Chapter 3
Fixed Context Poems

Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the Pastoral Care;
*"Cædmon's Hymn" (*West-Saxon* eorðan*-recension*);
Poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

A second type of manuscript transmission is found among the witnesses to seven poems of regular alliterative metre which have been copied as constituents of larger vernacular prose framing texts: the Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*; the West-Saxon *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" (a version found with one exception exclusively in manuscripts of the Old English translation of the *Historia ecclesiastica*); and four poems from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: the *Battle of Brunanburh* (937); the *Capture of the Five Boroughs* (942); the *Coronation of Edgar* (973); and the *Death of Edgar* (975).[194] In contrast to the poems discussed in the preceding section, these "Fixed Context" poems do not show any generically consistent pattern of substantive textual variation but differ instead from poem to poem and witness to witness in the amount and type of the substantive variation they exhibit.

What these poems have in common, however, is that their variation is as a rule directly comparable to that found in the surrounding prose texts of each witness. Indeed, with the notable exception of two specific types of variants in the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173 (**ChronA**) witness to the *Battle of Brunanburh*, there is very little evidence to suggest that the scribes responsible for copying these poems treated their verse any differently from the prose with which they copied it . Like the prose framing texts in which they are found, the

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[194]Two other *Chronicle* poems are metrically irregular and are omitted from this study: *Death of Alfred* (1036) and *Death of Edward* (1065). See O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 125 and fn. 62.

witnesses to the Fixed Context poems appear to have varied according to the intentions of the scribe or scribes responsible for the framing text as a whole, his or their grasp of its material, or innate competence as copyist(s). Among the Fixed Context poems, the most innovative witnesses are generally those which transmit the most innovative versions of the prose frame; scribes and traditions which show themselves to have been conservative transmitters of the framing text, on the other hand, tend to pass on the most conservative copies of the poetry these texts contain.

The Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the Pastoral Care

The most striking evidence of the relationship between textual innovation in the prose framing text and Fixed Context poems is to be seen in the nature and distribution of substantive variants among the witnesses to the Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care*. Although both poems are found as constituents of the same framing text, they nevertheless appear at first glance to have been copied to vastly different standards of substantive textual "accuracy." The Metrical Preface, sixteen lines long and surviving in five witnesses, exhibits ten substantive variants: four differences of inflection, one substitution of stressed words or elements, three examples of the addition or omission of unstressed words or elements, one example of the addition or omission of a prefix, and one example of the addition or omission of a stressed word or element. The Metrical Epilogue, in contrast, thirty lines long and surviving in two witnesses, displays no substantive variants at all. As we shall see, this difference is not to be attributed to differences in the number of witnesses in which each poem is found or in the scribes responsible for copying each version, but to the textual history of the framing text. The substantive textual variants exhibited by the surviving witnesses to the Metrical Preface are restricted with one exception to two late

representatives of a single, highly innovative tradition of the *Pastoral Care* as a whole. In addition, they agree closely with the pattern of textual innovation introduced by the scribes of these manuscripts (and those of their exemplars) into the surrounding prose. Outside of these two manuscripts (neither of which contains a copy of the Metrical Epilogue), both poems are transmitted to almost identical standards of textual accuracy in all surviving witnesses.

Manuscripts of the Old English *Pastoral Care*

The Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care* is known to have survived the Anglo-Saxon period in six insular manuscripts, ranging in date from the late ninth to the late eleventh centuries[195]: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20, A.D. 890-7 (**Hat$_{20}$**); †London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. xi, A.D. 890-7 (**Tib$_{Bxi}$**); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 12, s.x^2 (**CC$_{12}$**); †London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. ii, s. x/xi (**Otho$_{Bii}$**); Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 5. 22, s. x/xi (**Tr$_1$**); and Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 4, s. xi, third quarter (**CUL$_{Ii24}$**).[196] One of these manuscripts, **Tib$_{Bxi}$**, was almost completely destroyed in fires at

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[195]The sigla used in this discussion of the *Pastoral Care* have been formed according to the principles discussed in Appendix 2. For the convenience of readers, the following table presents the correspondences between the sigla used by Dobbie (*ASPR* 6), Dorothy M. Horgan (several articles; for references, see fnn. 199 and 209), and Ingvar Carlson (reference fn. 199):

Manuscript	Sigla	Horgan	Carlson	Dobbie
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 12	**CC$_{12}$**	CC	C12	D
Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 5. 22	**Tr$_1$**	T	R5	T
Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 4	**CUL$_{Ii24}$**	U	I2	– –
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. xi	**Tib$_{Bxi}$**	Ci	C	– –
London, British Library, Junius 53 (a transcription of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. xi)	**Jn$_{53}$**	J	Ju	J
London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. ii	**Otho$_{Bii}$**	Cii	C.ii	– –
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20	**Hat$_{20}$**	H	H	H

[196]Dobbie incorrectly states that **CUL$_{Ii24}$** "does not contain either of the verse texts," *ASPR* 6, p. cxv.

Ashburnham house in 1731 and the British Museum bindery in 1865[197]; with the exception of

a few charred fragments still in the British Library, our only knowledge of its text comes from

a seventeenth-century transcription by Francis Junius, now preserved in the Bodleian Library

as Junius 53 (**Jn₅₃**). A second manuscript, **Otho_Bii**, was also seriously damaged in the

Cottonian fire of 1731, where it lost twenty-seven of its pre-fire total of eighty-two leaves.

The lost material included a copy of the Metrical Preface.[198] Variant readings recorded by

Junius in the margins of **Jn₅₃** provide us with our only knowledge of the lost portions of this

manuscript.[199]

Metrical Preface

The Metrical Preface was copied in all six witnesses to the *Pastoral Care*, and, if we

count Junius's transcript of **Tib_Bxi**, survives in five. As such it is among the best attested of all

Old English poems, both in terms of the number of its surviving witnesses and in the length

and consistency of its chronological record. While "Cædmon's Hymn" (with twenty-one

witnesses) and "Bede's Death Song" (with thirty-five witnesses) are found in more medieval

manuscripts and have a longer textual history,[200] of their individual recensions only the West-

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[197]Ker, ed., *The Pastoral Care*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 6 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1956), p. 13.

[198]Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 175.

[199]Junius records two readings from the Metrical Preface of **Otho_Bii**: **Otho_Bii** *sealtne* (**Tib_Bxi**(**Jn₅₃**) *saltne*), l.2a; **Otho_Bii** *læste* (**Tib_Bxi**(**Jn₅₃**) *læsðe*), l.16b. In both cases **Otho_Bii** agrees with **Hat₂₀**. Junius's transcription is not letter-perfect, especially of *varia lectio* from **Otho_Bii**. In an appendix comparing Junius's transcription of **Tib_Bxi** and **Otho_Bii** with the surviving fragments of the manuscripts themselves, Ingvar Carlson reports an average of one mistake per thirty-five words in the transcription of **Tib_Bxi**, and an average of one mistake per twenty-five words in that of the *varia* from **Otho_Bii** (Ingvar Carlson, ed., *The Pastoral Care: Edited from British Museum Cotton Otho B.ii*, Completed by Lars- G. Hallander, Mattias Löfvenberg, and Alarik Rynell, 2 vols., Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Stockholm Studies in English 34 and 48 [Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1975, 1978], v. 1 pp. 158-9). For additional comments on Junius's reliability, see also: Dorothy M. Horgan, "The Old English Pastoral Care: the Scribal Contribution," *Studies in Earlier English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: SUNY, 1986) 109-28, esp. pp. 124-5; and Karl Jost, "Zu den Handschriften der *Cura Pastoralis*," *Anglia* 37 (1913): 63-68.

[200]The most up-to-date list of witnesses for both texts is: Fred C. Robinson and E. G. Stanley, eds., *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources: A Comprehensive Collection*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 23 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1991).

Saxon *eorðan*-text of "Cædmon's Hymn" has as long a textual record or survives in as many

twelfth-century or earlier insular manuscripts.[201] Likewise, while the parallel text of the *Dream*

of the Rood and the Ruthwell Cross Inscription has possibly a longer textual record, its two

surviving copies both belong to different recensions of the text and, in contrast to the relatively

regular appearance of the Metrical Preface from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries, are

found in witnesses separated by an interval of as much as three hundred years.[202]

The Metrical Preface is also the only poem in the corpus for which strong evidence

exists to suggest that surviving witnesses were copied under its author's supervision. In its

two earliest manuscripts, **Tib$_{Bxi}$** and **Hat$_{20}$**, the Metrical Preface appears to have been copied

independently of the main translation of the *Pastoral Care*. In **Hat$_{20}$** it appears with Alfred's

Prose Preface on a single bifolium sewn in before the first quire of the main text. The hand of

the Prose Preface is found nowhere else in the manuscript, but is thought by N. R. Ker to be

the same as that responsible for the main text of **Tib$_{Bxi}$**.[203] The hand of the verse Preface he

considers to be similar to, but a more practiced version of, the principal hand of the main

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[201]All pre-twelfth-century manuscripts of "Bede's Death Song" are continental, and, with the possible
exception of The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 70. H. 7, are derived from a single (lost) insular
antecedent (Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 49-50, supplemented by *ASPR* 6, pp. civ-cvii; Ker, "The Hague
Manuscript of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu bedæ* with Bede's Death Song," *MÆ* 8 [1939]: 40-4; and K.
W. Humphreys, and Alan S. C. Ross, "Further Manuscripts of Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica', of the
'Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae', and Further Anglo-Saxon Texts of '*Cædmon's Hymn*' and '*Bede's
Death Song*'," *N&Q* 220 [1975]: 50-55). Of the recensions of "Cædmon's Hymn," the Northumbrian
aeldu-recension is found in two eighth-century manuscripts (see above, Chapter 2, p. 49); the
Northumbrian *eordu*-recension in three fourteenth- and fifteenth-century continental exemplars (derived
from a single or two closely related lost insular antecedents; see: Daniel P. O'Donnell, "A Northumbrian
Version of 'Cædmon's Hymn' (*eordu*-recension) in Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Manuscript 8245-57
ff.62r^2-v^1: Identification, Edition and Filiation," forthcoming in: *New Essays on the Venerable Bede*
[provisional title], ed. A.A. MacDonald and L. Houwen); the West-Saxon *ylda*-recension in hands of the
mid-eleventh to mid twelfth centuries (see above, Chapter 2, pp. 21 ff.); and the West-Saxon *eorðan*-
recension primarily in manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh and, in the case of the possibly continental **To**,
twelfth centuries (see below, pp. 112 ff.).

[202]The *Dream of the Rood* is found in the late tenth-century Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare,
CXVII); the Ruthwell Cross Inscription is carved around the edges of an eighth-century stone cross in
Dumfriesshire, Scotland, but may not be as old as the cross itself. For a summary of recent views on the
issue, see below, p. 287 and fnn. 612 and 613.

[203]Ker, *Pastoral Care*, p. 22.

text.[204] Although nothing can be said for certain about the codicology of **Tib_{Bxi}**, Wanley's

description of the manuscript suggests that its prefaces also were written in a hand other than

that used for the main text.[205] Ker's examination of its fragmentary remains also suggests that

they were copied on a separate sheet.[206] As Sisam argues, these features suggest that the

prefaces were still being worked on after the main text of the translation was first sent out for

multiplication.[207]

      Whether it is the result of authorial oversight, the royal associations of its framing text,

or simply the interest and care of its first scribes, the earliest copies of the Metrical Preface

show almost no substantive textual variation. The only exception, a variation between the

dative instrumental cases in second part of the compound conjunction/adverb **Hat_{20}** *Forðæm*

(**Tr_{1}** *for þæm þe* **CUL_{Ii24}** *for þam*) : **Tib_{Bxi}**(**Jn_{53}**) **CC_{12}** *forðon*, line 8a, is commonly found in

multiply-attested texts and has no effect on the sense or metre of the passage in which it

occurs.[208]

      Instead, it is the late tenth- or early eleventh-century **Tr_{1}** and late eleventh-century

CUL_{Ii24} which show the most and most significant variation in the poem. In addition to

sharing the dative case with **Hat_{20}** in line 8a, these two manuscripts are between themselves

responsible for all nine of the poem's remaining textual variants. On three occasions, **Tr_{1}** and

CUL_{Ii24} agree in readings not found in the earlier manuscripts: two inflectional variants: **Tr_{1}**

CUL_{Ii24} *romwarena* : **Hat_{20}** *romwara* (**Tib_{Bxi}**(**Jn_{53}**) *Romwara* **CC_{12}** *róm wara*), line 9b; **Tr_{1}**

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[204]Ker, *Pastoral Care*, p. 22.

[205]Wanley, p. 217: "Utraque præfatio, sicut in Cod. Werferthiano, ab aliena manu scripta, Codici præmittitur."

[206]Ker *Pastoral Care*, p. 22.

[207]Kenneth Sisam, "The Publication of Alfred's Pastoral Care," *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953): 140-47, at pp. 142-44.

[208]A detailed discussion of the individual variants in the Metrical Preface can be found below, pp. 98-107.

CUL_{Ii24} *me*; Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ *min* (CC_{12} *mín*), line 11a; and one example of the addition of a

prefix: Tr_1 *beþorftan* (CUL_{Ii24} *be þorftan*) : Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ CC_{12} *ðorfton*, line 15b. On two

further occasions, Tr_1 exhibits a unique reading not found in CUL_{Ii24} or Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$

CC_{12}: one involving the substitution of stressed elements: Tr_1 *eorð/bugendū*: CUL_{Ii24}

egbugendum (Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ *iegbuendum* CC_{12} *iegbu/endum*), line 3a; and a second, the

addition of an unstressed particle: Tr_1 *for þæm þe* : CUL_{Ii24} *for þam* (Hat_{20} *Forðæm*)

$Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ CC_{12} *forðon*, line 8a. The most variable of all manuscripts, CUL_{Ii24}, has four

unique readings not found in Tr_1 or the earlier manuscripts: one difference of inflection:

CUL_{Ii24} *mærða*: Tr_1 *merþum* (Hat_{20} *mær/ðum* $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ CC_{12} *mærðum*), line 10b; two

examples of the addition of unstressed particles: CUL_{Ii24} *for þam he* : Tr_1 Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$

CC_{12} $\varnothing$, line 13b; and one example of the omission of a stressed word: CUL_{Ii24} $\varnothing$ Tr_1 CC_{12}

gregorius (Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ *Gregorius*), line 6a.

The significance of this lop-sided distribution of textual variants among the witnesses

to the Metrical Preface to the *Pastoral Care* becomes apparent when it is compared to what is

known of the textual stemma of the witnesses to the framing text as a whole (Figure 1). As

Dorothy Horgan and Ingvar Carlson have demonstrated, it is possible to divide the manuscripts

of the *Pastoral Care* into four main textual groups: Tib_{Bxi}-CC_{12}, Hat_{20}, $Otho_{Bii}$, and Tr_1-

CUL_{Ii24}.[209] For the most part, these groups are separated by scribal errors and relatively minor

differences of wording or syntax. The two earliest manuscripts, Tib_{Bxi} and Hat_{20}, although in

all likelihood copied at the same time and in the same scriptorium,[210] belong to two different

branches of the text: Hat_{20}, addressed to Wærferð, bishop of Worcester, has no known

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[209]Horgan, "The Relationship Between the O.E. MSS. of King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care," *Anglia* 91 (1973): 153-69; "The Lexical and Syntactic Variants Shared by Two of the Later MSS of Alfred's Translation of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis," *ASE* 9 (1981): 213-21; and "Scribal Contribution." See also Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v. 1, pp. 28-9.

[210]Sisam, "Publication," pp. 141-144; Ker, *Catalogue*, arts. 196, 386.

descendants but shows some affinity with the texts of three later manuscripts: **Otho$_{Bii}$**, **Tr$_1$**, and **CUL$_{Ii24}$**.[211] **Tib$_{Bxi}$**, which has a blank for the addressee of Alfred's Prose Preface and is assumed to have been copied for use in the king's "headquarters,"[212] is closely related to the tenth-century **CC$_{12}$**, although this latter manuscript cannot be directly descended from the text of **Tib$_{Bxi}$** as it is recorded by Junius in **Jn$_{53}$**.[213] A third group is represented by **Otho$_{Bii}$**. The prose preface of this manuscript was destroyed in the Cottonian fire, but is reported by Junius to have been addressed to Hehstan, bishop of London.[214] Like **Hat$_{20}$**, it has no surviving direct relatives, but shares enough common omissions and errors with **Tr$_1$** and **CUL$_{Ii24}$** to suggest that all three manuscripts must be derived ultimately from a single early antecedent.[215] **Tr$_1$** and **CUL$_{Ii24}$** make up the fourth and final textual strand of the *Pastoral Care*. The youngest of the two manuscripts, **CUL$_{Ii24}$**, is addressed to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne, from whose copy it is clearly descended. **Tr$_1$** omits the Prose Preface (and hence the addressee of its exemplar) but shares enough unique readings with **CUL$_{Ii24}$** as to make it certain that they share a common – and heavily edited – ancestor.[216]

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[211]Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v. 1, pp. 28-9; see also Horgan, "Relationship," p. 166.

[212]Sisam, "Publication," p. 142.

[213]Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v. 1, pp. 27-28 lists "c. 25" readings in which "C [i.e. **Tib$_{Bxi}$**] shows inferior readings to H [**Hat$_{20}$**]" and **CC$_{12}$** agrees with **Hat$_{20}$**, versus "c. 5" readings in which **Tib$_{Bxi}$** and **CC$_{12}$** agree in an "inferior reading" against **Hat$_{20}$**. He also reports that **Hat$_{20}$** and **CC$_{12}$** never agree in an inferior reading against **Tib$_{Bxi}$**.

[214]Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 175.

[215]Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v. 1, pp. 30-31; Horgan "Scribal Contribution," p. 120. The identity of this earlier manuscript can only be guessed at. As Horgan and Sisam suggest, it was presumably one of the original manuscripts sent by Alfred to secondary centres for copying (Metrical Preface, ll. 11b-15a; see also Horgan, "Scribal Contribution," p. 120; "Relationship," esp. pp. 165-166; Sisam "Publication," p. 141). On dialectal and historical grounds, Horgan has suggested variously the copies sent to Plegmund and Swiðulf as the most likely candidates (Horgan, "Relationship," pp. 165-166 and 168 [Plegmund]; "Scribal Contribution," p. 120 [Swiðulf]).

[216]Horgan, "Scribal Contribution," p. 120; "Variants," *passim*; "Relationship," pp. 161-164. Also Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v. 1, p. 30.

It is the nature of this ancestor that is most important for our understanding of the amount, type, and distribution of the substantive textual variation among the witnesses to the Metrical Preface. With the exception of Tr_1 and CUL_{Ii24}, the manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care* have been as a rule conservatively – or at worst, carelessly – copied . While the different textual groups show some evidence of sporadic revision in their prose – particularly in the case of the Tib_{Bxi}-CC_{12} group, which, when it differs from Hat_{20} and $Otho_{Bii}$, transmits a text that Carlson reports to be generally "more faithful the Latin original"[217] – the greater part of their variation is to be attributed to scribal error, haplography in particular.[218] The text of CUL_{Ii24} and Tr_1, in contrast, shows strong evidence of deliberate "editorial" intervention by the scribe or scribes of their common antecedent.[219] At a syntactic level, these changes include variation in the use of prepositions, in the choice of connecting words and particles, in the order of words within the phrase, in the use of case, tense, and mood, and in the preferred forms of negation.[220] At the level of vocabulary and style, Horgan also reports the frequent "use of synonyms and hyponyms instead of or alongside" the forms found in other manuscripts,[221] a "very large" number of variants involving the substitution of verbal, nominal and adjectival prefixes,[222] and a general tendency towards "clarification" or "explanation" through the addition of words understood from context in other witnesses (nouns, adjectives, articles, possessive pronouns, and pronominal subjects), and the substitution of relative clauses for

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[217]Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v.1, p. 29.

[218]Horgan, "Relationship," *passim*; Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v.1, pp. 29-32.

[219]Horgan, "Relationship," p. 221; also "Scribal Contribution," pp. 120-124; and "Relationship," pp. 161-164, 166-168. See also Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii*, v.1, pp. 30-31.

[220]Horgan, "Variants," pp. 217-220; also "Scribal Contribution," p. 120; "Relationship," p. 162.

[221]Horgan, "Variants," p. 215.

[222]Horgan, "Variants," pp. 214-215.

"shorter elements" such as compound verbs, adjective-noun pairs and accusative-infinitive constructions.[223]

When the variant types recorded by Horgan (and similar types noted by Carlson) in her investigations into the Tr_1 and CUL_{Ii24} versions of the *Pastoral Care* as a whole are compared to those found in the text of the Metrical Preface in these two manuscripts, the result is a near-perfect match. Of the three variants shared by Tr_1 and CUL_{Ii24}, only one, the relatively insignificant substitution of the weak genitive plural Tr_1 CUL_{Ii24} *romwarena* for the strong declensional form in Hat_{20} *romwara* ($Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ *Romwara* CC_{12} *róm wara*) in line 9b, is not of a type mentioned by Horgan in her discussion of the prose. The addition of the verbal prefix *be-* to Tr_1 *beþorftan* CUL_{Ii24} *be þorftan* (Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ CC_{12} *ðorfton*), line 15b, belongs to what Horgan reports to be one of the most common variants separating Tr_1 and CUL_{Ii24} from the other manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care*.[224] The substitution of the pronominal object Tr_1 CUL_{Ii24} *me* for the possessive adjective Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ *min* (CC_{12} *mín*) in line 11a, likewise, is only one of a number of examples of the "rationalisation of forms" cited by Horgan in her analysis of the prose text.[225]

The same is true of the readings found in only one or another of the individual manuscripts in this group, the majority of which have parallels among the variants recorded by Horgan from the common text of Tr_1 and CUL_{Ii24}. In some cases, these variants are doubtlessly to be attributed to scribes working after the Tr_1 and CUL_{Ii24} traditions diverged.

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[223]Horgan, "Variants," p. 221.

[224]Horgan, "Variants," pp. 214-5.

[225]Although Horgan cites the "rationalisation of forms" as a category of variation only once and does not tie the term to any specific examples ("Relationship," p. 162), she supplies several examples in which the Tr_1 CUL_{Ii24} form can be ascribed to the influence of surrounding forms: e.g. Tr_1 CUL_{Ii24} *seo is modor* for Hat_{20} $Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})$ CC_{12} *se is modur* (214/14), in which the antecedent for *se/seo* is the masculine weak noun *willa*: *gif se yfla willa ðone onwald hæfð ðæs ingeðonces, se is modur ælces yfeles* (222/13-14). Textual references to the Prose Preface here and elsewhere are by page and line number of Henry Sweet,

The omission of *gregorius* from **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ line 6a, for example, is almost certainly to be explained as eyeskip on the part of the scribe of **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ or an exemplar. Likewise, the substitution of the genitive plural *mærða* in **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ for the dative plural in **Tr**$_1$ and all other manuscripts is perhaps more easily explained as the spontaneous influence of the ending of *romwarena* from the preceding (manuscript and metrical) line of the poem than as a survival of the common antecedent which has been removed independently by the scribe of **Tr**$_1$.[226] In other cases, however, the correspondence between the prose variation recorded by Horgan and the verse variation exhibited by these two witnesses to the Metrical Preface is so strong as to suggest that the differences between the two copies have their origins in alternatives already present in their common antecedent.[227] The substitution of stressed elements in **Tr**$_1$ *eorð/bugendū* : **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ *egbugendum* (**Hat**$_{20}$ **Tib**$_{Bxi}$(**Jn**$_{53}$) *iegbuendum* **CC**$_{12}$ *iegbu/endum*), line 3a, for example, is paralleled by many similar substitutions throughout the prose in both manuscripts[228]: **Tr**$_1$ **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ *deofles* **Hat**$_{20}$ **Tib**$_{Bxi}$ *fiondes* (463/12); **Tr**$_1$ *neat* (with *orf* in the "outer margin"), **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ *orf* **Hat**$_{20}$ **Tib**$_{Bxi}$(**Jn**$_{53}$) **CC**$_{12}$ *neat* (173/20); **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ *lusta* for **Hat**$_{20}$ *scylda* (407/20).[229] The addition of *þe* to **Tr**$_1$ *for þæm þe* (**CUL**$_{Ii24}$ *for þam* **Hat**$_{20}$ *Forðæm* **Tib**$_{Bxi}$(**Jn**$_{53}$) **CC**$_{12}$ *forðon*), line 8a, and of *forþam* and *he* to **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ *for þæm he het* **Tr**$_1$ *het* (**Hat**$_{20}$ *heht*), line 13b, likewise, are to be attributed to the same impetus for explanation and

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ed., *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of the Pastoral Care*, EETS o.s. 45 and 50 (London: Kegan Paul, 1871-72).

[226] For a discussion of this independence in **CUL**$_{Ii24}$, however, see Horgan "Variants," p. 214. Horgan also cites unique readings from **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ and (less frequently) **Tr**$_1$ throughout her list of textual variants, pp. 215-222.

[227] On the basis of interlinear readings in **Tr**$_1$, Horgan assumes that the ancestor of **Tr**$_1$ and **CUL**$_{Ii24}$ was edited in large part interlinearly ("Variants," p. 214).

[228] All examples from Horgan "Variants," p. 215. When relevant, readings from **Otho**$_{Bii}$ are taken from Carlson, *Cotton Otho B.ii.*

[229] Horgan does not cite the **Tr**$_1$ or **CC**$_{12}$ readings. The text is missing from **Tib**$_{Bxi}$ and **Otho**$_{Bii}$.

clarification found in the examples Horgan supplies of the addition of "understood" words and

explanatory clauses to the common text of **Tr₁** and **CUL_Ii24**.[230]

Textual Variants

Inflectional Difference (4 examples)

CPPref (**Hat₂₀-CUL_Ii24-Tr₁:Tib_Bxi(Jn₅₃)-CC₁₂**), 8a

Tr₁
> <u>for þæm þe</u> he ma ncynnes   mæst gestriende.|
> rodera wearde. romwarena betst
> 10   manna mod weligost. merþum| gefrægost.

Hat₂₀
> <u>Forðæm</u> hemonncynnes   mæst.| gestriende.
> rodra wearde   romwara betest
> 10   monna modwelegost   mær|ðum gefrægost.

CUL_Ii24
> <u>for þam</u> he| man cynnes   mæst gestrinde
> rodera wearde   romwarena| betst.
> 10   manna mod weligost   mærða gefrægost.

Tib_Bxi(Jn₅₃)
> <u>forðon</u>| he moncynnes. mæst gestrynde.
> rodra wearde.| Romwara betest.
> 10   monna mod welegost. mærðum| gefrægost.

CC₁₂
> <u>forðon</u> hemon,| cynnes   mæst gestriende.
> rodera| wearde   róm warabetst.
> 10   monna| mod welegost   mærðum gefræ| gost.

The only variant which does not involve a unique reading in one or both of **Tr₁** or

CUL_Ii24, the two case endings are syntactically, metrically and semantically equivalent. **Tr₁** *for*

þæm þe[231] **CUL_Ii24** *for þam* and **Hat₂₀** *Forðæm* are all dative singular; **Tib_Bxi(Jn₅₃) CC₁₂**

forðon is instrumental singular. Both cases are found regularly with *for* in adverbial and

conjunctive contexts with little difference in sense or usage.[232]

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[230]See particularly Horgan, "Variants," §§ I.6.a and II.B.2.b, pp. 220, 221. A similar tendency can be seen in the revision of Wærferð's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, where *þe* is used to distinguish "a relative adverb or a conjunction from the simple adverb," and is added to or replaces the demonstrative pronoun in introducing relative clauses. See David Yerkes, *Syntax and Style in Old English*: *A Comparison of the Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues* Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 5 (Binghamton, NY: CEMERS, 1982), §§ 11, 12 and 15.

[231]The addition of *þe* to **Tr₁** is discussed below. See p. 103.

[232]For a discussion of the relative frequency of the two forms in Old English prose and poetry, see Mitchell, *OES* §§3035-36; and J. van Dam, *The Causal Clause and Causal Prepositions in Early Old English Prose* (Groningen and Djakarta, 1957). I have not been able to consult two theses dealing with the topic mentioned by Mitchell in §§3035-36: E. M. Liggins, 'The Expression of Causal Relationship in Old English Prose' (unpublished PhD diss., University of London, 1955), and Mitchell, 'Subordinate Clauses in Old English Poetry' (unpublished PhD diss., Oxford University, 1958).

CPPref (**CUL$_{Ii24}$-Tr$_1$: Hat$_{20}$-Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)-CC$_{12}$), 9b**

Tr$_1$
 for þæm þe he ma ncynnes mæst gestriende.|
 rodera wearde. <u>romwar**ena**</u> betst
10 manna mod weligost. merþum| gefrægost.

Hat$_{20}$
 Forðæm hemonncynnes mæst.| gestriende.
 rodra wearde <u>romwar**a**</u> betest
10 monna modwelegost mær|ðum gefrægost.

CUL$_{Ii24}$
 for þam he| man cynnes mæst gestrinde
 rodera wearde <u>romwar**ena**</u>| betst.
10 manna mod weligost mærða gefrægost.

Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)
 forðon| he moncynnes. mæst gestrynde.
 rodra wearde.| <u>Romwar**a**</u> betest.
10 monna mod welegost. mærðum| gefrægost.

CC$_{12}$
 forðon hemon,| cynnes mæst gestriende.
 rodera| wearde <u>róm war**a**</u>betst.
10 monna| mod welegost mærðum gefræ| gost.

   The variation is declensional: **Tr$_1$ CUL$_{Ii24}$** *romwarena* is weak; **Hat$_{20}$** *romwara*

(**Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)** *Romwara* **CC$_{12}$** *róm wara*), strong.[233] The variation has no effect on sense or

syntax and a minor effect on metre: in **Hat$_{20}$ Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$) CC$_{12}$** the line is Type E with a short

half-lift (a rare form)[234]; in **Tr$_1$ CUL$_{Ii24}$**, the half-lift is resolved.

CPPref (**CUL$_{Ii24}$: Hat$_{20}$-Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)-CC$_{12}$-Tr$_1$), 10b**

Tr$_1$
 for þæm þe he ma ncynnes mæst gestriende.|
 rodera wearde. romwarena betst
10 manna mod weligost. <u>merþum</u>| gefrægost.

Hat$_{20}$
 Forðæm hemonncynnes mæst.| gestriende.
 rodra wearde romwara betest
10 monna modwelegost <u>mær|ð**um**</u> gefrægost.

CUL$_{Ii24}$
 for þam he| man cynnes mæst gestrinde
 rodera wearde romwarena| betst.
10 manna mod weligost <u>mærða</u> gefrægost.

Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)
 forðon| he moncynnes. mæst gestrynde.
 rodra wearde.| Romwara betest.
10 monna mod welegost. <u>mærð**um**</u>| gefrægost.

CC12
 forðon hemon,| cynnes mæst gestriende.
 rodera| wearde róm warabetst.
10 monna| mod welegost <u>mærð**um**</u> gefræ| gost.

   CUL$_{Ii24}$ *mærða* is a partitive genitive, dependent on *gefrægost* and syntactically

parallel to the genitives *romwarena* (line 9b) and *manna* (line 10a): 'best of Romans,... most

talented of men, most known of famous deeds'. In **Tr$_1$ Hat$_{20}$ Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)** and **CC$_{12}$,** *mærðum*

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[233]Campbell, *OEG* §610.7, esp. p. 246.

[234]John C. Pope, *Seven Old English Poems*, Corrected Edition ed. (1981; Norton; New York: Bobs-Merrill, 1966), p. 116; E. Sievers, "Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses I," *PBB* 10 (1885): 308-9.

(and accidental variants) is a plural dative of specification: '(most known) for famous

deeds'.[235] While both readings are syntactically and metrically appropriate, **CUL_{Ii24}** is

logically nonsensical – as a predicate adjective, *gefrægost* refers to *he* (i.e. St. Augustine)

rather than a specific action. Presumably the **CUL_{Ii24}** scribe was influenced by the syntactic

parallelism of line 9b and 10a. A similar motivation may be responsible for the variation

between the first person accusative pronoun and possessive adjective in **Tr_1 CUL_{Ii24}** *me* :

Hat_{20} Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53}) *min* (**CC_{12}** *mín*), line 11a (see below, p. 100).

The variation has no metrical effect.

CPPref (CUL_{Ii24}-Tr_1: Hat_{20}-Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})-CC_{12}), 11a

Tr_1

Seððan **me** onenglesc. ælfræd cynincg
awẹnde. worda| gehwilc. ꝺme his writerum
sende ⁊ suþ ꝺ norþ. het him swylcra ma
bringan.| beþære bysene.
    þæt hehis bisceopum
15 sendan myahte.
    for þæm hi his| sume beþorftan.
þa þe leden spræce læste cuþon.

CUL_{Ii24}

Siððan| **me** on englisc ælfryd cyning
awende worda ge hwilc. ꝺ| me his writerū
sende. suð ꝺ norð.
    for þam he het him swil-|cra ma
brengan be þære bysyne þ he his biscopū
15 sendan||| meahte
    for þam hi his sume be þorftan
þa þe leden spræce| læste cuðon.

Hat_{20}

Siððan **min** onenglisc ælfred kyning
Awende| worda gehwelc ꝺmehis writerum
sende suð ꝺnorð heht.him| swelcra má
brengan biðære bisene ðæthe his biscepum
15 sen|dan meahte. Forðæm hihis sume ðorfton.
Ðaðe læden. spræ|ce læste cuðon :7 :7

Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})

Siððan **min** on Englisc. Ælfred| kyning.
awende worda gehwelc. ꝺ me his write-| rum.
sende suð ꝺ norð. heht him swelcra ma.|
brengan be ðære bysene.
    þæt he his biscepum.|
15 sendan meahte. forðæm hie his. sume ðorfton|
ða þe Læden spræce. læsðe cuðon :-|

CC_{12}

sið ðan **mín** onenglisc ælf|fred cyníng.
áwende worda ge|hwelc. ꝺméhis writerum___
_sendesuð| ꝺnorð___hehthim swelcra má.
bren|gan beðære bisene ðæt hehis| biscepum
15 sendan meahte. for|ðæmhiehis sume ðorfton
ðaðe||| læden spræce læste cuðon :7|

The variation **Tr_1 CUL_{Ii24}** *me* : **Hat_{20} Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53})** *min* (**CC_{12}** *mín*) affects the

interpretation of the entire clause in which it is found. In **Hat_{20} Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53}) CC_{12}**, *min* (and

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[235]See Mitchell, *OES* §1356.

orthographic variants) is a possessive adjective modifying *worda gehwelc*, the object of *awende*, l. 12a: 'Later, King Alfred translated each of **my** words into English...'. In **Tr₁** **CUL₁ᵢ₂₄** *me* is an accusative personal pronoun syntactically parallel to *worda gehwelc* and serving as a direct object of *awende*: 'Later, King Alfred translated **me** into English, each of words...'.

Like use of the genitive plural **CUL₁ᵢ₂₄** *mærða* in line 10b for the dative in all other manuscripts, this variation may have its origins in a desire for local rhetorical parallelism. With the substitution of *me* for *min*, the clause of lines 11-12a becomes syntactically parallel to the following clause of lines 12b-13a: both begin with a first person accusative singular personal pronoun as direct object, follow with an adverbial phrase and end with a rhyming inflected verb. This parallelism is emphasised further in both manuscripts by the placement of a point after *sende* in the middle of line 13a (and after the inflected verb *awẹnde* and infinitive *bringan* in the middle of lines 12a and 14a in **Tr₁**) in addition to the regular metrical points at the ends of the half-lines 12a and 13a[236]:

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[236]O'Keeffe suggests that the punctuation in these lines in **Tr₁** may be the result of a flaw in the poem's metre: "Line 12b is technically poor, since it places *writerum*, the word carrying alliteration, in secondary position. The scribe promotes *writerum* to first stressed position by adding *sende* to the half-line" (*Visible Song*, p. 93). Since the first syllable of *wrīterum* is long, there is no reason to assume that the alliterating syllable does not occupy the first lift of the off-verse (in this case a perfectly regular Type C-2). The fact that the scribes of both manuscripts place points at the line boundaries of 12a and 13a and after *sende* (and in **Tr₁** *awẹnde*) also seems to rule out O'Keeffe's second suggestion, that the points after the inflected verbs in both manuscripts may indicate that "the scribe... pointed these lines as prose, very much in agreement with his practice of pointing in the translation of the *Regula Pastoralis*, where he points by clause" (*Visible Song*, p. 93). *Worda gehwilc* and *suþ and norþ* (the material between the points in **Tr₁** lines 12a and 13a) are neither rhetorical clauses nor metrically acceptable units (the "analogous" readings O'Keeffe supplies from the Metrical Psalms – *worda þinra* and *worda æghwylc* – are both Type A lines and hence not metrically parallel). See *Visible Song*, p. 92, fn. 43 and cf. Campbell, *OEG* §90 for the scansion of the first syllable of *ǣghwelc-*.

CUL_{Ii24}, ll. 11-13a[237]

          Siððan
me on englisc ælfryd cyning awende worda ge hwilc. ꝸ
me his writerū sende. suð ꝸ norð.

Tr₁, ll. 11-13a[238]

Seððan me onenglesc. ælfræd cynincg awęnde. worda
gehwilc. ꝸme his writerum sende ⁊ suþ ꝸ norþ.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

CPPref (Tr₁: Hat₂₀-Tib_{Bxi}(Jn₅₃)-CC₁₂-CUL_{Ii24}), 3a

Tr₁

    Þis ærent gewryt augustinus.
    ofer sealtne sæ. suþan brohte.
    eorð|bugendū. swa hit ær fore
    adihtnode. dryhtnes cempa.
5   rome| papa

Hat₂₀

    Þis ærend gewrit Agustinus.
    ofersealtne sæ suðan brohte.|
    iegbuendum swahit ær fore
    Adihtode dryhtnes cempa
5   rome| papa.

CUL_{Ii24}

    Ðis ærynd ge writ Agustinus
    ofer sealtne sæ suðan| brohte.
    egbugendum swa hit ær fore
    adihtode driht-|nes cempa
5   rome papa

Tib_{Bxi}(Jn₅₃)

    Ðis ærend gewrit. Agustinus.
    ofer saltne sæ.| suðan brohte.
    iegbuendum. swæ hit ær. fore
    adih.|tode. dryhtnes cempa.
5   ~~Gregorius~~ Rome papa.|

CC₁₂

    Ðis ærend gewrit águstinus
    ofer|sealt ne sæ suðan brohte.
    iegbu|endum swa hit ær fore
    adihtode| dryhtnes cempa
5   rome papa

Tr₁ *eorð*|*bugendū* is vague: for readers of Alfred's translation, the importance of Augustine's mission was not simply that he brought the *Cura Pastoralis* to 'people' living overseas, but that he brought it specifically to the *iegbuendum*, the inhabitants of the British Isles. Horgan reports that similar ("sometimes misguided") substitutions are found in both **Tr₁** and **CUL_{Ii24}**.[239] As the compound *eorðbu(g)end(-)* is very common in verse (forty-one occurrences in various spellings), O'Keeffe suggests that the **Tr₁** form may be the result of a formulaic substitution.[240] There are three other occurrences of *iegbu(g)end(-)* in Old English

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[237]Manuscript line-division and punctuation.

[238]Manuscript line-division and punctuation.

[239]Horgan, "Variants," p. 214.

[240]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 93.

poetry, all in texts associated with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: *Menologium*, line 185a,

Coronation of Edgar, line 4a, and *Death of Edgar*, line 37a.[241]

The substitution has no effect on syntax or metre.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (3 examples)

CPPref (Tr$_1$: Hat$_{20}$-Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)-CC$_{12}$-CUL$_{Ii24}$), 8a

Tr$_1$
> for þæm þe he ma ncynnes   mæst gestriende.|
> rodera wearde. romwarena betst
> 10 manna mod weligost. merþum| gefrægost.

Hat$_{20}$
> Forðæm hemonncynnes   mæst.| gestriende.
> rodra wearde   romwara betest
> 10 monna modwelegost   mær|ðum gefrægost.

CUL$_{Ii24}$
> for þam he| man cynnes   mæst gestrinde
> rodera wearde   romwarena| betst.
> 10 manna mod weligost   mærða gefrægost.

Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)
> forðon| he moncynnes. mæst gestrynde.
> rodra wearde.| Romwara betest.
> 10 monna mod welegost. mærðum| gefrægost.

CC$_{12}$
> forðon hemon,| cynnes   mæst gestriende.
> rodera| wearde   róm warabetst.
> 10 monna| mod welegost   mærðum gefræ| gost.

The addition or omission of *þe* has no effect on sense or syntax. Variation in the use of

þe is common with *forþæm* in both adverbial and conjunctive contexts.[242]

The variant adds or subtracts an unstressed syllable from the initial dip of a Type C-1

line and has no significant effect on metre.

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[241]Bessinger and Smith.

[242]Mitchell, *OES* §3011. Based on Liggins, diss., pp. 197-98, 66 and 70.

CPPref (CUL$_{\text{Ii24}}$: Hat$_{20}$-Tib$_{\text{Bxi}}$(Jn$_{53}$)-CC$_{12}$-Tr$_1$), 13b (2 variants)

Tr$_1$

Seððan me onenglesc.   ælfræd cynincg
awҽnde. worda| gehwilc.   ꝺme his writerum
sende ꝰ suþ ꝺ norþ.   <u>het</u> him swylcra ma
bringan.| beþære bysene.
    þæt hehis bisceopum
15 sendan myahte.
   for þæm hi his| sume beþorftan.
þa þe leden spræce   læste cuþon.

Hat$_{20}$

Siððan min onenglisc   ælfred kyning
Awende| worda gehwelc   ꝺmehis writerum
sende suð ꝺnorð   <u>heht</u>.him| swelcra má
brengan biðære bisene   ðæthe his biscepum
15 sen|dan meahte.   Forðæm hihis sume ðorfton.
Ðaðe læden. spræ|ce   læste cuðon :7 :7

CUL$_{\text{Ii24}}$

Siððan| me on englisc   ælfryd cyning
awende worda ge hwilc.   ꝺ| me his writerū
sende. suð ꝺ norð.
    <u>for þam he</u> <u>het</u> him swil -|cra ma
brengan be þære bysyne   þ he his biscopū
15 sendan||| meahte
   for þam hi his sume be þorftan
þa þe leden spræce| læste cuðon.

Tib$_{\text{Bxi}}$(Jn$_{53}$)

Siððan min on Englisc.   Ælfred| kyning.
awende worda gehwelc.   ꝺ me his write-| rum.
sende suð ꝺ norð.   <u>heht</u> him swelcra ma.|
brengan be ðære bysene.
    þæt he his biscepum.|
15 sendan meahte.   forðæm hie his. sume ðorfton|
ða þe Læden spræce.   læsðe cuðon :-|

CC$_{12}$

sið ðan mín onenglisc   ælf|fred cyníng.
áwende worda ge|hwelc.   ꝺméhis writerum___
_sendesuð| ꝺnorð___ <u>heht</u>him swelcra má.
bren|gan beðære bisene   ðæt hehis| biscepum
15 sendan meahte.   for|ðæmhiehis sume ðorfton
ðaðe||| læden spræce   læste cuðon :7|

The addition of *for þam* and *he* to **CUL$_{\text{Ii24}}$** has a significant effect on syntax, but none on metre.

In **CUL$_{\text{Ii24}}$**, *for þam* introduces a "clause of explanation," used to "amplify, explain or suggest the reason for, a statement"[243] – in this case why Alfred sent the *Pastoral Care* south and north to his scribes: '[King Alfred] ...sent me southwards and northwards to his scribes, for he ordered them to produce more of the same according to this model, that he might send [them] to his bishops...'. In **Tr$_1$ Hat$_{20}$ Tib$_{\text{Bxi}}$(Jn$_{53}$) CC$_{12}$**, ll. 13b-15a follow asyndetically on the preceding sentence: '[King Alfred] ...sent me southwards and northwards to his scribes; he ordered them to produce more of the same according to this model that he might send [them] to his bishops...'.

The addition of *he* to **CUL$_{Ii24}$**, is related to the change in syntax brought on by the introduction of *for þam*. In **CUL$_{Ii24}$**, the pronoun is the subject of the clause; in **Tr$_1$ Hat$_{20}$ Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)** and **CC$_{12}$**, the clauses are joined asyndetically with non-repetition of the subject.[244] Both are acceptable syntax.

The additions to **CUL$_{Ii24}$** are probably to be attributed to the same propensity to clarification and explication noted by Horgan in her analysis of the main text of **Tr$_1$** and **CUL$_{Ii24}$**.[245] It is also possible, however, that they were prompted by a reinterpretation of an exemplar in *heht* (as in **Hat$_{20}$ Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)** and **CC$_{12}$**) as *he het*. As both words fall on the preliminary drop of a Type B-1 line, the addition or omission of *for þam* and *he* has no metrical effect.

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[243]Liggins, diss., cited in Mitchell, *OES* § 3015.

[244]Mitchell, *OES* §1690.

[245]Horgan "Variants," p. 220.

Addition/Omission of Prefixes (1 example)

CPPref (CUL$_{Ii24}$-Tr$_1$: Hat$_{20}$-Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)-CC$_{12}$), 15b

Tr$_1$

    Seððan me onenglesc. ælfræd cynincg
    awẹnde. worda| gehwilc. ꝵme his writerum
    sende ⁊ suþ ꞃ norþ. het him swylcra ma
    bringan.| beþære bysene.
               þæt hehis bisceopum
15   sendan myahte.
         for þæm hi his| sume **beþorftan**.
    þa þe leden spræce læste cuþon.

Hat$_{20}$

    Siððan min onenglisc ælfred kyning
    Awende| worda gehwelc ꝵmehis writerum
    sende suð ꞃnorð heht.him| swelcra má
    brengan biðære bisene ðæthe his biscepum
15   sen|dan meahte. Forðæm hihis sume <u>ðorfton</u>.
    Ðaðe læden. spræ|ce læste cuðon :7 :7

CUL$_{Ii24}$

    Siððan| me on englisc ælfryd cyning
    awende worda ge hwilc. ꞃ| me his writerū
    sende. suð ꞃ norð.
             for þam he het him swil -|cra ma
    brengan be þære bysyne þ he his biscopū
15   sendan||| meahte
         for þam hi his sume **be þorftan**
    þa þe leden spræce| læste cuðon.

Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)

    Siððan min on Englisc. Ælfred| kyning.
    awende worda gehwelc. ꞃ me his write-| rum.
    sende suð ꞃ norð. heht him swelcra ma.|
    brengan be ðære bysene.
              þæt he his biscepum.|
15   sendan meahte. forðæm hie his. sume <u>ðorfton</u>|
    ða þe Læden spræce. læsðe cuðon :-|

CC$_{12}$

    sið ðan mín onenglisc ælf|fred cyníng.
    áwende worda ge|hwelc. ꞃméhis writerum___
    _sendesuð| ꞃnorð___hehthim swelcra má.
    bren|gan beðære bisene ðæt hehis| biscepum
15   sendan meahte. for|ðæmhiehis sume <u>ðorfton</u>
    ðaðe||| læden spræce læste cuðon :7|

      The addition or omission of the prefix has no obvious effect on sense or syntax.

Horgan notes that the addition of prefixes is a common feature of **Tr$_1$** and **CUL$_{Ii24}$**.[246] The

variation does affect metre, however. In **Hat$_{20}$ Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$) CC$_{12}$** the line is a Type C-1 with a

resolved first stress. To the extent that the **Tr$_1$ CUL$_{Ii24}$** line is metrical, it is Type A-1 with a

metrically suspicious four anacrustic syllables.

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[246]Horgan, "Variants," pp. 214-5.

Addition/Omission of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

CPPref (CUL$_{Ii24}$: Hat$_{20}$-Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)-CC$_{12}$-Tr$_1$), 6a

Tr$_1$

5   riht spel monig
   gregorius.   gleaw mód geond wód.
   þurh sefan| snytro.   searo þanca hord.

Hat$_{20}$

5   ryhtspell monig.
   Gregorius   gleawmod gindwód
   ðurh| sefan snyttro   searo ðonca hord.

CUL$_{Ii24}$

5   riht spel monig.
– – –   gleaw mod geond|wod
   þurh sefan snytro   searo þanca hord.

Tib$_{Bxi}$(Jn$_{53}$)

5   ryht spell monig.
   Gregorius.   gleaw mod. gind wod.|
   ðurh sefan snyttro.   searo ðonca hord.

CC$_{12}$

5   ryht|spel monig.
   gregorius   gleawmod| geondwód
   ðurh sefan snyttro| searo ðonca hord.

The omission of expected *gregorius* from **CUL$_{Ii24}$** is presumably to be explained as a result of syntactic or sensical eyeskip. Since the subject of lines 5b-7 is the same as that of lines 3b-5a and since *gregorius* is appositive to the nominative adjective *gleaw mod*, the proper noun is neither syntactically nor sensically necessary.

The word *is* metrically necessary, however. Perhaps the unusual double alliteration[247] in the off-verse led the scribe of **CUL$_{Ii24}$** into accepting line 6b as a metrically complete long line.

Metrical Epilogue

Although there seems little reason to doubt that the Metrical Epilogue was intended to follow Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care* as the last item in the translation,[248] it has

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[247] Although no other verse in this poem alliterates on either /g/ or /j/, two lines in the presumably contemporary *Metrical Epilogue* do: line 10 *gierdon... gode* and line 23 *Gregorius... gegiered.*

[248] Dobbie argues that "there is nothing in the metrical epilogue to connect it inescapably with the *Pastoral Care*, except perhaps the mention of Gregory in l. 23" (*ASPR* 6, p. cxii). In addition to the reference to Gregory, the poem's water imagery also seems to provide a connection with the last section of the prose, in which St. Gregory explains how he was *gened... ðæt ic nu hæbbe mænege men gelæd to ðæm stæðe fullfremednesse on ðæm scipe mines modes* 'compelled... to lead many men to the shore of perfection in the ship of my mind' and prays to John his interlocutor for the *on ðæm scipgebroce ðisses andweardan lifes sum bred geræce ðinra gebeda, ðæt ic mæge on sittan oð ic to londe cume* 'the plank of thy prayers in the shipwreck of this present life, that I may sit on it till I come to land...' (text and translation: Sweet, *King Alfred's Version*, pp. 466 and 467). A further reference to water is found in a citation of John 4:13-14

suffered more seriously than the Metrical Preface from the vicissitudes of fire and age. It survives in only two manuscripts, **Hat₂₀** and **CC₁₂** – although, as all but one of the remaining manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care* end defectively, it seems likely that its original circulation was wider than the number of surviving copies would suggest.[249]

As was the case with the variation found among the witnesses to the Metrical Preface, the lack of variation found between the witnesses to the Metrical Epilogue can be best explained in terms of the habits and interests of the scribes responsible for its surviving copies. Its two witnesses, although members of different textual groups, are the work of demonstrably careful scribes; scribes who, with the exception of a single relatively minor difference in case (see above, p. 98), transmit substantively identical versions of the Metrical Preface. In copying the Metrical Epilogue, these same scribes – assisted, in the case of **Hat₂₀** by an even more accomplished colleague[250] – copy their texts to an equally high standard of substantive accuracy.

"Cædmon's Hymn" (*eorðan*-recension)

As we have just seen, substantive textual variation among the witnesses to the Metrical Preface and Epilogue of the Old English *Pastoral Care* is restricted with one exception to the

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which follows the Metrical Epilogue in **Hat₂₀**: *qui biberit aquā quā ego do dicit dns samaritane, fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam eternā* (Vulgate: *qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei, non sitiet in aeternum: sed aqua quam ego dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam*). I am indebted to Fred C. Robinson for drawing my attention to this gloss.

[249]Junius's copy of **Tib_Bxi** breaks off mid-way through Chapter 49 (with *ic mæge hieran ðine stemne*, 380/15); **Otho_Bii** ends in Chapter 56 (*þa sculon*, 433/25); and **CUL_Ii24** in the middle of the last sentence of the last Chapter (*oð ic to lande cume*, Chapter 65, 467/25). Only **Tr₁** (which also omits the Prose Preface) can be said to have omitted the Epilogue for certain: its text ends with the last sentence of Chapter 65 (*minra agenra scylda*, 467/27), and the colophon: *Deos gratias. Amen.* (Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 88).

[250]The main scribe of **Hat₂₀**, believed by Ker to be responsible for the Metrical Preface (see above, p. 203 and fn. 203), copies most of the first 10 lines of the Metrical Epilogue (to *gode*, l. 10b and the bottom of f. 98r). The manuscript's "minor" hand – a much more accomplished scribe – takes over at the top of the verso and arranges the text of the Epilogue in the form of an inverted triangle which tapers to a point in the middle of the page. For a facsimile, see Robinson and Stanley, eds., *EEMF* 23, plates 6.2.2.1-6.2.2.2.

late tenth-/early eleventh- and late eleventh-century representatives of a single innovative textual tradition of the framing translation. When – as is the case with the Metrical Epilogue and all but the **Tr₁** and **CUL_Ii24** texts of the Metrical Preface – the poem was transmitted outside of this innovative tradition, the responsible scribes copied their texts with a minimum of substantive variation.

In contrast, the surviving witnesses to the West-Saxon *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" exhibit a substantive variation which is both more frequent and more widely distributed across the textual groups of the framing text. By O'Keeffe's count, the five witnesses to the *eorðan*-recension of the Hymn found in copies of the Old English *Historia* contain seven variants which are "gramatically and semantically appropriate"[251]; by my own count, there are at least 15 substantive variants in the poem's six known witnesses which have a potentially significant effect on sense, metre, or syntax:

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[251]*Visible Song*, p. 39. The variants she lists are as follows: "*nu/nu we* [l.1a]; *weorc/wera/weoroda* [l.3a]; *wuldorfaeder* [*sic*, for *wuldorfæder*]/*wuldorgodes* [l.3a]; *wundra/wuldres* [l.3b]; *gehwaes* [*sic*, for *gehwæs*]/*fela* [l.3b]; *or/ord* [l.4b]; *sceop/gescop* [5a]." Not included in this total are three variants from London, British Library, Additional 43703 (**N**) which O'Keeffe – probably correctly – discounts as being the likely result of Nowell's own copying errors (*Visible Song*, p. 39; see also below, p. 142, fn. 310); three unique variants from **B₁**: *herigan sculon*, l. 1a; *astealde*, l. 4b; and *þe*, l. 7a; and the variants from the marginal version of the *eorðan*-recension in Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 134 (**To**). This last manuscript is not mentioned in O'Keeffe's chapter or index. Jabbour discusses nine variants: *ne/nu*, *we/∅*, l. 1a; *weorc/weoroda/wera*, l. 3a; *wundra/wuldres*, l. 3b; *or/oord/ord*, l. 4b; *sceop/gesceop*, l. 5a; *eorðan/eorþū*, l. 5b; *teode/eode*, l. 8b; *firum/finū*, l. 9a (diss., pp. 195-196, 197).

Table 1: Substantive Variants in the West-Saxon eorðan-*recension of "Cædmon's Hymn"*[252]

	C(N)	O	Ca	T₁	B₁	To[253]
1a	**Ne**	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu
	∅	∅ *corr. to* **we**	we	∅	**we**	we
	sculon her gean	sculan herian	sceolan herigean	sculon herigean	**herigan sculon**	sceolon herian
3a	**weoroda**	**wero** *corr. to* **wera**	wera	weorc	weorc	weorc
	wul:|dor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor **godes**	wulder fæder
3 b	wundra	wundra	**wuldres**	wundra	wund ra	wundra
	gewhwæs *corr. to* gehwæs	ge hwæs	ge hwæs	gehwæs	**fela**	gehwæs
4 b	or	oór *corr. to* oór,ᵈ	ord	ór	**ord**	**ær**
	onstealde (f.146v)[254]	onstealde	onstealde	on|stealde	**astealde**	astealde
5a	scop	**gesceop**	ge|scóp	sceop	sceop	sceop
5 b	**eorþū**	eorðan	orðan *corr. to* ,eorðan	eorðan	eorðan	eorðan
6 b	sc,ʸpend	scyppend	scyppend	scyppend	scyp|pend	**drihten**
7a	þa	ða	þa	þa	**þe**	þa
8a	eode	teo de	teode	teode	teode	teode
9a	finū	firum	firū	firum	fyrum	firum
	foldan	**folda**, *corr. to* folda,ⁿ	foldan	foldan	foldan	foldan

By either reckoning, this is a lot of variation for a nine line poem – especially when it is compared with the almost complete lack of substantive variation found among the witnesses to the roughly contemporary West-Saxon *ylda*-recension of the poem, or the two eighth-century witnesses to the Northumbrian *aeldu*-recension discussed in Chapter Two.[255] Comparing the *ylda*-and *eorðan*-texts, O'Keeffe has suggested that the more extensive

[252]Potentially significant variants in bold face. The manuscripts to which these sigla refer are listed beginning on p. 112 below. A list and explanation of all sigla used in this dissertation can be found in Appendix 2.

[253]O'Keeffe does not include the variants from **To** in her discussion of the variants in "Cædmon's Hymn."

[254]The catchword at the foot of f. 145r reads: *onsteald*.

[255]See pp. 21 ff. and 49 ff.

variation exhibited by the witnesses to the *eorðan*-text is evidence of the fundamentally

formulaic approach its scribes took towards the transmission of Old English poetry, the results

of which she contrasts with the type of contamination inevitable in all longer copying tasks:

> When we examine the variations in the five tenth- and eleventh-century records of the West Saxon [sc. *eorðan*-] version, we see in the despair of the textual editor palpable evidence of a fluid transmission of the *Hymn* somewhere between the formula-defined process which is an oral poem and the graph-bound object which is a text. We see a reading activity reflected in these scribal variants which is formula-dependent, in that the variants observe metrical and alliterative constraints, and which is context-defined, in that the variants produced arise within a field of possibilities generated within a context of expectations. The mode of reading I am proposing operates by suggestion, by 'guess' triggered by key-words in formulae. It is a method of reading which is the natural and inevitable product of an oral tradition at an early stage in its adaptation to the possibilities of writing. These five records of Cædmon's *Hymn* give evidence of a reading activity characterized by intense reader inference, where the reader uses knowledge of the conventions of the verse to 'predict' what is on the page. Variance in an oral tradition is made inevitable by the subjectivity of the speaker (and hearer), but is constrained by impersonal metre and alliteration. The writing of a poem acts as a very powerful constraint on variance, and in the face of such constraint, the presence of variance argues an equally powerful pull from the oral.
>
> The process of copying manuscripts is rarely simply mechanical. Given the normal medieval practice of reading aloud, or at least of sub-vocalizing, the scribe likely 'heard' at least some of his text. And copying done in blocks of text required the commission of several words or phrases to short-term memory. The trigger of memory is responsible for various sorts of contamination, and this is most easily seen, for example, in the importation of Old Latin readings into the copying of the Vulgate Bible. Quite another sort of memory-trigger is responsible for 'Freudian' substitutions in a text. Here the substitutes, if syntactically correct, are usually not semantically or contextually appropriate.
>
> The presence of variants in Cædmon's *Hymn*, however, differs in an important way from the appearance of memorial variants in biblical or liturgical texts. Both sorts depend to some degree on memory, but the variants in Cædmon's *Hymn* use memory not to import a set phrase but to draw on formulaic possibility. Reception here, conditioned by formulaic conventions, produces variants which are metrically, syntactically and semantically appropriate. In such a process, reading and copying have actually become conflated with composing. The integral presence of such variance in transmitting the *Hymn* in *AE [i.e. the *eorðan*-recension] argues for the existence of a transitional state between pure orality and pure literacy whose evidence is a reading process which applies oral techniques for the reception of a message to the decoding of a written text.[256]

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[256]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 40-41.

As we shall see, however, the variation found among the witnesses to the West-Saxon *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" has less to do with the formulaic responsiveness of the scribes involved in its transmission than with the attitude these scribes (or the scribes of their antecedents) take towards the framing text as a whole. As was the case with the Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*, the most innovative versions of the *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" are found in the most innovative witnesses to the framing prose text of the Old English translation of the *Historia* and show roughly similar amounts and types of textual variation. While the most innovative versions of this recension of the Hymn are not restricted to a single branch of the framing text, the variation they exhibit can be shown to match the demonstrable extra-poetical interests of the scribes responsible for copying them.

Manuscripts of the Old English *Historia*

As it has come down to us, the Old English *Historia* survives in five insular manuscripts dating from the first quarter of the tenth century to the second half of the eleventh[257]: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10, s.x[1] (**T₁**); †London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi, s.x[med] (**C**; this manuscript was damaged in the Cotton fire and is known primarily from a sixteenth-century transcript by Lawrence Nowell, London, British Library, Additional 43703 [**N**][258]); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41, s.xi[1] (**B₁**); Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii, s.xi[in] (**O**); Cambridge University Library, Kk. 3. 18, s.xi[2] (**Ca**). A sixth copy of the *eorðan*-recension of the Hymn is found as a gloss to Bede's Latin paraphrase of

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[257]The sigla used in this section are as in Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 8-9. For **O** a distinction is made between the uncorrected and corrected texts of the Hymn. For the uncorrected form, the siglum **O**[uncorr] is used; the corrected text is represented by the siglum **O**[corr]; forms which are the same in both the uncorrected and corrected versions are indicated by the siglum **O**.

[258]Nowell's transcript also contains a copy of **ChronG**. See below, p. 138, fn. 303.

the poem in the margins of a twelfth-century and perhaps continental version of the Latin *Historia*, †Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 134 (**To**).[259]

Since the early eighteenth century, the manuscripts of the Old English *Historia* have been divided into two textual groups: $T_1 B_1$ and **C(N) O Ca**.[260] Of these, **C(N) O Ca** show the least internal variation, especially **O** and **Ca** which are particularly close and probably linearly related.[261] T_1 and B_1, on the other hand, show far more internal variation. While they share a number of common errors and omissions, the text of B_1 in particular has been freely handled, and contains many unique readings not found in any other manuscript.[262]

As was the case with the *Pastoral Care*, the textual stemma implied by the framing text of the Old English *Historia* helps clarify the distribution of variants among the witnesses to the poem it contains (Figure 2). Like the framing text, the two earliest manuscripts of the *eorðan*-recension reproduce relatively similar texts.[263] With the exception of the unique, non-sensical, and probably sixteenth-century variants **C(N)** *ne* T_1 *nu*, line 1a, **C(N)** *eorþū* T_1 *eorðan*, line 5b, **C(N)** *eode* T_1 *teode*, line 8a, and **C(N)** *finū* T_1 *firum*, line 9a,[264] these two originally tenth-century records are separated by a single substitution, **C(N)** *weoroda* T_1

[259]See Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 387. The manuscript was destroyed in 1940. A facsimile can be found in *EEMF* 23, pl. 2.20.

[260]See: Raymond J.S. Grant, *The B-Text of the Old English Bede*: *A Linguistic Commentary*, Costerus n.s. 73 (Amsterdam: Rodophi, 1989), pp. 5-7; Dorothy Whitelock, "The Old English Bede," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 48 (1962): 57-90 (esp. p. 81, fn. 22); Thomas Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, EETS os 95, 110 (London: EETS, 1890-1898), v.1 pp. xxiv-xxvi; and Jacob Schipper, ed. *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, 2 vols., Bibliothek der angelsächsichen Prosa 4 (Leipzig: Georg H. Wigand, 1898-1899), pp. xi-xxxv. For a modified view of this traditional division, see Grant, *The B-Text*, p. 6. His modified stemma does not affect the following discussion.

[261]Schipper, *König Alfreds Übersetzung*, p. xix; Both Dobbie (*Manuscripts*, p. 213) and Schipper (*König Alfreds Übersetzung*, p. xix) cite Zupitza (*Altenglisches Übungsbuch*, 2nd edition [Vienna: 1881] p. iv) as the first to notice this relationship. I have been unable to consult the 2nd edition.

[262]Miller, *The Old English Version*, v.1, p. xxv; Schipper, p. xxxiv; Grant, *The B-Text*, pp. 10-11 *et passim*.

[263]On the relationship of T_1 and B_1, see Miller, *The Old English Version*, v.1, pp. xxv.

[264]See O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 39; Jabbour, diss., pp. 195-196; Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, p. 25.

weorc, line 3a.[265] As is again true of the framing text, there is also very little variation between the individual members of the **C(N) O Ca** group. While the manuscripts at the farthest ends of this branch, **C(N)** and **Ca**, contain quite different texts of the Hymn, all but two of the variants which separate them are transcription errors in **C(N)** or can be traced to corrections made in **O**. In its uncorrected state, O^{uncorr} has only three readings (apart from the transcription errors in **C(N)**) which are not found in **C(N)**: a substitution of the stressed synonyms O^{uncorr} *wero* (O^{corr} *wera*) for **C(N)** *weoroda*, line 3a; the addition of the prefix *ge-* to **C(N)** *scop* (**O** *gesceop*), line 5a; and the inflectional difference, O^{uncorr} *folda* (O^{corr} *folda,ⁿ*) for **C(N)** *foldan*, l. 9a. In its corrected state, O^{corr} supplies all but one of the readings in **Ca**, the only innovation in the latter manuscript being the inflectional difference and substitution of synonyms **Ca** *wuldres* **O** *wundra*, line 3b. In the other tradition, **To**, despite its lack of a framing text, shows an affinity with and lies somewhere between the T_1 and B_1 versions of the Hymn. Like T_1 and B_1, **To** has *weorc* for **C(N)** *weoroda* (O^{corr} **Ca** *wera*). Like B_1, it adds *we* to line 1a (B_1 O^{corr} *we*; T_1 **C(N)** O^{uncorr} **Ca** $\varnothing$) and reads *astealde* for T_1 *on/stealde* (**C(N) O Ca** *onstealde*) B_1 *astealde*, line 4b. Like T_1 (and the members of the **C(N) O Ca** group), **To** has *sceolon herian* for B_1 *herigan sculon*, line 1a; *wulder fæder* for B_1 *wuldor godes*, line 3a; *gehwæs* for B_1 *fela*, line 3a; and *þa* for B_1 *þe*, line 7a. Its two unique variants, **To** *ær* (T_1 *ór* **C(N)** *or* O^{uncorr} *oór* B_1 **Ca** *ord* O^{corr} *oór,ᵈ*), line 4b, and **To** *drihten* (T_1 **O Ca** *scyppend* B_1 *scyp/pend* **C(N)** *scẏpend*), line 6b, both have the look of scribal errors: *ær* for *ord/or* is presumably to be explained as a graphic error, while *drihten* for *scyppend* may reflect the influence of the same word in lines 4a and 8a.

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[265]An annotated catalogue of potentially significant substantive variation in this recension of the Hymn follows below, pp. 121-136.

This leaves us with two witnesses which are between them responsible for the introduction of the bulk of the textual variation into each textual group: B_1, and the corrected **O**.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii (O/O^{uncorr}/O^{corr})

As mentioned above, in its uncorrected form, **O**^{uncorr} presents a text relatively close to that of **C(N)**. Apart from the four transcription errors in **C(N)** (*ne*, *eorþū*, *eode* and *finū*, see above, p. 113), **O**^{uncorr} introduces three forms not found in **C(N)**, two of which are non-sensical: **O**^{uncorr} *wero* (**O**^{corr} **Ca** *wera* **C(N)** *weoroda* **T$_1$ B$_1$ To** *weorc*), line 3a; **O** *gesceop* (**C(N)** *scop*; **T$_1$** *sceop*), line 5a; and **O**^{uncorr} *folda* (**O**^{corr} *folda,^{n}*; **C(N) Ca T$_1$ B$_1$ To** *foldan*), line 9a. In its corrected form, **O**^{corr} fixes *folda* and *wero* and adds another two potentially significant substantive variants: **O**^{corr} *we* (**O**^{uncorr} **C(N) T$_1$** $\varnothing$; **Ca B$_1$ To** *we*), line 1a; and **O**^{corr} *oór,^{d}* (**O**^{uncorr} *oór* **C(N)** *or* **T$_1$** *ór*; **Ca B$_1$** *ord*; **To** *ær*), line 4b.

As all but one of the sensible, and syntactically and metrically appropriate variants introduced into the **O**-text of the Hymn are by correction (and as a result involve the alteration of text already committed to parchment), these variants lack by definition the spontaneity implicit in O'Keeffe's definition of "transitional" copying as a "reading activity characterized by intense reader inference, where the reader uses knowledge of the conventions of the verse to 'predict' what is on the page," and in which scribes produce syntactically, metrically and semantically appropriate variants "by suggestion, by 'guess' triggered by key-words in formulae."[266] As all but one of the variants in **O** are found in other recensions of the Hymn (and in the marginal West-Saxon *ylda*-text in particular),[267] moreover, it seems likely that the scribe responsible for **O**^{corr} either collated his text against a manuscript in which a copy of the

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[266]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 40.

ylda-recension was found[268] or knew such a text by heart and corrected his exemplar to match the version with which they were more familiar.[269] That this second possibility is the more likely is suggested by the reading *wera* in line 3a: had the corrector of **O** had a copy of another recension of the Hymn in front of him, we would expect him to substitute *weorc*, the reading (with dialectal and orthographic variation) of all witnesses to all recensions of the Hymn except **C(N)**, **O** and **Ca**. *Wera* 'of men', which is graphically and metrically similar to *weorc* 'work(s)' but closer to the **C(N)** reading *weoroda* 'of hosts' in sense and grammar, on the other hand, looks very much like what we might describe as a memorial conflation were it not by correction. It reduces the Type D*2 or D*4 metre of the **C(N)** version of line 3a to a Type D-2 or D-4 (as in all other recensions of the Hymn) without dramatically changing the sense of the "original" reading in **C(N)**. Recognising that the **C(N)** form was incorrect, the scribe of **O**^{corr} appears to have corrected his original *wero* (for *weoroda*?) by supplying a form which is semantically and grammatically similar to the form in **C(N)**, but metrically equivalent to that in all other versions of the Hymn.

As Miller and Schipper note, similar corrections are found throughout the **O** text of the *Historia*.[270]

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41 (B₁)

The eleventh-century **B₁** is by far the most innovative witness to any version of "Cædmon's Hymn." It contains seven variants not found in its closest relative, **T₁**, all of

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[267]The exception is *wera*, line 3. As noted below, this substitution does bring the **O**^{corr} version of line 3a into a closer metrical congruence with the *ylda*-text, however. See also p. 125.

[268]The **O** scribe does not adopt the two nonsensical readings of the *ylda*-recension, *gehwilc* and *tida* (see above, Chapter 2, pp. 27-29). This may indicate that a second, corrected copy of the *ylda*-text was in circulation, or it may be further evidence to suggest that the preservation of the corruptions in the marginal texts of the Hymn was the result of deliberate scribal attempts at literal accuracy; working outside of the margins, the **O** scribe may have felt free to change the parts that did not make sense.

[269]Both possibilities are discussed briefly by Jabbour, diss., p. 197.

which are metrically, syntactically and semantically appropriate. Of these, three are found in

other witnesses to the *eorðan*-recension of the *Hymn* and, as they are also the readings of the

ylda-text, are perhaps to be ascribed to a conscious or unconscious conflation of the *eorðan*-

recension with another version: **B₁** *we* for **T₁ C(N) O**$^{\text{uncorr}}$ $\varnothing$ (**O**$^{\text{corr}}$ **Ca To** *we*; all manuscripts

of the *ylda-* and Northumbrian *eordu*-recensions), line 1a; **B₁** *ord* for **T₁** *ór* **C(N)** *or* **O**$^{\text{uncorr}}$ *oór*

(**O**$^{\text{corr}}$ *oór,*^{d} **Ca** *ord*; all manuscripts of the *ylda*-recension except **W**), line 4b; and **B₁** *astealde*

for **T₁** *on/stealde* (**C(N) O Ca** *onstealde*) **To** *astealde*, line 4b.

The remaining four variants, however, are both unique to **B₁** and metrically,

syntactically, lexically, or visually striking. The inversion of *sculon herigan*, line 1a, has no

effect on sense or syntax, but changes the metre to a Type B-1 from the Type A-3 line found in

all other manuscripts of the Hymn.[271] The substitution of the relative marker **B₁** *þe* for the

temporal adverb *þa* (and orthographic variants) in the other manuscripts of the *eorðan*-

recension, in contrast, has no effect on metre, but a significant effect on syntax. **B₁** *wuldor*

godes (for *wuldorfæder* and variants in all other manuscripts), line 3a, while having no effect

on sense, metre, or syntax, cannot be the result of a graphic substitution of homographs. **B₁**

fela (for *gehwæs* and variants in all other witnesses), line 3b, is equally striking graphically,

and has an effect on both metre and syntax.

All these variants make good sense, metre, and syntax, and seem, as a result, to be

among the best evidence for the type of "formulaic" reading O'Keeffe suggests is responsible

for the textual variation among witnesses to various multiply attested poems. Except that there

is nothing particularly formulaic about them. As striking and as appropriate as they are, the

variants introduced into the poetic text of "Cædmon's Hymn" in **B₁** correspond in frequency

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[270]Miller, *The Old English Version*, v.1, pp. xviii-xx; Schipper, *König Alfreds Übersetzung*, p. xiii.

and type to the more general pattern of variation found throughout the prose of the main text of

the Old English *Historia* in this manuscript,[272] and as such are less likely "the natural and

inevitable product of an oral tradition at an early stage in its adaptation to the possibilities of

writing,"[273] or a product of memorial transmission,[274] than the result of a demonstrable

editorial tendency in the tradition leading up to the **B₁** text.[275] Indeed, as the following extract

from Miller's edition (based at this point on **T₁**)[276] and his collation of **B₁** for the page on

which "Cædmon's Hymn" appears demonstrates, alterations of vocabulary, inflection, and

syntax are as frequent in the surrounding prose of Book IV, Chapter 24 as they are in the

Hymn itself[277]:

1	**T₁**		Þa **cwæð**
	B₁	[MS p. 321]	þa **andswarode**
2	**T₁**	**he**: Hwæt sceal ic	singan? **Cwæð he**: Sing me frumsceaft. Þa
	B₁	**he ꝭ cwæð** hwæt sceal ic [MS p. 322] singan? **ða cwæð**: Sing me frumsceaft. Þa
3	**T₁**	he ða þas andsware onfeng, þa ongon he sona singan **in herenesse**	
	B₁	he ða þas andsware onfeng, þa ongan he sona singan **on herunge**	

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[271]The variants mentioned in this paragraph are discussed in greater detail in the catalogue of textual variants. See below, pp. 129-134

[272]An exhaustive treatment of the textual variation between **B₁** and **T₁** can be found in Grant, *The B-Text*.

[273]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 40.

[274]The conclusion of Jabbour, diss., pp. 199-200.

[275]According to Ker, **B₁** was copied by two scribes working simultaneously beginning at pp. 1 and 207 (*Catalogue*, art. 32). "Cædmon's Hymn" (p. 322) was copied by the second scribe. Grant reports no major differences between the two scribes in terms of the alterations introduced in their sections: "it has not been found productive to distinguish the changes wrought to the Bede text by the individual scribes. Neither of the scribes emerges as any more responsible than his colleagues for the alterations, and any commentary on differences between the practices of various scribes would properly have to be directed to B's exemplar in any case" (*The B-Text*, p. 11). The creativity of the second scribe in particular has been frequently discussed. In "'Bede's' Envoi to the Old English *History*: an Experiment in Editing" (*SP* 78 [1981]: 4-19), Robinson suggests that the second scribe has actually composed an entire poem and put it into the mouth of Bede at the end of the Old English *Historia*.

[276]Miller, *The Old English Version*, v.1, p. xxii.

[277]Text and line numbers are from Miller, *The Old English Version*, v.1, p. 344 (**Tr₁**) and v.2, pp. 408-410 (**B₁**). I have printed substantive variants from **B₁** in bold-face. Miller records one emendation to **T₁** in the apparatus to his edition, *Gode wyrðes* for **T₁** *godes wordes*, l.17; I have restored the **T₁** reading. As Miller gives only the textual variants from **B₁**, readings from that manuscript in normal type are extrapolated from the text of **T₁**.

4 **T₁** Godes Scyppendes þa fers ꝫ þa word þe he næfre gehyrde, þære
   B₁ Godes Scyppendes ða uers ꝫ þa word **godes** þe he næfre **ær ne** gehyrde,

5 **T₁** endebyrdnesse **þis is**.... ["Cædmon's Hymn"]
   B₁ **ne heora** endebyrdnesse... ["Cædmon's Hymn"]

15 **T₁** Þa aras he from þæm slæpe, ꝫ eal, **þa þe** he slæpende song, fæste
   B₁ Þa aras he fram þam slæpe, ꝫ eall **ðæt he** slæpende sang **he hyt** fæste

16 **T₁** **in** gemynde hæfde. ꝫ þæm wordum sona monig word in þæt ilce
   B₁ **on** gemynde hæfde. ꝫ þam wordum sona monig word in ꝥ ylce

17 **T₁** gemet **Godes wordes** songes togeþeodde. Þa com he on **morgenne**
   B₁ gemet **gode wyrðes** sanges **þær** togeþeodde. Þa cóm he on **morgen**

18 **T₁** to þæm túngerefan, þe his ealdormon wæs: sægde him hwylce gife
   B₁ to ðam túngerefan, **se** ðe his ealdorman wæs: sæde him hwylce gyfe

19 **T₁** he **onfeng**; ꝫ he hine sona to þære abbudissan gelædde ꝫ hire **þa**
   B₁ he **onfangen hæfde**; ꝫ he hyne sona to þære abbodessan gelædde ꝫ hyre ꝥ

20 **T₁** cyðde ꝫ sægde. Þa heht heo gesomnian ealle þa gelæredestan men...
   B₁ cyðde ꝫ sæde. Þa het heo gesamnian ealle þa gelære[MS p. 323]destan menn...

Among the substantive variants on this – not unusual – page from the **B₁** text of the

Historia are many which agree in type with the innovations found in the same manuscript's

text of "Cædmon's Hymn": inflectional differences: **B₁** *gode* **T₁** *godes*, line 17; **B₁** *morgen* **T₁**

morgenne, line 17; **B₁** *onfangen hæfde* **T₁** *onfeng*, line 19; substitutions of nouns: **B₁** *herunge*

T₁ *herenesse*, line 3; **B₁** *wyrðes* **T₁** *wordes*, line 17; of prepositions and conjunctions: **B₁** *on* **T₁**

in, lines 3 and 16; **B₁** *ðæt he* **T₁** *þa þe*, line 15; **B₁** *ꝥ* **T₁** *þa*, line 19; the addition or omission of

adjectives and verbs: **B₁** *andswarode*, line 1, **B₁** *godes*, line 4; and of prepositions, pronouns,

adverbs and conjunctions: **B₁** *ꝫ*, line 2; **B₁** *ða*, line 2; **T₁** *he*, line 2; **B₁** *ær*, line 4; **B₁** *ne*, lines 4

and 5; **B₁** *heora*, line 5; **B₁** *he*, line 15; **B₁** *hyt*, line 15; **B₁** *þær*, line 17; **B₁** *se*, line 18.

The closeness of this correspondence can be demonstrated beyond doubt, when the

innovation introduced into the **B₁** text of the Hymn is compared to that catalogued by Grant

from the Old English *Historia* as a whole.[278] The addition of *we* to line 1a of the **B₁** text of

"Cædmon's Hymn," for example, is paralleled by "83" examples in the *Historia* in which **B₁**

shows the addition of a "noun or pronoun as the subject or object" of a verb which appears

without an explicit subject or object in **T₁**.[279] Substitutions of stressed elements such as **B₁** -

godes ("Cædmon's Hymn," line 3b), *ord* ("Cædmon's Hymn," line 5b), or, from the prose

cited above, **B₁** *herunge* **T₁** *herenesse*, line 3; **B₁** *wyrðes* **T₁** *wordes*, line 17, are with over 360

occurrences among the most frequent variants cited by Grant from the **B₁** text.[280]   Variation in

the choice of adjectives is also frequent (approximately 150 examples), although "Cædmon's

Hymn" line 3a is the only example Grant cites of a substitution involving *fela* or *gehwa*.[281]

The substitution *astealde* for *onstealde* is but one example of hundreds of similar variants in

the use of prefixes with nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs cited by Grant.[282] The

substitution of the relative pronoun for *þa* in "Cædmon's Hymn," line 7a, likewise is only one

of numerous examples of the (correct and incorrect) substitution or addition of the relative

particle in **B₁**.[283]

Textual Variants

        The following catalogue is arranged on a manuscript-by-manuscript basis. It includes

all potentially significant substantive variants found among the witnesses to the Hymn, with

the exception of the four nonsensical transcription errors in **C(N)** discussed above (p. 113). As

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[278]All variants and counts from the main text of the **B₁** *Historia* cited in this and the following paragraphs are from Grant, *The B-Text*.

[279]Grant, *The B-Text*, pp. 331-2, 336-7. The figure "83" is given on p. 331. Although Grant does not break his count down into separate figures for nouns and pronouns, all but one of the examples he cites involve the addition of a pronoun.

[280]"Cædmon's Hymn" line 3b is the only example of variation between -*god* and -*fæder* listed by Grant; variation between **B₁** *god* and **T₁** *drihten* (and, less frequently, vice versa), however, is relatively common. In Grant's citations, **B₁** substitutes *god*(-) for **T₁** *driht*(*e*)*n*(-) five times, **B₁** *driht*(*e*)*n*(-) for **T₁** *god*- twice. **B₁** and **T₁** have *god*(-) for *driht*(*e*)*n*(-) in other manuscripts of the *Historia* twice. See *The B-Text*, pp. 51-2.

[281]Grant, *The B-Text*, pp. 98-108.

[282]For examples see Grant, *The B-Text*, pp. 84-9 (nouns); 109-110 (adjectives); 127 (adverbs); and 197-218 (verbs). The "Cædmon's Hymn" variant does not appear in Grant's lists of variants involving verbal prefixes or substitutions.

[283]Grant, *The B-Text*, pp. 131-132 and 143-4.

some innovations occur – presumably independently – in both manuscript groups, there is

some duplication in the forms cited.

†London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi
(London, British Library, Additional 43703 [C(N)])

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Cæd(*eorðan*) (C(N)), 3a

T₁

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
   meotodes meahte   ⁊his modgeþanc
   weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
   ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

B₁

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
   metodes mihte| ⁊hismod geþanc
   weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
   écedrihten   ord| astealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
   metodes mihte   ⁊ his mod|geþanc
   weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
   ece drihten   ær| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
   metodes mihte .   Ond his mod geþonc
   weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
   ece drihten   or|| onstealde.

O^corr

1 Nu^we;sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
   metodes mihte   ⁊hismod geþonc
   werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
   ecedryhten   oór,^d onstealde

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
   metodes mihte   ⁊his mod ge þanc.
   wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
   ece drihten.   ord onstealde

The substitution **C(N)** *weoroda* **T₁ B₁ To** *weorc* (**O^uncorr** *wero* **O^corr Ca** *wera*) affects

sense, metre, and syntax. In **T₁ B₁ To** (and all other recensions of the Hymn), *weorc* is to be

construed as the subject or object of *sculon herian* (and orthographic variants), line 1a,[284] with

wuldorfæder (and orthographic variants) a subordinate genitive of specification: 'work of the

Glorious Father'. In **C(N)**, however, *weoroda* is itself a genitive plural, modifying *wul:|dor*

fæder (in this case to be construed as an accusative singular): 'Glorious Father of hosts'. This

leaves *sculon* without a *logical* candidate for the syntactically necessary expressed subject,

although it is grammatically possible to construe *we:|ard*, *mihte* and *mod geþonc* as

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[284]Mitchell, "Cædmon's Hymn, Line 1: What is the Subject of *Scylun* or its Variants," *LSE* 16 (1985): 190-97.

nominatives.[285] In **C(N)**, with *weorc* (as in **T₁**), line 3a is to be scanned as a Type D-2 or D-4,

with resolution of the first stress; with *weoroda*, the equivalent line is Type D*2 or D*4.[286]

The **O^uncorr** and **O^corr** (**Ca**) forms are discussed below. See pp. 123 and 125.

<div align="center">

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii
Uncorrected Text (O^uncorr)

</div>

Inflectional Difference (1 example)

Cæd(eorðan) (**O^uncorr**), 7a

T₁

5   he ærest sceop   eorðan bearnū
     heofontohrofe| halig scyppend.
     þamiddangeard   moncynnes weard
     ece| drihten æfter teode
     firum **foldan** frea ælmihtig.

B₁

5   he ærest sceop   eorðan bear|num
     heofon tohrofe halig scyp|pend
     þemiddan geard mann cynnes| weard
     écedrihten æfter teode|
     fyrum **foldan** frea ælmihtig⁑

To

5   he ærost sceop   eorðan bearnū.
     heofon to hrofe. halig| drihten.
     þa middan eard mancynnes weard
     ece drihten æft̃ teode.|
     firum **foldan**. frea ælmihtig.

C(N)

5   he ærest scop   eorþū bearnū
     heofon tohrofe| halig scͨpend.
     þa middan geard mon cynnes weard
     ece| drihten æfter eode
     finū **foldan** frea ælmihtig.

O^uncorr

5   heærest gesceop| eorðan bearnum
     heofon to hrofe halig| scyppend
     ðamiddon geard moncynnes weard
     ecedrihten æfterteo de
     firum**folda** frea| ælmihtig.

Ca

5   he æres ge|scóp___,eorðan bearnū
     heofon to rofe halig scyppend.
     þa middan geard mon-|cynnes weard
     ece driht̃ æft̃ teode
     firū **foldan** frea ælmihtig.

       O^uncorr *folda* (**T₁ B₁ To C(N) Ca** *foldan*, **O^corr** *folda,ⁿ*) is almost certainly the result of a

graphic oversight. A second possibility, that *folda* preserves a form similar to *foldu* (the

reading of the Northumbrian *aeldu*-recension) and shows the falling together of unstressed *-a*

285For objections to taking *sculon* as 'we must', see Mitchell, "Cædmon's Hymn, Line 1," p. 192. Mitchell's
    article is concerned in the first instance with the reading of the Northumbrian *aeldu*-recension and the **T₁**
    version of the *eorðan*-recension of the poem. His suggestion – that *weorc* (and orthographic and dialectal
    variants) be understood as the subject of "*scylun* or its variants" – does not work in the case of **C(N)** or
    O^uncorr. These two witnesses have the genitives *weoroda* and *wera* respectively for the
    nominative/accusative plural *weorc* of **T₁**. For a further discussion of the point, see below, p. 127.

286Pope argues that line 3 is to be scanned as a Type D-2 with *wuldor* "pronounced as one syllable, *Wuldr*"
    and the first syllable of *fæder* understood as an unresolved short half-stress (*Seven Old English Poems*, p.
    113 and fn. 34). If *wuldor* is scanned as a dissyllable, the line is Type D-4 and the stress on *fæder*
    resolved.

and *-u*, is less likely given the predominately West-Saxon character of the translation. The

expected West-Saxon form would be *foldan*.[287]

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Cæd(eorðan) (O^{uncorr}), 3a

T_1

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
   meotodes meahte   ꝥhis modgeþanc
   weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
   ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

B_1

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
   metodes mihte| ꝥhismod geþanc
   weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
   écedrihten   ord| astealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
   metodes mihte   ꝥ his mod|geþanc
   weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
   ece drihten   ær| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
   metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
   weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
   ece drihten   or|| onstealde.

O^{uncorr}

1 Nu sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
   metodes mihte   ꝥhismod geþonc
   werowuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
   ecedryhten   oór onstealde

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
   metodes mihte   ꝥhis mod ge þanc.
   wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
   ece drihten.   ord onstealde

The substitution O^{uncorr} *wero* **C(N)** *weoroda* (O^{corr} **Ca** *wera*) **T_1 B_1 To** *weorc* is non-

sensical. For his part, Dobbie suggests that the O^{uncorr} form is evidence that **C(N)** *weoroda* is

the original reading of the **C(N) O Ca** group:

> In O, *wera* was originally written *wero*, the *o* then being corrected to *a* by the
> addition of a long stroke across the upper right-hand side of the letter. The scribe of
> O may have found *weroda* in his copy, corresponding to the *weoroda* of C, and
> emended it to *wera*, though why he should have done so is not evident, unless to be
> rid of the excessively long expanded D2 type line with the double resolution of
> stress.[288]

Jabbour, on the other hand, argues that the change was more likely independent in both

manuscripts:

> [Dobbie] goes on to argue that *weoroda* (in the form *weroda*) developed first, then
> was emended to *wera* by C [*sic*: for **O**?]. But the explanation involves more
> difficulties than the explanation which it set out to avoid. Why one scribe could not

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[287]Campbell, *OEG* § 615. *Foldu* is discussed in Campbell, *OEG* § 616.

[288]Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, p. 31.

have transcribed *weorc* as *wera*, while two others could have successively converted *weorc* to *weoroda* and *weroda* to *wera* is hard to fathom. In all likelihood the scribe of C [*sic*: for **O**?] (or an ancestor) had before him either *werc* or *weorc* (probably the latter), which to his eye looked like *wera* or *weora*. If he thought he saw *weora*, he assumed the *o* to be from another dialect and dropped it. Or, to complicate matters, the form *weoroda* in C may have been introduced by the Renaissance transcriber of that now destroyed text.[289]

The case is ultimately undecidable. For a discussion of the **C(N)** and **O**^{corr} (**Ca**) forms,

see pp. 121 and 125.

Addition/Omission of Prefixes (1 example)

Cæd(eorðan) (**O**^{uncorr}), 5a

T$_1$ **C(N)**

5   he ærest <u>sceop</u>   eorðan bearnū   5   he ærest <u>scop</u>   eorþū bearnū
      heofontohrofe| halig scyppend.   heofon tohrofe| halig sc.^{y}pend.

B$_1$ **O**

5   he ærest <u>sceop</u>   eorðan bear|num   5   heærest **ge**sceop| eorðan bearnum
      heofon tohrofe   halig scyp|pend   heofon to hrofe   halig| scyppend

To   **Ca**

5   he ærost <u>sceop</u>   eorðan bearnū.   5   he æres **ge**|scóp___,eorðan bearnū
      heofon to hrofe.   halig| drihten.   heofon to rofe   halig scyppend.

The addition or omission of *ge* has no effect on sense or syntax. Without the prefix, the

line is a Type B-1; in **O** and **Ca**, it is a Type B-2. Both readings can be paralleled from other

recensions of the Hymn.[290]

[289]Jabbour, diss., p. 214.

[290]*gesceop* is the reading of the West-Saxon *ylda*-recension. All other versions omit the prefix.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii
Corrected (O^{corr})

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

Cæd(eorðan) (O^{corr}), 3a

T$_1$

1   Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
    meotodes meahte   ꝥhis modgeþanc
    weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
    ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

B$_1$

1   Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
    metodes mihte| ꝥhismod geþanc
    weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
    écedrihten   ord| astealde

To

1   Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
    metodes mihte   ꝥ his mod|geþanc
    weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
    ece drihten   ær| astealde.

C(N)

1   Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
    metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
    weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
    ece drihten   or|| onstealde.

O^{corr}

1   Nu^{we},sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
    metodes mihte   ꝥhismod geþonc
    werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
    ecedryhten   oór,^{d}onstealde

Ca

1   Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
    metodes mihte   ꝥhis mod ge þanc.
    wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
    ece drihten.   ord onstealde

Assuming that a common antecedent in the **O**-**C** tradition read either *weoroda* or *wera* (see above, pp. 121 and 123), the substitution **O^{corr} Ca** *wera* **C(N)** *weoroda* (**O^{uncorr}** *wero*) has no effect on syntax, and a minor effect on sense and metre. Syntactically, the two readings are identical: **O^{corr} Ca** *wera* and **C(N)** *weoroda* are both genitive plurals modifying *wuldorfæder* (and orthographic variants). Semantically, God is the *wuldor fæder* of 'men' in **O^{corr} Ca**, and of 'hosts' in **C(N)**. Metrically, the **O^{corr} Ca** reading produces a Type D-2 or D-4 line with resolution of the first lift. As mentioned above (p. 116), this is metrically closer to the reading of all other recensions of the poem (a Type D-2 or D-4 with a long first lift). The **C(N)** form is Type D*2 or D*4.

Cæd(eorðan) (O^{corr}), 4b

T₁

C(N)

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
meotodes meahte   ꝥhis modgeþanc
weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
ece drihten   **ór** on|stealde.

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
ece drihten   **or||** onstealde.

B₁

O^{corr}

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
metodes mihte| ꝥhismod geþanc
weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
écedrihten   **ord|** astealde

1 Nu^{we},sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝥhismod geþonc
werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
ecedryhten   **oór**,^donstealde

To

Ca

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
metodes mihte   ꝥ his mod|geþanc
weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
ece drihten   **ær|** astealde.

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝥhis mod ge þanc.
wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
ece drihten.   **ord** onstealde

The substitution **O**^{corr} *oór*,^d (i.e. *ord*, the reading of **B₁**, **Ca** and all members of the *ylda-*recension except **W**) **O**^{uncorr} *oór* (i.e. *or*, the reading of **T₁** **C(N)** and all witnesses to the Northumbrian *aelda-* and *eordu*-recensions) has no effect on sense, metre, or syntax. The two words are synonymous and metrically and syntactically equivalent. The **To** reading *ær* is discussed below, p. 135.

1

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Cæd(eorðan) (O^{corr}), 1a

T$_1$

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
   meotodes meahte   ⁊his modgeþanc
   weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
   ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
   metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
   weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
   ece drihten   or‖ onstealde.

B$_1$

1 Nu**we**herigan sculon| heofonrices weard
   metodes mihte| ⁊hismod geþanc
   weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
   écedrihten   ord| astealde

O^{corr}

1 Nu^{we}sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
   metodes mihte   ⁊hismod geþonc
   werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
   ecedryhten   oór⁴onstealde

To

1 Nu **we** sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
   metodes mihte   ⁊ his mod|geþanc
   weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
   ece drihten   ær| astealde.

Ca

1 Nu **we**| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
   metodes mihte   ⁊his mod ge þanc.
   wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
   ece drihten.   ord onstealde

The addition of *we* to line 1a in **O^{corr}** has an important effect on sense and syntax but little on metre. In **O^{uncorr}**, the subject of *sculan* in line 1 is unexpressed, missing, or, less logically, to be construed as *weard*, and/or *mihte* and/or *mod geþonc*.[291] In **O^{corr}**, as in **B$_1$** and all witnesses to the West-Saxon *ylda-* and Northumbrian *eordu*-recensions, the subject of *sculan* is *we*, while *weard*, *mihte* and *mod geþanc* are objects of *herian*.[292]

The addition or omission of *we* adds or removes an unstressed syllable from the preliminary dip of a Type A-3 line (Type B-1 in **B$_1$**[293]). It has no significant metrical effect.

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[291]See above, p. 121, and Mitchell, "Cædmon's Hymn, Line 1," p. 192.

[292]See Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 43-48, esp. 44-45.

[293]See below, p. 134.

Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 3. 18
(Ca)

Inflectional Difference (1 example) and Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Cæd(*eorðan*) (Ca), 3b

T₁

1 Nu sculon herigean heofon|rices weard
   meotodes meahte ꝉhis modgeþanc
   weorc| wuldor fæder swahe **wundra**gehwæs
   ece drihten ór on|stealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean heofon rices we:|ard
   metodes mihte. Ond his mod geþonc
   weoroda wul:|dor fæder swa he **wundra** gewhwæs
   ece drihten or|| onstealde.

B₁

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
   metodes mihte| ꝉhismod geþanc
   weorc wuldor godes| swahe **wund ra** fela
   écedrihten ord| astealde

O

1 Nuᵂᵉsculan herian heofon|rices weard
   metodes mihte ꝉhismod geþonc
   werawuldor fæder swahe **wundra** ge hwæs|
   ecedryhten oóráᵈonstealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian heofonrices weard.
   metodes mihte ꝉ his mod|geþanc
   weorc wulder fæder swa he **wundra** gehwæs.
   ece drihten ær| astealde.

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean heofon rices weard
   metodes mihte ꝉhis mod ge þanc.
   wera| wuldor fæder. swa he **wuldres** ge hwæs
   ece drihten. ord onstealde

The substitution and inflectional difference **Ca** *wuldres* **O C(N) T₁ To** *wundra* (**B₁** *wund ra*) are presumably to be attributed to the influence of surrounding forms. The substitution *wuldr-* for *wundr-* most likely reflects the influence of the first element of *wuldor fæder* in the preceding half-line[294]: *wuldor* and *wundor* are "often confused" in Old English[295] and the variation has no semantic or metrical effect.

The use of a genitive singular by the **Ca** scribe is more problematic, however. When used substantively in the sense 'each one (thing), each one', *gehwa* usually goes with a genitive plural noun or adjective.[296] Presumably the **Ca** ending is be explained as anticipation of the similar ending on the following noun, the genitive singular adjective *ge hwæs*.

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[294]Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, p. 28.

[295]Clark-Hall, *wundor*.

[296]B.-T.(S) *gehwá*, definition A.I(2a).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10
(T₁)

There are no readings in this witness which are not found in other copies of the Hymn.

With the exception of four transcription errors and the substitution **C(N)** *weoroda* **T₁** *weorc*,

the text of **C(N)** and **T₁** agree closely. See above, p. 113.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41
(B₁)

Substitution of Unstressed words and Elements (1 example)

Cæd(eorðan) (**B₁**), 7a

T₁

5   he ærest sceop   eorðan bearnū
       heofontohrofe| halig scyppend.
       þamiddangeard   moncynnes weard
       ece| drihten   æfter teode
       firum foldan   frea ælmihtig.

C(N)

5   he ærest scop   eorþū bearnū
       heofon tohrofe| halig sc.ᵞpend.
       þa middan geard   mon cynnes weard
       ece| drihten   æfter eode
       finū foldan   frea ælmihtig.

B₁

5   he ærest sceop   eorðan bear|num
       heofon tohrofe   halig scyp|pend
       þemiddan geard   mann cynnes| weard
       écedrihten   æfter teode|
       fyrum foldan   frea ælmihtig⁚

O

5   heærest gesceop| eorðan bearnum
       heofon to hrofe   halig| scyppend
       ðamiddon geard   moncynnes weard
       ecedrihten   æfterteo de
       firumfolda,ⁿ_frea| ælmihtig.

To

5   he ærost sceop   eorðan bearnū.
       heofon to hrofe.   halig| drihten.
       þa middan eard   mancynnes weard
       ece drihten   æfŧ teode.|
       firum foldan.   frea ælmihtig.

Ca

5   he æres ge|scóp___,eorðan bearnū
       heofon to rofe   halig scyppend.
       þa middan geard   mon-|cynnes weard
       ece drihŧ   æfŧ teode
       firū foldan   frea ælmihtig.

      In **B₁**, the relative particle *þe* introduces an adjective clause (lines 7-9) modifying *he*
(5a) and its variants *halig scyp|pend* (6b), *mann cynnes| weard* (7b), *écedrihten* (8a) and *frea ælmihtig* (9b): 'he, the Holy Creator, first made heaven as a roof for the men of earth, who, the Guardian of Mankind, the Eternal Lord, the Lord Almighty, afterwards appointed the middle-earth, the land, for men'. In the other witnesses to this recension, the equivalent lines are an adverbial clause of time introduced by the conjunction *þa*: 'he, the Holy Creator, first made

heaven as a roof for the men of earth; then [He], the Guardian of Mankind, the Eternal Lord,

the Lord Almighty, afterwards appointed the middle-earth, the land, for men'.

The variation has no metrical effect.

Substitution of Prefixes (1 example)

Cæd(*eorðan*) (B₁), 4b

T₁

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
  meotodes meahte   ꝥhis modgeþanc
  weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
  ece drihten   ór **on**|stealde.

B₁

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
  metodes mihte| ꝥhismod geþanc
  weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
  écedrihten   ord| **a**stealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
  metodes mihte   ꝥ his mod|geþanc
  weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
  ece drihten   ær| **a**stealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
  metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
  weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
  ece drihten   or|| **on**stealde.

O

1 Nu^{we},sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
  metodes mihte   ꝥhismod geþonc
  werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
  ecedryhten   oór, **on**stealde

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
  metodes mihte   ꝥhis mod ge þanc.
  wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
  ece drihten.   ord **on**stealde

The substitution **B₁ To** *astealde* **T₁** *on*|*stealde* (**C(N) O Ca** *onstealde*) has no effect on

sense, metre, or syntax. *Astealde* in various dialectal spellings is the form used in all other

recensions of the poem.[297]

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[297]See Dobbie, *Manuscripts*, pp. 43-48.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (3 examples)

Cæd(*eorðan*) (B$_1$), 3a

T$_1$

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
meotodes meahte   ꝡhis modgeþanc
weorc| <u>wuldor **fæder**</u>   swahe wundragehwæs
ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

B$_1$

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
metodes mihte| ꝡhismod geþanc
weorc <u>wuldor **godes**</u>| swahe wund ra fela
écedrihten   ord| astealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
metodes mihte   ꝡ his mod|geþanc
weorc <u>wulder **fæder**</u>   swa he wundra gehwæs.
ece drihten   ær| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
weoroda <u>wul:|dor **fæder**</u>   swa he wundra gewhwæs
ece drihten   or|| onstealde.

O

1 Nu^{we},sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝡhismod geþonc
wera<u>wuldor **fæder**</u>   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
ecedryhten   oór,^{d}onstealde

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝡhis mod ge þanc.
wera| <u>wuldor **fæder**</u>.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
ece drihten.   ord onstealde

The substitution in l. 3b of **B$_1$** *wuldor godes* for *wuldorfæder* (and orthographic

variants) in all other manuscripts of the poem, although clearly not the result of a graphic

misconstruction, has no effect on metre or syntax, and only a minor effect on sense.

Cæd(*eorðan*) (B$_1$), 3b

T$_1$

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
meotodes meahte   ꝡhis modgeþanc
weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundra**<u>gehwæs</u>**
ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

B$_1$

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
metodes mihte| ꝡhismod geþanc
weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra **<u>fela</u>**
écedrihten   ord| astealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
metodes mihte   ꝡ his mod|geþanc
weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra **<u>gehwæs</u>**.
ece drihten   ær| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra **<u>gewhwæs</u>**
ece drihten   or|| onstealde.

O

1 Nu^{we},sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝡhismod geþonc
werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra **<u>ge hwæs</u>**|
ecedryhten   oór,^{d}onstealde

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝡhis mod ge þanc.
wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres **<u>ge hwæs</u>**
ece drihten.   ord onstealde

The substitution **B$_1$** *fela* **T$_1$ To** *gehwæs* (**O Ca** *ge hwæs* **C(N)** *gewhwæs*) affects syntax

and metre. In all other manuscripts of the West-Saxon *eorðan-*, Northumbrian *aeldu-* and

Northumbrian *eordu*-recensions of the Hymn, *gehwæs* (and orthographic variants) is modified

by the preceding genitive *wundra* (**Ca** *wuldres*) and itself modifies the accusative singular

noun *ord* or *or* in l. 4b.[298] In **B₁**, the indeclinable form *fela* is probably to be understood as an

accusative object of *astealde*, l. 4b, itself.

With the substitution, **B₁** is a Type B-1 line. It is Type B-2 type line in all other

witnesses.

Cæd(eorðan) (B₁), 4a

T₁

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
   meotodes meahte   ꝇhis modgeþanc
   weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
   ece drihten   **ór** on|stealde.

B₁

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
   metodes mihte| ꝇhismod geþanc
   weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
   écedrihten   **ord**| astealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
   metodes mihte   ꝇ his mod|geþanc
   weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
   ece drihten   **ær**| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
   metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
   weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
   ece drihten   **or**|| onstealde.

O

1 Nu^{we},sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
   metodes mihte   ꝇhismod geþonc
   werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
   ecedryhten   **oór,**^{d}onstealde

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
   metodes mihte   ꝇhis mod ge þanc.
   wera| wuldor fæder   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
   ece drihten.   **ord** onstealde

The substitution **B₁** *ord* for **T₁** *ór* has no significant effect on sense, metre, or syntax.

See above, p. 126. The **To** reading *ær* is discussed below, p. 135.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed words and Elements (1 example)

Cæd(*eorðan*) (**B₁**), 1a

T₁

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
   meotodes meahte   ꝺhis modgeþanc
   weorc| wuldor fæder

B₁

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
   metodes mihte| ꝺhismod geþanc
   weorc wuldor godes|

To

1 Nu **we** sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
   metodes mihte   ꝺ his mod|geþanc
   weorc wulder fæder

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
   metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
   weoroda wul:|dor fæder

O

1 Nu ᵂᵉ̦sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
   metodes mihte   ꝺhismod geþonc
   werawuldor fæder

Ca

1 Nu **we**| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
   metodes mihte   ꝺhis mod ge þanc.
   wera| wuldor fæder.

The addition of *we* to **B₁** has a significant effect on sense and syntax but a minimal effect on metre. In **T₁**, the most likely subject of *sculon* is *weorc*, as in the Northumbrian *aeldu-* recension of "Cædmon's Hymn."[299] The addition of *we* as the subject of *sculon* to **B₁** implies that *weorc* is to be construed as an accusative singular or plural. For a discussion of a similar addition in the **C(N) O Ca** recension, see above, p. 127.

1

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[299]Mitchell, "Cædmon's Hymn, Line 1," 190-97, esp. pp. 192-3.

Rearrangement within the Line (1 example)

Cæd(eorðan) (B₁), 1a

T₁

1 Nu **sculon herigean**   heofon|rices weard
meotodes meahte   ꝺhis modgeþanc
weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
ece drihten   ór on|stealde.

B₁

1 Nuwe**herigan sculon**| heofonrices weard
metodes mihte| ꝺhismod geþanc
weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
écedrihten   ord| astealde

To

1 Nu we **sceolon herian**   heofonrices weard.
metodes mihte   ꝺ his mod|geþanc
weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
ece drihten   ær| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne **sculon her gean**   heofon rices we:|ard
metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
ece drihten   or‖ onstealde.

O

1 Nuᵂᵉ**sculan herian**   heofon|rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝺhismod geþonc
werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
ecedryhten   oór,ᵈonstealde

Ca

1 Nu we| **sceolan herigean**   heofon rices weard
metodes mihte   ꝺhis mod ge þanc.
wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
ece drihten.   ord onstealde

   B₁ *herigan sculon* for *sculon herian* (and orthographic variants) in all other witnesses

to "Cædmon's Hymn" affects metre but not sense or syntax. With the reversal, **B₁** is a Type B-

1 line with double resolution; in all other manuscripts of the Hymn, the line is Type A-3 with a

resolution of the alliterating stress.

Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 134
(To)

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

Cæd(eorðan) (To), l. 4b

T₁

1 Nu sculon herigean   heofon|rices weard
  meotodes meahte   ⁊his modgeþanc
  weorc| wuldor fæder   swahe wundragehwæs
  ece drihten   **ór** on|stealde.

B₁

1 Nuweherigan sculon| heofonrices weard
  metodes mihte| ⁊hismod geþanc
  weorc wuldor godes| swahe wund ra fela
  écedrihten   **ord**| astealde

To

1 Nu we sceolon herian   heofonrices weard.
  metodes mihte   ⁊ his mod|geþanc
  weorc wulder fæder   swa he wundra gehwæs.
  ece drihten   **ær**| astealde.

C(N)

1 Ne sculon her gean   heofon rices we:|ard
  metodes mihte.   Ond his mod geþonc
  weoroda wul:|dor fæder   swa he wundra gewhwæs
  ece drihten   **or**|| onstealde.

O

1 Nuᵂᵉ,sculan herian   heofon|rices weard
  metodes mihte   ⁊hismod geþonc
  werawuldor fæder   swahe wundra ge hwæs|
  ecedryhten   **oór,ᵈonstealde**

Ca

1 Nu we| sceolan herigean   heofon rices weard
  metodes mihte   ⁊his mod ge þanc.
  wera| wuldor fæder.   swa he wuldres ge hwæs
  ece drihten.   **ord** onstealde

The substitution **To** *ær* for **T₁** *ór* (**C(N)** *or* **O**^{uncorr} *oór*) **B₁** *ord* (**O**^{corr} *oór,ᵈ* **Ca** *ord*) has an important syntactic effect. While the word itself is neither unmetrical nor non-sensical, the substitution of an adverb for an accusative noun leaves *astealde*, l. 4b, without an object[300] and the genitive *wundra gehwæs* in l. 3b without a word to govern it: '...as He, Eternal Lord, first appointed of each of wonders'.

The substitution has no metrical effect.

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[300]All unambiguously transitive examples of *āstellan* given by B.-T. and B.-T.(S) have an accusative object.

Cæd(eorðan) (To), l. 6b

T₁

5   he ærest sceop   eorðan bearnū
    heofontohrofe| halig **scyppend**.
    þamiddangeard   moncynnes weard
    ece| drihten   æfter teode
    firum foldan   frea ælmihtig.

C(N)

5   he ærest scop   eorþū bearnū
    heofon tohrofe| halig **sc.ypend**.
    þa middan geard   mon cynnes weard
    ece| drihten   æfter eode
    finū foldan   frea ælmihtig.

B₁

5   he ærest sceop   eorðan bear|num
    heofon tohrofe   halig **scyp|pend**
    þemiddan geard   mann cynnes| weard
    écedrihten   æfter teode|
    fyrum foldan   frea ælmihtig⁏

O

5   heærest gesceop| eorðan bearnum
    heofon to hrofe   halig| **scyppend**
    ðamiddon geard   moncynnes weard
    ecedrihten   æfterteo de
    firumfolda,ⁿ_ frea| ælmihtig.

To

5   he ærost sceop   eorðan bearnū.
    heofon to hrofe.   halig| **drihten**.
    þa middan eard   mancynnes weard
    ece drihten   æft' teode.|
    firum foldan. frea ælmihtig.

Ca

5   he æres ge|scóp___,eorðan bearnū
    heofon to rofe   halig **scyppend**.
    þa middan geard   mon-|cynnes weard
    ece drihī   æfī teode
    firū foldan   frea ælmihtig.

The substitution **To** *drihten* for *scyppend* (and orthographic variants) in all other manuscripts of "Cædmon's Hymn" has no effect metre and syntax. Both epithets make sense in context, although *scyppend* 'creator' is more appropriate than *drihten* 'lord' in a sentence about how God 'made' the earth and heavens. The substitution is probably most easily attributed to the unconscious repetition of *drihten* in line 4a or an anticipation of the same word in line 8a.

Poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

The poems discussed above all have been "fixed" in the sense that each has been copied as an integral part of a single coherent framing text. With the single exception of the marginal **To**, copies of the *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" have all been found at the same place in Book IV Chapter 24 in manuscripts of the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. The Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*, similarly, although not integral to the translation of Gregory's *Cura pastoralis per se*, are nevertheless

never found in any other context, and, as the special treatment they receive in their earliest

witnesses suggests, were considered from the beginning to be an important part of Alfred's

conception of the work as a whole.

The poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are both like and unlike these other poems.

On the one hand, the *Chronicle* poems are clearly "fixed" in the sense that they are part of the

main text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, are always found in the same place in the witnesses

which contain them, and, despite their at times considerable artistic merit, are never found

anywhere else. On the other hand, however, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is itself far from a

single coherent framing text. While most *Chronicle* manuscripts are based on a common,

centrally distributed core text and make use of other common additions, their common

sections have been so frequently revised, corrected, expanded, and edited in the individual

witnesses as to make it nearly impossible for us to speak of "a copy of the *Anglo-Saxon

Chronicle*" in the same way we can speak of **Hat$_{20}$** or **CUL$_{Ii24}$** as "copies" of the Old English

translation of the *Pastoral Care*.[301]

In the case of the four metrically regular *Chronicle* poems, this complexity is reflected

in the dates and relationships of the scribes responsible for copying the surviving witnesses.

The poems are known to have been copied in at least five manuscripts, although not all four

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[301]This is a common-place of *Chronicle* criticism. For a recent statement, see David Dumville and Simon
Keynes, "General Editors' Forward," in Janet Bately, ed., *MS. A*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A
Collaborative Edition 3 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1986). A basic review of the *Chronicle*'s growth is given in
Charles Plummer, ed., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*: *A Revised Text*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon,
1899), v.2, pp. cxiv-cxvii. This account has not been superseded, although some of its details have been
qualified in subsequent work. See in particular, Bately, "The Compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
60 B.C. to A.D. 890: Vocabulary as Evidence," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64 (1978), 93-129;
and "The Compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Once More," *LSE* n.s. 16 (1985), 7-26; Whitelock,
ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: *A Revised Translation* with David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker
(London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), pp. xixxiv; and Campbell, ed., *The Battle of Brunanburh*
(London: Heinemann, 1938), pp. 1-7.

appear in each witness[302]: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173, s. ix/x-xi^2 (**ChronA**); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, s. x^2 (**ChronB**); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, s. s.xi^1-xi^2 (**ChronC**); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, s. xi^{med}-xi^2 (**ChronD**); and †London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi, s. xi^1 (**ChronG**). Of these, the last witness, **ChronG**, was almost completely destroyed in the Cotton fire. Its pre-fire text was transcribed by Lawrence Nowell (in **N**, along with the **C**-text of the Old English *Historia*), and also served as the basis for an edition by Abraham Wheloc. Neither transcription is diplomatic: in Wheloc's edition, the text of **ChronG** has been freely emended, generally with readings from **ChronA**, while Nowell later revised his transcript on the basis of his work with other *Chronicle* witnesses.[303]

The metrically regular poems these witnesses contain were copied by six scribes, working at various dates from the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh centuries:

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[302]In the following discussion, a superscript number following a MS siglum is used to indicate that the work of a specific scribe is being referred to. Thus **ChronA**^{3} is used for the work of the third scribe in **ChronA**; **ChronA**^{5} refers to the work of the fifth scribe. The use of a siglum without a superscript hand number indicates either that the entire manuscript is intended, or that the specific scribe responsible for the form is irrelevant.

[303]Angelika Lutz, ed., *Die Version G der angelsächsischen Chronik: Rekonstruktion und Edition* Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät 11 (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1981), pp. lvii-lxv; Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 133-134. A copy of Nowell's transcript made by William Lambarde (Dublin, Trinity College, 631) before Nowell reworked his text, can be used to help reconstruct Nowell's original transcription. Because of its late position in the textual history of the *Chronicle* and its lack of descendants, the text of **ChronG** is cited only in passing in the following discussion. As with all other manuscripts discussed in this chapter, the variation introduced by the scribe of **ChronG** into his poetic texts closely resembles the variation he introduces into his prose. For a discussion of the type of variation introduced by the **ChronG** scribe in general, see Lutz, *Die Version G*, pp. cli-cxciii, esp. pp. clv-clxii. Individual variants from the *Battle of Brunanburh* are discussed in Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 133-144, esp. 141-143. Detailed discussion of the innovations in both prose and verse in **ChronG** can be found in the notes to Lutz, *Die Version G*. Nowell revised his transcription of the *Chronicle* more extensively than he did his transcription of the **C** witness to the Old English translation of the *Historia*. See Grant, "Lawrence Nowell's Transcript of BM Cotton Otho B.xi," *ASE* 3 (1974): 111-124; and Lutz, *Die Version G*, p. lii.

Table 2: Scribes and Witnesses of the Chronicle *Poems*[304]

	ChronA	**ChronG**	**ChronB**	**ChronC**	**ChronD**
Brun (937)	Hand 3 (s.x^{med})	Hand 2 (s. xi^1)	Hand 1 (s.x^2)	Hand 2 (s.xi^2)	Hand 2 (s.xi^{med})
Capt (942)					
CEdg (973)	Hand 5 (s.xi^{in})				
DEdg (975)					

In two manuscripts, **ChronB** and **ChronG**, the entire text of the *Chronicle*, including all four metrically regular poems, is the work of a single scribe. In a third manuscript, **ChronC**, the four metrically regular poems are also the work of a single scribe, the second. **ChronA** is the work of as many as twenty-three pre- and post-conquest scribes,[305] of which two – working at an interval of between fifty and seventy-five years – are responsible for the four metrically regular poems. The fifth witness, **ChronD**, is also the work of more than one scribe, the second of which is responsible for the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs*.

As we have come to expect from our examination of the other Fixed Context poems, the amount and type of the unique textual variation the individual witnesses to these poems exhibit varies from scribe to scribe.[306] With nineteen potentially significant substantive unique variants in seventy-three metrical lines of text, the **ChronD²** scribe's version of the *Battle of Brunanburh* contains almost one and a half times as much unique variation as the next most variable text of the same poem, **ChronA³** (thirteen potentially significant substantive variants) and nearly four times as much as the least variable copy, that of scribe **ChronC²** (five potentially significant substantive variants). Likewise, while the majority of unique readings

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[304]Hand numbers and dates are derived from Bately, *MS. A*, pp. xxi-xlvi; Simon Taylor, ed., *MS B.*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition 4 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), p. xxiii-xxvii; Lutz, *Die Version G*, pp. xxix-xxx; and Ker, *Catalogue*, arts. 39, 180, 188, 191 and 192.

[305]For a summary of views on the number of scribes in this manuscript, see Bately, *MS. A*, p. xxi.

[306]A complete catalogue of the potentially significant substantive variation in the metrically regular *Chronicle* poems follows below, pp. 161-222.

in **ChronD**[2] involve the "substitution" of words through the misinterpretation of individual graphs and are to be attributed to the demonstrable carelessness of the **ChronD**[2] scribe as a copyist, the two most common variants in the **ChronB**[1] copies of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs* involve the apparently intelligent substitution of metrically, sensically and syntactically appropriate prefixes and stressed words by a scribe who appears to have been in the process of revising his exemplar.

The *Chronicle* poems are unusual, however, in that the variation they exhibit can also differ from poem to poem *within* the work of a single scribe. The **ChronA**[3] scribe's copy of the *Battle of Brunanburh* contains thirteen unique, potentially significant substantive variants: five differences of inflection, one example of the addition or omission of unstressed elements, and seven examples of the syntactic or semantic reinterpretation of existing text. In his copy of the *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, however, the same scribe introduces five variants: two differences of inflection, two examples of the substitution of stressed words and elements, and one example of the addition or omission of an unstressed word or element – but no examples of the type of textual reinterpretation responsible for the majority of the variants introduced into his copy of the *Battle of Brunanburh*. Similarly, **ChronB**[1], whose copies of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs* exhibit a number of sensible and syntactically and metrically appropriate readings not found in either the closely related text of **ChronC**[2] or the more distant **ChronA**[3], copies the later *Chronicle* poems *Coronation of Edgar* and *Death of Edgar* with only relatively superficial substitutions of synonyms and syntactically equivalent forms distinguishing it from the unrelated **ChronA**[5] version.

Restricting herself primarily to the differences between the scribes responsible for the *Chronicle* poems, O'Keeffe has suggested that the variation they introduce is time-dependent. On the one hand, she argues, the unique, metrically, syntactically, and semantically

appropriate variants exhibited by the tenth- and early eleventh-century **ChronA[3]** and **ChronB[1]**

versions of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and the *Capture of the Five Boroughs* indicate the

"transitional" state of scribes responsible for copying them:

> The variants of [Chron]A and [Chron]B in the verses of [the] *A*[*nglo-*]*S*[axon]
> *C*[*hronicle* annals] 937 and 942, which arise so close to the time of composition,
> reveal the pressure which the old oral ways of understanding and remembering must
> have exerted. Their scribes are not poets but readers who see, hear and produce richly
> contextual variants. They must have thought they were faithful and accurate.
> Accurate they were not, but faithful they were, in their fashion.[307]

The fact that neither the eleventh-century **ChronC[2]** and **ChronD[2]** witnesses to the *Battle of*

Brunanburh and *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, nor any witnesses to the late tenth century

poems *Coronation of Edgar* and *Death of Edgar* show similar amounts and types of variants,

on the other hand, suggests to O'Keeffe the extent to which the "old ways" of copying decayed

in the course of the next century:

> If we look for such [viz. "authentically formulaic"] variants in the A and B copies
> of the poems for 973 and 975 [the *Coronation of Edgar* and the *Death of Edgar*],
> however, we will be disappointed. Scribe 5 of A, working in the early eleventh
> century, is too distant from his material. Judging from a comparison of the full
> records of the *Chronicle* versions in both B and C, the relevant scribe of C probably
> had *B as his exemplar for 937 and 942 and B as his exemplar for 973 and 975. This
> copyist, working in the mid-eleventh century, produces a fairly accurate record,
> certainly with none of the interesting and suggestive variants of the earlier two. The
> scribe of D, working somewhat later, provides certain interesting variants to be sure,
> but they are revelatory of his unfamiliarity with the formulaic and lexical context of
> his material. Indeed, for the two rhythmic entries for 1036 and 1065, which C and D
> share, variation is limited to orthography and substitution (by D) of prose paraphrases
> for otherwise rhythmical lines.[308]

The trouble, however, is that this apparently chronological distribution of variants

among the witnesses to the *Chronicle* poems is unusual. In the case of the witnesses to the

other Fixed Context poems discussed above, it has been if anything the *later* rather than the

earlier witnesses which have shown the most substantive textual innovation, and the earlier,

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[307]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 125.

[308]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 124-125.

ninth- and tenth-century witnesses have been consistently the most conservative. The most

innovative witnesses to the Metrical Preface to *Pastoral Care* (as indeed to the *Pastoral Care*

itself) were the late tenth-/early eleventh-century Tr_1 and late eleventh-century CUL_{Ii24} –

while the manuscripts of the late ninth- and mid tenth-century (Hat_{20}, Tib_{Bxi}(Jn_{53}) and CC_{12})

exhibited almost no variation whatsoever. Similarly, in the case of the *eorðan*-recension of

"Cædmon's Hymn," the most innovative scribes were those of the early eleventh-century, B_1,

and the corrector of **O**, while the scribes of the tenth-century T_1 and **C(N)**, and of the late

twelfth-century **Ca** were all responsible for only minimal amounts of substantive textual

innovation.

      This is important because the apparently conservative tenth-century scribe of the **C(N)**

text of "Cædmon's Hymn" is most probably the same as that responsible for the – in

O'Keeffe's terms – "formulaic" versions of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five*

Boroughs in **ChronA**^{3}.[309] As we have seen above (p. 113), the **C** text of the *eorðan*-recension

of "Cædmon's Hymn" as recorded by Nowell in **N** exhibits five potentially significant

substantive variants, all but one of which are obvious transcription errors and, most likely, are

to be attributed to its modern transcriptionist.[310] The only exception is the substitution of the

stressed word **C(N)** *weoroda* for T_1 B_1 **To** *weorc* – a reading which, while it adversely affects

the poem's syntax, is nevertheless metrically and semantically appropriate to its immediate

context and involves a graphically somewhat similar form. In contrast, the **ChronA**^{3} copies of

the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs* exhibit eighteen unique variants,

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[309]Ker, *Catalogue*, arts. 39 (p. 58), 180. Bately, *MS. A*, p. xxxv. The connection is not mentioned in
O'Keeffe. The same scribe is also probably responsible for the Leech Book (London, British Library,
Royal D. xvii).

[310]Other than the early date of the original manuscript, there is no inherent reason why these nonsensical
readings cannot be attributed to the original scribe of **C(N)**. As we shall see below in the work of
ChronD^2, Anglo-Saxon scribes can make similar or worse errors. As similar errors are not recorded by

all of which can be attributed to the scribe of **ChronA**[3] or a predecessor. As we shall see, the majority of these variants belong to two distinct types, occur with one exception in the *Battle of Brunanburh*, and can be attributed for the most part to difficulties the **ChronA**[3] scribe seems to have had with the poem's many poetic and rare words; when these variants are excluded from consideration, the **ChronA**[3] scribe introduces approximately the same type of variants in all surviving examples of his prose and verse.

As we shall see in the following pages, the different patterns of substantive variation exhibited by the various witnesses to the *Chronicle* poems have less to do with the dates at which the scribes responsible for their reproduction worked than with their demonstrable interests, abilities, and intentions. Like the scribes responsible for copying the fixed-context poems discussed above, the scribes of the *Chronicle* poems rarely copy their verse any differently from their prose. On the few occasions on which they do, the differences between their verse and prose practice can be tied to differences in the nature of the verse being copied, or in the relationship of their copy to its exemplar. As was the case with the *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" and the Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*, the most innovative scribes of the *Chronicle* poems are also the most innovative scribes of the surrounding *Chronicle* prose, while the most conservative copyists of the prose are also the most conservative copyists of the verse.

The pages which follow examine the habits of the five scribes responsible for copying the verse texts in Chronicles A through D. They are followed on pages 161-222 by an annotated catalogue of the textual variation they introduce, arranged on a manuscript-by-manuscript, scribe-by-scribe, and poem-by-poem basis.

Bately from the stint of this scribe in **ChronA**, however, it seems a fair inference that the nonsensical variants in **C(N)** are Nowell's.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, Third Hand (ChronA³)

With the exception of the scribes responsible for the rhythmical poems on the *Death of Alfred* (1036) and the *Death of Edward* (1065) in **ChronC** and **ChronD**, the third scribe of **ChronA** has the shortest stint of all scribes responsible for the *Chronicle* poems.[311] His work comprises a single entry on f. 9v (the annal for A.D. 710) and eleven or twelve entries on ff. 26v-27v (from 924 to 946 or perhaps 955).[312] Including the entry for 955, these annals contain a total of 683 words, of which the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs* account for 420 or 61%. Five of the prose annals in this stint (annals 924, 931, 932, 934, 940, and 955) are either unique to **ChronA** (and its immediate descendent **ChronG**), or textually unrelated to accounts of the same event in the other *Chronicle* witnesses. This reduces the total amount of text available for comparison with other manuscripts by 103 words, and raises the proportion of words found in the verse texts to 72%.

Despite its small size, however, this sample is sufficient to demonstrate that the **ChronA³** scribe copied his verse and prose essentially alike. With the exception of a single specific type of variant – involving in all but one example poetic, rare, or nonce words and variants found in the *Battle of Brunanburh* – the majority of the potentially significant substantive innovations in the **ChronA³** verse texts have either an obviously graphic origin or parallels in prose copied by the same scribe.[313] The omission of *þæra* from *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 26a (**ChronA³** *þæ* : **ChronB¹** *þara/ ðe* [**ChronC²** *þaraðe* **ChronD²** *þæra þe*]), for example, while making good sense and metre, is almost certainly the result of

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[311]See Ker, *Catalogue*, arts. 191 and 192.

[312]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. xxxiv-v. There has been some dispute over whether A.D. 955 is in the hand of **ChronA³** or of "another scribe, practicing the same style as scribe 3" (Bately, *MS. A*, p. xxxiv). Bately assigns 955 to **ChronA³**, and is followed here. For an opposing view, see: Dumville, "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Origins of English Square Minuscule Script," *Wessex and England: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 62-3. The dispute has no significant effect on the argument advanced here.

eyeskip. The use of singular case endings **ChronA**³ *guma norþerna* for the plurals of **ChronB**¹

ChronC² *guman norðerne* (**ChronD**² *guman norþærne*), *Battle of Brunanburh* in line 18b,

likewise, can be paralleled by the same scribe's use of the plural noun *gewealdan* for the

singular *gewealde* in the prose annal for 944: **ChronA**³ *to gewealdan* **ChronB**¹ **ChronC**²

ChronD² *to gewealde*, 944.³¹⁴ The substitution of the stressed graphically similar forms

ChronA³ *maga* **ChronB**¹ *mæcgea* (**ChronC**² *mecga*) **ChronD**² *mægþa*, *Capture of the Five*

Boroughs, line 2a, and **ChronA**³ *gebegde* **ChronB**¹ *gebǽded* (**ChronC**² **ChronD**² *gebæded*),

Capture of the Five Boroughs, line 9b, has one parallel in the prose: **ChronA**³ *fæc* **ChronB**¹

ChronC² *fyrst*, 942, with similar variants being found in the work of other scribes throughout

the manuscript.³¹⁵ The addition or omission of ⁊ occurs twice in verse copied by **ChronA**³

(*Battle of Brunanburh*, line 56a³¹⁶; *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 8a) and is relatively

common in the work of the later scribe **ChronA**⁵ (three occurrences, all in verse) and earlier

scribe **ChronA**¹ (nine times, all prose).³¹⁷

   The only variants in which the scribe of **ChronA**³ differs significantly from his prose

practice involve the reinterpretation (usually misinterpretation) of individual nouns, adjectives

and verbs found in the other witnesses. In four cases – three of which involve the substitution

of simplices for compounds (or vice versa) – **ChronA**³ has a form as or more appropriate than

that found in the other witnesses: **ChronA**³ *secgas hwate* **ChronB**¹ *secgaswate* (**ChronC**²

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³¹³The forms cited in this and the following paragraphs are discussed more fully below, pp. 161-179.

³¹⁴Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxx. The use of "a plural not a singular verb in sequences relating to an army or
   collective body of people" where other manuscripts have a singular form is a frequent variation in
   ChronA¹ and **ChronA**² (for examples, see Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxx §i [f]).

³¹⁵Lists of examples are found in Bately, *MS. A*, pp. cxvii (nouns and adjectives) and cxix (verbs). **ChronA**³
   fæc for **ChronB**¹ **ChronC**² *fyrst* is mentioned on p. cxvii.

³¹⁶This example is by correction and is believed by Bately and Lutz to be in a different hand; it is not
   discussed in the catalogue of examples below. See Bately, *MS. A*, p. 72, fn. 8; Lutz, *Die Version G*, p. 222.

³¹⁷Bately, *MS. A*, pp. cxv-cxvi. See below, pp. 149

ChronD^2, *secga swate*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 13a; **ChronA^3** *æra gebland* **ChronB^1** *eargebland* (**ChronC^2** *ear gebland* **ChronD^2** *eár gebland*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 26b; **ChronA^3** *bradbrimu* **ChronB^1** *brade brimu* (**ChronC^2** *bradebrimu* **ChronD^2** *brade bri/mu*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 71a; and **ChronA^3** *humbra éa* **ChronB^1** *humbranéa* (**ChronC^2** *hunbranéa* **ChronD^2** *himbran ea*) *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 4b. In most cases, however, the **ChronA^3** reading is metrically, syntactically, semantically, or formulaically more problematic. The **ChronA^3** forms in the *Battle of Brunanburh*, lines 56a and 62b – **ChronA^3** *hira land* for **ChronB^1** *íraland* (**ChronC^2** *yraland* **ChronD^2** *yra land*) and **ChronA^3** *hasewan/padan* for **ChronB^1** *hasopadan* [**ChronC^2** *hasu padan*] **ChronD^2** *hasu wadan*) – for example, are sensible and syntactically appropriate, but metrically suspect: with the substitution of *hira* for the first element in *yraland* (and orthographic variants) in line 56a, **ChronA^3** *eft hira land* is unmetrical; with the reinterpretation of *hasopadan* (and variants) in line 62b, the **ChronA^3** scribe converts a regular Type C-1 line into an A-1 with an abnormally long three syllable anacrusis. The remaining variants, **ChronA^3** *cnearen flot* for **ChronB^1** *cnear onflot* (**ChronC^2** *cnear//ónflót* **ChronD^2** *cneár onflod*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 35a; **ChronA^3** *cul bod ge hna des* **ChronB^1** **ChronC^2** *cumbol gehnastes* (**ChronD^2** *cumbol ge hnastes*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 49b; **ChronA^3** *he eardes* **ChronB^1** **ChronC^2** **ChronD^2** *heardes*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 25a; and **ChronA^3** *weealles* **ChronB^1** **ChronC^2** **ChronD^2** *wealas*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 72b, are simply nonsense. While *o* and *i* are frequently confused in unstressed syllables in later manuscripts, the use of *en* for the preposition *on* in line 35a is quite unparalleled in the corpus of multiply attested poetry, suggesting, along with the manuscript word-division, that the **ChronA^3** scribe misinterpreted an exemplar's **cnearr on* as a single (nonsense) word; the spacing of **ChronA^3** reading *cul bod ge hna des*, line 49a, similarly, suggests that the scribe was attempting to sound out a word he was unfamiliar with;

in lines 25a and 72b, the **ChronA**[3] spellings *he eardes* and *weealles* may be evidence either of

an attempt to indicate the lengthening of short vowels and diphthongs before lengthening

groups, or that a scribe of **ChronA**[3] tradition misinterpreted both forms as a combination of

pronoun + noun or adjective.

In addition to their problems with sense, syntax, and metre, the majority of these

'poetic' variants in the **ChronA**[3] scribe's work also share two other significant features. In the

first place, all but two (the reinterpretation of *heardes* and *wealas* as **ChronA**[3] *he eardes* and

ChronA[3] *weealles* in the *Battle of Brunanburh* lines 25a and 72b) involve rare or poetic words

– in five cases, words which are either unique to the *Battle of Brunanburh* or are found at most

in one other text: *cnearr* 'ship' (probably a Scandinavian loan-word),[318] occurs twice in Old

English, as a simplex in *Battle of Brunanburh* line 35a and as the second half of the compound

ChronA[3] *nęgled cnearrū* (**ChronB**[1] *nægled cnear/rum* **ChronC**[2] *negledcnearrum* **ChronD**[2]

dæg gled ongarum), *Battle of Brunanburh* line 53b; *yraland*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 56a is

attested only here and in *Orosius*[319]; *cumbolgehnastes*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 49b and

hasopadan, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 62b, are nonce compounds, although their simplices,

cumbol, *gehnastes*, *hasu* and *pad* are all found elsewhere in Old English, primarily in poetic

contexts.[320]

Secondly, all but one of these variants are found in the **ChronA**[3] scribe's text of the

Battle of Brunanburh. With the exception of the variation between the compound and

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[318]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 108-109.

[319]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 116-117.

[320]*Cumbol* is found as a simplex in *Andreas* (ll. 4 and 1204), *Beowulf* (l. 2505), *Daniel* (l. 180), *Judith* (l. 332), *Exodus* (l. 175); and as the first element of a compound in *Juliana* (ll. 395 and 637), *Judith* (ll. 243 and 259), and, in the only occurrence (other than in the *Battle of Brunanburh*) outside of the four major codices, *Psalm 50* ([BL Cotton Vespasian D. vi] (l. 11); *gehnastes* is found as the second element of *hopgehnastes* twice in Exeter Riddle 30 (ll. 27 and 60), *wolcengehnastes*, Exeter Riddle 3 (l. 60), and as the simplex *gehnaste* in *Genesis* (l. 2015).

simplices **ChronA³** *humbra éa* **ChronB¹** *humbranéa* (**ChronC²** *hunbranéa* **ChronD²** *himbran ea*) in *Capture of the Five Boroughs* line 4b, the **ChronA³** version of the *Capture of the Five Boroughs* does not contain any examples of the reinterpretation of text like those found in *Battle of Brunanburh* – and certainly none involving such non-sensical or non-metrical mistakes as *he eardes*, *weealles*, *cnearen flot*, *cul bod ge hna des*, *hira land*, and *hasewan/padan*.

Taken together, these features suggest that the **ChronA³** scribe, far from being a poetically sensitive reader of Old English verse, was in fact troubled by the unusual and poetic vocabulary he found in the *Battle of Brunanburh* – and was willing to remove this vocabulary when he failed to understand it. When not confronted with unusual and poetic words – as he was not in the *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, his *Chronicle* prose, or his copy of the *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" – the **ChronA³** scribe copied his text to a relatively high standard of substantive accuracy, allowing himself only the occasional difference in inflection and verbal substitution.[321]

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, Fifth Hand (ChronA⁵)

The scribe of **ChronA³** ends his work with the annal for 946 or 955.[322] After short passages by two further scribes (Bately's scribes 4 and 4a), a fifth major scribe copies the annals for 973-1001, including the *Coronation of Edgar* and *Death of Edgar*.[323] With the exception of the two poems, the annals copied by this scribe are unique to **ChronA** and its linear descendant **ChronG**.[324]

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[321]Cf. Bately, *MS. A*, p. xciii, and O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 120.

[322]See above, p. 90, and fn. 312.

[323]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

[324]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. xcii-xciii.

With no texts available to serve as a control, and with the possibility that **ChronC²** is a direct copy of **ChronB¹** for the equivalent annals (see below, pp. 150-152) it is impossible to compare the prose and verse performance of the **ChronA⁵** scribe or determine which tradition of the two poems is the most innovative.[325] In four cases, **ChronA⁵** has a more strained, nonsensical, or metrically or formulaically problematic reading than common text of **ChronB¹** **ChronC²**: **ChronA⁵** *corðre micelre* **ChronB¹** *corðremycclum* **ChronC²** *corþre mycclum* (**ChronA⁵** *micelre* shows the incorrect gender), *Coronation of Edgar*, line 2a; **ChronA⁵** *agan* **ChronB¹** **ChronC²** *get* (**ChronA⁵** is unmetrical and non-sensical), *Coronation of Edgar*, line 13b; **ChronA⁵** ∅ **ChronB¹** *ða* **ChronC²** *þa* (**ChronA⁵** is syntactically strained), *Coronation of Edgar*, line 19b; **ChronA⁵** *soðboran* **ChronB¹** *woðboran* **ChronC²** *woð boran* (the **ChronB¹** **ChronC²** reading is more common in poetry), *Death of Edgar*, line 33a. The remaining readings in which **ChronA⁵** stands against **ChronB¹** and **ChronC²**, however, all make good sense, metre and syntax. The majority of these variants can be paralleled from the prose and poetry of **ChronB¹**, although none are so characteristic of that scribe's work as to rule out the possibility that they originate in the **ChronA⁵** tradition. The use of *weorþan* for *beon* (**ChronA⁵** *wæs* **ChronB¹** **ChronC²** *wearð*, *Death of Edgar*, line 16a), for example, is a feature of **ChronB¹**, which has *wearð* for **ChronC²** *wæs* six times between 653 and 946, and agrees with **ChronC²** in reading *wearð* against **ChronA** *wæs* on another five occasions.[326] The addition or omission of ⁊ in *Death of Edgar*, lines 24a and 29a, likewise, is typical of **ChronB¹**, which omits a conjunction present in other versions of the *Chronicle* eighteen times

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[325]The variants cited in this paragraph are more fully discussed below, pp. 179-186.

[326]In the annals 797, 800, 838, 868 (2×) and 916 in the Mercian Register (Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xciii). Taylor adds that "This is one of the features shared by BC before 653 and after 946," but gives no examples (*MS. B*, p. xciii). Bately reports that **ChronA** has *wæs* for **ChronB ChronC** *wearð* as main verb or auxiliary on five occasions: 592, 633, 882, 904, 975. In 592 and 975 **ChronB ChronC** agree with **ChronD** (and **ChronE** in 592); in 633 **ChronB ChronC** agree with **ChronE** (Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxix).

between 726-879[327]; in **ChronA⁵**, the frequency with which ⁊ is omitted or added in

comparison to other witnesses varies from hand to hand[328]: **ChronA¹** has ⁊ for **ChronB**

ChronC ChronD ∅ five times, and ∅ for **ChronB ChronC ChronD** ⁊ four times, all in

prose entries; **ChronA³** has ⁊ for **ChronB ChronC ChronD** ∅ once (by correction, *Battle of*

Brunanburh, line 56a); **ChronA⁵** has ⁊ for **ChronB ChronC** ∅ three times (*Death of Edgar*,

lines 10b,[329] 24a, and 29a). The use of *in* for *on* is a feature of **ChronA**, the scribes of which

prefer *in* to **ChronB ChronC** (and **ChronD ChronE**, where applicable) *on* on eighteen

occasions, including *Death of Edgar*, line 6a.[330] Variation between þ̄ (*þæt*) and *þær* occurs

three times in **ChronA** and **ChronB¹ ChronC²** [331]: on two occasions, annals 633 and 975 (i.e.

Death of Edgar), **ChronA** has *þæt* for **ChronB ChronC** *þær*/*ðær*; on one further occasion,

annal 895, **ChronA** has *þær* for **ChronB ChronC** *þæt*; Bately finds "the A reading preferable

to the reading of BCDE" in all three cases.[332] The addition or omission of *eac* from **ChronA⁵**

(**ChronA⁵** ∅ **ChronB¹ ChronC²** *eac*, *Death of Edgar*, line 29a) is the only variant for which

no definite trend is mentioned by Bately or Taylor.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, First Hand (ChronB¹)

   ChronB is the work of a single scribe writing in the third quarter of the tenth century.

The last entry is for AD 977, and, as the manuscript is written throughout in insular square

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[327]Annals 726, 755 (7×), 812, 827, 836, 856, 868 (2×), 874, and 879 (Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. lxxxix-xc).

[328]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. cxv-cxvi.

[329]Probably a later addition; this variant is not included in the catalogue of variants below. See also, Bately, *MS. A*, p. 77 and fn. 3.

[330]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. cxvii-cxviii; also "Compilation," pp. 104 and 126.

[331]Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxxii.

[332]Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxxii.

minuscule (a type of script which gradually lost favour towards the end of the tenth century[333]), it can be dated with reasonable certainty to the period 977-c.1000.[334]

ChronB is very closely connected to **ChronC**, in some cases indeed, so closely as to suggest that it may have served at times as the latter manuscript's immediate exemplar.[335] The major exception to this is for the annals 653-946, where the two manuscripts are separated by several omissions, additions, and alternative readings.[336] This is particularly true of the annal numbers in this section, which with a few exceptions are missing from **ChronB** but present in **ChronC**. With the annal for 947, the two witnesses are again very close, although they are not necessarily directly related.[337]

The traditional view of the relationship between **ChronB** and **ChronC** sees both manuscripts as the product of independent traditions descending from a hypothetical common exemplar, to which Plummer gave the siglum Γ.[338] In this view, the missing annal numbers in **ChronB** are assumed to have been lost through a intermediate exemplar which was defective for the years 653-946.[339] More recently, however, Taylor has proposed a more complicated relationship between the two manuscripts. He argues that **ChronC** had **ChronB** as its exemplar until 652, the exemplar of **ChronB** for 653-946, and either **ChronB** or **ChronB** and another manuscript for 947-977.[340] In addition, he suggests that the loss of the annal numbers

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[333]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xxxiii.

[334]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xxxiii.

[335]Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. xxxvi-xlix; Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xiii-xiv; Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 191, esp. p. 252.

[336]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xxviii *et passim*.

[337]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xliv; Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xiii-xiv; Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 191, esp. p. 252.

[338]Plummer, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix.

[339]Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. xiii; Plummer, pp. lxxxvii-xc.

[340]Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. xxxiv-lxii, esp. xxxiv-xxxviii and l-li. This argument extends work by Whitelock (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xiii-xiv) and Ker (*Catalogue*, art. 191, esp. p. 252).

from **ChronB** for the annals 652-946 comes not as a result of a defective intervening exemplar in the post-Γ **ChronB** tradition, but of a thorough-going though incomplete revision of his exemplar by the **ChronB**[1] scribe.[341] In addition to the removal of the annal numbers, Taylor also points to numerous other erasures, additions, omissions, and substitutions throughout the prose and verse of this section as evidence of the **ChronB**[1] scribe's efforts at revision.[342]

This explanation of the relationship between **ChronB** and **ChronC** is important because it helps to account both for the substantive innovation in the **ChronB**[1] versions of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and the *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, and, just as importantly, the relatively low levels of variation found among the **ChronB**[1], **ChronC**[2] and **ChronA**[5] texts of the *Coronation of Edgar* and *Death of Edgar*. In her discussion of the variation in the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Death of Edgar*, O'Keeffe mentions three variants which she argues are "suggestive" of what she considers to be the **ChronB**[1] scribe's formulaic sensibility: two differences in the use of prefixes (**ChronB**[1] *forslegen* **ChronA**[3] *beslagen* [**ChronC**[2] *besle|gen* **ChronD**[2] *beslægen*], *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 42a; **ChronB**[1] *afylled* **ChronA**[3] **ChronC**[2] **ChronD**[2] *gefylled*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 67a); and one substitution of stressed words (**ChronB**[1] *forgrunden* **ChronA**[3] **ChronC**[2] **ChronD**[2] *ageted*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 18a).[343] To these may be added another six unique substantive variants in the **ChronB**[1] text of these poems: three inflectional differences: **ChronB**[1] *sexan* **ChronA**[3] **ChronD**[2] *seaxe* (**ChronC**[2] *sexe*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 70a; **ChronB**[1] *hæþenum* **ChronA**[3] *hæþenra* (**ChronC**[2] *hæ|þenra* **ChronD**[2] *hæðenra*), *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 10a; **ChronB**[1] *denum* **ChronA**[3] **ChronD**[2] *dæne* (**ChronC**[2] *dene*), *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 8b; one

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[341]Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. xxxiv-lxii, esp. xxxiv-xxxviii and l-li.

[342]Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. l-lxii.

[343]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 120.

substitution of an unstressed word: **ChronB¹** *þ* **ChronA³ ChronD²** *oð* **ChronC²** *oþ* (and

orthographic variants), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 16a; and two examples of the substitution of

a stressed word: **ChronB¹** *sake* **ChronA³ ChronC²** *sæcce* (**ChronD²** *secce*), *Battle of*

Brunanburh, line 4a; **ChronB¹** *sace* **ChronA³ ChronC²** *sæcce* **ChronD²** *sęcge*, *Battle of*

Brunanburh, line 42a.

As we have come to expect, all but two of these changes correspond to innovations

found elsewhere in the prose of this "revised" section of the manuscript. The two substitutions

of verbal prefixes mentioned by O'Keeffe are matched by another twelve instances of the

addition, omission or substitution of prefixes in the prose of the **ChronB¹** annals 653-946: six

in which **ChronB¹** "has a prefix different from that employed in the other texts" of the

Chronicle[344]; four in which **ChronB¹** is the only witness with a prefix; and two in which words

appear without a prefix in **ChronB¹** alone.[345] Substitutions of nouns, verbs and adjectives are

also relatively common in both the poetry and prose: in addition to O'Keeffe's example from

Battle of Brunanburh, Taylor reports five examples of the substitution of non-homographic

nouns, verbs and adjectives, and three which, like **ChronB¹** *sace*, *sake* (for *sæcce*), lines 4a

and 42a , involve graphically similar forms.[346]

The same is true of other unique variants in the **ChronB¹** copies of the *Battle of*

Brunanburh and *Capture of the Five Boroughs*. The substitution of *þ* for *oð* (as in *Battle of*

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[344]Taylor, *MS B*, p. xcviii.

[345]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xcviii.

[346]Non-homographs: **ChronB¹** *onfon* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** (*ge*)*þicg*(*e*)*an*, 755; **ChronB¹** *wurdon* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** *fulgon*, 755; **ChronB¹** *liþ* **ChronA ChronD ChronE** *resteþ*, 716; **ChronB¹** *for* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** *eode*, 886; **ChronB¹** *mæssan* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** *tide*, 759; Homographic substitutions: **ChronB¹** *Bryttas* **ChronC** (**ChronA ChronD**) *Bryttwealas*, 682/3; **ChronB¹** *wæron* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** *wicodon*, 894; **ChronB¹** *foran* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** *ferdon*, 737; **ChronB¹** *nan* **ChronA ChronC ChronD** *nænig*. See Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. lix-lx, xcvii. The distinction between homographic and non-homographic substitutions is my own. Taylor mixes the two in both his lists.

Brunanburh, line 16a) is reported by Taylor to be a "distinctive" feature of the **ChronB**[1]

scribe's work from 755-937, where it occurs a total of ten times.[347] The use of the weak form

seaxan for *seaxe* in *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 70a, though not a unique variant elsewhere in

ChronB[1], does occur as a recensional variant in 473, where **ChronB ChronC** have *engle* to

ChronA ChronE *englan*.[348] The two remaining unique readings in **ChronB**[1], *hæþenum*,

Capture of the Five Boroughs, line 10a and *denum*, *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 8b, are,

as Taylor suggests, the likely result of the mechanical influence of surrounding forms.[349]

Taylor's suggestion that the scribe of **ChronB**[1] was revising the section from 653-946

also explains a second feature of his poetic performance – the relative lack of substantive

innovation in the two later poems, the *Coronation of Edgar* (973) and the *Death of Edgar*

(975).   As O'Keeffe and Bately note, neither the *Coronation of Edgar* nor the *Death of Edgar*

exhibit much substantive variation in their three surviving witnesses.[350] As we have seen

above (pp. 140-141), O'Keeffe attributes this to a combination of late scribes in **ChronA**[5] and

ChronC[2] and the renewal of a close relationship between **ChronB** and **ChronC** for the annals

after 947. Were this explanation correct, however, we would still expect to find more

substantive variation than we do between **ChronA**[5] and the common text of **ChronB**[1] and

ChronC[2]. Even if we assume that the scribe of **ChronA**[5] is too late to be properly

"formulaic" – an assumption which, as noted above (pp. 141-143), is unwarranted given the

fact that the other Fixed Context poems discussed in this chapter have all shown more

variation in their later rather than their earlier witnesses – and even if we assume that

ChronC[2] is following **ChronB**[1] closely enough from 947 on to preclude any independent

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[347]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. lvii.

[348]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xciv, fn. 155.

[349]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. lviii.

[350]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 124-5; Bately, *MS. A*, p. xci.

variation between the two manuscripts, we would nevertheless expect to find more "formulaic" variants than we do between the work of the tenth century – and in O'Keeffe's terms – "formulaic" scribe of **ChronB**[1] and the unrelated (though eleventh century) **ChronA**[5].

As we have seen above in our discussion of **ChronA**[5] (pp. 149-150), however, the three witnesses to these poems show surprisingly little variation that is metrically, semantically or syntactically appropriate *and* significant. The most appropriate variants separating the two traditions are either graphically similar or have relatively little metrical, semantic or syntactic effect: *weorþan* : *beon* (*Death of Edgar*, line 16a), *in* : *on* (*Death of Edgar*, line 6a), *þ̄* : *þær* (*Death of Edgar*, line 8b); *soðboran* : *woðboran* (*Death of Edgar*, line 33a); the addition or omission of ⁊ (*Coronation of Edgar*, lines 24a, and 29a) and of *eac* (*Death of Edgar*, line 29a). Those which have the greatest effect on sense, metre, or syntax, on the other hand, are almost invariably problematic, causing syntactic difficulties in the case of the omission of *þa* from **ChronA**[5] *Coronation of Edgar*, line 19b; metrical difficulties in that of the substitution **ChronA**[5] *agan* **ChronB**[1] **ChronC**[2] *get*, *Coronation of Edgar*, line 13b; and agreement difficulties in that of inflectional difference **ChronA**[5] *corðre micelre* **ChronB**[1] *corðre mycclum* (**ChronC**[2] *corþre mycclum*), *Coronation of Edgar*, line 2a.

What we do not find in these two poems is the type of semantically, syntactically and metrically appropriate *and* significant innovation characteristic of the **ChronB**[1] versions of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and the *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, with its inflectional differences and substitutions of prefixes and stressed words – substitutions of prefixes and stressed words **ChronB**[1] *forslegen* **ChronA**[3] *beslagen* (**ChronC**[2] *besle/gen* **ChronD**[2] *beslægen*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 42a; **ChronB**[1] *forgrunden* **ChronA**[3] **ChronC**[2] **ChronD**[2] *ageted*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 18a; and inflectional differences **ChronB**[1] *hæþenum* **ChronA**[3] *hæþenra* (**ChronC**[2] *hæ/þenra* **ChronD**[2] *hæðenra*), *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 10a; and

ChronB^1 *dænum* **ChronA^3 ChronD^2** *dæne* (**ChronC^2** *dene*), *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 8b.

If, as Taylor suggests, however, the absence of annal numbers in **ChronB^1** from 652-946 is the result of an incomplete attempt at revision by the **ChronB^1** scribe, then the relative lack of substantive innovation between the **ChronB^1**-**ChronC^2** and **ChronA^5** versions of the *Coronation of Edgar* and the *Death of Edgar* indicate that the revision was either less intensive or largely accomplished after the annal for 946. Rather than the result of the **ChronB^1** scribe's formulaic sensibility, the difference in the nature and amount of the textual innovation exhibited by **ChronB^1** versions of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs* on the one hand and the *Coronation of Edgar* and the *Death of Edgar* on the other is to be attributed to the editorial intentions of the scribe in question. In the first two poems – both of which occur in the section in which the scribe of **ChronB^1** appears to be revising his source, and for which the scribe of **ChronC^2** felt compelled to turn to another manuscript to supplement the text of **ChronB^1** – the variation introduced by the scribe of **ChronB^1** is in keeping with that found in the corresponding prose; by the time he came to copy the second set of verse texts, the **ChronB^1** scribe had either stopped his revision or adopted a less innovative approach.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, Second Hand (ChronC^2)

The mid-eleventh-century scribe of **ChronC^2** is the least innovative of all scribes responsible for copying the *Chronicle* poems. His work exhibits six substantive variant readings not found in the other witnesses to these texts, all in the *Battle of Brunanburh*.[351]

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[351]Both Campbell and P. R. Orton attribute these variants to the **ChronC^2** scribe (*Brunanburh*, p. 111; Orton "'The Battle of Brunanburh', 40b-44a: Constantine's Bereavement," *Peritia* 4 (1985): 243-50 at p. 248). As they occur in the *Battle of Brunanburh* only, and as the *Battle of Brunanburh* (with the *Capture of the Five Boroughs*) is found in the section which Taylor suggests the **ChronB^1** scribe was attempting to revise,

Only one of the five variants (the addition of *his* in l. 41b) has a significant effect on the sense of the passage in which it occurs.[352] As five of the six variants occur on unstressed syllables and involve the same type of metrically and syntactically insignificant variation we have seen in the work of all but the most careful scribes of the glossing texts discussed in Chapter 2, moreover, it is impossible to rule out unconscious error or graphic variation as a possible source for most of the **ChronC**[2] scribe's innovations.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, Second Hand (ChronD[2])

      Of the four surviving witnesses to the first two *Chronicle* poems, the mid-eleventh-century **ChronD** shows by far the greatest number of unique substantive variants. The manuscript has been written in five or more hands, of which the second is responsible for both the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs*.[353] In their eighty-six lines, the **ChronD**[2] scribe introduces twenty-two variants with a potentially significant effect on sense, metre, or syntax of the two poems: four differences of inflection, twelve examples of the substitution of stressed words and elements, one example of the addition or omission of unstressed words and phrases, one example of the addition or omission of a prefix, three examples of the reinterpretation of already existing text, and one example of the addition or omission of text corresponding to a metrical unit.[354]

      Very few of these variants offer truly appropriate alternative readings. Of the four unique inflectional endings in the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, for example, three involve a confusion of gender: **ChronD**[2] *se... gesceaft* **ChronA**[3] *sio... gesceaft*

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    it is also possible that the "innovations" of **ChronC**[2] are really from Γ, the hypothetical common exemplar of **ChronB**[1] and **ChronC**[2], but were "edited out" of the **ChronB**[1] revision.

[352]See below, p. 205.

[353]Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 192.

[354]These variants are discussed in greater detail below, pp. 206-222.

(**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *seo... gesceaft*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 16b; **ChronD²** *deopne/ wæter*

ChronA³ *deop wæter* (**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *deopwæter*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 55a;

ChronD² *þisneiglande* **ChronA³** *þis/ eiglande* (**ChronB¹** *þyseglande* **ChronC²** *þys iglande*),

Battle of Brunanburh, line 66a; and the fourth a non-sensical substitution of a genitive for the

nominative singular: **ChronD²** *eadmundes* **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *eadmund*, *Capture of*

the Five Boroughs, line 13b. Six of the twelve substitutions of stressed words in this

manuscript, likewise, involve changes to a single consonant in the **ChronA³ ChronB¹**

ChronC² form – in most cases as the result of an obvious graphic error: **ChronD²**: **ChronD²**

heord/weal **ChronA³** *bord/weal* (**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *bordweall*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line

5b; **ChronD²** *ræd* **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *sæd*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 20a;

ChronD² *flod* **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *flot*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 35a; **ChronD²** *hal*

ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC² *hár*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 39a; **ChronD²** *cuð heafóc*

ChronA³ *guð hafóc* (**ChronB¹** *guþhafoc* **ChronC²** *guðhafoc*), *Battle of Brunanburh* 64a;

ChronD² *gife* **ChronA³ ChronC²** *fife* (**ChronB¹** *fífe*), *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 5b.

Three other substitutions, although not the result of an error in a single letter, are nevertheless

almost certainly graphic in origin: one substitution of a stressed word or element: **ChronD²**

sęcge **ChronA³ ChronC²** *sæcce* **ChronB¹** *sace*, *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 42a; and two

examples of the reinterpretation of existing text: **ChronD²** *inwuda* **ChronA³** *inwidda*

(**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *inwitta*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 46a; **ChronD²** *dæg gled ongarum*

ChronA³ *nęgled cnearrū* (**ChronB¹** *nægled cnear/rum* **ChronC²** *negledcnearrum*), *Battle of*

Brunanburh, line 53b.

Of variants involving more than a simple graphic misunderstanding, three involve

difficulties with poetic or nonce words on the part of **ChronD²**: **ChronD²** *mycel scearpum* for

the nonce compound **ChronB¹ ChronC²** *mylenscearpum* (**ChronA³** *mylen scearpan*), *Battle*

of Brunanburh, line 24a; **ChronD²** *hryman* (early West-Saxon *hrīeman*, non West-Saxon *hrēman*) 'lament' for the poetic **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *hreman* (early West-Saxon and non West-Saxon *hrēman*) 'exult', *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 39b; and the nonsense form **ChronD²** *dyflig* for the nonce word **ChronA³** *difel/in* (**ChronB¹** *dyflen* **ChronC²** *dyflin*, i.e. 'Dublin'), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 55b. In a fourth example, the **ChronD²** reading is metrically, syntactically and semantically appropriate but formulaically less common: **ChronD²** *feohte* **ChronA³** *ge/feohte* (**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *gefeohte*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 28a. In a fifth, **ChronD²** substitutes a metrically, syntactically, and semantically appropriate but non-poetic word for a poetic reading in **ChronB¹ ChronC²**: **ChronD²** *mægþa* 'of the clan' for **ChronA³** *maga* 'of the young men' (or 'of the kinsmen') and **ChronB¹** *mæcgea* (**ChronC²**, *mecga*) 'of men', *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, line 2a. A sixth, **ChronD²** *inecga* **ChronB¹** *mecea* (**ChronC²** *meca*; **ChronA³** *mæcan*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 40a, involves the substitution of a semantically equivalent prepositional phrase (probably the result of an original minim error) for a noun in **ChronB¹ ChronC²**.

In only two cases does the **ChronD²** form offer an apparently genuine alternative to those of the other witnesses: the addition of the unstressed particle *þe* to *Battle of Brunanburh*, line 51b: **ChronD²** *þæsþe* **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *þæs*; and the substitution of the first element in the poetic compound **ChronD²** *heora/flyman* **ChronA³** *here fleman* (**ChronB¹** *herefly/man* **ChronC²** *here/flymon*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, 23a.[355]

The general lack of appropriate variation in **ChronD²** is all the more surprising given the relative independence of the **ChronD** text. The only representative of the northern recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to include the *Chronicle* poems, **ChronD** comprises what Whitelock has described as a "a conflation of the northern recension with another text of

the [Southern] Chronicle."[356] As it is unlikely that **ChronA**, **ChronB** or **ChronC** were the

direct ancestor of the southern elements in this compilation, and as, as Whitelock notes, "the

task of conflating the two texts cannot have been easy,"[357] we might expect to find more

evidence than we do of thoughtful emendation similar to that found in the "corrected" sections

of **ChronB**[1].

Instead, as Whitelock and Plummer note, the mixture of conservatism and carelessness

which characterises the **ChronD**[2] treatment of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the*

Five Boroughs is also characteristic of the manuscript as a whole. On the one hand, the

scribes of **ChronD** do not appear to have made much effort to update the language or contents

of their exemplar. Plummer reports the **ChronD** version of the *Chronicle* to be relatively free

of the late forms, spellings and syntax which mark the slightly later, but closely related

Peterborough Chronicle (**ChronE**).[358] On the other hand, however, this orthographic and

syntactic conservatism is not matched by a similarly careful attitude towards the details of the

text itself. At a textual level, Plummer reports **ChronD** to be "full of mistakes and omissions"

and "from first to last very inaccurately and carelessly written" when it is compared with the

applicable sections of **ChronE** and **ChronA ChronB ChronC**.[359] In addition, Whitelock and

Plummer both record numerous occasions on which the compiler of **ChronD** has joined

material from his two sources in a "clumsy" and repetitive fashion.[360] As was also true of the

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[355]This last example may also be the result of a late back-spelling. See below, p. 210.

[356]Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xiv-xv; *Peterborough Chronicle*, with an appendix by Cecily Clark, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 4 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1954), pp. 28-29; and Plummer, lxxviii-lxxix.

[357]Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. xv.

[358]Plummer p. lxxx; Whitelock, *Peterborough Chronicle*, pp. 28-29

[359]Plummer, p. lxxxi; for examples, see Plummer, p. lxxxii, fn. 2 and lxii, fn. 2.

[360]See Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. xv; Plummer, pp. lxxxi-lxxxii. Both writers use "clumsy" to describe the **ChronD** compiler's efforts.

work of the scribes of **ChronA³**, **ChronA⁵**, **ChronB¹** and **ChronC²**, the scribe of **ChronD²** does not appear to have strayed far from his prose practice in copying his verse.

Textual Variants

The following sections treat the substantive variation among witnesses to the *Chronicle* poems on a manuscript-by-manuscript, scribe-by-scribe and then poem-by-poem basis. A separate section between **ChronA⁵** and **ChronB¹** examines "recensional" variants in which **ChronB¹** and **ChronC²** agree in a reading different from **ChronA³** and **ChronD²** (pp. 187-192). These are presumably to be ascribed to their common archetype, Plummer's hypothetical Γ (see above, pp. 150-152).

<div align="center">

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173
Third Hand (ChronA³)

</div>

Battle of Brunanburh

Differences of Inflection (4 examples)

Brun (ChronA³), 17b

ChronA³

       þær læg secg mænig.
 garū ageted. <u>guma norþerna</u>.|
 ofer scild scoten. swilce scittisc eác.
20 werig wíges sæd.

ChronB¹

       þærlægsecg manig.
 garum forgrunden.| <u>guman norðerne</u>.
 oferscyldsceoten swylce scyttisceac.|
20 werig wiggessæd.

ChronC²

       þærlæg secgmonig.|
 garum ageted. <u>guman norðerne</u>.
 ofer scyldscoten swilce| scyttisc eac.
20 werig wig ges sæd.

ChronD²

       þær| læg secg monig.
 garum ageted <u>guman norþærne</u>.|
 ofer scyld sceoten swylce scyttisc eác.
20 werig wiges| ræd

In **ChronA³**, the noun-adjective pair *guma norþerna* is nominative singular; in **ChronB¹** **ChronC²** and **ChronD²**, *guman norðerne* (**ChronD²** *guman norþærne*) is nominative plural. Syntactically, the **ChronA³** reading is to be preferred, given the use of a singular form of the participle *scoten* (**ChronB¹** **ChronD²** *sceoten*) in line 19a of all witnesses. The plural noun and adjective in **ChronB¹** **ChronC²** **ChronD²** is perhaps to be ascribed to the

influence of the preceding collective, *secg mænig*, l. 17b. Similarly rapid transitions from the

plural/collective to the concrete singular can be paralleled from the battle scenes in *Beowulf*.[361]

The variants are metrically identical. As both require that the scribe make a

corresponding change elsewhere in his text, the variants are linked.

Brun (ChronA³), 26b

ChronA³	**ChronC²**
myrce| newyrndon.	myrce| newyrndon.
25 he eardes hond plegan. hæleþa nanum	25 heardes handplegan hæleþa namū.
þæmid anlafe.| ofer **æra gebland**.	þaraðemid| anlafe. ofer **ear gebland**
onlides bosme. land gesohtun.	onliþes bosme landgesohton.
fæge toge|feohte.	fæge| togefeohte

ChronB¹	**ChronD²**
myrce| newyrndon.	myrce newyrndon.
25 heardes handplegan hæleþananum.	25 heardes hand plegan hæleþa| nanum.
þara| ðemid anlafe ofer**eargebland**.	þæra þemid anlafe ofer **eár gebland**.|
onlides bosme landge|sohtan.	onlides bosme land gesohton.
fægetogefeohte.	fage to feohte

The variation between compound and simplices **ChronA³** *æra gebland* **ChronB¹**

eargebland (**ChronC²** *ear gebland* **ChronD²** *eár gebland*) has no effect on sense and a slight

effect on metre. The **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** form is found twice more in the poetic

corpus: *Metres of Boethius*, VIII. 30a (ofer ear*geblond*), and *Elene* l. 239a: *ofer*

earhgeblond.[362] There are no further examples of the **ChronA³** reading, although O'Keeffe

cites similar collocations from *Andreas*, line 532a (*aryða geblond*) and Exeter Riddle 3, line

22a (*eare geblonden*) as possible parallels.[363]

In line 71a, **ChronA³** has the compound *bradbrimu* for *brade brimu* (and orthographic

variants) in **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** (see below, p. 165).

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[361]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 103-4. A discussion of **ChronA³** ll. 17b-20a and other examples of such rapid transitions between plural, collective, and singular nouns from *Beowulf* can be found in O'Donnell, "The Collective Sense of Concrete Singular Nouns in *Beowulf*: Emendations of Sense," *NM* 92 (1991) 433-440.

[362]See Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 107. O'Keeffe misses the second occurrence in her discussion of the line (*Visible Song*, p. 120).

[363]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 120.

The variation has a slight effect on metre. In **ChronA**[3] the line is a Type B-2; in

ChronB[1] **ChronC**[2] **ChronD**[2] it is Type B-1

Brun (ChronA[3]), 40a

ChronA[3]

    swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō.
    onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
    hár hilde ring. hreman neþorfte.
40 **mæcan** gemanan. he wæs| his mæga sceard.
    freonda gefylled. ónfolcstede.
    beslagen| ætsæcce.   ꝥhis sunu forlet.
    ónwæl stowe.   wundun fer grunden.|
    giungne ætguðe.

ChronC[2]

    Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
    onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
    hár hilderinc. hreman neðorfte.
40 **meca** gemanan. her| wæs hismaga sceard.
    freonda gefylled.   onhis folcstede.
    besle|gen ætsæcce.   ꝥhissunu forlet
    onwælstowe.   wundum forgrunden.|
    geongne æt guþe.

ChronB[1]

    S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
    onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
    hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40 **mecea** gemanan   her wæs his magasceard.
    freonda| gefylled   on folcstede.
    forslegen ætsace   ꝥhissunu for|let.
    onwælstowe   wundum forgrunden.
    geongne ætguþe|

ChronD[2]

    swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
    onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
    hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40 **inecga** ge|manan   hewæshis mæga. sceard
    freonda ge|fylled   onfolc stede
    beslægen ætsęcge.   ꝥhissunu| forlæt.
    onwæl stowe   wundum forgrunden.|
    geongne ætguþe

Of the three readings for this line, two – **ChronB**[1] **ChronC**[2] *mec(e)a gemanan* '(in/of)

the fellowship of swords' and **ChronD**[2] *inecga ge/manan* 'in the fellowship of swords' – make

sense, syntax, and some metre. The third, **ChronA**[3] *mæcan gemanan*, is nonsensical.

In **ChronA**[3], *mæcan* is presumably a corruption of either *mæcga*, the genitive plural of

mæcg 'man', or *mec(e)a*, genitive plural of *mēce* 'sword' and the reading of **ChronB**[1]-

ChronC[2]. Campbell considers this second possibility the less likely, however, as "*mece* is

nowhere else spelt with *æ*" and as **ChronA**[3] (and **ChronD**[2]) read *mecum* correctly in line

24a.[364] Since **ChronD**[2] *inecga ge/manan* 'in the fellowship of swords' makes sense and is

roughly synonymous with the reading of **ChronB**[1] and **ChronC**[2], however, it is perhaps more

likely that **ChronA**[3] *mæcan* also comes from an original **meca*.[365] Perhaps the **ChronA**[3]

1

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[364]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 110-111.

[365]Campbell reports the **ChronD**[2] reading as *mecga*, adding that "the *m* might be read as *in*" (*Brunanburh*, p.
88 and fn. 1). There is a clear space between the first and second minim of the "m" in facsimile, however.

scribe was bothered by the poet's use of such a "striking and original" kenning for battle.[366] The addition of final -*n* to **ChronA**[3] may be the result of an anticipation of the ending of the following word or the misconstruction of *mæcan* as a weak adjective in agreement with *gemanan*. It is in any case further evidence of the **ChronA**[3] scribe's difficulty with the poem.[367]

The **ChronB**[1] **ChronC**[2] reading *mec(e)a gemanan* 'fellowship of swords' and the **ChronD**[2] reading *inecga ge/manan* 'in the fellowship of swords' are broadly equivalent semantically and syntactically. In **ChronB**[1] **ChronC**[2], *mec(e)a* is a genitive dependent on *gemanan*, which is itself genitive or dative singular and governed by *hreman*, line 39b (while Bosworth and Toller give no examples of *hrēman* governing a simple case ending without a preposition, Campbell reports that the related adjective *hrēmig* appears "sometimes governing the gen., but usually the dat."[368]). In **ChronD**[2], *inecga ge/manan* is presumably to be read as a prepositional phrase modifying *hrȳman* 'cry out', 'lament' (the verb of **ChronD**[2] line 39b). In this case, *gemanan* is to be construed as accusative or dative singular, modified by the genitive plural *ecga*. *Gemāna* is frequently found in similar prepositional phrases.[369] Given the **ChronD**[2] scribe's demonstrated difficulties with the script of his exemplar and the failure of his version of the line to show double alliteration, a scribal misinterpretation of an initial minim in *inecga* seems the most likely explanation for his reading.

See Robinson and Stanley, *EEMF* 23, pl. 14.1.5.2, line 6, and cf. Dobbie, *ASPR* 6, p. 148, who incorrectly reports a space between *in* and *ecga*.

[366]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110.

[367]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110; For a possibly similar example of inflectional attraction, see **ChronB**[1] *saxan*: **ChronA**[3] **ChronC**[2] **ChronD**[2] *se(a)xe*, l.70a; a further example of a scribe making an adjective from an apparently unfamiliar word is **ChronD**[2] *dyflig* for **ChronA**[3] *difel/in* (**ChronB**[1] *dyflen* **ChronC**[2] *dyflin*), *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 55b; see below, p. 214.

[368]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110; for *hrēman* 'exult', see B.-T.(S) *hréman*.

[369]B.-T.(S) *gemána*. An example with *on* is given in definition III 'fellowship, association, society, intercourse'.

Of the three variants, only that in **ChronD²** affects metre significantly. Whether

ChronA³ *mæcan* is intended for *mecga* or *mēca*, the **ChronA³ ChronB¹** and **ChronC²**

versions of line 40 are all Type A-1 with double alliteration. In **ChronD²**, *inecga ge/manan* is

best scanned as a Type A-1 line with an anacrustic preposition and delayed alliteration.

The **ChronD²** and **ChronB¹ ChronC²** forms are mentioned briefly below, pages 189

and 218.

Brun (ChronA³), 71a

ChronA³

```
65                    newearð wæl mare.
      ón þis| eiglande. æfer gieta.
      folces gefylled.  beforan þissū.
      sweordes| écgum.  þæs þeus segað béc
      ealdeuðwitan.  siþþan eastan hider.|
70    engle ꝺseaxe.  upbecoman.
      ofer bradbrimu.  brytene sohtan.
      wlance wigsmiþas.  weealles ofer coman.
      eorlas arhwate.  eard| begeatan.|
```

ChronC²

```
65                    newearð wælmare
      onþys iglande  æfregyta.|
      folces gefylled   beforan þyssum.
      swurdes ecgum.   þæsðeús| segað béc.
      ealde uþwitan.  siððan eastanhider
70    engle ꝺsexe.|  uppbecomon.
      ofer bradebrimu   bretene sohton.
      wlance| wig smiðas.  wealas ofercomon.
      eorlas árhwáte   eard be|geaton.
```

ChronB¹

```
65                    newearð| wælmáre.
      onþyseglande  æfregyta.
      folces afylled   befo|ran þyssum.
      sweordes ecgum   þæs þeus secggeaþ béc.
      ealde|uþwitan  syþþan eastan hider.
70    engle ꝺsexan  upp becoman.|
      ofer brade brimu.  brytenesohtan
      wlance wigsmiþas.|  wealas ofercoman
      eorlas arhwate.  eardbegeaton.|
```

ChronD²

```
65                    newearð wæl mare.
      onþisneiglande  æfregitá.|
      folces gefylled   beforan þyssum.
      sweordes ecgum|  þæs þeus segað béc.
      ealde uðwitan   siððan eastan|hider
70    engle ꝺseaxe  úpbecomon.
      ofer brade bri|mu  britene sohton
      wlance wigsmiðas   wealas| ofer comon.
      eorlas arhwæte   eard begeaton;|
```

ChronA³ *brad* can be construed as either the first element of a compound, *bradbrimu*,

or an example of an endingless neuter accusative plural in apposition to *brimu*. In **ChronB¹**

ChronC² ChronD² *brade* is an example of the late neuter accusative plural in *-e*.[370] *Ofer brad*

brimu occurs once more in the poetic corpus (*Genesis*, line 2194a). There are no further

examples of the **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** reading.

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[370]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 120. See also Campbell, *OEG* §641.

In **ChronA³** the line is Type C-2; in **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** Type B-1 with a resolved second stress.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Brun (**ChronA³**), 26a

ChronA³

                    myrce| newyrndon.
25 he eardes hond plegan. hæleþa nanum
    þæmid anlafe.| ofer æra gebland.
    onlides bosme. land gesohtun.
    fæge toge|feohte.

ChronC²

                    myrce| newyrndon.
25 heardes handplegan hæleþa namū.
    þara ðemid| anlafe. ofer ear gebland
    onliþes bosme landgesohton.
    fæge| togefeohte

ChronB¹

                    myrce| newyrndon.
25 heardes handplegan hæleþananum.
    þara| ðemid anlafe ofereargebland.
    onlides bosme landge|sohtan.
    fægetogefeohte.

ChronD²

                    myrce newyrndon.
25 heardes hand plegan hæleþa| nanum.
    þæra þemid anlafe ofer eár gebland.|
    onlides bosme land gesohton.
    fage to feohte

Although it makes good sense and metre as written, the **ChronA³** *þæ* is almost certainly an eyeskip for *þæra þe*.[371] A similar variant occurs in Psalm 93:09.6b: **PPs** *þær* **EPs** *þæ* (see above, Chapter 2, p. 40). The scribe of **ChronG** normalises the **ChronA³** reading to *þe*.[372]

As the omission falls in the preliminary dip of a Type C line, it has no effect on metre.

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[371]Cf. Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxxxix, who includes the variant as a possible example (with *dæne* [**ChronG** *dene*], *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, l.8b) of *æ* for WS *e* in stressed syllables.

[372]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 106; Lutz, *Die Version G*, p. 219.

Reinterpretation of Existing Elements (7 examples)

Brun (ChronA[3]), 13a

ChronA[3]

10 hord ⁊hámas. het tend| crungun.
    sceotta leoda. ⁊scip flotan.
    fæge feollan. feld dæn,ⁿede||
    secgas hwate. sið þan sunne úp.
    onmorgentíd. mære tun gol.
15 glad ofer| grundas. godes condel beorht.
    eces drihtnes. oð sio æþele gesceaft.|
    sahtosetle.

ChronC[2]

10 hord ⁊hamas| hettend crungon.
    scotta leode. ⁊scypflotan.
    fæge feollan| feld dennade.
    secga swate. siððan sunne upp.
    onmorgentid.| mære tungol.
15 gladofer grundas. godes candel beorht
    eces| drihtnes oþseo æþele gesceaft
    sáhtósetle.

ChronB[1]

10 hórd ⁊hámas hettend crungon
    scotta leode| ⁊scip flotan.
    fægefeollan feld dennade.
    secgaswate siþþan| sunne upp.
    onmorgentíd mære tungol
15 glad ofergrun|das godes candel beorht.
    ecesdrihtnes. þseo æþele gesceaft|
    sah tosetle.

ChronD[2]

10 hord. ⁊hamas heted crungon|
    scotta leode. ⁊scipflotan.
    fæge feollon feld dennode.|
    secga swate siþþan sunne úp.
    onmorgen tíd mære| tungol.
15 glad ofergrundas godes candel beorht.|
    eces drihtnes. oð se æþele gesceaft.
    sahtosẹtle

As Campbell has suggested, the origin of this variant is most likely a scribal error on the part of **ChronA[3]** or a predecessor:

> *Secgas hwate* is readily explained as a corruption of *secga swate*: if a scribe took the second *s* to belong to the first word, he would be very likely to make the meaningless *wate* into *hwate*. The error was probably due to the scribe of A, for it occurs in his MS. at the turn of a page, and this may have led to his losing the thread of what he was writing.[373]

Bately and O'Keeffe note that the form can be made to make some sense, however, "if the preceding half-line [*feld dæn,ⁿede*]... is understood parenthetically."[374] In this reading, **ChronA[3]** *secgas hwate* 'bold men' is interpreted as the subject of *feollan* line 12a, while line 12b – **ChronA[3]** *feld dæn,ⁿede* (**ChronG** *feld dynede*) – is understood in an absolute sense as 'the field resounded'.[375] In **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** and **ChronD[2]**, the reading *secga swate*

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[373]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 100.

[374]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 119 (for "Crawford" here and elsewhere in this section of O'Keeffe's chapter, read "Campbell"); Bately, *MS. A*, p. cx.

[375]See Bately 1986, p. cx. This reading assumes that **ChronA[3]** *dæn,ⁿede* **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** *dennade* **ChronD[2]** *dennode* are for West-Saxon *dynede* as in **ChronG**. See Robinson, "Lexicography and Literary

(**ChronB^1** *secgaswate*) 'with the blood of men' is an instrumental governed by **ChronB^1**

ChronC^2 *dennade* **ChronD^2** *dennode*.

In addition to its effect on syntax and sense, the reinterpretation also affects metre. In

ChronB^1 ChronC^2 ChronD^2, line 13a is Type A-1 with two long lifts. In **ChronA^3**, it is

Type A-4 with a short second lift. As Campbell and O'Keeffe note, both types are attested

elsewhere in the corpus.[376]

Brun (**ChronA^3**), 25a

ChronA^3

                         myrce| newyrndon.
25 **he eardes** hond plegan. hæleþa nanum
    þæmid anlafe.| ofer æra gebland.
    onlides bosme. land gesohtun.
    fæge toge|feohte.

ChronB^1

                         myrce| newyrndon.
25 **heardes** handplegan   hæleþananum.
    þara| ðemid anlafe ofereargebland.
    onlides bosme   landge|sohtan.
    fægetogefeohte.

ChronC^2

                         myrce| newyrndon.
25 **heardes** handplegan   hæleþa namū.
    þaraðemid| anlafe. ofer ear gebland
    onliþes bosme   landgesohton.
    fæge| togefeohte

ChronD^2

                         myrce newyrndon.
25 **heardes** hand plegan   hæleþa| nanum.
    þæra þemid anlafe   ofer eár gebland.|
    onlides bosme   land gesohton.
    fage to feohte

The **ChronA^3** forms here and in line 72b (*weeallas*, **ChronB^1 ChronC^2 ChronD^2**

wealas) either are the result of a reinterpretation *heardes* and *weallas* as two independent parts

of speech, or reflect an antecedent in which *ea* was spelled *eea* before consonants which

caused lengthening in late Old English.[377]

If the **ChronA^3** scribe interpreted *he eardes* as two words, the variation affects both

sense and metre. The third person pronoun *he* cannot be the subject of the plural verb

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Criticism: A Caveat," *Philological Essays in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. James Rosier (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1970), 99-110, at p. 107; for a summary of critical opinion on the word, see Joseph Harris, "'Brunanburh' 12b-13a and Some Skaldic Passages," *Magister Regis: Studies in Honor of Robert Earl Kaske*, ed. Robert Groos with Emerson Brown Jr., Thomas D. Hill, Giuseppe Mazzotta and Joseph S. Wittig (New York: Fordham, 1986), 61-68. This discussion supersedes Campbell's note to the line in *Brunanburh*, pp. 100-101.

[376]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 99-100; O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 118-119, and fn. 32.

[377]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 106.

wyrndon, line 24b, and *eardes hondplegan* 'hand-play (i.e. battle) of the earth' is strained. In

ChronB¹ ChronC² and **ChronD²**, the line is a Type D*2; with *he*, **ChronA³** would be a type

D*2 with anacrusis. **ChronA³** *weeallas* is discussed below, p. 172.

Brun (ChronA³), 35a

ChronA³	**ChronC²**
þærge flemed wearð.	þær geflymed wearð.
norð manna bregu.| nede gebeded.	norðmanna| brego neade gebæded.
tolides stefne. litle weorode.	tolides stefne lytle werode
35 cread **cnearen** flot.| cyning utgewat.	35 cread **cnear||ón**flót cining út géwat.
ónfealene flod. feorh generede.	onfealoneflod feorh génerode.

ChronB¹	**ChronD²**
þærge|flymed wearð.	þær geflymed wearð|
norðmanna brego nede gebæded.	norð manna brego. neade ge bæded
to|lides stefne lytle weorode.	tolides| stæfne lytle weorode.
35 cread **cnear on**flot| cing ut gewát.	35a creat **cneár on**flod| ----
onfealone flód feorh generede.|	---- feorh generode.

ChronA³ *cnearen* is presumably a slip for *cnear on*, perhaps due to the unfamiliarity

of *cnear(r)*, an Old Norse loanword attested in Old English only in the *Battle of Brunanburh*

(here and as the second half of the compound *nęgled cnearrū*, line 53b).[378] A second

possibility, that the **ChronA³** scribe intended *en* for the preposition *in/on* is unlikely. While

the falling together of unstressed vowels like *e* and *a* is frequent in later manuscripts,[379] the use

of *en* for the preposition *on* is unparalleled in the corpus of multiply-attested poems. In

ChronG the form is corrected to *cnear on*.[380]

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[378]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 108-9. At line 53b the forms are: **ChronA³** *nęgled cnearrū* **ChronB¹** *nægled cnear/rum* **ChronC²** *negledcnearrum* **ChronD²** *dæg gled ongarum*.

[379]Campbell, *OEG* § 379.

[380]Lutz, *Die Version G*, p. 85.

Brun (**ChronA³**), 49b

ChronA³

    midheora herelafū.| hlehhan neþorftun.
    þ heo beaduweorca.   beteran wurdun.
    ón camp stede.   **cul bod ge hna des**
50   garmit tinge.   gumena ge|mo tes.
    wæpen gewrixles.   þæs hi ón wæl felda.
    wiþead weardes.| afaran   plegodan.

ChronC²

    midhyra here lafum| hlihhan neðorftun.
    þhi beadoweorca   beteran wurdon.
    oncamp|stede   **cumbol gehnastes**.
50   gar mit tin ge   gumena gemotes.
    wæpen| gewrixles.   þæs hionwælfelda
    wið eadweardes   aforan plegodon.|

ChronB¹

    midheora herelafum   hlihhan| neþorftan.
    þhie beado weorca   beteran wurdan.
    oncamp|stede   **cumbol gehnastes**.
50   gármittinge   gumena gemótes.|
    wæpen gewrixles   þæshie onwæl felda.
    wiþeadweardes.   eafo|ran plegodan.

ChronD²

    mid hyra here leafum   hlybban neþorf|tan.
    þæt hi beado weorca   beteran wurdon.
    on| campstede   **cumbol ge hnastes**.
50   gár mittunge| gumena gemotes.
    wæpen ge wrixles.   þæsþehi| on wæl felda
    wiðeadweardes   áfaran plegodon;|

The **ChronA³** form *cul bod ge hna des* appears to represent less a coherent reading than an attempt at deciphering a nonce compound. *Culbod* and *gehnades* are nonsense words. Although line 49b is the only occurrence of *cumbolgehnastes* as a compound,[381] the elements *cumbol* 'banner' and *gehnast* 'clash' are found elsewhere in Old English both as simplices and in compounds. With one exception (*cumbolgebrec*, Psalm 50 [British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. vi], line 11), however, these words are found exclusively in poems from the four major codices: *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel* (Junius Manuscript); *Andreas* (Vercelli Book); *Juliana*, Exeter Riddle 3 (Exeter Book); *Beowulf* and *Judith* (*Beowulf* Manuscript).[382]

The correction *ł cumbel* appears interlinearly, apparently in the same hand as that responsible for **ChronG** (where the word appears as *cumbelgehnades*).[383]

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[381]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 113.

[382]Bessinger and Smith. See above, p. 147 and fn. 320

[383]Lutz, *Die Version G*, pp. 86, 221; Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 113.

Brun (ChronA³), 56a

ChronA³

> gewitan him þa norᵇ men. nᵉgled cnearrū.|
> dreorig daraðalaf. óndingesmere.
> 55 oferdeop wæter. difel|in secan.
> ᴵeft **hira** land. æwiscmode.

ChronC²

> Gewiton hymþa norðmenn. negledcnearrum
> dreoridare|þalaf ondinges mere.
> 55 oferdeopwæter dyflinsecan.
> eft| **yra**land æwiscmode.

ChronB¹

> Gewitan himþa norðmenn   nægled cnear|rum
> dreorig daroðaláf ondyngesmere.
> 55 oferdeopwæter| dyflensecan.
> eft **íra**land æwiscmóde.

ChronD²

> G ewiton him þa norð men   dæg gled ongarum|
> dreorig dareða láf ondyniges mere
> 55 ofe,ᵈeopne| wæter dyflig secan.
> eft **yra** land æwisc mode.|

Both readings make sense, though the **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** version has better metre. In its uncorrected form, **ChronA³** is to be translated '(to seek) their land again' and is unmetrical.[384] With the addition of ⁊ before *eft*, the **ChronA³** on-verse is a poor Type B-2 verse. *Eft* alliterates in preference to *land*, and the line shows a suspicious distribution of sentence particles into both dips. In **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** the half-line is translated '(to seek) the land of the Irish again' and is Type B-1.

Campbell suggests that the **ChronA³** reading may be the result of the scribe's unfamiliarity with the noun *ira* or *yra* for 'Irish' which "occurs only here, and in the account of the voyages of Ohtere in the Cotton MS. of the O.E. Orosius.... The words *Irland* and *Iras* are unknown in O.E. before the tenth century."[385]

In **ChronG**, the line appears as ⁊ *heora land* (i.e. without *eft*) and fails to alliterate.[386]

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[384]O'Keeffe describes the line as a "weak D4 type," apparently assigning the possessive pronoun *hira* an unusually heavy stress, and placing the alliteration on the adverb *eft* in preference to the noun *land* (*Visible Song*, p. 120).

[385]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 116.

[386]Lutz, *Die Version G*, pp. 86, 222.

Brun (ChronA[3]), 62b

ChronA[3]

60 letan him behindan. hrǽbryttian.
   salu wig|padan. þone sweartan hræfn.
   hyrned nebban. ⁊þanehase**wan**|padan.
   earn æftan hwit. æses brucan.
   grædigne guð hafóc.| ⁊þæt grǽge deor.
65 wulf ónwealde.

ChronC[2]

60 leton hymbehindon hrá brittigan.
   salowig padan þoneswear|tan hrefn.
   hyrned nebban. ⁊þonehasu padan
   earn æftan| hwit. ǽses brucan.
   grædigne guðhafoc ⁊þgrǽgedeor.
65 wulf| onwealde.

ChronB[1]

60 letan himbehindan hraw| bryttigean.
   salowig pádan þone sweartan hræfn.
   hyrned| nebban ⁊þone hasopadan.
   earn æftan hwit. æses brucan.|
   grædigne guþhafoc ⁊þgrǽgedeor.
65 wulfonwealde.

ChronD[2]

60 læton him behindan hra bryttinga.
   salowig padan| þone sweartan hræfn
   hyrnet nebban. ⁊þone| hasu wadan
   earn æftan hwit æres brucan.
   græ|||digne cuð heafóc. ⁊þætgregedeor.
65 wulfonwealde|

ChronB[1] *hasopadan* (**ChronC[2]** *hasu padan*) is to be preferred to **ChronA[3]** *hasewan/padan* on metrical grounds. In **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** (and **ChronD[2]**) the line is Type C-1 with resolution of the first lift; **ChronA[3]** is a Type A-1 with a three syllable anacrusis.[387]

The **ChronA[3]** reading seems most likely the result of a misinterpretation of the nonce compound *hasupadan* as a strong adjective + noun. As the form is preceded by the definite article, and as a weak adjective would be expected in such a position (cf. *þone sweartan hræfn* in line 61b)[388], the scribe then 'corrected' *hasu* to *hasewan*, a weak declension accusative feminine adjective. Bately also sees the **ChronA[3]** reading as a result of the **ChronA[3]** scribe's tendency towards "prosaic diction."[389]

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[387]For examples of similar anacrusis in later poems, see Patricia Bethel, "Anacrusis in the Psalms of the Paris Psalter," *NM* 89 (1988): 33-43, esp. p. 34.

[388]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 119.

[389]Bately, *MS. A*, p. xciii.

Brun (**ChronA³**), 72b

ChronA³	**ChronC²**

ChronA³

65   newearð wæl mare.
   ón þis| eiglande. æfer gieta.
   folces gefylled. beforan þissū.
   sweordes| écgum. þæs þeus segað béc
   ealdeuðwitan. siþþan eastan hider.|
70 engle ⁊seaxe. upbecoman.
   ofer bradbrimu. brytene sohtan.
   wlance wigsmiþas. **weealles** ofer coman.
   eorlas arhwate. eard| begeatan.|

ChronC²

65   newearð wælmare
   onþys iglande æfregyta.|
   folces gefylled beforan þyssum.
   swurdes ecgum. þæsðeús| segað béc.
   ealde uþwitan. siððan eastanhider
70 engle ⁊sexe.| uppbecomon.
   oferbradebrimu bretene sohton.
   wlance| wig smiðas. **wealas** ofercomon.
   eorlas árhwáte eard be|geaton.

ChronB¹

65   newearð| wælmáre.
   onþyseglande æfregyta.
   folces afylled befo|ran þyssum.
   sweordes ecgum þæs þeus secggeaþ béc.
   ealde|uþwitan syþþan eastan hider.
70 engle ⁊sexan upp becoman.|
   oferbrade brimu. brytenesohtan
   wlance wigsmiþas.| **wealas** ofercoman
   eorlas arhwate. eardbegeaton.|

ChronD²

65   newearð wæl mare.
   onþisneiglande æfregitá.|
   folces gefylled beforan þyssum.
   sweordes ecgum| þæs þeus segað béc.
   ealde uðwitan siððan eastan|hider
70 engle ⁊seaxe úpbecomon.
   oferbrade bri|mu britene sohton
   wlance wigsmiðas **wealas**| ofer comon.
   eorlas arhwæte eard begeaton;|

Like **ChronA³** *he eardes*, line 25a, **ChronA³** *weealles* represents either a spelling of *ea*

as *eea* before lengthening groups or a reinterpretation of the proper noun *wealas* as a pronoun

+ noun. If **ChronA³** is not an orthographic variant, lines 65b-73 are presumably to be

understood as two sentences:

> Never yet in this island before this, by what books tell us, ancient sages, was a greater
> slaughter of a folk felled by the edge of the sword since the Angles and the Saxons,
> proud warriors, came hither from the east, sought out Britain over the broad seas. We,
> warriors eager for glory, overcame all, conquered the land.[390]

In **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** lines 65b-73 form a single sentence in which *wealas* serves as

the object of *ofercoman*. The **ChronG** form is uncertain.[391]

Metrically, **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** are Type D*1; if *weealles* is not simply an

orthographic variant, the equivalent line in **ChronA³** is unmetrical and does not alliterate.

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[390]Adapted from Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 70.

[391]Wheloc reads *Wealles*, Nowell *we eallas*; see Lutz, *Die Version G*, pp. 87 and 224.

Capture of the Five Boroughs

Differences of Inflection (2 examples)

Capt (**ChronA³**), 4b

ChronA³

    Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
    maga| mundbora   myrce geeode
    dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ
    hwitanwylles geat.   **⁊humbra éa**
5 brada brim|strēā burga fife
    ligoraceaster   ⁊lin cylene.
    ⁊snotingahā| swylce stanfordéac
    deora by

ChronC²

    Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
    mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
    dyredædfruma swádor sceadeþ.
    hwitan wylles geat.| **⁊hunbranéa**.
5 bradabrimstream burga fife.
    ligeracester| ⁊lindcylne.
    snotingaham. swilce stanford eac.
    ⁊deoraby|

ChronB¹

    H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
    mæcgea mund bora myrce| geeode.
    dyredædfruma swa dor sceadeþ.
    hwitanwylles| geat. **⁊humbranéa**.
5 brada brím stream burga fífe.
    ligera|ceaster ⁊lind kylne.
    snotingahám swylce stanford eac.|
    ⁊deoraby

ChronD²

    Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
    mægþa mund bora myrce ge eode.|
    dyre dæd fruma swa dór sceadæð.
    hwitan wylles| geat. **⁊himbran ea**
5 _brada brym stream. burga gife.|
    ligere ceaster ⁊lincolne.
    ⁊snotinga hám. swylce| stanford eác
    ⁊deoraby.

In **ChronA³** *humbra* is nominative singular in apposition to *ea*, and serves – with *ea*, *hwitanwylles geat*, line 4a, *dor*, line 3b, and *brada brim/strēā*, line 5a – as the subject of *scadeþ*, line 3b.[392] **ChronB¹** *humbran* (**ChronC²** *hunbran* **ChronD²** *himbran*), on the other hand, is an "appositive" or "identifying" genitive.[393] Although on the basis of an early genitive singular *humbrae*, Campbell classifies *humbra* as an *ō*-stem,[394] weak forms frequently occur: for example, *into humbran muðan* (**ChronC** and **ChronD** 1013/5) and *to humbran muðan* (**ChronE** 992/2-3).

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[392]As Dobbie's punctuation of lines 1-8 of *Capture of the Five Boroughs* is impossible to construe (his second "sentence," *Burga fife... and Deoraby*, ll. 6b-8a doesn't have a verb), the following is suggested. The text (except for punctuation) is as in *ASPR* 6.

Her Eadmund cyning,   Engla þeoden,
       mæcgea mundbora,   Myrce geeode,
       dyre dædfruma,   swa Dor scadeþ,
       Hwitanwyllesgeat   and Humbra ea,

5 brada brimstream,   burga fife,
   Ligoraceaster,   and Lincylene
   and Snotingaham,   swylce Stanford eac
   and Deoraby.

[393]Mitchell, *OES* §1290.

[394]Campbell, *OEG* §587, fn.1.

Metrically, the two readings are identical.

Capt (**ChronA³**), 8b

ChronA³

         dæne wæran **<u>ær</u>**
  under| norðmannum nyde gebegde
10 ónhæþenra hæfteclōmū|
  lange þraga oþ hie alysde eft
  forhis weorþ scipe wig|gendra hleo
  afera eadweardes eadmundcyning
ónfenganlafe||

ChronC²

         dene wæron **<u>æror</u>**.
  under norðmannū. nyde gebæded.
10 onhæ|þenra hæfte clommum.
  lange þrage oþhialysde eft.
  for| his weorð scype wiggendra hleo.
  afora eadweardes. eadmund| cing.
                      Her
eadmundcing...

ChronB¹

         denum wæron **<u>æror</u>**.
  undernorð mannum.| nede gebǽded.
10 onhæþenum hæfte clammum.
  lange þrage| oþ hiealysde eft.
  forhis weorðscipe wiggendra hléo|
  eafora eadweardes eadmund cining;|
  H er eadmund cing...

ChronD²

         dæne wæron **<u>æror</u>**
  under|| norð mannum nydegebæded
10 onhæðenra hæf|te. clommum
  lange þrage. oþ hy alysde eft|
  for his weorðscipe wigendra hleo
  afora ead|weardes eadmundes cyning.|
           Her anlaf abræc...

While both readings make good sense and syntax, **ChronA³** is metrically poor. In

ChronB¹ ChronC² and **ChronD²**, line 9b is Type A-1; **ChronA³** can only be scanned (as

Type E) only if *wæron* is assumed to carry a half-stress.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

Capt (ChronA^3), 2a

ChronA^3

    Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
    maga| mundbora myrce geeode
    dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ
    hwitanwylles geat. ꞃhumbra éa
5 brada brim|strēā burga fife
    ligoraceaster ꞃlin cylene.
    ꞃsnotingahā| swylce stanfordéac
    deora by

ChronC^2

    Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
    mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
    dyredædfruma swádor sceadeþ.
    hwitan wylles geat.| ꞃhunbranéa.
5 bradabrimstream burga fife.
    ligeracester| ꞃlindcylne.
    snotingaham. swilce stanford eac.
    ꞃdeoraby|

ChronB^1

    H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
    mæcgea mund bora myrce| geeode.
    dyredædfruma swa dor sceadeþ.
    hwitanwylles| geat. ꞃhumbranéa.
5 brada brím stream burga fífe.
    ligera|ceaster ꞃlind kylne.
    snotingahám swylce stanford eac.|
    ꞃdeoraby

ChronD^2

    Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
    mægþa mund bora myrce ge eode.|
    dyre dæd fruma swa dór sceadæð.
    hwitan wylles| geat. ꞃhimbran ea____
5 _brada brym stream. burga gife.|
    ligere ceaster ꞃlincolne.
    ꞃsnotinga hám. swylce| stanford eác
    ꞃdeoraby.

The three variants in these lines, **ChronA^3** *maga* **ChronB^1** *mæcgea* (**ChronC^2** *mecga*) and **ChronD^2** *mægþa* (genitive plural of *mǣgþ*, f. 'family group, tribe, clan') are all relatively appropriate to the poem's immediate context, although neither **ChronA^3** *maga| mundbora* 'protector of kin' nor **ChronD^2** *mægþa mund bora* 'protector of clans' is found elsewhere in a similar collocation (**ChronB^1** *mæcgea mund bora* [**ChronC^2** *mecga mundbora*], 'protector of men', also occurs in *Andreas*, line 772a).[395] O'Keeffe translates the **ChronD^2** reading as "protector of maidens", adding that "the lurid reading in D,... while offering an unusual perspective on Edmund, provokes an interesting, if unanswerable, question about scribe 2's reading background."[396] *Mægþa* 'of maidens' and *mǣgþa*, 'of the clans' are metrically indistinguishable, however, and the **ChronD^2** form can as easily be for the latter as the former form.

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[395]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 123.

[396]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 123.

The three readings are metrically and syntactically equivalent. The **ChronB¹-ChronC²** form is also mentioned briefly below on p. 191; that in **ChronD²** on p. 221.

Capt (**ChronA³**), 9b

ChronA³

        dæne wæran ær
  under| norðmannum nyde **gebegde**
10 ónhæþenra hæfteclōmū|
  lange þraga oþ hie alysde eft
  forhis weorþ scipe wig|gendra hleo
  afera eadweardes eadmundcyning
ónfenganlafe||

ChronC²

        dene wæron æror.
  under norðmannū. nyde **gebæded**.
10 onhæ|þenra hæfte clommum.
  lange þrage oþhialysde eft.
  for| his weorð scype wiggendra hleo.
  afora eadweardes. eadmund| cing.
                  Her
eadmundcing...

ChronB¹

        denum wæron æror.
  undernorð mannum.| nede **gebǽded**.
10 onhæþenum hæfte clammum.
  lange þrage| oþ hiealysde eft.
  forhis weorðscipe wiggendra hléo|
  eafora eadweardes eadmund cining;|
  H er eadmund cing...

ChronD²

        dæne wæron æror
  under|| norð mannum nyde**gebæded**
10 onhæðenra hæf|te. clommum
  lange þrage. oþ hy alysde eft|
  for his weorðscipe wigendra hleo
  afora ead|weardes eadmundes cyning.|
             Her anlaf abræc...

Both readings are possible and have parallels in other poems, although **ChronA³** is the more unusual. O'Keeffe points out that *nyde gebæded* (and accidental variants as in **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²**) is relatively common in the corpus, with exact parallels in *Juliana* line 343b and *Husband's Message*, line 40b.[397] *Nyde gebegde* (as in **ChronA³**) is less common, although a second collocation is found in the Metrical Psalms, *nyde gebiged*, **PPs** 72:17.3b.[398]

While the two verbs are not synonyms, the variation does not affect the general tenor of the passage: **ChronA³** *nyde gebegde* 'bowed down by necessity', **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** *nydegebæded* (and variants) 'afflicted by necessity'. The two readings are metrically identical.

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[397]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 123.

[398]Bessinger and Smith. The example from the Paris Psalter is missed by O'Keeffe, who cites only the metrically analogous *nearwe gebeged* from *Christ and Satan* 444b (*Visible Song*, p. 123).

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Capt (ChronA³), 8a

ChronA³

    Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
    maga| mundbora   myrce geeode
    dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ
    hwitanwylles geat.   ⁊humbra éa
5 brada brim|strēā   burga fife
    ligoraceaster   ⁊lin cylene.
    ⁊snotingahā| swylce stanfordéac
    deora by

ChronC²

    Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
    mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
    dyredædfruma   swádor sceadeþ.
    hwitan wylles geat.| ⁊hunbranéa.
5 bradabrimstream   burga fife.
    ligeracester| ⁊lindcylne.
    snotingaham.   swilce stanford eac.
    ⁊deoraby|

ChronB¹

    H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
    mæcgea mund bora   myrce| geeode.
    dyredædfruma   swa dor sceadeþ.
    hwitanwylles| geat.   ⁊humbranéa.
5 brada brím stream   burga fífe.
    ligera|ceaster   ⁊lind kylne.
    snotingahám   swylce stanford eac.|
    ⁊deoraby

ChronD²

    Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
    mægþa mund bora   myrce ge eode.|
    dyre dæd fruma   swa dór sceadæð.
    hwitan wylles| geat.   ⁊himbran ea____
5 _brada brym stream.   burga gife.|
    ligere ceaster   ⁊lincolne.
    ⁊snotinga hám.   swylce| stanford eác
    ⁊deoraby.

The addition or omission of ⁊ in line 8a affects sense, metre and syntax. In **ChronB¹**

ChronC² ChronD² *⁊deoraby* is a Type B-1 line joined to the preceding list of place names by

the conjunction ⁊. For **ChronA³**, Lutz and O'Keeffe suggest that the scribe may have divided

swylce stanfordéac deora by between *stanford* and *éac*, and understood *éac* as a conjunction

'eke, also, likewise, moreover, and': 'auch Stamford sowie Derby'[399]:

            ChronA³
      7 ⁊snotingahā| swylce stanford____
        _éac deora by

While the resultant reading is metrically defensible,[400] the use of *eac* alone as a conjunction

introducing the last item in a list appears to be without parallel. Mitchell reports that "*eac* is

occasionally used *initially* [my emphasis] without *ond* in a cumulative or resumptive sense

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[399]Lutz, *Die Version G*, p. 225; see also O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 124 fnn. 58-59.

[400]O'Keeffe cites two examples of an off-verse alliterating on *swylce* (*Visible Song*, p. 124 fn. 59): the textual defective Riddle 89, line 10: [....] *swæsendum   swylce þrage*; and Christ 80b: *þæt ðu in sundurgiefe swylce befenge* (both texts from Krapp and Dobbie, *ASPR* 3). *Swylce* is not stressed and does not alliterate in any of her remaining examples: *Beowulf* 830a, *Christ and Satan* 321a, *Andreas* 1036, and *Fates of the Apostles* 16a.

'and, 'also, too'" but gives no examples of its appearance before the last item in the list.[401]

Likewise, Bosworth and Toller give no examples of *eac* being used alone as a conjunction in a

list without *and* or *ne*.[402] The fact that *stanford* and *éac* are run together in the manuscript,

moreover, also suggests that the **ChronA**[3] scribe did not divide the text in this fashion: his

normal practice elsewhere in the *Capture of the Five Boroughs* is to mark the division between

off- and on- verses with a generous space between words.

<div align="center">

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173
Fifth Hand (ChronA[5])

</div>

Coronation of Edgar

Difference of Inflection (1 example)

CEdg (ChronA[5]), 2a

ChronA[5]	**ChronB[1]**

1 Her eadgarwæs englawaldend
    corðre <u>micel**re**</u> tocyninge gehalgod.|
    on ðære ealdan byrig acemannes ceastre.
	1 H er eadgarwæs englawaldend
	    corðre<u>myccl**um**</u> tokinge| gehalgod.
	    onþære ealdan byrig acemannes ceastre.||

ChronC[2]

1 H er eadgar wæs englawaldend
    corþre <u>myccl**um**</u> tokinge gehalgod.\|
    onþære ealdanbyrig acemannes ceastre.

      In **ChronA**[5], the adjective *micelre* is ostensibly feminine dative singular. In **ChronB**[1]

ChronC[2], *mycclum* is strong neuter or masculine dative singular. As *corðor* "is found

elsewhere only as a neuter,"[403] the **ChronA**[5] reading is evidence either of the decay of

grammatical gender (cf. the mistakes with gender made in the slightly later **ChronD**[2],

discussed below, pp. 206-208), or the result of the unconscious influence of the final *-re*

(misconstrued as a dative singular feminine ending) of the preceding word.[404]

      The variation has no effect on metre.

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[401]Mitchell, *OES*, §1740.

[402]B.-T. and B.-T.(S) s.v. *éac*.

[403]Dobbie, *ASPR* 6, p. 150.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

CEdg (ChronA[5]), 13b

ChronA[5]

10 ⁊ðaagangenwæs
tynhundwintra   ge teled| rimes.
frā gebyrd tide   bremes cyninges
leohta hyrdes.   buton| ðærtō lafe þa **agan**
wæs winter ge teles   þæsðe gewritu secgað.|
15   seofon ⁊ twentig.

ChronB[1]

10 ⁊þaagangenwæs.
tynhund wintra   geteledrímes|
fram gebýrdtíde   bremes cinges.
leohtahyrdes   butan| ðærtoláfe þa**get**.
wæs wintergeteles   þæs gewritu secgað.|
15   seofan ⁊.XX.

ChronC[2]

10 ⁊ þá agangen wæs.
tynhund| wintra   geteled rimes.
framgebýrdtíde   bremes cinges.|
leohta hirdes   butanþærtolafe ða**get**
wæs winter getæles| þæs ðegewritusecgað.
15   seofan ⁊XX.

ChronA[5] *agan* is presumably for *āgān*, 'to go by, pass' or the preterite present verb *āgan* 'to own, possess'. ChronB[1] ChronC[2] *get* is an adverb, 'yet'. The ChronA[5] reading is non-sensical and unmetrical.[405] In ChronB[1] ChronC[2] the off-verse is Type B-2; ChronA[5] resembles a Type-B verse with an unmetrical three syllables in the medial drop. As "*þa gen* is of far more frequent occurrence in poetry than *þa giet*," Bately suggests that ChronA[5] *þa agan wæs* from an "underlying '*þa gen wæs*' (miscopied perhaps under the influence of '*þa agangen wæs*' a few lines earlier)" may be closer to the original reading.[406]

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[404]The "endings" are only graphically similar: the *-r-* in *corðre* is the final consonant of *corðor*.

[405]Cf. Dobbie, *ASPR* 6, p. 150.

[406]Bately, *MS. A*, p. xciii.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

CEdg (ChronA⁵), 19b

ChronA⁵

ꝛ hī ead mundes   eafora hæfde.
nigon ꝛ XX.| nið weorca heard.
wintra onworulde.   þis gewordenwæs.
20   ꝛ þa onðā| XXX.   wæs   ðeoden gehalgod :7

ChronB¹

ꝛhim eadmundes   eaforahæfde
nigen ꝛ| .XX.   niþweorcaheard
wintra onworlde   **ða**þis gewordenwæs.|
20   O nþaonðam. þrittigæþanwæs   þeoden gehalgod.

ChronC²

ꝛhimeadmundes| eafora hæfde
nigen ꝛXX.   niðweorca heard
wintra on wu|rulde   **þa**ðis gewordenwæs.
20   ꝛþaonþamþrittigeþan wæs| ðeoden gehalgod.

The omission of *þa* in **ChronA⁵** implies that lines 17-19a and 19b-20 are to be read as independent clauses: 'And the son of Edmund, brave of war-works, had spent twenty-nine winters in the world. This happened and then in the thirtieth (year) he was consecrated King'. With the addition of *ða* in **ChronB¹ ChronC²**, lines 19b-20 are a much less strained adverbial clause modifying lines 17-19a: 'And the son of Edmund, brave of war-works, had spent twenty-nine winters in the world *when* this happened; and then in the thirtieth (year) he was consecrated King'.[407]

Metrically, the addition or omission adds or removes an unstressed syllable to the beginning of a Type B-1 line.

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[407]**ChronB¹** *On* for expected *Ond* is an error. See below, p. 201.

Death of Edgar

Substitution of Unstressed Words and Elements (3 examples)

DEdg (ChronA[5]), 6a

ChronA[5]

                            nemnað| leoda bearn
5 menon moldan. þæne monað gehwær
    inðisse| eðeltyrf. þaþe ǽr wǽran.
    on rím cræfte. rihte ge togene.|
    Iulius monoð. þ se geonga gewát
    onþone eahteðan dæg. eadgarof| lífe.
10 beorna beahgyfa.

ChronB[1]

                           nemnað leoda bearn.
5 menn onmoldan þonemonaþ ge|hwær.
    onþisse eþel tyrf þaþe ærwæron.
    onrímcræfte| rihte getogene.
    Iulius monð þær se geonga gewát.
    onþone| eahtoðandæg eadgár oflífe.
10 beorna beahgifa.

ChronC[2]

                           nemnað leodabearn.
5 menn onmoldan þonemonað gehwær.|
    onþysse eþeltyrf þaðe ǽr wæron.
    onrímcræfte rihte||| getogene
    Iulius monþ ðær segeonga gewát.
    onþone eahtoþandæg| eadgar oflífe.
10 beorna beahgifa.

The variation has no effect on sense, metre, or syntax. *In* frequently appears in

ChronA for *on* in the other manuscripts (although the substitution is most characteristic in the

work of the first scribe in the manuscript, **ChronA[1]**).[408] Bately records only one example of

ChronA *on* for *in* in the other witnesses.[409]

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[408]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. cxvii-cxviii; her examples, including this occurrence, are found in the following annals: 35, 455, 457, 495, 527, 552, 568, 584, 601, 626, 635, 636, 661, 709 (twice), 855, 893 and 975. See also Bately, "Compilation," p. 114 and fn. 1 and p. 126, fn. 1.

[409]Bately, "Compilation," p. 126, fn. 1.

DEdg (ChronA[5]), 8b

ChronA[5]

<div style="padding-left:4em">nemnað| leoda bearn</div>

5 menon moldan. þæne monað gehwær
    inðisse| eðeltyrf. þaþe ǽr wæran.
    on rím cræfte. rihte ge togene.|
    Iulius monoð. **ꝥ** se geonga gewát
    onþone eahteðan dæg. eadgarof| lífe.
10 beorna beahgyfa.

ChronB[1]

<div style="padding-left:4em">nemnað leoda bearn.</div>

5 menn onmoldan þonemonaþ ge|hwær.
    onþisse eþel tyrf þaþe ærwæron.
    onrímcræfte| rihte getogene.
    Iulius mönð **þær** se geonga gewát.
    onþone| eahtoðandæg eadgár oflífe.
10 beorna beahgifa.

ChronC[2]

<div style="padding-left:4em">nemnað leodabearn.</div>

5 menn onmoldan þonemonað gehwær.|
    onþysse eþeltyrf þaðe ǽr wæron.
    onrímcræfte rihte||| getogene
    Iulius monþ **ðær** segeonga gewát.
    onþone eahtoþandæg| eadgar oflífe.
10 beorna beahgifa.

Both readings make acceptable sense and syntax. In **ChronA[5]**, *ꝥ* serves as an uninflected relative[410]; in **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]**, *þær* introduces an adverbial clause of time.[411]

The two readings are metrically identical.

DEdg (ChronA[5]), 16a

ChronA[5]

16 Ð a**wæs** on myrceon mine gefræge
    wide ⁊welhwær. walden|des lóf.
    afylled onfoldan. felawearð tó dræfed.

ChronB[1]

16 Ð a**wearð** onmyrcum minegefræge.
    wíde⁊welhrær wal|dendeslof.
    afylled onfoldan feala weard todræfed.|||

ChronC[2]

16 Þ a**wearð** onmyrcum minegefræge.
    wide ⁊welhwær waldendes| lof.
    afylled onfoldan feala wearð todræfed.

There may be a slight stylistic difference between the two readings. Otherwise there is no difference in syntax or metre. Similar variants can be found elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, and between **ChronA** and **ChronG**.[412]

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[410]Mitchell, *OES* §2784. See also Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxxii, fn.356, who adds, however, that "confusion of *t* and *r* is a common error in Old English manuscripts" (implying that the **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** reading may stem from an exemplar reading *þæt*). She gives no examples of this confusion and I have not come across any examples in my examination of the multiply attested poetry. The same variation (*ꝥ:þær*) occurs once more: Exeter Riddle 30a/b line 6a. See Chapter 4, p. 250.

[411]Mitchell, *OES* §2460-2461. Cf. Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxxii, fn.356.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

DEdg (ChronA[5]), 33a

ChronA[5]

    ⁊þawearð| ætywed. uppe onroderum.
30 steorra onstaðole. þone| stið ferhþe.
    hæleð hige gleawe. hatað wide.
    cométa be|naman. cræft gleawe men.
    wise **soðboran**. wæs geond| werðeode.

ChronB[1]

    þawearð eac ætywed uppe onroderum.
30 steorraonstaðole| ðone stiþ ferhþe.
    hæleþ higegleawe hatað wíde.
    cométa| benaman. cræftgleawe menn.
    wíse **woðboran** wæs geond| werþeode.

ChronC[2]

    þawearð eac ætywed uppe onroderū|
30 steorra onstaþole þone stið ferhþe.
    hæleð hige gleawe| hatað wíde.
    cométa benaman. cræftgleawe menn.
    wíse| **woð boran** wæs geond wer þeode.

Both readings are lexically, syntactically and metrically appropriate. **ChronB[1]**
woðboran (**ChronC[2]** *woð boran*) 'orators, prophets' has parallels elsewhere in the poetic
corpus[413]; **ChronA[5]** *soðboran* 'truth-bearers' is a *hapax legomenon*.[414] Given the graphic
similarity of insular *w* and *s*, and the preponderance of lines with double alliteration in the on-
verse in this passage, scribal error is a reasonable explanation for the **ChronA[5]** reading.

The variant affects alliteration: in **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]**, the on-verse alliterates on both
lifts; in **ChronA[5]**, only the first lift alliterates. The two readings are otherwise metrically
identical.

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[412]See Bately, *MS. A*, p. cxix and Lutz, *Die Version G*, p. clxii. Bately gives five examples of the use of
wæs/wæron against *wearð/wurdan*, twice as a main verb: the annals 592 (Scribe 1); 975 (Scribe 5), and
three times as an auxiliary: annals 633 (Scribe 1), 882 (Scribe 1), *904 (Scribe 2[b]).

[413]All examples are from the Exeter Book: *sum woðbora*, *Christ*, l. 302b; *sum biþ woðbora*, *Gifts of Men*, l.
35b; *wisne woðboran*, *Order of the World*, l. 2a; *wisum woðboran*, Exeter Riddle, l. 31a; *oft ic woðboran*,
Exeter Riddle 80, l. 9 (Bessinger and Smith).

[414]Bately, *MS. A*, pp. xciii, cxvii. Dobbie, *ASPR* 6, p. 150.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (3 examples)

DEdg (ChronA[5]), 24a

ChronA[5]

    ⁊ þawearð eac ádræfed   deormod hæleð.|
25 oslac of earde. ofer yða gewealc.
    oferganotes bæð.| gamolfeax hæleð.
    wís ⁊ word snotor ofer wætera ge|ðring
    ofer hwæles eðel. hama bereafod.

ChronB[1]

    Ðawearð eacadræfed| deormód hæleþ.
25 oslác ofearde ofer yþa gewalc.
    ofer| ganotes bæð. gomolfeax hæleþ.
    wís ⁊word snotor ofer| wætera geþring.
    ofer hwæles eþel hama bereafod.|

ChronC[2]

    Þáwearð eacadræfed deormodhæleþ.|
25 oslac of earde ofer yþa gewalc.
    oferganotes bæð. gomolfeax| hæleþ.
    wis⁊word snotor oferwæterageþring.
    ofer hwæles| eþel hama bereafod.

In **ChronA[5]**, lines 24-28 follow syndetically from the preceding sentence. In **ChronB[1]**

and **ChronC[2]**, the parataxis is asyndetic.

The addition of ⁊ to **ChronA[5]** adds a fifth unstressed syllable to the beginning of a

Type A-3 line.

DEdg (ChronA[5]), 29a

ChronA[5]

    ⁊þawearð|ætywed. uppe onroderum.
30 steorra onstaðole. þone| stið ferhþe.
    hæleð hige gleawe. hatað wide.
    cométa be|naman. cræft gleawe men.
    wise soðboran. wæs geond| werðeode.

ChronB[1]

    þawearð eac ætywed uppe onroderum.
30 steorraonstaðole| ðone stiþ ferhþe.
    hæleþ higegleawe hatað wíde.
    cométa| benaman. cræftgleawe menn.
    wíse woðboran wæs geond| werþeode.

ChronC[2]

    þawearð eac ætywed uppe onroderū|
30 steorra onstaþole þone stið ferhþe.
    hæleð hige gleawe| hatað wíde.
    cométa benaman. cræftgleawe menn.
    wíse| woð boran wæs geond wer þeode.

In **ChronA[5]**, lines 29-33a follow syndetically from the preceding sentence. In

ChronB[1] and **ChronC[2]**, the parataxis is asyndetic.

The addition of ⁊ to **ChronA** adds an additional unstressed syllable to the preliminary

dip of a Type A-3 line.

DEdg (ChronA⁵), 29a

ChronA⁵

⁊þawearð| ætywed. uppe onroderum.
30 steorra onstaðole. þone| stið ferhþe.
hæleð hige gleawe. hatað wide.
cométa be|naman. cræft gleawe men.
wise soðboran. wæs geond| werðeode.

ChronB¹

þawearð **eac** ætywed   uppe onroderum.
30 steorraonstaðole| ðone stiþ ferhþe.
hæleþ higegleawe   hatað wíde.
cométa| benaman. cræftgleawe menn.
wíse woðboran   wæs geond| werþeode.

ChronC²

þawearð **eac** ætywed   uppe onroderū|
30 steorra onstaþole þone stið ferhþe.
hæleð hige gleawe| hatað wíde.
cométa benaman. cræftgleawe menn.
wíse| woð boran   wæs geond wer þeode.

The addition or omission of the sentence adverb *eac* has little effect on sense or syntax, and a slightly more significant effect on metre. Without *eac*, **ChronA⁵** is Type A-3. With *eac*, the equivalent line in **ChronB¹** and **ChronC²** is best scanned as Type A-1 with double alliteration and a heavy anacrusis.[415]

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[415]See Dobbie, *ASPR* 6, p. 150.

<div style="text-align:center">

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi,
First Hand (ChronB[1])
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i,
Second Hand (ChronC[2])

Recensional Variants

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Battle of Brunanburh

Substitution of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Brun **(ChronB[1]-ChronC[2]), 40b**

ChronA[3]

    swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō.
    onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
    hár hilde ring. hreman neþorfte.
40 mæcan gemanan. **he** wæs| his mæga sceard.
    freonda gefylled.   ónfolcstede.
    beslagen| ætsæcce. ꞇhis sunu forlet.
    ónwæl stowe.   wundun fer grunden.|
    giungne ætguðe.

ChronC[2]

    Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
    onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
    hár hilderinc. hreman neðorfte.
40 meca gemanan.   **her**| wæs hismaga sceard.
    freonda gefylled.   onhis folcstede.
    besle|gen ætsæcce.   ꞇhissunu forlet
    onwælstowe.   wundum forgrunden.|
    geongne æt guþe.

ChronB[1]

    S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
    onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
    hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40 mecea gemanan **her** wæs his magasceard.
    freonda| gefylled   on folcstede.
    forslegen ætsace   ꞇhissunu for|let.
    onwælstowe   wundum forgrunden.
    geongne ætguþe|

ChronD[2]

    swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
    onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
    hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40 inecga ge|manan   **he**wæshis mæga. sceard
    freonda ge|fylled   onfolc stede
    beslægen ætsęcge.   ꞇhissunu| forlæt.
    onwæl stowe   wundum forgrunden.|
    geongne ætguþe

       ChronA[3] ChronD[2] *he* is the nominative singular of the third person singular personal

pronoun. **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** *her* is a sentence adverb, 'here, in this place, at this point in

time'. The variation affects sense and syntax, but has no effect on metre. In **ChronA[3]** and

ChronD[2], *he* serves as the subject of the clause *he wæs his mæga sceard*, most commonly

translated 'he was deprived of his kinsman...'.[416] In the equivalent lines of **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]**,

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[416]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 111. Campbell notes, however, that "the usual meaning of *sceard* is 'hacked', 'mutilated'. It is found only here in the sense 'deprived of'." See also Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," p. 246. The following paragraphs are based largely on Orton.

the subject of *wæs* is presumably *maga*, which in this case must be the nominative singular of *māga*, 'son': 'here [i.e. at this point] was his son mutilated'.[417]

Both readings are problematic. In **ChronA³** and **ChronD²**, the use of the pronoun *he* requires a strained interpretation of *sceard*, line 40b, and *gefylled* (**ChronD²** *ge|fylled*), line 41a, as 'deprived (of)'. As Campbell notes, neither word is found with this meaning elsewhere in the Old English corpus. For *sceard* the more usual translations are 'hacked', 'notched', 'mutilated'; for *gefyllan*, 'to cause to fall', 'to strike down', 'to cut down'.[418]

In **ChronB¹ ChronC²** on the other hand, the inclusion of the adverb *her* and the interpretation of *maga* as 'son' leaves the equally problematic readings *freonda*, line 41a, *forlet*, line 42b, and, in **ChronC²** only, *besle|gen*, line 42a. While the substitution allows both *sceard* and *gefylled* to be understood in their usual senses, it leaves *freonda* without an obvious word to govern it[419] and renders **ChronC²** *forlet* (**ChronB¹** *for|let*) and *beslagen* (the reading – with orthographic variants – of **ChronC²**, **ChronA³** and **ChronD²**) meaningless. As Orton notes, "a corpse can scarcely be described simply as 'deprived' (*beslagen*), nor as having 'left' (*forlet*) anyone behind on the battlefield."[420] In **ChronB¹**, the first of these problems is solved by the substitution of prefixes, *forslegen* 'killed' for **ChronA³** *beslagen* (**ChronC²** *besle|gen* **ChronD²** *beslægen*) 'deprived (of)'.[421]

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[417]Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," p. 249.

[418]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 111. See also Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," pp. 245-247; and the entries for *sceard* and *gefyllan* II in Clark-Hall, *sceard* and *gefyllan*, *-fylde* (B.-T.[S] *gefillan*) in B.-T.

[419]*Brunanburh*, line 40b is the only example of the use of the genitive with *gefyllan* (B.-T.[S] *gefillan*) in B.-T. and B.-T.(S). In a second occurrence in the poem, *ne wearð wæl mare / on þis eiglande   æfer gieta / folces gefylled   beforan þissum*, ll. 65b-67, *gefylled* is a predicate adjective agreeing with the neuter, nominative singular noun *wæl*. The genitive singular *folces* immediately preceding *gefylled* is governed by *wæl* (Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 120). As Campbell notes, "a gen. after *wæl* in this sense is fairly frequent" (p. 120).

[420]Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," p. 247.

[421]Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," p. 248. Cf. Campbell, pp. 111-112 (who interprets the **ChronB¹** form in the relatively minor sense 'worsted'); and see below, p. 195.

As it falls on the preliminary unstressed syllables of a Type B-line, the substitution

ChronA³ ChronD² *he* **ChronB¹ ChronC²** *her* has no metrical effect. Further discussion of

the variation in these lines can be found on pp. 190 (**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *maga* for **ChronA³**

ChronD² *mæga*, line 40b) and 195 (**ChronB¹** *forslegen* **ChronA³** *beslagen* [**ChronC²**

besle/gen **ChronD²** *beslægen*], line 42a), below.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

Brun (**ChronB¹-ChronC²**), 40a

ChronA³

swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō̄.
onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
hár hilde ring. hreman neþorfte.
40 **mæcan** gemanan.

ChronB¹

S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40 **mecea** gemanan

ChronC²

Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
hár hilderinc. hreman neðorfte.
40 **meca** gemanan.

ChronD²

swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40 **inecga** ge|manan

The variants in this passage are discussed above, pp. 163 ff. The reading of **ChronD²**

is also mentioned briefly below, p. 218.

Brun (**ChronB¹-ChronC²**), 40b

ChronA³

swilce þær| eác sefroda.   mid fleame cō.
onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
hár hilde ring.   hreman neþorfte.
40   mæcan gemanan.   he wæs| his **mæga** sceard.
freonda gefylled.   ónfolcstede.
beslagen| ætsæcce.   ꝺhis sunu forlet.
ónwæl stowe.   wundun fer grunden.|
giungne ætguðe.

ChronB¹

S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40   mecea gemanan   her wæs his **maga**sceard.
freonda| gefylled   on folcstede.
forslegen ætsace   ꝺhissunu for|let.
onwælstowe   wundum forgrunden.
geongne ætguþe|

ChronC²

Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
hár hilderinc.   hreman neðorfte.
40   meca gemanan.   her| wæs his**maga** sceard.
freonda gefylled.   onhis folcstede.
besle|gen ætsæcce.   ꝺhissunu forlet
onwælstowe.   wundum forgrunden.|
geongne æt guþe.

ChronD²

fleame com
onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40   inecga ge|manan   hewæshis **mæga**. sceard
freonda ge|fylled   onfolc stede
beslægen ætsęcge.   ꝺhissunu| forlæt.
onwæl stowe   wundum forgrunden.|
geongne ætguþe

In **ChronA³** and **ChronD²**, *mæga* is the genitive plural of *mǣg*, 'kinsman'. The

ChronB¹ ChronC² form is either for *mæga* (with West-Saxon *ā* for *ǣ* before *g* + back

vowel)[422] or the nominative singular of *māga*, 'son'. The latter interpretation is the more

likely on contextual grounds.[423] See above, pp. 187 ff.

The two readings are metrically equivalent.

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[422]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 8; *OEG* §162. For further examples of variation between *æ* and *a* in the context, see **ChronB¹** *cneomagum*: **ChronA³ ChronC² ChronD²** *cneomægum*, line 8a, and **ChronA³** *lægun* (**ChronG** *legun*): **ChronB¹ ChronC² ChronD²** *lagon*, line 28b.

[423]Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," p. 247; O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 120-1.

Capture of the Five Boroughs

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Capt (**ChronB¹-ChronC²**), 2a

ChronA³

Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
maga| mundbora   myrce geeode
dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ
hwitanwylles geat.   ꝺhumbra éa
5   brada brim|strēā   burga fife
ligoraceaster   ꝺlin cylene.
ꝺsnotingahā| swylce stanfordéac
deora by

ChronC²

Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
dyredædfruma   swádor sceadeþ.
hwitan wylles geat.| ꝺhunbranéa.
5   bradabrimstream   burga fife.
ligeracester| ꝺlindcylne.
snotingaham.   swilce stanford eac.
ꝺdeoraby|

ChronB¹

H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
mæcgea mund bora   myrce| geeode.
dyredædfruma   swa dor sceadeþ.
hwitanwylles| geat.   ꝺhumbranéa.
5   brada brím stream burga fífe.
ligera|ceaster   ꝺlind kylne.
snotingahám   swylce stanford eac.|
ꝺdeoraby

ChronD²

Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
mægþa mund bora   myrce ge eode.|
dyre dæd fruma   swa dór sceadæð.
hwitan wylles| geat.   ꝺhimbran ea____
5   _brada brym stream.   burga gife.|
ligere ceaster   ꝺlincolne.
ꝺsnotinga hám.   swylce| stanford eác
ꝺdeoraby.

The three readings are metrically and syntactically identical and all relatively appropriate to the poem's immediate context. For a further discussion of all three forms, see above, p. 176. The **ChronD²** reading is also discussed briefly below, p. 221.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Capt (**ChronB[1]-ChronC[2]**), 7a

ChronA[3]

    Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
    maga| mundbora   myrce geeode
    dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ
    hwitanwylles geat.   ꝸhumbra éa
5 brada brim|strēā   burga fife
    ligoraceaster   ꝸlin cylene.
    ꝸsnotingahā| swylce stanfordéac
    deora by

ChronC[2]

    Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
    mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
    dyredædfruma   swádor sceadeþ.
    hwitan wylles geat.| ꝸhunbranéa.
5 bradabrimstream   burga fife.
    ligeracester| ꝸlindcylne.
    snotingaham.   swilce stanford eac.
    ꝸdeoraby|

ChronB[1]

    H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
    mæcgea mund bora   myrce| geeode.
    dyredædfruma   swa dor sceadeþ.
    hwitanwylles| geat.   ꝸhumbranéa.
5 brada brím stream burga fífe.
    ligera|ceaster   ꝸlind kylne.
    snotingahám   swylce stanford eac.|
    ꝸdeoraby

ChronD[2]

    Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
    mægþa mund bora   myrce ge eode.|
    dyre dæd fruma   swa dór sceadæð.
    hwitan wylles| geat.   ꝸhimbran ea____
5 _brada brym stream.   burga gife.|
    ligere ceaster   ꝸlincolne.
    ꝸsnotinga hám.   swylce| stanford eác
    ꝸdeoraby.

    In **ChronB[1]** *snotingahám* (**ChronC[2]** *snotingaham*) is linked asyndetically to the list of towns freed by Eadmund (lines 5b-8a). In **ChronA[3] ChronD[2]**, ꝸ joins the town syndetically to the same list. Metrically, **ChronA[3] ChronD[2]** is a Type B-2; in **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** the line is a Type E.

    The variation has no semantic effect

Coronation of Edgar

    The variants shared by **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** in the *Coronation of Edgar* and the *Death of Edgar* have been discussed above, pp. 179-186.

Death of Edgar

    The variants shared by **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** in the *Coronation of Edgar* and the *Death of Edgar* have been discussed above, pp. 179-186.

<div align="center">

**London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi,
First Hand (ChronB[1])**

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Battle of Brunanburh

Differences of Inflection (1 example)

Brun (ChronB[1]), 70a

ChronA[3]

```
65                    newearð wæl mare.
     ón þis| eiglande.  æfer gieta.
     folces gefylled.  beforan þissū.
     sweordes| écgum.  þæs þeus segað béc
     ealdeuðwitan.  siþþan eastan hider.|
70   engle ⁊seaxe.  upbecoman.
     ofer bradbrimu.  brytene sohtan.
     wlance wigsmiþas.  weealles ofer coman.
     eorlas arhwate.  eard| begeatan.|
```

ChronC[2]

```
65                    newearð wælmare
     onþys iglande   æfregyta.|
     folces gefylled  beforan þyssum.
     swurdes ecgum.  þæsðeús| segað béc.
     ealde uþwitan.  siððan eastanhider
70   engle ⁊sexe.|  uppbecomon.
     oferbradebrimu  bretene sohton.
     wlance| wig smiðas.  wealas ofercomon.
     eorlas árhwáte  eard be|geaton.
```

ChronB[1]

```
65                    newearð| wælmáre.
     onþyseglande  æfregyta.
     folces afylled  befo|ran þyssum.
     sweordes ecgum  þæs þeus secggeaþ béc.
     ealde|uþwitan  syþþan eastan hider.
70   engle ⁊sexan  upp becoman.|
     oferbrade brimu.  brytenesohtan
     wlance wigsmiþas.|  wealas ofercoman
     eorlas arhwate.  eardbegeaton.|
```

ChronD[2]

```
65                    newearð wæl mare.
     onþisneiglande  æfregitá.|
     folces gefylled  beforan þyssum.
     sweordes ecgum|  þæs þeus segað béc.
     ealde uðwitan  siððan eastan|hider
70   engle ⁊seaxe  úpbecomon.
     oferbrade bri|mu  britene sohton
     wlance wigsmiðas  wealas| ofer comon.
     eorlas arhwæte  eard begeaton;|
```

The two readings are lexically, metrically and syntactically indistinguishable.

Although "names of peoples are usually strong in all the *Chronicle*-texts," examples of both strong and weak endings are found.[424] Campbell suggests that the **ChronB[1]** reading may be the result of the influence of other *-an* endings in line 69-70.[425]

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[424]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xciv. Taylor cites An. 473 "where BC employ the more usual strong ending in *Engle*, with AE's weak *Englan*" (p. xciv, fn. 155); see also Campbell, *OEG* § 610.7 fn.1.

[425]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 120.

Substitution of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Brun (ChronB¹), 16b

ChronA³

10 hord ⁊hámas.   het tend| crungun.
 sceotta leoda.   ⁊scip flotan.
 fǽge feollan.   feld dæn̑ede||
 secgas hwate.   sið þan sunne úp.
 onmorgentíd.   mǽre tun gol.
15 glad ofer| grundas.   godes condel beorht.
 eces drihtnes.   **oð** sio æþele gesceaft.|
 sahtosetle.

ChronC²

10 hord ⁊hamas| hettend crungon.
 scotta leode.   ⁊scypflotan.
 fǽge feollan| feld dennade.
 secga swate.   siððan sunne upp.
 onmorgentid.| mǽre tungol.
15 gladofer grundas.   godes candel beorht
 eces| drihtnes   **ob**seo æþele gesceaft
 sáhtósetle.

ChronB¹

10 hórd ⁊hámas   hettend crungon
 scotta leode| ⁊scip flotan.
 fǽgefeollan   feld dennade.
 secgaswate   siþþan| sunne upp.
 onmorgentíd   mǽre tungol
15 glad ofergrun|das   godes candel beorht.
 ecesdrihtnes.   **þ**seo æþele gesceaft|
 sah tosetle.

ChronD²

10 hord. ⁊hamas   heted crungon|
 scotta leode.   ⁊scipflotan.
 fǽge feollon   feld dennode.|
 secga swate   siþþan sunne úp.
 onmorgen tíd   mǽre| tungol.
15 glad ofergrundas   godes candel beorht.|
 eces drihtnes.   **oð** se æþele gesceaft.
 sahtosẹtle

    As written, **ChronB¹** lines 13b-17a are non-sensical: '...after the sun, the glorious luminary, the bright candle of God, moved over the earth in the hours of morning *that* [so that? with the result that?] the noble creation bowed to rest'. The substitution of *þæt* for *oþ* (*þæt*) is a common feature of the **ChronB¹** text, however.[426] The variation has no metrical effect.

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[426]Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. lii and lvii. ꝥ occurs for *oþ* or *oþ ꝥ* 10 times between 755 and 937.

Substitution of Prefixes (2 examples)

Brun (ChronB[1]), 42a

ChronA[3]

    swilce þær| eác sefroda.   mid fleame cō.
    onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
    hár hilde ring.   hreman neþorfte.
40 mæcan gemanan.   he wæs| his mæga sceard.
    freonda gefylled.   ónfolcstede.
    beslagen| ætsæcce.   ⁊his sunu forlet.
    ónwæl stowe.   wundun fer grunden.|
    giungne ætguðe.

ChronB[1]

    S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
    onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
    hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40 mecea gemanan   her wæs his magasceard.
    freonda| gefylled   on folcstede.
    forslegen ætsace   ⁊hissunu for|let.
    onwælstowe   wundum forgrunden.
    geongne ætguþe|

ChronC[2]

    Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
    onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
    hár hilderinc.   hreman neðorfte.
40 meca gemanan.   her| wæs hismaga sceard.
    freonda gefylled.   onhis folcstede.
    besle|gen ætsæcce.   ⁊hissunu forlet
    onwælstowe.   wundum forgrunden.|
    geongne æt guþe.

ChronD[2]

    swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
    onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
    hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40 inecga ge|manan   hewæshis mæga. sceard
    freonda ge|fylled   onfolc stede
    beslægen ætsę̣cge.   ⁊hissunu| forlæt.
    onwæl stowe   wundum forgrunden.|
    geongne ætguþe

      The substitution **ChronB[1]** *forslegen* **ChronA[3]** *beslagen* (**ChronC[2]** *besle|gen* **ChronD[2]**

beslægen) has an important effect on sense and syntax, and is associated with the recensional

substitution **ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** *her* **ChronA[3] ChronD[2]** *he* in line 40b (see above, pp. 187 and

190). At the same time, however, **ChronB[1]** shows a strong tendency towards innovation in

verbal and nominal prefixes. Taylor cites fourteen examples of the addition, omission or

substitution of prefixes in **ChronB[1]**: eight in which **ChronB[1]** has "a prefix different from that

employed in the other texts", four in which "words... have a prefix only in B", and "two words

which are without a prefix only in B."[427]

      The variants are metrically identical.

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[427]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xcviii.

Brun (ChronB[1]), 67a

ChronA[3]

65   newearð wæl mare.
    ón þis| eiglande. æfer gieta.
    folces **ge**fylled. beforan þissū.
    sweordes| écgum. þæs þeus segað béc
    ealdeuðwitan. siþþan eastan hider.|
70   engle Ᵹseaxe. upbecoman.
    ofer bradbrimu. brytene sohtan.
    wlance wigsmiþas. weealles ofer coman.
    eorlas arhwate. eard| begeatan.|

ChronC[2]

65   newearð wælmare
    onþys iglande æfregyta.|
    folces **ge**fylled beforan þyssum.
    swurdes ecgum. þæsðeús| segað béc.
    ealde uþwitan. siððan eastanhider
70   engle Ᵹsexe.| uppbecomon.
    oferbradebrimu bretene sohton.
    wlance| wig smiðas. wealas ofercomon.
    eorlas árhwáte eard be|geaton.

ChronB[1]

65   newearð| wælmáre.
    onþyseglande æfregyta.
    folces **a**fylled befo|ran þyssum.
    sweordes ecgum þæs þeus secggeaþ béc.
    ealde|uþwitan syþþan eastan hider.
70   engle Ᵹsexan upp becoman.|
    oferbrade brimu. brytenesohtan
    wlance wigsmiþas.| wealas ofercoman
    eorlas arhwate. eardbegeaton.|

ChronD[2]

65   newearð wæl mare.
    onþisneiglande æfregitá.|
    folces **ge**fylled beforan þyssum.
    sweordes ecgum| þæs þeus segað béc.
    ealde uðwitan siððan eastan|hider
70   engle Ᵹseaxe úpbecomon.
    oferbrade bri|mu britene sohton
    wlance wigsmiðas wealas| ofer comon.
    eorlas arhwæte eard begeaton;|

The readings are metrically, syntactically, and semantically equivalent. O'Keeffe

notes that *gefylled* and *afylled* both occur in formulaic systems with a preceding genitive,

gefylled slightly more frequently.[428] The two forms are metrically identical, and, while

perhaps not exact synonyms, nevertheless appear both to have meant 'destroy', 'cut down'.[429]

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[428]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 121.

[429]B.-T. *gefyllan*, *-fylde* (B.-T.[S] *gefillan*); B.-T. *afyllan* (B.-T.[S]) *áfyllan*. See also Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 120.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (3 examples)

Brun (**ChronB[1]**), 4a

ChronA[3]

    Her æþel stancyning.   eorladryhten.
    beorna| bea hgifa. ꞇhisbroþor eác.
    eadmund æþeling.   ealdor langne tír.|
    geslogon æt **sæcce**.   sweorda écgum.
5   ymbe. brunanburh.

ChronC[2]

    Heræþelstancing.   eorladrihten.
    beorna beahgyfa| ꞇhis broðor eac
    eadmund æþeling.   ealdor lagne tír.
    geslogon| æt**sæcce**.   swurda ecgum.
5   embebrun nanburh.

ChronB[1]

    Her æþestan cing.   eorladrihten.
    beorna beaggifa ꞇhis| broþoreác
    eadmund æþeling   ealdorlangne tir.||
    geslogan æt **sake**   sweorda ecggum.
5   embe brunanb[ur]h|

ChronD[2]

    Her æþelstan cyning| eorla drihten
    beorna beah gifa. ꞇhis broþor eác|
    ead mund æþeling   ealdor langne tyr
    geslogon æt| **secce**   sweorda ecgum.
5   ymbe brunan burh

     The substitution **ChronB[1]** *sake* **ChronA[3] ChronC[2]** *sæcce* (**ChronD[2]** *secce*) has no

effect on sense or syntax. *Sake* (dative singular of *sacu*, f. 'conflict, strife') and *sæcce* (dative

singular of the poetic *sæcc*, f. 'strife, contest') are homographs and approximate synonyms.[430]

     The substitution does have a metrical effect. In **ChronA[3] ChronC[2] ChronD[2]**,

geslogon æt sæcce (and variants) is a Type A-1 verse with anacrusis; in **ChronB[1]**, the line is

Type B-2 with a resolved stress in the second lift.[431]

Brun (**ChronB[1]**), 18a

ChronA[3]

                  þær læg secg mænig.
  garū **ageted**. guma norþerna.|
  ofer scild scoten. swilce scittisc eác.
20 werig wíges sæd.

ChronC[2]

                þærlæg secgmonig.|
  garum **ageted**. guman norðerne.
  ofer scyldscoten swilce| scyttisc eac.
20 werig wig ges sæd.

ChronB[1]

                þærlægsecg manig.
  garum **forgrunden**.| guman norðerne.
  oferscyldsceoten swylce scyttisceac.|
20 werig wiggessæd.

ChronD[2]

               þær| læg secg monig.
  garum **ageted** guman norþærne.|
  ofer scyld sceoten swylce scyttisc eác.
20 werig wiges| ræd

     Both readings make sense and good syntax and are metrically identical. **ChronB[1]**

garum forgrunden belongs to a frequently attested formulaic system with a preceding dative

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[430]See Taylor, *MS. B*, pp. xcvii-xcviii. Taylor describes the **ChronB[1]** reading as a "trivialisation."

[431]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 24.

(*Xx forgrunden*).[432] *Agietan* (the verb of **ChronA³ ChronC²** and **ChronD²**) although relatively

rare and not found in any consistent syntactical construction, is used almost exclusively of

spears.[433]

Brun (**ChronB¹**), 42a

ChronA³

   swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō.
   onhis cyþþe norð. costontinus.|
   hár hilde ring. hreman neþorfte.
40 mæcan gemanan. he wæs| his mæga sceard.
   freonda gefylled. ónfolcstede.
   beslagen| æt**sæcce**. ⁊his sunu forlet.
   ónwæl stowe. wundun fer grunden.|
   giungne ætguðe.

ChronC²

   Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
   onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
   hár hilderinc. hreman neðorfte.
40 meca gemanan. her| wæs hismaga sceard.
   freonda gefylled. onhis folcstede.
   besle|gen æt**sæcce**. ⁊hissunu forlet
   onwælstowe. wundum forgrunden.|
   geongne æt guþe.

ChronB¹

   S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
   onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
   hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40 mecea gemanan   her wæs his magasceard.
   freonda| gefylled   on folcstede.
   forslegen æt**sace**   ⁊hissunu for|let.
   onwælstowe   wundum forgrunden.
   geongne ætguþe|

ChronD²

   swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
   onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
   hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40 inecga ge|manan   hewæshis mæga. sceard
   freonda ge|fylled   onfolc stede
   beslægen æts**ecge**. ⁊hissunu| forlæt.
   onwæl stowe   wundum forgrunden.|
   geongne ætguþe

     As in line 4a (see above, p. 197), the variation **ChronB¹** *sace* **ChronA³ ChronC²**

sæcce (**ChronD²** *sęcge*) involves a substitution of homographic synonyms with no effect on

sense or syntax. Metrically **ChronA³ ChronC²** is a Type A-1 with anacrusis; **ChronB¹** is a

Type B-2 with a resolved second stress. The **ChronD²** form is discussed below, p. 214.

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[432]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 121-2.

[433]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 103. DOE *ā-gītan*, 'to destroy, strike down (with a spear)'. The verb appears
four times with *gar* (all in poetry). A fifth occurrence (without *gar*) in Riddle 86 is emended to *agnette*.

Capture of the Five Boroughs

Differences of Inflection (2 examples)

Capt (**ChronB[1]**), 8b

ChronA[3]

            <u>dæne</u> wæran ær
    under| norðmannum nyde gebegde
10 ónhæþenra hæfteclōmū|
    lange þraga oþ hie alysde eft
    forhis weorþ scipe wig|gendra hleo
    afera eadweardes eadmundcyning
ónfenganlafe||

ChronC[2]

            <u>dene</u> wæron æror.
    under norðmannū. nyde gebæded.
10 onhæ|þenra hæfte clommum.
    lange þrage oþhialysde eft.
    for| his weorð scype wiggendra hleo.
    afora eadweardes. eadmund| cing.
                      Her
eadmundcing...

ChronB[1]

            <u>den**um**</u> wæron æror.
    undernorð mannum.| nede gebǽded.
10 onhæþenum hæfte clammum.
    lange þrage| oþ hiealysde eft.
    forhis weorðscipe wiggendra hléo|
    eafora eadweardes eadmund cining;|
  H er eadmund cing...

ChronD[2]

            <u>dæne</u> wæron æror
    under|| norð mannum nydegebæded
10 onhæðenra hæf|te. clommum
    lange þrage. oþ hy alysde eft|
    for his weorðscipe wigendra hleo
    afora ead|weardes eadmundes cyning.|
            Her anlaf abræc...

In **ChronB[1]**, *denum* is a dative of agent, functionally parallel to the prepositional phrase *undernorð mannum* in line 9a: '(They [i.e. the five towns)] [434] were previously oppressed by hardship for a long time by the Danes, under the Northmen, in heathen bonds, until King Edmund, the son of Edward, the protector of warriors, freed them again, to his glory'. In the **ChronA[3] ChronC[2] ChronD[2]**, *dæne* (and variants) is nominative singular and the subject of *wæran* (**ChronC[2] ChronD[2]** *wæron*): 'The Danes were previously oppressed by hardship for a long time under the Northmen, in the bonds of the heathens, until King Edmund, the son of Edward, the protector of warriors, freed them again, to his glory'.

Of the two readings, that of **ChronA[3] ChronC[2]** and **ChronD[2]** is to be preferred on historical grounds. As Allen Mawer argues, the 'Danes' in this case are the inhabitants of the

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[434]For examples of the non-expression of a subject which "has to be inferred from an oblique case in a preceding clause" see Mitchell, *OES* §§ 1509 and 1510. In this case the "unexpressed" subject of ll. 8bff. is to be inferred from *burga fífe*, line 5b.

Danelaw, while the 'northmen' are likely to be the forces of the "Norse kings of

Northumbria."[435]

The variation in inflection has no effect on metre.

Capt (**ChronB¹**), 10a

ChronA³

               dæne wæran ær
   under| norðmannum nyde gebegde
10 ónh<u>æþen</u><u>**ra**</u> hæfteclōmū|
   lange þraga oþ hie alysde eft
   forhis weorþ scipe wig|gendra hleo
   afera eadweardes eadmundcyning
ónfenganlafe||

ChronB¹

              denum wæron æror.
   undernorð mannum.| nede gebǽded.
10 onh<u>æþen</u>**<u>um</u>** hæfte clammum.
   lange þrage| oþ hiealysde eft.
   forhis weorðscipe wiggendra hléo|
   eafora eadweardes eadmund cining;|
  H er eadmund cing...

ChronC²

              dene wæron æror.
   under norðmannū. nyde gebæded.
10 onh<u>æ|þen</u>**<u>ra</u>** hæfte clommum.
   lange þrage oþhialysde eft.
   for| his weorð scype wiggendra hleo.
   afora eadweardes. eadmund| cing.
                    Her
eadmundcing...

ChronD²

              dæne wæron æror
   under|| norð mannum nydegebæded
10 onh<u>æðen</u>**<u>ra</u>** hæf|te. clommum
   lange þrage. oþ hy alysde eft|
   for his weorðscipe wigendra hleo
   afora ead|weardes eadmundes cyning.|
           Her anlaf abræc...

In **ChronA³ ChronC²** and **ChronD²**, *hæþenra* (and orthographic variants) is a genitive

plural substantive adjective depending on *hæfteclommum* 'in the bonds of heathens'; in

ChronB¹, *hæþenum* (and orthographic variants) is a dative plural adjective modifying *hæfte*

clammum, 'in heathen bonds'.

The two readings make good sense and syntax and are metrically identical.

[435]Allen Mawer, "The Redemption of the Five Boroughs," *ERH* 38 (1923): 551-557. See esp. 554-5.

Coronation of Edgar

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

CEdg (ChronB[1]), 14b

ChronA[5]

```
10                  ⁊ðaagangenwæs
     tynhundwintra   ge teled| rimes.
     frā gebyrd tide   bremes cyninges
     leohta hyrdes.   buton| ðærtō lafe þa agan
     wæs winter ge teles   þæsðe gewritu secgað.|
15   seofon ⁊ twentig.
```

ChronB[1]

```
10                  ⁊þaagangenwæs.
     tynhund wintra   geteledrímes|
     fram gebýrdtíde   bremes cinges.
     leohtahyrdes   butan| ðærtoláfe þaget.
     wæs wintergeteles   þæs gewritu secgað.|
15   seofan ⁊.XX.
```

ChronC[2]

```
10                  ⁊ þá agangen wæs.
     tynhund| wintra   geteled rimes.
     framgebýrdtíde   bremes cinges.|
     leohta hirdes   butanþærtolafe ðaget
     wæs winter getæles|   þæs ðegewritusecgað.
15   seofan ⁊XX.
```

The addition or omission of *ðe* occurs in the preliminary drop of a Type C-1 line and has no significant effect on metre, sense, or syntax. Demonstrative pronouns are found introducing relative clauses with and without *þe*.

CEdg (ChronB[1]), 20a

ChronA[5]

```
     ⁊ hī ead mundes   eafora hæfde.
     nigon ⁊ XX.|   nið weorca heard.
     wintra onworulde.   þis gewordenwæs.
20   ⁊ þa onðā| XXX. wæs   ðeoden gehalgod :7
```

ChronB[1]

```
     ⁊him eadmundes   eaforahæfde
     nigen ⁊| .XX.   niþweorcaheard
     wintra onworlde   ðaþis gewordenwæs.|
20   O nþaonðam. þrittigæþanwæs   þeoden gehalgod.
```

ChronC[2]

```
     ⁊himeadmundes|   eafora hæfde
     nigen ⁊XX.   niðweorca heard
     wintra on wu|rulde   þaðis gewordenwæs.
20   ⁊þaonþamþrittigeþan wæs|   ðeoden gehalgod.
```

ChronB[1] *On þa* is a graphic error for *Ond þa* (as in **ChronA[5] ChronC[2]**). The capitalisation and layout of the text in this manuscript suggest that the **ChronB[1]** scribe may not have understood his exemplar, especially as Miller's analysis of the distribution of *on* and

ond in manuscripts of the Old English translation of the *Historia* suggests that (non-Anglian)

scribes would change *on* to *ond* where they recognised it as the conjunction.[436]

Taylor cites this variant as counter-evidence to his argument that **ChronC**[2] had

ChronB[1] as its direct exemplar after 947.[437]

<div align="center">

**London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i,
Second Hand (ChronC**[2]**)**

</div>

Battle of Brunanburh

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

Brun **(ChronC**[2]**), 25b**

ChronA[3]

> myrce| newyrndon.
> 25 he eardes hond plegan. hæleþa **nanum**
> þæmid anlafe.| ofer æra gebland.
> onlides bosme.   land gesohtun.
> fæge toge|feohte.

ChronC[2]

> myrce| newyrndon.
> 25 heardes handplegan   hæleþa **namū**.
> þaraðemid| anlafe. ofer ear gebland
> onliþes bosme   landgesohton.
> fæge| togefeohte

ChronB[1]

> myrce| newyrndon.
> 25 heardes handplegan   hæleþa**nanum**.
> þara| ðemid anlafe ofereargebland.
> onlides bosme   landge|sohtan.
> fægetogefeohte.

ChronD[2]

> myrce newyrndon.
> 25 heardes hand plegan   hæleþa| **nanum**.
> þæra þemid anlafe   ofer eár gebland.|
> onlides bosme   land gesohton.
> fage to feohte

The **ChronC**[2] reading is the result of a minim error. It has been partially corrected in

the manuscript.

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[436]Miller, *The Old English Version*, v.1, p. xxviii.

[437]Taylor, *MS. B*, p. xlviii.

Brun (ChronC^2), 27a

ChronA^3	**ChronC^2**

<div>

ChronA^3

          myrce| newyrndon.
25 he eardes hond plegan.   hæleþa nanum
   þæmid anlafe.| ofer æra gebland.
   on**lides** bosme.   land gesohtun.
   fæge toge|feohte.

ChronC^2

          myrce| newyrndon.
25 heardes handplegan   hæleþa namū.
   þaraðemid| anlafe.   ofer ear gebland
   on**liþes** bosme   landgesohton.
   fæge| togefeohte

ChronB^1

          myrce| newyrndon.
25 heardes handplegan   hæleþananum.
   þara| ðemid anlafe   ofereargebland.
   on**lides** bosme   landge|sohtan.
   fægetogefeohte.

ChronD^2

          myrce newyrndon.
25 heardes hand plegan   hæleþa| nanum.
   þæra þemid anlafe   ofer eár gebland.|
   on**lides** bosme   land gesohton.
   fage to feohte

</div>

Both readings make reasonable sense, although Campbell suggests that the **ChronC^2** reading may be a simple graphic error:

> The scribe, conceivably, had O.N. *lið* in his mind, though it seldom means 'ship,' and is not recorded in English till 1052 (*Chron.*, MSS. C, D, E; in the sense 'fleet' or 'band').[438]

As the scribe of **ChronC^2** is himself writing in the mid-eleventh century (he is "probably" responsible for the annals 491 to 1048 in his manuscript),[439] and as, as Campbell notes, he correctly writes *lides* in line 34a, the possibility of a (conscious or unconscious) substitution cannot be ruled out.

The variation has no effect on metre. The line is a Type C-1 line with a resolved first stress in all four manuscripts.

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[438]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 107.

[439]Ker, *Catalogue*, art. 191.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (3 examples)

Brun (ChronC^2), 20b

ChronA^3

20   wes seaxe fórð.|
   ond long nedæg. eorod cistum :
   onlast legdun. laþum þeo dum.
   heowan| here fleman. hindan þearle.
   mecum mylen scearpan.

ChronB^1

20   west sexeforð.
   andlangnedæg   eored| cystum.
   onlast legdon   laðumþeodum.
   heowanherefly|man   hindan þearle.
   mecummylenscearpum

ChronC^2

20   � wes sexe forð
   andlangnedæg| eored cystum
   onlast legdon   laþum ðeodon.
   heowon here|flymon   hindan þearle
   mecum mylenscearpum

ChronD^2

20   wes seaxe forð.
   ꞎlangne dæg   eored cystum.|
   onlast lægdon   laþum ðeodum.
   heowan heora|flyman   hindan þearle.
   mecum mycel scearpum|

The addition or omission of ꞎ has a minor effect on sense and syntax. In **ChronC^2** the sentence ꞎ *wes sexe forð... mecum mylenscearpum* follows syndetically from the preceding clause. In **ChronA^3 ChronB^1** and **ChronD^2** the sentences are juxtaposed asyndetically. Both constructions are acceptable Old English.

With the addition of ꞎ, **ChronC^2** is a Type B-2 line. In **ChronA^3 ChronB^1 ChronD^2** the line is a Type E.

Brun (ChronC^2), 31b

ChronA^3

                     fife lægun.
      ónþam campstede. cyninges giunge.
30   sweordū| aswefede. swilce seofene eác.
      eorlas anlafes. unrim heriges.|
      flotan ꞎsceotta.

ChronB^1

                     fife lagon.
      onðæm camp stede| ciningas geonge.
30   sweordum aswefede   swilce seofone eac.|
      eorlas anlafes. unrím herges.
      flotan ꞎscotta

ChronC^2

                     fife lagon.
      onþamcampstede   cingas geonge.|
30   sweordum aswefde. swilce vii. eac
      eorlas anlafes. ꞎúnrím| herges.
      flotan ꞎscotta

ChronD^2

                     fife| lagon
      onþam campstede   cyningas iunga
30   sweordū| aswefede   swylce seofene eác.
      eorlas anlafes   unrím|| herges
      flótan. ꞎscotta

See the preceding entry. In **ChronA^3 ChronB^1** and **ChronD^2** line 31b is Type A-2a.

In **ChronC^2** it is Type A-2a with anacrusis.

Brun (ChronC[2]), 41b

ChronA[3]

swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō.
onhis cyþþe norð. costontinus.|
hár hilde ring. hreman neþorfte.
40 mæcan gemanan. he wæs| his mæga sceard.
freonda gefylled. <u>ónfolcstede</u>.
beslagen| ætsæcce. ꞇhis sunu forlet.
ónwæl stowe. wundun fer grunden.|
giungne ætguðe.

ChronC[2]

Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda midfleame cóm.
onhis cyððe norð. constan|tinus.
hár hilderinc. hreman neðorfte.
40 meca gemanan. her| wæs hismaga sceard.
freonda gefylled. <u>on**his** folcstede</u>.
besle|gen ætsæcce. ꞇhissunu forlet
onwælstowe. wundum forgrunden.|
geongne æt guþe.

ChronB[1]

S wylce þær eacsefróda mid fleamecóm.
onhiscyþþe| norð constantínus.
hárhilderinc hremanneþórfte|||
40 mecea gemanan her wæs his magasceard.
freonda| gefylled <u>on folcstede</u>.
forslegen ætsace ꞇhissunu for|let.
onwælstowe wundum forgrunden.
geongne ætguþe|

ChronD[2]

swylce þæreác sefroda mid| fleame com
onhis cyððe norð constantinus|
hal hylde rínc hryman neþorfte.
40 inecga ge|manan hewæshis mæga. sceard
freonda ge|fylled <u>onfolc stede</u>
beslægen ætsęcge. ꞇhissunu| forlæt.
onwæl stowe wundum forgrunden.|
geongne ætguþe

Campbell notes that "the insertion of *his* before *folcstede* by the scribe of C... suggests that he took the word here in the sense 'dwelling', 'home', and assumed the passage to imply that Constantine found himself with no kinsmen in his home."[440] In **ChronA[3] ChronB[1]** and **ChronD[2]** *on folcstede* (and variants) refers to the battlefield at Brunanburh.[441]

As it falls on the preliminary dip of a Type C-2 line, the variation has no effect on metre.

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[440]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 111. See also Orton, "Constantine's Bereavement," pp. 249-250.

[441]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 111.

Addition/Omission of Prefixes (1 example)

Brun (ChronC²), 57a

ChronA³

57 swilce þa**gebro**þer.‖| begen æt samne.
    cyning ꝺæþeling. cyþþe sohton.
    wes seaxena land.| wiges hrᴀ̊mige.

ChronC²

57 Swilce þá<u>broðor</u>   begen ætsomne.
    cing| ꝺæþeling cyþþesohton.
    wessexena land   wiggeshremige.|

ChronB¹

57 Swylce þa**gebro**|ðor   begen ætsomne.
    cing ꝺæþeling   cyþþe sohtan.
    west|seaxenaland   wiggeshremige.

ChronD²

57 swylce þa**ge** bro**þor**   bege ætrunne
    cyning ꝺeaðe|ling   cyððe sohton
    west seaxna land   wiges hremige|

ChronC² substitutes the simple noun *broðor*, 'brother' for the collective *gebroðor*

(and orthographic variants), 'fellowman' in **ChronA³ ChronB¹** and **ChronD²**.[442]

The addition or omission of the prefix adds or subtracts a metrically insignificant

unstressed syllable from the preliminary dip of a Type A-3 line.

**London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv,
Second Hand (ChronD²)**

Battle of Brunanburh

Differences of Inflection (3 examples)

Brun (ChronD²), 16b

ChronA³

16 eces drihtnes. oð **sio** æþele gesceaft.|

ChronC²

16 eces| drihtnes   oþ**seo** æþele gesceaft

ChronB¹

16 ecesdrihtnes. **þseo** æþele gesceaft|

ChronD²

16 eces drihtnes. oð **se** æþele gesceaft.

ChronD² *se* is nominative singular masculine. **ChronA³** *sio* (**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *seo*)

is nominative singular feminine. *Gesceaft* is normally feminine or neuter in the singular,

although "a masc. pl. *ge-seaftas* occurs."[443] Since *æþele* can be construed as either a strong *jó-*

or (with the confusion of unstressed vowels) a weak-declension nominative masculine

singular,[444] the **ChronD** reading is not necessarily a mistake.

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[442]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 117.

[443]B.-T.(S), *gesceaft*.

[444]Campbell, *OEG* §§645-7.

The substitution has no metrical effect. Similar variation in gender is found in lines 55a: **ChronD²** *deopne* (for **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *deop*); and 66a: **ChronD²** *þisne* (for **ChronA³** *þis* **ChronB¹ ChronC²** *þys*).[445]

Brun (**ChronD²**), 55a

ChronA³
55 ofer<u>deop</u> wæter.   difel|in secan.

ChronC²
55 ofer<u>deop</u>wæter   dyflinsecan.

ChronB¹
55 ofer<u>deop</u>wæter| dyflensecean.

ChronD²
55 ofeˌʳdeopne| wæter   dyflig secan.

In **ChronD²**, *deopne* is a accusative singular masculine. In **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**, *deop* is neuter. Bosworth and Toller cite one example of a masculine plural *wæteras* (Vercelli Homily XV. 55-6 ꝺ *þonne æfter þan bioð ealle wæteras* | ꝺ *ealle wyllas on blode*), although the ending in this case may also reflect the influence of the following noun *wyllas*.[446]

In **ChronA³ ChronB¹** and **ChronC²**, line 55a is Type C-2; in **ChronD²** it is Type B-1 with a resolved second stress. Campbell gives four examples of lines metrically similar to that in **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** including three in the on-verse and one from the off-verse.[447] He also cites only one example from the poem of a Type B verse similar to that in **ChronD²**, but notes that the form is quite common.[448]

For further examples of fluctuation in gender between **ChronD²** and **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**, see above, p. 206, below, p. 208.

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[445]See below, pp. 207 and 208.

[446]Text: D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* EETS n.s. 300 (Oxford: EETS, 1992), p. 255.

[447]Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*, p. 26.

[448]Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*, p. 23.

Brun (ChronD^2), 66a

ChronA^3	**ChronC^2**
66 ón þis| eiglande. æfer gieta.	66 onþys iglande æfregyta.|

ChronB^1	**ChronD^2**
66 onþyseglande æfregyta.	66 onþisneiglande æfregitá.|

In contrast to the preceding examples, in line 66a, the **ChronD^2** reading is a clear

mistake. In **ChronA^3 ChronB^1 ChronC^2** the demonstrative adjective *þis*/*þys* is a neuter

instrumental singular agreeing with (*e*)(*i*)*glande*, a neuter dative/instrumental singular noun; in

ChronD^2, the demonstrative adjective is masculine accusative singular.

As the variant falls on the preliminary dip of a Type C line, it has no effect on metre.

For further examples of fluctuation in gender between **ChronD^2** and **ChronA^3**

ChronB^1 ChronC^2, see the preceding two variants.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (10 examples)

Brun (ChronD^2), 5b

ChronA^3	**ChronC^2**
5 **bord|weal** clufan.	5 **bordweall**| clufon.
heowan heaþolinde. hamora lafan.	heowon heaþo linda. hamora lafum.
afaran ead|weardes.	aforan ead|weardes.

ChronB^1	**ChronD^2**
5 **bordweall** clufon.	5 **heord|weal** clufan.
heowan heaðolina hamera lafum|	heowan heaðolinga hamera lafum.|
eaforan eadweardes	eaforan eadweardæs

O'Keeffe suggests that the **ChronD^2** form is the result of "feature recognition" on the

part of the **ChronD^2** scribe:

> At 5b and 39a in the edited text, D transmits variants which are metrically
> acceptable, lexically defensible and, in terms of an 'authorial' version of the poem,
> probably wrong. These variants tell us something about the careful scribe of this
> portion of D, and I should argue that they also tell us something about the process of
> reading Old English verse which had developed by the mid-eleventh century. The
> first of these interesting variants is in 5 b, *bordweal clufon*. Both B and C read
> *bordweall*. A separates the free morphemes at the end of the line and reads *bord/
> weal*. D also separates the free morphemes at the end of the line but reads *heord/
> weal*. Now alliterative constraints argue that *bord-* is licit and *heord-* is not. But that
> does not necessarily mean that *heord* is simply the product of an unclear 'b' in the
> exemplar. More likely, the scribe scanned the morpheme *bord, and by a process of

feature recognition registered an ascender and an 'rd' combination. The more familiar form *heord*, 'care', 'custody' or 'guard', with various ecclesiastical overtones, then appeared.[449]

While not impossible, O'Keeffe's hypothesis of this variant's origin probably gives the **ChronD²** scribe too much credit – *heord/weal* makes no sense in context and, as it removes the only alliterating letter in the off-verse, is unmetrical.

The more likely explanation involves a combination of the graphic confusion of insular *h* and *b* with a back-spelling of the late monophthongisation of Old English diphthongs. The same scribe confuses *h* and *b* once more in *Brunanburh*, producing the nonsensical **ChronD²** *hlybban* for **ChronA³** *hlehhan* **ChronB¹ ChronC²** *hlihhan*, line 47b, and similar confusions of other graphically similar letters are common through his work. The spelling of the stressed vowel *o* as *eo* may be the result of a late back-spelling reflecting the monophthongisation of diphthongs in the eleventh century.[450] Similar use of digraphs for expected monophthongs in **ChronD²** include: **ChronD²** *here leafum* for **ChronA³** *herelafū* (**ChronB¹** *herelafum* **ChronC²** *here lafum*), line 47a and **ChronD²** *eaðe/ling* for **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *æþeling*, line 58a.

Apart from its effect on the alliteration of the line, **ChronD²** *heord/weal* is metrically identical to the **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** reading.

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[449]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 117

[450]See Campbell, *OEG* §329.2.

Brun (ChronD^2), 20a

ChronA^3   **ChronC^2**

   sahtosetle. þær læg secg mænig.   þærlæg secgmonig.|
   garū ageted. guma norþerna.| garum ageted. guman norðerne.
   ofer scild scoten. swilce scittisc eác.   ofer scyldscoten swilce| scyttisc eac.
20 werig wíges **sǣd**.   20 werig wig ges **sǣd**.

ChronB^1   **ChronD^2**

          þærlægsecg manig.   þær| læg secg monig.
   garum forgrunden.| guman norðerne.   garum ageted guman norþærne.|
   oferscyldsceoten swylce scyttisceac.| ofer scyld sceoten swylce scyttisc eác.
20 werig wigges**sǣd**.   20 werig wiges| **rǣd**

An example of the confusion of insular *ꞅ* (i.e. *s*) and *ꞃ* (i.e. *r*) by the scribe of

ChronD^2. A second example is **ChronD^2** *æses* corrected from *æres*, line 63b.[451]

Although **ChronD^2** *ræd* is non-sensical in context, the substitution has no significant

effect on metre: in all four manuscripts, the line is Type D*4.

Brun (ChronD^2), 23a

ChronA^3   **ChronC^2**

20   wes seaxe fórð.| 20   ꞇ wes sexe forð
   ond long nedæg. eorod cistum :   andlangnedæg| eored cystum
   onlast legdun. laþum þeo dum.   onlast legdon laþum ðeodon.
   heowan| **here** fleman. hindan þearle. heowon **here**|flymon hindan þearle
   mecum mylen scearpan.   mecum mylenscearpum

ChronB^1   **ChronD^2**

20   west sexeforð.   20   wes seaxe forð.
   andlangnedæg eored| cystum.   ꞇlangne dæg eored cystum.|
   onlast legdon laðumþeodum.   onlast lægdon laþum ðeodum.
   heowan**here**fly|man hindan þearle. heowan **heora**|flyman hindan þearle.
   mecummylenscearpum   mecum mycel scearpum|

There are three possibilities for this variant: that **ChronD^2** *heora-* is intended for the

poetic word *heoru-* 'sword-' (with *a* for *u* through the confusion of unstressed back-vowels);

that it is intended for the third person plural possessive adjective 'their'; or that *-eo-* is a late

back-spelling of *-e-*.

If it is for *heoru-* or a backspelling of *here*, the reading makes both sense and metre.

Both *heoru* and *here* are used in compounds, and *heoruflȳma* is acceptable in context.

Metrically, the two forms are identical. If it is for *hira* 'their', the **ChronD²** reading affects both sense and metre. *Heora flyman* 'the ones fleeing them'(?) is nonsensical, and the substitution of the unstressed pronoun for the stressed element *here* changes the Type D*1 line of **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** to an A-1 (with alliteration on the inflected verb alone) in **ChronD²**. As the **ChronD²** scribe uses *hyra* for **ChronA³ ChronB¹** *heora* in line 47a (the only other occurrence of the plural third person possessive in the poem), the last possibility is the least likely.

Brun (ChronD²), 24a

ChronA³

20   wes seaxe fórð.|
 ond long nedæg. eorod cistum :
 onlast legdun. laþum þeo dum.
 heowan| here fleman. hindan þearle.
 mecum **mylen** scearpan.

ChronC²

20   ꝺ wes sexe forð
 andlangnedæg| eored cystum
 onlast legdon laþum ðeodon.
 heowon here|flymon hindan þearle
 mecum **mylen**scearpum

ChronB¹

20   west sexeforð.
 andlangnedæg eored| cystum.
 onlast legdon laðumþeodum.
 heowanherefly|man hindan þearle.
 mecum**mylen**scearpum

ChronD²

20   wes seaxe forð.
 ꝺlangne dæg eored cystum.|
 onlast lægdon laþum ðeodum.
 heowan heora|flyman hindan þearle.
 mecum **mycel** scearpum|

   The **ChronD²** reading *mycel scearpum* 'great-sharp (?)' is presumably a scribal trivialisation of the nonce-compound **ChronA³** *mylen scearp-* (**ChronB¹ ChronC²** *mylenscearp-*).[452]

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[451]See O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 118, fn.29; Jabbour, diss, p. 61.

[452]For a discussion of the form in **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**, see Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 105-6. The variant is not discussed by O'Keeffe.

Brun (ChronD², 35a)

ChronA³

35 cread cnearen **flot**.| cyning utgewat.
   ónfealene flod. feorh generede.

ChronC²

35 cread cnear||ón**flót** cining út géwat.
   onfealoneflód feorh génerode.

ChronB¹

35 cread cnear on**flot**| cing ut gewát.
   onfealone flód feorh generede.|

ChronD²

35 creat cneár on**flod**| ----
   ---- feorh generode.

This "substitution" may be no more than the result of an eyeskip. **ChronD²** is missing the next two half-lines.[453]

Brun (ChronD², 39a)

ChronA³

   swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō.
   onhis cyþþe norð. costontinus.|
   hár hilde ring. hreman neþorfte.
40 mæcan gemanan.

ChronC²

   Swilce| þær eac sefroda midfleame cóm.
   onhis cyððe norð. constan|tinus.
   hár hilderinc. hreman neðorfte.
40 meca gemanan.

ChronB¹

   S wylce þær eacsefróda mid fleamecóm.
   onhiscyþþe| norð constantínus.
   hárhilderinc hremanneþórfte|||
40 mecea gemanan

ChronD²

   swylce þæreác sefroda mid| fleame com
   onhis cyððe norð constantinus|
   hal hylde rínc hryman neþorfte.
40 inecga ge|manan

The substitution **ChronD²** *hal* **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** *hár* could be the result of the graphic confusion of insular *l* and *r* or a substitution of homographs. Both readings make sense: *hal* is found in similar contexts meaning to survive a physical threat and might even be considered ironic.[454] As O'Keeffe notes, however, the **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** reading *har hilderinc* is a relatively common formula in Old English. It occurs perhaps four more times in the poetic corpus (*Beowulf*, 1307a, 3136a [*hilderince*, conjectured], *Maldon*, 169a; *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, 57a), and is "the only formula with *hilderinc* in the nominative singular."[455]

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[453]See Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 109, note to line 35.

[454]See B.-T.(S), *hál*, II [2]; cf. *Beowulf* 1501-3a: *Grap þa togeanes, guðrinc gefeng / atolan clommum; no þy ær in gescod / halan lice*; and *Daniel* 270 *Hyssas hale hwurfon in þam hatan ofne*.

[455]O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 118. I do not understand the rest of O'Keeffe's comments on this substitution: "D reads *hal hylde rinc* with accent over *rinc*. D regularly separates free morphemes so the separation of *hylde* and *rinc* is probably not significant (nor is a regular pattern discernible in the use of accents in D).

The variation has no effect on metre.

Brun (ChronD^2), 39b

ChronA^3

    swilce þær| eác sefroda. mid fleame cō.
    onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
    hár hilde ring. **hreman** neþorfte.
40 mæcan gemanan.

ChronC^2

    Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
    onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
    hár hilderinc. **hreman** neðorfte.
40 meca gemanan.

ChronB^1

    S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
    onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
    hárhilderinc **hreman**neþórfte|||
40 mecea gemanan

ChronD^2

    swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
    onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
    hal hylde rínc **hryman** neþorfte.
40 inecga ge|manan

As Campbell notes, **ChronA^3 ChronB^1 ChronC^2** *hreman* could be intended for either *hrēman* 'exult' (all dialects) or non-West-Saxon *hrēman*, 'lament'.[456] **ChronD^2** *hryman*, however, can only be for *hrȳman* the late West-Saxon reflex of non-West-Saxon *hrēman* 'lament'.[457] Presumably the scribe of **ChronD^2** or, perhaps more likely, that of a more southern antecedent,[458] misunderstood the sense of the passage and attempted to 'translate' a form he believed to be the non-West-Saxon *hrēman* 'lament' into its West-Saxon reflex.[459]

The variation has a great effect on sense. If **ChronD^2** is intended for *hrȳman*, 'lament', then line 39b does not seem to make sense, unless it is intended ironically: 'he need not lament in the fellowship of kinsmen'. The two forms are metrically identical.

This spelling of *hilde seems to have produced a compound whose meaning can only be inferred from the analogous *hyldemæg*, 'dear kinsman'" (*Visible Song*), p. 117. After þ/ð, variation between *y* and *i* is the most common among witnesses to the multiply attested poetry. It can hardly be considered significant. Whether it is spelled with an *i* or a *y*, the first part of the compounds *hylderinc* (*hilderinc*) and *hyldemæg* (*hildemæg*) should have been perceived as identical by readers of Old English.

[456]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110. *Hrēman* 'exult' is "connected etymologically with... O.S. *hrom*" (i.e. from Gmc. *ō*; Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110). The i-umlaut of this is originally *ē* (from *ōe*) in Southern dialects, *ōe* in Anglian, but later *ē* in all dialects (Sievers-Brunner, §§101, 27). nWS *hrēman*/WS *hrīeman* (*hrȳman*) 'lament' shows the characteristic distinction in the i-umlaut of *ĕa* to nWS *ē* West-Saxon *īe/ȳ* (Campbell, OEG §261).

[457]See Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110; also fn. 456, p. 213 above.

[458]On the composite nature of **ChronD^2**, see Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xiv-xv.

[459]See Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 110.

Brun (ChronD[2]), 42a

ChronA[3]

40	he wæs| his mæga sceard.
	freonda gefylled. ónfolcstede.
	beslagen| æt**sæcce**. ꝫhis sunu forlet.
	ónwæl stowe. wundun fer grunden.|
	giungne ætguðe.

ChronC[2]

40	her| wæs hismaga sceard.
	freonda gefylled. onhis folcstede.
	besle|gen æt**sæcce**. ꝫhissunu forlet
	onwælstowe. wundum forgrunden.|
	geongne æt guþe.

ChronB[1]

40	her wæs his magasceard.
	freonda| gefylled on folcstede.
	forslegen æt**sace** ꝫhissunu for|let.
	onwælstowe wundum forgrunden.
	geongne ætguþe|

ChronD[2]

40	hewæshis mæga. sceard
	freonda ge|fylled onfolc stede
	beslægen æt**secge**. ꝫhissunu| forlæt.
	onwæl stowe wundum forgrunden.|
	geongne ætguþe

The **ChronD[2]** reading is a probable example of the back spelling of *c* for *cg* (compare **ChronD[2]** *inecga* **ChronB ChronC** *mec*(*e*)*a* **ChronA** *mæcan*, line 40a). The other possibilities, that the form is for the first person present indicative singular of *secgan*,[460] the dative singular of *secg*, 'man', or the nominative singular of *secge* 'speech', do not make any sense in context.

Brun (ChronD[2]), 55b

ChronA[3]

55 oferdeop wæter. **difel\|in** secan.

ChronC[2]

55 oferdeopwæter **dyflin**secan.

ChronB[1]

55 oferdeopwæter\| **dyflen**secean.

ChronD[2]

55 ofeˏ'deopne\| wæter **dyflig** secan.

ChronD[2] *dyflig* is nonsensical. As the **ChronA[3] ChronB[1] ChronC[2]** form *dyflin* (and orthographic variants) is a nonce word,[461] the **ChronD[2]** spelling is presumably to be understood as a scribal attempt at making sense of an unknown word by "correcting" its final syllable to *-ig* to form an adjective.

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[460]With *æ* [ǥ] for West-Saxon *e* as is common in Anglian texts (Campbell *OEG* §762).

[461]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 115-116.

Brun (ChronD^2), 64a

ChronA^3

60 letan him behindan. hræ̋bryttian.
    salu wig|padan. þone sweartan hræfn.
    hyrned nebban. ꝼþanehasewan|padan.
    earn æftan hwit. æses brucan.
    grædigne **guð hafóc**.| ꝼþæt græge deor.
65 wulf ónwealde.

ChronC^2

60 leton hymbehindon hrá brittigan.
    salowig padan þoneswear|tan hrefn.
    hyrned nebban. ꝼþonehasu padan
    earn æftan| hwit. ǽses brucan.
    grædigne **guðhafoc** ꝼþgrægedeor.
65 wulf| onwealde.

ChronB^1

60 letan himbehindan hraw| bryttigean.
    salowig pádan þone sweartan hræfn.
    hyrned| nebban ꝼþone hasopadan.
    earn æftan hwit. æses brucan.|
    grædigne **guþhafoc** ꝼþgrægedeor.
65 wulfonwealde.

ChronD^2

60 læton him behindan hra bryttinga.
    salowig padan| þone sweartan hræfn
    hyrnet nebban. ꝼþone| hasu wadan
    earn æftan hwit æres brucan.
    græ|||digne **cuð heafóc**. ꝼþætgregedeor.
65 wulfonwealde|

Both readings are nonce compounds, metrically acceptable, and make some sense.

Cuð- is relatively rare as the first half of a compound, and is not found at all in poetry.[462]

Campbell cites *guðfugol* (Exeter Riddle 24,5) as a possible parallel to the **ChronA^3 ChronB^1 ChronC^2** reading. With the exception of proper nouns (*gos-*, *mus-*, *spear-*, etc.) there are no examples of *hafoc* as the second element of a compound.[463]

As both *cūð* and *gūð* have long vowels the substitution has no effect on the stress pattern of the line. In **ChronD^2**, line 64a has single alliteration in the on-verse. In **ChronA^3 ChronB^1 ChronC^2**, the equivalent verse has double alliteration.

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[462]Bessinger and Smith.

[463]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, pp. 119-120.

Addition/Omission of Unstressed Words and Elements (1 example)

Brun (ChronD[2]), 51b

ChronA[3]

    midheora herelafū.| hlehhan neþorftun.
    þ heo beaduweorca.   beteran wurdun.
    ón camp stede.   cul bod ge hna des
50   garmit tinge.   gumena ge|mo tes.
    wæpen gewrixles.   þæs hi ón wæl felda.
    wiþead weardes.| afaran   plegodan.

ChronC[2]

    midhyra here lafum| hlihhan neðorftun.
    þhi beadoweorca   beteran wurdon.
    oncamp|stede   cumbol gehnastes.
50   gar mit tin ge   gumena gemotes.
    wæpen| gewrixles.   þæs hionwælfelda
    wið eadweardes   aforan plegodon.|

ChronB[1]

    midheora herelafum   hlihhan| neþorftan.
    þhie beado weorca   beteran wurdan.
    oncamp|stede   cumbol gehnastes.
50   gármittinge   gumena gemótes.|
    wæpen gewrixles   þæshie onwæl felda.
    wiþeadweardes.   eafo|ran plegodan.

ChronD[2]

    mid hyra here leafum   hlybban neþorf|tan.
    þæt hi beado weorca   beteran wurdon.
    on| campstede   cumbol ge hnastes.
50   gár mittunge| gumena gemotes.
    wæpen ge wrixles.   þæsþehi| on wæl felda
    wiðeadweardes   áfaran plegodon ;|

The addition or omission of *þe* occurs in the preliminary drop of a Type C-1 line and has no significant effect on metre, sense or syntax.

In both manuscripts, *þæs* (*þe*) can be understood as either a relative marker or a temporal conjunction. Although the verb, *plegodan*, l.52b, requires an accusative object, the possible antecedents for this object, *cumbolgehnastes*, *garmittinge*, *gumena gemotes*, *wæpengewrixles* (and orthographic variants) are all genitive singular. In **ChronD[2]**, *þæsþe* is either an example of the use of the relative marker with a demonstrative pronoun in the case required by the principal clause (a *se'þe* clause)[464] or an example of *þæs þe* as "a conjunction 'when'... or 'because'."[465] In **ChronA[3] ChronB[1] ChronC[2]**, *þæs* is an example either of a demonstrative adjective in the case required by the main clause being used to introduce an adjective clause with the "apparent absence of the relative marker"[466] or of the temporal conjunction.[467]

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[464]Mitchell, *OES* §2159.

[465]Mitchell discusses this passage under the later of these two headings. See *OES* §§2302 and 2307.

[466]Mitchell, *OES* § 2307. See also Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 113.

[467]Mitchell, *OES* § 2680.

Addition/Omission of Prefixes (1 example)

Brun (ChronD[2]), 28a

ChronA[3]

                              myrce| newyrndon.
25   he eardes hond plegan.   hæleþa nanum
     þæmid anlafe.| ofer æra gebland.
     onlides bosme.   land gesohtun.
     fæge to**ge**|feohte.

ChronC[2]

                                    myrce| newyrndon.
25   heardes handplegan   hæleþa namū.
     þaraðemid| anlafe.   ofer ear gebland
     onliþes bosme   landgesohton.
     fæge| to**ge**feohte

ChronB[1]

                              myrce| newyrndon.
25   heardes handplegan   hæleþananum.
     þara| ðemid anlafe   ofereargebland.
     onlides bosme   landge|sohtan.
     fægeto**ge**feohte.

ChronD[2]

                                    myrce newyrndon.
25   heardes hand plegan   hæleþa| nanum.
     þæra þemid anlafe   ofer eár gebland.|
     onlides bosme   land gesohton.
     fage to feohte

        Both readings are metrically and semantically acceptable. As *gefeohte* is far more

common in the poetry, however, the **ChronD[2]** form may also be the result of eyeskip (*fage to*

ge*feohte > fage to feohte*).

        The pattern *X(x) to gefeohte* (as in **ChronA[3] ChronB[1] ChronC[2]**) is found five other

times in the poetic corpus: *feðan to gefeohte*, *Andreas*, line 1188a; *folc to gefeohte*, *Andreas*,

line 1196a; *fysan to gefeohte*, *Judith*, line 202a; and *frean to gefeohte*, *Maldon*, line 12a.[468]

Feohte is found twice, but never in the pattern *X(x) to feohte*: *wearð him seo feohte to grim*,

Vainglory, line 66b; and *Þa wæs feohte neh*, Maldon, line 103b. [469]

        As the variant falls on the medial dip of a Type A line it has no effect on metre.

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[468]Bessinger and Smith.

[469]Bessinger and Smith.

Reinterpretation of Existing Text (4 examples)

Brun (ChronD²), 40a

ChronA³

swilce þær| eác sefroda.   mid fleame cō.
onhis cyþþe norð.   costontinus.|
hár hilde ring.   hreman neþorfte.
40 **mæcan** gemanan.   he wæs| his mæga sceard.
freonda gefylled.   ónfolcstede.
beslagen| ætsæcce.   ꝛhis sunu forlet.
ónwæl stowe.   wundun fer grunden.|
giungne ætguðe.

ChronC²

Swilce| þǽr eac sefroda   midfleame cóm.
onhis cyððe norð.   constan|tinus.
hár hilderinc.   hreman neðorfte.
40 **meca** gemanan.   her| wæs hismaga sceard.
freonda gefylled.   onhis folcstede.
besle|gen ætsæcce.   ꝛhissunu forlet
onwælstowe.   wundum forgrunden.|
geongne æt guþe.

ChronB¹

S wylce þær eacsefróda   mid fleamecóm.
onhiscyþþe| norð   constantínus.
hárhilderinc   hremanneþórfte|||
40 **mecea** gemanan   her wæs his magasceard.
freonda| gefylled   on folcstede.
forslegen ætsace   ꝛhissunu for|let.
onwælstowe   wundum forgrunden.
geongne ætguþe|

ChronD²

swylce þæreác sefroda   mid| fleame com
onhis cyððe norð   constantinus|
hal hylde rínc   hryman neþorfte.
40 **inecga** ge|manan   hewæshis mæga. sceard
freonda ge|fylled   onfolc stede
beslægen ætsęcge.   ꝛhissunu| forlæt.
onwæl stowe   wundum forgrunden.|
geongne ætguþe

      ChronD² *inecga*[470] may be the result either of a minim error (for *mecga*) or a

substitution and reinterpretation of an exemplar in *meca* (as in **ChronB¹ ChronC²**). The

similarity of sense between the **ChronD²** and **ChronB¹ ChronC²** forms provides a strong an

argument in favour of an antecedent in *mæcga*. See above, pp. 163 and 189.

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[470]In his notes and diplomatic transcription, Campbell gives the **ChronD²** form as *mecga*, adding "the *m* might be read as *in*" (*Brunanburh*, p. 88, fn.1) There is a clear gap between the first and second minim in facsimile, however. See above fn. 365.

Brun (ChronD²), 46a

ChronA³

         gel panneþorfte.
45 beorn blandenfeax. bil|geslehtes.
    eald **inwidda**. ne anlafþyma.

ChronC²

         gylpanneþorfte.
45 beorn blandenfex. billge-|slihtes.
    eald**inwitta**. neánlaf þýma.

ChronB¹

         gylpan neþorfte.
45 beorn blandenfex. bill geslyhtes.
    eald|**inwitta** neanlaf þema.

ChronD²

         gylpan neþorfte.
45 beorn blan|denfeax bill geslihtes
    eald **inwuda** ne anláf| þema.

ChronD² *inwuda* for **ChronA³** *inwidda* **ChronB¹ ChronC²** *inwitta* appears to reflect a

reinterpretation of *inwidda* (*-witta*) 'adversary' as a prepositional phrase *inwuda* 'in the

woods', perhaps through a minim error *-ud-* for *-itt-*.

Although it is nonsensical as written,[471] the **ChronD²** form is metrical. With

inwitta/*inwidda* the **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²** form is a Type D-1; with *inwuda*, the

ChronD² line is Type A-4 with a short second lift.

Brun (ChronD²), 53b

ChronA³

  gewitan him þa norᵇ men. **nᴇgled cnearrū.|**
  dreorig daraðalaf. óndingesmere.
55 oferdeop wæter. difel|in secan.
  ᴵeft hira land. æwiscmode.

ChronC²

  Gewiton hymþa norðmenn. **negledcnearrum**
  dreoridare|þalaf ondinges mere.
55 oferdeopwæter dyflinsecan.
  eft| yraland æwiscmode.

ChronB¹

  Gewitan himþa norðmenn **nægled cnear|rum**
  dreorig daroðaláf ondyngesmere.
55 oferdeopwæter| dyflensecean.
  eft íraland æwiscmóde.

ChronD²

  G ewiton him þa norð men **dæg gled ongarum|**
  dreorig dareða láf ondyniges mere
55 ofe,ʳdeopne| wæter dyflig secan.
  eft yra land æwisc mode.|

As Campbell suggests, the variation **ChronD²** *dæg gled ongarum* for **ChronA³** *nᴇgled*

cnearrū (**ChronB** *nægled cnear/rum* **ChronC** *negledcnearrum*) is almost certainly to be

attributed to the **ChronD²** scribe's failure to understand the "unfamiliar second element of the

compound," *-cnearrum*.[472] Basing his emendation on the frame *-æ-gled-rum*, the scribe has

produced forms which, while making some sense perhaps in relation to each other ('day flame

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[471]See Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 112; also O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 30.

[*glēd*, f.] on spears' or 'shining [*gled* for *glæd*, adj.] day on spears'), are non-sensical and non-

metrical in context.

In **ChronD²**, the substitution destroys the alliteration and produces a line resembling a

Type D with three full lifts. In **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**, the line is Type A-1.

Brun (ChronD²), 60b

ChronA³

60 letan him behindan. hræ͏ʷbrytt**ian**.
    salu wig|padan. þone sweartan hræfn.
    hyrned nebban. ꝩþanehasewan|padan.
    earn æftan hwit. æses brucan.
    grædigne guð hafóc.| ꝩþæt græge deor.
65 wulf ónwealde.

ChronB¹

60 letan himbehindan   hraw| brytt**igean**.
    salowig pádan   þone sweartan hræfn.
    hyrned| nebban   ꝩþone hasopadan.
    earn æftan hwit.   æses brucan.|
    grædigne guþhafoc   ꝩþgrægedeor.
65 wulfonwealde.

ChronC²

60 leton hymbehindon   hrá britt**igan**.
    salowig padan   þoneswear|tan hrefn.
    hyrned nebban.   ꝩþonehasu padan
    earn æftan| hwit.   æses brucan.
    grædigne guðhafoc   ꝩþgrægedeor.
65 wulf| onwealde.

ChronD²

60 læton him behindan   hra brytt**inga**.
    salowig padan| þone sweartan hræfn
    hyrnet nebban.   ꝩþone| hasu wadan
    earn æftan hwit   æres brucan.
    græ|||digne cuð heafóc. ꝩþætgregedeor.
65 wulfonwealde|

The **ChronD²** form – and oblique form of an abstract noun 'dispensing'[473] – makes no

sense in context.

Addition/Omission Corresponding to a Metrical Unit (1 example)

Brun (ChronD²), 35a

ChronA³

35 cread cnearen **flot**.| cyning utgewat.
    ónfealene **flod**. feorh generede.

ChronB¹

35 cread cnear on**flot**| cing ut gewát.
    onfealone **flód**   feorh generede.|

ChronC²

35 cread cnear||ón**flót**   cining út géwat.
    onfealone**flod** feorh génerode.

ChronD²

35 creat cneár on**flod**| ----
    ----   feorh generode.

The **ChronD²** reading is the result of eyeskip *flot > flod*. See above, p. 212.

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[472]Campbell, *Brunanburh*, p. 114.

[473]The declension of abstract nouns in *-ung* (*-ing*) is discussed in Campbell, *OEG*, § 589.8.

Capture of the Five Boroughs

Differences of Inflection (1 example)

Capt (ChronD²), 13b

ChronA³

        wæran ær
   under| norðmannum nyde gebegde
10 ónhæþenra hæfteclōmū|
   lange þraga oþ hie alysde eft
   forhis weorþ scipe wig|gendra hleo
   afera eadweardes eadmundcyning
ónfenganlafe||

ChronC²

        dene wæron æror.
   under norðmannū. nyde gebæded.
10 onhæ|þenra hæfte clommum.
   lange þrage oþhialysde eft.
   for| his weorð scype wiggendra hleo.
   afora eadweardes. eadmund| cing.
        Her eadmundcing...

ChronB¹

        denum wæron æror.
   undernorð mannum.| nede gebǣded.
10 onhæþenum hæfte clammum.
   lange þrage| oþ hiealysde eft.
   forhis weorðscipe wiggendra hléo|
   eafora eadweardes eadmund cining;|
   H er eadmund cing...

ChronD²

        dæne wæron æror
   under|| norð mannum nydegebæded
10 onhæðenra hæf|te. clommum
   lange þrage. oþ hy alysde eft|
   for his weorðscipe wigendra hleo
   afora ead|weardes eadmundes cyning.|
        Her anlaf abræc...

In **ChronD²** *eadmundes* is genitive singular. In **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**

eadmund is nominative singular. The context requires the nominative.

The variants also have a significant metrical effect. In **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**

the line is Type A-4 with a short final stress. In **ChronD²** it is Type E with a resolved final

stress.

Substitution of Stressed Words and Elements (2 examples)

Capt (ChronD²), 2a

ChronA³

1   Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
    maga| mundbora myrce geeode
    dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ

ChronC²

1   Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
    mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
    dyredædfruma swádor sceadeþ.

ChronB¹

1   H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
    mæcgea mund bora myrce| geeode.
    dyredædfruma swa dor sceadeþ.

ChronD²

1   Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
    mægþa mund bora myrce ge eode.|
    dyre dæd fruma swa dór sceadæð.

The three readings are metrically and syntactically identical and all relatively

appropriate to the poem's immediate context. For a further discussion of all three forms, see

above, p. 176. The **ChronB¹ ChronC²** reading is also discussed briefly above, p. 191.

Capt (**ChronD**²), 5b

ChronA³

Heread mund cyning engla þeoden
maga| mundbora   myrce geeode
dyre dæd fruma| swa dor scadeþ
hwitanwylles geat.   ꝥhumbra éa
5   brada brim|strēā   burga **fife**
ligoraceaster   ꝥlin cylene.
ꝥsnotingahā| swylce stanfordéac
deora by

ChronC²

Her eadmundcing englaþéoden
mecga mundbora myrce| ge eode.
dyredædfruma   swádor sceadeþ.
hwitan wylles geat.| ꝥhunbranéa.
5   bradabrimstream   burga **fife**.
ligeracester| ꝥlindcylne.
snotingaham.   swilce stanford eac.
ꝥdeoraby|

ChronB¹

H er eadmund cing engla þeoden.
mæcgea mund bora   myrce| geeode.
dyredædfruma   swa dor sceadeþ.
hwitanwylles| geat.   ꝥhumbranéa.
5   brada brím stream   burga **fífe**.
ligera|ceaster   ꝥlind kylne.
snotingahám   swylce stanford eac.|
ꝥdeoraby

ChronD²

Her eadmund cyning| engla þeoden
mægþa mund bora   myrce ge eode.|
dyre dæd fruma   swa dór sceadæð.
hwitan wylles| geat.   ꝥimbran ea____
5   _brada brym stream.   burga **gife**.|
ligere ceaster   ꝥlincolne.
ꝥsnotinga hám.   swylce| stanford eác
ꝥdeoraby.

The scribe of **ChronD²** appears to have misunderstood his text. In **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**, *burga fife* (and orthographic variants) is an accusative phrase syntactically parallel to the subsequent town names.[474] In **ChronD**, the scribe seems to have read *gife* (for *gifu*) as a variant expression referring to the river and appositive to *humbra ea* and *brada brimstream*: 'gift of the towns'. The substitution has a metrical effect: in **ChronA³ ChronB¹ ChronC²**, the line is a Type A-1 with a long vowel in the second lift; **ChronD²**, to the extent that it is metrical, is a Type A-4 (with a short second lift).

Conclusion

With the exception of a single late witness to the *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn," the seven poems discussed in this chapter survive exclusively as fixed constituents of larger prose framing texts. The Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care* are always found at the same places in manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care*,

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[474]For the punctuation of this passage, see p. 174, fn. 392, above. On the inflection of -*ceaster* in place names, see Campbell §589.4, fn.3.

copies of the *Chronicle*-poems are always found at the same places in manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and – with the exception of **To** – copies of the *eorðan*-recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" are always found at the same place in the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Despite this common contextual position, however, these "Fixed Context" poems show no generically consistent amount or type of substantive variation. At their most conservative, the witnesses to the Fixed Context poems can vary as little as the least variable of the Glossing poems discussed in Chapter Two; at their most innovative, the scribes responsible for copying these poems show themselves to be perfectly willing to make quite significant changes in their received text – substituting stressed and unstressed words, adding or omitting prefixes, making minor changes in inflection, and, in cases where they appear to have found their text obscure, reinterpreting difficult or poetic vocabulary.

As we have seen in the course of this chapter, the first of these two facts helps explain the second. With one exception, the verse performance of the scribes responsible for copying the Fixed Context poetry has been directly comparable with that of their prose. The most innovative scribes of the Fixed Context poems have been also almost invariably the most innovative scribes of the vernacular prose frames with which these poems are copied; the most conservative scribes of the prose frames have been also responsible for the most conservative copies of their constituent verse. Moreover, the types of textual variation the more innovative of these scribes introduce is in all but one case approximately the same in both prose and verse. The scribe of the B_1 version of "Cædmon's Hymn," for example, is as willing to change the vocabulary of his prose as his verse; the graphic errors and misinterpretations which characterise the **ChronD**[2] copies of the *Battle of Brunanburh* and *Capture of the Five Boroughs* are equally characteristic of the surrounding prose.

This suggests two things about the way these poems were copied. In the first place, the fact that the majority of scribes responsible for copying these poems introduce similar types and amounts of variation into their prose and verse suggests that the variation itself is not necessarily "poetic" – let alone evidence of the survival of pre-literate methods of composing or understanding traditional poetry. In the second place, the fact that the most (or least) variable witnesses to the Fixed Context texts fail to fall into any single chronological period suggests that the urge to vary is less a function of a single technological or cultural process – be that "transitional literacy," "memorial transmission," or pure sloppiness – than the result of specific scribal intentions, habits, or abilities.

Chapter Four looks at the third group of Old English verse texts: the "Anthologised and Excerpted" poems. Like the Glossing, Translating, and Occasional poems discussed in Chapter two, these poems show a generically consistent pattern of substantive textual variation – albeit one that allows far more and far more significant variation than anything we have seen thus far. Like the Fixed Context poems, the specific types of innovation a given witness exhibits often can be linked to the demonstrable interests of the scribe responsible for first collecting, anthologising, or excerpting the text in the relevant context.