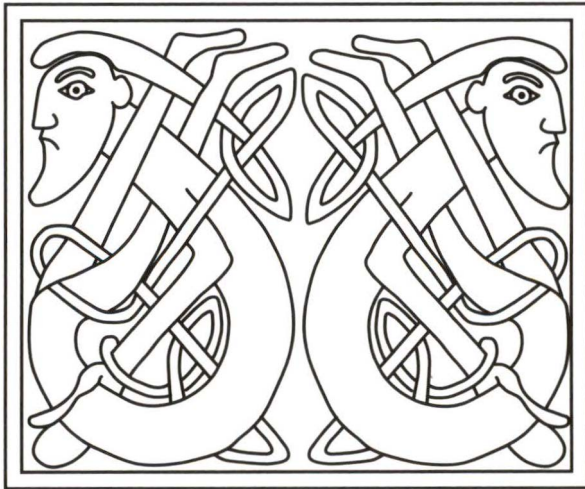


# *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*

IN MICROFICHE FACSIMILE

Volume 22

*Exeter Manuscripts*



Descriptions  
by  
Matthew T. Hussey

*Anglo-Saxon  
Manuscripts*

IN MICROFICHE FACSIMILE

A. N. Doane  
*Editor and Director*

Matthew T. Hussey  
*Associate Editor*

†Phillip Pulsiano  
*Founding Editor*

*Advisory Board*

Carl T. Berkhout ◊ Patrizia Lendinara ◊ Malcolm Godden  
Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe ◊ Andrew Prescott  
D. G. Scragg ◊ Paul E. Szarmach



MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE  
TEXTS AND STUDIES

VOLUME 441

*Anglo-Saxon  
Manuscripts*  
IN MICROFICHE FACSIMILE

Volume 22

*Exeter Manuscripts*

Descriptions by  
Matthew T. Hussey

ARIZONA CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL

 ACMRS

AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Tempe, Arizona  
2014

Published by ACMRS (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies)  
Tempe, Arizona

©2014 Arizona Board of Regents for Arizona State University.

All Rights Reserved.

The microfiche images are under copyright, are used by permission, and remain the property of the respective owners: Trinity College, Cambridge; Cambridge University Library; Exeter Cathedral Library; Lambeth Palace Library; Bodleian Library; Bibliothèque Nationale de France. They may not be further reproduced in whole or in part without the written permission of the owners.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

(Revised for vol. 22)

Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile.

p. cm. -- (Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies; v. 136, 137, 144, 169, 175, 186, 187, 219, 225, 253, 265, 274, 321, 326, 331, 343, 381, 382, 412, 413, 441)

In English with segments in Anglo-Saxon and Latin.

Provides descriptions of manuscripts held in various libraries, including the manuscript's history, codicological features, collation, list of contents, notes on special features and problems, and selected bibliography.

May be used as a guide to microfiche collection with the same title.

[DA 150]

015'.31--dc20

94-37257

CIP

∞

This book is made to last. It is set in Adobe Minion Pro,  
and printed on acid-free paper to library specifications.

*Printed in the United States of America.*

## Contents

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <i>Preface</i>   | <i>vii</i> |
| <i>Describers' Preface</i>   | <i>ix</i>  |
| 77. Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.2 (241)<br>Amalarius of Metz, "Liber officialis"   | 1          |
| 100. Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.11<br>Exeter documents; "West-Saxon Gospels", OE "Gospel of<br>Nicodemus", OE "Vindicta Salvatoris"  | 9          |
| 130. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501<br>"The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry"   | 21         |
| 131a. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3507<br>Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo", Isidore, "De natura rerum",<br>astrological and computistical poems and prose   | 57         |
| 131b. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3514<br>Geoffrey of Monmouth, "Historia Regum Britannie", Henry of<br>Huntingdon, "Historia Anglorum", and other English and Welsh<br>historical texts.  | 67         |
| 131c. Exeter, Cathedral Library FMS/3<br>"Vita Sancti Basili" (fragmentary leaf)   | 81         |
| 311. London, Lambeth Palace Library 149<br>Bede, "Explanatio Apocalypsis," Augustine, "De adulterinis<br>coniugiis" (Bk. 1); Augustine, "Enchiridion," Goscelin (?), "Vita S.<br>Edwardi", Hugh of St. Victor, "De clericali disciplina", Augustine,<br>"In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos Tractatus X" | 89         |
| 340. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.2.16 (2719)<br>Gospels; added quires with Exeter documents   | 103        |
| 343. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. 1. 15 (2455)<br>Boethius, "De Consolatione Philosophiae"; Persius, "Satirae"  | 115        |

---

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 345. | Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.3.6 (2666)<br>Prudentius, "Carmina"                                | 127 |
| 356. | Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 311 (2122)<br>Latin Penitentials                                    | 139 |
| 357. | Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 319 (2226)<br>Isidore, "De fide catholica contra iudaeos"           | 147 |
| 365. | Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 708 (2609)<br>Gregory, "Cura Pastoralis"                            | 153 |
| 422. | Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 943<br>"Sherborne Pontifical" or "The Pontifical of St. Dunstan" | 159 |

## PREFACE

*Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* provides students and scholars with a fundamental tool in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. The project aims to produce complete microfiche facsimiles of the nearly five hundred manuscripts containing Old English. Each issue or volume presents facsimiles and descriptions of about ten manuscripts prepared by one or more scholars. The facsimiles are in most cases produced from existing film stock provided by the holding libraries. New photography is limited to those manuscripts not yet photographed or poorly photographed. The images are up to the standards expected of good microfilm reproduction. Each description provides in brief compass the manuscript's history, codicological features, a collation, a detailed list of contents, and a selected bibliography. The descriptions are intended to be used with the photographic images to maximize their usefulness to scholars who do not have immediate access to originals or who may be unacquainted with the manuscript and its scholarship.

Manuscripts are reproduced *in toto*, even though the post-Anglo-Saxon material that is found as part of many of them may demonstrate no immediate or ultimate relationship with Anglo-Saxon interests. To have edited the facsimiles, presenting only confirmed Anglo-Saxon parts, might have eliminated important material to be noticed or discovered and in any case would remove the Anglo-Saxon vestiges from their actual material contexts. Users must decide for themselves the relevance of the images presented in this series. Several later manuscripts are included in this series even though they were not considered Anglo-Saxon by Neil R. Ker; in our view, these manuscripts have clear connections to undoubted Anglo-Saxon texts.

Each manuscript is assigned a main index number for this series; that number is given before the shelf-mark and always appears bolded and in square brackets after the shelf-mark when a manuscript in this series is mentioned in the body of a description. The index number is concorded with the catalogue numbers of Ker and Gneuss. A complete handlist of all manuscripts included in the project has been published in Vol. 15. An interim cumulative index of



volumes 1–10 has been published as a separate volume (2006). An interim cumulative index of volumes 1–25 is planned; a final comprehensive index will follow the completion of the volumes of descriptions, now projected as about 43 in number. The manuscript descriptions, after being revised, will also be published as a separate publication towards the conclusion of this project. Users of these descriptions (and of the indices) are requested to bring any errors, omissions, or relevant new scholarship to the attention of the publishers or the editors.

The editors are grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency, for generous grants in support of the project. Thanks are also due to the Evjue Foundation of Madison, Wisconsin and to the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists for generous gifts.

The editor and describer wish to thank the following for their help and permission to use images of manuscripts in their care: Dr. P. N. R. Zutshi, Keeper of Manuscript and University Archives, Cambridge University Library and its helpful staff; the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge and Dr. David McKitterick, the director of the Wren Library; the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, and Peter Thomas, Librarian; Melanie Barber, former Deputy Librarian and R. J. Palmer, present Librarian and Archivist of Lambeth Palace Library; Mary Clapinson, former Keeper of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library and Chris Fletcher, present Keeper, and Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield and Dr. Martin Kaufmann, Curators of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library; Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. All manuscript images in this volume are under copyright and may not be reproduced without the written consent of the respective owners. The describer particularly wants to thank Dr. Barker-Benfield Mr. Sandy Paul of the Wren Library, Patrick Conner, and Elaine Treharne for assistance, suggestions and references and Damian Fleming for providing his unpublished dissertation.

The editor is grateful to Prof. Robert Bjork, Director of the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Arizona State University, Tempe, for agreeing to publish the project and to the excellent staff, particularly Roy Ruk-kila, Todd Halvorsen, and Leslie MacCoull, who have been of much assistance with this and preceding volumes.

A.N.D.

## DESCRIBERS' PREFACE

All of the manuscripts in this volume have a medieval provenance in Exeter and/or other connections with the Anglo-Saxon foundation there (with the possible exception of Paris, BN lat. 943 [422]). This is evidenced in a number of inscriptions and library inventories. Because the histories and codicological descriptions throughout the present volume refer to this evidence, I itemize it here.

Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1050–1072), donated numerous manuscripts to the Exeter foundation, and in so doing had the scribes of his episcopal household write donation inscriptions into these books. Nine manuscripts survive with individual donation inscriptions: these are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 [25]; Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.2 [77]; Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.11 [100]; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Auct. D.2.16 [340]; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Auct. F.1.15 [343] (originally two MSS with two inscriptions, now bound as one volume); Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Auct. F.3.6 [345]; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 579 [364]; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 708 [365] (for the list of MSS and a discussion, see Nicholson 1913: lx–lxi; Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11–12 n.3; Drage 1978: 29–41; Conner 1993: 13–16). All of these manuscripts are described in this volume, except Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (described by Grant in ASMMF vol. 11 [2003]: 1–27) and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 579. The inscriptions have been printed variously: Förster (in Chambers et al. 1933: 11–12 n.3) prints an edited version of the inscription text, collating all nine of the manuscripts; Drage (1978: 32–36) prints each individual inscription with an analysis of wording and the hand of the two Exeter scribes responsible; Conner (1993: 14) prints the basic text.

Famously, Leofric's bequests to the foundation at Exeter were inventoried and this document was drawn up between 1069 and his death in 1072 (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 14–15). Copies of this OE text were appended to two gospel books: the Latin gospels in Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Auct. D.2.16 and the OE gospels in CUL Ii.2.11. The copy in the OE Gospels was subsequently removed, probably at the instigation of Matthew Parker, and replaced in the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501 [130]; see the description of the Exeter Book

in this volume for an account). The inventory has been discussed many times, most pertinently by Förster (in Chambers et al. 1933: 10–32), Lloyd (1972: 32–42), Drage (1978: 41–70 et passim), Gameson (1996), and Treharne (2003). There are two excellent recent editions and analyses of Leofric's donation inventory: Lapidge (1985, repr. 1994 and 2001: 132–45) prints just the list of books, and identifies list items with surviving manuscripts; Conner (1993: 226–35) edits and translates the entire text. I refer to both of these editions throughout these descriptions.

Fortuitously, from the centuries after Leofric's death, several more records of the Exeter foundation's holdings survive that shed light on the history of the A-S manuscripts kept there. In 1327, Richard Brailegh composed a Latin inventory of books, vestments, and other cathedral furniture and it survives in the 14c MS Exeter Cathedral Library 3671, a page of which can be seen in Muir's digital facsimile (2006) and edited by George Oliver (1861: 301–10). Interestingly, there is a 15c ME translation of Leofric's OE donation inventory extant in Exeter, Cathedral Library 2750, written on a single sheet of paper. Förster (in Chambers et al. 1933: 14) surmises that it must have been based on some earlier ME version and provides a diplomatic edition (in Chambers et al. 1933: 30–32). An image of the face of the sheet can be seen in Muir (2006, though Muir incorrectly heads this image as the 1506 inventory). Because the ME translation is entirely derivative of Leofric's OE donation inventory, no use of it is made in the histories here. More important for the histories of the A-S books in Exeter is the Latin inventory drawn up in September 1506 by cathedral personnel; the manuscript is no longer extant (Erskine 1972: 43) but it was printed by Oliver (1861: 320–76, with the library's inventory at 366–76). Throughout this volume, the 1327 and 1506 inventories (as printed by Oliver 1861) are frequent terms of reference.

M.T.H.

## REFERENCES:

- Barlow, Frank, Kathleen M. Dexter, Audrey M. Erskine, and L. J. Lloyd. *Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in A.D. 1072*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1972.
- Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1978.
- Erskine, Audrey M. "The Growth of Exeter Cathedral Library after Bishop Leofric's Time." In Barlow et al., 43–55.

- Förster, Max. "The Donations of Leofric to Exeter." In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R.W. Chambers, Max Förster, and Robin Flower, 10–32. London: Percy Lund for Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–167. New York: Garland, 1994. Repr. from *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lloyd, L.J. "Leofric as Bibliophile." In Barlow et al., 32–42.
- Lloyd, L.J., and Audrey Erskine, with Peter Thomas. *The Library and Archives of Exeter Cathedral*. Rev. 3d ed. Exeter: Library and Archives of Exeter Cathedral, 2004.
- Muir, Bernard, ed. *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*. 2 vols. and CD-ROM. Rev. 2d ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Nicholson, E. W. B. *Introduction to the Study of Some of the Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. London: Novello, 1913.
- Treharne, Elaine. "Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter 1050–72." *Review of English Studies* 54 (2003): 155–72.

## Notes to Users

The header of each fiche includes the following information:

[first line:] (1) assigned number for final index, city, library, and shelf-mark (note that for British Library manuscripts, the abbreviation “BL” is used, and for Bodleian Library manuscripts, the abbreviation “Bodl. Lib.” is used); (2) fiche number;

[second line:] (3) Ker number (N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; repr. with supplement 1990]); (4) Gneuss number (Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, MRTS 241 [Tempe: ACMRS, 2001] supplemented by Helmut Gneuss, “Addenda and Corrigenda to the *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003): 293–305; (5) short title or indication of contents; (6) folios contained on each fiche (foliation may occur on first line in some cases for reasons of space).

The layout is as follows:

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| 177. London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. vii | 1 of 6 |
| Ker 137, Gneuss 308 Heliand ff.         | 1r–40r |

In addition to Ker and Gneuss numbers, descriptions may also include Lowe numbers (E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*. Part II: *Great Britain and Ireland* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–1971])= CLA.

### *Abbreviations*

The following character sets and abbreviations are used:

< >      expansions, e.g., d(e)i

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| [ ]       | supplied; when blank, used to indicate missing text  |
| ( )       | erasure  |
|           | line end   |
|           | page or column end   |
| /         | used to separate folio numbers from line numbers, e.g., f. 154v/13a–6b = folio 154v, line 13, column a to line 6, column b |
| \         | indicates run on line, written above   |
| /         | indicates run on line, written below   |
| a b, etc. | indicate columns, e.g., f. 154v/13a–6b   |
| “ ”       | customary title  |
| ‘ ’       | incipit, explicit, gloss   |
| ‘ ’ / ‘ ’ | interlinear (above/below)  |
| F./f.     | folio  |
| Ff./ff.   | folios   |
| r         | recto  |
| v         | verso  |
| c         | century, e.g., 15c, 10/11c   |
| chap(s).  | chapter(s)   |
| corr.     | corrected  |
| d.        | died, e.g., d. 998   |
| fl.       | floruit  |
| boldface  | used for titles or headings written in MSS   |
| A-S       | Anglo-Saxon  |
| ME        | Middle English   |
| OE        | Old English  |
| PG        | <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>   |
| PL        | <i>Patrologia Latina</i>   |

In cases where Ker's dating of a manuscript is cited, readers should note that dating is indicated by quarter-century intervals; thus, s. x/xi, s. x<sup>1</sup>, s. x med., s. x<sup>2</sup>. A full explanation is given in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. xx.

Some descriptions include "Photo Notes" that compare the microform reproduction with the original manuscript, indicating readings visible in the original, but not on the microfiche. In this section, italics are used to indicate words and letters visible in the gutter (i.e., binding margin) of the manuscript but not visible in the reproduction, etc.

## 77. Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.2 (241)

### Amalarius of Metz, "Liber officialis"

[Ker 84; Gneuss 174]

**HISTORY:** A copy of Amalarius of Metz's (c. 775–c. 850) allegorical and exegetic commentary on the liturgy, written in the 9c, known as the "Liber officialis". The manuscript was written in a fine A-S square minuscule at St. Augustine's, Canterbury in the middle decades of the 10c (Bishop 1957: 324–26; Barker-Benfield 2008: 3.1812–13) and has been more specifically dated to the 930s (as representative of Phase II square minuscule) by Dumville (1991: 43; 1992: 132 n. 351; 1993: 88–89; 1994b: 139), though Gameson suggests that this early date "fits ill" with the decoration and display script (Gameson 1996: 167–68, n. 152); Bishop identifies the scribe's hand in several other manuscripts (Bishop 1957: 324–26). The version of Amalarius's text is the "retractio prima," an abridged and intermediary version of the work from the mid to late 9c (Hanssens 1948–50: 162–69). The "retractio prima" is extant earliest in Breton and English manuscripts that were made or circulated in the first several decades of the 10c (Dumville 1994a; Keynes 1992: 16–17) and, along with excerpts from another Amalarian work on the liturgy, later came to be a source for Ælfric's "Letter to the Monks of Eynsham" (Jones 2000 and 2001: 175).

The manuscript is decorated with beautiful colored initials and very lightly glossed in Latin, partly by the main scribe, and partly by later users or readers from the 10c through the 11c. There are two OE glosses of the 10c (ed. Ker, *Cat.*). To the main manuscript, a folio (f. 112) was supplied, perhaps by the original scribe after an interval (Bishop 1957: 326) or perhaps by a second scribe (Keynes 1992: 16) in the later 10c. This supply leaf was originally left blank on the lower half of f. 112v, and a late 10c or early 11c hand added an antiphon in Anglo-Caroline minuscule. An inscription of the first half of the 11c on the front fly (f. i recto) naming 'bryhtricus presbiter' may indicate an owner. The manuscript had come to Exeter by the third quarter of the 11c, and perhaps before; a quire of six leaves was added (foliated 113–115, 115a, and 120–121) in an Exeter hand (Ker, *Cat.*;

Keynes 1992: 16–17; Drage 1978: 157–58) with further Amalarian material, some of which represents a variant form of the “retractio prima” which may lie behind Ælfric’s “Letter” and is otherwise only represented in (though partly lost from) Salisbury, Cathedral Library 154 (Jones 2000 and 2001). Another Exeter scribe (Drage’s scribe 10) on f. 3 added a note on the “dies aegyptici” (Drage 1978: 163) and a third (Drage’s scribe 2) added the Leofrician donation inscription in Latin and OE on f. 121v. An entry in Leofric’s inventory — one “liber officialis amalarii” — suggests that Leofric donated the book to Exeter in 1072 (inventory ed. Lapidge 2001: 136; Conner 1993: 232). The front fly bears pen trials and scribbles of the 12c.

The manuscript was still in Exeter when catalogued in 1327 as “Liber Amalarii. Postquam scripsi libellum” (Oliver 1861: 303); the 1506 inventory has a “Collectio Amalarii” which may represent Trinity B.11.2 (though Drage (1978: 336) suggests this entry does not pertain to this manuscript. Drage reports that in John Joscelin’s (1529–1603) copy of the Exeter donation list, there is a note on the entry “Amalarius” stating that Matthew Parker (1504–1575) borrowed the copy from Exeter and returned it (Drage 1978: 336). However, a red crayon inscription on f. 1r by Matthew Parker (Keynes 1992: 17) names John Parker (1532–1592), and it was (ca. 1560) in John Parker’s collection at Beakesborne (Ker, *Cat.*). It was subsequently bequeathed to Trinity College by Archbishop John Whitgift, upon his death in 1604.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** The text block is foliated, perhaps in the 16c, in ink at top right recto corners, ‘1–112’ with numerous leaves skipped, and a pencil correcting; f. 9 in pencil with cancelled ink ‘8’; on f. 20, ink ‘0’ in the ‘20’ smudged, pencil ‘20’ just below; ff. 38 and 48 having both a pencil and ink foliation; f. 72a in pencil; on f. 82, ink smudged, pencil duplicated; f. 83 in pencil; f. 91a in pencil; f. 96a in pencil; f. 97 in ink, ‘100’ incorrectly penciled over it; f. 107 has been cancelled and ‘110’ incorrectly added above; the last six leaves (now detached and in independent plastic sheaths) continue the foliation in ink, ‘113–115’, followed by ‘115a’ in pencil, ‘120’ in pencil above a cancelled ink ‘116’, no foliation on f. 121. In the film, an older leaf is photographed, no longer present in the book, foliated ‘122’ in pencil above a cancelled ‘118’; the last paper flyleaves have no foliation. The pencil hand that added the foliations with ‘a’ (ff. 72a, 91a, etc.) postdate the making of the film and are thus not visible in present microfiche facsimile. The front and back flyleaves are not foliated.

The 10c leaves range from cream-colored to beige parchment, occasionally a bit splotchy, but for the most part in excellent condition. The



manuscript is in quires of eight and arranged HFHF, except for a single 'experimental' quire arranged FHFH (Dumville 1994b: 141–42), though the quality of preparation is such that hair and flesh sides are difficult to distinguish. There are no visible quire signatures. The leaves are cropped to ca. 297 × 204 mm., with a writing grid of 215–220 × 145–150 mm., pricked in the outside margins and ruled with a dry-point for 26 long lines per side. The writing space is vertically double bounded in dry-point rules ca. 8 mm. apart, with the rules running to the edge of the leaves. Ample upper (25 mm.) and lower (55 mm.) margins, with an outer margin of ca. 28 mm., and an inner margin of ca. 15 mm.

The main text is a clear, precise, and regular A-S square minuscule, in a very dark brown ink. There are numerous large decorated initials with delicate vine interlace, biting animal heads, and human faces (Wormald Types I and IIa); these are washed in various colors: two shades of red (one pinkish and one more orange); two shades of green (one light and one dark), blue, yellow, and green. Headings at the beginning of books in capitals, often washed in bands of color with first lines in large display capitals, with each letter washed in color. Chapter headings in capitals, washed in color, with two- or three-line decorated initial capitals. Glossing hand is most frequently that of main scribe, much smaller but in same ink, usually interlinear; some rare marginal glosses as well.

The supply leaf, f. 112, is of slightly different quality parchment, in a different ink, and ruled for 27 lines; the script seems to be a careful imitation of the main text hand. Lower half of f. 112v left blank, and an Anglo-Caroline hand of the late 10c or early 11c in a lighter ink added an antiphon with neumes. The added quire (ff. '113–121', but actually only six added leaves) is on a rougher quality parchment with similar writing space and lineation; the script is a typical minuscule from Exeter of the third quarter of the 11c, badly faded on the last several leaves. The first parchment fly (not foliated) has been cut down vertically, leaving approx. 293 × 135 mm. of yellower and blotchier parchment. There are numerous additions in various scripts on this leaf: alphabetic pen-trials, words, and the 11c name 'bryhtricus presbite[r]'.

At the front of the book, there are two modern paper flyleaves (unfoliated), followed by an older paper flyleaf with modern title 'Liber officialis Hamalarii' at top center recto, and the ink cancelled shelfmark 'B.10.33' as well as the bookplate for Trinity College on the verso. This old paper fly is followed by a paper stub, which is part of the restoration of the damaged first quire, then the cut parchment flyleaf, and then two modern paper flyleaves and then the 10c text block. At the back of the book the leaves have

been detached and are now in individual plastic sheaths (ff. 113–115, 115a, 120, and 117). In the book, f. 112 is followed by two new paper stubs, six new paper flyleaves, one older paper fly, all blank.

[**Note:** The film/fiche, taken in 1949, still shows this last quire of leaves bound in the book. In 2004, when visited, the book was in the process of being conserved; in late 2012 the book remained in the same state as in 2004: loose leaves in plastic sheaths at the back of the book, and the filmed f. 122 not present in the book (p. c. Mr. Sandy Paul, 2012).]

Bound in brown leather with the gold-tooled arms of Whitgift on the front and back; the fore-edges show holes for now missing clasps. The spine shows four sewing bands plus the two endbands, with no shelfmark on the backing. Modern paper pastedowns inside both covers.

**COLLATION:** ii modern paper + i early modern paper + i medieval parchment flyleaf + ii modern paper + 123 medieval leaves + vi modern paper flyleaves + i early modern paper flyleaf (last six medieval parchment leaves in plastic sheaths, detached from book); I<sup>8</sup> remounted (ff. 1–8); II<sup>8</sup> (ff. 9–16); III<sup>8</sup> paper stub follows 2 (f. 18) as a result of restoration (ff. 17–24); IV<sup>8</sup> 8 cancelled (ff. 25–31); V–IX<sup>8</sup> (ff. 32–71); X<sup>8</sup> (ff. 72, 72a, 73–78); XI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 79–86); XII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 87–91, 91a, 92–93); XIII<sup>10</sup> (ff. 94–96, 96a, 97–102); XIV<sup>10</sup> wants 10 (ff. 103–111); XV<sup>1</sup> added singleton supply for lost material at the end of quire XIV (f. 112); XVI<sup>6?</sup> (see note).

[**Note:** Quire XVI is now impossible to reconstruct as all leaves are detached and held in plastic sheaths in a folder at the end of the volume, ordered ff. 113, 114, 115, 115a, 120 ('116' cancelled) and "121" (no modern foliation visible, '117' erased but visible on film); James (1900: no. 241) appears to take f. 112 as part of the last quire (his 15, presently XVI), and gives this last quire as of eight lacking the eighth sheet. Keynes (1992: 16) notes six leaves. Drage (1978: 335) gives the last quire as of ten (ff. 113–21 wanting 10), but this does not appear to account for the irregular foliation. The filmed f. 122 ('118' cancelled) present in the 1949 filming, but no longer present in the book, appears to have been a blank paper fly, modern, possibly early modern.]

#### CONTENTS:

- f. [i] recto (early modern paper flyleaf) blank but for modern ink title, top center, 'Liber officialis Hamalarii'
- f. [i] verso cancelled ink shelfmark, 'B. 10. 33' and Trinity College bookplate
- f. [ii] recto medieval parchment flyleaf, cut down, 14c ink title, lib(er) eccl(es)iasticis officio. . . and 11c inscription, 'bryhtric(us) presbite[r]'; 12c ink 'leo & vi[. . .]'; (at bottom, reversed) alphabetical penrials and 'iupelen'

f. [ii] verso blank

1. Amalarius, “Liber officialis”:

[Note: The “retractio prima” recension, in two books, rather than four, as in the editions of PL (105.987–1242) and Hanssens; see Hanssens 1948–50: 1.162–69 on the contents and disposition of material in the “retractio prima” as against Hanssens’ edited text.]

- a. ff. 1r/1–1v/22 capitula, Bk 1: COLLECTIO AMALARII VIRI DOCTISSIMI | DE ORDINE ROMANÆ AECCLĒSSIAE. QVI | VOCATVR LIBER OFFICIALIS. | ‘i. De ordine orationum In missa ante epistolam’; ends: ‘xxxviii De obseruatione dierum per annum et recapitulatione’ (as Hanssens 1948–50: 1. 163–65); top center f. 1r, ‘Ioh(ann)es parker’ in orange crayon;
- b. ff. 1v/23–3r/7 capitula, Bk 2: INCIPIVUNT CAPITVLA LIBRI SECVNDI. | ‘i. De duodecim lectionibus’; ends incompletely: ‘De sexta feria. EXPLICIUNT CAP(ITULA) LIBRI .II. (as Hanssens 1948–50: 1.165–68).
2. f. 3r/8–13 incomplete note on “24 Egyptian Days” (in 11c hand, on formerly blank lines): ‘Hic commemorantur dies aegyptiaci q(ui) eo m(od)o in anno circulo sunt | obseruandi. ne in his sanguis minuat(ur) aut potio ad soluendum p(rae)b&(ur) | [I]n p(ri)ncipio itaq(ue) m(en)sis ianuarii dies p(ri)mus | & ante eius exitu(m) dies septimus | A p(ri)ncipio mensis februarii dies .iiii. | & ante eius exitu(m) dies .iii.’ (cf. Charonnens 2007: 347–92) [remainder of f. 3r blank].
3. f. 3v two early modern notes on Amalarius: ‘Tritomius fol. ss. vocat hunc Hamulariu(m) fortunatum Archip(iscop)um | Treuereunsem. . .officialis roma(n)ę eccl(es)ie’ and ‘Lib 2 | Cap. 1. Qua lingua olim Lectiones. . .vide Lib. primo 23’.
- 1c. ff. 4r/1–43v/23 Bk 1: INCIPIIT COLLECTIO AMALARII VIRI DOCTIS|SIMI DE ORDINE ROMANÆ ÆCLESIAE. | QVI VOCATVR LIBER OFFICIALIS | (Prooemium) ‘POSTQVAM SCRIPSI | libellum qui a mea paruitate uocatur | de ecclēsiastico officio ueni romam . . .sup(er) septenariu(m). & quinariu(m). | & t(er)nariu(m) numeru(m)’; (f. 7v/3, ch. 1 “De Septuagesima” beg.) ‘Septuagesima computat(us) s(e)c(un)d(um) traditionem’; ends: ‘qua d(omi)n(u)s resurrexit et sunt omnes dies ta(m)qua(m) dominica’, with lines 3–20 blank, and at line 21: EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS (as Hanssens 1948–50: 2.13–18, 26–193 with chapters and additional material from Book IV and Hanssens 1948–50: 2.545–65; see the table at Hanssens 1948–50: 1.163–65) [remainder of 43v blank];

- d. ff. 43v/24–112v/15 Bk 2: **INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDVS || .I. DE .XII. LECTIONIBVS | ‘SEX LECTIONES | ab antiquis romanis. grece et latine legebantur’**; ends: ‘digneque in sexta feria memorat(ur) eius passio p(ro) ceteris | noctib(us) quia in ea per acta est’ (as Hanssens 1948–50: 1.197–460 with interpolations, rearrangements, and additional material from Hanssens 1948–50: 2.545–65, as given in the table at Hanssens 1948–50: 1.165–68).
- OE glosses at f. 47v/10, interlinear: ‘untodælendl(ice)’ on ‘indifferenter’; f. 62r/23 far right margin, ‘g(e)sib[.]’ probably on ‘pacata’.  
[Note: Early modern notes, upper outer margin f. 44r and on f. 45v outer margin. Both cropped. Original 10c manuscript is incomplete at end of f. 111v, breaking off at midsentence; f. 112 has a supply text that picks up where text left off, completing the text through the section ‘lxii. De vi<sup>a</sup> feria’. Remainder of f. 112v was originally blank.]
4. f. 112v/17–20 added neumed antiphon, in late 10c or early 11c Anglo-Caroline hand: ‘A Venite adoremus d(omi)n(u)m & p(ro)cidamus . . . qui transduxit nos ad celestia sempiterna gaudia alleluia’ (cf. Van Dijk 1963: 1. 42; Hartzell 2006: no. 60).
5. ff. 113r/1–117r/19 excerpts from Amalarian work on Good Friday: **DE PARASCEVE. | ‘ORAMUSTED(OMI)NEDOMINORV(M) | magister rationis æt(er)nę’**; ends: ‘Non eni(m) nos oportet separari a chr(isto) in | tribulationib(us) sed coniungi. in sabbato id est in requie. Dicam(us). Mihi | aut(em) adherere d(e)o bonu(m) est’ (ed. Jones 2001: 200–10) [f. 117r/20–26 blank].
6. f. 117v/1–6 Leofrician Donation Inscription (Latin and OE): ‘Hunc librum dat leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)ę s(an)c(t)i petri ap(osto)li in ex[. . . . .]de(m)[. . .] | episcopale(m). p(ro) remedio animę suę ad utilitate(m) successor[.] suo[.] [. . . . .] aut[.] | illum inde abstulerit p(er)petuę maledictioni subiaceat Fiat. | Ðas boc gef leofric b(iscop) into s(an)c(t)e petres minstre on exancestri [.]þær his | biscopstol is. his æfter filgendum to nit weorðnysse 7 gif hig hwa ut | ætbrede hæbbe he ece geniðerunge mid eallum deoflum. Amen’ (coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11–12; pr. James 1900: 1.327, Drage 1978: 32).
- f. 117v/18–20 Early modern copy of the Latin portion of Leofric’s donation inscription.  
[Note: Remainder of f. 117v blank except for Trinity College Library stamp. Remainder of leaves in book blank.]

PHOTO NOTE: Enhanced images of ff. 114v–117v are provided on a supplementary fiche.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Barker-Benfield, B. C. *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*. Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 13. 3 vols. London: The British Library in association with The British Academy, 2008. [3.1812–13]
- Bishop, T.A.M. "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part IV: MSS. Connected with St Augustine's, Canterbury." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1957): 323–36.
- Chambers, R.W., Max Förster, and Robin Flower. *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*. London: Percy Lund for Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.
- Chardonnens, L.S., ed. *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900–1100: Study and Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.
- Dumville, David N. "Breton and English Manuscripts of Amalarius's *Liber Officialis*." In *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, ed. Danielle Conso, Nicole Fick-Michel, and Bruno Poulle, 205–14. Besançon: Université de Besançon, 1994. Dist. by Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994a.
- . *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- . "English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases." *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994b): 133–64.
- . "On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10 (1991): 40–57.
- . *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival*. Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3. Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1992.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Hanssens, Jean-Michel, ed. *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*. 3 vols. Studi e testi 138–140. Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1948–50.

- Hartzell, K. D. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006. [no. 60]
- James, M.R. *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900. [no. 241]
- Jones, Christopher A. "Ælfric's Exemplar of Amalarius: An Additional Witness." *American Notes and Queries* 13.2 (2000): 6–14.
- , ed. and trans., *A Lost Work by Amalarius of Metz: Interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 154*. Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 2. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001.
- Keynes, Simon. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*. Old English Newsletter Subsidia 18. Binghamton, NY: CEMERS-SUNY Binghamton, 1992.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–168; repr. New York: Routledge, 2001. Orig. pub. in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. idem and Helmut Gneuss, 33–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Van Dijk, S.J.P. *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243–1307)*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1963.
- Wormald, Francis. "Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100." In *Francis Wormald: Collected Writings: Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth Through the Twelfth Centuries*, 2 vols. ed. J.J.G. Alexander, T. Julian Brown, and Joan Gibbs, 1: 47–45. London: H. Miller and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984–88.

**100. Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.11**  
Exeter documents; “West-Saxon Gospels”,  
OE “Gospel of Nicodemus”, OE “Vindicta Salvatoris”  
with 130. Exeter Cathedral 3501 (ff. 0–7)  
[Ker 20; Gneuss 15]

**HISTORY:** A complete copy of the West-Saxon translation of the Gospels along with the OE apocryphal “Gospel of Nicodemus” and “Vindicta Salvatoris”. Written in Leofric of Exeter’s scriptorium in the third quarter of the 11c by a single scribe whose work is identifiable with Exeter, whether part of the foundation of canons there, as suggested by Drage (1978), or as part of the bishop’s household, as suggested by Bishop (1955: 197–99) and Treharne (2003 and 2009). Formerly it held a record of Leofric’s donations to the Exeter foundation written by a nearly contemporary hand (now in the “Exeter Book” of OE poetry [130]) that lists ‘þeos englisce cristes boc’ (ed. Lapidge 1994: 132–39; Conner 1993: 226–35). The book was designed and produced for Leofric’s episcopal library in Exeter, likely around 1050–60 (Treharne 2003: 160–61). Based on a close analysis of variations in the wording of pericopes and OE rubrics in CUL Ii.2.11, Lenker has argued that the liturgical headings were not part of the original translation of the Gospels; however, as an integral aspect of the book’s design, Roman Latin pericopes from a Continental capitulary were integrated into the Exeter copy (Lenker 1999: 143). These pericopes often cite the synoptic parallels of the OE text they head; Lenker (1999: 173) suggests that “the combination of the vernacular gospels with the liturgical system is related to the homiletic tradition. A homilist could thus have used the text of the West Saxon Gospels for translation of the Gospel of the day into OE.” It seems then that the manuscript is designed for homiletic use, rather than liturgical reading, and fits best in the Ælfrician tradition of vernacular exegetic homilies (Lenker 1999; Liuzza 1998: 10–11 and 14–15; Treharne 2003: 165). The text of the Gospels was corrected or altered sporadically in the later 11c, and a direction was added on f. 40r in the second half of the 12c, probably in Exeter. Liuzza notes that the text of the W-S Gospels seems to have been not

often cited or used in the later 11c and 12c, apart from its being copied a number of times in copies that show signs of later study and use (Luizza 1998: 5–6).

The manuscript does not appear in either the 1327 or 1506 Exeter inventories (Conner 1993: 239) but nonetheless it appears to have remained in Exeter until 1566, when the Dean of Exeter, Gregory Dodds (also ‘Dodde’ or ‘Dodd’; dean 1560–70; on Dodds see Radford 1955: 6), gave the book to Matthew Parker, as a 16c inscription on the 15c flyleaf f. [ix] verso reports. It has been suggested that Dodds’ donation may have been a return of favor, as Parker had supported Dodds’ promotion to Dean (Conner 1993: 249) and in 1566 gave him a vote of confidence in the aftermath of criticisms of Dodds’ learning by appointing him to preach at St. Paul’s (Graham 1994: 434). Parker had an edition of the W-S Gospels published by John Day under John Foxe’s name as a part of his Anglican project to establish ancient precedent for translating the Bible into the vernacular (Conner 1993: 249; Liuzza 1998: 4–5). The note on f. [ix] verso suggests Parker probably had the book rebound the same year as the gift of 1566 (Graham 1994: 434). Graham (1994) has shown that it was Parker who had leaves removed from CUL Ii.2.11, when it was rebound, and bound those leaves in a confected quire into the “Exeter Book” (described with the “Exeter Book” [130], details in the note to the “Collation,” below). CUL Ii.2.11 was bound by the “MacDurnan Gospels Binder,” who worked on several volumes for Parker (Graham 1994: 444); two of the front flyleaves from this binding remain — an old parchment leaf with 15c accounts glued to a sheet of paper in an artificial bifolium, which bears Dodds’ donation inscription. The vellum sheet of 15c accounts, with Parker’s crayon note, ‘past this side to the bord’, comes from sheets of records that Parker used in other rebinding projects, including the confected quire now appended to the beginning of the ‘Exeter Book’ (Graham 1994: 444–48). Parker bequeathed the manuscript to the Cambridge University Library in 1574, along with 24 other manuscripts (inscription top of f. 2r; Oates 1986: 96–119; Graham 1994: 431). It was rebound in 1949 (Ker, *Cat.* 31 and Liuzza 1994: xvii give 1940, but this is a misreading of the modern pastedown’s inscription; cf. Graham 1994: 444, n.65). The old Parkerian binding is now kept separately.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** x + ff. 202 + xii. Parchment leaves in the main body of the book are heavy and thick, matte with a yellowed creamy color; some leaves thinner and allowing shine-through. The pages are ca. 317 × 224 mm., for the most part dry-point ruled for a writing space of 248 × 145 mm. with 23 long lines per folio, except for quire XIII



(ff. 88–95) which has a writing space of 255 × 160 mm. ruled for 26 lines per page, with double bounds that are often overwritten in the right margins. Each line of text is ruled for about 10 mm., with the double bounds approx. 8 mm. wide, and 15–20 mm. margins at the top of each page, 45–50 mm. margins in the outside edges, and 45–50 mm. at the bottom of each page. No prickings remain, likely due to trimming. Quires of eight arranged HFHF, except quire XII, which is a quire of six, and the dismembered first and last quires; the first was formerly a quire of six, the last leaf of which remaining in CUL Ii.2.11 (as f. 1) shows this quire too was hair side out. The last, quire XXVII, appears to have been a gathering of at least of five (see Ker, *Cat.*, 30–31), of which only three singletons remain.

The manuscript has been paginated and foliated variously: at the top right corner a modern pencil foliation runs '1–202' from the first 11c leaf (with Leofric-inscription) to the last 11c leaf. The manuscript is paginated with Parkerian red ochre crayon (pp. '1–105') and pencil (pp. '107–401') at the top center of each recto beginning on f. 2r (the first page of Gospels text), and thus records only odd numbers. The even-numbered pages are paginated beginning at f. 173v (p. 344). The Parkerian ochre has also traced over the dry-point rulings of the writing space, usually avoiding overwriting large initials, and it has added running headings for the Gospel texts in the top right recto corners giving the evangelist and chapter on the page, e.g., 'Matt 1' on f. 2r. Likewise, the beginnings of each chapter are marked in the outside margin with 'ca' or 'cap' and the chapter number. From f. 173v to f. 193r, at the head fore-edge corners, a new pagination runs from '1–40' with the text of the 'Gospel of Nicodemus'. The 'Vindicta Salvatoris' is likewise individually paginated, beginning on f. 193r (p. 40 of the 'Gospel of Nicodemus'), with pagination '2–19' on ff. 193v–202r. The manuscript has been given a series of running quire signatures in modern pencil in the lower right corner of each recto. These quire signatures begin with lower-case 'a' and number each sheet in the first half of the quire '1–4', e.g., f. 2r is 'a 1', f. 3r is 'a 2', f. 4r is 'a 3' and so forth. The lower right hand corner of the recto leaves of the second half of each quire are marked with a small '+'. These modern alpha-numerical quire signatures run 'a-z', and then carry on with capital 'A-C' with a note on f. 202v that most of 'C3' and all of 'C4' have been cut out. This pencil quire-signer may be the same hand that notes missing text on f. 178r.

The original script is an English vernacular minuscule of s. xi<sup>2</sup>, with the Latin headings in the same scribe's Anglo-Caroline, with occasional mixing of scripts between OE and Latin. The ink of the main text is dark brown, with OE headings in red and large initial capitals in green, blue, and

red. Generally, the scribe wrote the Latin incipit with the main text in the first instance, leaving space for the OE rubric. The OE was then added in red ink, and when there was not enough space the OE heading had to be squeezed in. The last four headings reverse the order of the OE and Latin headings (Lenker 1999: 142–44). Each Gospel begins on a new leaf. The text was corrected by a few hands, one perhaps the main scribe's, s. xi<sup>2</sup>. A slightly later hand alters the text and sense, concentrated at ff. 128–129 and 158–159 (Ker gives s. xi<sup>2</sup>, Liuzza suggests s. xii<sup>1</sup>; see Ker, *Cat.*, and Liuzza 1998: xviii). A later 12c hand corrects and adds a direction on f. 40r (Liuzza 1998: xviii).

The book is currently bound in a modern binding of brown leather, with embossed gold lettering on the spine, 'QVATVOR | EVANGELIA' and at the base of the spine 'Ii.2.11'. On the inside cover paper pastedown a small stamp in the top left corner records 'Bound ULC' with a written ink addition, '1949'. The manuscript is sewn on three stations, plus the endbands; earlier sewings not visible. A large pencil 'B' at the center inside cover. Two modern paper flyleaves contemporary with the 1949 rebinding. Six early modern paper leaves with matching wormholes likely from the 16c rebinding. Between these post-medieval paper leaves and the first 11c leaf is a composite leaf consisting of a sheet cut from a 15c account roll; this 15c sheet forms a bifolium (ff. ix-x) into which has been pasted an early modern paper sheet, visible now as the opening of f. ix verso and f. x recto. The exterior of the composite bifolium was formerly the pastedown in the early modern binding, remnants of paste and wood still clinging to it and obscuring some of the text. The paper glued inside the 15c sheet has 16c text (f. ix verso), including the record of Dodds' gift of the manuscript to Parker.

The old Parkerian binding is now kept separately from CUL Ii.2.11 and consists of the boards with leather covers tooled with gold and three pieces from the 15c account roll: one as the former binding's back cover pastedown paginated in pencil (17c?) '423', one piece from the 15c accounts with paper glued on each side which represented a former flyleaf, paginated '421' (17c?) (visible through the paper), and a strip with very little text but bearing red ochre lines similar to the Parkerian grids drawn throughout CUL Ii.2.11. Pieces of this 15c account roll were used to assemble the quire of leaves taken from CUL Ii.2.11 and sewn into the 'Exeter Book' and were also used as binding leaves in other manuscripts owned and bound by Parker (Graham 1994: 444–48).

[Note: At the back of CUL Ii.2.11 are ten (ff. [203–212]) early modern paper binding leaves and two (ff. 213–214) modern paper flyleaves. The paper leaf following f. 202v is unnumbered and shows the offset of the OE text on the previous folio; it is

also marked on its lower half with the red ochre grid. The next nine paper leaves are paginated on the rectos, pp. 403–19; pp. 403–15 are blank; pp. 416–20 have the ochre writing grid; there is early modern text on pp. 416–17. At the front of the manuscript, on f. ix verso in the outer margin are former and present shelfmarks: at the top left is ‘# D.β.5’; slightly lower is ‘li.2.11’, and then the earlier ink ‘Quatuor | Evangelia | Saxonice | 255’. At the top center of f. 2r in bold imitative gothic script, ‘Matthæus Cantuar(ius) 1574’; a ‘51’ in the top right corner; an early modern ink note ‘Continet pag. 401’ at the center of the lower margin of the leaf; the older shelfmark ‘255’ at bottom. Bits of colored ribbon have been glued to the lower right of leaves where new texts commence: green strip of ribbon at f. 2; yellow strip at f. 55; green strip at f. 85; red strip at f. 133; yellow strip at f. 173; green strip at f. 193. At time of examination, on 17 June 2004, there were two modern paper slips. Between f. ix verso and f. 1r a slip with the shelfmark ‘CUL li.2.11’ in pencil at its head, then in ink, a note: ‘These words can be distinguished in the obliterated lines of the Inscription in Leofric’s copy of the “Four Gospels” — Cambridge University Library MS II.2.11 | Si q(uis) illum inde abstulerit subiaceat maledictioni | Fiat Fiat Confirmatio hoc d(eu)s q(uo)d op(er)atus [es] in nob(is) | hig ænignian ut abrede hæbbe he godis curse `gif` 7 | wræððe ealre halgena.’ This note is signed in the lower right ‘F Rose-Troup’ and then another hand in pencil in the right margin adds ‘P.T.O’ and the date ‘5.viii.27’. This note refers to the erased Leofrician malediction once on f. 1r, but now impossible to read. On the verso of this slip in pencil is added, ‘But the text goes together with the MSS L (Bodl. Gospels) & M | (Leofric Missal) = Si quis illum inde abstulerit eterne subiaceat male|dictioni. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat. Confirmatio hoc d(eu)s q(uo)d operatus es in nobis. | 7 gif ænig man ut abrede hæbbe he godes | curs 7 wræððe ealra halgena | See “The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry” (1933), p.11’; signed ‘27.7.36 Max Förster | MS II.2.11’. In the inside of the back cover, between the last fly and the pastedown, a typewritten sheet of A4 paper is inserted that reads: ‘West Saxon translation of the four Gospels. Third quarter of the xi cent. | li.2.11 | Given by Leofric, Bishop of Exeter to his Cathedral in 1072. Given by Gregory Dodde, Dean of Exeter to Matthew Parker in 1566. Presented to Cambridge by Parker, 1574’. Neither of these modern slips is included on the film. ]

**COLLATION:** i<sup>2</sup> (modern paper bifolium; ff. [i-ii]); ii<sup>6</sup> (early modern paper leaves; ff. [iii-viii]); iii<sup>2</sup> (parchment-paper composite; ff. [ix-x]); I<sup>6-5</sup> wants 1–5 (f. 1); II-XI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 2–81); XII<sup>6</sup> (ff. 82–87); XIII-XVIII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 88–135); XIX<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 are half sheets (ff. 136–143); XX<sup>8</sup> (ff. 144–151); XXI<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 are half sheets (ff. 152–159); XXII-XXVI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 160–199); XXVII<sup>5-2</sup> wants 4 and 5 (ff. 200–202; lower two thirds of f. 202 cut out); iv<sup>10</sup> (early modern paper; ff. [203–212]; ff. [204]-[212] are paginated ‘403’ through ‘419’ on rectos (odd numbers only); v<sup>2</sup> (modern paper; ff. [213–214]).

[Note: The fragmentary first and last quires were dismembered by Parker (or at his request), manufactured into an artificial quire, and sewn into the ‘Exeter Book’,

probably in 1566 or soon after, as Graham (1994) makes clear. Having been part of the ‘Exeter Book’ for over 400 years, and in accordance with ASMMF policy of describing manuscripts as they presently exist, the quire and its contents are described in the description of the ‘Exeter Book’ [130] in this volume. However, as the original design of these quires has been reconstructed and these reconstructions have a bearing on how CUL Ii.2.11 can be understood in its original form, they are also given here. Ker, *Cat.*, 29, drawing on the earlier unpublished work of Gustaf Malmstrom, and articles by Frances Rose-Troup (1937: 418), Max Förster (1938: 39–41n.5), and Bruce Dickins (1950), and his own keen observations of wormholes and nailmarks, surmised that the medieval first quire of CUL Ii.2.11 consisted of Exeter Cathedral Library 3501, ff. 7, 1–3, 0 (reversed), and CUL Ii.2.11 f. 1, containing lists of guild members, manumissions, the Leofric donation inventory, Latin records of gifts to Exeter, a Latin abstract of the Leofric donation, other Latin notes, and the OE Leofric inscription on CUL Ii.2.11 f. 1, thus original I<sup>6</sup> (Exeter 3501 ff. 7, 1–3, 0 reversed, CUL Ii.2.11 f. 1). The last quire in CUL Ii.2.11 consisted of its present ff. 200, 201, and 202, the lower two-thirds of which are bound in the ‘Exeter Book’ as f. 5 there, Exeter 3501 ff. 4 and 6; this quire contained the end of the OE “Vindicta Salvatoris”, a Latin manumission, a Latin notice, several OE manumissions, and five documents relating to land sales, thus original XXVII<sup>5</sup> (ff. 200, 201, 202 + Exeter 3501 f. 5, Exeter 3501 ff. 4, 6.)

## CONTENTS:

ff. [i–viii] paper leaves blank [not on film]

1. a 16c bifolium containing miscellaneous documents:

- a. f. [ix] recto 15c account roll, former pastedown in Parkerian binding (on some of the names and items, see Graham 1994: 442–43);
- b. f. [ix] verso/1–22 16c (writing dated ‘1566’ by item d, below) excerpts from a charter joining the two dioceses of Devon and Cornwall and translating the seat of this new bishopric to Exeter headed ‘Ex carta Regis Eduardi de transla(t)io(n)is sedis Cathedralis de Cridet(un) i(n) Exon(iam)’; begins: ‘Igit(ur) cu(m) univ(er)sa etc. Quapropt(er) ego Edwardus dei gr(ati)a Anglor(um) Rex consilio | imbutus bone uoluntatis’; ends: ‘et affirmatibus laudantibusq(ue) Archiepi(sco)pis | Eadsino Et allerico cum cet(er)is aliis. Anno incarnationis D(o)mi(nic)ae m(illi)simo indictione tertia . . . monarchia maioris Britanniae’ (Sawyer 1968: no. 1021, ed. Whitelock et al. 1981: no. 71; ed. Thorpe 1865: 365–67);
- c. f. [ix] verso/23–39 16c excerpts from William of Malmesbury’s “Gesta Pontificum Anglorum” on the bishops of Crediton and Exeter headed ‘Will(el)mus Malmesb(uriensis) Libro 2<sup>o</sup> de Pontifi 21’; begins: ‘Series cridentiu(m) pontificiu(m) Cridia e(st) villula Devonie . . . et vixit ad

4 annu(m) Regis henrici immine(n)te | senio no(n) paucis a(n)nis lumine captus' (as Winterbottom and Thomson 2007: 1.94.1–7);

- d. f. [ix] verso/lower margin donation inscription 'Hunc codicem Evangelior(um) Gregorius Dodde Decanus eccl(esi)ę Exon(iensis) cum | assensu fratu(m) suoru(m) Canonicoru(m) dono dedit Mattheo Cantuariensi | Archiep(isco)po qui illu(m) in hanc noua(m) forma(m) redigi et ornari curauit. 1566<sup>o</sup> (ed. Graham 1994: 444).

[Note: In the upper left margin a contemporary hand has added 'ex libro martine(n)sis | cenobii'.]

- f. [x] recto / verso blank [original recto has 15c accounts but an early modern paper blank is glued over the recto side, with shine-through on the verso.]

2. f. 1r/1–8 Leofrician donation inscription 'Hunc textum euangeliorum dedit leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)ae | s(an)c(t)i p&tri ap(osto)li in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suoru(m) | [two lines of erased text, presumably the Latin anathema] | Ðas boc leofric b(iscop) gef s(an)c(t)o p&tro 7 eallum his æfter|gengum into exancestre gode mid to ðenienne' (coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11–12; pr. Drage 1978: 35) [two lines erased, presumably the OE anathema and remainder of f.1rv blank, except for the CUL bookplate, glued in lower center recto].

f. 1v blank

3. West-Saxon (or OE) Gospels (ed. Liuzza 1994):

- a. ff. 2r/1–54r/13 OE Gospel of Matthew: INITIU(M) S(AN)C(T)I EU(AN)G(E)L(II) S(E)C(UN)D(U)M MATH(EU)M. | ÆFTER MATHEUS GERECEDNESSE HER IS CNEORIS-|se boc hælendes cristes dauides suna abraha-|mes suna'; ends: '7 ic beo myd eow ealle dagas oð weorlde geen-|dunge. amen' (ed. Liuzza 1994: 3–62) [remainder of f. 54r blank];

[Note: Parker's donation inscription at top of f. 24 'Mattheus Cantuar. 1574'. On f. 10r, the Lord's Prayer is marked in the outer margin of the first line 'Pat(er) n(oste)r' in a later hand. On f. 37r drypoint "thorns" and "wynns" and the abbreviation for the word 'p(aet)' are written in the margin vertically under Parker's 'cap 21'. On f. 40r in outer margin a later hand (s. xii<sup>2</sup>) adds a direction in OE and a Latin heading: 'Dis godspel sceal | on .xxiii. wucan ofer | pentecosten. abeuntes | pharisei co(n)siliu(m) i(n)ier(un)t u[t] | cap(er)ent ie(su)m i(n) sermone.']

f. 54v blank

- b. ff. 55r/1–83v/6 OE Gospel of Mark: INCIPIT EUANGELIU(M) SECUNDU(M) MARCUM. | Initiu(m) Euangelii ie(s)u chr(ist)i filii dei uiui sicut | scriptu(m) est in esaia propheta. | 'Ecce mitto angelo(m)

meu(m) ante facie(m) tua(m). | Swa awryten ys on þæs wytegan bec isaia(m). | nu ic asende mynne engel. beforan þyne an|syne'; ends: 'Soðlice hig þa farende æghwar | bodedun. dryhtne myd wyrcentu(m) 7 getrymmen-|dre spræce æfter filigendu(m) tacnum' (ed. Liuzza 1994: 63–97) [remainder of ff. 83v and 84rv blank];

- c. ff. 85r/1–132r/14 OE Gospel of Luke: **INCIPIIT EUANG(E)L(IUM) S(E)C(UN)D(U)M LUCAM.** 'Ðis godspel | gebyrað on midde sumeres mæsse æfen. | Fuit in diebus herodis regis. | FORÐAM þe wytodlice manega þohton | þæra þinga raca geendebyrdan þeon | us gefyllede synd'; ends: '7 hig | wæron symle on þa(m) temple godherigende 7 hyne | eac bletsigende. AMEN' (ed. Liuzza 1994: 98–156) [remainder of f. 132rv blank];

[Note: On f. 85v/8, Parker notes the OE word 'beor' in margin with red ochre crayon. On f. 90v/16–17 in margin, Parker notes in red crayon 'genealogia | imp(er)fecta'. On f. 96v, the slightly later scribe inserts missing text to correct an eyeskip, marking the insertion with a mark '!' in line 3: 'Ða hig to hi(m) comon | þus hig cwædon. Ioh(han)es | se fulluhtere us sende | to þe 7 þus cwæð. Eart | þu þe to cummenne eart | hwæðer þe we oðres sceo-|lon onbidan'. On f. 114v in margin, drypoint drawing of a bearded head—Christ perhaps—that is simple but well done. Below it is a standing beardless figure wearing religious vestments and holding a crook and giving a sign of blessing. In the outer margin of f. 115v, an insertion of omitted text by an early modern imitative hand in darker ink, 'for þam þe he | gleawlice dede'. The Parkerian hand made three additions on f. 119r: 'godne' above 'lareow' in line 7; 'hwæt' at end of line 7; '7 gyf' at end of line 13 for underlined '7 sylde'.]

f. 132v blank

- d. ff. f. 133r/1–173r/19 OE Gospel of John: **INCIPIIT EUANGELIU(M) S(E)C(UN)D(U)M IOHANNEM.** | 'IN PRINCIPIO ERAT UERBU(M). ET UERBU(M) ERAT APUD D(EU)M. | & d(eu)s erat uerbu(m). Hoc erat in principio apud d(eu)m & r(e)l(i)qua | ON fruman wæs word 7 þ(æt) word wæs myd gode. 7 god wæs | þ(æt) word' [the last words of this sentence, 'god wæs | þ(æt) word', are in different ink or hand, perhaps over an erasure]; ends: 'Ic wene ne myhte þes myddan eard ealle þa | bec befon. AMEN' (ed. Liuzza 157–202) [remainder of f. 173r blank].

[Note: At the lower right corner of f. 134r, the Parkerian crayon adds a faded 'q(uia) hic e(st) fili(us) d(eu)s' filling in Latin text of John 1:34 for a missing OE phrase. On f. 152v, an early modern imitative hand inserts omitted text, 'And ic sylle min | agen lif for | minu(m) sceapum'. On f. 165v, a nearly contemporary insertion of omitted text (probably same hand as on f. 96v), and lines 17–23 blank.]

4. ff. 173v/1–193r/17 the OE "Gospel of Nicodemus" (no rubric or heading but for the early modern: 'Gesta seruatoris d(eu)m [sic] n(ost)ri Jesu

chr(ist)i que inuenit Theodosius magnus Imperator | in Jer(usa)l(e)m  
in Pretorio Pontii Pilati in codicibus publicis' at top left upper margin  
of f. 173v): 'ON þære halgan þrynnysse naman her on gyn|nað þa ge-  
donan þyng þe be uru(m) hælende ge|done wæron'; ends: 'Sig dryhtne  
lof | 7 deoflu(m) sorh a to worulde amen' (ed. Cross et al. 1996: 139–  
247; cf. Thornbury 2011, Marx in Izydorczyk 1997: 207–17 and Craw-  
ford 1927).

5. ff. 193r/19–202r/4 the OE "Vindicta Salvatoris" (space left for rubric or title): 'ON TIBERIUS DAGUM ÐÆS MICLAN CASERES. | hyt ge-  
lamp bynnan lytlu(m) fyrste æfter þa(m) | þe ure heofenlica hlaford  
ahangan wæs'; ends: 'on naman ures dryhtnes hælen|des crystes. þa(m)  
sig wuldor 7 wurðmynt .á in | ealra worulda woruld. AMEN' (ed. Cross  
et al. 1996: 249–93) [rest of f. 202 cut away].
6. f. 202v/1–6 the first lines of a manumission 'Her kið on þissere bec þ(æt)  
Aluric se canonica of execestre | alisde Reinold at Herberde 7 at his  
cildre`n´ 7 at geal hira | ofsp`r`inge. . .' (ed. Dickins 1950: 366, Förster  
1938: 40).

[Note: The lower three quarters of f. 202 have been removed (and this removal containing the rest of the manumission is now bound in the 'Exeter Book' as f. 5v) and f. 202 has been patched by a thin membrane that is translucent enough that f. 201v is visible through it.]

f. [203]r is an early modern paper binding leaf, blank but for offsets of text from f. 202v.

ff. [204]r–[210]r blank [not on film]

7. ff. [210]v–[211]r early modern copy of parts of the document on the dioceses of Cornwall and Devon, with witnesses (also found excerpted on f. [ix] verso): 'Translatio Sedis Cathedralis de creditone in Exon(ia) | Igitur cum vniuersa in sapientia a deo bene condita sint, videlicet cælum, aruu(m), et quae in eis conti|nentur'; ends: 'Ego Celfwendus minister +'

ff. [211]v–[212]v blank [not on film]

PHOTO NOTE: Early modern and modern paper flyleaves not photographed (ff. i–viii, [204v]–[210r], [211v–212]v). Enhanced film images of ff. ix recto/verso, x verso, 1rv, 2r are presented on a supplementary fiche.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Bishop, T.A.M. "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts Part III: MSS Connected with Exeter." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2(2) (1955): 192–99.

- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Crawford, S. J. *The Gospel of Nicodemus*. Edinburgh: Hutchen, 1927.
- Cross, James E. with contributions by Denis Brearley, Julia Crick, Thomas N. Hall, and Andy Orchard. *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Dickins, Bruce. "The Beheaded Manumission in the Exeter Book." In *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. Cyril Fox and B. Dickins, 361–67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.
- Förster, Max. "Der heilige Sativola oder Sidwell: Eine Namenstudie." *Anglia* 62 (1938): 33–80.
- . "The Donations of Leofric to Exeter." In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, with chapters by R.W. Chambers, Max Förster, and Robin Flower, 10–32. London: Percy Lund and Humphries for the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.
- Graham, Timothy. "A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, the Exeter Book, and Cambridge University Library MS II.2.11." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10(4) (1994): 421–55.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–16. New York: Garland, 1994; repr. from *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lenker, Ursula. "The West-Saxon Gospels and the Gospel Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice." *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999): 141–78.
- Liuzza, R. M., ed. *The Old English Version of the Gospels*. Early English Text Society o.s. 304. 314. Oxford: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1994, 2000.
- . "Who Read the Gospels in Old English?" In *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C.*



- Robinson, ed. Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe, 3–24. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Marx, C. W. “The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Old English and Middle English.” In *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk, 207–59. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 158. Tempe: MRTS, 1997.
- Oates, J.C.T. *Cambridge University Library: A History From the Beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Radford, Ursula. “An Introduction to the Deans of Exeter.” *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art* 87 (1955): 1–24.
- Rose-Troup, Frances. “Exeter Manumissions and Quittances of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.” *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art* 69 (1937): 417–45.
- Sawyer, P. H. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1968.
- Thornbury, Emily V. “Building with the Rubble of the Past: The Translator of the Old English *Gospel of Nicodemus* and his Flawed Source.” In *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster, 297–318. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 405. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011.
- Thorpe, Benjamin, ed. *Diplomatarium anglicum aevi saxonici: A collection of English charters, from the reign of King Æthelberht of Kent, A.D. DC. V. to that of William the conqueror. Containing I. Miscellaneous charters. II. Wills. III. Guilds. IV. Manumissions and acquittances with a translation of the Anglo-Saxon*. London: Macmillan, 1865.
- Treharne, Elaine. “Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter 1050–72.” *Review of English Studies* 54 (2003): 155–72.
- . “The Bishop’s Book: Leofric’s Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter.” In *Early Medieval Studies In Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine E. Karkov, Janet L. Nelson, and David Pelteret, 521–38. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

Whitelock, Dorothy, N. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke. *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, 1: AD 871–1204*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Winterbottom, Michael, and Rodney Thomson, eds. *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.

**130. Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501**  
**“The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry”**  
with **100. Cambridge University Library Ii.2.11, f. 202**  
[Ker 20 /116; Gneuss 258]

**HISTORY:** This is the largest and most diverse single volume of OE poetry, representing many genres, ranging through Christian and secular topics. Written in a distinct A-S square minuscule by the same scribe who wrote Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Bodley 319 [357] and London, Lambeth Palace 149 [311] (Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 85; Sisam, reported in Flower, in Chambers et al. 1933: 85; Ker, *Cat.*, no. 20; Ker 1933: 230; Drage 1978: 348; Hill 1986; Conner 1993; Gameson 1996: 162–77; Muir 1991 and 2006: 1.25). The script dates the book to c. 950–990 (Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 89; Conner 1993: 48–94; Gameson 1996: 160 and 166; Muir 2006: 1.1). Its origin is unknown, though strong cases have been made for Exeter (Conner 1993: *passim*) and Glastonbury (Butler 2004; cf. Gameson 1996: 179), while Crediton (Gameson 1996: 179), Tavistock (Swanton 1974: ii), and Canterbury (Dumville as reported by Rosenthal 1992: 147–48 and Dumville 1994: 137 n.23) have been suggested. Conner argues that the manuscript consists of three distinct booklets, copied by the scribe over a period of time (Conner 1986 and 1993: 95–147; however cf. Muir 1989: 274, 283–84) and explores how the book may have been used by the Exeter guild (Conner 2008), perhaps at ceremonial feasts (Conner 2011). By 1072, the manuscript was associated with Exeter, as it famously appears to be included in Leofric’s donation inventory as ‘.i. micel englisc boc be gehwilcu(m) þingu(m) on leoðwisan geworht’ (inventory on ff. 1r-2v and also in Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Auct. D. 2. 16 [340]; ed. Conner 1993: 232, also Lapidge 1994: 134). The book may have been unbound in the 11c (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 55–56; Conner 1993: 236) and was probably unbound (or at least without covers) when damaged by the circular stain and cuts on f. 8r and the burn at the back of the book. Conner speculates that the manuscript served in a scriptorium, as the circular stain may be from a pot of fish glue or size and the cuts from use as a board for removing leaves for repairing

other books; the traces of gold leaf that remain in many openings suggest as much (Chambers in Chambers et al. 1933: 33; Conner 1993: 238; Muir 1989: 284–88; Muir 2006c: “Date, Provenance”). The book seems to have remained at Exeter through the Middle Ages; though it is not specifically recorded in the inventory of 1326, it may be present in the note, ‘Multi alii libri vetustate consumpti Gallice, Anglice, et Latine scripti, qui non appreciantur, que nullius valoris reputantur’ (Oliver 1861: 309). Its use in the scriptorium — perhaps as raw material, as cutting board, and/or as storage for gold — may date to the book collecting of Exeter’s bishop John Grandisson (1269–1369) (Erskine in Barlow et al. 1972: 43–55; Erskine 2004; Lloyd and Erskine 2004: 8–9; Conner 1993: 238) or the rebinding campaign of the early 15c (Lloyd and Erskine 2004: 6–7; Clarkson 1996: 157–58 and *passim*). The 1506 inventory does not mention the book specifically.

The antiquary Laurence Nowell (1530–c.1570) lightly glossed ff. 9–10 and added titles elsewhere, likely in the 1560s (Chambers in Chambers et al. 1933: 34). Timothy Graham has persuasively argued that eight leaves were removed from Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.11 [100] in 1566 and inserted in Exeter 3501 as ff. 0, 1–7 (Graham 1994: 444–48). Likely soon after, John Joscelyn (1529–1603) made a working transcript (extant in London, BL Cotton Vitellius D.vii) of the Leofrician donation list now bound in the “Exeter Book”, and noted that there was an added quire of material appended to the beginning of the manuscript (Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 91; Conner 1993: 243; Drage 1978: 348; Graham 1994: 429–30). At roughly the same time, another 16c scribe (perhaps with the surname ‘Lyly’) made a witness to the Leofrician leaves, now bound in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 101, perhaps while the leaves were still in Parker’s possession (Graham 1994: 421–32). The “Exeter Book” remained in Exeter, even after the major gift of manuscripts to the Bodleian Library in 1602 and the deterioration and losses at Exeter Cathedral in the 17c (Lloyd and Erskine 2004: 15–19).

The late 17c and early 18c marks the advent of the “Exeter Book” in modern scholarship. George Hickes (1642–1715) studied the book for his *Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta* (part 3 of vol. 1 of his *Linguarum veterum septentrionum thesaurus / Thesaurus linguarum septentrionum* [Oxford, 1703–05]) and marked the passages with runes in pencil, likely around 1700 (Chambers in Chambers et al. 1933: 34; Frank 1998: 217n.2); Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726) examined the book for his catalogue of A-S manuscripts in *Antiquæ literaturæ septentrionalis liber alter* (Oxford, 1705, vol. 2 of Hickes’ 1703–1705), noting that the book had material lacking from its beginning and end, and that it had been recently bound (Cham-

bers in Chambers et al. 1933: 34; Conner 1993: 250–51). The repair work where thick parchment strips were glued over the burns at the back of the book preceded the rebinding (Conner 1993: 251; Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 56; though see Muir 2006c: “Codicology” where he suggest these strips were 19c).

In 1831 the manuscript was borrowed by the British Museum, when Robert Chambers made a full transcription in imitative script, now London, BL Add. 9067, and this was subsequently collated by Frederic Madden. The manuscript returned to London in 1930 for the photography of the collotype facsimile (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 55; Graham 1994: 441; but see Conner 1993: 254 citing the Exeter *Express and Echo* for a departure to London from Exeter of 18 June 1932). Förster reports that the 18c binding was removed in 1930 and rebinding was underway at the BL at the time of his writing (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 55), as the new binding was complete in 1933 (Graham 1994: 441–42, citing Exeter Chapter records). The old boards are now kept in the Exeter Cathedral Library. Rebound with new boards in dark blue goatskin covers (see Pickwoad in Muir 2006c). In 1996 the backing was removed to expose the binding structure and to loosen the book for digital photography. Pickwoad reports that the 20c rebinding made use of the five sewing stations of the early 18c binding, but that the book was sewn on three stations at some point in its history (Pickwoad in Muir 2006c). The Exeter Book now regularly resides in a display case in the entry to the Exeter Cathedral library.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** iii (1933 paper) + i (pre-ca.1700 parchment) + 15c binding strips in windowed capsule + 8 leaves (11c parchment) + 123 (10c parchment) + i (pre-c.1700 parchment) + iii (1933 paper). The manuscript is composite, comprised of the main text block of the 10c OE collection of poetry and the first eight leaves of material taken from CUL li.2.11. The codicology of the confected first quire and the main text block will be discussed separately. Foliated twice: the older foliation dates to the late 16c (Ker, *Cat.*, 153) and Förster suggests that it is similar to the hand of Richard James, librarian to Robert Cotton (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 62). The older foliation commences in ink at the top right recto on the first parchment leaf, now part of the confected quire from CUL li.2.11. This older foliation makes quite a few errors, missing leaves out at points. The older foliation runs from 1–124. The last five leaves are also foliated at the lower right corner recto in the older foliation. Furthermore, this foliation has been trimmed, probably in the binding of c. 1700, making it partial or entirely absent for many leaves. The more recent foliation and the one

followed here, and in all modern scholarship on the manuscript, is in pencil, likewise in the top right recto corners of the leaves, and dates to c. 1700. The newer foliation commenced on the first page of writing, and thus on the second leaf of the initial appended quire of 11c material. For this reason, the original first leaf is now referred to as f. 0, though no '0' is written there. Rather, there is a pencil 'i' next to the word 'Folio' in pencil, crossed out. Furthermore, the word 'Folio' appears in pencil at top right recto corner of f. 1r. The newer foliation is also duplicated at the center tail recto of many leaves, at ff. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 (the number '13' is corrected to '14' at tail center recto), 15, 24, 71, 111, and 130, with '130' written again at the tail center verso of f. 130. Conner (1993: 244–47) provides an account and table of both foliations.

#### 10c Primary Text Block:

The parchment is mainly thick and matte, fairly bright though greying and browning, especially at edges; some leaves are more yellow and limp-membrane (on the quality of the parchment see Coveney 1958: 53 and Conner 1986: 234–35 and 1993: 126–27). Leaves measure between 310–20 × 220–25 mm., though they have been cropped at least once, after the late 16c. Pricked after folding, then opened and ruled in dry-point, for a writing space of c. 240 × 160 mm. with most of the quires ruled for 22 long lines of writing per page. Quire I (ff. 8–14) and quire VI (ff. 45–52) are ruled for 23 long lines per page. Quire XI (ff. 83–90) is ruled for 21 lines per page, and quire XII (ff. 91–97) is mixed, with ff. 91–93r ruled for 21 lines, ff. 93v–97v ruled for 22. The grid is double-bounded vertically, at a width of about 8 mm., single-bounded horizontally, leaving a top margin of approx. 30 mm. and bottom margin of approx. 50 mm. The outer margins range between 30–35 mm. The *mise en page* is thus ample, if not spacious. For the most part the quires are of eight but irregular in arrangement of hair and flesh sides (arrangements given in collation below).

There are dry-point drawings, decorations, and letters on ten folios: ff. 24v, 47v, 59v, 64v, 78r, 80r, 87v, 95v, 96r, and 123r (see Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 60; Conner 1986: 237 and 1993: 122–25; Muir 1989 and 2006c; Anderson 1997). Förster dates some of these drawings to the 11c or 12c (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 60), but Conner (1986: 237 and 1993: 123–24) notes that four of them (on ff. 59v, 64v, 95v, and 123r) are written over by the main text hand. Conner, followed by Muir, suggest that this means these dry-points predate the writing of the main text, though it seems odd that in each case the dry-point artist kept almost entirely to the space that just so happens to later become the regular-sized margins of the

book's layout and in none of the four instances can one see evidence of ink running in or affected by the channels created by the dry-point lines.

The script is a fine stylized and distinct A-S square minuscule of the second half of the 10c in very dark ink, at times a nearly black brown or frankly black. Beginnings of texts are usually marked with bold A-S display capitals, some with foliate ornament or banding, ranging between two and five lines in height; many texts begin with one, two, or three capitals; nine poems begin with a full line or almost full line of capitals. There is no color except some red touching of initials on f. 125r.

There are many missing leaves and quires, all of which must predate the late 16c foliation. The first recto of the 10c manuscript is spattered, stained, and ringed as well as repeatedly and chaotically cut, as if used for a cutting board. This damage, one must assume, predates the addition of the prefatory quire in the late 16c. A 70 mm. strip has been cut from f. 53, again predating the 16c foliation. Conner notes that f. 53r is darker and shows some staining, suggesting that it stood independently or on the outside of the book for a time (Conner 1993: 101). The last leaves are soiled and damaged, and a large burn at the center of the pages starts out large on f. 130v, and steadily shrinks moving upward in the book, until it is just a dark mark on f. 116r. This damage was repaired with parchment strips, glued on before c. 1700 as they were "enclosed in the old binding" (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 56; though Muir 2006c suggests they are 19c); these were removed and the glue cleaned off in the 1930 rebinding and refurbishment. Not only was the book foliated and probably bound in the later 16c, but Laurence Nowell's glosses are visible on ff. 9–10, probably from the period of the 1560s. Timothy Graham (1994) has shown that the eight prefatory leaves were probably bound into the Exeter Book from CUL Ii.2.11 around the time that the OE Gospels were given to Matthew Parker. Hickes left pencil boxes around texts he wanted printed in his *Grammaticae Islandicae Rudimenta*, in around 1700.

#### 11c Appended Prefatory Quire:

This single artificial quire booklet has stood at the beginning of the Exeter Book at least since Joscelyn noted its presence c.1600. Joscelyn noted that it was added from elsewhere, but it was realized through the work of Förster (in Chambers et al. 1933: 12–14), Gustaf Malmberg (in unpublished work reported by Rose-Troup 1937: 418), Bruce Dickins (1950), and Neil Ker (*Cat.*) that the leaves were taken from CUL Ii.2.11 [100] (the full account and bibliography in Graham 1994: 424–25). Of the eight leaves, ff. 0–7, three pairs were glued into artificial bifolia on strips taken from a 15c account; the three strips linked ff. 0 + 3, 1 + 4, and 6 + 7; ff. 2–3 were

an original bifolium. The 15c strips come from an account roll for a kitchen and buttery, and pieces of the same manuscript were used in Parker's workshop to repair and rebind several other MSS (Graham 1994: 445–49). The confected quire's new — and present — order in the Exeter Book is different from its original disposition in CUL Ii.2.11. Originally, CUL Ii.2.11 had Exeter Book ff. 7, 1, 2, 3, 0 + CUL Ii.2.11 f. 1 as an initial quire; f. 0 is now turned upside-down from its original disposition and CUL Ii.2.11 f. 1 is reversed. Originally, Exeter Book f. 5, which lacks a portion at its head, was cut from CUL Ii.2.11 f. 202. This decapitated leaf, Exeter Book f. 5 + CUL Ii.2.11 f. 202, was followed by Exeter Book ff. 4 and 6 (reconstruction by Ker, *Cat.*, 29–31). These leaves are of stiff parchment, c. 317 × 224 mm., pricked and dry-point ruled for a writing space of 248 × 145 mm. with 23 long lines per folio. Each line of text is ruled for c. 10 mm., with vertical double bounds approx. 8 mm. wide, and 15–20 mm. margins at the top of each page, 45–50 mm. margins in the outside edges, and 45–50 mm. at the bottom. The hands and inks vary. The Leofrician donation inventory is in a dark brown ink in a vernacular minuscule typical of the Exeter scriptorium of the third quarter of the 11c. Subsequent texts are in Anglo-Norman hands — both proto-gothic and vernacular minuscule in various inks, of the 12c and 13c. The texts do not always keep to the ruled lines: sometimes they are compressed, overrunning the vertical bounds or doubling the numbers of lines of script; scale changes almost entry by entry. Usually a large initial capital marks the beginning of each new entry. The only color is in two initial three-line capitals in red on f. 1r (which is oxidized to a metallic gray) and on f. 2v. For the dates of each entry, see Ker (*Cat.*, 29–30).

The two parts of the manuscript were bound together in the 16c, and remain bound together, now with three heavy paper binding leaves at the beginning and end. There is one 18c leaf, kept from the previous ca. 1700 binding, which shows signs of being a former pastedown, probably in that ca. 1700 binding. These are followed by a protective capsule of heavy card on paper supports, with windows, that holds the three binding strips used to construct the prefatory quire taken from CUL Ii.2.11. The three strips are on stained and heavy parchment, with strong fold marks running vertically down each strip. Each strip is about 26–28 mm in width, while strips A and C measure approx. 325 mm. vertically, while B is approx. 252 mm. vertically. Much of the 15c writing is worn, faded, or obscured. Mounted between two heavier card leaves on paper supports.

[Note: These strips, in 2004 in situ, were bound at the front of the codex, and Pickwood's notes on the binding (Muir 2006c) suggest they were there when the binding was loosened and the backing removed in 1996; however, Muir's digital



facsimile shows the windowed leaf with 15c strips as f. 132 at the back of the codex; the 1933 facsimile and present fiche has these strips photographed out of their capsule at the front of the facsimile.]

Bound in 1932 or 1933 in dark blue leather, pressed on front and back with simple rectangle pattern and rosettes at corners and sharp points from each station on the spine. Five sewing stations in modern binding, backing tooled in gold at head panel 'THE | EXETER | BOOK' and at tail panel 'EXETER | CATHEDRAL | LIBRARY | 3501'.

Within the text block of the 10c manuscript, there are folded paper guards from the 1933 rebinding sewn in between quires V and VI (ff. 37v and 38r), quires VII and VIII (ff. 52v and 53r), quires X and XI (ff. 68v and 69r), quires XII and XIII (ff. 82v and 83r), quires XV and XVI (ff. 105v and 106r), and quires XVI and XVII (ff. 111v and 112r). The 10c main block is followed by a parchment leaf, former pastedown from ca. 1700 binding, and three modern heavy paper leaves. Modern creamy paper pastedowns on inner front and back boards beneath the turn-ins for the leather cover.

**COLLATION:** iii (1933 paper) + i (pre-c.1700 parchment) + 15c strips in windowed capsule + 8 (11c parchment) + 123 (10c parchment) + i (pre-c.1700 parchment) + iii (1933 paper); i<sup>3</sup> (1933 paper flyleaves; a leaf tipped in before a bifolium); ii<sup>1</sup> (parchment singleton preserved from c. 1700 binding); windowed leaves containing the 15c strips, sewn in on guard; 0<sup>8</sup> ff. 2–3 conjugate, the rest singletons (ff. [0], 1–7); I<sup>8</sup> wants 1 before f. 8, [H]FHH (ff. 8–14); II<sup>8</sup> wants 2 after f. 15, originally a half-sheet, 7 (f. 19) a half-sheet, H[?]FH (ff. 15–21); III<sup>8</sup> HHHF (ff. 22–29); IV<sup>8</sup> HHHF (ff. 30–37); V<sup>8</sup> wants 1 before f. 38, [F]HFH (ff. 38–44); VI<sup>8</sup> 3 and 7 are half-sheets, HHHF (ff. 45–52); VII<sup>8</sup> HHHF (ff. 53–60); VIII<sup>8</sup> HHHF (ff. 61–68); IX<sup>8</sup> wants 2+7, H[?]FF (ff. 69–74); X<sup>8</sup> HFHF (ff. 75–82); XI<sup>8</sup> HFHF (ff. 83–90); XII<sup>8</sup> wants 8 after f. 97, HFHF (ff. 91–97); XIII<sup>8</sup> HFHF (ff. 98–105); XIV<sup>8</sup> wants 1/8, [?]FHF (ff. 106–111); XV<sup>8</sup> wants 8 after f. 118, 3 and 7 are half-sheets, HHHF (ff. 112–118); XVI<sup>8</sup> wants 8 after f. 125; 2 and 6 are half-sheets, HHH[H] (ff. 119–125); XVII<sup>5</sup> five leaves whose original arrangement cannot be known for certain due to restoration, currently the five leaves are arranged HHHFF (ff. 126–130); iii<sup>1</sup> is a parchment singleton preserved from ca. 1700 binding; iv<sup>3</sup> 1933 paper flyleaves, a leaf tipped in after a bifolium).

[**Note:** In keeping with series practice, the MS is described in its current physical composition; in this case, essentially the composition it has had since the 16c. The initial quire of 11c and 12c material is not usually considered in the collation of the Exeter Book, and thus it is given the designation quire 0, so as to maintain consistency with the many other collations of the Exeter Book (Chambers et al., Ker,

Pope, Drage, Conner, Muir), which begin with the Exeter Book's quire I beginning on f. 8. Likewise, the practice is kept up of numbering the first leaf of quire I f. 0, since it was not included in the more recent and more reliable foliation. Details of specific quires are as follows: quire 0 is of eight leaves originally from the front and back of CUL Ii.2.11, now confected in an artificial quire, with ff. 2–3 being conjugate, the rest of the leaves singletons; see "Codicological Description" for their original disposition in CUL Ii.2.11; quire II, Pope (1969) first demonstrated the missing half-sheet 2; Pope (1978) has argued there is a quire missing after VI; Conner (1993: 104–5) suggests at least one gathering may be missing before quire XIII; quire XV, Bliss and Frantzen (1976) first determined the missing sheet 8; quire XVI, Pope (1974) determined the quire's probable structure; quire XVII, Förster suggested that ff. 127 and 130 and ff. 128 and 129 were originally conjugate; cf. Conner 1993: 109.]

**CONTENTS** (film/fiche is of Chambers et al. 1933 facsimile; cf. digital facs. [CD-ROM] Muir 2006):

ff. [i]-[iv] flyleaves blank

I. f. [v] 15c fragments from kitchen accounts, formerly sewing guards for the preliminary quire, in windowed capsule (here following the arrangement of Flower's ed. and facs. in Chambers et al.): (outer side) C 'Adhuc Butteria . . . iii. s. iv. d', B 'solutii iiis. viiid. ob . . . Thome [. . . . .]', A '[. . . ]yfford . . . xxxviii s. iii d'; (inner side) C 'Adhuc Coquina . . . xliiii s. iii d', B 'soluti xxvii s. . . xliii s.', A 'Thome Ambrose . . . vii s. viii d' (see full transcription by Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 93–94).

[Note: These strips are severely worn, and cut down from a larger sheet size, arranged in two or three columns. See Flower (in Chambers et al. 1933: 93–94) and Graham (1994) on the strips.]

II. appended prefatory documents extracted from CUL Ii.2.11 [100] (11c-12c) (discussed and partly translated by Rose-Troup 1937):

a. f. 0rv blank except for early modern inscription, top center, 'Liber Decani et Capituli | EXONIENSIS' and the inked shelfmark '3501' and library stamp. Faded and reversed offsets on the verso;

b. f. 1r-2v/2 11c Leofric's OE Donation Inventory: 'Her swutelað on ðissere béc hwæt leofric b(iscop) hæfð | gedon into S(an)c(t)e petres mynstre on exanceastre'; ends: '7 si he ecellice geniðerod into helle wite' (ed. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 18–30, Conner 1993: 226–35, Lapidge 1994: 87–167);

c. f. 2v/3–25 12c record of Leowine's gift to St. Peter's (shortly after 1073), Exeter: 'Leowin(us) pr(es)b(ite)r & canonic(us) exoniensis eccl(esi)ę p(ro) d(e)i amore & | p(ro) anima Osb(er)ti ep(iscop)i. & sua & p(ro) animab(us)p(at)ris & matris suę. | & p(ro) om(n)ib(us) benefactorib(us)

suis dedit ꝥccl(es)się s(an)c(t)ę marię & | s(an)c(t)i petri exonię textu(m) ꝥuauang(e)lior(um) & calice(m) argenteu(m) | int(us) & foris deauratu(m). habente(m) pondus duaru(m) marcaru(m). | & q(ui)ndeci(m) denarior(um). & ampullas argenteas ad deferendu(m) | uinu(m) & aqua(m) in ministerio altaris necessarias habentes | pondus sédecim(m) solidor(um) & octo denarior(um). & thuribulu(m) argenteu(m) déforis auratu(m) habens pondus undeci(m) marcaru(m) | & q(ui)nq(ua)ginta & q(ui)nq(ue) denariorum. & pelui(m) argentea(m) haben-|te(m) pondus triu(m) marcaru(m) & q(ua)ttuor solidor(um) & quattuor | denarior(um) & q(uo)dda(m) uasculu(m) argenteu(m) int(us) & foris deau-|ratu(m) ad corpus d(omi)ni reseruandu(m). & q(ua)nda(m) cruce(m) p(ro)cessiona-|lem argentea(m) & deaurata(m) lapidib(us) p(re)tiosis ornata(m). in q(ua) | istas récondidit reliq(ui)as. De ligno d(omi)ni. De sepulchro d(omi)ni. | De p(re)sepio d(omi)ni. De marmore ubi d(omi)n(us) fuit ligat(us). De tabula | sup(er) qua(m) d(omi)n(us) cenauit. De cunabilis d(omi)ni. De t(er)ra ubi d(omi)n(us) | fuit nat(us). De sepulchro s(an)c(t)ę marię matris d(omi)ni. De tabula | marmórea sup(er) qua(m) d(omi)n(us) cu(m) matre sua cenauit. De lecto | s(an)c(t)ę marię in quo incarnat(us) fuit d(omi)n(us). De cruce s(an)c(t)i andree | ap(osto)li. Si quis uero aliq(ui)d istor(um) nisi in usus paup(er)u(m) te(m)pore | famis expendat(ur). á predicta ꝥccl(es)ia subtraxerit. p(er)petuę | subiaceat maledictioni Amen. fiat fiat Amen' (previously unprinted; summarized in English in Oliver 1886: 14; cf. Chambers et al. 1933: 44);

d. f. 3r/1–24 12c Latin abstract of Leofric's OE Donation Inventory: 'Q(ua)m q(ui)de(m) quę á diue recordationis imp(er)atorib(us). . . ubi & cathedra(m) transtulit u(e)l restituit u(e)l dedit' (ed. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 32).

e. f. 3v two 12c Latin notes:

i) f. 3v/1–17 12c manumission of Edric of Alphington by Randolph Avelnel, 1143: 'Capitulu(m) beati petri exoniensis ꝥccl(esi)e. Om(n)ib(us) ꝥccl(esi)e filiiis, clericis & | laicis in chr(ist)o salute(m). . . & Rodb(ertus) albo & Galt(er) Iocelini | filio & Aluredo cet(er)isq(ue) aliis' (ed. Hicckes 1703: 14);

ii) f. 3v/25–35 12c land agreement between William Brito and Algar Palmar, 1150: 'Que int(er) se p(re)sentes (con)t(ra)hu(n)t. doctrina ueteru(m) post(er)is mandare lit(er)is (con)sueuit. Presenti (i)g(itur) pagina Assignam(us) q(uod) Will(elmus) | brito (con)sensu 7 (con)cessu nepotu(m) suor(um). Ric(hardus) fil(ius) Rad(bertus). 7 alior(um). 7 uxoris suę 7 pueror(um) suor(um) dedit 7 (con)cessit Algaro almaro | 7

heredib(us) suis q(ua)nda(m) t(er)ra(m) i(n) magno uico q(ue)m <est>  
 <con>t(ra) dom(um) Will(elmi) filii dirling(i). p(ro) .ii. marc(arum)  
 arg(entarum) de i(n)troitu. 7 sing(u)lisanni(s)p(ro) .x. sol(idos) | 7 p(ro)  
 releuatio(n)e .xxx. den(ariorum). Et si <con>tig(er)it q(uo)d ip(s)e (ue)  
 l heredes ip(s)i(us) Alg(ari) ueli(n)t t(er)ra(m) memorata(m) uendere  
 <ue>l dare. <ue>l obligare. faciat | p(ro) libito suo. data reuelatio(n)e.  
 Sciendu(m) <est> p(re)t(er)ea q(ui) si Alg(arus) habuerit herede(m)  
 de uxore sua Auica. ad eos u(er)tet t(er)ra. Sin au(ri). medietate(m)  
 | ha(be)t Rog(erus) fili(us) ei(us) <ue>l heres ei(us). Altera(m) u(ero)  
 uxor ip(s)i(us) Alger(i). Facta <est> h(e)c <con>uentio. Ann(o) Ab i(n)-  
 carn(atione) d(omi)ni .M.C.L. Presid(e)nte | Rob(erto) ep(iscop)o.  
 Testes su(n)t isti cl(er)ici. Gill(elmus) fil(ius) Galt(eri). Rob(ert) fil(ius)  
 Gild(eri). Ric(hardus) fil(ius) erlew(ini) fab(er). Nichol(aus) hoel.  
 Alu(er)us fil(ius) dirw(eni). Rad(bertus) | de culmstoca. Ciues u(ero)  
 isti. Gill(elmus) pud. Will(elmus) fil(ius) derl(ingi). 7 Ansketil(us)  
 f(rate)r ei(us). Hilb(e)rd(us). Iuel. Rand(erus) fil(ius) gild(eri).  
 Tedb(ertus) fil(ius) Rad(berti). | Ioh(an)ne)s fil(ius) chep(manni).  
 Will(elmus) aurifab(er). Roll(o) fil(ius) Bald(eri). Osb(e)rn(us) fil(ius)  
 liden(i). Ric(hard) nepos Gocel(ini). Will(elmus) cumin. Erlew(inus)  
 fil(ius) hwite. 7 ei(us) fil(ius). | Rog(erus) fil(ius) hunfr(edi). Nichol(aus)  
 fil(ius) Ric(hardi) Vital(is). Phil(ippus) fil(ius) godwi. Will(elmus)  
 fil(ius) Wiriudi(i). Ric(hardus) fil(ius) andr(eae). Seg(erus) crass(us).  
 Rad(bertus) cognat(us) gal(er)i | lo(n)gi. Simon e(s)t Rob(erto) gosege'  
 (previously unprinted; described in Chambers et al. 1933: 47).

f. ff. 4r–7v OE manumissions and other records (see Rouse-Troup 1937):

- i) f. 4r/1–8 12c manumission of William by Robert of Powderham: 'Her kyð on þissere becc þ(æt) Rotberd a poldraham cwæð saccles | Willelm his broðer sune . . . 7 ealle cristes gecorena. á butan ende. Amen' (ed. Earle 1888: 257);
- ii) f. 4r/10–17 12c manumission of Aluric 'the Red' and his children by Oter and his son: 'Her kyð on þissere boc þ(æt) Oter 7 his cild cwede saccles Aljuric þane reda 7 his ofsp`r`ing . . . 7 ealle cristes gecorena. á butan ende. Amen' (ed. Earle 1888: 257);
- iii) f. 4r/19–23 12c manumission of Semer, kin of Alured, and his children, by Geoffrey Foliot: 'Her kið on þissere becc þ(æt) Gesfrei foliot cwæð saccles Semer | Aluredes mæg 7 eall his ofprig [sic]. . . 7 ealle cristes halgena á butan ende \ AMEN' (ed. Earle 1888: 258);
- iv) f. 4r/24–30 12c manumission of Hrodolf, son of Sewi, by Aðelicc, sister of Richard the sheriff: 'Her kyð on þissere becc þ(æt) Aðelicc Ricardes

swuster scirreua cwæð Hrodolf | Sewies sune an alfintune saccles . . . 7 ealle cristes halgena á butan ende. Amen' (ed. Earle 1888: 258);

- v) f. 4v/1–6 12c manumission of Aþeluue by Walter, son of Wulword: 'Her kið on þissere béc þ(æt) Waltere, wulwordes sune ureode Aþeluue inna | s(an)c(t)es petres minstre . . . 7 ealle cristes halga á butan ende. AMEN' (ed. Earle 1888: 258);
- vi) f. 4v/7–15 12c notice of purchase of Gidiþ, daughter of Eadwig, by Geoffrey, son of Feala, from Alpsta: 'Her kyð on þissere bec þ(æt) Gesfræg feala sune gebohte Gidiþ Edwiges | docter at Alpsta . . . 7 ealle | chr(iste)s halgena á butan ende. Am(en)' (ed. Earle 1888: 259);
- vii) f. 4v/18–26 12c manumission of Edit, wife of Liueger, by Huberd: "Her kyþ on þissere béc þ(æt) huberd on clist cræfedede anne wifmann þe | Edit hatte . . . 7 þeos spæc wæs innan Vill(el)mes bure | de buhuz on excestre gespæce' (ed. Earle 1888: 259);
- viii) f. 4v/27–33 12c manumission of Wulwærd the weaver by Willelm de la Brugere: 'Her kyð on þissere bec þ(æt) Willelm de la brugere cwað saccles Wul|wærd ðane webba . . . 7 ealle | cristes halgena á butan ende. Amen' (ed. Earle 1888: 259–60);
- ix) f. 5r/1–10 12c Latin manumission of Edwine Spileman (the jester?) by William de Buhuz: 'Capitulu(m) beati petri exonie Om(n)ib(us) fidelib(us) eccl(esi)e sal(utem) in chr(ist)o . . . Alwine fil(ius) ueg. Roger(us) not. Pain robolet. Turca' (ed. Thorpe 1865: 634–35 [without witness list]);
- x) f. 5r/11–21 12c note from Osbern, bishop of Exeter, allowing the monks of St. Nicholas' to ring hours: 'Wite ða þe nu beoð 7 ða te cumene sy. þat yc osbern excestres | biscop gef leaua . . . to p(ro)cessiun mid þam canunche hy gan sceule' (ed. Earle 1888: 260);
- xi) f. 5v/1–1-5 12c 'Beheaded' Manumission (witness list; the 'head' of the first six lines is in CUL Ii.2.11, f. 202v): [From CUL Ii.2.11: 'Her kið on þissere bec þ(æt) Aluric se canonica . . . 7 Ricard theod'] . . . 'baldes meg 7 Andreu 7 Serle . . . 7 ealle chr(ist)es halgena á butan ende. Amen' (ed. Dickens 1950: 366; ed. Förster 1938: 39–41n.5);
- [Note: The top 50 mm. of f. 5 is cut out but remains as f. 202 in CUL Ii.2.11. Dickens (1950) prints the reconstructed manumission and presents juxtaposed photographs to make the "complete" page.]
- xii) f. 5v/6–21 12c manumission of Wulfric Pig by William, Bishop of Exeter: 'Her kið on þissere bécc þ(æt) Willelm bisceop of excestre | cwæð Wulfric píg freoh 7 saccles . . . . 7 ealle c(ri)stes gecorena. | á butan ende. Amen' (ed. Earle 1888: 260–61);

- xiii) f. 6r/1–6 12c note of purchase of Roting by Bruning, son of Cola from Colewyn: ‘Her cyð on þissere bec þ(æt) bruning cola sunu gebohte rot-  
ing | æt colewyne . . . 7 hebbe he godes curs þe þis | æfre undo. AMEN’  
(ed. Earle 1888: 261);
- xiv) f. 6r/7–13 12c note that Teolling bought Ælword Stamera (“the Stam-  
merer”) and his brother Edwine from Coluwine: ‘Her k[y]ð on þissere  
bec þ(æt) teolling gebohte ælword stamera | 7 edwine his bro[ð]or æt  
coluwine . . . 7 hæbbe he godes curs | þe þis æfre undo á on ecnisse  
Am(en)’ (ed. Earle 1888: 261–62);
- xv) f. 6r/14–18 12c note that Leowine from London and his wife Aldgið  
bought Ælfilde from Touie: ‘Her kyð on þissere bec þ(æt) leowine lun-  
denisca 7 aldgíð his wif | gebohton ælfilde . . . . 7 ailword | diacon. 7  
alwine diacon. 7 dunstan peoning’ (ed. Earle 1888: 262);
- xvi) f. 6r/19–25 12c note that Wulword bought Leouede from Hierdinge,  
son of Eadnoð: ‘Her kyð on þissere bec þ(æt) wulword bohte leouede  
æt hierdinge | eadnoðes sun[e] . . . . 7 se þe þiss undo hæbbe he godes  
curs a butan ende. Am(en)’ (ed. Earle 1888: 262);
- xvii) f. 6r/26–30 12c note that Regenere bought Alfiðe from Regenold the  
monk: ‘Her kið on þissere bec þ(æt) regenere bohte alfiðe at regenolde  
þa(m) munuke . . . . 7 habbe godes curs þe hit æfre undo. am(en)’  
(ed. Earle 1888: 262);
- xviii) f. 6r/31–33 12c note that Sewine bought himself from Willelme: ‘Her  
kið on þissere bec þæt sewine pinca bohte hine silfne to .x. scill(ingas)  
at | willelme . . . 7 habbe he godes curs þe hit æfre undo. am(en)’ (ed.  
Earle 1888: 262);
- xix) f. 6r/34–36 12c note that Folcard freed Agelwine and his offspring: ‘Her  
cyð on þisse bec þa Osbern b(iscop) halgode S(an)c(t)a Maria portic  
. . . 7 hæbbe he godes curs. 7 ealra halgena þ[e] his æfre undo. Am(en)’  
(ed. Earle 1888: 263);
- xx) f. 6r/37–41 12c note that Edith, daughter of Godric Cocraca, was re-  
deemed by Liueger the Baker: ‘Her kyð on þissere bec þ(æt) liueger se  
bacestere on excestre alyside an wifman Edip . . . 7 Se þe þis undo. hæb-  
be he Godes wræðe a butan ende am(en)’ (ed. Earle 1888: 263);
- xxi) f. 6v/1–6 12c note that Huscarl redeemed himself from Ealuwb [sic]:  
‘Her cyð on þissere bec þ(æt) huscarl liske hine silfne wið ealuwb . . .  
godes curs he | habbe þe hit æfre undo. Amen’ (ed. Earle 1888: 263);
- xxii) f. 6v/7–15 12c note that Leowine, son of Feala, bought himself and his  
offspring from Wulfword, son of Alfric: ‘Her cyð on þ[is]sere bec þ(æt)  
leowine feala sunu bohte hine silfne 7 his ofspring | æt wulfworde

alfrices sunu. . . 7 habbe he godes c(urs) | 7 ealra halgena þe þis æfre undo' (ed. Earle 1888: 264);

xxiii) f. 6v/16–20 12c note that Edīþ, daughter of Leofric Locc, bought herself and her offspring from Huberd: 'Her cyð on þissere bec þ(æt) edīþ leofrices doct(er) locces bohte hi silfe 7 hire ofspring . . . 7 habbe he godes curs 7 ealra halgena | þe hit æfre undo' (ed. Earle 1888: 264);

xxiv) f. 6v/21–24 12c list of witnesses to a purchase of land by Alfric Paz from the widow of Frewine: 'Dis sinte ða gewitnisse of þa(m) lande ðe alfric páz bohte at frewines laue \ [in margin] at hire | on paules stret. Waltere restolles sune. Alfred .p(reost). Adam .p(reost). Alger lif|lede sune. Waltere 7 Osbern alword(es) suna porte(s) [?]. Godwi. Semer. 7 Snel|ger. Liword lorel. Alger teonnes sune. Rocgere r[. . .]r[h]e [?] sune [. . .]' (and another name is added in the margin, perhaps '7 Ricard | [. . .]') (previously unprinted; see Chambers et. al. 1933: 52);

[Note: The folio is thin and there is obfuscating shine-through, as well as holes in the membrane, some patched—here with netting—making for difficult readings, especially on the inner margin.]

xxv) f. 6v/25–26 12c list of witnesses for an unknown transaction for Iedue Ialdit, wife of Reinfrei: 'Dis sinte ða gewitnisse of ðam wiman iedue '7 of ieleire' ialdit reinfreis wif (i)g(itur) | þ(æt) 'is' gedmer acuic, and alger lifleð 7 alwue seuara wif adeles' (previously unprinted; see Chambers et al. 1933: 52);

xxvi) f. 6v/27–29 12c list of witnesses to a purchase of land by Alfric from Ailword: 'Dis sint þage [sic] gewitnisse of þa(m) lande þe Alfric bohte at Ailworde | þat is walword at iacob(es) circa: Siword and Swæin. Giðwine Heisucga | Alword se scinr. 7 oþre genoge. 7 Særle 7 Wain namen þæt toll' (previously unprinted; see Chambers et al. 1933: 53);

xxvii) f. 6v/30–32 12c note on the purchase of land by Alfric from Richard: 'Of þa(m) lande but[e] gestete. þe Alfric bohte at Ricerde Dis sint þage [sic] | gewitn(isse) Osb(ern) Alger f(i)liu)s 7 Waltere stolfues s(unu). Rob(ert) se [oers] 7 Alger lifflæde s(unu) | Ralf se nuueuðð. 7 Ascetild. 7 Godric wuddiges s(unu). 7 oþre genoge. 7 Gileb(ert) na(m) þ(æt) to[. . .]' (previously unprinted; see Chambers, et. al. 1933: 53);

xxviii) f. 6v/33–34 12c note on the purchase of land by Alfric from Regenilde: 'Of þa(m) lande a martines stræt þe Alfric bohte at Ragenilde Gewitniss(e) Gedm[.] | [. . .] 7 Alger lifflæde s(unu). 7 Rodb(ert) [. . .]ef. 7 oþre genoge. 7 Gildeb(ert) na(m) þ(æt) toll(e)' (previously unprinted; see Chambers et al. 1933: 53).

III. Notices on guilds at Woodbury and other parishes in the Exeter Diocese (see Conner 2008: 257):

a. f. 7r/1–12 on the Woodbury Guild and its members: ‘On cristes naman 7 s(an)c(t)us petrus ap(osto)l(u)s an gildscape is gegedaderod on wudebirig|lande . . . (line 8) 7 swilce þenisce don for hig swilce hig agon to donne. | 7 Ðis sindon heora nama þe beoð on þa(m) gildscape. | Brihtwi. Wlnoð. Ealdwine. . . Brihtmær. | Godric’ (ed. Earle 1888: 264–65);

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members’ names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54).]

b. f. 7r/17–23 on a second Woodbury guild and its members: ‘On wudebiriglande is eac an oðer gildscape gegagderod . . . (line 20) 7 Ðis sint þæra manna nama. | Kytel. Ðeodric. Ðurwurd . . . Ælword p(reost). Sæmer’ (ed. Earle 1888: 265 without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members’ names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54); some of the names may be in a later hand, and at least one name is erased.]

c. f. 7r/28–30 on the guild at Colaton and its members: ‘Of colatunes gildscape. Ordric .p(reost). Almær. Ailwine. Alword. Aðesta | Godric. Algær. Alfric. Osmær. Hiaðemær. Siric. Wulword. Ailric. | Edric. Alfrid. Almær’ (ed. Earle 1888: 265).

II. f. (cont.) xxix f. 7r/30–35 12c manumission of Leofhild by Gedmer, son of Spernægl, from Ceolrice, son of Eadnoð, added in the blank space left after III. c: ‘Her cyþ on þissere béc þ(æt) gedmer spernægles sune | hæfð alised leofilde his maga ut of toppesham lande . . . 7 se þe þis undo. habbe godes curs | 7 s(an)c(t)a Maria efre butan ende’ (ed. Thorpe 1865: 634).

III. (cont.) d. f. 7r/36–41 on the guild at Cliston and its members: ‘Of clistunes gildscape. Isaac p(reost). Almær. Godwine . . . Lifgiue. Edgiue’ (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members’ names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54).]

e. f. 7r/46–50 on Alwine’s guild at Woodbury: ‘Of Alwines gildscape on wudebirig. Alfstan. Leowine. Alfric . . . Edwine. Vuiet. Alwine. | Edgine’ (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names; the names after ‘Særic’ in line 49 look added).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members’ names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54); remainder of page blank.]

f. f. 7v/1 an incomplete entry in Latin: ‘Ordeua soror nostra’ with subsequent lines left blank (see Chambers et al. 1933: 53).

g. f. 7v/6–7 on the guild at Bridaford and its members: ‘Of bridafordes gildscape. Edwine. Wlfric. Sæwine. Sæmær. Edwine. 7 Edwine. | Alfric.



Leofwine. Ailric. Leofric. Alwine. Edmær' (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members' names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54).]

h. f. 7v/15–18 on the guild at Clistwike and its members: 'Of clistwike. Waltere. p(reost). Edmær. Leowine . . . Selewi. Ordgiue. | Edgiue' (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members' names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54).]

i. f. 7v/22–25 on the guild at Lege and its members: 'Of þa(m) gildscape on lege. Ailwine p(reost). Tyrri. p(reost) . . . Sexman. Rocgere. Siword' (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, a few lines are left blank, probably for adding later members' names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54); the names 'Edwine' and 'Godric' are written in the outer margin in a different hand.]

j. f. 7v/28–29 on the guild at Nutwell and its members: 'Of hnutwille. Godric. Alwine. Edwine. Godwine. Godric. Wlfric. Alfric. Leofric. | Dunewine. Algær. Edwine. Edgið' (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members' names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54).]

k. f. 7v/33–34 on a second guild at Colaton and its members: 'Of colatune. Alwine tredda sunu. Godric. Ailric. 7 Beorn. Brihtmær. Almær. | Ordric. Dirwine. Wurma. Dunning. Siword. Alfric' (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members' names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54).]

l. f. 7v/37–39 on the guild at Sidmouth and its members: 'Of sidemuða. Algar. Ailric. Wlwine . . . Almær. Sceott. Leowine' (ed. Earle 1888: 265, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, several lines are left blank, probably for adding later members' names (Chambers et al. 1933: 54); in the outer margin the name 'Alwric' is added in a different hand.]

m. f. 7v/46–48 on the guild at Halford and its members: 'Of halsforda `Ilberd. p(reost).` Edwine. Alwine . . . Sæword. Algær. 7 Limmær' (ed. Earle 1888: 265 without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, one line is left blank.]

n. f. 7v/50–51 on the guild at Whitestone and its members: 'Of hwitastane. Edzi. Godric. Edwine . . . Alword. Ailwine. Leowine' (ed. Earle 1888: 266, without all of the names).

[Note: After the entry, one line is left blank.]

- o. f. 7v/60–61 on the guild at Axmouth and its members: ‘Of axamuða. Godgið. Esgar. Edrid . . . Sæword. Rotb(er)t. Siword’ (ed. Earle 1888: 266, without all of the names).

IV. 10c Collection of OE Poetry (ed. Krapp and Dobbie 1936 [KD]; ed. Muir 2006, vol. 1 [Muir]; all titles are modern):

1. ff. 8r/1–14r/9 “Christ I” (“The Advent Lyrics”): (beg. imperf.) ‘[. . .] cyn-inge. ðu eart se weallstan þe ða wyrhtan iú wiðwurpon | to weorce’; ends: ‘þær he gesælig siþ|þan earðað ealre widan feorh wunað butan ende. Am(en)’ (ed. KD 3–15, Muir 43–62).
- [Note: Though not indicated as separate items in the manuscript, the text-unit is a series of liturgical songs based on the “Great ‘O’” antiphons of the Advent season (see Campbell 1968: 3–35):
- f. 8r/1–11 Lyric 1: ‘[. . .] cyninge. ðu eart se weallstan þe ða wyrhtan iú wiðwurpon | to weorce . . . earme from egsan swa he oft dyde’ (KD 3/1–17; Muir 2006, pp. 1.43/1–44/17);
- f. 8r/11–8v/9 Lyric 2: ‘eala þu recceð 7 | þu riht cyning se þe locan healdæð . . . ðara þe geneahhe noman scyp|pendes þurh hoscne had hergan willað’ (KD 3/18–4/49; Muir 44/18–45/49);
- ff. 8v/9–9r/1 Lyric 3: ‘eala sibbe ge|sihð s(an)c(t)a hierusalem. cynestola cyst cristes burg|lond . . . nearo||þearfe conn hu se earma sceal ge gebidan’ (KD 4/50–5/70; Muir 46/50–70); f. 9r/2 is blank, except for an early modern interlinear gloss; at f. 8v/10 in the outer margin, an early modern hand: ‘hierusalem’;
- f. 9r/3–9v/1 Lyric 4 (early mod. title: ‘Hymnus in Laude(m) virginis Mariæ’): ‘Eala wifa wynn geond wuldres þrym . . . In þam uplican engla dreame. || mid soð fæder symle wunian’ (KD 5/71–6/103; Muir 47/71–48/103); first seven lines (ff. 9r/3–9) of Lyric 4 glossed interlinearly in an early modern hand (Laurence Nowell);
- f. 9v/1–18 Lyric 5: ‘eala earendel engla beorhtast | ofer middangeard monnum sendeð . . . he hine sylfne us sendan | wolde’ (KD 6/104–129; Muir 48/104–49/129);
- ff. 9v/18–10r/17 Lyric 6: ‘eala gæsta god hu þu gleawlice mid noman ryhte nem|ned wære emmanuhel . . . þu in heannissum wu|nast wideferh mid waldend fæder’ (KD 6/130–7/163; Muir 49/130–51/163) [f. 10r/18 is blank];
- ff. 10r/19–11r/4 Lyric 7: ‘EAla ioseph min iacobes bearn mæg dauides . . . sceolde witedom in him sylfum beon soðe gefylled’ (KD 7/164–9/213; Muir 51/164–53/213); first four lines of Lyric 7 (f. 10r/19–22) partially interlinearly glossed by an early modern hand (Nowell). A different hand has added ‘Maria’, ‘Gabriel’ in margin of f. 10v.
- f. 11r/5–11v/22 Lyric 8: ‘eala þu soða 7 þu sibsuma ealra cyninga cyning . . . lifgende | god helm alwihta hreddan wile’ (KD 9/214–10/274; Muir 53/214–55/274);

- ff. 11v/23–12v/19 Lyric 9: ‘Eala þu mæra middangeardes seo clæneste cwen || ofer eorþan . . . þær we sorg|lease siþþan motan wunigān in wuldre mid weoroda gód’ (KD 10/275–12/347; Muir 55/275–58/347);
- ff. 12v/20–13r/15 Lyric 10: ‘eala þu halga heofona dryhten . . . þæt we siþþan forð þa sellan þing sym|le moten geþepon on þeode þinne willan’ (KD 12/348–13/377; Muir 58/348–59/377) [f. 13r/16 blank];
- f. 13r/17–13v/17 Lyric 11: ‘Eala seo wlitige weorðmynda full heah 7 halig heo|foncund þrynes . . . a butan ende ece herenis’ (KD 13/378–14/415; Muir 59/378–61/415);
- ff. 13v/17–14r/9 Lyric 12: ‘eala hwæt þæt | is wræclīc wrixl in wera life . . . þær he gesælig siþ|þan eardað ealre widan feorh wunað butan ende. Am(en)’ (KD 14/416–15/439; Muir 61/416–62/439) (f. 14r/10–11 blank).]
2. ff. 14r/12–20v/6 Cynewulf, “Christ II” (“The Ascension”): ‘NV ÐV GEORNLICE GÆST|gerynum mon se mæra modcræfte sec þurh | sefan snytro; ends: ‘Ða us gerymde rodera | waldend halge on heahþu þa he heofonum astag’ (KD 15/440–27/866; Muir 63–78). [f. 20v/7–8 blank].

[Note: A folio is missing after f. 15 (= line 556b, Muir ed. line 117), resulting in a loss of probably 44 manuscript lines; see Pope 1969 and 1978; Muir 2006: 2.405–406 summarizes editorial views on this. The poem has several internal breaks marked with large capitals: at f. 16v/8–9 a line is left blank and a subsection introduced with ‘ÐÆT’ (= line 600, Muir ed. line 161); at f. 18r/1 a subsection is introduced with ‘ÐVS’ (= 686, Muir ed. line 247); at f. 19r/18, a subsection is introduced with ‘NE’ (= line 779, Muir ed. line 340). An early modern hand has added ‘Salomon’ in the outer margin at f. 18r/11. On f. 19v runes are used for Cynewulf’s signature (see Elliott 1953).

3. ff. 20v/9–32r/19 “Christ III” (“Christ in Judgement”; an early modern title in blank above first lines, ‘Diei Judicij descriptio’): ‘ÐONNE MID FERE fold|buende se micla dæg meahtan dryhtnes | æt midre niht mægne bihlæmed’; ends: ‘weoruda | wlitescynast wuldres mid dryhten’ (KD 27/867–49/1664; Muir 79–107) [f. 32r/20–22 blank].

[Note: The poem has several internal breaks marked by blank lines and/or large capitals: at f. 23v/17–18 a line is blank except for the one word, a subsection introduced with large capitals ‘ÐÆR’ (= line 1081, Muir ed. line 215); at f. 25v/3 a subsection is introduced by large capitals in ‘HWæs’ (= line 1199, Muir ed. line 333); at f. 27r/17–18, a subsection is marked by a blank line except for four-word overrun, and large capital ‘NV’ (= line 1327, Muir ed. line 461); at f. 28v/18–19 a subsection is marked by a blank line, except for five words, and capital and enlarged letters in ‘Næs’ (= line 1428, Muir ed. line 562); at f. 30r/21–22 a subsection is marked by a blank line and large capitals of ‘SWApeð’ (= line 1530, Muir ed. line 664). On f. 24v/7–8 in the outer margin, a very unclear dry-point sketch, visible on CD-ROM, perhaps a vine scroll (see Muir 1989: 288–78).]

4. ff. 32v/1–44v/9 “Guthlac A”; (“The Life of Saint Guthlac [A]”): ‘SE BIÐ GEFEANA FæGrast | þonne hy æt frymðe gemetað; ends: ‘ealdne widan ferh on lifgendra londes / wynnne’ (KD 49/1–72/818; Muir 108–136) [f. 44v/10–12 blank, except for this one-word overrun on line 10].

[Note: Early modern heading (or comment) in the top margin of f. 32v: ‘Of the Joyes p(re)pared for the(m) that serue god & keepe his co(m)mau(n)deme(n)tes’. The poem has several internal breaks marked by blank lines and/or large capitals: at f. 33v/21–22 a subsection is marked by a blank line, except for a one-word overrun, and large capitals in ‘MAGun’ (edd. line 93); these first sections (edd. lines 1–29 and 1–93) have been regarded as the end of “Christ III,” as a separate poem, or as an added “hinge” between “Christ III” and “Guthlac A” (on this earlier editorial history, see KD xxx-xxxi, Roberts 1979: 16–18, Liuzza 1990, Muir 20–22). At f. 35r/3–4 a subsection is marked by a blank line and large capitals in ‘GOD’ (edd. line 170); at f. 36r/20–21, a subsection is marked by a blank line, except for several words in the overrun, and large capitals in ‘ðA’ (edd. line 262); at f. 38v/4–5, a subsection is marked by a blank line, except for a one-word overrun, and large capitals in ‘HE’ (edd. line 404); at f. 40r/21–22, a subsection is marked by a blank line and the capital in ‘Geofu’ (edd. line 530); at f. 41v/10–11, a subsection is marked by a blank line at capitals in ‘IC’ (edd. line 618); at f. 43r/11–12, a subsection is marked by a blank line, except for a one-word overrun and capitals in ‘ðA’ (edd. line 722). At least one folio is missing after f. 37 (at edd. line 368). Modern hands have entered the name ‘Guðlac’ in the margins at ff. 34r/1 and 35r/4.]

5. ff. 44v/13–52v/23 “Guthlac B” (“The Life of Saint Guthlac [B]”): ‘ÐÆT IS WIDE CUÐ WE|ra cneorissum. folcum gefræge; ends imperf.: ‘ic | sceal sarigferð heanmod hweorfan hyge drusendne’ (KD 72/819–88/1379; Muir 137–156).

[Note: Modern heading/comment in blank space above first line: ‘Of the creacion of man & of his falle’. The poem has several internal breaks marked by blank lines and/or large initial capitals: at f. 45v/18–19, a subsection is marked with a blank line and capitals: ‘OFT’ (line 894, Muir ed. line 76); at f. 47r/6, a subsection is marked with capitals ‘ðA’ (line 976, Muir ed. line 158); at f. 48r/15–16, a subsection is marked with a blank line and capitals: ‘ONgeat’ (line 1060, Muir ed. line 242); at f. 49r/20, a subsection is marked by capitals: ‘WÆRon’ (line 1134, Muir ed. line 316); at f. 50v/10–11, a subsection is marked by a blank line and capitals: ‘ðA’ (line 1224, Muir ed. line 406); at f. 51v/19–20, a subsection is marked by a blank line and capitals: ‘ÐA’ (line 1305, Muir ed. line 487). Some marginalia: an unclear cross shape or narrowed ‘eth’ in pencil added in the margin at f. 51v/20; ink ‘m’ at f. 52v/13 seven lines lower, an ink mark that is hard to decipher, perhaps an angular ‘m’ or possible three ‘7’s at f. 52v/20. At least a leaf is missing after this quire (Muir 2006: 156), though it seems more likely at least a small quire, if not a full quire of eight, is lacking (see Pope 1978: 35–41 and Conner 1993: 100–1).]

6. ff. 53r-55v/16 “Azarias” (“The Canticles of the Three Youths”): ‘Him þa azarias ingeþoncum hleoþrede halig þurh | hatne lig’: ends: ‘in mon þeawum þurh foreþoncas fyr ge/dygdon’ (KD 88–94; Muir 157–63) [f. 55v/17–18 blank, except for part of one run-on word].

[Note: A 70 mm. strip was cut from the top of f. 53r, leaving the traces of a few descenders; despite this, “Azarias” does not seem to begin incompletely, but four lines (about six verse lines) are lost on the verso after edd. line 28. Modern pencil reference at top right of f. 53r: ‘Cædmon / p. 81’ referring to “Daniel” in Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 11 [388]. One subsection is marked at f. 54r/10 with capitals ‘Bletsige’ (edd. line 73). Modern hand in ink, ‘Caldea’ at f. 55v/9 in outer margin.]

7. ff. 55v/19–65v/14 “The Phoenix”: ‘HÆBBE IC GEFRVGnen. | þætte is feor heonan eastdælum on æþel|last londa’; ends: ‘7 him lof singan laude per|enne. eadge mid englum. alleluia’ (KD 94–113; Muir 164–87) [f. 65v/15–16 blank].

[Note: Subsection marked at f. 57r/8–9 with a blank line, except for overrun of most of six words, and capitals: ‘ÐOne’ (edd. line 85); at f. 58v/5–6, a subsection is marked with a blank line and capitals, ‘ÐONne’ (edd. line 182); a subsection is marked at f. 59v/13–14 with a blank line and capitals ‘þOnne’ (edd. line 265); at f. 61r/1, a subsection is marked with capitals ‘SWA’ (edd. line 350); at f. 62r/3 with a blank line, except for overrun of part of one word, and capitals ‘IS’ (edd. line 424); at f. 63r/19–20 with a blank line and capitals ‘ÐÆR’ (edd. line 517); at f. 64r/22–64v/1 with a blank line 22 and capitals on the next page, ‘ðOnne’ (edd. line 589). Modern ink ‘Iob’ at f. 63v/18 outer margin. On f. 59v a dry-point zigzag down the outer margin. On f. 64v/17–21, in outer margin, circular foliate design.]

8. ff. 65v/17–76r/22 Cynewulf, “Juliana” (“The Passion of Saint Juliana”): ‘HWÆT WE ÐÆT HYRDON | hæleð eahtian deman dædhwate’; ends: ‘þ(æt) we þine onsyne æþelinga wyn | milde gemeten on þa mæran tid. AMEN’ (KD 113–133; Muir 188–214).

[Note: Section breaks at f. 67r/18–19 with a blank line and capitals: ‘HIM’ (edd. line 105); at 69r/2–3 with blank line and capitals ‘ÐA’ (edd. line 225); at f. 70v/14–15 with a blank line and capitals ‘ÐA’ (edd. line 345); at f. 72r/19–20, with a blank line, except for four words and capitals: ‘ÐA’ (edd. line 454); at f. 73v/22 with a blank line, though the next leaf is lacking, so any capitals there are lost (edd. line 558); at f. 74v/10 with capitals: ‘ÐA’ (edd. line 607). Probably one folio lacking after f. 69 (edd. line 288) and one after f. 73 (edd. line 559), representing a missing bifolium. On f. 76r occurs Cynewulf’s runic signature (see Elliott 1953).]

9. ff. 76v/1–78r/14 “The Wanderer”: ‘OFT him anhaga are gebideð metudes miltse’; ends: ‘þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð’ (KD 134–137; Muir 215–19) [f. 78r/15–16 blank].

10. ff. 78r/17–80r/3 “The Gifts of Men” (“God’s Gifts to Humankind”): ‘FELA BIÐ ON FOLDan. | forðgesynra geongra geofena’; ends: ‘se us

þis lif giefed̄ 7 his milde mód monnum / cyþed̄' (KD 137–40; Muir 220–24) [f. 80r/ 4 blank except for the one-word overrun].

11. ff. 80r/5–81r/22 “Precepts”: ‘ÐVS frod fæder freobearn lærde modsnottor ma|ga cystum eald’; ends: ‘7 þec a wið fil|renum geheald’ (KD 140–43; Muir 225–28).

[Note: Two later dry-point sketched captal “eths”, each 3/4 lines high and double outlined, in outer margin of f. 80r.]

12. ff. 81v/1–83r/16 “The Seafarer”: ‘MÆG ic be me sylfum soðgied wrecan siþas | secgan’; ends: ‘þ(æt) he usic ge|weorþade wuldres ealdor ece dryhten in ealle tid. Am(en)’ (KD 143–147; Muir 229–33) [f. 83r/17 blank].

[Note: In the bottom margin of f. 81v, writing added in brown ink: ‘ra’ with an insular ‘r’; ‘me gretan het se þe þisne’ in a rough hand which Muir (2006: 1.228) suggests may be imitative of the 10c script and may correlate to “The Husband’s Message” ed. line 13. However there is no effort to produce insular “a”, “g”, or “r”. Two other indecipherable scribbles in the bottom margin center, perhaps ‘sim’ or ‘fin’ and ‘br[. .].’]

13. ff. 83r/18–84v/9 “Vainglory”: ‘HWæt me frodwita on fyrndagum sægde snot|tor ár. sundorwundra fela’; ends: ‘forþon we sculon a hycgende hælo rædes gemunan | in mode mæla gehwylcum þone selestan sigora wal/dend. AMEN’ (KD 147–149; Muir 234–37) [f. 84v/10 is blank except for overrun of part of one word and ‘AMEN’].

14. ff. 84v/11–87r/8 “Widsith”: ‘WIDSIÐ MAÐOLADe | wordhord onleac’; ends: ‘lof se | gewyrceð hafað under heofonu(m) heahfæstne dóm’ (KD 149–153; Muir 238–43) [f. 87r/9 blank].

[Note: Dry-point sketch of figure holding a book in outer margin of f. 87r/1–8.]

15. ff. 87r/10–88v/11 “The Fortunes of Men”; “The Fates of Mortals”: ‘FVL oft þæt gegongeð mid godes meahum þætte wer | 7 wif in woruld cennað bearn’; ends: ‘þæs þe he fore his miltsu(m) monnum scrifed̄’ (KD 154–56; Muir 244–47) [f. 88v/12 blank].

16. ff. 88v/13–92v/1 “Maxims I”:

- a. ff. 88v/13–90r/9 “Maxims I: I”; “Maxims I (A)”: ‘FRIGE mec frodum wordum’; ends: ‘þa(m) þe us þas lis|se geteode’ (KD 156/1–159/70; Muir 248–51);
- b. ff. 90r/10–91r/16 “Maxims I: II”; “Maxims I (B)”: ‘FORST sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan’; ends: ‘þæt is meotud sylfa’ (KD 159/71–161/137; Muir 252–54);

[Note: Two pencil asterisks in outer margin at f. 90r/10.]

c. ff. 91r/17–92v/1 “Maxims I: III”; “Maxims I (C)”: ‘RÆD sceal mon secgan rune writan leoþ sin[gan]’; ends: ‘7 á || þæs heanan hyge hord ungin-nost’ (KD 161/138–163/204; Muir 255–57).

[Note: Single pencil asterisk in outer margin at f. 91r/17.]

17. ff. 92v/2–94r/7 “The Order of the World”: ‘WILT þu fus hæle fremd-ne monnan wisne woð|boran wordum gretan’; ends: ‘fere him to þam sell|lan rice’ (KD 163–66; Muir 258–61) [f. 93r has only 21 lines written].

18. ff. 94r/8–95v/1 “The Riming Poem”: ‘ME lifes onlah se þis leoht on-wrah’; ends: ‘þær moncyn mot for meotude rot. soðne god ge/seon 7 áa in sibbe gefean’ (KD 166–69; Muir 262–65) [f. 95v/ 2 blank except for the overrun words].

“OE Physiologus”:

[Note: The following three items (19, 20, 21), comprising two complete poems and a fragment of a third, are given here, as in KD, as three independent texts though by some they have been considered parts of a single work, e.g., as ed. Cook 1921 or Squires 1988; see KD xlix-li; see notes to items 21 and 22.]

19. ff. 95v/3–96v/7 “The Panther”: ‘MONge sindon geond middangeard unrimu cynn’; ends: ‘þæt is æpele stenc’ (KD 169–71; Muir 266–69) [f. 96v/8 blank].

[Note: In outer margin of f. 95v, dry-point sketches of large foliate capital P’s and hands, with sleeves, pointing to the tail of the page.]

20. ff. 96v/9–97v/19 “The Whale”: ‘NV ic fitte gen ymb fisca cynn. wille woðcraefte | wordum cyþan’; ends: ‘in | lofe motan to widan feore wuldres neotan’ (KD 171–74; Muir 270–73) [f. 97v/20 blank].

[Note: Modern pencil cross in outer margin at f. 96v/9.]

21. f. 97v/21 The so-called “Partridge” (fragment): ‘HYRde ic secgan gen bi sumum fugle wundorlicne’ (KD 174; Muir 274). [Line 22 blank.]

[Note: A modern pencil cross in outer margin next to the initial capital at f. 97v/21. A folio is missing after f. 97: presumably it would have contained the remainder of “The Partridge” and the beginning of what is now called “Homiletic Fragment III”. Conner (1993: 104–5 suggests a whole quire may be lacking after f. 97, but Pope (1978: 34–35) firmly argues for only one leaf missing.]

22. f. 98r/1–9 “The Partridge” / “Homiletic Fragment III” with imperf. beg.: ‘fæger þæt word þe gecwæð wuldres ealdor . . . in wuldres wli|te wunian motan. FINIT’ (ed. KD as “The Partridge” lines 3–16, p. 174; Muir 275, as “Homiletic Fragment”). [Lines 10–11 blank.]

[Note: “Homiletic Fragment III” was long considered the conclusion to “The Partridge” and its ‘FINIT’ marking an end to an OE “Physiologus” cycle. However Conner (1986 and 1993: 104–5) makes a paleographical and codicological case that the fragments on f. 97v and f. 98r are two distinct texts; Marchand (1991) makes a

similar case based on source study, arguing that “Homiletic Fragment” is derived from the “Ezechiel Apocryphon.” Drouot (2007), reconsidering these arguments, gestures towards acceptance of two separate poems.]

23. ff. 98r/12–100r/6 “Soul and Body II”: ‘HVRV ÐÆS BEHOFAP | hæleþa æghwylc þæt he his sawle sið sylfa be|witige’; ends: ‘þæt mæg æghwylcum men to gemyndu(m) módsnot/terra’ (KD 174–78; Muir 276–80) [f. 100r/7 blank except for the overrun].

[Note: A modern pencil cross in outer margin, at f. 98r/12.]

24. f. 100r/8–100v/12 “Deor”: ‘WELund him be wurman wræces cunnade’; ends: ‘þæs ofereode þis/ses swa mæg’ (KD 178–79; Muir 281–83) [f. 100v/13 blank except for overrun of several words].

[Note: Original scribe marked the beginning of several verses with a capital: at f. 100r/12, ‘B’; at 16, ‘W’; at 19, ‘Ð’; at 21, ‘W’; at f. 100v/4, ‘S’. Furthermore, the scribe has marked beginnings of verses in the outer margin with small crosses at f. 100v/16, 19, 21, divisions which are often considered “stanzas.” A small inked capital ‘H’ or ‘N’ at the line end at f. 100v/3.]

25. ff. 100v/14–101r/3 “Wulf and Eadwacer”: ‘Leodum is minum swylce him mon lác gife’; ends: ‘mon eaþe tosliteð þætte næfre gesomnad wæs uncer giedd /geador’ (KD 179–80; Muir 284) [f. 101r/4 blank except for one-word overrun].

26. ff. 101r/5–115r/2 “Riddles” nos. 1–59 (ed. Krapp and Dobbie 1936: nos. 1–59; ed. Muir 2006: nos. 1–59; the division of texts is as KD and Muir):

[Note: Each riddle usually starts with a large initial capital or two on a new line and ends with substantial punctuation.]

f. 101r/5–13 Riddle 1: ‘Hwylc is hæleþa þæs horsc 7 þæs hygecræftig . . . saga hwa mec þecce oþþe hu ic hatte þe þa hlæst bere’ (KD 180; Muir 285);

f. 101r/14–22 Riddle 2: ‘Hwilum ic gewite swa ne wenap men . . . þe mec ær wrugon’ (KD 180–81; Muir 286);

ff. 101v/1–102v/2 Riddle 3: ‘hwilum mec min fréa fæste genearwað . . . oþþe hwa mec stæð þe þonne ic stille beom’ (KD 181–83; Muir 286–89);

f. 102v/3–9 Riddle 4: ‘Ic sceal þragbysig þegne minum . . . 7 wordum mín on sped mæge spel gesecgan’ (KD 183; Muir 289–90);

f. 102v/10–18 Riddle 5: ‘IC eom anhaga iserne wund . . . þurh deað|slege dagum 7 nihtum’ (KD 183–84; Muir 290);

[Note: In blank space at end of line 18, the rune ‘h’ (‘sigel’), perhaps by original scribe.]

ff. 102v/19–103r/2 Riddle 6: ‘Mec gesette soð sigora waldend crist to compe . . . þonne | ic eft hyra ofer deop gedreag drohtað betan’ (KD 184; Muir 290–91);

[Note: In blank space at the end of line 2, the rune ‘h’ (‘sigel’).]



f. 103r/3–7 Riddle 7: ‘Hrægl min swigað . . . flode 7 foldan / ferende gæst’ (KD 184–85; Muir 291) [f. 103/8 blank except for overrun of two words];

[Note: In the blank space of line 8, a post-medieval rune-like letter.]

f. 103r/9–15 Riddle 8: ‘IC þurh muþ sprece mongum reordum . . . hæleþum bodi|ge wilcumena fela woþe minre’ (KD 185; Muir 291–92);

f. 103r/10–103v/1 Riddle 9: ‘Mec on þissum dagu⟨m⟩ deadne ofgeafum fæder 7 modor . . . þy heo swa dyde’ (KD 185; Muir 292);

f. 103v/2–8 Riddle 10: ‘Neb wæs min on nearwe . . . saga hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 185–86; Muir 292–93);

[Note: Small modern pencil cross in outer margin at f. 103v/8.]

f. 103v/9–14 Riddle 11: ‘Hrægl is min hasofag . . . gif hi unrædes ær ne ge-swicaþ’ (KD 186; Muir 293);

ff. 103v/15–104r/2 Riddle 12: ‘Fotum ic fere foldan slite . . . 7 æfter deaþe dryh|tum þeowige’ (KD 186; Muir 293–94);

[Note: In outer margin at f. 104r/2–3, an inked letter, perhaps rune-like (or a yogh or number 3?).]

f. 104r/3–9 Riddle 13: ‘IC seah turf tredan .x. wæron ealra . . . gewitan lond tredan’ (KD 187; Muir 294);

f. 104r/10–22 Riddle 14: ‘IC wæs wæpen wiga . . . frige hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 187; Muir 295);

[Note: In the outer margin at f. 104r/10, a later inked ‘H’ and in unused line space at 22, the abbreviation for ‘and’ (‘7’) with a macron.]

f. 104v/1–20 Riddle 15: ‘Hals is min hwit 7 heafod fealo . . . þam þe ic longe fleah’ (KD 188; Muir 295–96);

ff. 104v/21–105r/4 Riddle 16: ‘Oft ic sceal wiþ wæge winnan . . . stanas moton fæste gehabban frige/hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 188–89; Muir 297);

[Note: F. 105r/5 is blank, except for three-word overrun. In blank space of line 5, a later hand has added inked runes ‘l’ (‘lagu’) and ‘b’ (‘beorht’). Krapp and Dobbie (1936: 330–31) and Muir (2006: 2.620) and most extensively Williamson (1977: 181–82), discuss the placement, probably as a response to the following Riddle 17 (Williamson’s 15).]

f. 105r/6–13 Riddle 17: ‘IC eom mundbora minre heorde . . . men gemunan þæt me | þurh muþ fareð’ (KD 189; Muir 288–89) [remainder of f. 105r/13 blank, except for a stray pen mark].

f. 105r/14–16 Riddle 18: ‘Ic eom wunderlicu wiht . . . ic wæs | on ceole 7 mines cnosles ma’ (KD 189; Muir 298);

[Note: At the end of line 15 and in blank space of line 16, offsets from f. 104v are visible.]

f. 105r/17–21 Riddle 19: ‘IC seah .hƿƿN. hygewloncne . . . . . saga hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 189–90; Muir 298);

[Note: The riddle is marked out with Hickes' pencil, with '3'-like codes to his copier and a large capital 'E'. These are explained by Förster (Chambers et al. 1933: 63n.25) and Williamson (1977: 355–56).]

f. 105r/22–105v/22 Riddle 20: 'IC eom wunderlicu wiht . . . (ends imperf.) ic ne gyne þæs compes[. . .]' (KD 190–91; Muir 299–300);

[Note: The outer bifolium of Quire XIV is wanting here, rendering Riddle 20 fragmentary (Pope 1978: 27, Conner 1993: 105, Muir 1.300).]

f. 106r/1–10 Riddle 21: 'Neb is min niþerweard . . . þæt | biþ hlaford min' (KD 191; Muir 300);

f. 106r/11–106v/1 Riddle 22: 'ÆTsomne cwom .lx. monna to wægstæpe wicgum ridan . . . 7 hyra wicg gesund' (KD 191–92; Muir 301);

f. 106v/2–11 Riddle 23: 'Agof is min noma eft onhwyrfed [*corr. from* 'onhwyrfeð'] . . . saga hwæt ic hatte' (KD 192; Muir 301–2);

f. 106v/12–17 Riddle 24: 'IC eom wunderlicu wiht wræsne mine stefne . . . nu ic haten eom | swa þa siex stafas sweotule becnab' (KD 192–93; Muir 302–3);

[Note: Riddle 24 marked out in Hickes' pencil, with marginal codes to printer and capital 'F'; see Williamson (1977: 355–56).]

ff. 106v/18–107r/4 Riddle 25: 'IC eom wunderlicu wiht wifum on hyht neahbuendu(m) | nyt . . . wæt bið þæt eage' (KD 193; Muir 303);

f. 107r/5–107v/1 Riddle 26: 'Mec feonda sum feore besnyþede . . . nama min is mære || hæleþum gifre 7 halig sylf' (KD 193–94; Muir 303–4);

f. 107v/2–12 Riddle 27: 'IC eom weorð werum wide funden . . . Frige | hwæt ic hatte. ðe on eorþan swa esnas binde | dole æfter dyntum be dægæs leohte' (KD 194; Muir 304–5);

[Note: Scribe extended final letters of 'hatte' and punctuated as if the riddle ended there, then added last two lines beginning with a capital at line 11, 'ðe on eorþan . . .' Muir (1.305) suggests the scribe didn't realize he had more text to copy; cf. Williamson 1977: 218.]

f. 107v/13–21 Riddle 28: 'Biþ foldan dæl fægre gegierwed . . . micel is to hycganne wisfæstum menn | hwæt seo wiht sy' (KD 194–95; Muir 305–6);

ff. 107v/22–108r/8 Riddle 29: 'IC wiht geseah wundorlice horna abitweonum [*sic*] huþe lædan || lyftfæt leohtlic . . . nænig siþþan wera gewiste bære wihte sið' (KD 195; Muir 306);

f. 108r/9–14 Riddle 30a: 'IC eom legbysig lace mid winde . . . þær ic monnum sceal ycan upcyme eadignesse' (KD 195–96; Muir 306–7);

[Note: Two letters in outer right margin at f. 108r/9 and 10 in later ink hand 'r' and a wide-bodied 'y' or 'v', perhaps a pseudo-rune. After final punctuation in line 14, a small-cap 'n' or capital 'h' with macron (Muir 1.307), perhaps an 'unusual'

punctuation mark (Williamson 1977: 232–33) like the one at the end of Riddle 14. This riddle, with slight variations, occurs again on f. 122v as 30b.]

f. 108r/15–108v/8 Riddle 31: ‘IS þes middangeard missenlicum wisum gewlitedgad . . . micel is to hycgenne wisum woðboran hwæt wiht sie’ (KD 196–97; Muir 307–8);

f. 108v/9–19 Riddle 32: ‘IS þes middangeard missenlicum gewlitedgad . . . rece gif þu cunne wis worda gleaw hwæt | sio wiht sie’ (KD 196–97; Muir 308);

ff. 108v/20–109r/6 Riddle 33: ‘Wiht cwom æfter wege wrætlicu lipan . . . þ(æt) seo on foldan sceal | on ealra londa gehwam lissum stonðan’ (KD 197; Muir 308–9);

f. 109r/7–12 Riddle 34: ‘IC wiht geseah in wera burgum . . . beorhte blican blowan 7 growan’ (KD 197; Muir 309);

f. 109r/7–109v/1 Riddle 35: ‘Mec se wæta wongwundrum freorig . . . saga soðcwidum searþoncum gleaw wordum wis||fæst hwæt þis gewædu sy’ (KD 198; Muir 309–10);

f. 109v/2–9 Riddle 36: ‘IC wiht geseah on wege feran . . . hu þære wihte wise gonge’ (KD 198; Muir 310–11);

[Note: Riddle 36 marked out in Hickeys pencil, with ‘333’ printer codes and ‘FF’ in outer margin.]

f. 109v/10–14 Riddle 37: ‘IC þa wihte geseah womb wæs on hindan þriþum aþruntjen . . . he sunu wyrceð bið him / sylfa fæder’ (KD 198–99; Muir 311);

f. 109v/15–19 Riddle 38: ‘IC þa wiht geseah wæpnedcynnes . . . gif he tobirsteð bindeð cwide’ (KD 199; Muir 311);

ff. 109v/20–110r/17 Riddle 39: ‘GEwritu secgað þæt seo wiht sy mid moncynne mic|lum tidum sweotol . . . saga hwæt hio hatte’ (KD 199–200; Muir 312–13) [f. 110r/18 is blank];

ff. 110r/19–111v/22 Riddle 40: ‘ECe is se scyppend se þas eorþan nu wreð|stupuð; ends imperf.: won wrotende wynnum lifde þ(æt) he[. . .]’ (KD 200–3; Muir 313–17);

[Note: The outer bifolium of Quire XIV is wanting, so there is a folio missing after f. 111, leaving Riddle 40 incomplete. There is a large oval (natural) hole in f. 110r, no loss of text. On f. 111v, at the bottom margin, lower right, there is some very faded script in a light brown ink. The hand is not the original scribe but perhaps medieval, or imitative of medieval script. Williamson sees ‘h. . . .s. egC. . . .þ.’ (1977: 275); Chambers’ 1831 transcript gives more: ‘hit is s.ege. . . . þi’ (London, BL Add. 9067; see also Williamson’s Plate XVI, 1977: 58).]

f. 112r/1–6 Riddle 41: beg. imperf. ‘edniwu. þæt is moddor monigra cynna . . . hwæt seo wiht sy’ (KD 203; Muir 317);

- f. 112r/7–112r/17 Riddle 42: ‘IC seah wyhte wrætlice twa undearnunga . . . hu þa wihte mid us | heanmode twa hatne sindon’ (KD 203–4; Muir 317–18);
- f. 112r/17–112v/5 Riddle 43: ‘Ic wat indryhtne | æþelum deorne giest in geardum . . . hu se cuma | hatte eðþa se esne þe ic her ymb sprice’ (KD 204; Muir 318);
- [Note: Riddle 43 begins with a small initial capital mid-line, not marked out by the scribe as a separate riddle. A small hole in membrane outside center edge of f. 112.]
- f. 112v/6–10 Riddle 44: ‘Wrætlic hongað bi weres þeo . . . þæt | he efe lang ær oft gefylde’ (KD 204–5; Muir 319);
- f. 112v/11–13 Riddle 45: ‘IC on wincle gefrægn weax nathwæt . . . þrindende þing þeodnes / dohtor’ (KD 205; Muir 319);
- f. 112v/14–18 Riddle 46: ‘Wær sæt æt wine mid his wifum | twam . . . ealra wæron fife eorla 7 idesa insittendra’ (KD 205; Muir 319–20);
- ff. 112v/19–113r/1 Riddle 47: ‘Moððe word fræt . . . þe he þam wordu(m) swealg’ (KD 205; Muir 320);
- f. 113r/1–7 Riddle 48: ‘Ic gefrægn fer hæle|þum hringende an [*sic*] . . . swa se hring gecwæð’ (KD 205–6; Muir 320);
- [Note: Riddle 48 is not set off from the previous riddle, beginning with a small initial capital mid-line.]
- f. 113r/8–14 Riddle 49: ‘IC wat eardfastne anne standan . . . þ(æt) se | dumba her eorp unwita ær ferswilgeð [*sic*]’ (KD 206; Muir 320–21);
- f. 113r/15–21 Riddle 50: ‘Wiga is on eorþan wundrum acenned . . . þe hi|ne wloncne weorþan læteð’ (KD 206; Muir 321);
- f. 113r/22–113v/3 Riddle 51: ‘IC seah wrætlice wuhte feower samed siþian . . . se him wægæs tæcneþ ofer fæted gold feo/wer eallu(m)’ (KD 206; Muir 321–22);
- f. 113v/4–8 Riddle 52: ‘IC seah ræpingas in ræced fergan . . . seo weold hyra bega | siþe bendum fæstra’ (KD 207; Muir 322);
- f. 113v/9–16 Riddle 53: ‘IC seah on bearwe beam hlifian . . . gif se ærra fæc genamnan in nearo/we neþan moste’ (KD 207; Muir 322–23);
- ff. 113v/17–114r/3 Riddle 54: ‘HYse cwom gangan. | þær he hie wisse stondon . . . þæt oft gode men ferðþum | freogað 7 mid feo bicgað’ (KD 207–8; Muir 323);
- f. 114r/4–13 Riddle 55: ‘IC seah in heall þær hæleð druncon on flet beran feower | cynna . . . se | hine on mede wordum secgan hu se wudu hatte’ (KD 208; Muir 324);

- f. 114r/14–21 Riddle 56: ‘IC wæs þær inne þær ic ane geseah winnende. | wiht . . . þær hæleð druncon | þara flan on flet beran’ (KD 208; Muir 324–25);
- f. 114r/22–114v/3 Riddle 57: ‘ðeos lyft byreð lytle wihte ofer beorghleoþa . . . nemnað hy sylfe’ (KD 209; Muir 325);
- f. 114v/4–12 Riddle 58: ‘IC wat anfete ellen dreogan wiht on wonge . . . þry | sind in naman ryhte runstafas þara is ráð furum’ (KD 209; Muir 325–26);
- ff. 114v/13– 115r/2 Riddle 59: ‘IC seah in healle hring gylddenne. | men sceawian . . . þa he in healle wæs wylted 7 wended | wloncra folmum’ (KD 209–10; Muir 326–27).
27. f. 115r/3–115v/17 “The Wife’s Lament”: ‘IC þis giedd wrece bi me ful geomorre’; ends: ‘wa bið þam þe sceal of langoþe leofes abidan’ (KD 210–11; Muir 328–30).
28. ff. 115v/18–117v/16 “Judgment Day I”: ‘ðæt gelimpan sceal þætte. | lagu floweð. flod ofer foldan’; ends: ‘welan ah in wuldre se nu wel þenceð’ (KD 212–15; Muir 331–35).

[Note: At f. 117r/8–9, there is a section division, or a scribal mistake: major punctuation, followed in the next line by three large capitals ‘WILE þonne forgieldan’ (line 81).]

- 29 (a. and b.). ff. 117v/17–119v/12 “Resignation” (so KD 215–18); “Contrition A” and “Contrition B” (so Muir 336–38, 339–40, as two fragments); ff. 117v/17–118v/22: ‘Age mec se ælmihtiga god’; “Contrition A” ends: ‘no ðæs earninga ænige wæron mid’ (= KD line 69); f. 119r/1–119v/12: “Contrition B” beg.: ‘hwæþre ic me ealles þæs ellen wylla habban’; ends: ‘þæt he þon⟨ne⟩ wel þolige’ (= KD lines 70–118).

[Note: A folio is wanting after f. 118; following Förster, Krapp and Dobbie did not recognize a gap in the manuscript or the poem and thus edited as a continuous poem called “Resignation”; Muir edits as two fragments, “Contrition A” and “Contrition B”. The missing folio is the eighth sheet in the quire, originally the conjugate of f. 112; the discovery and the new title(s) by Bliss and Frantzen (1976).

Fire Damage: This, usually attributed to a fire brand, begins on f. 119 and grows gradually more extensive towards the end of the book. The increasing damage results in significant gaps in the texts; when impacting the first or last lines of a text, these gaps are marked by [. . .] and do not reflect an attempt to count lost letters.]

30. ff. 119v/13–121v/ 21 “The Descent into Hell”: ‘ONGunnon him on uhtan æpelcunde | mægð gierwan to geonge’; ends: ‘sie þæs symle meotude þonc’ (KD 219–23; Muir 341–46).
31. ff. 121v/22–122r/5 “Almsgiving”: ‘Wel bið þam eorle þe him on innan hafað’; ends: ‘swa he mid ælmes|san ealle toscufeð synna wunde sawla lacnað’ (KD 223; Muir 347).

32. f. 122r/6–10 “Pharaoh”: ‘Saga me hwæt þær weorudes wære ealles on farones fyr|de . . . þ(æt) eal forna(m) yþ[. . .] wraþe wyrde in wo/ruldrice’ (KD 223; Muir 348).

[Note: In outer margin at f. 122r/6, two small inked letters, ‘v’ and ‘f’. F. 122r/11 blank except for overrun.]

33. f. 122r/12–20 “The Lord’s Prayer I” (beginning lost to damage): ‘[. . .]g fæder þu þe on heofonum eardast . . . from yfla gehwam a to | widan feore’ (KD 223–224; Muir 349).

[Note: Here, due to damage, only an ascender of the initial capital survives as marking the beginning of the text.]

34. f. 122r/21–122v/11 “Homiletic Fragment II”: ‘Gefeoh nu on ferðe 7 to frofre geþeoh dryhtne þinum’; ends: ‘se wæs ordfru|ma ealles léohtes’ (KD 224; Muir 350–51).

26. Riddles (cont.)

f. 122v/12–17 Riddle 30b: ‘Ic eom ligbysig lace mid winde . . . swa ic mongum sceal ycan upcyme eadignesse’ (KD 224–25; Muir 352);

ff. 122v/18–123r/7 Riddle 60: ‘Ic was be sonde sæwealle neah . . . uncre wordcwidas widdor ne | mænden’ (KD 225; Muir 353).

35. f. 123r/8–123v/21 “The Husband’s Message”: ‘Nu ic on sundran þe secgan wille’; ends: ‘þe git on ærdagum oft gespræconn’ (KD 225–27; Muir 354–56).

[Note: The scribe has divided the poem into three units, perhaps as three separate poems, or perhaps as three sections. At f. 123r/16–17, a line is ended with major punctuation, with a line left mostly blank, and the next unit introduced by a large initial capital ‘H’ (at ed. lines 12–13); at f. 123v/2–3, major punctuation, line left blank, and large initial capitals ‘ON’ (at ed. lines 25–26). At f. 123v/3–6, in the inner gutter margin, an ink scrawl runs down the margin, perhaps letters. At f. 123v/19 in the outer margin are Hickeys’ pencil codes for printing the runes. On the runes, see Elliott 1995 and Niles 2003.]

36. ff. 123v/22–124v/12 “The Ruin”: ‘Wrætlic is þes wealstan wyrde gebræcon burgstede || burston’; ends: ‘þ(æt) is cynelic þing hu s[. . .] / burg[. . .]’ (KD 227–29; Muir 357–58) [f. 124v/13 blank except for the overrun].

[Note: A drypoint sketch of a horse and rider, upside-down, is in the lower margin on f. 123v. There is an ink scribble in the top right corner of f. 124r. At 124r/10, interlinear scribbles in ink above ‘gegrunden’ (ed. line 14), perhaps letters or abbreviations, maybe an ampersand.]

## 26. Riddles (cont.)

- f. 124v/14–19 Riddle 61: ‘Oft mec fæste bileac freolicu meowle . . . ræd hwæt ic mæne’ (KD 229; Muir 359);
- ff. 124v/20–125r/3 Riddle 62: ‘IC eom heard 7 scearp ingonges strong . . . saga hwæt ic / hatte’ (KD 229; Muir 359–60);
- f. 125r/4–13 Riddle 63: ‘Oft ic secgan seledream sceal | fægre onþeon . . . þa unc geryde wæs’ (KD 229–30; Muir 360);
- f. 125r/14–16 Riddle 64: ‘IC seah .ƿ. 7 .l. ofer wong faran . . . ƿ. 7 .l. sylfes þæs folces’ (KD 230; Muir 361);
- [Note: At f. 125r/14 in the outer margin, five runes cut in parchment: ‘𐌸𐌺𐌹𐌸’ (Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 64; Williamson 1977: 59, 105 and 327; cf. Muir 708). Hickeys marks out this riddle by pencil box and code marks.]
- f. 125r/17–21 Riddle 65: ‘Cwico wæs ic ne cwæð ic wiht . . . sindan þa monige þe mec bitað’ (KD 230; Muir 361);
- [Note: At f. 125r/17, in the outer margin, an ink letter V or mark.]
- f. 125r/22–125v/6 Riddle 66: ‘IC eom mare þon(ne) þes mindangeard [sic] . . . . . saga hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 230–31; Muir 361–62);
- f. 125v/7–17 Riddle 67: ‘[I]C on þin[. . . ]frægn þeodcyniges wrætlice wiht . . . secge se þe cunne wis|fæstra hwylc hwæt seo wiht sy’ (KD 231; Muir 362);
- f. 125v/18–19 Riddle 68: ‘Ic þa wiht geseah . . . wæter wearð to bane’ (Muir 363; ed. as two riddles, 68 and 69, by KD, 231);
- [Note: At f. 125v/19, the scribe has sectioned this riddle with major punctuation and a large initial capital ‘W’ (at ed. line 3).]
- f. 125v/20–22 Riddle 69: ‘WIht is wrætlic þam þe hyra wisan ne conn singeð . . . His gesceapo [. . . ]’ (Muir 363; ed. as Riddle 70, with subsequent text from f. 126r by KD 231–32);
- [Note: A leaf is missing at the end of the quire, after f. 125v; Förster did not recognize this loss, and neither did Krapp and Dobbie. It was discovered by Pope (1974; cf. Pope 1978: 65).]
- f. 126r/1 Riddle 70, lost except for the end: ‘[. . . ] þe swa wrætlice be wege stonde heah 7 hleortorht hæle/þum to nytte’ (KD edit as last lines of Riddle 70, 1936: 231–32; Muir 363);
- f. 126r/2–8 Riddle 71: ‘IC eom rices æht reade | bewæfed . . . [. . . ] wlite / bete’ (KD 232; Muir 363–64);
- f. 126r/9–21 Riddle 72: ‘IC wæs lytel [. . . ] . . . gif me ordstæpe egle wæron’ (KD 232–33; Muir 364–65);
- [Note: Reading of the first words, esp. ‘lytel’ were clear in the 1933 facsimile photographs of the leaf when the patches had been removed.]
- f. 126r/22–126v/19 Riddle 73: ‘IC on wonge aweox . . . saga | hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 233–34; Muir 365–66);

- ff. 126v/20–22 Riddle 74: ‘IC wæs fæmne geong, feaxhár cwene . . . hæfde forð cwicu’ (KD 234; Muir 366);
- f. 127r/1–2 Riddle 75: ‘IC swiftne geseah . . . IC ane geseah idese sittan’ (KD 234 as Riddles 75 and 76; Muir 366–67);
- [Note: At f. 127r/2, the riddle is divided by major punctuation and large initial capitals ‘IC’ (ed. line 3); for this reason Krapp and Dobbie edit Riddle 75 as two separate texts. From this point in their edition, their numbers are one higher than those given here, which henceforth agree with Muir’s edition. Hickeys’ pencil box and codes mark this riddle off.]
- f. 127r/3–7 Riddle 76: ‘Se mec fedde sundhelm þeahte . . . siþþan iteð un-sodene eac[. . .]’ (KD 234; Muir 367);
- f. 127r/8–13 Riddle 77: ‘Of ic flodas [. . .] . . . [. . .] yþum bewrigene’ (KD 234–35; Muir 367);
- f. 127r/14 Riddle 78: ‘IC eom æþelinges æht 7 willa’ (KD 235; Muir 368);
- f. 127r/15–22 Riddle 79: ‘IC eom æþelinges eaxlgestealla . . . saga | hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 235; Muir 368);
- f. 127v/1–7 Riddle 80: ‘IC eom byledbreost belcedsweora . . . [. . .]mæg wonsceaft mine’ (KD 235; Muir 368–69);
- f. 127v/8–11 Riddle 81: ‘Wiht is [. . .] . . . sceal mæla gehwam [. . .]’ (KD 236; Muir 369);
- f. 127v/12–21 Riddle 82: ‘FROd wæs min fromcynn . . . saga hwæt ic hatte’ (KD 236; Muir 369–70);
- ff. 127v/22–128v/14 Riddle 83: ‘AN wiht is wundrum acenneð’; ends: ‘hu mislic sy mægen þara cy[. . .]’ (KD 236–38; Muir 370–72);
- f. 127v/15–19 Riddle 84: ‘Nis min sele swige ne ic sylfa hlud . . . gif wit unc gedælað me bið deað witod’ (KD 238; Muir 372);
- ff. 128v/20–129r/1 Riddle 85: ‘Wiht cwom gongan þær weras sæton . . . saga hwæt ic / hatte’ (KD 238; Muir 373);
- f. 129r/2–6 Riddle 86: ‘IC seah wundorlice wiht . . . hio wolde seþeah niol[. . .]’ (KD 239; Muir 373);
- f. 129r/7–129v/6 Riddle 87: ‘Ic weox þær ic s[. . .] . . . [. . .] sawles rædes’ (KD 239–40; Muir 374–75);
- f. 129v/7–13 Riddle 88, beginning entirely lost: ‘[. . .]e wiht wombe | hæfd[. . .] . . . swæsendum swylce þrage’ (KD 240; Muir 375);
- f. 129v/14–17 Riddle 89 (Latin): ‘Mirum uidetur mihi lupus ab agno tenetur . . . cum septem oculis uidebant’ (KD 240; Muir 375–76);
- ff. 129v/18–130r/2 Riddle 90: ‘Min heafod is homere geþuren . . . þara þe he of life het wælcraefte awrecan willu(m) sinu(m)’ (KD 240–41; Muir 376);



- f. 130r/3–7 Riddle 91: ‘IC wæs brunra beot . . . byreð oþrum [. . .]’ (KD 241; Muir 376–77);
- f. 130r/8–130v/8 Riddle 92: ‘Fréa min [. . .] . . . eagam wliteð | 7 spe[. . .]’ (KD 241–42; Muir 377–78);
- f. 130v/9–13 Riddle 93: ‘Smeþr[. . .] . . . leohtr e þon(ne) w[. . .]’ (KD 242; Muir 378);
- f. 130v/14–22 Riddle 94: ‘IC eom indryhten 7 eorlum cuð . . . ic swaþe hwilum mine bemipe monna | gehwylcum’ (KD 243; Muir 379).

PHOTO NOTES: The fiche images of the manuscript are taken with permission from the photographic facsimile Chambers et al. 1933.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Anderson, James E. “Some Notes on the MS of the Old English Exeter Book.” In *Southeastern Medieval Association: The First Twenty-Two Years*, ed. Edith Whitehurst Williams, 51–57. Richmond, KY: Eastern Kentucky University Press, 1997.
- Bliss, A.J., and Allen J. Frantzen. “The Integrity of *Resignation*.” *Review of English Studies* ns 27 (1976): 385–402.
- Butler, Robert M. “Glastonbury and the Early History of the Exeter Book.” In *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, ed. Joyce Tally Lionarons, 173–215. Medieval European Studies 5. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2004.
- Campbell, Jackson J., ed. *The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Chambers, R.W., Max Förster, and Robin Flower. *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*. London: Percy Lund for Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.
- Clarkson, Christopher. “Further Studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bookbinding: Board Attachment Methods Re-examined.” In *Roger Powell: The Compleat Binder*, ed. John L. Sharpe, 154–214. Bibliologia 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.
- Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- . “Four Contiguous Poems in the Exeter Book: A Combined Reading of *Homiletic Fragment III*, *Soul and Body II*, *Deor*, and *Wulf and Eadwacer*.” In *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of*

- Medieval England in Honour of A.N. Doane*, ed. Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles, 117–36. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.
- . “Parish Guilds and the Production of Old English Literature in the Public Sphere.” In *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck, 255–71. Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2008. 255–71.
- . “The Old English Elegy: A Historicization.” In *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. David F. Johnson and Elaine Treharne, 30–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . “The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Cathedral Library MS. 3501).” *Scriptorium* 40 (1986): 233–42.
- Cook, Albert S., ed. and trans. *The Old English Physiologus*. Yale Studies in English 63. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.
- Coveney, Dorothy. “The Ruling of the Exeter Book.” *Scriptorium* 12 (1958): 51–55.
- Dickins, Bruce. “The Beheaded Manumission in the Exeter Book.” In *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins, 361–67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Drage, Elaine. “Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence.” D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1978.
- Drout, Michael D. C. “‘The Partridge’ is a Phoenix: Revising the Exeter Book *Physiologus*.” *Neophilologus* 91 (2007): 487–503.
- Dumville, David N. “Anglo-Saxon Square Minuscule: The Mid-Century Phases.” *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 133–64.
- Earle, John. *A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters and Other Saxon Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888.
- Elliott, R. W. V. “Cynewulf’s Runes in *Christ II* and *Elene*.” *English Studies* 34 (1953): 49–57.
- . “The Runes in *The Husband’s Message*.” *JEGP* 54 (1955): 1–8.
- Erskine, Audrey. “Grandison, John (1292–1369).” In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23: 266–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- . “The Growth of Exeter Cathedral Library after Bishop Leofric’s Time.” In *Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation*

- of *Exeter Cathedral Library, AD 1072*, ed. Frank Barlow, 43–55. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1972.
- Flower, Robin. “Note B: The Strips From the Bindings.” In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. Chambers et al., 93–96.
- . “The Script of the Exeter Book.” In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. Chambers et al., 83–90.
- Förster, Max. “The Donations of Leofric to Exeter.” In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. Chambers et al., 10–32.
- Frank, Roberta. “When Lexicography Met the Exeter Book.” In *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. Peter Baker and Nicholas Howe, 207–22. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Gameson, Richard. “The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry.” *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Graham, Timothy. “A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric’s Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, the Exeter Book, and Cambridge University Library MS Ii.2.11.” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10(4) (1994): 421–55.
- Hickes, George. *Georgii Hicessii S.T.P. De Antiquæ Litteraturæ Septentrionalis Utilitate: Sive De Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Usu Dissertatio Epistolaris Ad Bartholomæum Showere*. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1703.
- Hill, Joyce. “The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: A Reconsideration.” *American Notes and Queries* 24 (1986): 112–16.
- Ker, Neil. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Vol. 2: *Abbotsford-Keele*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- . Review of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, M. Förster, and R. Flower. *Medium Ævum* 2 (1933): 224–31.
- Krapp, George Philip and E.V.K. Dobbie. *The Exeter Book*. Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.
- Lapidge, Michael. “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England.” In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–167. New York: Garland, 1994. Repr. from *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

- Liuzza, Roy M. "The Old English *Christ* and *Guthlac*: Texts, Manuscripts, and Critics." *Review of English Studies* n.s. 41 (1990): 1–11.
- Lloyd, L.J., and Audrey Erskine, with Peter Thomas. *The Library and Archives of Exeter Cathedral*. Rev. 3d ed. Exeter: Library and Archives of Exeter Cathedral, 2004.
- Marchand, James W. "The Partridge? An Old English Multiquote." *Neophilologus* 75 (1991): 603–11.
- Muir, Bernard, ed. *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*. 2 vols. and CD-ROM. Rev. 2d ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006. [material from the CD-ROM marked 2006c].
- . "A Preliminary Report on a New Edition of the Exeter Book." *Scriptorium* 43 (1989): 273–88.
- . "Watching the Exeter Book Scribe Copy Old English and Latin Texts." *Manuscripta* 35 (1991): 3–22.
- Niles, John D. "The Trick of the Runes in *The Husband's Message*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003): 189–223.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Pope, John C. "The Lacuna in the Text of Cynewulf's Ascension (Christ II, 556b)." In *Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. E. Bagby and Archibald Hill, 210–19. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969.
- . "Paleography and Poetry: Some Solved and Unsolved Problems in the Exeter Book." In *Mediaeval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker*, ed. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, 25–65. London: Scholar Press, 1978.
- . "An Unsuspected Lacuna in the Exeter Book: Divorce Proceedings for an Ill-Matched Couple in the Old English Riddles." *Speculum* 49 (1974): 615–22.
- Roberts, Jane, ed. *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Rosenthal, Jane. "The Pontifical of Saint Dunstan." In *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsey, Margaret Sparks, and T. W. T. Tatton-Brown, 143–63. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992. [at 147–48]
- Rose-Troup, Frances. "Exeter Manumissions and Quittances of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 64 (1937): 417–45.

- Squires, Ann, ed. *The Old English Physiologus*. Durham Medieval Texts 5. Durham: University of Durham Press, 1988.
- Swanton, Michael, "Introductory Note." In *Pages from the Exeter Book*, ed. Michael Swanton. Exeter University Occasional Papers. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1974. [[i]–[iii]]
- Thorpe, Benjamin. *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici: A Collection of English Charters, from the Reign of King Æthelberht of Kent, A.D. Dc.V. To That of William the Conqueror, with a Translation of the Anglo-Saxon by Benjamin Thorpe*. London: Macmillan, 1865.
- Williamson, Craig, ed. *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

**131a. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3507**  
Hrabanus Maurus, “De computo”,  
Isidore, “De natura rerum”,  
astrological and computistical poems and prose  
[Ker 116\*; Gneuss 258]

**HISTORY:** A scientific collection mainly consisting of the computistical dialogue of Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), “De computo”, authored in 819 or 820 and well known in Carolingian schools (Stevens 1992: 136–37) and the work on natural history and astronomy known as “De natura rerum” by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), also widely known in A-S and Carolingian centers. Hrabanus’ “De computo” shares a corpus of glosses with two other later manuscripts (Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 114, ff. 98–132 and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Riccardiana 885, ff. 312–46), and all may stem from the same, perhaps English, source (Stevens 1979: 197). The recension of Isidore’s “De natura rerum” is not the typical “long recension” but a unique longer and more elaborate version (Fontaine 1960: 19–83; Stevens 1992: 136). The now lost exemplar of Exeter 3507 (perhaps from Sherborne) also was copied in London, BL Cotton Vitellius A.xii [250], a manuscript from late 11c or early 12c Salisbury (Webber 1992: 69, 74; Stevens 1992: 136). Furthermore, some of the verses are also found, among other manuscripts, in the “Leofric Missal” (Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 579 [364]), a late 9c or early 10c northeast Frankish liturgical book brought to England by the 10c, when these verses were added (and much more), perhaps at Canterbury or Glastonbury, and later donated to Exeter by Leofric (Orchard 2002: 1.1–2; 132–205). Exeter 3507 was written in a stylized A-S square minuscule in the late 10c that shares some traits with the script of the “Exeter Book” (Exeter Cathedral Library 3501 [130]) and its sister manuscripts; moreover, the same hand is found for the main text in Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 718 and in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 943 [422] (the “Sherborne Pontifical”) and perhaps as a correcting hand in London, Lambeth Palace 149 [311], a manuscript in the same hand as the “Exeter Book” (Ker, *Cat.*, 154; Conner 1993: 19–20; Gameson 1996: 162–63). Ker dates the script to the sec-

ond half of the 10c, while Conner (1993: 44–47) suggests that the script of this trio of Exeter books is later than that of the “Exeter Book” itself, which would mean after about 970 or 980. Stevens (1992: 136) gives the more specific range, 960–86. Along with its sister manuscripts, Exeter 3507 is usually considered to have been written in Canterbury, perhaps at Christ Church, based on paleographical and art historical evidence (Gameson 1996: 178), though Conner (1993: 20 *et passim*) has argued extensively for an Exeter origin for this trio of books.

Based on the presence of Paris, BN lat. 943 in Sherborne by the early 11c (Ker, *Cat.*, no. 364), and the seemingly close ties between Sherborne and Exeter in the 10c and 11c (Webber 1992: 69), it is possible that the book came to Exeter from Sherborne. Exeter 3507 may have come to Exeter with Leofric or been there in the late 10c (Conner 1993: 19–20), but the book does not bear a Leofrician donation inscription, nor is it in Leofric’s 11c inventory. The manuscript was glossed in several hands, including the main one, and there are two OE glosses on f. 92v. Annotations in a 12c hand (as at f. 4v) show the book was read in the years after the Conquest. The 1327 inventory of Exeter’s holdings shows that it certainly had come to Exeter by then (Oliver 1861: 303), and Ker suggests that it had come to Exeter “much earlier” (Ker 1977: 2.814). Exeter 3507 does not appear to be present in the 1506 inventory (*contra* the error in Ker, *Cat.*, 154; corrected in Ker 1977: 2.814), though an untraced “Ysidorus de natura rerum” is found there (Oliver 1861: 373). There is a rust mark at the tail center of f. 1, indicating that in a previous binding the book was chained, most likely in the Exeter library. The book was still in Exeter in the late 17c, when Bernard noted it (1697: no. 25). It was rebound in the 18c, and this may have been the occasion of the list of contents now on the front pastedown. The manuscript was catalogued by Wanley (1705: 281), and Hickes (1705: 4 and table 2) printed its runic alphabets (f. 66r).

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** iii + 97 + iii. Foliated in pencil at top center on both recto and verso; the first seven folios are misbound in the order 2, 4, 3, 6, 5, 7, 8, this misbinding predating the foliation, which numbers them ‘1–7’. A later pencil hand corrects the foliation according to the order of the text at top center recto with variations of ‘f.’ or ‘fo.’ with the corrected folio number circled. This pencil hand also left short notes on the misfoliation. The main foliating hand occasionally corrects itself.

The parchment is smooth and firm, well-prepared to the point that hair and flesh sides are difficult to discern. The first few leaves show some blotching from mold. Quires of eight arranged hair outside, all sheets

(HHHH), signed 'a-m' at tail center of the last folio verso in A-S minuscule with four dots around each letter, likely the hand of the main scribe. The leaves measure approx. 312–315 × 195 mm. with a text grid of 228–230 × 128–130 mm., pricked in the outer margins, and ruled in dry-point with vertical double bounding, 10 mm. in width, and 29 lines for writing; each line for writing is ruled top and bottom, making for very regular minimum height of approx. 3 mm., with a 5 mm. space between each line of writing. Generally, inner margins of ca. 15 mm., outer margins of ca. 30 mm., and 28–30 mm. at top, with ample margins of ca. 55–58 mm. at tail of each page (depending on wear at the leaves' edges and cropping). Laid out for long lines, though capitula, some of the alphabet lists, and poetry are in two columns, with special formats for calendrical tables at ff. 48v-49r. and for the tables on ff. 65v-66r.

The main text ink is dark brown; A-S square minuscule incipits and explicits in red ink, as are chapter numbers. First lines of prologue and main text of the two major works (Hrabanus and Isidore) are in three- and two-line monumental capitals in green and red. Large initial capitals of each chapter alternate red and brown of main text. Poems on ff. 49v, 58v-60v have large initial capitals for each line. Within text, litterae nobiliores are one-line capitals, at times washed in yellow. Diagrams in red and main text ink from Isidore's "De natura" at ff. 71v, 74r, 75v, 76r, 77r, 82r, 85r, 89v, 92r with unfinished diagrams at ff. 79v, 80v, and 97v. Very lightly glossed and corrected in main text hand, including the two OE glosses on f. 92v. Dry-point doodles and sketches: on ff. 12r, a sketch of a horse's head at f. 49v, and a crude head at f. 51r and other sparse dry-point marks, including runes at f. 66r.

Bound with three paper flyleaves at front and back in the 18c, which are blank except for contents, ownership, and shelf marks (given in "Contents," below); first seven and last two leaves restored, attached to thick paper stubs. Paper pastedowns on inside front and back covers. Worn brown leather cover and spine, tooled on front and back with a filigreed rectangular ornament. Three sewing stations, plus endbands, show on spine, where tooled in gold at head 'COD. | ECCLESIA | EXON.' Sticker with current shelfmark at top left corner of front cover. Described by Ker (1977: 2. 813–14) and Derolez (1954: 219–22).

**COLLATION:** three paper binding leaves (18c); I<sup>8</sup> wants 1 (extant leaves detached and restored in wrong order 2, 4, 3, 6, 5, 7, 8; signed 'a', foliated '1–7'; refoliated acc. to text order); II-XII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 8–95; signed 'b-m'); XIII<sup>2</sup>



two leaves, conjugate? (ff. 96–97; no quire signature); three paper binding leaves (18c).

## CONTENTS:

Pastedown, inner cover: Older shelfmarks, 'no. 25' at top left and larger 'No. 2' at center, below contents list; 18c contents list: '1. Hrabani Mauri de Computo exemplar probe ante 700 annos | exaratum, in quo habentur Alphabeta quadam & uoces nonnullæ | Latina Litteris Runicis scriptæ. vide, Grammaticæ Islendicæ | paginam quarta & Tabellam quartum sequentem in Tomo G. Hiccesii Primo.' In a different and lighter inked hand, '2. Accedit Isidorus Hispalensis Episc. de Natura Rerum | cum Schematibus & Figuris, a Clariss. Wanleio | in Catalogo suo Codd. MSs Anglo-Sax: Ecclesiæ | Exoniensis omissus'; in a black ink and different 18c hand, 'B. 97 Folio et 194 Paginæ | in hoc libro continentur'. Large printed Exeter book plate, dated 1749.

f. [i] recto 18c bibliographical note: 'S. Baluzius edidit Hunc Librum ex Vetere MSs. | vid. Miscellaneorum Lib P<sup>m</sup>. Modern pencil just beneath, '? Paris 1698'. Inked stamp shelfmark '3507' and modern sticker of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral.

[Note: Reference is to Étienne Baluze, *Stephani Baluzii Miscellaneorum Liber Primus, Hoc Est Collectio Veterum Monumentorum Quae Hactenus Latuerant in Variis Codicibus et Bibliothecis* (Paris, 1678).]

ff. [i] verso–[iii] verso blank [i verso – iii recto not photographed].

1. ff. 1r–58r Hrabanus Maurus, "De computo" (ed. Stevens 1979; coll. as siglum "E"):

a. f. 1r/1–1v/15 Prologue to "De computo": **Incipit p(ro)logus hrabani p(er)itissimi uiri | 'DILECTIO FRATRI MACHARIO | monacho hrabanus peccator in chr(ist)o | salutem . . . Et mihi remittas.' explicit p(ro)logus** (coll. Stevens 1979: 199–200);

b. ff. 1v/16–2vb/7 (two columns) capitula of "De computo": **Incipiunt kapitula libri sequentis | 'i De numeroru(m) potentia'; ends: 'xcvi De ætatibus' | expliciunt | kapitula** (coll. Stevens 1979: 201–4) [rest of f. 2vb blank];

[Note: The opening leaves (as originally foliated) are misarranged, 1, 3, 2, 4, 6, 7; the correct order is noted by circled pencil foliations; the original foliation is correct from f. 6 on and is noted on the top center of both rectos and versos.]

c. ff. 3/1–58r/28 "De computo": **Incipit ipse liber hrabani de compote. | 'QVIA TE VENERANDE | P(RE)CEPTOR SEPE AVDIUI | de numeris disputantem discipulisq(ue) tuis huius | artis disciplinam**

demonstrantem'; ends: 'qui est benedictus in | sæcula AMEN' (coll. Stevens 1979: 205–321).

[Note: Marginal 'M' and 'D' in red, at times oxidized to metallic, mark the speakers (Magister and Discipulus) in the dialogue. A dry-point interlace knot and circles at f. 12r top right corner. A notice (which is not the ch. title) at f. 28r/6–7 in the inner margin, boxed in red ink: 'DE ÆQUI/NOCTIIS'. Dry-point hashmarks at f. 32r in outer margin mid-page. Multicolumned calendrical table at ff. 48v–49r. In outer margin at f. 49v/10–12, a dry-point sketch of a horse's head. At f. 51r/21–23 in outer margin, a dry-point sketch of a human head.]

2. ff. 58r/28–66v/23 computistical poems:

- a. f. 58r/28–58v/9 excerpt from Virgil, "Georgics" (1.231–239): **versus | de duodecim mensibus anni** || 'Idcirco certis dimensionum partibus orbem . . . Obliquus quæ signorum uerterit ordo' (as Mynors 1969: 1.36; SK 7632);
- b. ff. 58v/9–59r/29 **tetrasticon autenticum. de singulis mensib(us) | 'Hic iani mensis sacer est en aspice ut aris . . . Nunc tibi cum d(o)mi(n)o ludere uerna licet'** (as Bailey 1982: no. 391; SK 6489);
- c. f. 59v/1–13 excerpt from Ausonius, "Eclogues" 9: **versus de singulis mensibus | 'Primus romanas ordiris iane kalendas . . . Imbrifer ast mensis. tumque dece(m)ber ad e(st)'** (as Combeaud 2010: 94–96; SK 12559), with a different last line (cf. Bullough 1991: 32–33 nn. 64 and 66; Combeaud, textual note);
- d. f. 59v/14–26 **versus de mensibus et signis .xii. | 'Dira patet iani romanis ianua bellis . . . Vnde december amat. te genialis hiemis'** (as Bailey 1982: no. 390; SK 3727);
- e. ff. 59v/27–60r/10 Pseudo-Bedan poem: **versus de duodecim signis | 'Primus adest aries obscuro lumine labens . . . Ex insquamigeri [sic, PL "Squammiferi"] serpentes ludere pisces'** (as PL. 94.637 with significant variants; SK 12524);
- f. f. 60r/11–28 **versus de cursu anni | 'Bis sena mensium uertagine uoluitur annus . . . Per nonas idus decurrens atq(ue) kalendas'** (as Baker and Lapidge 1995: 384; SK 1716);
- g. f. 60r/29–60v/8 Pseudo-Bedan poem: **de octo tramitibus circuli decennouenalis || 'Linea chr(ist)e tuos prima est q(ue) continet annos . . . Aetatem lune monstatq(ue) nouissimus. ordo'** (as PL 90.860; SK 8931);
- h. f. 60v/9–16 **versus de septem dierum uocabulis | 'Prima dies phoebi sacro nomine fulget . . . Et micat alma dies saturno septima summo'** (as Riese 1895: 1.2.40, no. 488; SK 12491).

3. Geographic, Scientific, and Computistical Notes and Alphabets:

- a. ff. 60v/17–61v/15 on the Seven Wonders: **de septem miraculis manu factis** | ‘Primum capitolum romę saluu(m) tutius q(ua)m ciuitas . . . et | viii. colu(m)næ finem faciunt ta(m) mirabilis ædificii’ (cf. as Omont 1882: 47–50; related to Ps.-Bedan account of seven wonders as PL 90.961);
- b. ff. 61v/17–63v/6 (one line left blank for absent rubric) Hyginus, “De imaginibus coeli” / Pseudo-Bedan “Descriptio poli”: ‘Duo sunt extremi uertices mundi’; ends: ‘ad ipsum usq(ue) | decurrit accipiens’ (as Hasper 1861: 11–15; PL 90.368–69) [two lines blank at end];
- c. f. 63v/9–26 list of the twenty-four Egyptian Days: **Incipiunt dies egyptiaci q(ui) debeant obseruari** | ‘Non interscias. Nec sanguis laxetur . . . Mense dece(m)bri. die. xi<sup>mo</sup>. et ante quam exeat die quinto’ (similar formularies [actual unlucky dates differ] occur in BL Cotton Caligula A. xv [179], ff. 129v-130r and Cotton Tiberius C. vi [233], f. 114, as pr. Chardonnens 2007: 373);
- d. ff. 63v/27–64r/12 on the three Egyptian Days: **Item dies ægyptiaci** | ‘Quos maxime obseruare debemus . . . sicut supra scriptum est sedisti tres per | omnia obseruandi sunt’ (ed. Chardonnens 2007: 343, from BL Cotton Vitellius A. xii [250], f. 44rv);
- e. f. 64r/12–64v/3 on the readings for the year: **Incipit ordo librorum | catholicorum in circulo anni legendorum** | ‘In primis. in .lxx. ponunt eptaticum. usque in .xv<sup>ma</sup>. | die ante pascha . . . De natal(e) d(omi)ni ponunt epistolas pauli usq(ue) in lxxam’ (cf. Andrieu 1931: 2.481–88);
- f. f. 64v/5–29 (line 4 left blank for absent rubric) pronunciation of Latin alphabet: ‘Om(ne)s u(ero) litt(er)æ a similitudine uocis caract(er)as accep(er)unt | A. Sub hiato ore congruo solo sp(irit)u memoratur . . . . . Z. Vero appius claudius testatur. Dentes moti | Dum exprimitur imitatur’ (cf. Hagen 1870: 307–8, ultimate source being Martianus Capella, as Dick 1969: 95–96; cf. Holtz 1981: 419–20);
- g. f. 65ra/1–65va/5 Greek and Hebrew alphabets with interpretations (Hebrew letters approximate forms in MS): (f. 65ra/1–24) ‘A alfa. agricola . . . Ωoo. finis’; (f. 65rb/1–65va/5) ‘Ⲁ aleph int(er)p(re)tat(ur) doctrina. . . τ [ τ? ] tau. errauit uel consummauit’(on the Greek alphabet and its interpretation, see Bischoff 1951: 33–34; forms printed in Singer 1922: 290–91; on the Hebrew alphabet and its forms, see Thiel 1973: 84–96, 121–24; Fleming 2006: 107–9) [f. 65vab/6–7 blank];
- h. f. 65va/8–29 and 65vb/8–12 list of Greek letters with numerical values: ‘A mia [sic] .i. . . Ψ niacusin [sic] .dcccc’;
- i. f. 65vb/16–27 in boxed outline, Greek names for groups of thousands and for Jesus Christ: ‘chile. | dischile. . . CHristus. χpc’;

- j. f. 65vc/1–28 names of Greek letters: ‘alfa | beta | gamma . . . psi | longa | eneacoses’;
- k. f. 66r Three Runic Alphabets with Latin Equivalents and ‘Pax Vobiscum’ in runes (runic characters approximate):  
 (i) f. 66r/1–4 ‘A B C | ꝱ ꝲ ꝳ . . . X Y Z | ƿ ƿ ꝺ \ Sup(er) sunt iste | Z ꝶ ꝷ ꝸ’;  
 (ii) f. 66r/5–8 ‘A B C | ꝱ ꝲ ꝳ . . . X Y Z | ƿ ƿ ꝺ \ Sup(er) sunt littere iste .iiii. | ꝶ ꝷ ꝸ Ꝺ’;  
 (iii) f. 66r/9–12 ‘A B C | ꝱ ꝲ ꝳ . . . X Y Z | ƿ ƿ ꝺ’;  
 (iv) f. 66r/13–16 ‘PAX VOBISCUM ET | SALUS PAX \ ƿ ƿ ꝺ Ꝼ ꝼ Ᵹ Ꝿ ꝿ ꝺ Ꝼ ꝼ Ᵹ Ꝿ ꝿ’;  
 (printed in Derolez 1954: 221–37 with comparison of forms and discussion);
- [**Note:** Other runes, or psuedo-runes, inscribed with a dry-point in the outer right margin: at the end of the third runic alphabet, here the most approximate forms given [‘a 7-shaped character] ƿ ꝺ ƿ; at the end of ‘pax vobiscum et,’ ƿ ƿ; at the end of ‘salus pax,’ ƿ ꝺ; in the bottom center margin, ƿ, a vertically crossed and branched ‘h, and a yogh-like character ‘z.]
- l. f. 66v/1–4 **de concurrentibus** | ‘Si uis scire concurrentes . . . tantos concurrentes habebis eode(m) anno’;
- m. f. 66v/5–8 **de epactis** ‘Et qualem lunam in undecima . . . In .xi. k(a)-l(endas) apr(ilis) locus epactarum habetur’;
- n. f. 66v/10–15 (line 9 blank for lacking rubric) epacts and concurrents: ‘In octauo anno .x. et .vii. epactas . . . In septimo decimo anno. | epactę .xv. concurr(ens) .ii.’;
- o. f. 66v/16–23 table of the names of the Six Ages of Man: **de sex ætatibus nominis**. [*sic*] | ‘Prima infantia vii annos tenet . . . Sexta senium ultima etas (ve)l decrepita | quę nullum certum numerum annorum tenet’.
4. Isidore of Seville, “De natura rerum”:
- a. f. 67r/1–67v/4 Letter to Sisebut: **Incipit lib(er) isidorus psalensis** [*sic*] **ep(iscop)i. de nat(ur)a reru(m)**. | ‘D(OMI)NO ET FILIO SISEBVTO | esidorus (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) ego’) salutem (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) mitto’) . . . et sensus et uerba po|nentes. ut ipsorum auctoritas dictoru(m) fide(m) efficiat’ | **explicit prefatio** (as Fontaine 1960: 166–69);
- b. f. 67va/5-b/29 (in two columns) capitula and a note suggesting Gildas as author: **Incipiunt capitulationes** | ‘i De diebus . . . xlviij De partib(us) terra [*sic*] || Alii autem p(ro)logum cuius initium tu fortem locu|lensis uaga carmina gignis in hunc locu(m) introdu|cunt. Alii autem isidori esse respuunt Sed gilde’ (as Fontaine 1960: 169–73, without the note on Gildas);

[**Note:** These last four lines note an alternative poetic prologue, Fontaine's "Epistula Sisebuti" (1960: 329–35) not usually found in the insular 'long recension' (Fontaine 1960: 38); they also suggest that some consider the text's author Gildas. Derolez (1954: 226) suggests "British influence" on the textual transmission of this and the runic texts.]

- c. ff. 68r/4–97v/12 (text) Isidore, "De natura rerum": **de diebus | DIES EST SOLIS ORI|ENTIS PRESENTIA QVO VSQ(UE) | ad occasum perueniat**; ends: 'Terre autem | totius mensuram geometrici .clxxx. milium sta|diorum estimauerunt. Cuius terre expositione(m) | In medio ociano subiecta declarat formula | Finiunt expositiones numero quadraginta | **NOVEM**' **Explicit liber isidori psalensis episcopi | de natura rerum** (as Fontaine 1960: 173–327).

[**Note:** The last sentence and colophon here 'Cuius terre . . . Finiunt . . . novem' are not included in Fontaine 1960.]

- OE **Content:** Two OE glosses on f. 92v: line 7, 'luligines' gl. 'i(d est) mere-swin', line 8 'delphini' gl.: 'i(d est) simones v(el) seolas' (cf. Napier 1900: no. 41, as pr. from BL Cotton Domitian i [187]).
5. f. 97v (lower half of the page) Isidorean T-O world diagram with notes on the sons of Noah and division of the world and its provinces: 'Trés filii noę diuiser(un)t orbem terrarum in .iii. (gl.: 'tres') partes | post diluuu(m). Sém In asiæ. Chám in affrica | Iaphet In europa'; in the three compartments: 'In asia s(un)t p(rovinciæ .xv. . . . egyptus. libia'; 'In affrica sunt .xii. p(ro)|uinciæ . . . et mi|nores'; 'In europa sunt p(ro)-vincie | xiiii . . . . brittannia. | hybernia. austral|irias [sic]' (on this type of map, see Woodward 1987: 1.295–97; text from Nennius, see Morris 1980: 63, §17).

**PHOTO NOTES:** ff. [i] verso - [iii] recto (all blank) are not included in the images. Pencil foliation is on top center of both recto and verso is faint and is seldom visible on fiche.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Andrieu, Michel. *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age 2: Textes Ordines I-XIII*. Études et Documents 23. Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1948.
- Bailey, D. R. Shackleton, ed. *Anthologia Latina 1.1*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1982.
- Baker, Peter, and Michael Lapidge. Eds. *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*. EETS s.s. 15. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

- Bernard, E. *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in Unum Collecti*. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1697.
- Bischoff, Bernhard. "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951): 27–55.
- Bullough, Donald A. *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1991.
- Chardonnes, L. S. *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900–1100: Study and Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Combeaud, Bernard, ed. *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula Omnia*. Bordeaux: Mallat, 2010.
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Derolez, René. *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition*. Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitg. door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren 118. Bruges: De Tempel, 1954.
- Dick, Adolf, ed. *Martianus Capella: De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1969.
- Fleming, Damian J. "The Most Exalted Language': Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of Hebrew." PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2006.
- Fontaine, Jacques, ed. *Traité de la Nature: De natura rerum liber*. Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études hispaniques 28. Bordeaux: Féret, 1960.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Hagen, Hermann. *Anecdota Helvetica quae ad grammaticam latinam spectant ex bibliothecis Turicensi, Einsidlensi, Bernensi collecta*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Hasper, W. H., ed. *Hyginus Philosophus: De imaginibus coeli*. Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung, 1861.
- Holtz, Louis. *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (iv<sup>e</sup>-ix<sup>e</sup> siècle) et édition critique*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981. [419–20]
- Ker, N.R. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 2: Abbotford-Keele*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Morris, John, ed. *Nennius: British History and The Welsh Annals*. London: Phillimore, 1980.

- Mynors, R.A.B., ed. *Publii Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Napier, Arthur S., ed. *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished*. Anecdota Oxoniensia: Mediaeval and Modern Series 9. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900; repr. New York: AMS, 1989. [no. 41]
- Omont, H.A. "Les Sept Merveilles du Monde au Moyen Âge." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 43 (1882): 40–59.
- Orchard, Nicholas, ed. *The Leofric Missal*. Henry Bradshaw Society 113–114. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2002.
- Riese, Alexander, and Franz Buecheler, ed. *Anthologia Latina, sive Poesis Latinae supplementum*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1895.
- SK = Schaller, Dieter, Ewald Könsgen, John Tagliabue, and Thomas Klein. *Initia Carminum Latinorum Saeculo Undecimo Antiquiorum: bibliographisches Repertorium für die lateinische Dichtung der Antike und des früheren Mittelalters*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1977; Supplementband. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005.
- Singer, Charles. "Hebrew Scholarship in the Middle Ages Among Latin Christians." In *The Legacy of Israel*, ed. Edwyn R. Beven and Charles Singer, 283–314. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
- Stevens, Wesley M., ed. *Rabani Mogontiacensis Episcopi De computo*. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 44. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979. [165–331]
- . "Sidereal Time in Anglo-Saxon England." In *Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, ed. Calvin B. Kendall and Peter S. Wells, 125–52. Medieval Studies at Minnesota 5. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.
- Thiel, Matthias. *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters*. Biblioteca degli 'Studia Medievali' 4. Spoleto: Centro Italiano Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1973.
- Webber, Teresa. *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075–1125*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Woodward, David. "Medieval Mappaemundi." In *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 286–370. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

### 131b. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3514

Geoffrey of Monmouth, “*Historia Regum Britannie*”,  
Henry of Huntingdon, “*Historia Anglorum*”,  
and other English and Welsh historical texts.  
[Ker: —; Gneuss: —; Robinson and Stanley: 3.22]

**HISTORY:** An organic 13c compilation of historical, cosmological, and genealogical texts. The initial core of the collection is a copy of Henry of Huntingdon’s “*Historia Anglorum*” with lists and other historical material (pp. 226–504), written in the so-called “earlier hand” (Ker 1977: 2.822) probably dating to the second half of the 13c (Greenway 1996: cxxx). This cluster of texts represents the latest version of Henry’s “*Historia*” dating to after 1138 with later additions, and bearing additional material probably added at Le Bec, perhaps by Robert of Torigny (Greenway 1986: 108–9 and 113–15). Dumville (1985: 6–16) has shown this core ultimately stems from a Norman source, probably assembled at Saint Wandrille (with a possible Jumièges source before that), and mediated through an exemplar (London, Lambeth Palace 327) from eastern England (Dumville 1985: 11–15; Wright 1988: lxxxii; Greenway 1996: cxxxv–cxxxvi). To this core were added texts mainly concerned with history and politics in Edwardian Wales, as Crick has demonstrated (2010: 21–42), notably the “First Variant” version of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s “*Historia Regum Britannie*” (on which see Wright 1988: xi–lxxviii) in the later part of the 13c, and the “*Cronica de Wallia*”, annals concerned with Welsh history, after 1266 (Crick 2010: 40).

There is some clearly English material integrated in the book, including a history of the A-S kings, and an account of the death of Bede which contains the OE poem, “Bede’s Death Song” (f. 19b), which has led some to suggest that it began in an English center before coming to Wales (Ker 1964: 11; Ker 1977: 2.822 suggests England or Wales). Portions of the book have been attributed to the Cistercian abbey in Whitland, in southwest Wales, with source texts from Strata Florida, the Cistercian abbey just west of Pontrhydfendigiad in western Wales, founded 1164 (see Hughes 1980: 76–79). Crick has made a compelling case that the collection as a whole was com-



piled in southern Wales with recourse to English sources over the course of the second half of the 13c (2010; see also Dumville 2002: vi). The book continued to be read and annotated in Wales, as late 13c and 14c marginalia on Welsh families and politics are found on several texts (Ker 1977: 2. 823–24; Crick 2010: 32). There are some names, perhaps of owners or readers, in late 13c scripts: ‘Adam de F[. . .]herd’ (p. iv) and ‘Iohannes Braye’ on the back cover pastedown. A 15c hand perhaps provides a place- or surname, “Henmarssh Anno domini etc. lxxiii<sup>o</sup>”, also on the back cover pastedown. In the second half of the 15c it belonged to John Russell (c. 1430–1494), bishop of Lincoln, chancellor to Richard III and chancellor of Oxford University (Thomson 2008), who added numerous annotations (item 23a). The manuscript was in Exeter by the late 17c, when Bernard catalogued it (1698: nos. 15–20; 2. 55–56). Previous descriptions, Jones 1946, Ker 1977: 822–25, Wright 1988: lxxii–lxxxvi, Crick 2010.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** ii + 266. Paginated on rectos, top right in ink, ‘1–533’ + [534], p. 456 not paginated; a later hand has sporadically added folio numbers for stretches at top center recto up to ‘47’. The parchment is thick, crinkly and darkening at the edges. Though a composite book, or better, a volume composed over time, the dimensions of the volume are fairly consistent, with some variations: quire I is slightly smaller than those following, approx. 248 × 172 mm., written space is c. 180 × 130 mm., with each column about 60 mm., with a 10 mm. vertical space between them. Subsequent quires approx. 252 × 186 mm., with a writing space of approx. 180 × 126 mm. In the “earlier” core (pp. 226–450), the page is laid out for two columns of text, 33–35 lines per page, with a double bound between the two columns of text, single bounded in the outer margins, and writing above the top line. This seems to have been the model for most of the rest of the book, which is laid out in two columns, pricked in the outer margins and ruled, mainly in light brown ink, for between 32–42 lines per page. Writing above and below top lines varies in these later parts, but mainly below top line. Amply spaced pages, with wide outer and bottom margins, occasionally ruled ad hoc for glosses and annotation. A single bound between the two columns, pp. 1–62, except where there are diagrams, for which the leaves were left unruled. For the most part, double bounds between columns of text with single bounds on outside, pp. 63–218; pp. 223–25 ruled for eight columns of 35 lines for a list of archbishops of various cities, and p. 226 makes use of this layout to produce one very narrow column (for a list of bishops) and seven of these columns as a large block of text, after which two-column format. Following the “earlier” core

is a two-column format, with double bounds between and on outside of text columns, pp. 451–504. A new format occurs at pp. 507–19, in two columns, double bounded between them, single bounded outside, but wide outer and lower margins are ruled; set up for 46 lines per page. At pp. 522–28, text is in long lines, single bounded, 34 lines per page. The last leaves (pp. 529–34) were originally blank. The quires are varied in arrangement, in gatherings of 4, 8, 14, 16, but mainly 12s, with some quires arranged hair outside (HFHF), some flesh outside (FHFH), almost always like facing like within, except quire II, which is flesh outside all leaves. Quire XII varies slightly, being pricked in both margins.

Inks vary with the hands. Ker suggested “earlier” hands in the initial core texts, with one hand responsible for the majority of the remainder (pp. 1–66 and 507–18). Crick’s more recent and detailed study finds nine hands, though her Hands 1 and 2 are closely connected, Hand 5 may be a higher grade of Hand 1, and Hand 2 and Hand 4 are linked (2010: 39). For the most part, the book is written in various related late 13c Gothic bookhands with a number of idiosyncrasies, including insular features typically archaic by the late 13c (for fuller profiles of each hand, see Crick 2010: 39–42). According to Crick (2010: 33–34) these idiosyncrasies, along with the book’s atypical dimensions—neither large and deluxe, nor small and workaday—suggest Welsh rather than English origins. Ornamented with red and blue initials of various sizes from 2-line to 16-line, with thin embellishments often in a second color (red for blue and vice versa); on pp. 56–226 and 442–50 there is space left for initials but they are not drawn in; no red and blue initials on pp. 507–28. Decorated initials in red and blue prominent in the “earlier” core (pp. 226–450), as are running book number headers at top right rectos in red. Diagrams occur on pp. 36–40; on pp. 36–37 a full spread is used to illustrate the spheres; all diagrams illustrate Honorius’ “De imagine mundi” (PL 172.119–33), concluding with an Isidorean T-O map on p. 53 with text from “Etymologiae” explaining the four winds.

Numerous hands annotate various texts, from the 13c through the 15c and into the modern period. Drawings added: creatures in the margins of p. 150 and p. 152; a monk, with either a very perpendicular hood or a cricket bat on his shoulder at p. 245; a sketch of rough seas in the left margin of p. 342; an eel in the outer right margin of p. 375. John Russell’s own hand is found on pp. 529–30, 532–33 (Ker 1977: 824).

The first three binding leaves were added likely in the 14c, the first a bifolium, of which the first leaf is the inside cover pastedown. The third is a stiff parchment that has a 14c table of contents. From this medieval contents list, it is clear that at least two items have gone missing from between

pp. 60–61 (Ker 1977: 2. 822 and Crick 2010: 37). The binding is late medieval, with very worn white leather, gone brown in places with many holes exposing the wooden boards. Fittings for a clasp on the fore-edges, but a hook from the upper cover is gone. The spine is likewise worn down, showing four sewing stations, with a diamond-shaped leather label at the head, reading '[.]5' and at the tail spine a modern paper label '3514'. A modern hand has inked '15' in the front top center of the upper cover. At the center of the inside front cover pastedown, 'No. 15' and below that the 1749 bookplate of Exeter Cathedral Library. The ink shelfmarks would appear to date to the late 17c, perhaps contemporary with Bernard's catalogue (1698). First binding leaf blank but for the shelfmark '3514' and 'No. 15' at top right. The manuscript is kept in a blue custom case with a silver shelfmark.

**COLLATION:** iii + 266: i<sup>3</sup> (a bifolium, the first leaf now the pastedown, plus a singleton; pp. [i]-[iv]); I<sup>4</sup> (pp. 1–8); II<sup>8</sup> (pp. 9–24); III<sup>4</sup> (pp. 25–32); IV<sup>14-1+2</sup> wants 13 (after p. 60), bifolium added after 3 (after p. 38) (pp. 33–62); V<sup>16</sup> (pp. 63–94); VI–X<sup>12</sup> (pp. 95–214); XI<sup>4</sup> (pp. 215–222); XII–XX<sup>12</sup> (pp. 223–438); XXI<sup>6</sup> (pp. 439–450); XXII<sup>14</sup> wants 14 after p. 476 which has a catchword (pp. 451–476); XXIII<sup>12</sup> (pp. 477–500); XXIV<sup>12+1</sup> singleton added before 1 (p. 503) (pp. 501–526); XXV<sup>4</sup> (pp. 527–34).

**CONTENTS** (for contents, cf. Crick 1989: 114–17):

p. [iii]/1–29 14c contents list: **In isto uolumine co(n)tine(n)t(ur) libri subsc(ri)pti** | 'In p(ri)mo quida(m) tractat(us) q(ui) incipit q(uo)modo i(n) p(ri)ncipio . . . It(e)m cronic(a) de Anglia' (ed. Crick 2010: 37–38).

p. [iv] originally blank, now name at top center: 'Adam de F[. . .]herd' and a further note on contents: 'In no(m)i(n)e ie(s)u chr(isti) inc(ipit) lib(er) metodii ep(iscop)i eccl(es)ie paterens(is) . . . Sciend(um) est | namq(ue) nob(is) fra(tre)s k(arissimi)mi q(uo)d i(n) p(ri)ncipio & c(etera)'.

1a. pp. 1a/1–6b/22 Pseudo-Methodius, "De initio et fine saeculi" (added medieval heading: 'Metodius martyr chr(ist)i de fine seculi'): '[S]ciendum namq(ue) | est nobis fr(atr)es k(arissimi)mi | q(uo)m(odo) in principio creauit | deus celum 7 t(er)ram . . . (line 9) 7 ei(ec)ti su(n)t uirgin-es de paradiso'; ends: '(i)g(itur) cum p(at)re 7 sp(iritu) s(an)c(t)o uiuit 7 reg(na)t | deus p(er) om(n)ia s(e)c(u)la secul(um). Amen' (cf. ed. Sackur 1898: 60–96) [line 23 blank].

[Note: Large 'FF' 2x at top of p. 1.]

b. p. 6b/24–26 verses on the years until Antichrist: 'Anni duce(n)ti mil-leni ter duoceni. | Et seni decies á p(ar)tu u(ir)ginis alme. | Tu(n)c

antich(ristus) nascetur demo(n)e plen(us)' (on similar verses see Holder-Egger 1889: 175) [lines 27–35 blank].

p. 7 blank [not included on film]

p. 8 addition (14c) on originally blank page: 'Pictorib(us) atq(ue) poetis | Quidl(ibe)t audendi fuit semp(er) equa potestas | Nolo pat(er) nost(er) carpe viator iter | mille rates plene fort(e)m [?, *recte* fortibus] absq(ue) sene | Iocē tue de sale l(i)beant a dente careant'.

[Note: The heading and first line are from Horace, "Ars Poetica" lines 9–10 (ed. Fairclough 1929); the second verse is from an apocryphal tale of priests finding Ovid's tomb (ed. T. Wright 1843: 43–44); the third verse is found in the "Carmina Burana" (ed. Diemer and Diemer 1987: 370, no. 152, line 6) but is found elsewhere; last line unidentified.]

2. pp. 9a/1–10a/19 a genealogy of English kings to Edward I: '[A]dam genuit seth. seth gen(uit) enos. . . . Edwardus | rex angl(ie) gen(uit) Joh(ann)em. Henricu(m). 7 Al|phonsum q(ui) in minorib(us) p(re)-mature | descesserunt' (unprinted) [remainder of col. a is blank].

3. pp. 10b/1–18b/32 History of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy, derived ultimately from the "Annals of St. Neots" (later heading in upper margin 'De aduentu anglor(um) in Britanniam'): '[A]Nno ab incarnat(i)one d(omi)ni cccc<sup>o</sup> | xlviiii. Martianus cum Valenti|niano'; ends: '7 s(an)c(tu)s beda | uen(er)abilis presbiter' (unprinted; see Dumville and Lapidge 1985: xxi and Crick 2010: 36).

4. pp. 19a/1–21a/22 "Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae" (Dobbie's "Insular Version") (later medieval heading in top margin 'De uen(er)ab(i)li beda p(re)sb(ite)ro & doctore . . .'): 'Incipit epilogiu(m) de obitu beati atq(ue) | eximii doctoris bede . . . (line 12) [M]unusculum quod misisti multu(m) li|bent(er) accepi'; (p. 19b/11, "Bede's Death Song": 'Fortha(m) nedfere | neni unprtheth . . . demed uueorthe'); ends: 'inerudito lingue facit' (cf. Dobbie 1937: 119–27 and 90). [remainder of column a blank]

[Note: An early modern hand has added an incipit and explicit for this text, and also marked out and labeled the OE "Bede's Death Song" at p. 19b/11–16 'Anglicana'. There are no insular or special letter forms in the text of the "Death Song," though 'unprtheth' shows the remains of a "wynn," which a scribe may have taken for 'y'. Dobbie does not know this version, but it is almost identical to the text of Cambridge, Trinity College R.7.28 (Tr<sup>3</sup>), an insular recension; see Robinson and Stanley 1991: 3.22. "The History of the Heptarchy" and this version of Cuthbert's Letter derived from the version found in the Annals of St. Neots; see Lapidge and Dumville 1985: 29–31.]

5. pp. 21b/1–30a/12 genealogy of the Kings of France to Philip IV (1285–1314, here misnamed Louis): '[P]Rimus o(m)niu(m) regu(m) f(r)ancor(um)

q(ui) ap(u)d illos | more regio regnauit; ends: 'qui duxit filiam 7 | here-  
dem regis nauarre' (unprinted) [remainder of p. 30 blank].

[Note: Early modern hand has added incipit and explicit for this text.]

pp. 31–35, 38, 41–42 blank [not included on film]

6a. maps and diagrams illustrating Honorius of Autun's "De imagine mundi": pp. 36–37, diagram of the spheres; p. 39 (above) diagram of the spheres and (below) a rotum diagram with a dragon biting its own tail with early modern inscription that follows the words on the rota: 'En ann(us) ego sum sic sol se circuit in quo | qui fluxit pridem stat(us) nunc temporis Idem'; p. 40 (above) a wind-rose and (below) a circuit of eight spheres headed by 'Sol' (with drawing of a head);

b. pp. 43a/1–52b/33 Honorius of Autun's "De imagine mundi" (attrib. to Bede in a heading at the top of p. 43: 'beda de ymagine mundi'): [S]peculum mundi ad in|struct(ione)m . . . quod in antiquis auc|toribus reperitur | '[M]undus d(icitu)r quasi undi(que) | motus'; ends imperf.: 'Insulas circu[m]iuim(us) | 7 cet(er)a.' Explicit liber qui d(icitu)r yma|go mundi (as PL 172.119–33) [remainder of p. 52b blank but for a gloss at the bottom].

c. p. 53a/1-c/58 T-O world map appended to "De imagine mundi" with writing in two regular-sized columns, plus a third narrow and more tightly-ruled column in the outer margin; text from Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae, 13.11.2–21: 'Uentor(um) quatuor p(ri)ncipales sp(ecie)s sunt . . . Vn(de) | illud poete. | a latis austri | 7 cet(er)a hiis si|milia' (text as Lindsay 1911: *ad loc.*).

7. pp. 54a/1–56a/38: genealogy of British kings from Adam to Cadwallader: Incipit genealogia uiror(um) ab adam / usq(ue) ad bru/tum | 'Adam pater generis | humani'; ends: 'Kal(endas) maii mortuus 7 sepult(us). Anno ab incarnatione d(omi)n(i) Dclxxx i°x' | [F]init genealogia regum brita(n)ie | succesive regnanciu(m) a p(ri)mo ad | ultimu(m). id e(st) a bruto us(que) ad Calawa|drium (unprinted).

[Note: Annotations added in ruled spaces at lower margin; above each name, successive roman numerals added.]

8. p. 56b/1–32 genealogy of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd back to Adam (heading in upper margin added later 'Genealogia ad p(ro)ba(n)du(m) q(uod) lewlin(us) p(ri)nceps Wallie fuit cognat(us) dei'): '[L]ewelinus f(ili)i g(ri)ffini . . . f(ili)i adam. f(ili)i dei' (ed. Thornton 1992: 11–12) [line b/33 blank].

[Note: Glosses and numbers of generations added later.]

9. pp. 56b/34–57b/23 genealogy of Brutus: '[C]yprius quidam filius Ieuan . . . a britonib(us) preda'e' no(m)i(n)atur' (unprinted).

10. pp. 57b/24–58a/24 genealogy of Æthelwold back to Noah, adapted from William of Malmesbury, “Gesta Regum Anglorum”: **Incipit genealogia anglorum** | ‘[Ae]thelwoldus fuit egbricti . . . a noe genitus rep(er)itur’ (ed. Mynors et al. 1998: 1.176–77).
11. p. 58a/25-b/29 genealogy of Norman Kings from 806 to Henry III: **Incipit geneologia normannor(um)** | **& unde originem ducunt.** | ‘[N]ormanni origine dani. dcccvi<sup>o</sup>. | ab incarnatione d(omi)ni . . . Henricus | iiii<sup>o</sup> filius’ (unprinted).
12. pp. 58b/30–60b/36 on the geography of Britain: ‘[H]ec est mensura anglicie. uel b(ri)|tannie . . . Huic successit Henr(icus) s(e)c(un)d(u)s nepos | henr(ici) p(ri)mi ex filia 7 uixit xxxiiii<sup>o</sup> ann(is)’ (ends imperf.; unprinted).

[Note: The 14c contents list makes clear that material has been lost between pp. 60 and 61 (see “Collation” quire IV); at least two items are missing, one on the names of the kings from Brutus to Cadwallader and another computistical item attributed to Bede.]

13. pp. 61a/1–66b/10 genealogy of the kings of France and England after William I (heading in upper center margin ‘Genealogia regum francie’): ‘[A]Nno p(ri)mo gracia|ni 7 Valentiniani imp(er)ator(um)’; ends: ‘7 iste simi|lit(er) rotam fortune exp(er)tus est’ (unprinted) [remainder of p. 66b blank].
14. ‘Dares Phrygius,’ “De excidio Troiae historia” (as Meister 1873):  
 a. pp. 67a/1–67b/5 “Prologue” (heading in upper margin ‘Incip(it) liber daretis frigii de bello | troiano’): **Daretis frigii entelii hys|toria** . . . **Cornelius nepos sa|lustio crispo suo salutem** | ‘[C]um multa uolu|mina leg(er)am athe|nis . . . nu(n)c ad polli|citur reu(er)tatur’;  
 b. pp. 67b/6–93b/32 “De excidio Troiae historia”: ‘[P]eleas rex fuit in pelo|penso opido’; ends imperf. at beg. of last ch. (44): ‘Actenus id dares frigijs | mandauit litteris’ | (added: **Explicit histo(ria) Daretis**)
15. Geoffrey of Monmouth, “Historia Regum Britannie”:  
 a. p. 94a/1-b/20 Prologue ‘[C]um mecum | multa de multis | sepius animo reuoluens | in hystoria(m) regu(m) brita(n)nie . . . interno (con)gratulat(ur) | affectu’ (ed. Wright 1988: lxxxv);

[Note: A family tree for Brutus has been added in blank space at the end of the column at p. 94b.]

- b. p. 95a/1–218a/27 “Historia Regum Britannie” First Variant version: **Incipit Historia Britonu(m) a | galfrido arturo monemute(n)|si | de britannia lingua in la|tinum translata** | ‘[B]ritannia insular(um) | optima quondam | albion nu(n)cupata e(st)’; ends: ‘qui hu(n)c | hystoriam britonu(m) de eor(um) lingua | in n(ost)ram t(ra)nsferre curauit’

| **Explicit** (coll. Wright 1988: 1–192, this is his text “E”) [remainder of page blank].

[**Note:** In title, *arturo* is struck through, whether to cancel or to highlight is not clear. The text of Geoffrey’s “*Historia*” is here not divided into books, nor numbered in chapters; however, the beginnings of books 3 (p. 115b/22), 4 (p. 125b/11), and 5 (p. 137a/7) have been marked in the margins, and with small roman numerals in the top right corners. Furthermore, at the bottom of p. 181, ‘lib. vii’ is written, and ‘viii’ marked in the top right corner, though neither of these coincide with the beginning of a book. Extensive 14c marginalia on pp. 159–60, effectively a commentary on the prophecy of Merlin as printed in Hammer 1949.]

pp. 219–22 blank [not included on film]

16. pp. 223–226 (p. 223 6 cols., p. 224 7 cols., p. 225 8 cols., p. 226 left margin) lists of Archbishops of Canterbury, Sens, and Tours; bishops of Le Mans, Poitiers, Nantes, Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, Orléans, Senlis, Tours, and Anger; abbots of Jumièges and Saint-Wandrille: **Nomina archiep(iscop)or(um) | Cantuariens(is) | Sanct(us) aug(us)tinus . . . Walter(us) | Roger(us)**.

[**Note:** The lists carry only through the mid-12c and so do not date the manuscript. Details are: p. 223a/1-b/9 **Nomina Archiep(iscoporum) | Cantuarien(s)um | Sanct(us) aug(us)tinus . . . Rob(er)tus**; p. 223b/10-c/11 **Nomina ep(isc)o(porum) | Cenoma(n)nice. | S(an)c(tu)s Julianus . . . Will(iamu)s**; p. 223c/12-e2 **No(m)-i(n)a e[p](isc)o(porum) | pictauen(ensium). | Prim(us) Nectarius . . . Gilleb(er)-tus**; p. 223e/3-f/21 **Nomina ep(isc)o(porum) | Na(ve)retine(n)sium | p(ri)m(us) sanct(us) | clarus . . . Bernard(us)**; pp. 223f/22–224a/32 **No(m)i(n)a episcoporum | Ambianensium(m). | Sanct(us) firmi|nus martyr . . . Henricus | frat(er) Regis**; p. 224b/1-c/20 **No(m)i(n)a ep(isc)o(porum) | Beluace(n)sium(m). | Sanctus Lucian(us) p(ri)m(us) . . . Walo**; p. 224c/21-e/12 **Nomina | Archiep(isc)o(porum) | Senone(n)sium | Sanctus | Sauinian(us) | martyr . . . Symon**; p. 224e/13-g/12 **No(m)i(n)a ep(isc)o(porum) | parisensium | Sanct(us) Dionisius martyr . . . Theobald(us)**; pp. 224g/13–225b/9 **Nomina. | ep(isc)o(porum). Aureliane(n)sium. | Diclopi[t]-(us) . . . petrus**; p. 225b/10-c/15 **No(m)i(n)a ep(isc)o(porum) | Siluanate(n)sium**. | S(an)c(tu)s Regul(us) . . . Odo; p. 225c/16-d/15 **Nomina. | Abbatum | Gemin(us). [sic] | S(an)ctus phileb(er)t(us) . . . Eustachi(us)**; p. 225d/16-g/5 **Nomina | Archie(pisc)opor(um) | Turone(n)sium. | S(an)ctus Gátian(us) . . . engelhal|dus**; p. 225g/6-h/19 **Nomina | ep(isc)o(porum) An|degau(en)sium**. | p(ri)m(us) defe(n)sor . . . Norma(n)s(us); pp. 225h/20–226 margin 1–21 **Nomina | Abbatum | fontan(ensis). | S(an)ctus Wa(n)dregisil(us) . . . Rog(er)us**. ]

17. Henry of Huntingdon, “*Historia Anglorum*” in 10 books, representing the 1146 version with the later 1154 continuation (cf. Greenway 1996: cxxx–cxxxii):

a. pp. 226a/1–227a/3 (p. 226 in long lines, subsequently in 2 cols.) list of contents of each book of “*Historia Anglorum*”: **In hoc uolumine continetur**

- hystoria anglor(um) nouiter | edita ab henrico hunte(n)dunensi archidiacono libri .x. | 'PRimus liber est. de regno romanor(um). . . unde seque(n)s liber agat lectori | p(re)libando notificaremus'** (ed. Greenway 1996: 833–35);
- b. pp. 227a/4–228b/18 Prologue with verse conclusion: **Incipit p(ro)logus hystorie anglor(um) | co(n)texte ab henrico hu(n)tendunensi | archidiacono anno gr(aci)e millesimo | centesimo t(ri)cesimo q(ui)nto. | 'Cum i(n) om(n)i fere litteraru(m) | studio . . . (p. 228a/28) deo | inuocato incipiamus' ADONAY est | trisillabum in hebreo | 'Adonay. optifex. pastor. s(us)cept(i)o n(ost)ra . . . Aspice q(uam) nichili sit honor lux gl(or)ia mu(n)di' | Explicit p(ro)logus ad alexandrum | lincolnie(n)sem ep(iscop)us dictus Hystorie | anglorum** (ed. Greenway 1996: 2–9);
- c. pp. 228b/18–250a/1 Bk 1: **Liber primus incipit | de regno romanor(um) i(n) britta(n)nia. | 'BRittannia i(gitur) beatissi|ma e(st) insularu(m)'; ends: 'sic(ut) euide(n)t(us) reru(m) exit(us) p(ro)bauit' || explicit liber primus** (ed. Greenway 1996: 10–77);
- d. pp. 250a/1–267b/17 Bk 2: **Incipit se(cundus) de aduentu anglorum | 'TRActatum (est) in sup(er)ioribus | de .xlv. imp(er)atorib(us)'; ends: 'adipisci su(m)me felicitatis.' Explicit liber s(e)c(un)d(us) | de aduentu anglor(um).** (ed. Greenway 1996: 78–137);
- e. pp. 267b/17–293b/13 Bk 3: **Incipit liber iii<sup>(us)</sup> | de conu(er)sione anglorum. | 'Liber hic co(n)u(er)sionis anglor(um) (est)'; ends: 'h(uius) na(m)q(ue) lib(ri) p(ar)tes om(ne)s s(e)c(un)d(u)m ordine(m) p(ro)po|situm p(er)t(ra)ctate sunt.' Explicit liber | t(er)tius de (con)u(er)sione anglor(um)** (ed. Greenway 1996: 138–209);
- f. pp. 293b/13–312b/35 Bk 4: **Incipit q(ua)rtus de regno anglorum. | 'IN no(m)i(n)e domini n(ost)ri ie(s)u chr(ist)i saluato|ris'; ends: 'Regnu(m) u(ero) estangle ia(m) regnit aliis ua|riis modis subiectu(m) fuerat'** (ed. Greenway 1996: 210–71);
- g. pp. 313a/1–333a/15 Bk 5: (added above top line 'Incipit liber q(ui)nt(us) de bellis dacor(um)'): **'IN hui(us) historie p(ri)ncipio .v. plagis p(er)-c(us)|sam dixim(us) brittannia(m)'; ends: 'et iam ad p(ri)mor|diaca(usa)mq(ue) adue(n)t(us) normannor(um) p(er)ue|nimus'** (ed. Greenway 1996: 211–337);
- [Note: Rubric headings to each subsequent book added in a later medieval hand in the blank lines left for the rubricator.]
- h. pp. 333a/17–355b/15 Bk 6 ('Incipit liber sext(us) de ad|ue(n)tu normannor(um)'): **'Millesimo anno ab incarnatio(n)e | d(omi)ni';**



- ends: 'Hanc Will(elm)e t(ibi) stella comata dedit' (ed. Greenway 1996: 338–411);
- i. pp. 355b/18–376a/3 Bk 7 ('Incipit liber septim(us) de regno | norman(n)-or(um)'): 'Hacten(us) de his q(ue) u(el) in libris uet(er)u(m) | legendo rep(er)imus'; ends: 'Nutriit h(ec) pu(eru)m. p(er)didit illa uiru(m)' (ed. Greenway 1996: 412–92);
- j. pp. 376a/5–406a/22 Bk 8 ('Incipit lib(er) octau(us) de su(m)mitatib(us) | reru(m) q(ui) co(n)tinet(ur) in t(ri)b(us) ep(isto)lis. P(ro)log(us)'): 'Hic est annu(s) q(ui) comp(re)hendit | sc(ri)ptorem'; ends: 'Su(m)ma dei | sit ei gr(ati)a quis est [sic]' (ed. Greenway 1996: 493–619);
- [Note: Later medieval heading at top center p. 376: 'Hic Incipit liber octauus']
- k. pp. 406a/22–35 capitula for Bk 9 ('Incipiu(n)t cap(itu)la no(n)i libri de mirac(u)lis s(an)c(t)or(um) q(ui) su(n)t de a(n)glia'): 'De s(an)c(t)o Oswaldo rege beato . . . De Wlfrido uen(er)abili p(res)b(ite)ro' (ed. Greenway 1996: 620);
- l. pp. 406a/35–428b/9 Bk 9 ('Incip(it) lib(er) ix(us).'): 'De uiris illustrib(us) anglor(um) 7 que p(er) | eos deitatis o(mn)ipotencia mirac(u)lis | exhibuit'; ends: '7 iam hic de gloriosis op(er)ib(us) dei' | lib(er) nonus explicit (ed. Greenway 1996: 621–97);
- [Note: Later medieval heading at top center p. 406: 'Hic Incipit liber nonus de mirac(u)lo s(an)c(t)or(um).']
- m. pp. 428b/10–450a/19 Bk 10 ('Incip(it) decim(us) lib(er) de regib(us) | p(ost) he(n)r(i)cu(m) / p(ri)mu(m)') \ : 'Defuncto (i)g(itur) henrico rege magno li(b)era ut i(n) mortuo solunt ut iudicia p(o)p(u)li de p(ro)-mebant(ur)'; ends: 'te nu(n)c | int(ra)nte reuixi.' | (added) **Explicit hystoria regu(m) anglor(um) | co(m)po(s)ita ab henrico huntendune(n)|si archidiacono** (ed. Greenway 1996: 698–777) [remainder of p. 450a blank].
18. pp. 450b/1–37 account in French of Henry II's reign, added in the 14c: '[A]p(re)s cestui Roi Estephene . . . et la conquest le viii<sup>me</sup>' (ends incomplete; unprinted).
19. "History of the Normans" (unprinted):
- a. p. 451a/1–452b/32 capitula (title added 'Incipiu(n)t capit(u)la in historia(m) nor(ma)n(or)u(m) 7 tende(n)te(m) i(n) reges an|glor(um). de Ric(ard)o p(ri)mo'): '1 De generat(i)one Ricardi ducis | normannie . . . 37 De rege henrico quarto';
- [Note: A later medieval hand has numbered the chapter headings in arabic numerals, both in the capitula list and in the text.]
- b. pp. 453a/1–504a/15 (text) "History of the Normans" ('de p(ri)mo Ricardo duce norma(n)or(um)'); an early modern hand has added at p. 453a/1

- 'Anonymi'): 'POstq(ua)m W(i)ll(elmu)s lungespee | filius Rollonis primi du|cis normannie'; ends: 'Venit Pan|dulfus legatus Norwicensis | electus' (unprinted) [remainder of p. 504 blank].
- pp. 505–506 blank [not included on film]
20. pp. 507a/1–519b/26 "Cronica de Wallia" (added above col. a 'Chronic(us) d(e) Wallia'): 'Annus .M<sup>(us)</sup>. C<sup>(us)</sup>. nonagesimus ab incar|nac(i)one domini'; ends: ' qui | incendia multa commiserunt' (ed. Jones 1946–48: 29–41).
- pp. 520–21 blank [not included on film]
21. pp. 522/1–523/16 (long lines) on Rhys ap Gruffudd and his grandsons: 'Resus fil(ius) griffini . . . Septim(us) dauid q(ui) fuit ep(iscopu)s Men(euensis)' (ed. Jones 1946–48: 41–42 as two texts) [line 17 blank]. [Note: Late 13c hand annotates the text, giving further information about other families.]
22. pp. 523/18–528/26 incomplete Chronicle of Britain to 1285: 'Cronica an(te) aduentu(m) d(omi)ni Anno .CCCC.XL. fuit exidiu(m)'; ends imperf.: 'Cui successit' (1254–1285 ed. Jones 1946–48: 42–44) [remainder of p. 528 blank].
23. Notes on originally blank leaves:
- pp. 529, 530, 532, 533 notes in John Russell's hand (15c), including, p. 529 verses: 'Stirpe par(um) clarus magis aptus q(uam) b(e)n(e) doctus | fraudis inexp(er)tis facto sermoneq(ue) veRus celluy Ie suis'; p. 530 notes on a river in several English counties; p. 532, a family tree of British kings.
  - p. 530 14c medieval note in French on kings of Scotland. Also on p. 530, many bold capital S's and the name 'Simon'.
- p. 531 blank [not included on film]
- c. p. 534 14c "Ave Maria".

PHOTO NOTES: Blank pages not photographed: pp. 7–8. 31–35, 38, 41–42, 219–22, 505–6, 520–21, 531. P. 26 is repeated. P. 399 is covered by shadow and reshot correctly.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Bernard, E. *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in Unum Collecti*. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1697.
- Crick, Julia C. "The Power and the Glory: Conquest and Cosmology in Edwardian Wales (Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3514)." In *Textual Cultures*:

- Cultural Texts*, ed. Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne, 21–42. Cambridge: Brewer, 2010.
- . *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, 3: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts*. Cambridge: Brewer, 1986.
- Diemer, Peter and Dorothea Diemer, eds. *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen mit den Miniaturen aus der Handschrift und einem Aufsatz von Peter und Dorothea Diemer*, ed. Benedikt Konrad Vollmann. Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987.
- Dobbie, Elliot Van Kirk, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*. Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 6. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.
- , ed. *The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song; with a Critical Text of the Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedæ*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937.
- Dumville, David N., ed. *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A-C in Parallel*. Basic Texts for Brittonic History 1. Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2002.
- . “An Early Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the Circulation of Some Latin Histories in Twelfth-Century Normandy.” *Arthurian Literature* 4 (1985): 1–36.
- Fairclough, H. Rushton, ed. and trans. *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1926.
- Greenway, Diana E., ed. *Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- . “Henry of Huntingdon and the Manuscripts of his *Historia Anglorum*.” In *Anglo-Norman Studies IX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1986*, ed. R. Allen Brown, 103–26. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987.
- Hammer, Jacob. “Bref Commentaire de la *Prophetia Merlini* du ms 3514 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale d'Exeter (Geoffrey de Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 1.VII).” In *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, 111–19. Brussels: Latomus, 1949.
- Holder-Egger, Oswald. “Italienische Prophetien des. 13 Jahrhunderts.” *Neues Archiv* 15 (1889): 155–73.
- Hughes, Kathleen. “The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and Related Texts.” In *Celtic Britain and the Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources*, ed. David N. Dumville, 67–85. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1980; rev. repr. from *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59 (1973): 233–58.

- Jones, Thomas. "'Cronica de Wallia' and Other Documents from Exeter Cathedral Library 3514." *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 12 (1946–48): 27–44.
- Ker, N.R. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 2: Abbotsford-Keele*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Lapidge, Michael, and David Dumville, eds. *The Annals of St Neots. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*. Cambridge: Brewer, 1985.
- Lindsay, W.M. *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarvm sive Originvm*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
- Meister, Ferdinand, ed. *Daretis Phrygii De Excidio Troiae Historia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873.
- Mynors, R.A.B., Rodney Thomson, and Michael Winterbottom, ed. and trans. *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Robinson, Fred C. and E. G. Stanley. *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources: A Comprehensive Collection*. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 23. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1991. [3.22]
- Sackur, Ernst, ed. *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudo-Methodius Adso und die tiburtinische Sibylle*. Halle: Niemayer, 1898.
- Thomson, John A. F. "Russell, John (c.1430–1494)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 48: 276–78. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Thornton, David E. "A Neglected Genealogy of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd." *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 23 (1992): 9–23.
- Wright, Neil, ed. *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth 2, The First Variant Version: A Critical Edition*. Cambridge: Brewer, 1988.
- Wright, Thomas, ed. *A Selection of Latin Stories, From Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. London: Percy Society, 1843.

131c. Exeter Cathedral Library FMS/3  
“Vita Sancti Basili” (fragmentary leaf)  
[Ker:--; Gneuss 260]

**HISTORY:** Eight binding fragments from a single leaf containing parts of sections II, III, and IV of the Latin translation of the Greek Pseudo-Amphilochius’ “Vita Sancti Basili” (BHL 1023), the translation often attributed to Euphemius *interpres* (Corona 2006: 14–25, Whatley 2001: 105). The “Vita” circulated in the late 9c in Carolingian centers, and later became the source for Ælfric’s OE “Life of Saint Basil” (Whatley 1996: 19; Corona 2006: 74–94). The eight fragments, all cut from a single leaf, are of various shapes and dimensions, darkly stained, and only sporadically legible. The text is in an early A-S square minuscule script dated by Ker (1977: 2. 845) to the beginning of the 10c; Dumville dates the script to the 920s and possibly the 910s (Dumville 1987: 171). Conner (1993: 128) and Corona (2002 and 2006, who discovered OE glossing in the fragments), suggest that the text — and its subsequent copying — may have originated in donations of books and relics by King Æthelstan (893/4–939). Indeed, two relics of St. Basil are listed in the record of Æthelstan’s donation to Exeter found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.2.16 [340], a gospel book later given to Exeter by Leofric (donation ed. Conner 1993: 171–209). Conner (1993: 20) and Gameson (1996: 152–53) note that the book from which these fragments survive may have been in Exeter in the 10c, or may have come with Leofric to Exeter. The illegibility of the OE gloss (on f. 4v) does not allow dating. Perhaps some later medieval writing is on ff. 2v, 3v, 5v. The item, “legenda sanctorum” from the 1327 inventory allows that the book may have been in Exeter in the 14c (Oliver 1861: 305). Pen-trials, scribbles, etc. on several of the fragments suggest that these leaves were accessible in the later medieval period; however, the only definitive fact is that the fragments were in Exeter in the late 16c, when they were used in the binding of Exeter, Cathedral Library 3779, a cathedral capitular account book spanning the years 1499–1561 (Ker 1977: 2.845, Conner 1993: 28). Notes on the envelopes holding the fragments state that they were “cleaned and pressed” on

4 June 1958 and that an eighth fragment was discovered in 1973. Now kept wrapped in tissue and in a set of envelopes in the cathedral library.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** Eight variously shaped and sized fragments on brittle thin parchment, many thickly stained with remnants of glue and paper from binding. The fragments are marked in modern pencil with numbers '1-8'. Fragments 5 + 8 and 7 + 6 were contiguous and the text continuous. The order in accordance with the known text of the "Vita" is 2, 5 + 8, 3, 1, 7 + 6, 4. The fragments are all from one leaf, as the data below show. By calculation, it is clear that the leaf concerned had 35 lines of original writing on each side. The page width was ca. 190 mm. The distance between the top of one line of writing to the next is ca. 8 mm., yielding a height of 280 mm., plus margins, making the page rather tall in relation to width. The original quire arrangement is now impossible to ascertain, but from what remains, it is clear that the manuscript was amply spaced and carefully written. The script is an early square minuscule in dark brown ink (where it has not faded or been obscured) with a red heading in the same script (f. 1r). Approximate dimensions of the fragments: f. 1: 155 × 40 mm.; f. 2: 145 × 50 mm.; f. 3: 70 × 23 mm.; f. 4: 110 × 20 mm.; f. 5: 40 × 23 mm.; f. 6: 45 × 36 mm.; f. 7: 45 × 41 mm.; f. 8: 40 × 23 mm. The width of the outer margin from text area to trimmed edge of the original leaf is 50/52 mm. on ff. 1 and 3.

[Note: Corona reconstructs the fragments, suggesting that altogether the group "forms no more than two folios" (2002: 318). The ensemble is kept in a large envelope. There is a stapled set of photocopies of the fragments; on the back of each photocopy is a note numbering the images (as 'frags 1-4 recto', etc.), while a later hand has renumbered the images on the front of each photocopy supplying the numbers used by Corona (2002) and circled pencil numerations on each fragment. The fragments themselves are unmounted, kept wrapped in tissue in a smaller envelope inside the larger envelope also holding the photocopies. Fragments 1 and 2 are "foliated" with a circled '1' and '2' on the first (in textual order) sides. Fragments 4 and 5 are similarly labeled, but 5 is also numbered with a circled '3'.]

#### CONTENTS:

"Vita Sancti Basili" (fragments ed. Corona 2002: 318-20; full ed. Corona 2006: 223-47)

[Note: In the case of ff. 8 + 5 and ff. 7 + 6, the sign || has been used to mark fragment breaks; often exact line breaks cannot be determined; text in brackets are from the print edition. See Corona 2002; at times readings here are slightly different. As the fragments are somewhat illegible and confusingly arranged, a full reconstruction of the pertinent part of the text is given below.]

- f. 2r from 2.3–8: ‘[c]iuitatis . . . tremore’ (Corona 2006: 227/4–9);  
 [Note: There appear to be vestiges of interlinear writing above f. 2r/2 ‘regenerationem’.]
- ff. 8r + 5r side by side, top line of f. 8r is contiguous with top line of f. 5r; from 2.8–10: ‘suis. et cum ips||is uere . . . fulgore uenit’ (Corona 2006: 227: 227/9–12);
- f. 3r from 2.16–20: ‘tue uoce . . . antiochyam’ (Corona 2006: 227/19–23);  
 [Note: There is a later scribble, perhaps the word ‘ego’ at f. 3r/4 in the blank space above and following ‘antiochyam’.]
- f. 1r from 3.2–6: **cesaream** | [**diuina reuel**]atione innotuit | [‘et basilium sub mileti]o tunc . . . uisionem noc|[tis]’ (Corona 2006: 227–28/1–6);
- ff. 7r + 6r side by side with top line of f. 7r contiguous with top line of f. 6r; from 3.6–9: ‘ep[iscop]o ipsius [ciuitatis] || eusebio . . . ergo || ad porta[m] ciuitatis’ (Corona 2006: 228/7–11);  
 [Note: In the space following ‘fieri’ at f. 6r/2, a later ink scribble, perhaps writing.]
- f. 4r from 3.10–11: ‘[agn]oscentes . . . in similitu|[dine]’ (Corona 2006: 228/12–13);
- f. 2v from 3.13–16: ‘[mi]nistris que . . . tibi post’ (Corona 2006: 228/15–19);  
 [Note: At f. 2v/4–5 in the outer left margin, later (13c? 14c?) writing, just a few letters.]
- ff. 5v + 8v side by side, top lines match up; from 3.18–20: ‘aduocans basilium . . . n(on) mul[to]’ (Corona 2006: 228/21–23);  
 [Note: At f. 8v/2, above ‘pelagus’ is a scribble, perhaps writing. At f. 5v/2, in the blank space, a scribble in a later hand, above ‘scriptura’ and across the fragment, perhaps ‘es p . . . s . . . aaaaaaa’.]
- f. 3v; from 4.7–9 (bottom left corner of the leaf): ‘uero sex . . . aduenien[s]’ (Corona 2006: 228/8–11);  
 [Note: More script may be visible at the base of the fragment but it is illegible. At f. 3v between lines 1 and 2, ‘abc’ in a later hand.]
- f. 1v; from 4.11–16: ‘postulationem . . . Sine intermissi[one]’ (Corona 2006: 228/13–19);
- ff. 6v + 7v; from 4.18–20: ‘ie[su] chr[ist]e d[eus] n[on]o[s]te[r] . . . quidem commu[n]icauit’ (Corona 2006: 228–29/20–25);
- f. 4v; from 4.21–22: ‘autem reseruauit . . . sup[er] al[tare]’ (Corona 2006: 229/25–).
- [Note: Corona (2002: 318) reports the OE gloss ‘golde culfre’ on ‘[col]umbę aureę’ and a “smudged” ‘up’ on ‘pendit’ but these are difficult to see either on film, in high resolution digital photographs, or in person.]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

- BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. Ed. Socii Bollandiani. Brussels: Bollandists, 1898–1901.
- Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Corona, Gabriella. *Ælfric's Life of Saint Basil the Great: Background and Context*. Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006.
- . "Saint Basil in Anglo-Saxon Exeter." *Notes and Queries* 49 (2002): 316–20.
- Dumville, David. "English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Its Earliest Phases." *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987): 147–80.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Ker, N.R. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 2: Abbotsford-Keele*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Whatley, Gordon E. "Acta Sanctorum." In *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture, Volume 1: Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Frederic M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, Paul E. Szarmach, and E. Gordon Whatley, 22–486. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001.
- . "An Introduction to the Study of Old English Prose Hagiography: Sources and Resources." In *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, 3–32. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996.

M.T.H.



### Reconstruction of Text

[Note: The remnants of the text are presented in their full context, taken from Corona 2006: 227–29, part of ch. 2, all of ch. 3, part of ch. 4. Extant text is in roman type, supplied text in italic; the supplied text is exactly as Corona, except ‘ae’ is replaced by ‘e’; in supplied text, in order to account for line-length, elements subject to suspension as used in this text are underlined, while in the extant text suspensions are expanded within angle brackets, as usual in this series. Immediate continuations of text between editorial separations are indicated by ‘~’; contiguous lines shared between fragments (i.e., ff. 5rv + 8rv, ff. 7rv + 6rv) are indicated by ‘||’. Added writing, glosses, and scribbles are generally not noted, for which see above.]

Recto (35 lines): page ca. 190 mm. across, including extant margins

[beg. in ch. 2]

f. 2r; Corona 2006: 227/2.4–9

*manifestauit episcopo ciuitatis nomine maximino. Et se ei p(ro)sternentes. postulabant consequi diuinam regeneratione(m) in iordane fluui[o]. Quos uidens idem uir sanctus plenus cum esset benignitate adimpleuit postulationem eorum et simul cum fidelib(us) uiris uenit ad iordanem Basilius aut(em) iuxta ripam factus p(ro)iecit se in humum et cum lacrimis ac clamore forti postulat signum reuelari eius fidei. Resurgensq(ue) cum tremore ~ f. 8r + f. 5r; 227/2.9–12 [side by side, top line of f. 8r is contiguous with top line of f. 5r]*

*dispoliat se uestimentis suis. et cum ips||is uere uetusto homine et descendens in aquam orabat. Descendens || orabat sacerdos babtizauit eum et ecce fulgor ignis uenit sup(er) eos et c||olumba ex eodem fulgore uenit ~ Section cut away = Corona 227/2.12–19, line breaks approximate:*

*in iordanem et turbans aquam reuolauit in celum. Adstantes autem in tremore facti glorificauerunt deum. baptizatus uero basilius exiit de aqua. Admirans quoque maximinus basili in deum dilectionem orans uestiuit eum christi resurrectionis indumentis. Baptizauit autem et eubolum atque unguens eos sancto crismate tradidit illis uiuificam communionem postulauitque basilium dei sacerdos post orationem sumere cibum. Quod et fecit dicens.~*

f. 3r; from 227/2.19–23

*iesu christe, deus noster credo euangelicę tue uoce et spero in tua benignitate comedens et bibens contra congredientem nos diabolum cooperationem nobis tui sancti spiritus fieri. Stupens uero ‘d(e)i’ sacerdos in fide eius reuersus est cum ipsis in ciuitate(m). Annuali aute(m) tempore in ibi commorantes communi sententia uenerunt antiochyam. ~*

[beg. ch. 3] f. 1r; 227–228/3.2–6

**Quomodo diaconi gradum antiochiaie suscepit et apud<sup>1</sup> cesaream  
diuina reuelatione innouit**

*Et basilius sub miletio tunc ibidem ep(iscop)o in diaconi ordine consecratus parabolicos sermones interpretans ab omnib(us) admiratus est. Non multo post aute(m) uenit simul cum eubolo in cappadociensiu(m) regionem et debentes introire cesariensium ciuitate(m) per uisionem noc- ~ f. 7r + f. 6r; 228/3.8–11 [line breaks approximate] tis reuelata est tunc ep(iscop)o ipsius [ciuitatis]<sup>2</sup> || eusebio nomine istorum presentia et quia debet basilius ei successor || fieri. Is autem excitatus aduocat principem ec|clesiastice ministracionis et quosdam reuerentium cleri. et misit eos || ad orientalem portam ciuitatis dicens eis uisionem. Abeuntes ergo || ad porta(m) ciuitatis obuauerunt ~ f. 4r; 228/3.12–13 eis introeuntibus quos uidentes et agnoscentes. Postulauerunt adire episcopum. Et uidens eos intrantes sanctus ep(iscop)us. Stupefactus in similitudine uisionis deo gratias egit. Interrogauit etiam eos unde uenirent et quo irent et que essent eorum appellaciones. Et edoctus dixit ~<sup>3</sup>*

**Verso (35 lines)**

f. 2v; Corona 2006: 228/3.15–20:  
ministris que ad refectionem sunt eis tribuere. Qui ducentes eos in [insignem]<sup>4</sup> zetam que ad curam obtulerunt eis in ipsa autem hora uocans sanctissimus electos cleri ac ciuitatis narrauit eis que a deo illi reuelata sunt. Qui una uoce dixerunt. Uere et istud dignum est munde uite tuę diuino decreto reuelari tibi post te debentem ierarchicam [sedem ornare unde nihil dubitans fac quod tibi]<sup>5</sup> uidetur. Qui ~ f. 5v + f. 8v, 228/3.21–23:  
aduocans basilium simul cu||m eubolo. Cepit cum eis considerare scripturas Admirans autem || pelagus adiacentis in eis sapientię et habens eos dextra leuaq(ue) su||stentatores n(on) multo post transiit \ de uita episcopus. ~<sup>6</sup>  
[beg. ch. 4.] Corona 2006: 4.1–8, section cut away, line breaks approximate:

<sup>1</sup> Top line mostly trimmed.

<sup>2</sup> 'ciuitatis' can be seen split between lower edge of f. 1r and upper edge of f. 7r, line 2, some scribble after 'fieri'.

<sup>3</sup> Two lines cut away; text proceeds to verso.

<sup>4</sup> First word illegible.

<sup>5</sup> Line present but illegible.

<sup>6</sup> The end of the line before the title must have had an "up" run-on.

*Quomodo episcopus factus missam composuit et saluatorem nostrum cum apostolis udidit. Conueniens ergo coetus episcoporum sancti spiritus cooperatione elegerunt basilium ad episcopatus sedem et consecratus gubernabat ecclesiam dei prouidentia. Post quoddam autem tempus postulauit deum ut daret illi gratiam et sapientiam atque intellectum propriis sermonibus offerre insanguineum sacrificium illi et uenit super eum sancti spiritus aduentus. Post dies ~*

f. 3v 228/4.8–11 bottom left corner of leaf

uero sex sicut in extasi factus in aduentu sancti spiritus septima die apprehendente cepit ministrare deo pro singulos dies. Et post aliquot tempus fide et oratione cepit propria manu scribere ministracionis mysteria atque in una nocte adueniens ei dominus in uisione cum apostolis propositionem panis [faciens in sancto altari ex]<sup>7</sup> citauit basilium dicens ei. Secundum tuam ~

f. 1v; 228/4.13–19

postulationem [repleatur os tuum laude]<sup>8</sup> ut per proprios sermones offeras insanguinem sacrificium. [Qui non ferens] oculis uisionem surrexit cum tremore. Et accedens ad sanctum altare [cepit dicere] scribens in carta sic. Repleatur os meum laude ut hymnum dicat glorie tue domine deus qui creasti nos et adduxisti in uitam hanc et ceteras orationes sancti ministerii. Et post finem orationum exaltauit panem. Sine intermissione orans et dicens. Respice ~

f. 6v + f. 7v; 228–229/4.20–25

domine ie(s)u chr(ist)e d(eu)s n(oste)r || [ex sancto habitac]<sup>9</sup> uolo tuo & ueni ad sancti-

ficandum nos qui sursum patri consedes et || h(ic) nob(is) inuisibiliter coes dignare potenti manu tradere nobis et p(er) || nos omni populo sancta sanctis. Populus respondit .

Unus sanctus unus d(omi)n(us) ie(su)s chr(istu)s || Cum s(anct)o sp(iritu) in gl(ori)a dei patris

amen. Et diuidens panem in tres partes || una(m) quid(em) communicauit timore ~ f. 4v; from 229/4.25–26

[multo alteram]<sup>10</sup> autem reseruauit consepilire sibi tertiam uero

[inponens col]umbę aureę quę pependit sup(er) altare.

Eubolus siquidem et cleri princeps stantes ante portas templi uiderunt lucem intelligibilem in templo et uiros gloriosos candidas . . .

A.N.D.

<sup>7</sup> Line present but illegible.

<sup>8</sup> Top line mostly trimmed, and show-through of title from recto. The right edge of the text, lines 1–3, is generally illegible.

<sup>9</sup> The trimmed top of 7v is partly visible at bottom of f. 1v.

<sup>10</sup> Left side present but illegible; two lines cut partly away at bottom, ascenders of line 3 visible.

### 311. London, Lambeth Palace Library 149

Bede, "Explanatio Apocalypsis",  
Augustine, "De adulterinis coniugiis" (Bk. 1);  
Augustine, "Enchiridion", Goscelin (?), "Vita S. Edwardi",  
Hugh of St. Victor, "De clericali disciplina",  
Augustine, "In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos Tractatus X"  
[Ker 275; Gneuss 506]

**HISTORY:** A composite codex of 10c and 12c manuscripts. Part 1 (10c) contains Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse and a defective text of Augustine's discussion of marriage and divorce, "De adulterinis coniugiis". Part 2, a 12c manuscript from Lanthony Priory ("secunda") in Gloucester, contains Augustine's "Enchiridion", an anonymous "Vita Sancti Edwardi" (BHL 2418, sometimes attributed to Goscelin of Canterbury), Hugh of St. Victor's "De clericali disciplina", and Augustine's Tractatus X on the first Epistle of St. John (cf. James 1932: no. 149).

Part 1 was almost certainly written in the third quarter of the 10c by the main scribe of the "Exeter Book" of OE poetry (Exeter Cathedral Library 3501 [130]) and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 319 [357] (Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 85; Ker 1933: 230; Ker, *Cat.*, 360). The origin of this trio of manuscripts is not known; but cases for Exeter and Glastonbury have been made (Conner 1993 and Butler 1999), with suggestions of Crediton, Tavistock, and Canterbury (Gameson 1996: 179; Swanton 1974: ii; Dumville in Rosenthal ed. Ramsay et al. 1992: 147–48 and Dumville 1994: 137 n.23). In the late 10c corrections were made by a scribe perhaps identifiable with three other 10c books: Exeter, Cathedral Library 3507 [131a], Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodley 718, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 943 [422]. Conner associates this scribal hand and these manuscripts with 10c Exeter (Conner 1993: 86–94), while they are more usually linked to Sherborne and/or Canterbury (Gameson 1996: 172–75). An unfortunately blotted Latin inscription on f. 138v notes that Lambeth 149 was given in 1018 by one 'Aethelu'v'ardus dux' to a foundation of St. Mary's at a placename now

illegible; this coincides with the late 11c OE *‘æþelwerd ealderm`a`n gret`* on f. 138r. Robin Flower (in Chambers et al. 1933: 85–91) suggested that this donor may have been the Æthelweard who was Ælfric of Eynsham’s patron and the founder of Cerne Abbas, a powerful ealdorman in the first decades of the 11c. The place whence the book was donated remains a mystery: Exeter, Crediton, Tavistock, and Glastonbury have all been proposed. (Exeter [Rose-Troup 1931: 206–7, though see Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 87]; Crediton [Hill 1986 and 1988]; Tavistock [Conner 1993: 35–36]; Glastonbury [Butler 1999: 182–95]). The name *‘Leofric(us)’* on f. 138v and the item *‘expositio Bede super apocalipsin’* in Leofric’s inventory (ed. Conner 1993: 234, Lapidge 1994: 135) make clear that the book had been acquired by Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1016–1072), and donated to the Exeter foundation during his episcopate (though see Conner 1993: 88–90, where he makes a case for Leofric, abbot of Exeter 980–990; Drage 1978: 375 suggests this Leofric was the scribe or rubricator). And near the end of the century the manuscript appears to have served as an exemplar for a known Salisbury copy of Augustine’s “De adulterinis”, the late 11c Salisbury Cathedral Library 128 (Webber 1992: 52–53, 68). Lambeth 149 was (back?) in Exeter in the late middle ages, when it was noted in Exeter’s 1327 and 1506 inventories (Oliver 1861: 303 and 367). It was still in Exeter, probably in the 1530s, when John Leland saw it there and remarked on it in his “Collectanea” (ed. Hearne 1774: 4.151). By 1610 the book had been acquired by Archbishop Bancroft (1544–1610) and brought to Lambeth Palace, where it was catalogued in the 1612 inventory of Bancroft’s donations to the library at his death (Lambeth Palace, Library Records F.1., f. 79v; see also Drage 1978: 376).

The second part of the manuscript, ff. 139–240, was written in the late 12c or early 13c at Lanthony, and is identifiable with item 186 in the 1380 catalogue of Lanthony Priory library, in London, BL Harley 460 (James 1932: no. 149 and 1900: 2–3). According to M.R. James (1900: 1–6 and 1959–63: 10–13), the last prior of Lanthony, Richard Hart, took possession of the remaining library from the priory at the Dissolution. These books passed to Hart’s sister, who married a man surnamed Theyer, whose grandson John Theyer (d. 1673) inherited at least some of these books. John Theyer’s grandson, Charles Theyer, later sold books which became part of the Royal Library. However, James shows that it is probable that a large batch of Lanthony manuscripts, including the one bound in Lambeth Palace 149, were purchased by Archbishop Bancroft for the Lambeth collection from an earlier heir (Thomas Morgan or John Theyer), and this explains the many Lanthony books in Lambeth Palace library (James 1959–63: 13).

Both parts of Lambeth Palace 149 were in the Lambeth collection by 1612, but in the political upheaval of the mid-17c, the whole collection was displaced to Cambridge from 1647–1664 (Cox-Johnson 1954–58: 110–26 and James 1959–63: 1–9). While in Cambridge, under the direction of the master of Emmanuel College, William Sancroft, the displaced Lambeth collection was catalogued and in many instances rearranged and rebound. The two parts of Lambeth 149 have separate shelfmarks in both Sancroft catalogues and thus were still independent (see Ker in Bill 1972: 24 and 31) in the mid-17c. Ker's meticulous reconstruction of Sancroft's combining and rebinding campaign at Exeter does not show these books joined in Cambridge. However, later Sancroft became the archbishop of Canterbury, and still took an active interest in the library; perhaps this is when the two manuscripts were bound together, as an early modern hand on a paper flyleaf (f. ii verso) gives the full contents of the composite volume, which James attributes to Sancroft (James 1932: 237). The covers were refurbished in 1959. The cover bears the arms of the archbishop.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** ii + 138 + ii + 100 + ii; foliation in the top right recto corner in a light modern pencil, often hard to see on the film.

**Part 1** (ff. 1–138): For the most part, the parchment is matte, a deep cream color, darkening at places, and rather thick and sturdy; it is well prepared, to the point that hair and flesh sides are at times hard to determine. Mainly in quires of eight, arranged HFHF. The leaves are ca. 285–90 × 195–98 mm. Pricked in the outside margins and ruled in dry-point for a writing space of c. 210 × 142 mm. A large-format folio, double bounded vertically about 8 mm. apart, with margins of c. 30 mm at the head, 33–35 mm. at the fore-edge, and 44–45 mm at the tail. Ruled for 23 lines per page on ff. 9–16 and 33–136; for 24 lines per page on ff. 1–7 and 25–32; for 25 lines per page on ff. 17–24; f. 8 is 25 lines recto and 24 on the verso.

The script is an elegant A-S square minuscule (see Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 83–90 and Conner 1993: 51–80) in a very dark brown ink. The hierarchy of scripts is quite simple, with large monumental capitals for titles (e.g. f. 1r), red square minuscule rubrics (at times oxidized to silver metallic) for headings; large initial capitals, at times in red, as at f. 59r, for some sections and capitals for some litterae nobiliores; from f. 59r, litterae nobiliores washed in red. Spaces were left for titles and headings, but not all were initially filled in, and the late 10c correcting hand added them. On f. 1r, the heading for the Bede text (or some other kind of inscription) has been erased; on f. 96v space was left for the heading for the Augustine text,

but was filled in with an explicit. On f. 1, bottom center, there is a rust mark likely from a chain clip. From quire VIII, the marginal 's'-marks, denoting scriptural passages, are in red. Headings on f. 119rv are in the regular ink, and the explicit for Augustine on f. 138v is in monumental capitals, the letters on the third line washed in green and added text ('A IN NOMINE. . .' and 'I | P' as well as marginal 'Æþel') in green. A strip was cut from the tail of f. 6 and ff. 133 and 136. Dry-point additions at various places. Quire signatures on first recto tail of each quire in early modern ink 'A-R' (last quire unsigned) and in modern pencil at the lower corner '1-18'.

**Part 2** (ff. 139-240) 12c: Thick membranes, patchy and dark in places, but fine. Leaves roughly the same size as Part 1, c. 285-87 × ca. 195 mm. Part 2 shows no signs of cropping, as the tiny capitals to guide decoration are still present in the outermost margins. Mainly in gatherings of eight with a few sixes, arranged HFHF. The first two leaves of Part 2 seem to be flyleaves from an earlier binding, blank but for a few notes, one in a 14c script. Writing space ca. 183 × 137 mm. Pricked in inner and outer margins, and ruled in dry-point for two columns of ca. 62 mm., with a center single column of ca. 11 mm. separating them. Ruled vertically for a 5 mm. double band at the outside of each text column with rulings that extend to the top and bottom edges of the leaves. Triple bounded horizontally at the head and tail of the writing space, with rulings that extend to the gutter and fore-edge. Ruled for 29-33 lines per page. On some leaves rulings extend across the whole page horizontally mid-page as well. The outer margins are quite wide, over 40mm., as are the bottom margins, ca. 75 mm., with smaller ca. 25 mm. top margins. The main text is in a small proto-gothic book hand, in dark brown ink. Red and green ink used for rubric headings, decorated initial capitals at sections, and highlights in litterae nobiliores throughout, with blue ink found only in the capitula list on ff. 140r-141v. Red chapter numbers are given in the outer margins, ff. 142r-164v. There are small notes in brown ink giving the rubricator the chapter headings found in ff. 178v-199v. The ends of most quires have catchwords. Quires XX-XXXIII signed in early modern ink on the first recto 'A-O' (no "J") and quires also numbered in modern pencil '20-33'.

As to the composite manuscript, the quire signatures seem to date to the period of Sancroft's cataloguing of the books in Cambridge and they show that the two manuscripts had not been bound into a single codex at that point. The continuous pencil quire signatures and foliation post-date or are contemporary with the combining of the two. The two were bound together with two added paper flyleaves at front and back, probably in the

17c under Sancroft's direction. The binding was refurbished in 1959, as a note on the inside back cover pastedown shows: 'Refurb: 13-1-59 F.W.'

[Note: This would be Fred Warburton, a library assistant. Upon verbal inquiry in 2004 about the extent of the refurbishment, the response from the Lambeth librarian was, "He didn't make a big job of it."]

**COLLATION:** ii + 138 || ii + 100 + ii; I-VIII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 1-64); IX<sup>8</sup> 6 cancelled after f. 70 (ff. 65-71); X-XVI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 72-127); XVII<sup>10</sup> 7 cancelled after f. 133 (ff. 128-136); XVIII<sup>2</sup> two singletons (ff. 137-138) || XIX<sup>2</sup> a parchment bifolium not included in quire signatures (ff. 139-141); XX<sup>2</sup> (ff. 141-142); XXI-XXII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 143-158); XXIII-XXIV<sup>6</sup> (ff. 159-170); XXV-XXXII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 171-234); XXXIII<sup>6</sup> (ff. 235-240).

[Note: Quires XVII and XVIII are difficult to determine. James gives '17<sup>8</sup> 18<sup>6</sup> wants 4-6' (James 1932: 237), while Drage (1978: 375) gives '17<sup>10</sup> (fols 128-37) + i (fol. 138)'. There appears to be stitching between ff. 132 and 133, which would make quire XVII a quire of ten; furthermore, a stub is visible between ff. 133 and 134, but no text missing suggesting a cancelled leaf. The collation given here accounts for these facts, but Drage divides at f. 137r despite a pencil quire mark on f. 136r at the bottom right which lends credence to James dividing the two quires there.]

## CONTENTS:

### Part 1

ff. [i]-[ii] flyleaves, blank but for the shelfmark '149' f. i recto top center, and f. ii verso, an early modern list of contents, attributed to Sancroft by James (1932: 237): 'Ven. Bedæ Expositio in Apocalypsin. ll. 3 . . . S. Augustini in i<sup>mam</sup> Ep(istolam) S. Iohannis Expo(sitio); <con>tinens x(em) sermones.'

1. Bede, "Explanatio Apocalypsis" (CPL 1363)

a. ff. 1r/1-4v/1 Prologue (Letter to Eusebius, pen name of Hwætberht, abbot of Jarrow, 716-ca. 747): 'APOCALIPSIS S(AN)C(T)I IOHANNIS | In qua bella et incendia intestina ecclesiae suę | d(eu)s uerbis figuris-que reuelare dignatus est'; ends: 'Opto in chr(ist)o ualeas dilectissime frat(er) || bedan que tui semper memor esse digneris' (coll. Gryson 2001: 221-33);

b. f. 4v/2-20 Bede's metrical epigram on St. John (written in long lines): uersus będę / p(re)sbiter(i) 'Exul ab humano dum pellitur orbe Iohannis . . . que cano corripiens pumice frange fero' (coll. Gryson 2001: 218-19);

c. ff. 4v/21-29v/14 Bk 1: Incipit expositio s(an)c(t)i iohannis. | 'Apocalypsis ie(s)u chr(ist)i quam dedit illi d(eu)s palam fa|cere seruis suis'; ends:



- 'Nunc uero recapitulat ab | origine eadem aliter disserturus' (coll. Gryson 2001: 235–334) [line 15 left blank for title];
- d. ff. 29v/16–59r/13 Bk 2: 'Et uidi septem angelos stantes in conspectu | d(e)i et datę `s(un)t' illis septem tubę; ends: 'Huc usq(ue) | de conflictu eccl(esi)e et utriusq(ue) maturo fine cer|taminis.' **Explicit liber secundus.** (coll. Gryson 2001: 335–439);
- e. ff. 59r/14–96v/5 Bk 3: **Incipit liber tertius.** | 'ET uidi aliud signum in celo magnum et mira|bile'; ends: 'Audiant quod cum gratia(m) [sic] d(e)i quasi commenda|ret Uale ultimum adiecit cum omnibus uobis | Amen.' (coll. Gryson 2001: 441–575);
- f. f. 96v/5–14 Colophon: 'Explicito tandem tanto tamq(ue) p(er)iculoso | labore . . . uisu fructuq(ue) poteri. Amen' | **Explicit d(omi)no iuuante expositionis in apocalipsin s(an)c(t)i iohannis liber | tertius bedan famuli chr(ist)i d(e)o gratias** (coll. Gryson 2001: 577). Originally lines 14 and 15 blank.

[Note: Lightly corrected in near-contemporary hand, with significant corrections at f. 66r in the bottom margin; the final explicit is added, in half-sized script, in one of two lines originally left blank.]

2. Augustine, "De adulterinis coniugiis" (CPL 302):

- a. ff. 96v/16–119r/11 (no title) Bk 1: 'PRIMA qęstio (est) frater dilectissime | pollenti'; ends: 'nec ipsos ex hac uita | sine arra suę pacis exire uelle debet mater | ecclesia.' **EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS. DE ADVLTE|RINIS CONIUGIIS.** (as Zycha 1900: 347–82);
- b. f. 119r/12–22 excerpt from Augustine, "Retractationes" serving as a note between books: **INCIPIT RETRACTATIO EORVN|DEM LIBRORVM.** | 'Scripsi duos libros de coniugiis adulterinis . . . secundus aute(m) sic ad eaq(ue) / mihi scripseras' (PL 32.653);
- c. 119v/1–138v/6 Bk 2: **INCIPIT SECUNDVS LIBER DE HOC OP(ER)E AD EVNDE(M)** | 'AD ea quae mihi scripseras frater relegione | pol-  
lenti'; ends: 'ut timor pereclitantis. salutis | fiat. illis amplioris siue probatoris occasio | castitatis. AMEN' || **EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDVS. | AD POLLENTIV(M). DE ADVLTERINIS | CONIUGIIS.** (as Zycha 1900: 382–410).

**OE Content:** At f. 138r/22–23 the lines were originally left blank, but an 11c hand added 'Hec itaq(ue) huius sacramenti [sic] | + æpel + æpelwerd ealderma`n` gret.'

3. f. 138v Additions and Inscriptions:

- a. lines 7–11 11c Donation inscription (dated 1018): 'Hunc quoq(ue) uoluminem Aethelu`v`ardus dux gratia d(e)i . . . ; ends imperf.: 'Et factum est ergo post obitum regis eadmundi q(uod)' (ed. Conner 1993: 213);

- b. lines 12–15 Lord’s Prayer, awkward and unclear script and Latin, with irregular abbreviations: ‘patr [sic] no(st)e(r) q(u)i is [sic] in celis sa[n]ctificetur nomen tu(u)m adueniat | rehnum [sic] tu(u)m . . . æ in ter(r)a patrem no(st)r(um)’ [sic] (ed. Conner 1993: 213–14);
- c. lines 16–18 a Leofric inscription (in green ink): ‘A IN NOMINE D(OMI)NE + AM(EN) | LEOFRIC(US) + PATER | I | P’ (ed. Conner 1993: 214).

[Note: A series of pen-trials down the left margin and the name ‘æpelwine’ (see Hill 1988: 115). For the name, see Butler 1999: 185–93.]

Part 2

- ff. 139rv blank except for a Sancroft shelfmark at the top left verso: “#.L.4.5 fol. vol. 10’.
- f. 140r/1–4 14c contents list at top right, writing above it cropped: ‘Enchiridion Aug(ustini) | Vita S(an)c(t)i Eadwardi Reg(is) | Aug(us)ti(nus) de penit(en)cia | Hug(o) de clericali discip(lina) | Aug(ustinus) sup(er) ep(isto)lam .i.<sup>mam</sup> Ioh(ann)is ap(osto)li’; at lower right corner, ‘T.23’.
- f. 140v top left corner in tiny writing: ‘enchiridion manualis lib(er) d(icitu)r | chiro(n) g(re)ce man(us) latine dion | grece liber latine’.
4. ff. 141r–164v Augustine, “Enchiridion” (CPL 295):
- a. ff. 141r/a1–142v/b6 capitula list: *Incipiunt capit(u)la lib(ri) enchiridion be[ati] augustini ad laurencium | primicerium ecclesie urbiçę de | fide et spe | et caritate. Capit(u)l(u)m I | ‘Laurentio scribens eius e[r]ruditione delectatur . . . Finis libri’* (as Evans 1969: 39–46) [remainder of column b blank];
- b. ff. 143r/a1–164r/b32 “Enchiridion”: *Incipit lib(er) enchiridion s(an)c(t)i aug(us)tini ep(iscop)i ad | Laurencium primicerium notarium | eccl(esi)e urbis. Rome de fide & spe & caritate | ‘DICI NON POTEST DI|lectissime fili laurenti’; ends: ‘utinam | tam (com)modu(m) q(ua)m p(ro)lixu(m) de fide. 7 spe. | 7 caritate (con)sc(ri)psi’ Explicit liber encheridion | s(an)c(t)i aug(us)tini ad laurenciu(m) p(ri)mic(er)-iu(m) notariu(m) | urbis eccl(es)ie romæ de fide 7 spe 7 caritate* (as Evans 1969: 49–114).
5. ff. 165v/a1–170r/b25 “Vita Sancti Eadwardi” (d. 978) (attrib. to Goscelin; BHL 2418): *Incipit vita s(an)c(t)i edwardi regi(s) m(ar)tiris | ‘INclitus rex edwardus alto | & nobilissimo regu(m) antiq(uorum)’; ends: ‘qui c(um) eterno p(at)re 7 ambor(um) | sp(irit)u S(an)c(t)o uiuit 7 regnat d(eu)s p(er) im[m]ortalia s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um). AMEN’* (unprinted, cf. Hardy 1862: 1.2.no. 1164) [remainder of f. 170rb blank].
- ff. 170v–171v blank

6. ff. 172r/a1–177v/b4 Augustine, Sermon 351 (CPL 284): **Incipit augustinus de penitencia** | ‘QVAM SIT V|TILIS & necessa|ria penitentie medi|cina’; ends: ‘7 nullo t(em)p(or)al(is) mortis p(er)i|culo mors et(er)na uitatur’ (as PL 39.1535–49).
7. ff. 177v/b4–178v/a12 Ps.-Augustine, Sermon 393 (CPL 285; CPPM 1A.758): **Sermo b(eat)i Augustini ep(iscop)i / de penitencia** | ‘Penitentes. penitentes. peniten|tes. si t(ame)n penitentes 7 n(on) esti(s) | irridentes’; ends: ‘Ergo dimitte | incertu(m). tene certum.’ **Explicit** | **auguSTINUS de peniten|cia** (as PL 39.1713–15) [col. a, lines 13–16 blank].
8. ff. 178v/a17–199v/b11 Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141), “De clericali disciplina”: **Incipit libro magistro hugonis | de | clericali discipliNA** | ‘NON P(RE)TER SOLI|TUM fac(er)e quosda(m) | IVDICABO’; ends: ‘No(n) h(oc) s(unt) illud p(ri)n|cipale esse DEBET’ **Explicit** | **liber magistri hugonis de cl(er)icali | disciplina**.
- [Note: In the rubric *de* is written with decorative squiggles: *d~~ e~~*. The work, “De clericali disciplina,” attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor, is a composite of several of his works; ff. 178v/a17–179r/a22 (‘NON P(RE)TER SOLI|TUM fac(er)e . . . q(ui)b(us) me fecit caritas frat(er)na | debitorem’) is a prologue; ff. 179r/a22–184r/a31 (**De oracione** | ‘Quo studio & q(uo) affectu a uo|bis orandus. sit d(eu)s . . . & gratissimu(m) d(e)o sac(ri)ficiu(m) in | ara cord(is) adolet(ur)’) is from his “De modo orandis” (PL 176.977–88); ff. 184r/b1–198v/a7 (‘Quia fr(atr)es largiente d(omi)no de uana | (con)u(er)satione . . . Bonitate(m) u(ero) orate ut uob(is) det d(eu)s amen’) is from his “De institutione novitiorum liber” (PL 176.925–52); f. 198v/a9–27 (‘Deus n(oste)r refugiu(m). O creator n(oste)r . . . ab o(mn)ib(us) pecc(at)is mu(n)dati & absoluti. | AMEN’) is a prayer (attrib. to Anselm of Canterbury, PL 158.867–68); f. 198v/a28– b/23 (‘Tres su(n)t abyssus . . . curandis animab(us) | medela(m) studuerit adhib(er)e’) on the three hells, the three words of the enemy, and the three feelings a monk must have for his abbot; ff. 198v/b24–199v/b11 (‘Sunt q(ui) o(mn)ia leg(er)e uolunt . . . No(n) h(oc) s(unt) illud p(ri)n|cipale esse DEBET’) comprises three excerpts from Hugh’s “Didascalicon” Book 5, Chapters 7, 8, and 9 (PL 176.796–97).]
9. ff. 199v/b12–200v/a29 Hildebert of Levaridin (bp. of Le Mans 1096–1125, archbp. of Tours 1125–1133), Hymn to the Trinity: **Oracio cenomansis ep(iscop)i hildeberti | seu fides eivs** | ‘Alfa 7 o magne d(eu)s hely hely d(eu)s m(eu)s . . . Cu(m) moyse 7 helya piu(m) cante(m) all(elui)a. AM(EN)’ (as Scott 1968: 46–52).
10. Augustine, 10 Sermons on the first letter of St. John (“In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos Tractatus X”) (CPL 279; as Mountain et al. 2008, PL 35.1977–2062):

- a. ff. 200v/b1–201r/a14 list of Sermons: **Incipit tractatus primvs | De Die lucis id est dominica que | est p(ri)ma feria pasche de principio | epistole iohannis apostoli | ‘Ab eo q(uo)d sc(ri)ptu(m) est q(uo)d erat ini|tio . . . 7 manda|ta ei(us) facim(us)’** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 62);
- b. f. 201r/a14-b20 Prologue: **Incipit prologvs sancti | auguSTINI sup(er) epistolam | iohannis apostoli PRIMAM | ‘MEMINIT S(AN)CTITAS U(EST)RI | EWA(N)G(E)LIUM S(E)C(UN)D(U)M IOH(ANNE)M | ex ordine lectionu(m) nos sol(er)e t(ra)ctare . . . &(iam) uob(is) ut b(e)n(e) in|telligatis loq(ua)mur.’ Explicit p(ro)log(us)** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 62–64, as part of the first homily);
- c. ff. 201r/b21–206r/b11 Sermon 1: **Incipit sermo p(ri)m(us) b(eat)i augvstini ep(iscop)i | sup(er) partem epistole ioh(ann)is ap(osto)li 7 eu|uang(e)liste prima(m). de die lucis. id | est dominica que est prima pasche | FERIA ‘QVOD | ERAT AB INITIO Q(UO)D AV|DIUIMVS ET Q(UO)D UIDIM(US) | occ(u)lis n(ost)ris’;** ends: ‘& tolera(n)t | p(ro) parte donati quos dampnant’ **Finit ser|mo prim(us)** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 64–104);
- d. ff. 206r/b11–210v/a10 Sermon 2: **Incipit s(e)c(un)d(us) ab eo q(uo)d sc(ri)ptu(m) est | Sc(ri)bo uob(is) filioli q(uia) remittu(n)t(ur) p(e)cc(at)a uob(is) p(ro)p(ter) | nom(en) ei(us) usq(ue) ad id q(uo)d ait qui fec(er)it uolun|tate(m) d(e)i man(et) i(n) et(er)n(um) sic(ut) ipse manet i(n) et(er)n(um) | ‘OMNIA que legunt(ur) de sc(ri)pt(ur)-is’;** ends: ‘Qui a(utem) | facit uoluntate(m) d(e)i manet in et(er)nu(m) sic(ut) 7 | d(eu)s manet in et(er)nu(m)’ **Explicit sermo .ii.(us).** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 108–44);
- e. ff. 210v/a10–213v/b29 Sermon 3: **In|cip(it) iii(us) ab eo q(uo)d sc(ri)ptu(m) e(st) pu(er)i nouissima hora | e(st) us(que) ad id n(on) h(ab)etis necc(ess)itate(m) [sic] ut a(liqui)s doceat uos unc(tio) ip(s)i(us) doc(et) uos de / omnib(us) \ ‘PUERI novissima ‘hora’ e(st)’;** ends: ‘id e(st) unctio ip(s)i(us) qui doc(et) vos d(e) om(n)ib(us).’ | **Explicit sermo t(er)ci(us).** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 148–78);
- f. ff. 213v/b29–217r/a8 Sermon 4: **Inc[i]pit iiiii. ab eo q(uo)d | sc(ri)ptu(m) est unctio ip(s)i(us) docet uos de o(mn)ib(us) 7 uerax | est 7 n(on) est mendax n(eque) ad id i(n) h(oc) ma(n)ifestat(us) fili(us) / e(st) ut soluat op(er)a diaboli ‘MEMinistis fr(atre)s | hesternam lectionem ad hoc || terminatam’;** ends: ‘in nomine d(omi)ni cras | quod inde ded(er)it d(omi)n(us) differemus’ **Finit | sermo iiiii** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 182–208);
- g. ff. 217r/a8–220r/b20 Sermon 5: **Incipit .v. ab eo q(uo)d sc(ri)ptu(m) e(st) | o(mn)is qui nat(us) est ex d(e)o n(on) peccat q(uia) semen |**

- ei(us) i(n) eo manet u(sque) ad id filioli n(on) diligam(us) u(er)bo / t(a)n(t)u(m) s(ed) op(er)e 7 u(er)i/tate \ 'INtendite audite obsecro uos | q(ua) res no(n) minima uersat(ur) in medio'; ends: 'n(on) ignem tanq(uam) paleis. Finit | sermo v (as Mountain et al. 2008: 212–40);
- h. ff. 220r/b20–225r/a4 Sermon 6: **Incipit .vi. ab eo q(uo)d s(cri)ptu(m) est in h(oc) | cognoscim(us) . . . q(ui) solu(it) ie(s)um 7 negat eu(m) i(n) carne uenisse | 'SI MEMINISTIS fr(atr)es hest(er)no die nos | clausi' s' se sermone(m)'; ends: 'q(ua)m honerare corda nimio cibo.' | **Explicit sermo sext<sup>us</sup>** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 244–84);**
- i. ff. 225r/a4–227v/a30 Sermon 7: **Incipit .vii. ab eo | quod sc(ri)ptum est iam uos ex deo esti filoli | 7 uicistis eu(m) u(sque) ad id 7 misit filiu(m) suu(m) litatore(m) / pro pe(cca)tis / n(os)t(r)is \ 'MVNDVS iste omnib(us) fidelib(us) quere(n)|tib(us)'; ends: 'quo int(ra)bat p(ræ)do sub | titulis alienis' **Explicit Sermo vii** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 288–312);**
- j. ff. 227v/a30–231v/a33 Sermon 8: **Incipit | viii<sup>us</sup> ab eo q(uo)d s(cri)ptu(m) e(st) d(ominu)m nemo uidit un|q(uam) usq(ue) ad id q(uod) qui manet in dilect(i)one | in deo manet 7 d(eu)s iN eo manet || 'Dilectio dulce u(er)bum est'; ends: 'adoptauit illi | qui cum illo possiderent uitam et(er)nam.' | **Explicit sermo viii<sup>us</sup>** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 316–54);**
- k. ff. 231v/a33–235v/b11 Sermon 9: **Incipit ix<sup>us</sup> ab eo quod || sc(ri)ptum est in h(oc) p(er)f(ec)ta e(st) dilectio in nob(is) ut | fiduciam habeam(us) in die iudicii usq(ue) ad id | quod ait ut q(ui) diligit d(eu)m diligit 7 fr(at)rem / suum 'Meminit caritas u(est)ra ex ep(isto)la | ioh(ann)is ap(osto)li'; ends: 't(un)c p(er) spe(cie)m. cui(us) tantas ar`r`as h(ab)em(us) don(um) | sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i.' **Explicit sermo ix<sup>us</sup>** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 358–92);**
- l. ff. 235v/b11–239v/a23 Sermon 10: **Incipit x<sup>us</sup> | ab eo quod ait om(n)is qui credit quod | ie(s)u)s sit chr(istu)s ex deo nat(us) est usq(ue) ad id h(oc) | enim dilectio d(e)i ut p(re)cepta ei(us) seruemus. | 'Meminisse uos credo qui adfuistis | hesterni die'; ends: 'tibi uis | ut credam meis parentib(us) maledicenti. | q(ua)m tu credas chr(ist)o predicanti.' **Explici**t expositio beati augustini ep(iscop)i | **sup(er) ep(isto)lam ioh(ann)is ap(osto)li priMAM** (as Mountain et al. 2008: 396–430) [remainder of f. 239v blank, but for “Bibliotheca Lambethana” stamp].**
- [Note: Each tract is headed and rubricated as an individual sermon, with red incipits and explicits, and a simple large initial capital.]
- f. 240rv blank but for 13c scribble at top left of f. 240r, perhaps owner(?) 'ediue uxor wila [perhaps 'wil(li)a(mi)'], verso not shown on film.

ff. [241–241] blank paper flyleaves [not shown on film]  
inside back pastedown: ‘Refurb: 13–1-59 F.W.’

**PHOTO NOTE:** Rubrics in Part 2, item 4 are very faint. After f. 24, the foliation is written so lightly that it is seldom visible on the photos.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. Ed. Socii Bollandiani. 2 vols. Brussels: Bollandists, 1898–1901; *Novum supplementum*, ed. Henricus Fros, Socii Bollandiani. Brussels: Bollandists, 1986.

Butler, Robert M. “Glastonbury and the Early History of the Exeter Book.” In *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, ed. Joyce Tally Lionarons, 173–215. Medieval European Studies 5. Morgantown: University of West Virginia Press, 2004.

Chambers, R.W., Max Förster, and Robin Flower. *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*. London: Percy Lund for Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.

Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.

Cox-Johnson, Anne. “Lambeth Palace Library, 1610–1664.” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1954–58): 105–26.

CPL = Dekkers, Eligius. *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. 3rd Ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.

CPPM = Machielsen, John, ed. *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi IA*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1990.

Drage, Elaine. “Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence.” D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1978.

Dumville, David N. “Anglo-Saxon Square Minuscule: The Mid-Century Phases.” *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 133–64.

Evans, Ernest, ed. “Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate.” In *Augustinus De fide rerum invisibilium; Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate; De catechizandis rudibus; Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo. Sermo de disciplina christiana; De utilitate ieiunii; Sermo de excidio urbis Romae; De haeresibus*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 46, ed. M.P.J. van den Hout, M. Evans, J. Bauer, R. Vander Plaetse, S.D. Ruegg, M.V. O’Reilly, R. Vander Plaetse, and C. Beukers, 39–114. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.

- Flower, Robin. "The Script of the Exeter Book." In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. Chambers et al. 83–90.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Gryson, Roger, ed. *Bedae Presbyteri Expositio Apocalypseos*. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 121A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Hardy, Thomas Duffus. *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*. 3 vols. London: Longman, 1871.
- Hearne, Thomas, ed. *Iohannis Lelandi antiquarii De rebus britannicis collectanea*. 6 vols. 2nd ed. London: Benjamin White, 1774.
- Hill, Joyce. "The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: A Reconsideration." *American Notes and Queries* 24 (1986): 112–16.
- . "The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: The Monastery of Sancta Maria." *American Notes and Queries* n.s. 1 (1988): 5–8.
- James, M.R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932. [no. 149]
- . "The History of Lambeth Palace Library." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959–63): 1–31.
- . *The Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1900.
- Ker, Neil R. "Archbishop Sancroft's Rearrangement of the Manuscripts of Lambeth Palace." Supplement to E.G.W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, MSS. 1222–1860*, 1–51. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- . Review of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, M. Förster, and R. Flower. *Medium Ævum* 2 (1933): 224–31.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–167. New York: Garland, 1994; orig. publ. in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Machielsen, John, see CPPM

- Mountain, J.W., Jeanne LeMouzy, and Daniel Dideberg, ed., trans., notes. *Augustin d'Hippone, Homélie sur la première Épître de saint Jean: In Iohannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus decem*. Bibliothèque Augustinienne 76. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2008.
- Muir, Bernard. "Watching the Exeter Book Scribe Copy Old English and Latin Texts." *Manuscripta* 35 (1991): 3–22.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Rosenthal, Jane. "The Pontifical of Saint Dunstan." In *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsey, Margaret Sparks, and T. W. T. Tatton-Brown, 143–63. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992. [D. Dumville p.c., at 147–48]
- Rose-Troup, F. "The Ancient Monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter 650–1050." *Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art* 63 (1931): 179–220.
- Scott, A. Brian, ed. *Hildeberti Cenomannensis episcopi carmina minora*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1969.
- Swanton, Michael. "Introductory Note." In *Pages from the Exeter Book*, ed. Michael Swanton, i–iv. Exeter University Occasional Papers. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1974.
- Webber, Teresa. *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075–1125*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Zycha, Joseph, ed. *Sancti Aureli Augustini De fide et symbolo ; De fide et operibus; De agone christiano; De continentia; De bono coniugali; De Sancta virginitate; De bono viduitatis; De adulterinis coniugiis lib. II; De mendacio; Contra mendacium; De opere monachorum; De divinatione daemonum; De cura pro mortuis gerenda; De patientia*. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 41. Vienna: Tempsky, 1900.



### 340. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.16 (2719)

Gospels; added quires with Exeter documents

[Ker 291; Gneuss 530]

**HISTORY:** A complete copy, ca. 900, of the Vulgate Gospels (Fischer 1988–91: sigla Bm) with much of the Hieronymian prefatory material, liturgical tables and references, as well as evangelist portraits; appended are 11c OE lists of Leofric's donations to Exeter and relics given to the Exeter monastery by King Æthelstan (r. 924/25–939). Along with readings for feasts of St. Winwaloe, patron of the monastery at Landévennec, Brittany, Auct. D.2.16 also has many features shared with a roughly contemporary gospel manuscript known to have come from Landévennec (New York, Public Library MA 115, "The Harkness Gospels"). Thus, Auct. D.2.16 was likely written at Landévennec before that community migrated to Montreuil-sur-Mer in 924 to escape Norse incursions (Nicholson 1913: 13; Conner 1993: 6 and 171). Two illuminated leaves were supplied which are stylistically Flemish, and may have been done in a Flemish center, perhaps Liège, though a Flemish artist working in England in the first half of the 11c is not out of the question (Schilling 1948).

[**Note:** See Madan and Craster 1922: no. 2719, 2.1.511–12 and Morey, Rand, and Kraeling 1931: 1.1–64, plus plates for discussion and facsimile; 1931: 2. 225–86 for connections to Auct. D.2.16; see also Alexander 1992: 77–82.]

Leofric may have acquired the manuscript during his education on the Continent and he may have brought it to England in 1042, perhaps even commissioning the two replacement illuminations (Schilling 1948: 317; Drage 1978: 382; Alexander 1992: 82), but it may have come to England well before that, as did the very similar New York "Harkness Gospels," which was in southwest England by the mid-10c, as were other Breton manuscripts (Huglo 1963: 70–71). Huglo suggests that Æthelstan acquired Auct. D.2.16 in his collecting of relics and manuscripts (Huglo 1985: 245–52; cf. Alexander 1984: 89; Conner 2000: 133 and 151 n.58).

Two quires were added at Exeter during or soon after Leofric's abbacy (1050–72), one detailing his donations to Exeter and the other listing

the relics donated by Æthelstan (Conner 1993: 171–87). In the late 11c, the manuscript served as a model and exemplar, presumably at Exeter, for parts of the small gospel book, Paris, BN lat. 14782 (Alexander 1966 and 1992: 77–82). Auct. D.2.16 is not identifiable with any entries in the 1327 Exeter inventory, but it is described in the 1506 inventory, at which time it had been bound in an ornamental gold and silver binding (Oliver 1861: 323). This binding was subsequently lost, possibly during the Reformation (Drage 1978: 382). The manuscript was among those gifted by the Exeter Dean and Chapter to the Bodleian Library in 1602; it was subsequently rebound more than once, most recently in 1948. An old shelfmark ‘Bod. 82 8’ on f. 1r.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** The manuscript is composite, consisting of the primary Breton gospel and two quires added at Exeter in the 11c. The book is foliated continuously: a series of roman numerals in modern pencil start with the first modern paper flyleaf (marbled on the recto) foliated ‘i’ in the top left on the verso; two blank paper flyleaves follow, ‘ii–iii’; a stiff crinkled parchment leaf and part of the first 11c quire: ‘iv’; the remainder of this first 11c quire and all of the second 11c quire are foliated in pencil ‘1–15’. There is an early modern ink foliation on the gospel quires, ‘16–191’, the pencil resuming on the last three parchment leaves, ‘192–195’ and ‘196–198 (ult.)’ which includes the final flyleaf of marbled paper. Each 11c quire, as well as the Breton gospel, has its own structure and each will be addressed independently.

Primary (Breton) gospel: 175 leaves (ff. 16–190). The parchment is very sturdy, well prepared, and suede-like to the touch; there is a sewn repair in f. 58 at the base of the leaf. The leaves are about 300 × 220 mm. with a writing grid of about 195 × 130 mm., prickings visible in the inside and outside margins, dry-point ruled and double bounded for 26 long lines of writing per page. The standard layout provides ca. 42 mm. upper margins, dry-point ruled top center for running headings; ca. 52 mm. outer margins, and ca. 60 mm. bottom margins, with the double bounds ca. 7 mm. wide and each line for writing also ca. 7 mm. The quires are mainly gatherings of eight arranged HFHF. The gospel quires are signed at the bottom center of the last leaf’s verso in minuscule letters ‘a–g’, ‘i’, ‘k’ through f. 100v, but are lacking in the remainder of the quires, except on f. 123v at bottom center, where the trace of a mark may have indicated the middle bifolium of a gathering and at the bottom center of ff. 127v and 135v where blotches may indicate erased or obscured signatures. The ink is dark brown to black; the script is a caroline minuscule by three scribes (ff. 16–28; ff. 29–101;

ff. 102–190). In the main text of the gospels, each page is given a running heading and red and black numbers are provided in the outer margins for cross-references. Each gospel opens with a red rubric for the capitula, red numbers in the margins for each entry, with a black explicit for the capitula. This is followed by a red rubric for each prologue and then a full-page evangelist portrait: three original 9c portraits of Matthew (f. 28v), Mark (f. 71v), and Luke (f. 101v) in red and black, with Luke also having yellow. Two portraits were added in the 11c: Mark (f. 72v) and John (f. 146v), with an initial and text supplied on f. 146v; these 11c portraits are deluxe, in gold, blue, purple, green, brown, red, pink, and white with elaborate backgrounds and ornament. The gospels open with Franco-Saxon interlace decorated capitals in black, touched with red at f. 73r, touched with red and yellow at f. 102r. The initial supplied on f. 146v is done in gold, red, yellow, blue, and green. Red rubrics in rustic capitals precede the text. Each verse begins with a one-line red capital in margin; in parts of quires VIII, X, XI, XII, XIII guide letters for these initials are visible in the far right margins, sometimes obscured by the gutter or lost in trimming; there is a similar guide letter on f. 160r in the gutter ('e' for ['et']) which is not filled in in the main text. Explicit are in red rustic or square capitals. Canon tables pricked as rest of gospels, but only ruled freehand withing the columns. Original portrait leaves at f. 71v and 101v are pricked and ruled as rest of text. 11c portraits leaves not pricked or ruled.

Additions: Quire I is an 11c booklet of stiff yellowed parchment, c. 295 × 215 mm. The leaves are laid out variously. F. iv is unpricked and unruled and on its verso two modern paper leaves are glued, each foliated in modern ink. The top sheet is 'v5' and the lower sheet 'vi (ult.)'. The upper and top modern paper sheets (i.e. two pieces glued one over the other on f. iv verso) has modern ink cursive text. F. 1 is dry-point ruled for 23 lines of writing and double bounded for a writing space ca. 203 × 122 mm. with no prickings visible; ff. 2–3 are the same size, but the writing space is slightly smaller, ca. 200 × 125 mm., double bounded on the inside margin, but single bounded outside, and with 24 lines; f. 3 has very faint rulings which may be pushed through from ruling f. 2. Ff. 4–5 are unruled and blank (but for a tiny OE 'we' on f. 4r at the lower left). F. 6 is ruled ad hoc for its text on the verso in dry-point for 12 lines (of which seven are used), double bounded in the outside margin. Vertical rulings extend for the whole leaf. The quire is arranged hair outside, all sheets. The match in the size of the sheets suggests that this quire was designed to fit with the existing Breton gospel book. The script is a typical Exeter hand of the third quarter of the

11c in a dark brown ink with a two-line initial capital in red at the beginning of the text.

Quire II is a later 11c Exeter added booklet of a similarly thick parchment, ca. 272 × 175–180 mm.; it is a quire of eight, plus one half-sheet, arranged hair outside all sheets, ruled in dry-point for 25 lines per page, with prickings visible in the fore-edge and double bounded in outside margins. The writing space is ca. 180 × 120 mm. F. 15 is a blank added sheet, thinner and crinkly, ruled in dry-point with two different layouts: an ample page of 21 lines with double bounds in both margins and prickings visible in the outer edge as well as at the head and tail of the leaf also shows on the recto side uneven and irregular dry-point rulings overlapping this grid at an angle for about 55 lines. The writing is a late 11c Exeter-type vernacular minuscule in dark brown ink, with large initials introducing paragraphs and space presumably left for a large initial capital “H” on f. 8r, never filled in. This quire seems not to have been custom-made for this book, but added at a later stage at Exeter.

Following the Breton gospel, which ends at f. 190, an undatable medieval quire of five unruled leaves matching the size of the gospels was appended as binding leaves, perhaps to provide space for a continuation of the OE text begun at the bottom of f. 190v and washed off. The last of this quire, f. 195, was formerly pasted down on an inside back board: its verso shows traces of glue and woodgrain. These leaves are blank but for a fragmentary offset on f. 191v that reads ‘[. . .]cipio [.]a[.]’ in a later, perhaps gothic, script; there is a green stain on f. 193r.

Three modern paper binding leaves precede the medieval quires, one (f. 1) marbled on the recto to match the pastedown on the inside front board, and three modern paper binding leaves follow, one (f. 198 ult.) marbled on the verso to match the pastedown on the inside back board. The 19c binding (covers and leaves) was refurbished at least twice: the joints were strengthened by L. Fifield of the Bodleian’s Bindery Staff in 1948, recorded in the small ink ‘L.F. 10.6.48’ in the lower left corner of f. 198r; the attachment between the text-block and the boards/spine was reinforced in 1984 by the Bodleian’s Conservation Bindery; this was regarded as a temporary measure and thus the manuscript was tagged with a large yellow label indicating that the manuscript was in the process of being restored; however the 1984 repair has held and at the present time no further conservation is planned. (p.c. B. C. Barker-Benfield 2012) The modern cover is a reddish brown leather with simple linear ornament in very good condition, with just a bit of splitting at the upper hinge. The thick spine shows four double sewing stations, with embossed gold lettering just below the top station

reading 'EVANGELIA' and a small label at the base of the spine, 'Auct. | D. | 2. 16' and below that a sticker with an ink handwritten 'ARCH. F. | c. 15'. A sticker on the inside cover at top left: 'S.C. 2719'. The MS is kept in a protective gray cardboard case with yellow conservation label.

**COLLATION:** iii+7+9+175+5+iii. i modern marbled paper leaf conjugate with the pastedown, plus two modern paper flyleaves (f. i-iii); I<sup>8</sup> wants 1, two paper slips (ff. 'v5' and 'vi (ult')') pasted on f. iv verso (ff. iv, 1-6); II<sup>8+1</sup> half-sheet added after 8 ( ff. 7-15) || III<sup>8</sup> 5 cancelled after f. 19 (ff. 16-22); IV-IX<sup>8</sup> (ff. 23-79, signed 'a-f'); X<sup>8+1</sup> 2 (f. 72) 11c half-sheet inserted between 1 and 3, stub visible between ff. 78 and 79 (ff. 71-79, signed 'g'); XI<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 half-sheets (ff. 80-87, not signed, faint 'VII' visible at bottom center of f. 87v; XII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 88-95, signed 'i'); XIII<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 half-sheets (ff. 96-103, signed 'k', faded); XIV-XVIII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 104-143, no quire signatures, though there may be traces of them at f. 123v and f. 135v); XIX<sup>8</sup> 2, 3, 6, and 7 half-sheets; f. 146 is 11c replacement leaf (ff. 144-151); XX<sup>8</sup> 3 cancelled after f. 153 (ff. 152-58); XXI<sup>8</sup> 2 half-sheet with stub visible between f. 164 and f. 165, 6 (f. 164) is a half sheet sewn in after 5 (f. 163), as if a quire of 8 with 6 cancelled but replaced by a half-sheet (ff. 159-166); XXII-XXIV<sup>8</sup> (ff. 167-90) || XXV<sup>6+1</sup> wanting original 2 and 5, a half-sheet (f. 191) added before 1 (ff. 191-195, see note below); two modern paper binding leaves plus one marbled on the verso conjugate with the marbled pastedown (ff. 196-198 (ult.)).

[Note: XXV is a difficult quire to assess due to tight binding, but it appears that it is a quire of 6: ff. 193-194 are an inner bifolium, and between ff. 192-193 and 194-195 conjugate stubs indicate a cancelled bifolium; f.195 is conjugate with f. 192; stitching visible after f. 191. Drage's collation differs significantly (folios numbers supplied as necessary): 1<sup>8</sup> (lacks 1; ff. iv, 1-6); 2<sup>8</sup> (ff. 7-14) plus 1 (f. 15); 3<sup>6</sup> (ff. 16-21); 4-9<sup>8</sup> (ff. 22-69); 10<sup>8</sup> (ff. 71-79) plus a half-sheet after 1 (f. 72); 11-18<sup>8</sup> (ff. 80-143; in quire 13, 3 and 6 are half-sheets); 19<sup>8</sup> (3 is a replacement leaf and 2, 3, 6, and 7 are half-sheets; ff. 144-51); 20<sup>6</sup> (ff. 152-57); 21<sup>10</sup> (ff. 158-67; 2 and 4 are half-sheets); 22<sup>6</sup> (ff. 168-173); 23-24<sup>8</sup> (ff. 174-189); 25<sup>6</sup> (lacks 6; ff. 191-195). Drage's collation appears to not account for f. 70 or f. 190.]

## CONTENTS:

f. i recto blank [not shown on film]

f. i verso pencil shelfmarks "Auct. D. 2. 16 | [Kept as Arch. F. c. 15]"

ff. ii recto -iv recto blank [f. iii rv not shown on film]

f. iv verso has a leaf pasted on, f. v5 with a modern ink cursive note: 'MSS.

Bodl. 828. Codex membr. in fol. min. | Quatuor Evangelia Latine. Liber

olim Ecclesiae | Sti. Petri Exoniae . . . Eccl(esi)a Exon(i)a) contrahit Athelstanus Anglorum Rex.

f. vi (ult) rv blank [recto, pasted beneath f. v5; none of this is shown on film]

1. ff. 1r/1- 2v/2 OE list of Leofric's donations to Exeter: 'Her swutelað on þissere chr(ist)es bec hwæt leofric | b(iscop) hæfð gedon inn to s(an)c(t)e petres minstre on exan-|ceastre': ends: '7 se þe ðas gyfu 7 þysne unnan wille || gode 7 s(an)c(t)e petre ætbredan. si him heofenarice æt|broden. 7 si he ecelice geniðerod into hellewite' (ed. Conner 1993: 230–35, Lapidge 1994: 132–39) [remainder of f. 2v blank].

ff. 3r-6r blank except for the tiny OE 'we' on f. 4r.

2. f. 6v/1–7 Leofrician donation inscription (Latin and OE): 'Hunc textum dedit leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)e s(an)c(t)i petri ap(osto)li | in exonia. ad utilitatem successoru(m) suoru(m). Si quis illum | abstulerit et(er)ne subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat. | Ðas cristes boc gef leofric b(iscop) s(an)c(t)o petro 7 eallum his | æftergengum into exancestre gode mid to þenien|ne. 7 gif hig ænig man ut abrede. hæbbe he godes | curs. 7 wræððe ealra halgena' (coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11; pr. Drage 1978: 32) [remainder of f. 6v blank].

f. 7rv blank.

3. ff. 8r/1–14r/21 OE list of relics donated to Exeter by King Æthelstan: '[H]er swutelað on þisu(m) gewrite | be þam halgu(m) reliquium. þe | æþelsta [*sic*] se wurðfulla kyning | geaf in to s(an)c(t)a marian 7 s(an)c(t)e petres | mynstre on exancestre'; ends: 'Of s(an)c(t)a Brigida hleor|bane þæs deorwirðan mædenes. þe | manege wundra her on life þurh god | geworhte. 7 manegra manna heortan | onlihte þurh þa bisne hire halgan | drohtnunge' (ed. Conner 1993: 171–87) [ff. 11v/15–24, 13r/23–24, 14r/22–24, blank].

ff. 14v and 15rv blank.

Breton Gospels (Vulgate, as Fischer and Weber 1994) with Jerome's prefatory material (CPL 591a), as well as the so-called 'Monarchian' prologues to each gospel, long associated with Jerome, but now thought to have been written in Priscillianist circles (see Chapman 1906 and Conti 2010: 20–21):

4. ff. 16r/1–17v/19 Jerome's Preface to the Gospels: **INCIPIT PRAEFATIO S(AN)C(T)I HIERONIMI | PRAESBITERI IN EVANGELIO | PLVRES FVISSE QVI EVANGELIA SCRIPSERUNT | & lucas euangelista testat(ur) dicens**; ends imperf.: '& om(ne)s apocrif(um) nenias mortuis | magis hereticis qua(m) eccl(es)iasticis uiris canendas.' | **EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO HIRONIMI.** (as PL 26.15–20);

5. ff. 17v/20–18v/10 Eusebian Prologue: **INCIPIT PROLOGVS EVSEPIVS GARPIANO** [*sic*] | **FRATRI IN D(OMI)NO SALVTEM.** | ‘Amonius quidam alexandrinus magno studio atq(ue) | industria unu(m) nob(is) p(ro) quatuor euangeliis reliqu[e]re’; ends: ‘atq(ue) eos in suis p(ro)-priisq(ue) locis similia | dixisse rep(er)ies’ (as PL 29.530–31);
6. ff. 18v/10–20r/15 Jeromé’s dedicatory letter to Pope Damasus: **PRAEFATIO HIERONIMI PRESB(ITERI).** | ‘**BEATISSIMO** papae damaso [*corr. from ‘damasco’*] hieronimus Nouu(m) | op(us) facere me cogis ex uet(er)i & ` (ve)l ut ‘ post exemplaria | scripturarum toto orbe disp(er)-sa quasi quidam | arbit(er) sedeam’; ends: ‘Opto ut in chr(ist)o ualeas et memineris n(ost)ri | pape beatissime’ **EXPLICIT P(RAE)FAT(IO)** (as Fischer and Weber et al. 1994: 1515–16, PL 29.525–30).
- 7a. f. 20r/15–20v/19 Prologue to Matthew: **INCIPIT PROLOGVS.** | ‘**MATH(EU)S** ex iudeis (gl: ‘(ve)l a’) sicut in ordine p(ri)mus ponit(ur) . . . & op(er)antis d(e)i intellegenda(m) diligenter | esse dispositionem querentibus non tacere.’ | **EXPLICIT PROLOGVS.** (as Conti 2010: 251–52, PL 103.273);
- b. ff. 20v/20–22r/25 capitula for Gospel of Matthew (unnumbered and incomplete) : ‘De natiuitate d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ie(s)u in bethlēm iudae’; ends: ‘De asia [*sic*] & pullo eius uedentes de templo em(en)tesq(ue).’
- 8a. f. 22v/1–22 Ailerán (d. 665), poem on the Eusebian Canon Tables: **DE NUMERO CAP(ITUL)I** | ‘lxxi Qua(m) in p(ri)mo speciosa q(ua)driga . . . xcviij Sub uolante(m) ad astra rep(er)ies. Non agies loqui atq(ue) | septies’ (ed. de Bruyne 1920: 185; ascribed. to Ps.-Alcuin at PL 101.729; see Howlett 1996: 12–20; SK 12980) [lines 24–26 blank].
- b. ff. 23r–28r Canon Tables: (cf. Fischer and Weber 1994: 1516–26);
9. Gospel of Matthew:
- f. 28v full-page evangelist portrait of Matthew;
- f. 29r/1–29v/20 Matthew 1:1–17, generations from Adam to Jesus, neumed: ‘D(omi)n(u)s uobiscum. Et cum sp(irit)u tuo Genealogia ie(s)u chr(ist)i d(omi)ni n(ost)ri | s(e)c(un)d(u)m matheum. Gl(ori)a tibi d(omi)ne | **LIBER GENE|RATIONIS | IE(S)V CHR(IST)I | FILII DAVID | FILII ABRA|HAM** . . . Et a transmigracione babilonis usque ad chr(istu)m. genera|tionis xiiii. Chr(ist)i autem generatio sic erat’ (as Fischer and Weber 1994: 1527; on neumes see Hartzell 2006: no. 243) [f. 29v/21–26 blank except for some offsets; at the bottom of the folio small ‘eiangeliu(m)’ (*sic*)];
- ff. 30r/1–69r/24 rest of Gospel of Matthew, with canon references in margins; first five lines neumed (decorated initial unfinished): ‘**CVM ESSET** | di[*corr. to de*]sponsata mater eius (gl: ‘(ve)l ie(s)u’) ma|ria

ioseph antequam con|uenirent inuenta est in | utero habens de sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o'; ends: 'Et ecce ego uobiscum | sum omnibus diebus usq(ue) ad consumptionem saeculi' | EXPLICIT EUANGELIUM S(E)C(UN)D(U)M MA|THEUM. HABENS UERSUS II.DCC. (as Fischer and Weber 1994: 1527–74).

10. Gospel of Mark:

ff. 69r/25–70v/22 capitula for the Gospel of Mark: INCIPIUNT CAPITULA S(AN)C(T)I EUAN||GELII SECUNDUM MARCUM | TITULUS III 'Et erat iohannes baptizans. et uenit super ie(su)m sp(iritu)s s(an)c(tu)s | et fuit in deserto temptatus'; ends: T(itulus) ccxxxii 'Post resurrectionem apparuit IE(SU)S ap(osto)lis et dixit. | qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluabitur. | qui non crederit damnabitur | et receptus. e(st) in caelis d(omi)n(u)s';

[Note: On f. 69v between heading and line 2, inserted above in a later hand, 'Esaie testimoniu(m) de ioh(ann)e' and, with insertion mark after 'baptizans', 'De uictu & habitu ei(us)dem.']

ff. 70v/22–71r/26 preface to the Gospel of Mark: INCIPIT ARGUMEN [sic] | EUANGELII SECUNDUM MARCUM | 'Marcus euangelista d(e) electus et petri in baptisate filius . . . Qui aute(m) | incrementum praestat d(eu)s est' (as Conti 2010: 256, PL 103.279);

f. 71v full-page evangelist portrait of Mark;

f. 72 an added half-sheet, recto blank

f. 72v full-page 11c evangelist portrait of Mark;

ff. 73r/1–98r/12 Gospel of Mark, with canon references in margins: INCIPIIT EUANGELIUM S(E)C(UN)D(U)M MARCUM | 'INITIUM EUANGELII IE(S)V CHR(IST)I FILII D(E)I SICUT | scriptum est in esaia propheta': ends: 'Illi aut(em) profecti praedicauerunt | ubiq(ue) d(omi)no coop(er)ante et sermone confirmante | sequentibus signis.' | EXPLICUIT [sic] EUANGELIUM SECUNDUM MARCUM (as Fischer and Weber 1994: 2.1574–1605).

11. Gospel of Luke:

ff. 98r/13–100v/5 capitula for the Gospel of Luke: INCIPIUNT CAPITULA S(AN)C(T)I EUANGELII | SECUNDUM MARCUM. [sic] | T(itulus) I 'Zachariae sacerdoti apparuit gabriel angelus'; ends: T(itulus) ccxxi 'Post resurrectione(m) apparuit ie(s)u duob(us) ap(osto)lis euntib(us) in uilla(m). | et benedicens eos ascendit in caelis.' | EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA SECUNDUM LUCAM;

ff. 100v/7–101r/21 Preface to Luke: INCIPIT PROLOGUS S(AN)C(T)I EUANGELII S(E)C(UN)D(U)M LUCA(M). | 'Lucas syrus natione antiochensis arte medicus . . . Ne non tam uolentibus d(eu)m uidere|mus



- quam fastidientibus prodidisse.' | EXPLICIT [*sic*] PRAEFATIO (as Conti 2010:256–57, PL 30.643) [f. 101r/22–26 blank];
- f. 101v full-page evangelist portrait of Luke;
- f. 102r/1–144r/10 Gospel of Luke, with canon references in margins: 'QVONIAM QIDEM [*sic*] | multi conati sunt ordinare narra|tionem quae in nob(is) completae sunt | rerum': ends: 'Et erant semp(er) in templo laudan|tes & benedicentes d(eu)m. am(en)' | EXPLICIT [*sic*] EVANG(ELIUM) S(E)C(UN)D(UM) LVCAM (as Fischer and Weber 1994: 1605–58) [f. 144r/11–13 blank].
- [Note: A dry-point entry 'populus' at lower left corner of f. 126r.]
12. Gospel of John:
- f. 144r/14–144v/18 Preface to Gospel of John: S(E)C(UN)D(UM) IOH(ANNEM) | 'Hic (est) iohannes evangelista unus ex discipulis d(e)i | qui uirgo electus (est) . . . & d(e)o magisterii doctrina | seruetur. amen' | EXPLICIT [*sic*] PROLOGVS (as Conti 2010: 252–54, PL 92.633–36) [f. 144v/19–26 blank];
- f. 145r/1–145v/27 capitula for Gospel of John: INCIPIVNT KAPITVLA S(AN)C(T)I EVANG(ELII) S(E)C(UN)D(UM) IOHANNEM | TITULUS / VI \ 'Ioh(ann)es testimonium p(er)ibet de chr(ist)o non su(m) dignus | corrigiam caltiam(en)ti eius soluere': ends: T(itulus) ccxxvi 'ET CU(M) tertio manifestar& se ie(su)s discipulis ait petro .ter. | Pasce oues meas & seq(ui)re me.' EXPLICITVNT KAPITVLA S(E)C(UN)D(UM) IOH(ANNEM);
- f. 146r full-page 11c evangelist portrait;
- ff. 146v/1–178r/7 Gospel of John, with canon references in margins (f. 146v is 11c supply text): INIT(IUM) S(AN)C(T)I EV(AN)G(ELII) S(E)C(UN)D(UM) IOH(ANNEM) | 'IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBV(M) | Et uerbu(m) erat apud d(eu)m'; original text resumes at f. 147r/1: 'p(er) gratia quia lex p(er) moysen data'; Gospel ends: 'nec ipsum | arbitror mundum cap(er)e eos q(ui) scribendi sunt libros.' | EXPLICIT EVANGELIVM | S(E)C(UN)D(UM) IOHANNEM D(E)O GRATIAS AM(EN) (as Fischer and Weber 1994: 1658–97).
13. ff. 178r/10–190r/14 "Comes", a calendar of lessons for the year : 'INCIPIT ARGVM(EN)TVM quomodo in eodem annali libro exponendo | Nom(en) euangelistae cuiuscumq(ue) sit uel tituli Numeru(m)'; ends: 'Usq(ue) omnis caro salutare d(e)i' (as Morey, Rand, and Kraeling 1931: 41–49, with discussion).
14. f. 190r/15–190v/4 spurious addition to letter attributed to Jerome, "Ad Damasum", "Praefatio in Evangelia": ITE(M) HIERONIMVS DAMASCO PAPAЕ | 'Sciendu(m) &ia(m) ne que(m) ignaru(m) ex similitudine

numero(um) error inuoluit . . . Non pot(est) | contra id comparatio esse quod solum est' (as Wordsworth and White 1889: 1.5);

15. f. 190v/5–14 verse summary of canons: De x<sup>mo</sup> canonae | 'In p(ri)mo certe canone iii<sup>or</sup> concordant ordine . . . numero | hor(um) scriptor(um) p(ro)p(ri)a separatim ac pissima [sic]. Finit' (SK 7905).

f. 190v/15–26 blank

ff. 191–195, the blank quire XXV

ff. 196–190 (ult) modern paper leaves and pastedown

**PHOTO NOTE:** A high-quality color digital facsimile is available at the Bodleian's website, *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University*: <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msauctd216>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, J.J.G. "A Little-Known Gospel-Book of the Later Eleventh Century." *The Burlington Magazine* 108 (754) (1966): 6–16.

———. *English Romanesque Art: Hayward Gallery, London 5 April–8 July 1984*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984.

———. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

de Bruyne, Donatien. *Préfaces de la Bible latine*. Namur: Godenne, 1920.

Chapman, J. "Priscillian the Author of the Monarchian Prologues to the Vulgate Gospels." *Revue Bénédictine* 23 (1906): 335–49.

Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.

———. "Exeter's Relics, Exeter's Books." In *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson, 117–56. King's College London Medieval Studies 17. London: Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, King's College, University of London, 2000.

Conti, Marco, ed. and trans. *Priscillian of Avila: The Complete Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

CPL = Dekkers, Eligius. *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. 3rd ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.

Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.

- Fischer, Bonifatius. *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. 4 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1988–91.
- , and Robert Weber, eds. *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969; 4th rev. ed. 1994.
- Hartzell, K. D. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press in association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006.
- Howlett, David. “Seven Studies in Seventh-Century Texts.” *Peritia* 10 (1996): 1–70.
- Huglo, Michel. “Le domaine de la notation bretonne.” *Acta Musicologica* 35 (1963): 54–84.
- . “Les Évangiles de Landévennec.” In *Landévennec et la monachisme breton dans le haut moyen âge: Actes du colloque du 15e centenaire de l’abbaye de Landévennec, 25–26–27 avril 1985*, ed. F. M. Simon, 245–52. Landévennec: Association Landévennec, 1986.
- Madan, F., and H.H.E. Craster. *Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 2.1: Collections Received before 1660 and Miscellaneous mss. Acquired during the First Half of the 17th Century (nos. 1–3940)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.
- Morey, C.R., Edward Kennard Rand, and Carl H. Kraeling. *The Gospel Book of Landévennec (The Harkness Gospels) in the New York Public Library*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- Nicholson, E. W. B. *Introduction to the Study of Some of the Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. London: Novello, 1913.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- SK = Schaller, Dieter, Ewald Könsgen, John Tagliabue, and Thomas Klein. *Initia Carminum Latinorum Saeculo Undecimo Antiquiorum: bibliographisches Repertorium für die lateinische Dichtung der Antike und des früheren Mittelalters*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1977; Supplementband. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005.
- Schilling, R. “Two Unknown Flemish Miniatures of the Eleventh Century.” *The Burlington Magazine* 90 (548) (1948): 312–17.
- Wordsworth, Johannes, and Henricus Julianus White, eds. *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889–1954.

343. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 1. 15 (2455)

Boethius, “De Consolatione Philosophiae”; Persius, “Satirae”  
[Ker 294; Gneuss 533/534 ]

**HISTORY:** A composite volume consisting of two manuscripts from St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, written in anglo-caroline minuscule of the later 10c: Boethius’ “De Consolatione Philosophiae” and Persius’ “Satirae”. The Boethius is glossed with an insular (and incomplete) version of the Remigian commentary, scholia, and glosses (Wittig 2006: 179 and 191) as well as the third “Vita” and Lupus of Ferrieres’ “De metris” (Gibson and Smith 1995: no. 163). The copy is textually related to Cambridge, Trinity College O.3.7 [90], which represents a fairly full text of the Remigian gloss (Courcelle 1939: 121–22, Bolton 1977a: 381–82, Bolton 1977b: 52–53). The copy of Persius’ “Satirae” has a version of the “Commentum Cornuti” glosses and scholia, borrowing from the “Tradition B” for the preface and prologue, and reverting to the “Tradition A” family of glosses for the satires proper (Pulsiano 2001: 146–49; for the traditions see Robathan and Cranz 1976: 3.215–24). The Persius is closely related to, and may have ultimately shared an exemplar with, Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.10, and M.R. James suggests this exemplar may derive from a copy found at Theodore and Hadrian’s Canterbury school (James 1902: 3.258). T.A.M. Bishop placed the origin of both parts of the manuscript at St. Augustine’s based on scribal interrelations with other manuscripts (Bishop 1971: no. 9; 1959–63: 415, also Barker-Benfield 2008: 3.1815–16). The Boethius was subsequently but nearly contemporaneously glossed at Christ Church, Canterbury, attesting to close relations between the foundations in the late 10c (Bishop 1971: 7).

Leofric probably acquired the manuscripts from Canterbury (Bishop 1959–63: 415; Drage 1978: 271 and 406; Treharne 2009: 524) and certainly donated the two manuscripts to Exeter as separate items in the third quarter of the 11c; both parts are identifiable with entries in Leofric’s donation inventory (Lapidge 1994: 134–35; Conner 1993: 232–34), and both have donation inscriptions. The two manuscripts remained as two separate items in

the 1327 inventory of Exeter's holdings (Oliver 1861: 329; though cf. Drage 1978: 387). They were perhaps bound together in the 14c or, more likely, in the Exeter refurbishment campaign of 1411–1412 (Clarkson 1996: 164–69; Pollard 1975: 144). The compiled book was probably chained in the Exeter library in the late Middle Ages. New covers were put over the original (but reversed) boards, ca. 1602 (Clarkson 1996: *passim* and Watson 1987: 270), when it was gifted to the Bodleian, and the book was clipped and chained in the Bodleian in the 17c. The turn-in of the covers was partly lifted in 1973–74 at the Bodleian as part of a dendrochronological study (as reported by Clarkson 1996: 165). According to notes and photographs kept in its storage box, the manuscript was refurbished in February of 1977.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** Foliated in a dark purplish blue crayon on the main text block upper right recto, '1–93' with 'ult.' cancelled on f. 93. A more recent pencil has added a 'i' to the first flyleaf and added a 'ii' to f. 1, but subsequently has cancelled the 'ii'; likewise, the pencil has added '2' next to the purple crayon '2' on f. 2. The parchment fly at the back of the book was a former pastedown, now foliated in the hand of E.W.B. Nicholson (Bodleian librarian 1882–1912) '94 (ult)'. The two manuscripts are different in make-up and layout, and will be described separately.

**Part 1, Boethius (ff. 1–77):** The manuscript clearly represents a fairly high-status, carefully made and annotated copy of Boethius. Text block of finely prepared creamy white parchment, sometimes a bit thin and crinkly, but good. Ff. 1–4 are damaged around the edges and now set in heavy paper frames, as is f. 5, though it is mostly intact. The leaves are ca. 375 × 250 mm., mainly in quires of eight, arranged HHHH. The leaves are pricked in the outer margins and ruled for 26 lines of main text per page, in a written space of 250 × 125 mm. for the main text, with a 60 mm. column in the outside margin for the gloss. The writing grid has 8 mm. double bounds in the inner margin and 10 mm. double bounds in the outer margin; the column of glosses in the outside margin has 2–4 mm. double bounds inside and out. The gloss column itself is ca. 60 mm. wide and where there are glosses, it is ruled twice as densely, resulting in a space for 52 lines of gloss per column, though all the lines are rarely filled. In the ample bottom margins of ca. 87 mm., pages sometimes include lineation for glosses. For some meters, the text is written in two columns, despite being prepared only for long lines.

The script is an accomplished anglo-caroline minuscule with some insular features (notably a, r, and g) by a single scribe. Each book of the "De consolations" begins with a large capital with biting animal heads and intricate vine and leaf interlace with some red ink highlighting. The opening of

Book 1 is especially elaborate, with the incipit in five lines of two-line square capitals in various colors, beginning with a blue 'A', and lines in red (now oxidized), green, purple, red and then green again, followed by a very large interlace capital, a line of square capitals five lines high in purple, three-line square capitals in orange, and square capitals two lines high in green, and square capitals one line high in purple. The first letter for each poem is usually a green capital three lines high, with subsequent initials for each line of poetry in red; in prose sections, the initial of each section is usually purple with a line of black rustic capitals. The explicit to book one and incipit to book two are in rustic capitals alternating in red and green. The beginnings of other books are nearly as elaborate, with large interlace initials, very large square capitals in various colors and decreasing size. Book two begins in purple and red; book three and four have red rubrics and initial lines of large square capitals in purple and green; book five has red rubrics and one line of square capitals five lines high.

Glossing is intermittent. Glosses were added by the original scribe on ff. 5–17r/2, 39v–40r, including some in OE; the glosses are both interlinear and marginal, with marginal glosses on ff. 5r–8r. There are marginal glosses by a subsequent Christ Church scribe on ff. 66v–72v. Marginal glosses on ff. 39v–40r from 11c Exeter (Drage 1978: 387). There is an inscription of the name “brihtmærcild” on f. i verso, no later than the 11c. Some of the meters were partially neumed (ff. 5rv, 12v–13r, 18v, 35v–36r, 42v–43r, 45v, 47v–48r, 54rv, 57v, 64v–65r, see Hartzell 2006: no. 245) and a dry-point bird neck and head with part of a wing was sketched on f. 29r. An Exeter hand of the third quarter of the 11c added the Leofric donation inscription on f. 77v. A later (?) medieval hand may have written the nearly illegible text in the bottom margin of f. 75r in dry-point or very light pencil. An uneven strip has been cut out from the bottom of f. 77, 63 mm. at its narrowest, growing to 74 mm.

**Part 2, Persius (ff. 78–93):** Parchment a bit stiffer and more yellow. The leaves measure the same as part 1 and are arranged HHHH in quires of 8. The leaves are laid out differently, with two vertical rows of prickings in the outer margins, one framing the main text and one the outside of the gloss column. The leaves are scored in dry-point, ruled for a writing space for the main text of ca. 250 × 125 mm. double bounded on the left side by a 10mm. column. The outer column is ruled for the gloss, ca. 70 mm. across leaving ample upper margins of around 45 mm. and lower margins of 80 mm. The main script is a single anglo-caroline minuscule of the 10c. Rubrics in red and green rustic capitals, with large 4- or 5-line green initial capitals, followed by three-line square capitals in book one, or

by rustic capitals elsewhere, also in red or green. Initials of each poetic line in red. Thickly glossed in several small glossing scripts of the same type as the main script. Glosses fill the top and outer margin on almost every leaf. Each leaf is pricked for the gloss in over 65 half-sized lines, with the main text ruled for and occupying two of these lines, for 26 lines of main text per page. An Exeter scribe of the third quarter of the 11c added the Leofrician donation inscription on f. 78r.

The two parts were bound together, most probably in 1411–1412 in Exeter (Clarkson 1996: 164). A parchment fly at the back of the book was a former pastedown. The original oak boards were reversed when the book was rebound and covered, in Oxford, in around 1600. The whittawed sheepskin covers are very worn. The inner boards are now bare wood with traces of paste and on the inner front board there are offsets of a text in carolingian minuscule.

[Note: A paper card has been pasted on the inside back board on the exposed wood with a note in pencil: 'from inside at end 22.1.1904 E.W.B.N.' The card has a small window for a parchment fragment which looks to be in a late 10c anglo-caroline hand, and reads 'uin' on the recto and 'acd' on the verso. The offsets on the inside front board match in minim height the script on the tiny fragment.]

Flyleaves at front and back were originally pastedowns, as paste remains on f. i recto and f. 93 verso. The front flyleaf (f. i) and the back fly (f. 93) were not original to the A-S book, as the wormholes in the textblocks, leaves, and covers do not match and the parchment is a thicker type and undamaged by mold as are the first several leaves of Part 1 and last several leaves of Part 2. Furthermore, the rust stains on the covers and ff. 1–2 that postdate the 1411–12 refurbishment and chaining in the Exeter library are absent on the fly, suggesting that these leaves were bound into the book in c. 1600. Clarkson suggests that the upper board is original from the Boethius and the lower board originally from the Persius (1996: 167). The book originally was sewn in three stations not counting the endbands, but was re-sewn onto four stations in the early 15c refurbishment. The spine is very worn with labels at the lower two gaps between stations; the top one has the shelfmark 'F. | 1. 15' and the lower one bears an old shelfmark, 'Arch. F. | c. 16'. The inner front board has a small label in the top left 'S.C. 2455' and offset carolingian minuscule text.

**COLLATION:** i + 77 (part 1) + 15 (part 2) + i + i. Part 1: i<sup>1</sup> (f. i) + I<sup>3</sup> (ff. 1–3); II<sup>8</sup> 1 (f. 12) glued to previous leaf at base (ff. 12–19); III-IX<sup>8</sup> (ff. 20–75); X<sup>2</sup> (ff. 76–77) || Part 2: XI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 78–85); XI<sup>82+1</sup> probably 8 cancelled (rough stub

follows f. 92), a later half-sheet tipped in (f. 93), large stub preceding f. 86 (ff. 86–93); f. 94 (ult.).

[Note: Quire I is heavily damaged and of unknown quire structure, but little is missing from the beginning of the Prologue. F. 94 (ult.) is a cardboard frame around a tiny fragment of carolingian minuscule text, pasted onto the inner back board by Nicholson in 1904.]

## CONTENTS:

f. i recto blank [not on film]

f. i verso c. 11c inscription, ‘brihtmærcild’; older shelfmarks, center in ink ‘Jur. | I. 11. 3’; modern pencil ‘Auct. F.1.15’ and ‘[Kept as Arch F.c.16]’.

Part 1:

Boethius, “De consolatione philosophiae” (ed. Bieler 1957) with a partial Remigian gloss (partly ed. Stewart 1915 and Silk 1935: 305–43; see Courcelle 1967: 278–90 and 405–6) and prefatory matter:

1. Prefatory material:

- a. f. 1r/1–20 [surviving lines] “Vita III of Boethius”: ‘[u]idelicet | [. . .]tate grecae sci[. . .] | [. . .] transtulit. Fecit [. . .]’; ends at f. 1r/20: ‘[instabi]litate et mobilitate [sic] fortunae’ (ed. Peiper 1871: xxxii–xxxiii) [at f. 1r/21, line is blank];
- b. f. 1r/22–1v/11 [surviving lines] Boethian accessus: ‘QUERI A NON-NULLIS SOLET CUI[US . . .] | Quibus respondendum [. . .] || [. . .] darebo[. . .] | ad grecos. . .Quippe | [. . .] inferior [. . .]’;
- c. ff. 1v/12 [starting at twelfth surviving line]–4v/3 Lupus of Ferrieres, “De metris” (fragmentary): ‘[Quin]q(ue) libros philosophicae [consolationis insignis auctor B]oetius .xxvii. uarietatibus carminum respersit’; [at f. 4r/26:] ‘Quam uariis terras animalia permeant figuris’ (ed. Peiper 1871: xxv–xviii); further text not in Peiper, f. 4r/27–4v/3: ‘Obserua autem quisque legeris finalem syllabam in omnibus || metris indifferenter accipi. Dimetrum uero uel trimetrum | uel tetrametrum metris iambicus trochaicis et anapesticis | per duplices. in reliquis per simplices computare’;

[Note: This final sentence is not included in Peiper’s edition of Lupus’ tract; it may be the note of a student of Lupus, see O’Neill 2005: 4.]

2. Boethius, “De consolatione” text (as Bieler 1957):

- a. ff. 5r/1–16ra/10 Bk 1: ANICII MANLII SEVERINI | BOETII. EX CONSVLIS. ORDI|NARII. PATRICII. PHILOSO|PHIAE. CONSO-LATIONIS.| INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS ‘CARMI|NA (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) florida’) QVI (gl.: ‘ego’) | QVONDAM STVDIO (gl.: ‘i(d est) ingenio’) FLO|RENTE (gl.: ‘dum floret studiu(m) | meum uigentes sapientia’)



PEREGI. (gl.: 'i(d est) composui') | FLEBILIS (gl.: 'similis flenti (ve) dignus fletu') HEU MESTOS (gl.: 'i(d est) tristitia') COGOR INIRE (gl.: 'nunc co(m)pellor incipere co(m)ponere.') MODOS (gl.: 'cantilenas'); ends: 'Haec ubi regnant' ANICII. MANLII. SEVERINI. | BOETII. EX CONSVLIS ORDINARII. PATRICII PHILOSO|PHIAE CONSOLA-TIONIS. EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS.

- b. starting at top margin of f. 5r and continuing in margins to f. 8r, glosses: 'STE[. . .]TUR QVINQUE PARTIBUS ID EST DE GENERE. SPECIE. DIFFERENTIA. DE PROPRIO ET ACCI|DENT . . . Quia aliquam ineis esse sapientiam | arbitrati sunt';
- c. ff. 16r/8–28v/22 Bk 2 (interlinear gloss runs to f. 17r/2): INCIPIT EIVS-DEM LIBER .II. | 'POST HAEC (gl.: 'uidelic& quae sup(er)ius cecinit') | PAVLISPER OPTICVIT (gl.: 'i(d est) tacuit') | ATQUE UBI (gl.: 'p(ro) q(ua)m ATTENTIONEM MEAM (gl.: 'i(d est) dolorem meu(m) auiditatem') MODESTA (gl.: 'i(d est) tranquilla sua aut mea') TACI|turnitate collegit (gl.: 'dep(re)hendit') sic exorsa est (gl.: 'coepit loqui. sicut inchoauit'); ends: 'Quo caelu(m) regitur regat.' | AN-ICII MANLII SEVERINI BOETII EX CONSULIS | ORDINARII PATRICII PHILOSOPHIAE CONSOLA|TIONIS. EXPLICIT LIBER SECVNDVS. [f. 28v/23–26 blank];
- d. ff. 29r/1–48v/1 Bk 3 (glossing, marginal and interlinear, resumes briefly ff. 39v–40r): INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS. | 'IAM CANTUM ILLA | FIN-IVERAT CV(M) ME AVDIENDI | AVIDUM STVPENTEMQ(UE). ARRECTIS ADHVC AVRIBVS. | carminis mulcedo defixerat'; ends: 'Perdit du(m) uid& inferos.' | ANICII MANLII SEVERINI BOETII ET ILL(USTRI)S EX CON|SVLIS ORDINARII PATRICII PHILOS-OPHIAE || CONSOLATIONIS LIBER TERTIVS EXPLICIT.
- e. ff. 48v/2–65r/13 Bk 4: INCIPIT LIBER QVARTVS. | 'HAEC CVM | PHILOSOPHIA | DIGNITATE VVLTVS ET ORIS GRAVITATE SERVATA. LENI|ter suauiterque ceciniss&'; ends: 'Sidera donat.' | ANICII MANLII SEVERINI BOETII. VI(R) C(LARISSIMUS) ET ILL(USTRI)S EX | CONS(VLIS). ORD(INARII) EX MAG(ISTRO) OFF(ICIORUM) ATQVE PATRI|CIO PHILOSOPHIAE CONSOLA-TIONIS | LIBER QVARTVS EXPLICIT.
- [Note: A crude dry-point five-spoked wheel in the upper outer margin of f. 60r.]
- f. ff. 65r/13–77r/11 Bk 5 (marginal gloss resumes on ff. 66v–71r, 72rv): INCIPIT | LIBER QVINTVS D(E)O DONANTE. | 'DIXERAT | ORATIONISQVE CVRSVM AD ALIA | quaeda(m) tractanda atq(ue) expediendu(m) | uertebat'; ends: 'Magna uobis est si dissimulare | non uultis necessitas. indicta p(ro)bitas cum ante oculos | agitis iudicis

cuncta cernentis.’ **Explicit liber boetii.** (explicit added in 12c/13c) [f. 77r/12–26 blank].

3. f. 77v/1–7 Leofric’s donation inscription (Latin and OE), relating to Part 1: ‘Hunc librum dat Leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)e s(an)c(t) i petri ap(osto)li | in exonia ubi sedes episcopalis est ad utilitatem succes(s)orum suor(um). Si quis illum abstulerit inde. subiaceat | maledictioni. Fiat. | Ðas boc gef leofric b(iscop) into s(an)c(t)e petres mynstre on | exancestre þær his biscopstol is. for his sawle alyfed|nyse. 7 gif hig hwa ut ætbrede. god hine for[. . ..]’ (coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11–12; pr. Drage 1978: 32–33) [f. 77v/8–26 blank]

Part 2:

4. f. 78r/1–7 Leofric’s donation inscription (Latin and OE) relating to Part 2: ‘Hunc codicem dedit LEOFRICUS EP(ISCOPU)S eccl(esi)e beati | petri ap(osto)li in exonia ad utilitatem successoru(m) suor(um). | Si quis illu(m) illinc abstulerit. et(er)neq subiaceat maledic(t)ioni. FIAT. FIAT. FIAT. | Ðas boc gef leofric b(iscop) s(an)c(t)o petro 7 eallum his æft(er)gengum | into exanceastre. 7 gif hig ænig man utabrede. hæbbe he | godes curs 7 wræþþe ealra halgena’ (coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11; pr. Drage 1978: 36).

[Note: Remainder of f. 78r blank except for the ink drawing of a rampant lion, perhaps winged, at the center of f. 78r.]

f. 78v blank

5. Persius, “Satirae” with Cornutan commentary and glossing (as Clausen 1959; related commentary as Clausen and Zetzel 2004; on the non-Cornutan aspect of the gloss, see Zetzel 2005: 88–103):

a. f. 79r/1–18 Prologue: **PERSII FLACCI | SATIRARVM** [commentary begins at top of f. 79r and continues in top and side margins: ‘Satirę p(ro)–priu(s) e(st) ut uerba humiliter dicat et om(ni)a sana faciat. . .’] | **INCIPIT PROHEMIUM** | ‘NEC (gl.: ‘p(ro) non’) **FORTE** | **LABRA** (gl.: ‘i(d est) labia / s(cilicet) mea’) **PROLVI** (gl.: ‘humectau(i) potau(i) p(er)–unxi (ve)l madefeci / tinxi’) **CABALLINO** (gl.: ‘i(d est) equino pegaseo (ve)l pegasino’). . . Cantare credas (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) tu’) **PEGASEUM** melos (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) pegaseu(m) ‘p(er)‘ nectar i(d est) malus melos. carmen | i(d est) non salum poterunt loqui humana uoce. sed & tiam carmina facere’)’ (as Clausen 1959: 3; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 2–3).

- b. ff. 79r/19–82r/5 Satire 1: **INCIPIT LIBER PERSII | FLACCI SATIRARUM** | **PRIMVS**. | ‘O **CVRAS** (gl.: ‘suspense legendu(m) ‘est & ponit declamatione(m) omnium.’ Cura dicta quod coruat’) || **HOMINVM** O **QVANTVM** (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) quanta’) **EST IN REBVS** (gl.: ‘s(cilicet)

- humanis') INANE (gl.: 'Inanitas') [marginal commentary beg. in right margin, f. 79r/51: 'Semetipsum arguit q(uo)d sciat neminem esse qui tam robuste | uelit studere . . .']; ends: 'His mane (gl.: 'talibus stultus') edictum (gl.: 's(cilicet) p(re)toris') post prandia calliroen (gl.: 'meretricem i(d est) uilia carmina') do' [marginal commentary ends: 'Calliroes nimpha fuit q(ua)m habebat paris ante helena(m) que relicta a paride. multu(m) rupti amoris fleuisse dulce consorti|tium [sic] d(icitu)r. hanc nicomediam scripsit antines celer pueriliter (ve)| certe calliroe pantomima'] | EXPLICIT LIBER .I.<sup>mus</sup> (as Clausen 1959: 3–8; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 4–47);
- c. ff. 82r/5–83v/4 Satire 2: INCIP(IT) .II. AD PLOTIV(M) MACRINV(M) DE BO(NA) M(EN)TE | ET DIEM NATALIS SVI HILARI MENTE EXCIPIAT. | 'HUNC MACRINE (gl.: 's(cilicet) o') DIEM (gl.: 's(cilicet) natalicii') NVMERA MELIORE LAPILLO (gl.: 'albo \ candido') [marginal commentary beg.: 'In ha(n)c satyra alloq(ui)tur macrinu(m) amicu(m) diuite(m) et potentem']; ends: 'Hæc cædo (gl.: 's(cilicet) quę dixi 'ego' concedo \ i(d est) dimitto') ut ad moueam (gl.: 's(cilicet) me') templis et farre (gl.: 'i(d est) pane') litabo (gl.: 'sacrificabo').' [f. 83v, third top line, right side, marginal commentary ends: 'Generosi d(icu)n(tu)r q(ui) p(ro)pitio genio nascuntur | Et ideo beni uoli & honesti'] | EXPLICIT LIBER .II. (as Clausen 1959: 8–11; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 48–68);
- d. ff. 83v/4–85v/20 Satire 3: INCIPIT TERTIVS. | IN LVXVRIAM ET VI-TIA DIVITVM | 'NEMPHE HAEC ASSIDVE (gl.: 's(cilicet) facis') IA(M) CLARVM (gl.: 'i(d est) clara dies') MANE (gl.: 'Mane q(ua)n(d)o adu(er)biu(m) est temp(us) significat. & uerbo coheret / q(ua)ndo u(ero) nomen epitheton sumit. ut mane / nouum') FENESTRAS' [marginal commentary beg. at top of column even with main text: 'Hanc satyra(m) poeta ex lucii libro quarto trastu|lit castigansluxuriam']; ends: 'Non (gl.: 's(cilicet) talia facere') sani esse (gl.: '(ve)| est') hominis (gl.: 's(cilicet) q(uo)d tu facis'). non sanus iuret (gl.: 'sen(sum) facturu(m)') orestes (gl.: 'Q(uo)d orestes qui in tantu(m) insan(us) ipsiu(s) ut matre(m) | sua(m) occideret . . . n(on) diceret u(er)ba huiu(s)modi nec facere sic(ut) tu facis')' EXPLICIT LIBER .III.<sup>us</sup> (as Clausen 1959: 11–16; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 69–95);
- e. ff. 85v/20–86v/22 Satire 4: INCIPIT LIBER QVARTVS | DE HIS QVI AMBIVNT HONORES. | 'REM POPVLI (gl.: 'alcibiades') TRAC-TAS (gl.: 'i(d est) disponis') BARBATV(M) (gl.: 'socratem') HÆC (gl.: 's(cilicet) quę dico') CREDE (gl.: 's(cilicet) tu') MAGISTRV(M)' [marginal commentary begins in margin at text line 16: 'De his qui honoris

cupidi | supra modu(m) aetatis suę. . .']; ends: 'Tecum (gl.: 'te te ipse cognosce') habita ut noris quam sit tibi curta (gl.: 'h(ec) translatio ab angusta re familiari') supellex (gl.: 'prudencia') | EXPLICIT LIBER .IIII.<sup>us</sup> (as Clausen 1959: 16–18; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 96–108);

f. ff. 86v/22–90v/6 Satire 5 INCIPIT .V. AD ANNEVM | CORNUTU(M) STOICV(M) CVIVS FVIT AVDITOR. | 'UATIBVS (gl.: 'i(d est) potetis') HIC (gl.: 'i(d est) talis') MOS EST CENTV(M) SIBI POSCERE (gl.: 'i(d est) optare') VOCES (gl.: 's(cilicet) in carmina') [marginal commentary beg.: 'Hanc satira(m) scribit ad cornutum in qua | eos culpata poetas qui solent adornanda carmi]na sua ta(m)qua(m) sint grauia et difficilia']; ends: 'Et centum grecos (gl.: 'sapientes') curto (gl.: 'i(d est) nonaginta noue(m)') centusse licetur (gl.: 'licere e(st) licitare. hoc e(st) p(re)tium ponere / mercatur (ve)l adp(re)tiabitur')' (as Clausen 1959: 18–25; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 109–40);

g. ff. 90v/7–92r/9 Satire 6: AD CESIVM BASSVM LIRICVM POETAM. | 'AMMOVIT IAM BRVMA (gl.: 'i(d est) hiems') FOCO TE BASSE SABINO [marginal commentary beg. in line 8: 'In hac satira scribit poeta de his qui heredi]bus re(m) sua(m) aucta(m) relinquunt']; ends: 'Inuentus (gl.: 'eris finitem inuent(us) rationis aceralis') crisippe tui finitor acerui (gl.: 'cumuli. s(cilicet) antea qua(m) inuenia(s) ubi auarus / sistere uelit')' [marginal commentary ends: 'O crisippe utrum inuentas est finitor tui acerui?']' (as Clausen 1959: 25–28; commentary as Zetzel and Clausen 2004: 141–55) [remainder of f. 92r blank].

ff. 92v–93v blank [see note on p. 119 above].

PHOTO NOTES: Enhanced film images of f. i verso and f. 1rv are provided on a supplementary fiche.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Barker-Benfield, B.C. *St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*. Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 13.3 London: British Library, 2008.
- Bieler, Ludwig, ed. *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 94. Turnhout: Brepols, 1957.
- Bishop, T.A.M. *English Caroline Minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- . "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts Part VI: MSS. Connected with St Augustine's Canterbury, continued. Part VII: The Early Minuscule of Christ Church Canterbury." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* (1959–63): 412–23.

- Bolton, Diane K. "The Remigian Commentaries on the 'Consolation of Philosophy' and their Sources." *Traditio* 33 (1977a): 391–94.
- . "The Study of the Consolation of Philosophy in Anglo-Saxon England." *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 44 (1977b): 33–78.
- Chambers, R.W., Max Förster, and Robin Flower. *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*. London: Percy Lund for Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.
- Clarkson, Christopher. "Further Studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bookbinding: Board Attachment Methods Re-examined." In *Roger Powell: The Compleat Binder*, ed. John L. Sharpe, 154–214. *Bibliologia: Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia* 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.
- Clausen, Wendell V., ed. *A. Persi Flacci et D. Ivni Ivvenalis Satvrae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Clausen, Wendell V., and James E. G. Zetzel, eds. *Commentvm Cornvti In Persivm*. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2004.
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Courcelle, Pierre. *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1967.
- . "Étude critique sur les commentaires de la 'Consolation' de Boèce." *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 12 (1939): 1–140.
- Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.
- Gibson, M.T., and Lesley Smith. *Codices Boethiani: A Conspectus of Manuscripts of the Works of Boethius, I: Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland*. *Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts* 25. London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1995.
- Hartzell, K. D. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press in association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006.
- James, M.R. *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902.

- Lapidge, Michael. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–167. New York: Garland, 1994; repr. from *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Ó Néill, Pádraig P. "Irish Glosses in a Twelfth-Century Copy of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*." *Ériu* 55 (2005): 1–17.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Peiper, Rudolf, ed. *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1871.
- Pollard, Graham. "Some Anglo-Saxon Bookbindings." *Book Collector* 24 (1975): 130–59.
- Pulsiano, Phillip. "Persius' *Satires* in Anglo-Saxon England." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001): 142–55.
- Robathan, Dorothy, and F. Edward Cranz. "A. Persius Flaccus." In *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum 3: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. F. Edward Cranz and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 201–312. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1976.
- Silk, Edmund Taite, ed. *Saecvli noni avctoris in Boetii Consolationem philosophiae commentarivs*. Rome: American Academy, 1935.
- Stewart, H.F. "A Commentary by Remigius Autissidorensis on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius." *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1916): 22–42.
- Treharne, Elaine. "The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter." In *Early Medieval Studies In Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine E. Karkov, Janet L. Nelson and David Pelteret, 521–38. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
- Watson, Andrew. "The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope (d. 1614)." *Bodleian Library Record* 12 (1987): 262–97.
- Wittig, Joseph. "The 'Remigian' Glosses on Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Context." In *Source of Wisdom: Old English and Early Medieval Latin Studies in Honour of Thomas D. Hill*, ed. Charles D. Wright, Frederick M. Biggs, and Thomas N. Hall, 168–200. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Zetzel, James. *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance: The Commentum Cornuti and the Early Scholia on Persius*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supp. 84. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005.

345. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.3.6 (2666)

Prudentius, "Carmina"

[Ker 296; Gneuss 537]

**HISTORY:** A complete compilation of Prudentius' poems, including "Cathemerinon," "Psychomachia," "Peristephanon," "Contra Symmachum," and others, written and glossed by several hands, mainly in an anglo-caroline minuscule in the first half of the 11c (Ker, *Cat.*). The extensive Latin glossing and annotation derives from a Continental tradition. Wieland notes that in the case of the "Psychomachia" Anglo-Saxons had at least two families of Latin glosses to draw upon; Auct. F.3.6's glosses are closest to Wieland's Group B, as represented by Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23 [24] and printed by Burnam from Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 413 (Wieland 1987: 225–27, Burnam 1910; cf. Burnam 1905), but the textual affiliations and families of A-S manuscripts show "resistance . . . to categorization" (Wieland 1987: 228). O'Sullivan groups Auct. F.3.6 with the subgroup "BII" of the "Valenciennes" group (O'Sullivan 2004: xvii).

Additions of OE glosses, scribbles, and charms were made in the later 11c in hands characteristic of the Exeter scriptorium (Ker, *Cat.*; Drage 1978: 392) which may imply not only an early Exeter provenance, but perhaps origins (Wieland 1997: 170), though this is far from certain (Gameson 1996: 150). The 11c magical "Thebal" inscription on f. ii recto is an early form of an inscription found later on magically prophylactic rings of the 12c and 13c in England and Germany (see Michelly 1987: 80 and Antoine 2005: 107–8). The charm on f. iii verso is in OE and garbled Irish, having an analogue in Bald's 'Leechbook', London, BL Royal 12.D.xvii, f. 20rv [298] (see Meroney 1945: 178–79).

In the third quarter of the 11c, an entry in Leofric's inventory and a Leofric donation inscription (f. iii verso = item 3) make clear that the manuscript was among those donated by Leofric to the Exeter foundation (inventory ed. Conner 1993: 234, Lapidge 1994: 135); based on variations of wording among the extant Leofric donation inscriptions, Drage suggests that the book was given its inscription closer to 1072, relative to



other manuscripts with similar inscriptions (Drage 1978: 29–40). The book seems to have remained at Exeter, as it is listed in the 1327 Exeter inventory in two entries as ‘Prudentii plurima opuscula’ (wording also found here in a medieval inscription on f. iii verso) and ‘liber eiusdem’ and in the 1506 inventory as ‘plurima Prudentii opuscula in i libro’ (Oliver 1861: 307 and 368). It may have been chained in the Exeter library, as there are rust stains on medieval flyleaves on the center tail, similar to rust marks in other manuscripts with an Exeter provenance. The book was donated to the Bodleian Library by the Exeter Dean and Chapter in 1602, and may have been chained in Duke Humfrey’s library, as an early modern paper flyleaf at the back of the volume has a rust mark top center (Clarkson 1996: 177). The book was subsequently rebound. A note on the paper fly at the front bears the note: ‘Repairs undertaken on fols. 1–2, 6, 9, 190–93 | in June–July 1979 have caused some discoloration | of the parchment. | B. C. B.-B. [Bruce Barker-Benfield], 11 July 1979’

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** The book is mainly made of thick and stiff yellowing skins, but the parchment at the beginning of the text block is slightly paler, thinner, and more pliable. At the back, there are purple and gray blotches, likely from water damage and mold. Leaves 255 × 185–190 mm., with many cropped. Generally in quires of eight, arranged HFHF, though the first quire has been damaged and restored. Foliated in heavy pencil ‘i–iii’, then in dark ink at the top right recto ‘1–193’, with the heavy pencil finishing out the blank parchment leaves and fly, ‘194–198 (ult.)’. Leaves ruled for double columns with single vertical and horizontal bounds; each column is approx. 51 mm. wide and the two columns are separated by two narrow bands of 7–8 mm. making for a combined writing space of about 170 × 117 mm. at ff. 1–31, 113–134, though written in a single column regardless of the ruling on ff. 1, 21–31, 113–134. These leaves have ample margins of 35 mm. at head of leaf, 50 mm. at tail, with an outer margin of 55–60 mm. Leaves ruled for a single column are single bounded both vertically and horizontally, with a writing space of approx. 175 × 117 mm., head margin of 35 mm., tail margin 47 mm., and an outer margin of approx. 50 mm. Single column pages and double column pages all pricked in outer margins and ruled for 24 lines per page, of about 7 mm. height. The outer margins of many sides of ff. 89–112 are ruled for glossing ad hoc with a straight edge in half-spaced lines ca. 3.5 mm. in height.

Main text in a brown ink, a late anglo-caroline minuscule script by two scribes, whose stints appear to be scribe 1 ff. ii–iii, 2–88v, 111–193v and scribe 2 ff. 89–110v. Generally, headings in rustic capitals, followed by

alternating red and brown initial capitals on ff. 2–20r. Following the red rubric on f. 20r, all initials are red on ff. 20v and 21r, and from f. 22v to f. 36v, there are no initials in red except for large capitals in text ink following the rubrics. Alternating red and brown large capital initials on ff. 37r–40v, ff. 65r–88v, ff. 111r–113r, except that from the bottom of f. 40v through f. 65r, initials are all in brown ink. On ff. 89r–107r red text often follows red initials, except that on ff. 107r–110v all initials are in brown. Ff. 113v–132r are in two columns with alternating red and brown initials. On f. 132v, all initial capitals are red with black highlighting. Ff. 132v–141v, headings are red with alternating red and brown initials. Brown headings with red initials from f. 141v/22 on.

Additions were made in the 11c: scribbles and charms in an earlier and “rough” (Ker, *Cat.*) 11c script on ff. ii and iii verso; f. 1 is a supply leaf done in later 11c Exeter; the Leofrician donation inscription was added in the third quarter of the 11c on f. iii verso.

Early modern or later paper flyleaves added, perhaps in an early modern refurbishment. Now bound in brown mottled leather-covered boards with tooled floral ornament in a central rectangle front and back; spine with two endbands and three sewing stations. Paper pastedowns front and back; front pastedown has in pencil ‘MS Auct. F. 3. 6’.

[Note: Older shelfmarks: ‘(2666) | Bod. 807’ on front fly in ink, circled in pencil. ‘Sup. D. Art. 67’ on f. ii recto. The manuscript is now kept in a red-wine-colored box with gold embossed shelfmark on the base of the spine. Madan and Craster (1922: no. 2666) and Förster (Chambers et al. 1933: 28) suggested that the book is a composite of originally three booklets of Prudentius’ poems, a supposition probably based on the wording of Leofric’s donation list: ‘liber prudentii sichomachię 7 prudentii ymnorum 7 prudentii de martyribus on anre bec’ (ed. Conner 1993: 234). Ker (*Cat.*, 355) and Drage (1978: 393–94) demonstrate that this is codicologically untenable.]

**COLLATION:** i + 199 + i. f. i a paper flyleaf (originally conjugate to pastedown); I<sup>2</sup> (ff. ii–iii); II<sup>10+1</sup> wants 1 and 10 which comprised the original outer bifolium, 2 and 3 wanting before 4 (f. 2), their stubs with bits of text visible after f. 1, f. 1 is an 11c supply, stub visible after f. 7 (ff. 1–7); III–X<sup>8</sup> (ff. 8–71); XI<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 half-sheets (ff. 72–79); XII–XIV<sup>8</sup> (ff. 80–103); XV<sup>8</sup> leaf cancelled after 1 (ff. 104–110); XVI–XXV<sup>8</sup> (ff. 111–190); XXVI<sup>3</sup> damaged folios now restored as three singletons mounted on stubs (ff. 191–193); XXVII<sup>4</sup> a quire of four? now restored and remounted (ff. 194–197); i paper fly leaf (f. 198 ult.).

[Note: Ker (*Cat.*, 354) states that the first two parchment flyleaves (ff. ii–iii) “are really the first two leaves of the first quire and contain introductory matter”. The

collation given here varies from Ker's; this collation also varies from Drage (1978: 393), who suggests that the first two medieval leaves (ff. ii-iii) are a bifolium, but does not note a missing outer bifolium. Ff. ii-iii are ruled for a different layout from the leaves in Quire II, and they have blank spaces at f. ii recto and iii verso, so despite having some material that is prefatory to Prudentius' work, they are likely a different quire, perhaps even from the end of the manuscript, whose leaves match in layout. Quire II (ff. 2-7) is problematic. As Drage makes clear, f. 1 was supplied in the 11c at Exeter to replace lost material from the first leaves now missing. Neither Drage nor Ker note that some text, and thus perhaps a leaf, is lost at the end of the quire, as the poem 'De novo. . .' is incomplete at the end on f. 7v, and the poem 'Ante Somnum' begins acephalously on f. 8r. The missing lines would fill approximately one full leaf, recto and verso, in double columns. Furthermore, the outer leaves of quires in the manuscript are generally ruled in drypoint from the outside, and f. 7 is ruled from the inside. This hypothetical first quire of ten leaves would be anomalous in the manuscript which is regularly comprised of quires of eight. Damage and subsequent repair make it impossible to know for certain the original composition of quires XXVI and XXVII. In quire XXII a 45 mm. strip is cut from the outer edge of f. 165 before foliation but it appears that no glosses are lost.]

## CONTENTS:

f. i recto/verso blank.

1. f. ii recto/1-2 OE Charm: '7 thebal guttatim auru(m) & thus de † Abra ie(su)s .† | Galabra ie(su)s † Wið þone dworh. on .iii. oflætan writ' (ed. Napier 1890: 323 and Storms 1948: no 78); at top center margin, ink scribbles: 'xxx' and 'al[. . .]'; line 9, in large capitals, 'THEBAL GUTTA' [bottom half of f. ii recto blank].
2. f. ii verso/1-14 verses on the Passion of St. Romanus (not Prudentius' "Passio Romani" from "Peristephanon"): '[H]ec lege qui rectum fidei uis noscere callem . . . rome p(ro)que meo. qui notat hęc famulo' (SK 5925; PL 59.753 and as Burnam 1905: 300 ed. from Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 321); both here and in BAV Reg. lat. 321 these verses serve as a general introduction to Prudentius' works.

Prudentius, "Carmina" (ed. Cunningham 1966, also PL 59; some of the Latin glosses shared with the glosses in Valenciennes 413 as ed. Burnam 1910):

3. ff. ii verso/15-iii verso/1, prefatory matter on Prudentius:

- a. ff. ii verso/15-iii recto/1 Account of Prudentius: '[A]ierilius [for Aurelius] . prudentius. clemens iste. pa[r]ti(m) | in consulatu . . . & alios quos pre manib(us) habemus. si per scrutari plac&' (as Burnam 1910: 300-301);

OE scribble (insular minuscule) in the margin of ii verso/15: ‘scurfede hors’ (pr. Napier 1900, no. 46, p. 211); alphabetic pentrial (in carolingian minuscule) in lower margin.

b. f. iii recto/2–5 list of Prudentius’ works as contained in this manuscript: ‘[A]uerili. [sic] prudentii. clementis. uiri consularis. | libri numero noue(m). [C]atemerinon ipothēs [for “apothēsis”] [S]ichoma|chia. [A]martigena. [C]ontra symmachu(m). [I]te(m) contra | sim|machum. [R]omanus. [P]eristepanon. [T]ituli historiariu(m): (cf. Burnam 1910: 301 and Dressel 1860: xlvi);

c. f. iii recto/6–18 Gennadius, excerpt on Prudentius from “De uiris illustribus” (CPL 957): ‘[G]ENNADIUS presbiter in katalogo uiroru(m) | illustrium huius prudentii sic meminit . . . ex [q]uo(rum) | lectione(m) agnoscitur palatinus miles fuisse’ (as Burnam 1910: 301–2, though this copy does not have glosses as in BAV Reg. lat. 321, also as PL 58.1068).

d. f. iii recto/19–iii verso/2 short account of meter: ‘[M]&rum HOC TRI-COLON. TRIstrophon uocatur . . . ab asclepi|ade inuentore’;

[Note: On ff. ii verso–iii verso, spaces have been left for large initial capitals at the beginning of texts, and for litterae notabiliores within the text. Remainder of f. iii verso originally blank, until the later 11c additions.]

4. f. iii verso/3–8 (added later 11c, in a rough hand) OE charm with garbled Irish: ‘Gif men ierne blod of nebbe | swiðe | sume þis writað . . . ge hors se ge men | blod seten’ (ed. Storms 1948: no. 77 and Napier 1890: 323; see Meroney 1945: 178–79 for Irish elements).

5. f. iii verso/9–16 (added about 1072, in a good hand) Leofric’s donation inscription in Latin and OE: ‘Hunc librum dat leofricus ep(iscopu)s . . . per | petrę maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat. | Ðas boc gef leofric b(iscop) into s(an)c(t)ę petres mynstre . . . hæbbe he ece geniðerunge | mid ealum deoflum. Am(en)’ (coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11; pr. Drage 1978: 33).

f. iii verso/21 (added in blank space on lower folio in later hand, 13c?) ‘PRUDENTII. Plurima opusc(u)la’.

6. f. 1r/1–1va/15 Prudentius, “Prooemia”: ‘[P]ER QUINQUENNIA IAM DECEM. NI FALLOR | fuimus’; ends: ‘Liber quo tulerit | lingua. Sono mobilis | ultimo’ (as Cunningham 1966: 1–2, PL 59.767–775).

[Note: F. 1 is an 11c supply leaf for lost material at the beginning of the manuscript; f. 1r is written in long lines, despite being poetry, and f. 1v is laid out in two columns, but not written out in poetic lines. Spaces were left for the initials, but never filled in.]

7. ff. 1va/16–20rb/11 (space for title not filled in) Prudentius, “Cathemerinon” (CPL 1438): ‘[A]LES DIEI NUNTIUS | Luce(m) p(ro)pinquam p(rae)-cinit’; ends: ‘Iam nemo posthac mortuus (gl.: ‘chr(ist)i natiuitate(m)’)  
FINIT KATIMERINON (as Cunningham 1966: 3–72).

[Note: From f. 2r (the original 11c text), Prudentius’ poems are glossed both interlinearly and marginally, mainly in Latin (the closest printed edition of these glosses found in Burnam) but occasionally in OE (ed. Napier 1900). The individual items are: (two columns) f. 1vb/19 (beg. on supply leaf, without title) “Hymnus ad Galli Cantum”; f. 2va/21 (center) HYMN(US) / MATUTIN/US; f. 3vb/14 HYMN(US) ANTE CIBUM (neumed at beg. and end); f. 6ra/4 HYMN(US) POST CIBUM (neumed at beg. and end); f. 7ra/11–7vb/24 HYMNUS AD INCEN[SIONEM LUCERNAE, ends imperf. at f. 7vb/24, verse line 85: ‘Qui pontu(m) (gl.: ‘chr(ist)e’) rabid(is) [altered to ‘rap-’] estib(us) inuium (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) ante’) because of loss of a leaf after f. 7, with a later hand adding in the bottom margin just the final quatrain (lines 161–4) ‘P(er) que(m) splendor . . . p(er)petuis s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lis. Am(en)’; f. 8ra/1, the next hymn “ante Somnum” beg. imperf. at verse line 17: ‘Serpit (gl.: ‘subintrat’) p(er) omne corpus’ (neumed at end); f. 9rb/17 HYMN(US) IEIUNANTIUM (neumed at beg.); f. 11va/23 HYMN(US) POST IEIUNIUM; f. 12v/5 (long lines) INCIPIT HYMNUS OMNIB(US) HORIS. (neumed at beg.); f. 14v/24 (two columns from f. 15r) HYMNUS CIRCA EXEQUIAS DEFUNCTORUM; f. 16vb/9 HYMN(US). VIII. KL. IAN.; f. 18ra/7 HYMN(US) EPIPHANIAE DOMINI. At the top of f. 17r is a scribble ‘Et ab ahd’. On neumed hymns, see Hartzell 2006: 392–93.]

8. ff. 20r/12–43v/13 Prudentius, “Apotheosis” (CPL 1439): PRUDENTII CLEMENTIS LIBER APOTHEOSIS INCIP(IT) HYMN(US) DE TRIN(ITATE) (Hymn, in long lines) | ‘EST TRIA (gl.: ‘i(d est) trinitas’) SUMMA D(EU)S TRINU(M) SPECIMEN (gl.: ‘i(d est) decus’) UIGOR UNUS . . . Et patris & chr(ist)i uirtute(m) (gl.: ‘s(cilicet) fidelium’) i(n) corpora tra(n)sfert’ | (f. 20va/2, 2 cols., Preface) ‘Est uera secta (gl.: ‘qua(m) p(ro)posui’) te magist(er) consulo (gl.: ‘int(er)-rog[at]i te’); ends, f. 21rb/4: ‘zizaniorum semina (gl.: ‘heresii’). | (f. 21r/5, long lines, text) SENTENTIA CONTRA HERESI(M) QUAE PATRE(M) PASSU(M) AFFIRMAT. | ‘PLURIMA (gl.: ‘plurimi errores’) SUNT SED PAUCA (gl.: ‘i(d est) paucas hereses’) LOQUAR NE DIRA RELATU’; ends: ‘Despicite. Exsurgens quo chr(istu)s prouocat (gl.: ‘nos’) ite’ (as Cunningham 1966: 73–115).

9. ff. 43v/14–65r/11 Prudentius, “Hamartigenia” (CPL 1440): PRUDENTII LIBER .II. AMARTIGENIA (gl.: ‘i(d est) de origine peccati’) | (Preface) ‘FRATRES EPHEBI (gl.: ‘inberbes’) FOSSOR (gl.: ‘cain agricola’) ET PASTOR (gl.: ‘i(d est) abel’) DUO | QUOS FEMINARUM PRIMA (gl.: ‘i(d est) eua’) PROCREAT . . . Cain triumphat morte fratris alitus

(gl.: 'nutritus'). | (f. 45r/6) ADUERSUS | MARCIONITAS QUI DUOS DEOS ESSE AFFIRMANT. | 'Quo te (gl.: 'i<d est) in q(uo) fouera(t)') precipitat rabies tua (gl.: 'ó') p(er)fide cain (gl.: 'marcion'); ends: 'Glorificent. me poena leuis clementer adurat' (as Cunningham 1966: 116–48).

[Note: Despite the title given here, the work is not in two books.]

10. ff. 65r/12–88v/21 (long lines) Prudentius, Hymn X of "Peristephanon" (CPL 1443), "Passio Romani Martyris": INCIPIT PASSIO ROMANI. | 'ROMANE CHR(IST)I FORTIS ADSERTOR (gl.: 'predicator') D(E)I'; ends: 'Sit dexter agnus. induatur uellere (gl.: 's<cilicet) agnino i<d est) mea g(u)la' (as Cunningham 1966: 330–69) [rest of f. 88v blank].

11. ff. 89r/1–110v/25 (long lines) Prudentius, "Psychomachia" (CPL 1441): 'SENEX FIDELIS PRIMA CREDENDI UIA'; ends seven lines short at line 908: 'Spiritibus pugnante uariis luxaque tenebre' (gl.: 'Ang(e)lis & demonib(us) int(er) se sp(iritu)s uirtute [*corr. to* '-to'] uirtutes. & uitia. caro. s<cilicet) uitioru(m)') (as Cunningham 1966: 149–81).

[Note: "Psychomachia" has space for an incipit or heading, but it is lacking. The gloss on the title is included marginally ('Sicos (ve)l psiche grece. anima latine. machia. grece. pugna. latine . . . 7 contra sp(ir)italia nequitia'). Heavily glossed in Latin, both interlinearly and marginally, with most of the OE glosses in the MS falling on ff. 92v–98v (ed. Napier 1900: no. 46). Edd. mark lines 1–68 as a "Preface", the text beg. "Christe, graues hominum semper miserate labores," but in this copy there is no such indication at corresponding f. 90v/6. The various episodes are given titles in this manuscript, e.g., f. 91v/7 PRIMO OMNIU(M) UIRTUTU(M) FIDES IN HOSTE(M) CERTARE PA/RATA EST., etc.]

12. ff. 111r/1–146r/24 Prudentius, "Peristephanon" (CPL 1443) hymns I–XIV without X (as item 10 above) (heading in margin: Incipit LIB(ER) περι de ctepha/NON [gl.: 'coronatis']) 'SCRIPTA sunt (OE gl.: 'awritene sint') celo (gl.: 's<cilicet) in') duoru(m) martirum uocabula'; ends: 'Dignaris almo uel pede (gl.: 'tuo') tangere' (as Cunningham 1966: 251–329 and 370–89).

[Note: Space is left on f. 111r for a heading or incipit for "Peristephanon" but incipit is in margin. The Hymns are as follows: (long lines) [I] "Hymnus in honorem Sanctorum Martyrum Emeterii et Chelidonii Calagurritanorum"; f. 113va/2 (2 cols.) [II] HYMN(US) IN HONORE PASSIONIS | LAURENTII BEATISSIMI MAR(TYRIS); f. 119va/14 [III] HYMN(US) IN HONORE PASSIONIS | EULALIAE BEATISSIME MAR(TYRIS); f. 121vb/15 [IV] HYMN(US) | I(N) HONORE S(AN)C(TO)R(UM) .X. 7 VIII. MAR(TYRUM) | CESARAGUSTANORU(M); f. 123vb/24 [V] PASSIO S(AN)C(T)I || UINCENTII MAR(TYRIS) (neumed at beg.); f. 130ra/2 [VI] HYMNUS IN HONORE BEA|TISSIMORU(M) MARTYRU(M) FRUC|TUOSI EP(ISCOP)I ECCL(ESI)Æ TARRACONENSIS | ET AUCORII

[for AUG- ] ET EULOGII DIACONI; f. 131va/24 [VII] HYMN(US) IN HONORE QUIRINI || BEATISSIMI MARTYRIS EP(ISCOP)I | ECCLESIAE SUSCIANI [for SIS- ]; f. 132va/10 (long lines from line 12) [VIII] DE LOCO IN QUO MAR|TYRES PASSI SUNT | NUNC BAPTISTERIUM EST CALAGURRI; f. 133r/7 [IX] PASSIO S(AN)C(T)I CASSIANI. FOROCORNELIENSIS; f. 135r/17 [XI] AD UALERIANU(M) | EP(ISCOPU)M DE PASSIONE S(AN)C(T)I YPPOLITI BEATISSIMI / MARTYRIS; f. 140v/3 [XII] PASSIO AP(OSTO)LORUM PETRI ET PAULI; f. 141v/22 [XIII] PASSIO CYPRIANI; F. 144r/10 [XIV] PASSIO AGNETIS.]

13. ff. 146v/1–188v/ Prudentius, “Contra Symmachum” (CPL 1442):

- a. ff. 146v/1- 162v/3 Book I: INCIPIT CONTRA SYMACHU(M) LIBER .I. | (Preface, single col.) ‘PAULUS PRECO (gl.: ‘uates’) DEI QUI FERA GENTIUM . . . Arsurum (gl.: ‘in’) mediis inferat ignibus’ | FINIT PREFATIO; (f. 148r/20) Bk. 1 beg. (long lines): CREDEBAM (gl.: ‘ego’) UITIIS EGRAM GENTILIBUS URBEM (gl.: ‘i(d est) roma(m)’); ends: ‘Nec tractum (gl.: ‘p(ro)longatu(m)’) sine fine ‘af’ferat fastidia (gl.: ‘legenti tedia’) carmen.’ | FINIT LIBER .I. (as Cunningham 1966: 182–208);
- b. 162v/3–188v/5 Book II: INCIPIT PREFATIO LIBRI .II. | (2 cols.) ‘SIMON QUE(M) (gl.: ‘a suo patre’) UOCITANT PETRU(M) (gl.: ‘a d(omi)no’ / p&rus’) | Su(m)mus (gl.: ‘primus ap(osto)lo(rum)’)) discipulus d(e)i . . . Insistam fluitantibus (gl.: ‘fluctib(us)’); (f. 163r/13, long lines) INCIPIT LIBER .II. CONTRA SYMACHUM. | ‘ACTENUS (gl.: ‘hucusque’) & ueterum cunabula (gl.: ‘exordia’) prima deorum’; ends: ‘Quemque ducem bellis sequitur pi&ate sequat(ur)’ | FINIT CONTRA SIMACHU(M). (as Cunningham 1966: 209–50).

[Note: Throughout “Contra Symmachum” the marginal glosses are labeled sequentially using various base alphabets, including on ff. 147r, 148v–149r the items marked ‘wynn’, ‘þ’ (crossed), ‘æ’, ‘ð’. At the end of f. 183r/20, a space is left for a section division, but no heading is filled in; the section begins ‘[U]ltima legati defleta dolore querela est’, etc. (= lines 910–12); f. 183v is entirely blank, except at line 20, where part of the heading that presumably would have been on the recto ‘PRUDENTIUS’ is written, followed by part of the first two words of the section, ‘Ultima lega’. On f. 184r the text continues after a gap of 3 lines at ed. line 913: ‘Vestales solitis . . .’ F. 185 is the first in in a quire, and thus this may represent a missed estimation of text and space.]

- 14a. ff. 188v/5–193r/23 Prudentius, “Dittochaeton” (“Tituli Historiarum,” no overall title is given) (CPL 1444): DE ADA(M) ET AEVA(M) [sic] | ‘AEVA COLUMBA (gl.: ‘i(d est) simplex & innocens’) FUIT TUNC CANDIDA NIGRA (gl.: ‘i(d est) postqua(m) peccauit’) DEINDE’; ends: ‘Et septem potuit signacula pandere solus’ (as Cunningham 1966:

390–400; Pillinger 1980 edits with extensive commentary and German translation);

[Note: Starting with no. 25 on f. 191r/3 “Mares Angelus Gabriel Mittitur” (beg. ‘[A]duentante deo . . .’) the titles and initial letters were not entered.]

b. f. 193v/1–17 Epilogue to “Dittochaeon” on Prudentius’ works (given as an epilogue to ‘Peristephanon’ in PL 60.591–94), written in long lines, lacking first line: ‘[Inmolat patri deo] | [P]ius fidelis. innocens pudicus (gl.: ‘castus’) . . . Iuuabit (gl.: ‘s<cilicet> me meo’) ore p(er)sonasse (gl.: ‘laudasse’) chr(istu)m. Quo (gl.: ‘s<cilicet> om(n)ia’) regente unum [recte uiuimus]’ (ed. Cunningham 1966: 401–2) [rest of f. 193v blank]. ff. 194r–198(ult.)v blank leaves with some staining and patches.

**PHOTO NOTE:** F. 198(ult.)v is not photographed. An enhanced image of f. ii recto is included on a supplementary fiche.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Antoine, Elizabeth. “A Thirteenth Century Signet Ring and Its Inscriptions: Identity and Power, Magic and Prophylaxis.” In *De re metallica: The Use of Metal in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Odell Bork with Scott Montgomery, Carol Neuman De Vegvar, Ellen Shortell, and Steven Walton, 101–12. Avista Studies in the History of Medieval Science, Technology, and Art. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Burnam, John. M. *Glossemata de Prudentio*. University Studies of the University of Cincinnati, 1.4. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati Press, 1905.

———. *Commentaire Anonyme sur Prudence*. Paris: Picard, 1910.

Chambers R. W., Max Förster, and Robin Flower, eds. *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*. London: P. Lund, Humphries, and Co. for the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.

Clarkson, Christopher. “Further Studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bookbinding: Board Attachment Methods Re-examined.” In *Roger Powell: The Compleat Binder*, ed. John L. Sharpe, 154–214. *Bibliologia: Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia* 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.

Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.

CPL = *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. Eligius Dekkers. 3rd ed. Steenbrugis: in Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995.



- Cunningham, Maurice, ed. *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*. CCSL 126. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966.
- Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–72: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.
- Dressel, Albert, ed. *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Quae Exstant Carmina*. Leipzig: Herman Mendelssohn, 1860.
- Förster, Max. "The Donations of Leofric to Exeter." In *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, Chambers et. al., 10–32.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Hartzell, K. D. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press in association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006. [no. 248]
- Lapidge, Michael. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–167. New York: Garland, 1994; repr. from *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Madan, F., and H.H.E. Craster. *Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 2.1: Collections Received before 1660 and Miscellaneous mss. Acquired during the First Half of the 17th Century (nos. 1–3940)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.
- Michelly, Reinhold. "Der Spandauer Thebal Ring: Neues zum Problem des Thebal-Ringe." In *Ausgrabungen und Funde auf dem Burgwall in Berlin-Spandau*, ed. Adriaan von Müller and Clara von Müller-Muci, 64–144. Berlin: V. Spiess, 1987.
- Meroney, Howard. "Irish in the Old English Charms." *Speculum* 20 (1945): 172–82.
- Napier, Arthur. "Altenglische Miscellen." *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 84 (1890): 323–27.
- . *Old English Glosses: Chiefly Unpublished*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.

- O'Sullivan, Sinead. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia: The Weitz Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Pillinger, Renate, ed. *Die Tituli historiarum, oder, Das sogenannte Dittochaeton des Prudentius: Versuch eines philologisch-archäologischen Kommentars*. Denkschriften, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Bd. 142. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980
- Richardson, E.C., ed. *Hieronymus, Liber de viris inlustribus. Gennadius, liber de viris inlustribus*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1896.
- SK = Schaller, Dieter, and Ewald Könsgen, John Tagliabue and Thomas Klein. *Initia carminum Latinorum saecula undecimo antiquiorum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977; Supplementband. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005.
- Storms, Gottfried. *Anglo-Saxon Magic*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948.
- Wieland, Gernot. "The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*." *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987): 213–32.
- . "The Origins and Development of the Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* Illustrations." *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997): 169–88.

### 356. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 311 (2122)

Latin Penitentials  
[Ker 307, Gneuss 565]

**HISTORY:** A collection of penitential texts stemming from Irish, A-S, and Frankish traditions, assembled and ordered as a single anthology (Frantzen 1983: 37). The script in the manuscript is a form of caroline minuscule that may be English or continental. The manuscript's origins may have been in north or northwest Francia from the second half of the 10c; however, T.A.M. Bishop found the same hand in four other manuscripts, some with early English provenances and perhaps origins; Bishop finds the main scribe of Bodley 311 in the primary texts of Worcester Cathedral Library Q.8 ff. 165–72 + Add. MS 7 ff. 1–6, El Escorial, E.II.1 [129a], Rouen Bibliothèque Municipale U. 107 (1385) ff. 20–26 [444], and in the Latin and OE glosses on CCC 285 [46] (Bishop 1971: xxv, 18). Dumville (1993: 53–56) accepts this identification of scribe across these manuscripts, though he does not find the evidence for the glossing in CCC 285 convincing, thus making the case for an English scribe less secure. The scribe of Bodley 311—who names himself 'John' in the colophon ('IOHANNES ME SCRIPSIT' on f. 85r)—may have worked in a Frankish scriptorium whose books were imported into England in the late 10c or early 11c. Frantzen (1983: 37) suggests that Bodley 311 could have been designed for export to England. The book may have come to Worcester, where its fellow, Worcester Cathedral Library Q.8, was located in the 12c (Gameson 1996: 242), though Conner suggests that Bodley 311 was in Exeter in the 10c (1993: 20, but cf. Gameson 1996: 152). A partly erased OE inscription on f. 1r in a late 10c or early 11c Anglo-Saxon square minuscule links the manuscript to a house dedicated to St Mary. A single OE gloss was added in the early 11c (f. 1r, 'eorðe' for 'terra').

Though there is no evidence that the book was in Exeter earlier and it cannot be found in Leofric's donations or inventory, Bodley 311 was in Exeter before the second quarter of the 14c, as the Exeter library inventories of 1327 and 1506 have entries identifiable with Bodley 311 (Oliver 1861:

304 and 368; Ker, *Cat.*; Conner 1993: 8). The manuscript was refurbished in 1411–12 and chain anchorages, likely from the medieval Exeter library, are now covered by the early 17c recovering (Clarkson 1996: 169–74). The book was part of the foundation gift of 81 manuscripts given to the Bodleian Library by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602; Thomas Bodley's brother Lawrence was a canon of Exeter and may have induced this gift (Philip 1983: 18). An early modern clip staple in the upper board indicates the book was chained in the Bodleian in the 17c. The book was rebacked in 1956 (Clarkson 1996: 169–74).

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** iv + 85 + iii. First and last binding leaves crinkly and worm-eaten. Main text block parchment is suede-like and yellowed, with some staining in the first half of the book. Leaves 354 × 178 mm., making for a book that has a pronounced oblong, rectangular shape. The quires are generally eights; skins are finely prepared, often making hair and flesh sides hard to distinguish, but generally arranged HFHF, except quires III (HHFF) and V (HFFF). Original medieval quire signatures at bottom center verso of last leaf in quires 'a–k'.

The binding leaves at the beginning and end of the book may be pre-Conquest. The first binding leaves are foliated 'i-iv (ult.)' in pencil, then in the upper right recto corner of each leaf, an older ink foliation runs '1–86' with subsequent leaves foliated '86–88 (ult.)' in pencil. There is currently no pastedown, with bare wood exposed except where the cover wraps around. Sticker in top left corner of inside cover with 'S.C. 2122' and pencil 'Bodl. 311' center top. A former pastedown remains as the first flyleaf, very brittle, stained and worm-eaten parchment with green rust holes where the two clasps (now lost from the front) were nailed. The bottom center has been patched with later parchment, over a rusty corrosion from a chain anchor. The second flyleaf is in better condition, still patchy with stains and with a large rust-eaten hole at bottom center and a large ink 'B' at center page. The next two flyleaves are from the same gathering, stiff, but not as damaged. Traces of paste and wood on f. i recto, and an A-S unfinished sketch of legs and a torso on f. i verso. To f. iv verso is taped a UV photo of the top of f. 1r, making slightly clearer the erased OE inscription on f. 1r (see below). At the back, ff. 86–88 were original flyleaves and pastedown, with ink sketches of bearded heads and pentrial 'abc's of the 11c or 12c on f. 88r. As with f. i recto, f. 88v has traces of glue and wood from its original position, pasted on the back board.

The leaves of the main text block are lightly ruled in dry-point for a text grid of 254 × 111 mm., with 25 (quires I–VIII) or 26 (quires IX–XII)

long lines per page. Nine-millimeter-wide double bound columns on each side of the text grid. Prickings visible in the fore-edges of each leaf and on the top and bottom edges for the double bounds. Upper margins of about 44 mm., outside margins of about 30 mm., and a bottom margin of about 64 mm., with each line of text about 10 mm.

The script is a caroline minuscule described as “continental” by Ker (*Cat.*) and others (Conner 1993: 8 and 17; Körntgen 1993: 91; Meens 1994: 236–37; Kottje 1994: xxxviii), but seen as English by Bishop, Dumville, Bischoff and others (Bishop 1971: 18; Dumville 1993: 54–55; Bischoff p.c. in Bloch et al. 1992: 793; Gameson 1996: 240). Drage and Cubitt strike a balance, suggesting an English scribe on the continent (Drage 1978: 399; Cubitt 2006: 59). The ink is a dark and sharp black. Headings in red rustic capitals, with initial capitals in black with red infill, or just in red. Section numbers also in red. Later correcting hand also in caroline minuscule, smaller, sometimes interlinear and sometimes marginal, with insular insertion marks at ff. 31r, 32v, 73v for larger corrections. The OE inscription is added on f. 1r at top center in a small 10c A-S square minuscule and the OE gloss is in an early 11c vernacular minuscule.

Bound with original oak boards and sewing with whittawed sheepskin covers blind tooled in crosshatch with a very worn floral motif at center of each diamond; covers from c. 1600 rebinding. Rebacked in light leather, now yellowed. Sewn in three original stations, with endbands sewn in a late medieval style, suggesting they were done in the early 15c refurbishment (Clarkson 1996: 172).

**COLLATION:** iv+85+iii: i<sup>4</sup> f. i appears to be a former pastedown now lifted (ff. i-iv); I-III<sup>8</sup> (ff. 1–24, signatures ‘a’-‘c’); IV<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 half-sheets (ff. 25–32, signature ‘d’); V<sup>8</sup> (ff. 33–40, signature ‘e’); VI<sup>8</sup> 3 and 6 half-sheets (ff. 41–48, signature ‘f’); VII<sup>8</sup> 2 and 7 half-sheets (ff. 49–56, signature ‘g’); VIII-X<sup>8</sup> (ff. 57–80, signatures ‘h-k’); XI<sup>5</sup> 4 half-sheet (81–85, no visible quire signature); ii<sup>2+1</sup> f. 88 is a half-sheet, former pastedown, mounted with the final bifolium (ff. 86–88 (ult.)).

#### CONTENTS:

[Note: ff. i recto-iv recto not shown on film. The first image is of the UV photo of the top part of f. 1r, pasted to f. iv verso.]

f. i recto, modern pencil, center ‘MS Bodl. 311’

f. i verso, old shelfmark top center of the leaf ‘IE | G. 8. 7’ ink; lower on the folio center pencil ‘MS Bodl. 311’; just above and left of the higher older shelfmark is the inked name ‘Wulf’; just below the higher older

shelfmark is a faint sketch (11c?) of a torso and legs. Lower left margin, alphabetic pentrial ‘abcdeff’

f. ii recto, in the center of the leaf is an ink capital ‘B’

ff. ii verso–iv verso, blank, except for a pentrial top center of f. iv (ult.) recto and perhaps an erasure mid-top of iv verso, and the pasted in UV photo of f. 1r

Collection of penitentials (described by Körntgen 1993: 91–98)

1. Iudicia Theodori G (“Canones Gregorii”) and Gregory and Augustine of Canterbury’s “Libellus Responsum”:

a. ff. 1r–5r/19 capitula of the “Iudicia Theodori”: **INCIP(IT) PENITENTIALE S(AN)C(T)I GREGORII | PAPE URBIS ROME IN P(RI)MIS CAPIT(ULA) | ‘i De ordinatione ep(iscop)i’; ends: ‘ccxiii’ i’ De eo q(ui) manducat & postea co(m)mu(n)icat’;**

**OE Content:** f. 1r (top) mostly erased added inscription in OE before and after ‘s(an)c(t)a marian for’; left in next line is: ‘hys gemæccan.’ (see Ker, *Cat.*, 360 for details, a UV photo of the top of f. 1r is attached to the facing flyleaf); f. 1r/25, ‘terra’ followed by gl. ‘eorðe.’

b. f. 5r/20–5v/18 capitula for Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury’s “Libellus Responsum”: **INCIP(IT) INT(ER)ROGATIO S(AN)C(T)I AUGUSTINI EP(ISCOP)I | ‘i De ep(iscop)is qualit(er) debent in eccl(esi)a agere. . . xviii Resp(onsionum) g(re)g(orii) de ipsa inlusiones omni’;**

c. ff. 5v/19–20r/4 “Iudicia Theodori G” (“Canones Gregorii”): **INCIP(IT) EXK(ERPTU)M [sic] S(AN)C(T)I GREGORII PAPE URBE | ROME DE DIUERSIBUS CRIMINIBUS | ‘i In ordinatione(m) ep(iscop)i ipse deb& | missam cantare’; ends: ‘Qui manducat & postea co(m)mu(n)icat \ dies pen(i)t(eat)’ (as Finsterwalder 1928: 253–70; cf. Schmitz 1958: 523–42);**

d. ff. 20r/5–33r/5 attributed to Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury, “Libellus Responsum”: **INTERROGATIO BEATI EP(ISCOP)I CANTORIORU(M) [sic] | AUGUSTINI ECCLESIE. | ‘i De epi(scop)is qualiter cum suis clericis | conuersent(ur)’; ends: ‘liber ex iustitia. qua(m) diligit captiuus ex delecta|tione qua(m) portat inuitus’ (cf. Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 78–102; see Meyvaert 1971 on the versions and pre-Bedan textual history of the “Libellus”).**

2. A collection of penitential texts and excerpts arranged as a single collection of 223 canons, including the “Poenitentiale Cummeani”, excerpts from the “Poenitentiale Remense”, an excerpt from the “Iudicia Theodori U”, and the “Poenitentiale Oxoniense I”:

- a. ff. 33r/6–37v/4 capitula for the collection: **INCIP(IT) S(AN)C(T)I BASILII PENITENTIALE AD COMIA|NI LONGII DE REMEDI-  
IS.** | ‘i Animarum uulneru(m)’; ends: ‘ccxxiii De carne morticina (ve)| sanguine(m)’ [sic];
- b. ff. 37v/5–38v/14 [“Prologue to the ‘Poenitentiale Cummeani’”]: **INCIP(IT) S(AN)C(T)I BASILII PENITENTIALE | AD CUMIANI LONGII** | ‘i De remediis uulneru(m) s(e)c(un)d(u)m prior(um) patru(m) | diffini` s`[i]ones dicturi sacri tibi eloq(ui)’; ends: ‘co(m)misit alicitis lic& cohercere se debuit’ (coll. Bieler 1963: 108–10, Cod. E);
- c. ff. 38v/15–50v/12 [main text of the “Poenitentiale Cummeani” = items ‘ii-cxli’]: ‘ii Incipit de gula Inebriati igit(ur) uino | siue ceruisa contra interdictu(m) | saluatoris ap(osto)liq(ue)’; ends: ‘ut illor(um) | meritu(m) tua sit mercis. & illor(um) | salus tua sit gl(ori)a’ (coll. Bieler 1963: 110–34, Cod. E);
- d. ff. 50v/12–55r/14 excerpts from the “Poenitentiale Remense”: ‘cxlii | Ite(m) de modis penitentię. Sciendu(m) uo(s) | e(st) quantu(m) q(ui)s te(m)pore morat(ur) in pec(catis)’; ends: ‘q(ui) aut(em) | consenserit .v. an(nos) pen(itea)t’ (coll. Asbach 1979: 10–46, Cod. O);
- e. ff. 55r/15–56r/8 excerpts from “Iudicia Theodori” (U II.5.1–4, 6–10): ‘clxxi | Ite(m) de alio penitentie q(ui) p(er)uiriuri(m) | fecerit . . . cui n(on) lic& | (ve)l n(on) uult co(m)muniõe(m) accip(er)e’ (as Finsterwalder 1929: 318–19).
- f. ff. 56r/8– 62r/8 “Poenitentiale Oxoniense I”: ‘clxxx | Ite(m) de diuersis criminib(us) diuersaru(m) | culparu(m) diuersitate(m) fac(it) peniten|tiaru(m)’; ends: ‘ita p(re)ceper(unt) ap(osto)li ut abstinerent se | a fornicatione(m). & a suffocationem | a sanguine & ad omne(m) ido(lo)latria. am(en) d(e)o gra(tia)s’ (ed. Kottje et al. 1994: 89–93).
- [Note: On f. 57v, in the right margin of lines 5–7, there is added text that has faded or worn away, and it appears that subsequently a reagent was applied to bring out the lost writing. It remains nearly impossible to read, though insular letter forms may be present (in what might be ‘for’ at the end of the second line of the addition) and thus may have been in OE. Neither UV nor bright light reveals anything more.]
3. ff. 62r/9–64v/13 Pseudo-Jerome, epistola supp. 12: “De septem ordinibus ecclesiae” (CPL 633): **INCIPIT OPUSCULA S(AN)C(T)I HERONIMI | PR(ES)B(ITER)I AD DAMASCU(M) PAPA | ‘SEXtus senior(um) ordo (est)’;** ends: ‘ut in cul|mine te(m)pli nobiscu(m) p(er)manere|ant(ur)’ (ed. Kalff 1935: 45. 1–57.16; as PL 30.155–57).
4. “Poenitentiale Oxoniense II”:
- a. ff. 64v/13–70r/10 Prologue: **INCIP(IT) CONCILIO PENITENTIAE | HAEC EST QUI IUDICAUER(UNT) .CCC.XVIII. | S(AN)C(T)I**

PATRES EP(ISCOP)I IN CONCILIO NICENO. | PER AUCTORI-  
TATE D(OMI)NI N(OST)RI IE(S)U | CHR(IST)I QUI POST BAP-  
TISMO | PECCAUERUNT. ORATIO | 'Exaudi d(omi)ne supplicu(m)  
p(re)ces . . . miserationes absoluat. p(er).' CONFESSIO 'Culpau  
cora(m) d(e)o'; ends: 'q(ui) in duritia(m) cordis | p(er)seuerauer(unt)  
& n(on) accedunt ad | p(eni)tentia(m)' | EXPLICIT PROLOGUS (ed.  
Kottje et al. 1994: 179–88);

b. ff. 70r/10–71v/14 INCIPIT CA\PI\TULA | 'i De eo q(ui) habent uxores  
& fornicauerint . . . lxxv Qui odit fratre(m) suu(m) in corde suo' | EX-  
PLICIT CA\PI\TULA (ed. Kottje et al. 1994: 189–90);

c. ff. 71v/14–85r/17 (main text) INCIP(IT) LEGIS | 'i De eis q(ui) habent  
uxores & fornicau(er)int | c(on)fitentib(us)'; ends: '& quando | odio  
nutriuit in corde suo tam|diu & peniteat.' IOHANNES ME SCRIPSIT.  
(ed. Kottje et al. 1994: 190–205).

[Note: Space for a few words cut out from f. 73/3, perhaps at time of making book.  
Remainder of f. 85r and all of ff. 85v–87v blank. F. 88 (ult.) recto blank but for  
sketches of two bearded heads and alphabetic penials.]

#### PHOTO NOTES:

Ff. i recto–iv recto, 88 (ult.) verso not photographed. The first image is of a  
UV photo detail pasted to f. iv verso. Opening ff. 48v–49r shown twice with  
a gap between the images; two shots of ff. 64v–65r, 72v–73r.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Asbach, Franz-Bernd. "Das Poenitentiale Remense und der sog. Ex-  
carpus Cummeani: Überlieferung, Quellen, und Entwicklung zweier  
kontinentaler Bußbücher aus der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts." Ph.D.  
diss., Regensburg, 1979.

Bieler, Ludwig, ed. *The Irish Penitentals*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Ad-  
vanced Studies, 1963.

Bishop, T.A.M. *English Caroline Minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press,  
1971.

Herbert Bloch, Leonard Boyle, Richard Rouse, and Paul Meyvaert. "Mem-  
oirs of Fellows and Corresponding Fellows of the Medieval Academy."  
*Speculum* 67 (1992): 790–97. [B. Bischoff p.c. at 793]

Clarkson, Christopher. "Further Studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman  
Bookbinding: Board Attachment Methods Re-examined." In *Roger  
Powell: The Compleat Binder*, ed. John L. Sharpe, 154–214. *Bibliologia*  
14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.



- Colgrave, Bertram, and R.A.B. Mynors, eds. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Cubitt, Catherine. "Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England." *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 41–63.
- Drage, Elaine. "Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence." Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.
- Dumville, David N. *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Finsterwalder, Paul Willem, ed. *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1929.
- Frantzen, Allen. *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983.
- . "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England." *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1982): 23–56.
- Gameson, Richard. "Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." In *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, 194–243. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1996.
- . "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Kalff, A. W. E. "Ps.-Hieronymi De septem ordinibus ecclesiae." Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 1935.
- Körntgen, Ludger. *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbücher*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1993.
- Kottje, Raymond, ed., with Ludger Körntgen and Ulrike Spengler. *Paenitentia minora franciae et italiae saeculi viii–ix*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 156. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994.
- Meens, Rob. *Het Tripartite Boeteboek: Overlevering en betekenis van vroeg-middeleeuwse biechtvoorschriften*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1994.
- Meyvaert, Paul. "Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury." In *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes, 15–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Philip, Ian. *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Lyell Lectures, Oxford 1980–81*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Schmitz, Hermann Joseph. *Die Bussbücher und die Busdisciplin der Kirche: nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt*. 2 vols. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958.

### 357. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 319 (2226)

Isidore, “De fide catholica contra iudaeos”

[Ker 308; Gneuss 568]

**HISTORY:** A complete copy of Isidore’s “De fide catholica” (also known as “De miraculis christi”) with an OE gloss on the last chapter. The primary text was written probably in the third quarter of the 10c by the main scribe of the ‘Exeter Book’ of OE poetry (Exeter Cathedral Library 3501) [130] and London, Lambeth Palace 149 [311] (Flower in Chambers et al. 1933: 85; Ker 1933: 230; Ker, *Cat.*, 360). The origin of these manuscripts is not known; arguments for Exeter, Glastonbury, Crediton, Tavistock, and Canterbury have been made (Conner 1993: *passim*; Gameson 1996: 179; Butler 2004; Swanton 1974: ii; Dumville in Rosenthal, ed. Ramsay et al. 1992: 147–48 and Dumville 1994: 132, n. 23). Bodley 319’s OE gloss was added in the 11c (Napier 1889: 25; Napier 1900: xxi; Ker, *Cat.*, 360) and has lexical and stylistic links to the OE glossing of Dunstan, Æthelwold, and their circle (Hussey 2009). The early history of the manuscript is unclear. It may have been one of the books listed in Leofric’s 1072 donation to Exeter (Ker, *Cat.*, 360; Conner 1993: 80–81) and it is possible that a donation inscription on the last original folio (f. 75) is now lost, as more than half of the leaf has been cut out.

The book may have been used as an exemplar for London, BL Royal 5.E.xvi in Salisbury in the later 11c (Webber 1992: 68). The 1327 inventory of Exeter’s books includes an ‘Ad Florentinam de Miraculis Christi’ though this likely represents Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Bodley 394 (Oliver 1861: 303; Conner 1993: 34 and 81; Gameson 1996: 169–70). A 14c hand has entered a psalm verse at the top center of the last leaf, verso (f. 75v), suggesting perhaps some 14c use. The 1506 inventory of Exeter almost certainly includes Bodley 319, as the entry ‘Liber de Miraculis Christi 2 fo. “Quare mortuus”’ nearly matches the secundo folio of Bodley 319 ‘Quia mortuus’ (Oliver 1861: 367; Conner 1993: 34, 81; Gameson 1996: 169, n. 162). The book may have been rebound with new parchment flyleaves in 1411–12; the boards show signs of being chained (in two positions), probably in the late

medieval library of Exeter (Clarkson 1996: no. V). The book was among the 81 manuscripts given to the Bodleian Library by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602, perhaps effected in part by Thomas Bodley's brother Lawrence Bodley, a canon of Exeter (Philip 1983: 18). It was rebound in the late 16c or early 17c with its current cover and was rebacked in the 19c before Nicholson's notes on the modern flyleaf (f. i recto).

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** i (paper fly) + 80 + i (paper fly). The leaves are foliated in ink at the top right 'i-iv', '1-75' with the last flyleaves foliated '76-80 (ult.)' in pencil. Membrane is off-white, smooth but variable, sometimes thin and allowing shine-through, at other places thicker, rough, and stiff. Leaves stained with mold and damaged at the opening and closing of the book; ca. 19c repair work of damaged leaves overlaid with tissue and remounted leaves. Some of this restoration work obscures the original quire arrangements and patches obscure letters and words. Leaves measure ca. 320 × 220 mm. The quires vary in structure: quire I is of two singletons, now arranged HH; quire II has 5 leaves, arranged HH(F); quire III and IV are of six, arranged HHF, quire IV has appended singleton (f. 19, hair outside); the rest of the manuscript is in quires of eight, variously arranged: quires V, VI, X are HFHF, quire VII is FFHH, quire VIII is HHHH, quire IX is HFHH; quire XI is HFHH (throughout, the difference between hair and flesh sides at places is hard to discern). A 50 mm. strip is cut from the bottom of f. 49; a 52 mm. strip is cut from the bottom of f. 59; the lower two thirds of f. 75 has been cut out. Leaves pricked in outside margins, ruled in dry-point, double bounded, with pricks in the upper margins to guide these vertical bounds. Writing space ca. 232 × 152 mm. with 23 long lines per page. Amply spaced lines of about 10 mm., a top margin of about 30 mm., and lower margin of nearly 50 mm., and outer margin about 40 mm.

The ink of the main text is a very dark brown or black, washed with red infill in initial capitals and with some green washing of initials on ff. 28v, 33v-34r, 44r-45r, 52r-62v, 67v-68v. Beginning on f. 2v space is left for the colored wash, probably in this green, but never completed. Main script is the distinctive A-S square minuscule script, frequently described as identical to that of the "Exeter Book" (Flower in Chambers et al. 1933; Muir 1991; Conner 1993: 83, 94; Gameson 1996: 165) with general agreement that Bodley 319 is likely the most calligraphic and the latest of the three. Headings of sections rubricated in large capitals, either in red, in black, or in black washed with red; at places minuscule letter-forms are mixed in; section headings marked with two or three line ornamental capitals with thick

bands, some hairline terminals, delicate white space in some, some with colored wash. The glossing hand on the last chapter is an 11c vernacular minuscule in a lighter ink that starts with some anglo-caroline features (notably the 'a' in first words of the OE gloss) before settling into an 11c insular vernacular script (Ker, *Cat.*, 360, Blake 1962, and Hussey 2009: 686–87).

Early modern binding is white sheepskin over older, perhaps original, medieval, boards and sewing (Madan and Craster 1922: 268; Pollard 1975: no. 6; Clarkson 1996: no. V); this very worn 16c sheepskin cover is stamped in a crosshatch with rampant lions in the center of each lozenge. Outer edges of front and back cover show corresponding marks of a now missing clasp, and X-rays show two positions of former clasps at the fore-edge (Clarkson 1996: no. V). The parchment flyleaves both front and back are otherwise blank; the binding leaf f. 79 has been patched top center. Originally sewn on three cords and since resewn.

[Note: Brown at the spine with a white strip down the center, partly obscuring the sticker at the base reading 'Bodl. MS | 319'. A brown paper pastedown on the inside cover through top quarter preserves very splotchy and damaged parchment, '1L | 259' in ink. Modern (19c) pencil in center of pastedown, 'MS. Bodl. 319'. Modern brown paper flyleaf preserves earlier notes of librarians. The first note at top center reads: 'Prof. Napier points out that in the process of repairing the MS. | some letters have partially disappeared or been twisted round. | Thus at the top of f. 75 symbol [sic] cd. clearly be read & the preceding | words *pæt* is have been twisted'. A note below: 'The MS. is 11th cent. E. W. B. N., Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian from 1882–1912. Added below this: 'P.S. 29 June 1904 I find it was given to Exeter Cathedral by Leofric, tho' his inscriptions | at end have been cut out'.]

#### COLLATION:

[Note: The first 23 leaves (ff. i–iv, 1–19) and the last twelve leaves (ff. 68–79) have been repaired and remounted, making the structure of the original gatherings impossible to know for certain. The damage on these leaves also obscures the difference between hair and flesh sides and thus collation of these leaves is a reconstruction based on what can be seen and inferred. For arrangement of quires see "Codicological Description."]

i + 82 parchment (ff. ii–iv, 1–79) + 1 paper fly (f. 80 ult.). i; I<sup>4</sup> singletons mounted as two bifolia (ff. ii–iv, 1); II<sup>5</sup> 2, 3, and 4 half-sheets, sewing and stubs visible after 4 (ff. 2–6); III<sup>6</sup> 1 and 6 half-sheets (ff. 7–12); IV<sup>6+1</sup> f. 19 seems to be a singleton mounted after 6 (ff. 13–19); V–X<sup>8</sup> (ff. 20–67); XI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 68–75, probably a regular quire of eight, though conservation work makes it unclear); XII<sup>4</sup> (ff. 76–79, probably two bifolia, but conservation work makes it unclear); 1 modern paper flyleaf (f. 80 ult.)

## CONTENTS:

- ff. ii–iv (ult.) parchment flyleaves, blank but for f. ii recto which has a pen outline of an ornamental capital ‘E’ and older shelfmarks ‘NE. D. 6. 5’ and ‘(2226)’ with thick black ink ‘Bod. 319’.
- Isidore of Seville’s “De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra iudaeos ad Florentinam sororem suam” (CPL 1198) (as PL 83.449–538):
- ff. 1r/1–2r/24 chapter headings, Bk 1: **INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI HYSI(DOR)US.** | ‘i. Quia chr(istu)s a deo patre genitus est . . . l[viii] Quod aute(m) uenturu(m) chr(istu)m de cęlis iudice(m) s(per)amus. (&) | quod ei omne iudicium dedit pater’;
- [Note: 13c heading at the top of f. 1r ‘Liber de miraculis christi’]
- f. 2v/1–14 Preface: **INCIPIT PRAEFATIO** | ‘S(AN)C(T)ę SORORI FLORENTINAE HY[siodorus [sic] quędam quę diuersis temporib(us) | in ueteris testamenti libris p(ren)untiata sunt . . . ut que(m) consortem p(er)fruo sanguinis | coheredem faciam & mei laboris’;
- ff. 2v/16–39r/22 Bk 1 [heading and chapter number lacking for ch. 1, generally present for other chs.]: ‘QVOD chr(istu)s a d(e)o patre genitus (est). Iudei ne|faria incredulitate chr(istu)m d(e)i filium abne|gantes’; ends: ‘Incor|ruptione(m) corporis. resurrectione(m) carnis. as|censione(m) quę eius in c(a)elos regnu(m) atq(ue) iudiciu(m) | declarauimus.’ **EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS**;
- ff. 39r/22–40r/9 chapter headings, Bk 2: **IN|CIPUNT CAPITVLA . LIBRI SECUNDI.** || ‘I. Quia gentes ad d(e)i cultum uocentur . . . XXVII. Recapitulatio operis.’ | **EXPLICIT.** [sic] **CAPITULA**;
- ff. 40r/10–75r/4 Book 2 **INCIPIT BREUIAR’i’UM DE PRE|CEDENTE** (.) **LIBELLI. FELICITER.** | ‘QVADAM ex parte d(omi)ni et saluatoris n(ost)ri na|tiuitatem. passione(m). resurrectione(m). cęliquę | ascensum explicuit’; ch. 27, with interlinear gloss in OE, beg. (f. 74r/11) **XXVII. RECAPITULATIO OPERATIO.** | ‘Infeliciu(m) iudeorum deflenda dementia’ (gl.: ‘ungesæligna iudea bewependlic gewed’); main text (with gloss) ends: ‘Schenophegias id (est) sollem|nitates tabernaculorum non obseruamus. qui’ a’ ta|bernaculum dei s(an)c(t)i eius sunt. in quibus habitat | in aeternum’ (gl.: ‘templhalgunga þæt is symbel|nessa hyra eardungstowa we na begymaþ. forþonþe | eardungstow godes his halgan synt . on þam he eardaþ | on ecnesse’) | **EXPLICIT D(E)O GRATIAS AMEN** (OE gloss ed. Napier 1900, no. 40) [rest of f. 75 trimmed away];
- f. 75v blank but for a 14c documentary-type cursive addition: ‘In om(n)em terram exiit sonus eor(um) & in fines orbis’ (Psalm 18:5).
- ff. 76–80 (ult.) blank.

PHOTO NOTE: F. 80 (ult.) verso not filmed. Enhanced film images of f. 70rv are presented on a supplementary fiche.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Blake, N. F. "The Scribe of the Exeter Book." *Neophilologus* 46 (1962): 316–19.
- Butler, Robert M. "Glastonbury and the Early History of the Exeter Book." In *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, ed. Joyce Tally Lionarons, 173–215. Medieval European Studies 5. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2004.
- Chambers, R. W., M. Förster, R. Flower, eds. *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*. London: Percy Lund for Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, 1933.
- Clarkson, Christopher. "Further Studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Bookbinding: Board Attachment Methods Re-examined." In *Roger Powell: The Compleat Binder*, ed. John L. Sharpe, 154–214. Bibliologia 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996..
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Dumville, David N. "Anglo-Saxon Square Minuscule: The Mid-Century Phases." *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 133–64.
- Flower, Robin. "The Script of the Exeter Book." In Chambers et al., *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, 83–90.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Hussey, Matthew T. "Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Isidorean Exegesis in Old English Glosses: Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 319." *Review of English Studies* 60 (2009): 681–704.
- Ker, Neil. Review of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers et al. *Medium Ævum* 2 (1933): 224–31.
- Madan, F. and H.H.E. Craster. *Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 2.1: Collections Received before 1660 and Miscellaneous mss. Acquired during the First Half of the 17th Century (nos. 1–3940)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. [no. 2226]
- Muir, Bernard. "Watching the Exeter Book Scribe Copy Old English and Latin Texts." *Manuscripta* 35 (1991): 3–22.
- Napier, Arthur. "Altenglische Glossen zu Isidor's *Contra Judaeos*." *Englische Studien* 13 (1889): 25–27.

- , ed. *Old English Glosses: Chiefly Unpublished*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900. [205–7, no. 40]
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Philip, Ian. *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Lyell Lectures, Oxford 1980–81*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Pollard, Graham. "Some Anglo-Saxon Bookbindings." *Book Collector* 24 (1975): 130–59.
- Jane Rosenthal. "The Pontifical of Saint Dunstan." In *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsey, Margaret Sparks, and T. W. T. Tatton-Brown, 143–63. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992. [D. Dumville p.c. at 147–48]
- Swanton, Michael. "Introduction." In *Pages from the Exeter Book*, ed. Michael Swanton, i–iv. Exeter University Occasional Papers. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1974.
- Webber, Teresa. *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075–1125*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.



### 365. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 708 (2609)

Gregory, "Cura Pastoralis"

[Ker 316; Gneuss 590]

**HISTORY:** A complete copy of Gregory's Latin "Pastoral Care," representative of an insular textual family of the early uncorrected recension of the "Pastoral Care" (Clement 1985: 1–13; Dekkers in Rommel et al. 1992: 1.106). Written in an anglo-caroline minuscule of ca. 1000, probably at Christ Church, Canterbury. Bishop identified three scribes, one of whose work is extant in several other manuscripts from Christ Church, representing some of the earliest English caroline minuscule at that foundation (Bishop 1971: no. 10, p. xxv and 1959–63: 94 and 420–22). The manuscript likely was acquired by Leofric for Exeter from Christ Church; it appears he acquired other manuscripts from Canterbury, at least one from Christ Church (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Auct. F.1.15 [343]) (Bishop 1959–63: 415; Drage 1978: 271 and 406; Treharne 2009: 524). Leofric donated the book to Exeter at some point between 1050 and 1072, and, Drage suggests, later rather than earlier in this period (Drage 1978: 37); Leofric's donation inscription was added by one of the scribes of the Exeter scriptorium in the third quarter of the 11c (Drage 1978: 405–6); Bodley 708 has been identified with one of the items donated and listed in Leofric's "Inventory": the "liber pastoralis" (inventory ed. Lapidge 1994: 137; ed. Conner 1993: 232–33). The manuscript appears to have remained at Exeter through the later Middle Ages, as it is listed in the inventories of 1327 and 1506 (Oliver 1861: 302 and 367). The manuscript was among those donated in 1602 by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to the Bodleian Library and subsequently rebound.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** Ff. ii + 116 + 1. Main text block consists of fine off-white parchment, with very matte finish; damaged by purple-grey splotching of mold at beginning and end, most noticeably in the edges, with decay at the edges of the first several folios. Leaves ca. 300–305 × 215–220 mm. mainly arranged HFHF in quires of eight; quire XIII is of ten and the last quire may have been a bifolium at one point, with a leaf

appended in the later 11c. The leaves are ruled for a written space of 220 × 135–40 mm. in dry-point, pricked in the outside margins and with double bounds of about 10 mm. width. The upper margin outside of the text-grid is ca. 33–35 mm., outer margin is ca. 40 mm., and the lower margin is ca. 45 mm. The ruling is for 24 lines per page, with a line height of about 10 mm. In the last three quires, each line is double ruled (though with only one set of pricks). Foliated in pencil from first flyleaf ‘i–v (ult.)’ and then in ink at the top right hand corner ‘1–113’ (with disorder noted below) and a pencil foliating the last leaf ‘114 (ult.)’. In the first and last parts of the book, where the water damage has been worst, the folios have been set in paper frames and bound disordered, running ff. i–v, 1–5, 13, 7–12, 6, 21, 15–20, 14, 22–110, 112, 111, 113. It seems the outer bifolia of quires II and III were reversed by the rebinder, as were ff. 111–112. In Quire IV, the outer bifolium (ff. 22 and 29) is a replacement, written by the scribe of ff. iii–v (Bishop 1971: 8).

Throughout, the ink is clear and dark, written by three scribes producing varied iterations of anglo-caroline minuscule (Bishop 1971: 8; Dumville 1993: 102–3 and 107). For scribal stints, Bishop gives the ‘firm’ scribe 1 ff. iii–v, 22, 29, 54r/22–112, and a correction on f. 49r and the ‘ugly but proficient’ scribe 3 ff. 2v–21, 23–28, and 30–54r/19; thus the ‘idiosyncratic and slightly mannered’ scribe 2 is responsible for 1–2r (Bishop 1971: 8). For the most part, two- or three-line capitals in red or green open each chapter with an initial line of red or black rustic capitals and a red roman numeral for the chapter number. Occasionally a chapter opens with a large, more elaborate initial and text in monumental capitals, sometimes followed by a line in rustic capitals (as at f. 1r or f. 35v). Initials of sentences often in-filled in red, many showing oxidization. On f. 1r there is an elaborate fifteen-line initial ‘P’ with interlace, leaves, and a biting head (Wormald type IIB). Scribe 1 has supplied a bifolium (ff. 22/29) to complete or correct another’s work; he appears to have completed the work in less space than the original bifolium, and in the space remaining, f. 29v/14–24, he has added a Latin poem. The text is outlined in green and red and each line has a colored initial alternating in green, red, purple, or blue. An insular insertion mark in green relays the text from f. 29v/13 to a second green *signe de renvoi* at the the first line of f. 30r/1 with no loss.

The last medieval leaf, f. 113, is an appended singleton with the Leofric inscription in Latin and OE, presumably added at Exeter between 1050 and 1072; this leaf has a rust mark at the bottom center, perhaps from chaining in the later medieval Exeter library. The front binding leaf, f. ii, has offset unidentifiable Latin text in later script perhaps bound into the book in a

later medieval or early modern refurbishment. The same leaf shows the mark of a former clasp in upper outer foreedge.

Rebound in speckled brown leather with blind tooled rectangular pattern, perhaps over earlier boards, with early modern paper pastedowns on inside front and back covers and an early modern paper flyleaf with stub at front (f. i). Earlier shelfmarks on ff. i (paper) and ii (medieval parchment); f. ii may be a lifted pastedown, as its recto has traces of paste as well as offset text. Spine tooled in gold, 'SVP. ART. | D. 10', with an old label affixed showing only a red 'x'; at base of spine a torn sticker label, 'Arch. [. . .] | c. 19 [. . .]'. Boards on front and back fore-edges at top and bottom have holes likely from now-lost clasps. There are three sewing stations in the spine plus endbands.

**COLLATION:** i + i + 116 + 1. The first three quires are disordered and set in paper frames, so the collation is a reconstruction based on the foliation and hair-flesh arrangements: i (single paper fly) + ii (singleton parchment fly) + I<sup>8</sup> (ff. iii–v, 1–5); II<sup>8</sup> (ff. 6–13); III<sup>8</sup> (ff. 14–21); IV<sup>8</sup> outer bifolium a contemporary supply (ff. 22–29); V–VIII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 30–61); IX<sup>8</sup> 6 cancelled after f. 66 (ff. 62–68); X–XI<sup>8</sup> (ff. 69–84); XII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 85–92); XIII<sup>10</sup> (ff. 93–102); XIV<sup>8</sup> (ff. 103–110); XV<sup>2+1</sup> bifolium of ff. 111–112 inverted when rebound at some point, f. 113 an appended half-sheet of later Exeter origin now glued onto a stub after f. 112; (ff. 112, 111, 113) iii (single paper flyleaf, f. 114 (ult.)).

[Note: Present collation differs from Drage's collation: 1<sup>8</sup> (ff. iii–v, 1–5) 2<sup>8</sup> (ff. 6–13), 3<sup>8</sup> (ff. 14–21), and 4<sup>8</sup> (ff. 22–29) each with variations; 5–13<sup>8</sup> (ff. 30–101); 14<sup>10</sup> (ff. 102–110, 112); 15<sup>2</sup> (ff. 111 and 113) (Drage 1978: 405).]

#### CONTENTS:

f. i recto early shelfmarks, '(2609) | Bod. 708. | [kept as Arch. F. c. 19]'; first two lines in older ink, the last in more recent pencil [not on film]

f. i verso blank

f. ii recto blank but for offsets from a Latin text

f. ii verso ink capital 'A' top center; earlier shelfmarks in center, 'MES. M<sup>8</sup> 10 | G. 6. 8.'

1. Gregory the Great, "Pastoral Care" ("Regula Pastoralis") (CPL 1712) (as Rommel et al. 1992, PL 77.13–128):

[Note: The text is not divided into books, despite the evidence of the list of capitula, but is numbered straight through 'i.' to 'lxvii.' (on the varied divisions of the text, see Dekkers in Rommel et al. 1992: 1.110–11).]

a. ff. iii recto – iii verso/14 capitula, fragmentary, parts one, two, and the first chapter of part three represented as a single book: PASTORAL(IS)

GREGORII. | INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA LIBRI SUBSEQVENTI | 'NE VENIRE IMPERITI AD MAGISTERIUM AUDEANT. | ii. Ne locum regiminis subeant qui uiuendo non proficiunt (gl.: 'ue| p(er)') | quae meditando didicerunt'; ends: 'xxiii. Quanta debet esse diuersitas in arte predication[is]' | FINIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI PRIMI;

- b. ff. iii verso/14 – v recto/18 list of chapters in Parts 3 and 4 of the regularly divided text: INCIPIVNT CAPITV[LA] [the remainder of the heading lost due to damage] | 'xxiii. Quod aliter ammonendi sunt uiri atq(ue) aliter [feminae]'; ends: 'lxvii. Hic ostenditur magna humilitas summi pontificis | huiusque libri auctoris gregorii' (items a, b. as Rommel et al. 1992: 1.116–22; preface taken as a chapter; last capitula not in Rommel's ed.);

[Note: Remainder of f. v recto and all of f. v verso blank. Earlier shelfmark added in ink at top of f. iii recto, 'MS. sup. D. Art. 10' and repeated at bottom of f. 1r]

- c. f. 1r/1–1v/15 Preface: INCIPIT LIBER PASTORALIS CURÆ EDITUS A S(AN)C(T)O | GREGORIO PAPA URBS ROMAE | 'PASTORALIS | CVRÆ ME PONDERA FVGE|RE DELITESCENDO VOLVISSE. | BENIGNA FRATER CARISSIME ATQUE HUMILLIMA INTEN|tione reprehendis . . . á præcipationis suæ ausibus in ipsa lo-|cutionis n(ost) ræ ianua repellantur';

- d. ff. 1v/15–112v/22 text of "Pastoral Care," beg.: 'ii. NULLA ARS DOCERI PRESUMATUR. NISI INTENTA PRI(US) | meditatione discatur'; ends: 'ut quem pon|dus proprium deprimit. tui meriti manus | leu&.' EXPLICIT LIBER PASTORALIS.

2. ff. 29v/14–24 a poem of 10 elegiacs and a hexameter perhaps drawn from Hrabanus Maurus, "De laudibus sancte crucis" (PL 107.139–40): 'Eripe caute piis monitis precibusq(ue) sacratis . . . Te uigilem seru& qui non dormitat in æuum'.

[Note: This is written by the main scribe in the remaining space of the contemporary supply outer bifolium (ff. 22/29) of Quire IV. On f. 66r in lower outer margin, a sketch of an eagle with nimbus, perhaps for St. John the evangelist, has been lightly added.]

3. f. 113r/1–8 Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE: 'Hunc libru(m) dat Leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)e s(an)c(t)i petri ap(osto)li in | exonia ad sedem sua(m) episcopale(m) p(ro) remedio anime suę ad utili|tatem successoru(m) suor(um). Si q(ui)s aute(m) illu(m) inde abstulerit p(er)petuę | maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat. | Ðas boc gef leofric b(iscop) into s(an)c(t)e petres minstre on exancestre | þær his biscopstol is. his æfterfiligendu(m) to nittweorðnisse. | 7 gif hig hwa ut ætbrede. hæbbe he ece geniðerunge mid | eallu(m) deoflu(m). Am(en)';

(coll. Förster in Chambers et al. 1933: 11–12; pr. Drage 1978: 36–37) [remainder of ff. 113r and 114 (ult.) blank but for Bodleian Library stamps and a smudged pentrial ('mos') on f. 113v].

**PHOTO NOTES:** ff. i recto and 114 (ult.) verso are not photographed. Two shots of 112v–113r.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Bishop, T.A.M. *English Caroline Minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- . “Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts: Part V: MSS. Connected with St. Augustine’s Canterbury” and “Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts: Part VI: MSS. Connected with St. Augustine’s Canterbury.” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959–1963): 93–95 and 412–23.
- Clement, Richard W. “King Alfred and the Latin Manuscripts of Gregory’s *Regula Pastoralis*.” *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 6 (1985): 1–13.
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Drage, Elaine. “Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence.” Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1978.
- Dumville, David N. *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1993.
- Lapidge, Michael. “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England.” In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards, 87–168. New York: Garland, 1994; repr. of *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 33–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Oliver, George. *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: William Roberts, 1861.
- Rommel, Floribert, with Bruno Judic, Charles Morel, and E. Dekkers, eds. and trans. *Grégoire le Grand: Règle Pastorale*. 2 vols. Sources Chrétiennes 381. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992.
- Treharne, Elaine. “The Bishop’s Book: Leofric’s Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter.” In *Early Medieval Studies In Memory of Patrick*

*Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine E. Karkov, Janet L. Nelson, and David Pelteret, 521–38. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

Wormald, Francis. “Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100.” In *Francis Wormald: Collected Writings: Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth Through the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, T. Julian Brown, and Joan Gibbs, 1: 47–75, 2 vols. London: H. Miller and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984–88.

**422. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 943**  
“Sherborne Pontifical,” “The Pontifical of St. Dunstan”  
[Ker 364; Gneuss 879]

**HISTORY:** An A-S pontifical and benedictional in a single manuscript, as was common in England from the late 10c on (Gneuss 1985: 131), with supplementary texts, such as the 8c prologue to Ecgbert’s penitential and the related “First Capitulary” of Ghaerbald of Liège (Ebersperger 1999: 32–41; Elliot 2010). This core bishop’s book includes the letter (dated 21 Sept. 960, no. 8 below) of Pope John XII to Dunstan; the book’s paleographical and art historical links suggest an origin after 969 but before the 980s or possibly 973, probably in Christ Church, Canterbury (Brooks 1984: 248, 376–78; Karkov in Scragg 2008: 231; Dumville 1992: 82–84; Ebersperger 1999: 33–34; Gameson 1996: 173–75; Rosenthal 1981 and Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992; Temple 1976: no. 35). The connections with Christ Church and the letter to Dunstan suggest that the book was Dunstan’s pontifical, but this cannot be proven. The original hand for the main texts is the same scribe as Exeter, Cathedral Library 3507 [131b] and Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Bodley 718, and perhaps a correcting hand in London, Lambeth Palace 149 [311] (Ker, *Cat.*, 154; Conner 1993: 19–20; Gameson 1996: 162–63). The script is datable to the second half of the 10c (Ker, *Cat.*); Conner (1993: 44–47) suggests that the script of the trio of books Paris 943, Exeter 3507, Bodley 718 is later than that of the Exeter Book (Exeter Cathedral Library 3501 [130], which would mean after about 970 or 980, fitting the historical date of Dunstan’s archepiscopacy.

The core bishop’s book has some closely contemporary additions made at least by the late 10c or early 11c: a list of bishops of Sherborne up to Æthelric (1002–1012) and a letter to Wulfsgie of Sherborne were added at the beginning of the book, perhaps in an appended quire (though these leaves may have been original); subsequently, shorter texts were added to the blank spaces in these leaves in the later 11c. Two 10c/11c OE church dedication homilies, each comprising a quire of its own (quires XXI and XXIII) were perhaps made as independent booklets or were made for this

manuscript. To the first of these added quires (XXI), an ordo for a consecration of an abbot was added, necessitating an added bifolium, to which other 11c additions were made. To the last quire (XXIII), several additions were made in both England and France in the 11c and 12c, including a writ of bishop Æthelric, suggesting an early 11c provenance in Sherborne. These additions, in turn, have led some to suggest a Sherborne origin (notably Ker, *Cat.*, 438; Turner in Backhouse et al. 1984: 55; Prescott 1987: 126; for contents, see Ebersperger 1999: 34–35). Alternatively, in light of the paleographical connections with manuscripts known to be at Exeter, and the fact that the OE homilies in Paris BN lat. 943 otherwise only being found in a known 11c Exeter manuscript (London, Lambeth Palace 489 [318]), Conner has argued that the pontifical was probably written at Exeter, with appended prefatory material from Christ Church, Canterbury (including the drawings), as a commission for the reformed house at Sherborne (Conner 1993: 39–44 and 86–93). The pontifical would have served Wulfsgie, first bishop of reformed Sherborne from 993–1002 (Keynes in Barker et al. 2005), and his successor Æthelric, who perhaps wrote on f. 170v.

A booklist on ff. 154v–155r for a foundation dedicated to Mary in a north Frankish script shows that the book had gone to a Frankish center in the 11c (Delisle 1868–81: 2.446–47; Ker, *Cat.*, 438–39; Ebersperger 1999: 39; de Bruyne 1912); this center may have been Notre Dame, Chartres, or Lorsch, though these attributions are by no means certain (Ker, *Cat.*, 438–39; de Bruyne 1912: 481–83; Rouse 1971: 111 and 1983: 205; Avril and Stirneman 1987: 13; Ebersperger 1999: 39). Marginal notes in plummet on ff. 81r, 82v, 83rv, 105v, 106r, 107v, 129v, and 147v in a 12c or 13c informal script show that the Latin parts of the book were still in use in the later Middle Ages.

John Bale may have seen or possessed the book in France in the 16c (Dumville 1994), though evidence for this is tenuous. In the 16c, François Pithou referred to the book as present in his own library in Paris (Pithou 1588, see Ker, *Cat.*, 438–39). An ownership mark on f. 1r shows that in the 17c it was owned by Antoine Faure and later in the 17c it was noted by Mabilion (1668–1701: 5.328). Edmond Martène printed liturgical texts from this manuscript in his *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* (1736). It appears to have been inherited by Leonard de Jayac, executor of Faure's estate, from whom the Bibliothèque Nationale purchased the manuscript in 1701 (Delisle 1868–81: 1.320; Ebersperger 1994: 35). Rebound in Louis XVIII covers between 1814 and 1825. The manuscript has recently been reproduced in an on-line digital facsimile (see "Photo Notes").



**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** ii + 170 + i. Foliated in clear modern ink at the top right recto corner, '1-170'. The parchment is smooth and well prepared, at times hair and flesh sides virtually indistinguishable, with some wear on the first and last folios and a few holes; the last ten leaves are of rougher quality and show more staining. Leaves are ca. 315 × 210 mm. Due to the extremely tight early 19c binding, quire arrangement is very difficult to ascertain (cf. Rasmussen 1998: 258 and Conner 1993: 90); the disposition of the membranes varies, at times HHHH, but mainly HFHF, as in the other manuscripts written by the same scribe (i.e. Exeter 3507 and Bodley 718, see above). Arranged in quires of eight (again as its fellows are structured), with the exception of the last original quire.

The main part of the codex, ff. 5-154, is pricked in the outside margins and ruled in dry-point for 25 lines per page of about 8-9 mm. in a writing space of c. 225 × 150 mm., single bounded horizontally, with double bounds vertically at a width of ca. 9 mm., and a top margin ca. 35-36 mm., a bottom margin of ca. 60 mm., and outer margins of ca. 44 mm. (with the inner margins impossible to assess due to the tightness of the binding). The main text is written in a bold A-S square minuscule in dark ink, the texts headed in red in the same script, with large initial capitals (2 to 4 lines generally) in alternating orangish red and green as is commonly seen in pre-Conquest higher-status books (Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992: 153); sporadically a darker red is also used in the rubrics or liturgical directions. Large monumental capitals head the text at ff. 10r and 108r, and a fine decorated initial with interlace and biting animal heads (Wormald type I1b) at f. 10r. The antiphons in the text are in a half-sized square minuscule and usually are neumed. A small correcting hand, perhaps later, shows anglo-caroline letter forms mixed with A-S square (e.g. see the two forms of 'a' on f. 16r).

The initial quire and final quires vary in form from the main book. The first leaves are the same size as the main text block, but are pricked with a blade or knife, rather than a point. These leaves may have been original, as it was not uncommon to include blank leaves at the beginning and end of such manuscripts, or these leaves may have been added later, though made for the book (on their addition and their number, four or five, see Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992: 159-60 and Conner 1993: 90-93, and see "Collation"). The first four leaves have pricks aligned with those in the main text block, but the fifth leaf appears to have been pricked separately from the first four, as its alignments are different (Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992: 160 n. 87). Because the initial leaves were probably pricked after the making of the main codex, it is possible they originated independently and have been attached to the pontifical after the fact. The first quire, ff. 1-4, origi-

nally had blank leaves at f. 1 recto and verso, part of f. 3r, and ff. 3v and 4r; f. 4v could have originally been blank, or its Crucifixion image could have been original (Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992: 161). Material in insular vernacular minuscule and in carolingian minuscule was added in the 11c on ff. 1r, 1v, and 3r–4r, making the initial quire of four leaves a small appendix containing the letter to Wulfsige on f. 2r–3r, with blanks left before and after, now more or less filled in with various 11c entries.

Three sets of leaves were added at the end of the original codex: the first, quire XXI, ff. 155–160, containing an OE homily, is laid out as the main text block, though written in a different rendition of A-S square minuscule; the second is a bifolium, quire XXII, ff. 161–162, slightly shorter than the others, measuring ca. 305 × 210 mm., ruled for 26 lines per page in a writing space of ca. 230 × 128 mm., double bounded vertically in the outer margins at a width of ca. 10 mm. A final quire of eight (XXIII, ff. 163–170), arranged HFHF, containing an OE homily, was added, with leaves of 290 × 210 mm., spaciouly ruled for 19 lines per page in a writing space of approx. 217 × 145 mm. (on ff. 163–170 as an added booklet, see Pulsiano 2002: 194–95). The bottom of f. 154v was originally blank, as were ff. 155 and 160v of the leaves added at the end (quire XXI, ff. 155–160) containing the OE homily. The addition of the rites for consecration of an abbot (f. 160v) necessitated more leaves: ff. 161–162r; after the addition of the consecration, the remainder of f. 162rv was originally blank. The final gathering, ff. 163–170, had blank leaves (ff. 163rv and almost all of f. 170r and f. 170v) before and after the OE homily, later written upon. These additions show repeated emendation and use through the late 10c and 11c.

The initial suite of illustrations are fine line drawings: the first, f. 4v, is the Crucifixion in orange and dark brown ink, with Christ on the cross, with angels above and Mary and John alongside; the subsequent three are by a different artist, though in a similar style, also in orange and black ink: ff. 5v, 6r, and 6v depict Christ in three aspects: as God, King, and Man (Rosenthal 1981 and in Ramsay et al. 1992: 154–59). These christological images are thematically related to various textual matter in the codex, namely the pallium privilege at the opening of the pontifical and the dedications of the church (Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992: 156 and Conner 1993: 92).

Between 1814 and 1825, the manuscript was rebound in brown and red leather, with Louis XVIII's insignia and the title "Pontificale" on the spine; marbled paper pastedowns, and a paper flyleaf at front and back.

**COLLATION:** ii + 170 + I; two paper flyleaves, one contiguous with the pastedown; I<sup>a</sup> (ff. 1–4); II<sup>a</sup> (ff. 5–12); III–XIX<sup>a</sup> (ff. 13–148); XX<sup>a</sup> (ff. 149–

154); XXI<sup>6</sup> (ff. 155–160); XXII<sup>2</sup> (ff. 161–162); XXIII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 163–170); one paper flyleaf.

[Note: The collation given here is in part speculative where it could not be definitively ascertained, based on analysis of the hair and flesh sides and the ruling practices (generally pricked from the outside), as the binding is currently too tight to allow full assessment of the quiring. This collation concurs with the one given for the first few quires by Rosenthal and Stirnemann (in Ramsay et al. 1992: 154 and 154 n. 57) and the collation by Hartzell (2006: 528), meaning it varies from the assessment of the first quire given by Conner (1993: 92), who argues that ff. 1–5 are a gathering, with sheets 1 + 5 (ff. 1 and 5) and 2 + 3 (ff. 2 and 3) conjugate bifolia and sheet 4 (f. 4) a singleton. The collation given here also varies from Hartzell's for the last four quires: he gives 20<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>4</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, and 23<sup>8</sup>.]

## CONTENTS:

[Note: A color digital facsimile is available on the BN Gallica website (see “Photo Notes”). On the contents of the manuscript, see the inventories by Leroquais 1937: 2.6–10; Rasmussen 1998: 261–315; Ebersperger 1999: 36–44; and Hartzell 2006: 520–28. Benedictions coll. in Moeller 1971–79 (= Moeller).]

1. f. 1r [1rv originally blank] four antiphons for the consecration of a church, in caroline minuscule, in long lines and with Breton neumes (Hartzell 2006: 520):

- a. f. 1r/1–3 A(ntiphon) ‘Qui regis israhel intende sup(er) domu(m) . . . in ea tibi confitentium’;
- b. f. 1r/4–5 A(ntiphon) ‘Benedic domine domu(m) ista(m) . . . sup(er) eam die ac nocte’;
- c. f. 1r/5–6 A(ntiphon) ‘Exurgat d(eu)s ad n(ost)ri famulatus . . . fiat benedictionis aumentum [sic]’;
- d. f. 1r/6–7 A(ntiphon) ‘Domine ad te | dirigatur oratio mea . . . in conspectu maiestatis tuae’.

[Note: Remainder of leaf was left blank. At bottom center an 18c hand: ‘Codex D. Antonii Faure, 31’ and the early library mark (1701) ‘Reg. 3866. | 2’ (see Rasmussen 1998: 260) and above the antiphons, the shelfmark ‘943.’]

- 2. f. 1v/1–9 blessing on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul [in 11c Caroline hand]: BENEDICTIONES IN CONVERSIONE S(AN)C(T)I PAVLI AP(OSTO)LI | ‘D(eu)s qui gr(ati)a sua BEATV(M) PAVLV(M) . . . Quod ipse p(re)stare dignet(ur).’ (Moeller no. 940; as Wilson 1903: 34–35).
- 3. f. 1v/10–17 formula for excommunication [in anglo-norman minuscule, perhaps French, from the second half of the 11c (see Hamilton in Tinti 2005: 96)]: ‘Auctoritate dei omnipotentis patris & filii & sp(irit)us s(an)c(t)i . . . sic extinguat(ur) | lucerna eor(um) in s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um)

- amen' (pr. Hamilton in Tinti 2005: 95; cf. Martène 1737–38: 2.cols. 910–12) [lines 18–19 blank].
4. f. 1v/20–25 list of bishops of Sherborne [in 11c insular vernacular minuscule]: '[A]ldhelm. Forþhere. Herewald'; to 'Æþelsige. Wulfþige. | Æþelric'; [added in a later continental hand, line 25] 'Albertus. Emelina' (ed. Brotanek 1913: 38; ed. Stubbs 1874: cxiii).
5. ff. 2r/5–3r/11 Letter to Bishop Wulfþige (in a 10c/11c anglo-caroline minuscule): 'D(E)I ARCHIEP(ISCOP)US. FIDELI AMICO VVLFþINO [sic] AEP(ISCOP)O. AETERNEꝝ | sospitatis & pacis in d(omi)no d(e)o salutem'; ends: 'TE D(EU)S OM(NI)P(OTEN)S SALVVM CONSERVET IN AEVVM' (ed. Whitelock et al. 1981: no. 41).
- [Note: The first five lines of f. 2r were left blank, likely for a monumental capital opening. Later hand added on line 1: 'B(e)n(e)dict(i)o Regis'.]
6. ff. 3r/12–4r/7 Benedictions [in later 11c hand, lighter ink] (items a-c as Moeller 1971–79: nos. 334a-c; items d-k as Wilson 1903: 160; items l-n as Moeller 1971–79: nos. 1993a-b):
- a. f. 3r/12–15 **BENEDICTIONES S(AN)C(T)AE CRUCIS.** | 'Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s . . . & carita|tis gratia repleat';
- b. f. 3r/16–18 'Benedicat uos ie(su)s chr(istu)s d(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r . . . & | caelestis patriae habitatores efficiat. Amen';
- c. f. 3r/19–21 'Benedicat uos sp(iritu)s s(an)c(tu)s qui in trinitate p(er)fecta . . . & coron& uos se(m)pi|ternę letitiae dono. AMEN';
- d. f. 3r/22–24 'I(n)tercessionibus perpetuae uirginis mariae . . . & s(an)c(t)or(um) uobis consortia prest&. am(en)';
- e. f. 3r/25–3v/2 'Perpetua uobis benignus ie(su)s chr(istu)s . . . 'angelica' [in a different, continental hand] quibus prestitit non de|esse suffragia. AMEN';
- f. f. 3v/3–6 'Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s qui beatu(m) p&rum ap(osto)|l(u)m . . . & uitam con|cedat perpetuam. AMEN';
- g. f. 3v/7–11 'Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s qui beatu(m) paulum ap(osto)|l(u)m . . . in spe regni caelestis con|firm&. AMEN';
- h. f. 3v/12–14 'Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s qui duodenum sibi consecrauit . . . & intercessionibus p(ro)tegat. AMEN';
- i. f. 3v/15–17 'S(an)c(t)orum martirum intercessio gloriosa . . . & s(an)c(t)arum | uirtutum inmarcescibile(m) palmam. AMEN';
- j. f. 3v/18–20 'Perpetua confessoru(m) chr(ist)i tuitio. . . in caelesti habitaculo';
- k. 3v/21–24 'Omnipotentis d(e)i & d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ie(su) chr(ist)i . . . uos gubern& p(er) cuncta | s(æ)c(u)lor(um) s(æ)c(u)la. AMEN';

- l. ff. 3v/24–4r/2 **BENEDICTIONES**. | ‘Sit uobis crux fidei fundamentu(m) . . . sit in p(ro)spe|ris adiumentum. AMEN’;
- m. f. 4r/3–4: ‘Sit in hoste uictoria . . . sit in uia futura’;
- n. f. 4r/5–7: ‘Vt pastor in futuro gregem seru& . . . quæ nob(is) | conuersa est agno uincente in salutem. AMEN’.
7. f. 4r/8–21 Benediction on the Feast of St Vincent [in later 11c continental hand]: **BENEDICTIO IN FESTIUITATE S(AN)C(T)I VINCENTII**. | ‘Dignet(ur) uos benedicere d(eu)s toti(us) pat(er) consolationis . . . ad corona(m) uitę p(er)p&ue p(er)uenire ualeatis. | Am(en). q(uo)d ipse’ [lines 22–24 blank].

[Note: The item begins in a pale ink, for five lines; the scribe began the sixth line in the same pale ink but then stopped; a later scribe touched up this sixth line in much darker ink and finished the blessing.]

### Pontifical

[Note: Four illustrations preface the pontifical: added in the 11c on ff. 5v–6v, three illustrations of the Trinity, or as is more commonly accepted now, of Christ Triumphant in three aspects, as King, God, and Man; the image of the Crucifixion was added later on f. 4v. On these prefatory illustrations see Rosenthal in Ramsay et al. 1992: 154–59, Rosenthal 1981, Avril and Stirnemann 1987: no. 16, and Holcomb et al. 2009, no. 8.]

f. 4v full page line-drawing of the Crucifixion inside a drawn frame with foliate decoration, with two angels in the upper quadrants, the Virgin and St. John in the lower quadrants. God the Father’s hand at the top center of the cross, and a small urn at the base, Christ’s head bowed. His beard appears to have been darkened with a different, or later, ink.

f. 5r blank.

f. 5v full-page line-drawing of Christ Triumphant, King, crowned and fully bearded, with cross staff on his right shoulder in an undecorated frame;

f. 6r similarly framed full-page line-drawing of Christ Triumphant, God, without a crown and a medium beard, his cross staff held vertically in his right hand, with the hand holding the book covered in his robe;

f. 6v full-page line-drawing of Christ Triumphant, Man, with no crown, and just a scant beard, without the cross staff, but a palm frond touched up in orange ink (the only color in all three of the drawings) and a plain unadorned book; he stands on the earth where a few plants sprout and the frame is decorated in an acanthus motif.

8. ff. 7r/1–8v/20 letter of Pope John XII to Archbishop Dunstan, dated 21 September 960: **Incipit æpistola privilegii qua(m) iubente | iohanne papa suscepta benedictione ab eo dunstan archiepiscopus . . . sed eo**

iubente ab alta|re s(an)c(t)i petri apostoli | 'Iohannes æp(isco)p(u)s seruus seruorum d(omi)ni con|fr(atr)i dunstano dorobernensis æccles-  
sæ'; ends: 'anno duodeci|mo summi pontificis iohannis' (ed. White-  
lock et al. 1981: no. 25) [lines 21–25 blank].

[Note: A marginal note of 1748 in top outer margin of f. 7r: 'Ce manuscrit | n'est  
que de la fin | du 10<sup>e</sup> siecle | comme il paroist | par la lettre suivante | ce 4<sup>e</sup> may 1748'.  
At the top right of f. 8r, an 11c(?) pen-trial, very faded: 'om(ne)s s(an)c(t)i om(ne)s  
| Probatio penne'.]

9. f. 9r/1–9v/18 list of capitula for the Pontifical, numbered in the right  
margin [the items of the Pontifical are numbered in their title headings  
as they correspond to the items of this capitula]: **Incipiunt capitula** |  
'I. De æcclesiæ et reru(m) consecratione ꝥcclesias|ticarum . . . XXXIII.  
Oratio sup(er) cęreos in purific(at)ione s(an)c(t)ę marię' [rest of f. 9v  
blank].

10. ff. 10r/1–37v/21 service for the consecration of a church [I–IV]: **In-  
cipit ordo qualiter domus d(e)i con|secranda est . . . et ueni|ant ante  
ostium æcl(esi)ę quę dedicanda | est cantando antiphonum hanc** |  
(neumed) 'Zachęe festinans descende . . . facta est alleluia' **Sequitur  
oratio** | 'ACTIONES N(OST)RAS Q(UAESUMU)S | d(omi)ne'; ends:  
(in small script for antiphon, but not neumed) 'O quam metuendus est  
locus iste uere non est hic aliud nisi dom(us) | dei et porta cęli' (par-  
tially pr. Martène 1736: 2. cols. 709–21).

[Note: This service for the dedication of a church spans items I–IV of the capitula:  
'I. De æcclesie' = ff. 10r/1–29r/4; 'II. Missa in die dedicationis æcclesie' = ff. 29r/4–  
31v/18; 'III. Missa pro ædificante æcclesiam' = ff. 31v/19–33r/11; 'III. Officium  
nocturnam' = ff. 33r/12–37v/21. Red headings mark sections, antiphons are in a  
much smaller script with space for neumes, though neumes are not always filled in.  
Large initial capitals, in alternating colors, are used in the antiphons. The litanies on  
ff. 10v–11v and 13rv, incomplete in Martène, are printed in Lapidge 1991: 247–49.  
For details of the divisions within this service see Hartzell 2006: 521–23 (nos.  
11–14).]

11. ff. 37v/21–42v/21 Caesarius of Arles, Homily on the Dedication of a  
Church, Sermon 229 [V]: **Incip(it) omelia in dedicat(ione) te(m)pli**  
| 'Natalem templi huius diem fr(atre)s dilectis|simi chr(ist)o propitio';  
ends: 'ut in æternu(m) d(omi)no fabrica p(er)seueret. p(er) eu(m)  
q(ui)' (as Morin 1953: 905–10).

12. ff. 42v/22–45r/14 service for the consecration of a cemetery [VI]: **Incip-  
it consecratio cymiterii. primit(us) | cum aqua benedicta æp(iscopu)s  
cum suis cle|ricis circu(m)det totu(m) cymiteriu(m) cum ant(iphona)  
| 'Asp(er)ges me d(omi)ne ysopo'**; ends: 'A morte corporis resurrecturos

| ad gaudia sempiterna deducas. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m' (as Wilson 1903: 101–3).

13. Ordinations (cf. Martène 1736: 2. cols. 104–16) [VII–VIII]:

- a. 45r/15–46r/24 On the Seven Positions in the Church **Incipit de .vii. gradibus æcclesie** | **Psalmista id est cantor . . . dicente sibi presbitero** | [black] 'Vide ut quod ore cantas corde credas. Et | quod corde credis operibus probes. | [red] Chr(istu)s ostiarius fuit quando conclusit | et ap(er)uit arcam noe'; ends: 'hi sunt | .vii. gradus æcclesie et eorum officia' (cf. Banting 1989: 17–18 and Martène 1736: 2.cols. 104–5);
- b. f. 46r/25–46v/24 **Ordinatio hostiarii** || [red] 'Hostiarius cum ordinatur postquam ab | archidiaconi . . . æpiscopus cla|ues æcclesie de altari dicens | [black] Sic age (alt. <ve>l agite) quasi redditurus (alt. ri) d(e)o ratione(m)'; ends: [black] 'Et inter electos tuos parte(m) suę | mereatur (alt. ant(ur)) habere mercedis. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m' **Huc|usque primus gradus** (cf. Banting 1989: 18–19 and Martène 1736: 2.col. 105);
- c. ff. 46v/24–47r/17 **Ordinatio lectoris.** | [red] 'Lector cu(m) ordinatur faciat de illo uerbu(m) || æp(iscopu)s . . . lecturus est dicens. | [black] Accipe (alt. <ve>l pite) et esto (alt. <ve>l estote) uerbi d(e)i relator (alt. <ve>l res)'; ends: [black] 'et in utroque s(an)c(t)æ | æcclesie conluceat (alt. <ve>l ant). p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m' **Huc usq(ue) | secundus gradus** (cf. Banting 1989: 19 and Martène 1736: 2.cols. 105–6);
- d. f. 47r/17–47v/15 **Ordinat(io) exorcistæ** | [red] 'Exorcista cum ordinatur accipiat de | manu ep(iscop)i libellum . . . dicente sibi æpiscopo. | [black] Accipe (alt. <ve>l pite) et commenda (alt. <ve>l date) memoriae'; ends: 'Et p(ro)babilis (alt. les) sit (alt. sint) medicus (alt. ci) æccl(esi)ę | tuę gratia curationu(m) uirtutis c(on)firmat(us) (alt. <ve>l ti) p(er)' | **hucusq(ue) tertius gradus** (cf. Banting 1989: 19–20 and Martène 1736: 2.col. 106);
- e. ff. 47v/15–48r/25 **Ordinat(io) accoliti** | [red] 'Accolitus cum ordinatur . . . ad funden|dum uinu(m) in eucharistiam corporis chr(ist)i | benedic|tio accoliti | [black] Om(ni)p(oten)s sempiternæ d(eu)s'; ends: 'Et gratiam tuę miserationis In eo (alt. <ve>l eis) | tua uirtute confirma. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m' (cf. Banting 1989: 20–21 and Martène 1736: 2.cols. 106–7);
- f. f. 48v/1–21: **Ordo qualiter in romana æcclesia pres|biteri. diaconi. sub|diaconi. ordinandi s(un)t** | **Mensis primi quarti septimi et decimi . . . annuntiat pontifex in populu(m) dic(ens)** | 'Auxiliante d(omi)no d(e)o et salutare (alt.: saluari) . . . et di|cat. ueru(m)tam(en) memor sit co(m)munio(n)is suę.' | **Et post modicu(m) interuallum mox incipi|ant**

- om(ne)s . . . Et descendentes stent in or|dine suo benedictione p(er)-  
cepta (cf. Banting 1989: 159 and Martène 1736: 2.col. 108);
- g. ff. 48v/22–49r/17 **Capitulum s(an)c(t)i gregorii** (continues in red) | ‘Sicut qui inuitatus renuit . . . qui in suæ | dignitatis collegiu(m) sublimat indignu(m)’ (cf. Banting 1989: 159–60 and Martène 1736: 2.col. 107);
- h. f. 49r/18–49v/18 (black) **Ex concilio calcidonense titulo .iiº. quod | non debeant officia æcclesiastica | per pecunias ordinari |** (red) ‘Si quis æpi(scopu)s p(er) pecuniam fuerit ordina|tus . . . siue laicus aut | monachus anathematizetur’; (cf. Martène 1736: 2.col. 107);
- i. ff. 49v/19–50v/7 ordination of a subdeacon: **Subdiaconus cum ordinatur . . . et manile ac manutergiu(m). Et dic(it) / æpi(scopu)s subdiac(ono)** ‘Uide (alt.: ‘(ue)l dete’) cuius ministerium tibi (alt.: ‘(ue)l uob(is)’) | traditur’; ends: ‘atque dicto parens (alt.: ‘tes’) tua(m) | gratiam consequatur (alt.: ‘ant(ur)'). p(er) huc usque iiiii’or’ gra|dus. (as Wilson 1903:118–19; cf. Banting 1989: 21–22 and Martène 1736: 2.cols. 107–8);
- j. ff. 50v/7–52v/22 ordination of a deacon: **Præfatio ad ordinandu(m) diaconum | Diaconus cum ordinatur . . . et dicat ei. |** ‘In nomine s(an)c(t)æ trinitatis . . . (f. 51r/2) cui est honor et gloria in s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)loru(m)’ (cf. Banting 1989: 23–24); (f. 51r/3) **Postea tradat ei æp(iscopu)s s(an)c(ta)m æuangeliu(m) dic(at) |** ‘Accipe (alt.: ‘(ve)l pite) istum uolumen e(u)angelii’; ends: ‘et quecumque s(an)c(t)if(ica)uerint s(an)c(t)ificata sint. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m hucusque | quintus gradus. (cf. Banting 1989: 24–26 and Martène 1736: 2.col. 108–10);
- k. ff. 52v/22–54v/22 ordination of a priest: **Ad ordinandu(m) p(re)sbiteru(m). | Presbiter cum ordinatur . . . Oratio ad ordinandum presbiterum. |** (f. 53r/6) (black) ‘Oremus dilectissimi d(eu)m patrem’; ends: ‘sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)o plenus (alt.: ni) appareat (alt.: ant). p(er) eunde(m)’ (cf. Banting 1989: 26–29, rites in different order; Martène 1736: 2.cos. 110–12);
- l. ff. 54v/23–59r/24 ordination of a bishop: **Incipit ordinatio æp(iscop)i que(m) de sacrario | antequam legatur æuangeliu(m) . . . et has dicant æp(iscop)i super se orat(ur). |** (f. 55r/5) ‘Oremus dilectissimi nobis’; ends: ‘p(er) redemptorem | d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m ie(su)m chr(istu)m qui cu(m) patre et sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)o’ (cf. Martène 1736: 2.cols. 112–15)
- m. ff. 59r/25–61r/5 addition to ordination of an archbishop: **hoc additamentu(m) sit si archiæp(iscopu)s æccl(esi)ę || chr(ist)i . . . ut legitur in .xviii. capitulo libri .ii. his|toriarum anglorum. Oratio |**



'D(eu)s om(ni)p(oten)s pater'; ends: 'et innocentum usque ad finem uitæ perse|uerare concedas. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m' (cf. Martène 1736: 2.cols. 115–16)

[Note: The series of ordinations on ff. 45r–61r cover the seven ecclesiastical positions discussed on ff. 45r/15–46r/24, but with added ordinations for acolytes and archbishops as well, and other material interspersed. This set of ordinations comprises capitula numbers VII and VIII, though these numbers are not integrated in the main text. There are large blocks of text in red, usually rubrics marking acts, while the prayers and blessings are in black. Parts of these ordinations have alternate plural forms provided by a later small anglo-caroline hand, here designated "alt.:"]

14. ff. 61r/6–62v/13 blessing for a scrinium [IX]: **Incipit benedictio scrinii uel arcæ primi|tus dicantur lætaniæ quas sequatur or(a)t(io).** | 'Actiones n(ost)ras q(uæsumu)s d(omi)ne'; ends: 'et terrestriu(m) uniuersu(m) mundu(m) iudican|te gaudia te miserante consequamur æ|terna p(er)' (as Wilson 1903: 108; cf. Martène 1736: 2.cols. 838–39).
15. ff. 62v/13–65r/23 service for the reconciliation of a profaned church [X]: **Reconciliatio loci sacri ubi san|guis fuerit effusus . . . et dic(at) has orat(iones).** | 'Deum indultore(m) criminu(m)'; ends: 'et pectora | n(ost)ra ab omni sorde uitioru(m) alienata tibi|que deuota semper assistant. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m' (as Wilson 1903: 110–13).
16. ff. 65r/24–67r/13 consecration of oil [XI]: **In cæna d(omi)ni faciat æp(iscopu)s consecratione(m) | olei infirmoru(m). in ultimo ad missa(m) . . . his uerbis cum suis sacerdotib(us) benedicat.** | 'Emitte d(omi)ne sp(iritu)m s(an)c(tu)m tuum paraclytum'; ends: 'et sacerdotali p(ro)pheticoque honore p(er)fusi. | uestimento incorrupti muneris induant(ur). p(er)' (cf. Wilson 1903: 13–15; also Doble 1937: 81–82).

[Note: There is no printed edition of this rite as it stands in this manuscript; the closest is found in Wilson 1903 and Doble 1937; Rasmussen 1998 notes a parallel text, with some gaps, in the Egbert Pontifical (ed. Banting 1989: 128–30).]

17. ff. 67r/14–75v/6 coronation consecration [XII]: **Incipit consecratio regis que(m) de conuen|tu senioru(m) . . . et chorus hanc decantet. ant(tiphonam) | duobus æpiscopis præinentibus | (neumed) 'Firmetur manus tua'; ends: 'et | ad æternę pacis gaudia te donante p(er)ueni|re mereatur. p(er)' (as Legg 1900: 53–64).**
18. ff. 75v/6–77v/13 consecration of a cross [XIII]: **Incipit consecratio crucis. primitus aqua benedicta lau(et)ur cum ant(iphona).** | 'Asperges mé ysopo' [not neumed]; ends: 'et p(er) gratia(m) sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i poculum | nobis salutis semp(er) infundas. p(er)' (as Wilson 1903: 106–8).

[Note: In capitals, and perhaps in a later hand, marginal addition in the outer margin at f. 76r/20–22, marked for insertion at f. 76r/23 ‘HAEC DICANTUR | SI CRUX ADORNET<UR> | ALIOQUIN PRETER|MITTANTUR’. Text from f. 76r/23–76v/15 ‘Radiet hic . . . indissolubili conexione sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i | p(er) infinita sæcula sæculorum. amen’ (pr. Wilson 1903: 108).]

19. Blessing of a bell [XIII]:

a. f. 77v/13–17 **Ad signum | æcclesie benedicendu(m) . . . Sequatur orat(io).**  
| ‘Benedic d(omi)ne hoc (alt. hęc) signum (alt. a) benedictione | cælesti’  
(as Doble 1937: 19);

b. ff. 77v/17–79v/14 ‘Et a’ s’ sistat sup(er) illud uirtus sp(iritu)s | s(an)c(t)i’;  
ends: ‘credentiu(m) | mentes et corpora saluet p(ro)tectio sempiter|na.  
p(er) d(omi)n(u)m’ (as Wilson 1903: 103–5).

[Note: There are variations from the text as found in Wilson 1903. In a later anglo-caroline hand, at f. 78r/20, an added neumed antiphon with insertion mark: ‘In ciuitate domini clare | sonant . . . ante sedem dei. | Alleluia’. At f. 79r/20–21, neumed antiphon with insertion mark added in outer margin: ‘tu es deus qui facis mira|bilia solus’.]

20. ff. 79v/14–80r/8 blessing of a font [XV]: **Incipit dedicatio fontis.** |  
‘Om(ni)p(oten)s sempiternæ d(eu)s . . . gaudia æterna | sé adepturos  
sine fine lætentur. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m’ (as Wilson 1903: 110).

21. ff. 80r/9–81r/3 blessing of an abbot [XVI]: **Incipit benedictio abbatis.**  
| ‘Concede q(uaesumu)s om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s’; ends: ‘q(ui) uiuit et  
regnat. p(er) omnia s(æ)c(u)la s(æ)c(u)lor(um)’ (as Wilson 1903: 130–  
31).

22. ff. 81r/4–82r/25 blessing of a monk [XVII]: **Incipit benedictio monachorum | Qui quando ad uotu(m) ingrediantur . . . et his acceptis postea | famuli deo consecrentur** | ‘D(eu)s qui uestimentum salutare’; ends:  
‘concordet illius (alt. or(um)) ui|ta cu(m) nomine. p(ro)ffessio sentiatur  
in op(er)e. p(er)’ (ed. Martène 1736: 2.cols. 455–56).

[Note: In plummet, later medieval marginal note in outer margin at f. 81r/3–18: ‘(Con)secr(an)doru(m) tal(is) | mos monachos . . .’]

23. Blessing of virgins [XVIII]:

a. ff. 82v/1–10: **Incipit benedictio uirginum. Quar(u)m) | habitus cum sup(er)ioribus lectionibus con|secratur . . . séipsum imperpetuum [sic] | ní[si] canonicæ pæniteat dampnandu(m) sciat.** (as Doble 1937: 42); ‘D(eu)s qui uestimentum salutare . . . ut sup(ra). usq(ue) ad finem uitæ | custodiat. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m’ (unptd.; cf. Martène 1736: 2. col. 530 and Wilson 1903: 133 and 135);

b. ff. 82v/10–13: **Alia** | ‘D(eu)s bonarum uirtutum dator. et omniu(m) | benedictionu(m) largus . . . et s(an)c(t)ificare dign(eris). p(er)’ (abbreviated version of Wilson 1903: 135);

- c. ff. 82v/13–84r/5 **benedict(io) uirgi(nis)**. | ‘Benedicat te (alt. uos) conditor cæli et terrę; ends: ‘et centenarium munus de p(er)fecto Ago|ne uirginitatis accipiat (alt. ant)’ (as Wilson 1903: 135–36);
- d. f. 84r/5–15 **alia** | ‘Té inuocamus d(omi)ne s(an)c(t)ę pater om(ni)p(oten)s æterne | d(eu)s . . . p(er) immaculatu(m) | ie(su)m chr(istu)m d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m. Qui uiuit’ (as Doble 1937: 42–43);
- e. ff. 84r/15–85v/22 **alia** | ‘D(eu)s castorum corporu(m) benignus inhabita|tor’; ends: ‘Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnu(m)’ (as Wilson 1903: 136–38).

[Note: In outer and lower margin at f. 82v, later medieval hand added in lead or plummet: ‘(Con)sec(ran)daru(m) tal(is) | mos est mona|car(um) | presul eis . . .’; at f. 83r in lower margin: ‘Induyt me deu(s) et coronat magnisq(ue) monilib(us). . .’; at f. 83v in outer margin: ‘Me / hoc d(eu)s ornauit . . .’]

24. ff. 85v/23–87r/18 blessing of widows [XIX]: **Incipit benedictio uestis uiduæ**. | ‘D(eu)s æternoru(m) bonorum fidelissime p(ro)|missor’; ends: ‘ut uiduitatis s(an)c(t)ę p(ro)positu(m) quod | te inspirante suscep(er)it (alt. int) te p(ro)tegente inle|sum custodiat (alt. ant). p(er)’ (as Wilson 1903: 138–40).

25. Prayers for clerical hair care [XX]:

- a. f. 87r/18–24 **Oratio ad capillaturu(m)**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s sempiternus d(eu)s . . . atque ad cęlestiu(m) donoru(m) p(er)uenire | consortiu(m). p(er)’ (as Wilson 1903: 113);
- b. ff. 87r/24–88v/1 **Oratio ad clericu(m) faciendu(m)**. | ‘Oremus dilectissimi fr(atre)s d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m ie(su)m || chr(istu)m’; ends: ‘et contempnere uitam p(er)cipiens (alt. tes) || mereatur (alt. an) æternam. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m’ (as Wilson 1903: 114–15).

[Note: The list of capitula lists the subsection beg. at f. 88r/7 ‘ad barba(m) tonenda(m)’ as its own section, number ‘XXI’.]

26. ff. 88v/2–89v/4 blessing of the palm branches [XXII]: **benedictio ad ramos palmarum**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s sempiternus d(eu)s. qui de cęlis ad ter|ram descendere dignatus es’; ends: ‘et omni aduer|sa ualitudine effugata dextera tua p(ro)te|gat quos redemit. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m’ (as Doble 1937: 73–74; cf. Wilson 1903: 12).
27. ff. 89v/4–93v/11 “Mass and exorcism of water for rendering judgment” [XXIII]: **Incipit exorcis|mus aquæ ad iudiciu(m) d(e)i demonstrandum**. (exorcism in red) | ‘Peractis cora(m) sacerdote trium dieru(m) ieiuni|is . . . corpus h(ic) | et sanguis d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ie(s)u chr(ist)i sit uob(is) ad p(ro)batu(m) hodie’; f. 90r/4 **Incipit missi iudicii. ant(iphona)**. | ‘Iustus es d(omi)ne et rectum iudicium . . .’ **Oratio** | ‘Absolue q(uaesumu)s d(omi)ne tuorum delicta famulor(um) . . .’; mass

- ends: f. 93v/5 'et in pro|fundum innocue p(er)trahas. p(er) d(omi)-n(um) n(ost)r(u)m'. | (closing formula, red) **Post has aute(m) coniu-rationes atque . . . et qui adsint omnes | ieunent. et sic p(ro)icianur singuli in aqua(m)** (coll. Zeumer 1886: 710–14).
28. ff. 93v/12–95v/10 trial by iron or boiling water [XXXIII]: (dark red) **Incipit adiuratio ferri. uel aque fer[ventis] |** (red) 'In simplo unum pondus. in triplo tria | ferru(m) . . . adiuratione(m) Initiando i(n)-choet' | (text, black) 'D(eu)s qui p(er) ignem signa magna ostendens hab|raham pueru(m) tuu(m)'; f. 95r/21 text ends: 'te miserante liberentur. Qui uiuis'. | (closing formula, red) 'His p(er)actis aqua benedicta cunctis . . . Ut sup(ra) dixim(us) in c(on)secrat(ione) ferri' (coll. Zeumer 1886: 714–15; as Liebermann 1903: 1.411).
- [Note: Inked additions in upper and outer margin at f. 95r with insertion marks in a later anglo-caroline hand.]
29. ff. 95v/11–97r/22 exorcism or trial of truth by barley, bread, or cheese [XXV]: (red) **Incipit exorcismus panis ordeacii uel | casei. ad proba-tionem ueri.** (rubric, lighter red) 'Primitus fa|ciat sacerdos lætania . . . et sic incipiat.' | (text, black) 'Conseruator et creator humani generis'; ends: 'quod p(ri)sumptione Inmerita | suscepit (alt. er) cum irrisione p(ro)iciat (alt. n). p(er) d(omi)n(u)m' (as Liebermann 1903: 1.420–21; cf. Zeumer 1886: 715–16 and see Keefer 1998).
30. ff. 97r/23–98r/4 blessing [XXVI]: **benedictio ad omnia quæ uolueris. |** 'D(eu)s uniuersitatis conditoret conditoru(m) | seruator'; ends: 'et anime salutem p(ro)|ficiat sempiternam. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m' (cf. Banting 1989: 123, de Gray Birch 1892: 122–23).
31. f. 98r/5–12 blessing of a vessel [XXVII]: **Oratio super uasa in loco an-tiquo rep(er)ta | que primitus aqua lauent(ur) exorcizata |** 'Om(ni)-p(oten)s sempiterne deus . . . atque tranquillitatis utenda (alt. v(m)) p(er) d(omi)n(u)m' (as Banting 1989: 125).
32. f. 98r/13–23 blessing of a well [XXVIII]: **Benedictio putei** 'Deprecamur té d(omi)ne | p(er) clementia(m) piætatis tuę . . . et saluatori omni|um d(omi)no gratias Agere mereatur. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m' (as Turner 1971: 71–72).
33. f. 98r/24–98v/5 blessing of grapes or beans [XXIX]: **benedictio uuæ uel fabæ.** | 'Benedic d(omi)ne hos fructas nouos uuę siue || fabæ . . . in nomine d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ie(s)u chr(ist)i. q(ui) te cu(m)' (as Turner 1971: 65).
34. f. 98v/6–14 blessing of the new crops [XXX]: **benedictio ad fruges nouos. |** 'D(omi)ne s(an)c(t)e pater om(ni)p(oten)s æterne d(eu)s. qui cælum et | terra(m) mare et omnia creasti . . . d(e)o omnipo|tenti

laudes et gratias. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m' (as Vogel and Elze 1963: 2.370).

35. f. 98v/15–20 prayer against lightning [XXXI]: **Oratio contra fulgora prim(um) spargatur | aqua benedicta. et postea dicatur ista or(at)io** | 'Om(ni)p(oten)s sempiternæ d(eu)s . . . comminatio potestatis. p(er)' (as Deshusses 1992: 1.no. 1459).
36. ff. 98v/21–103v/23 exorcism against demons [XXXII]: **Primitus faciat æp(iscopu)s triduanu(m) ieiuniu(m) | cu(m) elemosinis et orationib(us) et sic inchoet | exorcismu(m) áquæ prius faciens lætarnias.** | 'Adiuuro té creatura aquæ in nomine ie(s)u | chr(ist)i nazareni'; ends: 'et odore suauiissimo sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i p(er)cepto | sequatur. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m n(ost)r(u)m ie(su)m chr(istu)m' (as Doble 1937: 111–16) [lines 24–25 blank].
37. ff. 104r/1–105v/6 blessings for candles [XXXIII]: **Oratio sup(er) cereos In purific(atione) s(an)c(t)æ marię.** | 'D(omi)ne ie(s)u chr(ist)e qui illuminas omne(m) homi(n)em ueniente(m)'; text ends (f. 105r/17): 'Ita et nos | uitam optineamus æternam. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m.' | (closing formula, red) 'His finitis accensis luminaribus mate(ri)alib(us) . . . et in usu(m) | tantummodo æcclesie reseruato | perseueremus' (as Doble 1937: 89–91) [remainder of folio originally blank].
38. f. 105v/7–13 12c addition, an antiphon in the Feast of the Purification of Mary: 'D(EU)S lumen uerum æternę lucis p(ro)pagator & | auctor . . . tibi ualeant presentari. p(er) d(omi)n(u)m' (as Henderson 1874: 238).  
[Note: Below the 12c addition on f. 105v is a scarcely legible later medieval added note, two columns in lead or plummet filling the entire remaining space: 'Est ordo talis. Hic liber pontifical. . .']
39. Benedictional:
- a. ff. 106r/1–107v/14 list of benedictions for the year, numbered in the right margin: **Incipiunt benedictiones p(er) cursu(m) anni.** | 'Benedictio in uigilia natalis d(omi)ni I'; ends: 'Benedictio in sabbato';  
[Note: The list is of the contents of the next item, which are numbered as on this list. In the list the numerated items run to item 71 at f. 107r/25: 'Benedictio in dom(ini)-c(a) .xxiii. post pentec(osten) Lxxi'; the 14 blessings on f. 107 are not numbered; there is a total of 85 blessings, plus three alternates, labeled 'item'. At top and bottom margin of f. 106r, the later medieval addition in lead: upper margin 'p(ri)mo d(omi)-nicales d(omi)nicales'; lower margin: 'p(rimus) h(anc) agnoru(m) b(e)n(e)dictio fit . . .' Remainder of f. 107v was originally blank; a faint plummet later medieval note added: '[. . .] ordine(m) b(e)n(e)d(ictio)n(em) . . .']
- b. ff. 108r/1–129r/13 Episcopal blessings:
- i. f. 108r/1–24 **Incipiunt benedictiones æpiscoporu(m) | in uigilia natalis d(omi)ni.** | 'OM(NI)P(OTEN)S D(EU)S QVI INCARNATI|one

unigeniti sui mundi tenebras effugavit . . . et pax eius sit semper uobiscum' (Moeller 1971–79: no. 1643);

- ii. f. 108r/25–108v/9: **benedictio in gallicantu**. || 'Populum tuum q(uaesumu)s d(omi)ne pio fauore p(ro)sequere . . . Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnu(m)' (Moeller no. 1857);
- [Note: Almost every blessing in 39b. ends with the formula "Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnum"; the endings therefore will not be noted unless there is a significant variation in wording.]
- iii. f. 108v/10–24 **benedictio in mane primo**. | 'D(eu)s qui non solum genus humanu(m) conde|re . . .' (Moeller no. 1021);
- iiii. ff. 108v/25–109r/14 **benedictio in die natalis d(omi)ni**. || 'Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s . . .' (Moeller no. 339);
- v. f. 109r/15–109v/2 **benedict(io) in nat(a)l(e) s(an)c(t)i stephani p(roto)-m(artyris)**. | 'D(eu)s qui beatum stephanu(m) protomarty|rem confessione fidei . . .' (Moeller no. 854);
- vi. f. 109v/3–16 **bened(ictio) in nat(a)l(e) s(an)c(t)i ioh(ann)is ap(osto)li et æuang(e)l(iste)** | 'Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s dignetur uobis p(er) intercessione(m) | beati iohannis . . .' (Moeller no. 1566);
- vii. ff. 109v/17–110r/6 **benedictio in natale innocentum** | 'Om(ni)-p(oten)s d(eu)s p(ro) cuius unigeniti ueneranda | infantia . . .' (Moeller no. 1600);
- viii. f. 110r/7–24 **benedictio in octauas d(omi)ni**. | 'Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s cuius unigenitus hodierna die | né legem . . .' (Moeller no. 1545);
- viii. f. 110r/25–110v/10 **benedictio post octauas d(omi)ni**. || 'D(eu)s qui unigenitum suum misit in mundu(m) . . .' (as Wilson 1903: 6 and Doble 1937: 67; cf. Moeller no. 1168);
- x. ff. 110v/11–111r/3 **benedictio in theophania**. | 'D(eu)s lumen uerum qui unigenitum suum . . .' (Moeller no. 732);
- xi. f. 111r/4–15 **benedict(io) in purificat(ione) s(an)c(t)ę marię** | 'Om(ni)-p(oten)s d(eu)s qui unigenitum suum hodierna | die . . .' (Moeller no. 1674);
- xii. f. 111r/16–111v/1 **dominica .i. post epiphania**. | 'D(eu)s qui filii sui temporalem pueritiam . . .' (Moeller no. 926);
- xiii. f. 111v/2–14 **dominica secunda** | 'D(eu)s qui sua mirabili potestate aquam | uertit in uinu(m) . . .' (Moeller no. 1143);
- xiii. f. 111v/15–25 **dominica tertia**. | 'Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s uos ab omnium peccatoru(m) macu|llis emundet . . .' (Moeller no. 1711);
- xv. f. 112r/1–11 **dominica quarta** | 'Temptationum omnium á uobis d(omi)-n(u)s pericula | remoueat . . .' (Moeller no. 2019);

- xvi. f. 112r/12–22 **dominica quinta** | ‘D(eu)s qui bonorum semen in sua æcclesia sé-|rere consuevit. . .’ (Moeller no. 855);
- xvii. f. 112r/23–112v/6 **dominica sexta**. | ‘D(eu)s qui mare suis pedibus fecit esse | calcabile . . .’ (Moeller no. 1005);
- xviii. f. 112v/7–19 **dominica .in .lxx**. | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s ita stadium u(est)ri cursus | dirigere dignetur . . .’ (Moeller no. 1584);
- xix. ff. 112v/20–113r/6 **dominica .in .lx**. | ‘Det uobis d(omi)n(u)s magna mysteria regni | sui . . .’ (as Wilson 1903: 9 and Doble 1937: 68; cf. Moeller no. 632);
- xx. f. 113r/7–19 **dominica .in quinquagesima**. | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s sua uós benedictione con|firmet . . .’ (Moeller no. 339);
- xxi. f. 113r/20–113v/12 **benedict(io) .in .iiii. f(e)r(ia). id est cap(ut) ieiunii**. | ‘Respice pastor bone sup(er) hunc gregem . . .’ (Moeller no. 1924);
- xxii. ff. 113v/13–114r/8 **benedictio in initio quadragesimæ**. | ‘Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. qui quadrage|narium numerum . . .’ (as Wilson 1903: 10–11 and Doble 1937: 73; cf. Moeller nos. 192 and 312);
- xxiii. f. 114r/9–19 **dominica secunda .in .xl**. | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s ieiunii cæterarum que | uirtutum dicator . . .’ (Moeller no. 1576);
- xxiiii. f. 114r/20–114v/6 **dominica tertia .in .xl**. | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s ieiuniorum u(est)rorum | uictimas clementer accipiat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1577);
- xxv. f. 114v/7–20 **dominica quarta .in .xl**. | ‘D(eu)s qui uós ad presentium quadragesima|lium dierum . . .’ (Moeller no. 1193);
- xxvi. ff. 114v/21–115r/7 **dominica quinta infra .xl**. | ‘Accendat in uobis d(omi)n(u)s uím sui amoris . . .’ (Moeller no. 8);
- xxvii. f. 115r/8–22 **benedictio in ramis palmarum** | ‘Benedicat uós om(ni)-p(oten)s d(eu)s. cui ieiuniorum | maceratione . . .’ (Moeller no. 180);
- (item). f. 115r/23–115v/8: **Item alia benedictio in passione**. | ‘Om(ni)-p(oten)s d(eu)s qui unigeniti sui passione tri|buit uobis humilitatis exemplum . . .’ (Moeller no. 1671);
- xxviii. f. 115v/9–22 **benedictio in cæna d(omi)ni post mandatu(m)**. | ‘Benedicat uos d(eu)s qui p(er) unigeniti filii sui | passionem . . .’ (Moeller no. 233);
- xxix. ff. 115v/23–116r/15 **benedictio in sabbato s(an)c(t)o** | ‘D(eu)s qui æcclesiæ suę intemerato utero . . .’ (Moeller no. 879);
- xxx. f. 116r/16–116v/4 **benedictio in die s(an)c(t)o paschæ**. | ‘Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. hodierna inter|ueniente . . .’ (Moeller no. 292);
- xxxi. f. 116v/5–14 **Secunda feria** | ‘D(eu)s qui p(ro) uobis suscepit iniuriam crucis . . .’ (Moeller no. 510);

- xxxii. f. 116v/15–24 *tertia feria* | ‘D(eu)s qui uós lauit áquis sui lateris . . .’ (Moeller no. 1207);
- xxxiii. ff. 116v/25–117r/8 *quarta feria* || ‘D(omi)n(u)s d(eu)s noster uos p(er)ducatur ad arborem ui|tæ . . .’ (Moeller no. 1268);
- xxxiiii. f. 117r/9–18 *Quinta feria*. | ‘Omnipotens d(e)i et d(omi)ni n(ost)ri benedictioni|bus repleamini . . .’ (Moeller no. 1815);
- xxxv. f. 117r/19–117v/3 *Sexta feria*. | ‘Benedicat uos d(eu)s de cælis om(ni)p(oten)s. qui p(er) cru|cem . . .’ (Moeller no. 216);
- xxxvi. f. 117v/4–17 *benedictio in sabbato*. | ‘D(eu)s qui calcatis inferni legibus captiui|tatem . . .’ (Moeller no. 859);
- xxxvii. ff. 117v/18–118r/9 *dominica octauas paschæ* | ‘D(eu)s cuius unigenitus hodierna die discipulis suis ianuis . . .’ (Moeller no. 679);
- xxxviii. f. 118r/10–20 *dominica .i. post octauas paschæ*. | ‘Benedicat uós om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. qui uós gratuita | miseratione creauit . . .’ (Moeller no. 314);
- xxxix. f. 118r/21–118v/7 *dominica .ii. post octauas paschæ*. | ‘D(eu)s qui p(er) resurrectionum unigeniti sui | uobis contulit . . .’ (Moeller no. 1070);
- xl. f. 118v/8–22 *dominica .iii. post octauas paschæ* | ‘Concede misericors d(eu)s. huic plebi salu|tiferi . . .’ (Moeller no. 576);
- xli. ff. 118v/23–119r/8 *benedictio in lætania maiore*. | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s deuotionem u(est)ram dig|nanter . . .’ (Moeller no. 1560);
- xl.ii. f. 119r/9–21 *Secunda feria* | ‘Benedic quęsumus d(omi)ne uniuersam fa|miliam tuam . . .’ (Moeller no. 112);
- xl.iii. f. 119r/22–119v/12 *Tertia feria*. | ‘Respice d(omi)ne sup(er) hanc familiam tuam | subiectam . . .’ (Moeller no. 1919);
- xl.iiii. ff. 119v/13–120r/1 *benedictio in ascensione d(omi)ni*. | ‘Benedicat uós om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. cuius hodierna | die unigenitus . . .’ (Moeller no. 281);
- xlv. f. 120r/2–11 *dominica post ascensionem d(omi)ni* | ‘Benedictionum suarum super uós d(omi)n(u)s im|brem infundat . . .’ (Moeller no. 380);
- xlvi. f. 120r/12–25 *In uigilia pentecosten*. | ‘Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. ob cuius paracliti sp(iritu)s . . .’ (Moeller no. 186);
- xlvii. f. 120v/1–13 *benedictio in die pentecostis*. | ‘D(eu)s qui hodierna die discipulorum mentes . . .’ (Moeller no. 948);
- (item). ff. 120v/14–121r/2 *Item. per totam ebdomadam*. | ‘Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s qui cuncta ex nihilo creauit . . .’ (Moeller no. 187);



- xlvi. f. 121r/3–16 **benedictio in octauas pentecostes.** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s trinitas unus et uerus d(eu)s pater et | filius et spiritus s(an)c(tu)s . . .’ (Moeller no. 1804);
- xl. f. 121r/17–121v/4 **dominica .i. post pentecosten.** | ‘Benedicat uós trinitas s(an)c(t)a. summaque | maiestas . . .’ (Moeller no. 351);  
(item). f. 121v/5–11 **Item alia benedictio.** ‘Benedicat | uobis d(omi)n(u)s et custodiat uos . . .’ (Moeller no. 159);
- l. f. 121v/12–19 **dominica .ii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Propitietur d(omi)n(u)s cunctis iniquitatib(us) u(est)ris . . .’ (Moeller no. 1880);
- li. ff. 121v/20–122r/5 **dominica .iii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Benedicat uobis d(omi)n(u)s nostri oris alloquio . . .’ (Moeller no. 169);
- lii. f. 122r/6–14 **dominica .iiii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Emundet d(omi)n(u)s conscientias u(est)ras ab omni | malitia . . .’ (Moeller no. 1337);
- liii. f. 122r/15–23 **dominica .v. post pentecosten.** | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s sua uós clementia be|nedicat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1696);
- liiii. f. 122r/24–122v/9 **dominica .vi. post pentecosten.** | ‘Amoueat á uobis d(omi)n(u)s totius maculas || si multatis . . .’ (Moeller no. 31);
- lv. f. 122v/10–19 **dominica .vii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Inclinat d(omi)n(u)s aurem suam ad preces . . . Quod ipse prestare dignet(ur). q(ui) cum patre’ (Moeller no. 1433);
- lvi. ff. 122v/20–123r/2 **dominica .viii. post pentecosten.** | ‘S(an)c(t)i ficet uós d(omi)ni gratia. et ab omni | malo custodiat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1962);
- lvii. f. 123r/3–12 **dominica .ix. post pentecosten.** | ‘Multiplicet in uobis d(omi)n(u)s copiam suę | benedictionis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1499);
- lviii. f. 123r/13–23 **dominica .x. post pentecosten.** | ‘D(eu)s qui est [sic] uita mortalium. salusque | peccatorum . . .’ (Moeller no. 921);
- lviiii. f. 123r/24–123v/9 **dominica .xi. post pentecosten** | ‘Deuotionem uestram d(omi)n(u)s dignanter in||tendat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1236);
- lx. f. 123v/10–17 **dominica .xii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Gratia d(omi)ni uós locuplétet. et cælesti be|nedictione multiplicet . . .’ (Moeller no. 1388);
- lxi. ff. 123v/18–124r/2 **dominica .xiii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Det uobis d(omi)n(u)s munus suę benedictionis . . .’ (Moeller no. 631);
- lxii. f. 124r/3–10 **dominica .xiiii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Benedictio uós d(omi)ni comitetur ubique sibi-|que uós semp(er) faciat adherere . . .’ (Moeller no. 360);
- lxiii. f. 124r/11–19 **dominica .xv. post pentecosten.** | ‘Concedat uobis om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s munus suę benedic|tionis . . .’ (Moeller no. 571);

- lxxviii. f. 124r/20–124v/3 **dominica .xvi. post pentecosten.** | ‘Om(ni)-p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s peccatoru(m) u(est)ror(um) maculas pur|get . . .’ (Moeller no. 1745);
- lxv. f. 124v/4–13 **dominica .xvii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s cęlesti u(ost)ro p(ro)tectione circu(m)det . . .’ (Moeller no. 1528);
- lxvi. f. 124v/14–23 **dominica .xviii. post pentecosten** | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s dextereę suę perpetuo | u(ost)ro circu(m)det auxilio . . .’ (Moeller no. 1562);
- lxvii. ff. 124v/24–125r/8 **dominica .xix. post pentecosten.** | ‘Purificet om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s u(est)rorum cordium || archana . . .’ (Moeller no. 1886);
- lxviii. f. 125r/9–19 **dominica .xx. post pentecosten.** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s uniuersa a uobis aduersa exclu|dat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1703);
- lxix. f. 125r/20–125v/4 **dominica .xxi. post pentecosten.** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s dies u(est)ros in sua pace disponat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1563);
- lxx. f. 125v/5–12 **dominica .xxii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Benedictionis d(omi)-ni gratia u(ost)ro semp(er) prote|gat . . .’ (Moeller no. 365);
- lxxi. f. 125/13–23 **dominica .xxiii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s adaperiat cor u(est)ra(m) in lege sua . . .’ (Moeller no. 1523);
- [lxxii] ff. 125v/24–126r/7 **dominica .xxiiii. post pentecosten.** | ‘Concedat uobis d(omi)n(u)s pręmium sinceris||simę ueritatis . . .’ (Moeller no. 569);
- [lxxiii] f. 126r/8–19 **dominica .iiii. ante natale d(omi)ni.** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. cuius unigeniti aduentum et pre|teritum creditis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1544);
- [lxxiv] f. 126r/20–126v/6 **dominica .iii. ante natale d(omi)ni.** | ‘D(eu)s cuius aduentus incarnatione pre|teritum creditur . . .’ (Moeller no. 663);
- [lxxv] 126v/7–19 **dominica .ii. ante natale d(omi)ni.** | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s u(ost)ro placido uultu respiciat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1722);
- [lxxvi] ff. 126v/20–127r/7 **dominica .i. ante natale d(omi)ni.** | ‘D(eu)s qui u(ost)ro et prioris aduentus gratia | reparauit . . .’ (Moeller no. 1200);
- [lxxvii] 127r/8–18 **benedictio cotidie ad matutinam.** | ‘Numquam deseras d(omi)ne quam plantare | dignatus ęs uineam tuam . . .’ (Moeller no. 1504);
- [lxxviii] f. 127r/19–127v/4 **benedictio cotidie ad uesperam.** | ‘Ad custodiendu(m) grege(m) hunc animaru(m) pas|tor bone . . . et impe-rium sine fine permanet | i(n) sęcula sęculorum. AMEN’ (as Wilson 1903: 52);
- [lxxix] f. 127v/5–13 **benedictio cotidie ad completorium.** | ‘Inmittat in u(ost)ro d(omi)n(u)s quietem s(an)c(t)i soporis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1425);

- [lxxx] f. 127v/14–22 **benedictio in feria secunda**. | ‘Omnipotens d(ē)us sua uos clementia be|nedicat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1696);
- [lxxxi] ff. 127v/23–128r/12 **feria tertia** ‘Inclinet d(ō)mi)n(u)s aurem | suam ad preces u(est)rē humilitatis . . .’ (as Doble 1937: 102; cf. Moeller no. 1433);
- [lxxxii] f. 128r/13–23 **feria quarta** | ‘Deuotionem uestram d(ō)mi)n(u)s dignanter | intendat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1236);
- [lxxxiii] f. 128r/24–128v/8 **feria quinta** ‘Det uobis d(ō)mi)n(u)s | munus suæ benedictionis . . .’ (Moeller no. 631);
- [lxxxiv] f. 128v/9–22 **feria sexta** | ‘Dá queşumus om(ni)p(oten)s d(ē)us benedictionum | tuarum populo tuo . . .’ (Moeller no. 241);
- [lxxxv] ff. 128v/23–129r/13 **benedictio in sabbato** | ‘D(ē)us qui sex diebus opera et septimo re|quiem insinuas’; ends: ‘sed tales exire iubeas quales | in æternum benedicas. amen. | Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnu(m)’ | **Finiunt dominicales benedictiones | et feriales p(er) anni circulum dicendæ** (Moeller no. 1136) [rest of f. 129r was originally blank].
40. f. 129r/14–26 (added in a 12c hand) **BENEDICTIO ORDINATORUM** | ‘D(Ē)S qui de diuersis ordinib(us) s(an)c(t)am suam eccl(esi)am | collocauit . . . et ab eo p(re)mium uitæ aet(er)nē p(er)cipere ualeatis. AM(EN). | Q(uo)d ipse prestare’ (Moeller no. 878).
41. Benedictions for saints’ days:
- a. ff. 129v/1–130v/1 list of benedictions for saints’ days: **Incipiunt benedict(iones) de festiuitatib(us) s(an)c(t)or(um)** | ‘Benedictio de s(an)c(t)a trinitate i’; ends: ‘Benedictio in tempore belli .xlv’;
- [Note: Later notes in lead in upper margin of f. 129v: ‘(Con)se(quen)do. b(e)n(e)-d(ictio)nes i(n)cipi(u)t . . .’. The list pertains to the following set of benedictions, which is here numbered accordingly, 45 items, the list skipping from ‘xxxiii’ to xxxv’; there are in addition twelve unnumbered alternative “items”.]
- b. Benedictions:
- i. ff. 130v/2–18 **Incipiunt benedictiones de festiui|tatibus sanctorum dicendæ**. | **Benedictio de s(an)c(t)a trinitate**. | ‘Benedicat uos trinitatis diuina maiestas . . . Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnu(m)’ (Moeller 1971–79: no. 350);
- [Note: Nearly all these benedictions end with the formula “Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnum”; only endings significantly varying from this are noted.]
- (item). ff. 130v/19–131r/7 **Item alia de s(an)c(t)a trinitate**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s trinitas unus et uerus d(ē)us . . .’ (Moeller no. 1804);
- ii. ff. 131r/8–21 **benedict(io) de adnuntiatione s(an)c(t)æ marię**. | ‘D(ē)us qui cum té non capiunt cæli dignatus | és . . .’ (Moeller no. 874);

- iii. f. 131r/22–131v/10 **benedictio de inuentione s(an)c(t)æ crucis** | ‘Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. qui p(er) unigeniti sui | ie(s)u chr(ist)i d(omi)ni n(ost)ri . . .’ (Moeller no. 190);
- iii. f. 131v/11–25 **benedict(io) in nat(a)l(e) s(an)c(t)issimi augustini anglor(um) / ap(osto)li** | ‘Benedic d(omi)ne omnem hanc plebem beatis|simi augustini angloru(m) . . .’ (Moeller no. 97);
- v. f. 132r/1–15 **benedictio in uigilia s(an)c(t)i iohannis bapt(istæ)** | ‘D(eu)s qui beatum iohannem baptistam mag|num nuntiasti p(er) angelum . . .’ (Moeller no. 835);
- vi. f. 132r/16–132v/6 **benedictio in natiuitate iohannis bap(tistæ)** | ‘Benedicat uos om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s beati iohannis bap|tistæ intercessione . . .’ (Moeller no. 179);
- vii. f. 132v/7–20 **benedict(io) in uig(i)l(i)a ap(osto)lor(um) petri et pauli**. | ‘D(eu)s qui in membris æcclesie uelut gemi|natum . . .’ (Moeller no. 981);
- viii. ff. 132v/21–133r/8 **benedict(io) in nat(a)l(e) ap(osto)lor(um) petri et pauli**. | ‘Benedicat uos d(eu)s. qui nos beati petri sa|luberrima . . .’ (Moeller no. 193);
- viii. f. 133r/9–133v/2 **bened(ictio) in translat(ione) s(an)c(t)i benedicti abbatis**. | ‘D(omi)ne d(eu)s omnium gratiaru(m). respicere dig|nare omne(m). . .’ (Moeller no. 1254);
- x. f. 133v/3–15 **bened(ictio) in uig(i)l(i)a laurentii archidiaconi**. | ‘Corroborata gregem tuum turris fortitu|dinis . . .’ (as Wooley 1917: 104; cf. Moeller no. 597);
- xi. ff. 133v/16–134r/7 **In natale s(an)c(t)i laurentii archidiaconi**. | ‘S(an)c(t)æ trinitatis super uos benedictio de|scendat gratissima . . .’ (Moeller no. 1948);
- xii. f. 134r/8–19 **benedictio de assumptione s(an)c(t)æ marie**. | ‘D(eu)s qui p(er) beatę marie uirginis partum | genus humanu(m) dignatus es . . .’ (Moeller no. 1053);
- xiii. f. 134r/20–134v/11 **bened(ictio) in nat(a)l(e) s(an)c(t)i bartholomei ap(osto)li**. | ‘Benedicat uos decus ap(osto)lor(um) omniumque | corona s(an)c(t)orum . . .’ (Moeller no. 213);
- xiii. f. 134v/12–25 **benedict(io) in passione ioh(ann)is baptiste**. | ‘D(eu)s qui uos s(an)c(t)i iohannis baptistæ concedit | sollempnia frequentare . . .’ (Moeller no. 1194);
- xv. f. 135r/1–11 **benedictio in natiuitate s(an)c(t)æ marie**. | ‘Omnipotens d(eu)s sua uos dignetur p(ro)tectio|ne benedicere . . .’ (Moeller no. 1697);

- xvi. f. 135r/12–135v/1 **benedict(io) in exaltatione s(an)c(t)æ crucis.** | ‘D(eu)s qui redemisti genus humanum p(er) bea|tæ crucis patibulum . . .’ (Moeller no. 297);
- xvii. f. 135v/2–13 **benedictio in festiuitate s(an)c(t)i michael(is)** | ‘D(eu)s qui ad salutem n(ost)ram angelorum suo|rum utitur ministe-  
rio . . .’ (Moeller no. 779);
- (item). f. 135v/13–24 **Item alia** ‘Multiplici uos d(omi)n(u)s | benedictione locopletet . . .’ (Moeller no. 1501);
- (item). ff. 135v/25–136r/12 **Itemque alia** || ‘Benedicat uós principium lucis angeloru(m) | quos sibi conciuēs . . .’ (Moeller no. 227);
- xviii. f. 136r/13–136v/3 **benedict(io) in festiuitate omniu(m) s(an)c-  
(t)oru(m).** | ‘Benedicat uós om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s p(er) omnium s(an)c-  
(t)orum | gloriosissimam intercessionem . . .’ (Moeller no. 297);
- (item). f. 136v/4–19 **Item alia** ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s laus et uictoria | s(an)c(t)orum . . .’ (Moeller no. 1743);
- (item). ff. 136v/20–137v/3 **Itemque alia** | ‘Benedicat uobis qui formam u(est)ræ humili|tatis dignatus est suscipere . . .’ (Moeller no. 208);
- xviii. f. 137v/4–15 **benedictio in natale s(an)c(t)i martini æp(iscop)i.** | ‘D(eu)s qui martinum presulem tuum ita pre|destinasti . . .’ (as Wilson 1903: 43; cf. Moeller no. 807);
- xx. ff. 137v/16–138r/3 **benedictio in natale s(an)c(t)æ ceciliæ uirg(inis).** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s deuotionem u(est)ram placatus | semp(er) ac-  
cipiat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1561);
- xxi. f. 138r/4–15 **benedictio i(n) natale s(an)c(t)i clementis.** | ‘Om(ni)-  
p(oten)s d(eu)s u(est)rorum cordium archana puri|ficet . . .’ (Moeller  
no. 1706);
- xxii. f. 138r/16–138v/1 **In uigilia s(an)c(t)i andrææ** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s  
sua uos benedictione locuple|tet . . .’ (Moeller no. 1695);
- xxiii. f. 138v/2–13: **benedictio in natale s(an)c(t)i andrææ.** | ‘D(eu)s qui bea-  
tum andream apostolum p(er) pas|sionem crucis’ (Moeller no. 817);
- xxiii. ff. 138v/14–139r/4 **benedict(io) in natale s(an)c(t)æ lucix uirg(inis).**  
| ‘Respice d(omi)ne hanc familiam tua(m) serenis | optutibus . . .’  
(Moeller no. 1916);
- xxv. f. 139r/5–17 **benedictio in uigilia ap(osto)lorum.** | ‘Benedicat uos  
om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s p(er) beati (alt. <ue>l beator(um)) ap(osto)li (alt.  
<ue>l ap(osto)lor(um)) sui (alt. <ue>l suor(um)) | .N(omen). intercessio-  
nem . . .’ (Moeller no. 296);
- xxvi. f. 139r/18–139v/4 **benedictio in natale ap(osto)lorum** | ‘D(eu)s qui  
uós in apostolicis tribuit consis|tere fundamentis . . .’ (Moeller no.  
1203);

- xxvii. 139v/5–15 **benedictio in nat(a)l(e) plurimoru(m) mart(yrum)**. | ‘Benedicat uos d(omi)n(u)s beatorum martyrum . . .’ (Moeller no. 153);
- xxviii. f. 139v/16–24 **benedict(io) innat(a)l(e) plurimoru(m) confess(orum)**. | ‘S(an)c(t)orum confessorum suorum ill(is) meri|tis uos d(omi)n(u)s faciat benedici . . .’ (Moeller no. 1968);
- xxix. ff. 139v/25–140r/14 **benedict(io) in nat(a)l(e) plurimaru(m) uirginu(m)**. || ‘Omnipotens d(omi)n(u)s intercedentibus s(an)c(t)is uir|ginibus suis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1742);
- xxx. f. 140r/15–23 **benedict(io) in natale unius martyris**. | ‘Beati martyris sui ill(is) intercessione uos d(omi)n(u)s | benedicat . . .’ (Moeller no. 57);
- xxxi. f. 140r/24–140v/8 **benedictio in natale unius confess(oris)**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s. det uobiscopiosambenedic||tionem . . .’ (Moeller no. 1733);
- xxxii. f. 140v/9–23 **benedictio in nat(a)l(e) unius uirginis** | ‘Benedicat uos d(omi)n(u)s. qui beatæ uirgini ill(is) | concessit . . .’ (Moeller no. 175);
- xxxiii. ff. 140v/24–141r/16 **benedict(io) sup(er) regem tempore sinodi**. | ‘Benedicat tibi d(omi)n(u)s. semperque té in om||nibus custodiat . . .’ (as Wilson 1903: 52; cf. Doble 1937: 104 and Moeller no. 143);
- xxxv [sic]. f. 141r/17–141v/3 **benedictio sup(er) regem cotidiana**. | ‘Benedic d(omi)ne hunc clementissimum regem | cum uniuerso populo suo . . .’ (Moeller no. 89);
- (item). f. 141v/4–17 **Item alia benedictiones**. | ‘Omnipotens sempiternę d(eu)s. qui omnium | iura regum immobiliter gubernas . . .’ (Moeller no. 1796);
- (item). ff. 141v/18–142r/9 **Item alia benedictiones**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s qui té ad regendu(m) populum pa|ternę sedis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1666);
- (item). 142r/10–25 **Item alia**. | ‘Dá d(omi)ne s(an)c(t)æ pater omnipotens triumphalle tripudium . . .’ (Moeller no. 608);
- (item). f. 142v/1–16 **Item alia benedictiones**. | ‘Prouidentia et gubernatio d(e)i omnipotentis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1885);
- (item). ff. 142v/17–143r/2: **Itemque alia** | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s. det tibi copiam suæ benedictio|nis . . .’ (Moeller no. 1552);
- xxxvi. 143r/3–17 **benedictio in monasterio**. | ‘D(eu)s qui renuntiantibus sæculo. mansione(m) | preparas in cælo . . .’ (Moeller no. 1116);
- (item). f. 143r/18–143v/10: **Itemque alia**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s s(an)c(t)arum mentium habitator | uos benedicat . . .’ (Moeller no. 1692);

- xxxvii. f. 143v/11–25 **benedictio pro iter agentibus**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s cuius misericordia ubique cog(n)oscitur . . . ad | inmarcescibile felicitatis premium per|ueniatis. Amen. Quod ipse prestare’ (Moeller no. 1543);
- (item). f. 144r/1–13: **Itemque alia** ‘D(eu)s æternæ p(ro)uidentiaē | disposito(r) . . .’ (Moeller no. 645);
- xxxviii’. f. 144r/14–144v/12 **benedictio sponsi et sponse**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s qui primos parentes n(ost)ros adam | et euam sua uirtute creauit . . . et post finitos hu|ius uitæ labores faciat uós p(er)uenire felici|ter ad consortiu(m) s(an)c(t)orum angelorum. Quod’ (Moeller no. 1798);
- xxxix. ff. 144v/13–145r/6 **benedictio in dissolutione synodi**. | ‘CHR(istu)s d(e)i filius qui est initium et finis . . .’ (Moeller no. 417);
- xl. f. 145r/7–19 **benedictio post confirmationem**. | ‘Benedicat uobis om(ni)p(oten)s d(omi)n(u)s qui cuncta ex | nihilo creauit . . .’ (Moeller no. 187);
- xli. f. 145r/20–145v/14 **benedictio in uisitatione infirmi**. | ‘D(eu)s qui socrum symonis magnis laboran|tem febribus . . .’ (Moeller no. 1139);
- xlii. ff. 145v/15–146r/8 **benedictio in ordinatione æp(iscop)i**. | ‘D(eu)s benedictionum omnium largus infu|sor . . .’ (Moeller no. 653);
- xliiii. f. 146r/9–25 **benedictio in ordinatione presbit(er)**. | ‘Benedictionum omnium largitor et di|uini uerbi seminator . . .’ (Moeller no. 377);
- [Note: Item xliiii has alternate plurals supplied by a small gloss-hand.]
- xliiii. f. 146v/1–19 **benedictio in ordinatione diaconi**. | ‘Om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s qui in uetere lege filios leui in di|uini . . .’ (Moeller no. 1642);
- xliv. ff. 146v/20–147r/7 **benedictio in tempore pestilentiaē** | ‘Dignare d(omi)ne d(eu)s noster caelestem super | populum imp(er)tiri benedictione(m)’ (Moeller no. 1239);
- xlvi. f. 147r/8–24 **benedictio in tempore belli**. | ‘D(eu)s triumphantium uictoria. que(m) numero|sa non uincunt uexilla’; ends: ‘ita nunc ferocitas gentilium p(er) turbam | conteratur humilium. amen. | Quod ipse prestare dignetur. cuius regnum’ (Moeller no. 1228).
42. ff. 147v/1–149r/23 prologue to the Penitential of Egbert: **Incipit excerptio de canonibus catholi|corum patrum ad remedi(u)m animaru(m) do(mi)|ni ecgberhti archiæp(iscop)i eburacæ ciuitat(is)**. | ‘Institutio illa quæ fiebat in diebus patrum | n(ost)rorum rectas uias numqua(m) deseruit’; ends: ‘sed iudica districtum iu|dicium secundu(m) canones. ut alii timorem | habeant’ (as Banting 1989: 5–7 and PL 89.443–45; on this recension, see Frantzen 1983: 131).
- [Note: In top margin of f. 147v a plummet-incised title annotation by the later medieval hand: ‘[. . .] excerptiones d(e) libro q(ui) dicit(ur) lib(er) ordina[. . .].’]

43. ff. 149r/23–150v/24 canons from Capitulary of Ghaerbald of Liège (d. 809): ‘Hæc sunt iura quæ sacerdotes | debent habere. | Ut unusquisque sacerdos æccl(esi)am suam || cum omni diligentia ædificet’; ends: ‘Siquis infirmatur á | sacerdotibus oleo s(an)c(t)ificato cum oratio|nibus diligenter ungatur’ (coll. Brommer 1984: 16–21; on this text and its relationship to the Egbert Penitential, see Elliott 2010: 161).
- 44a. ff. 150v/25–154v/1 absolution of penitents: **Incipit absolutio dicenda ab æp(iscop)o super || conuersu(m) et poenitente(m)**. (rubric, cont. red) ‘qui conuersus p(ro)|sternat(ur) cora(m) altare. et psalmu(m) decantet | quinquagesimu(m). si aute(m) est idiota ex in|timo corde crebro dicat. D(eu)s miserere | peccatori seruo tuo. et faciat æp(iscopu)s læta|nias sup(er) eum. et hæ sequant(ur) orationes.’ | (text, black) ‘Absoluimus té (alt. uos) uice beati petri apostolor(um) | principis’; ends: ‘tan|demque ad cælestia regna euectus (alt. ti) té p(ro)||tegente gratanter incedat (alt. n). p(er) d(omi)n(u)m’ (as Wilson 1903: 57–60);
- b. f. 154v/2–14 concluding prayer and rubric: (black) ‘Misereatur tui (alt. u(est)ri) om(ni)p(oten)s d(eu)s . . . et uiuas (alt. tis) in sæcula sæculor(um). am(en)’ | (red) ‘his p(er)actis det ei æp(iscopu)s monita salutis . . . et sup(er) | omnia caritatem habeat’ (as Turner 1971: 35) [rest of f. 154v originally blank].
45. ff. 154v/15–155r/29 booklist added in 11c hand: ‘Hic contin&ur Numerus diuinoru(m) libror(um) s(an)c(t)ę Marię quos | custodit dodo . . . Arit`h`meticeę due. Com(men)tarioru(m). M.V. In rethorica quat(er)-n(iones) .iii.’ (ed. De Bruyne 1912 and Delisle 1874: 2.446–47).  
[Note: The booklist for this unidentified center, perhaps for a north Frankish center dedicated to St. Mary, is in a smaller script and thus does not utilize the rulings. It is written on the last side of the core manuscript and the originally blank first side of the added 11c A-S quire XXI.]
46. f. 155v/1–20 added in a different 11c hand on an originally blank side, a cento of Biblical citations from Genesis 9:2–5 and Leviticus 17:10–14 on the prohibition of eating blood: ‘Om(ne)s pisces maris in quid d(eu)s ad noe manui u(est)re traditi sunt . . . & quicumque comederit illum interibit. 7 perenniter uale’ (unprinted).
47. ff. 156r/1–160r/21 attributed to Ælfric, OE Homily on the Dedication of a Church (ÆHomM 12 (Brot 1)) (in 10/11c A-S square minuscule): **INCIPIT SERMO DE DEDICATIONE AECCLESIAE.** | ‘Lucas se godspellere awrat on þære þriddan cristes bec. | þæt ure hælend crist wæs farende’; ends: ‘se þe leofað 7 rixað on | ealra worulda woruld AMEN’ (ed. Ebersperger 1999: 236–63; cf. Brotanek 1913: 3–15) [rest of f. 160r blank].



48. ff. 160v/1–162r/25 consecration of an abbot (in various hands of different sizes, mainly 11c caroline minuscule): ‘Post electione(m) in capitulo recitata(m). & fr(atre)m om(n)ium uocib(us) | & sup(er)scriptionib(us) corroborata(m) incipiat cantor’; ends: ‘& ad te semp(er) | incipiat. & p(er) te cepta finiatur. p(er)’ (unprinted).

[Note: The consecration is added on the final blank side of quire XXI and continues into an added bifolium (quire XXII). The next texts, blessings, occupy the last side of the bifolium.]

49. Blessings ((in two 11c hands):

a. f. 162v/1–14 blessing of Saint Marcellus: ‘D(eu)s qui sibi seruietes non latenter | iustificat uel munerat . . . mercedem recipiamus. Quod ipse prestare dignet(ur)’;

b. f. 162v/15–26 blessing of Saint Eligius: ‘D(eu)s qui s(an)c(t)or(um) suor(um) non reprobat intentionem . . . Quod ipse prestare dignetur’.

50. f. 163r/1–27 excerpt from Augustine, “Enchiridion,” chs. 109–11 (in 11c caroline): ‘Te(m)pus q(uo)d int(er) homines morte(m) & ultima(m) resurrectione(m) . . . in miseria `u(ero)’ illi alius alio tolerabilius | p(er)manebunt’ (as Evans 1969: 108–9, PL 40.283–84).

[Note: Rest of f. 163r blank. This and the next item occupy the recto and verso of the originally blank first leaf of the A-S quire XXIII.]

51. f. 163v/1–25 OE rule for confraternity (in early 11c vernacular minuscule): ‘Dis is þæra gerædnassa sum þe bisceopas geræd habbað . . . 7 us gescylde þæt we næfre ne for|wurðon on ðam towendan dome þe we ealle togelaðode synt. AMEN’ (ed. Whitelock et al. 1981: no. 53; cf. Brotanek 1913: 27–28).

52. f. 163v/26–32 excerpted incipits from a Mass for the Dead (in same 11c hand as 51, now caroline): ‘Ā Intret oratio mea. cof. D(eu)s qui caritatis. EPŁA. In diebus illis. oratione(m) | faciebant . . . cċ. Inclina aurem tua(m). ꝑcō. Diuina libantes’.

53. ff. 164r/3–170r/1 OE homily on the Dedication of a Church (HomS 49 (Brot 2)) (in 11c vernacular minuscule): ‘Vs is on þysum dæge to wurðigenne þyses temples | symelnyss’; ends: ‘7 mid þam | efnecean haligan gaste In ealra worulda woruld || a butan ende amen’ (ed. Brotanek 1913: 15–27) [f. 164r, top two lines blank].

54. three added letters (in early 11c caroline scripts):

a. f. 170r/2–8 on the death of a monk: ‘Domini cunctaq(ue) congregatio. cunctis s(an)c(t)ae aecl(esi)ae fidelib(us) . . . quibus fuerat unitus in ordini | communionē. VALETE’;

- b. f. 170r/9–19 letter for a penitent from Sherborne: ‘Annue[n]te atq[ue] fauente melliflua d[e]i gratia . . . electis in dextra chr[ist]i collocatis’ (ed. Whitelock et al. 1981: no. 42; cf. Stubbs 1874: 408–9);
- c. f. 170r/19–24 letter for a penitent from Sherborne: ‘+Domno pape cunctisq[ue] generaliter s[an]c[t]ae matris | eccl[esi]e filiis .v̄. scyreburnensis eccl[esi]e . . . VALETE CVNCTI FIDELES VINEAE D[OMI]NI CVLTORES IPSIVS INOPIAM BE[N]EDICTIONVM V[EST]ARVM COP[IA] REIFICERE VOLENTES IN CHR[IST]O’ (ed. Stubbs 1874: 409).

[Note: The two letters for penitents, with mention of Sherborne and use of the abbreviation ‘W.’ suggest they were probably issued by Bishop Wulfsgie.]

55. Two neumed tropes for Æthelwold [in a small caroline script added on what was a blank leaf]:

- a. f. 170v/1–2 ‘Alleluia. Sacer chr[ist]i miles adelwoldus . . . in terris iu[st]iciae monachis monstrauit’;
- b. f. 170v/2–7 ‘Regnor[um] rector pie kirie. archos arcis olimpica . . . laudesq[ue] plebi tibi pangenti el[eison]’ (ed. Drevés 1905–07: no. 146).

[Note: After line 7 six-and-a-half lines of similar writing have been erased and are now illegible, having been treated with a reagent. The remainder of f. 170v blank, except bottom nine lines where OE writ was added later.]

56. f. 170v, last nine lines, OE writ of Bishop Æthelric of Sherborne (1002 × 1014) to Æthelmær: ‘+Æþelric b[iscop] gret æþelmær freondlice . . . 7 ealles | þæs þe mine foregengan hæfdon þ[æt] syndon twa 7 feowertig hida’ (ed. O’Donovan 1988: no. 13, Harmer 1952: no. 63).

[Note: A reagent has been applied to the OE writ making parts of it illegible. In the top center margin of f. 170v, a wynn in contemporary (11c?) ink.]

PHOTO NOTES: A high-quality color digital facsimile is available at the Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Gallica website: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001165p.r=.langFR>. Many of the rubrics are faint or illegible on the film. The lead/plummet marginal notes on f. 81r, 82v, 83v, 105v cannot be seen on the film but are mostly legible on the digital facsimile.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Avril, François, and Patricia Stirnemann. *Manuscripts Enluminés d’Origine Insulaire VII<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup>*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987.
- Backhouse, Janet, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster, eds. *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966–1066*. London: British Museum, 1984.

- Banting, H. M. J., ed. *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*. Henry Bradshaw Society 104. London: Boydell Press, for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1989.
- Brommer, Peter, ed. *Capitulam Episcoporum*. MGH Capitula Episcoporum, Vol. 1. Hannover: Hahn, 1984.
- Brooks, Nicholas. *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*. Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1984.
- Brotanek, Rudolf, ed. *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altenglischen Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1913.
- Conner, Patrick W. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 4. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- de Bruyne, Donatien. "Le plus ancien catalogue des manuscrits de Notre-Dame de Paris." *Revue Bénédictine* 29 (1912): 481–85.
- de Gray Birch, W., ed. 'Liber Vitae': *Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*. Publications of the Hampshire Record Society 5. London: Simpkin, 1892.
- Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale; étude sur la formation de ce dépôt comprenant les éléments d'une histoire de la calligraphie de la miniature, de la reliure, et du commerce des livres à Paris avant l'invention de l'imprimerie*. 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868–1881.
- Deshusses, Jean, ed. *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: Ses Principales Formes d'Après les Plus Anciens Manuscrits*. Spicilegium Friburgense: Textes pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Vie Chrétienne 16. 3d ed. 3 vols. Fribourg: Éditiones Universitaires, 1992.
- Doble, G. H., ed. *Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A.27.Cat.368)*. Henry Bradshaw Society 74. London: Harrison and Sons for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1937.
- Dreves, Guido Maria, ed. *Hymnographi Latini: Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters*. Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 48 and 50. Leipzig: Reisland, 1905–07.
- Dumville, David N. "John Bale, Owner of St Dunstan's Benedictional." *Notes and Queries* 41 (1994): 291–95.
- . *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1992.

- Ebersperger, Birgit. *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken, mit einer Edition von Ælfrics Kirchweihhomilie aus der Handschrift Paris, BN, lat. 943*. Anglistische Forschungen 261. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag, 1999.
- Elliott, Michael. "Ghaerbald's First Capitulary, the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberhti*, and the Sources of Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar." *Notes and Queries* 57 (2010): 161–65.
- Evans, Ernest, ed. "Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate." In *Augustinus, De fide rerum invisibilium; Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate; De catechizandis rudibus; Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo; Sermo de disciplina christiana; De utilitate ieiunii; Sermo de excidio urbis Romae; De haeresibus*, ed. M.P.J. van den Hout, M. Evans, J. Bauer, R. Vander Plaetse, S.D. Ruegg, M.V. O'Reilly, R. Vander Plaetse, C. Beukers, 21–114. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 46. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- Frantzen, Allen J. *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1981.
- Gameson, Richard. "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry." *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135–85.
- Gneuss, Helmut. "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology." In *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 91–141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hamilton, Sarah. "Remedies for 'great transgressions': Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England." In *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti, 83–105. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005.
- Harmer, Florence E., ed. *Anglo-Saxon Writs*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952.
- Hartzell, K. D. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press in Association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Soc., 2006. [no. 310]
- Henderson, William George, ed. *Missale ad Usus Percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis*. Leeds: McCorquodale, 1874.
- Holcomb, Melanie et al. *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

- Karkov, Cartherine. "The Frontispiece to the New Minster Charter and the King's Two Bodies." In *Edgar, King of the English, 959–75: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald G. Scragg, 224–41. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008.
- Keefer, Sarah Larratt. "Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus: The *corsnæd* Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England." In *The Community, The Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan, 237–64. International Medieval Research 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- Keynes, Simon. "Wulfsgie, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (c990–3), and Bishop of Sherborne (c993–1002)." In *St. Wulfsgie and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey 998–1998*, ed. Katherine Barker, David A. Hinton, and Alan Hunt, 53–94. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005.
- Lapidge, Michael, ed. *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*. Henry Bradshaw Society 106. London: Boydell Press for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991.
- Legg, J. W., ed. *Three Anglo-Saxon Coronation Orders*. Henry Bradshaw Society 19. London: Harrison and Sons for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1900.
- Leroquais, V. *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliotheques publiques de France*. 4 vols. Macon: Protat, 1937.
- Liebermann, Felix, ed. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. 3 vols. Halle: Niemeyer, 1903.
- Martène, Edmond, ed. *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*. 3 vols. 2nd ed. Antwerp: Joannis Baptistæ de la Bry, 1736.
- Moeller, Eugène, ed. *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 162, 162A–C. 4 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971–79.
- Morin, Germain, ed. *Caesarii Arelatensis Opera. Sermones*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 103. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953.
- O'Donovan, M. A., ed. *Charters of Sherborne*. Anglo-Saxon Charters 3. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1988.
- Pithou, François. *Glossarium ad libros capitularium*. Paris, 1788.
- Prescott, Andrew. "The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals." *British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 118–58.

- Pulsiano, Phillip. "Jaunts, Jottings, and Jetsam in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts." *Florilegium* 19 (2002): 189–97.
- Rasmussen, Niels Krogh. *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: gènes du livre de l'évêque*. Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents 9. Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998.
- Rosenthal, Jane. "The Pontifical of St Dunstan." In *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks, 143–64. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.
- . "Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical: Anthropomorphic Trinity or Threefold Christ?" *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 547–62.
- Rouse, Richard H. "The A-Text of Seneca's Tragedies." *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 1 (1971): 93–121.
- . "Laus Pisonis." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 204–5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Stubbs, William, ed. *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: Longman, 1874.
- Temple, Elżbieta. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*. Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 2. London: Harvey Miller, 1976.
- Turner, D. H., ed. *The Claudius Pontificals (from Cotton MS. Claudius A.iii in the British Museum)*. Henry Bradshaw Society 97. Chichester: Moore and Tillyer for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1971.
- Vogel, Cyrille and Reihard Elze, eds. *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*. 2 vols. Studi e Testi 226–227. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963.
- Walther, Ferdinand, ed. *Corpus Iuris Germanici Antiqui*. Tomus III. Berlin: Reimer, 1824.
- Whitelock, Dorothy, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, eds. *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church I: AD 871–1204, Part I: 871–1066*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Wilson, H. A., ed. *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*. Henry Bradshaw Society 24. London: Harrison and Sons for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903.
- Zeumer, Karl, ed. *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi: Accedunt Ordines Iudiciorum Dei*. MGH. Hannover: Hahn, 1886. [Appendix I, 710–14]

# ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS IN MICROFICHE FACSIMILE

A. N. Doane and M. T. Hussey, *Editors*

1. Books of Prayers and Healing, A. N. Doane. (1994) 944 folios
2. Psalters I, Phillip Pulsiano. (1994) 1,294 folios
3. Anglo-Saxon Gospels, R. M. Liuzza & A. N. Doane. (1995) 1,100 folios
4. Glossed Texts, Aldhelmiana, Psalms, Phillip Pulsiano. (1996) 862 folios
5. Latin Manuscripts with Anglo-Saxon Glosses, P. J. Lucas, A. N. Doane, & I. Cunningham. (1997) 804 folios
6. Worcester MSS, Christine Franzen. (1998) 1,405 folios
7. Anglo-Saxon Bibles and "The Book of Cerne," A. N. Doane. (1998) 1,112 folios
8. Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials, Jonathan Wilcox. (2000) 1,542 folios
9. Deluxe and Illustrated Manuscripts Containing Technical and Literary Texts, A. N. Doane & Tiffany J. Grade. (2001) 1,226 folios
10. Manuscripts Containing Works by Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Other Texts, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe. (2002) 1,046 folios
  - Interim Index (Volumes 1–10), A. N. Doane, Matthew T. Hussey. (2006)
11. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge I, MSS 41, 57, 191, 302, 303, 367, 383, 422, T. Graham, R. J. S. Grant, P. J. Lucas, E. M. Treharne. (2002) 1,253 folios
12. Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge, Michael Wright & Stephanie Hollis. (2004) 1,622 folios
13. Manuscripts in the Low Countries, Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker. (2006) 1,301 folios
14. Manuscripts of Durham, Ripon, and York, Sarah Larratt Keefer, David Rollason, & A. N. Doane. (2007) 1,388 folios
15. Grammars / Handlist of Manuscripts, A. N. Doane. (2007) 1,543 folios
16. Manuscripts Relating to Dunstan, Ælfric, and Wulfstan: the "Eadwine Psalter" Group, Peter J. Lucas & Jonathan Wilcox. (2008) 1,388 folios
17. Homilies by Ælfric and other Homilies, Jonathan Wilcox. (2008) 1,810 folios
18. Manuscripts in France, Peter J. Lucas & Angela M. Lucas. (2012) 1,926 folios
19. Saint's Lives, Martyrologies, and Bilingual "Rule of St. Benedict" in the British Library, A. N. Doane. (2010) 1,367 folios
20. Manuscripts in Switzerland. Joseph P. McGowan. (2012) 1,672 folios
21. Saints' Lives and Homilies. Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. and Kees Dekker (2013) 2,064 folios
22. Exeter Manuscripts. Matthew T. Hussey (2014) 1,999 folios

ARIZONA CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL

**A** ACMRS

AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE TEXTS AND STUDIES  
VOLUME 441

ISBN 978-0-86698-489-8

