

**Manuscript Variation in Multiple-Recension Old English Poetic Texts**

**The Technical Problem and Poetical Art**

A Dissertation  
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of  
Yale University  
in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

by  
Daniel Paul O'Donnell

Dissertation Director: Fred C. Robinson

May 1996

© Copyright by Daniel Paul O'Donnell, 1996

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

# Preface

In writing this dissertation I have enjoyed the help of a great many people and institutions. For financial support, I am indebted to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation for a Mellon Fellowship in the Humanities, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a Doctoral Fellowship, the School of Graduate Studies in Yale University for a Graduate Fellowship, and Drs. W.B.A. Genee. Mr. Piet Genee has generously allowed me the use of his laser printer for my final copy.

For access to research materials, I thank the librarians and library officials of Yale University, Louisiana State University, the University of Toronto, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, and Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht. I am also grateful to the staff of the Dictionary of Old English, who allowed me extended access to their collection and helped arrange a carrel for my use in the summer of 1992.

I thank my friends Rolf Bremmer and Cees Dekker for making me feel at home in the Netherlands, and Douglas Holt, Malcolm Richardson, Jesse Gellrich, John Fischer and Panthea Reid for doing the same for me in Baton Rouge. In the course of a fairly peripatetic career, I have had the great benefit of their companionship and support – and in the case of Professors Fischer and Reid, of a bed in their house in the fall of 1994.

My greatest debts, however, are to my supervisor, my parents, and my wife. It was my supervisor, Professor Fred C. Robinson, who provided the immediate impetus for this project. It was at his suggestion that I wrote my first report on Kenneth Sisam's "The Authority of Old English Poetical Manuscripts," and I have benefited from his advice, prompt and thorough

criticism, and above all friendship ever since. To my parents, P.J. and M.A. O'Donnell, I owe my love of learning, my love of reading, and my love of the University. In my nascent career as a teacher and scholar I am following their example. That my dissertation is finished, I owe to my wife, Inge Genee. In the six years since we first met, I have turned to her for a patient ear, sensible advice, good example, and more recently, financial support and an apartment in Amsterdam. I can only hope that her dissertation has benefited half as much from my help as mine has from hers.

# Table of Contents

<b>Preface</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>Tables and Figures</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
Tables.....	viii
Figures .....	viii
<b>Conventions</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
About This Dissertation.....	16
Terminology .....	16
Scansion.....	17
Variant Catalogues .....	18
<b>Chapter 2 Glossing, Translating, and Occasional Poems</b> .....	<b>19</b>
“Cædmon’s Hymn” ( <i>ylða</i> -recension) .....	21
Psalms 90:16-95:2 (Paris Psalter, Eadwine’s Psalter) .....	32
Textual Variants .....	36
Other Glossing Poems Psalms 142, 9, 1-4; “Cædmon’s Hymn” (Northumbrian <i>aeldu</i> -recension) .....	48
“Cædmon’s Hymn” ( <i>aeldu</i> -recension) .....	49
Textual Variants .....	52
Psalms 142, 9, 1-4 (Paris Psalter; Eadwine Psalter).....	53
Translating and Occasional Poems “Fragments of Psalms,” “Gloria I,” “Prayer,” “Durham” .....	54
“Fragments of Psalms” .....	56
Textual Variants .....	57
“Gloria I” .....	63
Textual Variants .....	65
“Prayer” .....	72
Textual Variants .....	74
“Durham”.....	75
Textual Variants .....	76
Conclusion.....	81
Appendix Psalm 117:22 and “Menologium” lines 60-62 (PPs and ChronC <sup>1</sup> ) .....	83
Textual Variants .....	85
<b>Chapter 3 Fixed Context Poems</b> .....	<b>87</b>
The Metrical Preface and Epilogue to the Pastoral Care.....	88
Manuscripts of the Old English <i>Pastoral Care</i> .....	89

Metrical Preface.....	90
Textual Variants .....	98
Metrical Epilogue .....	107
“Cædmon’s Hymn” ( <i>eordān</i> -recension).....	108
Manuscripts of the Old English <i>Historia</i> .....	112
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii (O/O <sup>uncorr</sup> /O <sup>corr</sup> ).....	115
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41 (B <sub>1</sub> ).....	116
Textual Variants .....	120
†London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi (London, British Library, Additional 43703 [C(N)]) .....	121
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii Uncorrected Text (O <sup>uncorr</sup> ) .....	122
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279, pt. ii Corrected (O <sup>corr</sup> ) .....	125
Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 3. 18 (Ca) .....	128
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10 (T <sub>1</sub> ) .....	129
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41 (B <sub>1</sub> ) .....	129
Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 134 (To).....	135
Poems of the <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> .....	136
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, Third Hand (ChronA <sup>3</sup> ) .....	144
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, Fifth Hand (ChronA <sup>5</sup> ) .....	148
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, First Hand (ChronB <sup>1</sup> ).....	150
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, Second Hand (ChronC <sup>2</sup> ).....	156
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, Second Hand (ChronD <sup>2</sup> ).....	157
Textual Variants .....	161
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173 Third Hand (ChronA <sup>3</sup> ).....	161
<i>Battle of Brunanburh</i> .....	161
<i>Capture of the Five Boroughs</i> .....	174
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173 Fifth Hand (ChronA <sup>5</sup> ).....	179
<i>Coronation of Edgar</i> .....	179
<i>Death of Edgar</i> .....	182
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, First Hand (ChronB <sup>1</sup> ) London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, Second Hand (ChronC <sup>2</sup> ) Recensional Variants .....	187
<i>Battle of Brunanburh</i> .....	187
<i>Capture of the Five Boroughs</i> .....	191
<i>Coronation of Edgar</i> .....	192
<i>Death of Edgar</i> .....	192
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi, First Hand (ChronB <sup>1</sup> ).....	193
<i>Battle of Brunanburh</i> .....	193
<i>Capture of the Five Boroughs</i> .....	199
<i>Coronation of Edgar</i> .....	201
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i, Second Hand (ChronC <sup>2</sup> ).....	202
<i>Battle of Brunanburh</i> .....	202
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. iv, Second Hand (ChronD <sup>2</sup> ).....	206
<i>Battle of Brunanburh</i> .....	206

<i>Capture of the Five Boroughs</i> .....	221
Conclusion .....	222
<b>Chapter 4 Anthologised and Excerpted Poems .....</b>	<b>225</b>
Exeter Riddle 30a/b .....	246
Textual Variants .....	250
Exeter Riddle 35/The Leiden Riddle .....	255
Textual Variants .....	257
<i>Solomon and Saturn I</i> .....	264
Textual Variants .....	267
<i>Dream of the Rood/Ruthwell Cross Inscription</i> .....	287
Textual Variants .....	291
<i>Soul and Body I and II</i> .....	300
Textual Variants .....	302
<i>Daniel and Azarias</i> .....	359
Textual Variants .....	362
Conclusion .....	426
<b>Chapter 5 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>428</b>
<b>Appendix 1 The Multiply Attested Poems.....</b>	<b>435</b>
<b>Appendix 2 Manuscripts and Sigla .....</b>	<b>439</b>
Sigla Index .....	440
Manuscript Index .....	441
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>443</b>

# Tables and Figures

## Tables

Multiply Attested Old English Poems Discussed by Selected Critics .....	10
Pointing In Bede's Latin Paraphrase of "Cædmon's Hymn" .....	22
Pointing In "Cædmon's Hymn," West-Saxon <i>eorðan</i> -recension .....	23
Pointing In "Cædmon's Hymn," West-Saxon <i>ylda</i> -recension.....	25
Pointing In "Cædmon's Hymn," Northumbrian <i>aeldu</i> -recension.....	50
Substantive Variants in the West-Saxon <i>eorðan</i> -recension of "Cædmon's Hymn".....	110
Scribes and Witnesses of the <i>Chronicle</i> Poems.....	139

## Figures

The Metrical Preface to the <i>Pastoral Care</i> : Manuscripts and Substantive Variation .....	Between Pages 94-95
The <i>eorðan</i> -recension of "Cædmon's Hymn" and the Old English <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> : Manuscripts and Substantive Variation.....	Between Pages 115-116



# Conventions

Citations from the multiply attested poems are edited diplomatically, although for ease of reference they are arranged by metrical rather than manuscript line. In citing Old English, the following conventions are used:

- | Manuscript line division
- || Manuscript line division at the end of a recto page
- ||| Manuscript line division at the end of a verso page
- Between words and half-lines, this symbol is used to indicate that the manuscript shows no space between the words joined by the line.
- Bold** Bold and underlined letter(s) represent the variant being discussed.
- H wæt A space after a capital indicates a marginal or illuminated letter in manuscript.
- \hwæt/ Word has been copied above the preceding text.

The following is a citation from a discussion of the inflectional ending of *westenes*, *Solomon and Saturn*, line 83:

**B<sub>1</sub>**  
Lamana| he is læce leoht| winci,<sup>e</sup>ndra  
swil|ce he hisdeafra| duru deadra| tunge.  
scild igra scild scip|pendes seld  
80 flodes| ferient folces ne|riend\_\_\_  
\_ypayrfe| weard earma fixa|  
wyrma wlenco wil|deora holt  
westenes| weard weorð myn|ta geard

With manuscript line division and word spacing, the same text would appear as follows:

Lamana  
he is læce leoht  
þinci, ʒndra spil  
ce he hisdeafra  
duru deadra  
tunge. scild ig  
ra scild scip  
pendes seld flodes  
feriend folces ne  
riendþayrfe  
þeard earma fixa  
þyrma þlenco þil  
deora holt þestenes  
þeard þeorð myn  
ta geard

# Abbreviations

- ASPR* George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, 6 vols. (New York: Columbia UP, 1931-53). Individual volumes cited by editor and volume number.
- B.-T. Joseph Bosworth, and T. Northcote Toller, eds., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford: OUP - Clarendon, 1898).
- B.-T.(S) T. Northcote Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth: Supplement* (Oxford: OUP - Clarendon, 1921).
- Bessinger and Smith J.B. Bessinger and P.H. Smith, eds, *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1978).
- Campbell, *OEG* A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (1959; Oxford: OUP - Clarendon, 1991).
- Clark-Hall J.R. Hall, ed. *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, fourth edition with a supplement by Herbert D. Merritt, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 14 (1960; Toronto: UTP, 1991).
- Dobbie, *Manuscripts* Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song: With a Critical Text of the Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedæ* (New York: Columbia UP, 1937).
- DOE Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al., eds. *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1986- ).
- Jabbour, diss. Alan Albert Jabbour, "The Memorial Transmission of Old English Poetry: A Study of the Extant Parallel Texts," diss., Duke U, 1969.
- Ker, *Catalogue* N. R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Reissued with Supplement (1957; Oxford: OUP - Clarendon, 1990).
- Mitchell, *OES* Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax* 2 vols. (Oxford: OUP Clarendon, 1985).
- O'Keeffe, *Visible Song* Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).
- Sievers-Brunner Karl Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers*, 3<sup>te</sup> afl., Sammlung kurzer

Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte 3 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1965).