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farne. Consequently, the inconsistency in VCM and HE may explain the omission of certain local details in HÆ.<sup>52</sup>

A NORTHUMBRIAN VERSION OF 'CÆDMON'S  
HYMN' (EORÐU-RECENSION) IN BRUSSELS,  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE MS 8245-57 ff. 62<sup>r</sup>-v<sup>1</sup>:  
IDENTIFICATION, EDITION AND FILIATION

Dan O'Donnell

**B**russels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8245-57 (Br)<sup>1</sup> is one of four manuscripts in which copies of 'Cædmon's Hymn' have been found since the publication in 1937 of Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie's study of the poem's transmission, *The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song*. As with the other 'new' copies of the poem, the text of the Hymn in Br has been transcribed by K.W. Humphreys and Alan S.C. Ross<sup>2</sup> and reproduced in facsimile by Fred C. Robinson and E.G. Stanley.<sup>3</sup> Apart from this basic work, however, the manuscript has been ignored by Anglo-Saxonists. While this is to some extent understandable – the Br version of the Hymn is late, continental and clearly corrupt – it is also unfortunate; for despite its late date, continental origins and the difficulties of transcription, Br transmits a previously unrecognised copy of the Northumbrian *eorðu*-recension of Cædmon's

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the four 'new' manuscripts of the Hymn (Br, To, Carms, and SanM), sigla used in referring to the manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn are taken from Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song. With a Critical Text of the Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedæ*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature 128 (New York, 1937), pp. 8-9. A complete list of the manuscripts of the poem, divided by recension, is given in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> K.W. Humphreys and A.S.C. Ross, 'Further Manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, of the "Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedæ", and Further Anglo-Saxon Texts of "Cædmon's Hymn", and "Bede's Death Song"', *NeQ* 220 (1975), 50-55 (p. 53).

<sup>3</sup> F.C. Robinson and E.G. Stanley, *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources: A Comprehensive Collection*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 23 (Copenhagen, 1991), p. 18 and plates 2.10.1-2.

<sup>52</sup> In short: HÆ: (Ø), Lindisfarne, Farne; VCM: Ripon, Lindisfarne, Lindisfarne, Farne; HE: Melrose, Lindisfarne, Farne; (VCA: Ripon, Melrose, Lindisfarne, Farne); (VCB: Melrose, Ripon, Melrose, Lindisfarne, Farne).

Hymn<sup>4</sup> – a version which is believed to be among the poem's earliest recensions, but one which is known only from two other late and continental manuscripts, the twelfth-century Dijon Bibliothèque Municipale MS 574, f. 59 (Di) and the late fifteenth-century Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 5237 (P<sub>1</sub>).<sup>5</sup> In the pages that follow, Br will be described and its relationship to P<sub>1</sub>, Di and other manuscripts of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* examined. I also present new diplomatic transcriptions of these three copies of the Hymn and a critical reconstruction of the Northumbrian *cordu*-recension as it may be supposed to have existed in the insular exemplar common to the three manuscripts.

#### MANUSCRIPT, ORTHOGRAPHY AND DIALECT

Br is a late fifteenth-century collection of histories, *vizae* and material relating to the history and practices of the Carthusians from Korssendonk, a house of Regular Canons in what is now the modern Belgian province of Brabant.<sup>6</sup> It is written on 321 folia of good quality paper and parchment<sup>7</sup> in a single hand, two columns to the page throughout. The

<sup>4</sup> The standard discussion of the recensions of Cædmon's Hymn is in Dobbie, pp. 10-48. For a discussion of the *cordu*-group in particular, see pp. 17-22 and 43-48. A more limited but still useful account is to be found in Paul Wuest 'Zwei Neue Handschriften von Cædmons Hymnus,' *ZfdA* 48 (1906), 205-26.

<sup>5</sup> Descriptions of these manuscripts can be found in Wuest, pp. 205-26, and Dobbie, pp. 17-22.

<sup>6</sup> A description of Br can be found in Jozef Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 5: *Histoire – Hagiographie* (Bruxelles, 1905), item 3116, pp. 40-42. Brief discussions of the MS are found in M.L.W. Laistner, *A Hand-list of Bede Manuscripts* with the collaboration of H.H. King (Ithaca, NY, 1943), p. 95; Hubert Silvestre, *Les Manuscrits de Bede à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles*, Studia Universitatis 'Lovanium' Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres 6 (Leopoldville, 1959), p. 8; R.A.B. Mynors, 'Textual Introduction,' *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. lxx-lxxvi; Humphreys and Ross, 'Further Manuscripts,' p. 53; and Robinson and Stanley, p. 18. Laistner, incorrectly gives Van den Gheyn's catalogue number as the shelf-mark for Br; he also cites the wrong volume of the catalogue: for 'Van den Gheyn II, 40' read 'Van den Gheyn V, 40.'

<sup>7</sup> Van den Gheyn gives the number of folia as 320 (p. 41). A last unnumbered folium in the MS is clearly original, however. It has been ruled and divided into columns on the same pattern as the folia of the second to last section of the manuscript, the *Repertorium*

pages now measure approximately 276 mm x 202 mm but have been rimmed in binding.<sup>8</sup> The columns measure roughly 210 x 65 mm and vary in length from 38 to 44 lines. The first section of the manuscript, that in which Cædmon's Hymn is copied, is written 42 lines to the page. There is rubrication throughout and there are occasional large capitals in red or blue at the beginning of major textual divisions. The contents of the manuscript are divided into six sections by dividers of one or more contemporary blank leaves.<sup>9</sup> Colophons on ff. 1v and 87r identify the scribe of the manuscript as a whole as 'fratrem anthonium de bergis supra zomam' (brother Anthony of Bergen-op-Zoom) and date his work on the first section to December 15, 1489.<sup>10</sup>

The Old English text of Cædmon's Hymn is found on ff. 62r<sup>2</sup>-62v<sup>1</sup> in the first section of the manuscript. It has been copied into the main Latin text of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* Book IV, Chapter 23, where it separates the account of the miracle of Cædmon's inspiration from Bede's Latin paraphrase of the Hymn itself.<sup>11</sup> Old English versions of the Hymn are found in the same place in Di, P<sub>1</sub> and a fourth, unrelated manuscript, Cambridge Trinity College R.5.22, f. 32v<sup>1-2</sup> (Tr<sub>1</sub>).<sup>12</sup> As in

<sup>8</sup> *singularem materiarum sexte actatis secundam ordinem alphabeti ordinatum*, f. 320 (the last numbered folium of the MS) is an insert, glued to f. 321.

<sup>9</sup> The later rimming has affected the titles of some columns in the later tabular sections of the manuscript: the *Repertorium singularem materiarum quinque etiam secundum ordinem alphabeti ordinatum* (ff. 300-08v), and *Repertorium singularem materiarum sexte actatis secundum ordinem alphabeti ordinatum* (ff. 310-19v and 321).

<sup>10</sup> For a complete list of texts and section division in the manuscript, see Van den Gheyn, pp. 40-41.

<sup>11</sup> The text of these colophons are reproduced in Van den Gheyn, pp. 41-42.  
<sup>12</sup> I.e. the Hymn is found between *tire est sensus* and *Nunc laudare debemus* in the HE, p. 416, [l. 14].

The Latin text of Tr<sub>1</sub> belongs to the 'English' c-text recension of the HE (Colgrave and Mynors, p. lvi), the Hymn to the West-Saxon *ylde*-group (Dobbie, pp. 38-39). Descriptions of Tr<sub>1</sub> can be found in M.R. James *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1901): item 717, pp. 189-90; Dobbie, pp. 38-39; and Robinson and Stanley, p. 18. A facsimile is in Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.12. Although the Hymn is described in Robinson and Stanley as being 'in place of the Latin paraphrase, the Latin text can be seen beginning

these other manuscripts, no change in the script or in the Latin text of the *Historia* has been made to reflect the intrusion of the Old English poem in **Br**,<sup>13</sup> although some unusual letter-forms and a slightly wider spacing between the characters suggest that Anthonius may have had some difficulty with the passage.<sup>14</sup>

The **Br** copy of the Hymn contains numerous graphic errors, although not all are to be assigned to Anthonius himself. As in **Di** and **P**, *p* is written consistently for expected *p*; there is also a frequent confusion of *e* and *c* (**Br puc** for *pue*, l. 1a;<sup>15</sup> **Br puere** for *puere*, l. 3a; **Br monneines** for *monneines*, l. 7b; and **Br eei** for *eci*, l. 8a); incidental confusions of *s* and *f* (**Br heism** | *ruica es* for *hefunricas*, l. 1b); *p* and *b*, *n* and *r* (**Br pennum** for *bearnum*, l. 5b); *c* and *t* (**Br cia de** for *tiade*, l. 7b); *n* and *l* (**Br ol** for *on*, l. 9a); *n* and *a* (**Br astnl** | *de* for *astalde*, l. 4b); and numerous minor errors (**Br scinlun** for *scinlun*, l. 1a; **Br modged auc** for *modgedanc*, l. 2b; **Br gi bnaes** for *gibnaes*, l. 3b; **Br heism** | *ruica es* for *hefunricas*, l. 1b; **Br metindaes** for *metindas*, l. 2a; **Br middum** | *gæard* for *midlungæard*, l. 7a). Some of these mistakes may be the result of an attempt to make the Old English of the passage fit the norms of Latin

with *Nunc laudare* immediately after the Hymn on f. 32v<sup>2</sup>. MS line 3 (plate 2.12, l. 3). In a fifth MS, the twelfth century London, College of Arms, M.6, f. 84v (CArms), a corrupt version of the West-Saxon *eorðan-recension* of the Hymn is written in alternating lines with the Paraphrase (see Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.13).

<sup>13</sup> In contrast to the other three MSS discussed here, the Old English poem of **Di** begins and ends with a small dotted cross. The Hymn is further distinguished from the main text by a marginal line and a faint *s* ('perhaps for *saxonicæ*') between the first *e* and *d* of *modgedanc* (reported by Robinson and Stanley, p. 18 and plate 2.2). As West notes of the dotted crosses, however, all the signs used to set off the Hymn in this MS may have been added later (p.212).

<sup>14</sup> For example, see **Br borga** (for *berga*) in l. 1a (Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.10.1). The *o* is much wider and more square than the scribe's normal letter.

<sup>15</sup> In quoting Old English, the following conventions are used: all forms preceded by a MS siglum reproduce the spelling, word- and line-division of that manuscript (the sign | is used in words divided by a MS line-division to indicate the location of the break); in contrast to the diplomatic transcriptions at the end of the article, *i* and *t* are not distinguished in the body of the essay. All line numbers refer to poetical rather than manuscript lines unless explicitly noted otherwise.

word-division and orthography. In l. 1b, the Northumbrian masculine genitive singular ending *-as* of **Br heism** | *ruica es* (for *hefunricas*) is split in the middle of the morpheme, producing 'words' that resemble Latin first or second declension nouns in *-a* and the second person singular present indicative of *sum*.<sup>16</sup> In l. 8b-9a, the Old English phrase **Br acf tercia defrum** (for *after tiade frum*) is similarly divided along vaguely Latinate lines – a fact which may explain the substitution of Latin homophones *ci* for *ti* in *tiade*.

Despite these corruptions, there can be little doubt that the text of the Hymn in **Br** is early, Northumbrian, and belongs to the same recension as **Di** and **P**.<sup>17</sup> Characteristic readings of the *eorða*-recension in **Br** include **Br puc** (read *pue*, **P**, *puc*; **Di pue**), l. 1a; **Br eor ðu** (**P**, **Di eor ðu**), l. 5b; and **Br offoldu** (read *on foldu*; **P**, *offoldu*; **Di onfoldu**), l. 9a.<sup>18</sup> To these may be added the following early, Northumbrian or more generally Anglian dialectal features:<sup>19</sup>

#### A. Northumbrian

1. Contraction of *ē+ a* to *iā* (Smith § 4.15; Campbell § 238.1):  
**Br cia de** (read: *tiade*) l. 8b. **P**, **Di tiade**; **L M tiade**. All witnesses to the West-Saxon *eorðan*-group (except CArms and **N**) read *roede*; CArms omitted; **N eode**. All witnesses to the West-Saxon *ylda*-recension read *tiada*.
2. Loss of final *n* (Smith § 4.14; Campbell § 472):

<sup>16</sup> This word division is found in all three manuscripts. **Di** also divides *metindas* l. 2a in a similar fashion: **Di metinda es** (**P**, *metindas*; **Br metindas**).

<sup>17</sup> In Robinson and Stanley (p. 18) the dialect of the version of the Hymn is given incorrectly as 'West-Saxon'.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of these recensional readings, see Dobbie, pp. 21-22 and 43-48.

<sup>19</sup> The material of the following section is drawn from: *Three Northumbrian Poems: Caedmon's Hymn, Bede's Death Song and the Leiden Riddle*, ed. A.H. Smith, with a Bibliography compiled by M.J. Swanton, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (Exeter, 1978); Alastair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1977); Karl Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers* (Tübingen, 1965<sup>3</sup>).

**Br borga** (read: *berga*), l. 1a. P<sub>1</sub> Di L *berga*; **M bergēn**; All West-Saxon witnesses end in *-n*.

**Br eor du** l. 5b. P<sub>1</sub> Di *eor du*; T<sub>1</sub> O Ca B1 To *eorđan*; **N eorþu**; **Ld Hr CArms eorðe**. Witnesses to the Northumbrian *aeldu-* and West-Saxon *ylda-*recensions substitute *aeldu* and *ylda* respectively for this word.

**Br foldu** l. 9a. P<sub>1</sub> Di L *foldu*; **M folda**. All witnesses to the West-Saxon *eorđan*-group end in *-n* (O *-n* after correction); the West-Saxon *ylda*-group has *foldum* (d.pl.) in all witnesses.

3. Preservation of final *u* in case-endings (Smith § 4.18a; Campbell § 373):

**Br eor du** l. 5b. For variant readings see § A. 2 above.

**Br foldu** l. 9a. For variant readings see § A. 2 above.

### B. Anglian

1. Retraction of *a* to *a* before *l* + consonant (Smith § 4.8a. Campbell § 143):

**Br astul** l. *de* (read: *astalde*), l. 4b. Di P<sub>1</sub> *astalde*. All West-Saxon recensions of the Hymn except **Mg**; **SanM** have *ea* by breaking; T<sub>1</sub> O Ca N *onstalde*; B<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub> O H W Ln Tr<sub>1</sub> *astalde*; **Mg astalde**; **SanM astald**. The witnesses to the Northumbrian *aeldu*-recension have a form with the umlaut of *a* to *e* caused by an *i* in the middle syllable (L M *astelidæ*; See Smith §§ 4.3 and 4.9a; Campbell § 752, p.325).

2. Failure of back-umlaut (Smith § 4.10; Campbell § 210.2):

**Br he** l. *fen*, l. 6a. P<sub>1</sub> Di *efen*; L *hefen*; **M heben**; all West-Saxon witnesses have forms with back-umlaut *eo*.

3. Smoothing of *eo* to *e* (Smith § 4.11b; Campbell § 227):

**Br puere** (read: *puerc*), l. 3a. P<sub>1</sub> *puere*, **Di puerc**, **L M uerc**. Most West-Saxon witnesses have the non-smoothed form: T<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1</sub> To **Ld Hr W Ln Tr<sub>1</sub> peorc**; **CArms seorc**. Three West-Saxon MSS show the late West-Saxon falling together of short vowels between *w*

and *r* in *u* (Campbell §§ 320-321): **H Mg purc SanM pure**; Three manuscripts substituted different words for *peorc*: O Ca read *pera*; N reads *peoroda*.

### C. Early Features

1. Use of *c(h)* for */x/* and *d* for */ð/* (Smith § 4.1; Campbell §§ 57-8):<sup>20</sup>

**Br mehti**, l. 2a. P<sub>1</sub> Di *mehti*; **L mehtu**; **M muccri**. All members of the West-Saxon *eorđan*-group and all members of the West-Saxon *ylda*-group except **Ln** have *-h*; **Ln -ch-**.

**Br drih** tin, l. 4a, *drihtin*, l. 8a. P<sub>1</sub> *dryh* tin, l. 4a; *drihtim*, l. 8a; **Di drihtin**, l. 4a; *drintinc*, l. 8a; **L dryccin** ll. 4a, 8a; **M drycin**, l. 4a;<sup>21</sup> *dryccin* l. 8a; All West-Saxon witnesses have *-h-* except **SanM drihhten**, l. 4a.

**Br (a)ll mehtig**, l. 9b. P<sub>1</sub> *all mehtig*; **Di allmehtig**; **L all mehtig**; **M allmehtig**; All West-Saxon witnesses have *-h-*.

2. Short diphthong *iu*, later *ea* (Smith § 4.13b; Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, p. 20; Campbell § 176; Brunner § 92.2.a)

**Br scinlun** (read: *scilun*), l. 1a. P<sub>1</sub> *sciiin*; **Di sculun**; **L scilun**; **M scylun**. West-Saxon witnesses have *eo* or *u*: **Ca Hr Ld sceolan**; **To CArms Tr<sub>1</sub> sceolon**; T<sub>1</sub> N B<sub>1</sub> H W **Mg SanM sculan**; **O sculan**; **Ln sculan**.

3. Preservation of *æ* and *i* in unaccented syllables (Smith §§ 4.16, 4.17; Campbell § 369):

**Br hesim** l. *ruica es* (read: *hefunricas*) l. 1b. P<sub>1</sub> *hesiij riiica es*; **Di he fu<sup>u</sup>rica es**; **L hefenricas**; **M hefaenricas**. All West-Saxon witnesses end in *-es*.

<sup>20</sup> M also shows the early form *b* for */v/* once (**M heben**, l. 6a). **Br**, like P<sub>1</sub> Di and L, uses *f* only. See Smith § 4.1.

<sup>21</sup> **M dryccin**] with *y* corrected from *i*, *c* corrected from *n*.

**Br metundas**, l. 2a. **P<sub>1</sub> metiitidates**; **Di metuda es**; **L metudas**; **M metudas**. All West-Saxon witnesses end in *-es*.

**Br mecht**, l. 2a. **P<sub>1</sub> Di mechti**; **L mehti**; **M maecti**. All West-Saxon witnesses end in *-e*.

**Br eci**, l. 4a, *eci* (read: *eci*), l. 8a. **P<sub>1</sub> eci**, l. 4a, *eci*, l. 8a; **Di eci**, l. 4a, *eci*, l. 8a; **L M eci**, ll. 4a, 8a; All West-Saxon witnesses except **SanM** read *eci*; **SanM ecce**.

**Br gi huas** (read: *gihuas*), l. 3b. **P<sub>1</sub> Di gi huas**; **L M gi huas**; All West-Saxon witnesses have *ge-* except **B<sub>1</sub> Hr**, where it is omitted.

4. Use of doubled vowels to indicate length (Campbell § 26; Brunner § 8):

**Br sco op**, l. 5a. **P<sub>1</sub> Di scoo p**; **M L scop**; **N Carms scop**; **Ca W Ln Mg Tr, SanM gescop**; **T<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1</sub> To Ld Hr scop**; **OH gescop**.

#### RELATIONSHIP TO P<sub>1</sub> AND Di

Despite the similarity of its dialect, recension and location within the main Latin text of the *Historia* to the copies of the Hymn in **Di** and **P<sub>1</sub>**, **Br** is a direct copy of neither manuscript. The earliest of the three manuscripts, **Di**, has several readings which are inferior to those found in the later (and more corrupt) **P<sub>1</sub>** and **Br**: **Di modgedanc** (**P<sub>1</sub> modged | anc**, **Br modged anc**), l. 2b; **Di puldur fadur** (**P<sub>1</sub> Br fadur**), l. 3a; **Di drininc** (**P<sub>1</sub> drichim**; **Br drichim**), l. 8a; **Di ef | ter** (**P<sub>1</sub> Br aef ter**), l. 8b. Similarly, **Br** – although the latest and the most corrupt of the three surviving manuscripts – has several forms which are more accurate than those of either **Di** or **P<sub>1</sub>**: **Br aeris** (**P<sub>1</sub> aeris**; **Di ierst**), l. 5a; **Br he | fen** (**P<sub>1</sub> Di efen**), l. 6a; **Br drichim** (**P<sub>1</sub> drichim**; **Di drininc**), l. 8a.

But while it is not a direct copy of either manuscript, the **Br** version of the Hymn is far closer to that of **P<sub>1</sub>** than **Di**. **Br** and **P<sub>1</sub>** agree against **Di** seven times and share another five forms in which they are more like each other than **Di**. In the majority of these cases, the **Br/P<sub>1</sub>** form is incorrect. In contrast, **Di** agrees with **P<sub>1</sub>** against **Br** on seven occasions, and with **Br** against **P<sub>1</sub>** once. In all but one of these readings (**Di P<sub>1</sub> efen** for **Br he | fen**, l. 6a), **Di** has the correct form. In two words, **Br aeris**, **P<sub>1</sub>**

*aeris Di ierst*, l. 5a, and **Br drichim**, **P<sub>1</sub> drichim Di drininc**, l. 8a, **P<sub>1</sub>** and **Di** have unrelated mistakes.

#### A. Agreement of P<sub>1</sub> and Br against Di

1. **Br P<sub>1</sub> puc**: **Di pue** (expected form: *pue* as in **Di**), l. 1a
2. **Br P<sub>1</sub> puere**: **Di puere** (expected form: *puere* as in **Di**), l. 3a
3. **Br P<sub>1</sub> monnines**: **Di monnines** (expected form: *monnines* as in **Di**), l. 7b
4. **Br P<sub>1</sub> eci**: **Di eci** (expected form: *eci* as in **Di**), l. 8a
5. **Br P<sub>1</sub> fadur**: **Di puldur fadur** (expected form: *puldurfadur*), l. 3a
6. **Br P<sub>1</sub> aef ter**: **Di ef | ter** (expected form: *aefter*<sup>22</sup> as in **Br P<sub>1</sub>**), l. 8b
7. **Br P<sub>1</sub> ol**: **Di on** (expected form: *on* as in **Di**), l. 9a
8. **Br modged anc**: **P<sub>1</sub> modged | anc**: **Di modgedanc** (expected form: *modgedanc* as in **P<sub>1</sub>**), l. 2b
9. **Br hesim | ruica es**: **P<sub>1</sub> hestii ruica es**: **Di he fu, ruica es** (expected form: *hefunruicas* as in **Di**), l. 1b
10. **Br metundas**: **P<sub>1</sub> metiitidates**: **Di metuda es** (expected form: *metudas* as in **Di**), l. 2a
11. **Br peannum**: **P<sub>1</sub> pearnum**: **Di bearnum** (expected form: *bearnum* as in **Di**), l. 5b
12. **Br da**: **P<sub>1</sub> da**: **Di da** (expected form: *da* as in **Di** or **da**), l. 7a

#### B. Agreement of P<sub>1</sub> and Di against Br

1. **Br borga**: **P<sub>1</sub> Di herga** (expected form: *herga* as in **Di P<sub>1</sub>**), l. 1a

<sup>22</sup> The **Di** form *efter* is also found in the Vespasian Psalter. That the **Di** reading does not reflect a genuine dialectal variant, however, is demonstrated by the addition of a final *e* to the preceding word **Di drininc** (for expected *drichim*). This is apparently a misinterpretation of the first letter in *aeris* (see below).

2. **Br gi huas**: P<sub>1</sub> Di gi huas (expected form: *gihuas* as in Di P<sub>1</sub>), l. 3b
  3. **Br asnl | de**: P<sub>1</sub> Di astalde (expected form: *astalde* as in Di P<sub>1</sub>), l. 4b
  4. **Br peannum**: P<sub>1</sub> peannum : Di beannum (expected form: *beannum* as in Di), l. 5b
  5. **Br he | fen**: P<sub>1</sub> Di efen (expected form: *hefen* as in Br), l. 6a
  6. **Br middum gaerd**: P<sub>1</sub> middum gaerd; Di mid | dumgeard (expected form: *middungeard*), l. 7a
  7. **Br cia de**: P<sub>1</sub> Di tiade (expected form: *tiade* as in Di P<sub>1</sub>), l. 8b
- C. Agreement of **Br** and **Di** against P<sub>1</sub>
1. **Br Di he**: P<sub>1</sub> her (expected form: *he* as in Di Br), l. 5a
- D. Unrelated Forms (All three manuscripts)
1. **Br aarist**: P<sub>1</sub> aarist: Di ierst, l. 5a
  2. **Br drichin**: P<sub>1</sub> drichim: Di drintinc, l. 8a

More importantly, while most of the readings in which P<sub>1</sub> and Br disagree involve the types of errors one might expect to find in any late or continental copy of a text in an unfamiliar language, those in which they agree involve often far more idiosyncratic mistakes. The loss of the metrically necessary *puldur* from the expected *puldufadar* (Br P<sub>1</sub> *fadar*; Di *puldufadar*) in line l. 3a, for example, is explained by Wuest as an 'optische contraction' caused by the similarity of the second syllables in both parts of the compound: *pulduf-fadar*.<sup>23</sup> The confusion of *p* and *b* in Br *peannum* P<sub>1</sub> *peannum* (for Di *beannum*), l. 5b, similarly, is probably best explained as a result of the influence of the preceding cluster *peor* in each manuscript: P<sub>1</sub> *scopeor duppeannum* Br *seo opeor duppeannum* (for *scoop cordu beannum*<sup>24</sup>). The confusion of *l* and *n* in Br P<sub>1</sub> *ol* (Di *on*),

<sup>23</sup> Wuest, pp. 216-17.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

l. 8a, may be in anticipation of the first syllable of the following word *foldu*<sup>25</sup> or perhaps the result of a running together of *ol* and *foldu* in an uneven and cramped marginal exemplar. The mark over *a* in Br *da* P<sub>1</sub> *dā* (for expected *da* or *dā*), l. 7a, has been explained for P<sub>1</sub> by Wuest as a result of the misinterpretation of the cross-stroke in an insular exemplar in *dā*.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast, the only variant in which Di and P<sub>1</sub> agree against Br which is not the result of an obvious scribal error or graphic confusion is the loss of initial *h* in *hefen* (Di P<sub>1</sub> *efen*; Br *he | fen*), l. 6a.<sup>27</sup> Of the other variants in which Di and P<sub>1</sub> agree against Br (all errors in Br), one involves a reversal of letters (Br *middum | gaerd*; P<sub>1</sub> *middum geard* Di *mid | dumgeard*, l. 7a), another a minor mistake (Br *gi huas*: P<sub>1</sub> Di *gi huas*, l. 3b), and four the confusion of graphically similar characters or homophones (Br *horyga*: P<sub>1</sub> Di *herga*, l. 1a; Br *asnl | de*: P<sub>1</sub> Di *astalde*, l. 4b; Br *peannum*: P<sub>1</sub> *peannum*: Di *beannum*, l. 5b; Br *cia de*: P<sub>1</sub> Di *tiade*, 8b). While P<sub>1</sub> and Di agree in having difficulty with a further two words for which Br has the correct form, the problems they experience are unrelated and arise from errors which can be paralleled elsewhere.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18.

<sup>27</sup> This form was taken by both Wuest (pp. 219 and 220) and Dobbie, p. 20, as a probable reading of the common exemplar of P<sub>1</sub> and Di. Y. Given the otherwise strong agreement of Br and P<sub>1</sub>, however, it is fairly certain that the *h* must have been dropped in both P<sub>1</sub> and Di independently. See the 'Texts'-section below.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, the 'Leiden Riddle,' an early ninth- or tenth-century continental copy of a Northumbrian translation of Althelm's *De lorica* riddle in Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit MS Vossianus lat. Q 106 f. 25v (N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford, 1957], Appendix, item 19; Robinson and Stanley, plate 4). Obvious mistakes in this copy of the riddle include: confusion of *c* and *e*: *huethrae* for expected *huethrae* (cf. Exeter Riddle 35: *hgeþre*), l. 11; reversal of letters *hcth*: *biuorthæ* for expected *biuorthæ* (Exeter Riddle 35: *beþorhne*, l. 3a); *or*: *eo goelo* for *geolo*, l. 10; confusion of *a* and *ū* (written: *un*): *þre | un* for expected *þreata*, l. 6a, and *anoegun* for expected *anoega*, l. 13a (see Smith, p. 36 and cf. Exeter Riddle 35 *þreata*); and the omission of words required by metre and/or sense (*ni*): 'uaet ic mec biuorthæ uullan flusum' (for expected: 'ni uaet ic mec biuorthæ uullan flusum'; cf. Exeter Riddle 35: 'ne pat ic mec beþorhne pulle flusum').

In **P**<sub>1</sub> *aerist* **Di** *uerst* (**Br** *aerist*), l. 5a, the **P**<sub>1</sub> form is the result of a scribal reversal of letters, while the **Di** reading involves the confusion of *u* and *a* (later corrected) with the subsequent omission of *i*, as the result of either a misunderstood *r+i* ligature<sup>29</sup> or a lapse of attention brought on by the scribe's having stopped to make his correction to the first letter. Errors similar to the reversal of letters in **P**<sub>1</sub> are found in **Br** (*middum* | *gaerd*, l. 7a) and the Leiden riddle (*binortha*, for expected *binortha*, l. 3a; *goelo*, for expected *goelo*, l. 10a); a confusion of *u* and *a* similar to that in **Di** may also lie behind two forms in the Leiden Riddle, *ðreatun* for expected *ðreata*, l. 6a, and *anoegun* for expected *anoega*, l. 13a (see above, footnote 28). In **P**<sub>1</sub> *drithim* **Di** *drininc* (**Br** *drichin*), l. 8a, the **P**<sub>1</sub> reading is an example of a difficulty with the interpretation of minims found throughout **Br** and **P**<sub>1</sub>, while the reading **Di** *drininc* is a result of an initial misinterpretation of *ch* as *n* followed by the addition of final *c* through an incorrect interpretation of the word-division of *drinin* and *afger*<sup>30</sup> and confusion of *c* and *a*. A similar confusion is found in l. 4a of the **M** version of the Northumbrian *aldra*-text of Cadmon's Hymn (**M** *drycin* corrected from **M** *drinin*, l. 4a), while the reading *c* for *a* in **Di** *drininc* may reflect a difficulty with insular round *a* similar to that responsible for the mistake in **Di** *uerst*, l. 5a. The only variant in which **Br** and **Di** agree against **P**<sub>1</sub> is **Br** **Di** *he* **P**<sub>1</sub> *her*, l. 5a; this can be explained either as a mistreading of *e* as *r*,<sup>31</sup> or perhaps more likely, as an anticipation of the first syllable of the following word, itself subsequently confused by a reversal of *r* and *i*: **P**<sub>1</sub> *heraerist*.

#### BEDÉ'S *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA* AND THE TRANSMISSION OF **Di** **P**<sub>1</sub> AND **Br**

The *Historia ecclesiastica* is extant in two main recensions which can be distinguished both on geographic and textual grounds.<sup>32</sup> English manu-

<sup>29</sup> Wuest, p. 212.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>32</sup> The material of this paragraph is taken from Colgrave and Mynors 'Textual Introduction,' *HE*, pp. xxxix-xlvi.

scripts of the *Historia* belong for the most part to the so-called *c*-type text. Among other peculiarities, this version of the *Historia* omits a miracle of St. Oswald from Book IV, chapter 14, includes annals for 733 and 734 at the end of Book IV, chapter 24, and omits Bede's *Capitula* on the Prophets from his list of works. The earliest copies of this recension are two eighth-century English manuscripts, the Northumbrian, Kassel Landesbibliothek Quarto MS theol. 2, and the southern, London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.II. The second main recension of the *Historia* is the so-called *m*-type text. This group includes the miracle of St. Oswald missing from IV.14 of the *c*-text, omits the annals for 733 and 734, and includes the *Capitula* in the list of Bede's works. Most continental copies of the *Historia* belong to this group, which can be further sub-divided into 'French' and 'German' recensions. The 'French' recension descends from the earliest known manuscripts of the *Historia*, Cambridge, University Library Kk.5.16 (**M**) and Leningrad, Public Library Lat. Quarto v.1.18 (**L**), and is found in Western and Northern France. The 'German' recension of the *Historia* is the group to which most other continental copies of the text are assigned and descends from a now lost insular manuscript, represented by three early continental copies, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek Weissenburg 34 (**U**; s.viii); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. f.118 (**E**; s.ix<sup>ms</sup>) and Namur, Public Library Fonds de la ville 11 (**Na**; s.ix).

On the basis of a collation of selected passages from their Latin texts, Colgrave and Mynors assigned **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Br** to the 'German' *m*-type recension of the *Historia*.<sup>33</sup> **Di**, on the other hand, which they did not examine, they classified tentatively as a member of the 'English' *c*-type textual family, presumably on the basis of the strong English focus of its contents.<sup>34</sup> This second filiation, however, is almost certainly wrong: **Di** is written in a mixture of English and continental hands,<sup>35</sup> contains a first-

<sup>33</sup> A discussion and list of the manuscripts belonging to this recension of the *HE* can be found in Colgrave and Mynors, pp. lxx-lxvii; the earliest manuscripts of the tradition are described on pp. xlii-xlv.

<sup>34</sup> Pp. lx-lxi. A discussion of the 'English' *c*-text is found in Colgrave and Mynors, *HE*, pp. xlii-xli.

<sup>35</sup> Wuest, pp. 207-09.



person plural reference to the monastery at Cîteaux,<sup>36</sup> and includes a version of Bede's prose *Vita Guthberti* that is otherwise found only in continental, indeed primarily Cistercian, manuscripts.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, as West first pointed out concerning **Di** and **P**<sub>1</sub>, all three manuscripts share at least one common error in their Latin texts: the omission of *miraculorum* from its proper place between *omnium* and *auctor* in Bede's paraphrase of the Hymn: 'omnium miraculorum auctor exitit, qui primo filius hominum caelum pro culmine teci ...'.<sup>38</sup> In **Di**, the word is omitted altogether, while in **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Br** it appears incorrectly between *primo* and *filis*. Although given the selective nature of the collations used by editors of the *Historia* in determining the filiation of later manuscripts it is impossible to say how many other copies of the 'German' recension similarly omit the *miraculorum* from the paraphrase,<sup>39</sup> it seems unlikely that this is a widely disseminated error. Neither Colgrave and Mynors nor Plummer (who used a full collation of **Na** and partial collations of three other members of the 'German' family in establishing his text) mention it in the critical apparatus to their editions,<sup>40</sup> and my own examination of facsimiles of all but one of the manuscripts of the *Historia* in which an Old English version of *Cad-*

<sup>36</sup> 'Nos quogue uidimus in Cisterciensi capitulo,' f. 115r. Cited by Dobbie, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Guthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 49 (his **D**<sub>II</sub>). **Di** is unique in combining a complete copy of the *Historia* with the prose Life. In addition to the complete *Historia*, **Di** also contains the excerpts from Book IV chapters 31-32 found in all other manuscripts of the prose Life. See Laistner, p. 107 and cf. pp. 89-90 with 94-102.

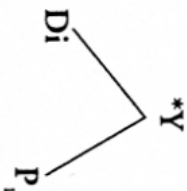
<sup>38</sup> *HE*, p. 416, ll. 17-18; for discussion see West, p. 218; Dobbie, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> As far as I am able to tell, the paraphrase was used by neither Plummer (Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*, ed. Carolus Plummer, *Bardae Venerabilis Opera Historia*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896)) nor Colgrave and Mynors in determining the filiation of later copies of the *Historia*, although it may fall under the unlisted 'minor differences of reading' (Plummer, p. xciv) mentioned by the editors of each volume. For details of the procedures used by the editors of each volume in sampling the manuscripts, see Plummer, pp. lxxiv-lxxvi and xciv-xcv, and Colgrave and Mynors, *HE*, pp. xi-xi.

<sup>40</sup> In addition to **Na**, the 'German'-family manuscripts used by Plummer are: **BL**, Additional MS 18150 (his **A**<sub>1</sub>; pp. c-c1), **BL**, Additional MS 33371 (his **A**<sub>2</sub>; p. ciii), and **BL**, Royal 13.B.18 (his **R**<sub>1</sub>; pp. c1-cii).

mon's Hymn has been found turned up no other copies of the text in which *miraculorum* is missing.<sup>41</sup>

The apparently fraternal relationship of the Latin texts of **Br**, **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Di** has some important implications for our knowledge of the transmission of the Old English Cædmon's Hymn found in all three manuscripts. In the article in which he first announced the discovery of the copies of Cædmon's Hymn in **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Di**, West argued that both manuscripts were descended directly and independently from a common exemplar, to which he gave the siglum \***Y**.<sup>42</sup>



On the basis of an examination of the two surviving witnesses, he concluded that this original exemplar was Northumbrian, from the eighth century,<sup>43</sup> and probably already contained the text of Cædmon's Hymn in the main text of the *Historia*.<sup>44</sup> Pointing to the close English connec-

<sup>41</sup> The relevant manuscript and plate numbers (all but **M** from Robinson and Stanley) are: **L** plate 2.3; **Tr** plate 2.11; **Hr** plate 2.12; **Carns** plate 2.13; **Bd** plate 2.14; **H** plate 2.15; **Ld** plate 2.16; **Mg** plate 2.18; **SanM** plate 2.19; **To** plate 2.20; **W** plate 2.21. The relevant part of the paraphrase is not visible in the facsimile of **Ln** (Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.17) and I have been unable to check the reading there. The paraphrase in **M** is on p. 260 of the manuscript, reproduced in the facsimile in Peter Hunter Blair, ed. *The Moore Bede: An Eighth-Century Manuscript of the Venerable Bede's Historia ecclesiastica gentium anglorum in Cambridge University Library (Kk.5.16)*, with a contribution by R.A.B. Mynors, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 9* (Copenhagen, 1959).

<sup>42</sup> West, pp. 211-12, 215-16, 225.

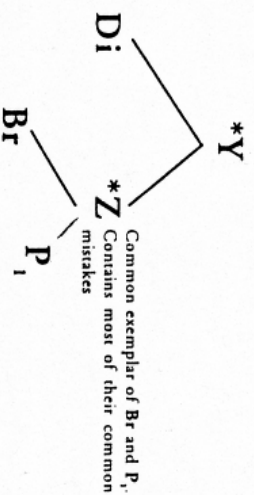
<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12. Dobbie, whose discussion of **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Br** otherwise largely follows that of West, suggests instead both that **Di** and **P**<sub>1</sub> inserted the Hymn into their text independently (pp. 18-19), and that 'it is quite likely that between the common original and the later text **P**<sub>1</sub> there were one or more intermediate copies' (*Manuscripts*, p. 21). On both points he appears to have misunderstood West, whom he cites. West, p. 212, considers the possibility that the Hymn was copied independently into the main text of the *Historia* in **Di** and **P**<sub>1</sub>, unlikely.

tions of Citeaux in the twelfth century, moreover, Wuest was also able to construct a plausible hypothesis to explain how \*Y travelled from eighth-century Northumbria to twelfth-century France and subsequently fifteenth-century Cologne:

Wie eine solche nordenglische hs. gerade nach Citeaux kam, wo dann die abschrift Di[?] angefertigt wurde, ist leicht zu vermuten. schon Stephan Harding [third abbot of Citeaux, 1109-33] mag sie sich aus seiner heimat verschafft haben ... dieselbe Bedahs. [i.e. \*Y] wird dann einige jahrhundertere später nach der Kölner gegend gewandert sein – die reichlichen beziehungen der Cistercienser muterklöster zu den rheinischen gründungen boten dazu gelegenheit – und dort einen abschreiber gefunden haben.<sup>45</sup>

With the discovery of Br, however, it is clear that this hypothesis of an unmediated connection between P<sub>1</sub> and \*Y is unlikely. While the similarities between the texts of the Old English Cædmon's Hymn and the Latin paraphrase in Di, P<sub>1</sub> and Br suggest that all three manuscripts must have had their origins in a single exemplar, the close agreement of Br and P<sub>1</sub> against Di in a large number of idiosyncratic errors suggests that the two later manuscripts must be descended from this common exemplar through at least one intervening manuscript, \*Z:



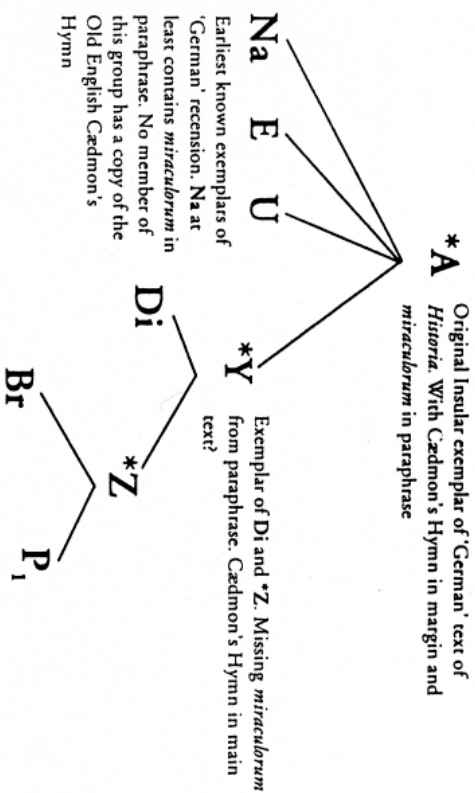
Ich nehme hier voraus: schon die gleichartige textliche einordnung des hymnus in beiden hss. gibt uns die wahrscheinlichkeit an die hand, dass die Dijoner und die Pariser hs. (unmittelbare) abschriften ein und derselben hs. sind. die möglichkeit, der hymnus habe in dieser, mit \* versehen, noch am rande gestanden und sei erst vom schreiber der Dijoner hs. dem texte eingefügt worden, während die Pariser nicht unmittelbar aus der gemeinsamen vorlage abschrieb sondern einer hs. entfiess, welche den hymnus schon textlich eingeordnet hatte

Moreover, if Colgrave and Mynors are right in assigning the Latin texts of Br and P<sub>1</sub> to the 'German' recension of the *Historia*, then the original omission of *miraculorum* from the paraphrase of Br P<sub>1</sub> and Di means that \*Y must have been a continental copy of the original insular manuscript in which the 'German' recension of the *Historia* first crossed to the Continent, one in which *miraculorum* was inadvertently omitted from the Paraphrase, and, presumably, in which the Northumbrian *corda*-recension of Cædmon's Hymn was first incorporated into the main Latin text of Book IV, Chapter 23.<sup>46</sup> This continental copy \*Y (or perhaps more likely a copy of \*Y) was then sent to Citeaux for inclusion in Di, while a second copy (in which *miraculorum* was later reinserted at the wrong place in the paraphrase) circulated in North-western Germany and the Lowlands, where it served as the exemplar of \*Z:

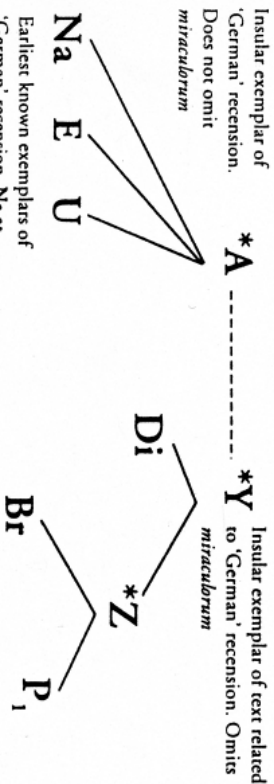
<sup>45</sup> (dies letztere muss, das lehrt uns ein blick auf P, rarsächlich angenommen werden, da in P jedes randzeichen fehlt!), ligt etwas weiter ab.

<sup>46</sup> Wuest, pp. 222-23.

<sup>46</sup> If the Hymn was not incorporated into the Latin text of \*Y, then a full collation of the surviving manuscripts of the 'German' recension of the *Historia* may reveal other members of the family in which *miraculorum* has been omitted from the paraphrase. As no continental copies of the *Historia* apart from Di, P<sub>1</sub> and Br are known to contain copies of the Old English Hymn, however, it seems most likely to assume that the omission of *miraculorum* and the migration of the Northumbrian text of the Hymn occurred at the same time and that Di, P<sub>1</sub> and Br are the sole surviving descendants of this faulty copy.



But if Colgrave and Mynors are wrong in linking Br and P<sub>1</sub> directly to the exemplar 'German' recension represented by E, U and Na, then it is also possible that \*Y was itself an insular manuscript, one closely related to \*A but in which *miraculorum* had already been omitted from the paraphrase:



In the absence of a complete foliation of later Latin texts of the *Historia*, this is not an unreasonable assumption. The other main continental recension of the *Historia*, the 'French' *m*-text, is itself descended from two known independent insular exemplars (M and L); while the

existence of a third eighth-century Northumbrian import to the Continent is suggested by the so-called *Beda continuatio*, a small group of manuscripts from the Low Countries and North-western Germany which may be related to the 'German' *m*-text recension, but in which the annals of Book V, c. 23 were continued ... from A.D. 731 to 766.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, the assumption that \*Y is itself an insular manuscript helps to account for at least one variant between Br/P<sub>1</sub> and Di which seems almost certainly to have come about as the result of an original difference in the interpretation of an insular character in \*Y: Br *dā* and P<sub>1</sub> *dā* versus Di *dā*, l. 7a. As Wuest suggests of the form in P<sub>1</sub>, the most likely explanation for this error is that it arises from a misinterpretation of the cross-stroke of *ð* in an early exemplar.<sup>48</sup> As similar forms are found in both Br and P<sub>1</sub>, it is reasonable to assume that some form of the mistake was also present in \*Z. But if we assume that the common exemplar of Br/P<sub>1</sub> and Di is \*Y, and that \*Y is a continental copy of \*A, we would expect to find a similar form in Di as well. The agreement of Br and P<sub>1</sub> suggests that the mark in *their* exemplar was too big to ignore, and unless we assume that the scribe of Di – whose copy was accurate enough to include an appropriate accent in *ēci*, in l. 8a – deliberately ignored a clear reading from \*Y, it seems necessary to assume that the difference between the three surviving manuscripts is the result of different interpretations of *ð* by early scribes in two traditions represented by Di and Br/P<sub>1</sub>. Even if we assume that the scribe of \*Y had attempted to mimic the script of \*A – as may be the case, for example, in the copy of the West Saxon *eorðan*-recension of the Hymn in Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 134 f. 78v (To)<sup>49</sup> – we would expect this mimicry to

<sup>47</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, *HE*, pp. lxviii–lxix.

<sup>48</sup> Wuest, pp. 217–18. Wuest also suggests that the addition of the second *e* in Di *modgedanc*: (P) *modgedanc Br modgedanc*, l. 2b) also may be the result of a misreading of insular *ð*: 'der schreiber hielt das durchstrichene *d* vermutlich für die ligatur *d + e* und gelangte so zu *dā*' (p. 216). This is possible but seems less essentially tied to the misinterpretation of a specific insular letter.

<sup>49</sup> This manuscript was destroyed in an air-raid on May 17, 1940 (Humphreys and Ross, 'Further Manuscripts', p. 53). The text of the *Historia* in To belongs to the English *e*-text recension (Colgrave and Mynors, *HE*, p. lxi); its copy of the Hymn is from the West-Saxon *eorðan*-group, as indicated by the characteristic reading l. 5b (To) is not

exaggerate the insular forms enough to ensure that similar readings or misinterpretations appeared in all daughter manuscripts. Apparently, the scribe of **Di**, whose copy is generally the more accurate of the three manuscripts, missed the cross-stroke or simply interpreted the character as a *d*; the scribe of \***Z** on the other hand, either reproduced the *ð* in his text, or, more likely, introduced a misinterpretation similar to that found in **Br**; this was then copied by the scribe of **Br** and rationalised to a more common mark of abbreviation by the scribe of **P**<sub>1</sub>.

A single variant in the Latin text of Bede's paraphrase and one graphic error in the Old English text of the Hymn seem a narrow foundation on which to build a new hypothetical insular exemplar of the *Historia*, especially when all three of the known witnesses to this exemplar agree in placing the text of Caedmon's Hymn at exactly the same place within their main text. As the example of **Tr**<sub>1</sub> demonstrates, however, the insertion of the Hymn at this point of the *Historia* could occur independently. Later scribes of the *Historia* appear to have been quite willing to incorporate corrections suggested in the margins and between the lines of their exemplars,<sup>50</sup> and it is possible that the scribes of both \***Z** and **Di** independently understood a *signe de renvoi* in \***Y** as a mark indicating the location of additional text inadvertently omitted by the original scribe. Even though the variation in l. 7a is the only form that seems to require that \***Y** be an insular manuscript, the assumption helps to explain a number of other forms in the two traditions which seem to stem from consistent but different difficulties with specific forms: in **Br** and **P**<sub>1</sub>, the confusion of *e* and *c*, *l* and *n* and the numerous mistakes

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among the MSS discussed in Dobbie; the text of its Hymn has been edited by Humphreys and Ross, 'Further Manuscripts', p. 53). In his discussion of the manuscript, Ker, notes: 'The Latin text of the *Historia ecclesiastica* may not be in an English hand. The OE is either in an English hand or has been carefully copied from an English exemplar ... the imitation of the insular *r* is only sometimes successful,' (item 387). For an example of a more exaggerated script see the version of 'Durham' in the late twelfth-century insular Cambridge, University Library Ff.1.27 (Robinson and Stanley, plate 34.1; Ker, item 14).

<sup>50</sup> For examples from MSS of the 'French' recension of the *Historia* descended from **M**, see Mynors' discussion in *The Moore Manuscript*, pp. 35-36.

involving the interpretation of minims; in **Di**, the difficulties with the letter *a*.

#### TEXT

Four texts are edited below. The first three are diplomatic transcriptions of **Br**, **Di** and **P**<sub>1</sub>, the fourth a critical reconstruction of the Hymn as the evidence of the three surviving manuscripts suggests it may have appeared in the insular manuscript in which it first came to the Continent (\***Y** or \***A**).

The text of **Br** is transcribed from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale. A semi-diplomatic edition of this text can be found in Humphreys and Ross, although with some errors and inconsistency in the normalisation of spacing and spelling.

The texts of **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Di** are transcribed from the facsimiles of Robinson and Stanley. Both have been edited previously by Wuest and Dobbie.<sup>51</sup> My transcription of **P**<sub>1</sub> differs from both previous editions in its interpretation of three characters: *s* for expected *f* in **P**<sub>1</sub> *hesitiꝛiitica es*, l. 1b; *e* for expected *c* in **P**<sub>1</sub> *monemnes*, l. 7b and **P**<sub>1</sub> *eti*, l. 8a. All three readings are clear enough in facsimile – and are corroborated by the form of **Br** in each case. Because their interpretation has been a point of some debate, I have avoided interpreting ambiguous minim strokes in both **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Di**. For the most important object of debate, **Di** *sculun* **P**<sub>1</sub> *sculun*, the **Br** reading *sculun* offers some help. The first minim of the word in **Br** has a clear dot above it – the scribe's standard method of writing *i* – while the substitution of *n* for **P**<sub>1</sub> **Di** *u* can be paralleled from **Br** *gibnaes* **Di** **P**<sub>1</sub> *gibnaes*, l. 3b. This suggests that the original form in the exemplar to all three manuscripts was *sculun*, with *iu* (an early spelling of a palatal glide – Campbell § 176; Brunner § 92.2.a; Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, p. 20) – rather than *ui* (an early spelling of *y*) as suggested by Wuest.<sup>52</sup>

My reconstruction of the Northumbrian *eorðu*-text as it might have appeared in the exemplar to **Di**, **Br** and **P**<sub>1</sub> is based on a collation of all three manuscripts. Similar reconstructions based on **P**<sub>1</sub> and **Di** have been given by Wuest and Dobbie. I follow Wuest in reading *ðā* in l. 7a and

<sup>51</sup> Wuest, pp. 207, 212-13, Dobbie, pp. 19, 20.

<sup>52</sup> Wuest, p. 221.

*corde* in l. 5b, but differ from him in the reading *modgedanc* l. 2b (Dobbie has *ð* in all three words).<sup>59</sup> While the evidence of the Br and P<sub>1</sub> forms (Br *da* and P<sub>1</sub> *da*) in l. 7a strongly suggests that the exemplar of all three manuscripts read *da*, I find Wuest's reconstruction of *modgedanc* from Di *modgedanc* less convincing. Evidently the scribe of the insular manuscript from which Br P<sub>1</sub> and Di are descended used both *d* and *ð*.

In addition to clarifying the reading *scinlan* in l. 1a, the discovery of Br adds one new reading to the text of the Hymn: the initial *h* in Br *he* | *fen*, P<sub>1</sub> Di *efen*, l. 6a. While the P<sub>1</sub> and Di form was accepted by both Wuest and Dobbie as a reading from \*Y, the presence of the correct form in the late Br confirms that the letter must have been dropped independently in the other manuscripts.

BRUSSELS BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, MS 8245-57 ff. 62r<sup>v</sup>-62v<sup>r</sup>

f. 62v<sup>r</sup>, line 37

sensus . Nupuc scinlan horga hesum  
ruica es pueard metundaes mechi  
andhis modged ancupueere fadursuae  
hepundragi hnacs ecidrich tin or asnl  
de heaerist sco opeor dupannum he /  
fento hrofe halig sceppenda middum  
gaerd monneines peardeci drichin  
aef tercia defrum ofoldu freall  
mechtig . Nunc laudare dem9 auc /

f. 62v<sup>r</sup>, line 1

hesum | ruica es| hesum ruica es| Humphreys and Ross. The MS form is ambiguous. The first of the four minims in the medial syllable could be either an *i* or the left descender of a *u*. While brother Anthony usually dots his *i*'s, he does not do so following *s* (e.g. *secessi*, f. 62r<sup>v</sup>, line 37, MS line 29; Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.10.1, l. 5). Since the next three minims are joined together, I have read them as *im*. [aucpueere] anc | wuere Humphreys and Ross. The second letter of the word is almost certainly *u*. The minims of the scribe's normal *n*'s have a clear join at the top (e.g. *nunc* *ur* auc | tore, f. 62v<sup>r</sup> MS lines 3-4; Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.10.2, ll. 3-4). *drich* [in] *drich* [in] Humphreys and Ross. There is only one *i* in the manuscript. [asnl | del] asnl | del| asnl | del| Humphreys and Ross. Humphreys and Ross appear to have read the final stroke of the line as a long *i*. The normal long form of this letter in the MS is dotted and falls below the line (cf. *Filip*, f. 62v<sup>r</sup>, MS line 18; Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.10.2, l. 18). [peannum] The first *n* is clear in the MS. What looks like a correction in Robinson and Stanley, plate 2.10.1 is an ink blot. [da] Da Humphreys and Ross. There is no *ð* in the manuscript. There is what looks like a cross (slightly smudged) above the letter *a*. [eci] *eci* Humphreys and Ross. The *e* is clear in the manuscript.

<sup>59</sup> In a note to his reconstruction of the exemplar of Di and P<sub>1</sub>, Dobbie remarks that 'it is not clear... why Wuest reads -*ðanc*, l. 2, and *da*, l. 7, both with *ð* for the *d* of the MSS, but retains *d* in *corde*, l. 5' (*Manuscripts*, p. 21 n.27). As Wuest's notes make clear, however, both forms in *ð* are based on his interpretation of the mistakes in P<sub>1</sub> and Di (Wuest, pp. 216-17). *corde*, l. 5 is written with a *d* in all three MSS.

DIJON, BIBLIOTHÈQUE PUBLIQUE MS 574, f. 59v<sup>2</sup>

iste ē sensus. \* Nupue sculun herga heftu;ruca es  
 pueard. metuada es mechtu. andhis modgedeanc  
 puerc puldur fudur suae hae pundragi huaes  
 ecidrichtin orastaldehe ūerst scoo peorðu  
 bearnum efento hrofe halig sceppenda. mid-  
 dumgeard moncines peardeci drinninc ef-  
 ter tiade firum. onfoldufrea allmechtig.  
 \* Nunc laudare debemus auctorem regni cęles-

PARIS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE MS LATINE 5237, f. 72v

quos nūq̄ auderat / quor iste ē sens? Nupuc sculun herga  
 hesiu ruca es pueard metuadaes mechtu andhis modged  
 ancpuere fadursuae hepundragi huaes ecidriðch tinor astalde  
 herærst scoopeor dupearnum efento hrofe halig sceppenddā  
 middum geard moncines peardeci drichum aef tetradefirum  
 olfoldu frea all mechtig Niunc laudar dem9 auctorē regni

pue] pue Wuest Dobbie, *Manuscripts*: c is clear in facsimile hesiu ruca es]  
 hefun ruca es Wuest Dobbie, *Manuscripts*: Other examples of this f in the work of  
 this scribe have a prominent cross-stroke (cf. sculun and especially fadursuae;  
 Robinson and Stanley, places 2.4, ll. 2-4). moncines] moncines Wuest. The  
 letter after n resembles the second letter of acirst: In contrast to the scribe's c, the  
 cross-stroke of the c is generally detached from the left minim. eci] eci Wuest  
 Dobbie, *Manuscripts*. The first two letters of this word are the same.

CRITICALLY RESTORED TEXT OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN *EORÐU-*  
*RECENSION* (\*Y OR \*A WITH VARIANTS FROM Br P, AND Di)

Nu pue sciulun herga hefunicaes pueard  
 metuadaes mechtu and his modgedanc  
 puerc puldurfadur suae he pundra gihuaes  
 eci drichin orastalde  
 5 he aerist scoop eorðu bearnum  
 hefen to hrofe halig sceppend  
 ða middumgeard moncines geard  
 eci drichin aefter tiade  
 firum on foldu frea allmechtig.

1 pue] Br P, puc; Di puc; sculun] Br sculun; P, sculun; Di sculun; herga]  
 Br horga; hefunicaes] Br hesim | ruca es; P, hesiu ruca es; Di heftu;ruca es;  
 pueard] Br P, Di pueard; 2 metuadaes] Br metuadaes; P, metuadaes; Di  
 metuada es; modgedanc] Br modged auc; P, modged | anc; Di modgedanc;  
 3 puerc] Br P, puerc; Di puerc; puldurfadur] Br P, fadur; Di puldur fudur;  
 he] Di hae; pundra] Br P, Di pundra; gihuaes] Br gi hnaes; 4 drichin]  
 P, drøch tin; astalde] Br astn | de; 5 he] P, her; aerist] P, aerist; Di ūerst;  
 bearnum] Br peannum; P, pearnum; 6 hefen] Br he | fen; P, Di efen; 7 ða]  
 Br ða; P, ða; Di da middumgeard] Br middum | gaerd; moncines] Br  
 moncines; P, moncines pearde] Br P, Di pearde; 8 eci] Br P, eci;  
 drichin] P, drichim; Di drinninc; aefter] Di ef - | ter; tiade] Br cia de; 9  
 on] Br P, oli; frea allmechtig] Br freall | mechtig

## Appendix

The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn: Recensions and Sigla<sup>54</sup>Northumbrian *eorðan*-recension (Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 16-22)

- Br\* Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8245-57, f. 62r<sup>v</sup>-v<sup>i</sup>; s.xv  
 Di Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 574, f. 59v<sup>2</sup>; s.xii  
 P, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 5237, f. 72v; s.xv

Northumbrian *aeldra*-recension (Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 11-16)

- L St. Petersburg, M.E. Public Library Lat. Q.v.I.18, f. 107r  
 ("The Leningrad Bede"); s.viii  
 M Cambridge, University Library Kk.5.16, f. 128v ("The Moore Bede"); s.viii

West-Saxon *eorðan*-recension (Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 22-33)

- B<sub>1</sub> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41, p. 322; f. s.xi<sup>i</sup>  
 Ca Cambridge, University Library Kk.3.18, f. 72v; s.xi<sup>i</sup>  
 N London, British Library Additional 43703, f. 146r-v  
 (Nowell's transcript of the now destroyed Cotton  
 Otho.B.xi); 1562.  
 O Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279, pt.ii, f. 112v; s.xi<sup>im</sup>  
 T<sub>1</sub> Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 10, p. 195 (=f. 100r); s.x<sup>i</sup>  
 To\* Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville 134, f. 78v (destroyed,  
 1940); s.xii/xiii

West-Saxon *eorðan*-recension: Hr-Ld<sub>1</sub>-CArms sub-group (cf. Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 34, 40-43)

- CArms\* London, College of Arms, M.6, f. 84v; s.xii  
 Hr Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.5.i, f. 116v; s.xii  
 Ld<sub>1</sub> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 243, f. 82v; s.xii<sup>i</sup>

*Some hand  
written  
in  
1471.*

<sup>54</sup> Except for the four manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn discovered by Humphreys and Ross ('Further Manuscripts', marked with an asterisk), all sigla and filiations are from Dobbie, pp. 8-9 and *passim*. The filiation and sigla of Br, To, CArms and SanM are my own.

West-Saxon *ylda*-recension (Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 34-40)

- Bd Oxford, Bodleian Library 163, f. 152v, s.xii<sup>im</sup>  
 H Oxford, Bodleian Hatton 43, f. 129r, s.xi<sup>2</sup>  
 Ln Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat.31, f. 83r, s.xii<sup>med</sup>  
 Mg Oxford, Magdalen College Lat. 105, f. 99r; s.xii<sup>med</sup>  
 SanM\* San Marino, CA. Huntington Library, HM 35300, f. 82r;  
 s.xv<sup>med</sup>  
 Tr<sub>1</sub> Cambridge, Trinity College, R.5.22 f. 32v<sup>1,2</sup>; s.xiv  
 W Winchester, Cathedral I, f. 81r; s.xi<sup>med</sup>