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Junius's knowledge of the Old English poem *Durhwa*

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Until recently, the late Old English poem *Durhwa* was known to have been copied in two manuscripts of the twelfth century: Cambridge, University Library, Pt. 1. 27 (C) and London, British Library, Cotton Vriellius D. xx (V). C has been transcribed frequently and serves as the basis for Elliott Van Kirk Dobie's standard edition of the poem in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.¹ V was almost completely destroyed in the Cottonian fire of 1731. Its version is known to us solely from George Hickes's 1705 edition (H).²

In a recent article, however, Donald K. Fry announced the discovery of a third medieval text of the poem.³ Like V, the original manuscript of this 'third' version is now lost and can be reconstructed only from an early modern transcription – in this case a copy by Francis Junius now in the Stanford University Library (Stanford University Libraries, Department of Special Collections, Misc. 010 [11]). Unlike V, however, Junius's copy is our only record of this manuscript's existence. No other transcripts are known from medieval or early modern manuscript catalogues.

If Fry is correct, this copy of the 'third' *Durhwa* manuscript is of the greatest importance for our understanding of the poem. It offers unique alternatives for a few passages in which C and V agree in problematic forms and, by aligning itself with one or the other version on those occasions when they do not, can presumably help the editor choose between competing readings.⁴ For example,

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR 6 (New York, 1942), 27. C is described in N. R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 12 (no. 14). A facsimile of *Durhwa* in C can be found in *Old English Verse Texts from Mary Somerville's Comprehensive Catalogue*, ed. F. C. Robinson and E. G. Stanley, EEMF 23 (Copenhagen, 1991), pl. 34.1.

² *Langwarares referant æghamtwissasas ðeasasaru grammatice-critice et archæologice*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1705) I, 178–9. For fine descriptions of V can be found in T. Smith, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Casiméenne* (Oxford, 1696; repr. Cambridge, 1984) and H. Winitz, *Langwarares arwaru æghamtwissasas ðeasasaru* II, 240. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 298 (no. 223). A facsimile of Hickes's text of *Durhwa* can be found in *Old English Verse Texts*, ed. Robinson and Stanley, pls. 34.2.1–2.

³ 'A Newly Discovered Version of the Old English Poem *Durhwa*', *Old English and New Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy*, ed. J. H. Hall, N. Doane and D. Ringer (New York, 1992), pp. 83–96.

⁴ A full discussion of the variation between C and Hickes's transcription of V can be found in D. P. O'Donnell, 'Manuscript Variation in Multiple-Recensions Old English Poetic Texts: the Technical Problem and Porcella Ar' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Yale Univ., 1996), pp. 76–83 and n. 136. See also A. A. Jabbour, 'The Memorial Transmission of Old English Poetry: a Study of the Exant Parallel Texts' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Duke Univ., 1968), p. 65.

J1 confirms C in reading *faðr fastr* (C: *fola fastr*) for H *fastr fastr* in line 5a and *ðær gþresser ðr* (C: *ðær gþresser ðr*) for H *ðær gþresser* in line 6a.⁵ It also offers a unique version of the poem's problematic closing lines, following C in reading *ðr* (against H *ðær*) in line 20a while introducing a number of highly significant changes in vocabulary, metre and syntax.⁶

H

Eardiað æt ðem eadige In ðem mynstre

Unarmæda reliquia,

[20] Der monige pundrum gepurðað, De þria seggeð,

Mid ðene drihnes per ðones⁷ bidað,⁸

C

Eardiað æt ðem eadige in iudeu minstre,

unarmæda reliquia,

20 ðe monia pundrum¹⁰ gepurðað, ðes ðe þrit seggeð,mid ðene drihnes per ðones¹¹ bidað.¹²

J1

Eardiað 7 ðem eadige Imðem ðere ymb þem mynstre,

unarmæda reliquia

20 ðe monia puofra gepyrðað, ðes ðe þrit seggeð,

mid ðene drihnes andþreandnes þydað.¹³

⁵ All citations from the texts of *Durham* have been transcribed from facsimiles, except in the case of JC, T, S (see appendix) and D (see below, n. 17), where I have been able to consult the relevant manuscript or book directly. Because of the misapprehension of individual letters plays an important role in determining the relationship of these transcriptions, the insular characters ð (for s) and ʒ (for au) are retained in my citations. Spacing and word-division are irregular in these witnesses, especially T and J2. To facilitate comparison they have been silently regularized. Spelling, capitalization and punctuation are transcribed diplomatically.

⁶ On the difficulty of the lines, see Dobbin, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, pp. 152–3. The translations that follow are based on those suggested by Dobbin on p. 153.

⁷ Hiccupic prints and numbers his text per metrical half-line. These do not always correspond to modern editorial line-division, however, and I have followed the modern practice and numbering throughout. ⁸ *per* and *ðone* are run together in H.

⁹ Uncounted relics dwell with the blessed one inside the minster, where the multitudes celebrate with miracles, as writings say, [and] await judgement with the man of the Lord.¹⁰ C makes no distinction between *gaur* (p) and *þr* the same character is used in *gaur* (i.e. *gaur*) and *ðær* *ðone* (lines 7a and 8a).

¹¹ Uncounted relics, which the multitudes celebrate with miracles, dwell, as writings say, with the blessed one inside the minster, [and] await judgement with the man of the Lord.¹² ¹³ ... *Eardiað* and with the blessed one *imðem andur* around that minster, uncounted relics which produce many miracles, as writings say, [and] await judgement with the man of the Lord. Cf. Junius's Latin translation: '... circa monasterium innumerabiles reliquie, que multa miracula operantur, prout scripta testantur, in eis qui Dominum presentem expectant vel implicant' (... around that monastery/innumerable relics which work many miracles, as writings testify, in those who await or entreat the presence of the Lord).

But Fry is not correct. Far from being the sole surviving transcription of a now-lost third medieval copy of *Durham*, J1 can instead be shown to derive from C through a series of flawed seventeenth-century transcriptions, beginning with the poem's first printed edition in Roger Twysden's *Historia Angliarum Scripserit X* (D).¹⁴ As we shall see, J1 shares a number of elementary copying mistakes with these roughly contemporary transcriptions and, just as significantly, differs from them precisely in those places in which they (and in some cases C itself) are the most difficult to understand. It is, in effect, an edition of these 'editions' – one whose editor has devoted considerable ingenuity to the correction of his sources' obvious errors, but one which was almost certainly made without recourse to any medieval manuscript. Its readings are therefore of more relevance to the historian of Anglo-Saxon studies than to the editor of the Old English poem.

JUNIUS'S TRANSCRIPTIONS OF 'DURHAM'

Junius is known to have made three copies of *Durham* J1, J2 (bound with J1 in Stanford Misc. 010) and JC (bound with 'various fragments, some of them Saxon' in London, British Library, Harley 7567).¹⁵

As Fry notes, J2 and JC can be linked firmly to C. For J2, the connection is via T, which Junius appears to have copied directly. The two transcriptions share a number of common errors and differ only in their orthographic details. Like T, J2 has the nonsense or unusual forms *seoul* for C *geoul*, line 1a; *myngrow* for C *myngrom*, line 8b; *7 ðær geyres* for C *æðle geyres*, line 13b; *ðær nise* for C *ðær nise*, line 14a; *æstare* for C *æstom*, line 17a; *Eardiað* (T *Eardiað*) for C *Eardiað*, line 18a; *7 ðem* for C *æt ðem*, line 18a; *imþem* for C *in iudeu* (expected in *on ðem*¹⁶), line 18b; *myngrow* for C *myngrom*, line 18b; *þerðines* for C *þerðines* (i.e. *þer ðone*), line 21a–b. Of the ten readings in which J2 differs from T, eight involve variation in the use of ð and þ. Junius – like the scribe of C – prefers to use þ initially and ð medially and finally. Twysden is less consistent and often strays from this exemplar. The remaining two differences involve other minor variation in spelling: J2 *gaur* for T *Kim*, line 5a; and J2 *Caphbert* for T *Caphert*, line 16a.

For its part, JC appears to have been copied directly from C. Leaving aside differences in spacing, word-division and layout, its main text differs from that of the twelfth-century manuscript in only twelve readings, most of which again

¹⁴ *Historia Angliarum Scripserit X* (London, 1652), col. 76. A corrected version of this text by W. Sommer (S) is printed on an unnumbered page [Dobbin] in the same volume. It does not appear to have been consulted by Junius. I discuss Sommer's corrections in an appendix, below.

¹⁵ *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum with Index of Persons, Places and Matters*, 4 vols. (London, 1806) III, 536. Fry notes that the catalogue incorrectly attributes this transcription to Hickes.

¹⁶ Cf. Hickes's transcription of the equivalent in V: *æt ðone* (word-spacing not normalized) and Dobbin's note to line 18b (*The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. 152).

involve minor differences in orthography or the correction of obvious minor errors: Jc *folia fice* for C *folia fisa*, line 5a; Jc *junius* for C *junial*, line 7a; Jc *gyniger* for C *gyniger*, line 11b; Jc *breuue* for C *breuuu*, line 15a; Jc *geuue* for C *geuuu*, line 17b. In two cases, Junius makes a more substantial emendation in his main text, substituting *his pilula* for C *pilula* (i.e. *pilula*) in line 17b and *in dem* for C *in iudem* (expected *in on dem*), line 18b. In line 3b, he ignores a correction now in C, reading *yshonuu* for C *yshonuuad* (where *d* has been adapted from an underlying *h*), expected *yshonuuad*. A final four variants involve Junius's misinterpretation of individual letters in his exemplar: etymological *p* as the runic character *ynn* (*p*) in Jc *in drope aduuu* for C *in drope aduuu*, line 8a; Insular *r* (*h*) as Insular *r* (*h*) in Jc *ayfista* for C *ayfista*, line 10a; and the minim errors: *uu* for *uu* in Jc *panthuu gepuuuad* for C *panthuu gepuuuad*, line 20a; and *r* for *n* in Jc *geuuuege* for C *geuuuege*, line 5b.¹⁷

Junius also includes six suggestions for alternative readings and corrections in notes and his Latin translation. Unlike the changes introduced into the basic transcription, all but one of these suggestions have a significant effect on sense, syntax, or metre and – as Junius explicitly cites the C form in each case before offering his alternative – are clearly intended to be understood as emendations to the received poem. Of these, four involve suggestions for the correction of obvious errors in C or of words which Junius has incorrectly copied into his transcription's main text: Jc *'in drope aduuu* (forte legendum *in drope aduuu*)¹⁸ for C *in drope aduuu*, line 8a; Jc *'7 delpuol* (lege *edelpuol*)¹⁹ for C *'7 delpuol*, line 14b; Jc *'unuuuuu* (forte legendum *unuuuuuu*)²⁰ for C *'unuuuuu*, line 19; and Jc *'drhine* (forte *drhine*)²¹ for C *'drhine*, line 21a. Another two offer emendations for readings from C which are also supported by Hicks's transcription of V: Jc *'on geduue* (lege *on geduue*)²² for C *'on geduue* (H *On geduue*), line 16b; and, in a reading also included in J1, Jc *'panthuu gepuuuad* (lege *panuad* vel *pyruad*)²³ for C *'panthuu gepuuuad* (H *panthuu gepuuuad*), line 20a.

THE 'THIRD' TRANSCRIPTION (J1)

Of Junius's three transcriptions, J1 exhibits what appears at first glance to be the most independent text of the poem. Ignoring once again differences in punctu-

ation, word-division, capitalization and *uue* *on* *uuege*, this transcription exhibits thirty-eight variant forms found in neither C nor its early modern descendants J1, J2 and Jc (fig. 3).

But the sheer amount of this variation is misleading. For despite its many unique forms, J1 nevertheless shows a strong affinity with the other members of the C–T–J2 'tradition' and with J2, its probable exemplar, in particular. It shares a number of common errors and unusual forms with these earlier transcriptions and differs from them primarily through the same type of correction and normalization we have already seen to be Junius's practice in copying J2 and Jc. While J1 does occasionally reject a reading in which J2, T and C agree, these readings are themselves invariably problematic and have been frequently queried or emended by modern scholars of the poem. Given the generally poor quality of the seventeenth-century copies from which he worked, it seems likely that Junius would have thought these accurately transmitted forms to be modern corruptions.

Although it eliminates most of their more egregious errors, J1 nevertheless shares seven unusual forms with J2, T and, in two cases, C (as we shall see, several of these common forms are accompanied by suggestions for emendation or correction in J1). All seven involve the misinterpretation of relatively common Insular characters or ligatures: *ʒ* (the Insular character for *and*) for expected *a* (apparently misunderstood as &, i.e. the ligature for Latin *ad*) in J1 J2 T *'the geyfere* for C *and* *geyferre*, line 13b; J1 J2 T *'7 delpuol* (C *'7 delpuol*) for expected *Edelpuol*, line 14b; J1 J2 T *'7 dem* for C *and* *dem*, line 18a; Insular *r* (*h*) for *ie* (*ay*) in J1 J2 *Earrud* (T *Earrud*) for C *Earrud*, line 18a; *ynn* (*p*) for expected *h* in J1 J2 T *be pilula* (C *be pilula*) for *be his lara* (as in H), line 17b;²⁴ and two minims errors: J1 J2 T *dre uue* for C *dre uue*, line 14a; and J1 *uuuuu* (J2 T *uuuuu* C *uuuuu*) for expected *uuu dem*, line 18b.

In his article, Fry takes these forms to be evidence that the connection between J1 and J2 was psychological rather than textual – that is to say, to be evidence that Junius used J2 as a guide in copying J1 from the supposedly now-lost 'third' medieval *Darham* manuscript and was led into incorporating a number of its mistakes in his transcription as a result.

I suspect Junius had J2 in front of him as he wrote J1. Anyone who has transcribed a manuscript knows how such a 'poor' set up expectations of what we see on the manuscript page, and we tend to stay (and therefore stray) with our original impression... I think Junius saw what his fair copy of Twysden predicted...²⁵

¹⁷ While the reading in J1, J2, T and C makes sense, it is to be rejected on metrical grounds: *puuu* adds a non-alliterating lift to the beginning of an off-verse that should alliterate on /-/. The H version alliterates properly but has other metrical problems. For a further discussion of this variant, see O'Donnell, 'Manuscript Variation', p. 81.

¹⁸ Fry, 'A Newly Discovered Version', p. 94.

¹⁷ Fry incorrectly reads *geuuuege* in his transcription of Jc ('A Newly Discovered Version', p. 87); the medial consonant is clearly *r* in the manuscript. S. D'Ewes makes the same mistake as Jc in his copy of C in British Library, Harley 533 (D), where the word is transcribed *geuuuege* (129v). As this reading suggests, the mistake appears to have arisen through a misinterpretation of *uu* in C as an *u* + *r* ligature followed by *i*; Jc and D have a few other minor errors and unusual forms, but none which cannot be attributed to the coincidental misinterpretation of forms in their common exemplar. Both transcriptions also exhibit unique errors not found in the other copy; there is no evidence to suggest that Jc was copied from D or vice versa. See also fig. 5.

¹⁸ *'in drope aduuu* (unless to be read *in drope aduuu*):

¹⁹ *'7 delpuol* (read *edelpuol*):

²⁰ *'unuuuu* (unless to be read *unuuuuuu*):

²¹ *'drhine* (unless *drhine*):

²² *'on geduue* (read *on geduue*):

²³ *'panthuu gepuuuad* (read *panuad* or *pyruad*):

But the connection between J1 and J2 can also be seen when the two transcripts differ. For not only does J1 have a few unusual forms in common with J2 and T, it also exhibits a number of readings which are best understood as responses to some of the more obvious errors in Junius's earlier copy of T. As we have seen to be his practice in copying J2 from T and J C from C, in copying J1 Junius silently normalizes a number of J2's remaining non-standard spellings and minor errors, substituting West-Saxon *æ* for non-West-Saxon *e* (J1 *clene* J2 T C *clene*, line 16a), West-Saxon *-b* for non-West-Saxon *-th* (J1 *hurb* J2 T C *hurb*, line 16a), West-Saxon *-a* for late *-e* (J1 *brotonis* J2 T C *brotonis*, line 11b) to give only a few examples. As in J C, Junius also suggests a number of emendations to his received text. On two occasions, he 'corrects' the J2 form silently, substituting *segged* for J2 *segod* (C *segged*) in line 20b and *andpærstret* for the nonsense form J2 *perstret* (C *perstret* [i.e. *per dret*]) in line 21a-b. In most cases, however, the link to his exemplar is made through the explicit citation of a form similar or identical to that in J2: J1 *'in deore dalow vel in deore preakow*²⁶ (J2 *in deore dalow C in deore dalow*), line 8a; J1 *'dele giferes forte 7 dre giferes*²⁷ (J2 *7 dele giferes* for C *addele giferes*), line 13b; J1 *'þeþodol forte adþodol*²⁸ (J2 *7 þeþodol C 7 adþodol*), line 14b; and J1 *'imadlow forte yead þow*²⁹ (J2 *imadlow C in imadlow*), line 18b.

A final group of innovations in J1 involves forms which are neither related to mistakes in J2 nor obvious attempts at the normalization or correction of its non-standard spellings. Instead, these replace readings in which J2 (and T) accurately transmit a more-or-less sensible and metrical form from C. In three of these examples, Junius makes the substitution without citing the form from J2, T and C: J1 *stapa* for J2 T C *stappa*, line 2a; J1 *on geseke* for J2 T *on geseþe* (C *on geseþe*), for expected *on geseþe* (?), line 16b;³⁰ and, in a reading Fry considers preferable to those in C and H, J1 *þunðra geyrnad* for J2 *þunðrow geyrnad* (C *þunðrow geyrnad* T *þunðrow geyrnaf*), line 20a. In the other three cases, however, Junius follows his usual practice of citing the word he wishes to emend before suggesting his improvement: J1 *'fastern vel þetern*³¹ for J2 T C *fastern* in line 6b; J1 *'engle ðe nisi forte malis engle ðeg*³² for J2 T C *engle ðe* in line 12a; and J1 *'lastow forte pontuar pro lasties*³³ for the nonsense form *lastun* in J2 and T (cf. C *lastun*) in line 17a.

The fact that J1 explicitly cites a reading from the J2-T-C tradition in half these examples is of course strong evidence of its connection to the earlier copies. But even if we were to ignore these citations, we would not need to assume the existence of a third medieval text in order to explain the differences between

J1 and its likely ancestors. For while J2 and T accurately transmit the C readings in all six cases, Junius himself would have had no way of knowing this if, as seems likely, he did not yet have access to the original manuscript. Although attested by C and in some cases H as well, all six forms are notoriously difficult and have been frequently emended in modern treatments of the poem.³⁴ Without being able to consult the manuscript upon which his exemplars were based, Junius would have attributed them quite naturally to the same kind of incompetence which led Twysden to produce such obvious nonsense as *seod* for C *geod* and *angernow* for C *angern*. Had C been lost and J1 better known, I suspect that more than one modern scholar would have been tempted to join Junius in his emendations.

THE CHRONOLOGY AND RELIABILITY OF JUNIUS'S 'DURHAM' TRANSCRIPTIONS

Despite its many unique readings, Junius's transcription of Fry's 'third' *Durham* manuscript is almost certainly a corrected copy of J2, Junius's fair copy of T, Twysden's 1652 *editio princeps* of C. The two transcriptions share a number of common errors and unusual forms and differ for the most part only in relatively minor details of orthography. Even the most innovative features in J1, moreover, can be explained as responses to difficulties in its ancestor: they either 'correct' problematic readings carried over from C in T and J2, or they attempt to fix the many nonsensical and non-standard forms introduced in Twysden's text. Apparently without access to C or V at the time he made his first two copies, Junius was probably unable to tell the difference.

Having established that J1 is most likely a copy of the same medieval version as J2 and J C, it is now possible to reconstruct a rough chronology for Junius's work with the poem (fig. 5). Of Junius's three copies, J2 is the result of what appears to have been his first contact with *Durham*, via Twysden's *Historia Anglicanæ Scripturæ* X. Having decided for some reason to copy this edition, Junius first produced a relatively conservative transcription, regularizing – perhaps unconsciously – some details of Twysden's eccentric orthography, but otherwise retaining even the most obvious of his mistakes. Using this fair copy, J2, as his exemplar, Junius then appears to have set about trying to correct Twysden's errors in a new transcription, J1. In addition to continuing his silent correction and normalization of unusual spellings in the text, Junius also uses this copy to suggest a number of explicit emendations. In the process, he 'improves' a number of forms in which T and J2 accurately report the readings of their medieval ancestor C.

²⁶ *'in deore dalow or in deore preakow'* ²⁷ *'dele giferes unless 7 dre giferes'*

²⁸ *'þeþodol unless adþodol'* ²⁹ *'imadlow unless yead þow'*

³⁰ This is the most commonly suggested emendation. It raises alliteration, however.

³¹ *'fastern or þetern'* ³² *'engle ðe unless you prefer engle ðeg'*

³³ *'lastow unless set down for lasties'*

³⁴ A good line-by-line account of the poem's editorial history can be found in Dobbe, *The Anglo-Saxon Mass Poem*, pp. xlii–xlv and 151–3. To this should be added F. C. Robinson, 'The Royal Epitaph *Engle ðe* in the Old English *Durham Poem*', *MLQ* 37 (1968), 249–52.

Only after completing J1 does Junius appear to have consulted C. The result was JC, his third transcription of the poem and the first to be based directly on a medieval manuscript. As was his practice in copying J2, Junius seems to have aimed in the first instance at producing a substantively accurate transcription of his exemplar: apart from a few apparently inevitable examples of orthographic normalization, Junius introduces few significant variants into the base text. As in J1, however, Junius also makes a number of explicit suggestions for emendation in his notes and translation, including one – *Junianus gþurfað* (lege *þarfað* vel *þyrfað*),³⁵ line 20a – adopted from J1.

The fact that J1, J2 and JC all appear to have been derived from known medieval and modern exemplars also allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions about Junius's habits and reliability as a copyist. On the one hand, it seems clear that Junius was able to copy to a relatively high degree of substantive accuracy when the purpose of his transcription or the authority of his exemplar warranted. Thus the most substantively accurate of Junius's three *Darðaw* transcriptions are his 'fair' copies J2 and JC. Of the eight substantive emendations from the text of C suggested in JC, all but two are accompanied by an explicit citation of the original form (or a very close variant); for its part, J2 contains no substantive variation whatsoever from the text of T. In contrast, J1, Junius's revision of J2, is far more speculative: it contains twelve substantive readings not found in the earlier transcription and associates these forms with an explicit citation from the earlier transcription little more than half the time.

On the other hand, Junius appears to have been far less interested in preserving the accidental details of his exemplars – although this too varies with their authority. In all three copies of the poem, Junius regularly corrects and normalizes minor errors and unusual or non-West-Saxon spellings – although he does so more thoroughly when he is copying from a modern edition or transcription (as in J2 and especially J1) than from a medieval manuscript (as in JC). In JC, these accidental variants include the correction C *gwaiges* to JC *gwaiges*, line 11b, and sporadic normalizations such as JC *genaw* for C *genow*, line 17b. In J2 and J1, similar changes are also accompanied by a programmatic adjustment in the use of *þ* and *ð*.

As these differences among the *Darðaw* transcriptions suggest, Junius appears to have transcribed his Old English to different standards of accuracy depending on his rationale for making the transcription in the first place. Other texts might therefore be expected to show even greater differences in their relative accuracy.

In fact this appears to be the case. Although no comprehensive study of Junius's reliability appears ever to have been attempted,³⁶ several scholars have

examined his performance in copying the *Regularis S. Fuldensis* and variant readings from London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. ii and London, British Library, Hatton 20 (copied in the margins of his transcription of the *Pastoral Care* from London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. xi).³⁷ In each case, Junius appears to have been far less conscientious in copying these texts than he shows himself to be in his *Darðaw* transcriptions – especially, as Logeman notes, with regard to the silent emendation of his exemplars' wording.

Junius appears to enjoy the reputation of being a faithful copyist, but when collating his copy of the so-called 'Regularis S. Fuldensis' with the MS, I observed that this reputation was entirely unfounded. He adds words not found in his MSS. He leaves out words found in his original, or transposes them. He does not distinguish between *ð* and *þ* which he consequently uses indiscriminately. He entirely disregards the punctuation of the MS and he adds numbers of chapters after his own pleasure or notions of how they ought to have been. Lastly he corrects his text without giving the reading of the MS.³⁸

That the conscientiousness seen in the *Darðaw* transcriptions is not unusual, however, is confirmed by my own text collation from Junius's edition of *Damian* 279–364.³⁹ As in J2 and J1, Junius's transcription of the control passage from *Damian* exhibits numerous examples of the normalization of unusual spellings (in this case, almost exclusively involving the use of *þ* and *ð*; see fig. 4). In contrast to his *Darðaw* transcriptions, however, Junius does not mark any emendations in this text with an explicit citation of the manuscript form.⁴⁰

or Editor', *AWE* 29 (2000), 279–96. I was unable to consult Dekker's work, which was published while this article was at press.

³⁷ The *Regularis S. Fuldensis* is discussed by H. Logeman, *The Role of S. Beve*, EETS os 90 (London, 1888), pp. xxxi–xxxii. The *Pastoral Care* transcriptions have been studied by H. Sweet: see *King Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, 2 vols., EETS os 45 and 50 (Oxford, 1871–2) II, p. xvi; K. José, 'Zu den Handschriften der *Cantuar Pastoral*', *Anglo* 37 (1913), 63–8; *The Pastoral Care Edited from British Museum Cotton Otho B. ii*, ed. I. Carlson, completed by L.-G. Hallander, M. Loversberg and A. Rynell, 2 vols., Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Stockholm Studies in English 34 and 48 (Stockholm, 1975–8) I, 158–60; and D. M. Horgan, 'The Old English *Pastoral Care* the Scribal Contribution', *Studies in Earlier English Prose*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1986), pp. 109–28.

³⁸ Logeman, *The Role of S. Beve*, pp. xxxi–xxxii; similar catalogues from the *Pastoral Care* are found in José, 'Handschriften der *Cantuar Pastoral*' and Carlson, *Pastoral Care*.

³⁹ F. Junius, *Codex manuscriptor parochialis Cantuar Cantuar* or *parochianum sacre Anglice Ministerii, abbe. anse. M.LXXV. Anglo-Saxone antioquia, et nove primae editio a Francisco Junio* (Amsterdam, 1655), pp. 81–3. In making this collation I compared Junius's edition against the facsimile in *The Cantuar Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry: Junius XI in the Bodleian Library*, ed. Sir Israel Gollancz (Oxford, 1927).

⁴⁰ Although Junius makes no substitutions in the control passage from *Damian* he makes several in the more difficult opening lines of *Cantuar and Sate*. None of these are accompanied by an explicit citation of the manuscript reading.

³⁵ *Junianus gþurfað* (lege *þarfað* vel *þyrfað*).

³⁶ For a recent discussion of this question, see K. Dekker, 'Francis Junius (1591–1677): Copyist

CONCLUSION

Although, as a corrected copy of a flawed seventeenth-century edition, Junius's J1 is of no value in establishing the text of the Old English poem *Dorðrow*, this ought not to take away from its achievement. Working with a badly flawed text and relying apparently on little more than his own sense of Old English orthography and verse, Junius nevertheless managed to construct a version of the poem which easily passes for a legitimate medieval text. That he could fool a modern scholar of Donald Fry's experience and ability is very high praise indeed.

APPENDIX

CORRECTIONS TO TWYSDEN'S EDITION BY WILLIAM SOMNER

Junius was not the first person to recognize the problems in Twysden's edition of C; a corrected version of the poem by William Somner (S) appears with a Latin translation on an unnumbered page [DD88] among the addenda and errata to Twysden's volume.⁴¹

Like Junius's J1, Somner's text appears to have been 'corrected' on internal grounds alone, without reference to C. While it removes many of T's most egregious errors, it retains some, incorrectly emends others and introduces a few new mistakes itself. Like J1, S emends the obvious errors *sumd*, *angrum*, *hathw* and *etigþ* (lines 1b, 8b, 17a and 20b). It normalizes or corrects *gþæssw* to *gþæssw* (line 3a), *ywþernad* to *ywþernad* (line 3b), *þinnad* to *þinnad* (C, *þinnad*, line 7a) and *Cæðernð*, *Eaðernð*, *ʒ þæþad* and *driner* to *Cæðernð*, *Eaðernð*, *Æþæþad* and *driner* (lines 10b, 13a, 14b and 21a). Emendations and normalizations not supported by C are: S *gum* for T *Kæ* (C *kyw*), line 5a; S *feattow* for T (and C) *feattw*, line 6b; S *ow gæþsþe* for T *ow gæþsþe* (C *ow gæþsþe*), line 10b; S *inw þaw* for T *inwþaw* (C *in inðaw*), line 18a; and S *amurymad* for T *amurymad* (C *amurymad*), line 19. Among the new forms introduced in S are: S *ʒ adde gæfsw* for T *ʒ adde gæfsw* C *adde gæfsw* (line 13b); S *ðew inw* for T *ðew inw* C *ðew inw* (line 14a) and S *ðew* for T *mid ðew* (C *mid ðew*), line 21a. S follows T in reading *Eaðerþ* incorrectly for C *Eaðerð* (line 18a) and 'improves' on a number of T's errors without correcting the underlying problem: S *ʒ mid ðew* for T *ʒ ðew* (C *at ðew*) and S *myntw* for T *myntw* (C *myntw*) in lines 18a and b. Unique errors in S include *þw pindw* for T *þw pindw* (C *þw pindw*) in line 17b; and S *þw ðawes* for T *þawes* (C *þawes*, i.e. *þw ðawes*) in line 21a-b.

Although it is clear that Junius knew of T, he does not seem to have used S in any of his transcriptions. While J1 shares a number of emendations and normalizations with

Junius's knowledge of the Old English poem Dorðrow

Somner's text, it shows none of its unique errors and, more significantly, fails to follow it in some of its more sensible improvements. Most of the six emendations and normalizations shared by J1 and S involve the correction of relatively straightforward graphic errors or unusual spellings: S J1 *ywþernad* for T C *ywþernad*, line 3b; S J1 *gþæssw* for T *gþæssw* (C *gþæssw*), line 6a; S J1 *þinnad* for T *þinnad* (C *þinnad*), line 7a; S *myntw* (J1 *myntw*) for T *myntw* (C *myntw*), line 8b; S J1 *Eaðerþ* for T C *Eaðerð*, line 13a; and S J1 *driner* for T *driner* (C *driner*), line 21a. Of the places in which S and J1 disagree in their emendation of T, however, S frequently has a reading which is at least as good as that suggested by Junius: S *inwþaw* (cf. H *Myþw*), J1 *inwþaw* for T C *inwþaw*, line 2a; S *ow gæþsþe* J1 *ow gæþsþe* for T *ow gæþsþe* (C *ow gæþsþe*), H *On gæþsþe*, line 10b; S *inw þaw* J1 *inwþaw* for T *inwþaw* (C *in inðaw*), H *In inðaw*, line 18a. Had Junius known the S forms in these cases, it seems reasonable to assume that he would have preferred them to the readings he cites from T – if not to his own suggestions.⁴²

⁴¹ The reading in H may have been influenced by S. In a footnote, Hides refers the reader to Somner's text.

⁴² I thank Kees Dekker and Sophie van Rombergh for their help in examining Junius's hand and their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

⁴³ The corrected text is announced as: *Scripserunt Somnerus de Danawerth ardu sine Chr. ad fidem antioch. Ms. Somneri, hinc mensuris, col. 76, exhibita, de dnoa mensuris, gressibus a mensuris rhyngada, Chr. (ad notandum) Latinus natus* ('The Saxon composition "de Danawerth ardu sine Chr." presented faithfully from the Codex of Somner, inasmuch of that place, col. 76, reconsidered here, purged of its most serious faults and – literally – translated into Latin').

Fig. 3 Innovative readings in J1 (innovative forms marked in bold)

Line	C	T	J2	J1	H
1a	burch breome breotenrice	burch Breome breotenrice	burch Breome breotenrice	burch vel byrig breome vel breome breotonrice	burch breome breotenrice
2a	steppa	steppa	steppa	stopa	steopa
3b	ymbearnad	ymbearnad	ymbearnad ⁴⁴	ymbearnad	ymbearnad
4b	ðer inne	ðer inne	ðer inne	ðær inne	ðer inne
5a	f'ola fisca kyn	feola fisca Kin	feola fisca cyn	feala fisca cynn	Fisca feola kinn
6a	geþexen is	geþexen is	geþexen is	geþexen is	geþexen
6b	fæstern	fæstern	fæstern	fæstern vel pestern	fæstern
7a	þunnað ðem	þunnað ðem	þunnað ðem	þunað ðæm	þunnað þem
8a	in deope dalum	in deope dalum	in deope dalum	in deore dalum vel in deore pealdum	In deopa dalum
9a	ðere	þere	þere	ðære	ðere
9b	gecyðed	gecyðed	gecyðed	gecyðed	geciðed
10a	ðe arfesta	ðe arfesta	ðe arfesta	se arfesta	Ðe arfesta
10b	cuðberch	Cuðberch	Cuðberch	cuðberht	Cuðbercht
11b	cynniſes	cynniſes	cynniſes	cynniſes	cynniſes
12a	engle leo	engle leo	engle leo ⁴⁵	engle leo nisi forte malis engle leof	Engla leo
13a	eaðberch	Eaðberch	Eaðberch	Eaðberht	Æaðbercht
13b	æðele geferes	7 ðele geferes	7 ðele geferes	7 ðele geferes forte 7 ðere geferas	Æðele geferes
14a	midd	midd	midd	mid	mid
14b	7 þelpold	7 þelpold	7 þelpold	7 þelpold forte æðelpold	Æðelpold
15b	abbot	abbot	abbot	abbod	abbet
16a	clene	clene	clene	clæne	clæne
16b	on gecheðe	on gecheþe	on gecheþe	on gechete	On gicheðe

⁴⁴ Reported incorrectly as *ymbearnad* by Fry, 'A Newly Discovered Version', p. 85. -r- is clear in facsimile.

⁴⁵ Corrected from *engle leo leo* with *leo* crossed out.

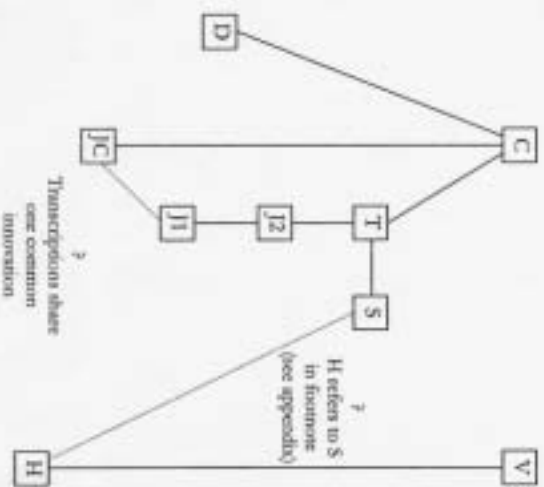
17a	lerde	lerde	lerde	lærde	lerde
	lustum	lustun	lustun	lustum forte ponitur pro lustlice	lustum
18b	in iuðem	inuþem	inuþem	inuðem forte ymb þem	In iuðem
	minstre	minytre	minytre	mynstre	mynstre
20a	þundraſum gepurðað	þundraſum gepurþað	þundraſum gepurðað	þandra gepyrcað	þundraſum gepurðað
20b	seggeð	setgeþ	setgeð	secgeð	seggeð
21a	drihtnes	drihtnes	drihtnes	drihtnes	drihtnes
21ab	perðomes	perðmes	perðmes	andweardnes	perðomes

Fig. 4 Variation in Junius's edition of *Daneu*, 279–364.⁴⁸

Exemplar	Transcription	Line
ps	du	283b
pin	fin	284b
pine	dine	286a
ps	du	288a
pine	dine	289a
bee	dee	294a
psa	das	304b
ps	du	308b
ps	du	309a
forþam	for þam	310a
de	he	310b
ps	du	311b
ps	du	315a
ps	du	316a
deah	peah	325b
pin	fin	326b
þalpe	þeþe	329a
ps	du	330a
ps	du	335b
psa	þeate	339b
psa	Da	345b
hwile	while	348b
tohwæsed	tohwæsed	352b
geþancum	geþancum	357a
þeoden	þeoden	357b

⁴⁸ Changes exclude differences in word-spacing, use of abbreviation and accents. Junius has his own system of accents, which only occasionally coincide with those in his exemplar. He expands or contracts abbreviations as required by the layout of his own edition.

Fig. 5 Transmission of *Daneu* in the seventeenth century



- Sigla
- C Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1. 27 (s. xii)
 - D London, British Library, Harley 553 (Simons's D'Eves)
 - H George Hecker, *Logographorum sphaerostichorum thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaologicus* (Oxford 1705)
 - J1 Seanford University Library, Misc. 010 (Part 1) (Junius)
 - J2 Seanford University Library, Misc. 010 (Part 2) (Junius)
 - JC London, British Library, Harley 7567 (Junius)
 - S William Sommer, *Corrected Text of T* (Printed in T, p. [Dobler])
 - T Roger Twissden, *Historia Angliana scriptura X* (London, 1652)
 - V London, British Library, Cotton Vindliae D. xx (s. xii)