios are quire V. The Antwerp leaves preserve the rest of the codex, beginning with the outer bifolium of quire I.

The fly-leaves of these manuscripts contain important additions of s. xi¹, which Ker used to date and localize the codex. (85) These are: (a) four hexameters in praise of three virgins, though the portion with their names is wholly erased and the names of Ætheldreda, Ælfgife and Edith have been added; (b) six hexameters on the martyrs Edward, Eustace and Kenelm; (c) four elegiac couplets on the death of Archbishop Ælfric (d. 1005); (86) (d) four hexameters of a riddle (*Rätselfrage* in Förster's opinion); (e) 49 elegiac couplets by an unknown Herbert to Wulfgar, identified as abbot of Abingdon 989-1016. (87) Ker contended that the commemorations of Edward and Eustace as well as the poem on Ælfric reflect an Abingdon provenance. Abingdon possessed relics of the two former saints, and Ælfric had been a monk at Abingdon. (88) Additionally, on fol. 48r of the Antwerp 47 fragment appears an early eleventh-century copy of a letter to an unknown Ælf, a counsellor to King Cnut, asking for fishing rights *in uilla Niw̄*. Ker placed this vill at Nuneham, east of

(84) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 2.

(85) The following entries are all printed by Förster.

(86) Also printed in WRIGHT and WÜLCKER, *Vocabularies*, column 104; D. WHITELOCK *et al.*, *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, A.D. 871-1216* (Oxford, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 237-38.

(87) The elegiac poem was published by E. DÜMMLER, 'Lateinische Gedichte des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv* 10 (1884), 351-3. The identification (made by Ker) eluded Dümmler: 'Den Abt Wulfgar, an welchen der Dichter, ein Priester Herbert, seine Bitten richtet, vermag ich nicht nachzuweisen' (p. 351). The widespread use of the - ('est') abbreviation throughout the Latin glosses in the London and Antwerp fragments could imply that Herbert hailed from Fleury or its environs.

(88) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 3; cf. BROOKS, *Early History*, p. 279.

Abingdon. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ Obviously, the name of *uilla Niw* as well as the identification of Wulfgar in the *Bettellyrik* hinge upon Ker's reasoning about the provenance. Finally, David Porter has recently proposed the solution 'Æthelwold's bowl' for the *Rätselfrage*, and he endorses the Abingdon origin for the entire Brussels compendium. ⁽⁹⁰⁾

Critical to Ker's argument on the provenance (and origin) of this composite codex is his determination that certain hands in the Antwerp-London fragment also appear in Brussels 1650. There are four principal glossing hands in *B*: ⁽⁹¹⁾ Ker's hand (1) [=Goossens's hand A], a 'pointed, sloping' hand writing either in brown (earlier) or black (later) ink. This scribe may have preceded or followed another represented by hand (2) [=Goossens's hand B], 'a small upright hand which occurs only about fols. 34-45'. ⁽⁹²⁾ There are few glosses in this hand. Goossens cautiously suggests that scribe (2) may have collaborated with scribe (1), but acknowledges that there is no evidence for the assumption except the divisions of their respective contributions in *B*. ⁽⁹³⁾ Ker describes his hand (3) as 'a spreading, slightly sloping hand, using rich brown ink, later than hand (1), but generally like it ...'. ⁽⁹⁴⁾ This glossator has taken lemmas from the text and glossed them in the outer margins, as if he were preparing *glossae collectae* for a glossary ⁽⁹⁵⁾ – a feature concordant with the glos-

(89) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 3; cf. J. STEVENSON, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, vol. 2 (London, 1858), p. 180: '... tenere et habere in perpetua eleemosyna ecclesiam de Neweham ... cum una piscaria'. Förster writes 'wohl = æt Niwan tune' ('Glossenhandschrift', p. 153), i.e. Newton.

(90) 'Æthelwold's Bowl and the Chronicle of Abingdon', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 97 (1996), 1-5. Mechthild Gretsch has lately supported the Abingdon attribution in part on the evidence of 'Winchester' vocabulary in the Brussels glosses, but I disagree with her statement that 'Ker's presumption of an Abingdon origin [of Brussels 1650] seems convincing' (*Intellectual Foundations*, p. 377); see my review in *Studi Medievali* 41 (2000), pp. 713-23.

(91) The paleography is examined in Goossens's volume (*Brussels*, pp. 45-52); I have not recorded all of Goossens's observations here. It ought to be said, however, that the hands A, B, C, CD and R appear in chronological order, except for A and B. Scribes A and B never gloss the same words, so their relative chronology cannot be gauged by this method.

(92) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 6.

(93) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 51; Goossens correctly assumes that the scribes copied an exemplar.

(94) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 6.

(95) R. DEROLEZ, 'Zu den Brüsseler Aldhelmglossen', *Anglia* 74 (1957), 153-80.

saries in the Antwerp and London fragments. There are at least two different strata of glosses in this hand (3), as distinguished by distinct shades of ink. Goossens describes the first layer as dark brown to black, contributing the interlinear Old English glosses; the second layer, in a somewhat smaller format and in light brown ink, incorporates the marginal glosses and most of the interlinear Latin ones. ⁽⁹⁶⁾ Ker's hand (4), called CD in Goossens's edition, is at times difficult to distinguish from hand (3). In Ker's terms, it is a 'clumsy, square hand, using generally brown ink of poor quality'. ⁽⁹⁷⁾ Ker notes, too, that some glosses in the hand are written in red ink, and Goossens describes these as the 'last layer of the glossing'. ⁽⁹⁸⁾ CD wrote almost no Latin glosses. Goossens paid careful attention to this hand, in which he was able to perceive the work of at least two and maybe more scribes. His appellation CD is therefore intended to be a catch-all for various glossing contributions as distinct from those made by A, B and C – Ker's hands (1), (2) and (3) respectively.

When discussing the Antwerp-London fragment of the codex once comprising Brussels 1650, Ker insisted that '[s]cholia to the *Excerptiones*, two supply-leaves (L f. 24, P f. 19*), the verses on (L) f. 1 [*i.e.* to Wulfgar] and the glossaries ... arts. (b), (c), are in a pointed, slightly forward-sloping hand which occurs also in [Brussels] 1650'. ⁽⁹⁹⁾ Ker did not mention where this hand occurs, but we can deduce from his remarks in the *Catalogue* that this must be his hand (1), or Goossens's hand A. Describing this hand in Brussels 1650 he writes, '[a] pointed, sloping hand nearly contemporary with the text and identical with a hand in [Antwerp 47]'. ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Speculating that the verses on L fol. 1 were addressed to Wulfgar of Abingdon and further theorizing that the eleventh-century provenance of this manuscript is Abingdon, Ker could reach only one conclusion concerning the Brussels glosses. Logically, all of them must have been added at Abingdon, for the earliest stratum of glosses in Brussels is putatively written in the same hand as the verses to Wulfgar, that is, in Ker's hand (1). Of course, there is no unequivocal evidence that the Edward, Eustace and Ælfric commemorations were Abingdon accretions, that the Wulfgar in the poem is the tenth-

(96) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 48.

(97) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 6.

(98) *Ibid.*, p. 7; GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 50.

(99) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 3.

(100) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

century abbot of Abingdon, or that *uilla Niw̄* stands for Nuneham. ⁽¹⁰¹⁾

On the contrary, substantial paleographical evidence (below, p. 132) proves that the Brussels manuscript must have been at the same foundation as Royal 7 D.xxiv, and Royal 7 D.xxiv was unequivocally housed at Canterbury in the second half of the tenth century. Furthermore, while it may be true that most of the Old English glosses in Brussels 1650 were systematically copied into Digby 146, ⁽¹⁰²⁾ an even earlier layer of glosses had been copied from Digby 146 into Brussels 1650 or its exemplar (below, pp. 199-208). Admittedly, the Digby book has an unquestionable (late medieval) Abingdon provenance, but it was penned at Canterbury. Moreover, the Brussels volume is textually allied to London, Lambeth Palace MS 200 *pars* ii, a *Pdv* copy from St. Augustine's, Canterbury (below, pp. 106-8). Material evidence therefore confirms that Brussels 1650 is almost certainly a Canterbury production and that Ker's inferential arguments carry little weight in determining the transmission of the manuscript.

'Class II' Manuscripts

London, BL MS Royal 5 F.iii (R1)

This defective manuscript consisting of 40 folios made up of quaternions (ending defective in chapter 47: *crudeliter tenerrima membra* and missing one internal quire) is the only copy of *Pdv* known to have been kept at Worcester. ⁽¹⁰³⁾ It probably represents item 253 in Patrick Young's 1622 catalogue of Worcester manuscripts, in which one book is described as 'Aldelmus de virginitate 4^{to} imperf. caractere Saxonico'. ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The volume mea-

(101) The letter to 'Ælf' might have been preserved either by the recipient or by the sender. Concerning Abingdon as a center of manuscript production David Dumville remarks that neither Abingdon nor Glastonbury provides 'indubitable' specimens (*English Caroline Script and Monastic History* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 155).

(102) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 382; GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 25-7.

(103) *Cat. Roy. MSS.*, p. 120.

(104) I. ATKINS and N. R. KER, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis* (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 18, 51, 67. The volume later belonged to John Theyer (d. 1673) whose library was purchased by Charles II in 1678; cf. L. WEBSTER and J. BACKHOUSE, *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (London, 1991), p. 262. Theyer made many annotations in the margins, including the note 'full tyde' on fol. 24r.

tures 16.5 × 24 cm, although the lower margins of many of the leaves have been excised. It was twice foliated, the second time in a lighter ink. The error arose at fol. 13 (old collation) at which point fol. 14 is skipped in the numbering.

Jennifer Morrish has dated this manuscript paleographically to s. ix² and compared its script to that in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Hatton 20. (105) She notes, further, that

... the different scribes who wrote [Royal 5 F.iii] were all so obviously at the transitional phase in insular book production to which the dated late ninth-century manuscripts testify. (106)

Recently, Christine Franzen has drawn attention to the Worcester provenance of this book, claiming that the 'tremulous Worcester scribe' must have had access to a glossed copy of *Pdv*. (107) Because this Royal manuscript has only sparse glossing, she implies that Worcester might have had more than one copy of Aldhelm. Another copy might have contained the copious glossing evident in Brussels 1650 or Digby 146.

The Royal volume was written by several late ninth-century scribes, but the glossing was done in one hand of s. x/xi (Ker dates it s. xiⁱⁿ). Glossing occurs only on fols. 2v-3r. Throughout the Latin glosses the scribe writes a competent Anglo-Caroline with appropriate letter-forms: 'a', 'g', 'r', tall 's'; 'e' is formed from three strokes and has a broken appearance, occasionally bearing a tick to the left. Old English glosses retain Insular features for the most part: 'æ', low-backed 'd', 'f', 'g', 's', 'ð', 'þ' and 'wynn'. Even so, Caroline 's' is found side by side with the Insular form. In addition to this gloss-hand, a twelfth-century scribe has written a few scribbles on (old foliation) fols. 1r (*hacun*), 7r (*Godwine mun æt tur gret 7 noc ceoh ge*), 7v (*æþerg, agnus dei*), 8r (*æðer ge weras ge wuif ða ða he*), 16v (*+hacuneor*). Several other additions appear in the form of abbreviated *capitula* headings preceding each chapter, for example:

- I. *Incipit Liber qui dicitur prosa Aldhelmi Episcopi*
- II. *De gymnicorum palma*

(105) Others have dated the manuscript on art-historical grounds; cf. D. RICE, *English Art 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952), p. 177; F. WORMALD, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100', *Archæologia* 91 (1945), 113-14, plate 111c (fol. 26).

(106) MORRISH, 'Datable Manuscripts', p. 535.

(107) *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 76, 136.

- III. *De disciplina gymnasii spiritaliter*
 IV. *De apium sollertia*
 V. *Typum uirginitatis per castimoniam apium*
 VII. *De priuilegio uirginitatis spiritaliumque charismatum*
 VIII. *Ita uirginitas extollatur utrum iugalitas condemnetur*
 X. *De dispari comparatione uirginitatis et iugalitatis*
 XI. *De principalium uitiorum ducibus*
 XII. *De gastrimargia*
 XIII. *De minore uitiorum caterua*

Others are now virtually illegible. Because space was not allowed for these headings, they often run into the margins.

Royal 5 F.iii is unquestionably related to the Würzburg and Yale manuscripts, since the three texts share significant conjunctive variants, albeit primarily orthographic. Peculiar manuscript spellings 'e' for 'i' and 'b' for 'v' (perhaps Aldhelm's) as well as the geminations common to Irish orthography can be found in the following inventory. Yet the error *pudiciam* for *pudicitiam* and the eccentric spelling *acathemicae* for *academicae* effectively establish the common ancestry of these copies. Perhaps the paucity of shared error can be explained by the fragmentary state of both manuscripts.

Variants Common to W, R1 and A

- 4, 9 *carenae*] *carene W, sic R1, carenae (i sup. ae) A, careni cett.*
 17, 14 *dilicate*] *sic W R1, dilicatae A, delicate cett.*
 19, 7 *distingente*] *sic W R1 A, distinguente cett.*
 26, 40 *libidorum*] *sic W R1 A, liuidorum cett.*
 26, 47 *astati*] *sic W R1 A, hastati cett.*
 27, 3 *achathemicae*] *achathemicæ W, acathemice R1, achademicae corr. ex achathemicae A, academic(a)e cett.*
 42, 40 *pudicitiam*] *pudiciam W R1, pudiciti'am A*
 43, 45 *Cessare*] *sic W R1, cesare corr. ex cessare per ras. A, c(a)-sare cett.*
 44, 18 *parentellae*] *sic W R1, parentelae corr. ex parentellae per ras. A, parentel(a)e cett.*

Further clarification of the relationship between *W*, *R1* and *A* can be detected in the variants common only to *W* and *R1* and to *A* and *R1*. On the one hand, Royal 5 F.iii shares significant grammatical and orthographical variants with the Würzburg manuscript alone, many of which could not have arisen polygenetically. These include *neuque* for *neque* (a result, perhaps, of open 'q') and *uirtute* for *uir uitae*, in addition to mistakes involving the omission of a syllable: *princibus* for *principibus*, *domitos/domitus* for *indomitos*, *felici* for *feliciter*, *iuuenibus* for *iuuenilibus*,

apostare for *apostatate*, *femini* for *feminini*. The chance that these syllables were omitted by separate copyists simply cannot be entertained; *W* and *R1* must descend from a common source.

Variants Shared by W and R1

- 7, 46 *contemplari]* *contemplare corr. in contemplari per sup. i*
W R1
- 9, 41/42 *emulamenta]* *u sup. a prima W R1, emolumenta cett.*
- 11, 22 *biluas]* *sic W R1*
- 12, 11 *neuque]* *sic W, neque corr. ex neuque R1, neque cett.*
- 13, 3/4 *principibus]* *princibus W R1*
- 18, 49 *consumau]* *sic W R1, consummaui cett.*
- 26, 18 *indomitos]* *domitos W, domitus R1*
- 34, 36 *dimersos]* *sic W R1, demersos cett.*
- 34, 36 *fultos]* *fultus W R1*
- 35, 10 *arethematica]* *arithmetica (i prima corr. ex e) W, arethi-*
metica R1
- 35, 29 *aceruitatem]* *sic W R1, acerbitatem cett.*
- 35, 98 *feliciter]* *felici W R1*
- 36, 62 *flagellatus]* *flagellatum W R1*
- 37, 10 *iuuenilibus]* *iuuenibus W R1*
- 38, 4 *apostatate]* *apostare W R1*
- 38, 4 *uir uitae]* *uirtute W R1*
- 38, 62 *enim]* *om. W R1*
- 39, 17 *feminini]* *femini'ni' W, femini R1*
- 43, 9 *quam]* *qua W R1*
- 45, 19/20 *furibundae ... ediuerso]* *furibunde (ras. unius verbi*
seq. W) uirginitatis 'ferocitas' et ediuerso W, furibunde
uirginitatis ferocitas et ediuerso R1
- 46, 18 *ornata]* *ornatam W, corr. ex ornatam per ras. R1*
- 47, 24 *culturis]* *cultoris W R1*
- 47, 28 *confractas]* *confracta W R1*

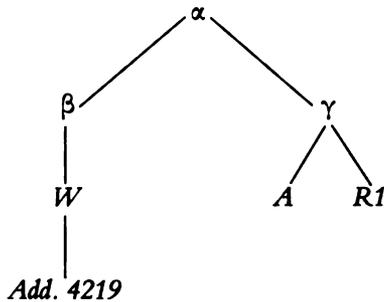
Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the Yale text means that only five readings from it (18, 49; 26, 18; 38, 4 [*bis*]; 46, 18) can be compared to those in *W* and *R1*, and one of those readings (18, 49) is arguably trivial. For that reason, what these common errors signify about the dissemination of *Pdv* will need to be postponed momentarily until we explore different variants shared by the Yale and Royal 5 F.iii copies of *Pdv*.

Collation of the 'Yale Fragment' and Royal 5 F.iii reveals a relationship different from that suggested by variants common to the Royal and Würzburg manuscripts. In fact, *A* and *R1* also share unique grammatical and orthographical conjunctive errors, as follows:

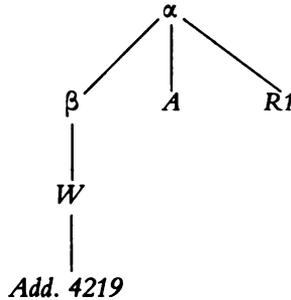
- 4, 46 *per]* *om. R1 A*

- 23, 40 *praemisso*] *praemiso* *R1 A*
 36, 35 *probabuntur*] *probabitur* *R1 A*
 36, 117 *cutis calositas*] *calositas cutis* *R1 A*
 42, 44 *Romulidum*] *sic* *R1 A*, *romulidam cett.*

Both manuscripts *A* and *R1* logically descend from a common ancestor, a relative of *W* that preserved readings like the omission of *per* (4, 46) or the singular *probabitur* for the plural *probabuntur* (36, 35), and especially the inversion *calositas cutis* for *cutis calositas* (36, 117). Whether *R1*, like *A*, is a direct descendant of α , the hyparchetype of *W*, or of the source from which *A* also issues, depends entirely on how one weighs the textual evidence: are the four significant errors common to *W* and *R1* more likely to have been corrected in *A*, or are the four significant errors common to *A* and *R1* more likely to have been corrected in *W*? Although the question finds no indisputable solution, the reading *calositas cutis* for *cutis calositas* in *R1* and *A* supports the position that *R1* and *A* descend from the same hyparchetype. Rather than speculate that *W*, *A* and *R1* derive independently from the hyparchetype α , I prefer to suggest that *A* and *R1* branch off from a common source, γ . My reconstruction implies that *A* incorporates corrections, either made to its archetype after the source of *R1* had been copied or to a version of *Pdv* intermediate to γ and *A*. Hence, the relationship between *W*, *A* and *R1* can be graphically represented in the following stemma:



The alternative view, of course, differs only slightly:



London, Lambeth Palace Library ms 200 *pars* ii (L)

Among Aldhelm manuscripts that he collated, Rudolf Ehwald paid particular attention to Lambeth 200, a deluxe copy of *Pdv* dated to the second half of the tenth century. ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The manuscript is currently bound with two unrelated codices, of vellum and paper respectively, measuring 19.5 × 27 cm. ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The first has no known provenance or origin. This section (fols. 1-65), in a neat fifteenth-century hand and preceded by two sixteenth-century fly-leaves, is a 'Liber Rogeri Bacon de comendacione mathematice' (fols. 2-37), followed by an imperfect copy of a letter of Bacon's to Pope Clement (fols. 38-59), then a letter of Robert Grosseteste's to Pope Innocent IV (fols. 60-63), and, finally, a letter of Zano of Castiglione (bishop of Bayeux, 1432-59) to Duke Humphrey (fols. 64-65). ⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The Aldhelm manuscript then follows (fols. 66-113). It has dimensions identical to the preceding folios, and a regular collation: i+I⁸-V⁸+VI⁸ (6-7 cancelled). The manuscript bears a fourteenth-century pressmark of Waltham Abbey on fol. 66v.

(108) BISHOP, *Minuscule*, p. 5.

(109) H. TODD, *A Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (London, 1812); this early catalogue contains references to Grynaeus's 1569 edition and Henry Wharton's edition of 1693. In other respects Todd's catalogue has been entirely superseded by M. R. JAMES and C. JENKINS, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (London, 1930), pp. 315-18. The following section is based in part on the description provided in their text. In a frontispiece an illustrator of Lambeth 200 portrayed Aldhelm presenting his *opus geminatum* to his dedicatees; cf. R. GAMESON, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 23, 86.

(110) JAMES and JENKINS, *Lambeth Palace*, p. 316.

Waltham was situated near Barking, and Ehwald hesitatingly suggested that this version of *Pdv* might descend from a copy presented by Aldhelm to the Barking community: '... nescio an cum monasteriorum Bercingensis et Walthamiensis commercio aliquo modo cohaereat codicis splendor aut exemplar egregie scriptum referens aut eximiam curam officiose demonstrans' (p. 217).⁽¹¹¹⁾ Because of arguments made in the following pages, however, Ehwald's ingenious conjecture cannot be true.

The script of Lambeth 200 is an accomplished Caroline Minuscule of the late tenth century with consistent hybrid letter-forms, and the eighty-odd glosses, written in the same hand, were probably added when the manuscript was copied. They correspond, as we shall see, to the earliest strata of glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv and may very well have been copied from an Aldhelm manuscript that pre-dates the Royal book.⁽¹¹²⁾ I have also found a single scratched gloss: 28, 17 PHILARGIRIA] *wonoræ*.

Criticizing E. M. Thompson's account of the 'uncertain formation' of the script in Lambeth 200,⁽¹¹³⁾ Bishop advanced the unorthodox claim that this scribe

achieved a calligraphic masterpiece in a deliberately eclectic script. The forms of 'g' and 'r' ... belong to the Caroline element in the script ... but the forms 'a', 's', 'd', 'e', 'o', 'q' and 't' are those of the Insular minuscule, and the scribe consistently avoided the Caroline ampersand ... in favour of the Insular *et* ligature.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

This copyist appears as 'scribe F' in two other volumes attributed, like the Lambeth manuscript, to St. Augustine's:⁽¹¹⁵⁾ (a) Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Auct. D. Inf. 2.9 (i), fols. 53r to

(111) Presumably, Gneuss attributed this copy of *Pdv* to Barking because of Ehwald's remarks (cf. H. GNEUSS, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *ASE* 9 (1981), 1-60, at p. 33).

(112) Bishop's remarks are pertinent: 'Something of the elaborate punctuation found in *early* insular mss. survives in [Lambeth 200]' (BISHOP IV, p. 332, my emphasis).

(113) E. THOMPSON, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 430-1.

(114) BISHOP IV, p. 331.

(115) J. HIGGITT, 'Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts', *Art History* 2 (1979), 275-90, at pp. 278, 282) attributes the volume to Glastonbury on stylistic grounds alone; the Lanthony materials (below, p. 108 and note 118) might support a southwest provenance.

59v9 (Cassian, a production of at least ten collaborators; the volume was later owned by Exeter Cathedral); (b) Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Rawlinson C.570, fols. 1v, 6v-44v22 (Arator, also having a St. Augustine's provenance).⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The Lambeth manuscript is a holograph of this scribe and represents his best extant work. A peculiar link exists between this Lambeth scribe and London, BL ms Royal 6 A.vi, a late tenth-century Aldhelm book from Christ Church. A scribe writing the Royal text also made certain contributions, as noted below (p. 178), to Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Auct. F.1.15 (i). Interestingly, a scribe of this Auctarium manuscript also appears in Auct. D. Inf. 2.9 (i), in which 'scribe F' also writes. This scribal link between the Lambeth and Royal manuscripts manifests the intellectual commerce between Christ Church and St. Augustine's around the turn of the millennium. Similar connections between these two Canterbury houses are explored in the following pages.

The third item in Lambeth 200 (fols. 114-164) is a hotch-potch of Biblical material dated s. xiii-xiv.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ This portion of the book comes from Lanthony (Gloucestershire) and bears the Lanthony *ex libris* on fol. 114v.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Fols. 115-117 contain a number of scribbles and notes, including genealogical matter on Mercian kings. Beginning on fol. 117r is copy of glosses on the Psalms called 'distinctiones super Spalterium [*sic*]'. It continues until fol. 160r, whereupon it is followed by miscellaneous notes on Biblical subjects. Following these on fol. 162 is a fourteenth-century exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed and one twelfth-century leaf of extracts from Augustine (fol. 164). Hereafter there is a miscellany of texts of various dates: (a) a litany, (b) a text on the crucified thief, (c) an imperfect copy of the 'Gospel of Nicodemus', (d) an acephalous collection of sermons, (e) a 'comment on a philosophical text', beginning 'Cum homo uniuersam excellat creaturam', (f) four leaves from a thirteenth-century lawbook.

(116) BISHOP IV, pp. 328-9.

(117) Listed in James's and Jenkins's catalogue, *Lambeth Palace*, pp. 317-18.

(118) To my knowledge, it has not been previously noted that the volume appears as entry 69 in the fourteenth-century catalogue of Lanthony books (ed. H. OMONT, 'Anciens catalogues de bibliothèques anglaises', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 9 (1892), 201-22, at p. 210).

'Class III' Manuscripts

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms 326 (C1)

M. R. James meticulously described the early eleventh-century Corpus manuscript of *Pdv* in his catalogue. ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Measuring 17 × 23 cm, the book is ruled for twenty-four long lines to the page, and collated ii+71: i²+I⁸-VIII⁸(+2)+IX⁴(+i). Quire signatures appear throughout: p. 16 (.i.), p. 32 (.ii.), p. 48 (.iii.), p. 64 (.iiii.), p. 78 (.v.), p. 94 (.vi.), p. 110 (.vii.), p. 126 (.viii.). The manuscript has a Christ Church provenance, for it bears a Christ Church shelfmark on fly-leaf ii along with the words 'Aldelmus de laude virginum nous'. *Nous* has been added. ⁽¹²⁰⁾ There is also a twelfth-century Christ Church shelfmark 'dc.' on the upper corner of fly-leaf i. ⁽¹²¹⁾ A runic inscription on page 140, provisionally transcribed '-um uilframno s(c)ripsit amen' suggests that part of the volume may have been written by an unknown Wulfram; 'Ædilflæd' is an alternative reading. ⁽¹²²⁾ A second runic inscription 'vive vale feli(x) cum cristo amen' occurs on page 105.

The manuscript's contents are unified in their difficult latinity. After the Aldhelm *capitula* is the Old English-Graeco-Latin macaronic poem 'Aldhelm', followed immediately by *Pdv*. After *Pdv* (p. 133) comes a brief inscription: '<C> onperias lector literas tam grecas quam latinas superpositas quibusdam lineis istius codicelli suas habere significationes. et super greca nomina grecas quere signifi ...'. This is succeeded by a fragmentary copy of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés's *Bella parisiacae urbis*, book III, the only volume of the work to have enjoyed any circulation. ⁽¹²³⁾ Following this are a short glossary and some wisdom texts related to the Slavonic Enoch and to Solomon and Sa-

(119) M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912).

(120) JAMES, *Ancient Libraries*, p. 506; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 30.

(121) JAMES, *Ancient Libraries*, pp. 13-61, for Eastry's entries. An Aldhelm entry does not appear in the fragmentary catalogue of 1170.

(122) Cf. R. DEROLEZ, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Bruges, 1954), p. 421, where Derolez reads '?st ?l.fwæm N ?s ?r ?ns ?t ?'. He doubts James's account and provides Kemble's next to his own (J. KEMBLE, 'On Anglo-Saxon Runes', *Archaeologia* 28 (1840), 327-72, at p. 366: 'Ædilflæd scripsit').

(123) Ed. P. VON WINTERFELD, *MGH poetæ latini ævi carolini* (Berlin, 1899), vol. 4.1, pp. 72-122; cf. LAPIDGE, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 71-2; P. LENDINARA, 'The Third Book of the *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss', *ASE* 15 (1986), 73-89.

turn. ⁽¹²⁴⁾ On page 137 is a short hexameter poem on the labor of a copyist, and this is followed by some riddling material. ⁽¹²⁵⁾ The only other significant text in the manuscript is a *rota* with six spokes. ⁽¹²⁶⁾ A better preserved copy of the same text is found in London, Lambeth Palace Library ms 204, fol. 130.

Many scribes wrote the main texts, and their contributions sometimes divide neatly at quires. One scribe writes the beginning of *Pdv*, stopping at page 64 (QIV). A second writes until page 110 (QVII). A third scribe seems to begin here, continuing to fol. 134v10, the end of *Pdv*, but this may simply be a later continuation by scribe 2. Thereafter a series of scribes copied the miscellaneous materials in the last several folios. ⁽¹²⁷⁾ In Bishop's stemmata of Christ Church hands, page 138v4-24 (metrical or grammatical notes) was written by a scribe who also annotated the Trinity Arator at fol. 5r19-23. As we have seen, the main glossator to the Arator volume also wrote the main gloss in another Aldhelm book, London, BL ms Cotton Domitian A.ix, fols. 2r-7v (*Epist*). Apparently, Corpus 326 was available in Canterbury at the time the Domitian *Epist* and Arator manuscripts were penned. As Bishop has shown, Royal 6 A.vi also boasts a common link to the scriptorium which produced the Trinity Arator, and I have claimed that the Royal and Domitian glosses of *Epist* are closely related. ⁽¹²⁸⁾ Therefore, a collation of Royal 6 A.vi with the Corpus copy of *Pdv* might fruitfully expose the degree of their relationship, if any. The same exercise applied to Salisbury 38 would also highlight whether any of these preceding Canterbury volumes took over any of the peculiar readings of *S*.

The text and glosses to the Corpus copy of *Pdv* are particularly corrupt; in fact, this version of *Pdv* is arguably the most corrupt copy to survive. It has been extensively corrected by a principal scribe, probably my 'scribe 1'. Additions are notated with ð/h abbreviations, and corrections appear in the margins. ⁽¹²⁹⁾ Glosses, too, have obviously been copied by this inex-

(124) JAMES, *Corpus Christi*, p. 145.

(125) *Ibid.*

(126) *Ibid.*, p. 146.

(127) *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

(128) GWARA, 'Pedagogy', pp. 110-11.

(129) The following page and line numbers refer to errors both minor and egregious: 13.10, 14.13, 18.12, 20.1, 24.5, 24.9, 24.12, 24.18, 25.8, 26.3, 31.10, 31.13, 32.15, 38.2, 38.9, 41.2, 43.11, 44.15, 45.13, 45.18, 49.2, 49.6, 74.15, 77.23, 79.14, 83.21, 97.23, 108.20, 111.4, 118.13, 118.23, 128.10, 128.23, 132.7, 132.10, 132.11.

perienced or inept scribe. Many make no sense in the context or lack letters and syllables: ⁽¹³⁰⁾

gerationis (for *generationis*, 9.11), *doctri* (for *doctrinarum*, 54.5), *sapient* (55.1), *gra* (for *gratia*, 65.5), *habuntia* (for *habundantia*, 82.16-17), *sentia* (for *sententia*, 98.7), *moriam* (for *memoriam*, 100.9) ⁽¹³¹⁾

It is possible to interpret some of these corruptions as Latin examples of Logeman's 'crude forms' – abbreviations for longer Latin terms made by omitting a syllable. ⁽¹³²⁾ Such merographs are common in Old English but unattested in Latin. Any such hypothesis, however, must account for the dozens of comparable textual errors committed by this scribe, such as *condunt* (for *contendunt*), *permentes* (for *pertinentes*), *tempeste* (for *tempestate*), *descente* (for *descendente*). In fact, collation with *W*, *A* and *R1* (below, pp. 118-22) suggests that these corruptions could plausibly be traced to an early defective *Pdv* copy from which similar errors arose.

There appear to be two, possibly more, tenth-century gloss-hands in Corpus 326. HAND 1A and 1B (= 'scribe 1', the main scribe) offer Latin glosses in a primitive Anglo-Caroline of little distinction except in 'g', which has a stem between the upper and lower elements. This short stem is correspondingly less exaggerated than that of his text hand. Letter 'e' resembles older Insular 'e' more closely than the rotund Caroline forms frequently associated with Canterbury. Ascenders are slightly clubbed, but descenders often taper to a point; there are no serifs. Abbreviations and ligatures are uncommon. The Old English glosses in this hand are written in a mixture of Caroline and Insular letter-forms. Insular forms are 'æ', low-backed 'd', 'f', 'ð', 'þ', and backwards 'y', whereas Caroline forms are 'a', 'g', 'r' and tall 's'. The first layer in this hand (1A) represents correc-

(130) Certain (phonological) spellings are unconventional as well: *conuirmetur* (29.19), *ac* (for *hac*, 34.20), *augmentatus* (37.9), *in'exhaustum* (57.15), *proiebat* (70.24), *hrethores* (74.9), *egritodo* (82.4), *publicatam* (83.20), *sumus* (for *summus*, 93.18-19), *ypohcrite* (94.10), *carraxatur* (106.16), *hobedientibus* (116.10).

(131) I note many similar kinds of errors in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 97, a contemporaneous Christ Church manuscript: *conciabulum* (for *conciliabulum*), *ubermamque* (for *uberrimamque*), *in patulo* (for *in propatulo*), *mille* (for *millena*), *locupletus* (for *locupletatus*), *geneos* (for *geneseos*), etc.

(132) H. LOGEMAN, *The Rule of Saint Benet*, Early English Text Society o. s. vol. 90 (London, 1880), pp. xxxix-xl. Logeman applies the principle only to vernacular glosses.

tions or alternative readings mainly in the same thick pen in which the text was written. The second layer (1B) was added afterwards. The sparse syntactic glossing which occurs throughout this book was probably penned by this scribe.

A second hand (HAND 2) can be discerned glossing throughout the book in a thinner pen. The ink is lighter, and the duct is sometimes quite diminutive and fine. Letter-forms are Anglo-Caroline in the Latin, with an occasional Uncial 'd'. Old English in this hand tends to have Caroline letters, but a sporadic tall 'e' in ligature still appears alongside Anglo-Saxon 'æ', 'ð', 'þ' and 'wynn'. This scribe contributed glosses after HAND 1, as entries on pages 36.7, 40.6 and 37.22 (*inter alia*) demonstrate. Occasional hands also appear in Corpus 326, most easily seen on pages 100.3, 106.5 and 128.4.

The manuscript also contains several hundred scratched glosses, published mainly by Meritt, Page and myself.⁽¹³³⁾ Several scribes are discernible in the scratched glosses, one lightly scratching the surface of the vellum, and another deeply incising his glosses:

The dry-point glosses are the work of several hands, some with quite distinctive characteristics as the one that produced the tiny, deeply cut *ada* for *pyrarum* on p. 101. Among the glossators was presumably the man, part of whose name, 'apilf', is cut in runes in the space next to the chapter numbering on p. 128 ...⁽¹³⁴⁾

Page noted that some of the scratched glosses precede the ink glosses, for the ink gloss 'of his gydde' partly covers a dry-point gloss 'of his'. Among the scratched glosses there are many mero-graphs of one or more letters. They closely resemble the mero-graphs of Royal 5 E.xi in form and function, but they do not seem to derive from one another. Curiously, however, the bulk of scratched glosses in Aldhelm manuscripts survives in two contemporaneous Canterbury volumes; perhaps this coincidence reflects a teaching practice at Canterbury. On one hand, the scratched glosses might have suggested an appropriate rendering of the lemma without making the text illegible with too

(133) H. D. MERITT, *Old English Glosses* (New York, 1945), no. 1; R. I. PAGE, 'More Aldhelm Glosses from CCCC 326', *English Studies* 56 (1975), 481-90; S. GWARA, 'Further Old English Scratched Glosses and Mero-graphs from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ms 326 (Aldhelm's *Prosa de uirginitate*)', *English Studies* 78 (1997), 201-36. Napier printed five scratched glosses (*Glosses*, p. xxxiii).

(134) PAGE, 'Glosses', p. 482.

much ink. Alternatively, the scratched merograph (or full gloss) might have been visible only to a teacher and not to a student, who may have read the text together. This suggestion would be more attractive if we knew more about the Anglo-Saxon classroom and how glossing functioned as an aid to the reader.

London, BL ms Royal 6 B.vii (*R5*)

An important and densely glossed book of *Pdv* is London, BL ms Royal 6 B.vii (*R5*), a late eleventh-century manuscript from Exeter.⁽¹³⁵⁾ According to Elaine Drage, whose Oxford doctoral thesis catalogued all eleventh-century Exeter books, 'the nucleus of the manuscript was probably written at Exeter towards the end of the eleventh century, since ... it is both more decorated than is usual for the bulk of "Exeter" manuscripts and the illuminated initials show affinities with those in books imported from Normandy to Exeter, probably by Bishop Osbern (1072-1103)'.⁽¹³⁶⁾ A relic list appearing on fols. 54v-55v is similar to the list of Æthelstan's donations to Exeter in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms 579 (the 'Leofric Missal') fols. 6r-v. The book does not appear in the 1327 Exeter inventory, and its later history is virtually unknown.⁽¹³⁷⁾ A scribe (from Exeter?) writing with brown ink made annotations here and in other Exeter books sometime after 1337, for an inscription 'Edwardus dei (gratia) Rex Anglie et Ffrancie' dates him, in Drage's opinion, 'after Edward III's claim to that title'.⁽¹³⁸⁾

This Royal manuscript contains 502 Old English glosses as well as thousands of Latin ones, almost all of which are in the same semi-rotund Exeter hand as that of the text. The hand generically resembles that in any number of Exeter manuscripts, such as London, BL ms Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii or Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 191. While not symptomatic of the Leofrician script (being the second generation of this house style), it occurs also in Cambridge, Trinity College ms 315 (fols.

(135) *Cat. Roy. MSS.*, p. 136; cf. M. RICHTER, *Die altenglischen Gloszen zu Aldhelms De laudibus virginitatis in der Handschrift BL, Royal 6 B. vii* (Munich, 1996) and my review (*Speculum* 74 (1999), pp. 820-2).

(136) E. DRAGE, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050-1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (diss., Oxford, 1978), p. 372.

(137) *Ibid.*; on the relic list cf. M. FÖRSTER, *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland* (Munich, 1943), pp. 35-40 and D. ROLLASON, 'Relic-cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy', *ASE* 15 (1986), 91-103.

(138) DRAGE, 'Bishop Leofric', p. 372.

26-7, 36v12-39v1, from St. Mary Leicester) and Cambridge, Trinity College ms 1475 (a holograph).⁽¹³⁹⁾ In Bishop's words:

[The scribe of Trinity College 1475] reappears, writing more carefully, in [BL] ms 6 B.vii; this also is from Exeter; and it has a bilingual interlinear gloss in a hand closely resembling that of [Cambridge,] Corpus Christi Coll. 201, pages 8-145, 147-50, and 167, line 11, to 170, line 8, associated within the same covers with materials certainly written and preserved at Exeter.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

The duct is relatively wide, with almost all circular elements in the letters 'b', 'c', 'd', 'g', 'o', 'p' and 'q' perfectly round. On occasion, there is a tendency to clip the left-hand curve of these letters, giving a 'left-leaning' aspect. Characteristic of this hand is a 'left-leaning' Caroline 'a' with open upper member and correspondingly compressed lower member, rotund 'e' with tiny upper compartment and angular cross-stroke, small – even negligible – serifs on 'm' and 'n'. The script is purely calligraphic, a minuscule of the late eleventh century with distinct pen-lifts and few ligatures. These few ligatures, 'st' and 'rt' in particular, the ampersand and 'e'-caudata are highly mannered.

These features are, in many respects, characteristic of the script developed by the Canterbury scribe Eadwig (=Eadui) Basan and practised at Christ Church from the second quarter of the eleventh century onwards. Eadwig's script appears in the Hanover Gospel Book (Hanover, Kestner-Museum ms W. M. XXIIa, 36) and in London, BL ms Cotton Vespasian A.i pars ii. This Canterbury norm was soon imitated across southern England and formed the basis for the Exeter script of Leofric's scriptorium. Even so, there are appreciable differences between the Exeter script and Eadwig's experimentations. The Canterbury books often have a Canonical Capital display script, compressed lower member on 'a', and the tendency, apparent early at Tours, to link the upper fillips of letters across the bounding line.

The ink in Royal 6 B.vii is very black and legible with clear shadings. Abbreviations and *nomina sacra* are infrequent, although regular in form. The manuscript has been ruled in dry-point with 25 long lines to the page and collated by Drage before its rebinding in 1983: (fols. i+1-53+i+54-5+i), I⁸-VI⁸, VII⁶ (fols. 49-53+i), VIII³ (fols. 54, 55+i). The collation now reads: iii+i²+II⁶+III¹ (a singleton)+IV⁸-VIII⁸+IX¹ (a singleton)+ X⁴

(139) BISHOP III, pp. 198-9.

(140) *Ibid.*, p. 199.

(now all singletons)+XI¹ (a singleton)+XII² (a bifolium)+iii. The book has been re-bound with individual quires sewn to paper guards, so that its construction is patent. Measurements are 20 × 30 cm, written area 15 × 22 cm. The manuscript might have been ruled for glossing, but this is difficult to determine, insofar as many Exeter manuscripts have widely separated lines (also a characteristic of Eadwig Basan's script). The glosses are so carefully positioned that the space between lines might have been measured for glosses. The bilingual *Rule of Chrodegang* seems also to have been made with a similar intention.

The elegant script, overall accuracy of text and care of execution leave no doubt that Royal 6 B.vii was a deluxe copy of *Pdv*, the paleography of which is indisputably based on Canterbury models.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ The text, too, probably derived from a Canterbury archetype. As I shall demonstrate, Goossens's view that glosses in *R5* must have been copied from Brussels 1650 before the glossing there was complete cannot be correct. In my opinion, many of the Latin glosses in Royal 6 B.vii must have derived from an apograph of Digby 146, a putative Canterbury manuscript probably imported in abbot Sidemann's time (ca. 968 × 977), given the clear relationship between the Royal manuscript and Lambeth 200.

The textual transmission of Royal 6 B.vii intersects that of three other relatively young *Pdv* manuscripts – Corpus 326 (*C1*), Brussels 1650 (*B*) and Lambeth 200 (*L*) – and their common origin can be discerned through collation. As a group, *R5*, *C1*, *B* and *L* form a significant and discrete *Pdv* family nevertheless intricately connected to the oldest *Pdv* copies, *W*, *A* and *R1*. Slight evidence verifying the relationship encumbers any firm interpretation, but *R5* and *L* at least can be shown to descend from the same hyparchetype; I shall begin my discussion of the textual transmission of this *Pdv* family with them.

There can be no doubt that Royal 6 B.vii and Lambeth 200 originated in a common source that pre-dates the eleventh century (given the age of Lambeth 200). The following conjunctive errors are unique to the textual tradition of *Pdv*, and they show in stark terms how closely related these manuscripts must be:

(141) Yet the glosses contain many mis-placements and wrong readings, all of which contradict the superior production of this *Pdv* copy.

- 9, 20 profundus ... latex] profundum ... laticem (*corr. ex profundus ... latex SB*) *R2 R4 SR3 C2 C1 B O P H*, profundi putei latex *R5*, profundi (um *sup. i*) putei latex *L*
- 9, 20 gelida ... limpha] gelidam ... lympham *R2 R4 R3 C2 C1 (e corr.) B O P H*, gelide cisternæ limpha *R5*, gelidæ (*corr. in gelidam*) cisterne limpha (*corr. in limpham*) *L*
- 9, 31 Huius] cuius *R5 L*
- 20, 29 Domino] deo *R5 L*
- 21, 42 transmigratione] transmirationem *R5 L*
- 23, 10/11 ardore] amore *R5 L*
- 25, 69 rursus] rursum *R5 L*
- 29, 24/25 absorbeat ... modo] absorbeat armis orationum extinxit secundum poeticum dictum o superi talem terris auertite gypsam hoc modo *R5*, absorbeat armis orationum extinxit o superi talem terris auertite gypsam hoc modo *L*
- 35, 56 ratiocinationis] rationis *R5 L*
- 37, 48/49 carnalis] carnis *R5 L*
- 37, 50 caelorum orbibus] orbibus agminibus *R5 L*
- 39, 10 nasciturus] nascitur et *R5 L*
- 42, 37 Lucia ... signaculo] lucia uirgo saluo pudoris signaculo *R5 L*
- 43, 18 uirtutum] rerum *R5 L*
- 47, 11 horrisono] *corr. ex horrisona R5*, horrisona *L*
- 50, 4 caraxemus] caraxabimus *R5 L*
- 53, 58 nondum] necdum *R5 L*
- 56, 41/42 atque imperfectum] et imperfectum *R5 L*

While the Exeter manuscript, Royal 6 B.vii, could descend from Lambeth 200, such a hypothesis would necessitate at least one *Pdv* copy intermediate to *R5* and *L* that was meticulously collated and corrected, since Lambeth 200 transmits dozens of readings not found in *R5*. However, the circumstances under which relatively trivial errors were corrected in the intervening manuscript but serious errors left untouched (like 'nascitur et' for 'nasciturus' or 'transmigrationem' for 'transmigratione') contravenes expectation. More plausible is the view that *R5* and *L* stem from one hyparchetype.

Interestingly, collation divulges that manuscripts *R5* and *L* also descend from the same source as *B*, a fact observable from the following unique variants common to the three sources: ⁽¹⁴²⁾

- 25, 28 miserrimum] miserum *R5 B L*

(142) Sometimes *B* shares significant variants with *R5* or *L* alone: 2, 20/21 aethera] aera *B L*; 7, 38 uirgini] uirginis *R5 B*; 29, 54 seruauisse] seruasse *R5 B*; 33, 29 Tum] tunc *B L*; 43, 14 Soroastren] zaroastren *B L*.

47, 50 naufragauerant] naufragauerunt *W R5 B L*

52, 40 sacra] sancta *R5 B L*

54, 29 attestante] testante *R5 B L*

Because *B* is textually linked to *C1* (below, p. 121-2), *R5* and *L* predictably share significant variants with *C1*, too:

14, 18/19 huiuscemodi] in huiuscemodi *C1 R5 L*

20, 8/9 iter et] iter curruque corusco et *C1 R5 L*

20, 15 pendere] reddere *C1 R5 L*

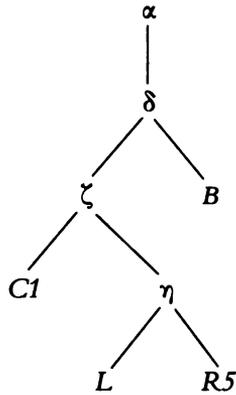
And some evidence likewise proves that *C1*, *R5*, *B* and *L* all descend from a common source:

13, 30/31 libro] in libro *C1 R5 B L*

25, 5 baptisterio] *corr. in baptismo C1, baptismo R5 B L*

25, 81 facies] facias *C1 R5 L, corr. ex facias per sup. e B*

Unfortunately, we reach a dilemma when we consider how *B* and *C1* are related to *R5* and *L*. *B* and *C1* have few significant common errors except for those they share with *R5* and *L*. We must therefore consider whether errors in *C1* common to *R5*, *B* and *L* are more likely to have been corrected by collation, or, vice versa, whether errors in *B* common to *C1*, *R5* and *L* are more likely to have been corrected. In my view, the errors common to *B*, *R5* and *L* are potentially haphazard. The mistranscription 'miserum' for 'miserrimum' is arguably easy to make, just like 'naufragauerunt' for 'naufragauerant'. 'Sacra' and 'sancta' are effortlessly mistaken through a misunderstood abbreviation (*s̄ca*; 'c' and 't' are habitually confused), just as 'testante' for 'at-testante' involves the omission of one syllable. By contrast, divergent readings from *C1*, 'in huiuscemodi' for 'huiuscemodi', 'iter curruque corusco et' for 'iter et' and 'reddere' for 'pendere' entail the addition or substitution of words or phrases. Such errors as these are not likely to have been eliminated in an antecedent to Brussels 1650, even if 'testante' or 'naufragauerunt' were. Both the Brussels and Corpus manuscripts transmit dozens of similarly absurd errors, so we cannot claim that even obvious interventions would have been eradicated. While the quantity of evidence renders provisional any deductions we could make about the relationship between *C1*, *R5*, *B* and *L*, the following stemma represents at least one way of interpreting the evidence supplied by collation:



A contingent problem arising from collating manuscripts of this family centers on the derivation of *C1* and *B*, both of which seem closely related to *W*, *A* and *R1*. I begin with the youngest of these manuscripts, Brussels 1650. Despite its relative chronology near the end of the lineage of *Pdv* manuscripts, the Brussels *Pdv* must preserve an archaic text, one copied from an exemplar of considerable authority. Brussels 1650 has many unique readings in common with the Würzburg *Pdv* and with the 'Yale Fragment'. That *B* descends from the same hyparchetype as *W* can be discerned in the following significant variants:

- 7, 1/2 beatitudinis] beatudinis *W B*
- 7, 45 oromate] oramate *W B*
- 9, 37 cauliculus] *corr. ex* cauliculos *per sup.* u *W B*
- 12, 23 municipes] *corr. ex* municeps *W B*
- 18, 27 repleretur] repletur *W B*
- 25, 61 uenustae] uenustate *W*, uenustate (*linea sub ta ducta*) *B*
- 29, 49 Christo] christi *W B*
- 32, 105/106 insectationes] insectiones *W B*
- 36, 57 agosto ... textu] augustu's stili text'u *W*, agosto stili textu *B*
- 42, 27 lenonum] leonum *W*, le'n'onum *B*
- 44, 37 stimulis] stimumulis *W B*
- 52, 8 aceruitas] *sic* *W*, acerbitas (*b corr. ex u*) *B*, acerbitas *cett.*
- 56, 36 amplificare] amplicare *W B*
- 58, 19 publicatam] publicatum *W*, *corr. ex* publicatum *B*

The Brussels manuscript likewise shares readings with the 'Yale Fragment', suggesting that *B* could derive, albeit distantly, from the source of the 'Yale Fragment', allowing for the prospect that divergences between *A* and *B* were corrected in a hyparchetype

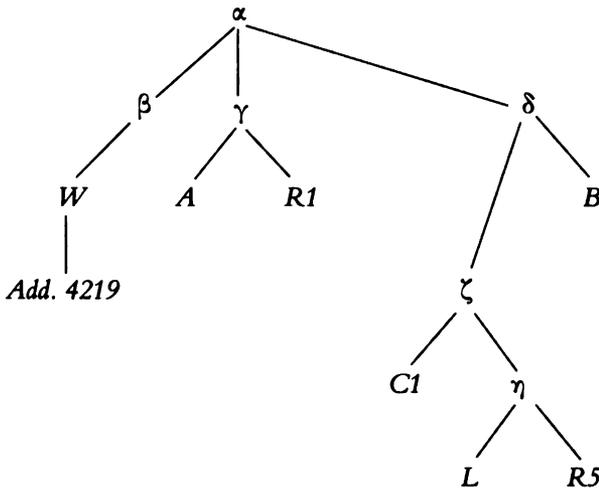
of *A* or introduced during the long transmission history of Brussels' antecedents. The list of common errors is small, but even after generations of copying, both manuscripts still preserve the omission of 'et' in two different contexts, no doubt traceable to a confusion in a remote exemplar:

27, 3 et] *sup. lin.* *A B*

42, 45 sortitus] sorti`tus *A B*

43, 43 et] *om.* *A B*

Nevertheless, the paucity of evidence connecting the 'Yale Fragment' and Brussels 1650 suggests to me that these two sources probably descend from different hyparchetypes – or else the source of *A* was sedulously corrected. On the basis of inference, I would argue that the relationship between *W*, *A* and *B* can be depicted graphically as follows:



Earlier I suggested that Royal 5 F.iii descended from a hyparchetype designated γ , and because γ might closely resemble δ , the Royal and Brussels manuscripts could be textually connected. At least two unique errors imply that they are:

8, 14 liquido] liquide *R1 B*

35, 77 lotii] loti *R1 B*

Furthermore, Brussels 1650 also has a number of grammatical and orthographical variants in common with *W*, *R1* and *A*, as follows:

- 20, 29 dicatus] *sic W A*, dicatur *corr. ex dicatus R1*, dicatus est *B*, dicatur *cett.*
- 25, 82/83 uocabulum resuscitabis] uocabulum suscitabis *W R1*, uocabulo (*corr. ex uocabulum*) suscitabis *C1*, uocabulum resuscitabis *A*, uocabulo nominabis *cett. Ehwald*
- 26, 33 obtatis] *sic W R1 A*, optatis (*p corr. ex b*) *B*, optatis *cett.*

And *B* also has variants in common with *W* and *R1* alone:

- 7, 36 patibula] patibulo *omnes codd. praeter W R1*, patibulo *e corr. B*
- 7, 37 latibula] latibulo *omnes codd. praeter W R1*, latibulo *e corr. B*
- 20, 30 consecratus] *sic W R1*, consecratur *corr. in consecratus est B*, consecratur *cett.*

Nothing in these variants suggests that *R1* and *B* do not descend from the same hyparchetype, since discrepancies could very easily represent corrections in any of the extant sources.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Conversely, the evidence here does not in any way *contradict* the relationships theorized in the stemma drawn above.

Ultimately, we have two parts of a complex stemma. *W*, *A*, *R1* and *B* belong to one family, and *C1*, *R5*, *L* and *B* belong to another. Since we already know how Brussels 1650 is related to both families, we obviously need to understand how Corpus 326 is related to them, for its commonalities will confirm the derivation we have established. I have theorized a relationship in the stemma presented above, and collation does not disprove the deductions presented there.

On the one hand, *C1* and *R1* share unique variants proving that they both descend from the same hyparchetype, although the errors are trivial (with the exception of 'feliciter perfrui mer-eatur') and potentially correctable in other related *Pdv* copies like Brussels 1650. The following examples highlight a potential relationship between *R1* and *C1*:

- 40, 21/22 uirginitatis] uirginitatis *R1 C1*
- 60, 23 discrepent] disc'repent *R1 C1*
- 60, 28 imaginum] imagi'num *R1 C1*

(143) For example, in 25, 82/83 above, a corrector has most likely corrected *uocabulo* to *uocabulum* and overwritten *suscitabis* with *nominabis* in the Brussels manuscript. If this kind of correction had occurred in a hyparchetype, the correction would have been silently copied and evidence of filiation lost.

Furthermore, *C1* also shares unique significant variants with the 'Yale Fragment', as follows:

- 26,11 uisus] *s eras. ad fin. atque corr. in uisum C1 A*
- 27, 4 pollebant] pollebat *corr. ex pollebant C1 A*
- 32, 16 lucesceret] *ras. inter e et r C1 A*
- 36, 86 urgente] *urgu'e'nte C1 A*
- 49, 19 Secundam] *corr. ex secundum C1 A*
- 49, 25 pontum] *po'n'tum C1 A*

These variants could be deemed negligible, insofar as they typify the kinds of errors to which scribes are prone (such as the omission of the nasal suspension). By contrast, however, *C1* shares genuinely significant variants with *W*, to the same degree that *B* does:

- 7, 34 rithmico] *riht mico W C1*
- 8, 4 contubernia] *conturbernia W C1*
- 18, 45 lassescere] *lasescere W C1*
- 24, 13 reuelatio] *relatio W, corr. in relatio C1*
- 49, 20 rumorum] *rumor'um W, rumor C1*
- 51, 14 durissimis] *duris'si'mis W C1*
- 54, 3 uirginitas] *uirgini'tas W C1*

And finally, collation proves that *C1* and *B* belong to the same *Pdv* family, even though some significant variants will be shared by other manuscripts, notably *W* and *A*.

- 19, 24 propagandam] *propagandum WAB, corr. ex propagandum C1*
- 21, 52 scribuntur] *describuntur C1 B, 'de'scribuntur A*
- 36, 41 uolutabra] *corr. ex uoluntabra C1 B*
- 36, 42 conuersa] *conuers'a' C1 B*
- 49, 2 Eustochiae] *sic W A, eustochii corr. ex eustochie C1 B, eustochii cett.*

While the *stemma codicum* drawn above is admittedly provisional, it has one appealing and unanticipated endorsement: manuscripts *B*, *C1* and *L* are known to have been produced at Canterbury, and the exemplar of *R5* theoretically came from Canterbury as well. The fact that these four Canterbury books belong to one family suggests that their common errors cannot be casual. On the basis on errors common to other Canterbury *Pdv* copies closely related to *C1*, it seems plausible that the hyparchetype of *C1* – ζ in my stemma – must have been heavily edited. No other explanation can account for the degree to which *C1* diverges from the known *Pdv* tradition in the oldest manuscripts. In fact, we might be able to theorize about the source of

editorial contamination on the basis of an extant manuscript, Royal 7 D.xxiv. In my discussion of this *Pdv* copy I propose that mid-tenth century corrections and emendations which match alterations found in many Canterbury versions were passed on to them through an intermediary. In my view, Archbishop Dunstan, who is known to have corrected manuscripts assiduously, may have made these changes, which were subsequently copied into Canterbury books during his tenure as archbishop (see below, pp. 140-7).

Confirmation of my deduction concerning the Canterbury origin of *B*, *C1*, *L* and *R5* comes from examining the remaining 'Class III' codices. At least three 'Class III' books can be shown to descend from the 'Yale Fragment', while four other Canterbury copies are directly related to an antecedent of Corpus 326. Additionally, one volume stemming from the 'Yale Fragment' has been collated with these or other Canterbury books. In my mind, the branch of the *Pdv* stemma represented by *C1*, *R5*, *B* and *L* could be called the 'Canterbury' branch, whereas the offshoot represented by the 'Yale Fragment' could hypothetically be called the 'Glastonbury' branch, for reasons given below. The Worcester provenance of Royal 5 F.iii, moreover, validates its relationship to the 'Yale Fragment' as a Wessex volume. It will become clear in subsequent discussions that, despite the impossibility of tracing the precise relationships of all the tenth-century Canterbury *Pdv* copies, they fall naturally into these two spheres. One pivotal 'Class III' manuscript that merges the two traditions dates from the 930s and descends directly from the 'Yale Fragment'. Royal 7 D.xxiv was available at Canterbury in the tenth century and its text was made to conform to those of the 'Canterbury' branch. Identifiable descendants of the Royal book therefore resemble Canterbury copies to such a degree that the 'Glastonbury' tradition was largely extinguished in the tenth century.

London, BL ms Royal 7 D.xxiv *pars* ii (*R2*)

One of the earliest texts of *Pdv* and *Epist* (s. $x^{2/4}$) as well as a crucial witness to the earliest glosses, Royal 7 D.xxiv is also the smallest of surviving Aldhelm manuscripts, measuring 12 × 16.5 cm with a written area of 9 × 14 cm. The book has been only slightly trimmed along the outside margins. The diminutive size of the Royal book has suggested to J. Kiff-Hooper that it might have been a teacher's personal copy, and the multiple layers of glosses, their informal grade of script, and their hap-

hazard arrangement seem to confirm the inference. (144) In fact, Royal 7 D.xxiv plausibly belonged to an eminent figure, since readings from it appear to have been transferred into a hyparchetype of at least six Canterbury volumes. These books form a new, contaminated version of *Pdv* which became the Canterbury 'standard' for generations. Furthermore, in addition to influencing a host of Canterbury *Pdv* manuscripts, the Royal copy itself gave rise to at least three extant *Pdv* copies and at least two lost intervening texts.

The Royal *Pdv* forms the second item in a larger compilation of 168 folios, in which it occupies fols. 82-168v. The first item, an imperfect copy of a *Liber Guimundi de corpore et sanguine Christi* (145) written in a twelfth-century hand, was joined to the *Pdv* copy and ruthlessly trimmed. Rubbing on the recto of fol. 82 and a contiguous foliation in red crayon document that the Aldhelm once formed a separate volume. The collation of *R2* is generally consistent and comprises a series of quaternions: I⁶+II⁸-IX⁸+X¹⁰ (9 and 10 are singletons)+XI¹⁰ (1 and 10, 5 and 6 are contemporaneous bifolia; 2 and 9, 3 and 8, 4 and 7 are joint paper sheets containing a partial transcript of *Epist*) (146)+i. The text of *Epist* is deficient at the end; an additional folio attached to the final binion has been lost.

David Dumville has described the main script of Royal 7 D.xxiv as an 'outstanding specimen' of phase II (canonical) Square Minuscule. (147) Later in his study Dumville recounts the canons of this script:

... older features, attesting to the script's history and sources, are still visible. Uncial d, r and s, Half-uncial a, the ligature of t+i and a more general use of i-longa are still to be found wi-

(144) 'Class-Books or Works of Art? Some Observations on the Tenth-Century Manuscripts of Aldhelm's *De Laude Virginitatis*', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages*, ed. I. WOOD and G. LOAD (London, 1991), pp. 15-26.

(145) By Guitmundus, bishop of Aversa (*Cat.Roy.MSS.*, p. 192). The work is defective at the end; cf. *Guitmundus de corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in eucharistia* (PL 20: 1427-94). Flyleaf i is an ecclesiastical writ dated 1540.

(146) Fols. 163r-5 (fol. 165 is blank). This transcript was substantially corrected by Patrick Young (*Cat.Roy.MSS.*, p. 192).

(147) 'English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases', *ASE* 16 (1987), 147-79, at p. 174. Richard Gameson, however, describes the script as 'scrappy' and 'conceived in a meaner mode than [that of Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Tanner 10]; cf. 'The Fabric of the Tanner Bede', *The Bodleian Library Record* 14 (1992), 176-206, at p. 199.

dely used. A tall C is found too, but as with uncial d, r, and s it alternates with the minuscule forms. Tall-e ligatures are everywhere to be seen, especially with the following c, g, m, n, p, t, x and with minuscule r and s, (but not with their Uncial forms), but they are often avoided with following a, i, l, t, u. Pressure to write a two-line script is generally felt, but not everywhere succumbed to. ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

Certain additional archaisms in Royal 7 D.xxiv are worth noting. *Litterae notabiliores*, sometimes colored, appear in the margins – a standard ninth-century characteristic. And the abbreviations *spūm* (fol. 119r3) for *spiritum* and *ihūm* for *iesum* (fol. 139r7) hark back at least half a century. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ This admixture of old and modern conventions befits the Royal script, a transitional style of writing from which the various phases of Square Minuscule arose in the tenth century.

The archaic abbreviations and layout of Royal 7 D.xxiv conceivably attest to the antiquity of the exemplar, and a prevalent feature of the Royal manuscript suggests the same. The text contains word-divisions and syllabic groupings often having no discernible pattern. Prepositions are repeatedly attached to the following nouns, which may themselves break at any part of the word. Verbs are truncated before their inflectional endings. Polysyllabic words of whatever form are segmented by spaces, whereas two or three monosyllabic words are frequently run together by the scribe. The following transcription (chosen at random) typifies the text of Royal 7 D.xxiv: ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Verum tamen mens deo dedita // nec olidos er gastulorum
squalores hor // res cit nec scopulum colloconexum et // mari-
nis gurgitibus inmer sum paues // cit necsudibus crudeliter te-
nerrima // mem bra cedentibus molles cit nec ue // nus ti capi-
tis deformatio quam uis // flaua cesaries radere tur et per
publicum // decal uata traheretur statum cordis // inclinat
Nectorrida fornacis in cen dia // chalda'ici regnatoris machinas
æquiperan // tia ob stipuit Nec uene natos aspidum ric tus
quas marsi in cantati onum car // minibus irritabant paue facta
puellu // la pertimescit.

(148) DUMVILLE, 'Square Minuscule', p. 178.

(149) A. CAPELLI, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*, sixth edn. (Milan, 1960), p. 176 (s. viii); W. M. LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 402-3, 406-7, 410-11; L. TRAUBE, *Nomina Sacra* (Munich, 1907), pp. 160-1.

(150) Fols. 144v21-145r8; // indicates line-ends.

In my view, this phenomenon indicates that the exemplar was written in a *scriptura continua*: majuscule (Uncial) or minuscule (Half-Uncial, Set or Cursive Minuscule) of the seventh or eighth centuries. A *scriptura continua* does not reflect verbal patterns and seldom incorporates the word-divisions encountered in tenth-century Insular manuscripts. Such a script ultimately accounts for even more word-divisions as scribes tackled unfamiliar letter-forms unit by unit. Any resulting apograph is a mixture of broken, conjoined and whole words.

The Royal manuscript, then, might have had an ancient exemplar. Could it still survive? In fact, the one extant book which could represent this exemplar – the *membra disiecta* comprising the ‘Yale Fragment’ – is the irrefutable progenitor of Royal 7 D.xxiv. Written in a ninth-century phase II Cursive Minuscule, the Yale leaves perfectly match the hypothetical profile of the Royal exemplar. The textual evidence, moreover, is compelling proof of their close relationship. First, both volumes have similar, and in places identical, word-divisions: ⁽¹⁵¹⁾

<i>Reading</i>	<i>‘Yale Fragment’</i>	<i>Royal 7 D.xxiv</i>
micro cosmum	1v5	
mic ro cosmum		87v9
exduplici	1v6	87v10
nonarbitror	1v8	87v12
iuxtagen es eos	1v14	
iuxtagene seos		87v14
auestra	1v15	87v18
nonquasi	2r3	87v24
nos cuntur	2r11, 3v8	88r6, 89v16
flaues centes	2v7	88r22
percola	3r4	89r18
dis cretas	3r6	89r21
trans uerberans	3r19	89v8
castouerbi	3v1	89v9
deapum	3v3	89v11
huius cemudi	3v8	89v16
dis cursibus	3v18	89v25
sicertis	4r1	90r1
quae rere	4r4	90r4
utmulto	4r8	90r8
obreuerentiam	4r9	90r8
proficis cantur ⁽¹⁵²⁾	4r10	90r9

(151) For the following list, I have collated the first ten folios of the Yale book.

(152) Altered to *-untur* in *R2*.

in cellulis	4r12	90r11
in rerum	4r13	90r12
sub iectionis	4r18	90r17
in ualle	4v1	90r18
praeceteris	4v2	90r19
acnardi	4v8	90r25
acdilectabile	5r4	90v15
itadiuina	5r6	90v18
quod tamen	5r7	90v18
ac priuatam	5v6	91r10
corus cante	6r7	92r17
deiugalitatis	6r12	92r23
deterra	6r14	92r25
deconca	6r15	92r26
splendida m eri	6r16	
splendidam eri		92v2
exglomer	6v1	92v9
uiles cunt	6v2	92v10
sibombicinum	6v2	92v10
fulges cat	6v4	92v12
dacti los	6v9	92v16
seurigida	6v12	92v19
acforficis	6v13	92v21
exhis dem	6v17	
exis dem		92v24
capess ant	7r5	
capess unt ⁽¹⁵³⁾		96v18
horen dum	7r5	
horren dum		96v18
uoticompotibus	7r6	96v19
obrem	7r7	96v20
delate brosis	7r1	697r2
phara onis ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾	7v3	
phara onis		97r8
orcifaucibus	7r10	97r14
nonrefragbatur	7r12	97r16
utrum que	8r8	101r26
contraspiritum	8r12	101v3
intumes cens	8r14	101v5
pro ceres	9r13	97v10
eorum dem	9r14	
eorum dem		97v11
ad bellum	9v1	97v17
deradice	9v11	98r1
ista tortis	10r4	102r5

(153) Letter 'a' above an erasure in *A*; 'u' in erasure in *R2*.

(154) *In ras. A*.

incapite	10r10	102r11
superbestiam	10r13	102r15
inuasse	10r20	
inuase		102r23
nonnubent	10v14	102v16
incaelo	10v15	102v17
prae clara	10v15	102v17
num quam	10v18	102v20

There are hundreds of similar examples in the remaining folios. Interestingly, the Royal manuscript contains word-divisions at places where no such separations occur in *A*. These are traceable to paleographical features in the Yale leaves. For example, words in *R2* sometimes divide where the line ends in *A*:

<i>Reading</i>	<i>Yale</i>	<i>Royal</i>
inpro//patulo	1v10	
inpro patulo		87v13
quimit//tendus	6r2	
quimit ten dus		92r12
gastri//margiae	7v5	
gastri margie		97r10
testa//mentororum	14r20	
testa mentororum		106r12
re//demptoris	16r14	
re dem toris		108v21

Other examples of word-division in *R2* which are unparalleled in *A* expose a scribe's method of transcribing. Obviously, the Yale Aldhelm was a difficult book to read, not only because the script was continuous but also because Aldhelm was an author whose vocabulary was frequently unfamiliar. One scribe copying the Yale book proceeded slowly and transcribed parts of words in which he recognized certain conventions. Thus, he would pick out a series of letters up to tall 'e' in ligature with Uncial 'R' and write down that group of letters; he would then return for the remainder of the word, which would be separated by a space in his apograph. Similarly, this scribe would read the letters in a word of his exemplar up to Uncial 'd', whereupon he would stop and copy them out. After coming back to the exemplar for the remainder of the word, he would again leave a space in the apograph. As a result, there are numerous spaces in Royal 7 D.xxiv which correspond to certain recurring scribal conventions in *A*. The following lists could be extended much further:

Divisions Preceding Uncial 'd'

<i>Reading</i>	<i>Yale</i>	<i>Royal</i>
nonmodo	4v5	
nonmo do		90r22
descendens	5r14	
descen dens		90v26
tundentis	6v12	
tun dentis		92v20
subdere	8r15	
sub dere		101v6
fecunditas	10v3	
fecun ditas		102v4
inmundum	10v4	
immun dum		102v5
horrendae	10v7	
horren de		102v6
complendum	11r5	
com plen dum		103r5
eiusdem	11r9	
eius dem		103r10
indagantes	11r18	
in dagantes		103r19

Divisions Preceding Tall 'e' in Ligature with Uncial 'R'

ueRsatili	8r6	
uer satili		101r24
puRpura	12r14	
pur pura		104r13
pateRnae	7v14	
pater ne		96v18
soleRter	9r1	
soller ter		97r24
peRtinentes	9r12	
per tinentes		97v10
peRegrinationis	15r10	
per egrinationis		106v25

Divisions Preceding Tall 'C'

preuariCationis	7r9	
preuari cationis		96v22
nosCuntur	12r20	
nos cuntur		104r18
ramusCulis	14v2	
ramus culis		106r16

Similar word-divisions in Royal 7 D.xxiv reflect other recognizable features in the 'Yale Fragment': tall Half-uncial 'l' and tall 'e' in ligature with 'n'. A scribe adopted these, too, as convenient references to stop reading and begin copying.

As further proof of the derivation of the Royal volume from manuscript *A*, many of their lines often match up. Hence, *A* 2r1-3 correspond to *R2* 87v22-3, *A* 4r1-4 correspond to *R2* 90r1-4, and *A* 11v13-16 match *R2* 103v13-16 (at identical lines). The manuscripts also share unusual spellings, sometimes corrected: *cessum* (for *cesum*) *A* 1r7, *R2* 87r18; *iucundum* *A* 5r3, *R2* 90v15; *'c'hienupbin* ('b' altered from 'h') *A* 8r5, *cherubin* ('b' altered from 'h') *R2* 101r23. However, the most elegant and convincing demonstration of their relationship is the simple omission of a line in *R2* 107r19, where a later corrector has supplied the deficiency in the margin. The omitted text coincides *exactly* with *A* 15v9; a scribe accidentally skipped this line in the exemplar.

In my mind, Royal 7 D.xxiv undoubtedly descends directly from manuscript *A*, represented today by the Yale leaves and related fragments. Nevertheless, the Royal book cannot be an apograph, for the *A*-text belongs to 'Class I', whereas *R2* belongs to 'Class III'. In other words, Royal 7 D.xxiv contains the 'Amos interpolation' as well as the *capitula*, neither of which appears in *A*. Additionally, *R2* contains several significant variants suggesting an intermediary. In the first fifteen folios of the Yale leaves, these variants are: *constare uestrae sagacitatis* (*A* 1v7) | *constare sagacitatis* (*R2* 87v11); *deprehendi* (*A* 1v12) | *conprehendi* (*R2* 87v15); *sic pugno* (*A* 2r3) | *./.* *pugno sic* (an addition, *R2* 87v24); *animorum* (*A* 2r9) | *animi* (*R2* 88r4); *ceteras* (*A* 3v16) | *ceteros* (*R2* 89v23); *ualet* (*A* 4r14) | *ualeat* (*R2* 90r13); *ueniet* (*A* 8r11) | *ueniat* (*R2* 92r12); *inseruituti* (*A* 8r11) | *inseruitutem* (*R2* 101v2); *loetaliter* (*A* 9v9) | *loetali toxā* (*R2* 97v25); *conponi* (*A* 10r6) | *componere* (*R2* 102r5); *acelum* (*A* 13r11) | *incelum* (*R2* 105r4). Together with the Amos corruption and *capitula* additions, these variants demonstrate the existence of one or more closely related manuscripts. They reveal, in addition, that the Amos corruption probably arose after ca. 800, around the time when *A* was penned. We cannot conclude, however, that the 'Yale Fragment' gave rise to every manuscript having the Amos interpolation, since the interpolation itself might have been transmitted to other *Pdv* copies from an apograph of *A*, possibly from outside the textual tradition of the 'Yale Fragment'.

Royal 7 D.xxiv descends in a direct line from the 'Yale Fragment'. As for the origin of *A* and any hypothetical intermediary, Glastonbury is a strong possibility.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ The weight of evidence suggesting a Glastonbury origin for Royal 7 D.xxiv makes Glastonbury an appealing home for *A* as well. In fact, Dumville reasoned in his article on Square Minuscule that Royal 7 D.xxiv may have originated at Glastonbury, and his arguments are persuasive.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ According to Bishop, the main scribe of the Royal manuscript appears as the main hand in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 183 – Æthelstan's presentation copy of materials on St. Cuthbert, including the prose and verse versions of his *vita*.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ This volume was arguably copied between June 934 and October 939. Some have claimed a Winchester origin for it, specifically at the Old Minster, because Winchester was Æthelstan's seat of government and because the manuscript decoration resembles Winchester-style ornament.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Yet problems abound in this attribution, and not just because the art-historical argument is weak. Corpus 183 contains an episcopal list for Winchester which is faulty, leading to the conclusion that such a list

(155) Gretsich concurs that both the 'Yale Fragment' and Royal 7 D.xxiv were probably Glastonbury manuscripts; cf. *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 359-67.

(156) 'Square Minuscule', p. 177; James (*Ancient Libraries*, p. 525) says Canterbury, but this is an educated guess, no doubt based on the materials now bound with the codex (the *Liber Guimundi*, specifically). Ker (*Medieval Libraries*, p. 364) rejects Canterbury, but offers no explanation.

(157) T. A. M. BISHOP, 'An Early Example of the Square Minuscule', *TCBS* 4 (1964-8), 246-52, at p. 247: '[the script in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 183] is the holograph of a scribe whose less formal and in places slightly negligent script appears (ff. 82-127, 136-62) in B. M. Roy. ms 7 D.xxiv part ii ...'. The argument has not been challenged. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 183 is the only one of King Æthelstan's royal presentation books which was written in England during his reign (cf. S. KEYNES, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. LAPIDGE and H. GNEUSS (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143-201, at p. 180 and the references cited in note 177). For a complete description of the manuscript, see JAMES, *Corpus Christi*, no. 183.

(158) R. DESHMAN, 'Anglo-Saxon Art after Alfred', *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 176-200, at p. 195; E. TEMPLE, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, (London, 1976), pp. 37-8; M. PARKES, 'A Fragment of an Early-Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript and its Significance', *ASE* 12 (1983), 129-40, at p. 137 note 50; *idem*, 'The Paleography of the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws, and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE* 5 (1976), 149-71, at p. 163 note 4.

could not have been drawn up at Winchester. In Keynes' words:

The scribe ... omitted Swithun's two immediate successors, Ealhferth and Tunberht, though he left a (single) blank space as if he were at least aware of the deficiency; and he also omitted Frithestan's successor Byrnstan, ending his list with Ælfheah. One would expect a Winchester scribe to have known better, so one is forced to conclude that the scribe of [Corpus 183] came from elsewhere, and probably from a house in the Southwest. ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The suggestion of Glastonbury was first seriously entertained by J. Armitage Robinson in his study of the bishops of Wells. ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ After admitting that 'it is not easy to conjecture where [Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 183] was written', Robinson proposed Glastonbury for three reasons: (a) it was a royal monastery; (b) Æthelstan's court was often found in Somerset; (c) Dunstan was trained at Glastonbury and was abbot there from 940 to 956. ⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Robinson rejects Canterbury, another plausible choice, because a Canterbury monk would, in his view, have been able to bring up to date the non-Wessex episcopal lists in Corpus 183; they end about 840. ⁽¹⁶²⁾ Therefore, in view of the argument that Corpus 183 and Royal 7 D.xxiv share a common scribe, and that Corpus 183 probably originated at Glastonbury rather than Winchester or Canterbury, it is

(159) KEYNES, 'Athelstan's Books', p. 184; cf. R. I. PAGE, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Parts I and II', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1965), 71-95 and *idem*, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Part III', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1966), 2-24; HIGGITT, 'Glastonbury', p. 278: 'It could also mean that, because of similarities in the part zoomorphic and part foliate initials and in the script, that the copy of Aldhelm in the British Library (Royal ms 7 D.xxiv) was produced in Glastonbury'; D. DUMVILLE, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *ASE* 5 (1976), 23-50, at pp. 25-6 and *idem*, 'The Catalogue Texts', in *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. P. MCGURK *et al.* (Copenhagen, 1983), pp. 55-8, at p. 57. Dumville highlights parallels between Corpus 183, London, BL ms Cotton Vespasian B.vi, fols. 104-9 and London, BL ms Cotton Tiberius B.v, fols. 19v-24r, and points out their potential Glastonbury associations.

(160) *The Saxon Bishops of Wells: An Historical Study in the Tenth Century* (London, 1918), pp. 12-14.

(161) ROBINSON, *Saxon Bishops*, p. 14; cf. LAPIDGE, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 85-90, 95-7.

(162) ROBINSON, *Saxon Bishops*, p. 14.

plausible that Royal 7 D.xxiv was also written at Glastonbury, probably around the same time as Corpus 183. ⁽¹⁶³⁾

Nevertheless, we can be certain that Royal 7 D.xxiv was housed at Canterbury some time in its history. The Royal manuscript preserves one scribal contribution (called 'hand 9' below) that could only have derived from Brussels 1650, a Canterbury book. ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ In fact, fifteen glosses in an early eleventh-century script were penned on the pages of Royal 7 D.xxiv in brown ink. Not only do five of these glosses occur nowhere else but in Brussels 1650 and the Royal book, but spelling peculiarities in the glosses also link the manuscripts. ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Furthermore, the Royal copy of *Epist* incorporates alterations that could only have come from a Canterbury manuscript, London, BL Ms Cotton Domitian A.ix, or its exemplar. ⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ The circumstantial significance of this historical fact cannot be underestimated, since it appears to validate the Royal manuscript as the *fons et origo* of an innovative and extensive revision to *Pdv*.

The Latin and Old English glosses in the Royal manuscript are extremely dense and compiled by several scribes, the most prominent of which added in two stages interlinear Latin glosses in a light brown ink. Nine hands can be distinguished in the book, but there are at least two other occasional hands. Almost all the gloss-contributions are either contemporaneous or date from the middle of the tenth century. The most important glossing layers are:

(163) Five Aldhelm manuscripts are listed in the 1247/8 Glastonbury library catalogue: 'Duo libri Aldelmi de laude virginum. prosaice. Duo libri eiusdem de virginitate et laude Sanctorum. metrica. & de octo vicis. omnes legibiles. Item Aldelmus de virginitate, & Prosper & Ieronimus de. xii. scriptorib. [dehil.]' (T. WILLIAMS, *Somerset Medieval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), p. 71). Based on arguments made in the following pages, one of these copies might have been Royal 7 D.xxiv, the other Rawlinson C.697. Leland may have seen the Royal volume on an inspection of Glastonbury in the 1530's, for he mentions copies of *Pdv* 'prosa et carmine' in his autograph notebook (for which see J. CARLEY, 'John Leland and the Contents of pre-Dissolution Libraries: Glastonbury Abbey', *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), 107-20, at p. 117). Intuitively, Goossens (*Brussels*, p. 22 note 5) also attributes the Old English glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv to a Glastonbury tradition: 'An interesting hypothesis in this connection (suggested to me by G. I. Lieftinck) is that [Royal 7 D.xxiv] might represent a Glastonbury tradition (the main stream of Aldhelm gll. seems to come from Canterbury)'.

(164) GWARA, 'Canterbury Affiliations', pp. 365-8.

(165) *Ibid.*, pp. 368-9.

(166) *Ibid.*, pp. 371-3.

EARLY STRATA (167)

HAND 1: In the 'Early Strata' of glosses, scribe 1 writes mainly Latin but also Old English glosses in black ink, with no serifs on any letters. Letter-forms are not differentiated in the two languages. The script is characterized by its shaky aspect attributable to several Insular ligatures such as tall 'e' in ligature with 't' or 'r', tick on the left side of 'e' and exaggerated Insular 'g'. Most other forms are purely Insular: an occasional square 'a' among Insular 'a' (never Caroline) and low-backed (Uncial) 'd'. Letter 't' in final position frequently exhibits an upward-curving tail and an extended upper cross-stroke. Abbreviations for *id est* and *scilicet* are surrounded by two points: .i., .s. This scribe writes consistently through to the end of the volume and may have been copying from an exemplar.

HAND 2: This scribe, writing infrequently throughout the book, closely resembles HAND 1. The pen is much sharper and the glosses do not have the shaky aspect so distinguishable in the earlier hand. The script is a variety of Anglo-Caroline, with occasional Insular letters, such as 'f', in Latin. Some examples are found on fols. 99v26, 103v23, 111v6. For differences between HANDS 1 and 2, see fol. 156r1.

HAND 3: This script very closely resembles HAND 2 in certain ligatures (tall 'e', for example), but it is written with a slender nib. Descenders taper to a point, whereas ascenders often show a (second?) heavier stroke at the top. The script, both Latin and Old English, is a hybrid Insular/Caroline with a preponderance of Insular forms: 'a', tall 'e', 'f', 'g', 'r'; tall and curved 's' are found side by side. Ligature 'or' is frequent, and a proto-square 'a' recurs sporadically. The script is fine, though archaic in light of its date (s. x^{2/4}). The abbreviations for *scilicet* and *id est* are very tall, have heavy ticks at the downstroke, and are generally surrounded by two *punctus*.

HAND 4: Scribe 4 writes a large clumsy script in heavy black ink. Letter-forms are almost wholly Insular, and there is no differentiation between Latin and Old English. Insular forms are mixed in 'a': some square, some purely 'ninth-century' Insular, and some 'oc' forms (looking back to the ninth century). Insular 'g', 't', 'd' (Uncial) are commonest, but occasional Caroline 'g' and tall 's' appear. Tall 'e' in ligature is still apparent in this primitive script. The scribe writes throughout, but his contributions are found principally in the early sections of the volume.

(167) HANDS 1-7 have been designated 'Early Strata' because they were copied as a whole into another *Pdv* manuscript before the so-called 'Late Strata' had been accreted.

HAND 5: This hand may represent that of the main scribe, and generally writes corrections or alternative readings ostensibly derived from collated manuscripts. The ink is black, letter-forms strictly Insular, but without square 'a'. The hand can be found intermittently throughout the manuscript. An example is on fol. 127v7.

HAND 6: An occasional hand in black ink writing a few Caroline letter-forms, particularly 'g' and a kind of proto-Caroline 'a'. Examples appear on fols. 89r21, 23; 87v24, 131v13, 155r1.

HAND 7: This scribe writes Latin infrequently, except on fols. 128r-130r, which are more densely glossed. The script is a mixture of Caroline and Insular forms, the latter being 'a', 'g', 'r' and curved 'd'. Caroline 'a' never appears, but tall 's' is frequent. There is sporadic glossing in this hand on fol. 125 and a few entries after fol. 130.

LATE STRATA

HAND 8: This main glossing hand contributes the largest number of glosses, which are almost wholly Latin. Two distinct layers appear to be differentiated by the intensity of the ink, which varies from dark to light brown (cf. fol. 118v10), although the transmission may suggest otherwise. The glosses are largely interlinear, though they frequently carry on into the margins when space runs out. The book was obviously not planned for marginal glossing and could not accommodate such glosses. Letter-forms are consistent, though the script is tachygraphic. Strokes are not always connected, especially on 'a' and 'c' (both formed with two quick strokes). Insular 'f', 'g', 'r' and 's' are evident, though tall Caroline 's' also appears side by side with the Insular form. There is an occasional tall 'e' in ligature, as well as an Uncial 'd'. This scribe wrote several thousand glosses, many of which towards the end of the volume are not found in any other surviving manuscript of *Pdv*.

HAND 9: Again, an occasional hand written in dark brown ink with a dull nib. Because of the unsharpened pen, the glosses have a scratchy appearance. This hand exhibits Insular 'd', 'a' and tall 's' throughout. Abbreviations are many, both in the interlinear as well as in the (few) marginal glosses. This scribe did not write any Old English.

The relative chronology of some of these hands is impossible to gauge, but the following conclusions can be drawn from the relative positions of some of the glosses:

HAND 1 precedes HAND 2: fols. 111r19, 116v12

HAND 2 precedes HAND 3: fol. 127v10

HAND 3 precedes HAND 4: fol. 87r21

As far as I can determine, there is no indication of the relative chronology for HANDS 5, 6 and 7, except that they all precede HAND 8, the main glossing hand. HAND 8 precedes HAND 9 (cf. fols. 86v1, 87r8), which occurs only on fols. 86v and 87v. A few extraneous glosses (e.g. fols. 98v15, 16; 99v26; 110r15, this probably after HAND 8) cannot be fitted into a relative chronology.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

At least one of these scribes can be detected in another manuscript. Depending on one's perspective, the problematic origin of Royal 7 D.xxiv is either complicated or resolved by the hitherto unnoticed occurrence of HAND 3 in a copy of Aldhelm's *Cdv*, preserved in a volume associated with Glastonbury: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.697.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ The manuscript contains: (a) Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* (fols. 1-13r20, 14v21-16r19),⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ (b) a poem 'Versus de nominibus litterarum' (fols. 13r21-14v20), (c) *Cdv* (fols. 17r-61v, 64r6), (d) a later text (s. xii¹) called 'Deus temptat Abraham in isaac' (fols. 62r-63v) inserted, (e) a copy of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (fols. 64r7-78v8),⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and (f) the acrostic poem 'Archalis clamare' (78v9-16).⁽¹⁷²⁾ The copyist writes sporadically in the same attenuated

(168) There are other infrequent glosses by occasional scribes: 95r14, 107r3, 108r12, 110r1.

(169) KER, *Catalogue*, no. 349; cf. F. RELLA, 'Continental Manuscripts Acquired for English Centers in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries: A Preliminary Checklist', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 107-16, at p. 115. The scribe appears only in *Cdv*, not in the *Enigmata* or *Psychomachia*. No other common hand seems to appear in both the Royal and Rawlinson books.

(170) *Enigma* 100 in this collection ('Creatura') has recently been put forward as the base-text from which Exeter Book Riddle 40 was translated; cf. K. O'BRIEN O'KEEFFE, 'The Text of Aldhelm's *Enigma* no. c in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.697 and Exeter Riddle 40', *ASE* 14 (1985), 61-73. See, too, the discussion of this important manuscript in N. PORTER STORK, *Through a Gloss Darkly: Aldhelm's Riddles in the British Library MS Royal 12 C.xxiii* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 20, 22 (which Royal manuscript J. CARLEY in 'Two Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey', *ASE* 16 (1987), 197-212 thinks originated in Glastonbury).

(171) G. WIELAND, 'The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*', *ASE* 16 (1987), 213-31.

(172) On the acrostic, see M. LAPIDGE, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE* 9 (1981), 61-98; on the manuscript cf. p. 72.

script as occurs in Royal 7 D.xxiv. The combination of Insular and Caroline letter-forms is likewise identical: Insular 'a' (sometimes Proto-Caroline), 'd', 'f', 'g', 'r', 's' (tall as well as curved forms), and tall 'e' in ligature with 'n' and 'r'. Abbreviations for *scilicet* and *id est* are tall, with a downward tick at the top of the ascender, and surrounded by two *punctus*. As further proof of their common derivation, these two gloss contributions share the same formal characteristics: *pro* plus a preferential contextual gloss or a different form of the lemma (without *.i.* or *.s.*).⁽¹⁷³⁾ Compare:

<i>Rawlinson C.697</i>	<i>Royal 7 D.xxiv</i>
48v30 femineam: pro feminae	144r12 fulminavit: pro claruit
48v32 posset: pro potuisset	144v1 narretur: pro dicatur
51v17 extat: pro extitit	145r8 pertimescit: pro pertimescebat
52r1 condat: pro abscondidit	145r20 lampadarum: pro ignium
52r32 ducunt: pro ducebant	148r13 detrudunt: pro detrucebant
54r24 spiracule: pro animae	148r17 crescit: pro coniunxit

Further gloss parallels could be sought in the large number of suppletive glosses and annotations common to both texts.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Yet these are unnecessary to establish that my HAND 3 occurs in R2 as well as in Rawlinson C.697.

The Rawlinson manuscript is potentially pivotal in establishing once and for all the origin of Royal 7 D.xxiv and, moreover, of Corpus 183, Æthelstan's presentation copy of the 'Lives of Cuthbert'. Rawlinson C.697 was written on the Continent s.

(173) Especially in glosses to historical present verbs, to indicate past temporality. The glossator(s) in Rawlinson C.697 and Royal 7 D.xxiv frequently write *perfect/imperfect* forms (indicative and subjunctive) for present-tense lemmas (cf. WIELAND, *Latin Glosses*, pp. 80-1). These examples come from the Rawlinson manuscript: 28v26 fomentat: pro fomentabat; 29r9 horret: pro horruit; 31r17 triumphat: pro triumphabat; 32r22 glomerat: pro glomeravit; 32r25 sugillent: pro sugillarent; 33r5 pandit: pro pandebat; 33r30 perfert: pro pertulit; 33r32 student: pro studebant; 34v1 uincunt: pro uincebant; 36v20 nectunt: pro necitebant; 38r11 seruant: pro seruebant; 38r2 ructantur: pro ructabantur. Many similar glosses in this hand also appear in R2 alongside others reading *presens pro preterito*.

(174) The common hand certainly affords an opportunity to challenge the notion that *Pdv* was never read alongside *Cdv* (cf. G. WIELAND, 'Geminus Stylus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. M. HERREN (Toronto, 1981), pp. 113-33, at p. 123).

ix^{3/4}, probably in north-eastern France, (175) but it had been imported to England by s. x^{2/4}, possibly slightly earlier. (176) It bears one hand resembling Hand D, Dunstan's autograph, and another which appears in 'St. Dunstan's Classbook', Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. F.4.32. Because these scribal traces link the manuscript to five others either annotated in Hand D or in a similar script, they point to a Glastonbury provenance for Rawlinson C.697. (177)

Since 1961, when R. W. Hunt identified Dunstan's autograph in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. F.4.32, one other manuscript has been shown to contain Hand D: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS lat. 3363. (178) Yet several other volumes, including Rawlinson C.697, preserve additions, corrections and glosses similar to those in Hand D: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 140, Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.2.4 + Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. theol. e. 3, fols. 1-2 (179) and London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 237, fols. 146-208 (on fols. 146-50, 158). (180) In 1968 Bishop noticed that Ee.2.4, Lambeth 237, Douce 140 and Rawlinson C.697 share a gloss-hand of early Anglo-Caroline type. (181) In 1971 he tacitly eliminated Douce 140 and Rawlinson C.697 from this group but reaffirmed his conclusions regarding Ee.2.4 and Lambeth 237. He compared one

(175) B. BISCHOFF, 'Bannita: 1. Syllaba, 2. Littera', in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900: Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler*, ed. J. O'MEARA and B. NAUMANN (Leiden, 1976), pp. 207-12, at p. 211.

(176) The date is assumed by the existence and script of the acrostic.

(177) R. HUNT, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury* (Amsterdam, 1961), pp. vi, xiv; BISHOP, *Minuscule*, p. 2. The Rawlinson volume has a Bury St. Edmund's provenance (KER, *Catalogue*, p. 427); cf. M. R. JAMES, *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 45.

(178) M. PARKES, 'A Note on MS. Vatican, Bibl. Apost. lat. 3363', in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. M. GIBSON (Oxford, 1981), pp. 425-7. Ker notes (*Catalogue*, p. 427) that a Continental hand in London, BL MS Cotton Vespasian B.vi (fols. 1-103) – a manuscript with hypothetical Glastonbury associations – is similar to one in the Rawlinson volume. This could suggest, of course, that both books were coeval at a Continental foundation.

(179) On Ee.2.4, see BISHOP, 'Early Example', pp. 396-400. Bishop claims (p. 399) that the hand of a glossator and corrector of Rawlinson C.697 beginning on fol. 17r closely resembles the text-hand of the Cambridge book.

(180) Bishop (*ibid.*, p. 400) wrote 'Rather too exiguous in amount to be identified with assurance, the script of the corrections [in Ee.2.4] has some resemblance to that of added and supplied matter in a few MSS of various origins'.

(181) *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

gloss-hand in these manuscripts to 'the similar script of added matter in [Auct. F.4.32, fol. 1v, Douce 140, fol. 4v and Rawlinson C.697, fol. 36v]'.⁽¹⁸²⁾ In other words, Bishop identified a hand common to 'St. Dunstan's Classbook', Douce 140 and Rawlinson C.697 which was at once analogous to that in Ee.2.4 and Lambeth, and to Hand D.⁽¹⁸³⁾ While Bishop does not adduce any origin for the accretions to these manuscripts, his account of them leads to the overwhelming *impression* that they were annotated at Glastonbury, possibly by Dunstan or another contemporary scribe.

Bishop's approach to the paleographical evidence is rather more cautious than that of a recent scholar, who has identified Dunstan's autograph in certain glosses to Rawlinson C.697. Re-examining Bishop's claims about Dunstan's hand in a seminal article, Mildred Budny has isolated a 'Corpus of Work by Hand D' to which she attributes: ⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

1. Most of the more-or-less contemporary corrections, glosses and variant readings entered in a mid tenth-century Anglo-Saxon copy of Smaragdus' *Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti* made probably in western or southwestern England, perhaps at Glastonbury ([Oxford, Bodleian Library] MS lat. theol. c. 3, fols. 1, 1* and 2; Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.2.4).
2. Some corrections, glosses and additions in a late seventh- or early eighth-century Anglo-Saxon copy of Primasius' commentary *In Apocalypsin* ([Oxford, Bodleian Library] MS Douce 140).
3. Additions and rewritten sections in a late ninth- or early tenth-century Continental copy of Augustine's *Enchiridion* (London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 237, fols. 146-208).
4. Some glosses and variant readings in a late ninth- or early tenth-century Continental copy, made in northern France, of Aldhelm's *Cdv* and *Aenigmata* and Prudentius' *Psychomachia* ([Oxford, Bodleian Library] MS [Rawlinson] C.697).

(182) BISHOP, *Minuscule*, p. 2.

(183) For the similarities, see the comment ('Early Example', pp. 399-400): 'Resembling [Ee.2.4] in the aspect of their script, [Douce 140, Rawlinson C.697 and Lambeth 237] fail to locate it with any precision ...'.

(184) M. BUDNY, "'St Dunstan's Classbook" and its Frontispiece: Dunstan's Portrait and Autograph', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. RAMSEY *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 103-42, at pp. 137-8; reviewed in S. GWARA, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994), 209-14.

5. Glosses by 'the second hand' among three more-or-less contemporary tenth-century Insular or Anglo-Saxon correctors and glossators in a mid ninth-century Continental copy, produced in the Loire region, of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS lat. 3363).
6. Glosses and corrections in an early ninth-century Continental copy of Bede's *De temporum ratione* ([London, BL] MS Cotton Vespasian B.vi, fols. 1-103).
7. Corrections in a mid tenth-century Anglo-Saxon copy, made at Abbot Dunstan's command, perhaps at Glastonbury, of Caesarius of Arles' *Expositio in Apocalypsin* ([Oxford, Bodleian Library] MS Hatton 30).

Although some might find fault with Budny's speculative 'Corpus', and particularly with her lack of explicit paleographical analyses, Budny's work demonstrates two points: (a) the very close resemblances between what Bishop described as 'similar' scripts in a small collection of manuscripts; these resemblances are close enough for Budny to have concluded that they comprise entries by Hand D; (b) the association of many of these manuscripts with Glastonbury (before or during Dunstan's abbacy), rather than with scriptoria in Dunstan's bishoprics, Worcester, London or Canterbury. Budny implies that a Dunstan annotated most of these books before he was installed as bishop of Worcester (958). In fact, her assessment of glosses to the Rawlinson volume finds many layers of glosses in Hand D: 'The manuscript of Aldhelm and Prudentius contains multiple layers of Hand D's additions, in both Old English and Latin; they demonstrate a close study of Aldhelm's text over an extended period and increasing skill in forming script'.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Although Budny does not mention precisely which glosses comprise the various accretions (the accompanying plate shows three glossators and one corrector), my HAND 3 could represent one example of Dunstan's autograph.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ But even if HAND 3 cannot be shown

(185) BUDNY, "'Classbook'", p. 138.

(186) None of the glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv appears to be in Dunstan's distinctive style, but further work may show that some corrections are. Dunstan's zeal as a corrector of manuscripts is alleged in the *vita* by Byrthelm (ed. W. STUBBS, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, Rolls Series, vol. 138 (London, 1874), p. 49): 'Mendosos libros ... erasa scriptorum falsitate corrigeret'; cf. M. LAPIDGE, 'B. and the *Vita S. Dunstani*', in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. RAMSEY *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 247-59.

to be Dunstan's, the likelihood that Rawlinson C.697 is a Glastonbury book is bankable, in light of the abundant circumstantial evidence. Bishop identified a glossing hand in Rawlinson which appears on fol. 1v of 'St. Dunstan's Classbook', a volume of Glastonbury provenance throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. On several occasions, he noted the resemblances between glossing contributions in Rawlinson and a variety of other manuscripts, some of which have Glastonbury associations. Finally, Budny's identifications suggest that Rawlinson might have been available to Dunstan and that he may have annotated the volume frequently, arguably during his time at Glastonbury. Hence, given the scribe in common with Corpus 183, a hand similar to Dunstan's in Rawlinson C.697 alongside another on fol. 1v of 'St. Dunstan's Classbook', and the hand of Dunstan which appears in this last manuscript, the chances that Royal 7 D.xxiv was at least housed at Glastonbury are high.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾

By extending these inferences, we could plausibly surmise that Dunstan authored a comprehensive revision of *Pdv* and that his 'improvements' were afterwards transmitted to Canterbury manuscripts as part of his advocacy of Aldhelm studies at Christ Church. The evidence for my speculation is partly historical and partly textual. First, the codicological and glossematic features mentioned above place Royal 7 D.xxiv at Canterbury in the tenth century, even though the manuscript was almost certainly produced at Glastonbury. Second, Royal 7 D.xxiv contains scores of textual emendations in a hand resembling Dunstan's and the other scripts associated with Hand D. Remarkably, these distinctive emendations coincide with readings in a large group of late tenth-century Canterbury *Pdv* volumes, including Salisbury, Cathedral Library Ms 38 (S), Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms Bodley 97 (C2), London, Lambeth Palace Li-

(187) The origin of Royal 7 D.xxiv *pars ii* might constitute evidence for the provenance of *pars i*, the *Liber Guimundi*. The 1247/8 library inventory for Glastonbury lists a copy of Guitmundus's *Liber de corpore et sanguine christi* under that title, which is identical to the heading of the *Liber* in the codex. Furthermore, the script of the *Liber Guimundi* (s. xii) pre-dates the 1247/8 catalogue and enables the manuscript to have been included in the inventory. A Glastonbury monk might have trimmed the *Liber Guimundi* and bound it with the Aldhelm because their written areas were roughly the same size. A number of Glastonbury books were similarly broken up and re-bound with other materials (cf. M. BODDEN, *The Old English Finding of the True Cross* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 10; J. CARLEY, 'Glastonbury Abbey', in *Benedictine, Cluniac and Alien Priors: Lesser Catalogues*, ed. R. SHARPE et al. [forthcoming]).

brary ms 200 (*L*), London, BL ms Royal 5 E.xi (*R4*), London, BL ms Royal 6 A.vi (*R3*), and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 326 (*C1*). The following collations drawn from the first thirty chapters of *Pdv* reveal the extent of the contamination. Manuscript *R2* has been modified in each case, often in contradiction with the oldest witnesses (*W A R1*), and the idiosyncratic variants can be found in closely related Canterbury copies descending from a common archetype. (The relationships of these Canterbury *Pdv* copies are discussed in greater detail in later pages.)

- 2, 36 portisculo] porticulo *corr. ex portisculo R2, porticulo S C2 A (e corr.) BL, porti's'culo C1*
- 6, 9 codicibus] co'rdicibus *R2 L, corticibus S C2, e corr. R3, caudicibus C1*
- 6, 9 ille qui] *corr. in illa que R2, illa que S, corr. in Illa que L*
- 14, 12 propter] *per (in ras.) R2, per R4 S R3 C2 C1 L*
- 16, 6 spiculo] piaculo *in ras. R2, piaculo R4 S C2 C1*
- 17, 23 exemplar] exempla (*r eras. ad fin.*) *R2 R4, exempla S R3 C2 C1 BL*
- 18, 12 caelites] *corr. in celitus R2 R4, corr. ex caelitus S, caelitus R3 C1 L*
- 23, 12/13 asperrimae] *corr. in asperrima R2, asperrima R4 S R3 BL, corr. ex asperrima C1*
- 23, 24 scruporum] *corr. in scrupearum R2, scrupearum R4 S R3 C2 C1 L, corr. ex scrupearum per sup. o et earum in ras. B*
- 23, 30 frustra friabat] *frusta friabat (corr. in fricabat) R2, frusta (corr. ex frustra) fricabat R4, frusta fricabat S R3 C2 C1 BL, frusta fri'c'abat A*
- 23, 40 consummaret] *corr. in consumeret R2, consumeret S R3 C2 C1 L, corr. in consumeret B*
- 23, 58 loqueretur] *al'loqueretur R2 C1 B, alloqueretur R4 S R3 C2*
- 24, 17 apocriforum] *corr. in apocrifarum R2 B, apocrifarum R4 S R3 C2 C1, apochrifarum L*
- 26, 17 coartantes] *corr. ex cohortantes per sup. a R2, corr. ex cohartantes R4, cohortantes C1 O*
- 27, 37 sic] *eras. R2 B, om. R4 S R3 C2 C1 L*
- 27, 46 refrenatur] *corr. in refrenetur R2 S, refrenatur R4, refrenetur R3 C1 L, refrenatur (æ corr. ex a) B*
- 27, 48 contubernali] *corr. in contuberniali R2, contuberniali R4 R3 C2 L, contuberniali (i primaeras.) C1*
- 29, 50 miro] *corr. in mirum R2, mirum R4 S R3 C2 C1 L*

The approximate date for the script(s) in which the alterations to Royal are written is around 950, so the later volumes cannot

be the source of interventions in the Royal *Pdv*. Furthermore, the emendations in *R2* appear in different inks, if not in different scripts, suggesting that they were entered over a period of time as Aldhelm's work was attentively studied. Given the serendipity of the scripts resembling Hand D, the range of (more-or-less) thoughtful revisions to *Pdv*, and the sweeping dissemination of these revisions at Canterbury, it might be possible to identify Dunstan's stamp on this encyclopedic redaction.

Two interpretations reveal why emendations in an earlier *Pdv* manuscript correspond to apograph readings in other sources. Either Royal 7 D.xxiv was collated against an antecedent of these Canterbury manuscripts (ζ in my stemma) to make it conform to the local 'standard', or else the editorial alterations to Royal 7 D.xxiv were incorporated into ζ . In my view, manuscript *R2* was probably the ultimate source of this conflation, for two reasons. First, its layers of corrections pre-date those in the other Canterbury *Pdv* copies by at least a generation. If the Canterbury recension of *Pdv* did not originate with *R2*, we would have to hypothesize that an arguable Glastonbury book had been corrected against an arguable Canterbury source penned before ca. 950 (or, alternatively, that two Glastonbury books were brought to Canterbury). This conjecture is admittedly plausible, not only because we cannot be absolutely certain of the origins of *R2* and ζ but also because I am arguing the reverse position: that a Canterbury book was collated against a Glastonbury exemplar. (At the risk of positing an argument *ex nihilo*, no evidence suggests that an antecedent to ζ was at Glastonbury, while some solid evidence persuasively demonstrates that *R2* was at Canterbury.) Yet another detail complicates the direction of influence that I have rejected. In some unique instances where *R2* and descendants of ζ agree against other witnesses, *R2* betrays no alterations. In other words, *lectiones variae solitariae* from *R2* conform only with readings in the later Canterbury copies that also incorporate textual modifications found only in *R2*, a fact strongly suggesting that *R2* was the source of contamination. We would otherwise need to theorize that an antecedent to ζ which pre-dated *R2* and gave rise to it not only preserved the unique readings copied into *R2* but was later emended and the unique emendations passed on to *R2*. In the following examples of *lectiones variae solitariae* shared by *R2* and members of the Canterbury family of texts I have identified, *O* and *P* descend directly from *R2* (below, pp. 151-62), whereas *H* derives from *R3* (below, pp. 184-6). These shared variants

should not obscure the connections between *R2* and the Canterbury books *R4*, *S*, *R3*, *C1*, *C2* and *L*:

- 2, 20 per] post *R2 R4 S C1*
 3, 9 deprehendi] comprehendi *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 O P H*
 9, 9 conlecta] contexta *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 O P H*, *corr. in contexta B*
 9, 20 gelida ... limpha] gelidam ... lympham *R2 R4 R3 C2 C1 (e corr.) B O P H*, gelide cisternæ limpha *R5*, gelidam (*corr. ex gelidae*) cisterne limpham (*corr. ex limpha*) *L*
 9, 21/22 pendenda putantur] pendenda putamus *W*, pendendam putamus *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 B O P H*, pendenda putatur *R1 R5*, pendenda putamus (*putamus corr. ex putatur*) *L*
 13, 40 omnis] omnis enim *R2 R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P H L*, omnis enim (*enim sup. lin.*) *B*
 15, 18 siue] seu *R2 R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P H*
 15, 27 retorto] retorta *R2 R4 S C2 C1 O P*
 17, 14 componi] componere *R2 R4 S R3 H O P*, componere se *C2*, *corr. ex componere C1*, *corr. in componere B*
 23, 34 oratione] cum oratione *R2 R4 S R3 C2 O P H*, cum oratione (*cum eras.*) *C1*, orotione (*cum om.*) *R5*
 23, 38 spalangii] spalagi *W*, spalagii *corr. ex spalangii S C1*, spalagii *A B*
 23, 49 dixerit] dixit *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 O P H L*, dixit *corr. in dixerit B*
 25, 79 eat tu] eat et tu *R2 R4 S C2 C1 O*, eat et tu (*et tu in ras.*) *R3*, eat et tu (*et sup. lin.*) *B*
 25, 84/85 nomen ... magnificum] nomen domini magnificum iesu christi *R2 R4 S R3 C1 O P H*, nomen domini nostri iesu christi magnificum *R1*
 28, 11 uirtutum] uirtute *R2 R4 S R3 O P H*, *corr. ex uirtute per sup. ū B*
 28, 11 gratia] *om. R2 R4 R3 O P H*
 28, 26 castimoniam] integritatem *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 O P H*
 29, 38 signacula] signa *R2 R4 S R3 O P H*
 30, 30 torcularibus regulariter] regulariter torcularibus *R2 R4 R3 C1 O P*
 35, 87 coniciunt] proiciunt *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 O P H L*
 36, 34/35 uitam ... reliqua] uitam ad caelestem ascensuri sunt exercitum et reliqua *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 O P H L*, *uitam celestis exercitus probabitur et reliqua *R1 A*, uel uitam celestem ascensuri sunt exercitum (*em ... exercitum in ras.*) *B*
 36, 114 beatus Iulianus] iulianus beatus *R2 R4 S R3 C1 O P H*
 37, 4 inuisi] *om. R2 R4 S R3 O P H*, inuis *C2*
 37, 22 numerosa] innumerosa *R2 R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P H L*, innumerosa *B*

- 37, 50 caelorum orbibus] celorum ordinibus *R2 R4 S R3 C1 O P H*, orbibus agminibus *R5 L*, celorum *om. B*
 39, 13 tantum] tanti *R2 R4 R3 C2 C1 R5 O P H L*, tanti (*i corr. ex um*) *B*
 40, 16 feruore] fauore *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 O P H*

To recapitulate, if *R2* were not the source of (for example) the anomalous reading 'tanti' (39, 13), we would have to posit an antecedent to *R2* that gave rise to 'tanti' in *R2* and ζ, and we could not therefore adequately explain the innumerable *corrections* to *R2* found in descendants of ζ! We would have to presume that the hyparchetype of *R2* and ζ had been emended after *R2* was copied and that the alterations were subsequently added to bring it into conformity with the new tradition of the emended hyparchetype. Furthermore, we would need to account for readings from the Canterbury tradition which are not found in *R2*, such as:

- 10, 33 meminerunt] meminerint *S R3 C2 C1 R5 B O P H L*
 11, 10 caeli ... modum] poli immodum *R1*, poli in modum
R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 B O P L, nec caeli nec poli *habet H*
 13, 11 uindicantes] *corr. in uedicantes R4 S C1*, uedicantes
R3 R5 B H
 13, 13 aduersum] *om. W*, aduersus *R4 R3 C2 C1 B P H*
 25, 6 dilexerit] dilexit *R3 C1 R5 H L*, *corr. ex dilexit B*

Were these variants simply not copied into the Royal manuscript's parent from the hypothetical antecedent of ζ? Or, vice versa, were they not copied from *R2* into ζ? By either explanation, we have an external contamination – perhaps a Glastonbury tradition – that gave rise to a new *Pdv* text in the tenth century. Yet in manuscript *R2* we have an *obvious* potential source of contamination. Rather than looking to an ancestor of ζ as a source of readings in *R2*, we need only look to *R2*, which immediately satisfies the historical conditions for such a comprehensive revision. Royal 7 D.xxiv is heavily emended, arguably from Glastonbury, and, for the sake of argument, possibly the personal property of Dunstan. We may speculate that unique modifications by Dunstan were copied at his request from his own *Pdv* copy into ζ when he arrived at Canterbury *ca.* 960. The hyparchetype ζ was not only the progenitor (as we shall see) of multiple Canterbury *Pdv* copies but also the descendant of a *Pdv* version giving rise to the Brussels manuscript. By this logic, we can explain why the Brussels manuscript has some readings in common with *R2* and the descendants of ζ and some alterations stemming from these or related sources. The altera-

tions are easily explained, since it makes sense that a Canterbury manuscript like Brussels 1650 would eventually be collated against the emended local 'standard'. Evidence that *B* and *R2* were housed at the same foundation has already been formulated, and evidence of collation between Brussels and my proposed Canterbury recension can be found in many instances:

- 9, 9 contexta] contexta *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 O P H*, *corr. in contexta B*
 13, 40 omnis] omnis enim *R2 R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P H L*, omnis enim (enim *sup. lin.*) *B*
 23, 58 loqueretur] al'loqueretur *R2 C1 B*, alloqueretur *R4 S R3 C2 O P H*
 24, 17 apocriforum] *corr. in apocriforum R2 B*, apocriforum *R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 O P*, apochriforum *L*
 25, 79 eat tu] eat et tu *R2 R4 S C2 C1 O*, eat et tu (et tu *in ras.*) *R3*, eat et tu (et *sup. lin.*) *B*
 37, 22 numerosa] innumerosa *R2 R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P H L*, innumerosa *B*
 39, 13 tantum] tanti *R2 R4 R3 C2 C1 R5 O P H L*, tanti (i *corr. ex um*) *B*

Here, for example, the contaminated readings 'alloqueretur', 'eat et tu', 'innumerosa' and 'tanti' have been substituted in Brussels 1650 for the authorial ones 'loqueretur', 'eat tu', 'numerosa', and 'tantum'. Given its relationship to *C1*, *R5* and *L* (and correspondingly to descendants of ζ), *B* obviously descends from a source antecedent to ζ which had not yet been contaminated. Nevertheless, we do find instances where the Canterbury manuscripts, Brussels 1650 and *R2* all agree in their variants:

- 7, 43 quaterna] quater'de'na *R1 R4*, quaterdena *R2 C1 R5 B O P L*, quaterdena (dena *in ras.*) *S*, terdena *C2*
 9, 21/22 pendenda putantur] pendenda putamus *W*, pendendam putamus *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 B O P H*, pendenda putatur *R1 R5*, pendenda putamus (putamus *corr. ex putatur*) *L*
 11, 34 audaciter] audacter *R2 S R3 C2 C1 R5 B O H L*
 15, 21 thoracibus] th'oracibus (a *corr. ex o*) *W*, thoraciclis *R2 R4 S R3 C2 (e corr.) C1 B O P H L*, thoracidis *R5*, thoraciclis (uel bus *suprascr.*) *H*
 19, 17 palatium] palatium regis *R2 R5 B O P L*, palatium regis (regis *sup. lin.*) *R1 R3 C2*, palatium regis (regis *in marg.*) *A*
 22, 35 uehenti] uehentes *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 B O P H L*, uehentis *R1*

25, 21 florentis] florentes R2 C2 R5 B O P L, corr. ex florentes R4 S

28, 11 uirtutum] uirtute R2 R4 S R3 O P H, corr. ex uirtute per sup. ū B

While a few of these (and other) examples may have been independently corrected, it would be more reasonable to assume one of two things: either a hyparchetype intermediate to the common source of ζ and B incorporated *some* readings from the Canterbury recension or else these readings reflect changes made early in the tradition. But because these variants are not found in W, A or R1, they almost certainly derive from the tenth-century Canterbury source. Just as some variants in R2 were copied into ζ while others were not, some variants in sources like ζ were copied into a hyparchetype of B while others were not. This possibility explains how readings in Brussels 1650 can also appear in R2. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the opposing view – an antecedent version of B gave rise to variance in R2 – may, in the absence of any historical justification such as that supplied above, also be arguable.

The common readings that link C1 and B to the oldest Pdv witnesses reveal that their hyparchetype was probably a Canterbury book of considerable age. As I will argue in reference to the Brussels manuscript, both its text and glosses confirm this degree of accuracy, despite a substantial number of *lectiones variae solitariae*. The views expressed in preceding paragraphs convey my intuition that a copy of this ancient Canterbury book designated ζ was collated against Royal 7 D.xxiv, which, despite its size and shabbiness, must have been deemed authoritative. How else could we justify extensive non-authorial modifications foisted on Aldhelm's text, if not by association with an officious and imposing master? In 1997 I proposed that Dunstan was chiefly responsible for the Aldhelm revival during the tenth century and that Royal 7 D.xxiv may have been his personal Pdv copy. While confirmation of these details awaits clarification in a study of Dunstan's autograph and the changes he was prone to make, it remains realistically possible that Royal 7 D.xxiv was Dunstan's 'corrected' teaching copy of Pdv and that his altered text constituted the basis of study at Christ Church.

Ultimately, the preceding evidence for the origin and history of the Royal book provides a clue to the home of the oldest copy of Pdv, represented today by the 'Yale Fragment' and related *membra disiecta*. Although arguably Southumbrian, the Yale leaves have never been securely assigned to any monastic centre.

Because the text of Royal 7 D.xxiv demonstrably descends through an intermediary from this dismembered codex and because Royal 7 D.xxiv is a likely Glastonbury production, the Yale *membra disiecta* might have belonged to Glastonbury as well. Together, the 'Yale Fragment' and Royal 7 D.xxiv fathered as many as a dozen copies of *Pdv*, counting those which were collated against R2 at Canterbury. Traced in these pages, the verifiable link between the Yale *Pdv*, Royal 7 D.xxiv, Digby 146, Hereford P.I.17 and the six Canterbury copies designated by the sigla R4, S, R3, C2, C1 and L spans two centuries and proves how a single manuscript effectively preserved Aldhelm's work for generations.

Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Digby 146 (O)

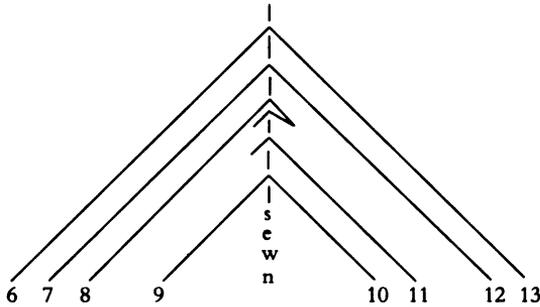
The most densely glossed of all Aldhelm manuscripts is Digby 146, a book datable to s. x^{ex}, with various glossing additions of s. x^{ex}-xi^{med}. The manuscript of 104 folios contains *Pdv* (fols. 1-95), *Epist* (fols. 95v-100v), and, in a hand of s. xii/xiii, an account of the martyrdom of King Edward at Corfe (fols. 101v-104r).⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ The sheets are ruled 19 lines to the page in dry-point. A rodent has eaten the bottom margin beginning on fol. 45, causing partial loss of many glosses from fol. 63v onwards. Fortunately, most of these glosses are duplicated in Royal 6 A.vi.

On paleographical grounds, late tenth-century Canterbury is the likely origin of the Digby volume. The script closely resembles Canterbury hands in its rotundity, for most of the circular elements in 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'o', 'p' and 'q' are round. Unlike the later Canterbury scripts, however, Caroline 'a' has no overhanging top-stroke, and its back is a straight line drawn at a 45° angle. Letter 'e' has a negligible upper compartment; 'g' betrays a tiny upper compartment with a grand, sweeping *cauda*, typical of books originating at St. Augustine's. Although the Caroline element in the Digby script dominates many letter-forms, abbreviations and ligatures, the scribe still tends to incorporate 'æ' in Latin, predominantly in final position. This may represent the influence of his exemplar. All in all, the script is handsomely produced, and the formal serifs on 'm' and 'n' attest to the copyist's skilful execution.

(188) C. FELL, *Edward King and Martyr* (Leeds, 1971), pp. xix-xx, 1-16 (the Digby version is an incomplete manuscript of the *Passio*, according to Fell [p. iv]); cf. D. ROLLASON, 'The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 11 (1983), 1-22, at p. 2.

Although Digby 146 was probably produced at Canterbury, there can be no doubt that it migrated to Abingdon during its history. An inscription of s. xvi¹ appears on fol. 1r: 'Liber monasterii Abendonie quem Iohannes Clyffe fecit ligari A^o ...' (the year has been excised). Napier identified John Clyffe (or Clyve) (189) as the Benedictine mentioned in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* and as the Bachelor of Divinity recipient recorded in the Oxford University Register (1510). (190) By 1622 the volume belonged to Thomas Allen, but it was donated to the Bodleian by Sir Kenelm Digby in 1634. (191) The binding of the manuscript is Digby's and bears his seal.

The collation of this manuscript is complex: I² (blank)+II⁸ (3, 5 cancelled)+III¹⁰ (4, 5 cancelled)+IV⁸-XIII⁸+XIV⁸ (8 cancelled) [end of *Pdv*]+XV⁸ (1, 3, 5, 7 cancelled)+XVI² (a bifolium, blank). The difficult gathering III can be best understood when diagrammed:



Ker noticed the words *aberede nacudwracleres* written on the stub of QIII, sheet 5 verso, in his hand (iii). (192) He overlooked a second gloss *geglençgat* here, preceded by a *signe de renvoi*. Other unnoted words *wilsamhede* and *andresnum* appear in the gutter of QIII, sheet 6 verso. These glosses suggest that the volume originally consisted of these singletons (probably cancellations), for the corresponding lemmas appear on adjacent sheets. (193)

(189) Ehwald erroneously transcribed the name as 'Clysse' (p. 219).

(190) NAPIER, *Glosses*, p. XIII.

(191) A. WATSON, 'Thomas Allen of Oxford and His Manuscripts', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. PARKES and A. WATSON (London, 1978), pp. 279-314.

(192) Cf. the review of Ker's *Catalogue* by K. SISAM, *Review of English Studies* 10 (1959), 68-71, at p. 69.

(193) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 382; a further unrecorded gloss *cwyst* occurs on fol. 8v.

In Ker's view, the Old English glosses can be divided into three groups according to scribe. Group (i) consists of about 30 glosses contemporaneous or virtually contemporaneous with the text and written at the same time as the first stratum of Latin glosses. (In my reckoning, they are written in the same hand as my Latin HAND 1.) These few glosses have peculiar affinities with the early layers in many *Pdv* manuscripts, notably Royal 7 D.xxiv. This hand is not identified in Napier's edition of the Old English glosses. Ker's second group of glosses (ii) comprises additions 'in a very neat and minute hand probably of s. xi in. only on fols. 8-15'.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Ker concluded that these glosses were added after the main group of Latin glosses but before the primary group of Old English glosses in his class (iii). Few, Ker mentions, occur in the Brussels manuscript. A comparison of respective examples cited by Ker and Napier shows that this hand corresponds to Napier's 'Second Hand'.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ The third group of glosses disclosed by Ker's examination are the more than 5000 additions 'on fols. 8-95 in a small and neat, but uncalligraphic hand, probably of s. xi med., which tends to slope either up or down the page'.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ This hand corresponds to Napier's 'Ordinary Hand', to which Napier also attributes the majority of English glosses. All the Old English glosses are written in Insular characters, except for some in the first layer and two in a twelfth-century script; these betray both Insular and Caroline letter-forms, the latter being 'a', 'g', 'r' and 's'.

Goossens tacitly accepted Ker's position on the Old English glosses in Digby 146, and adopted the ingenious argument (after Derolez) that the Old English glosses in Brussels 1650 were copied latterly in the small and neat hand of Ker's group (iii) (cf. pp. 197-9 below). He did not bother, however, to explore the paleography of Digby 146, and neither Ker nor Goossens expanded on Napier's discussion of the Latin glosses in the manuscript. Napier divided these into two main hands. The first, called by him the 'ordinary Latin hand', contributed the majority of Latin glosses, whereas the 'second Latin hand' added glosses only infrequently. Napier's scribal division and vague

(194) *Ibid.* In fact, this hand continues on later folios, e.g. fol. 16r5 (*herebecn*).

(195) NAPIER, *Glosses*, p. xiii.

(196) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 382. Napier draws attention (*Glosses*, p. xiii) to 'some few English glosses [which] have also been written ... here and there by various different hands'. Thus *wrangwise* (30v16) and *ealswage* (70v8) are twelfth-century additions.

wording wrongly imply that the 'second Latin hand' is later. On the contrary, it represents the first stratum in the book. According to Napier, the 'first Latin hand' ends at the bottom of fol. 68, and the second continues glossing thereafter. My own observation suggests that the first hand proceeds to the end of the volume, though *intermittently* after fol. 68. There is no reason attributable to the manuscript why the marginal glossing should suddenly diminish here, and the change might reflect a defective exemplar or scribal caprice.

Although Napier was uncharacteristically vague in his discussion of the Latin hands, I believe that they correspond to the hands as I describe them below :

Latin HAND 1: This is the earliest stratum of Latin glosses, corresponding to Napier's 'second Latin hand'. The scribe writes a large pure Anglo-Caroline script in black ink. Caroline letter-forms lack distinction, but the tails of 'a' and 't' sometimes curve upward at word-ends. Additionally, the scribe has made wide use of '&' for 'et'. The abbreviations for *id est* and *scilicet* are surrounded by two *punctus*.

Latin HAND 2: This main glossing scribe (Napier's 'ordinary Latin hand') is responsible for both interlinear and marginal glosses, the marginal ones having been added at a different time. The ink is light brown, and letters are made with a thin pen. Letters 'm', 'n' and 'r' taper at ends of strokes, sometimes looking sharp at their terminations. Ligatures and abbreviations are common, especially in the marginal glosses. This scribe writes both Greek and transliterated Greek characters.

In addition to these two Latin hands, Ker's scribe (iii) also wrote occasional Latin glosses (some with Insular letter-forms such as 'r'). Furthermore, there is a small layer of Latin glosses made by a third scribe, probably Ker's scribe (ii). These glosses are written with a neat, almost attenuated, duct having tall, sharp ascenders and descenders. The script is an expert Anglo-Caroline, nonetheless exhibiting some Insular forms in 'a' and 'r'. Like Ker's scribe (ii), these glosses are later than the first stratum of Latin glosses, but come before the main mass of Old English glosses.

Digby 146 represents a critical manuscript in the Aldhelm gloss tradition, not only because of the density of its glosses but also because of its relationship to Royal 7 D.xxiv, Salisbury 38 and other Canterbury manuscripts. Ehwald first discerned the interrelations of R2, S and O: 'Hi tres codices (Bodleianus Digby, Sarisberiensis, Regius 7 D.xxiv) tantam vel externam habi-

tus prae se ferunt similitudinem, ut ad archetypum eundem referendi esse videantur'.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ If Ehwald had had a better opportunity to examine the texts of Digby 146 and Royal 7 D.xxiv, he would no doubt have realized that the Digby text of *Pdv* descends directly from Royal 7 D.xxiv. The manuscripts agree in many conjunctive errors and spellings, not only in *Pdv* but also in the accompanying copy of *Epist*:

<i>Error</i>	<i>Royal 7 D.xxiv</i>	<i>Digby 146</i>
a[d]dextris ⁽¹⁹⁸⁾	99v22	21r18
omission of text ⁽¹⁹⁹⁾	104r16-17	26r10
historiographus ⁽²⁰⁰⁾	110v21	33v12
post'te ⁽²⁰¹⁾	113r1	35v19
cohartantes ⁽²⁰²⁾	114r10	37v11
corana ⁽²⁰³⁾	114r21	37r1
contunaciter	116r15	39r6
puducitie	132v23	59v18
cloacce ⁽²⁰⁴⁾	142v5/142v25	71r8/72v15
fraudelento	157v20-21	89r4
suminotum	159v2	91r16
rehorice	161r16	93v8
adagmentum	166r15	96v8
prouintiisque	166r23	96v15
ferti	167r15	98r4
consciae	167v8	98v4

Furthermore, peculiar orthography and abbreviations (some archaic) of Royal 7 D.xxiv crop up in the Digby copy, even in the case of easily emended words such as the following:⁽²⁰⁵⁾

<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Royal 7 D.xxiv</i>	<i>Digby 146</i>
demonstræt	87r8	8r10
afflatus ⁽²⁰⁶⁾	87v16	8v18

(197) EHWALD, p. 222.

(198) Letter 'd' erased in *R2*.

(199) The omission is added in a different hand in *O*.

(200) Arising in the Digby copy from confusion over Insular 'p' with open bow. The reading in *R2* is *historiographus*.

(201) Letter 't' added above the line in *R2* by a later hand.

(202) Altered from *cohortantes* in *R2*.

(203) Altered to *corona* in *O*.

(204) Altered to *cloa* < . > *ce* by erasure in *O*.

(205) The scribe wrote a more archaic form of his script in *Epist*, causing confusion for a later copyist. The mis-spelling of 'e' for tall 'a' and 'a' for tall 'e' in ligature regularly occurs, e.g. *axe tenus* (*R2* 166v3) / *axe tanus* (*O* 97r3).

(206) With identical archaic abbreviation for 'us'.

suptiliter	87v18	9r1
studia ⁽²⁰⁷⁾	88r3	9r8
asstipulationibus ⁽²⁰⁸⁾	88v17	9v19
quadriis	105r2	27r3
exameroon	115v18	38v6
supernis ⁽²⁰⁹⁾	120r23	44r4
alaxandri ⁽²¹⁰⁾	123r1/126r17-18	47r7/51r4
apolagitica	123v13-14	48r3
coniesta	129r19	54v4
adthletas	132r17	58r7
maica	140r1/149r7/150v6	67v12/78v1/80r7
mandibalas	153v6	83v11
magestati	153v25	84r9
autoritate	155v9	86r11
neclegenter	158v2	89v18
flamminibus	160v5	92v9
mææ	161v23	94v5
cerbulusque	162v18	95v18
serrato	167r19	98r8
fribulo	168r8	99r10
horthodoxorum	167r8	97v17
quur	167v12	98v8

In addition, unusual word-divisions and syllabic groupings in Royal 7 D.xxiv recur throughout the Digby volume, giving the impression that a scribe (or scribes) at some stage of the transmission followed the exemplar *pari passu*. ⁽²¹¹⁾ These *fragmenta verborum* clearly reflect the Yale exemplar of Royal 7 D.xxiv, but such evidence of a *scriptura continua* in so late a manuscript as Digby 146 raises questions of scribal habit. Several reasons might explain this incidence of shared word-divisions and groupings in a late tenth-century apograph: (a) the exemplar was considered authoritative; (b) the exemplar was difficult to read and liable to

(207) Letter 'u' altered to 'a' in both copies, or the scribe of O has reproduced the square-looking 'a' which resulted from correcting 'u' to 'a' in R2.

(208) The ligature of tall 's' and 't' identically reproduced in both manuscripts.

(209) Archaic Insular abbreviation for *per* identically reproduced in both manuscripts.

(210) On this spelling, see J. CARLEY and A. DOOLEY, 'An Early Irish Fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. L. ABRAMS and J. CARLEY (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 135-61, at pp. 141-2.

(211) The layout, too, is duplicated at certain sections. For example, Digby fols. 99r10-99v1 correspond line-for-line to Royal 7 D.xxiv fols. 168r8-18.

give rise to many errors of copying; (c) the text was difficult and unfamiliar, again giving rise to error if it were incorrectly copied. Any of these provisions might obtain with the Royal Aldhelm. Although many of the word groupings appear in pairs of preposition-plus-noun or conjunction-plus-noun, many of the most revealing examples are neither :

<i>Phrase/Word</i>	<i>Royal 7 D.xxiv</i>	<i>Digby 146</i>
accuthburge	84r9	7r5
acscolastice	84r11	7r10
adpontificale	84r18	7r12
illesuperi	84v13	7v13
cumtaliter	84v14	7v14
exfecundo	84v15	7v15
ingymnasio	84v21	8r1
inmeditullio	87r1-2	8r5
instadio	87r10	8r12
circum septus	87r24	8v4
exduplici	87v10	8v13
iuxta gene seos	87v16	8v18
sacro sancti	88v25	10r5
que rere	90r4	11r7
sicertis	90r1	11r5
incellulis	90r11	11r13
quimittendus	92r12	13r16
quoseuetita	94v21	16r9
sidepropriis	95v4	16v15
etquasitennerrima	100v12	22r16
situmentis	100v17	22v1
trium phale	103v12	25v5
qua drupes	105r13	27r13
pau li innaue ⁽²¹²⁾	110v10	33r4
inquotrium phantis	112r23	34v4
inquatumoraris	113r5	35v4
inodiernum	113v9	36r8
adluminauite	114v4	37r9
sibiumquam	118v11	42r1
crebres ceret	119r15	42v8
machina menta	121v25	45v15
taminualitudines	125r20	49v19
thimamadiis	144v8	73v6
nar dipistici	150r18	79v13
somnosopitus	153r3	83r4
holocausto mata	154r23-24	84v11
anat hemate	155r19	85v14

(212) The line divides after 'pau'.

ret horicamur	159r5	90v8
moro satricatio	160r22	92r19
sacramaterterre	162r4	94v12
parum perfretus	166r19	96v12
acmelodie	162v9	95v8
tiliacum	166v4	97r4
archi tecti	162v21	96r2
decisternatua	167r2	97v10

As further evidence of transmission, capitals in the Digby manuscript uniformly reproduce those in the Royal manuscript, and even some accents in Royal 7 D.xxiv are retained in the Digby copy of *Epist: per tót tantaque* (O 96v14 / R2 166r2), *nús discentium* (O 98v16 / R2 167v21), *núris* (O 96v4 / R2 166r11). One gloss to the Royal text is also reproduced exactly in Digby 146: *obstructa* (O 98r15 / R2 167r26), with two *punctus* above the word, has corresponding gloss in the margin (obstr[usa] in R2, 'usa' having been cut off). Line-divisions in the Royal manuscript also match up with errors in the Digby text. The word *ginginis* divides after *gin-* in Royal 7 D.xxiv (96r13); in the Digby manuscript, it appears as *gin//innis* (O 17r3). Elsewhere, the reading *sacramaterterre* (*sacra matertere*) in R2 (16r4) wraps in the Digby copy, in which it appears a *sacramater//teré'r[e]* (94v12).⁽²¹³⁾ Finally, an erasure in R2 appears to have a reflex in O. The word *tor<.>res* is seemingly divided by an erasure in R2 (143v21), and it appears as *tor res* in the Digby volume (72v9).

Notwithstanding these ostensible borrowings, several errors of misreading best highlight the relationship between these two manuscripts. A copyist of Royal 7 D.xxiv occasionally misread the manuscript, where, in fact, certain malformed or illegible letters resemble those in his erroneous transcript. All of these types of error occur in *Epist*, which, except for the first six lines, is written in a more archaic script, unkempt and exaggerated. This scribal effort betrays a highly idiosyncratic script with sweeping 'g' and tall 'a' (both crude Caroline and 'oc' forms), tall 'e' in ligature, and cramped letters, particularly round 's'. The manuscript was apparently much worn by the time the copy from which Digby 146 descends was made, for the rubbed parchment accounts for some errors of transcription. Examples are:

metabatur (R2 162v25) / *matabatur* (O 96r8): 'e' looks like 'oc' form of 'a'.

(213) Final 'e' has been expunged.

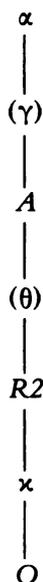
- conperimus* (R2 162v26) / *eonperimus* (O 96r9): 'c' resembles 'e' which has an accidental tick at the cross-stroke.
machinas (R2 166v11) / *mechinas* (O 97r11): A malformed 'a' with an apparent stroke or smudge through the center resembles 'e'.
sodalitatis (R2 168r5) / *eodalitatis* (O 99r6): A round 's' with compressed upper and lower elements closely resembles 'e'. The letter has been rubbed.
acutisque (R2 168r19) / *accutisque* (O 99v2): the 'oc' form of 'a' has confused a scribe, who reproduces the graph as 'ac'.

Taken together, these traceable mistakes are conclusive evidence that Digby 146 is a descendant of the Royal manuscript. In light of my preceding arguments disclosing how Royal 7 D.xxiv probably came to Canterbury from Glastonbury, the Digby manuscript's Canterbury origin squares perfectly with the evidence. Moreover, when we recall how Royal 7 D.xxiv had been assiduously collated with Canterbury manuscripts, it makes sense that readings from Digby 146 would diverge from those in the Royal exemplar. Any intervening copy would also have been subject to correction, to the extent that readings in Digby often differ from those in Royal, like the following ones from the first forty chapters of *Pdv*:

- 9, 49 quae] qui R3 C1 B O L
 10, 33 meminerunt] meminerint S R3 C2 C1 B O L
 11, 10 caeli ... modum] poli in modum R4 S R3 C2 C1 B O L
 15, 9 a dextris] addextris R4 S R3 C1 B O
 15, 31 sine topazio] topazio C1 O L
 25, 38/39 elephantiosa] elefantinosa R4 S R3 C2 (e corr.) C1 B O L
 25, 53 Idem] Isdem R4 S R3 C1 O
 26, 6 examen apium] apium examen R4 S C1, apum (corr. ex apium) examen O
 26, 42 praepolente] corr. in prepollenti R2 S, praepollenti R3 R5 O, praepo'lente A, corr. ex praepollente per sup. i B
 31, 16 reputabitur] deputabitur S C1 B O L
 32, 82 praecipit] precepit R4 C2 C1 B O L, precepit (e sec. corr. ex i) S
 35, 22 Quod] quod `cum` R4 S C2, quod cum R3 C1 O L
 36, 6 et] sup. lin. R4 S O
 37, 33 restituunt] restiuunt C2, restiuunt (in marg.) C1, restiuunt O
 37, 46 rugientium] rudentium R4 S R3 C2 C1 A O L, corr. in rudentium B
 38, 32 et] aut R4 S C2 B O
 38, 47 legatariis] legatoriis R4 (e corr.) S R3 C2 C1 O L

38, 78 penticosten qui] pentecosten que *R4 S R3 C2 O*, pentecosten qui (*corr. ex que*) *C1*
 40, 13 rediit] redit *R4 S C1 O*, rediit *B*

The hypothesis that a copy of *R2* antecedent to *O* could have been corrected through collation with other Canterbury *Pdv* volumes is confirmed by some gloss evidence which implies that at least one intermediary came between Royal 7 D.xxiv and Digby 146. Although I shall explore the transmission more fully in a later chapter, it should be noted that almost all the Royal glosses written in HANDS 1-7 (inclusive) are conflated in the first Latin hand in Digby – with significant additions. These additions effectively demonstrate an intermediary book (or books), to which extra glosses were added. These glosses were subsequently copied wholesale into another volume, possibly the Digby book. As for the date of the *ur*-witness of Digby 146, it must (as I shall demonstrate) precede the additions in the main glossing hand (HAND 8) in Royal 7 D.xxiv, which is, like that of the text, a tachygraphic phase II Square Minuscule. I date the copy derivative of *R2* and antecedent to *O* ca. s. x^{med}. The stemma may be represented as follows:



Hereford, Cathedral Library Ms P.I.17 (*P*)

The Hereford copy of *Pdv* is one of the latest, datable to s. xii/xiii. ⁽²¹⁴⁾ It is an average-sized volume measuring 13 × 19 cm with a written area of 10 × 16 cm. The structure consists of alternating quinions and quaternions: fols. i+151+ii, coll. I⁸-III⁸+IV¹⁰+V⁸-VI⁸+VII¹⁰+VIII⁸-IX⁸+X¹⁰+XI⁸+XII¹⁰ (3 and 8 are half-sheets)+XIII¹⁰ (7, 8 and 10 cancelled, though 10 was probably blank) [end of *Pdv*] // XIV⁸-XVIII⁸. Quire signatures appear on fols. 42v (.V.), 50v (.VI.), 60v (.VII.), 68v (.VIII.), 76v (.IX.); the catchword *priscorum patrum* on fol. 94v. Other signatures may have been lost, as the manuscript has been trimmed, possibly when it was re-bound at Oxford in 1862 (flyleaf, end i verso) or in 1949. The book is certainly an Abingdon production, given its ostensible exemplar and the number of accomplished scribes who participated in writing it. A note on the flyleaf, however, confirms a St. Mary's, Cirencester, provenance. St. Mary's was an Augustinian foundation dating from 1117, at which time Henry I reformed the house of secular canons. ⁽²¹⁵⁾

On flyleaf i is an early fourteenth-century contents list: 'Liber ecclesie' followed by an erasure over which is written 'beate Marie Cirencestrie' in a fifteenth-century hand. The inventory reads: 'Hec subscripta continentur in hoc volumine / Aldhelmus de Virginitate / Versus de Sancto Nicholao / Forma uite cuiuslibet incluse / Item Bernardus Morlanensis de contemptu mundi versifice compositi libri tres'. The entry 'Versus de Sancto Nicholao' is an interpolation in this list. The manuscript still contains these four articles, the longest of which is *Pdv* (fols. 1r-103r). The text is ruled in dry-point, with 18 deeply spaced long lines to the page, and with very wide top, bottom and outer margins to accommodate glosses. Dry-point rulings for glosses are frequent (e.g. 21r right margin, 38v left margin, 71r right margin, 73r bottom margin, 74v bottom margin), even for glosses which were never added (e.g. 22v left margin, 77r bottom margin, right margin). Glossing on the inner margin is not

(214) R. A. B. MYNORS and R. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 73-4; A. BANNISTER, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Hereford, 1927), 114-15; KER, *Catalogue*, no. 120.

(215) K. BEBCHAM, *History of Cirencester and the Roman City Corinium* (Dursley, 1887), pp. 53-89; C. ROSS, *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire* (London, 1964), pp. xviii-xxxv. For other volumes assigned to Cirencester, cf. KER, *Medieval Libraries*, pp. 51-2.

regularly found, and in light of the relatively narrow inner margins (2 cm), the book was probably not meant to be glossed there.

The Hereford Aldhelm is carefully written by accomplished scribes. It exhibits a wide range of common abbreviations, the density of which is unparalleled in earlier Aldhelm books. The ink is very black and legible. Obviously, this book was carefully prepared and executed, qualifying to some extent the view of modern scholars that 'with the advent of Norman ecclesiastical administration and learning Aldhelm's importance as a curriculum author begin[s] to wane'.⁽²¹⁶⁾

Following *Pdv* (on fol. 103r-v) is an unpublished poem 'Versus de Sancto Nicholao' ('Preclarum reddit nicholaum nobilis ortus – Omne scelus de me ius rege praua preme') in twelve elegiac couplets possibly by a certain Samson, if the tag next to the title is any guide ('versus de somsone').⁽²¹⁷⁾ The Nicholas poem occupies the single page left blank by the last scribe of *Pdv*.

The third article in *P* (fols. 104r-110v) is a copy of Ailred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*, though called here *Forma uite cuiuslibet incluse*: 'Iam pluribus annis exigit a me, soror, ut secundum modum uiuendi'. The text is defective, breaking off at chapter 27, line 23 (Primum ut nulli noceas, deinde ut nulli uelis nocere. Primum illud tibi facile).⁽²¹⁸⁾

Item (iv) in *P* (112r-149v) comprises Bernard of Cluny's *De contemptu mundi*: 'Domino et patri suo .P. dignissimo abbati – nos modo postmodo collige ne pereamus'.⁽²¹⁹⁾ This manuscript was not collated by Hoskier in his edition. The remaining folios were originally left blank, but a later scribe has added on fol. 151v a nearly contemporaneous legend, beginning 'Magnalia que dominus noster iesus Christus per merita beate et gloriose uerebatur namque ne tam insperate, tam subite leticie uehementia, aut ne diuinitus ...' (defective).

(216) LH, p. 3.

(217) H. WALTHER, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959), no. 14394. (The tag is difficult to interpret, as we would expect it to be *about* Samson, for which 'Somson' is a peculiar spelling.)

(218) C. TALBOT, *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* 7 (Rome, 1951), pp. 167-217, reprinted in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (Turnhout, 1971), pp. 636-82. According to Talbot, the Hereford copy is textually related to Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 218 (s. xiii/xiv).

(219) *De Contemptu Mundi ... by Bernard of Morval, Monk of Cluny* (fl. 1150), ed. H. HOSKIER (London, 1929).

The portion of the manuscript containing *Pdv* was used by Abraham Gronovius (1695-1775) in his 1739 edition of the text. ⁽²²⁰⁾ Gronovius did not make note of the many glosses. The interlinear ones are written in several very similar hands (or perhaps the same hand at different times), none of which is easily distinguishable from the others. The marginal glosses seem to have been added at many stages, perhaps while the manuscript was read. The ornamental capitals are likewise inconsistent enough to suggest that different scribes participated in decorating various quires. At times the capitals seem to have been added after the glosses, as shown on fol. 5v7.

The glosses in this manuscript are unevenly spread over fols. 1r-25r, 35r-44v, 51r, 69r-84r, and 95r-103r. In my view, the unusual placement of them reflects the copying of *Pdv*, as a tabulation of quire and folios reveals:

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Folio</i>	<i>Glosses</i>
I	1r-8v	1r-8r
II	9r-16v	9r-11r, 14v-16v
III	17r-24v	17r-24v
IV	25r-34v	25r only
V	35r-42v	35r-42v
VI	43r-50v	43r-44v5
VII	51r-60v	51r only, 59v15 only
VIII	61r-68v	
IX	69r-76v	69r-76v
X	77r-86v	77r-84r6
XI	87r-94v	88v10 only
XII	95r-103r	95r-103r

QI is rather thickly glossed from fols. 1r-8r, with no glosses on 8v. QII again begins a section of dense glossing with interlinear and marginal glosses covering fols. 9r-11r, after which the glosses end. Glossing picks up again very heavily on fol. 14v and carries on through to 25r. Copying stops there, begins again at fol. 35r and continues to 44v5, where it terminates, only to reappear heavily on fol. 51r *alone*. The glossing begins again on fol. 69r, carries on intermittently to fol. 84r6. Glosses re-appear on fol. 95r and continue until the end of the text at fol. 103r.

This evidence suggests that the glosses in *P* were copied independently into unbound gatherings, since glossing begins six times at beginnings of quires. There is either slight glossing or no glossing at all just before many of these apparent scribal

(220) EHWALD, pp. 224-5.

stints. Furthermore, the sudden absence of glosses at points which are not ends of quires (e.g. 44v5 and 84r6) and the sudden start of glossing at a point which is not the beginning of a quire (14v) imply that the gloss-exemplar was unbound and distributed for copying. These circumstances contradict the proposed transmission.

There can be no doubt that the Hereford manuscript descends directly from Digby 146, for collation reveals seventeen significant variants shared only by these sources and, on occasion, by Royal 7 D.xxiv, their distant parent:

- 9, 7/8 fulgescat] fulgescant *OP*
- 18, 16 angeli] angeli dei *OP*
- 22, 20 culmen] at culmen *R2*, ad culmen *OP*
- 23, 59 soror est] est soror *R2 OP*
- 28, 28 crustulae semiplenam] semiplenam crustule *R2 OP*
- 29, 22 et non] et ut non *OP*
- 30, 7 et secundis] et cum secundis *OP*
- 32, 41 ut] et ut (et *in ras.*) *R2*, et ut *OP*
- 32, 98/99 apologetica] apologetica *OP*
- 34, 5 supermo] superne *OP*
- 35, 44 inlecebroso] incelebroso *OP*
- 36, 111 hiulcas] hiulcos *R2 OP*
- 39, 4 in] *om.* *OP*
- 42, 32 superstitione] a superstitione *OP*
- 50, 48 linguis] linuuis *OP*
- 51, 12 Romam] ad romam *OP*
- 56, 24 bacciniorum] bacciniarum *R2 OP*

Both Arthur Napier and Louis Goossens concluded that the Hereford glosses – and, by extension, the text – descend directly from Digby 146, on the grounds that 57 Old English glosses in Hereford P.I.17 correspond to Old English glosses in Digby 146. Although there are minor spelling differences in the glosses to both manuscripts, Napier and Goossens argued that the incidence of correlation proves a direct relationship. On the contrary, collation reveals that, while Hereford P.I.17 does descend from Digby 146, at least one hyparchetype must intervene between these copies.

As noted above, a peculiar feature of the glossing in *P* is the sudden stopping and starting of scribal stints, some of which are rather short. Thus, glosses end at folio 11r, begin at 14v and end at 25r; they stop abruptly at 44v5 and 84r6, in the middle of the page. While some of these abrupt endings must surely reflect a scribe's unwillingness to continue copying the glosses (e.g. 51r), the ends of some glossing stints plausibly coincide with the ends

of quires in an archetype. Similarly, heavy glossing at the beginning or middle of a quire in *P* implies that glosses there were also copied from the individual gatherings of an exemplar.

Sound evidence for these circumstances of transmission appears on fol. 11r. The scribe expands his text with horizontal lines to fill out the page, which ends with 'secundus est'. Such lines are a standard scribal convention adopted when a copyist wants the layout of his apograph to mirror that of his exemplar. (Having convenient correlations between exemplar and apograph helps collaborating scribes know where to begin copying.) In this case, the Hereford text of *Pdv* concludes at the bottom of a page, in the middle of a quire. In my view, the exemplar of Hereford P.I.17 probably ended here on the last folio of a quire, and even the distribution of glosses corroborates the same scenario: the expansion of the text with horizontal lines exactly coincides with the end of a section of glosses. Because the glosses end where the text is expanded, the glossing reasonably continued to the end of the quire. Hence, we can easily imagine the circumstances under which the Hereford volume was prepared and glossed:

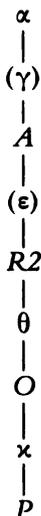
1. An unbound exemplar was copied into a book dissimilar to it in layout. The correlation of quires in exemplar and apograph was therefore thrown off.
2. The exemplar and apograph were then distributed by quire for copying the glosses.
3. Because the quires did not match up (except in the case of fol. 11r), the glosses were copied in batches beginning or ending irregularly.

Given the quire arrangements of these manuscripts, Napier's and Goossens's conjecture that the exemplar of *P* must have been Digby 146 is impossible. In both manuscripts, the corresponding text and glosses to those on fol. 11r in *P* end in the middle of the page (*O arta*, 16r5). The same holds true for other scribal stints in *P*: 8r18 (*P*)=12v12 (*O*), 14r1=17v1, 25r18=26r10, 35r1=33v2, 44v5=40v8, 51r1=45v8, 51r18=46r5, 69r1=61v14, 84r6=75v12, 95r6=86r9.

Therefore, Digby 146 cannot have been the immediate source of the text or glosses in *P*. Even so, it must have been the ultimate source of the glosses in *P*'s exemplar, and it must have been available to thirteenth-century readers at Abingdon. The evidence of the availability of Digby 146 is conclusive: a hand similar to those in *P* wrote a pen-trial (or gloss) in *O* on fol. 69r6. The gloss was subsequently wiped away but still remains

visible. While this scribal trace is strong evidence of potential contamination, it is not the only evidence in determining the reliance of *P* on *O*. Though more equivocal, the glossing format in the manuscript likewise proves their interdependence.

As we have seen, QII begins with fol. 9r at which point the glossing also picks up. The arrangement of glosses here is very similar to that in Digby 146 – marginal entries along the right margin on 9r and on the left margin in 9v. This replication continues through fol. 10r, after which it breaks down because of the unequal line-length, line number and words-per-line of the manuscripts. Even so, identical correspondences recur on fol. 14v of *P*, which is similar in layout to Digby 146 fol. 17v. The top of the page almost perfectly matches the Digby copy. The brief appearance of these correspondences on fols. 17v, 22r-v (= *O* fols. 19v, 23r-v) highlight the way in which manuscript layout in *O* was conserved in *P*. One *signe de renvoi* also helps verify the transmission of glosses in *P* via *O*. The symbol \odot in *P* fol. 3r2 is almost identical to one in *O* fol. 8v5: \odot .⁽²²¹⁾ The glosses in Hereford P.I.17 reliably descend through an intermediary manuscript (or manuscripts) from Digby 146. The stemma may be drawn as follows:



(221) Others are not, however: 19v12; 70r13; 71v4, 6; 72v1, 3.

Salisbury, Cathedral Library ms 38 (S)

This key manuscript in the transmission of the Aldhelm glosses was written in an Anglo-Caroline Minuscule datable to s. x^{ex} and measures 16.5 × 25.5 cm (written space 11.5 × 18.5 cm).⁽²²²⁾ Because of its tight binding, its structure is difficult to determine; my collation is provisional: ii+I⁸ (wants 6, 8)⁽²²³⁾+II⁷¹⁰ (wants 2)+III⁸-IX⁸+X⁸ (wants 6-8)+ii. The parchment has suffered serious deterioration from damp, which has, in fact, injured a number of other Salisbury manuscripts.⁽²²⁴⁾ The book was in Salisbury by 1622, at which time it was described in Patrick Young's *Catalogus Mss. Bibliothecæ Sarum*.⁽²²⁵⁾ According to a note (flyleaf i recto), the volume was re-bound by H. Bailey in 1956.

Peculiarities in the (holograph) Anglo-Caroline script are several. The character 'æ' appears throughout in place of 'ae', 'e' or 'e'-caudata, although these letters are also employed. Examples of Insular 'r' are likewise abundant (e.g. 17r10). Moreover, an unusual subscript 'a' recurs not only at word-ends but also medially (e.g. 47r2); open 'a' is common. Uncial 'N' crops up frequently, both in ligature (N+S, N+T) and singly in various positions. Ligatures in U+S and, less commonly, I+S appear throughout. Hence, while obviously expert, this scribe nevertheless wrote an unusual Caroline script with a nod to Insular features. The idiosyncratic style ultimately led Bishop to classify it, along with a handful of others, as an early Christ Church specimen of Anglo-Caroline.⁽²²⁶⁾ He came to this position reluctantly.

(222) E. THOMPSON, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Cathedral of Salisbury* (London, 1880), p. 9; H. WHARTON, *Userii Historia Digmatica* (London, 1689), p. 356. The volume has been slightly trimmed, with loss of letters in the glosses here and there. For an excellent overview of the formation of the Salisbury Cathedral library, cf. N. R. KER, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R. N. Hunt*, ed. J. ALEXANDER and M. GIBSON (Oxford, 1976), pp. 23-49.

(223) The text is defective at the beginning and opens with 'exerceri qui laboriosi' (fol. 8); the *capitula* appear on fols. 1-7.

(224) N. R. KER, 'Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 53 (1949), 153-83, at p. 162; the volume was obviously standing when wet, for the stains affect the gutters and top margins.

(225) KER, 'Patrick Young's Catalogue', p. 167.

(226) Cf. BISHOP, *Minuscule*, p. xxvi (post-dating his retracted ascription of the book to St. Augustine's): 'To the same uncertainly attributed group [i.e. of manuscripts linked to Christ Church] may belong Salisbury Cath. ms. 38 (Aldhelmus), with HS outside all sheets, and 172

Writing in 1957, Bishop recognized the manuscript as a Canterbury production, and assigned it to St. Augustine's on the basis of aspect and its resemblance to that of Salisbury, Cathedral Library ms 172. ⁽²²⁷⁾ Bishop came to modify his position in subsequent publications, claiming provisionally that the manuscript was produced in the Christ Church scriptorium. ⁽²²⁸⁾ In 1957 Ker assigned the manuscript to Christ Church and drew attention to the correspondences between its Old English glosses and those in London, BL MS Royal 6 A.vi and Royal 5 E.xi. The Old English glosses are written in 'several smaller hands'. At least four glossing scribes can be discerned: ⁽²²⁹⁾

HAND 1: The main glossing hand, very similar to the text hand, and writing a neat diminutive Anglo-Caroline Minuscule. Caroline forms are consistent in the Latin: 'a', tall 'd', 'f', 'g', tall 's'. In the Old English there is an admixture of Caroline and Insular letter-forms. Insular characters are (in addition to the native letters 'æ', 'ð', 'þ', 'wynn'): 'a', sloping 'd', 'r' and 'y', appearing side by side with Caroline straight-backed 'd', 'f', 'g', tall 's' and a handful of Caroline ligatures. The glosses are generally centered above the lemma, and two *punctus* surround the common abbreviations for *id est* and *scilicet*.

HAND 2: A predominantly Anglo-Caroline script, larger than HAND 1 and more spread out. Letter-forms are consistently Caroline. This is probably the hand of the main scribe, given the shibboleth forms of 'a' and 'g'. Final 'a' in this hand boasts a large *cauda*, which sweeps upward.

(Augustinus) ... and Rouen, Bibl. Mun. 506 (Gregorius); none of the scribes has been certainly identified in other manuscripts'.

(227) BISHOP VI, p. 412: 'The original script is a kind of Caroline minuscule found in MSS. that have been attributed, in so far as any of them have been certainly attributed, to one of the Canterbury houses. Within this kind it belongs decidedly to the St. Augustine's variety'. Bishop previously mentioned Salisbury 38 in an earlier part of his long essay (BISHOP IV, p. 330), where he compares 'some interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses' to glosses in Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. ms 352 (from St. Augustine's). Bishop grouped this book with fourteen others, the core of which he sketched in 'The Manuscript O of Persius', *The Classical Review* 69 (1955), 145.

(228) *Aethici Istrici Cosmographia Vergilio Salisburgiensi Rectius Adscripta: Codex Leidensis Scaligeranus 69* (Amsterdam, 1966), p. xx, where Bishop compares the script to that in London, BL MS Royal 15 B.xix (from Christ Church).

(229) There are occasional glosses on fols. 67r23, 71v5 and 72r16.

HAND 3: A more rotund hand, written with a thinner pen and lacking serifs. As far as I can determine, the scribe writes Old English only infrequently (e.g. fols. 36r14, 58v2). Caroline letter-forms are consistent; examples appear on fols. 25r8, 39r20.

HAND 4: This scribe writes Old English and Latin on fols. 20-1. The Latin is an uncanonical Anglo-Caroline, having open 'a' as well as a few Insular features ('f', 'g' and 'r'). The Old English is Square Minuscule, s. x^{ex}, with Insular letter-forms for the most part ('a', 'd', 'e', 'f', 'g', 'r'); tall 's' is persistent.

The relative chronology of the hands is supported by a few glosses in which two scribes annotated the same lemma:

HAND 1 precedes HAND 2: fols. 32r10, 13; 57r16

HAND 2 precedes HAND 3: fol. 39r20

HAND 1 precedes HAND 4: fol. 20v12

The other relationships cannot be determined, but HAND 4 is probably the last in the series.

Ehwald perceived that the Digby manuscript, Royal 7 D.xxiv and Salisbury 38 share a graphic peculiarity, as the text on their final folios forms an inverted triangle: 'textus ipse usque ad finem, unius simile schema est atque in Bodleiano et Sarisberiensis (... ab al / to..dignetur / Valete..soro / res..alumne / scolasticce..marga / rite..ge / mine..pa / triae parti / cipes ...)'.⁽²³⁰⁾ Ehwald therefore deduced that all three volumes descended from a common exemplar, although a collation of the three manuscripts discredits his suspicions. Admittedly, unusual word-divisions and conjunctive errors *appear* to document the derivation of Salisbury 38 from a text closely related to that in Royal 7 D.xxiv. However, dozens of significant variants prove that the Salisbury version diverges radically from the Royal text – and almost as substantially from the other manuscripts attributed to Canterbury scriptoria.

It has to be admitted that the graphic similarities between Salisbury 38 and Royal 7 D.xxiv are numerous. A collation of the first twenty folios in *S* shows peculiar word-divisions and syllabic groups in common with the Royal *Pdv*, as if a scribe or scribes copied an exemplar *pari passu*:

<i>Reading</i>	<i>Salisbury 38</i>	<i>Royal 7 D.xxiv</i>
accuthburge	7v8	86r9
addestinatum	8r12	87r9

(230) EHWALD, p. 222; the division is different in Salisbury 38.

perflorulenta	9v16	88v14
insimulacro	10r3	88v26
subhuiuscemodi	10v17	89v16
adincolatum	11r10	90r9
incellulis	11r12	90r12
adomitiano	12v4	91v7
quiperidem	12v4	91v7
peraugustam	12v14	91v18
deiugalitatis	13r16	92r23
exglomerere	13v3	92v9
exisdem	13v16	92v24
obliberorum	14v12	93v22
cumsudoris	15r10	94r21
quitumido	15r14	94v1
depericuloso	15r16	94v3
adportum	15r19	94v6
quose	15v8	94v21
preceteris	15v20	95r10
quodprius	15v22	95r12
cumtuta	16v12	96r8
noncessant	17r7	96v4
capessunt	17r17	96v18
nonrefragabatur	17v13	97r16
adbellum	18r13	97v17
siuestra	18v2	98r6
sicontemptibilem	18v17	98r26
sienim	18v22	98v6
sialma	19r11	98v21
ecorporis	19v5	99r14
addextris	20r9	99v22 ⁽²³¹⁾
proaugendis	20v17	100v4
perallegoriae	20v18	100v5

The following patterns in later folios are similarly noteworthy:

contempserint	27r19	107r8
queadmemoriam	28r4	107v16
cati cuminum	34v4	114r16
cumdeillo	35v20	115v5

In addition to this evidence, errors, omissions and corrections in *R2* seem to anticipate corruptions and reflexes in *S*. *Salpita* with a short Insular 't' (*R2* 95v25) corresponds to *salpicae* in *S* (16v5). The common insular abbreviation '7' is missing from both versions (*R2* 17r17/*S* 96v18). The accent on 'né' appears in both manuscripts (*R2* 121v15/*S* 42v1). Other examples under-

(231) *a[d]dextris*, with first 'd' erased.

score conjunctive errors of spelling, some of which have been corrected in the manuscripts: ⁽²³²⁾

<i>Reading in S</i>	<i>Reading in R2</i>
quaeant (23r1)	qu'èant (103r18)
strennuæ (36v5)	strennuæ (116r11) ⁽²³³⁾
percontatur (45r21)	percuntatur (124v14) ⁽²³⁴⁾
Quod 'cum' (47r22)	Quod 'cum' (126v21)
condicione (53v13)	condicione (133v11) ⁽²³⁵⁾
'que' (69v9)	'que' (150r20) ⁽²³⁶⁾
genealogia (74r4)	genealogia (154v22)
manic'a's ⁽²³⁷⁾ (76r20)	manic'a's (157r12)
achademic (35r22)	achademic (115r7)

Despite these parallels, which, in addition to the gloss-evidence, suggest that Salisbury 38 could be a collateral relative of Royal 7 D.xxiv, many readings prove the obvious divergence of the Salisbury *Pdv* from Royal 7 D.xxiv:

<i>Reading in R2</i>	<i>Reading in S</i>
animi (88r4)	animorum (9r8)
ceteros (89v23)	ceteras (10v23)
ille (90r1)	illa (11r4)
loquor (90v19)	loquar (11v18)
ueniat (92r12)	ueniet (13r8)
angelica supernorum	angelica elationis celsitudo
ciuium celsitudo elationis (95r25)	supernorum ciuium (16r8)
quod (100r15)	quo (20v3)

(232) *S* contains readings also in *R2* but which have been altered or erased in that manuscript:

1. *distinguuntur* (*R2* 126v9) / *distinxit* (*S* 47r12). The letters 'guuntur' in *R2* are written over an erasure.
2. *gloriatur* <. > *interior* (*R2* 155r10) / *gloriatur frustra interior* (*S* 74r16). 'Frustra' has been erased in *R2*, probably because of the placement of a gloss 'frustra' (to *inaniter*), which appeared immediately below the word. A glossator thought 'frustra' was redundant.
3. *gratulabundus* (*R2* 117v15) / *gratanter* (*S* 37v12; glossed 'gratulabundus'). The word in *R2* is written over an erasure once containing *gratanter*.
4. *ab* <. > (*R2* 120r21) / *ob hoc* (*S* 41r7). 'Hoc' has been erased in *R2*.
5. *simoni'áce* (*R2* 111v5) / *simonicae* (*S* 31v13). Copied before the correction was made. For similar mistakes, see the chart of conjunctive errors below.

(233) First letter 'n' erased in both copies.

(234) First letter 'u' corrected from 'o'.

(235) Second 'c' resembles a malformed 't'.

(236) With identical placement of the correction.

(237) Both corrected from 'manicis'.

humanum iudicium fallitur (108r12)	humanum fallitur iudicium (28r23)
est soror (110r7)	soror est (30r18)
prius uiderat (113v2)	uiderat prius (33v13)
est autem (113v17)	autem est (33v17)
supernis celi (114r2)	cæli supernis (34r14)
quam (125r21)	qua (46r3)
que (126v8)	quas (47r11)
adultum (133r6)	adultam (53r13)
infinitis (133v6)	et infinitis (53v9)
curua (134v21)	curuo (54v19)
gemmis (142v11)	gemmis pretiosis (62v16-17)
labris (143r12)	labellis (63r18)
catatarum (145r15)	castarum (65r15)
prolatum (145v8)	prolatum est (65v5)
contemptibilis (161v3)	contemptibiles (81r8)

Readings from the Salisbury manuscript deviate substantially from Royal 7 D.xxiv. Indeed, *S* has significant variants in common with Royal 6 A.vi (*R3*), evidence hinting that *these* texts derive from a common source, and not Royal 7 D.xxiv or its hyparchetype. Setting aside the distraction posed by manuscript *H* (a direct descendant of *R3*), Salisbury 38 preserves errors like 'gratanter', 'castarum', 'et infinitis' and 'iugulatueros' proving their likely derivation from the same antecedent:

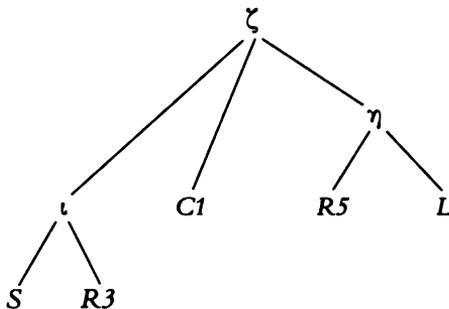
- 28, 31 gratulabundus] gratanter *S R3 C1 H*
- 30, 12 rei] *corr. ex regi S, regi R3*
- 32, 15 aruina] ausungia *R2 R4 A O P*, axungia *S R3 H*
- 33, 25 uapulare] uapulari *R3, corr. in uapulari per ras. S*
- 33, 26 percunctatur] percuntatur *O P H*, percontatur *S R3*
- 37, 26 Infinitis] et infinitis *S R3 H*
- 38, 56 iugulaturas] *corr. ex iugulatueros S, iugulatueros R3*
- 38, 65 sarcofagus] *corr. ex sarcofagos S, sarcofagos R3*
- 47, 47 catatarum] castarum *S R3*
- 47, 58 prolatum ... ueritate] prolatum est in ueritate *S R3 H L*,
prolatum est in ueritate prolatum est (in ueritate prolatum est *subl.*) in ueritate *R5*

While some of these readings are merely orthographical and potentially corrected in other copies, the broad view that *S* and *R3* may be related can be supported. In fact, even further variants show that the antecedent to *S* must descend from a hyparchetype of Corpus 326 (*C1*), for *S* often shares significant variants with *C1* and the manuscripts most closely related to it: *R1*, *R5*, *B* and *L*:

- ProL., 7 necnon] necnon et *S C1 R5 L*, et *sup. lin. R3*

- 2, 20 per] post *R2 R4 S C1*
 3, 15 quasi] sic pugno non quasi *R1 R4 S C1 A*
 18, 41 effectibus] sic *W S C1 A P H*, affectibus *corr. ex æffectibus* (ibus in ras.) *B*
 26, 6 examen apium] apium examen *R4 S C1*, apum (*corr. ex apium*) examen *O*, apum examen *P H*
 42, 25/26 consul ... tribunica] tribunus consulari *R4 R3 H*, tribunica consul *S C1 O P*
 49, 43 tu] *om. R4 S C1 O P H*
 51, 34 arte] *om. R4 S C1 O P H*
 52, 34/35 praepostero ordine] ordine praepostero *S C1 B P*, ordine preposteros (*s sec. exp.*) *H*

Salisbury 38 agrees far more often with identifiable Canterbury *Pdv* manuscripts than with Royal 7 D.xxiv, therefore. In fact, significant variants in *S* sometimes agree with those of the 'Yale Fragment' against *R2*, e.g. *animorum* (*A* 2r9), *ceteras* (*A* 3v16), *ueniet* (*A* 6r2). At other times they do not: *comprehendi* (*S* 8v18) / *deprehendi* (*A* 1v12), *gregatim campos* (*S* 9r16) / *campos gregatim* (*A* 2r19), *illa* (*S* 11r4) / *ille* (*A* 4r2). Despite the triangular arrangement of words common to the conclusion of *R2* and *S*, then, the Salisbury manuscript probably descends from a hyparchetype of *C1*, with which it has many significant variants in common. Significant variants shared by *R2* and *S* or by *A* and *S* can be ascribed either to conservative copying in the common hyparchetype of the 'Yale Fragment' and in the antecedent of Corpus 326, or to contamination. The relationship can be represented in the following stemma:



Interestingly, the 'Early Strata' glosses in *R2* are closely related to those in *S*, although the Salisbury glosses have significant differences. As we shall see, intervening copyists felt free to change these glosses – a reflection, perhaps, of the freedom they also felt for changing Aldhelm's text. Moreover, the glosses in both

manuscripts descend from an original core transmitted from an eighth-century school.

London, BL ms Royal 5 E.xi (*R4*)

Among the earliest glossed manuscripts of *Pdv* and the text which contains the greatest number of scratched glosses is Royal 5 E.xi, a manuscript from Christ Church datable to s. x^{cx}.⁽²³⁸⁾ The manuscript is ruled 19 long lines to the page and has large margins where the pricking is still visible. The structure of the volume comprises alternating quaternions and quinions, the latter with pages cancelled so as to resemble quaternions: iv+i+i⁸ (1, 6 cancelled)+II² (a bifolium)+III¹⁰ (1, 4, 8 cancelled)+IV⁸-VII⁸+VIII¹⁰ (3, 9 cancelled)+IX⁸-X⁸+XI¹⁰ (2 cancelled)+XII¹⁰ (3, 9 cancelled)+XIII¹⁰ (7 cancelled)+XIV⁸ (7 cancelled)+XV¹⁰ (2, 8 cancelled)+XVI⁶ (6 cancelled)+i (a singleton)+i+iv. The folios measure 15.5 × 25.5 cm with a written space of 10 × 19 cm. Construe marks, found above and below their lemmas, dominate each page.

The two main scripts of *R4* are a competent, heavily shaded Anglo-Caroline (more shaded in HAND 1) occasionally tending to the rotund Canterbury type. Insular features are rare; I have only noticed the infrequent use of 'æ'. Uniquely Caroline forms are: 'a', 'f', 'g', 'r', 's'. Letters 'm' and 'n' have small serifs, lending formality to the script. Both hands exhibit slender ascenders on occasion, and they are rather short. Ligatures are common, and '&' is used widely for the conjunction 'et'. Letters are frequently joined along the bounding line, even across words written in one unit. Ascenders and descenders are short, even stubby, but they are not clubbed.

Scribe 2 (=Bishop's scribe [xxi])⁽²³⁹⁾ contributed the following: 3r-6v, 82r-115v (an erasure appears on 111r18-19, where the text is written in a fourth hand); 1r-v, 120r-v, 119r1 [the remainder is blank]. Presumably at a later date he copied the supply-leaves comprising fols. 7-9.⁽²⁴⁰⁾ A third scribe (=Bishop's

(238) KER, *Catalogue*, no. 252; *Cat. Roy. MSS.*, p. 115.

(239) BISHOP VI, pp. 412-23. Bishop described this hand as illustrating 'the progress of [a] scribe from naïvty to firm assurance' (p. 419).

(240) The insertion was written, in Bishop's opinion, after the scribe wrote Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Bodley 577, a copy of *Cdv*, but before he wrote Oxford, Oriel College ms 3 (p. 420). Another scribe not identified in other extant manuscripts wrote the text on fols. 10, 12-81.

scribe [xx]) wrote fol. 11r-v. In Bishop's judgement, the main scribe (xxi) is responsible for three other Canterbury books: ⁽²⁴¹⁾

- (a) Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Bodley 577, a copy of *Cdv* (glossed for the most part by this scribe). ⁽²⁴²⁾
- (b) Oxford, Oriel College ms 3 (Prudentius, *Psychomachia*), in which he wrote both text and gloss.
- (c) London, BL ms Cotton Domitian A.ix, fols. 2r-7v, a version of *Epist*. ⁽²⁴³⁾

Scribe (xx), who copied the single folio 11r-v, also wrote portions of other manuscripts listed in Bishop's survey: ⁽²⁴⁴⁾

- (a) Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Hatton 42 (i), fols. 1-7 (*Collectio canonum hibernensis*)
- (b) London, BL ms Harley 110 (text of Prosper's *Epigrammata*)
- (c) London, BL ms Royal 15 B.xix (i) (text of Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*).

It is a peculiar coincidence that the Domitian leaves survive alone and that there is no copy of *Epist* which today survives alongside the Royal 5 E.xi version of *Pdv*. Because *Epist* has a textual history independent of Aldhelm's other letters, instead circulating with *Pdv*, ⁽²⁴⁵⁾ we would naturally expect it to form a companion piece to a *Pdv* manuscript. Perhaps these two volumes were meant to be companion pieces in one codex. Alternatively, scribe (xxi) may have wanted to prepare an *Epist* version for his house library by copying an *Epist* exemplar he obtained at a later date. This conclusion appears more credible, as the scribe has individually copied three of Aldhelm's major works: *Pdv*, *Epist* and *Cdv*.

In addition to a handful of glosses added to the text at the time of copying (e.g. fols. 30r12, 37r8), there are at least six glossing hands in Royal 5 E.xi:

(241) BISHOP VI, p. 423.

(242) The affinities between Royal 5 E.xi and Bodley 577 are furthered by Ehwald: 'Insignis est non solum punctis grammaticalibus, sed etiam folii inserti picturis duabus, quarum altera ei, quae in Lambethano prosae codice ... exstat similis est, altera cum codice Regio 7 D.xxiv et Regio 5 E.xi est conferenda' (p. 345). Ehwald's comments on Bodley 577 do not supply any information on the transmission of the book, and a collation of *Cdv* is beyond the scope of the present work.

(243) KER, *Catalogue*, no. 149. The fragment is a trinion, collated I⁶+II¹ (a singleton).

(244) BISHOP, p. 423.

(245) LH, p. 143.

HAND 1: A main scribal hand (Bishop [xxi]), written in black ink and preserving a practised, shaded Anglo-Caroline with Caroline 'a', 'd' and 's', and with small serifs on 'm' and 'n'. The calligraphic manifestation of this hand is found only in the early folios of the manuscript, becoming more tachygraphic further into the book. The pen tends to be more shaded in **HAND 1** than in **HAND 2**.

HAND 2: This is the main glossing hand and closely resembles **HAND 1**, although it lacks serifs and is less neatly written. Caroline forms abound: 'f', 'g', 'r', 's'. Caroline 'a' has virtually no upper member and therefore reflects the common tenth-century Anglo-Caroline practised in Canterbury. This scribe writes both Latin and Old English glosses without differentiating the languages by his letter-forms. Caroline 'g', 'r' and 's' in Old English are frequent, as are Anglo-Saxon 'æ', 'ð', 'þ' and 'wynn'.

HAND 3: An uncouth Old English script without any discernible style. Many of these glosses are merographs and simply reproduce scratched merographs only partly visible today. Letter-forms are still Insular, though crude; 'a' is not square.

HAND 4: An occasional hand writing Old English on fol. 13r in a thick black ink and exhibiting a mixture of Insular and Caroline features. The letter 'e' at times resembles the very formal early eleventh-century tall, straight-backed 'e' with a pen-stroke to the left. Caroline 'a' and 'g' appear in the Old English glosses, infrequent Caroline 'a' in the Latin (e.g. fol. 45v14).

HAND 5: A tiny hand found in just a few Old English and Latin glosses, e.g. fol. 77v19.

HAND 6: This scribe writes Latin with a narrow-cut pen. Letter-forms are rotund and represent an admixture of Insular and Caroline (e.g. fol. 50v16).

There are many other scribal contributions to the volume here and there, but I have not catalogued their (brief) entries. Unfortunately, this manuscript seldom has two glosses per lemma, and when there are two glosses together, these regularly appear in the same hand. In those rare instances when two glosses occur in different hands, there are insufficient scribal conventions to determine the relative chronology of the contributions. Hence, only a systematic collation of the Aldhelm manuscripts can yield clues to the compilation of glosses in *R4*.

Royal 5 E.xi contains four contemporaneous supply-leaves, the cancellations of which still survive as flyleaves to the vo-

lume. These supply-leaves, duplicating almost all the glosses in the cancellations, were written in one hand, which I designate HAND 7. The scribe writes a careful Anglo-Caroline in Latin, but a hybrid Insular/Caroline script in Old English (Anglo-Saxon 'þ', 'wynn', but Caroline 'a', 'f', 'r', 's'). My HAND 2 might be represented on fol. 118v, but there are not enough distinguishing conventions to say so definitively. HAND 3 appears three times, although there are no dry-point glosses. In light of these correspondences, it seems probable that the supply-leaves were copied for the book within a generation after the text was written and in time for one or two common glossators to annotate it. The same must hold true for the supply-leaves fols. 7-9, even though these lack glosses in HANDS 1, 3-6. The appearance of HAND 2 is conjectural here. Yet these folios contain several scratched glosses, the prevalence of which implies that these leaves pre-date HAND 3. These circumstances further suggest that the supply-leaves were added after much of the glossing and that my HAND 2 is one of the latest accretions. If Bishop's view that the same scribe copied these supply-leaves before he copied Bodley 577 and after he copied Oriel 3, then the glossing must have been more or less complete in a matter of years.

This manuscript preserves some 500 scratched glosses, about half of which were printed by Meritt in 1945.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ Many of them are merographs and provide a few initial, medial or final letters from a word or word-group, either to help a reader recall the meaning of a Latin term or determine its function in the sentence. Many of the glosses were scratched twice, a circumstance which implies that such scratched glosses were illegible soon after they were incised.

The merographs in *R4* are predominantly lexical; they supply word meanings rather than grammar. Thus 10, 3 *TEPIDE*, glossed by *wlæc*, omits the Old English adverbial ending *-lice*, even though the lemma could have been construed as a feminine adjective. Similarly, the lemmas of 11, 43 (*REPVGNANTES*] *win*) and 12, 9 (*COHORTANTE*] *hyr*), both participles, have been glossed with three initial letters of an Old English word, offering no clue to the part of speech or case. Different types of lexical glossing are frequently met with. Gloss 2, 6 (*INEFFABILI*] *u*) renders the Latin prefix *in-* as Old English *u(n)*, a common

(246) MERITT, *Glosses*, no. 2. I have printed another 438 glosses in 'Drypoint Glossing in a Tenth-Century Manuscript of Aldhelm's Prose Treatise on Virginity', *Traditio* 51 (1996), 99-145.

translational technique. ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ Among finite verbs the glosses 19, 6/7 DIRIMVNTVR] *dæ* and 15, 32/33 VIDEBITVR] *puh* provide the first letters of an Old English past participle. Even though these dry-point glosses indicate passive voice, number and tense cannot be intuited from them.

In other contexts the grammar becomes the focus of the gloss. Among verbs, 50, 4 CARAXEMVS is glossed *utan*, signifying the subjunctive mood; and in 53, 18 ADORARI is annotated *beon*, indicating a passive infinitive. This last gloss recalls 43, 23/24 ADSCISCERETVR] *wæs*, in which a reader simply noted that the verb was an imperfect tense – voice and mood were not essential (cf. 56, 28 CAVTVM EST for the perfect). Yet passive verbs are sometimes glossed by the subject ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘they’ and ‘I’ to indicate number. For nouns, gloss 13, 24 AFFECTV] *of* highlights the ablative case without reference to gender or number. Gloss 58, 60 EPIGRAMMATIBVS is formally identical. Finally, such glosses as 4, 32 SPVMANTIS] *es* simply indicate that the participle is genitive singular (cf. 59, 15 SCRIBENDI; 60, 2 RELATIVVS). These glosses deserve study in their own right, for the idiosyncratic habits of the reader(s) may very well highlight difficulties in reading *Pdv*. Moreover, such a study might also reveal a method of the Anglo-Saxon classroom. Two of the three manuscripts having a substantial number of drypoint glosses originated at Christ Church. The coincidence might mean that scratched glossing was used there as a study aid or pedagogical technique.

For all intents and purposes, the relationship between *R4* and *R2* is nearly identical to that between *S* and *R2*. In fact, *R4* shares many conjunctive errors with manuscripts of the Corpus 326 (*C1*) family, to which *S* also belongs. Royal 5 E.xi descends either from the hyparchetype of *S* or from an intermediary of that hyparchetype. As we could expect from manuscripts kept at the same foundation, many of these conjunctive errors have been copied into *R2* and *O* to make them conform to the community standard. The same kind of collation also took place between a descendant of *A* (antecedent to *R2*) and a hyparchetype of *C1* (antecedent to *S*). Hereafter follow significant variants shared by *R4*, *S* and other manuscripts which belong to the *C1* branch of the *Pdv* stemma:

(247) Cf. K. WILDHAGEN, *Der Psalter des Eadwine von Canterbury* (Halle, 1905) and H. GNEUSS, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin, 1955).

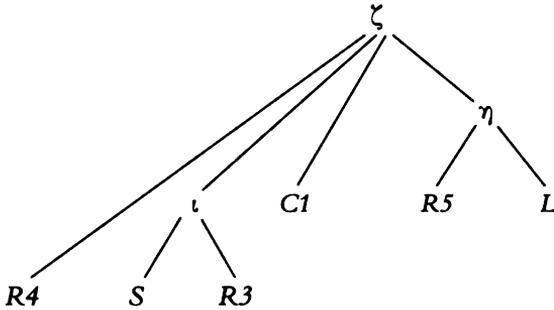
- 3, 15 alibi ... quasi] pugno sic *suprasc.* R2 O P, alibi sic pugno non quasi R1 R4 S C1 A, alibi ... sic pugno non quasi (sic pugno *in ras.* *atque non sup.*) C2, sic pugno *add. suprasc.* L
- 15, 9 a dextris] addextris R1 R4 S R3 C1 B O
- 16, 6 spiculo] piaculo (*in ras.*) R2, piaculo R4 S C2 C1 O
- 18, 6 artissima] *corr. ex arcissima per ras.* R4, arcissima S R3 L
- 19, 29 tricesimum] trigesimum R4 S R3 C1 H
- 19, 33 riui] *corr. ex riuus per ras.* R4 S, riuus L
- 25, 53 Idem] Isdem R4 S R3 C1 O P
- 25, 61/62 rubescens] pubescens R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 B P H L
- 26, 6 examen apium] apium examen R4 S C1, apum (*corr. ex apium*) examen O, apum examen P H
- 26, 25 quas] quam R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 H L, *corr. ex quam* B
- 27, 37 sic] *eras.* R2 B, *om.* R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 O P H L
- 29, 20 existat ut] *ras. inter verba* R4 S
- 29, 50 miro] *corr. in mirum* R2, mirum R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 P H L
- 29, 50 feruore] feruorem R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 P H L, feruorem (*e sec. in ras.*) B
- 34, 27/28 euangelico] euangeli`c`o W, euangelii (*ras. ad fin.*) R2, euangelii R4 S C2 P, euangelii (*ras. ad fin. et i sec. corr. ex co*) B, Eeuangelii O
- 35, 7 conclauē] conclaue R4 S C2 R5 B L
- 36, 6 et] *sup. lin.* R4 S O
- 37, 8 celebres habebatur] celebres (*e ult. corr. ex i*) habebantur R4 S, celebres habebantur R3 C2 R5 H, celebres habebatur (*n eras. inter a et t*) C1, <...> antur A
- 37, 46 rugientium] rudentium R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 A O P L, *corr. in rudentium* B, *corr. ex rudentium* H
- 38, 32 et] aut R4 S C2 B O P H
- 38, 78 Penticosten qui] pentecosten que R4 S R3 C2 O P H, pentecosten qui (*corr. ex que*) C1
- 41, 7 neu acra] neuaria W, neu sacra R1, neu atra C2, nec acria Ehwald
- 43, 15/16 strosfosique] strosfosisque R1 R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P L
- 43, 38 contusionibus] tunsionibus R2 R4 S (*corr. per ras.*) C1 O P H, tunsionibus (*ionibus in ras.*) R3, tunsionibus (*tun in ras.*) B
- 44, 46 dirisque] *corr. ex durisque per ras.* R4 S, durisque C1 R5 O P, *corr. in durisque* B
- 44, 50 uaticinatum] uaticinata *corr. ex uaticinatum* R2, uaticinata R4 (*e corr.*) S R3 C2 C1 R5 P H L, uaticinata (*ras. inter i et c*) O
- 45, 15 scortorum] scortarum R4 S R3 C1 R5 O P H

- 46, 14 inuiolabile] inuiolabile R4 R3 C2 C1 R5 O P L, in-
ui`o`labilem B
- 47, 2 Cappadocia] capadociæ R4 C2 C1 R5 B O (e corr.) L, ca-
padotie P
- 49, 43 tu] om. R4 S C1 O P H
- 50, 58 ni] nisi R4 S C1 A B O P H L
- 51, 17 tu] om. R4 S B O H L
- 51, 27 toties] totiens R4 S R3 C2 R5 B P H L
- 51, 34 arte] om. R4 S C1 O P H
- 52, 49 flagitat] flagitabat R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 B O P H L
- 56, 7 et] om. R4 S O P H
- 56, 11 pallium ... coccineum] corr. in pallio purpureo et cocci-
neo R2, pallio ... coccineo R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 O P H L,
purpureo ... coccineum (corr. ex coccineo) B
- 56, 12 lupanarum] corr. in luparum per ras. R2 B, luparum R4
S R3 C2 C1 R5 P H L, lupànarum O
- 58, 11 galliculae] callicule R4 S R3 C2 O P L, calliculae (ic in
ras.) R3, callicole (u sup. o) R5, et gallicole (c sup. g) B,
calligule H
- 58, 12 temporum] timporum R4 S R3 C2 R5 O P H, corr. ex
timporum B
- 59, 30 hac] haec W R4 (R4) S R3 C2 R5 B P H L, corr. in hec
R2
- 60, 8 et] ac W R4 (R4) S (R3) C2 C1 R5 B O L
- 60, 29 toracidas] toraciclas R4 (R4) S (R3) C2 B O P H L, tora-
ciclas (h sup.) C1, thoraciclas R5

By the same token, R4 shares significant variants with Royal 7 D.xxiv, to such an extent that its text could only be called, like the Salisbury version, a hybrid:

- 10, 32 quaedam uetita] uetita quaedam R2 R4 R3 C1 O P H
- 28, 11 gratia] om. R2 R4 R3 O P H
- 30, 30 torcularibus regulariter] regulariter torcularibus R2 R4
R3 C1 O P
- 31, 15 extraneus ab] corr. ex extraneos per sup. u R2 R4, extra-
neus ob hoc S R3 H, a`b` B
- 32, 15 aruina] ausungia R2 R4 A O P, axungia S R3 H
- 36, 86 urgente] urgunte R2 R4 B, urgu`ente C1 A, urgente
(ras. inter u et r) O
- 39, 13 principalis ... sexus] principalis tanti sexus R2 R4 R3 C2
C1 R5 O P H L, principalis tanti (i corr. ex um) sexus B
- 40, 1 En] Dein R2 R4 H, in ras. O
- 58, 73 nil] nihil W R2 R4 R3 C2 C1 (e corr.) R5 B O P
- 60, 41 ac nutabundus] om. R2 R4 (R4) O P

Like the text in *S*, the *R4* version of *Pdv* reflects an obvious conflation of two long-standing and distinct traditions. It may be added to the *Pdv* stemma as follows:



London, BL ms Royal 6 A.vi (*R3*)

Royal 6 A.vi preserves texts of *Pdv* and the accompanying *Epist.* ⁽²⁴⁸⁾ It is a Christ Church manuscript of s. x^{ex} written in Anglo-Caroline script and measuring 16 × 28.5 cm (written area 10 × 21 cm). Although the manuscript is bound too tightly to read the full collation, a partial collation reveals a structure of quaternions: III+I⁴ (as flyleaves, with four leaves missing immediately following)+II⁸+III⁸ (1 cancelled) [hereafter I could not determine the collation]. This partial collation squares somewhat with that given in the *Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts*: I⁸+II[?]+III⁸-IV⁸+V[?]+VI⁸-VIII⁸+IX⁷+X⁸+XI⁹. ⁽²⁴⁹⁾ The manuscript is ruled in dry-point for 21 long lines per page with ample margins, possibly for glossing. There are syntactic glosses, but these are not as dense as in other Aldhelm books.

At the end of *Pdv* in Royal 6 A.vi are two hexameters from a metrical proverb on the copyist's labors: ⁽²⁵⁰⁾ 'Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat. / Scribere qui nescit nullum putat esse laborem'. These identical verses are also found in the same position in Harley 3013, a copy of *Pdv* whose glosses descend from those in Royal 6 A.vi. Among other things, they corroborate the textual affinities between these gloss *corpora*, which

(248) *Cat. Roy. MSS.*, p. 129.

(249) *Ibid.*: 'gatherings of 8 leaves (except ii, v, ix⁷, xi⁹)'.

(250) H. WALTHER, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Göttingen, 1967), vol. 5, p. 353, no. 31553 (where this manuscript is not mentioned); printed T. WRIGHT and J. HALLIWELL, *Reliquiae Antiquae* (London, 1841), vol. 1, p. 288.

derive from a common exemplar. On the final page (fol. 109v) of the Royal manuscript are late twelfth-century verses by Richard of Worcester on the death of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, also found in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Bodley 2067. ⁽²⁵¹⁾ There are also four (unpublished) flyleaves from three thirteenth-century manuscripts: two commentaries on the *Song of Solomon* and one from a theological treatise. A single leaf after fol. 106 has been replaced by a sixteenth-century transcript.

The single scribal hand of R3 is a fluent, rotund Anglo-Caroline exhibiting a range of ligatures ('N+S', 'N+T', 'st', 'r'+ 'oc' form of 'a'), Caroline 'a' with sweeping upper bow, 'g' with a lower bow made without a stem to the upper element, free use of '&' for 'et', stylized *caudae* on 'e', and Uncial display script in the chapter-headings. In his studies of Canterbury manuscripts Bishop asserted that the main scribe of Royal 6 A.vi (=Bishop's scribe [xv]) glossed Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Auct. F.1.15 (i), fols. 66v-72v (Boethius), and further determined that this scribe is identical to one writing Cambridge, Trinity College ms B.14.3 (289), fols. 22v5-23r4 (Arator). ⁽²⁵²⁾ The Arator bears the hand of at least five scribes, ⁽²⁵³⁾ and one of these (writing fol. 5r19-23) added material to Corpus 326, an Aldhelm manuscript discussed above (pp. 109-13). The principal glossator of this Arator manuscript, in Bishop's view, is also the main glossator in London, BL ms Cotton Domitian A.ix, the copy of *Epist* written by one of the primary scribes of Royal 5 E.xi. Obviously, there is a verifiable relationship between the Domitian glossator and the scribe of Royal 6 A.vi: they plausibly come from the same religious foundation, i.e. Christ Church.

The Latin and Old English glosses in Royal 6 A.vi vary from sparse to relatively dense. In Ker's words, these glosses are 'in a hand mostly like the text'. ⁽²⁵⁴⁾ There are, in fact, two hands in the glosses. The main gloss-hand, HAND 1A+B, is a well executed

(251) T. WRIGHT, *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (London, 1842-6), vol. 2, p. 180; cf. L. VOSS, *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester (1129-71)* (Berlin, 1932) and A. G. RIGG, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 32.

(252) In his volume *English Caroline Minuscule*, Bishop further states (p. 7): 'The script of Roy. is uncertain and experimental in the earlier leaves ... with frequent A.S. minuscule *a* in the Latin script. Roy. is probably earlier than (4) the charter of Æthelred II for Muchelney Abbey, Somerset, 995'.

(253) On this manuscript, see A. MCKINLAY, *Arator: The Codices* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 41-2.

(254) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 322.

Anglo-Caroline of s. x^{ex}, possibly later by a generation. The script has rotund letter-forms of the Canterbury type and closely resembles the script of the main text-scribe, Bishop's scribe (xv). Mannered ligatures are 'ct', 'st', 'rt', 'N+T', 'N+S' and 'r' plus 'oc' form of 'a'. *Caudae* on 'e' are exceptionally stylized. The bow of 'g' has a 45° stroke made from the end of the curve as the scribe went to write the next letter. Chapter headings have one line of Uncial display script. Abbreviations and *nomina sacra* are standard.

In my view, the same scribe who wrote the text also wrote the majority of glosses, at two different stages. First, when writing the text the scribe copied a few items of lexical significance in the same large pen (HAND 1A). Later, he seems to have gone back to copy the remaining glosses with a finer nib (HAND 1B). The marginal glosses might represent a third contribution by this scribe.

HAND 1A: This hand offers the earliest stratum of glosses and probably represents the hand of the main scribe. It often provides alternative readings or syntactic glosses such as 'ablatius', 'uel VM' (=BABILLVM rather than BABILLAM). The script is an eleventh-century Anglo-Caroline with virtually no distinction made between Latin and Old English. The hand is very rotund in 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'g', 'o', 'p', 'q'. Ligatures are the same as those in the main scribal hand: 'r'+ 'oc' form of 'a', 'N+T', 'N'+ tall 'S' at word-end. Insular forms are occasionally found in the Old English glosses: 'æ', Uncial 'd', 'f', 'ð', 'þ', 'wynn' intermittently found alongside straight-backed 'd' and 'ae' (=æ), Caroline 'f'. Interlinear glosses are centered above, or at the beginning of, the lemma.

HAND 1B: This script is very similar to HAND 1, although slightly less rotund, smaller and lighter in ink; it probably represents the non-calligraphic efforts of scribe 1A. The script is expert Anglo-Caroline with virtually identical conventions as those in HAND 1 above. The marginal glosses appear to be written in this hand. Old English forms are both Insular and Caroline, thus 'æ', Uncial 'd', 'g', 'r', 'ð', 'þ', 'wynn' (never 'w'), dotted 'y', alongside Caroline 'r' and 'g'.

HAND 2: A scribe writing only Old English on fols. 42r-46r and using Insular letter-forms almost exclusively: 'a', 'g', 'r', 's', 'ð', 'þ', 'wynn', though spellings in 'k' rather than 'c' do appear.

While this glossed Aldhelm cannot be called a deluxe copy, it is an outstanding – and crucial – witness to a text less corrupt than that in Salisbury 38, and more fully glossed.

As I have argued above, Royal 6 A.vi descends from the same hyparchetype as Salisbury 38, and an antecedent to this hyparchetype gave rise to *R4*. Collation consequently reveals that *R3* and *R4* are closely related:

- 4, 14 *conficiunt*] *conficiant* *R4 R3*, *conficiant* (*a corr. ex u*) *B*,
corr. ex conficiant H
 10, 32 *quaedam uetita*] *uetita quaedam* *R2 R4 R3 C1 O P H*
 13, 13 *aduersum*] *om. W*, *aduersus* *R4 R3 C2 C1 B P H*
 19, 18 *mulionis*] *mulionis* *R4 R3 C1*, *mulionis uilitas aliter in*
marg. O
 27, 48 *contubernali*] *corr. in contubernali* *R2*, *contubernali*
R4 R3 C2 R5 O H L, *contubernali (i prima eras.) C1*
 28, 11 *gratia*] *om. R2 R4 R3 O P H*
 30, 30 *torcularibus regulariter*] *regulariter torcularibus* *R2*
R4 R3 C1 O P
 31, 15 *extraneus ab*] *corr. ex extraneos per sup. u* *R2 R4*, *extra-*
neus ob hoc *S R3 H*, *a' b' B*
 32, 53/54 *percrebruit*] *sup. lin. W*, *percrebruit* *R4 R3 C2 B P*, *r*
eras. inter b et u H
 33, 26 *percunctatur*] *percuntatur* *O P H*, *percontatur* *S R3*
 34, 47 *uirginitatis triumpho*] *uirginitati et triumpho omnes*
codd. praeter W R4 R3
 35, 25 *et*] *om. R2 R1 R4 R3 C1 O*, *sup. lin. C2 B*
 38, 10 *toracidas*] *toracidas* *R2 (e corr.) R1 R4 R3 C2 A O P H*
L, *thoracidas* *C1 R5*, *toracidas (tor in ras. et a prima corr.*
ex oc) B
 42, 25/26 *consul tribunica*] *tribunica (ica in ras.) consul (ras. ad*
fin.) R2, *tribunus consulari* *R4 R3 H*, *tribunica consul*
S C1 O P, *consul tribunic'ia B*
 42, 42 *et*] *eras. R2 B*, *om. R4 R3 C1 R5 O P H L*
 46, 14 *inuiolabilem*] *inuolabile* *R4 R3 C2 C1 R5 O P L*, *in-*
ui'o'labilem B

Some variants shared by *R4* and *R3* are also shared by *R2* and *O*, a fact that could highlight the contamination observed in these Canterbury books. Alternatively, the common readings could have been transmitted from a distant hyparchetype giving rise to the same *Pdv* family as *R2* and the Canterbury manuscripts.

Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Bodley 97 (*C2*)

The Bodley manuscript, an intermediate witness to the Aldhelm glosses dated s. x^{ex}, measures 14.5 × 21.5 cm, with a writing area of 10 × 17 cm. ⁽²⁵⁵⁾ Like many other Aldhelm manu-

(255) KER, *Catalogue*, no. 300; cf. MADAN, *SC*, pp. 121-2. Giles (*Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 387-8) partially collated this manuscript for his edition, but he listed only a handful of significant variants.

scripts, its construction is uniform: ruled in dry-point 23 lines to the page and collated (iv+77) I⁴+II⁸-VIII⁸+IX⁸ (4-8 cancelled)+X⁴. Two leaves are missing at the end of the volume, with consequent loss of text. This manuscript of *Pdv* is exceptional because it is the only book which can be ascribed positively to Christ Church at the time of the Prior Eastry's library inventory of 1337 and which came into the possession of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, by the late fourteenth century.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ Bearing the Christ Church shelfmark *D[istinctio]. iia. G[radus]. vus*, the volume sat next to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 326, which is still labelled *D. iia. G. iiiius*. Because the Corpus volume is called *nouus* (flyleaf ii) Bodley 97 is probably the original and earlier *Pdv* copy in the Christ Church library. (Perhaps the Corpus manuscript was meant to replace a copy of *Pdv* lost in the Viking assault of 1011.) The book is still in a medieval binding, although the skin is later than the Anglo-Saxon boards, which were inverted and re-bored in the late twelfth-century.⁽²⁵⁷⁾

The glosses to Bodley 97 are contemporaneous with the text, having been written for the most part in a single hand of s. x^{ex}. In the text this hand is a formal, though idiosyncratic, Anglo-Caroline. Letter-forms are rotund, and the script is unshaded. This hand is distinguished by curving minims, which end in prominent serifs. The beginning of the minim-stroke also has a prominent tick from the left. Letter 'a' has a compressed bowl and substantial upper member. Letter 'e' has an almost perpendicular back, and a thin upper compartment; *caudae* are extremely mannered. Ligatures and abbreviations are standard, but the nasal suspension resembles the modern Spanish tilde. Ascenders are frequently clubbed.

The main glossing hand of the volume (HAND 1) is identical to the text hand, though it bears fewer of these features because it is a tachygraphic script. The few Old English glosses are predominantly written in Insular characters: 'a', 'æ', low-backed

(256) JAMES, *Ancient Libraries*, p. 506; cf. pp. xlv, 21.

(257) G. POLLARD, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Bookbindings', *The Book Collector* 24 (1975), 130-59, at pp. 148-9. Pollard concludes, 'although sewn on double cord, not thong, this binding has such marked similarities of construction to No. 8 [=London, BL ms Add. 37517 (the 'Bosworth Psalter')] that I think both may have come from the same bindery at Canterbury about 1000 A.D.' (p. 149). On the re-boring, see B. RAW, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *ASE* 13 (1984), 187-205, at p. 199.

'd', 'f', 'g', 'r', 'ð', 'þ', 'wynn' and 'y'. Caroline 'f' and 'g', 'r', tall 's' are nevertheless common in some of the vernacular glosses. A second scribe termed HAND 2 has added four glosses on fols. 4v-5r in an angular, shaded twelfth-century Canterbury script. ⁽²⁵⁸⁾ Old English glosses in this hand are a peculiar mixture of Caroline forms alongside Insular 'æ'. At least one other glossator wrote in the book, on fol. 66v3, but this single annotation is the only one attributable to a scribe other than HANDS 1 and 2.

Although Bodley 97 was shelved side by side with Corpus 326, neither of these two texts could have given rise to the other. While both share variants suggesting that they or their exemplars might have been collated, ⁽²⁵⁹⁾ the variants become insignificant when set against the substantial number of clear divergences. In fact, C2 and C1 each have significant variants common to other families of *Pdv* manuscripts, as a collation of the first ten folios underscores:

<i>Bodley 97</i>	<i>Corpus 326</i>
necnon osburge (4r4)	necnon et osburge (6.13)
per ethera (4v22)	post æthera (8.8)
demonstrat (4v23)	demonstret (8.9)
uestrae sagacitatis (5v2)	sagacitatis uestrae (9.7)
uagans late (6r22)	late uagans (10.22)
pentimemeren (6v22)	per pentimemeren (11.17)
corticibus (7r22)	caudicibus (12.15)
at (7v2)	ast (12.18)
tormentorum genera (9r2)	tormentorum supplicia (15.8)
ligatus (9r4)	religatus (15.9)
reptos (9r22)	refertos (16.3)
num arborum (10v7)	numquid arborum (18.8)

Obviously, other Aldhelm manuscripts must have been available at Canterbury when the Bodley and Corpus books were written. Indisputable contamination makes it hard to justify any claims for descent, but it seems clear that the Bodley manuscript could descend from the same source manuscript from which R4, as well as the antecedent version of S and R3, arose. At times, C2 shares significant variants with S, sometimes with R4, some-

(258) KER, *Catalogue*, p. 356.

(259) 11, 14 beato] a beato C2 C1; 35, 35 effrenatos] ineffrenatos R2 O, ineffrenatos C2 C1, efenatos L; 37, 33 restituu] restiuunt C2, restiuunt (in marg.) C1, restituu'n't O; 50, 32 et] eras. R2, om. C2 O P, sup. lin. C1; 53, 37 nexu] nexibus C2 R5 B L, corr. in nexibus C1

times with *R3*, sometimes with *R4* and *R3*, and sometimes with *R4* and *S*, as follows:

Variants shared by C2 and S

- 4, 33 colubro] colubro (u *sup.* o *sec.*) *R1*, colubro *S C2*
 6, 27 flauescenti] flauescete (e *ult. corr. ex i*) *S B*, flauescete
C2, i *corr. ex e C1*
 11, 13/14 angelica ... elationis] angelica elationis celsitudo super-
 norum ciuum *S C2 R5* (*cum notulis significantibus ordi-*
nem verborum mutandum esse) *B L*
 15, 12 feliciter ... mereatur] feliciter *om.* *W C2 O P H*, feliciter
sup. lin. *R2 S*, mereatur feliciter perfrui *R5*
 35, 14 distinguuntur] distinxit *W R1 S C2 R5*, distinxit (*guunt*
sup. cxit) *B*
 57, 30 ueretur] ueretur *W R5*, ueretur *S*, ueretur *C2*

Variants Shared by C2 and R4

- 9, 5/6 panuculis] panuculis *R4*, panudis *C2*, *corr. in* panudis *B*,
 panniculis *P*, panuculis *L*
 11, 24 spoliatos] a *e corr.* *W*, despoliatos *R4 C2*
 19, 38/39 coronam] gloriam *W R4 C2*
 42, 17 inquiras] inquirere *W R1 Ewald*, *ras in ras.* *R2*, *corr. ex*
inquirere R4 C2
 49, 11 uirginem] uirginem *W*, *om.* *R4 C2 C1 R5*
 60, 23 dulcis sapa] dulcisapa *W R4 (R4) C2 L*, dulcis sapor *P*

Variants Shared by C2 and R3

- 19, 17 palatium] palatium regis *R2 R5 B O P L*, regis *sup. lin.*
R1 R3 C2, regis *in marg.* *A*
 21, 16 Decies] *D in ras.* *R4*, septies *R3 C2 H*
 44, 19 fortuitis] fortuitus *R3 C2 H*
 52, 32 incolomitati reddituram] incolomitate pristine redditu-
 ram *R2 O L*, incolomitati pristine reddituram *R3 C2 C1*
B H, incolomitati pristinam reddituram *R5*, incomitati
 pristine reddituram *P*
 55, 5 inaniter] *om.* *R3 C2 C1 R5 H*, inaniterque *B*, et inaniter *L*
 58, 13/14 mafortibus] u *sup.* f *R3*, mauortibus *C2*, mauorti-
 bus *H*

Variants Shared by C2, R4 and S

- 16, 6 spiculo] piaculo (*in ras.*) *R2*, piaculo *R4 S C2 C1 O*
 34, 27/28 euangelico] euangeli'co *W*, euangelii (*ras. ad fin.*)
R2, euangelii *R4 S C2 P*, euangelii (*ras. ad fin. et i sec.*
corr. ex co) *B*, Eeuangelii *O*
 35, 7 conclauē] conclauem *R4 S C2 R5 B L*

38, 32 et] aut *R4 S C2 B O P H*

45, 11/12 *gemmis induit*] *gemmis pretiosis induit R4 C2, gemmis pretiosis induit (gemmis in marg. et ras. post pretiosis) S*

Variants Shared by C2, R4 and R3

29, 53/54 *nonagenariam*] *a ult. corr. ex u R4, nonagenarium R3 C2, a sec. e corr et a ult. corr. ex u B*

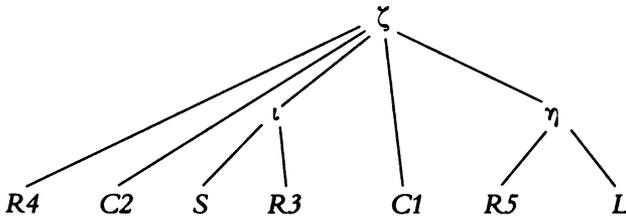
35, 25 et] *om. R2 R1 R4 R3 C1 O, sup. lin. C2 B*

46, 14 *inuiolabilem*] *inuiolabile R4 R3 C2 C1 R5 O P L*

Variants shared by C2, S and R3

36, 100/101 *adnecterent*] *adnectarent R2 S R3 C2 C1 B O P*

The evidence presented here not only suggests widespread contamination but also reveals a close relationship between Bodley 97 and three other Canterbury manuscripts known to be intimately related. Adjusting the *Pdv* stemma is merely a matter of adding *C2* to the same group as *R4*, *S* and *R3*, with the understanding that *S* and *R3* derive from a common source:



London, BL ms Harley 3013 (*H*)

Text and contemporaneous glosses in this post-Conquest manuscript date from the second half of the twelfth century. The origin of the book is unknown, but its provenance is northern England, for it bears an inscription 'Liber sancte marie noui monasterii' (fol. 1v, s. xii/xiii), identified by Ker as belonging to Newminster, near Morpeth in Northumbria.⁽²⁶⁰⁾ This Cistercian abbey, a daughter house of Fountains Abbey in fact, was settled in 1137. The book was acquired from John Warburton on 16 July 1720 from the collection of Lord William Howard at Naworth.

(260) KER, *Catalogue*, no. 238; cf. C. WRIGHT, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972), pp. 198-200 (*s.v.* Howard, Lord William), 251 (*s.v.* Newminster), pp. 346-7 (*s.v.* Warburton, Nathaniel).

The Harley manuscript measures 15 × 22.5 cm, with a written space of 8.5 × 16.5 cm, and is ruled 22 long lines to the page. It is bound too tightly to determine the structure, but a partial collation implies that the manuscript is made up of quinions: ii+i (a singleton)+1¹⁰. The book seems to have been written by one scribe dividing his efforts at fol. 59 (*catena credentium in utroque sexu*). Despite the striking dissimilarity in size between the scripts on fols. 58v and 59r, the second endeavor resembles the first so precisely by the close of the volume that it must represent another, later, stint by this same individual. The heavily abbreviated glosses are all in the hand of this scribe except for three additions in *Epist* on 3v16, 3v left margin, and 4r17.

Harley 3013 consists of one original item (*Pdv*) with three accretions, the first of which is a 'hymnus ad Beatam Mariam' (fol. 1r).⁽²⁶¹⁾ Finally, following on fol. 2r are two brief entries: 'Visio cuiusdam abbatis' and an Epitaph of Petrus Comestor.⁽²⁶²⁾ Fol. 2v contains an unusual, unpublished poem on the passion of Christ divided into eight sections each of two hexameters. Thereafter follows Aldhelm's *Epist* (fols. 3r-7r11) and *Pdv* (fols. 7r12-96r). Immediately following *Pdv*, however, there is a three-line poem (in another scribal hand) almost identical to that found in Royal 6 A.vi. (this version has an additional line):

Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat.
Scribere qui nescit nullum putet esse laborem.
Dum digiti scribunt uix cetera membra quiescunt.

These verses might attest to the difficulty of copying Aldhelm, whose language was so unfamiliar that extreme care had to be taken to avoid corruptions. But whatever they document about the tedium of copying Aldhelm, they surely reflect the common origin of the Harley and Royal volumes. The glosses, too, bear out this close connection. Following *Pdv* and these interpolated verses comes a late twelfth-century copy of a letter of Pope Alexander III to Roger, archbishop of York (fols. 96v-97r5),⁽²⁶³⁾ incidentally confirming the northern provenance.

(261) *Incipit*: 'Clemens et benigna iugi laude digna maria'; *explicit*: 'Sic tibi gloria secula per omnia maRia'.

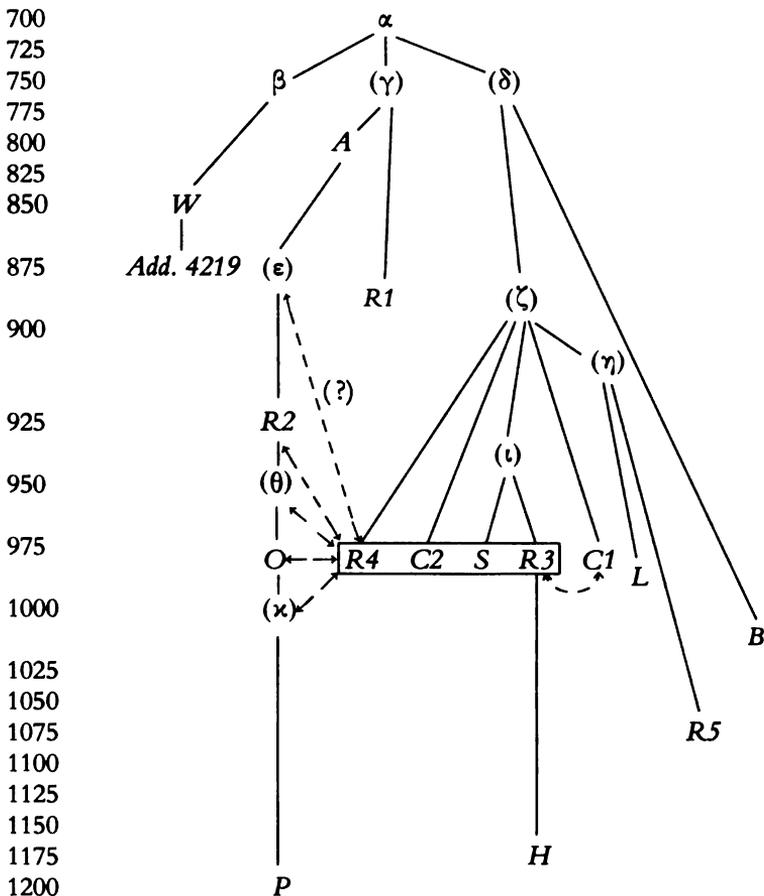
(262) H. WANLEY *et al.*, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808), vol. 2, pp. 724-5.

(263) The letters of Alexander III are published in *PL* 200.

There is little question about the origin of the Harley *Pdv* text, for it demonstrably derives from Royal 6 A.vi (*R3*). Furthermore, *R3* and *H* share innumerable *lectiones variae solitariae* as well as other readings with the Canterbury manuscripts to which *R3* is related, particularly *S* and *C1*. The following collation reveals the extent of the indebtedness of *H* to *R3*:

- 6, 13 ille] illa *S R3 H*, *corr. in illa L*
 9, 26 mergulae] *corr. ex merguli S*, merguli *R3 H*
 12, 33/34 tribubus] tribus *R3 H*
 21, 16 septenis] septuagenis *R3 H*
 21, 16 ebdomadibus] curriculis *R3 H*
 25, 82/83 uocabulum resuscitabis] uocabulum suscitabis *W R1*,
 nominabis eam ita *R3 H*, uocabulo (*corr. ex uocabulum*)
 suscitabis *C1*, uocabulum re'suscitabis *A*, uocabulo *corr.*
ex uocabulum et nominabis in ras. B, et minoribus litteris
sup. nominabis eam L
 26, 30 parcentum] parcentum *R1*, parcentium *R3 H*, parcentum *B*
 31, 15 extraneus ab] *corr. ex extraneos per sup. u R2 R4*, extraneus ob hoc *S R3 H*, a' b' *B*
 32, 15 aruina] ausungia *R2 R4 A O P*, axungia *S R3 H*
 32, 104 sed mens] mens sed *R3 H*
 34, 12 autem] *om. R3 H*, *corr. ex autes B*
 35, 73/74 enodantur] enodabantur *R3 C1 H*, enodarentur *B*
 35, 87 adstringentes] asstringentes illum *R3 (corr. ex asstringentis) C1 H*
 37, 26 Infinitis] *s eras. ad fin. W*, et infinitis *S R3 H*
 37, 36 obeuntem] *o in ras. R4*, abeuntem *R3 HL*
 38, 75 pro] pre *R3 H*
 42, 25/26 consul ... tribunica] tribunica (*ica in ras.*) consul (*ras. ad fin.*) *R2*, tribunus consulari *R4 R3 H*, tribunica consul *S C1 O P*, consul tribunicia *B*
 47, 58 prolatum ... ueritate] prolatum est in ueritate *S R3 HL*, prolatum est in ueritate prolatum est (*in ueritate prolatum est subl.*) in ueritate *R5*
 50, 40 enixo] nixo *R3 H*
 52, 40 Tum] tunc *R3 H*
 52, 56 misso staticulo] misso statunculo *R4 O P*, misso statunculo *corr. in missa statuncula S*, missa statuncula *R3 HL*, misse statuncule *C2*, misso stanuncula (*corr. ex statunculo) C1*, misso statuncula *R5*
 52, 65/66 Quo rumore] quarum ore *W*, quorum ore *S R3 H*, *corr. ex quorum ore C1 R5*
 56, 5 apostolus dicat] dicat apostolus *R3 H*
 58, 16 quos] *corr. in quas R4*, quas *R3 H*

In consideration of the arguments made above, the entire *Pdv* stemma may be reproduced as follows:



Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Bodley 870 (*Bodl.* 870)

This early thirteenth-century English copy of Rufinus's Latin translation of the 'Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*' preserves a brief excerpt from chapter 25 of *Pdv*, regarding the biography of St. Clement. (264) The manuscript has no known origin, and because the *Pdv* extract shares no significant errors with any other *Pdv* copy, it has no identifiable source. The volume measures 7.75 × 11.25 inches; it has i + 123 leaves.

(264) MADAN, *SC*, no. 2758.

CHAPTER IV
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE TRANSMISSION
OF THE OLD ENGLISH AND LATIN GLOSSES TO *Pdv*

Objectives

Determining the transmission of a text not only exposes the author's *ipsissima verba* but also betrays native intellectual centers with the same academic interests in the work and the routes by which that work circulated. Yet as scribes copied a text like *Pdv*, it could still remain a (more or less) stable artifact, with little indication of any readership community. Under these circumstances, we might never know how the work was interpreted, apart from the most superficial editorial changes made to certain passages. Glosses, however, tell us more about interpretation than textual variation ever could. As they were copied from manuscript to manuscript, glosses could be drastically changed: expanded, abbreviated, revised. Following this process of change through an examination of gloss transmission is less an exercise in historical speculation than in hermeneutics, therefore. In the following pages, I aim to provide an overview of the transmission of *Pdv* glosses. My objective represents a transitional stage of Aldhelm studies: to identify glosses copied from manuscript to manuscript and to isolate the major gloss contributions in *Pdv* copies. In this way, I hope to establish a plateau from which future studies on *interpreting* Aldhelm may be launched.

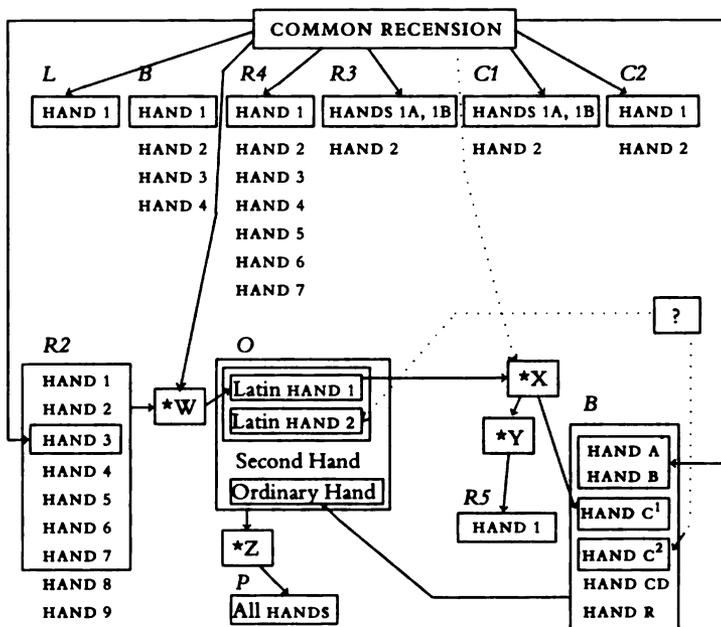
The overview of the gloss-hands in *Pdv* manuscripts comprising my third chapter documents more than 40 individual glossators, some of whom are principal text-scribes, while others are only occasional annotators. The numbers seem large, given the objective of determining the transmission of the glosses. Yet the extent of some gloss-contributions in these manuscripts, particularly those in occasional hands, renders them insignificant in the textual transmission of the glosses. Although the smallest stratum of glosses could disclose textual contamination, there is not enough manuscript evidence to form definitive conclusions about the sources of many occasional entries. Hence, the transmission of the *Pdv* gloss-corpus involves distilling the primary gloss-contributions from this array of evidence. Focusing my discussion of the gloss-transmission, I have examined the major

gloss-contributions in a large proportion of manuscripts in the following pages. Although I have investigated glosses in a much broader field, I have not discussed those strata which cannot be shown *confidently* to derive from one manuscript or another. Otherwise, my discussion would have become a tissue of speculations. I have, moreover, concentrated my efforts on Napier's and Goossens's 'Digby-Abingdon group' of *Pdv* glosses. This corpus has been attentively edited, but its transmission has been misrepresented since Napier's time. I aim, therefore, to correct errors that have persisted since 1900. Furthermore, I have tried to show that the same layer of glosses can be found in almost every glossed *Pdv* manuscript. The transmission of glosses therefore mirrors the transmission of the text, for both text and accompanying gloss appear to stem from the same center. Any number of theories could explain the gloss-transmission, but I have refrained from devising a stemma to account for their mutual dissemination. Nevertheless, the reader will need a rough guide to the overwhelming numbers of gloss-hands mentioned in, and omitted from, my discussion. In the following list, I have excerpted the various glossing hands from my preceding chapter on textual transmission. Following my list I offer a schematic survey and brief analysis of the gloss-transmission. The schematic survey of gloss transmission sets out almost all of the relationships among the glosses detailed in the pages that follow.

List of Glossing Hands in Pdv Manuscripts

1. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library mss 401+401A, etc., s. ixⁱⁿ (A)
 - HAND 1: s. xi¹
 - HAND 2: s. xi
2. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms 1650, s. xiⁱⁿ (B)
 - HAND A: s. xi¹
 - HAND B: s. xi¹
 - HAND C (both strata): s. xi¹
 - HAND CD: s. xi¹
 - HAND R: s. xi¹
3. London, BL ms Royal 5 F.iii, s. ix^{ex} (R1)
 - HAND 1: s. x/xi

4. London, Lambeth Palace Library ms 200 *pars* ii, s. x² (L)
HAND 1: s. x²
5. Hereford, Cathedral Library ms P.I.17, s. xii/xiii (P)
Contemporaneous glosses in several hands.
6. London, BL ms Royal 7 D.xxiv *pars* ii, s. x^{2/4} (R2)
HANDS 1-7: s. x^{2/4-med}
HANDS 8-9: s. x^{med}
7. Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Digby 146, s. x^{ex} (O)
Latin HAND 1: s. x^{ex}
Latin HAND 2: s. x/xi
Second Hand: s. xiⁱⁿ
Ordinary Hand: s. xi^{med}
8. Salisbury, Cathedral Library ms 38, s. x^{ex} (S)
HAND 1: s. x^{ex}
HANDS 2-4: s. xiⁱⁿ (some layers possibly contemporaneous
with the text)
9. London, BL ms Royal 5 E.xi, s. x^{ex} (R4)
HAND 1: s. x^{ex}
HAND 2: s. x^{ex}
HAND 3: s. xi
HAND 4: s. xi
HAND 5: s. xi
HAND 6: s. x^{ex}
HAND 7: s. xi
10. London, BL ms Royal 6 A.vi, s. x^{ex} (R3)
HAND 1A, 1B: s. x^{ex}
HAND 2: s. xi
11. Oxford, Bodleian Library ms Bodley 97, s. x^{ex} (C2)
HAND 1: s. x^{ex}
HAND 2: s. xii
12. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 326, s. xiⁱⁿ (C1)
HAND 1A, 1B: s. xiⁱⁿ
HAND 2: s. xi
13. London, BL ms Royal 6 B.vii, s. xi^{ex} (R5)
HAND 1: s. xi^{ex}
14. London, BL ms Harley 3013, s. xii² (H)
Glosses in text-hand.



Glosses in all the manuscripts shown on this preceding table derive from a common source, which I call the 'Common Recension'. As I shall demonstrate, the 'Common Recension' collection may have originated at a school in southwest England, perhaps at Malmesbury, and almost certainly by the end of the eighth century. These glosses were then transmitted from one source to the next over three hundred years, but even after other glosses were added to intervening *Pdv* copies, the 'Common Recension' is still recoverable through collation. In fact, glosses in HAND 3 in Royal 7 D.xxiv (*R2*) derive from it. A copy of *R2* was made around 950, and this apograph (**W*) transmitted the early gloss-strata of the Royal manuscript, HANDS 1-7. (Glosses in HANDS 8-9 were added to *R2* after **W* was copied.) The Royal apograph (**W*) incorporated more glosses from the common set circulating in most glossed copies of *Pdv*. Glosses from this apograph of *R2* were then transmitted to another manuscript, Digby 146 (*O*), by the scribe of my Latin HAND 1. These entries were augmented by others in Latin HAND 2 from an unknown source (designated '?') which also gave rise to the marginal glossing in the second stratum of HAND c in Brussels 1650 (*B*). Then the Digby glosses in Latin HANDS 1 and 2 were copied into another manuscript (**X*) to which more 'Common Recension' glosses were accreted. Glosses in the first stratum of Brussels (*B*)

HAND C derive from *X, whereas glosses written by the scribe of HAND 1 in Royal 6 B.vii (R5) derive from *X via an intervening archetype. After HAND C copied glosses from *X, more layers of glosses were added to Brussels 1650; all the Old English glosses in the Brussels manuscript were then copied into O by the 'Ordinary Hand' scribe. Finally, a selection of the glosses in Digby 146, both Latin and Old English, form part of the scholia in Hereford P.I.17 (P). The Hereford glosses derive from O via an archetype (*Z).

The 'Digby-Abingdon' and 'Salisbury' Families of Pdv Glosses

In the course of editing the Old English glosses for his compendium *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished*, Arthur Napier observed that many glosses to *Pdv* appear in more than one manuscript. To provide an overview of the relationship between these glosses, Napier prefaced his edition with a theory of the gloss-transmission. In a brief digression forming part of his introduction, he explained how the vernacular glosses in seven manuscripts, five of which he edited, belong to two families, the 'Digby group' and the 'Salisbury group'. To the 'Digby group' Napier assigned Brussels 1650, Digby 146, Royal 6 B.vii and Hereford P.I.17. Old English glosses in these books, he concluded, 'are closely related and ultimately come from one original'. (1) In fact, Napier viewed the Old English glosses in Digby 146 as an apograph copy of those in a lost exemplar which he designated 'Y'. (2) In his opinion, the Old English glosses in Brussels 1650 also derive from this exemplar. (3) Addressing the gloss-transmission in the third manuscript of his 'Digby' family, Royal 6 B.vii, Napier alleged that the Royal glosses stem from a hyparchetype of 'Y', or, in his terms, 'X'. (4) This hyparchetype was 'presumably free from the Kenticisms characteristic of [Digby 146] and [Brussels 1650]'. (5) Finally, Napier treated

(1) NAPIER, *Glosses*, p. xxiii.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. xxiv. For a discussion of the problems in Napier's classification, cf. S. GWARA, 'The Transmission of the "Digby" Corpus of Bilingual Glosses to Aldhelm's *Prosa de virginitate*', *ASE* 27 (1998), 139-68, at pp. 146-51.

(5) NAPIER, *Glosses*, p. xxv.

glosses in the latest 'Digby' witness, Hereford P.I.17, in a single sentence which constituted a whole paragraph in his book: 'With regard to [Hereford P.I.17], it is I believe copied from [Digby 146], with which it agrees more closely than with [Brussels 1650]'.⁽⁶⁾ Made without any comprehensive evaluation of the evidence, this intuitive deduction typified Napier's impressionistic analyses, which have nevertheless enjoyed wide currency since 1900.

Like Napier's 'Digby group', the 'Salisbury group' comprises manuscripts 'also derived from a common archetype':⁽⁷⁾ Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi and Royal 6 A.vi. According to Napier, a nucleus of glosses from the 'Salisbury group' also appears in the 'Digby group'.⁽⁸⁾ Napier refers obliquely to 'about a hundred' examples. Although he stops short of suggesting that the correspondences point to any derivation, his wording implies that the 'Salisbury' glosses represent a branch of the 'Digby' re-ension.

Throughout his discussion, Napier holds that the large number of 'Salisbury group' glosses which are unattested in Digby or Brussels supports his claim for separate transmission.⁽⁹⁾ More than twice as many 'Salisbury group' glosses are not found in the 'Digby' manuscripts as are found there. Moreover, the 'Salisbury group' manuscripts also share certain errors which betray their common origin. Napier noted only two such errors in his work, however:

The archetype of this group must have already contained the corruption *wituma*, as it occurs in all three manuscripts ... whilst [Digby 146 and Brussels 1650] have the correct *witumbora*; and the same is the case with *wiobora* for *wic* ... No member of the Salisbury group appears to be derived from any other, nor do any two seem to be more closely related to each other than to the third.⁽¹⁰⁾

Napier concludes from the (slight) evidence of shared error and from glosses unique to the 'Salisbury group' manuscripts that the Old English glosses in Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi and Royal 6 A.vi are related more closely to each other than to the

(6) *Ibid.*, referring to the Old English glosses.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

(10) *Ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

'Digby' glosses. While Napier seems to be justified in isolating the 'Salisbury' corpus of glosses, his wording should not be interpreted to mean that some 'Salisbury' glosses cannot be found in manuscripts of the 'Digby' family, a fact he had acknowledged earlier.

Vernacular glosses from the five remaining *Pdv* manuscripts form an anomalous class for which Napier did not propose a stemma. Instead, he noted that glosses in '[Corpus 326, Royal 7 D.xxiv and Bodley 97] contain glosses from both groups, whilst [glosses in Royal 5 F.iii] and [the Yale leaves] are independent'.⁽¹⁾ Napier's statement conflicts with his earlier discussion of the 'Salisbury group', which likewise incorporates glosses from both of his groups. Did he mean that Corpus 326, Royal 7 D.xxiv and Bodley 97 have glosses in common with the unique entries in the 'Salisbury group' and/or with those entries common to 'Salisbury' and 'Digby'? Napier's vague remarks support either interpretation, and they expose the unsatisfactory accounts he offered of his 'Digby' and 'Salisbury' categories. Neither family, it seems clear, was precisely defined, and even Napier's expression 'group' underscores the ambiguity of his distinctions. By Napier's reckoning, *all* the Old English glosses in *every* manuscript of a 'group' belong to one line of descent.

Napier's discussion of the 'Digby' and 'Salisbury group' manuscripts encompasses about three printed pages, far too brief to evaluate the gloss-transmission convincingly. The brevity of Napier's investigation, however, hardly eclipses the most serious shortcoming in his classification: it rests solely on the *Old English* glosses preserved in the *Pdv* manuscripts familiar to him. Thousands of Latin glosses were neglected, presumably because Napier could not find any common link between the Old English and Latin contributions in the manuscripts he studied. The Latin glosses, it turns out, are essential in understanding the gloss-transmission and cannot be overlooked. By omitting them from his examination, then, Napier compromised his classification. His groupings subsequently misled Louis Goossens, when Goossens came to edit the Brussels glosses.

Writing in 1974, Goossens adopted and legitimized Napier's methodology, although he made significant modifications to Napier's stemma. In particular, he dismantled Napier's survey

(11) *Ibid.*, p. xxiv. Napier added in a note that the Yale leaves have 'a few glosses' in common with Digby 146 and the 'Cleopatra glossary' (London, BL ms Cotton Cleopatra A.iii), but he did not draw any conclusions from these similarities.

of the transmission of the 'Digby' family, and even rejected the term 'Digby group'. Goossens preferred 'Abingdon group', and his reasons stem from the transmission he proposed. In a substantial introduction Goossens conclusively demonstrated that the Old English glosses in Digby 146 were copied directly from Brussels 1650. Napier's hypothetical 'X' and 'Y' archetypes were illusory, Goossens implied, and the phrase 'Digby group' was a misnomer:

Napier's 'Digby group' may suggest that [Digby 146] is the central member of the group, which is not the case. 'Abingdon group' is a better term because both [Brussels 1650] and [Digby 146] are Abingdon mss., whereas [Royal 6 B.vii] and [Hereford P.I.17] are closely connected with them. ⁽¹²⁾

Nowadays, one gloss-family is incongruously named after a manuscript, the other after a conjectural provenance.

Goossens reconfigured the relationships among the 'Digby' glosses, with which he associated Royal 7 D.xxiv on the grounds that it shared glosses with Digby 146. He went no further with the Royal glosses, however. Acknowledging that the various scribal hands in the manuscript posed a problem for him, he wrote, 'we can ... say no more than that [glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv] and the first layer of [glosses in Digby 146] are indirectly related'. ⁽¹³⁾ Goossens had considerably more to say than Napier about Royal 6 B.vii. He argued that glosses in Royal 6 B.vii descended directly from Brussels 1650, rather than from Napier's lost manuscript 'X'. ⁽¹⁴⁾ He has reaffirmed this claim in a recent article. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Yet Goossens's ingenious hypothesis fails to account for all the Old English Royal glosses, as well as for thousands of Latin ones. For this reason alone, his theory invites a reappraisal. Finally, Goossens accepted Napier's explanation of the Hereford glosses, which were allegedly copied from Digby 146. He merely added that Abingdon, the medieval provenance of Digby 146, was close to Cirencester, the medieval provenance of Hereford P.I.17. ⁽¹⁶⁾

Goossens redefined Napier's 'Digby' recension of *Pdv* glosses and made genuine advances in solving aspects of their textual

(12) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 22.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.*, pp. 23-5.

(15) 'Latin and Old English Aldhelm Glosses: A Direct Link in the "Abingdon Group"', *Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. R. DEROLEZ (Brussels, 1992), pp. 141-9.

(16) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 27.

transmission. By contrast, he contributed little to Napier's account of the 'Salisbury group' glosses. Without mentioning shared errors, he simply re-stated Napier's claim that glosses in the three 'Salisbury group' manuscripts are somehow related. Goossens contended that they represent a Canterbury tradition and proposed that the transmission might be clarified by reference to various scribal hands:

Napier's 'Salisbury group' ... can fairly safely be accepted to belong to the Canterbury tradition. The 'several hands' in [Salisbury 38], the hands under i(a) in [Royal 5 E.xi, i.e. 348 glosses in several hands of s. xi^m] and the first hand in [Royal 6 A.vi] have 123 glosses in common ... A study of the individual hands ... will probably reveal more precise details about this mutual relationship, and also about the relation to the Abingdon group, with which the Salisbury group has a considerable nucleus of glosses in common. (17)

Understandably, Goossens says as little about the anomalous glosses which Napier thought belonged to both the 'Digby' and 'Salisbury' families, or to neither. He ends with a *caveat* which begs the question of transmission. Unable to see a clear picture of relationships among Old English glosses, Goossens qualifies his own efforts: 'In nearly all cases it will be impossible to establish direct relationships among the Old English glosses: it is good to remember in this respect that for each [manuscript] which has come down to us several others must have been lost in the course of time'. (18)

Unfortunately, the manuscript categories established by Napier and refined by Goossens are only marginally useful in describing the relationship of Old English and Latin glosses in *Pdv* manuscripts. Neither scholar employs collations of texts as evidence of the gloss-transmission. Neither credits the value of Latin glosses, which bear significantly on the dissemination. Goossens alone discusses the various scribal hands, which record the growth of the gloss-corpus, but he does so for one manuscript only. In the following pages, then, I offer a new model for the dissemination of this important corpus of glosses. In my discussion, I refer periodically to the 'Digby-Abingdon' and 'Salisbury' groups. By retaining the nomenclature, I try to show where Napier's and Goossens' categories remain viable. For all

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 21.

intents and purposes, however, the distinctions are too casual to be lasting.

The Relationship of Old English Glosses in Brussels HANDS A, B, C and CD (19) to Glosses in the 'Ordinary Hand' of Digby 146

Any serious study of the transmission of glosses to *Pdv* must begin with the Brussels (*B*) and Digby (*O*) manuscripts. The codices contain, by far, the largest number of Old English Aldhelm glosses, and they are surpassed only by Royal 7 D.xxiv in the number of Latin ones. The relationship of Old English glosses in *B* and *O* is complex, but Ker and Goossens left a road-map to the transmission of certain gloss-strata which aids in determining the dissemination of the whole Brussels and Digby corpus. Their analyses persuasively suggest that the bulk of Old English glosses in Digby 146 was copied directly from Brussels 1650.

Writing in 1955 Derolez pointed out that the Old English Digby glosses represent a copy of those in Brussels 1650, (20) and Ker advanced Derolez's position, apparently independently, two years later:

... there does not seem to be any serious objection to the theory which Napier rejected, that the Digby glosses were copied from [Brussels 1650], if we may assume that the copyist tried to correct mistakes in his exemplar and to alter some of the dialectal forms. Some of the forms can best be explained as errors in copying from [Brussels 1650], e.g. in [gloss] 26 'torhtte' [=2, 34 VITREOS], the spelling *tt* may be due to the alteration in [Brussels 1650] of 'torhta[.]' (originally 'torhtas'?) to 'torhtæ', the second *t* and flat-topped *æ* following it resembling *tte*. The reading 'horrescunt' in [Brussels 1650] (21) has given rise to the gloss 'andþrac[h]iþ' in both manuscripts (gl. 3185) [=35, 42 LABIA], although Digby has correctly 'herescunt'. (22)

Goossens accepted Ker's reasoning. Rejecting Derolez's point that an intermediary archetype may have affected the transmission, he suggested that the systematic method of copying confirms that Brussels 1650 was the direct source for most of the

(19) Because HAND R contributes so few glosses to the Brussels volume, I do not discuss it in these pages.

(20) 'De Oudengelse Aldhelmglossen', pp. 37-50.

(21) Only *B* has this variant.

(22) KER, *Catalogue*, pp. 382-3.

Old English glosses in Digby 146. Almost every Old English gloss in Brussels is accounted for in Digby. Even Goossens's 'exceptions' support his hypothesis, for he mistakenly assumed that 'there is no counterpart in O for B 1-78, 80-6, 88-96 and 98'.⁽²³⁾ These glosses have been *erased* in O. Few glosses were therefore omitted from the corpus, in Goossens words, 'only the duplications, some of the marginal [glosses] by hand 3 in B, and the last OE [gloss] in B, which is no [gloss] to the text'.⁽²⁴⁾ This kind of manuscript collation, arguably intended to bring both manuscripts into conformity, is reflected in other glossed *Pdv* copies.

Following Ker's approach, Goossens identified five other erroneous glosses in Digby 146 which can be traced to a misreading of the Brussels glosses:

- 12, 5 BELLICOSAS] *wiglic*, *'heardlice Bc,cd: wihearde O*
 The gloss was altered from *wiglice*; 'h' and 'ardlice' were added by CD, and 'd' was altered from 'l'. This badly executed correction gives rise to *wihearde* in O, whereas two glosses in B were intended: *wiglice* and *heardlice*.
- 13, 24 EPITAPHION] *leopsang O*
 In the Brussels manuscript the gloss *licleoð* is emended to *licsang*, with 'sang' written above 'ð' in *licleoð*. This has produced the term *leopsang* in O.
- 15, 21 TEXTRINVM] *weblic gewurc Ba,cd: weblic, geweorclic O*
 In B *gewurc* is written above *weblic* and engenders *geweorclic* in O.
- 15, 27 BIS TINCTO] *twyhiwum Bc: twyhiwædum O*
 The gloss in B has been corrected from *twyhiwe* by erasure and substitution of 'u' with nasal suspension. In Goossens's view, confusion accounts for the gloss *twyhiwædum* in O.
- 21, 32 PROCUMBERET] *h'n'ipte Bcd: hnimpte O*
 Goossens explains that the Brussels gloss is situated just below the lemma *CORRVERET*, 'in which the first *r* is 2-shaped and consequently has a horizontal bottom stroke looking like a long mark of abbreviation over *h'n'ipte*'.⁽²⁵⁾

This additional evidence strongly supports the argument that Digby had been collated against Brussels. Obviously, there may have been an intermediary exemplar, but none is demonstrable through an examination of the glosses. I therefore concur with

(23) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 26.

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) Examples cited by GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 26.

Ker and Goossens: the meticulous method of transcription suggests that the Old English glosses were copied *directly* from Brussels into Digby.

The Old English glosses originating in Brussels 1650 were copied into Digby along with a few scattered Latin glosses in Napier's 'Ordinary Hand'. From the standpoint of textual criticism, the differences between the versions of the glosses to Digby and Brussels are negligible, but some formal differences are worth noting. The 'Ordinary' scribe very often takes over two or more words from Brussels and copies them in one long phrase. Sometimes these phrases are placed directly above the correct lemmas, but because the 'Ordinary Hand' is so tiny, the glosses usually cover a single lemma – and not necessarily the first. Conversely, long phrases in Brussels are sometimes broken up into components in the Digby corpus, with the appropriate gloss above each lemma. This habit is in keeping with another consistent feature of the Digby glosses. When the Digby 'Ordinary' scribe copies the Brussels glosses containing 'ʃ' (= 'opþe'), he omits the abbreviation and enters the glosses as separate terms. Admittedly, neither of these scribal patterns is important for the gloss-transmission, but they do reveal a copyist's technique which could have affected the position of glosses in an apograph of Digby 146.

The Relationship of Glosses in Brussels HAND C (First Stratum) and Royal 6 B.vii (Main Stratum)

The Old English and Latin glosses written by the five identifiable Brussels scribes and by the 'Ordinary Hand' of Digby 146 represent a significant portion of glosses in these manuscripts. Thus far, however, only the 'Ordinary Hand' glosses in Digby have been accounted for in terms of their text history. Glosses in the Digby 'Ordinary Hand' derive from Brussels, but what is the source of the Brussels hands? For the present, I shall set aside glosses in HANDS A, B and CD and examine the glosses in HAND C. These, we may recall, are in two separate strata. The first layer comprises interlinear Old English and Latin glosses. The second layer comprises marginal glosses in Latin (mainly on fols. 8r, 9v-11r)⁽²⁶⁾ and the series of *glossae collectae* which turn up in the margins from fols. 19r-53v. These different layers imply that the

(26) Goossens claimed that these do not pertain to the text (*Brussels*, p. 48). In fact, the lemmas to these legitimate glosses appear throughout.

glosses in HAND C may have had two discrete sources, and the evidence of collation suggests the same. Before setting out this evidence, however, my position ought to be formulated in advance.

First, apart from the *glossae collectae*, the marginal scholia in the second layer of Brussels scribe C appear to derive from a source from which the Digby marginalia also descend. A collation of the common glosses implies this relationship without making it certain. Second, the interlinear glosses in the first stratum of HAND C must have come from Digby 146, for HAND C of Brussels 1650 incorporates errors which can be securely traced to the Digby manuscript. Some of these errors, as well as comparable ones, appear in Royal 6 B.vii. The nature of the errors common to Brussels HAND C (first layer) and Royal 6 B.vii (main glossing hand) proves that an antecedent manuscript was the source for both of them.

In his book Goossens surmised that 'with comparatively few exceptions, the [glosses] of [Royal 6 B.vii] were copied from those in [Brussels 1650] at a stage when the glossing there had not yet been completed'.⁽²⁷⁾ He repeats this hypothesis with the same wording in his 1992 article on the 'Abingdon group' glosses. From the outset, however, the hypothesis is unfeasible, since *all* the Brussels glosses had been added by s. xi^{med}, and the Royal manuscript postdates these accretions.⁽²⁸⁾ To salvage Goossens's argument, one would have to postulate an intermediary exemplar which was copied from Brussels at the stage Goossens alleges and which came into possession of the Exeter community in time for the Royal copy to be made. Because establishing an intermediary is an arguably trivial adjustment to Goossens's scheme and superficially appears to resolve several problems, let us assume that such an intermediary existed and proceed to Goossens's evidence.

Goossens made a series of arguments in favor of his thesis that the glosses in *R5* descend directly from those in *B*.⁽²⁹⁾ Primarily,

(27) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 23.

(28) Goossens nowhere cites Elaine Drage's work ('Bishop Leofric'), and the dates of the gloss-hands in the manuscripts (cf. *Brussels*, p. 17) rest on outdated descriptions. Moreover, his argument calls for justification on grounds of provenance. If glosses from Brussels 1650 were copied into Royal 6 B.vii, either Brussels 1650 must have been at Exeter, or the Royal scribe must have travelled to the foundation housing the Brussels volume, Canterbury or Abingdon. Neither hypothesis can be verified from known evidence.

(29) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 23-4; *idem*, 'Aldhelm Glosses', p. 142.

he asserted that 489 Old English glosses in *R5* – a substantial majority – agree with those in *B*. Three hundred fifty-six of these glosses occur in *HAND C*, about 109 in *HAND A* and 24 in *HAND B*.⁽³⁰⁾ By contrast, only 29 CD glosses appear in *R5*,⁽³¹⁾ and none in *HAND R* (in red ink).⁽³²⁾ How, Goossens asked, could a corpus of glosses represented by three hands in one manuscript appear as one hand in another volume, if the glosses in the later manuscript were not copied from the earlier? He concluded, ‘if the glossator of *R5* did not copy from *B*, he must have drawn his material from the same sources (or sources very similar to) those of the first, second and third hands in *B*, which is not very likely’.⁽³³⁾

Goossens subsequently broadened his base of evidence and refined his analysis. He maintained that there are even greater correspondences between the Latin glosses in *R5* than between the Old English glosses: ‘Our strongest argument comes from the Latin glosses in *ms. R5*. They agree for about 95% with glosses in *ms. B* and with few exceptions are identical with them’.⁽³⁴⁾ Having made this statement, Goossens recognizes a problem: as many as 44 Old English glosses in *Royal 6 B.vii* are not present in *Brussels 1650*.⁽³⁵⁾ Goossens endeavors to dismiss these glosses, but nine of them can only be explained as having arisen from another source.⁽³⁶⁾ Goossens would have been rewarded by examining the Latin glosses at this stage of his argument. Dozens of them, too, are not in *B*:⁽³⁷⁾

- 9, 1/2 *DEFORMATVR*] *i. non deformatur R5: i. non deturpatur O*
 9, 22 *PVTANTVR*] *i. estimamus uel putamur R5: i. estimamus O*
 9, 41 *CVM CONSTET*] *i. certum est R5: i. testum est O*
 11, 4 *DENOSCITVR*] *s. illa superbia, arrogantia R5: s. illa superbia O*
 12, 24 *RECESSIBVS*] *i. occultationibus, i. uisceribus R5: i. uisceribus O*
 13, 29 *APOSTOLICAE*] *i. episcopalis R5*
 15, 3 *PLENE*] *i. omnino, aduerbialiter R5: i. omnino O*
 18, 13 *FACTIOSAM*] *i. fraudulentiam R5: i. falsam O*

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 144.

(33) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 23.

(34) GOOSSENS, *Aldhelm Glosses*, p. 147.

(35) *Ibid.*

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 148.

(37) Further examples are noted in GWARA, ‘“Digby” Corpus’, p. 154 note 73.

- 18, 33 DEDITI] i. locupletati R5: i. subiecti O
 20, 20 CAEREMONIAS] i. obseruationes R5
 21, 3 SVPREMAM] i. ultimam R5
 21, 26 SVB CONO] i. summa parte R5: sublimis summus grandis excelsus preclarus O
 21, 27 PRAEPETI] i. ueloci R5: i. celeri O
 21, 52 CENSVRAM] i. estimationem uel mensuram R5: i. iudicium O
 22, 15 CONGESSIMVS] i. collegimus R5: i. congregauimus O
 22, 17 PROCERITAS] i. celsitudo uel altitudo R5: i. magnitudo uel status, longitudo O
 22, 21 CREDATVR] s. qui, mercatur R5

No doubt Goossens would have conjectured that these glosses stem from his source and that they would have been added in the transitional stage we have allowed for.

Superficially, Goossens's argument seems fine; the intimate relationship between glosses in R5 and Bc is beyond doubt. In fact, if Goossens had printed all the Latin entries in the Brussels codex and compared them to those in Royal 6 B.vii, he might have noted examples of shared error in R5 and Bc which buttress his case:

- 12, 12 INFLEXIBILE] innodabile R5 Bc: inenodabile O
 20, 34 VERBORVM] seruorum R5 Bc: (38) sermonum O
 21, 62 FLAMMIVOMA] a flamma et umbo R5 Bc: a flamma et uerbo O
 23, 29 SOFISTAE] sophistica facta R5 Bc: sofistica ficta O
 24, 6 PROCACIBVS] inprudenteribus R5 Bc: inprudenteribus O
 25, 7 PROPALAT] presens pro pretereo R5: presens pro preterio Bc: presens pro preterito O
 25, 29 LATEBRARVM] sacratorum R5 Bc: secretorum O
 25, 80 SEMITAM] uitam R5 Bc: uiam O
 26, 9 EVENTVM] quod deuenit R5 Bc: quod euenit O
 26, 13 GLORIA] honora R5 Bc: honore O
 32, 18 OBLIQVO] turto uel curuo R5: curto uel curuo Bc (39)

Obviously, there is a material connection between the glosses in HAND C of Brussels and the glosses in Royal 6 B.vii. Alas, it never struck Goossens that an equally close connection exists between glosses in Royal and Digby, manuscripts which are about 100 years apart in date. After discerning that the *Old English* glosses in Digby had been copied from Brussels 1650, Goossens neglected to collate the *Latin* Digby glosses with those in R5 and

(38) Corrected to *sermonum Bc*.

(39) For *torto uel curuo*.

B. In fact, hundreds of Latin glosses are unique to these three manuscripts. Furthermore, Goossens overlooked errors common to *R5*, *Bc* and *O*, such as 2, 22 PANDO] curruu *R5 Bc O*.⁽⁴⁰⁾ He also neglected errors common to *O* and *R5* alone, i.e. 27, 35 PERITORVM] preidentium *R5 O* (for *prudantium*). There are, in fact, several errors common to Royal 6 B.vii and Digby 146 which are not found in *B*. Some are:

- 24, 5 QVAESTVVM] lucrarum *R5 O*: lucrorum *Bc*
 27, 51/52 MARTIRIZARETVR] cruaretur *R5 O*: cruciaretur *Bc*
 32, 91 VICTORIA] tropheti *R5 O*: (41) trophaea *Bc* (42)

These variants prove that the glosses in Royal 6 B.vii must be related to those in Digby 146 as well as to those in Brussels 1650. Could the Latin glosses in Digby, like the Old English ones, have also come from Brussels? The dating of the gloss-hands makes this impossible. In fact, a closer look at more substantive errors demonstrates beyond any doubt that an intermediary copy of certain Digby glosses must be the source of glosses in the first stratum of Brussels HAND C and the main stratum of Royal 6 B.vii. I call this Digby apograph '*O'.

In the following discussion of erroneous glosses, distinguishing features in the layout and script of the Digby manuscript account for glosses in Brussels and Royal. Three kinds of error characterize the Digby apograph which gave rise to the glosses in these manuscripts. In several places a copyist of Digby truncated a gloss, leading to an ungrammatical transcript. He also took marginal material spreading into the line as part of an interlinear annotation; the resulting glosses are often nonsensical. Finally, he mistakenly copied sections of long interlinear glosses, so that the last portions of them, often a word or two, appear over adjacent lemmas. By reference to these varieties of error arising in *O, we can interpret seemingly inexplicable glosses in *R5* and *B*:

- 13, 23 LAMENTABILE] lamentabile flebile luctusum funes *R5*:
 flebile luctuosum *Bc*: Lamentabile flebile luctuosum funestum plorable lacrimabile *O*
 13, 23 QVOD] funes *Bc*

In the Digby copy of *Pdv* the gloss to LAMENTABILE reads (19v1):

(40) Altered to *curuo Bc*.
 (41) *Tropheti* altered to *trophea O*.
 (42) And possibly 32, 19/20 SVSPICIONVM] iudiciarum *R5*: iudiciorum *Bc*: indiciarum *O*.

lamentabile flebile luctuosum funes
tum plorabile lacrimabile

The first line ends at *funes*, and a scribe has only copied to this point, thereby omitting 'tum'. The erroneous gloss appears in *B* (9r3), except that *funes* is taken as a gloss for the later lemma *QVOD*. The same error occurs in *R5* (11r20). Note that *funes*, which makes no sense, might have been mistaken for *funus*.

- 13, 32 *RADICIBVS*] radices dicuntur *R5 Bc*: Radices dicuntur que in imo atque in occulto site sunt *O*

The marginal gloss in *O* (19v11) reads as follows:

Radices dicuntur
que in imo atque
in occulto
site sunt

The scribe of the Digby apograph only bothered to copy out the first line of the gloss before realizing he had no space to complete it. His brief transcript is taken over in *Brussels* (9r10) and *Royal* (11v3).

- 13, 33 *SPISSA*] i. spissum densum, i. in unum collectum *R5 O*: densa, in unum collecta *Bc*

O reads *densum* (19v13), with the interlinear gloss *in unum collectum* directly above the following lemma *VIRGULTORVM*. This format has confused a copyist, who took the second part as a gloss to *VIRGULTORVM*. In *R5* (11v4) and *B* (9r10) this same arrangement is duplicated.

- 13, 50 *VVLNVS*] i. aporia, cura, i. angor *R5 Bc O*

The word *angor* appears above the following lemmas *IN MENTE* in the Digby manuscript (20r13). It is treated as a separate gloss to that term both in *R5* (11v19) and *B* (9v4).

- 20, 19 *VOCIS*] i. uox dicitur *R5*: uox dicitur quicquid sonat *O*

- 20, 19 *MVGITVM*] i. quicquid sonat *R5 Bc*

In manuscript *O* (27r14) the gloss to *VOCIS* reads as edited above, but the final words *quicquid sonat* are written above the following lemma *MVGITVM*. These words have been taken as a gloss to this lemma and are written separately with 'i.' in *R5* (16r9-10). The first (nonsensical) half of the gloss is omitted in *B* (14r1).

- 20, 30 *TENERITVDINE*] i. tenerum molle fragile, i. flexum flexibile *R5*: i. tenerum fragile molle flexum flexibile *Bc*: i. tenerum fragile molle flexum flexibile *O*

In O (27v6) the long interlinear gloss runs across the line, and the words *flexum flexibile* occur just above the following lemma VIRGINITATI. In B (14r9-10) a similar arrangement crops up, but the words have been shifted to suggest that they gloss VIRGINITATI. In R5 (16r18-19) they were separated from the first part of the gloss and taken as an interpretation of VIRGINITATI as well.

- 21, 22 MINVTATIM] i. gradatim, i. ordinatim R5: i. gradatim, ordinatum Bc: i. gradatim uel ordinatim O

In O (28r16) there is no Latin gloss to the preceding lemma ABSCISSO. *Gradatim* was taken as a gloss to this word and became misplaced in the Digby apograph. The misplacement shows up in R5 (16v18) and B (14v10), and the single gloss *ordinatim* was written above MINVTATIM in both manuscripts.

- 32, 105 FERRO FORTIOR] i. semina frugum R5 Bc: Ferrum dictum ... O

The long marginal gloss in O (48r11), which comes from Isidore's *Etymologiae*,⁽⁴³⁾ reads as follows:

Ferrum dictum quod farra i. semina frugum
terre condeat idem et calips
a calibes flumine
ubi ferrum optima acie temperatur
unde et abusive dicitur calips
ipsa materies

The words *semina frugum* appear directly above the lemma FERRO FORTIOR, since the gloss runs into the text. The gloss was then truncated in an apograph, and the error appears in R5 (28v5) and B (27r16).

- 36, 33 POLLVENDO] comminando R5: comando Bc: contaminando O

The gloss in O (55v14) is correct. Yet the ascenders in POLLVENDO divide the word at *contamin//ando*. A corruption arose in this way, and the error appears as *comminando* with various marks of abbreviation in R5 (32v1) and B (31v22).

These entries are conclusive evidence that the glosses common to Bc (first layer) and R5 stem from a manuscript copied from O. No reasonable alternative explanation accounts for the errors discussed above as well as for other errors common only to Digby and Royal, to Digby and Brussels, and to Digby, Brussels

(43) LINDSAY, *Etymologiae*, 16, 21, 1.

and Royal together. Yet a common exemplar not only explains the unusual, irreproducible errors appearing identically in Royal 6 B.vii and Brussels 1650. More conveniently, it also accounts for errors unique to each of these codices.

In my view, *O must have had even more corruptions similar to the ones just described but not introduced into *R5* or *B*, either because the error was corrected or because the gloss was never copied. Glosses to 20, 19 *MVGITVM*, cited above, illustrate my reasoning. At this point in *Pdv* Digby 146 contained a relatively long interlinear gloss which became divided in my alleged transcript. The division is fortuitously recorded in *R5*, but the Brussels codex has only half of the gloss: 'quicquid sonat'. A scribe, possibly scribe C, eliminated the useless gloss 'uox dicitur' here. This scribe, or the scribes of any intervening archetypes, may have made similar emendations to correct faulty readings arising from Digby. Other (admittedly problematic) examples in the Brussels corpus are:

- 36, 39 *CICLADIBVS*] i. uirginilibus uestibus *R5*: uirginalibus
Bc: uirginalibus uestibus *O*

Apart from the minor error *uirginilibus*, the glosses in *R5* (32v6) and *O* (56r3) are identical. The gloss in *B*, however, makes no sense (32r6). Looking at *O*, we can see one way this gloss may have arisen: the final term *uestibus* extends into the margin and may have been taken as a gloss to the following lemma. If the Digby apograph preserved this format, the Brussels scribe might mistakenly have omitted the final term. The scribe of *R5* may have noticed the misplacement and put matters right.

- 37, 39 *GVRGITIS*] i. fluminis, proprie latus altus in flumine *R5*:
 fluminis, est proprie latus *Bc*: i. fluminis, Gurges est
 proprie lacus altus in flumine *O*

In Digby 146 the final words *in flumine* are written over the following lemma (60r5). They may have been mistakenly attached to it in the apograph and re-located correctly only in *R5* (32v6). Note that the insular 'c' has given rise to the error *latus* common to *R5* and *Bc* (34v5).

Comparable scribal confusions which appear in *R5* are more obviously attributable to a Digby apograph. We have seen, for example, that long interlinear glosses were often truncated and the various parts re-assigned to preceding or following lemmas.

Many more examples of this phenomenon are documented in the Royal copy of *Pdv*, and they attest to a more corrupt transcript of Digby 146 than the Brussels text does. In other cases an unnoticed abbreviation engenders a serious mistake.

7, 30 VERTICEM] *cacum R5: cacumen Bc O*

The nasal suspension above the 'm' in *O* (12v3) is placed high, and the word runs directly into the glossword for the following lemma. A scribe seems to have been missed the abbreviation, giving rise to the meaningless *cacum* in *R5* (6r16). The Brussels scribe recognized the mistake in his exemplar (4v14).

10, 30 ROSCIDIS] *i. humidis, i. rore madidis R5 Bc O*

In Digby (16r7) as in Brussels (6v22) this entire gloss is placed interlinearly, and it runs over the following lemma *OCVLORVM*. In *R5* (8r18) the second half *rore madidis* appears as a separate gloss to *OCVLORVM* with the abbreviation *i*.

12, 34/35 PATERNAE] *s. terram repromissionis R5 Bc O*

In Digby (18v9) and Brussels (8v4) this long gloss extends over the following lemma *GENERATIONIS*. In *R5* it is separated (8r8), the first half *terram* glossing *PATERNAE*, the second half *repromissionis* glossing *GENERATIONIS*.

15, 25/26 TINCTVRAE] *tinctus luridus infectus coloratus R5 Bc O*

This long interlinear gloss covers several words in Digby (21v19) and Brussels (10v5). The final term *coloratus* appears over the verb *SPLENDVISSE*. While all the glosses are correctly placed in Brussels, in the Royal manuscript (12v19-20) *i. coloratus* occurs separately above *SPLENDVISSE*.

23, 7 PATENTE] *i. aperiente, i. manifestante R5 Bc O*

In Digby (31r1) and Brussels (16r22), these interlinear glosses extend beyond the lemma, and *manifestante* is written over the following lemma *VOCE*. *Manifestante* appears as a separate gloss to *VOCE* in *R5* (18v1).

26, 18 BIGARVM] *bige ubi duo i. curru iunguntur R5: curruum Bc: i. bige ubi duo equi curru iunguntur O*

In Digby 146 the interlinear gloss to *BIGARVM* runs over a large part of the line (36v12). The words *curru iunguntur* appear above *SVBIVGALES*. While *HAND C* in *B* simply writes *curruum* as a gloss (20r19), a reflex of the

layout in *O* appears in *R5* (22r9): *curru iunguntur* is a separate gloss to *SVBIVGALES*, and *equi*, which in *O* straddles the lemmas *BIGARVM SVBIVGALES*, is missing. The gloss makes no sense, perhaps explaining why it was omitted in *B*.

36, 108 *STOLIDA*] i. rori stulta *R5*: stulte *Bc*: stulta *O*

The interlinear gloss to *STOLIDA* in *O* (58r16) is straightforward, but a marginal gloss to the preceding lemma *GINGINIS* gives rise to an error in the hypothetical apograph:

Gingiue a gignendis
dentibus nominatae
facte sunt
etiam ad dec
orem dentium hor rori
potius quam orna
mento existerent

The word *horrori* in this gloss has been divided in two by the capital 'S' of *SIC*, just preceding *STOLIDA*. The glossator therefore took *rori* as part of the gloss and wrote *rori stulta* in his apograph. This appears in *R5* (33v15). The Brussels scribe probably recognized that *rori* made no sense in the context ('foolish to dew'!) and omitted it from his text (33v3).

Although these errors occur only in *R5*, their obvious correlation with the varieties of error common to *R5* and *Bc* imply that they were in the Digby apograph which also gave rise to the Brussels *HAND C* glosses. Omissions of such mistakes in either manuscript are attributable to the vigilance of scribes, who corrected or omitted these problematic entries.

Because layers of glossing in Digby 146 can be dated paleographically, the Digby apograph was indisputably penned after the glosses by Ker's scribe (i) (=Napier's 'second Latin hand') and Napier's 'Ordinary hand' but before the Old English glosses by Ker's scribe (ii) (=Napier's 'Second hand'), that is ca. 980 × 1020. The evidence derives from collation. Glosses in Ker's hand (ii) appear neither in Brussels *HAND C* nor in the main hand of Royal 6 B.vii, whereas glosses in hand (i) and in Napier's 'Ordinary hand' crop up consistently. Incidentally, because Digby 146 preserved about thirty Old English glosses in its earliest stratum and because these glosses were copied into the Digby apograph, some redundant glossing arose in Digby when the vernacular glosses were transferred from Brussels 1650.

The Correspondence of Glosses in Brussels HANDS A, B and C to Glosses in Royal 6 B.vii

Goossens wrongly derived glosses in R5 from B, and his reasoning needs to be considered in more detail. He contended that glosses in three hands which elsewhere correspond closely to glosses in one hand must have given rise to them. His evidence is, as outlined above, 109 glosses in HAND A, 24 glosses in HAND B, and 356 glosses in HAND C which correspond to glosses in R5. In the following instances I provide some of his uncited examples, Old English glosses found in Royal 6 B.vii which agree with those in Brussels HAND A :

- 2, 36 NAVCLERII] *rowendes* R5: *nowend* Ba (**)
 9, 11 DACTILOS] *clistro* R5: *clystra* Ba
 9, 37 CAVLICVLVS] *stela* R5 Ba
 11, 23 GENVINIS] *toðreomum* R5: *topreomum* Ba (45)
 15, 22 FVCO] *dæge* R5: *deage* Ba
 16, 22 PASTINARE] *tyddrian* R5: *tidrian* Ba
 17, 13 TORTIS] *abrawenum* R5: *geprawenum* Ba
 17, 16 CAESARIE] *fexe* R5 Ba
 17, 18 INDRV TICANS] *tigende* R5 Ba
 18, 7 CONDICIO] *ræden* R5 Ba
 19, 31 GRANIGERA] *of gornbærre* R5: *cornbærum* Ba
 23, 4 ANFRACTVS] *hylcas* R5 Ba
 23, 24 GLAREAS] *ceoslas* R5: *stancislas* Ba
 23, 56 FLAMINIA] *sacerhadas* R5 Ba

Only a slight adjustment to Goossens's argument would render it plausible. If B, O and *O were housed together, who could say that a scribe did not copy a hundred glosses from Brussels 1650 into the Digby apograph, whence they could have been transmitted into an archetype of the Royal book? Yet one fact, misinterpreted by Goossens, vitiates this conclusion. In 1974 Goossens charged that the Royal glosses were copied from Brussels after scribe C had made alterations to the Brussels corpus, specifically after modifying glosses in HANDS A and B. His position reverses the cart and horse. Scribe C, in fact, systematically *collated* his source with A and B's glosses in the Brussels *Pd* copy. Hence, glosses and merographs in HANDS A and B already corresponded to glosses in C's exemplar. There are instances, for

(44) Altered to *nowendes* by scribe CD.

(45) *topreomum* Ba.

example, where the C scribe added words to make his apograph agree with his own source:

17, 1 BIPERTITAM] i. in duas partes diuisam R5: diuisam Ba: in duas partes Bc: i. in duas partes diuisam O

Diuisam existed already in HAND A. Scribe C simply added *in duas partes* to make the texts uniform.

21, 37 MONARCHIAE] i. unius principatus R5: principatus Ba: unius Bc: i. unius principatus O

Scribe A had already written the gloss *principatus* in the Brussels codex (note that this word stands in other manuscripts as well). Scribe C added the term *unius* to make the Brussels gloss agree with the gloss in his exemplar.

30, 20 SACELLA] i. templum idolorum R5: i. templa Ba O: idolorum Bc

Again, scribe C collates the Brussels manuscript with his source.

31, 9/10 NEGOTIVM] i. opus uel labor uel causa R5: i. labor Ba O: i. opus uel causa Bc

Collation is evident here, as in numerous other examples.

The abundant examples of this kind of collation are further enhanced by even more evidence of collation. Scribe C also alters A and B's readings and expands their merographs, presumably to make them match those of his source:

12, 27 EXPEDITIONVM] *fyrda* Ba altered to *fyrdung* Bc (R5 reads *fyrdung*)

20, 11/12 DIVTVRNA] *longa* Ba altered to *longæua* Bc (R5 and O read *longeua*)

21, 66 MACHINAS] *seara* Ba altered to *searacræftas* Bc (O reads *searacræftas*)

22, 27 SPVRCAE] *scand* Ba altered to *scandlicre* Bc (O reads *sceadlicere*)

27, 47 INSOLESCAT] *awo* Ba altered to *awolfige* Bc

43, 16 MVSCIPVLIS] *feal* Bb altered to *feallan* Bc

48, 20 PROCERVVM] *ealdorman* Bb altered to *ealdormanna* Bc

In the same way, CD later altered some of scribe C's glosses: 12, 5 BELLICOSAS] 7 *wiglice* R5: *wiglice* Bc altered to *wiglice*, *heardlice* Bcd. (46) Incidentally, Goossens now maintains – without paleo-

(46) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 24-5.

graphical evidence – that some of these CD interventions were made by the Royal scribe! (47)

Evidently, if glosses in Brussels 1650 did not quite correspond to glosses in his exemplar, the C scribe emended them. What would he have done if the glosses did correspond? It seems likely that if glosses were already present in Brussels HANDS A and B, the glossator would not have bothered to write a duplicate. Let us rehearse the circumstances of copying. Scribe C comes across an apograph of Digby which he intends to collate with Brussels 1650. The Brussels manuscript already has a few hundred glosses written in HANDS A and B, but this sparse glossing could be usefully augmented by such collation. Scribe C begins copying glosses into Brussels, but where he finds a gloss in HAND A or B which matches one in his exemplar, he does not copy out the gloss a second time; he passes on. Where there are slight differences, he brings both manuscripts into conformity by correcting A or B's glosses. For this reason, glosses in three hands in Brussels (A, B and C) could correspond to a single layer in Royal 6 B.vii and need not give rise to it.

Of course, this interpretation of events requires that a core of glosses represented by HANDS A and B and by elements of HAND C was present in a layer of glosses in the Digby apograph, *O. In fact, this core of glosses circulated in almost every extant *Pdv* manuscript, and it resembled the glosses comprising the earliest gloss-strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv. (48) I call this common core of Old English and Latin glosses the 'Common Recension', and it will become the focus of later inquiry, at which time I shall examine HANDS A and B more closely. For the present, we need only hypothesize that Brussels HANDS A and B encompassed a layer of glosses also in scribe C's exemplar.

(47) GOOSSENS, 'Aldhelm Glosses', p. 149: 'Obviously, if my assumptions are correct, CD must here be identical with the glossator of [R5]'.
 (48) The hypothesis also explains what Goossens claimed was a 'striking difference in the way [the Royal glossator] treats the glosses by C as compared with those by A and B' (GOOSSENS, 'Aldhelm Glosses', p. 146). Glosses in HANDS A and B appeared 'changed [in Royal 6 B.vii] more often than not' (*ibid.*, p. 147). The corpus of glosses in HANDS A and B circulated in many other manuscripts, and probably in many divergent spellings. Such glosses might have gone unaltered by the scribe who copied from *O.

The Differences Between Glosses Common to Brussels HAND C (First Stratum) and Royal 6 B.vii (Main Stratum) Compared to the Gloss-Corpus in Digby 146 (Latin HANDS 1 and 2)

In my mind, the glosses written by Brussels scribe C were indisputably copied from an apograph of Digby 146 at an identifiable stage in Digby's glossing history: after the glosses in my Latin HANDS 1 and 2 but before the Old English glosses in Napier's 'Ordinary Hand' were added to the manuscript. Glosses in *O, in fact, plausibly resembled the glosses common to the main glossing hand in R5 and to HANDS A, B and C in Brussels: thousands of Latin glosses with a few hundred Old English contributions. Yet a crucial fact has to be acknowledged at this point. By the time the R5 and Bc glosses were copied, this hypothetical Digby transcript (*O) was very different from Digby. Theoretically, any number of intervening copies could have existed between the Digby apograph and its descendants, just as several copies of the Digby apograph could have existed. Hence, the glosses in R5 which are not found in the Digby or Brussels volumes may have been added either to the Digby apograph or to a copy of it. To avoid confusion I have not designated any intermediary manuscript copy between *O and R5.

The transparent relationship between Royal 6 B.vii and Brussels 1650 belies occasionally stark differences between the glosses shared by R5 and Bc and by O. In respect to these differences, three important observations must be recorded and discussed. In the first instance, there are many glosses common to R5 and Bc which are neither in O nor in any other extant manuscript:

- 12, 20 VENENOSA] i. temperantia R5 Bc
- 12, 23 MVNICIPES] i. principes R5 Bc
- 12, 25 LATIBVLIS] i. cubilibus R5 Bc
- 12, 32 AMBRONIS] i. deurantibus R5 Bc
- 13, 40 SE EXALTAT] i. eleuabitur R5 Bc
- 18, 11 HOC] *bis* R5 Bc
- 19, 24 IVGALITAS] s. est R5 Bc
- 20, 15 FISCALE TRIBVTVM] fiscus, i. prumptuarium cesaris inde
fiscale R5 Bc
- 20, 17 DITATVS] muneratus R5 Bc
- 20, 22 MELOTE] i. mantile R5 Bc
- 20, 34 FACVNDIA] i. eloquentia R5 Bc
- 21, 5 THIMIAMA] i. odoramentum incensi R5 Bc
- 21, 45 IMPORTVNA] i. improba R5 Bc
- 21, 46 DELERAMENTA] i. stoliditates R5 Bc
- 21, 49 EXTITISSE] i. mansisse R5 Bc

These glosses are probably unique to the Digby apograph which gave rise to the Royal and Brussels HAND C corpus.

Second, many glosses common to *R5* and *Bc* diverge radically from the surviving glosses in *O*, while others are only slightly different. Randomly chosen examples in the following table highlight the degree of these differences:

- 7, 20 IRRIGABAT] infundebat *R5 Bc*: perfundebat *O*
 9, 53 PROPENSIVS] diligentius *R5 Bc*: plenius *O*
 10, 14 FRETVS] fructus *R5 Bc*: functus *O*
 10, 14 INDVSTRIA] sollertia *R5 Bc*: curiositate *O*
 10, 24 RATIBVS] nauibus *R5 Bc*: medicinis *O*
 12, 3 FRETI] fructi *R5 Bc*: functi *O*
 12, 18 IMPORTVNVS] improbus uel inmitis *R5 Bc*: ferus uel inmitis *O*
 12, 21 EXPLODATVR] excludatur uel eiciatur *R5 Bc*: deletur *O*
 13, 39 CONFIDVNT] consperant *R5 Bc*: sperant *O*
 14, 6 COMPVNGVNTVR] conpuncti *R5 Bc*: constringuntur *O*
 18, 30 PROMVLGARE] statuere *R5 Bc*: demonstrare *O*
 18, 37 INDVSTRIA] sollertia *R5 Bc*: assiduitate *O*
 19, 24 AD PROPAGANDAM] ad extendendam uel protelandam
R5 Bc: ad manifestandam *O*
 20, 12 HACTENVS] hucusque *R5 Bc*: usque huc *O*
 20, 15 VECTIGAL] pupplica exactio *R5 Bc*: fiscalia *O*
 20, 19 REBOASSE] uociferasse *R5 Bc*: tonasse *O*
 20, 19 DESCRIBITVR] memorabitur *R5 Bc*: memoratur *O*
 20, 22 FRETVS] fructus *R5 Bc*: functus *O*
 20, 34 FRETVS] fructus *R5 Bc*: functus *O*
 21, 4 GRATISSIMVM] amantissimum *R5 Bc*: optatissimum *O*
 21, 9 LIQVIDO] manifeste *R5 Bc*: clare uel perspicue *O*
 21, 16 EBDOMADIBVS] septenis uel septies *R5 Bc*: curriculis *O*
 21, 53/54 FERCVLORVM] epularum *R5 Bc*: diliciarum *O*
 21, 57 INORME] tam magnum *R5 Bc*: inmane *O*

The substitutions range from slight re-wordings to utterly distinct terms, and deliberate emendation probably accounts for such variation. *Infundebat*, for example, appears to have been made morphologically parallel to 7, 20 IRRIGABAT, just as 13, 39 *consperant* was to CONFIDVNT. Some alterations, too, represent corrections: one Digby glossator misconstrues 10, 24 RATIBVS (*medicinis*), and the mistake has been corrected to *nauibus*. Still other readings are refinements of sense. The substitution of *sollertia* for *curiositate* in 10, 14 INDVSTRIA privileges a superior interpretation: '... cum sudoris industria efficiatur antecessor'. The persistent quality of 'sollertia' displaces the milder 'curiositas'.

Diliciarum for FERCVLORVM in 21, 52/55 ('ut ... opulentas regalium ferculorum dilicias ... in tenerrima pubertate contempserint') mischaracterizes the phrase. Because *dilicias* follows *ferculorum* in the text, it is an inadequate rendering. The more apposite gloss *epularum* therefore appears as a correction in Brussels 1650 and Royal 6 B.vii. Finally, four occurrences of FRETVS (10, 14; 12, 3; 20, 22; 20, 34) in which the gloss *functus* in O corresponds to the gloss *fructus* in R5 and B imply that a glossator emended to suit his own idiolect. Such alterations as these manifest a careful and intelligent editor who interpreted as he wrote.

My third and most important observation raises questions of transmission. In a number of cases, glosses which are common to R5 and Bc but which are not found in O correspond to those in earlier Pdv manuscripts, giving the impression that they are not isolated annotations:

24, 2 MANVBIAS] predas R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 Bc
 25, 52 TORQVENTES] uertentes R4 S R3 C2 R5 Bc
 31, 35 NVGACITER] inutiliter R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 Bc

These glosses which do not stem from O can be explained either as accretions, or as prior contributions, to the Digby apograph. Of course, explaining the precise transmission of the glosses would be fruitless. The simple fact that Brussels and Royal annotations are found in other Pdv manuscripts but not in Digby implies contamination. Again and again, scribes sought to compare Pdv copies and to transfer glosses between them.

The Relationship Between Glosses in Brussels HAND C (Second Stratum) and the Marginal Glosses in Digby 146

The first stratum of HAND C glosses in Brussels 1650 bears an obvious paternity. Yet a problem remains in the derivation of the second gloss stratum of C, which consists mainly of marginal Latin glosses and Latin *glossae collectae* with Old English interpretations. There is no precedent for the *glossae collectae*, and they were probably assembled as the scribe read the text. In almost every instance, the Old English *interpretamentum* derives from a gloss in HANDS A or B:

35, 107 DE CLATRIS] clatru *pearruc* Bc: *pearrucum* Ba
 35, 108 LASCIVVS] lascius *grædig* Bc: *grædig* Ba
 35, 108/109 SCORTATOR] scortator *wemmend* Bc: *wemmend* Ba
 35, 109 VAGABVNDIS] uagabundus *woriend* Bc: *woriendum* Ba

- 36, 44/45 MVNICIPIO] Municipium *fæsten Bc: fæstene Ba*
 36, 46/47 SVB DISTRICTO] Districtus *pearl'e'wis Bc: pearlwisum Ba*
 36, 47/48 TRAMITE] tramite *stige Bc: fram stige Ba*
 36, 54/55 GRASSARETVR] Grassor *ic onhige Bc: onhigede Ba*
 37, 25 ANACHORESEOS] Anachoreseos *ænyttes Bc: aenetes Bb*
 37, 31 STROFAM] Stropha *fraus facn Bc: fanc Bb*
 38, 18/19 ARCHIMANDRITA] Archimandrita *hehfæder Bc: hehfæder Bb*

Such glosses as these demonstrate that the C scribe was working from the Old English glosses already present in the manuscript. The glossary entries in the margins are therefore explicable simply as points of interest.

Unlike the *glossae collectae* in HAND C, however, the dense marginal glossing on fols. 8-11 poses an interpretative obstacle. These glosses correspond almost word for word to marginal glosses in Digby 146. Now, the errors we have uncovered in Royal 6 B.vii and the first layer of HAND C in Brussels show that Digby must have had dense marginal glossing *before* the presumed Digby apograph was penned. Otherwise, errors traceable to the intrusion of marginal glosses into the line could not have been made. Could the marginal glosses in Digby have been the source of those in the second stratum of HAND C in Brussels? The evidence is unclear, mainly because of the lack of shared error. Yet among the marginal glosses in B are two which could not have come from O:

- 15, 31 TOPAZIO] *ex uirenti genere est, Topazius omnium gemmarum in se habet pulchritudines; omnium uincit honores [Topazius ... honores om. O] Topazion lapis pretiosus in quo sicut alii adfirmant omnium colores fulgent Bc O*
- 17, 13 CALAMISTRO] *Calamistro i. acu [MS aco] ferreo in similitudine calami[i] facto in quo crines obtorquentur ut crispi sint; quem in cinere calescere solent qui capillos crispant ut calamistrati sint Bc: Calamistratus a calamistro, i. acu ferreo in calami[s] similitudine facto in quo crines obtorquentur ut crispi sint O*

These marginal glosses are lifted from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, which gave rise to most of the marginal glosses in O. (*) In both of the cited instances, however, Bc has an additional phrase from Isidore which is not found anywhere in Digby 146. These addi-

(49) Cf. M. BODDEN, 'Evidence for Knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 17 (1990), 217-46.

tions might derive from the hypothetical Digby apograph, in which a scribe has contributed some other sections of Isidoriana where he noted unsatisfactory glosses. However, the first section in *B* 17, 13 (CALAMISTRO), which is missing in *O*, is so similar to the second section, which is common to *B* and *O*, that this hypothesis seems unlikely. The copyist of *O* would more reasonably have left out extraneous material than resort to Isidore for further information on a term already heavily glossed. In my view, then, these marginal glosses probably stem from the same source which gave rise to the marginal glosses in *O*. The errors *calamii* in *Bc* and *calamis* in *O* raise similar expectations that both sets of marginalia are related. Tentatively, then, I suggest that the second layer of Brussels glosses in *HAND C* derives from a text closely related to the long marginal glosses in *O*.

*The Digby Apograph (*O), Canterbury and Exeter*

The existence of an apograph of Digby 146 dating from *ca.* 980 × 1020 and the textual transmission which I propose raise two collateral issues: where was the apograph copied, and how did it, or a version of it, get to Exeter? In answer to the first question, only one center makes sense as the origin of the Digby apograph: Canterbury. Despite their Abingdon provenance, both Digby 146 and Brussels 1650 are Canterbury volumes. Exeter, then, must have applied to a Canterbury foundation for a copy of *Pdv*.

To answer the second question and ascertain why and when a *Pdv* copy should have come into the possession of the Exeter *familia*, we have to speculate on Exeter's historical background in the light of one certain fact: the text of Royal 6 B.vii descends from the same archetype as that of Lambeth 200, a Canterbury book dating to the end of the tenth century. Under what circumstances would the relative of a tenth-century Canterbury *Pdv* copy have gone to Exeter? Patrick Conner's recent study of Exeter proposes two phases of intellectual activity at the Anglo-Saxon foundation there. The period between 968, when Sidemann was sent to Exeter with monks from Glastonbury 'to establish the new Benedictine monasticism in an important, active minster',⁽⁵⁰⁾ and 1003, when Exeter was ravaged by Swegn, witnessed a staggering intellectual reprise. This renewal is docu-

(50) P. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 30.

mented by an increasing number of manuscripts from about the time when Sidemann would have been promoting change at Exeter, roughly 968 × 977. Attributable Exeter volumes from this decade include many traditional school authors: Amalarius, Bede, Boethius, Cassian, Hrabanus, Isidore, Persius and Prudentius. ⁽⁵¹⁾ In my view, *Pdv* would befit the intellectual concerns of an abbot trained at Glastonbury and interested in 'fashionable' authors. The mania for Aldhelm which was sweeping England during Sidemann's Exeter and Crediton years can be traced directly to a coterie of Glastonbury reformers, Sidemann among them. At this historical moment, it would be fitting for Sidemann to acquire a copy of *Pdv* from Canterbury and to inaugurate the study of Aldhelm in his growing community. Sidemann's activities at Exeter would likewise coincide with the date of the hypothetical archetype for Lambeth 200.

The second phase of intellectual growth at Exeter took place under Bishop Leofric (d. 1072), who moved the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter in 1050. Admittedly, Leofric either obtained or produced many books, but it seems unlikely that the exemplar of Royal 6 B.vii came from Canterbury during his episcopate. Canterbury had suffered from devastation and fire, first in 1011 and again in 1067, ⁽⁵²⁾ and its foundations could no longer be held rich in books. Furthermore, except at Abingdon (it seems), *Pdv* had lost the preeminence it had long held as a model of Latin style. An interest in Aldhelm's Latin prose could therefore be seen as antiquarian rather than current. In fact, the Exeter *Pdv* was written in the generation after Leofric's death, as if it were answering a non-scholastic interest. The volume was almost certainly intended to commemorate Aldhelm's sanctification in 1078 under Bishop Osmund of Salisbury. ⁽⁵³⁾ Around the time of Aldhelm's translation, the Exeter community probably saw fit to prepare a superior copy of *Pdv* from an exemplar of presumed antiquity. Although speculative, then, it seems most likely that Exeter acquired *Pdv* from Canterbury during Sidemann's time or just afterwards and in the wake of the Aldhelm revival. Certainly the copying of *Pdv* in this era would corroborate Conner's profile of late tenth-century Exeter as a mainstream foundation nurturing intellectual trends.

(51) *Ibid.*, pp. 3-8, items 12, 15, 17, 28, 31-3, 46 and 48-9.

(52) BROOKS, *Early History*, pp. 55-6.

(53) Cf. *GP*, pp. 423-5.

*Speculations on the Origin of the Old English Glosses in Brussels
HAND CD*

Having considered both strata of HAND C in Brussels 1650, the main hand in Royal 6 B.vii and various hands in Digby 146, I return to the Old English glosses in Brussels 1650. Most of these were written by scribe(s) CD, which in Goossens's terminology designates an unknown number of annotators. Indeed, Goossens was even unable to distinguish some glosses written in HAND CD from others in HAND C:

The distinction between C and Ker's hand four [= Goossens' CD] constitutes the major problem with which I was confronted in my paleographical study of the [glosses]. Some of the smaller (as compared with the average [glosses] by C) interlinear [glosses] in the same light brown ink as those of the second stratum by C may either belong to this or the next hand. As I was unable to arrive at a completely reliable sorting out here I have attributed most of the doubtful cases to hand four in my edition and I have adopted the symbol CD (instead of the expected D) serving as a constant reminder of the unfinished state of my work on this point. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Because CD's vernacular glosses in Brussels 1650 constitute a vast corpus with virtually imperceptible changes in scribal hands, I have not attempted to unravel the textual transmission. Instead, I have aimed in the following pages to show that glosses in three important *Pdv* codices, Corpus 326, Royal 5 E.xi and the 'Yale Fragment', are more closely related to glosses in the Brussels/Digby *corpora* than has been realized. The Old English glosses in these manuscripts represent a significant clue to the transmission of vernacular glosses compiled in the large CD strata of the Brussels codex.

There can be no doubt that some, if not most, of the glosses by the CD scribe(s) did not originate in the Brussels manuscript, ⁽⁵⁵⁾ and the evidence is two-fold. First, Mechthild Gretsch has compared glosses in Brussels 1650 to entries in the third 'Cleopatra glossary', London, BL ms Cotton Cleopatra A.iii,

(54) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, pp. 48-9.

(55) Scribe CD copied glosses from a 'Class II' or 'Class III' manuscript, since glosses arising from the 'Amos interpolation' appear on fol. 33v where they would have been found in contaminated versions (cf. GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 376 note to gloss 3484). Furthermore, Goossens listed a number of errors in his introduction which disclose a copyist's mistakes (*ibid.*, pp. 42-3).

fol. 92r-117r. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ This manuscript is datable to *ca.* 950 and probably comes from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, according to David Dumville. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ Gretsich observed that the Brussels glosses in hand CD often match up identically with those in the third Cleopatra glossary, and the indebtedness is extensive: fourteen out of the first fifty entries in the Cleopatra glossary match glosses in HAND CD of Brussels 1650, and nine match partially. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ The parallels convincingly demonstrate that a corpus of glosses having components in HAND CD of Brussels 1650 had been in existence at Canterbury by the middle of the tenth century.

Scratched glosses in a number of Canterbury manuscripts could corroborate the prior existence of the large corpus Gretsich postulates, if the dating of the dry-point contributions could be reliably determined. Prior to the Brussels compilation, comparatively few Old English Aldhelm glosses are attested, and even fewer of these have been shown to correspond to glosses in Brussels 1650. However, many scratched glosses with extensive parallels in the Brussels compilation have now come to light. The recovery of more than 500 scratched glosses in Royal 5 E.xi, for example, greatly alters our understanding of the Old English glosses to *Pdv*. Now that a comprehensive edition of Old English *Pdv* glosses is available, we can physically see how the Old English glosses in Brussels 1650 and in various other manuscripts match up. The ostensible correlations are astonishing, but the inferences drawn from them are far more profound. Obviously, the view that the Brussels CD glosses do not correspond with those in other, earlier, manuscripts has to be dismissed, but not merely on the evidence derived from the Cleopatra glossary. In fact, three manuscripts, Corpus 326 (*C1*), Royal 5 E.xi (*R4*) and the 'Yale Fragment' (*A*), contain glosses with such close affinities to those in Brussels 1650 that they must figure somehow in the dissemination of a comprehensive corpus of Old English glosses.

In 1900 Napier published 93 vernacular inked glosses and five scratched glosses from the first of these manuscripts, Corpus 326. Meritt found 29 additional scratched glosses in 1945. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ Ignoring problematic merographs consisting of one letter, Page

(56) *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 149-54.

(57) *Ibid.*, p. 149-50; KER, *Catalogue*, pp. 180-2; DUMVILLE, 'Square Minuscule', pp. 137-9.

(58) GRETSICH, *Foundations*, pp. 152-3.

(59) MERITT, *Glosses*, no. 1.

edited about 180 more scratched glosses from the Corpus manuscript thirty years after Meritt.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Although Page's edition supersedes Meritt's, Page mistook the derivation of the scratched glosses in this book. Despite his meticulous work, he erroneously concluded that the vernacular glosses were not related to those in other Aldhelm manuscripts. In the final paragraph of his edition he writes:

... taken as a whole, the glosses show no obvious affinities with any of the published word lists from Aldhelm's prose *De laude virginitatis*. Indeed, there are few enough individual glosses that coincide with those in other manuscripts of the work. Thus there is no reason to think the CCC 326 examples [are] copied from any of the known glossed manuscripts, and many of them may originate in this one.⁽⁶¹⁾

Page obviously derived gloss parallels from Napier's and Goossens's editions, since he cites these texts throughout his work.⁽⁶²⁾ But because he did not have access to a critical edition of the glosses, he did not realize that about half of the Old English scratched glosses from Corpus 326 coincide precisely with glosses in other *Pdv* manuscripts, mainly Digby 146 and Brussels 1650. In other words, the scratched merographs, even of one or two letters, interpret the identical lemma in the exact same context. In 1997 I edited an additional 389 scratched glosses from the Corpus book, and many have parallels in the *Pdv* corpus, once more suggesting that, rather than representing the spontaneous interpretations of individual readers, many scratched glosses in the Corpus manuscript descend from an exemplar. The following parallels can be drawn between 165 scratched glosses in Corpus 326 and the glosses in other *Pdv* manuscripts:

- 2, 13 *pleglic*: **pl* R4: *pleilices* C2: 7 *pleglices* R5: *ond pleglicis*
Ba
2, 13/14 *kap*: *gecampes* R5: *gecampes l wiperwinnes* Bcd
2, 18 *sco*: *scotsper, gara* Ba
2, 21 *t*: *tolæte* Bcd O

(60) PAGE, 'Glosses'.

(61) *Ibid.*, p. 490.

(62) Page did not cite evidence for the glosses he obviously recognized, and he expanded some merographs without knowing of the parallels in other manuscripts. These are: 2, 18 (*scota*, for *scotsper*); 2, 24 (*ryna*, for *renula*); 18, 46 (*swin*, for *swinsunge*); 22, 37 (*riht*, for *rihtwisere*); 23, 5 (*dryhtguma*, for *drihtwemmere* or *drihtwemmend*); 28, 18 (*frymplicum*, for *frymbyldum*); 29, 26 (*heah*, for *heahnesse*); 32, 57/58 (*tynge*, for *ge-tynge*); 32, 70 (*synoplicum*, for *synopum*); 35, 16 (*trahtunge*, for *trahtnunge*).

- 2, 24 *ri*: *remula* Bcd
 3, 2 *lar*: *larlice* Bcd O P
 3, 13 *reh*: *rehte* Ba O
 4, 7 *germanleafa*: *geormanleafa* † *hocleafa* Bcd: *geormanleafa*, *hocleafa* O
 4, 9 *w*: *asoden win* ... *awyrð win* R2 S R3 C2: *asodenes wines* Bcd O
 4, 10 *f*: *geflit* R4: *flitmælum* † to *geflites* Bcd: *flitmælum*, to *geflites* O
 4, 15 *hw*: *þæne mænifealdan* † *hiwan* Bcd
 4, 17 *six*: ⁽⁶³⁾ *syx* R4: *sixfetum* Bcd O
 4, 20 *fif*: ⁽⁶⁴⁾ *fif* R4: *fiffetedum* Bcd O
 4, 22 *teo*: *teol* R3: *teolþerla* Ba: *teolþerla*, *teolþyrl* O
 4, 34 *onsun*: *onsundran* Bcd O
 4, 36 *imhigr*: *mid emhedilicere geornfulnysse* Bcd: *mid emhydilicere geornfulnysse* O
 6, 5 *sce*: *þus geraddr bescawunge*, *þus geraddr emwlatunge* Bcd: *þus geraddr besceawunge* † *emwlatunge* O
 6, 9 *w*: *awundene* O
 6, 18 *þeo*: *ælfpeodelice* Ba: *ælfpeodelice* O
 6, 24 *sylfwillne*, *sil*: 7 *for þan selfwillan* Bcd O
 6, 31 *sunde*: *synderlicnessa* A: *synderlicnysse* Bcd: *synderlicnessa* O
 7, 12 *g* <. >: *gyfa* R4: *gifa* Ba Bcd: *gyfa* O
 7, 16 *h*: *fæmhadlicum hamæn* A: *mædedlicum haman* Bcd: *mædenlicum haman* O
 7, 34 *t*: *tælsimum leope* Ba: *on gelsimum le'ðe* O
 8, 10 *þa* *towearðan flæscgebyrðes*: *flæscgebyrde* Ba O
 9, 8 *fil*: *fylminum* A: *fylmennum* Ba,cd: *fylmenum* O
 9, 12 *þeo*: *ouerþeo* R4: *oforðeon* A: *oferþeon* Bc O
 9, 30 *blæ*: *blæhæwenre* Bcd O
 10, 3 *þeonde*: *þeonde* Ba O
 10, 10 *æs*: *æswæpe* Bcd O
 10, 29 *bl*: *blæccan* Ba O
 11, 10 *li*: *liþeran* Ba O
 11, 27 *rad*: *hrandbeag* Bc: *randbeag* O
 12, 9 *hyr*: *heortendum* Bcd: *hyrtendum* O
 12, 33 *g* <. >: *getremincgum* A: *domum* † *gesetnyssum* Bcd: *domum*, *gesetnessum* O
 13, 23 *lic*: *licsang* R5 Bcd O: *licsang*, *licleoð* Bc
 13, 37 *swa a*: *swa swa* Bcd O
 13, 37 *forsæwen*: *forsawenlice* Bcd: *forsawenlicne* O
 13, 43 *Ame*: *ametenu* Bcd: *ametenum* O
 14, 4/5 *be*: † *bendas* Bcd: *salas*, *bendas* O
 14, 6 *spreccendum*: *spircendre* R2: *spincendre* Bcd: 7 *spircende* O

(63) Altered from *fif*.

(64) Altered from *six*.

- 15, 33 *mis* <. >: *mistlicenesse Bcd* ○
 16, 32 *m*: *mihte Bcd* ○
 16, 35 *þ*: *si gepræst t gehæft Bcd: si gepræst, gehæft* ○
 16, 35 <. > *ateri* <. >: *mid unateriendlice Bcd: mid unateoriendlicere* ○
 16, 36 <. > *ssa*: *strecnyssa Bcd* ○
 16, 36 *ge* <. >: *ungewyldre Bcd* ○
 18, 4 *s*: *mid selfwillum t wilsumum lufum Bcd: mid sylfwillum, wilsumum lufum* ○
 18, 18 *sti*: *stipre Bcd* ○
 18, 24 *w*: *willan Bcd* ○
 18, 25 *h*: *hæse Bcd* ○
 18, 46 *w*: *wensumne Bcd: wynsume* ○
 18, 46 *swin*: *swinsumge t dream, swincsunge Bcd: swinsunge, dream* ○
 18, 47 *dri*: *to dremene Bcd* ○
 19, 22 *silwil*: *mid selfwilre Bcd: mid sylfwilre* ○
 19, 25 *æ*: *æfter Br* ○
 19, 35 *wo*: *wordig gehlyd Ba* ○
 20, 11 *d*: *dæles Bcd* ○
 20, 19 *hlo*: *hlowan Bcd* ○
 20, 23 *h*: *gehispende t bismiendre Bcd: gehispende, bysmriende* ○
 20, 29 *æcn*: *eacnungum Bcd* ○
 21, 9/10 *ead*: *geedleniendum Br, a: geedleaniendum* ○
 21, 15 *cen*: *acyn Br*
 21, 45 *þæt*: *seo wipenwurd Bcd: þæt wipenwurde Br: seo, þæt wipenwyrde* ○
 22, 18 *b*: *herebecn Ba: herebeacn* ○
 22, 30 *alo*: *alogen t awæged Bcd: alon, awæged* ○
 22, 33 *hiw*: *unihwidre Bcd: unhiwedre* ○
 22, 37 *rih*: *mid rihtwisere Bcd* ○
 23, 5 *dri*: *drihtman R3: drihtwemmend Bc: drihtwemmend, drihtwemere* ○
 23, 13 *r*: *re Bcd* ○
 23, 24 *ceolas*: *cyselas A: stancislas Ba: stancyslas* ○
 23, 34 *onbir*: *mid onbyrgedum S R3: ambyriendum A*
 24, 15 *æfterf*: *æftergengcum Bcd: æftergengum* ○
 24, 16 *re*: *regolicere Bcd* ○
 24, 18 *ut a*: 7 *aydan R4: ut aidan S R3: aflyman Ba: ascirian Bc: ascirian t aflyman* ○
 25, 22 *h*: *heahtorra Br* ○
 25, 31 *nesse*: *wodnysse Bcd: wodnesse* ○
 25, 88 *c*: *cypende Bcd* ○
 25, 96 *ren*: *ryne Bcd* ○
 25, 98 *fe*: *geferrædene Bcd: geferræddene* ○
 26, 22 *bil*: *bileofen Bcd: bileofan* ○
 26, 26 *h*: *healsmyna Bc* ○
 26, 34 *þ*: *of þrystrefulre, diglere Bcd: diglere, of þysterfulre* ○

- 26, 42 *w*: *webbes* Bc ○
 26, 45 *tigel*: *tighelana* Bc: *tigelena* ○
 27, 37 *unge*: *unilicum* Bcd: *ungelicum* ○
 28, 18 *fri*: *of frymsfþyldum* Ba: *of frymsþyldum* ○
 29, 8 *y*: *upcome* R4: *up amylde* R3 Ba Bc ○
 29, 21/22 *gifernesse*: *wasende t gifernysse* Bcd: *gyfernesse, wasende* ○
 29, 26 *heah*: *on heahnysse* Bcd ○
 29, 39 *þende*: *toþindende* Bcd ○
 29, 52 *les*: *ancersetlan* Bcd: *ancersetlan* ○
 29, 54 *forwere*: *forweredre* Bcd ○
 29, 56 *ræd* <. > *as*: *be gerædre* R4: *rædas, be rædre* R3: *rædas* Ba ○
 29, 63 <. > *funde*: *afunden* ○
 30, 10 *swe*: *of geswegum* R4 S R3
 30, 16 *swi*: *swinne* Ba ○
 30, 22 *sæl*: *gesælinyse* Bcd: *gesæliness* ○
 30, 31 *hl*: *hlutru* Ba ○
 31, 3 *m*: *gemænanum* Bcd
 31, 5/6 *w*: *wurdwritere* Bcd: *wyrdwritere* ○
 31, 28 *w*: *awestendum* Bcd: *bereafendum, awestendum* ○
 32, 10 *hi*: *gehiþelic* Bc: *gehyþelic* ○
 32, 24 *w*: *swa swa awrat* Bcd ○
 32, 53 *sid*: *wide 7 side* Bcd ○
 32, 56 *ægþer ge, and*: *ægþer ge and ge* Bcd ○
 32, 57/58 *ting*: *getincg* Ba: *getincge* ○
 32, 70 *sinopum*: *domlicum synopum* Ba ○
 32, 78/79 *drylic*: *drylices facnes* Bc ○
 32, 80 *se*: *searwum* R3
 32, 92 *sw*: *seriw* Bcd: *serwi* ○
 32, 92 *sirh*: *syrɡdon* R3
 32, 95/96 *fi*: *fylðe* R5: *fylþe* Bc: *felþe* Bcd: *fylþe* ○
 32, 104 *leo*: *leoman* Bcd ○
 33, 5 *b*: *biscophades* Bcd ○
 33, 11 *s*: *gesetum* S R3: *seton* R5: *geseton* Ba Bc ○
 34, 1 *n*, <. > *md*: *neadþearflic* Bcd ○
 34, 13 *h*: *underhni* Ba ○
 34, 26 *c*: *mid gecwemre* Bcd ○
 34, 46 *hro*: *ofsette t ofroren* Bcd: *ofsette, ofhroren* ○
 34, 46/47 *be*: *to beheafðian* Bcd: *to beheadiende* ○
 35, 10 *þ*: *þelcræfte* R5: *þelcræft* Bc: *þelcræ* ○
 35, 10 *rim*: *rimcræfte* R5: *rimcræft* Bc: *rimcræ* ○
 35, 10 *san*: *sangcræft* Ba: *sangcræ* ○
 35, 16 *tra*: *trahnunge* Bcd: *trahtnunge* ○
 35, 26 *li*: *lyre* Ba ○
 35, 48 *m*: *mynas* Ba ○
 35, 59 *m*: *gemanan* Bc ○
 35, 63 *ri*: *rimed* Bcd ○
 35, 88 *ben* <. >: *bendas* Ba ○

- 35, 88 *he*: *heorþana* *Ba*: *heorþena* *O*
 35, 99 *scræue*: *græfe* † *scræfe* *Bc*: *grafe*, *screafe* *O*
 35, 103 *s*: *seaba* *Bcd*: *adelseaba* *O*
 35, 107 *w* < . > *hu*: *witehuses* *Bc* *O*
 36, 29 *funde*: *afunde* *Bcd* *O*
 36, 37 *hi*: *on hiwe* *R5*: *hiwe* *Ba* *O*
 36, 56 *hre*: *ofhrorenne* *Bcd* *O*
 36, 72 *eg*: *egislice* *Bcd* *O*
 36, 75 *w*: *swetnysse* † *wurtgemagnysse* *Bcd*: *swetnesse*, *wyrtgema-*
 gnysse *O*
 36, 92 *t*: *trendles* *R5* *O*: *trendles*, *trendel* *Bc*
 36, 100 *we* < . >: *wealcedan* ... *wealcedan* *Bc*: *wealcedan* *O*
 36, 101 *he*: *heuelda* *Bc*: *hefelda* *O*
 36, 111/112 *pro*: *protbollan* *R4* *R5* *Ba* *O*: *ðrotbollan* *S* *R3*
 36, 118 *hreo*: *hreoſlicum* *R3*
 37, 7/8 *sp*: *spedignesne* *Ba*: *spedinesne* *O*
 37, 13 *swi*: *wipsacende* *Bcd* *O*
 37, 23 *samod*: *samod com* *Bcd* *O*
 37, 26 *enlea*: *leaniendum* *Bc*
 37, 33 *h* < . >: *hwonlice* *R3* *Bc* *O*: *wonlice* *R5*
 37, 40 *seo sceam* < . >: *scamlic* *R5* *Bb*: *scamfeste* ... *scamlice* *Bc*: *seo*
 s'eamfæste, *sceamlic* *O*
 37, 40 *n*: *næcednys* *Bcd*
 38, 23 *ho*: *heordan* *Bc*: *heordan* *O*
 38, 36 *bru*: *þa brucende* *Bcd* *O*
 38, 99 *h*: *hearne* *Bcd* *O*
 40, 16 *lof*: *of lofflicere* *Bcd*: *of leoflicere* *O*
 43, 16 *feallum*: *feallan* *Bb,c*: *feallum* *Bcd* *O*
 46, 3 *teah*: *teah* *R4*: *ic tealde* *Bcd* *O*
 50, 31 *cro*: *crocc* *Ba* *O*
 50, 32 *lis*: *lysteres* *Bc* *O*
 50, 47 *b*: *tobryt* *Bcd* *O*
 51, 9 *sc*: *screfe* † *scrife* *Bcd*: *scrife* *O*
 52, 53 *lof*: *lofsingende* *Bc* *O*
 58, 22 *þr*: *beon geþreade* *Bcd* *O*

These correspondences have never been noted before, and they are evidence that a corpus of glosses similar to those in the Brussels and Digby manuscripts must be related to the glosses in Corpus 326. The precise correspondences, however, are elusive, if only because of the problems associated with dating scratched glosses. Dry-point glosses often do not betray identifiable scribal conventions. Hence, paleography cannot be useful in determining relative dates for various contributions. We are left to rely therefore on the textual relationships, requiring further investigation and collation, not only of all the glosses in these books but also of those in related texts.

Many Old English scratched glosses in Corpus 326 correspond exactly to ink glosses in the Brussels and Digby manuscripts. A comparable, and similarly unnoticed, relationship applies to the glosses in Royal 5 E.xi, for which Meritt and Napier recorded just a fraction of the Old English scratched glosses. Napier published 26 scratched glosses to R4 in 1900, ⁽⁶⁵⁾ and Meritt listed 244 others in 1945. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ In the notes to his edition, Meritt reveals that he drew many of his parallels from the Digby corpus of glosses. Yet he did not conclude that the scratched merographs in Royal 5 E.xi are closely related to this source. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ Presumably, he could look up a lemma in Napier's *Index Verborum* and find an appropriate glossword in the Digby volume, but he had no way of knowing that the lemmas and glosses were contextually identical. In the following instances, I note more than 80 parallels from Meritt and Napier, in addition to more than 80 others listed in my own edition of scratched Aldhelm glosses from the manuscript. These interrelated scratched glosses can be augmented, I am sure, by others which remain unpublished:

- Prol., 1 *es*: *estfulre broperhrædene Bcd*
 Prol., 2 *7 ar*: *arwupfullum Bcd*
 Prol., 3 *bre*: *bremendlicum S R3 Bcd*
 Prol., 4 *wu*: *wuldelffullum Bcd* ⁽⁶⁸⁾
 Prol., 7 *gesib*: *gesybbum R1*: *mæglicum † gesibligum Bcd*
 Prol., 9/10 *gehwær*: *gehwær Bcd*
 Prol., 10 *ge*: *gefræ Bcd*
 Prol., 11 *gew*: *wis C1*: *luflice † wynsume Bcd*
 Prol., 11/12 *ge*: *gesunf Bcd*
 1, 3 *me*: *gehwædnysse † mettrum Bcd*
 2, 1 *æ*: *ænlipie Bcd*
 2, 3 *set*: *ongeset Bcd*
 2, 5 *g < . >*: *glæwnysse R1*: *gleawnesse C2 Ba*: *getincnesse Bcd*
 2, 7 *þi*: *þinenne Bcd*
 2, 8 *g lic*: *gewiscendlicre Bcd*
 2, 9 *gae*: *geeacnunga Bcd*
 2, 13 *pl*: *pleilices C2*: *pleglic C1*: *7 pleglices R5*: *ond pleglicis Ba*
 2, 13/14 *c*: *gecampes R5*: *gecampes † wiperwinnes Bcd*
 2, 14 *g, gear*: *gearc Ba*
 2, 15 *c*: *sprindlice † caflice Bcd*

(65) NAPIER, *Glosses*, p. xxxiii note 2 and no. 8 notes to 45, 77.

(66) MERITT, *Glosses*, no. 2.

(67) Meritt expanded merographs without reference to other parallel glosses: Prol., 9/10 (*geþærlice*, for *gehwær*), 4, 20 (*dæle*, for *todæle*), 4, 41 (*aspirienne*, for *aspiriende*), etc.

(68) *Sic ms.*

- 2, 22 7 *berhtmendum* : *bearhtmiendum* Ba
 2, 24 *for* : *to forþgetihlidre stowe* Bcd
 2, 27 *ne* : *sigeleane* Bcd
 2, 37 *roþ* : *roþra* Ba : *roþra t arena* O P
 3, 4 *bœ* : *bærnum, dædum* O
 3, 20 *sin* : *mid singalre anrædnesse t onwununge* Bcd O
 4, 3 *onfun* : *afundenessa* Bcd O
 4, 8 *onsit* : *onsit* Bcd O
 4, 10 *geflit* : *flitmælum t to geflites* Bcd : *flitmælum, to geflites* O
 4, 11/12 *bro* : *broma* R5 Bcd
 4, 15 *hi* : *þæne mænifealdan t hiwan* Bcd
 4, 17 *syx* : *mid getelferse, fullum t sixfetum* Bcd : *mid getelferse t sixfetum* O
 4, 20 *wið* : *wiþinnan þan* Bcd O
 4, 20 *fif* : *mid fiffetedum t scertrum* Ba : *mid fiffetedum t gescertum* O
 4, 20 *dæ* : *mid lima t todala* Bcd O
 4, 23 *g* : *gend meniu* Bcd : *geond mænigu* O
 4, 24 *me* : *þa mergen* Bcd : *þa mæran* O
 4, 24 *þy* : *on þa ylce wise* Bcd
 4, 26 *geond* : *g* O
 4, 36 *geo* : *geornfulnysse* Bcd O
 4, 37/38 *trah* : *mid gastlicum trahtnungum* Bcd O
 4, 41 *aspi* : *spiriende* Bcd O
 4, 42 *tid* : *t < . > ra, tydwritera* Bcd : *tydwritera* O
 4, 44 *stæff* : *stæfcræftigra* Bcd O
 4, 46 *fif* : *þurh fiftan fotes total* Ba O
 4, 48 *scea* : *toscadene* A : *to scadene t tosendrede* Ba,cd : *to sceadene, tosendrede* O
 5, 5 *þa forspe* : *forspennendlice* Bcd O
 5, 5/6 *mid sumre genihtsu, mid sumre g* : *mid sumere wæstembære cynnincge* Bcd : *mid sumere wæstembære cennincge* O
 6, 2 *scea* : *scaewugc* Ge A
 6, 5 *scea* : *bescawunge* Bcd : *bescaewunge* O
 6, 5 *begy* : *gemene* Bcd : *gymene* O
 6, 10 *teo* : *teohgaf* Bcd
 6, 16 *adræ* : *ut adræfedna* A : *adræfnetne t afle* Bcd : *adræfedne t afle* O
 6, 27 *ge* < . > : *weredre* Bcd : *werede* O
 6, 29 *oferþeo* : *oferþyo* A : *oferlysaf* Bcd : *ofehleofoð* O
 6, 32 *wy* : *werednesse* A : *cere wensumnesse* Bcd : *cere wynsumnesse* O
 7, 6 *mupes roue* : *muphrofe* Bcd : *muprofe* O
 7, 12 < . > *ra gyfa* : *gifa* Ba : *gastlicra sellena t gifa* Bcd : *gastlicra syl-ena t gyfa* O
 7, 18 *dri* : *drihtenlices* Bcd O
 7, 22 *cyste* : *cyst* A : *cyste* Bcd
 7, 24 *onhyrigend* : *onhyriend* Bcd : *onherigende* A : *onhyriend* Bcd O
 7, 24 *gesta* : *gestlliend* A : *gestabeliend, gestabeliend* Bcd : *gestabeliend, niwiend* O

- 7, 25 *sylwilr, est*: *mid selfwilre estfulness, mid selfwilre estfulness*
Bcd: *mid sylfwilre estfulness* ○
- 7, 29 *dead*: *dædlice* *Bcd* ○
- 7, 34 *getel*: *tælsimum leoþe* *Ba*: *on gelsimum leoðe* ○
- 7, 36 *geal*: *on gelgan* *Bcd*: *on gealgan* ○
- 7, 40 *slidendum ym*: *ernendum emhrenum* *Bcd*: *ernendum emrenum* ○
- 8, 3 *ingeh* < . >: *inhihedes* *Ba*: *ingehydes* ○
- 8, 11 *forewitegunga*: *forewitegunge* *Bcd*: *forewitegunga* ○
- 9, 6 *ge*: *gewundene* *Bcd* ○
- 9, 6 *seolcen*: *siden t seolcel* *Bcd*: *seolcen, sinden* ○
- 9, 7 *we*: *godwebes* *Bcd*: *godwebbes* ○
- 9, 12 *ouerþeo*: *þeo* *C1*: *oferþeon* *A*: *oferþeon* *Bcd* ○
- 9, 53 *rumod*: *geornlicor t rumerlicor* *Bcd*: *geornlicor, rumlicor* ○
- 10, 3 *wlæc*: *wlæclice* *Bcd* ○
- 10, 15 *te*: *tearigum* *Ba* ○
- 10, 26 *swa micle læs*: *swa micelc leas* *Bcd*: *swa mycelc læs* ○
- 10, 30 *þam micle ma*: *swa micle ma* *Bcd*: *swa micelc ma* ○
- 11, 34 *b*: *budende t ongeanberende* *Bcd*: *beodende, ongeanberende* ○
- 12, 9 *hyr*: *heortendum* *Bcd*: *hyrtendum* ○
- 12, 19 *gcwy*: *cwelmbære* *A*
- 12, 21 *spæ*: *spærnyse* *Bc*: *spærnesse t uncyste* *Bcd*: *uncyste, spærnesse* ○
- 12, 21 *dwæ*: *sy etwæscet* *A*: *adwæscet t adwæfed* *Bcd*: *adwæscet, adwæfed* ○
- 12, 31 *were*: *weræda, wæreda* *A*
- 12, 36 *cneo*: *gecyneormessa* *A*: *cneoresse* *Bcd* ○
- 13, 4 *hy*: *hersumie* *A*
- 13, 6 *witru*: *truman* *Bcd* ○
- 13, 24/25 *sete*: *þæt heo gesette* *Bcd* ○
- 13, 26 *ongy*: *undergittan* *Bcd*: *undergytene* ○
- 13, 33 *cwyl*: *cwylmbære t gecweldfulle* *Bcd*: *cwylmbære, gecwylfulle* ○
- 13, 35 *heagu*: *on hælicere hehnysse t gepinþe* *Bcd*: *on healicere hehnysse, gepinþe* ○
- 15, 16 *weo*: *wurniende* *Bc*: *weorniende* ○
- 15, 30 *læ*: *læuer* *S*: *leuer* *R3*: *læfer* *R5*
- 15, 32 *gimrodor*: *gimrodur* *S R3*: *gimroder* *Ba* ○
- 16, 3 *sti*: *mid stipe* *Bcd* ○
- 16, 9 *wurþran*: *arwurþran* *Bcd*: *arwyrþran* ○
- 16, 11 *scy*: *asendren t ascired* *Bcd*
- 16, 20 *awyrten*: *awyrtwaledum* *A*
- 16, 21 *7 ut ale*: *ut alynedum* *A*
- 16, 29 *gecyndboce*: *gecendboca* *Ba*: *gecyndboca* ○
- 17, 5 *ru*: *rumes* *Ba* ○
- 18, 33 *freoum*: *freolicum* *Bcd* ○
- 19, 28 *byð*: *biþ toscadan* *Bcd*: *byþ toscaden* ○
- 19, 31 *corn*: *of gornbærre* *R5*: *cornbærum* *Ba* ○
- 19, 32 *egla*: *scale t hule t egle* *Ba*: *scale, hule, egle* ○

- 23, 25 *sa*: of *sanegum ceoslum* S: of *sandigum* R5: of *sandigum* † *stænenum* Bcd: *stænenum* O
- 29, 15 *s* < . >: *þæt ðu ne steartlige* R5: *þæt þu ne spearlast, steartlige* Bc: *þæt þu ne spearlast, steartlast* O
- 30, 9/10 *gife*: *sindergife* Bcd: *syndegife* O
- 30, 15/16 *re*: *re* Bcd O
- 36, 87 *t*: *tunnena* Bcd O
- 36, 97 *byþ*: *seo is* Bcd
- 36, 97/98 *wra*: *wraxlerum* R5 Ba,c O
- 37, 5 *sliten*: *sliten* Bcd O
- 37, 13 *wi*: *wiþcweþen* Bcd: *wiþcweþan* O
- 37, 34 *cyfe*: *cyue* R5: *byden, cype* Bc O
- 37, 39 *of*: *oferliþan* Bcd O
- 38, 39 *leo*: *leoman* Bcd O
- 40, 10/11 *fen*: *anfengce* Bcd O
- 41, 7 *tige*: *tygelena* R5: *tiglena* Bc O
- 42, 26 *wæht*: *wæs gewæht* R5 Bc O
- 42, 27 *leas*: *leasuhta* Bcd O
- 42, 30 *mylt, huse*: *meltrestrum huse* Bcd: *meltestrum huse* O
- 43, 23/24 *wæs*: *wære* Bcd O
- 43, 40 *cre*: *on swilcere pinunge* Bcd: *on swylcere pinunge* O
- 44, 8 *myxena*: *meoxena* Bc: *myxena* O
- 44, 11 *fæ*: *fælderde, wæne* Bc: *færelde, wæne* O
- 44, 14 *cam*: *lices gecampes* Bcd O
- 44, 25 *ræ*: *rædas* R5 Bc O
- 44, 44 *un*: *þære forligerlicere ontendnyssse* Bcd O
- 45, 6 *wog*: ⁽⁶⁹⁾ *woghere* Bc O ⁽⁷⁰⁾
- 45, 39 *w'ritap*: *we writap* Bcd O
- 46, 12 *my*: *mynas* Bc O
- 47, 6 *hea*: *healicerere* Bcd O
- 48, 15 *bys*: *bysnung* Bcd O
- 48, 20 *wum*: *lareowdomum* Bcd: *lareowdo* O
- 48, 22 *lim*: *gelimp* Bb
- 51, 2 *st*: *stipre* Bcd O
- 51, 19 *edniwan*: *edniwan* S R3
- 51, 20 *rocendum*: *hreocendum* Bc: *reocendum, stemendum* O
- 51, 25 *hi wæron hatene*: *hi wæron bebodene* R5 Bc O
- 51, 31 *for*: *forweornde* Bcd O
- 52, 30 *les*: *sylwilles* Bcd O
- 52, 31 *blæ*: *blædas* Bcd O
- 52, 33 *þæt earme folc*: † *earm* Bcd: *hreowlice, earm* O
- 52, 67 *gealder*: *galdor* R5: *wyrm`c`galere gal* Bc: † *dre* Bcd: *wyrm-galere, dre* O
- 52, 68 *galdra*: *galdra* R5: *galunge, galdra* Bc O
- 53, 37 *þear*: *þearma* Bc O

(69) fog MS.

(70) foghere MSS.

- 54, 3/4 *ge*: *geryna* Bcd O
 54, 6 *dom*: *biscopdom* Bcd O
 55, 4 *gefr*: *fræte* Bcd O
 55, 14 *mægh*: *mægðsybbe* Bc: *mægsibbe* O
 55, 29/30 *swartes*: *swearte* Bcd: *swærte* O: *swerte* P
 56, 3 *wlite*: *wlite* Bcd O: *to wlite* R3
 56, 10 *clæn*: *þænne þære clænnys* Bcd O
 56, 36 *geme*: *gemetinga* R5
 57, 29 *gal*: *galscype* R5: *of galscype* Ba: *of galscipe* O

Over 100 merographs and other Old English glosses from Royal 5 E.xi correspond exactly to entries in Brussels 1650, Digby 146, Royal 6 B.vii and, at times, the 'Yale Fragment'. There can be little doubt that these books could preserve material from a common source, which can be confidently established in the case of Royal 5 E.xi as the Brussels manuscript itself.

As Goossens observed, the Brussels scribe occasionally confused the letters 'wynn' and 'f', a mix-up resulting in sixteen errors. (71) One of these mistakes occurs as Old English *fogere* for *wogere* (literally, 'wooer') to the lemma *PROCVS* at 45, 6 in Brussels 1650 and Digby 146. Interestingly, the scratched merograph 'fog' is found in nearly the identical context (above the following lemma *PRAEFECTI*) in Royal 5 E.xi! What is the possibility that two scribes misread a source antecedent to both manuscripts and made *identical* errors, when, in fact, the consistent confusion between 'wynn' and 'f' characterizes glosses in Brussels 1650? Admittedly, establishing a relative chronology for scratched glosses is highly speculative. It could not be proved that drypoint entries in Royal 5 E.xi pre-date those in Brussels 1650, but if we insist that the error 'fog' for 'wog' derives from Brussels 1650, we must ask whether a confirmed Canterbury book (Royal 5 E.xi) migrated to Abingdon in the eleventh century (the date of gloss-contributions to Brussels 1650), or whether the Brussels volume originated at Canterbury, as I have reasoned all along. Of course, the possibility remains that a third manuscript copied from Brussels 1650 was the source of the drypoint gloss 'fog', but in my view the confusion most likely emanated directly from the Brussels manuscript, which in all likelihood was located at Canterbury at the time.

Finally, we come to the Old English glosses in the oldest *Pdv* manuscript, the 'Yale Fragment'. A substantial portion of these glosses, both inked and scratched, correspond to entries in the Brussels codex. In the following table I have tried to present as

(71) GOOSSENS, *Brussels*, p. 42.

complete a list of the correspondences as possible, including approximately 30 others from Rusche's edition. Entries marked with an asterisk are scratched in the Beinecke manuscript and related *membra disiecta*:

- 2, 36 **hamure*: *hamure* R4 S R3
 3, 19 *widgillum*: *widigle* Bcd: *widgille* O
 3, 19 **þa fowitegastan*: *þa forewittian † getincge* Bcd: *þa forewittigan † getincge* O
 4, 5 *leomon*: *leoman* Bcd O
 4, 7 **helmum*: *helmum* Bcd O
 4, 44 **riht*: *rihtwitera* Bcd: *rihtwitera* O
 4, 46 *7 *todale*: *þurh lin 7 total* Bcd O
 4, 47 *todælede*: 7 *todælede* Bcd: *todælede* O
 4, 48 *toscadene*: *toscadene* Ba,cd: *tosceadene* O
 5, 1/2 **syndr < . > wordmente*: *for synderlicum wurpmente* Bcd: *for synderlicum wyrðmente* O
 5, 3 *untwyolicere*: ⁽⁷²⁾ *untweolicere* Bcd O
 5, 3 *æaldorlicnessa*: *ealdorlicnyse* Bcd: *ealdorlicnesse* O
 5, 3 **geseð*: *is geseþed † gereht* Bcd: *is geseþed, gereht* O
 5, 5 **gæðerscipes*: *gegaderscipes* Bcd: *gegæderscipes* O
 6, 3 **gewilsume*: *gewil, gewil* R4
 6, 5 **ðus ge, þus geraddere*: *þus geraddre ... þus geraddre ...* Bcd: *þus geraddre ...* O
 6, 9 *Geholedum*: *geholedum* Bcd O
 6, 11 *flugulum*: *flugulum* R3 Bcd: *flugelum* O
 6, 11 *renum*: *rynum* R3
 6, 12 **nedendre*: *nedendre* Bcd: *neadendre* O
 6, 13 **to w < . > ienne*: *to wræcsiþienne* Bcd: *to wræcsiðiende* O
 6, 13 **þearfe*: *neadþerfnysse* Bcd: *neadðeafnesse* O
 6, 13 *gewrixla*: *gewrisce* Bcd: *gewrixle* O
 6, 15 *ælelendiscne*: *elelondisc* Bcd: *ele'le'endisc* O
 6, 16 **ut adræfedna, ut adræfedna*: *adræfnetne* Bcd: *adræfedne* O
 6, 17 *yroda*: *eorada* Bcd: *eorodum* O
 6, 18 **for arwordnesse, for arwe*: *for arwupnyse* Bcd: *for arwupnesse* O
 6, 22 **þæt hearsumie*: *gehersumie* Bcd: *gehyrsumie* O
 6, 27 *þigene*: *þigene* Bcd O
 6, 28 **gelogig*: *gelogige* Bcd O
 6, 29 *oferþyo*: *oferþeo* R4
 6, 30 **þæs swæcces, swæcces*: *swæcces* Bcd O
 6, 30 *wortgemanc*: *wurtgemagnysse* Bcd: *wyrtimagnesse* O
 6, 30 **sealf*: *stincendre sealf* Bcd O
 6, 30 **bræð*: *bræþ* Bcd: *bræð* O: *bræþ* P

(72) Altered from *untwilicere*.

- 6, 31 *forlætenre synderlicnessa: forlætere synderlicnyssse Bcd: forlætenre synderlicnessa* O
- 6, 32 **sacð: gescead Ba: gescad* O
- 6, 33 **nihsunre, genihsumre: genihsumere Bcd: nihtsumere* O
- 6, 33 **wenne, wennę: wynne C2 Ba* O
- 6, 33 **7 ða smeadan: þa asmeadan t mænifealda Bcd: þa asmeadan t mænifealdan* O
- 6, 33/34 *gelustfullunge, gelustfullunge: lustfullunga Bcd* O
- 7, 2 **ceasterwarena: ceastgewara Bcd: ceastriwarena* O
- 7, 5 **anweald: anwealdu Bcd*
- 7, 8 **onwidmetenlice: unwiþmetenlice Bcd: unwidmetenlice* O
- 7, 10 *geþyoddra: geþeoddra Bcd* O
- 7, 16 *hamæn: haman Bcd* O
- 7, 16/17 *gewælgedr: dre* O
- 7, 17 **æfwerdle: æfwyrðlan Ba O: æfwurðlan Bcd*
- 7, 19 **swiðost, swiðost: swi R4*
- 7, 20 **hagelum: unacumendlicum hagelum t scurum Bcd: unacumendlicum, ateori hagelum t scurum* O
- 7, 21 **7 asceredre: 7 þa asciridan Bcd: 7 þa ascyredan* O
- 7, 22 **cyst: cyste R4 Bcd*
- 7, 22 **toforen: toforan R4*
- 7, 24 ** < . > de, *onherigende: onhyrigend R4: onhyriend Bcd* O
- 7, 24 **gestlliend: gestþeliend, gestþeliend Bcd: gestþeliend* O
- 7, 27 **þam wæle: wæle Bcd* O
- 9, 1 **ne þa awlat: awlæt Bcd* O
- 9, 2 *geplatod: aplatad Ba* O
- 9, 5/6 **wæflum: weflum Ba* O
- 9, 8 *fylminum: fylmennum Ba, cd: fylmenum* O
- 9, 11 *onwidmetenlice: unwiþme Bcd: unwidme* O
- 9, 12 *oforðeon: ouerþeo R4: þeo C1: oferþeon Bc* O
- 9, 12 **anfealte, anfealte: anfiltes Bcd* O
- 9, 14 *forhogot: ho R4*
- 12, 14 *forþr'esty: forþræste Bcd* O
- 12, 16 *to gemagum: to gemagum Bcd* O
- 12, 19 *cwelmbere: gcwy R4*
- 12, 21 *etwęscet: adwęsced Bcd* O
- 12, 23/24 *heolestrum: heolstrum Bcd*
- 12, 25 *ut adræfet: ut adræfed Bcd* O
- 12, 27 *feþa: feþena Bcd* O
- 12, 31 **weræda, wera: w C1*
- 12, 31 **forweorde, forwordes: forwurdes Bcd: forwyrdes* O
- 12, 33 *tenbebodes: ten bebodu Bcd: tyn bebodu* O
- 12, 34 *gehlette: be hlete Bcd*
- 12, 34 *landgemæres: landgemeares Ba* O
- 12, 36 *gecyncornessa: cneo R4*
- 13, 4 **hersumie: hy R4*
- 13, 19 *ðongene: þeþungenan Bcd: geþungenan* O
- 13, 19 *cmþa: cemþan Bcd* O

- 13, 21 *þes angetelen*: *þæs angytfullan Bcd*: *þæs antgyttfullan O*
 13, 23 **heofenlice*: *heofendlice Bcd O*
 13, 23 **leoð*: *licleoð Bc*: *byricleoþ O*
 13, 24 **bergelsleoð*: *7 bergelsleoð Bc*
 16, 17/18 *nead*: *neadþearflic Bcd O*
 16, 20 *awyrtwæledum*: *awyrtene R4*
 16, 20 *ut alynedum*: *7 ut ale R4*
 18, 2/3 *læmenum*: *læmenum Ba O*
 18, 13 *fæcne*: *facenfulne Bcd*: *facenfullum O*
 18, 19 *gewæh*: *gewæht Bcd O*
 18, 41 *þeslicum*: *þæslicum Bcd O*
 20, 15 *gawal*: *gafollic C2*
 23, 4 *hylcas*: *hylcas R5 Ba O*
 23, 12 **onscuniende*: *onscuniende Bc O*
 23, 12/13 *þere stipestan*: *mid þære stipestan Bcd O*
 23, 24 *cyselas*: *ceoslas S R3 C1 R5*: *stancislas Bcd*: *stancyslas O*
 23, 34/35 *yrlicere*: *of yr Ba*: *hyrlicre Bcd*: *yrlicere O*
 23, 35 *retnessa*: *w'reþ Bcd*: *reþ O*
 23, 42 *blac*: *æblæce Bcd O*
 23, 63 < . > *iende*: *hleopringende Ba*: *hleopriende O*
 42, 24 *gestrion*: *gestreon Bcd O*
 42, 35 *ada*: *ada R4*
 42, 45/46 *dom*: *dom Bc O*
 44, 14 *gewin*: *gewin Bcd O*
 44, 20 *gelimpum*: *gelimpum Bcd O*
 48, 19 *mihte*: *mihte Bcd O*
 49, 14/15 *æhþrot is*: *æþrette Bc*: *æþrytte O*
 49, 35 *domes*: *do Bb*
 49, 36 *wæge*: *wæge Bcd O*
 49, 39 *7 to cyrme*: *cerme Bcd O*
 50, 9 *geswelgum*: *geswelgum Bcd O*
 50, 18 *geþyodde*: *geþeodde Bcd O*
 50, 31 *pannan*: *cocurpannan R4*: *cocorpannan S R3*: *cocorpanne R5 Bc*: *cocorpann Ba*: *cocerpannan O*
 50, 59 *æt þæm wegelætan*: *weggelæte Bc O*
 51, 4/5 *caæpena*: *cemp Bcd O*
 51, 9 *færeldede*: *on færeldede R5*: *on wæreldede Bc*: *on fore O*

The many concordances among glosses in this table highlight two significant points. First, a very large portion of the Yale glosses coincides exactly with glosses in the Brussels CD and Digby 'Ordinary Hand' *corpora*, and these correspondences cannot be circumstantial. Obviously, glosses in the 'Yale Fragment' must be taken into account in any future examination of the transmission of Old English glosses in Brussels HAND CD. Second, among scratched glosses published from the Yale leaves (including those in Rusche's 1994 edition), over 40 correspond

to glosses in the Brussels or Digby compilations. Interestingly, nine of these scratched glosses coincide *only* with glosses in Royal 5 E.xi. Other inked glosses in Yale and Royal 5 E.xi are similarly allied. In fact, there are occasions when the Yale *ink* glosses correspond uniquely to glosses in Royal 5 E.xi: 6, 3 VLTRONEVM; 6, 29 PRAECELLAT; 7, 19 POTISSIMVM; 7, 22 ANTE CETERA; 9, 14 SPRETA; 12, 19 PESTIFERVM; 12, 31 CVNEOS; 12, 36 POSTERITATIS; 13, 4 FAMVLENTVR; 16, 20 EXSTIRPATIS; 16, 21 ERVTIS; 42, 35 ROGORVM. What this means for the gloss transmission is difficult to determine. Obviously, there is a relationship between *A* and *R4* which is unparalleled in other *Pdv* manuscripts.

These scratched glosses are intimately related to the Brussels *Pdv* scholia, but like the situation with Corpus 326 their precise relationship remains hidden. On the one hand, it seems that some Brussels glosses could have arisen from scratched merographs like these. On the other hand, the entire corpus of scratched glosses could have been transmitted from earlier books, but perhaps no earlier than the mid-tenth century, the date of the Cleopatra Glossary. However, as I shall argue in a subsequent discussion of the 'Common Recension' glosses, evidence culled from Anglo-Saxon and continental glossaries implies that the Brussels CD corpus and related scratched glosses could stem from an interpretative tradition that began in the eighth century, if not before.

Summary

To recapitulate, the various Old English (and some Latin) glosses in Brussels 1650, written by scribes A, B, C, CD and R were taken over directly into Digby 146 by the 'Ordinary' scribe. Beforehand, the first Brussels stratum in HAND C had been copied from an apograph of O, and related interlinear glosses in Royal 6 B.vii descended from the same Digby apograph. The second stratum of glosses in Brussels HAND C, however, came from another source, which provided the long marginal glosses in O. Old English glosses in Brussels HAND CD are closely related to vernacular gloss *corpora* in four other books, but the transmission of the CD glosses still remains problematic. They probably come from a source antecedent to the third Cleopatra Glossary. Finally, as Napier and Goossens alleged, the Hereford glosses descend from Digby 146, but at least one *Pdv*

copy intervenes between these sources (above, pp. 160-2); the Hereford glosses differ substantially from those in Digby 146.

Among texts in the 'Digby-Abingdon' recension, the origins of glosses by HANDS A and B in Brussels 1650, Latin HAND 1 in Digby 146, and certain strata in Royal 7 D.xxiv have yet to be discussed. I have stated earlier that the first gloss layers in Brussels HANDS A and B probably corresponded to glosses in the Digby apograph – the C scribe had no need to write an otiose gloss when one already existed in his manuscript, Brussels 1650. Interestingly, these two early layers in B sometimes match the first stratum in O, which itself derives from the earliest layers in Royal 7 D.xxiv. Glosses found in the Early Strata of Brussels, Royal and Digby appear in almost every *Pdv* manuscript.

THE 'COMMON RECENSION' OF *Pdv* GLOSSES*The Relationship of Glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv (Early Strata) and Digby 146 (Latin HAND 1)*

A collation of glosses found in certain strata of seven *Pdv* manuscripts – Royal 7 D.xxiv (*R2*), Brussels 1650 (*B*), Digby 146 (*O*), Royal 5 E.xi (*R4*), Salisbury 38 (*S*), Royal 6 A.vi (*R3*) and Bodley 97 (*C2*) – shows that some of the glosses in all these volumes probably descend from the same source. The relationships are intricate, but at least one route of transmission is transparent. In earlier pages I demonstrated that the text of Digby 146 must have been copied from that in Royal 7 D.xxiv, and claimed that the earliest layers of glosses in Royal appear as the first layer of glosses in the Digby book (*Latin HAND 1*). The glosses, I maintained, confirm the necessity of at least one intermediary manuscript, and not just because there are several additions to the Digby corpus which are missing from the Royal manuscript. The later gloss-accretions to the Royal text pre-date the earliest Digby glosses. It is logically absurd that a copyist would choose only the oldest layers of glosses to reproduce in his apograph. Moreover, there are virtually illegible erasures in the Royal manuscript that correspond to glosses in Digby 146. In the following sample, the first of these is 32, 70 *eornestlice* (written in *HAND 2*), which has been erased in the Royal book and written over in *HAND 8*. The corresponding entry in *O* preserves the gloss. The second erasure 32, 105/106 *i. persecutiones* is identical: deleted and overwritten in *R2* but retained in *O*. Such emendations as these are conclusive proof that glosses in the Digby manuscript were taken from an intermediary descendant of *R2*. Given that *HAND 8* is mid-tenth century at the latest, this intermediary must have been copied before the 970s and probably earlier. Since my *Latin HAND 1* is datable to the second half of the tenth-century, historical circumstance allows for as much as 60 years between the time *HAND 8* contributed glosses to Royal and the time *Latin HAND 1* copied the first layer in Digby.

By any measure, the concordance between the gloss-strata in Royal and Digby is too close to be casual, but a few differences, surveyed below, stand out. The following sample collation, randomly selected from chapters 25 to 34, records all the glosses in

the early layers of R2 (HANDS 1-7) and O (Latin HAND 1, i.e. Napier's 'second Latin hand'). Important omissions and additions in each manuscript are designated by *xxxxx*:

<i>Lemma/Gloss</i>	R2	O
25, 7 PROPALAT] manifestabat, presens pro preterito	111r19	33v11
25, 8/9 PRAESTANTISSIMVM] optimum	111r22	33v13
25, 11 TAXAVERAT] iudicauerat	111r25	33v15
25, 11 FAS EST] conueniens	111r26	33v16
25, 15/16 RADICITVS] funditus	111v6	34r1
25, 18 ELIMAVIT] manifestauit	111v9	34r4
25, 21/22 AVSONIAE] italie	<i>xxxxxx</i>	34r7
25, 22 ALPIVM] montium	111v14	34r8
25, 25 PRAEDITVS] ornatus	111v19	<i>xxxxxx</i>
25, 36 REOR] autumo	112r9	34v4
25, 42 CATAPLASMA] medicina	112r17	34v10
25, 42 TRICARVM] morarum	112r18	34v10
25, 44 ABSVRDVM] inconueniens	112r19	34v11
25, 44 SVSPICABAR] estimabam	112r20	34v11
25, 46 DELITESCERET] tardaret	112r23	<i>xxxxxx</i>
25, 51 RABBITES] magistrros	112v3	34v19
25, 53 CONFVTAT] uincit	112v5	35r2
25, 54 PORTENDENS] manifestans	112v7	35r4
25, 61 PVBERTATIS] pudicitiae	112v17	35r12
25, 61/62 RVBESCENS] cresscens	112v17	35r12
25, 83 RESVSCITABIS] eam ciuitatem	113r20	35v16
25, 93 QVOD] nomen	113v	736r7
26, 5 EX IMPROVISO] subito	113v22	36r18
26, 7 QVAE] apes	113v23	36r19
26, 9 PRAESTVLANTE] exspectante	113v27	36v3
26, 9 VERNA] famula	114r1	36v3
26, 9 ALTRIX] nutrix	114r1	36v3
26, 11 CLIMATIBVS] partibus	114r2	36v4
26, 16 CAELIBES] puberes	114r9	36v9
26, 19 PONTIFICIS] martini	114r14	36v13
26, 24 ORACVLVM] sacramentum	114r20	36v19
26, 27 META TENVS] usque ad finem	114r24	37r3
26, 28 CATACVMINI] docti	114r26	<i>xxxxxx</i>
26, 28 QVEM] catacuminum	114r26	37r5
26, 34 MANVBIIS] uestibus	114v7	37r11
26, 35 AD SVPEROS] ad homines	<i>xxxxxx</i>	37r12
26, 40 NEVLONIS] falsi	114v15	<i>xxxxxx</i>
26, 47 ASTATI] armati	114v25	37v6
26, 47/48 PRAESIDIVM] adiutorium	114v26	37v7
27, 1 ECCLESIAE] o	115r5	<i>xxxxxx</i>
27, 8 OROMATE] in considerattione	115r15	37v19

27, 10 GIMNICVM] propter	115r17	xxxxx
27, 16 COLLIGI] coniungi	115r26	38r9 (intellegi)
27, 17 FAS EST] conueniens	115v1	38r10
27, 20 CAVTVM SIT] cum scriptum est	115v5	38r14
27, 26 AEQVE] similiter	115v12	838v1
27, 26 RETHORICIS] ablatius	115v13	38v2
27, 26 EDOCTVS] est	115v13	38v2
27, 28 SCISCITATIONIBVS] interrogationibus	115v15	38v4
27, 29 DIGESSIT] ordinauit	115v17	38v6
27, 31 TRANSLATA] mutata	115v19	38v7
27, 33 EX IPSIVS ELOGIO] dicto <i>† gydde</i>	115v23	38v10 (<i>gydde</i>)
27, 33/34 PROSEQVENTIS] narrantis	xxxxx	38v10
27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS] muris	115v26	38v13
27, 36 IN EDITO] in fastigio	115v26	38v13
27, 37 ET] in	116r2	xxxxx
27, 38 FRVNISCANTVR] ut fruuntur uel utantur	116r3	38v15 (fruuntur)
27, 41 PATEFACIANT] ut	116r7	38v19
27, 44 RATVS EST] estimatus est	116r12	39r4
27, 46 REFRENATVR] ut	116r15	39r6
28, 8 ELEMENTA] fortune uel sidera	116r12	39v4
28, 10 ADVECTABVNT] adportabunt	116r14	39v6
28, 14 SIMPLO] simplio	116r20	xxxxx
28, 15 TRANSFERENTE] mutante	116r21	39v11
28, 16 PAVLVS] nonne	116r22	39v11
28, 16 ITIDEM] iterum	116r22	xxxxx
28, 16 A PELLACI] a fallaci	116r23	39v12
28, 19 QVA] ibi	116r26	39v16
28, 22 DEFENSACVLO] tutela	117r4	39v19
28, 28 CRVSTVLAE] panis	117r11	40r7
28, 29 PRAEPES] ales	117r12	40r7
28, 31 ACCEPTO] accipere	117r14	40r10
29, 1 HILARION] claruit	117r17	40r12
29, 2 DEDITIS] diulgatis	117r18	xxxxx
29, 2 ORIVNDVS] natus	117r19	40r14
29, 14 CRVDELITER] ferociter	117v8	40v9
29, 24 ABSORBEAT] ut	117v18	xxxxx
29, 24 SVPERI] angeli	117v21	41r2
29, 24 TERRIS] a	117v21	xxxxx
29, 25 GYPSAM] draconem	117v21	41r2
29, 25 ARMIS] spiritalibus	117v21	xxxxx
29, 27 BASILISCVM] draconem	117v25	41r5
29, 32/33 CATACLISMI] diluuii	118r6	41r11
29, 34 SEV] quasi	118r8	41r13
29, 36/37 ET SALSAS] contra	118r11	41r15
29, 40 PROCERITATE] summitate	118r15	41v1

29, 43 INSANIAM] ferocitatem	118r18	41v4
29, 46 NILOTICAE] memphitice	118r21	41v7
29, 48 DESVDANS] laborans	118r24	41v10
29, 48 QVAM] conuersationem	118r24	41v10
29, 54 LIQVET] apparet	118v6	41v16
29, 56 CONSVLTA] interrogata	118v9	41v18
29, 56 FLAGITANTI] postulanti	118v9	41v19
29, 57 INTENTIONE] desiderio	118v10	42r1
29, 60 QVA] integritate	118v15	42r4
29, 61 LINIAMENTO] similitudine	118v15	42r5
29, 62 ORACVLA] sacramenta	118v17	42r6
[37, 49 MANIPVLO] societate	119r5	42r17]
30, 3 VOCABVLI] uocationis	119r8	42v2
30, 5 EVLOGIAE] benedictionis	119r11	42v4
30, 7 ET] cum	119r14	xxxxxx
30, 9 VOCABVLI] nominis	119r17	42v9
30, 15 CONCENTIBVS] cantibus	119r24	42v16
30, 20 SIQVIDEM] benedictus	119v4	43r3
30, 20 DERVTA] euersa	119v4	43r3
		(uersa)
30, 20 SACELLA] templa	119v5	43r4
30, 21 QVAE] gentilitas	119v6	43r5
30, 22 EXPERTEM] segregatam	119v7	43r5
30, 22 FATV] dictu	119v7	xxxxxx
30, 22/23 MATHEMATICORVM] doctorum	119v8	43r6
30, 25/26 DOGMATIBVS] doctrinis	119v12	43r10
30, 27/28 BVTROS] <i>croppas</i>	119v5	43r12
		(<i>clystru</i>)
30, 28 RACEMOS] <i>clystru</i>	119v6	43r13
		(<i>croppas</i>)
30, 31 ADVEXIT] por	119v19	43r16
		(portauit)
31, 9/10 NEGOTIVM] labor	120r13	43v14
31, 10 DECRETVM] secretum	120r14	43v15
31, 12 ET] cum	120r17	xxxxxx
31, 13/14 SVB PRAETEXTV] sub defensione	120r19	43v19
31, 16 BIOTHANATAS] bis	120r22	44r3
		(<i>betwyoh</i> <i>selfbanan</i>)
31, 17/18 GENEROSITAS] nobilitas	120r24	44r5
31, 21 VIOLENTIA] ablatiuus	120v2	44r9
31, 21 MATERNA] ablatiuus	120v3	xxxxxx
31, 21 GRAVITATE] dignitate	120v3	44r9
31, 22 CONSVLEBANT] intuebant	120v4	44r10
31, 23 OBTEXTV] ob desiderio	120v5	44r11
31, 26 INSTINCTV] ablatiuus, doctrina	120v10	44r15
		(doctrina)
31, 27/28 GRASSATORIBVS] inpugnatoribus	120v12	44r17

31, 29 BERNA] seruus	120v14	44r18
31, 30 SERVIRET] ut	120v16	44v1
31, 31 PEREVNTIS] uxoris loh	120v17	44v2
31, 31 DISPENDIVM] damnum	120v17	xxxxxx
31, 35 IVGERVM] segetum	120v22	44v7
31, 35 NVGACITER] uiliter	120v23	44v7
31, 35 DEPERIRET] ut	120v23	44v7
31, 38 TRANSFOSSVS] per	120v26	44v10
		(perforatus)
31, 38 OCCVMBERE] cadere	121r1	44v11
31, 39 PROFANANDO] inmaculando	121r2	44v11
32, 3/4 FERAM] sustineam	121r10	44v18
		(i. non sustineam)
32, 4 CVIVS] narcisi	121r10	44v18
32, 8 ANASTASSIS] resurectio	121r16	45r5
32, 9 FORTVITV] subito	121r18	45r6
32, 11 DEDITVS] diuulgatus	121r20	45r8
32, 13 LATEX] aqua	121r24	45r11
32, 15 ARVINA] ABLATIUS	121v1	45r14
32, 16 LVESCERET] fulsiset	121v2	45r15
32, 17 GRASSATOR] inpugnator	121v3	45r16
32, 17 PRAEROGATIVA] dignitate	xxxxxx	45r16
32, 19 FAVORABILE] laudabile	121v6	45r18
32, 28 ORBARETVR] fraudaretur	xxxxxx	45v10
32, 30 APICEM] dignitatem	121v22	45v12
32, 33 FACTIONES] falsitates	121v25	45v15
32, 33 PELLACES] mendaces	121v26	45v16
32, 34 MVSITANTES] <i>pa runiendan</i>	122r1	xxxxxx
32, 36 DEVOTABANT] pro maledicebant	122r3	45v19
32, 38 CONTRIBVLIVS] cum	122r6	46r3
32, 40 SVMMITATE] a celsitudine	122r9	46r5
32, 56 CHARACTERES] <i>mearca</i>	122v5	46v7
32, 57 PERIODOS] intellectus	122v6	46v7
32, 58 INSTRVENDO] docendo	122v8	46v9
32, 58 ILIA] uiscera	122v9	46v10
32, 59 CVNICVLVM] <i>cripel</i>	122v10	46v10
32, 62 CHARISMATVM] donorum	122v13	46v13
32, 63 INDOLIS] sine dolo	122v15	46v15
32, 64 GESTICVLATIO] incessus	122v17	46v16
32, 66 CONSPICATVR] aspiciebat	122v19	46v18
32, 66 INVESTES] sine barba	122v20	46v19
32, 67 CONTVLISSE] donasse	122v22	47r1
32, 70 SCENICO] stupendo	122v25	47r4
32, 70 SERIO] <i>eornestlice</i>	122v26	47r5
		(<i>eornestlice</i>)
32, 72 SVMPTO] accepto	123r2	47r7
32, 74 SVBDOLA] fraudulenta	123r5	47r10

32, 74	FACTIONE] falsitate	123r5	47r10
32, 77	IMPERII] potestatis	123r9	47r13
32, 78	QVEM] lacertum	123r11	47r16
32, 80	RETVLERVNT] narrauerunt	123r13	47r17
32, 80	IMPERATOR] rex	123r13	47r18
32, 80	COMMENTIS] relationibus	123r14	47r18
32, 81	LENOCINANTIBVS] maculantibus	123r14	47r19
32, 81	FACTIONIBVS] falsitatibus	123r15	47v1
32, 82	INCONSVLTE] inconsiderate	123r16	47v2
32, 84	SCENAM] umbram	123r19	47v5
32, 85	FLAMINEM] pontificem	123r20	47v5
32, 91	VERVM] set	123v2	47v13
32, 91	CONFVTATI] superati	123v3	47v13
32, 92	MOLIENTES] uel cogitantes	123v4	47v14
32, 92	COMMINSVNTVR] protractabantur	123v4	47v14
32, 92	PROSTITVTA] meretrix	123v5	47v15
32, 93	PELLAX] mendax	123v5	47v15
32, 94	INSIMVLARE] decipere	123v7	47v17
32, 94	PROCACITER] <i>gema</i>	123v8	xxxxxx
32, 96	MELANCOLIAE] fellis	123v10	47v19
32, 96	NAVSIAM] sentinam	123v10	47v19
32, 96	RECESSIBVS] uisceribus	123v10	47v19
32, 98	QVEM] prostituta	123v12	48r2
32, 98	NEFANDIS] ablatiuus	123v12	xxxxxx
32, 98	OBVNCABAT] reflectebat	123v13	48r2
32, 98/99	APOLOGITICA] ablatiuus	123v13	48r3
32, 104	DEDITA] diuulgata	123v22	xxxxxx
32, 105/106	INSECTATIONES] persecutiones	123v24	48r12
32, 106	LIVIDORVM] infidorum	123v25	48r13
32, 106	HOSTILITER] diabolice	xxxxx	48r13
32, 107	PERFEREBAT] sustinebat	124r1	48r14
33, 2	MANDRAS] delicias	124r4	48r17
33, 5	PRAEDITVS] ornatus, ditatus	124r10	48v2
			(ditatus)
33, 5/6	AVGVSTVM] regem	124r10	48v3
33, 6	NON PERMISIT] babillus	124r11	48v4
33, 7	BASILICAE] æclesiæ	124r12	xxxxxx
33, 7	SACRARIVM] templum uel sanctuarium	124r12	48v4
			(sanctuarium)
33, 8	CENSURA] <i>of</i>	124r14	xxxxxx
33, 9	ARCEBAT] prohibebat	124r16	48v7
33, 9/10	FORMIDANS] timens	124r16	48v8
33, 10	DISPENDIVM] damnum	124r17	48v8
33, 11	DVCITVR] babillus	124r19	48v9
33, 11	IMPERIALIS] regalis	124r19	48v10
33, 12	VESTIBVLVM] ad	124r19	48v10
33, 13	DISPVTANS] litigans	124r21	48v11
33, 13	ALTERCARETVR] sermocinaretur	124r21	48v11

33, 14 FEROCITAS] crudelitas	xxxxx	48v12
33, 15 DEMVLCE] pro demulcebat	124r24	48v13
33, 15/16 PERPENDICVLO] memoria	124r25	48v15
33, 16 VERGERETVR] mens	124r26	48v16
33, 17 AVGVSTO] regi	124v1	48v16
33, 17/18 ET INFAMIAM] ad	124v2	48v16
33, 18 CLERI] populi	124v2	48v16
33, 18 BOIAS] arcus	124v2	48v16
33, 18 NECTVNT] pro nectebant	124v3	48v18
33, 20 DILACERANT] cleri	124v5	xxxxx
33, 21 PEDAGOGIO] documento	124v7	49r3
33, 23 QVOS] germanos	124v9	49r5
33, 24 FALLERE] decipere, illos	124v11	49r7
33, 25 ICTIBVS] plectris	124v12	49r8
33, 25 VAPVLARE] multare	124v12	49r8
33, 26 PERCVNCTATVR] pro sciscitabatur	124v14	49r10
33, 30 SENTENTIAM] iudicium	124v19	49r14
34, 2 ARCHIATROS] summos medicos	124v25	49v1

These correspondences at once reinforce the close textual relationship between the Royal and Digby manuscripts and supply further proof of the gloss-transmission. Subtle changes to the Digby glosses corroborate the existence of the intermediary glossed copy of *Pdv* hypothesized above. For example, within the small sample I have excerpted (about 230 glosses covering several thousand lemmas), there are 24 omissions in O (Latin HAND 1). Admittedly, these could have been left out of an exemplar at any stage of transmission, including the stage when Digby was copied. Yet in light of certain additions to the Digby text, these omissions more plausibly happened in an intervening manuscript.

In my sample there are seven lexical additions and one substitution to the Digby glosses which are written in Latin HAND 1 but which are not represented in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv: 25, 21/22 AVSONIAE; 26, 35 AD SVPEROS; 27, 33/34 PROSEQVENTIS; 32, 17 PRAEROGATIVA; 32, 28 ORBARETVR; 32, 106 HOSTILITER; 33, 14 FEROCITAS; the substitution is 27, 16 COLLIGI. Such lexical glosses could have resulted from reading – as a scribe perused Aldhelm's work, he had opportunity to gloss significant words which seemed (to him at least) to have been overlooked by previous annotators. This explanation arguably accounts for three glosses – 32, 17 PRAEROGATIVA; 32, 28 ORBARETVR; 32, 106 HOSTILITER – as these are found in no other manuscript except ones derivative of Digby 146. The remaining entries, however, have parallels in surviving *Pdv* codices:

- 25, 21/22 AVSONIAE] i. italie R4 S C2: i. *italian* R3
 26, 35 AD SVPEROS] i. ad homines C1
 27, 16 COLLIGI] intellegi S: intellegi uel cognosci R3
 27, 33/34 PROSEQUESTIS] i. narrantis S R3 C2 C1
 32, 28 ORBARETVR] fraudaretur S R3

Glosses copied from Royal 7 D.xxiv were therefore augmented by material which survives today in other sources. Since the Royal glosses circulated with the text and presumably would have been copied along with it, the alien glosses were probably added to a Royal 7 D.xxiv apograph which ultimately engendered Digby 146. The precise indebtedness, however, remains puzzling. Did the glosses which are found in later manuscripts (including Digby) but which are not attested in Royal 7 D.xxiv *originate* in the same Royal apograph? In other words, did various commentators add notes to a Royal apograph which were then copied into several manuscripts, including Digby 146? Or was a Royal apograph collated with one or more antecedent manuscripts of these later witnesses? Because of the early date and complex compilation of the Royal glosses, the role of Royal 7 D.xxiv in the dissemination of *Pdv* glosses is potentially pivotal. Obviously, the Digby manuscript throws some light on the complicated transmission, too. Digby 146, it seems, is an exceptional manuscript in the descent of the *Pdv* gloss corpus, for its first layer of glosses comprises an assortment of two early, and unquestionably related, gloss families. Before discussing the Royal and Digby glosses in the *Pdv* gloss corpus, however, we must compare them to glosses found in the manuscripts of Napier's 'Salisbury' family. In many respects, these 'Salisbury group' manuscripts together reflect the gloss corpus as it stands in the 'first Latin hand' of Digby 146.

The Relationship Between Glosses in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv and Glosses in the 'Salisbury group'

A collation of glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv with those found in four other manuscripts, including the three comprising Napier's 'Salisbury group', offers a clue to the complicated picture of the gloss-transmission. Collation affords proof of the derivation of certain glosses in Lambeth 200 and Brussels 1650 as well. Yet it is not essential in this context to collate the glosses in each of these manuscripts with those in Royal 7 D.xxiv. Because most of the glosses occurring in Salisbury 38 also crop up in Royal 5

E.xi, Royal 6 A.vi and substantially in Bodley 97, I have given readings from Salisbury alone. My arbitrary choice of Salisbury 38 is made for purposes of comparison. It rests only on the date of the book and the large amount of glosses preserved in it. Salisbury 38 is one of the earliest manuscripts among the four witnesses I examine (s. x^{cx}), and its many glosses are contemporaneous with the text. In the following table, I sample a large number of lemmas, juxtaposing *every* gloss in the Early Strata of R2 alongside *every* gloss in the main glossing hand of Salisbury 38 (HAND 1).⁽⁷³⁾ The highlighted correspondences represent a verifiable link between glosses of the early tenth century and those of the late tenth-century. Those marked with an asterisk are identical, or nearly identical, in both manuscripts.

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>Reading in R2</i>	<i>Reading in S</i>
11, 4 DENOSCITVR	*illa superbia	illa superbia, arrogantia
11, 5 PARASITORVM	XXXXXX	onspillendra
11, 6 APOSTATARVM	hindergengena	XXXXXX
11, 6 GLOMERATVS	XXXXXX	iunctus
11, 7 TETRVM	*in	in
11, 8 PROTOPLAVSTVS	XXXXXX	se frumsceapena
11, 8/9 RECENTIS	XXXXXX	niwes uel nouus
11, 9 COLONVS	bu	XXXXXX
11, 10 RVDIS	XXXXXX	adam
11, 11 BVCCIS	*smærum	smærum
11, 11 AMBRONIBVS	XXXXXX	gifrum
11, 11 LVRCONIBVS	XXXXXX	freum
11, 12 GASTRIMARGIAE	XXXXXX	auaritie
11, 12 VORAGINEM	XXXXXX	edwindan
11, 14 BEATO	*a	a
11, 15 PARTICIPIO	XXXXXX	a
11, 17 EMVLAMENTIS	XXXXXX	lucris
11, 17 ET DE	XXXXXX	si
11, 19 CENODOXIAE	uane glorie	uane laudis
11, 22 QVAE	XXXXXX	belue
11, 22 RABIDIS	XXXXXX	redum
11, 23 VENENOSIS	XXXXXX	7 geæt+
11, 23 GENVINIS	XXXXXX	todreomum+
11, 27 STROFOSAE	XXXXXX	brædnes
11, 29 VENABVLIS	XXXXXX	eofursputum
11, 29 CERTANDVM	*est	est
11, 30 SALPICTAE	XXXXXX	uel salpiste+

(73) Glosses in hands other than the main glossing hand (my HAND 1) are noted by +.

11, 33 PVGILES	XXXXX	nos
11, 34 OFFERENTES	XXXXX	i. contra portantes
11, 35 QVAE	XXXXX	bellica
11, 35 EGREGIVS	XXXXX	paulus+
11, 39 TRIVMPHVM	*gau	gaudium
11, 40 CAELESTI	XXXXX	in
11, 40 TRIPVDIABIMVS	*letabimur	letabimur
12, 2 CERETHI ...	*Cerethi ...	Cerethi ...
12, 3 APPARATV	XXXXX	saxonice <i>gedrece</i>
12, 3 MANCIPIANTVR	XXXXX	<i>synt ge</i>
12, 6 CVM	XXXXX	<i>mid</i>
12, 6 STROFARVM	XXXXX	<i>mana</i>
12, 6 FALARICA	XXXXX	<i>ælegare+</i>
12, 7 NON CESSANT	XXXXX	cat
12, 13 FORTVNAE	XXXXX	felicitati
12, 21 FRVGLITATIS	*temperamenti	temperamenti
12, 21 EXPLODATVR	*deleatur	deleatur
12, 22 NATRIX	XXXXX	serpens
12, 24 RECESSIBVS	*uisceribus	exitibus
12, 25 ELIMINATVS	XXXXX	fugatus
12, 28 GVRGITIBVS	XXXXX	in
12, 29 PER QVEM	XXXXX	exercitum
12, 29 GASTRIMARGIA	XXXXX	pelagum
12, 31 OBVMBRABANT	XXXXX	pro significabant
12, 32 ORCI	*mortis	mortis
12, 33 NON REFRAGABATVR	XXXXX	non dissentit
12, 34 DIREMPTAM	XXXXX	diuisam
12, 34/35 PATERNAE	*terram	terram
	repromissionis	repromissionis
13, 1 AST VERO	*et	et
13, 4 QVOT	XXXXX	e[s]t
13, 4 MILITONVM	XXXXX	sociorum
13, 4/5 COMMANIPVLARES	XXXXX	comites
13, 5 QVOT	XXXXX	et
13, 7 CONGLOMERENT	*coniungerent	coniungerent
13, 8 CALONES	XXXXX	calo i. seruus
13, 8/9 CLIENTES	*socii	socii
13, 9 LIXARVM	XXXXX	mercenariorum
13, 10 PROCERES	*principes	principes
13, 13 IN CENTVRIIS	XXXXX	Due erant ...
13, 14 CONGLOBATOS	*congregatos	congregatus
13, 17 PRAELATIS	*antepositis	antepositis
13, 17 INGRVERE	*euenire	euenire
13, 18 FRAMEA	*tela	tela
13, 19 EMERITOS	XXXXX	<i>heah+</i>
13, 27/28 PECVLARITER	*specialiter	specialiter
13, 28/29 PROPALABVNT	*manifestabunt	manifestabunt
13, 31 MORALIVM	iob	XXXXX

13, 31 .xxx.	*in	in
13, 31 ELIMAVIT	manifestauit	enudauit
13, 34 POTISSIMVM	*maxime	maxime
13, 35 QVOD	*eo quod	eo quod
13, 40 OBLITERANTES	*dele[a]ntes	dele[a]ntes
13, 49 PARVI PENDERE	*despicere	despicere
13, 50 AVT	nec	xxxxx
13, 54 RETIACVLVM	*laqueum	laqueum
13, 54 TENDICVLAM	rete	xxxxx
13, 55 CONECTAT	ligat	xxxxx
13, 55 SI	*aut	aut
13, 55 TIRIACA	uel antidota	xxxxx
13, 55 LETIFERVM	que	xxxxx
14, 1 AVTEM	sunt	xxxxx
14, 2 IN SVMMO	<i>on mærum</i>	xxxxx
14, 4/5 REPAGVLA	*frena	frena
14, 5 FINE TENVS	*usque ad finem	usque ad finem
14, 6 COMPVNGVNTVR	xxxxxx	<i>hi sint onbride+</i>
14, 6 SCINTILLANTE	<i>spircendre</i>	ablatius
14, 8 E	de	xxxxx
14, 8 INHIANter	*diligenter	diligenter
14, 9 ET AD	*ut	ut
14, 9 QVANTOCIVS	uelocius	xxxxx
14, 10 FRVGLITATIS	parcitis	xxxxx
14, 10 PARSIMONIA	*abstinentia	abstinentia
14, 10 PRODANT	xxxxxx	manifestant+
14, 10 FVRTIVIS	xxxxxx	secretis
14, 12 AC PROPTER	*dum	dum
14, 13 IMIS	<i>incundum</i>	xxxxxx
14, 13 ILIBVS	uisceribus	xxxxxx
14, 14 THEORICAE	superne	i. diuine, theos i. deus
14, 17 COMMISSA	*delicta uel scelera	delicta
14, 19 SVPPLEMENTO	*aumento	aumento
15, 2 SVFFICERE	*posse	posse
15, 3 HAC	*prerogatiua	prerogatiua
15, 5 EXISTAT	nonnullus	xxxxxx
15, 8 PSALMIGRAFI	dauid	xxxxxx
15, 12 COLLEGIO	xxxxxx	<i>gesomunge</i>
15, 12 PERFRVI	*feliciter	feliciter
15, 12 MEREATVR	*nobilitas	nobilitas
15, 15 INFRVCTVOSA	xxxxxx	industria
15, 17 GESTANTIBVS	portantibus	xxxxxx
15, 18 NISI	xxxxxx	non
15, 21 IMAGINVM	xxxxxx	similitudinum
15, 21 THORACIBVS	imaginibus	xxxxxx
15, 22 SED	xxxxxx	si
15, 22 LIQVET	*apparet	apparet

15, 23 PROPECTO	omnino	XXXXX
15, 23 QVONIAM	XXXXX	quod
15, 25 DILVBRI	*templi	templi
15, 26 IACINTHO	XXXXX	of wade+
15, 27 BIS TINCTO	XXXXX	wolcreadun wurman+
15, 27 VERMICVLO	XXXXX	opbe wealhasu+
15, 27/28 DISPARI	et cum	ungelicum+
15, 28 MVRICE	XXXXX	wurman+
15, 29 COMMINISCIMVR	XXXXX	excogitamus uel commentamus inde commentum petalum, læuer gimrodur
15, 30 LAMINA	XXXXX	acceptas
15, 32 DRACONTIA	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 34/35 ASSVMPTAS	XXXXX	scrutamini
15, 35 RIMAMINI	scrutamini	XXXXX
15, 36 EXPLANATIONIBVS	XXXXX	manifestationibus+
16, 2 TVTETVR	*confirmetur	confirmetur
16, 3 LASCIVIA	XXXXX	pro stultitia+
16, 3 PEDAGOGIO	documento	XXXXX
16, 7 EXPERTI SVMVS	XXXXX	inuenti sumus
16, 8 CENODOXIA	XXXXX	uana laude
16, 9 MERITO	XXXXX	ablatius
16, 9 PRAESTANTIOREM	meliozem	selran
16, 10 OPINATVR	putatur	conscientia
16, 10 RECOMPENSATIONIS	*remunerationis	remunerationis
16, 10/11 FRAVDABITVR	*conscientia	conscientia
16, 11 PRIVABITVR	XXXXX	byþ bedæled
16, 12 THALAMO	*in	in
16, 14 SED	spopondit	XXXXX
16, 14 ILLAS	gratulabundas	XXXXX
16, 15 LICHINIS	XXXXX	lucernis
16, 15/16 CONFLAGRANTIBVS	XXXXX	flagrans odorans, i. ardentibus lucernis
16, 16 DECRETA	*edicta	edicta
16, 16 REPEDANTI	reuertenti	XXXXX
16, 17 QVA DE RE	ideo	XXXXX
16, 17/18 OPERAE PRETIVM	*conueniens	conueniens
16, 21 PASSIONVM	*uitiorum	uitiorum
16, 23 COMPROBATVR	elegitur	XXXXX
16, 24 VAS ELECTIONIS	XXXXX	paulus
16, 24 VT SIT	*uirgo	uirgo
16, 26 CLAVSTRA	ingressus	XXXXX
16, 27 SOLITARIA	quod	XXXXX
16, 28 QVEM	*paradisum	paradisum
16, 28 RVMPHEA	*gladio	gladio
16, 28 VERSATILI	XXXXX	mobili

16, 29 RECAPITVLATIO	*narratio	prescriptio
16, 29 ORIGINALITER	principaliter	XXXXXX
16, 29/30 NISI VTRIMQVE	*et corpus et spiritum	et corpus et spiritus
16, 30 CANDESCAT	XXXXXX	inradit
16, 31 IDEM	XXXXXX	apostolus
16, 33 PROTERVO	XXXXXX	superba
16, 33 FASTV	*elationis	elatione
17, 2 PRAEDICATOR	XXXXXX	paulus
17, 2 DIRIMIT	*diuisit	diuisit
17, 4 REVERA	*utique	utique
17, 6 INFIMI	XXXXXX	terrene
17, 7 VNA	XXXXXX	uirgo
17, 8 ALTERA	XXXXXX	fore
17, 8 LASCIVIAE	XXXXXX	luxurie uel petulantiaē
17, 8 ISTA	*mulier	mulier
17, 9 LACERTOS	XXXXXX	brachia
17, 9 DEXTRALIBVS	XXXXXX	armillis
17, 10 ILLA	*uirgo	uirgo
17, 12 CANDIDIS	*albis	albis
17, 13 ISTA	*mulier	mulier
17, 14 COMONI	*se	se
17, 14 STIBIO	XXXXXX	nebsealue
17, 15 SVATIM	*suo more	suo more
17, 15 SATAGIT	XXXXXX	incipit
17, 15 ILLA	XXXXXX	uirgo
17, 17 ISTA	XXXXXX	mulier
17, 19 PROSTIBVLI	XXXXXX	meretricis
17, 20 COMPOSITA	XXXXXX	ornata
17, 22 ILLA	XXXXXX	uirgo
17, 23 EXEMPLAR	uel exempla	XXXXXX
18, 4 PRAEOCCVPETVR	*precedatur	precedat
18, 5 LIQVET	claret	certum est
18, 6 NEMPE	igitur	XXXXXX
18, 7 GENVINA	XXXXXX	puerperio
18, 9 INDIVIDVVS	XXXXXX	inseparabilis
18, 9 EXISTERE	XXXXXX	manere
18, 10 SVPREMA	XXXXXX	ablatius
18, 11 ET CORRVP TIBILE	*antequam	antequam
18, 12 CAELIBES	XXXXXX	abstinentes
18, 13 COMPELLANTVR	ut	XXXXXX
18, 13 FACTIOSAM	*falsam	falsam
18, 14 ARGVMENTO	XXXXXX	ablatius
18, 15 CONFVTANS	*conuincens	conuincens
18, 15 EXPLODIT	*diluit	diluit
18, 17 SENTICOSIS	XXXXXX	spinosis
18, 19 FATESCAT	XXXXXX	marcescat

18, 19/20 ET PROPINQVANTE	*licet	licet
18, 21 HAEC SOLA	*uirginitas	uirginitas
18, 25 IMPERIO	XXXXX	iussu
18, 27 PROSAPIA	XXXXX	ablatiuus
18, 27 SANXERVNT	iudicauerunt	XXXXXX
18, 29 DECRETA	edicta	XXXXXX
18, 30 PROMVLGARE	demonstrare	manifestare
18, 31 PRAESCIVS	XXXXXX	sagax
18, 32 SVGGESTIONIS	XXXXXX	monitionis
18, 33 DEDITI	*sub, diuulgati	subditi, diuulgati
18, 34 PRAEDITI	ornati	ditati
18, 34 EXPERIRI	XXXXXX	inuenire
18, 35 INDAGANTES	*inuestigantes	inuestigantes
18, 41 EFFECTIBVS	gestibus	XXXXXX
18, 41/42 CONCVRRAMVS	XXXXXX	concertemus
18, 43 PRAESTVLANTES	*exspectantes	exspectantes
18, 43 QVAM	*palmam	palmam
18, 47 IVBILATIONIS	XXXXXX	laudis
18, 48 TREPVDIO	*gaudio	gaudio
18, 49 DE CETERO	XXXXXX	ex hoc
19, 3 REFERTVR	XXXXXX	narratur
19, 4 TRIPERTITIS	<i>on preo</i>	XXXXXX
19, 4 DIFFERANT	XXXXXX	diuidant
19, 5/6 SEQVESTRANTVR	XXXXXX	separantur
19, 6 DISCRETIS	XXXXXX	diuisis
19, 6/7 DIRIMVNTVR	diuiduntur	XXXXXX
19, 7 DISTINGENTE	XXXXXX	diuidente
19, 15 CORPVS	<i>lic</i>	XXXXXX
19, 16 REDIVIVA	*linum	linum
19, 17 PALATIVM	XXXXXX	regis
19, 19 ET TAMEN SVB VNO	XXXXXX	omnia hec
19, 19 IMPERATORE	XXXXXX	rege
19, 20 CONICI	*legi	perlegi
19, 20 ET COLLIGI	XXXXXX	intellegi
19, 21 ILLIBATA	*inmaculata	inmaculata
19, 22 CAELIBATVS	XXXXXX	castitatis
19, 22 CASTITAS	XXXXXX	et quod sit
19, 23 SPONSALIBVS	XXXXXX	ablatiuus
19, 24 IVGALITAS	XXXXXX	et quod sit
19, 24 AD PROPAGANDAM	*ad manifestan- dam	ad manifestan- dam
19, 28 PARADIGMA	*exemplum	exemplum
19, 31 PVLVLANTES	*crescentes	crescentes
19, 32 GLVMVLA	XXXXXX	<i>scale</i>
19, 33 RITV	XXXXXX	consuetudine
19, 35 DISPVTTATIONIS	XXXXXX	meditationis
19, 37 CRIMINETVR	XXXXXX	culpetur
19, 39 FAVENTE	XXXXXX	opitulante

Among glosses to the 218 excerpted lemmas corresponding to the text of *S* and 133 to that of *R2*, 84 are identical! Such profound similarities between the glosses in these two manuscripts cannot be fortuitous, since the common glosses are not likely to occur randomly in so many cases. For example, glosses 12, 21 (*temperamenti*), 12, 21 (*deleatur*) and 12, 22 (*serpens*) are identical in both sources. Following them comes a hiatus of fourteen words in the text: 'qui beatam caeli familiam et almae ciuitatis municipes lugubriter conturbauit, de latebrosis animae nostrae'. None of these intervening words is glossed in either manuscript, but the succeeding term *RECESSIBVS* (12, 24) is glossed. It would be unjustifiable to conclude that independent glossators, at any stage of the transmission, would skip the same 14 terms, most of which are glossed in other manuscripts, and settle on the ablative noun to gloss. All three glosses more reasonably derive from the same source. An even more striking pattern appears in a later section of both manuscripts: there are four identical glosses, 13, 34 (*maxime*), 13, 35 (*eo quod*), 13, 40 (*dele[a]ntes*) and 13, 49 (*despicere*), one of which has a common error, spanning a text of 100 words. The chance that two glossators independently chose the same four words for comment out of all these is so remote that it cannot be seriously entertained. Hence, there has to be an intimate relationship between these gloss *corpora*, and given the early date of the Royal glosses (s. x^{2/4}), that relationship cannot be emphasized too strongly. Some late tenth-century Salisbury glosses, and maybe all, go back at least two generations.

Of course several differences do figure in the glosses to *R2* and *S*. Almost all of the identical glosses in both manuscripts are Latin; only one is vernacular (11, 11). Consequently, many of the entries not shared by these manuscripts are Old English. The coincidence could mean that early glossators did not annotate Aldhelm in the vernacular, or that Old English glosses had less authority – less of a claim to permanence – than Latin ones. Whatever the reason for the absence of Old English in these Early Strata, the omission contrasts sharply with the vast Old English gloss compilations in Brussels and Digby.

A second discrepancy between glosses in *R2* and *S* lies in their lexical differences. In a few instances the early layer of glosses in *R2* offers an interpretation differing from that in *S*. Examples are 11, 19 *uane glorie*; 13, 31 *manifestauit*; 14, 6 *spircendre*; 14, 14 *superne*; 18, 5 *claret*; 18, 30 *demonstrare*; 18, 34 *ornati*. Like glosses examined above, many of these occur in such a regular

pattern as to suggest that they cannot be coincidental. For example, gloss 13, 31 *ELIMAVIT* differs in both manuscripts. Yet it is the only discrepant gloss out of six in a passage of 177 words. What is the likelihood, we must ask, that *ELIMAVIT* was independently glossed in separate manuscripts, rather than emended in one witness? One can picture a scribe, who is copying from a common core of glosses, dispensing with either gloss in favor of the other. Of course, one example might be equivocal, but even more examples expose how systematic such changes are:

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>Reading in R2</i>	<i>Reading in S</i>
21, 16 <i>EBDOMADIBVS</i>	curriculis	circulis
22, 4 <i>INQVIRENTES</i>	inuestigantes	<i>ahsiende</i>
22, 16 <i>CLARESCAT</i>	ut	hoc est ut
22, 21 <i>EVANGELISTA</i>	matheus	hoc est iohannes
23, 25 <i>DE ARENOSIS</i>	sablum	<i>of sanegum ceoslum</i>
23, 64/65 <i>PROSEQVITVR</i>	tractat uel laudat	ducit uel exponit uel laudat
25, 7 <i>PROPALAT</i>	manifestabat, presens pro preterito	propalabat
25, 11 <i>FAS EST</i>	conueniens	opere pretium
25, 18 <i>ELIMAVIT</i>	manifestauit	elucubrauit uel manifestauit
25, 61/62 <i>RVBESCENS</i>	cresscens	uirescens
27, 8 <i>OROMATE</i>	in considerat[t]ione	in reuelatione
27, 16 <i>COLLIGI</i>	coniungi	intellegi
27, 29 <i>DIGESSIT</i>	ordinauit	exordinauit
27, 38 <i>FRVNISCANTVR</i>	ut fruuntur uel utantur	utantur
28, 8 <i>ELEMENTA</i>	fortune uel sidera	<i>gedryhtu</i>
28, 10 <i>ADVECTABVNT</i>	adportabunt	ferunt
29, 56 <i>CONSVLTA</i>	interrogata	<i>antswara</i>
30, 5 <i>EVLOGIAE</i>	benedictionis	<i>bletsunge</i>
31, 13/14 <i>SVB PRAETEXTV</i>	sub defensione	protectione
31, 22 <i>CONSVLEBANT</i>	intuebant	prouidebant
32, 91 <i>CONFVTATI</i>	superati	<i>ouerdryuene</i>
32, 98 <i>OBVNCABAT</i>	reflectebat	<i>done hiogewede</i>
33, 8 <i>CENSURA</i>	<i>of</i>	ablatius
33, 12 <i>VESTIBVLVM</i>	ad	ad introitum
33, 15/16 <i>PERPENDICVLO</i>	memoria	a rectitudine
34, 19 <i>IMPERTIENDO</i>	diuidendo, dando	largiendo, dando
35, 55 <i>QVID PLVRA</i>	dicam	loquar

Many of the terms in this table appear in patterns suggesting that their differences spring from intervention by a scribe. A reader may have felt that one rendering of a word did not quite capture the sense of the passage and changed the gloss as he cop-

ied. Indeed, many of the glosses presented here are roughly equivalent. The words *curriculis* (R2) and *circulis* (S) in 22, 16 are virtually synonymous in medieval Latin. The phrases *hoc est ut* (S) for *ut* (R2) in 22, 16 and *hoc est iohannes* (S) for *matheus* (R2) in 22, 21 show either a clarification in the case of Salisbury, or an abbreviation in the case of Royal. Even the glosses to 25, 7 are equivalent, for the phrase in R2 *presens pro preterito* ('present for preterite') glossing *propalat* is identical in sense to the shorthand form *propalabat* in S. In gloss 33, 8 the Old English preposition *of* differs from the Latin gloss *ablatiuus*, although they both indicate the ablative case of the noun. Old English for Latin or Latin for Old English might also explain the discrepancies in glosses 22, 4; 23, 25; 28, 8; 29, 56; 30, 5; 32, 91; 32, 98. Hence, there is reason to suspect that even more glosses to R2 and S complement each other than shared readings expose. Ultimately, a more penetrating investigation than I propose here must account for these implicit correspondences.

The exact relationship between glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv and Salisbury 38 is obscure, possibly even impenetrable, but one conclusion is certain. In the sample I have transcribed above, the common error *deleantes* for *delentes* and the unusual spelling *augmento* for *augmento* suggest that both sets of glosses are linked. Before reviewing the transmission implied in such conjunctive errors, we must first investigate three other books having related glosses.

Napier intuited that glosses in the Salisbury manuscript were related to glosses in two other contemporaneous books, Royal 5 E.xi and Royal 6 A.vi. I noted earlier that these books, together with Salisbury 38, originated in Canterbury. To some degree, Napier's impression proves to be right. A collation of glosses in Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi and Royal 6 A.vi reveals that these manuscripts also share the same core of glosses appearing in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv and in the first layer of Digby 146. Another manuscript, Bodley 97, has similar correspondences. In the following table, glosses to the same lemmas as those compared above are juxtaposed in these four manuscripts. In addition, I collate glosses from a fifth manuscript, Corpus 326, to show that glosses common to four manuscripts occur randomly in at least one other. Although my sample collation retains almost all glosses occurring uniquely in my four principal manuscripts, a single gloss, statistically speaking, probably does not form part of the common core which I am examining. (Perhaps the only exception to this is 15, 12 (*feliciter*), which appears

in the Early Strata of *R2* and in *S*.) Most of the intervening glosses attested in a single manuscript from among the four I have selected are the scratched glosses in Royal 5 E.xi. Because these Old English scratched glosses appear to be related to the Brussels/Digby *corpora*, I have omitted them here. Lemmas marked with an asterisk appear in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv. Entries in italics are identical in Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi, Royal 6 A.vi and Bodley 97; they are sometimes identical in all five manuscripts. Spaces marked xxxxx are lacking glosses to this lemma.

An analysis of this table reveals an important fact about the transmission of glosses to *Pdv*. Glosses to 185 lemmas out of a total of 317 are identical in at least three manuscripts. In fact, 74 glosses are the same in *all* these Canterbury volumes. Such a close correspondence cannot be fortuitous, since these 74 glosses span a text of several thousand words. We could not expect that scribes working independently would gloss the same few words in so many manuscripts. Hence, glosses common to these four Canterbury manuscripts are very likely to be intimately related; they probably derive from the same source. I call this hypothetical source, which I believe had a set of glosses similar to those surviving jointly in Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi, Royal 6 A.vi and Bodley 97, the 'Common Recension'. My definition of the 'Common Recension', of course, is somewhat artificial, since each of my Canterbury manuscripts need not contain all the glosses from it. In fact, Salisbury 38 and Royal 6 A.vi have many more glosses in common than they share with Royal 5 E.xi or Bodley 97. That may mean that an exemplar of Salisbury 38 or Royal 6 A.vi contained glosses which were added to the 'Common Recension' or that 'Common Recension' glosses were omitted from the Royal 5 E.xi or Bodley 97 *corpora*. Because gloss 'texts' were altered at whim, only collation affords a way to define this early gloss-compilation. Hence, identifying glosses belonging to a common core means locating those which occur in large numbers of manuscripts, since it is highly unlikely that gloss-strata in so many volumes arose independently. Glosses common to *S*, *R4*, *R3* and *C2* which appear in other manuscripts are probably related to this early 'Common Recension' collection of scholia.

Because glosses were added to, or subtracted from, manuscripts all the time, the growth and dissemination of the 'Common Recension' glosses are frustratingly difficult to gauge. The manuscript witnesses are too few, too late, and unrepresenta-

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
11, 4 DENOSCIVR	illa superbia	illa superbia, arrogantia	illa superbia, arrogantia	illa superbia, arrogantia	illa superbia, arrogantia	illa superbia
11, 5 PARASITORVM	xxxxxx	<i>onspillerndra</i>	<i>fe</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 6 APOSTATARVM	<i>hindergergena</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 6 GLOMERATVS	xxxxxx	iunctus	iunctus	iunctus, <i>gefelaht</i>	xxxxxx	iunctus
11, 7 TETRVM	in	in	in	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 8 PROPLAVSTVS	xxxxxx	<i>se frumscapena</i>	xxxxxx	<i>frumscapen</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 8/9 RECENTIS	xxxxxx	<i>niues uel nouus</i>	nouus	<i>niues</i>	xxxxxx	noui
11, 9 COLONVS	<i>bu</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 10 RVDIS	xxxxxx	adam	adam	adam	xxxxxx	adam
11, 11 BVCCIS	<i>smactum</i>	<i>smactum</i>	<i>smactum</i>	<i>smactum</i>	xxxxxx	<i>smactum</i>
11, 11 AMBRONIBVS	xxxxxx	<i>gifrum</i>	<i>gifrum</i>	<i>gifrum</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 11 LVRCONIBVS	xxxxxx	<i>frechum</i>	<i>reflum</i>	<i>7 refflum</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 12 GASTRIMARGIAE	xxxxxx	auaritie	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 12 VORAGINEM	xxxxxx	<i>edurindam</i>	<i>edurindam</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>edurindam</i>
11, 14 BEATO	a	a	<i>Hlogade</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 15 PARTICPIO	xxxxxx	a	xxxxxx	a	xxxxxx	a
11, 17 EMVLAMENTIS	xxxxxx	lucris	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	lucris
11, 17 ET DE	xxxxxx	si	si	si	xxxxxx	si
11, 18 RVMVCVLOS	xxxxxx	famam	xxxxxx	famam	xxxxxx	fama
11, 19 CENODOXIAE	uane glorie	uane laudis	uane laudis	uane laudis	uane laudis	uane glorie
11, 19 CEPERIT	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	si	xxxxxx
11, 22 QVAE	xxxxxx	beluc	xxxxxx	beluc	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 22 RABIDIS	xxxxxx	<i>rebum</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 23 VENENOSIS	xxxxxx	<i>7 geert</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
11, 23 GENVINIS	xxxxxx	<i>iodrecomum</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
13, 8 CALONES	xxxxx	calo i. seruus	calo i. seruus	calo i. seruus	calo i. seruus	calo i. seruus
13, 8/9 CLIENTES	socii	socii	socii	socii	socii	xxxxxx
13, 9 LIXARVM	xxxxxx	mercenariorum	mercenariorum	mercenariorum	mercenariorum	xxxxxx
13, 10 PROCERES	principes	principes	principes	7 <i>deman</i>	principes	xxxxxx
13, 11 TRIBVNATVM	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	principatum	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 12 PROFANOS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>man</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 13 IN CENTVRIIS	xxxxxx	Due erant ...	xxxxxx	Due erant ...	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 14 CONGLOBATOS	congregatos	congregatus	congregatos	congregatos	congregatos	xxxxxx
13, 17 PRAELATIS	antepositis	antepositis	antepositis	antepositis	antepositis	xxxxxx
13, 17 INGRVERE	euenire	euenire	euenire	euenire	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 18 FRAMEA	tela	tela	tela	tela	tela	xxxxxx
13, 19 EMERITOS	xxxxxx	<i>head</i>	xxxxxx	<i>head</i> , i. perfectos	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 20 < TOXA >	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>ditte</i>	xxxxxx
13, 24/25 COMPONAT	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>sete</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 27 PARROCHIAE	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>scire</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 27 ARCHIMANDRITA	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	pastor	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 27/28 PECVLARITER	specialiter	specialiter	specialiter	specialiter	specialiter	xxxxxx
13, 28/29 PROPALABVNT	manifestabunt	manifestabunt	manifestabunt	manifestabunt	manifestabunt	xxxxxx
13, 30/31 LIBRO	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	in	xxxxxx
13, 31 MORALIVM	iob	xxxxxx	iob	iob	iob	iob
13, 31 .xxx.	in	in	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 31 ELIMAVIT	manifestavit	enudavit	enudavit	deposuit	enudavit	enudavit
13, 33 PERNICIOSA	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>awy</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
13, 34 POTISSIMVM	maxime	maxime	maxime	maxime	maxime	maxime
13, 35 QVOD	co quod	co quod	co quod	xxxxxx	co quod	xxxxxx
13, 40 OBLITERANTES	dele[<i>a</i>]ntes	dele[<i>a</i>]ntes	dele[<i>a</i>]ntes	dele[<i>a</i>]ntes	delentes	xxxxxx

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
13, 41/42 INCONTAMINATA	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	incorrupta	XXXXX	XXXXX
13, 48 LOCVPLETIVS	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	ille gradus	XXXXX	XXXXX
13, 49 PARVI PENDERE	despicere	despicere	despicere	despicere	despicere	XXXXX
13, 50 AVT	nec	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
13, 54 RETIACVLVM	laqueum	laqueum	laqueum	laqueum	laqueum	XXXXX
13, 54 TENDICVLAM	rete	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
13, 55 CONECTAT	ligat	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	rete
13, 55 SI	aut	aut	aut	aut	aut	XXXXX
13, 55 TIRIACA	uel antidota	XXXXX	XXXXX	qua medicina	XXXXX	XXXXX
13, 55 LETIFERVM	que	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 1 AVTEM	sunt	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	sunt
14, 1/2 AEMVLATORES	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	imitatores	imitatores
14, 2 IN SVMMO	on <i>maerum</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 3 PROPOSITO	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	gradu	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 4/5 REPAGVLA	frena	frena	frena	frena	frena	XXXXX
14, 5 FINE TENVS	usque ad finem	usque ad finem	usque ad finem	usque ad finem	usque ad finem	XXXXX
14, 6 COMPVNGVNTVR	XXXXX	<i>hi sint onbride</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 6 SCINTILLANTE	<i>spirarende</i>	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	XXXXX	XXXXX
17, 8 E	de	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 8 INHIANter	diligenter	diligenter	diligenter	XXXXX	diligenter	XXXXX
14, 9 ET AD	ut	ut	ut	ut	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 9 QVANTOCIVS	uelocius	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 10 FRVGLITATIS	parcatis	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 10 PARSIMONIA	abstinentia	abstinentia	abstinentia	abstinentia	abstinentia	XXXXX
14, 10 PRODANT	XXXXX	manifestant	XXXXX	manifestant	XXXXX	XXXXX
14, 10 FVRTIVS	XXXXX	secretis	secretis	secretis	secretis	XXXXX

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
14, 12 AC PROPTER	dum	dum	dum	dum	xxxxx	dum
14, 13 IMIS	<i>incandūm</i>	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx
14, 13 ILIBVS	uiscribus	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx
14, 14 THEORICAE	superne	diuine, theos i. deus	diuine, i. deus theos	diuine, theos i. deus	diuine, theos i. deus	diuine
14, 17 COMMISSA	delicta uel scelera	delicta	delicta	delicta	delicta	xxxxxx
14, 19 SUPPLEMENTO	aumento	aumento	<i>mid, mid</i> , aumento	aumento	aumento	xxxxxx
14, 20 CEDIT	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>rynd</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
14, 21 EMINENS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	precellens	xxxxxx
14, 21 CONIVGATORVM	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>gemazca</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 1/2 PRAEROGATIVAM	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	pruilegium uel dignitatem	xxxxxx
15, 2 ADIVMENTO	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	adiutorio	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 2 SVFFICERE	posse	posse	posse	posse	posse	posse
15, 3 ET QVASI	xxxxxx	non	xxxxxx	non	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 3 HAC	prerogatiua	prerogatiua	prerogatiua	prerogatiua	prerogatiua	xxxxxx
15, 4 FERIATVS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	quietus	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 5 EXISTAT	nonnullus	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 6 RESIDVO	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	cetero uel alio uel reliquo	xxxxxx
15, 8 VT IVXTA	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	nobilitas	xxxxxx
15, 8 PSALMIGRAFI	dauid	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 12 COLLEGIO	xxxxxx	<i>gesomunge</i>	<i>gesomunge</i>	<i>gesomunge</i>	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 12 PERFRVI	feliciter	feliciter	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
15, 12 MEREATVR	nobilitas	nobilitas	nobilitas	nobilitas	nobilitas uel uirginitas	xxxxxx

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
15, 13 AMMINICVLO	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	adiumento	adiumento uel adiutorio	XXXXX
15, 15 INFRVCTVOSA	XXXXX	industria	industria	industria	industria	XXXXX
15, 17 GESTANTIBVS	portantibus	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 17 MVLTABITVR	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	<i>bip gewinod</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 18 TEXTVRA	XXXXX	pictura	textura	pictura	pictura	textura
15, 18 NISI	XXXXX	non	non	XXXXX	non	XXXXX
15, 21 IMAGINVM	XXXXX	similitudinum	similitudinum	similitudinum	similitudinum	XXXXX
15, 21 THORACIBVS	imaginibus	XXXXX	uel bus	XXXXX	<i>amicnesvum</i>	XXXXX
15, 22 CONFECTA	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	si	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 22 LIQVET	apparet	apparet	apparet	apparet	apparet	apparet
15, 23 PROFECTO	omnino	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 23 QVONIAM	XXXXX	quod	quod	XXXXX	quod	XXXXX
15, 25 DILVBRI	templi	templi	XXXXX	templi	templi	XXXXX
15, 26 IACINTHO	XXXXX	<i>of wade</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 27 BIS TINCTO	XXXXX	<i>wolcredan wimman</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 27 VERMICVLO	XXXXX	<i>ophe wealhtas</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 27/28 DISPARI	et cum	<i>ingelicum</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 28 MVRICE	XXXXX	<i>wimman</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 29 COMMINSIMVR	XXXXX	excogitamus	excogitamus	excogitamus	excogitamus	excogitamus
		uel commentamus	uel commentamus	uel commentamus	uel commentamus	
		inde commentum	inde commentum	inde commentum	inde commentum	
15, 29 OBRIZA	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	Rotundos	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 30 LAMINA	XXXXXX	petalum, <i>leuer</i>	<i>la, i. petalum</i>	petalum, <i>leuer</i>	XXXXX	petalum
15, 30 ARGENTI ET ELECTRI	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXX	inmixtio auri et argenti	XXXXX	XXXXX
15, 32 DRACONTIA	XXXXXX	<i>gimrodar, draconitas ... gimrodor</i>	<i>gimrodar, draconitas ...</i>	<i>gimrodar, draconitas ...</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
15, 33 DISTINCTAS	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	dispositas	XXXXX
15, 34 AMPLIFICANDIS	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	multiplicandis	XXXXX
15, 34/35 ASSYMPITAS	XXXXXX	acceptas	acceptas	acceptas	acceptas	XXXXXX
15, 35 RIMAMINI	scrutamini	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	scrutamini	XXXXXX
15, 36 EXPLANATIONIBVS	XXXXXX	manifestationibus	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
15, 36 TROPOLOGIAE	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	similitudinis	XXXXXX
16, 2 TVTETVR	confirmetur	confirmetur	leo, confirmetur	XXXXXX	confirmetur	conuirmetur
16, 3 LASCIVIA	XXXXXX	pro stultitia	XXXXXX	stultitia	pro stultitia	pro stultitia
16, 3 PEDAGOGIO	documento	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	uel feruentia	XXXXXX
16, 5 IACVLO	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 6 SPICVLO	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	uel piaculo	sagita	XXXXXX
16, 7 EXPERTI SVMVS	XXXXXX	inuenti sumus	inuenti sumus	inuenti sumus	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 8 PVLSTATVR	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	percutitur	XXXXXX
16, 8 GENODOXIA	XXXXXX	uana laude	uana laude	uana laude	uana laude	ex uana laude
16, 9 MERITO	XXXXXX	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	XXXXXX
16, 9 PRAESTANTIOREM	meliozem	selran	wurpnan, selran	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 10 OPINATVR	putatur	conscientia	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 10 RECOMPENSATIONIS	remuneratonis	remuneratonis	remuneratonis	remuneratonis	remuneratonis	XXXXXX
16, 10/11 FRAVDABITVR	conscientia	conscientia	conscientia	conscientia	conscientia	XXXXXX
16, 11 PRIVABITVR	XXXXXX	byþ bedaeled	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 12 THALAMO	in	in	in	in	in	XXXXXX
16, 14 SED	spopndit	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 14 ILLAS	gratulabundas	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	uirgines	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
16, 15 LICHINIS	XXXXXX	lucernis	lucernis	XXXXXX	lucernis	lucernis
16, 15/16 CONFLAGRANTIBVS	XXXXXX	flagrans odorans	ardentibus	ardentibus flagrans	ardentibus	XXXXXX
		i. ardentibus				
		lucernis				

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
16, 16 DECRETA	edicta	edicta	edicta	edicta	xxxxx	xxxxx
16, 16 REPEDANTI	reuerenti	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	reuerenti	reuerenti
16, 17 QVA DE RE	ideo	xxxxxx	ideo	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx
16, 17/18 OPERAE PRETIUM	conueniens	conueniens	conueniens	conueniens	conueniens	xxxxxx
16, 20 QVATENVS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	ut	xxxxxx
16, 20 EXSTIRPatis	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>awyrtene</i>	xxxxxx	euulsis	xxxxxx
16, 21 PASSIONVM	uitiorum	uitiorum	uitiorum	uitiorum, <i>uincystia</i>	uitiorum	xxxxxx
16, 22 PASTINARE	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>trydrian</i>	xxxxxx
16, 23 COMPROBATVR	elegitur	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
16, 24 VAS ELECTIIONIS	xxxxxx	paulus	paulus	paulus	paulus	xxxxxx
16, 24 VT SIT	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	xxxxxx
16, 26 CLAVSTRA	ingressus	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
16, 27 SOLITARIA	quod	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	quod	xxxxxx
16, 28 QVEM	paradisum	paradisum	paradisum	paradisum	xxxxxx	paradisum
16, 28 RVMPEHA	gladio	gladio	gladio	gladio	xxxxxx	gladio
16, 28 VERSATILI	xxxxxx	mobili	mobili	mobili	mobili	xxxxxx
16, 29 RECAPITVLATIO	narratio	prescriptio	prescriptio	prescriptio	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
16, 29 ORIGINALITER	principaliter	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
16, 29/30 NISI VTRIMQVE	et corpus	et corpus	et corpus	et corpus	et corpus	et corpus
16, 30 CANDESCAT	et spiritum	et spiritum	et spiritum	et spiritum	et spiritum	et spiritum
	xxxxxx	inradiet	inradiet	inradiet	inradiet	inradiet uel inlucescat
16, 31 IDEM	xxxxxx	apostolus	apostolus	apostolus	apostolus	xxxxxx
16, 33 INSOLESCAT	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	<i>per ne modie</i>	xxxxxx	superbiet	xxxxxx
16, 33 PROTERVO	xxxxxx	superba	superba	superba	superba	xxxxxx
16, 33 FASTV	elationis	elatione	<i>mo, i. elatione</i>	elatione	elatione	xxxxxx

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
16, 34 PVRA	XXXXX	XXXXX	<i>seo</i>	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
16, 35 MANGIPATVR	XXXXX	XXXXX	<i>e</i>	XXXXX	retinetur	XXXXX
16, 35 INDEFESSA	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	ablatiuus	XXXXX
16, 36 INSTANTIA	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	perseuerantia	XXXXX
17, 2 PRAEDICATOR	XXXXX	paulus	paulus	paulus	paulus	XXXXX
17, 2 DIRIMIT	diuisit	diuisit	diuisit	diuisit	segregauit	XXXXX
17, 4 REVERA	utique	utique	utique	utique	utique	XXXXX
17, 5 LARGA	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	late et spatiosa	XXXXX
17, 6 DILECTIONIS	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	uel diligentiam	XXXXX
17, 6 INFIMI	XXXXX	terrene	terrene	terrene	XXXXX	XXXXX
17, 7 VNA	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	XXXXX
17, 8 ALTERA	fore	fore	fore	fore	fore	XXXXX
17, 8 LASCIVIAE	XXXXX	luxurie uel petulantiae	luxurie uel petulantiae	XXXXX	luxurie uel petulantic	luxurie, petulantic
17, 8 ISTA	mulier	mulier	mulier	mulier	mulier	mulier
17, 9 LACERTOS	XXXXX	brachia	brachia	brachia	brachia	brachia
17, 9 DEXTRALIBVS	XXXXX	armillis	armillis	armillis	armillis	armillis
17, 10 ILLA	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	XXXXX
17, 12 CANDIDIS	albis	albis	albis	albis	albis	XXXXX
17, 13 ISTA	XXXXX	mulier	mulier	mulier	mulier	mulier
17, 14 COMPONI	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	XXXXX	<i>se</i>
17, 14 STIBIO	XXXXX	<i>nebesalae</i>	<i>nebesalae</i>	<i>nebesalae</i>	<i>nebesalae</i>	<i>nebesalae</i>
17, 15 SVATIM	suo more	suo more	suo more	suo more	XXXXX	suo more
17, 15 SATAGIT	XXXXX	incipit	incipit	incipit	incipit	incipit
17, 15 ILLA	XXXXX	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo
17, 17 ISTA	XXXXX	mulier	mulier	mulier	mulier	XXXXX

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
17, 18 INDRVITICANS	XXXXX	XXXXX	<i>tigende</i>	<i>tigende</i>	<i>tigende</i>	XXXXX
17, 19 PROSTIBVLI	XXXXX	meretricis	meretricis	meretricis	meretricis	XXXXX
17, 20 COMPOSITA	XXXXX	ornata	ornata	ornata	ornata	ornata
17, 22 ILLA	XXXXXX	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo
17, 23 EXEMPLAR	uel exempla	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
18, 4 PRAEOCCVPETVR	precedatur	precedat	precedat	precedat	precedat	precedat
18, 5 LIQVET	claret	certum est	certum est	certum est	certum est	XXXXX
18, 6 NEMPE	igitur	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
18, 7 GENVINA	XXXXXX	puerperio	puerperio	puerperio	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
18, 9 INDIVIDVVS	XXXXXX	inseparabilis	inseparabilis	inseparabilis	inseparabilis	inseparabilis
18, 9 EXISTERE	XXXXXX	manere	manere	manere	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
18, 9 ET	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	ut	ut
18, 10 SVPREMA	XXXXXX	ablatius	ablatius	XXXXXX	ablatius	ablatius
18, 11 ET CORRVPVIBILE	antequam	antequam	antequam	antequam	antequam	antequam
18, 12 CAELIBES	XXXXXX	abstinentes	abstinentes	abstinentes	abstinentes	abstinentes
18, 13 COMPELLATVR	ut	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
18, 13 FACTIOSAM	falsam	falsam	falsam	falsam	falsam	falsam
18, 14 ARGVMENTO	XXXXXX	ablatius	ablatius	ablatius	ablatius	XXXXXX
18, 15 CONFVTANS	conuincens	conuincens	conuincens	conuincens	conuincens	conuincens
18, 15 EXPLODIT	XXXXXX	diluit	diluit	diluit	diluit	XXXXXX
18, 17 SENTICOSIS	XXXXXX	spinosis	spinosis	spinosis	spinosis	spinosis
18, 19 FATESCAT	XXXXXX	marcescat	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	marcescat	XXXXXX
18, 19/20 ET PROPINQVANTE	licet	licet	licet	licet	licet	licet
18, 21 HAEC SOLA	uirginitas	uirginitas	uirginitas	uirginitas	XXXXXX	uirginitas
18, 25 IMPERIO	XXXXXX	iussu	iussu	iussu	iussu	XXXXXX
18, 27 PROSAPIA	XXXXXX	ablatius	ablatius	ablatius	ablatius	XXXXXX

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
18, 27 SANERVNT	indicauerunt	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx
18, 29 DECRETA	edicta	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
18, 30 PROMVLGARE	demonstrare	manifestare	manifestare	manifestare	manifestare	manifestare
18, 31 PRAESCIVS	xxxxxx	sagax	sagax	sagax	sagax	xxxxxx
18, 32 SVGGESTIONIS	xxxxxx	monitionis	monitionis	monitionis	monitionis	xxxxxx
18, 33 DEDITI	sub, diuulgati	subditi, diuulgati	subditi, diuulgati	subditi, diuulgati	diuulgati	xxxxxx
18, 34 PRAEDITI	ornati	ditati	ditati	ditati	ditati	xxxxxx
18, 34 EXPERIRI	xxxxxx	inuenire	inuenire	inuenire	inuenire	xxxxxx
18, 35 INDAGANTES	inuestigantes	inuestigantes	inuestigantes	inuestigantes	inuestigantes	xxxxxx
18, 37/38 IMPORTVNIS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	exsortis	xxxxxx
18, 41 EFFECTIBVS	gestibus	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
18, 41/42 CONCVRRAMVS	xxxxxx	concertemus	concertemus	concertemus	concertemus	xxxxxx
18, 43 PRAESTVLANTES	expectantes	expectantes	expectantes	expectantes	expectantes	expectantes
18, 43 QVAM	palmam	palmam	palmam	palmam	palmam	xxxxxx
18, 47 IVBILATIONIS	xxxxxx	laudis	laudis	laudis	laudis	xxxxxx
18, 48 TREPVDIO	gaudio	gaudio	gaudio	gaudio	gaudio	xxxxxx
18, 49 DE CETERO	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	ex hoc	ex hoc	ex hoc	xxxxxx
19, 3 VOLVMINE	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	longo tracto	longo tracto	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
19, 3 REFERTVR	xxxxxx	narratur	narratur	narratur	narratur	xxxxxx
19, 4 TRIPERTITIS	on pro	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
19, 4 DIFFERANT	xxxxxx	diuidant	diuidant	diuidant	diuidant	xxxxxx
19, 5/6 SEQVESTRANTVR	xxxxxx	separantur	separantur	separantur	separantur	xxxxxx
19, 6 DISCRETIS	xxxxxx	diuisis	diuisis	diuisis	diuisis	xxxxxx
19, 6/7 DIRIMVNTVR	diuiduntur	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
19, 7 DISTINGENTE	xxxxxx	diuidente	diuidente	diuidente	diuidente	diuidente
19, 11 LVCCERNA	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	uel luna	uel luna	xxxxxx	xxxxxx

LEMMA	R2	S	R4	R3	C2	C1
19, 15 CORVVS	<i>lic</i>	XXXXX	<i>lic</i>	mortuum	mortuum	mortuum
19, 16 REDIVIVA	linum	linum	linum	linum	linum	linum
19, 17 PALATIVM	XXXXXX	regis	regis	regis	regis	XXXXXX
19, 19 ET TAMEN SVB VNO	XXXXXX	omnia hec	omnia hec	omnia hec	omnia hec	XXXXXX
19, 19 IMPERATORE	XXXXXX	regc	regc	regc	regc	regc
19, 20 CONICI	legi	perlegi	perlegi	perlegi	perlegi	perlegi
19, 20 ET COLLIGI	XXXXXX	intellegi	intellegi	intellegi	intellegi	intellegi
19, 21 ILLIBATA	inmaculata	inmaculata	inmaculata	inmaculata	inmaculata	XXXXXX
19, 22 CAELIBATVS	XXXXXX	castitatis	castitatis	castitatis	castitatis	XXXXXX
19, 22 CASTITAS	XXXXXX	et quod sit	et quod sit	et quod sit	et quod sit	et quod sit
19, 23 SPONSALIBVS	XXXXXX	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	ablatiuus	XXXXXX
19, 24 CAVSA	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	pro re	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
19, 24 IVGALITAS	XXXXXX	et quod sit	et quod sit	et quod sit	et quod sit	et quod sit
19, 24 AD PROPAGANDAM	ad manifestandam	ad manifestandam	ad manifestandam	ad manifestandam	ad manifestandam	XXXXXX
19, 28 PARADIGMA	exemplum	exemplum	exemplum	exemplum	exemplum	exemplum
19, 31 PVLVLANTES	crescentes	crescentes	crescentes	crescentes	crescentes	crescentes
19, 32 GLVMVLA	XXXXXX	<i>scale</i>	<i>egla, bose</i>	<i>scale</i>	<i>scale</i>	nuclea uel <i>scale</i>
19, 33 RITV	XXXXXX	consuetudine	consuetudine	consuetudine	consuetudine	consuetudine
19, 35 DISPVTATIONIS	XXXXXX	meditationis	meditationis	XXXXXX	meditationis	meditationis
19, 37 CRIMINETVR	XXXXXX	culpetur	culpetur	culpetur	culpetur	culpetur
19, 38/39 COBONAM	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	uel gloriam	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
19, 39 FAVENTE	XXXXXX	opitulante	opitulante	opitulante	opitulante	XXXXXX

tively attributable to major ecclesiastical foundations. Much of the evidence of the transmission of the 'Common Recension' glosses is therefore inferential, and such inferences as can be drawn have to be based on a few facts. A chief fact impinging on the textual transmission concerns the glosses in Royal 7 D.xxiv, many of which appear in manuscripts preserving glosses from my hypothetical 'Common Recension'. Glosses in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv must therefore figure in the transmission of 'Common Recension' glosses. As we have seen, these early glosses in Royal were copied latterly into the first stratum of Digby 146, with various additions from another source (or sources), and into Brussels via an apograph of Digby. It is clear, then, that glosses common to seven manuscripts, and sometimes eight when Corpus 326 is considered, are interrelated.

The Relationship of Glosses in Brussels HANDS A and B to the 'Common Recension'

Brussels HAND A contributes a fairly substantial portion of glosses to the manuscript, and these glosses are very frequently attested in other glossed Aldhelm codices, mainly S, R4, R3 and C2. For example, 13, 9 *mercenariorum* Ba is found identically in Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi, Royal 6 A.vi and Bodley 97. In 27, 24 *excussabili uel uero* occurs in R4, S, R3 and C2; neither gloss coincides with any in Royal 7 D.xxiv. The correspondences between glosses in Brussels HAND A and in the four Canterbury books collated above lead us to suspect that scribe A copied glosses from the 'Common Recension'. The following table highlights many other similarities. Italicized entries are identical in S, R4, R3 and C2, and an asterisk indicates that the gloss appears in the Early Strata of R2:

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>Gloss in Ba</i>	<i>Manuscripts</i>
13, 9 LIXARVM	<i>mercenariorum</i>	R4 S R3 C2
19, 22 CAELIBATVS	<i>castitatis</i>	R4 S R3 C2
22, 34 *ET CVM	qui	R2 R4 S
23, 61 VICTORIA	et	R4 S C2
25, 6 *MEDVLLITVS	intime	R2 R4 S R3
25, 29 FERTVR	silvester	S R3
26, 27 SATAGEBAT	<i>incipiebat</i>	R4 S R3 C2
27, 16 COLLIGI	cognosci	R4 C2
27, 24 APOLLOGITICO	<i>excussabili uel uero</i>	R4 S R3 C2
27, 28 SCEDARVM	<i>cartena</i>	R4 S R3

27, 36 CONTIONANTVR	locuntur	S R3 C1
27, 38 FRVNISCANTVR	utantur	R4 S R3 C2 C1
28, 1 *STIBARIVS	arator	R4 S R3 C2
28, 30/31 *INEXHAVSTAM	indefessam	R4 S R3 C2
29, 7 *OPINIONVM	laudationum	R4 C2
	laudationum uel	
	existimationum	S R3
29, 25 PYRAM	rogus	R4 R3 C2 C1
30, 26 QVAE	lucra	S R3
31, 16 *BIOTHANATAS	bismortuus	R4 S R3
	bismortuos	R2

This pattern of common glosses reflects the distribution of *interpretamenta* noted in the collation of the 'Common Recension' manuscripts. HAND A glosses are often found identically and uniquely in the four Canterbury manuscripts comprising the core of the 'Common Recension' glosses: Salisbury 38, Royal 5 E.xi, Royal 6 A.vi and Bodley 97. Furthermore, many glosses are periodically common to the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv, a circumstance reflecting the relationship between the HAND 3 entries in this early manuscript and the 'Common Recension' glosses. Glosses in the following entries also occur in Brussels HAND A and in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv: 22, 34 ET CVM; 25, 6 MEDVLLITVS; 25, 11 TAXAVERAT; 25, 22 ALPIVM; 25, 42 TRICARVM; 25, 44 ABSVRDVM; 26, 47 ASTATI; 27, 26 RETHORICIS; 27, 46 REFRENATVR; 28, 16 A PELLACI; 28, 31 ACCEPTO; 29, 32/33 CATACLISMI; 29, 34 SEV; 30, 20 SACELLA; 30, 28 RACEMOS; 31, 9/10 NEGOTIVM; 31, 16 BIOTHANATAS; 31, 21 GRAVITATE; 32, 19 FAVORABILE; 32, 36 DEVOTABANT; 32, 56 CHARACTERES; 32, 57 PERIODOS; 32, 66 INVESTES; 32, 107 PERFEREBAT; 33, 25 VAPVLARE; 34, 2 ARCHIATROS. Other HAND A glosses correspond as well to glosses in two or three of the Canterbury volumes whose common entries form the basis of my 'Common Recension' (22, 34 ET CVM; 23, 61 VICTORIA; 25, 6 MEDVLLITVS; 27, 16 COLLIGI; 27, 28 SCEDARVM; 27, 36 CONTIONANTVR; 29, 25 PYRAM; 30, 26 QVAE; 31, 16 BIOTHANATAS). Similar correlations are documented in my collation of the 'Common Recension' manuscripts, which share readings in various combinations: Salisbury 38 with Royal 6 A.vi, Royal 6 A.vi with Royal 5 E.xi, Bodley 97 with Corpus 326, Salisbury 38 with Bodley 97, etc. Although I deliberately discount these glosses as evidence of the 'Common Recension', any of them might have belonged to this common core.

Interestingly, both Latin and Old English glosses in HAND A frequently differ from glosses in the four Canterbury manuscripts I have discussed above. In a significant minority of cases, scribe A or a scribe of A's exemplar(s) freely introduced glosses to an apograph which today have no complement in any other *Pdv* manuscript. Obviously, many Old English glosses in HAND A were copied into Digby 146. However, the Latin glosses were frequently not taken over, and these often deviate from the core of glosses common to many manuscripts:

24, 28 MATVRAE] senilis; 25, 4 CAELIBATVS] uirginitatis; 25, 6 PIACVLO] uitio; 25, 6 MEDVLLITVS] funditus; 25, 8 STVDIVM] curam uel exercitium; 25, 8/9 PRAESTANTISSIMVM] honestissimum; 25, 14 SCROBIBVS] sulcis; 25, 31/32 LVSTRATIONIS] circuli; 25, 41 AESTVS] i. initium uel desiderium; 25, 54 PRAESAGIA] nomen c. pl; 25, 58 DECREPITA] ueterana; 25, 63 CLAMIDEM] i. sagum, duplex uestimentum; 25, 69 MACILENTO] extenuato; 26, 2 DELITESCERE] i. tardare uel latere; 26, 5 EX IMPROVISO] extemplo; 26, 19 SALIVARIBVS] repagulis; 26, 37 CREBRI] multi; 26, 40 PRAESTIGIAS] fantasias; 26, 47/48 PRAESIDIVM] auxilium; 27, 10 GIMNICVM] scolare; 27, 17 FAST] iustum; 27, 21 PROBABILIVS] elegantius; 27, 33/34 PROSEQVENTIS] loquentis; 27, 44 STRENVAE] uelociter; 28, 18 PVBERTATIS] iuuentutis; 28, 29 FAMVLATIBVS] obsiquiis; 29, 7 PRAESTANTISSIMVS] dignissimus; 29, 7/8 EXTOLLIT] honorat; 29, 8 EMERGERET] oriretur; 29, 11 SQVALENTIS] inmundi; 29, 19 MVNICIPIVM] ciuitatem; 29, 26 IN EDITO] in altum; 29, 30 TITIONVM] accensionum; 29, 34 IRRVPTIONEM] ingressionem; 29, 34 MINARETVR] s. oceanus; 29, 38 SVLCARET] fodiret uel scriberet; 29, 50 PRAEFIGVRAT] significat; 29, 50/51 EXEGIT] s. practicam uitam; 29, 51/52 IN REMOTO] in separato; 29, 52 THEORICAM] supernam; 29, 56 CONSVLTA] responsa; 29, 57 INTENTIONE] cura; 29, 62 ORACVLA] predicationes; 30, 5 EVLOGIAE] testamenti

In addition to these, there are a number of glosses written in Brussels HAND A which augment entries found in manuscripts preserving the 'Common Recension' entries. These glosses supplement a common core of glosses with a word or two, often in Old English. Some random examples are:

25, 18 ELIMAVIT] i. manifestauit R2 C2: elucubrauit uel manifestauit R4 S: i. manifestauit uel elucubrauit R3: elucidauit, manifestauit Ba

25, 47 DELITESCERET] i. tardaret R2 R4 S C2: *ædglide* R3: i. tardaret, *bemiþe* Ba

- 27, 8 OROMATE] in reuelatione R4 S R3 C2: *geliored*, uisione, consideratione Ba
- 27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS] i. muris R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 R5 O P: *muris*, for *gheahsealdum † gemotstowum*, on *weallum* Ba
- 29, 61 LINIAMENTO] specie uel similitudine S R3 C2: *gelicnyssæ*
R4: specie uel similitudine, (*) *limrædenne* Ba
- 31, 29 BERNA] i. seruus R2 R4 S C2 R5: *famula*, seruus Ba
- 32, 8 ANASTASSIS] i. resurectio R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1: congregatio, resurrectio Ba
- 32, 70 SERIO] pleniter R4 S C2: *on eornyst* R3: *eornest*, ordine Ba
- 32, 92 PROSTITVTA] meretrix R2 R4 R3 C2: meretrix, *forliger* Ba
- 33, 13 ALTERCARETVR] i. sermocinaretur R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1
R5: i. sermocinaretur, *soce* Ba

As far as I am aware, it has not previously been noted how idiosyncratic the Brussels HAND A glosses are. Nor has anyone recognized that the same idiosyncrasies crop up identically in HAND B.

I have already shown how scribe A records and adapts glosses from the so-called 'Common Recension'. Scribe B does the same. The following collation provides readings from HAND B and indicates in *italic* whether the same reading is found in S, R4, R3 and C2. Entries with an asterisk denote glosses in the Early Strata of R2:

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Reading in Bb Manuscripts</i>
37, 24 *IN PRACTICA	<i>uita</i>	R2 R4 S R3 C1
37, 30 DIREPTA	<i>uastata</i>	R4 S R3 C2
37, 32 PROPALATAM	<i>manifestatam</i>	R4 R3
37, 33 SVMMATIM	<i>pleniter</i>	R4 S C2
38, 11 VATICINIUM	<i>elogium</i>	S R3 C1
38, 44 SVB DIVO	<i>oriente</i>	R4 S R3 C2
38, 45/46 VLTERIVS	<i>ofer þæt</i>	R4 S R3
38, 56 OFFENDISSET	<i>inuenisset</i>	R4 S R3 C2 C1
38, 57 *SIMVL TATEM	<i>discordiam</i>	R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1
38, 59 INCENTOR	<i>instigator</i>	R2 R4 R3
38, 59 *FAVTOR	<i>adiutor</i>	R2 R4 S R3 C1
38, 60 SIGNIFER	<i>wicbora</i>	R4 S R3 C1
38, 63 VIOLATI	<i>maculati</i>	R4 S R3
38, 63 *CLASMA	<i>pace</i>	R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1
38, 64 EXSOLVES	<i>reddes</i>	R4 S R3 C2
38, 65 *RECEPTET	<i>accipiet</i>	R2 R4 S R3 C2

(74) Altered from *similitudini*.

38, 72 FRVGALITATIS	<i>abstinentie</i>	R4 S R3 C2 C1
38, 76 *VESTIBVLI	atrii	R2 R4 S R3

Glosses in HAND B derive from the 'Common Recension', which is almost certainly reflected in scribe A's contribution to the Brussels manuscript. Half of my examples derive from 'Common Recension' materials, while the other half correspond to glosses in two or more of the Canterbury books from which I deduced the existence of the 'Common Recension'. Furthermore, four of my examples share readings with the Early Strata of R2, a condition pertaining equally to glosses in 'Common Recension' manuscripts and to glosses in Brussels HAND A.

Clearly, Brussels scribes A and B draw glosses from a universal pool. Yet even more provocative correspondences between glosses in these hands strongly suggest that *both scribes drew glosses from the same manuscript*. I have shown how scribe A's glosses are utterly idiosyncratic. Few of them, either in Latin or Old English, are common to other manuscripts, and the Old English ones only appear in Digby 146 because they had been copied there in the eleventh century. The same holds true for glosses in HAND B. The copyist records glosses both in Latin and Old English which have no parallel in any other manuscript. In the following instances, scribe B writes an Old English or Latin gloss, which, like glosses in HAND A, go unrecorded in other surviving books:

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>Gloss in Bb</i>
37, 19 TANTVM	<i>anum</i>
37, 20 INCREMENTIS	<i>fructibus</i>
37, 30 DEPECVLATA	<i>separa</i>
37, 35 FEFELLISSET	<i>bewæg</i>
37, 41 EXTEMPLIO	<i>prepropere</i>
37, 42 MARGINEM	<i>ripam</i>
37, 42 TRANSLATVS	<i>oferfer'ed</i>
37, 46 RVGIENTIVM	<i>rugientium</i>
37, 47 AFFATIM	<i>fullice</i>
38, 6 VASTAE	<i>ru</i>
38, 7 SVBTERFVGIENS	<i>flionde</i>
38, 7 HAVD PROCVL	<i>unfeor</i>
38, 8 DELVBRO	<i>herige</i>
38, 24 POMPVLENTA	<i>pulchra</i>
38, 27 DELITESCENTE	<i>latende</i>
38, 29 FRVGALIS	<i>parcens</i>
38, 38 INTEMPESTAE	<i>tranquille</i>
38, 54 PELTARVM	<i>scilda</i>
38, 55 IAMIAMQVE	<i>ualde cito</i>

38, 61 SEQUESTRA	<i>borgiendre</i>
38, 73 CRVSTVLIS	<i>rindum</i>
38, 75 PRO FORIBVS	<i>beforan</i>

The distribution and rarity of Latin and Old English entries in *HAND B* mirror that in *HAND A*. Can it be fortuitous that scribes *A* and *B* gloss the text in the same consistent fashion? Glosses in Brussels *HAND B* are few, about 100 in Goossens's estimation. They occur roughly on fols. 33-45, and because glosses in *HAND A* are disproportionately thin on these folios, Goossens conjectured that the *A* scribe might have collaborated with *B*. Another view is possible, if we venture that each scribe copied from the same source. Let us imagine that *HAND B* precedes *HAND A* chronologically. If scribe *B* read and glossed only this section of *Pdv*, we can imagine what would have happened when scribe *A*, using the same exemplar, glossed the book. Recall that a scribe would not likely reproduce a gloss already in his manuscript. He would simply perform a kind of silent collation and pass on to the next lemma. If scribe *A* came across a gloss in *HAND B* which matched one in his exemplar, he would not record the gloss a second time. Glosses in *A*'s and *B*'s source would overlap with *B*'s respective contributions, and the distribution of glosses in *HANDS A* and *B* would be identical to that in the hypothetical exemplar.

Given all the formal correspondences between glosses in Brussels *HANDS A* and *B*, it seems very likely that they originated in the same manuscript, which contained a layer of glosses from the 'Common Recension'. Digby glosses in Latin *HAND 1* derive from the 'Common Recension', too. In my sample collation of glosses common to the first layers of Royal 7 D.xxiv and Digby 146, I noted five additions to Digby which occur in other manuscripts (p. 242). One of these entries (25, 21/22 AVSONIAE) is shared by the four manuscripts of my Canterbury group, a circumstance suggesting that an antecedent manuscript of Digby 146 contained glosses from a 'Common Recension' source. Furthermore, I also noted glosses common to *HAND C* of Brussels and to the main hand of Royal 6 B.vii which do not appear in Digby 146. The three examples I cite also occur in the four manuscripts of my Canterbury group. The coincidence strongly suggests that the Digby apograph also contained numerous glosses from the 'Common Recension' which had been taken from a different source. (No doubt these would have been collated with glosses taken from Digby 146.)

In earlier pages, I outlined a scenario in which scribe C collated glosses from an apograph of Digby 146 and omitted Digby glosses already added to Brussels 1650 by scribes A and B. To account for such ostensible collation, I maintained then that HANDS A and B preserved glosses from a common core. As we have seen, the first stratum of Digby contains glosses from Royal 7 D.xxiv which correspond exactly to entries in the 'Common Recension'. These were transmitted to a Digby apograph and thence to Brussels 1650 by scribe C. Because some of these 'Common Recension' glosses were already present in HANDS A and B, scribe C would not have copied them into the Brussels manuscript. He would silently collate the Brussels manuscript with his exemplar. Several Brussels hands therefore preserve glosses from my 'Common Recension'.

The Relationship of Glosses in the 'Common Recension' to those in Lambeth 200

The Lambeth manuscript ranks among the most sparsely glossed copies of *Pdv*, with only 89 holograph glosses, none of which is Old English. Yet despite the uneven glossing, a collation of the Lambeth glosses with those in other manuscripts shows that most of the Lambeth entries belong to my hypothetical 'Common Recension'. These glosses appear in patterns typifying the 'Common Recension' entries examined in other manuscripts. For example, 43 out of 89 glosses in the Lambeth volume occur in the Early Strata of Royal 7 D.xxiv. In the following concordance, I list all the entries for the Lambeth glosses and italicize those which appear in these R2 layers:

ProL. 4/5 PAVCORVM; 2, 1 PERNICIBVS; 2, 13 EXERCERI; 2, 30 DE QVO; 2, 31 VNGVLA; 4, 4 FACESSANTE; 4, 10 CERTATIM; 4, 22 ARTA; 11, 4 DENOSCITVR; 11, 33 PVGILES; 13, 1 AST VERO; 13, 4 QVOT; 13, 5 QVOT; 13, 35 QVOD; 13, 48 LOCVPLETATVS; 13, 50 AVT; 13, 55 SI; 14, 10 FVRTIVIS; 14, 11 SALSIS; 15, 2 SVFFICERE; 15, 3 ET QVASI; 15, 3 HAC; 15, 20 ARTE; 15, 22 CONFECTA; 15, 27/28 DISPARI; 16, 24 VT SIT; 16, 27 SOLITARIA; 16, 34 CONTEMNAT; 17, 7 VNA; 17, 8 ALTERA; 17, 14 COMPONI; 18, 6 QVOD; 19, 19 ET TAMEN SVB VNO; 19, 22 CASITAS; 19, 24 IVGALITAS; 20, 24 TRADIDIT; 20, 25 REDDIDIT; 21, 17 .CCCCXC.; 21, 34 FRAVDARETVR; 21, 49 QVI SECVNDQ; 24, 26 AC; 25, 83 RESVSCITABIS; 26, 37 QVAMVIS; 26, 46 DIFFIDENS; 27, 27 EDOCTVS; 27, 37 ET; 27, 41 PATEFACIANT; 33, 16 VERGERETVR; 33, 24 FALLERE; 36, 9 <PARENTES>; 36, 11

COMPERISSENT; 36, 16 VT PATRIARCHA; 36, 31 DIXISSE; 38, 61 TVM; 38, 78 QVI; 38, 79 IVBELEVS; 38, 91 MATVRESCERE; 41, 6 NEC; 41, 7 NEC; 45, 26 VBI; 45, 26 ET; 46, 3 QVARVM; 48, 8 SVASIT; 48, 8/9 INSTIGAVIT; 48, 18 NVLLVS; 48, 24 DISPONSARET; 49, 28 ET INFRA; 49, 32 MEMINIT; 49, 32 INQVIT; 49, 32 QVAS; 49, 34 QVIBVS; 49, 39 CLANGOREM; 49, 42 ET AD ILLAM; 49, 44 SVBVOLAS; 50, 10 POLLICETVR; 50, 44 ELIMINANT; 52, 3 VMEROS; 53, 28 CONTEMPSIT; 53, 62 VESCERETVR; 54, 19 .CCCXVIII.; 56, 12 HABITVS; 56, 12/13 INSIGNIA; 56, 13 ORNAMENTA; 56, 39 DOCVIT; 57, 4 DICO; 58, 1 PVDET; 58, 10 COCCINEA; 58, 13 PVLLA; 58, 28 EXPERIAMVR

The correspondences between the early layers of the Royal manuscript and Lambeth 200, arguably copied from an early witness of *Pdv*, are remarkable. Further correlations are even more noteworthy: a substantial portion of these glosses is also found in one or more of the Canterbury manuscripts having glosses from the 'Common Recension':

2, 13 EXERCERI; 11, 4 DENOSCITVR; 13, 1 AST VERO; 13, 35 QVOD; 13, 48 LOCVPLETATVS; 13, 55 SI; 15, 2 SVFFICERE; 15, 3 HAC; 16, 24 VT SIT; 16, 27 SOLITARIA; 17, 14 COMPONI; 21, 34 FRAVDARETVR; 21, 49 QVI SECVNDO; 27, 27 EDOCTVS; 33, 16 VERGERETVR; 33, 24 FALLERE; 36, 9 <PARENTES>; 36, 11 COMPERISSENT; 36, 16 VT PATRIARCHA; 36, 31 DIXISSE; 38, 78 QVI; 38, 79 IVBELEVS; 38, 91 MATVRESCERE; 46, 3 QVARVM; 49, 28 ET INFRA; 49, 32 MEMINIT; 49, 42 ET AD ILLAM; 50, 44 ELIMINANT; 52, 3 VMEROS; 56, 12 HABITVS; 56, 12/13 INSIGNIA; 58, 1 PVDET; 58, 10 COCCINEA; 58, 13 PVLLA

The similarities are closer still when we consider that among the remaining glosses, the Lambeth corpus almost exactly corresponds to the 'Common Recension' deduced from a comparison of glosses in the four Canterbury volumes, S, R4, R3 and C2. A collation, which omits the few glosses occurring uniquely in *L*, usefully identifies the correspondences. Italicized entries are identical in all manuscripts:

<i>Lemma</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>R4</i>	<i>R3</i>	<i>C2</i>
2, 30 DE QVO	ait	ait	xxxxx	ait	ait
2, 31 VNGVLA	cuius	xxxxx	xxxxx	cuius	xxxxx
4, 22 ARTA	per	per	xxxxx	per	xxxxx
11, 33 PVGILES	nos	nos	xxxxx	nos	nos
13, 4 QVOT	et	e[s]t	xxxxx	et	xxxxx
13, 5 QVOT	<i>et</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>et</i>
15, 3 QVASI	non	non	xxxxx	non	xxxxx
15, 22 CONFECTA	si	si	xxxxx	si	xxxxx

17, 7 VNA	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo	uirgo
17, 8 ALTERA	fore	fore	fore	fore	fore
19, 19 ET TAMEN	omnia	omnia	omnia	omnia	omnia
19, 19 SVB VNO	hec	hec	hec	hec	hec
19, 22 CASTITAS	et quod sit				
19, 24 IVGALITAS	et quod sit				
20, 24 TRADIDIT	et nonne	XXXXX	XXXXX	et nonne	XXXXXX
20, 25 REDIDIT	et nonne	XXXXX	XXXXX	et nonne	XXXXXX
26, 37 QVAMVIS	tamen	tamen	XXXXX	tamen	XXXXX
38, 61 TVM	uir dei	uir dei	XXXXX	uir dei	XXXXX
41, 7 NEC	ualuit	ualuit	ualuit	ualuit	ualuit
45, 26 NEC	ualuit	ualuit	ualuit	ualuit	ualuit
48, 18 NVLLVS	et dum	et dum	XXXXX	et dum	XXXXXX
49, 32 QVAS	et	et	XXXXX	et	XXXXXX
49, 34 QVIBVS	et	et	XXXXXX	et	XXXXXX
49, 39 CLANGOREM	ad	ad	XXXXXX	ad	XXXXXX
49, 44 SVBVOLAS	o tu ...	o tu ...	XXXXX	o tu ...	XXXXXX
50, 10 POLLICETVR	commune	commune	XXXXX	commune	XXXXXX
53, 28 CONTEMPSIT	et	et	XXXXX	et	XXXXXX
56, 39 DOCVIT	nec	nec	XXXXX	nec	XXXXXX
57, 4 DICO	dicens	dicens	XXXXX	dicens	XXXXXX

This table demonstrates how closely the Lambeth glosses are related to glosses in the 'Common Recension'. There can be no doubt, therefore, that a substantial collection of glosses – some of which appear in Royal 7 D.xxiv, Digby 146, Royal 6 B.vii, Royal 5 E.xi, Salisbury 38, Royal 6 A.vi, Brussels 1650 and Corpus 326 – also circulated in an exemplar of the Lambeth codex. Because the Lambeth volume contains so few glosses from outside the 'Common Recension' entries, it may very well preserve traces of an early, uncontaminated, version of the 'Common Recension'.

The Canterbury Glossaries

The evidence adduced in the foregoing discussion not only suggests that glosses belonging to the 'Common Recension' pre-date the 930s but could also imply that the tenth-century Benedictine Reform simply fostered a *renewal* of interest in ancient scholia to *Pdv.* (75) In fact, the 'Common Recension' scholia

(75) Mechthild Gretsch challenges the argument in her volume *Intellectual Foundations*. She claims on the evidence of vocabulary that many of the Old English glosses in the Brussels and Digby volumes come

as well as some vernacular glosses in Brussels HANDS C and CD probably stem from a proto-compilation of *Pdv* glosses formulated by the end of the eighth century and augmented over generations of transmission. The so-called 'English family' of glossaries, decisively attributed to Theodore's Canterbury school during the late seventh and early eighth centuries, contain *Pdv* citations corresponding to entries from my 'Common Recension'. Readers in early England transcribed *glossae collectae* from *Pdv* manuscripts into bilingual glossaries, collectively described as 'a wonderful treasury of evidence for the books which were known and studied in early England'.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The *Pdv* entries in these manuscripts corroborate an eighth-century glossing tradition underlying scholia in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts. Furthermore, contemporary Latin glosses found in the Würzburg *Pdv* corroborate that some Aldhelm *scholia* had been authored by 800, the latest potential date of the Würzburg exemplar. Abundant evidence establishes that *Pdv* was studied passionately in the early Anglo-Saxon classroom, and for reasons laid out below I place the formation of the 'Common Recension' glosses in the southwest, probably at Malmesbury rather than Canterbury.

In the following pages I propose to compare *Pdv* entries from Anglo-Saxon glossaries to the *Pdv* glosses in manuscripts preserving 'Common Recension' material. I use two comparative methods for assessing the manuscript evidence. The first comparison I make is, of course, between lemmas and glosses: if both lemma and gloss in a glossary correspond to a lemma and gloss in the 'Common Recension', the glossary entry, I allege, descends from the 'Common Recension' compilation. This kind of correlation seems to be the best available evidence of affiliation, especially since I rely on the most conservative assessments of *Pdv* entries in the glossaries. Both W. M. Lindsay and J. D. Pheifer were careful to scrutinize alternative contexts for many lemmas in the glossaries which were ascribed to *Pdv*.

Second, when 'Common Recension' entries exist in the glossaries, additional correlations between lemmas offer further evidence of relationship. Because 'Common Recension' glosses appear in irregular distribution throughout *Pdv*, I take note of the *lemmas* glossed in the 'Common Recension' and compare them

from the Winchester circle of archbishop Æthelwold. These annotations therefore arose in the tenth century and reflect the teaching of a Glastonbury school maintained by Æthelwold's peer, Dunstan.

(76) LAPIDGE, 'School', p. 53.

to lemmas in the glossaries. Obviously, glosses are subject to considerable editorial intervention during transmission, but the lemmas are more-or-less fixed. I assume that, if the *lemma* in a glossary corresponds to one annotated by a 'Common Recension' gloss, especially a gloss occurring in multiple manuscripts, the glossary lemma probably has a 'Common Recension' origin. This is true even if the *glosses* do not match; they might have been altered during transmission. The nature of the evidence does not allow for statistical judgements. Sometimes the correlations between glosses or lemmas are ostensibly significant, and I frequently comment on the degree of compatibility. My objective in doing so, however, is simply to suggest the editorial treatment that the corpus underwent during transmission. Statistical surveys are out of place here.

The 'Original English Collection'

In his 1994 book on the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian, Professor Michael Lapidge outlined the intellectual legacy of archbishop Theodore of Tarsus and his amanuensis Hadrian, abbot of SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury. Very soon after arriving on English territory in 669, Theodore established a school whose members actively engaged in the study of Latin philology. At least one of these students, and probably many more, excerpted thousands of words – familiar and unfamiliar – from innumerable Latin books and prepared glossaries from his excerpts by supplying definitions. One significant source of the definitions was likely to have been glosses lifted directly from the context and entered into the margin as *glossae collectae*. The glosses themselves, however, may have been drawn from the teachings of Theodore and Hadrian.

Following Bernhard Bischoff's *notice* in a landmark article, (77) Lapidge observed that Theodore and Hadrian are cited as authorities for entries in the 'Milan Commentaries', which are related to the so-called 'Leiden' family of Latin-Latin, Latin-Old English, and Latin-OHG glossaries found in numerous English and continental manuscripts. (78) These glossaries arguably originated

(77) 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 189-279, reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien* (Stuttgart, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 205-73.

(78) Lapidge conveniently lists these manuscripts, mostly still unpublished, in an appendix ('School', pp. 67-72); cf. his 'Appendix I: Addi-

at Theodore's school, and Lapidge isolated this compilation in *glossae collectae* which he termed the 'original English collection'. Yet Lapidge's analysis not only records the intellectual interests at Canterbury during Theodore's archiepiscopal tenure. His deductions also convincingly demonstrate how the Milan commentary relates to glossaries disseminated throughout medieval Europe. A key to the complex compilation of these glossaries lies in the Leiden Glossary (called Ld), *Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit*, MS Voss. lat. Q. 69, 20r-36r, a St. Gallen codex from ca. 800.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Not only does Ld preserve biblical commentaries corresponding to those in the Milan codex, but citations from Aldhelm's works also appear among Ld entries.

Consisting of *glossae collectae* culled from at least 48 discrete sources, the 'original English collection' can be partially recovered in sections of the Leiden Glossary. Comparison with Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung, Preussischer Kulturbesitz* MS Grimm 139, 2, fol. 1 (English, s. viii^{med})⁽⁸⁰⁾ discloses how the Ld compiler abridged *glossae collectae*, which are intimately, if complexly, related to entries in the earliest English glossaries. Significantly, Hessels identified six Aldhelm glosses in section XLVII ('item alia') of the Ld *glossae collectae*.⁽⁸¹⁾ Five of these come from the *Aenigmata*, which, by all appearances, were unequivocally culled for lemmas at Theodore's school.⁽⁸²⁾ Only

tional Manuscript Witnesses to the Milan Biblical Commentaries', in *BC*, pp. 533-60.

(79) Cf. LAPIDGE, 'School', pp. 54-7; PHEIFER, 'School of Canterbury', pp. 22-4; *BC*, pp. 173-9. Ld is edited in J. HESSELS, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University* (Cambridge, 1906) and P. GLOGGER, *Das Leidener Glossar* (Augsburg, 1901-8). On the manuscript cf. K. DE MEYER, *Codices Vossiani Latini II: Codices in Quarto* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 157-64.

(80) LAPIDGE, 'School', p. 56.

(81) HESSELS, *Leiden*, pp. xl-xli; H. D. Meritt also argued that the Old English gloss to *oppilauit* in the same section (26 *OPILAVIT*] *gigisdae*) could only make sense in the context of *Pdv* (cf. *Fact and Lore about Old English Words* (Stanford, 1954), p. 71); cf. P. GROSJEAN, 'Confusa Caligo: Remarques sur les *Hisperica Famina*', *Celtica* 3 (1956), 35-85, at pp. 70-1 and P. WESSNER's 'Addendum A' to G. GOETZ, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1923), vol. 1, pp. 327-8 ('De Lindsayi eiusque discipulorum studii glossographicis').

(82) 13 *PERNA*] *flisci* Aenig., 15 *TAPPVLA*] *uermis qui currit super aquas* Aenig., 56 *CICONIA*] *storch* Aenig., 87 *CASTORIVS*] *bebor* Aenig., 93 *SCRVFA*] *sugu* Aenig. The *Aenigmata* glosses may have been excerpted during Aldhelm's time at Theodore's school. If so, glosses to it were either added at Canterbury or originated in Aldhelm's own source-copy of the text, perhaps compiled at Malmesbury.

one Ld entry might derive from *Pdv*: 6 CIRRIS] crinibus. Yet the gloss to CIRRIS does not correspond to any of the 'Common Recension' *interpretamenta*: 50, 21 CIRRIS] i. crinuculis R2 SR3: *loc-cum* R4: crinis C1: capillis, crinuculis Ba. The rarity of *Pdv* items in Ld might be traced to Aldhelm's own derivative vocabulary, much of which might have been duplicated in extensive *Pdv* batches. Alternatively, the Ld batch might represent only a fraction of a larger *Pdv* extract.

Ld, whose Aldhelm entries have been abridged from the 'original English collection', comes late in the English glossary tradition (ca. 800). Its unalphabetized state allows us to pinpoint sources (mostly indicated by rubrics) of the 'original English collection'. One *alphabetical* glossary of the seventh century and a closely related but more complete version of it preserve even more glosses from the 'original English collection' than Ld. These two glossaries derive from many of the same sources as Ld and prove that *Pdv* items in Ld are proportionately far fewer than they were in the 'original English collection'.

Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale ms 72, fols. 94r-107v (Ep) ⁽⁸³⁾ and the first glossary in Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek ms Amplonianus 2^o 42, 1r-14v (Erf. I), ⁽⁸⁴⁾ are jointly called the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary (EE). Executed by an Insular scribe, Erf. I has been dated to s. vii^{3/4}, during the ascendancy of the Canterbury *schola*, although there is now reason to place the date somewhat later, after the composition of *Pdv*, its latest datable source, ca. 700. ⁽⁸⁵⁾ An early ninth-century glossary slavishly

(83) Cf. J. D. PHEIFER, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, 1974), pp. xxi-xxv. The manuscript was certainly written by an Englishman (p. xxiv) and probably at an English center (pp. xxi, xxiv).

(84) Pheifer notes that the manuscript was written s. viii/ix at the cathedral school of Cologne by a continental scribe, and the provenance finds confirmation in a flyleaf (cf. PHEIFER, *OEG*, p. xxv) and booklist (*ibid.*, pp. xxvii-xxviii). The hand of the Erfurt scribe is identified in seven Cologne Dombibliothek manuscripts by Bischoff (B. BISCHOFF *et al.*, *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries* (Copenhagen, 1988), pp. xviii-xix).

(85) EEWC facs., pp. 15-16; cf. T. J. BROWN, 'The Irish Element in the Insular System of Scripts to ca. A.D. 850', in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H. LÖWE (Stuttgart, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 101-19, at p. 109 note 12. Malcolm Parkes, who contributed to the 'Palaeographical Commentary' in the facsimile volume, summarized the dating history: '[Henry] Sweet reported that Maunde Thompson had assigned the manuscript to the early ninth century ... This date was also favoured by Keller. Lindsay assigned the manuscript to s. viii¹, and implied that it was produced on the Continent. Lowe's opinion was that the manu-

copied by a continental scribe, ⁽⁸⁶⁾ Erf. I has a common origin with Ep, descending from a collection of materials related to the 'original English collection'. The Erfurt manuscript contains two additional glossaries, abbreviated Erf. II and Erf. III, the latter having no bearing on the present discussion. Erf. II stems from another assortment of glosses which formed a definable portion of EE.

EE represents a conflation of two separate sources, a-order glosses ⁽⁸⁷⁾ related to the *glossae collectae* of Ld, and ab-order glosses derived from another alphabetical glossary similar to Erf. II and a fragmentary copy of the same manuscript called Werden II, and to the 'Affatim' glossary. ⁽⁸⁸⁾ Aldhelm's idiosyncratic vocabulary permeates EE, but the interdependence is difficult to gauge. According to Pheifer, Aldhelm borrowed some terms directly from the glossaries (Ph6-7, 114, 181, 345a, 447, 568, 611-12, 716, 760, 874, 881, 947, 997), ⁽⁸⁹⁾ and probably consulted a glossary like EE for meanings to Ph495, 576, 615, 626. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Lindsay had mentioned, too, that Aldhelm occasionally cites the glossary definitions of words in the body of his text:

script was produced in England s. viii¹, whereas Ker thought that it had been written in England or possibly on the Continent s. viii' (pp. 15-16). Parkes concurs with Brown's seventh-century dating. On the linguistic evidence, cf. C. BALL and P. STYLES, 'The Derivation of Old English *Geolu* "Yellow" and the Relative Chronology of Smoothing and Back Mutation', *Anglia* 101 (1983), 5-28. H. M. Chadwick's exploration of the linguistic forms in the glosses confirms the paleography ('Studies in Old English', *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* 4 (1899), 85-265).

(86) EEWc facs., p. 19.

(87) The term 'a-order' denotes lemmas alphabetized only by their first letter, whereas 'ab-order' signals lemmas alphabetized by their first two letters.

(88) G. LÖWE, *Prodromos Corporis Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 111-18; cf. J. D. PHEIFER, 'The Relationship of the Second Erfurt Glossary to the Épinal-Erfurt and Corpus Glossaries', in *Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, pp. 189-205; *idem*, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury', *ASE* 16 (1987), 17-44. Lindsay elaborated on Löwe's discovery (pp. 67-80). Describing the second EE layer as a 'supplement to the original glossary', Pheifer suggests that the ab-order entries were extracted from an alphabetical glossary (EEWC facs., pp. lv-lvi).

(89) PHEIFER, *OEG*, p. lvi. Pheifer's numbering of the Old English glosses follows that of H. SWEET, *The Oldest English Texts* (London, 1885). Orchard (*Poetic Art*, pp. 54-60) follows J. Stevenson in alleging that Aldhelm drew vocabulary from the Irish 'Altus prosator' via EE; cf. LINDSAY, 'Columba's *Altus*', pp. 197-9.

(90) PHEIFER, *OEG*, p. lvi.

Sometimes [Aldhelm] adds the glossary's interpretation; e.g. (ch. ix) *lympa quam anthlia, hoc est rota hauritoria, exantlamus*; (ch. xxxviii) *palathas, id est caricarum massas*; (ch. xxix) *chiliarcho, id est tribuno militum*. His *ansatae* ... may come from Nonius (556,19 *Ansatae: iaculamenta cum ansis*) ... (91)

Moreover, Nicholas Howe has demonstrated that Aldhelm pretentiously drew vocabulary from Isidore's *Etymologiae* when composing the *Ænigmata*.⁽⁹²⁾ Indeed, Aldhelm followed the same strategy in the prose treatise, deploying synonyms from the *Etymologiae* throughout short passages.⁽⁹³⁾ It strikes me as far-fetched, however, to believe that all of the verbal parallels shared by EE and *Pdv* derive solely from glossaries.

Indeed, according to Pheifer, 'Aldhelm was also the source of unusual words or senses first recorded in his works'.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Pheifer considers at least twenty EE entries to have derived from *Pdv*,⁽⁹⁵⁾ none of which, incidentally, stems from the ab-order

(91) W. M. LINDSAY, *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glossaries* (Oxford, 1921), p. 100; cf. EE entries: 10 cd 23 GABVLVM] patibulum 34, 45 (GABVLI: no parallel); 11 cd 33 HIVLCAS] leones fauces 36, 111 (HIVLCAS: no parallel). Aldhelm employs numerous constructions with 'uel' or 'seu' that reflect his penchant for the *stylus Isidorianus: Pdv (aut)* 13, 54; 29, 8/9; 38, 23; 49, 9/10; (*seu*) 4, 7; 53, 24; cf. LINDSAY, 'Columba's *Altus*', p. 198.

(92) 'Aldhelm's *Ænigmata* and Isidorian Etymology', *ASE* 14 (1985), 37-59.

(93) *Pdv* 2, 28 FALERATO] 20, 16, 1; 2, 29 CALCARIBVS] 20, 16, 6; 2, 30 LVPATIS] 20, 16, 2; 2, 35 LIBVRNAM] 19, 1, 12; 2, 36 NAVCLERII] 19, 1, 3; 2, 37 REMORVM] 19, 1, 6; 6, 16 AGMINIBVS] 9, 3, 64; 6, 17 LEGIONVM] 9, 3, 46; 6, 17 COHORTIBVS] 9, 3, 52; 6, 29 PVLMENTORVM] 20, 2, 7; 6, 33 OPVLENTIQVE] 20, 2, 4; 7, 6 PALATO] 11, 1, 55; 7, 16 PVERPERAE] 11, 2, 14/11, 2, 10; 7, 28 FIBRISQVE] 11, 1, 126; 7, 30 VERTICEM] 11, 1, 26; 7, 40 LVSTRIS] 5, 37, 2; 7, 42 SVPLICIA] 5, 27, 3; 8, 21 MARGARETAM] 16, 10, 1; 9, 1 ARGENTI] 16, 19, 1; 9, 2 OBRIZVM] 16, 18, 2; 9, 2 AVRI] 16, 18, 1; 9, 3 MARMORIS] 16, 5, 1; 9, 4 GEMMAE] 16, 6, 2; 9, 5 LANEAE] 19, 27, 1; 9, 5 STAMINA] 19, 29, 7; 9, 5/6 PANVCVLIS] 19, 29, 7; 9, 6 BOMBICINVM] 19, 27, 5; 9, 7 SERICA] 19, 27, 5; 9, 12 INCVDIS] 19, 7, 1; 9, 13 MALLEI] 19, 7, 2; 9, 13/14 FORCIPIS] 19, 7, 3; 9, 14 BALTEVS] 19, 33, 2; 9, 16 FABRICATA] 19, 6, 1; 9, 20 PVTEI] 13, 21, 5; 9, 20 LATEX] 13, 20, 4.

(94) PHEIFER, *OEG*, p. lvi. For an early study of the EE sources, cf. K. GRUBER, 'Die Hauptquellen des Corpus, Epinaler, und Erfurter Glossars', *Romanische Forschungen* 20 (1907), 393-494.

(95) Other entries, it seems, come from glossed *Cdv* copies: 468 GARBAS] *sceabas*, 925 SVALDAM (for VALVAM)] *durhere*. In 1919 Henry Bradley made (and simultaneously retracted) a claim that EE contained a significant number of *Pdv* glosses. Confessing that he used Sweet's edition of Ep, which lacks the Latin-Latin entries, Bradley compiled entries from 'C' which he claimed to have derived from *Pdv*. These entries do not form discrete batches, and Lindsay demolished Bradley's argument in

section. ⁽⁹⁶⁾ His strongest examples have been tabulated with my own collation of *Pdv* glosses in the following list. ⁽⁹⁷⁾ Note that these *Pdv* glosses could originate either in an a-order Aldhelm glossary or in *glossae collectae*, for multiple EE entries form batches from mixed Aldhelm texts. ⁽⁹⁸⁾

Épinal

Erfurt

- A17 ASTROLOGIA] ratio siderum
59, 22 ASTROLOGIAM] astrologi qui intendunt signa celi R2:
tungelgescead R4 S R3: *steorwigl* Ba: *cursum astrorum* Bc
- A87/Ph28 ANTIÆ] *loccas*
58, 12 ANTIÆ] i. *foreloccas* R4 S R3: *forefex* Ba: *antie forefex* Bc
- A150/Ph51 ALTRINSECVS] *an ba halbae*
3, 34 ALTRINSECVS] *hinc et inde* R2 S R3 Ba: *onsun*, i. *hinc et inde* C1: *ex utraque parte*, *onsundran* Bcd
- A151/Ph52 ADDICTVS] *faerscribaen* ADDICTVS] *faerscrifen*
20, 14 ADDICTI] i. *damnati* R2: i. *preiudicati* R4 S R3 C2: i. *preiudicati*, *nominati*, *gepreste* Ba: *gescrifene* Bc: *gescrifene t gepreade* Bcd
- A201/Ph84 AMICVLO] *hraecli*
50, 52 AMICVLA] i. *uestimenta* R4 S R3 C2 Ba
- A226 AMMODVM] *ualde*
7, 8 AMMODVM] i. *ualde* R2 C1: *ualde ammodum* Ba
- A523 ANTES] *extrime ordines uinearum*
38, 89 ANTES] i. *uirgultas* [-us Bb] R4 C2 Bb: i. *tanas*, s. *uirgultas* S R3: *tanas* C1: *Antes tanas* Bc: *telegran* Bcd
- C208/Ph226 CALEAR] *spora* CALEAR] *spora*
44, 44 CALCAR] *spura* Bc
- C209/Ph227 CAVTERIVM] *mearisern* CAVTERIVM] *merisaen*
24, 25 CAVTERIO] *bærnisene* R3: i. *m'è'arciserne* C1: *mearcisene* Ba: *bærnytte* Bc: *cincg* Br

his 1921 book. Nevertheless, some examples from Bradley's list do overlap with glosses from *Pdv* sources.

(96) 28 (CGL V 339.13), 226 (CGL V 352.42), Ep. 8 ef 9 (CGL V 353.3), 227 (CGL V 352.42), 232 (CGL V 353.4), 313 All D-entries, 314 All D-entries, 462 (CGL V 362.54), 10 cd 23 (CGL V 352.57), 11 cd 33 All H-entries, 19 ab 29 PORTISCVLO (CGL V 380.40), 26 ef 11 (CGL V 396.1), Erf. (CGL V 353.62).

(97) I have adopted Alan Brown's numbering for EE glosses, followed by Pfeifer's ordering for the Old English glosses (designated by 'Ph'). Some of these entries have no convincing parallels in the *Pdv* glosses: S125/Ph925, A239/Ph108, O74/Ph 716, C221/Ph232. C203/Ph224, F25/Ph407, G31/Ph468 come from *Cdv*, whereas C156/Ph218, C207/Ph225, F26/Ph408, L27/Ph568 L28/Ph569 derive from the *Aenigmata*.

(98) PHEIFER, OEG, p. lvi-lvii.

- C220 CRVSTV] ornatu
58, 7 CRVSTV] i. ornatu [-a R3], glenge S R3: i. glenge R4: ornatu, pompa Ba
- C280 CIRRIS] crinibus
50, 21 CIRRIS] i. crinicultis R2 S R3: loccum R4: crinis C1: capillis, crinicultis Ba
- D2/Ph313 DVLCIS SAPA] coerim
60, 23 DVLCIS SAPA] i. ream win R4 S: succus R3: genus uirgulte uel herbe Ba: geswet win Bc
- D3/Ph314 DEFRVCTVM] coerin
4, 9 CARENAE] carenum asoden win, defrutum awyrd win R2
4, 9 DEFRVTO] asoden win carenum, awyrd win Defrutum C1: medona, hnescum wealle Ba: uino, wine †felde †piffe, of piccum befele Bcd
- D47/Ph325 DELIBVTVS] gisalbot
2, 17 DELIBVTVS] i. unctus R2: perunctus Ba: gesme Bcd
- G17/Ph462 GLVMVLA] scalu GALMVLA] scalu
19, 32 GLVMVLA] scalu R2: eglā, hose R4: i. scale S R3 C2: nuclea uel scale C1: scale †hule †egle Ba
- O60/Ph713 OCCAS] fealga
28, 3 OCCA] felch C1: felh Ba: ear Bc
- P168 PORTISCVLO] malleo
2, 36 PORTISCVLO] hamure R4 S R3: helme Ba: i. malleo R2 R5
- R40/Ph873 ROSTRIS] forae uuallum ROSTRIS] fore uuallum
†tindum †tindum
27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS] i. muris [-os R5] R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1: muris, for gheahsealdum †gemotstowum, on weallum Ba
- T53 THORACICLAS] sculptae imagines
38, 10 THORACIDAS] i. imagines R2 R4 R3: iconas, imagines
S: i. iconismas uel imagines C2: iconismas C1

Seventeen of these lemmas (A17, A87, A150, A151, A201, A226, A523, C209, C220, C280, D2, D3, G17, O60, P168, R40, T53) are glossed in multiple manuscripts of my 'Common Recension' stratum, particularly among the Canterbury manuscripts. Admittedly, most exhibit variations in wording: (a) Old English in the 'Common Recension' for Latin in EE (A17, C220, P168, R40); (b) Latin in the 'Common Recension' for Old English in EE (A150, A151, A201); (c) substitution of one Old English or Latin word for another (A87, A523, C209, C280, D2, D3).⁽⁹⁹⁾ Five interpretations, however, are identical: A226, C220 (in part), G17, O60, T53.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

(99) Yet Lindsay argued that A201 belongs to his well-defined Orosius A batch (*Glossaries*, pp. 28-9), where it glosses *Historiae adversus paganos* (ed. C. ZANGEMEISTER (Vienna, 1882), 5, 9, 2: 'detracto amiculo fugiens'). Likewise, A523 could belong to his small Phocas batch at the

While the evidence of textual affiliation presented here hardly seems strong enough to claim unequivocally that an exemplar of EE preserved *Pdv* glosses, the numerous parallels do reinforce the speculation that the Canterbury school possessed Aldhelm's major writings glossed in Latin and Old English.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The entries identical in EE and the 'Common Recension' in particular bear out my suspicion that *Pdv* had been annotated during Aldhelm's lifetime. Other reasons might account for differences among the *interpretamenta*. For example, lemmas may have received multiple glosses in both languages from which a compiler selected only a single entry for *glossae collectae*. Alternatively, a redactor might have interfered with the text, substituting, adding or omitting words. Whatever the reason for the divergences, the mixture of Old English and Latin imitates similar modifications made between glosses in EE and the related Corpus glossary,⁽¹⁰²⁾ a descendant of notable importance in the tradition of Aldhelm glossography.

Among the bilingual English glossaries, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 144 (the 'Corpus Glossary', designated Cp) is the youngest, dated paleographically and linguistically to ca. 825.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The dating is pivotal in deciding the origin of 'Common Recension' entries, inasmuch as Cp derives from materials that gave rise to EE, ultimately a recension of the 'original English collection'. Yet Cp boasts more than twice number of entries drawn from the a-order lists and additional items from the

end of A (*Glossaries*, p. 16), glossing *Ars grammatica* (ed. H. KEIL, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1856-80), V.428.6). A similar gloss from the same source appears in Leiden, xlv.16 ('antes dicitur ordo uinearum').

(100) According to Lindsay, A226 belongs to the same Orosius batch as A20, glossing III.1.21 ('adulescens admodum ...'), but *ualde* does not fit the Orosius contexts and could have been borrowed from the Aldhelm glosses.

(101) In this event, we can qualify George Brown's observation that 'all extant manuscripts produced in England from the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century are in Latin ... They are without Anglo-Saxon translations' ('The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 77 (1995), 109-42, at p. 116).

(102) Cf. EEWc facs., pp. 52-3.

(103) MORRISH, 'Datable Manuscripts', pp. 518, 525. Ball and Stiles ('*Geolu*', p. 20) argue that some Old English words in Corpus 144 exhibit late phonological changes similar to those found in mid-ninth century witnesses. Paleographically, the Hybrid Minuscule script (which Morrish describes as 'artificial', p. 526) 'corroborate[s] the linguistic and literary evidence which implies' that it is ninth century (*ibid.*; cf. pp. 522-5 for the definitive features of this Insular phase IIB Hybrid Minuscule).

ab-order lists (from a collection similar to that in Erf. II).⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Cp likewise preserves a discernible stratum of vernacular glosses from the writings of Insular authors, predominantly Aldhelm and Gildas.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ By all accounts these glosses were added independently to Cp and bear no relation to entries in the 'original English collection'.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Arthur Napier first alleged that Cp preserved Aldhelm glosses, and he appended a partial list of these entries in his edition of glosses.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ He noted, too, whether these glosses could

(104) A. BROWN, 'The Épinal Glossary Edited with a Critical Commentary of the Vocabulary' (diss., Stanford, 1969), p. 18. In reference to Cp glosses corresponding to ab-order glosses in Erf. II/Werden II and in EE, Pfeifer comments, 'it seems evident that the compiler of Epinal-Erfurt used a copy of Erfurt II with its entries arranged more or less in their present order while the compiler of Corpus used the same material in some earlier form in which it was not yet reduced to ab-order' ('School of Canterbury', p. 35). Lindsay labelled Cp glosses corresponding to ab-order glosses in EE with the heading 'ii', but a significant proportion of 'ii' glosses betrays no parallel with EE. Brown extracts these unparallelled glosses, labelling them 'iii'. Pfeifer concludes that most of them derive from the 'common stock' of continental glossaries, particularly *Abstrusa-Abolita* (EEWC facs., p. 57).

(105) PHEIFER, 'School of Canterbury', p. 36. Pfeifer's collation of EE with the A-entries in the Cleopatra glossaries (London, BL ms Cotton Cleopatra A.iii) reveals six *Pdv* glosses (A17, A87, A150, A201, A226, A523). The first Cleopatra glossary contains elements closely related to the ab-order sections of Cp. Following this glossary comes a class-glossary with EE and Corpus material. Finally, the third glossary contains Bible, *Pdv* and *Cdv* glosses with additional unsourced material. On the composition of the manuscript, cf. KER, *Catalogue*, p. 143; H. LÜBKE, 'Über verwandschaftliche Beziehungen einiger altenglischer Glossare', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 85 (1890), 383-410; BROWN, 'Épinal Glossary', pp. 19-22; STRYKER, 'Glossary'; QUINN, 'Minor Glossaries'.

(106) Cf. BROWN, 'Épinal Glossary', pp. 19, 21. Only the absence of such glosses from the EE family implies that these entries were not part of the 'original English collection'. In other words, *Pdv* glosses unique to Cp could either post-date *Pdv* glosses found in EE or come from a different environment.

(107) Cf. A. NAPIER, *The Academy* (12 May 1894), p. 399. The following examples have no parallels with *Pdv*: WW 14.23 CONTOS] *speoru* (*Cdv* parallel), WW 15.40 COMPILAT] *stilieth* (*Cdv*), WW 16.41 DEVORATVRVS] *wergendi* (no parallel), WW 24.2 GARBAS] *sceabas* (*Cdv*), WW 32.36 MIRIFILLO *pro MILLEFOLIO*] *gearwe* (*Aenig.*), WW 32.38 MINACI] *hibendri* (no parallel), WW 47.23 SOLISEQVIA] *sunfolgend* (*Aenig.*), WW 47.28 SORTEM] *wyrd*, *condicionem* (no parallel), WW 48.32 STRICTA MACERA] *getogene suoerde* (no parallel), WW 38.20 PERCREBVI] *merewearð* (no parallel), WW 38.33 PER HIRONIAM] *ðorh hosp* (no parallel), WW 28.35 IRRIDABANT] *tyhton* (no parallel), WW 43.41 RIDIMICVLAE] *cynewiddan* (no parallel), WW 54.9 VIBRAT] *borretið † diregað* (different text

also be found in EE. Unfortunately, Napier mishandled the lexicographical evidence, resulting in superficially appealing but ultimately unsubstantiated categorizations. Hence, Henry Bradley endeavored to rectify Napier's methodology, reasoning that 'the compiler of the archetype had before him one Aldhelm glossary'.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Bradley noted that 'Napier's list was confined to words that have [Old English] glosses in Corpus, and even within its limits made no pretence of being exhaustive'.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Admitting that some of Napier's lemmata were 'not very uncommon in the literature of the seventh century and earlier periods',⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Bradley stressed verbal desinence as proof that they were culled from a *Pdv* context. Furthermore, he did prove that one Cp gloss derived from *Pdv glossae collectae* taken from chapter 32 on St. Athanasius.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Bradley then excerpted potential Cp glosses corresponding to lemmata from this *Pdv* chapter, separating those found in EE from those found solely in Cp. His list was long and overlapped with other, more obvious sources, at least in W. M. Lindsay's view. Finally, Bradley adduced an Aldhelm batch which seems to indicate that some Cp glosses do indeed come from a source related to the 'Common Recension':⁽¹¹²⁾

- S41 SAGAX] *gleu*
 2, 11 SAGACES] i. prudentes R2 R3 Ba: *!gleawe Bcd*
- S42 SALPICVM] *tubarum*
 21, 60 SALPICVM] i. tubarum R2 Bc: *tubicinatorum, sargana Ba*
- S43 SARMENTVM] *spraec*
 21, 62/63 SARMENTORVMQVE] *ramorum que de uinea exciduntur Ba: sprota Bcd*
- S44 SALIBARIBVS] *midlum*
 26, 19 SALIVARIBVS] *midlum R4 S: midlim R3: repagulis*

parallel); cf. WW 7.12 ARS PLVMARIA] *uuyndecreft* (no parallel), WW 18.20 DODRANS] *egur* (*Epist* parallel).

(108) 'Remarks on the Corpus Glossary', *Classical Quarterly* 13 (1919), 89-108, at p. 89.

(109) *Ibid.*, p. 95. In fact, a feature of the Insular accretions to the ancestral EE material is their Old English interpretations (BROWN, 'Épinal Glossary', p. 19).

(110) BRADLEY, 'Remarks', p. 89.

(111) Still other entries prove that the Cp compiler drew from *Pdv*, if not demonstrably from a glossed copy: '162 VIRI VOLA] *maritalis complexus*' (p. 108); cf. 21, 21: '... sine uiri uola hoc est maritali complexu ...'.

(112) Bradley omits S39 and S40, which precede his Aldhelm batch, on the grounds that they appear in EE and that they occur only in Aldhelm's verse.

Ba: of *isenum midlum* † *Bcd*

S45 SARCOFAGO] *licbeorg*

32, 78 IN SARCOFAGO] in tumba *Ba*: on *scrine Bc*

S46 SACELLORVM] *haerga*

23, 55 SACELLORVM] i. templorum [-arum *C1*] *R2 R4*

R3 C2 C1: sacellum i. templum idolorum *SBa*: *herga*

Ba

S47 SALAMANDRA] animal quoddam uiuens in igne

34, 42 SALAMANDRAS] i. serpentes *Ba*

Reasoning that SAGAX was commonly attested and SARMENTVM a potential Vergil gloss, W. M. Lindsay hedged about the integrity of this batch.⁽¹¹³⁾ Yet Lindsay's objections serve only to expose his prejudice against the notoriety of Insular authors, particularly Aldhelm. In fact, Bradley's sound hypothesis highlights the claims I made above concerning Napier's 'Salisbury group' manuscripts: the Brussels HAND A and B glosses either augment a compilation represented by glosses in the Canterbury manuscripts, or glosses in the Canterbury manuscripts constitute an abridgement of a compilation now represented only by HANDS A and B glosses in Brussels 1650. Similarly, the occurrence of Brussels HAND A glosses with entries from the 'Common Recension' in Bradley's batch could also suggest that Cp was compiled from two discrete sources. While the issue of indebtedness will never be resolved, Bradley's work did expose the archaeology of *Pdv* glosses in Cp: they must have been culled from a source close to the 'Common Recension'. Glosses to S44 are identical in Cp and some of the 'Common Recension' manuscripts, whereas glosses to S46 could show an alternation between Latin and Old English. Indeed, S46 SACELLORVM represents a pivotal entry in this *Pdv* batch, for Old English *hearg* has both strong and weak forms. The HAND A scribe of Brussels 1650 has written *herga*, the strong genitive plural, which HAND CD corrects to *hergana*, the weak genitive plural. This correspondence alone gives cause to consider the authority (i.e. antiquity) of the Brussels HAND A and B glosses.

W. M. Lindsay objected to Bradley's methodology and conclusions, pressuring him to retract his findings in a palinode to his article. Two years later, Lindsay published his own findings

(113) LINDSAY, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glossaries*, p. 93: 'S 40 Sagax: *gleu* (?cf. Erf.2 330,43 Sa.: vigilans, ingeniosus and Corp. ii S 7 Sa.: ingeniosus = Abstr. 165,47 Sa.: cautus vel vigilans. Also Corp. S 1 Sa.: astutus); S 43 Sarmentum: *spraec* (?cf. Erf.2 330,9 and Corp. ii S 35 Sarmentum: rami qui de vineis exciduntur; a Virgil gloss?)'.

on Aldhelm glosses in Cp without acknowledging all of Bradley's discoveries. Lindsay's methodology resembled Bradley's, but Lindsay was careful to admit only Cp glosses that likely stemmed from Aldhelm. Moreover, he claimed Aldhelm as the debtor to Cp: 'It is a wrong interpretation of the facts to call these "Corpus borrowings from Aldhelm". They are Aldhelm's borrowings from the predecessors (or contemporary rivals) of Corpus'.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Yet no 'contemporary rival' of Cp exists!⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Although Lindsay could be accused of a biased conservatism, he compiled a useful list of the 'more or less probable Aldhelm glosses with Anglo-Saxon interpretations'. Cp entries from Lindsay's book follow, collated with Napier's (designated *) and Bradley's (designated †) alleged *Pdv* materials. I group the items into three categories: I. entries in which glosses are identical, II. entries in which glosses have an element or elements in common, III. entries in which glosses are not identical.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ All of these entries, by the way, derive from material by *Insular*

(114) *Ibid.*, p. 100.

(115) Alan Brown attributes to Lindsay the *reductio ad absurdum*, that Aldhelm extracted *both* lemma and gloss from a glossary: 'Aldhelm used the glossary forms of the words out of uncertainty over their gender or conjugation, that is, out of ignorance (or, one might add, pure inertia)' (p. 69).

(116) Some of Bradley's entries strike me as possible Aldhelm glosses, and their correspondences with 'Common Recension' glosses could substantiate my hunch:

32, 53/54 PERCREBRVIT] uel crebuerunt R4 S: uel crebuit R3: i. multiplicabatur Bc: *gendspranc, gewidmærsede Bcd*

32, 55 CVNABVLORVM] i. uestimentorum uel lectulorum infantium Bc

32, 56 CHARACTERES] i. *mearca R2 R4 S R3*: i. *figuras Bc: mear Ba: strican Bcd, c: t mærcunge Bcd*

32, 63 INDOLIS] i. sine dolo R2 S: nobilitas, i. sine dolo R4: quasi sine dubio R3: quasi sine dolo C1: quasi sine dolo, iuuentutis Ba: ingenuus, *ædeles Bc*

32, 74 INSONTEM] i. innocentem R2

32, 74 FACTIONE] i. falsitate R2 Bc: *bepæcunga Bcd*

32, 77 SCEPTRA] i. imperia Bc: *anwelda Bcd*

32, 77 LACERTVM] i. bra[i]chium R2 B

32, 80 COMMENTIS] i. relationibus R2 R4 S C2: i. relationibus, *searwum R3*: i. reuelationibus Bc: *machinamentis Ba: hiwungum Bcd*

32, 81 PROBROSIS] uitiosis, dolosis Ba: *Probrosus edwitfullum Bc*

32, 99/100 DEFENDITVR] ille arsenius R4 R3: i. custodiebatur Bc: *he wæsgesceld Bcd*

32, 102/103 INTERCAPIDINE] i. spatio R2 Ba: *fæce C1: on feste Bcd*

authors which Lindsay lumped together with glosses from other sources in his edition. ⁽¹¹⁷⁾

I.

- A177 ADSVTAE] *gesiuwide*
 58, 14 ASSVTAE] *geseowede Bcd*
 A603 ANSATAE] *aetgaere*
 60, 60 ANSATAS] i. *ategaras R5*
 *A773 ARCHIATROS] *healecas*
 34, 2 ARCHIATROS] *hehhlæces Bc*
 C655 CONGLVTINATA] *gelimed*
 Prol., 8 CONGLVTINATAE] *gelimedre R1: dre Bcd*
 F255 PHLEBOTOMVM] *blodsaex*
 24, 25 FLEBOTOMO] *blodsexe R5 Bc*
 M112 MACHINAMENTA] *ordonc*
 33, 19 MACHINAMENTIS] *orþancum Ba*
 P113 PANVCVLVM] *wefl*
 15, 18 PANVCVLAE] *weflan Ba*
 P843 PVTAMINA] *hnyglan*
 38, 23/24 PVTAMINE] *of hniglan R4 R3: of hnilan S*
 *S44 SALIBARIBVS] *midlum*
 26, 19 SALIVARIBVS] *midlum R4 S: midlim R3: of isenum*
midlum † Bcd
 *S46 SACELLORVM] *haerga*
 23, 55 SACELLORVM] *herga Ba ⁽¹¹⁸⁾*
 †S131 SCEPTRA] *onwald*
 32, 77 SCEPTRA] *anwelda Bcd*
 S134 SCOTOMATICVS] *staerblind*
 34, 23 SCOTOMATICOS] *staerblinde S: staerbli Bcd*
 S163 SCORIA] *sinder*
 10, 29 SCORIAE] *syndran S R3 C1 Ba: sindran R4*
 S349 SIRENA] *meremenin*
 40, 18/19 SIRINARVM] *meremenna Bc*
 *S688 SVCINI] *glæres*
 15, 32 SVCINI] *glæres Ba*
 U278 VOTIVVM] *oestful*
 29, 49 VOTIVVM] *estful Ba Bc*

II.

- A580 ANASTASIS] *dilignisum [sic]*
 32, 96 DE RECESSIBVS] *of digelnessum, of heolstrigum Ba*

(117) Cf. BROWN, 'Épinal Glossary', p. 18.

(118) Altered to *hergana Bcd*.

- A283 ADVOCATVS] *pingere*
 30, 9 ADVOCATO] i. *mundboran R4 S R3 C2 C1: pingere, mundboran Ba*
- *A666 APORIANS] *anscungendi*
 23, 12 APORIANS] *onscuniende, iniurians Bc*
- A876 ATTONITI] *hlysnende, afyrhte*
 27, 39 AVDITORIBVS] *hlystendum Bcd*
- B25 BASTERNA] *scrid*
 44, 11 BASTERNAE] *scribes, carruca Bcd*
- *B118 BIOTHANATAS] *seolfbonan*
 31, 16 BIOTHANATAS] *syfswalan R4 S R3: i. bismortuos, syfswala C2: bismortuos, selfbanan Ba*
- *B140 BILANCE] *tuiheolore*
 49, 36 BILANCE] *hiolore Bb*
- B171 BOMBOSA] *hlaegulendi*
 20, 19 MVGITVM] *gehlou Ba*
- C99 CAPILLATVRA] *faexnis*
 17, 16 CAPILLATVRA] *fexe t hære Bcd*
- C262 CAVLICVLVS] *steola*
 9, 37 CAVLICVLVS] *stela, ramusculus Ba*
- *D83 DEGLOBERE] *id est flean*
 35, 82 DEGLOBERE] *beheldan, beflean Ba*
- *E527 EXCVBIAS] *weardseld*
 33, 2 EXCVBIAS] *wearda Bcd*
- F279 FORFEX] *isern-sceruru*
 9, 14 FORFICIS] *scearen Ba*
- *H164 HYMENAEOS] *haemedo*
 35, 59 HYMENEI] *hæmedscypes, conubii Ba*
- *I57 IMBRICIBVS] *þaectigilum*
 60, 10 IMBRICIBVS] *þece Ba*
- *O186 OPPILAVIT] *forclaemde* ⁽¹¹⁹⁾
 36, 112 OPILAVIT] i. *obturavit R2 Bc: fordytte Ba*
- *P741 PRO ROSTRIS] *haehsedlum*
 27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS] *for gheahsealdum t gemotstowum, on weallum Ba*
- *R10 RANCIDIS] *bitrum*
 32, 46 RANCIDIS] *progum R4 R3: 7 swa ðrogum S: fetidis uel amaris, þron Ba: feorigum, inuisis, abhominatis, swa biterum Bc*
- R118 RETORTO] *gedraune*
 15, 27 RETORTO] *mid geedþrawenum twine Ba*
- S10 SABLO] *molde*
 23, 25 SABLONIBVS] *moldum R3*

(119) Cf. MERITT, *Fact and Lore*, p. 71, where it is claimed that the item in Ld, EE and Cp could only have come from the context of *Pdv*.

- S33 SAEVO] *unslit smeore*
 32, 16 MADEFECTVS] *gesmered Bcd*
- S180 SCENA] *webung*
 32, 84 SCENAM] *wæbbunge t sceade, nefas Ba*
- S562 STRICTA MACHAERA] *getogone sueorde*
 36, 115 STRICTA MACHERA] *gewriþenum Ba: gewriþenum, atogenum O*
- U271 VORAGINE] *suelgendi*
 45, 35 VORAGINE] *grutte t deopnyssse t geswelinde Bcd*

III.

- A772 ARS PLVMARIA] *uuyndecreft*
 15, 20 ARTE PLVMARIA] *s. nisi R3 L: multimoda Ba: awundenum Bcd*
- C89 CATABATVS] *romei*
 50, 31 CACCABOS] *i. hweras R4 S R3: crocc Ba: citiles Bc*
 50, 39 CACCABATVS] *i. gesmittad R4 S: i. gesmittud R3*
- C357 CERNVA] *hald*
 18, 20 CERNVA] *i. humili R2: prona Ba*
- C560 CORIMBOS] *bergan*
 4, 14 CORIMBOS] *racemos Ba: crop Bcd*
- C810 CONSORS] *orsorg*
 23, 57 CONSORTES] *i. parta Bc: dælnimendras Bcd*
- D352 DOMATIS] *huses*
 32, 38 TIGILLO] *i. culmine R2: on hrofe S: pars pro toto, hrofe Ba: cella, on fyrstrofe, tigno, Tigillum hrof Bc*
- E212 ENVCLEATA] *geondsmead*
 3, 38/39 ENVCLEATA] *i. inuestigata [-am R3] R2 R4 S R3: manifestata, aperta Ba: inuestigata, gecneatede Bcd*
- E475 EXORBITANS] *asuab*
 38, 3 EXORBITANS] *deuians R2: fram C1: dweliende, exorbitans dweliende, errans Bc*
- E477 EXALAPARETVR] *suungen*
 43, 38/39 EXALAPARETVR] *i. percuteretur R2*
- *F26 FASCIARVM] *suaedila*
 36, 80 FASCIARVM] *i. ligaminum R2: i. uinculorum R4 S R3 C2: wreda C1: uinculorum, wræda Ba*
- F171 FISCILLIS] *sprinclum*
 30, 29 FISCILLIS] *tænelum Bc*
- F358 FRONTVOSVS] *bald*
 45, 15/16 FRONTOSA] *elata R2: æpsin R3: s. ubi Bb: scamleas, Frontosa nebwlaful Bc*
 58, 1 FRONTOSAM] *i. superbam R2: ge7wlatade R4: ge7wlatude S: þa wlanca Bc*
- I96 improvisv] *feringa*
 26, 5 EX IMPROVISO] *i. subito, i. repente R2: i. subito R4 S R3 C2: extimplo Ba: unforwandedlice, subito Bc*

- I487 IRRIDABANT] *tyhton*
47, 39 IRRITABANT] i. *prouocabant R2 R4 S R3*:
uocabant, gremedan Bc
- *M26 MANDRAS] *eouuistras*
33, 2 MANDRAS] i. *delicias R2 R4 R3*: i. *delicias, i. locu*
S: caulas Ba: locu, locu Bc
- O39 OBVNCA] *crump*
58, 17 OBVNCA] i. *curua R2: won R4 S R3*
- *O110 OCREIS] *baangeberg*
53, 43 OCREIS] *scinhose Ba, cd*
- P13 PASTINARE] *settan*
16, 22 PASTINARE] *trydrian C2: tidrian, plantare Ba: uel*
nutrire Bc
- P14 PALATINA] *raecedlic*
33, 11 PALATINAS ... ZETAS] *to hiredlicum gesetum S: to*
hyredlicum gesetum R3: to hoflican, to hællicum, hyrdlicum ge-
seton, sessiones Ba: ad regales aulas, Ad palatinas to cyne-
licum geseton Bc
- P287 PERCELLITVR] *bið slægen*
53, 53/54 PERCELLITVR] i. *percutitur R2 S: i. occiditur*
R4 C1: i. perimitur C2: i. occiditur uel percutitur R3:
percutitur, necatur Ba
- P467 PLANTARIA] *setin*
16, 19 PLANTARIA] *plantationes Ba: sprittingca Bcd*
- †P571 PROCAX] *huuael*
32, 98 PROCAX] i. *pertinax Bc: loquax Ba: anwille Bcd*
- *R116 RECIPROCIS] *wrixlindum*
27, 28 RECIPROCIS] i. *iteratis R2 C1 Bc: ablatius S: ed-*
læcendum Bcd
- R117 RELATIO] *eðcuide*
frequent
- R122 REDIVIVA] *aettaelg*
19, 16 REDIVIVA] i. *linum R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 Ba: flex*
Bcd
- *S45 SARCOFAGO] *licbeorg*
32, 78 IN SARCOFAGO] *in tumba Ba: on scrine Bc*
- S126 SCAMMA] *feld*
2, 17 SCAMMATIS] *oretstowe, luctaminis R2: oretstowe*
R3 C2: luctaminis, oretstowe Ba: oretstowe † winstowe †
plegstowe Bcd
34, 31/32 IN SCAMMATE] *oredstowe Ba: † on orde Bcd*
36, 101/102 IN SCAMMATE] *on winstowe Bcd*
- S128 SALTVVM] *feltha*
5, 4 SALTVVM] i. *nemorum R2*
25, 22 SALTVS] *bearewæs Bc*
- S150 SCATVRIT] *criid*
23, 51 SCATVRIAT] i. *erumpat R2 R3 C1: erumpat,*

- c* < . > *ipe* Ba: uel ferueat, *wapel* < . > *ge* Bc: *up hrinneþ t wapelap* Bcd
- S585 SVFFVNDIT] *ablendeð*
22, 27 SVFFVNDIT] *gengyt* Bcd
- S635 SVBARRATA] *geuuetfaestae*
37, 14 SVBARRATAM] et B: *beweddad* Bc
48, 23 SVBARRARET] s. cum A: *beweddode* Bc
- S690 SVB CONO] *under haehnisse*
21, 26 SVB CONO] i. sub fronde R2: i. summitate C2: i. in summitate C1: *coppe*, i. summitate Bcd
- T41 TAXAVERAT] *gier[e]nde*
25, 11 TAXAVERAT] i. iudicauerat R2 R4 S R3 C2 Ba: *possederat* Bc: *he demde* Bcd

A substantial proportion of the Aldhelm glosses from Cp corresponds either to glosses in the 'Common Recension' or, more improbably, to glosses in HAND A of the Brussels manuscript. Twenty-two lemmata from the preceding list of 73 have parallels in multiple manuscripts of the 'Common Recension' glosses: A283, A772, B118, C89, D352, E212, F26, F358, I96, I487, M26, O39, P14, P287, P843, R10, R122, S44, S126, S150, S163, T41. Only three, however, have identical glosses (P843, S44, S163). Among the non-parallel glosses scribes may have translated Latin into Old English (E212, F26, I487, M26, P287, R122, S150, T41), substituted another Old English synonym (A283, C89, O39, P14, R10, S126), or selected one gloss among many alternatives. Indeed, the variance of non-parallel glosses mirrors that in entries common to EE and Cp. Pfeifer claims that Cp often supplies a 'fuller version' of the entries common to Cp and EE, that Cp abbreviates others, combines still more, substitutes or adds Old English and Latin, or altogether replaces a (presumably) unsuitable *interpretamentum*.⁽¹²⁰⁾ He concludes that the same source which gave rise to EE and Cp had both Latin and vernacular renderings, from which compilers selected different glosses. Hence, the striking correspondences between *lemmas* imply an affiliation between the 'Common Recension' and Cp, even if the parallels between glosses are imprecise.

The table also reveals an intriguing correspondence between the Brussels HAND A and B glosses and the entries in Cp. Twenty glosses written in these two Brussels hands either match

(120) EEWC facs., pp. 50-3.

or share verbal elements with putative *Pdv* entries in Cp. ⁽¹²¹⁾ Cp *interpretamenta* corresponding to Brussels HAND A and B glosses will occasionally appear in groups, (a) with a Latin gloss (B118, C262, H164, S150), (b) with an additional Latin and Old English gloss (S180), or (c) with one or two additional Old English glosses (A283, D83, P741, R118). In some cases the corresponding Brussels gloss appears first, as if it represented the oldest layer of glosses in an exemplar giving rise to glosses in HANDS A and B (A283, C262, H164, P741, S180). In four examples the glosses in HAND A coincide with glosses in my 'Common Recension' (A283, B118, S150, S163), and in one of these cases the glosses are identical (S163). In two other examples the Latin glossword in HAND A matches that in the 'Common Recension' (A283, S150). In B118 the first element *sylf-* is unchanged, but the second element *-cwala* does not correspond to *-bona* in the HAND A gloss. Therefore, glosses in HANDS A and B plausibly correspond to Cp glosses, some of which have been altered in transmission.

Just as remarkably, Cp also contains *Pdv* glosses corresponding to *interpretamenta* in Brussels HANDS C and CD: A177, A666, A773, A876, B25, C99, C655, E527, F255, S33, S131, S134, S349, S635, U271. It is not likely to be coincidental that *Pdv* glosses from Cp match entries in an extant Aldhelm manuscript. When Louis Goossens described the five prominent scripts in the Brussels manuscript, he declared that HANDS C and CD resembled each other so closely that he could not always distinguish them. Whether a single scribe penned both hands is probably indeterminable. As noted above (pp. 218-33), numerous glosses in HANDS C and CD have parallels among scratched glosses in Royal 5 E.xi, Corpus 326 and the 'Yale Fragment', suggesting that they derive independently from antecedent *Pdv scholia*. These glosses likewise appear in the *Pdv* layers of Cp and may even have been part of the manuscript which gave rise to the *Pdv* entries in Cp and to some of the Brussels glosses. These spectacular comparisons not only suggest that *Pdv* glosses in HANDS A, B, C and CD formed part of an ancestral corpus of Aldhelm *scholia*. They also imply that *Pdv* glosses in Cp descend from a manuscript with glosses similar to those in Brussels HANDS A and B!

The accident of Cp lemmata makes it plain that a *Pdv* manuscript must have been the source of the glosses. Could the Brus-

(121) The correspondences are even closer in Napier's alleged Aldhelm glosses (above, note 107).

sels manuscript therefore reflect an exemplar pre-dating 825, one which lent entries to Cp? As mentioned in chapter I, Rudolf Ehwald categorized *Pdv* texts into three families, among which 'Class I' texts lack the *capitula* tables, individual headings preceding each chapter, and the interpolation of matter from chapter 37 before chapter 30. Only three 'Class I' manuscripts exist, two of which pre-date 855 (the 'Yale Fragment' and the continental Würzburg manuscript). The third 'Class I' manuscript, Brussels 1650, is the youngest by 150 years, and my collation of its text suggests that it derives from an ancient exemplar. That exemplar may have been related to a glossed *Pdv* copy from which the *glossae collectae* underlying the Cp entries were culled, if the HAND A and B glosses were also transcribed from this hypothetical source.

For some time scholars have believed that Brussels 1650 originated at Abingdon, but my own research points towards an origin at Canterbury, perhaps Christ Church. However, even if Brussels 1650 were copied at Abingdon, an exemplar or closely related version – perhaps one of great antiquity – could have been housed at Canterbury. Now, according to Pfeifer, the ancestor of EE could have been compiled in seventh-century Canterbury and may have remained there, forming the basis for Cp, the ancestor of which was confected in the early ninth century.⁽¹²²⁾ If Cp was produced at Canterbury, the materials from which it was assembled may still have been available there when the Brussels manuscript was copied and glossed. A competing theory, that the HAND A and B scribes used Cp to gloss a *Pdv* copy, is far less compelling, because of the corresponding accordance of lemmas in Cp and *Pdv* and because of the very plentiful, diverse and consistent glossing in Brussels 1650. *Pdv* entries in Cp were most likely edited from a densely glossed manuscript with a variety of Latin and vernacular *interpretamenta*, rather than augmented in Brussels 1650 from a core of Cp glosses.

Although Canterbury could be considered the preeminent center at which glossaries like EE and Cp arose, it is not the only contender for such a position. In fact, the notoriety of Theodore's work and the abundance of evidence for his teach-

(122) Cf. PHEIFER, 'School of Canterbury', pp. 36-7. Another theory alleges that EE was produced at Malmesbury, inasmuch as it contains clear Irish strains among its lemmata as well as one Hiberno-Latin source, the 'Altus Prosator', which Aldhelm knew; cf. ORCHARD, *Poetic Art*, pp. 54-60. For linguistic evidence of a West-Saxon connection, cf. PHEIFER, *OEG*, p. xci.

ings have eclipsed our study of rival Anglo-Saxon schools, particularly Aldhelm's own school at Malmesbury. Lamentably, no evidence survives of the Malmesbury school, except for the records of eighth-century correspondents, many of them Malmesbury attachés, and inferences that can be drawn from extant manuscripts. We should not dismiss the possibility, however, of a persistent intellectual tradition in seventh- and eighth-century Malmesbury, and I shall return to this hypothesis at my conclusion. Both J. D. Pheifer and Andy Orchard regard EE as potentially a product of the Malmesbury school. In Orchard's words, 'it is tempting to speculate that the Épinal-Erfurt glossary is the product of a characteristically Aldhelmian blend of Irish influence from Malmesbury and continental influence from Canterbury'.⁽¹²³⁾ Correspondingly, additional evidence in the Würzburg copy of *Pdv* implies that the Brussels HAND A and B glosses and 'Common Recension' glosses go back to the time of the Anglo-Saxon missions in the middle of the eighth century. These missions had their base in southwest England, and most of the best-known missionaries had vital links either to Malmesbury or to Aldhelm. Although my investigation of the Würzburg *Pdv* reinforces the claims I make about the relationship between the 'Common Recension' of *Pdv* glosses found in Cp, my study has to remain speculative. Just as no certain authority connects Cp to Canterbury, no irrefutable evidence links the Würzburg text to any center in the Southwest, let alone Malmesbury. As ever, we are working in the shadow of circumstance to form opinions about the nature of early Anglo-Saxon lexicography.

One significant source potentially helpful in isolating the origin of the 'Common Recension' glosses has remained unexplored: the Würzburg manuscript. The volume contains numerous Latin and Old High German glosses contemporary with the text, and these annotations might be tied to Malmesbury, if they can be shown to derive from a manuscript associated with Southumbrian missionary activity. Heinz Mettke studied the Old High German glosses, published in the Steinmeyer-Sievers collection,⁽¹²⁴⁾ and concluded that many derive from Old

(123) *Poetic Art*, p. 59.

(124) E. STEINMEYER and E. SIEVERS, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* (Berlin, 1879-1922), vol. 3. The Steinmeyer-Sievers edition has now been updated with considerably more information in I. FRANK, *Aus Glossenhandschriften des 8. bis 14. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1984), pp. 98-106. I have followed Frank's readings where they differ from those in Steinmeyer-Sievers.

English originals. ⁽¹²⁵⁾ Yet the Latin glosses have never been published, receiving only infrequent mention in Ehwald's *apparatus criticus*. The Latin entries betray their alliance to 'Common Recension' glosses and illuminate the eighth-century circulation of *Pdv* scholia. I have edited almost all the glosses below; an asterisk denotes entries with 'Common Recension' glosses. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

Latin and Old High German Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript

- 5, 5 CONSORTIA] *uuahsamo* (SS 5.8)
 i. contubernia R2: *gemana* A: *geferrædene* Bcd
- 7, 29 VIRVLENTO] i. confectio in uenis
 no parallel
- *8, 8 SANCTIONIS] iudicii
 i. preceptionis R2: i. iudicii S R3 Ba: i. iudicii, *fæ* R4: i. iudicii, *getrymning* C1: *godcundre gesetnyse* Bcd
- 8, 10 REFERTOS] sarciatos
 no parallel
- *8, 14 CONGERIE] congregatione
 i. ordine R2: congregatione R4 S R3 C2 C1: i. cumulo Bc: *gegaderunge* Bcd
- 8, 15 FVRVO] nigro
 i. nigro R2: nigro, obscuro Ba
- 9, 5 EX GLOMERE] ex globo
 uertigine Ba: globo Bcd
- 9, 7 TRABEA] toga
 no parallel
- 9, 12 SCABRE] asperae
 i. aspere R2: *rusti* R3: i. scabrose Bc: *anfealte* A: squamosa, nodosi Ba: *homiges* Bcd
- 9, 14 FORFICIS] *cluft* (SS 8.21)
 FORFICIS] *scaeren* Ba

(125) *Die althochdeutschen Aldhelmglossen* (Jena, 1957), pp. 57-65; cf. W. SCHRÖDER, 'Kritisches zu neuen Verfasserschaften Walafrid Strabos und zur "althochdeutschen Schriftsprache"', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 87-8 (1956-7), 163-213, at pp. 174-92.

(126) I have omitted a few glosses which do not affect the transmission, some illegible to me and others which appear in the margins of fol. 3r; cf. BISCHOFF, *Kylian*, p. 32. Note that some of these Old High German terms are loan-formations derived from the Latin context, and a few have Old English cognates; cf. H. LAUFFER, *Der Lehnwortschatz der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Prudentiusglossen* (Munich, 1976). For further discussion of the glosses, cf. J. HOFMANN, 'Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen aus Würzburg und dem weiteren angelsächsischen Missionsgebiet', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 85 (1963), 96-105.

- 9, 21 EXANTHLAMVS] aurimus
i. haurimus, Anthlia <. > Rota hauritoria R2: ð R4: i.
haurimus Ba: *uphladen Bcd*
- *9, 23 PERPES] <. >
quamuis uideatur R2 R4 S R3 C2: uelox Ba: *singal renes,*
† swift Bcd
- *9, 24 IN EDITO] in sorbitate
i. alto R2 S R3 C2: i. in alto, *se R4: alto, sublimato Ba*
- *10, 12 TIROCINIO] initium militiæ
i. initio R2: i. militiæ [-tia C2] R4 S R3 C2 C1: *camp-*
hade Bcd
- *10, 28 NÆVORVM] malorum
smittena S C1: macularum R3: notarum, wlotta Ba: smyt-
tena Bcd
- *11, 11 AMBRONIBVS] auidis
gifrum R2 R4 S R3: cupidis, gifrum, auidis Ba
- *11, 11 LVRCONIBVS] uorantibus
i. auidis R2: *reaflum R4: frecum S: 7 reaflum R3: deuo-*
rantibus, cupidis Ba: 7 mid grædigum Bcd
- 11, 12 GASTRIMARGIAE] gula
i. auaritie R2 S: i. gule, uoracitatis, auaritiæ Ba
- *11, 19 CENODOXIAE] uana gloria
i. uane glorie [uana C1] R2 C1 Ba: i. uane laudis
R4 S R3 C2
- *11, 27 STROFOSAE] uitiosæ
i. inique R2: *brædynes R4: brædnes S R3: swæ C1: swic-*
fulles Ba: callide Bcd
- 11, 27 BALLISTA] ballastar (SS 11.19)
stæflibere, balista genus machine unde excutiuntur lapi-
des Ba
- 11, 30 SALPICTAE] tuba siue cornu
uel salpiste S: *heargan R3: tubicinatoris Ba: trufhornes*
Bcd
- 12, 6 STROFARVM] uitiorum
i. fraudium R2 Bc: *mana S: piaculorum Ba: biswica Bcd*
- 12, 6 FALARICA] lancea acuta
s. est telum ingens torno factum R2: *ætégare S: spe C1:*
ansaita, lanceis magnis Ba: ategarum Bcd
- *13, 9 LIXARVM] scurrarum
i. aquarum portitoribus R2: mercenariorum R4 S R3
C2: *medwyrhtena C1: qui aquam portant, mercenario-*
rum Ba: wæterberendra Bcd
- 13, 27 ARCHIMANDRITA] principe abbatum
i. summus pastor R2: pastor R3: *heahhyrde, et principe,*
excelsus magister Ba: opþe heahleomere Bcd
- 13, 55 TIRIACA] poculum contra februm
no parallel

- *14, 4/5 REPAGVLA] retinaculum
i. frena R2 R4 S R3 C2: frena, salas Ba: *† bendas Bcd*
- 15, 21 THORACIBVS] prunus
i. imaginibus R2: uel bus R4: i. *anlicnessum C2: formis, imaginibus Ba: hiwum Bcd*
- 15, 32 SVCINI] gemma
i. arboris sucus R2: *tan C1: i. sucinus lapis qui ferrum trahit Bc: glæres Ba*
- *15, 32 DRACONTIA] gemma dracone
s. uocata quod asta eius uaria sit in modum colubri R2: *gimrodor R4: gimrodur, draconitas gemma ex cerebro serpentis assumpta [assumpta om. R3] S R3: gimroder Ba*
- 17, 13 CALAMISTRO] ferrum quo crispant capillos
þrawincspinle Ba: aco ferreo, cum Bc: hærnædla Bcd
- 17, 14 STIBIO] *bleiha* (SS 17.23)
nebsealue R4 S: neabselue R3: nebsealfe C2 C1: readre deage Ba
- 19, 18 MVLIONIS] custos mulorum
aliter mulionis uilitas R2: *horsþenes Ba*
- 20, 12 VEGETATIONE] fortitudine
i. confortatione R2: i. stabilitate uel confortatione Bc: *gestragunge, conuersatione Ba*
- 20, 22 INORMEM] inmensum
maximam Ba
- 21, 36 CARAXATIS] scriptis
i. scriptis R2: scriptis, pro craxatis Ba
- 21, 41 AVITA] abauibus
ealdfædera Ba
- 21, 58 COLOSI] simulacri, bottom margin: quando cadit colosus cadit roma, quando cadit roma totus mundus cadit
i. diaboli R2: imagini, *þyr Ba: anlicnysse Bcd*
- 22, 6 SARCIENTES] coniungentes, bottom margin: sartio compleo
i. implentes R2: i. consuentes uel componentes Bc: *treagiende Ba*
- *22, 13 SVBPEDITENT] abundant uel ministrent
i. auxiliuntur R2: i. ministrent R4 S R3: ministrent uel currant C2: i. subministrent C1: s. subministrent uel concurrent Ba: suffultent Bc: *gefultumiab Bcd*
- 22, 27 GLAVCOMA] *starablint* (SS 23.37)
s. dicitur alba macula in oculis R2: *sped Bc*
- 22, 30/31 ⁽¹²⁷⁾ SCOTOMATICORVM] *gihiotfototo* (SS 24.4)
i. monoptalmorum R2: *stærblindra Bc*

(127) Arguably a displaced gloss to 22, 31 *OBTVRANTVR]* uel tu Ba: *beoð tosworcene † aþestrede Bcd*. The OHG might be a rendering of (*ge-*)*feotorod*, as Michiels suggests (*Altenglisches*, p. 1).

- *23, 3/4 SALEBROSOS] incultos
i. nodosos R2: asperos R4 S R3 C1: asperos, *wage* Ba:
lutosus Bc: *widerwurde* Bcd
- 23, 4 ANFRACTVS] circuitus
i. iter difficile R2: *wo hylliceas* C1: *hilcas* A: *hylcas* Ba: re-
flexus Bc: *woge* Bcd
- *23, 5 PARANYMPHVS] *truhtigomo* (SS 24.18)
witf. Juma R4: *wytuma* S: *wituma*, *drihtman* R3: *dri* C1:
witumbora Ba: *drihtwemmend* Bc
- 23, 55/56 LVSTRAMENTA] *ambutus*
i. circuitus R2: i. cubilia ferarum Bc: *templ* Ba: *þa ansæt-
an diofelgild* Bcd
- 24, 22 CATAPLASMA] *fasca* (SS 26.31)
i. malagma R2: i. medicamentum Bc: *halwende cliþon t
læcedom* Bcd
- 24, 22/23 PVRVLENTAS] *uenenatas*
i. fetidas R2: *iu* < . > S: *iulstrie* R3 C1: *giolstrige* Ba, cd: *þa
giccigan*, *putridas* Bc
- *25, 3/4 NEQVIQVAM] *sine causa*
i. inane R2: i. in unum R4 S R3: i. frustra, in unum
C1: *on ol* Ba Bcd: *inaniter*, *frustra* Bc
- *25, 11 TAXAVERAT] *texuerat*
i. iudicauerat R2 R4 S R3 C2 Ba: *possederat* Bc: *he demde
Bcd*
- 25, 17 ITINERARIVM] *librum de itinere*
i. librum R2: *forrake* R3: *sibhoc* Ba: *fereld*, librum quem
in itinere habebat Bc: *foreboc* Bcd
- *25, 42 TRICARVM] *tri ... uui ... far* (SS 28.10) ⁽¹²⁸⁾
i. morarum R2 R4 S C2 Ba: i. morarum, *latunga* R3: *yl-
dincga*, *Tricarum yldincga* Bc
- 26, 39/40 PELLACES] *fallaces*
fallaces R2 C1: *fallaces*, *mendaces* Bc
- *26, 40 NEBVNONIS] *magi*
i. falsi R2 R4 C2: i. falsi, *frætis*, *anatolus* S: i. falsi, *scúan*
R3: i. *fallacis* C1: *fallacis*, *scuan* Ba
- 27, 9 SOPITVS] *sopitum suscitāt ignem*
no parallel
- 27, 33 EX IPSIVS ELOGIO] *superscriptione*
i. dicto *t gydde* R2: i. dicto *t gidde* S R3: *of his*, *of his gydde*
C1: *textu*, *gydde*, *fama*, *locutione* Bc: *t of spæce* Bcd
- *27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS] *in portis*
i. muris R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1: *muris*, *for gheahsealdum t ge-
motstowum*, *on weallum* Ba

(128) The glosses are cut off in the margin, but the derivative Wol-
fenbüttel manuscript reads *trico* / *uuidar* / *far*; cf. HOFMANN,
'Altenglische ... Glossen', pp. 101-2.

- 27, 36 IN EDITO] alto
i. in fastigio R2: in alto C2: in alto, in fastigio Bc: *on getostowe Bcd*
- 27, 47 INSOLESCAT] superbiat
i. erret R2: *awolfige Ba,c*: superbiat, insolescat, *awolfige Bc*
- *28, 16 PELLACI] fallaci
i. a fallaci R2 R4 S R3: i. fallaci C2 Ba: *fram leasum apume Bcd*
- 28, 20 FATESCVNT] *muodant* (SS 33.10)
deficiunt R2 Bc: *acwincap Ba*
- 28, 23 PLECTA] *fluctira* (SS 33.14)
wæfelsa Ba: cratera, Plecta *gewynde † Bc*
- *28, 29 HIVLCO] *ginizantemo* (SS 33.20)
i. aperto R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 Ba: *iuniendum Bcd*
- 30, 31 MERVLENTA] pura
merum dicimus cum uinum purum significamus R2:
picce R4: i. pura Bc: *hlutru Ba*: *† lipe Bcd*
- *31, 30 POSTLIMINIVM] terminum
i. reuersionem R4 S C2: *geancyr*, reuersionem R3: reditum, i. mandatum Ba: ad propria limina reuersionem, *ageancerdingce < . > nh < . > rfennysse † < . > men Bc*
- 32, 14 CINCINDILIBVS] luminaribus
i. stuppulis Bc: *wiocum Ba*
- 32, 15 ARVINA] *unslit* (SS 37.35)
ablatius, i. adipe R2: ablatius, i. *smeorwe R4*: ablatius, i. *smerwe S*: uel axungia C1 Ba: *rysele, smerewe, Aruina* i. adeps uel pinguedo *micgern Bc*: *on, of mycgern Ba,c*
- 32, 20 ELIDERET] *zislvogi* (SS 38.2)
i. offenderet, contereret Bc: *þæt he ætstente † gedrehte Bcd*
- 32, 26/27 REGIAE PESTIS] lebrositas
fotadles, regis morbus Bc: *fotcopu Bcd*
- 32, 37 CLIENTELLA] *gidiginu* (SS 38.21)
hiwcupre geferrædene ... inhirede Bc
- 32, 38 CONTRIBVLIBVS] *cunnin* (SS 38.21)
s. cum, proximus R2: s. cum R4 C2: propinquus, parentibus Bc: *siblingum Bcd*
- *32, 92 COMMINISCVNTVR] recordantur
i. protractabantur R2 R4 C2: i. protractabantur uel meditantur S: protractabantur uel meditantur, *syrndon R3*: *sirh C1*: tractabantur, recordantur Ba
- *33, 10 DISPENDIVM] *zurgengiun*
i. damnus R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 Ba
- *33, 15/16 PERPENDICVLO] mensura
i. memoria R2: i. a rectitudine R4 S: i. a rectitudine uel memoria R3: i. memoria C1: memoria, *of wunder, of wihtmearce Ba*: Perpendicularum *fram wundern Bc*: *gemende Bcd*

- *34, 12 APOSTATARE] alienare (in left margin: ... asis ... ctio)
i. fugere R2 R4 S R3 C2 Bc: *wipersacien Bc*
- 34, 17 MELANCOLIAS] gloss cut off in left margin
7 eall adla S R3: *incopan Ba*
- 34, 23 SCOTOMATICOS] *zoranouga* (SS 42.4)
stærblinde S: stærbli Bcd
- 34, 25 REVOCANDO] *erquiccento*
No parallel
- 35, 32 OLOSERICIS] *toto sericis*
i. tota serica, olo totum R2: *oloserica i. uestis tota ex serico C1: ofgodwebbenum Ba: godwebbenum Bcd*
- *35, 49 SECVS] *aliter*
i. aliter R2: *pro aliter R4 S R3 C2 C1: pro aliter, elles hu Ba*
- 35, 77 LOTII] *stanh* (44.37) (glossing NIDORIBVS)
micgan Ba: hlondes t Bcd
- 35, 88 PVTAMINA] *fulaz uuerc* (SS 45.11)
æcumba Ba: acuman Bc
- *36, 19 TAEDAS] *zi brútb&tin* (SS 46.22)
i. nuptias, lucernas R2: i. lucernas, i. nuptias R4 S R3: i. lucernas C2: i. ad nuptias C1: *nuptias, faces Ba: giftu, lucernas Bc*
- 36, 25 PERTINACITER] *durîhstritigo* (SS 46.29)
andwillice gemah Bcd
- 36, 37 EFFIGIE] *facies uel imago*
hi C1: hiwe Ba: imagine, specie Bc
- *36, 39 SVATIM] *suo more*
i. suo more R2 S R3 C1 Ba
- *36, 58/59 COMMANIPVLARIBVS] *consociis*
i. similibus R2: i. sociis S R3 C1 Bc: *þreapum Ba*
- 36, 64 VIBICES] *uirgulas*
s. sunt plage uirgarum R2: *læla R4 S R3: wala, Vibex walu Bc*
- *36, 91 OBOLISCI] *intuuonan* (SS 48.25)
tela R4 S R3: flane C1 Ba: þæs stanes Bc: brenes Bcd
- 36, 98 LICII] *heiluuim* (SS 48.32)
hefeldum S R3: heueldum C1: hefeldþrædum, Liciis hefeldþrædum Bc
- 36, 108 RODERENTVR] *bignagana* (SS 49.5)
morderent Bc: forgnagene Ba
- 37, 27 MOLOSI] *rîden* (SS 50.11)
ryþþan, canis Bc
- *37, 30 DEPECVLATA] *furata*
segregata R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1: separa Bb: spoliata, segregata Bc: asendred Bcd
- 38, 3 EXORBITANS] *auuiggonti* (SS 51.2)
fram C1: dweliende, exorbitans dweliende, errans Bc

- 38, 4 APOSTATARE] alienare
no parallels
- 38, 10 CERNVAS] prospicientes, *enti framhald* (SS 51.9)
destructas, pronas *Ba*
- 38, 18/19 ARCHIMANDRITA] princeps abbatum
i. princeps uel pater *R2: hehsæder Bb: Archimandrita hehsæder, princeps ouium Bc*
- 38, 23 COLOBIVM] lineum uestimentum
s. dictum quia longum est et sine manicis *R2: ham S: leuitenarium C1: lōpa Bb: dalmatica uel uestis, colobium lōða Bc*
- 38, 24 ORDIRETVR] texeretur
i. componeretur *R2: incipiebatur R4 S C2: wæs geheuedad, ongunnen Bc*
- 38, 25/26 RADIIS] *hrahún* (SS 51.25)
rislum, Radius hrisle Bc
- 38, 46 COMPERISSENT] cum
i. intellexissent *R2: i. intellegent R4 C2: intellexissent, inuenissent Ba*
- *38, 57 SIMVLTATEM] contentionem
i. discordiam *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 Bb: ungehwærnesse, Simultas ungehwærmys Bc*
- *38, 83 XENIVM] *hantcunni*, euloia (SS 53.10)
datum, *sülen R4: i. sülen S C1: i. datum R3: uel donum Bb: lac Bc*
- *38, 84/85 PARASITIS] ministris
i. ministris *R2 R4 R3 C1: pro ministris S: i. adolatoribus, i. ministris Ba*
- *38, 88 CARICARVM] ficarum
i. *fica R4: caricus, i. siccus ficus R4 S R3 Bb: siccus ficus C1: Caricarum ficappla Bc: ficapplana Bcd*
- *38, 89 ANTES] sumitas uitis
i. ramusculos *R2: i. uirgultas [-us Bb] R4 C2 Bb: i. tanas, s. uirgultas S R3: tanas C1: Antes tanas Bc: telegran Bcd*
- *40, 20 PELLEKERINT] *bitriogant* (SS 54.34)
i. deciperint *R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1 Ba: þonne hi bepæcaþ Bcd*
- *41, 5 TRINACRIAE] siciliæ
i. sicilie *R2 C1 Ba: i. siciliæ, nomen insule R4 S R3*
- 41, 7 TESTVLARVM] a testa testula
s. ualuerunt, i. imbricum *R2: tige R4: tiglena Bc*

Obviously, dozens of Würzburg glosses in the preceding list do not correspond to those in manuscripts of the 'Common Recension'. By my reckoning, however, even the divergent glosses concretely underscore the common origin of the Würzburg and 'Common Recension' glosses. As Mettke implied in his study, we must categorize the Old High German glosses as special

cases. In many circumstances, they can be construed as translations of Latin or Old English, or even as idiosyncratic additions. Other glosses represent Old High German renderings of Old English terms. ⁽¹²⁹⁾ Interestingly, the Old High German glosses sometimes appear in the same context where Latin or Old English crops up in manuscripts of the 'Common Recension' (25, 42 TRICARVM; 28, 29 HIVLCO; 40, 20 PELLEXERINT: 17, 14 STIBIO; 23, 5 PARANYMPHVS; 36, 98 LICHS respectively). Correspondingly, when the Old High German Würzburg glosses do not correspond to 'Common Recension' materials, they are often found in the same context as those in Brussels HAND A (9, 14 FORFICIS; 11, 27 BALLISTA; 28, 20 FATESCVNT; 28, 23 PLECTA; 35, 88 PVTAMINA; 38, 10 CERNVAS) or HAND C (22, 27 GLAVCOMA; 22, 30/31 SCOTOMATICORVM; 24, 22 CATAPLASMA; 28, 23 PLECTA; 32, 20 ELIDERET; 32, 37 CLIENTELLA; 32, 38 CONTRIBVLIVS; 35, 88 PVTAMINA; 37, 27 MOLOSI; 38, 3 EXORBITANS; 38, 25/26 RADIIS), in exactly the same distribution as the Cp entries which correspond to Brussels glosses! Similar parallels can also be drawn from a comparison of the context. For example, while some Latin Würzburg glosses do not match those in 'Common Recension' manuscripts, their identical contexts disclose a common derivation: 9, 24 IN EDITO; 11, 11 LVRCONIBVS; 11, 27 STROFOSAE; 13, 9 LIXARVM; 14, 4/5 REPAGVLA; 15, 32 DRACONTIA; 23, 3/4 SALEBROSOS; 25, 3/4 NEQVIQVAM; 25, 11 TAXAVERAT; 26, 40 NEVLONIS; 27, 33 EX IPSIVS ELOGIO; 27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS; 31, 30 POSTLIMINIVM; 32, 92 COMMINISCVNTVR; 34, 12 APOSTATARE; 36, 58/59 COMMANIPVLARIBVS; 36, 64 VIBICES; 37, 30 DEPECVLATA; 38, 24 ORDIRETVR; 38, 57 SIMVLTATEM; 38, 88 CARICARVM; 38, 89 ANTES. These significant glosses frequently recur in four, five or six 'Common Recension' manuscripts, an astonishing fact, considering the small sample of the Würzburg scholia. These discrepant glosses, then, almost certainly expose scribal intervention: a redactor of the Würzburg or 'Common Recension' glosses altered his *textus receptus* to suit his idiosyncratic lexis. Perhaps he felt that his annotations more fittingly answered Aldhelm's sense.

In addition to the evidence explored above, twelve glosses in the Würzburg manuscript correspond precisely to 'Common recension' items: 8, 8 SANCTIONIS; 8, 14 CONGERIE; 10, 12 TIROCINIO; 11, 19 CENODOXIAE; 22, 13 SVBPEDITENT; 28, 16

(129) Cf. MICHIELS, *Altenglisches*, pp. 1-2, where *gihiotoforo* (22, 30/31 SCOTOMATICORVM), *truhtigomo* (23, 5 PARANYMPHVS) and *fluctira* (28, 23 PLECTA) are described as obvious derivations of Old English.

PELLACI; 35, 49 SECVS; 36, 39 SVATIM; 36, 58/59 COMMANIPV-LARIBVS; 38, 84/85 PARASITIS; 38, 88 CARICARVM; 41, 5 TRINACRIAE. Note that in eight of these cases, the Würzburg glosses match those in *five* or *six* manuscripts (counting Brussels 1650); this parallelism cannot be fortuitous. Moreover, nine additional Würzburg glosses match HAND A glosses in Brussels 1650 (8, 15 FVRVO; 9, 21 EXANTHLAMVS; 11, 11 AMBRONIBVS; 11, 11 LVRCONIBVS; 11, 12 GASTRIMARGIAE; 12, 6 FALARICA; 13, 27 ARCHIMANDRITA; 21, 36 CARAXATIS; 32, 92 COMMUNISCVNTR), while another seven correspond identically to glosses in HANDS C and CD (9, 5 EX GLOMERE; 26, 39/40 PELLACES; 27, 36 IN EDITO; 30, 31 MERVLENTA; 36, 37 EFFIGIE; 37, 27 MOLOSI; 38, 18/19 ARCHIMANDRITA). Insofar as these relationships highlight the common source of *Pdv* glosses in continental and Insular manuscripts, they could reflect the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon lexicography.

The Würzburg *Pdv* glosses plainly stem from the same milieu as Cp, for they have the same mixture of 'Common Recension' and Brussels HANDS A and B glosses as well as a proportion of identical entries. But whether they actually derive from Cp remains unresolved, even if Mettke determined that *Pdv* glosses correspond to Cp *interpretamenta*. Mettke observed that some Old High German glosses in Würzburg have counterparts in Cp, and he tabulated the corresponding glosses: ⁽¹³⁰⁾

Lemma	Würzburg	Anglo-Saxon MSS	Cp
9, 14 FORFICIS	<i>cluft</i>	<i>scearen Ba</i>	F279: <i>isen-scereru</i>
15, 32 SVCINI	<i>gemma</i>	i. <i>arboris sucus R2:</i> <i>tan C1: i. sucinus</i> <i>lapis qui ferrum trahit</i> <i>Bc: glæres Ba</i>	S688: <i>glæres</i>
22, 27 GLAVCOMA	<i>starablint</i>	s. <i>dicitur alba macula</i> <i>in oculis R2: sped Bc</i>	S134: <i>staerblind</i>

(130) METTKE, *Aldhelmglossen*, pp. 62-3. In only three cases do the Old English and Old High German lemmas match up, and in the first two of these examples the lemmas actually differ. Mettke reasoned that the glosses had been displaced, in which event they may have been taken from a manuscript crowded with entries. Old High German *starablint* glosses GLAVCOMA, whereas the Cp gloss interprets SCOTOMATICORVM, a distance of 23 words. Similarly, Old High German *unslit* renders ARVINA, but the Cp gloss translates SEVO, although SEVO is separated from ARVINA by 'uel'.

25, 11 TAXAVERAT	texuerat	i. iudicauerat R2 R4 S R3 C2 Ba: possederat Bc: <i>he demde Bcd</i>	T41: <i>gier[e]nde</i>
27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS	in portis	i. muris R2 R4 S R3 C2 C1: muris, <i>for gheahsealdum i gemot- stowum, on weallum Ba</i>	P741: <i>haehsedlum</i>
32, 15 ARVINA	unslit	ablatus, i. adipe R2: ablatus, <i>smeorwe</i> R4: ablatus, i. <i>smerwe</i> S: uel axungia C1 Ba: <i>rysele, smerewe, Aruina</i> i. adeps uel pinguedo, <i>micgem</i> Bc: <i>on, of mycgem Ba,c</i>	S33: <i>unslit smeoro</i>
35, 88 PVTAMINA	fulaz uuerc	<i>æcumba</i> Ba: <i>acuman</i> Bc	P843: <i>hnyglan</i>
38, 3 EXORBITANS	auuiggonti	<i>fram</i> C1: <i>dweliende, exorbitans dweliende, errans Bc</i>	E475: <i>asub</i>
38, 10 CERNVAS	prospicientes enti framhald	destructas, pronas Ba	C357: <i>hald</i>

While Mettke's table problematizes the relationship between 'Common Recension' glosses in Würzburg and in Cp, some Würzburg entries do match those which Lindsay identified as *Pdv* glosses: 9, 14 FORFICIS (F279); 15, 32 SVCINI (S688); 22, 30/31 SCOTOMATICORVM (S134); 27, 36 PRO ROSTRIS (P741); 35, 88 PVTAMINA (P843). Still others correspond so closely to *Pdv* entries that they might also be derivative. In some of the following cases, Lindsay suggested sources (as noted) in *Abstrusa*, *Philoxenus* or *Orosius*:

- 11, 19 CENODOXIAE = C275 CENODOXIA] *uana gloria*
- 12, 6 FALARICA = F67 FALARICA] *aegtaero*
- 14, 4/5 REPAGVLA = R80 REPAGVLA] *sale*
- 15, 32 SVCINI = S688 SVCINI] *glaeres*
- 23, 4 ANFRACTVS = A594 ANFRACTVS] *circuitus*
- 23, 5 PARANYMPHVS = P11 PARANIMPHVS] *dryhtguma*
- 27, 33 EX IPSIVS ELOGIO = E109 ELOGIO] *geddi*
- 27, 36 IN EDITO = I458 IN EDITO] *in alto*
- 32, 15 ARVINA = A770 ARBINA] *adeps, axungia (PHILOX. ?) +
(ABSTR.); A796 ARVINA] risel*
- 33, 10 DISPENDIVM = D234 DISPENDIVM] *damnum (ABSTR. ?)*
- 33, 15/16 PERPENDICVLO = P264 PERPENDICVLVM] *pundur*
- 35, 49 SECVS = S256 SECVS] *aliter (ABSTR.)*

- 36, 25 PERTINACITER = P212 PERTINACITER] *anwilllice*
 36, 39 SVATIM = S631 SVATIM] *suo more*
 36, 64 VIBICES = U205 VIBICE] *lelan*
 36, 98 LICIIIS = L249 LICIVM] *heheld*; L250 LICIA] *heheldðred*
 37, 27 MOLOSI = M285 MOLOSSVS] *roðhund*
 38, 10 CERNVAS = C357 CERNVA] *hald*
 38, 23 COLOBIVM = C514 COLOBIVM] *hom*
 40, 20 PELLEGERINT = P206 PELLEGERAT] *deciperat (Oros.)*

Five of these entries have lemmas in cases or conjugations that differ from those in *Pdv* (36, 64 VIBICES; 36, 98 LICIIIS; 37, 27 MOLOSI; 38, 10 CERNVAS; 40, 20 PELLEGERINT). Numerous additional examples could be adduced which might suggest that an ancestor of Cp was used as a source for *Pdv* glosses. I prefer, however, to assess more evidence in future before inferring the kind of relationship between the 'Common Recension' and Cp. The relationship is plain, but evidence of it is vexing and liable to distortion in such small samples. It seems more productive, then, to explore the intellectual milieu that might have given rise to such an early and influential corpus of glosses.

Aldhelm's Malmesbury School

I wish to propose an historical context for the production of the 'Common Recension' glosses that derives from the research I have presented. Of course, I begin with the Würzburg manuscript, eloquent testimony that the compilation of *Pdv* scholia comprising the 'Common Recension' arose in the eighth century and probably in southwest England. The Würzburg text and glosses could reach back to the time of Lul or before, inasmuch as many active proselytizers, deeply influenced by Aldhelm's writings, migrated from the area in and around Aldhelm's diocese. No other solution adequately responds to the range of codicological evidence assembled here. Because elements of the 'Common Recension' recur in so many manuscripts and in such divergent locales, the gloss-corpus was probably unified at an early date. Such comprehensiveness suggests a school at which the glosses were compiled and a scriptorium by which they were disseminated, and Malmesbury immediately suggests itself as the site of a prominent school. According to William of Malmesbury, Aldhelm was tutored by the Irish hermit Maïldub, who gave instruction in what can only be imagined as a primitive cell. If true, Aldhelm seems to have turned

this informal tutorial into a monastic enterprise at least as ambitious as that undertaken by Theodore and Hadrian.

While Aldhelm's success outlived him, the salient influence of his Malmesbury school and its curriculum seem to have suffered from the magnificence of Canterbury's establishment: Hadrian's tutelage of Aldhelm, for as little as two years, has tarnished Aldhelm's independent reputation as a scholar and teacher. If the imitation of Aldhelm's hermeneutic style in extant writings of the eighth century manifests his popularity and prestige, Aldhelm's own Malmesbury arguably overshadowed the Canterbury school in the eighth century. In his volume *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* Andy Orchard has documented Aldhelm's pervasive influence on eighth-century Anglo-Latin verse.⁽¹³¹⁾ Even Bede, Orchard alleges, contrived a style that answered Aldhelm's peculiarities!⁽¹³²⁾ Furthermore, the famous *Epist* reveals Aldhelm regulating the orthodoxy of *doctores* in his own diocese.⁽¹³³⁾ Throughout the letter Aldhelm surprises us as a zealous pedagogue with the highest academic standards and most peevish demeanor.

Ironically, the distinction of Theodore's scholarship lapses with the rise of Aldhelm's. Theodore and Hadrian's school could have prospered after Hadrian's death in 709, but we have little evidence of its accomplishments. In many cases, the students whom Bede named as beneficiaries of Theodore and Hadrian's teaching lived beyond the time of Hadrian's death: Albinus (*HE* praef.), Oftfor (*HE* IV.23), John of Beverly (*HE* V.3), and Tobias (*HE* V.23).⁽¹³⁴⁾ None of these men left records of their writings, and Theodore's teaching seems – superficially at least – to have shaped only a 'lost generation' of scholars. Where are the men of the early eighth century whose training was carried on by Hadrian's successors? Apart from the glossaries, where are the texts which disclose the preeminence of Canterbury teaching?

In my mind, the Würzburg manuscript descends from a *Pdv* exemplar imported during the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missions. The glossing in the manuscript arose in response to Aldhelm's popularity and reflects the reading of a native south-

(131) See also A. ORCHARD, 'After Aldhelm: The Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 96-133.

(132) ORCHARD, *Poetic Art*, p. 258.

(133) GWARA, 'Pedagogy', pp. 87-9.

(134) Cf. LAPIDGE, 'School', pp. 45-6.

western school, perhaps Malmesbury or another establishment in Wessex (Exeter? Sherborne? Nursling?), in the early to mid-eighth century. Indeed, the 'Common Recension' glosses I have isolated in extant manuscripts and glossaries reflect the study of *Pdv* that went on at Southumbrian monasteries in early England. By ca. 750 Aldhelm's works had been heavily glossed with a few thousand *interpretamenta*, perhaps more, if my contention that the Brussels manuscript is an adumbration of an early *Pdv* text. The study of Aldhelm began in the seventh century, of course, when glosses from the *Aenigmata* were excerpted for EE. There is no conclusive way of showing that these glosses are a product of study at Canterbury (or Malmesbury, for that matter). *Pdv* may have received the same glossarial treatment, but evidence of its glosses does not appear until the date of Cp. By ca. 800, then, *Pdv* had been densely annotated and combed for *glossae collectae*. This constellation of material was transmitted from one center to the next, generation after generation, to form the core of interpretive material to *Pdv*. Hence, among thousands of *Pdv* glosses in the 'Common Recension', we possess in tenth- and eleventh-century sources not only a canonical, native reading of Aldhelm, but also one which transcends ninth-century Viking assault and connects the Benedictine renaissance to the Anglo-Saxon Golden Age. Anglo-Saxon learning proves, in this instance, to be conservative and long-lasting. The bilingual glossing to Aldhelm's *Pdv* might therefore represent the most substantial legacy of Aldhelm's many enthusiasts as well as the earliest record of Anglo-Saxon pedagogy.

CHAPTER V

HOW TO USE THIS EDITION

Rudolf Ehwald's Aldhelmi Opera

Ehwald's edition of *Pdv* was a relatively unrecognized watershed in the publication of pre-conquest Anglo-Latin writings. Relying on the methods of German textual criticism developed for biblical and classical texts, Ehwald produced a remarkably dependable edition, although it suffers from a few notable flaws, especially in the collations: they are incomplete and frequently inaccurate, even in the primary witness. It seems that Ehwald systematically collated *W*, with readings from most of *R1* and *B* and from some extant fragments of *A*, alongside occasional collations from *S*, *C1*, *C2* and other Canterbury manuscripts. Understandably, therefore, Ehwald did not recognize the value of *R2* and *O*, nor did he group all the fragments of *A* together. Furthermore, Ehwald lapsed somewhat in recording the data, for many of his readings are wrong. Although I cannot claim perfect accuracy for myself, I have tried to be comprehensive and precise. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of his *apparatus criticus*, however, Ehwald's text is an editorial *tour de force*, thoughtfully rendered and satisfyingly readable. It could be said that Ehwald had restored Aldhelm's text to such a degree that *Pdv* would never again require a competing edition. With respect for Ehwald's seminal efforts, I have retained as many of his readings and spellings as desirable.

As I have noted in my description, the Würzburg manuscript of *Pdv* incorporates many corruptions that make it problematic as a base text, particularly a number of textual dislocations that seem to be characteristic of the *Pdv* branch represented by *W* and *Add. 4219*. Words are reversed with considerable frequency in over a dozen *loci*, and in one instance an entire passage has been disarranged. Notwithstanding the problems represented by these inversions, it could not be said that Ehwald's text differs substantially from the 'good' Insular witnesses represented by *A R1* and, to some extent, *B*. The Würzburg manuscript has been extensively and somewhat carefully corrected, although many errors and ostensible omissions remain. Furthermore, Ehwald omitted phrases by mistake, trivialized some of Aldhelm's

words (presumably with the expectation that a medieval editor had intervened), 'corrected' what he thought were Aldhelm's blunders, and re-ordered some passages (correctly in some cases). I have therefore been conscious of two objectives in revising Ehwald's text. First, I have hesitated to produce a conflated hybrid text that incorporates readings from distinct *Pdv* families. Using *W* as a base text has meant that I must be faithful to that tradition insofar as it reflects a comprehensible, grammatical version. My second objective has therefore been to intervene in the text when: (a) all other witnesses – which often, most persuasively, include *A*, *R1* and *B* – agree against *W*; (b) the alternative reading gives a superior sense; and (c) it seems reasonable in my judgement that the divergence from *W* reflects an authorial intention.

Ultimately, I have tried to restore something of Aldhelm's *ipsissima verba* not merely as they appear in the Würzburg manuscript. One might say that the version of *Pdv* presented here represents Aldhelm's words refracted through the lens of *W*, where the textual anomalies that remain cannot be deemed divergences from one branch or another. For example, inverted text could be traced to a hyparchetype of *W* as much as to the hyparchetype common to *A* and *R1*. On other occasions where divergent readings conflict, it cannot be determined just how much is owed to one tradition or another, and the mere circumstance that far more English manuscripts exist than continental ones hardly justifies an intervention. Hence, I have based my emendations on an intuition of Aldhelm's *latinity* (his diction, morphology, stylistic mannerisms, and probable orthography), on sense (where I presume that some of my emendations construe better than Ehwald's), on the way glosses and lemmata are often transposed during copying, and on paleographical likelihood (that is, if a textual divergence from a hypothetically 'superior' reading determined from grammar or style can be shown to arise from a systemic paleographical mistake). In reference to these criteria, I have made dozens of significant changes to Ehwald's text, which generally enhance the readability, except, of course, where Aldhelm's glossary-based learning influenced his lexis. At a few points the reader will have to expect that classical Latin definitions will not serve the context. The following chart summarizes the lexical changes I have made to Ehwald's text.

Lexical Changes to Ehwald's Text of Pdv (1)

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Ehwald</i>	<i>Gwara</i>
Cap., 24	typus	typhus
Cap., 40	uera	uerae
Cap., 56	incompacti	incompactis
Cap., 74	uirtus	iuustus
Cap., 137	oporteat gloriari	gloriari oporteat
Prol., 7	<i>om.</i>	mihi
2, 30	<i>om.</i>	ornamenta
2, 36	nauleru	naulerii
4, 23	certatim	cateruatim
4, 44/45	grammaticorum et ortograforum disciplinas * * *tonis	grammaticorum regulas et ortograforum disciplinas tonis
6, 21	uideri ualet natura	natura uideri ualeat
7, 46	contemplare	contemplari
9, 30	uigore	uirore
9, 50	legitima	legitimae
12, 8	patrocinium Christo praestante	Christo patrocinium praestante
12, 14	<i>om.</i>	truciter
13, 14	<i>om.</i>	instanter
13, 20	loetali toxa	loetaliter
13, 31	.XXXI.	.XXX.
14, 8	translatos se corporis ergastulo emigrare	translati e corporis ergastulo migrare
16, 9	<i>om.</i>	fidelibus
16, 31	seruituti	in seruitutem
18, 41	poscimus	deposcimus
18, 41	affectibus	effectibus
19, 33	professionis	confessionis
20, 2	obstacula nimborum	nimborum obstacula
20, 13/14	uolentis	uiolentis
20, 29	dicatur	dicatus
20, 30	consecratur	consecratus
20, 30	incunabulorum	cunabulorum
20, 31	promulgat	promulgatur
21, 32	haec	<i>om.</i>
21, 43	dedidisse	dedisse
22, 35	arma	uexilla
23, 40	Christi	crucis
24, 28	naturae	maturae
25, 83/84	uocabulo nominabis	uocabulum resuscitabis
27, 1	ecclesiae gubernator	gubernator ecclesiae

(1) I have also included changes suggested in Ehwald's *errata* and in LH, p. 171.

27, 30	exemeron	exameron
27, 30	uel exaemeron	<i>om.</i>
27, 48	soliditate	sodalitate
27, 53	seruau	custodiui
29, 5	celeber	celebri
29, 57	adiri	adire
30, 2	incunabulis	cunabulis
30, 22	fato	fatu
31, 2	compellatur	compellitur
31, 4/5	gratulabitur gloriosus	gloriosus gratulabitur
31, 16	biothanatos	biothanatas
31, 40	<i>om.</i>	effusione sanguinis
32, 9	fortuito	fortuito
32, 48	et	<i>om.</i>
32, 57	distinctas	distinctos
32, 62/63	aetatula infantis	infantis aetatula
32, 89	ualentem sospitem	ualentem et sospitem
32, 90	mancum debilem	mancum et debilem
33, 29	Tunc	Tum
34, 36	maris	pelagi
35, 26	et	<i>om.</i>
35, 35	praepararent	praepararant
35, 54	experire	experiri
35, 82	Tunc	Tum
35, 106	prostibula scortorum	scortorum prostibula
36, 9	parentes	<i>om.</i>
36, 18	inflectere	flectere
36, 26	promittendi	permittendi
36, 46/47	distincto	districto
36, 57	angusto	augusto
36, 109	pascebant inanes	pascebat inanis
36, 121	<i>om.</i>	salubriter
37, 29	incolomitati pristinae	incolomitate pristina
38, 30	potius	potissimum
38, 31	<i>om.</i>	sic
38, 37	<i>om.</i>	a centurione
38, 83	exenium	xenium
38, 86	impendebat	impendebatur
38, 99	imminentis	imminenti
39, 1	<i>om.</i>	licet
39, 12	utroque	utraque
39, 13	tenore	serie
39, 13	<i>om.</i>	tantum
39, 13/14	<i>om.</i>	castitati congruentia
40, 10	seminis	sermonis
40, 26	corde	<i>om.</i>
41, 7	nec acria	neu acra
42, 6	Agathe	Agatha

42, 16/17	nec uelis de ... inquirere sed	nec de ... inquiras sed
43, 18	uirium	uirtutum
43, 40	tanto	tali
43, 41/42	mediocribus consulens et contritis corde ultro	mediocribus et contritis corde consulens ultro
43, 42	misereri scit	miserescit
43, 49	sacrosancto	sacrosancti
44, 4	Epicuri	Epicurii
44, 12	duobus	geminis
44, 23	<i>om.</i>	uana
44, 53	prosequente	promulgante
45, 14	admirantur	mirantur
45, 25	ueluti	uelut
45, 35	limina	lumina
47, 3	sequestrentur	sequestrarentur
47, 29	nexatura	uexatura
47, 39	puella	puellula
47, 41	superauit	superat
48, 22	exitus	euentus
48, 24	radicibus	radicitus
48, 28	tradebatur	credebatur
49, 7	sagacissimi	sagacissima
49, 14/15	pertensum	pertessum
50, 55	fraudaretur	frustraretur
50, 59	perpetrando	<i>om.</i>
50, 60	Saturnalia	Floralia
52, 28	dispergentur	dispergerentur
52, 32	pulsuram	pulsaturam
52, 44	formidosis	formidulosis
52, 47	habitent	habitant
52, 53	<i>om.</i>	dulciter
53, 6	celebrent	concelebrant
53, 10	oblitae	oblita
53, 23	blanda	blandae
53, 27	truculente	truculenter
53, 63	extiterat	extiterit
55, 8	catholica ... basilica	catholicam ... basilicam
55, 10	Achar	Achan
55, 22	et	ac
56, 48	uestes	uestis
57, 9	gloriantibus	glomerantibus
57, 22	tyrannico	tyranni
58, 55/56	Ypponae Regiensis	Ypponeregensis
59, 2	quaerit	flagitat
59, 11	nequiuierim	nequiueram
59, 19	Origenes	Origenis
59, 28	arguebant	arguebat
59, 32	<i>om.</i>	diutissime

59, 39/40	labdacismi	laudacismi
59, 40	myotacismi	moytacismi
60, 2	itidentidem	itidem
60, 8	et	ac
60, 9	et	ac
60, 30	cultibus	uultibus

For the sake of completeness, I have appended hereafter a list of the emendations that I have considered and rejected, including the textual transpositions separating the Insular and continental traditions. In each case I cannot justify any revision by the standards I have adopted.

Potential Revisions to Ehwald's Text

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Ehwald/Gwara</i>	<i>Potential Emendation</i>
10, 34	caelibes castos	castos caelibes
22, 26	caligo illecebrae	illecebrae caligo
24, 28	maturae	naturae
25, 2	Romanae ecclesiae dispensator	Romanae dispensator ecclesiae
25, 73	moenia eius	eius moenia
30, 26	ubertim acquisita	acquisita ubertim
36, 69	filio praesidis	praesidis filio
43, 41	clementia sua solita	solita clementia sua
49, 10/11	ad eandem prolixa ... uirginem	ad eandem uirginem prolixa
49, 25/26	caraxantur ita	ita caraxantur
50, 22	praeses petulcus	petulcus praeses
50, 55	quicquid uirgunculis moliri deliberaret	quicquid contra Christi uirgunculas moliri deliberaret
58, 7/8	carnalis statura	statura carnalis
60, 6/7	praeconium pudicitiae	pudicitiae praeconium

It should be noted here that I have followed Ehwald in eliminating the 'Amos interpolation' from chapter 30 of Aldhelm's text and in placing four lines of material about Samson after the subject matter on Joseph and David (53, 61/64). In the latter instance, Ehwald is certainly correct that the phrase *uterque patri-archa* justifies the transposition. The amos interpolation has been reconstructed in curly brackets between chapters xxix and xxx, and the glosses to the text printed opposite. Nevertheless, glosses duplicated in the margins of chapter xxx in Brussels 1650 have been shifted to chapter xxxvii where they appear in angle brackets. Since these glosses were duplicated, I have recorded them twice in my edition.

I have retained a second potentially objectionable feature of Ehwald's edition: *capitula* divisions. Ehwald edited the *Pdv capitula* from Royal 5 F.iii and, since the *capitula* table in *R1* is defective, from Digby 146 as well, with occasional readings from Corpus 326, Royal 6 A.vi and Salisbury 38. The ill-conceived resolution to edit the irregular and frequently discrepant *capitula* in Royal 5 F.iii was at least put right by some further collation. Nevertheless, the problem remains that the *capitula* headings, tables, and, above all, textual divisions are not authorial. Aldhelm's text was laid out by clause, not chapter. A later reader, probably at the end of the ninth century, sought to systematize Aldhelm's layout. He imposed an artificial format of around 60 chapters on *Pdv* (later refined by Ehwald), even if it meant, for example, that chapter 4 begins in the middle of a period, that some chapters are four times longer than others, or that the sentence concluding chapter LIV might belong in chapter LV! Although the textual divisions often make sense, it should be recognized that Aldhelm wrote a treatise in the form of a letter and that the *capitula* were added as a convenience when the work became a staple of monastic study.

The final issue on which I have compromised, albeit with a degree of satisfaction, is Aldhelm's orthography. In a clear and notable departure from the Würzburg manuscript, Ehwald 'classicized' certain Anglo-Latin spellings in *W*. In almost every case where 'e', 'ē' and 'æ' represent the diphthong 'ae' in *Pdv* sources, Ehwald changed the character to 'ae', to the extent that Aldhelm's grammar is now completely transparent. But syntactical transparency alone does not justify Ehwald's alterations, since the 'Yale Fragment' often has 'ae' and digraph 'æ' spellings in all syllabic positions where later sources show 'e' or 'ē'. It seems implausible that this spelling was a stylistic mannerism, because both scribes writing the 'Yale Fragment' preserve the same feature. Scribe 1, for example, writes *depraehendi, caelesti, aerem, praeconia, praedictis, praedam, ecclesiae, castimoniae, uoluntariae, monasticae, aethera, mulsae, ambrosiae, omisae* and *praecellit*, whereas scribe 2 tends to write 'æ' in words like *cessariae, inlesæ, moribundæ, iucundæ, apostolicæ, praestulantes, iustitiae, praefecturae, tenebrae, christianæ, primae, copulae* and *scythicae*. In my view, these spellings reflect not only Aldhelm's grammatical precision but also the script in which he wrote, a majuscule whose alphabet would not have readily incorporated untraditional graphs associated with minuscule. For example, Uncial hands traditionally have the AE diphthong, as the character 'Ē' was eccentric. However,

Half-Uncial 'e', which was formed in the manner of the modern lower-case letter, could have incorporated something like 'ĕ'. Yet the graph was rare in Half-Uncial alphabets, as a glance at *CLA* reveals. It seems most likely, then, that Aldhelm wrote *Pdv* in a majuscule script which rigorously reproduced 'ae'.

The inclination to write 'ae' for 'ĕ', 'e' or 'æ' as a result of a script bias could find confirmation in other unusual Latin spellings, which would contradict Aldhelm's presumed emphasis on proper orthography. Evidence from the Würzburg manuscripts suggests that Aldhelm's spellings were idiosyncratic in a few respects, especially in the following cases:

'i' for 'y': *Aegiptum, allophilorum, Apocalipsis, apocrifum, Babilonia, birsa, bissina, cataclismi, charibdis, chelidrus, ciclas, cicneus, circumgirat, corimbo, cripta, dactilos, gimnicus, Hieronimus, lecithum, limpha, limphaticus, martir, misticum, neofitus, obriza, Olympus, papirus, philargiria, pithon, presbiter, Scilla, sillogismus, sinagoga, sinodale, Siracusa, stilus, timiama, tipice, tipus*

'f' for 'ph': *amfitheatrum, colafizantes, effebus, elefantiosus, falanx, faleratus, fantasma, faretra, farisaicus, farisei, farus, Felethi, filosofia, gimnosofista, historiograforum, Memfiticus, neofitus, profeta, profeticus, profetissa, psalmigrafus, sarcofagus, sofisma, sofista, strofa, strofosus*

'i' for 'e': *apologiticus, clandestinus, diffinitio, dilatus, diliciae, dilubrum, Dioclitianus, dispicabilis, distinasse, famelicus, fiscillus, intercapidinem, margareta, pinguido, praedistinatus, Sirina*

'e' for 'i': *deleramentum, indegitamentum*

't' for 'th' (and vice versa): *anthlia, autentica, Melantia, napta, ortografus, Tecla, timiama, toracida, Tracia*

nazalization: *anthleta*

'c' for 'ch': *caracteres, conca, Cristina, cronografus, melancolia*

aspiration: *arenosus, armonia, ebdomada, Ebreus, exametrum, exortatorium, iacintho, Israhelita, olosericus, osanna, rethoricus, rumphea, umerus, ydropicus, ymnista, ypodromus*

'p' for 'ph': *napta, spera.*

I have not emended the spellings in these instances, since it seems plausible that they reflect a systematic orthography.

On the basis of a number of readings in the Würzburg *Pdv*, Ehwald emended all spellings of *friuola* to *fribula*, *uerna/uernacula* to *berna/bernacula*, *uaccinium* to *baccinium*, and (inconsistently) *liuid-* to *libid-*, probably because he felt that these reflected Aldhelm's Vulgar Latin pronunciation. I have converted these to the more common forms where two or more of the oldest wit-

nesses agree in the orthography, for the simple reason that Ehwald sensed correctly that some Vulgar Latin features had permeated Aldhelm's orthography. The spelling conventions I have adopted naturally lead me to the question of Aldhelm's own orthography and pronunciation. Unfortunately, the evidence is so slender – especially because the 'Yale Fragment' is substantially incomplete – that reproducing Aldhelm's spelling would not be feasible in an edition of this sort. Instead of a partial reconstruction or, even less satisfactorily, a text based on the idiosyncratic spellings of *W*, I have opted for Ehwald's normalization with a discussion of manuscript evidence for Aldhelm's orthography. Nevertheless, the orthography of my edition deviates from Ehwald's in one respect: wherever two manuscripts in the group *W*, *A*, *R1*, *B* and *C1* agree in a plausible Anglo-Latin spelling, I have adopted it. In a few instances I rely only a single witness, if that spelling or idiosyncrasy can be found elsewhere in the work. In a handful of words I have universalized the spellings because they are safely attributable to Aldhelm himself. Admittedly, however, any spelling conventions derived from manuscripts a century or more removed from Aldhelm's day are provisional and necessarily inconsistent.

As I have stated in my discussion of the Würzburg manuscript, Aldhelm seems to have employed a spelling system heavily influenced by geminations and simplifications characteristic of late Latin or Vulgar Latin. Examples of simplification can be found in the consonant clusters 'll', 'cc', 'ss', 'ff', 'mm', 'rr', and 'pp'. This phenomenon had multiple origins in competing processes, one of which is merely an orthographic idiosyncrasy that may or may not represent a local pronunciation. A second explanation lies in the reduction of double consonants before accented syllables, and third reflects reduction after long vowels. Aldhelm's orthography reflects reduction before primary stress as well as idiosyncratic spellings that may well have been influenced by Insular Latin, although such confusions are widespread and practically untraceable in late Latin.

*Readings from Pdv Sources Showing Simplification of
Consonants Before Primary Stress*

- 1, 6/7 pollicitatione] po'llicitatione *W*
- 4, 36 sollicita] so'llicita *W*
- 5, 6 ecclesia] ae'c'lesia *W*
- 18, 45 lassescere] lasescere *W C1*
- 18, 49 consumaui] sic *W R1*

- 19, 27/28 ecclesia] aclesia *W*
 23, 12 polluta] pòl'luta *W*
 26, 17/18 titulationum] titillationum *corr. ex titulationum W*,
 l supra u et infra u punctum A
 26, 42 praepolente] sic *W*, praepòl'lente *A*, pr(a)epollente *cett.*
 27, 16 colligi] col'līgi *W*
 30, 32 committenda] commitenda *W*
 31, 24 accepto] accepto (*c eras. inter a et c*) *C1*, àccepto *A*
 34, 32 scammate] sca'm'mate *W*
 36, 68 quassaut] qua's'saut *W*
 36, 117 calositas] sic *R1 A*, callositas *cett.*
 37, 6/7 praepollenti] prepolenti *W*
 44, 44 titulationis] sic *W*, titillationis *cett.*
 51, 13 subsannantis] subsan'n'antis *A*
 52, 60 callositate] colositate *W*
 53, 23 titulationis] sic *W*, titillationis *cett.*
 56, 47 cauillantes] cauì'l'lantes *W*

Probable Orthographic Convention

- 2, 33 classicis] clasicis *W*, clà's'sicis *A*
 6, 31 omissa] omi's'sa *W*
 9, 28 praecellat] praecelat *W*
 12, 29 suffocato] suf'f'ocato *W*
 13, 12 allophilorum] alophilorum *W*
 23, 40 praemisso] praemiso *R1 A*
 23, 42 pallidus] pal'l'idus *W*
 29, 42 humillima] male *corr. ex humilima W*
 30, 29 fiscillis] fiscilis *W*
 30, 33 inferret] inferet *W*
 32, 1 Narcissum] narcisum *R2 SR3 C1 B O P L*, narcisum (*s eras. inter i et s*) *A*
 35, 48 colli] col'l'i *W*
 36, 69/70 hircitallo] hircita'l'lo *W*
 38, 80 supputatur] suputatur *W*
 38, 100 farris] fa'r'ris *W*
 38, 101/102 fiscillos] fiscilos *W*
 39, 8/9 amminiculum] à'm'miniculum *W*
 47, 2 Cappadocia] capodocia *W*, capadociae *R4 C2 C1 R5 B O*
 (*e corr.*) *L*, capadotie *P*
 51, 1 Gallieno] galieno *A B P*
 53, 40 tenellus] tene'l'lus *W*

Of course, the Würzburg manuscript preserves the greatest number of these readings, but its late date prevents us from being certain that Aldhelm spelled each word consistently or

that some less common effects ('gimnosoffistas') can be ascribed to misreading unfamiliar letter-forms. (2)

The opposite phenomenon, gemination, occurs with single consonants 's', 'l', 'm', 'n', 'f', and 'r', which are doubled in a number of cases. Two or three of the oldest *Pdv* manuscripts (*W*, *A* and *R1* with occasional readings from *C1*, *C2* or *B*) often agree against other witnesses in recording such gemination. Again, the same principles hold for gemination as for simplification: it occurs most commonly before the main stress, and where this condition does not operate, gemination is merely an orthographic bias:

*Readings from Pdv Sources Showing Late Latin
Gemination of Consonants*

Before Primary Stress

- 2, 11 gimnosoffistas] gimnosoffi'hstas *W*
 10, 17 querulosis] quærellosis *W*
 12, 20 colonis] *corr. ex* collonis *A*
 18, 3 thesaurum] *corr. in* thesaurum (*litt. au man. post.*) *W*
 27, 19 indiffessis] *sic W*, indifessis *R1*, indefessis *cett.*
 27, 25 Basilius] *corr. ex* basilius *A*
 29, 17 coruscans] corruscans *W*
 29, 57 inuisendum] *s eras. inter i et s A*, inuissendum *C2*
 43, 45 Cessare] *sic W R1*, cesare *corr. ex* cessare *per ras. A*, c(a)e-sare *cett.*

Orthographic Convention

- 2, 29 cessum] *sic W*, *corr. ex* cessum *R2*, concessum *corr. in* cessum *R1*, c(a)esum *cett.*
 8, 16 euangelii] *l eras. inter e et l W*
 18, 3 uase] uasse *A*
 19, 30 centesimi] centessi'mi' *W*, *corr. ex* certissimi *R1*
 21, 21 abscisso] absciso *corr. ex* abscisso *per ras. W A*, absciso *cett.*
 21, 32 succisa] *corr. ex* succissa *per ras. A*
 27, 31 disertitudine] *corr. ex* dissertitudinem *A*
 30, 18 tutela] *sic W*, *l eras. inter e et l A*, tutela *cett.*
 31, 37 malluit] *sic W A*, maluit *cett.*
 32, 8 anastassis] *sic W C2*, anata'ssis *R2*, anastasis (*s eras. inter a et s A*, anastasis *cett.*
 32, 37 clientella] *sic W C2*, clientela *cett.*
 32, 59 Arii] arrii *W S C1 H*, 'arii *A*, à'rii *et ras. sequente B*

(2) For example, I have normalized *titillatio* > *titulatio* throughout, based on the evidence of *W*, but it occurs to me that the Half-Uncial 'l' might have caused a scribe to misinterpret the normal spelling.

- 32, 93 molientes] mollientes (l *prima subl.*) *W*
 34, 21 blesis] b *corr. ex p W, sic R1, blesis corr. ex blesis per ras. S, bl(a)esis cett.*
 36, 21 suassionis] *sic W A, suasionis cett.*
 38, 24 panucularum] pannucularum *W*
 42, 25 Pascasius] pascassius *W C1*
 42, 35/36 cumularent] cummularentur *W*
 42, 39 malluit] ma'l'luit *W, maluit cett.*
 43, 38 contusionibus] contussionibus *W*
 44, 4 Aristotelis] aristotellis *R1*
 44, 18 parentellae] parentelle *W R1, corr. ex parentellae per ras. A, parentel(a)e cett.*
 44, 19 clientellae] clientelle *W, clientella R1, clientelae corr. ex clientellae per ras. A, clientel(a)e cett.*
 44, 52 tollerant] *sic W R1 O, tolerant cett.*
 46, 17 euasit] s eras. *inter s et i A*
 49, 14/15 pertessum] *sic W C2 R5 L, pert(a)esum cett.*
 50, 45 clientellae] clientelae *corr. ex clientellae A, clientel(a)e cett.*
 52, 73 ense] enNSE (n *sec. del.*) *W*

It seems that the principles of gemination common to late Latin idioms can be discerned in these spellings.

Some further spellings may also reflect Aldhelm's seventh-century standard. I have noted above that Ehwald frequently recorded 'i' for 'e' in many words where 'e' is expected in classical orthography. It seems that he considered these authorial because they are found rather consistently in the Würzburg *Pdv* (even though Ehwald was far from consistent in rendering them in his text). In fact, Ehwald's intuition strikes me as plausible, although he seems to have grouped two phonological features together. Examples of 'i'/'e' alterations can be found, only some of which reflect a common substitution of i for ē in accented syllables (indicated by *). These spellings in the Würzburg copy of *Pdv* are occasionally confirmed in other sources:

- 6, 34 dēspiciat] dispiciat *W*
 10, 36 crudēlissimam] crudilissimum *W*
 *13, 30 suscēpimus] e *corr. ex i W, suscipimus R1*
 15, 25 dilubri (dēlubri)] *sic W, delubri cett.*
 17, 14 dilicate (dēlicate)] *sic W R1, dilicatae A, delicate cett.*
 24, 5 diliciosas (dēliciosas)] diliciōsas *W, deliciosas cett.*
 25, 47 dilitesceret (dēlitesceret)] *sic W R1 B, delitesceret cett.*
 *25, 63 diadēma] diadima *W*
 27, 19 indiffessis (indēfessis)] *sic W, indifessis R1, indefessis cett.*
 *33, 25 praecēpit] praecipit *W*
 34, 36 dimersos (dēmersos)] *sic W R1, demersos cett.*

- *34, 41 praecēpit] precipit *W R1*
 44, 9 peripsēma] *corr. in peripsima per sup. i W, peripsima B*
 48, 24 dispnsaret (dēsponsaret)] *sic W A B, desponsaret cett.*
 *50, 35/36 nigridine (nigrēdine)] *sic W, nigredine (e prima*
corr. ex i) A, nigredine (ras. inter e et d atque e prima corr.
ex i) B
 *52, 49 biluae (bēluae)] biluæ *W*, belu(a)e *cett.*
 55, 10 dilicatis (dēlicatis)] *delicatis omnes codd. praeter W*
 56, 16 spērandi] spirandi *W*

To these we may add the following examples from Ehwald's list; again, not all of these forms are in accented syllables: *apologiticus* (*apologēticus*), *diffinitio* (*dēfinitio*), *dilatatus* (*dēlatus*), *diliciae* (*dēliciae*), *dilubrum* (*dēlubrum*), *Dioclitianus* (*Dioclētianus*), *dispicabilis* (*dēspicabilis*), *distinasse* (*dēstinasse*), *familicus* (*famēlicus*), *intercapido* (*intercapēdo*), *pinguido* (*pinguēdo*), *Sirina* (*Sirēna*).

The spelling of (short) 'e' for (short) 'i', both accented and unaccented, is common in the Würzburg *Pdv*. Substitutions of short 'e' and 'i' in unaccented initial syllables is commonly associated with Gallic Latin. In any event, ĭ and ĕ had become fairly indistinct in unstressed medial syllables quite early in the first millennium A.D. The following examples can be found in *Pdv* manuscripts:

- 2, 6 trepudio] *sic W, tripudio cett.*
 6, 30 thimiama] *corr. ex thimeama W*
 8, 20 eleganter] eliganter (*g corr.*) *W*
 9, 15 diadema] *corr. ex deadema W, corr. in deadema per man.*
post. A
 15, 3 capissendam] *sic W R1, capessendam (e prima corr. ex i) B,*
capessendam cett.
 15, 14 segitis] *sic W R1, segetis cett.*
 15, 16 sterelitate] *sic W R1 C2, sterilitate cett.*
 16, 13 trepudio] *sic W, tripudio corr. ex trepudio R1, tripudio*
(i prima corr. ex e) A, trepudio cett.
 16, 33 legitimae] *corr. ex legetime per sup. i W*
 20, 8 Siderium] *sic W R4 C2 A, sidereum corr. ex siderium R1,*
sidereum cett.
 26, 15 dedicerit] *sic W R1, didicerit corr. ex dedicerit A, didicerit*
cett.
 29, 32 oceani] *ociani W*
 30, 17/18 immarcescibilis] *immarciscibilis W R5, inmarcissibi-*
lis S
 30, 27 uineae] *uiniae W*
 30, 29 fiscillis] *fiscilis W, fiscellis (e corr. ex i) S B, fiscellis cett.*
 35, 13 Arestotelicas] *sic W R1 R5 L, aristotelicas cett.*
 35, 107 amfiteatri] *amphetheatri W*

- 37, 41/42 in citeriorem] in ceteriorem (i *sup.* e *prima*) *W*, in cæteriorem *C1*, *corr. ex* in ceteriorem *B*, in ceteriorem *O*
 38, 2 religionis] relegionis *W*
 44, 4 Aristotelis] aristotilis *W*, aristotilis *corr. ex* aristotelis *A*
 45, 23 aggrediretur] adgrediretur *W*
 47, 60 tria] trea *W*
 49, 37 eleganter] eliganter *W*
 50, 14 sequepedas] sequepedas *W*
 52, 17 Aurelius] aureleus *W*
 56, 15 adolescentium] adoliscientium *W*

Confusion of unaccented 'e' with 'i' is also attested in the orthography of *W* in the forms *delelamentum* and *indegitamentum*. Finally, unaccented 'i' altered to 'e' seems to be represented once in the following case: 44, 32 diuinae] i *prima corr. ex e W*.⁽³⁾

Throughout the Würzburg manuscript, the language exhibits confusion between accented and unaccented 'o' and 'u'. The interchangeability of unaccented 'o' and 'u' typifies Gallic inscriptions, although I hesitate to call the confusion a Gallicism:

- 21, 33 luxoriante] sic *W R1*, luxuriante *corr. ex* luxoriante *per sup.* u *A*, luxiriante *B*, luxuriante *cett.*
 30, 27/28 butros] sic *W*, botros (*o prima corr. ex u*) *B*, botros *cett.*
 31, 3 commūni] commōni *W*
 41, 14 sulfureisque] sulphoreisque *W*

The examples are few and inconsistent. They may easily reflect misreading of allographs for 'o' and 'u'.

In addition to this widespread variation in vowels, we discover in the Würzburg *Pdv* an equally prominent tendency to vary 'u' and 'b' in a manner characteristic of Vulgar Latin. As Ehwald observed, the words *uerna*, *uernacula*, *liuidus*, and *friuolum* are rather consistently spelled *berna*, *bernacula*, *libidus* and *fribolum* in the Würzburg manuscript. This feature typifies the late Latin confusion of initial and intervocalic 'b' and 'u', which itself came about from the movement of 'b' and 'u' towards /β/. Unnoticed in Ehwald's normalization of Aldhelm's spelling are other words exhibiting the same orthographical mixture:

- 4, 24 aruorum] arborum *W*
 11, 6 uallatus] *corr. ex* ballatus *W*
 23, 15 riuilis] u *prima corr. ex b W*, rifulis *C1*, e *corr. B*, friuolis *H*

(3) The form *denoscitur* for *dīnoscitur* (11, 4 in *W* and 20, 13 in *W A*) should be distinguished from this phenomenon.

- 25, 59 iubetur] iuuetur *W*
 26, 19 saliuaribus] salibaribus *W*, salinaribus *C2*
 26, 34 manubiis] *b corr. ex u W*
 32, 19 faorable] faborabile *W*
 35, 29 aceruitatem] *sic W R1*, acerbitatem *cett.*
 37, 14 conibentia] conhibentia *W R5 L*, cohibentia *R1*, *sic R4*
S R3 A O P H, cohibentia (*h corr. ex n C1*, *in ras. B*, co-
 nuientia *cett.*
 50, 30 lebetes] *b corr. ex u W*
 52, 7 bellatores] *b corr. ex u W*
 52, 8 aceruitas] *sic W*, acerbitas (*b e corr.*) *B*, aceruitas *cett.*
 58, 14 uittarum] bittarum *W*
 58, 30 liuescant] libescant (*u sup. b W*)
 58, 32 libida ... amici] deuoti bibex amici libida (*u sup. b pri-
 ma W*, uibex ... liuida *cett.*

The orthography may also be related to the sporadic use of 'f' for 'u', as in 32, 36 deuotabant] defotabant *W* and 59, 28 uotorum] fotorum *W*.

Four additional features potentially indicative of Aldhelm's native pronunciation also deserve to be mentioned. First, the sound represented by 'st' is twice reduced to 'ss' in 6, 28 gurgustio] gurgusio *W*, gurgussio (*t sup. s A* and 18, 32 suggestionis] suggessionis *W*. Second, letters 'p' and 'b' show an irregular distribution based on position. Sometimes 'b' before 't' is unvoiced (12, 14 obtatis] *sic W*, ob'tati's *A*, optatis *cett.*; 26, 33 obtatis] *sic W R1 A*, optatis (*p corr. ex b B*, optatis *cett.*; 47, 15 baptismi] babtismi *W*). In the root *publ-*, however, 'b' was unvoiced (28, 18 publicatus] puplicatus *W L*; 52, 21 publica] pup'l'ica *W*). Intervocalic and initial 'b' could be pronounced /p/ (37, 36 gibbum] gippum *W*, gyppum *R4*; 45, 11 subarrauit] suparrauit *W*; 48, 3 gubernasse] gupernasse *W*; 52, 8 rabies] rapies *W*; 57, 18 Betuliae] petuliae *W*). Third, there can be no doubt that Aldhelm's pronunciation of *arithmetica* incorporated a parasitic vowel: 35, 10 arethemetica] arithemetica (*i prima corr. ex e W*, arethimetica *R1*, arithmetica *cett.*; 59, 21 arethimeticam] arethimedicam *W*, arithmetecam *cett.* Finally, Aldhelm's spelling of the word *academica* proves that intervocalic 'd' had become ð in his idiolect: 27, 3 achathemicae] achathemicae *W*, acathemice *R1*, achademicae *R4 C1 R5 B O (e corr.) H L*, achademicae *corr. ex achathemicae A*. This is a pronunciation of Vulgar Latin found as far north as Gaul.

An extensive feature of Aldhelm's spelling again raises issues of linguistic artifice consistent with the non-phonological geminations and simplifications listed above. Orthographical evi-

dence in the earliest or 'best' *Pdv* manuscripts (*W*, *A*, *R1*, *B* and *C1*) suggests that Aldhelm may have restored – under certain conditions – some etymological spellings where assimilation otherwise should prevail. For example, in the most reliable *Pdv* sources we do not discover *comm-* for *comm-*, *adc-* for *acc-*, *adp-* for *app-*, *adl-* for *all-*, *perl-* for *pell-*, *subm-* for *summ-*, etc. Of course, attestations of such unassimilated spellings are quite rare and found mostly in the Würzburg *Pdv*, which nevertheless seems to be more orthographically conservative than even *A* in a few respects. For the sake of completeness, I offer the following examples, many of which are yet inconsistent in the sources:

1. *aff-* for *adf-*
22, 12/13 *affatim*] *corr. ex adfatim B*
2. *agg-* for *adg-*
45, 23 *aggrederetur*] *adgrediretur W*
3. *amm-* for *adm-*
12, 26 *quemammodum*] *e corr. A*
4. *ass-* for *ads-*
60, 58 *assidua*] *adsidue W*
5. *att-* for *adt-*
59, 34/35 *attigit*] *adtagisset W*
6. *coll-* for *conl-*
59, 40 *collisiones*] *conlisiones (e corr. ex i) W*
7. *comp-* for *conp-*
13, 24 *compatientis*] *conpatientes R1, corr. ex conpatientes B*
31, 2 *compellitur*] *co'n'pellatur W*
8. *ill-* for *inl-*
21, 8 *illecebrarum*] *inlecebrorum B*
27, 7 *illecebrae*] *in'le'cebre B*
27, 21 *inlustris*] *in'lú'strius W, sic R1, illustris cett.*
35, 44 *inlecebroso*] *sic W R1 B, illecebroso cett.*
36, 76 *illuuiem*] *corr. ex inlubiem per sup. u A, ingluuiem P*
44, 37 *inlecebrosis*] *inlecebro'sis W, inlecebro'sis C1, illecebro'sis cett.*
51, 25 *illaesa*] *in'le'sa B*
53, 57 *inlecebrosis*] *inlecebro'sis (litt. le sup. lin.) W, illecebro'sis cett.*
9. *imm-* for *inm-*
1, 4 *immensas*] *inmensa's W*
16, 37 *immunitatis*] *in munitati R1, inmunita'tis O*
21, 24 *immensae*] *inmensa R2 SR3 C2 C1 O P H L, corr. in inmensa B*
38, 99 *imminentis*] *inminentis' W S C1, ininmenti R2 O P*

- 45, 29 *immaturae*] *corr. in inmaturo* *W*
10. *imp-* for *inp-*
50, 6 *imperialibus*] *inperabilibus* *W*
11. *irr-* for *inr-*
29, 34 *irruptionem*] *inruptione* *W*
47, 39 *irritabant*] *inridabant* (a *sec. corr. ex u*) *W*, *inritabant* *R4 L*
12. *supp-* for *subp-*
38, 80 *supputatur*] *subputatur* *R1*
13. *surr-* for *subr-*
55, 13 *surripuit*] *subripuit* *C1*

While some of these spellings are exceptionally rare (*adg-*, *ads-*, *conl-*, *inm-*, *inp-*, *subp-*) and others optional in classical Latin orthography, they could reveal an artifice on Aldhelm's part that matches his flamboyant style. Yet at the same time their fastidiousness contradicts the other non-etymological spellings such as 'i' for 'e' and 'o' for 'u' mentioned above. While it seems odd that Aldhelm would cultivate seemingly contradictory orthographical practices in his work, non-assimilated spellings may not necessarily represent etymological forms. In fact, it is hard to say which spelling would take precedence in the seventh century, when even in the classical period the by-forms existed side-by-side with the common assimilated spellings. Aldhelm may even have inherited his inconsistent spelling system from his earliest teachers.

Ultimately, the question of Aldhelm's authorial spellings still remains speculative. Yet I am willing to propose that Aldhelm spelled Latin according to the following conventions:

1. Some consonants were probably geminate and/or simplified, based in part on phonological principles.
2. Mid- and high front vowel sounds represented by 'e' and 'i' were often interchangeable in spelling. Sometimes these substitutions can be traced to more widespread phonological features of Vulgar Latin.
3. Mid- and high back vowel sounds represented by 'o' and 'u' were sometimes interchangeable in spelling.
4. Initial and intervocalic 'b' and 'u' were frequently confused in spelling, a feature of Vulgar Latin.
5. Some artificial non-assimilated forms were introduced, but only in words with transparent prefixes, such as *ad-*, *con-*, and *sub-*.

Because I have been unable to fix Aldhelm's orthography with more precision and because I am not convinced that these five

conventions were not introduced by others, I have opted to retain and modify Ehwald's spellings in my *Pdv* text. At the very least my spelling eliminates the perverse reconstruction of seventh-century Anglo-Latin orthography and has the advantage of being grammatically transparent.

I have little to add to Ehwald's brief treatment of Aldhelm's grammar and morphology. While Aldhelm's lexis was heavily influenced by obscure words that have undergone semantic shift in his hands, his grammar – with a single exception – seem flawless. An extremely complicated sentence from 14, 8/9 seems to have confounded Aldhelm: 'de mundi calamitate translati e corporis ergastulo migrare inhianter gestiant' For 'translati e' (which I have adopted from the Canterbury recension at the risk of trivialization), Ehwald suggested 'translatos se', based on the reading 'translatos e' from *W*, *C2* and *B* (*ante correctionem*); (*) *R1* reads 'translatos est', no doubt arising from a misreading 'e' as an abbreviation for 'est'. Lapidge offers the following translation: 'they eagerly long to depart from the prison of the body, transported from the adversity of this world'. (5) Yet this complicates the grammar, since Aldhelm says, 'they desire that those transported from the adversity of the world depart from the prison of the body'. The error seems to be Aldhelm's in this instance, and it is the only place where I sense that Aldhelm's grammar may have failed him, since all sources show confusions at this point.

In two instances I have allowed morphological variants to stand: *cimentarium* = *coemetarium*, *carena*=*carenum*. *Carena* for *carenum* occurs in the oldest *Pdv* copies: 4, 9 *carenae*] *carene W*, *sic R1*, *carenae* (*i sup. ae*) *A*, *careni corr. ex carino B*. Aldhelm may therefore have known and deployed these by-forms which are recorded in extant sources. He may likewise have lapsed in his declension of *gremium*, construed as *gremius* in the earliest witnesses: 38, 15 *carens*] *corr. ex carente W*, *carentem R1 A*, *corr. ex carentem B*. The gender may stem from late Latin influence, insofar as weakening pronunciation of final syllables affected gender. The same may be true of the reading *mercimoniam* for *mercimonium* in 19, 29/30 *mercimoniam*] *sic W R2 R1 R4 S C2 C1 A B O P H L*, *marcimonia R3* and 50, 22 *consparsione*] *sic W A*, *consparsione cett.* (It should be mentioned here that the error *scorta* for *scortus* 'whore' was made by the Canterbury redactor.)

(4) That is, the manuscript could have read *translatosse*, which a scribe might have changed to *translatos e*.

(5) LH, p. 71.

In a few other instances Aldhelm's deficient knowledge of Greek morphology seems to have engendered at least two errors. For example, all manuscripts agree in the reading *biothanatas* from 31, 16, although *biothanatos* is expected. This oversight suggests a weakness in Greek that is confirmed elsewhere in the text. For example, in chapter 32, 58 all manuscripts agree in the reading *periodos ... distinctos*, where *distinctas* is expected if the Greek were followed. Perhaps Aldhelm latinized the word as *periodus*, -i. The neologism *romulidum* ('Roman') is almost certainly a resonance of the Greek termination *-des*, as in *Romulides* 'son of Romulus'. In this case we might be justified to praise Aldhelm's word-play, although it could merely represent a confusion of a common Latin adjectival formulation in *-idus*. The problem of Aldhelm's Greek learning will never be adequately solved, and it is inordinately complicated by certain spellings which could reflect a genuine knowledge of Greek: *spalangius*, *nauclerius*, *xenium*, *laudacismi*, *moytacismi*, *antlia exantlamus*, *anthleta*, *protoplaustus*.

It remains to say a word about Ehwald's *apparatus criticus*, the most seriously flawed and incomplete component of his *Pdv* edition. For his text Ehwald relied almost entirely on four *Pdv* witnesses and did not note that his 'frgt. Oxon.' was the same as two other *membra disiecta* originally belonging to the 'Yale Fragment'. Furthermore, countless errors and oversights in the *apparatus* reduce its reliability. In any event, a more complete *apparatus criticus* is essential to an edition of glosses, because variants or mis-matched readings from the text could be accounted for in variant readings in the glosses. Only the fullest record of variation in *Pdv* copies could help make sense of thousands of annotations in more than a dozen sources. (6)

I should note here some potential confusions among *sigla*. For the most part I have followed Ehwald's abbreviations, although I have changed his *A*¹ to *Add.* 4219, his *P* to *A*, his *H* (to which I have assigned Harley 3013) to *P*, and his *A* (the Würzburg manuscript) to *W*. I feel that these *sigla* are more transparent than Ehwald's. For example, the 'Yale Fragment' was called *P* because it was originally in the *Phillipps* collection, and the Würzburg manuscript was designated *A* because it was Ehwald's base text (*A*=Aldhelmus?). The *siglum A* (I should add) designates all the various fragments that make up the 'Yale Fragment', but wherever the *siglum A* is found, it need not indicate

(6) I have not been able to collate the Schøyen leaves.

the Beinecke manuscript. Furthermore, Royal 6 A.vi has seventeenth-century supply-leaves added to the manuscript, and these have been signaled by the *siglum* in parentheses: (R3). Royal 5 E.xi has contemporaneous additions, but this *Pdv* copy also has the replaced leaves bound with the text. These original leaves are designated by the *siglum* R4 and the supply-leaves by the same *siglum* in parentheses: (R4). For this reason it is possible to find the arrangement 'R4 (R4)'.

Glosses to Pdv

I have edited all the glosses known to me from every manuscript of *Pdv* except for the those in the Würzburg and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts. The Würzburg glosses are presented in chapter IV above. I have edited the Old English and Latin glosses by manuscript, in order of *sigla* as outlined in the *Conspectus Siglorum*. In each case the spelling of the glossword is that represented in the manuscript designated by the first subsequent *siglum*. Among Latin glosses insignificant variants from all other manuscripts whose *sigla* follow the first *siglum* are ignored. For example, the abbreviations 'i.' or 's.' might not exist in any other cited manuscript indicated by a *siglum*, and variant spellings for Latin words might not be reflected, either (i.e. 'puellae', 'puelle', 'puellę', 'puellæ'). However, if the gloss is vernacular, the spelling is fully recorded unless it is identical to that of another *interpretamentum*. It is crucial to remember, therefore, that Latin glosses may not be identical in orthography from manuscript to manuscript even if more than one *siglum* is provided for that gloss. However, if more than one *siglum* follows an Old English glossword, the gloss will be identical in the designated manuscripts (unless otherwise indicated in the *apparatus criticus*).

Scratched glosses in the text are indicated by an asterisk, but when the glosses are identical, the *siglum* rather than the gloss bears the asterisk. Commas almost always separate individual glosses or individual contributions to the same gloss unless they are found inserted in the longer material, mostly from Digby 146 and Royal 6 A.vi. I have generally tried to avoid heavy punctuation; semi-colons in the Isidore-derived glosses are used very sparingly. Louis Goossens identified five separate scribes in Brussels 1650, and I have simply adopted his designations in separating glosses made by these different contributors. Glosses in the five hands A, B, C, CD and R are indicated by lower-case letters following the *siglum* B. Goossens noticed that different

scribes sometimes contribute to the same glossword, a situation indicated by the *siglum B* for the Brussels manuscript plus the contributors' letters separated by a comma: *Ba,c* or *Bc,cd*. The Brussels and Digby manuscripts have a substantial number of identical glosses, but the Brussels scribe will often gloss entire phrases with a long entry. These are frequently recorded as individual words in Digby 146, sometimes broken up to correspond to their respective lemmas. I have not always been able to assign the glosses in these manuscripts to individual lemmas, so that a reader consulting this edition will have to be careful to check the entire context. Identical glosses could be separated by many intervening words.

Angle brackets surrounding lemmas designate a word or words recorded in a *Pdv* manuscript but not been adopted in this edition. The lemma is so marked only when it is glossed. Otherwise, it will be indicated in the *apparatus criticus*. Two angle brackets enclosing a point (<.>) indicate lost text, at least one letter but perhaps many more, and possibly including many words. I have not tried to be exact in counting erased or obscured letters. The omitted text might have been damaged or excised in any manner. Finally, letters added by scribes (often indicating corrections), whether or not in the primary hand, are surrounded by single straight quotation marks: `x'.

I have refrained in many cases from correcting Old English glosses, preferring instead to represent all texts as they stand. I have occasionally corrected the most obvious and systematic errors, with references to the interventions noted in the *apparatus criticus*. By the same token, I have not expanded merographs; expanded forms may sometimes be ascertained through comparison with corresponding glosses in the other sources or by consulting other printed editions. For more detailed philological discussion, the reader may consult any of the published editions but especially those by Goossens and Napier.

My *apparatus fontium* to the text is drawn largely from Ehwald's, but I have removed a few irrelevancies and cited all the references to modern editions whenever possible. Furthermore, I have resisted the impulse to eliminate some references that seem to have little bearing on *Pdv* passages; in a few cases I could not be certain that Aldhelm was drawing his ideas from these authors. Nevertheless, some considerable source work on *Pdv* remains to be done, and because most of the sources are still unpublished in variant manuscripts, I have followed Ehwald's lead

in keeping the slight parallels and invite the reader to assess the relevance of the *fontes*.

My edition of the *Pdv* text aims to be comprehensive in scope, supplying as many variants as needed to buttress the arguments made about the textual transmission and providing an *apparatus fontium* that, at the very least, highlights Aldhelm's idiosyncracies. My plan for the edition of glosses is far less ambitious, if only because ordering about 60,000 entries entails compromise. My main hope is to present meaningfully a vast corpus of annotations that guided readers through one of the most influential Latin works ever produced in the British Isles. The pleasure of reading *Pdv* (if I may be allowed to call the experience a pleasure) can only be enriched by attending the vestiges of anonymous medieval readers who bivouacked the *densa latinitatis silva* of Aldhelm's prose.

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