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Old English Manuscripts in the Early Age of Print: Matthew Parker and his Scribes

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Robert Scott Bevill entitled "Old English Manuscripts in the Early Age of Print: Matthew Parker and his Scribes." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

Roy M. Liuzza, Major Professor

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Old English Manuscripts in the Early Age of Print:

Matthew Parker and his Scribes

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Robert Scott Bevill

December 2016

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Dedication

In loving memory of my grandparents, James and Betty Babb.

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This has been a project long in the making, and it would not have happened without the help of so many. I'd like to first thank my mentors at Clemson who pushed me to pursue a Ph.D. Barton Palmer, my thesis director, and Art Young cultivated my interests in the relationships between the medieval and the modern, and together they taught me how to write about it. Thank you both. I also would like to remember my M.A. advisor, Alma Bennett who passed away in 2012. Her endless generosity for her students and her deep intellectual curiosity in wide-ranging and interdisciplinary fields of scholarship provided me with a model of academic life that I can only hope to achieve.

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move to Tennessee to begin this process, and I defended the prospectus for this dissertation just three days before Marlowe was born. The story of this PhD is the story of their lives. And thank you to Eve's wonderful parents, Todd and Beth, for your belief and support. To my Mom and Dad, you taught me so much while growing up, but nothing quite so essential as the importance of faith and love for my family. Thank you for 35 year's worth of love, encouragement, and everything else.

Abstract

Covering the first dedicated program in the study of and publication of Anglo-Saxon texts, my dissertation examines the sixteenth-century origins of medieval studies as an academic discipline. By placing recent scholarship on media, materiality, cognition, and intellectual history in conversation with traditional paleographical methods on medieval and renaissance manuscript culture, I argue for a new way of understanding how early modern scholars studied and presented the medieval past. I take as my focus a corpus of emulative Anglo-Saxon manuscript transcriptions produced under Elizabethan Archbishop Matthew Parker. Equal parts facsimile and edition, these transcriptions are a unique example of early modern scholars navigating the often competing demands of late sixteenth century manuscript and print culture. This dissertation is, in part, an attempt to catalogue and document the extent of Parkerian Anglo-Saxon manuscript transcriptions. Temporally displaced from their source texts, Parker and his scribes directly modified many of the medieval manuscripts they recovered by editing, rebinding, cropping, and annotating them according to their own interpretive desires and publication needs. These transcriptions place Parker's early modern scribes into the textual community of early medieval scribal culture, but their printed manuscript editions are an attempt to bring medieval documents into contemporary discourse. They developed new typefaces modeled on manuscript exemplars and attempted to reframe the printed version of a medieval text as an authoritative surrogate

for the manuscript original—image and text worked together to craft new meanings. By examining the material scribal practices of Parker’s household, considering the choices made by Parker in preserving texts through both print and manuscript media, and rethinking how early modern antiquaries approached scholarship, I argue that his transcribed manuscripts offer insights into the early modern origins of medieval literary scholarship.

Preface

One of the challenges of this dissertation was simply finding a way to organize the text. A descriptive handlist, or catalogue, of manuscripts is an admittedly unusual genre for a Ph.D. In this case, I thought it necessary to include a brief preface describing the organizing principles behind this project. Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 may be seen together as a critical introduction to the handlist of manuscripts that makes up Chapter 3. Chapter 1 places Matthew Parker within the context of other antiquarian scholars. Chapter 2, while contextualizing information on the gaps in scholarship that the manuscript handlist fills, also provides a theoretical framework for scholars of both the early modern and medieval periods to study this corpus of manuscripts. The manuscript handlist itself is organized according to the standard practice of alphabetizing entries by city and library or archive. Each entry contains a paleographical description and an analysis of the manuscript's original source with a transcription of an image in the appendices. My appendices offer further context to the manuscripts mentioned in both parts and should be considered as part of the entire document. Finally, when I refer to a manuscript within the handlist, I provide a crosslink to that entry with its number bracketed and bold: **[3]**. Electronic versions of the dissertations will be able to click this bracket as a hyperlink within the document.

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List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
CTC	Cambridge, Trinity College
James	James, M. R. <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts in Cambridge...</i>
Ker	Ker, Neil. <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i>
OE	Old English (Language)
Strype	Strype, John. <i>Life of Archbishop</i>
Wanley	Wanley, Humfrey. <i>Linguarium....</i>
þ	þæt (OE: that) ¹

¹ Mostly appears in my transcriptions. Standard practice now is to expand this abbreviation, but for this project, I have left the abbreviation as-is. One mark of an early modern scholar's familiarity with the source text's language is his tendency to use or expand abbreviations correctly.

“Pierre Menard did not want to compose *another* Quixote, which surely is easy enough—he wanted to compose *the* Quixote. Nor surely, need one be obliged to note that his goal was never a mechanical transcription of the original; he had no intention of *copying* it. His admirable ambition was to produce a number of pages which coincided—word for word and line for line—with those of Miguel de Cervantes.”

Jorge Luis Borges, “Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*” (1939)

“Have I translated with my owne hand the godly Pastorall of Saint Gregory, with many of his learned Homilies; yea the whole Bible it selfe ... for the helpe and incouragement of my Pastors, and instruction of my people; that all should be lost, all forgot, all grow out of knowledge and remembrance? That my English in England, neede to be Englished; and my translation translated; while few now, and shortly perhaps none, shall be able to doe it? What negligence, what ingratitude is this?”

William L’Isle, an antiquary speaking as Alfred the Great, *A Saxon Treatise on the Olde and Newe Testament* (1623)

Chapter 1: The Antiquarian Beginnings of Old English Studies

Matthew Parker—Archbishop for Queen Elizabeth, ecclesiastical historian, and church reformer—may be best understood as an early modern antiquarian. His deep and abiding interest in the manuscripts and culture of early England led to a renewed interest in the Anglo-Saxon church, literature, and laws among sixteenth-century intellectual circles. This dissertation examines closely one method of scholarship that exemplifies Matthew Parker’s research into Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. A great collector of manuscripts, Parker presided over a household of book artisans, amanuenses, and researchers who scoured England for manuscripts. His collection began well before his 1568 writ from the Queen’s Privy Council officially authorized him to gather in one place “suche recordes and monumentes” that were that once “kept in monasteries are nowe come to the possession of sundry private persons, and so partly remaine obscure and unknown.”¹ By that time, he had already published the *Testimonie of Antiquitie* (the first printing of an Anglo-Saxon text in the original language with Anglo-Saxon types) and had already gathered many of the manuscripts catalogued in this dissertation. Finding many of his collected manuscripts to be incomplete or damaged, Parker commissioned his scribes to supply the lacunae with transcripts of other manuscript copies. Many of his scribes, particularly when working with Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, copied these

¹ Parker’s personal copy of this letter is in CCCC 114A, pp. 49-52.

transcriptions in an archaized imitation of medieval script. In this respect, Parker acted as an antiquarian not only in the classical sense of a collector and admirer of ancient objects², but also in the meaning understood by medieval scribes as a skilled copyist of old writing—an *antiquarius*.³

Despite recent attention to the origins of Anglo-Saxon studies in the latter half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century, there is still much left to discuss about the place of the English antiquarians within the larger realm of humanist and even early enlightenment thought.⁴ Studies of the time period often mention the influence of these early Saxonists in fields as diverse as religious polemic, defenses of the common law, historiography,

²*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*'s earliest citations of this usage are from Tacitus, Suetonius, and Juvenal (1st century).

³ *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*'s earliest citations of this usage are from Diocletian, Ausonius, Jerome, and Augustine (throughout the 4th century). The most extensively cited source for this definition is Cassiodorus (6th century).

⁴ On Matthew Parker, see especially Nancy Basler Bjorklund, "Parker's Purposes Behind the Manuscripts: Matthew Parker in the Context of His Early Career and Sixteenth-Century Church Reform," in *Old English Literature in Its Manuscript Context*, ed. Joyce Tally Lionarons (Morgantown: West Virginia UP, 2004); Emily Butler, "Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century," *Neophilologus* 98, no. 1 (2014): 145–59; Timothy Graham, "Matthew Parker and the Conservation of Manuscripts: The Case of CUL MS li.2.4 (Old English Regula Pastoralis, S. Xi .3/4)," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10, no. 5 (1995): 630–41; R. I. Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993); C. E. Wright, "The Dispersal of the Monastic Librarys and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies: Matthew Parker and His Circle: A Preliminary Study," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1, no. 3 (1951): 208–37. For works on Laurence Nowell and William Lambarde, see Berkhout, Carl T., "Laurence Nowell (1530 - Ca. 1570)," in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, ed. Damico, Helen, vol. 2: Literature and Philology (New York: Garland, 1998), 3–17; Rebecca Brackmann, *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England: Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde, and the Study of Old English* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012). For general works on antiquarians or the study of Old English, see Carl T Berkhout and Milton McC Gatch, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982); Siân Echard, *Printing the Middle Ages, Material Texts* (Philadelphia: PENN/University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Martin K. Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007); Timothy Graham, *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2000); May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

ecclesiastical history, and early philology. However prevalent they might have been within each of these discourses at the time, the Saxonist antiquarians often find their places on the margins of scholarship now. Their research, conducted with a hyper-focus on the physical materials left behind—coins, manuscripts, charters, inscriptions, and place-names—was often criticized as being pedantic and inelegant. In fairness to these early modern scholars, this was also a criticism given to classical antiquarians by their own contemporaries. Arnaldo Momigliano, in his Sather lectures, notes that Quintilian doesn't include a single antiquarian in his list of important historians.⁵ Building his argument from this observation, he writes: “Everyone sensed that writers of this kind were something other than historians. Yet there would have been no clear answer to the question of what they actually were.”⁶ Antiquarian research, then, was perhaps considered a lesser kind of historiography in both the classical and early modern worlds. Much like we now view historical re-enactors who painstakingly create their military uniforms to the exact descriptions and images of their sources, or the practitioners of Western martial arts who clang together broadswords according to the principles of a fourteenth century manual for knights, antiquarians could offer exhaustive details of their areas of historical interest, but were often less focused on the historical narrative.

⁵ Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990): 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

It is perhaps ironic, then, that the very methodologies that placed antiquaries on the fringes of mainstream early modern scholarship provided a foundation to our present literary and historical studies. Actually forging a patterned-steel sword and employing it in the melee at a renaissance festival may fall outside the realms of modern scholarship, but analyzing the material sources used to craft such a weapon or is well within the purview of a contemporary medievalist. The early modern antiquarian, marginal as he may have been, is a striking figure worth further study. What made them different from historians—particularly their dependence on the observation and collection of primary sources—brought them closer to the sciences. Momigliano, in a brief digression on the nature of Antiquarian scholarship, compares them favorably with renaissance scientists:

Galileo is a name to be retained in connection with the antiquarians. The Italian antiquarians of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were quite explicit in declaring themselves his pupils. I have no doubt either that Gassendi and Peiresc and their friends were also trying to apply the Galilean method of observation to their own antiquarian studies. They were convinced that they could examine material objects of the past in a positive scientific manner, and they disliked the bias of the historians who worked on evidence provided by equally biased predecessors.⁷

Momigliano's mention of the connection between the sciences and early historical scholarship is at least a partial answer to his observation that "[the antiquarian] has himself become a historical problem to be studied against the background of crosscurrents of thought."⁸

Early Saxonists in the mid sixteenth century, men like Robert Recorde, combined

⁷ Ibid., 56-7.

⁸ Ibid., 54.

mathematical and scientific approaches with historical and linguistic research. Recorde, in particular, is better known for his treatises on mathematics than his groundbreaking work in studying the language of the Anglo-Saxons. In the dedication to his 1557 mathematical treatise, *The Whetstone of Witte*, Recorde promises to apply both his mathematical knowledge and his antiquarian interests towards “a booke of nauigation.”⁹ Describing his proposed book, Recorde turns to an Anglo-Saxon example:

Wherein I will not forgett specially to touche, bothe the olde attempte for the Northlie Nauigations, and the later good aduenture, with the fortunate successe in discoueryng that voiage, which noe men before you durste attempte, sith the tyme of kyng Alurede his reigne. I mean by the space of .700. yere. Nother euer / any before that tyme, had passed that voiage, excepte onely Ohtere, that dwelte in Halgolande: whoe reported that iorney to the noble kyng Alurede: As it doeth yet remaine in aunciente recorde of the olde Saxon tongue.¹⁰

Recorde discovered the Old English *Orosius*, and in it the journey of Ohthere, in a manuscript then owned by the antiquary Robert Talbot, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B. 1. Recorde—a contemporary and collaborator of Talbot and, later, Matthew Parker—annotated and studied many Old English manuscripts. In a different example from Parker’s collection, Recorde copies portions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle into an abridged chronicle text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 139.¹¹ His annotations use Anglo-Saxon letterforms, but do not attempt a perfect duplication. In many ways, his work anticipates the scribal emendations practiced by

⁹ Robert Recorde, *The Whetstone of Witte, whiche is the seconde parte of Arithmetike: containyng the extraction of Rootes: the Coſike practice, with the rule of Equation: and the woorkes of Surde Numbers*, (London: John Kyngstone, 1557): A.iii.r.

¹⁰ Recorde, A.iii.r-A.iii.v.

¹¹ His sources here were also likely to be manuscripts owned by Talbot—either Cotton Tiberius B. I or CUL Kk.3.18.

Matthew Parker's circle and may have, in fact, been an inspiration.¹² Recorde's annotations are an important contribution to our understanding of how early modern scholars of varying fields shared access to recovered manuscripts in multiple libraries.

Early Anglo-Saxonists, then, are as difficult to place into scholarly categories as antiquarians. Defining what exactly an antiquarian is without resorting to the old tropes of Sir Walter Scott's Jonathan Oldbuck is no easy task. Nietzsche's tripartite and hierarchical description of historical approaches--the monumental historian, the antiquarian, and the critical historian--provides a valuable starting point. As David Baker notes, Milton's *Of Reformation* finds a distinction between the antiquarian who disrupts the Reformation by muddying the waters of "transparent streams of divine Truth" and the antiquary whose "labours are usefull and laudable." Milton's binary definition seems to hinge on a notion similar to what Nietzsche later argued--a historian (what we might call Milton's "usefull" antiquary) has direction, while an antiquarian does not.

Momigliano, writing on antiquarians from a classical and continental perspective, begins by noting this perception. He suggests that antiquarians could be defined as such in the age of humanism because they were not historians--a distinction, he argues that did not last past the nineteenth-century, in large part because of antiquarian contributions to the historical method. Perhaps the most significant distinction, as Momigliano argues, is the

¹² On a flyleaf to CCCC 139, Parker writes, "*Robertus Recorde erat qui notauit hunc librum Characteribus Saxonis.*"

notion that “historians produce those facts which serve to illustrate or explain a certain situation; antiquaries collect all the items that are connected with a certain subject, whether they help to solve a problem or not.”¹³ Rosemary Sweet is not so certain that this distinction still exists, even as early as the eighteenth-century. “There was no simple dichotomy,” she writes, “between the enlightened world of conjectural history and the tedious pedantry of antiquarianism.”¹⁴ Both scholars, though, agree that early modern antiquarians offered a remedy to historical scholarship that has lasted throughout the modern era. Despite a different approach from the historian, the antiquary offered a fresh perspective. For Momigliano, “The antiquary rescued history from the sceptics ... his preference for the original documents, his ingenuity in discovering forgeries, his skill in collecting and classifying the evidence, and above all, his unbounded love for learning are the antiquary’s contributions.”¹⁵ Sweet adds that “the most important underlying principle of antiquarianism was that the antiquities could confirm and illustrate the facts of history, and occasionally provide information on matters upon which the historical record was silent.”¹⁶

Most recently, James Turner has found an affinity between antiquarians and philologists. For him, antiquarianism embodied the origins of not only history, but also a wide

¹³ Arnaldo Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 286.

¹⁴ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004): xiv.

¹⁵ Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” 313.

¹⁶ Sweet, 13.

range of other scholarly subjects from anthropology and folklore to geography and linguistics. “Into this jumble,” he writes, “leached the anxiety about textual authenticity that obsessed philologists.”¹⁷ By pairing antiquarianism with philology in their early modern forms, Turner again brings attention to the intensity of this brand of scholarship. Obsession over descriptive detail and etymological origins, he suggests, is their common ground.

Held up to the lives and works of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Saxonists, though, these definitions are somewhat incomplete. To be sure, many, such as Matthew Parker and John Bale, exhibited the monumental historian’s naive optimism that the past provides a path to remake the present in its own image. Others, like John Leland (who may have been the first of the English scholars to style himself *Antiquarius*) and William L’Isle, seemed to build their entire self-identities out of their attachment to and respect for the material antiquities they preserved. Each of these men meddled in the religious and historical debates of their time in ways that Milton might have deplored. Yet, these same figures, rather than conform to Nietzsche’s worst fears of these incomplete styles of historical study or Milton’s fears of their antiquated arguments as an impediment to reformation, adopt a more complicated approach to their national past than it seems. Matthew Parker’s attempt to resurrect an ancient and always already Protestant English church from the ashes of history is paired with an often critical and editorial eye towards the documents he gathered. He developed a program of

¹⁷ James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2014): 55.

printing important documents with accessible, if generously biased, translations while also providing access to the original manuscripts for interested scholars. William L'Isle, reprinting the polemical editions of Parker's Anglo-Saxon texts, also gave a strong defense of antiquities as the "advancement of Learning and Religion."¹⁸ He saw the study of ancient and nearly lost documents as a means of taking joy in "things new found out."¹⁹

The overlap and distinctions between antiquarians and historians, particularly in the proto-scientific approach towards primary sources, offers an opening for studies on antiquarians that fills gaps in current scholarship and offers new perspectives on the contributions of often-marginalized scholars. My approach considers the inception of Anglo-Saxon studies through the lens of their own use of text and media. Through innovations in printing, manuscript collection, scholarly societies, and international collaboration, English antiquarians (particularly in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies) developed a form of scholarship both concomitant with and contradictory to the humanist classical revival. These new methods sparked a change not only in the medium of scholarly communication, but also in the way scholarly works were actually read. As Martin Foys, building on the work of Elizabeth Eisenstein and Marshall McLuhan, indicates in *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, they led a transition from scholarship firmly rooted in medieval exemplars to a more abstract model built off of

¹⁸ William L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament. Written about the time of King Edgar (700 yeares agoe) by AElfricus Abbas ... And hereunto is added out of the homilies and epistles of the fore-said AElfricus, a second edition of A testimonie of antiquitie*, (London: John Haviland for Henry Saile, 1623): b.2.v.

¹⁹ Ibid., b.2.v.

typography and the printed page. This is accompanied by an unprecedented shift in how these scholars thought about their source material, which also shaped their scholarly approach towards it. As he puts it, “Parker worked to put manuscripts in print.” In contrast, “[George] Hickes worked from manuscripts in print, and with Humphrey Wanley created his *Thesaurus* a print resource for Anglo-Saxon study unrivaled until the mid-twentieth century...”²⁰ The abstraction of models—print surrogates and manuscript transcriptions of original manuscripts—allowed the beginnings of textual criticism and scholarship, while also developing essential resources for more study on the original manuscripts themselves. This framework outlining the development of Anglo-Saxon scholarship over the seventeenth century may benefit from recent scholarship in cognitive studies. As the text becomes abstracted and separated from the document, it loses some of the authenticity of the original. Efforts by Old English scholars to print their books in Anglo-Saxon typefaces can be seen as a means of mitigating that abstraction, of tying the words on the printed page to the image of a manuscript.

Mary Thomas Crane claims that the shift from analogical to metaphorical thinking in the seventeenth century followed the “moment when our understanding of the world became counterintuitive,”²¹ and further suggests that after this moment, the representation of an idea

²⁰ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, 13.

²¹ Mary Thomas Crane, “Analogy, Metaphor, and the New Science: Cognitive Science and Early Modern Epistemology,” in *Introduction to Cognitive Cultural Studies*, ed. Lisa Zunshine (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 109.

did not have to mimic its structure to carry the same authoritative weight. The alchemical concept of “as above, so below,” or in other words, the use of analogy to understand natural forces, gave way to a more precise use of both analogy and metaphor together to explain the concepts behind natural forces. For Ellen Spolsky, the Reformation itself (especially concerning Parker’s favorite topic of the Eucharist) was what she described as a “cognitively hungry” problem.²² For early modern audiences accustomed to an intuitive religious sacrament based on image and ceremony, any new tradition would need more than simply words to easily supplant the old. This cognitive reading of the mental processes at work in this era complements Foys’ more material suggestion that the transition from printing in typographical styles that replicate medieval sources to a more standardized Roman type enforced a new kind of distance in the presentation of medieval texts to the original material. As an example, Matthew Parker’s claim that the printing of Asser in his Anglo-Saxon typeface—an attempt to replicate the scribal technique of Alfred’s time—might “renew for you the memory of that ancient and once familiar language and will supply with no mean furniture for hidden knowledge,”²³ can be held up against the rationale behind the printing techniques of his antiquarian inheritors. Hickes, for example, reproduced Anglo-Saxon letterforms with a

²² Ellen Spolsky, *Word vs Image: Cognitive Hunger in Shakespeare’s England* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 32. See also a further examination of how this reading of the Reformation may be applied to Parker’s *Testimonie of Antiquitie* in Chapter 2.

²³ Translation from Emily Elisabeth Butler’s edition of this preface in her dissertation: Butler, “Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England” (Diss, University of Toronto, 2010): 195.

typeface based not on ancient manuscripts, but on the seventeenth century transcriptions of Franciscus Junius. He also employed Humfrey Wanley to painstakingly reproduce copper plate facsimiles of runic inscriptions and manuscript art, but his rationale for both editorial decisions was not dependent on the form of his text imbuing a cognitive affinity for antiquity and authority of his sources. Instead, Hickes and Wanley strove for accuracy and a near scientific precision in their presentation of the northern past. Wanley, in particular, sought to complete a *Res Diplomatica* for England, as Jean Mabillon had done on the continent.²⁴ Some of his letters to Hickes go into great detail on the origins of letter shapes in various northern languages accompanied by his own precise models.²⁵ This kind of shift over one hundred and fifty years in printing and transcription techniques had as much an effect on the readers as it did on the producers, making the alien medieval world of the Anglo-Saxons more accessible and relevant to contemporary discourse than even Parker dreamed possible. The long process of antiquarian scholarship focused on Anglo-Saxon texts in the time period between Parker and Hickes is a scale model and perhaps even a driver of the intellectual shifts in this timeframe.²⁶

²⁴ Richard L. Harris, ed., *A Chorus of Grammars: The Correspondence of George Hickes, and His Collaborators on the Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 4 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), 87.

²⁵ Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars*. Wanley's letters are numbered **32** and **43** in Harris' edition. A letter from Hickes requesting the alphabets is included at **42**.

²⁶ Echard discusses both the shift away from printing in Old English types in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and a few modern examples of their use near the end of Chapter 1 in *Printing the Middle Ages*, 53–59. Another look at this shift away from Old English types with a renewed call for their usage in modern digital fonts may be found in Peter S. Baker, "Time for a Revival of Old English Types?," in *Old English Newsletter* 27.1 (1993):

Parker, unlike his successors, was attempting to build from scratch a systemized process for the studying of Old English. His use of image and facsimile was eventually dropped from Anglo-Saxon scholarship in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was not a choice that professional academics in medieval studies would make today—except, perhaps, in our book covers and twitter avatars. As Carolyn Dinshaw writes of the texts she explores in *How Soon is Now?*, “these engagements take a variety of forms ... heterogeneity is part of the point about the nature of amateurism.”²⁷ She notes that antiquarian interventions into medieval texts are parts of an amateur enterprise. Though it may seem odd to describe the sixteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury as a sort of amateur reader, Dinshaw’s portrayal of amateur scholars does not discount their ability to contribute meaningfully to the progression of knowledge in a given field. She argues that “amateurism’s operation outside, or beside, the culture of professionalism provides an opening of potentials otherwise foreclosed.”²⁸ Adjacent to, but not necessarily lesser than scholarly or professional knowledge, amateurism can have a direct impact on the world of scholarship. Parker was a professional in church reform and ecclesiastical history, but the not-yet formed field of Anglo-Saxon studies was a project of passion for him. This does not discount his contributions to the field. As

Appendix B-1 – B-3. Two of Baker’s reasons for reviving these types would be especially familiar to Parker: (1) “They reproduce a distinction that seems to have been important to Anglo-Saxon scribes...” and (2) “They appeal to the antiquarian in us, and so are a pleasure to use and read.”

²⁷ Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

Dinshaw argues, the dedicated amateur enthusiast can work towards “making the professional mainstream itself more open, more multiple.”²⁹ And so it is with the antiquarian student of Anglo-Saxon texts.

Parker and his contemporaries seemed to understand that their polemically driven presentation of historical sources offered something unique within their field. Most studies of Parker’s publications examine his commission and employment of typefaces inspired by Anglo-Saxon manuscripts as the most visible of his medievalist interpretations.³⁰ I earlier mentioned Parker’s justifications for the printing of Asser in this style, but the very idea of printing Anglo-Saxon texts at all was also a concept that required defending. In Parker’s preface to his 1566/7 printing of Ælfric’s *Sermo de Sacrificio in die Pascae* (which he titled the *Testimonie of Antiquitie*), he claims to be setting forth the original text in “such forme of letters, and darke speech, as was vsed when they were written.”³¹ There is a clear difference here between the spoken and written elements of Old English. His printing of the text in an Anglo-Saxon typeface was a way of demonstrating both of these aspects. He implies that this is done to best show the state of the church when Ælfric himself lived, because “the aduersaryes of the

²⁹ Ibid., 24.

³⁰ See especially John Bromwich, “The First Book Printed in Anglo-Saxon Types,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 4 (1962): 265–91; Peter J Lucas, “A Testimonie of Verrye Ancient Tyme? Some Manuscript Models for the Parkerian Anglo-Saxon Type-Designs,” in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers, Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997).

³¹ Matthew Parker, ed., *A Testimonie of Antiquitie shewing the auncient faith in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publikely preached, and also receaued in the Saxons tyme, aboue 600. Yeares agoe*, (London: John Day, 1566): 5v–6r.

truth haue iudged of thys time, it is most certayne, that there is no age of the church of England, which they have more reuerenced, and thought more holy then thys.”³² Parker’s choice to present a controversial text from the time of the early English church in the vernacular language of the early English people is a powerful one. The writer of the preface visually reinforces his textual argument in a way that he may not have fully understood until seeing the actual effect on the page, as his more detailed remarks on the emulative typeface in the preface to Parker’s edition of Asser indicate. More than providing a veneer of authenticity, Parker’s type design reflects and amplifies both the content and meaning of his books.

As Dinshaw warns, however, amateurism (and antiquarianism) is “personally invested.”³³ An antiquarian may be too casual in his approach, credulously accepting the authenticity of dubious artifacts; or he may be too intensely focused on singular artifacts, missing the larger and more relevant historical narrative. Still, an amateur enthusiast may have a significant impact on the shaping of a nascent field. Modern studies of pop culture are often inextricable from the influence of fandom.³⁴ This is not to the detriment of the perspective of either the fan or the scholar (or those who are both at once!). Multiple approaches, when tried and tested by a varied group of personally invested amateurs, are

³² Parker, *Testimonie*, 16v-17r.

³³ Dinshaw, 22.

³⁴ As an illustrative example, Dinshaw cites André Carrington’s book on race and science fiction fandoms, *Speculative Fiction and Media Fandom*. At the time of Dinshaw’s writing, Carrington’s book was forthcoming. It was later published in 2016 as *Speculative Blackness: The Future of Race in Science Fiction*.

especially important in the development of emerging fields of study like the early days of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

For the early Anglo-Saxonists, the biggest need was a method for quickly and accurately learning the language. There was no consistent way to do this until the latter half of the seventeenth-century. In Parker's circle, they turned towards the manuscripts. In one example, Parker added a note in his distinctive red ochre crayon to the margins of CCCC 178: "*In hoc libro facilius discitur Lingua Saxonica.*"³⁵ This inscription occurs in a portion of CCCC 178 containing a bilingual copy of the Benedictine Rule with the Anglo-Saxon portions additionally glossed into Latin by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester. Manuscripts like this one, and the numerous copies of Ælfric's *Grammar* that passed through Parker's collection were essential for the scholars in his household to develop an understanding of Old English. Part of their program almost certainly involved copying manuscripts of the *Grammar*. At least four of the manuscripts in the handlist of transcripts in this dissertation are complete or partial copies of the *Grammar*, each by a different scribe. Members of Parker's circle were not the only scholars who depended on the *Grammar*—Laurence Nowell and John Leland both made copies or partial wordlists out of Ælfric's work. The copying of manuscripts, however, could not be the only means of learning the language. Laurence Nowell and William Lambarde, on the flyleaf of their manuscript dictionary, inscribed the names of texts and authors throughout English history.³⁶

³⁵ CCCC 178, p.291. "The Saxon language may be easily learned in this book."

³⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Supra 63. See *Figure 1*.

And while incomplete, this list demonstrates the progression of the English language over the years. If printed with their dictionary, this list would have been an invaluable resource for the growing number of scholars interested in studying Old English. Yet like so much of the work of the earliest Saxonists, it was not printed until modern times.³⁷

William L'Isle, in 1623, described his own process for learning the language. When he first desired to learn Old English, he turned to "the Dutch both high and low; the one by original, the other by commerce allied."³⁸ He continued onto older forms of English, "which euer more ancient they were, I perceiued came neerer the Saxon."³⁹ He found Gawin Dowglas' Scots version of Virgil, as it was "nearer the Saxon, because farther from the Norman."⁴⁰ To L'Isle, this was perhaps the most helpful step, as he was able to continue from there on to the printed texts containing Old English "in common character." L'Isle recognized that this prepared him to read "the proper Saxon; which differeth but in seuen or eight letters from the

³⁷ Albert H. Marckwardt, ed., *Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952). A transcript of the passage follows:

For the degrees of the declination of the old Inglishe, or Saxon tongue,

1. Reade the Lawes before the Conquest:
2. The Saxon chron. of peterborough, after the Conquest.
3. The Saxon writte of .H. 3. to oxfordshyre: in the little booke of olde Lawes, fo.
4. The pater nostre, and Crede, of Rob. grosted: in the book of patrices purgatorie &c.
5. The rythme of Jacob: in the booke called flos florum.
6. The Chronicles called Brute: Gower, Chaucier, &c.

by the which, and suche like it may appeare, how, and by what steps, our language is fallen from the old Inglishe, and drawen nearer to the frenche: This may wel be lightened by shorte examples, taken from these books, and is meete to be discouered when this Dictionarie shalbe enprinted. W. Lambarde. 1570.
(My transcription, abbreviations silently expanded and insertions lowered).

³⁸ L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise*, c4v.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, c4v.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, d1r.

Pica Roman: and therein reading certaine Sermons, and the foure Euangelists set out and Englished by Mr. Fox...”⁴¹ As roundabout a way of training himself as this seems, L’Isle had a progression in mind that led him eventually to the manuscripts.⁴² This reverse progression from that of Parker’s circle was enabled by their insistence on creating emulative types to recreate the feel and innate textual memory of the Anglo-Saxon language. Just as Parker’s preface to *Testimonie* made clear a distinction between the letterforms and the language, L’Isle considers his ability to finally read Old English in “the proper Saxon” to be the fullest marker of his success. While Nowell and Lambarde’s texts may actually be included in a modern course of History of the English language, L’Isle’s more idiosyncratic program would probably not. The tangent from Middle English to Scots to Old English is an odd choice, but it is exactly the kind of choice that an amateur enthusiast must be allowed to make. As the rest of his preface makes clear, L’Isle is pursuing Old English as part of a desire to restore and rejuvenate his contemporary English. He has religious purposes, as did Parker and even other language reformers, but his most passionate writing in this preface is reserved for his pleas to readers on the behalf of the English language itself. As he argues, “I hold the knowledge of this old English, and any good matter of humanity therein written, but diuinity aboue all, worthy to be

⁴¹ Ibid., d1r.

⁴² In a sense, L’Isle’s method of learning Old English is remarkably similar to what Parker described would happen in his preface to *Asser*—the typefaces in what L’Isle calls here “proper Saxon” helped awaken in him a comfort with “that once and familiar language.” (See chap. 1, n. 25).

preserved.”⁴³ He continues with a written lament written in the voice of King Alfred of Wessex, referencing the translation of sacred texts into English under his authority and complaining that “my English in England, neede to be Englished; and my translation translated.”⁴⁴ For L’Isle, that the English had so turned away from even recognizing their past was enough of a reason for him to push for its defense.

Aside from reprinting Parker’s *Testimonie* alongside of some new texts of Ælfric, L’Isle claims an even more ambitious goal: “I meane ere long to let the world know what is more remaining; as more I haue seene both in our Vniuersitie Libraries, and that of Sir *Robert Cotton*.” For L’Isle, whose exuberance when writing about the English language leaps off the page, the present state of Old English knowledge and scholarship is a lamentable obstacle to his publishing goals. “We lacke but a Grammar which our Saxon Ancestors neglected not,” he writes, referring to the manuscript copies of Ælfric’s *Grammar* that he has seen. Yet he takes this lack as a call to action for his fellow Saxonists. Using Ælfric as a comparison, he claims, “The like if we had for the language of our time, it would giue vs occasion either in wording or sentencing the principall parts thereof, to looke backe a little into this outworne dialect of our forebeers.” An Anglo-Saxon grammar was not published before L’Isle’s death in 1638. A version of Ælfric’s *Grammar* was published as a part of William Somner’s 1659 *Dictionarium*, but the first

⁴³ Ibid., F2v.

⁴⁴ Ibid., F4r. This portion of L’Isle’s preface was reprinted by Jonathan Wilcox in 1993. Jonathan Wilcox, “King Alfred Speaks: William L’isle’s Defense of Anglo-Saxon, 1623,” *Old English Newsletter* 27.1 (1993): 42-43.

original book of Anglo-Saxon grammar was not published until 1689 by George Hickes.

Another, intended for a wider audience, was completed by Elizabeth Elstob in 1715. The closest L'Isle came to seeing his call answered was an Anglo-Saxon/Latin grammatical primer, in manuscript, written by Henry Spelman around 1641.⁴⁵

As a patron to both William L'Isle and Abraham Wheelock, Spelman's work provides a crucial link between two eras of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. L'Isle reprints and expands on Parkerian publications, furthering the polemical goals and editorial practices of the Tudor Saxonists. As the first dedicated chair of Anglo-Saxon and a librarian of the Cambridge University Library, Wheelock had access to the large body of manuscripts donated to both the University Library and the Corpus Christi College library by Parker. Using these resources, Wheelock developed a landmark antiquarian publication containing a bilingual version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the first printing of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* with his own Latin translation, and multiple passages of homilies by Ælfric. The second printing, which appeared just a year later in 1644, added to the already mammoth work a reprint of Nowell and Lambarde's *Archaionomia*. As an aide to his readers, Wheelock included a brief grammatical overview in the *Ad Lectorem*.⁴⁶ The nature of this project, with its dependency on Parkerian manuscripts and earlier publications, could easily be seen as a direct continuation of Parker's antiquarian methodology. Yet, by including the grammatical introduction, collating at least a

⁴⁵ London, British Library Additional MS 35333, fols. 39-43.

⁴⁶ See **Figure 2**.

few manuscripts for the main text, and placing the two most prominent Anglo-Saxon writers in an implicit conversation, Wheelock's *Bede* may be better understood as a crucial step forward in the meandering progress of early Anglo-Saxon studies. Wheelock's work was, like Parker's, a passion project—his lexical notes and transcriptions are prevalent throughout Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the CUL, and his overdependence on manuscripts within his easy access makes it seem as if he used the resources within Cambridge libraries as his own personal cabinet of antiquarian curiosities. Scholars before the end of the seventeenth century criticized Wheelock's faults, though they still depended on his work and added to it.⁴⁷ Each group of scholars, from Parker and his contemporaries Laurence Nowell and John Joscelyn to L'Isle and Wheelock, pursued their own interests with their own idiosyncratic methods and slowly built the foundation necessary for the later work of philologists, literary scholars, and historians. Without a set course, they were free to fail, sometimes spectacularly so, and thus became that much more interesting because of it.

This dissertation is a close examination of one of these fascinating missteps in early modern scholarship. Matthew Parker's manuscripts are something of a paradox. Both a significant achievement in the preservation of Anglo-Saxon texts and a destructive example of invasive early modern archival conservation practices, they also evidence a sustained program of research into Anglo-Saxon literary culture. While it is clear from most studies of Parker's

⁴⁷ Edmund Gibson compiled a fuller edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the *Chronicum Saxonicum*, in 1692.

circle of scholars that John Joscelyn provided the most extensive and significant contributions to Tudor Anglo-Saxonism, this body of manuscripts exists outside the body of Joscelyn's own research interests. There are instances where a Parkerian scribe depended on one manuscript source for his transcription while Joscelyn favored a non-Parkerian manuscript.⁴⁸ One potential consequence of this dissertation is a greater understanding of how scholarship in Parker's household worked on a practical level. It certainly appears that Parker had more research collaborators than Joscelyn and may have involved himself in the project to a greater extent than is currently recognized. In addition to the choices of script and style in the transcriptions that complete his manuscripts, Parker must have had significant influence on the choices of which sources to transcribe and which to complete—he may have also added some of these transcriptions himself. In my handlist of Parkerian transcriptions that makes up Chapter 3, there is a small, but significant body of manuscript transcriptions that I believe may represent Parker's contribution to the project.⁴⁹

Parker's interest in duplicating the look and feel of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in his printed books can be extended to his manuscript reconstructions. When supplying a missing text or transcribing a Latin manuscript, Parker's scribes were inconsistent in their choice of script. Some employed a fine italic hand, others a rapid secretary, and still others would

⁴⁸ The case of *Bede's Death Song* is a particularly compelling example. There are three Parkerian transcriptions out of Durham Cathedral Library A. IV, while Joscelyn made his own transcription of the brief poem out of a now-destroyed Cotton manuscript [1] and [2].

⁴⁹ See [6], [7], [13], and [23].

attempt an archaized emulation of the original text. This was especially apparent with earlier medieval documents where a humanist, Roman script could roughly approximate a scribe working in a form of Carolingian miniscule. Parkerian attempts at Gothic hands were less consistent. For Anglo-Saxon documents, however, Parker had his scribes supply missing text in an emulative attempt at Anglo-Saxon vernacular miniscule. Many of these scribes displayed clear difficulties with the unfamiliar script and letterforms. My second chapter offers a materialist reading of this scribal culture within Parker's household. The transcriptions they produced—equal parts facsimile and manuscript edition—are a unique example of early modern scholars navigating the often competing demands of late sixteenth century manuscript and print culture. By examining the material scribal practices of Parker's amanuenses, considering the choices made by Parker in preserving medieval texts through both print and manuscript media, and rethinking how early modern antiquaries developed their methodologies, I argue that this body of manuscript facsimile transcriptions offer a significant insight into the early modern origins of medieval scholarship.

Parker's scribes were building on the medieval scribal traditions of making and remaking manuscripts, even though they were often working towards the distinctly early modern goal of publication. My third chapter provides a descriptive handlist of emulative Anglo-Saxon transcriptions in an effort to document the scribal practices of Parker's circle. The catalogue in this chapter is the heart of this dissertation. Most catalogues tend to focus on

the original manuscripts, leaving out post-medieval additions to the documents. The continuity of medieval and early modern practices I show in my second chapter is an argument for the importance of including these transcripts more fully in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript record. This chapter is also an implicit argument for more scholarship of this nature on early modern antiquarian transcripts. At one point in my research, I discovered that another antiquarian transcript once existed of one of the texts copied by a Parkerian scribe. I found a late nineteenth-century catalog that described this transcript within a private collector's library, discovered that the collection had been auctioned in the 1930s, tracked down some of the manuscripts in the collection to the British Library, and despaired when the trail for this transcript ended there. Prior to auction, Sotheby's broke up the manuscript and sold off individual pieces—the portion of this particular manuscript was neither sold nor even listed in the sales catalog. As a transcript, it apparently attracted little interest then. My argument, essentially, is that the scribal culture of early modern antiquaries—even in facsimile-style transcriptions—is a unique and significantly understudied field. This handlist, by including plates and my own semi-diplomatic transcriptions for selections from each manuscript, highlights the individuality and intentionality of Parker's many scribes.

With my second chapter serving as a critical examination of and introduction to the handlist of manuscripts in my third chapter, I see this dissertation as the first step in a larger set of studies on the competing manuscript and print cultures of antiquarian scholarship. As

modern readers of medieval manuscripts, our view of the past is often obstructed by the interventions of our early modern predecessors. Through a material understanding of how early modern scholars approached medieval manuscripts, a more complete set of resources on early modern transcriptions of Anglo-Saxon texts, and access to exciting new digital tools and manuscript surrogates, we may be better prepared to work through the temporal barriers of asynchronous manuscript study. Amateur interventions by early modern antiquarians are not necessarily disruptions to the modern professional scholar. Instead, they are opportunities for developing new interpretations and new methodologies of our own.

Chapter 2: Seamless Reconstructions? Matthew Parker and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 449 and the 600 Year Seam

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Manuscript 449¹ is an unassuming and often overlooked copy of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*. The first 41 folios are a sixteenth century transcription of a more complete and perhaps better manuscript, British Library Royal 15 B xxii [20]. The rest is written in what Neil Ker called a "slightly forward sloping, undistinguished hand" of the early eleventh century.² Given that there are more manuscripts of the *Grammar* extant today than any other Anglo-Saxon text, it is perhaps unsurprising to see one—especially one so undistinguished—slip through the scholarly radar relatively untouched. Yet there are surprising features to this manuscript that resist easy explanation and offer some surprising insights into the earliest efforts to recover, catalogue, and preserve Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in Early Modern England.

The recto of folio 42 visually marks a transition from the sixteenth century back to the eleventh. This visual break is echoed on the page itself by a Parkerian repair to the damaged lower half of the page.³ The same sixteenth century scribe who supplied the first 41 folia pasted in a repair sheet over the damaged portion of the page. For a manuscript in the

¹ See [10] and [11]

² Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957): 121.

³ See **Figure 3**.

possession of Elizabethan Archbishop Matthew Parker, such repairs and interpolations were commonplace. The scribe's attempt to imitate Caroline and Anglo-Saxon scripts to better match original document were also a typical feature of Parkerian preservation that this chapter will continue to explore, though this manuscript does provide us with one of the lengthiest examples of imitative Old English script within the Parkerian corpus.⁴ What is remarkable, however, is what the scribe does at the seam of the pastedown. The new parchment covered the descenders of the line above, particularly noticeable in *oppe* about midway through the line.⁵ Rather than simply leaving the seam as is, Parker's scribe reaches back across the five-hundred-year gap and completes the cropped letterforms, creating a kind of temporal glitch in the document. A similar pastedown repair to a margin in CCCC MS 12 goes one step further.⁶ Parker's scribe not only completes the descender of a *g*, he pulls his pen back across the seam to close the lower bowl. This is a form of *g* not completely consistent with the practice of the manuscript's original scribe (who does favor a quite rounded loop descender, though he leaves the loop open more often than not), but one favored by Parker's primary scribe. The intended continuity of this repair instead imposes a new scribal standard onto the original document. That the parchment used for the repair came from a fourteenth century breviary which retains brief glimpses of words, music, and even illuminated decoration only

⁴ Chapter 3 of this dissertation catalogues each instance of extended facsimile OE script by Parkerian scribes.

⁵ See **Figure 28**.

⁶ See **Figure 4**.

further enhances the uncanny feeling of temporal discontinuity within the document.⁷

This brief connection in ink between two scribes separated by centuries says as much about how Parker viewed his responsibilities as manuscript caretaker as any of his more obvious interventions. Parker would reorder texts within individual manuscripts, transport portions from one document to another, insert new transcriptions into older miscellanies, and even combine printed materials with manuscript originals. In some respects, as R. I. Page has argued, Parker acted as the “director of research” in his household institute for manuscript studies.⁸ This does not mean that he was completely detached from the work of scholarship. Nancy Bjorklund has corrected that misconception, noting that even “as Archbishop, he continued personally to scrutinize historic texts as guides for church practice,” and that “his distinctive, identifiable hand is found in many places, not just in pagination but in marginalia and other markings.”⁹ Emily Butler takes this observation a step further by noting that his “undertakings point to a well-developed program of study of Old English and Old English manuscripts.”¹⁰ Most importantly for Butler, his engagement with manuscripts has an even more direct relationship with the past than is understood by simply classifying his work as a

⁷ Timothy Graham, “Changing the Context of Medieval Manuscript Art: The Case of Matthew Parker,” in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives: A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998): 196–98.

⁸ Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books*, 92. “Parker was not a research student. Rather a director of research, with a research associate (Joscelyn) and presumably several research assistants.”

⁹ Bjorklund, “Parker’s Purposes behind the Manuscripts,” 221–222.

¹⁰ Butler, “Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century,” 148.

research study. In Butler's argument, Parker's Old English manuscripts project, "both in the roughly contemporary ties between various antiquarians ... and, crucially, in the emphatically non-contemporary ties with medieval writers and readers, may be understood as constituting a textual community."¹¹ These categories—director of research, engaged scholar, and contributor to a textual community—are not mutually exclusive. They are each a significant part of how we should consider Parker's antiquarian interests. By applying his scholarly distance, antiquarian zeal, religious dedication, and scribal skill to the study of manuscripts, Parker crafted a multi-layered approach to research that continues to affect (in both positive and negative ways) how we study the medieval manuscripts he collected today.

Parker's close connection with the documents he collected allowed him the opportunity to interact directly with them. He and his scribes engaged in an implicit, albeit one-sided, conversation with the medieval hands that crafted his books. The processes of copying, annotating, repairing, and binding that Parker led would not have been unfamiliar to his medieval predecessors who often did much the same thing, though the political and cultural circumstances of Parker's household scriptorium might have been. These few penstrokes in CCCC 449, and similar scribal repairs across the seams in CCCC 12 and CUL Ii.4.6 [16],¹² offer us a glimpse of the shared textual identity that Parker and his scribes must have

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See **Figure 7**.

felt towards the Anglo-Saxon scribes they encountered.¹³ And yet there is an undeniable artifice to this idea. Parker's scribe in these texts writes in an obviously unfamiliar antique hand. His discomfort with the letterforms and, in some cases, the language of his source heighten the uncanniness of these manuscripts. They are like the medieval, but very clearly not. They are like transcriptions, but also more than that. These simulacra, these counterfeits, are not even forgeries—they make no claims to be original. Still, it seems that Parker desires even his facsimiles to have the authority of the original, though they lack the weight of both years and authenticity.

It is tempting to view Parkerian manuscript reconstructions as a kind of desecration. Medieval manuscripts, especially those missing pages or showing traces of damage, can often tell us more about their context than pristine documents. For Parker, though, they were incomplete and disorderly. As Page describes him, “Parker was an orderly man. He liked a book to open and closely neatly. Hence he would alter the beginning or the last leaves of a manuscript to tidy it up.”¹⁴ A manuscript like Corpus 449, incomplete at the beginning and damaged on the first extant page, is a fascinating case study for Parker's manuscript practices that will enable a broader examination of Matthew Parker's corpus of Old English transcriptions later in this chapter.

¹³ Siân Echard has drawn my attention to similar repairs in manuscripts containing Parkerian transcriptions of Latin texts: CCCC 16.II, 31, 76, and 162, among others.

¹⁴ Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books*, 46.

A note on a flyleaf, probably Parkerian in origin though not necessarily by the main scribe, describes the most significant difference between the source text and the destination. The exemplar, British Library, Royal MS B 15 xxii [20], possesses an interlinear gloss throughout which is replicated by Parker's transcriber, but the damaged remnant includes those same glosses in-line with the main text.¹⁵ As the transcription nears the point of repair on fol. 41v, the portion of the *Grammar* under the heading *De Casu*, Parker's scribe begins to follow the practice of his destination manuscript, not the source—he most noticeably lowers the glosses into the line of text. Of note, this portion of the copy hints at a greater discomfort with the archaized script than rest of the document, so it was probably the first to be completed. Other paratextual indications of its early origin include the abrupt change in the inked text-block ruling from the previous pages (which are clearly lined with a pencil), the condensed block of text on 41v (22 lines in the same amount of space as 19 lines on the previous leaves), the single catchword on the bottom line of 41v, and the use of an entire phrase (“*interrogatiuu(m) þ is axigendlic*”) as a kind of catchword below the last line of 42r.

Patrick Conner, describing the process of a modern group of scribes on the *St. Johns Bible*, notes that they employ digital page layout software to determine the exact amount of

¹⁵ My transcription of the full note, with its abbreviations silently expanded and with the bracketed portions indicating text in the manuscript omitted by the early printed copies of this text in Wanley and later in Strype: “*Memorandum, quod in hac Grammatica Saxonica, quae de novo scribuntur habent glossam interlinearem sic scriptam ut in exemplari [enim scriptam] Libri grammitici Saxonici habetur. Quae postea in veteri scripto, sequuntur illud exemplar de quo transcriptum est viz. ut quae in alio libro per glossam interlinearem inseruntur habent hanc glossam scriptam in medio & serie contextus.*”

text needed for each individual scribe's portion of the text.¹⁶ For a Parkerian scribe, the process would have been much trickier. In this case, where the source text and destination text have significant differences in word spacing, words located in and above the lines, abbreviations, and spellings, the Parker scribe would most likely want to copy the portions of the text nearest in proximity to the repaired sheet first, so that he could adjust the rest of the document to fit. The quire arrangement of this manuscript bears that out. The repair (42r) begins on an imperfect gathering of only three leaves, while the copied text beginning the *De Casu* (41v) chapter is the last leaf of a standard gathering of 8 (the fifth supply quire in the document). By preparing the last leaf of this gathering and the pastedown repair sheet first—the only portions he copied without interlinear glosses—Parker's scribe would have given himself a much clearer sense of the spacing needed for the rest of his transcription. From this point, he may have either finished off this gathering or returned to the beginning of the manuscript to copy the prefaces and plot out the amount of space necessary to complete the document. There, he would have discovered about halfway through the process that his planned five complete booklets would not quite be enough, so quire three (out of five) has one extra sheet inserted just inside the last leaf (fol. 24 is the extra leaf—the cropped stub of its fold remains

¹⁶ Patrick Conner, "On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands," in *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox, vol. 23, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013): 41.

just before fol. 18).¹⁷ Most of this quire and the entire previous quire are copied by a different scribe. The scribe who completed the majority of the transcriptions may have been a more inexperienced copyist than the second scribe. His hand is less consistent and noticeably less comfortable with the Anglo-Saxon script. It is possible that his inexperience also led to a miscalculation of the space needed to complete the transcription. Quire 2 (beginning at fol. 9r) and most of quire 3 (ending at fol. 23r) may indicate a correction by the more skilled second scribe. The scribe for this correction is almost certainly the same scribe of numerous other Parkerian manuscripts.¹⁸ His distinct hand, obvious comfort with the language and script, and presence across the Parkerian corpus seem to indicate that he held a role similar to that of the master scribe of a medieval scriptorium. In this reconstructed scenario, he corrects a less-experienced transcriber who may have misallocated the correct amount of space for his transcription. To do this, the master scribe rewrites a single quire, begins a new (expanded) quire, and has the apprentice scribe finish the transcription according to the original plan.

The pacing of this copy across five quires, with only one additional sheet, indicates a level of planning that must have existed for each Parkerian transcription. Some of this planning can be seen in the editing marks in related manuscripts. BL Royal MS 15 B xxii, as the exemplar for this copy, contains two editing marks on fol. 31r in Parker's distinctive red ochre

¹⁷ Rather than being added on to the end of an existing quire, the extra sheet seems to have been folded just inside the outer fold. The quire begins on fol. 17, but the folded stub of fol. 24 (a single leaf) is visible in the gutter before fol. 18r. The verso of this insert and the entire final leaf in the quire are written by the main scribe.

¹⁸ My Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly).

crayon.¹⁹ The marginal indicator, two red diagonal slashes at ln. 11, direct attention to the single vertical red mark in the middle of the line just before “*hesy. na be þære declinunge*,” which matches the first line on CCCC 449 fol. 42r, “*sig. na be þære declinunge*.” In this case, someone in Parker’s household (possibly even Parker himself)²⁰ indicated for the copyist exactly where he should stop his transcription. This is a common practice for Parker’s manuscripts, although these marks sometimes indicate reading and research rather than editing. In some manuscripts which were not used as source texts, similar markings nevertheless appear which match the start and end points of transcriptions in related manuscripts.²¹ In this particular instance, the relationship between the Corpus and Royal manuscripts is clear. There are some complications, however, in the interrelationships of other copies of the *Grammar* owned by Parker.

Royal MS 15 B xxii itself needed correction for the final few missing sentences to its copy of the *Grammar*. These were not supplied from CCCC 449, however, but from CUL Hh.1.10 where a similar red editing mark may be found on fol. 93r, ln. 21. This mark, just before the words “*Se cræft*,” indicates the exact starting point for Parker’s scribe to copy on fol. 71r of the Royal manuscript. CUL Hh.1.10, is itself a deficient copy of Ælfric’s *Glossary*. Timothy Graham,

¹⁹ Scholars seem divided over how to describe Parker’s favored annotating utensil. Here, I follow Page by describing it as a crayon rather than chalk or pencil.

²⁰ Parker was the most likely person to use this distinctive mark—although later manuscripts show that John Parker (his son) may have also employed it.

²¹ See [22].

relating a conversation with Ronald Buckalew on some of the problems with the apparent missing pieces of this manuscript, suggests that at least 10 sheets (two leaves after fol. 93 and an additional quire) of the *Glossary* portion may have been “made good” by Parker, “just as he supplied a transcript to provide the missing beginning of another copy of the *Grammar and Glossary*, CCCC MS 449.”²² At least two leaves may have been already lost during the time Parker (and his secretary John Joscelyn) knew the manuscript. Joscelyn, in his own word lists, cited material from this manuscript up to fol. 95, but no further. Graham mentions the possibility of a Parkerian repair because of Buckalew’s belief that these 10 leaves were present in the manuscript at the time of its donation by Parker to the University Library. That they may have been leaves of a Parkerian transcript is certainly possible. Moreover, it is very likely that those now-missing leaves would have been copied out of CCCC 449. A Parkerian editing mark in that same distinctive red crayon appears on fol. 89v at the very spot the CUL manuscript stops on fol. 93v.²³ Further, John Joscelyn copies into the margin of CCCC 449 on fol. 89r incipit to the *Glossary* from CUL Hh.1.10. Clearly these two manuscript copies of the *Glossary* were used together, and it does not seem to be the case that either Parker or Joscelyn had access to other complete copies of the *Glossary*.²⁴ If there were missing pages in the CUL copy, it does seem

²² Timothy Graham, “John Joscelyn, Pioneer of Old English Lexicography,” in *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Timothy Graham (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2000): 113n60.

²³ An additional red line appears to have been partially erased two lines directly above the clearer mark.

²⁴ Except for the possibility of a now-lost copy. Buckalew has suggested that Laurence Nowell’s transcript of the *Grammar and Glossary* was sourced from a manuscript that does not match the surviving corpus. See Ronald E.

very likely that any replacements would have been supplied from Corpus. This completes a triangle of relationships between these manuscripts: CUL Hh.1.10 supplied missing text to complete Bl Royal 15 B xxii, which supplied a significant portion of text to CCCC 449, which may have in turn provided text for CUL Hh.1.10.

This seemingly unremarkable manuscript of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary* actually serves to open up the editing practices of Matthew Parker's household to further scrutiny. A network of scribes, editors, and correctors worked with a body of manuscripts to build up a more complete and orderly library of Anglo-Saxon texts. CCCC 449 is only one of many manuscripts reconstructed by Parker and his contemporaries. The broken seam on fol. 42r, a temporal stutter between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, is indicative of a larger series of Parkerian manuscript interruptions. On its own, CCCC 449 not only offers a compelling narrative of manuscript study and interaction within Parker's circle, but it also raises a number of questions when placed in the larger context of Parker's scholarship. The apparent relationship of a master and apprentice scribe, the editorial practices of collating three manuscript copies of a text, and even the practice of making repairs through parchment pastedowns that were themselves often removed from existing manuscripts are all fascinating elements of CCCC 449 which provide clues for modern scholars who wish to understand the

Buckalew, "Nowell, Lambarde, and Leland: The Significance of Laurence Nowell's Transcript of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*," in *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries*, ed. Carl T. Berkhout and Milton McC Gatch (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), 19–50.

sixteenth-century birth of Anglo-Saxon studies as a scholarly discipline. The rest of this chapter steps back from one single manuscript to examine the scholarly output of Parker and his contemporaries.

Re-Enacting the Medieval Manuscript

In the summer of 2015, I took part in a four-week NEH institute at the University of Iowa entitled “The Materiality of Medieval Manuscripts: Interpretation through Production.” This was the second such seminar designed through a collaboration of medieval scholars and contemporary book artisans. Jonathan Wilcox, the director of both my institute and the 2008 “Medieval Manuscript Studies and Contemporary Book Arts: Extreme Materialist Readings of Medieval Books,” described one of the ultimate outcomes of both experiences as an appreciation for what he called the “philology of smell.”²⁵ The visceral and tactile experiences of stretching and scraping parchment, cutting quills, mixing ink, and training in medieval calligraphy engage all of the senses in a way that digital manuscript scholarship simply cannot replace. Much of modern manuscript scholarship depends on the use of digital surrogates. The rapid growth of online manuscript archives offers scholars the opportunity to have immediate access to medieval documents from libraries across the world. Yet if there is something lost in the turn towards the digital, it is the sensual awareness of the material object that is a

²⁵ Jonathan Wilcox, ed., *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. 23, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013).

medieval book. As Wilcox argues, in a sentiment shared by the many participants in both seminars, the ability to engage the senses (or at least imagine the engagement of our senses) through “an understanding of craft is fundamental to understanding medieval manuscripts.”²⁶ Some of this intimacy associated with a close interaction with the original may be reclaimed by the modern scholar’s use of digital surrogates, as Wilcox later observes, though he describes it as a “paradoxically disengaged engagement” with the manuscript itself.²⁷ Though we may not experience the aura of the original when working with manuscripts viewed through, for example, *Parker on the Web*, Wilcox suggests that the “wow factor of new technology” can even be a kind of substitute for the sensual engagement present in manuscript interaction.

Nevertheless, Digital technologies can enable a level of interaction with the manuscript that would not be possible at all in modern archives. We cannot, as Parker did, reconstruct the missing portions of a manuscript while in the reading room. John Pope, in his article on lacunae in the *Exeter Book* provides a kind of analog preview to digital manuscript image manipulation by editing in individual word images from other portions of the manuscript to recreate the hypothetical missing portions of a poem.²⁸ It is an ingenious piece of scholarship that relies on the ability to manipulate the manuscript itself in a very Parkerian way without

²⁶ Ibid., 7.

²⁷ Jonathan Wilcox, “The Sensory Cost of Remediation,” in *Sensory Perception in the Medieval West*, eds. Simon C. Thomson and Michael D. J. Bintley, 48.

²⁸ John C. Pope, “Palaeography and Poetry: some Solved and Unsolved Problems of the Exeter Book,” in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, eds. M. B. Parkes and Andrew Watson (London: Scholar Press, 1978): 25-65.

causing harm to the original. Kevin Kiernan's *Electronic Beowulf* does something similar by allowing the user to overlay conjectural restorations onto images of the manuscript both in isolation of damaged areas and within the context of a full leaf. An example on the website showcases a case where a conjecture may be tested according to the space available on the line. On fol. 179r, there is a space, the size of one word, erased between *syððan* and an orphan *þ*. Using this overlay, Kiernan not only shows that a restoration from a most recent print edition of the poem cannot actually fit in the space available, but he also provides a convincing alternative. Describing the editorial choices made by including these alternative textual overlays, Kiernan writes that “no one, of course, should confuse conjectural restorations, even supported by the scribes’ own letters, with the actual manuscript. *Electronic Beowulf* 4.0 tries to provide an image-based edition that continually leads its readers back to the written evidence.”²⁹ More modern image editing software and the growing collection of digitized manuscripts available only expands the possibilities for this kind of work—a kind of return to the instability of text in manuscript form. Digital editions that take advantage of the inherent uncertainty of manuscript-based text are, in a sense, closely related to the work of early modern scholars. *Electronic Beowulf* is certainly an example of the kind of “wow factor” that Wilcox describes, and it also attempts to preserve for the user a sense of awe regarding the original document, flaws included.

²⁹ Kevin Kiernan, *Electronic Beowulf*, Fourth Edition. (<http://ebeowulf.uky.edu/#criticaledition-conjecturalrestoration>).

Access to manuscripts was not a problem for Parker's scribes. Later in his career, Parker obtained a Privy Council writ that gave him the authority to recover manuscripts throughout the country.³⁰ Otherwise, his collaborators, particularly John Joscelyn and Stephen Batman, could travel to various parts of the country to view the manuscript in-place, borrow it, or collect it for the library. Hands-on access was not a problem. But did Parker or his scribes experience the kind of reverence that modern scholars do when opening a new manuscript? It is a complicated question for Parker's household, as they both collected and, occasionally, destroyed thousands of books (mostly later medieval Latin texts) while preserving as many more. Stephen Batman describes the process:

...[Parker] gathered wythin foure yeares, of Diuinitie, Astronomie, Historie, Phisicke, and others of sundrye Artes and Sciences (as I can truely auouch, hauing his Graces commission whereunto his hande is yet to be seene) sixe thousand seauen hundred Bookes³¹, by my onelye trauaile, whereof choyse being taken he most gratuslye bestowed many on Corpus Christi Colledge in Cambridge. I was not the onelye man in this business...³²

Still, this was hardly a disinterested process. Batman expressed his own devotion to the old texts in his numerous manuscript annotations—Malcolm Parkes highlights one of these from Batman's colophon to Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.33: "He that wilbe parfet in bookes that are newe / by the olde, he shal knowe the better to vewe." According to Parkes, Batman's

³⁰ This 1568 letter is preserved in two copies within CCCC 114A, pp. 49-52.

³¹ This number must include printed books.

³² Stephen Batman, *The doome warning all men to Judgement: Wherein are contained for the most parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with divers secrete figures of Revelations tending to mannes stayed conversion towards God: In maner of general Chronicle, gathered out of sundrie abbrowed authors*, (London: Ralphe Nubery, 1581): 399-400.

study of ancient books was a significant part of his Protestant piety. In many respects, Batman's interest in ancient manuscripts as an extension of his faith tied him even closer to Mathew Parker's own program blending theology and scholarship. Batman further developed his interest in ancient texts as a book artisan himself. He was well-known as a limner and artist, in addition to being a skilled scribe.³³ Describing the contents of Batman's commonplace books and manuscript inscriptions, Parkes lists and describes the wide variety of scripts Batman employed:

“Secretary, two varieties of the Humanist script (formal ‘roman’ and cursive ‘italic’), accompanied by Capitals (based on printed models) or a small textura for display purposes ... Like others in the Parker circle, Batman also imitated the Insular Square Miniscule script ... He also utilized Hebrew and Greek characters.”³⁴

A book artisan, scribe, and collector, Batman clearly held the books of antiquity in reverence and perhaps even awe. This is also the very skillset that would make him an attractive candidate for one of Parker's archaizing scribes. As is the case with most of the Parkerian transcriptions, it is difficult to know if any of the known examples of his insular letterforms were a match to those done by Parker's scribes. One of the more extensive sets of Batman's insular inscriptions can be found on fol. 145v of CTC B.15.33.³⁵ While he is attempting to

³³ For more on Batman's artistic abilities, see M. B. Parkes, “Stephen Batman's Manuscripts,” Reprinted in *Pages from the Past: Medieval Writing Skills and Manuscript Books*. Eds. P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim. (Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2012): 128. Parkes describes a number of surviving drawings in Batman's commonplace books and in other manuscripts. According to Parkes, “The finest surviving specimen of Batman's art is pasted on the flyleaf before the first recto of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.15 which also has fine sketches of babewyns in the margins.”

³⁴ Parkes, “Stephen Batman's Manuscripts,” 131.

³⁵ See **Figure 5**.

recreate the “Alphabetum Saxonicum,” it’s clear that Batman has some difficulty with the appropriate letterforms. Twice he uses *þ* for *p*, once in the alphabet itself as a substitute for ‘*th*.’ Neither his sinuous insular *g* listed in the alphabet nor the version of it in the title are similar to the distinctive Parkerian examples—the closest approximation is the italic-style insular *g* used by the scribe of CTC R.9.8.³⁶ The inscription date of 1574 is also a clue that Batman was probably not one of Parker’s scribes. Nearly a decade after Parker’s transcription program began, Batman’s Saxon alphabets are amateurish in comparison to the more skillful scribes employed by Parker. Though a skilled limner, book artisan, and a notable collector of books for Archbishop Parker, there is not enough convincing evidence available to suggest that Batman was involved in the repair and emulative reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon texts, though he may have certainly played a part in transcribing Latin works and providing new line drawings and images in other manuscripts.

The act of picking up a quill pen and attempting to imitate the look and feel of a medieval manuscript is itself an act of adoration. This single leaf of notes and pen trials with a poetic epigraph extolling the virtues of ancient books is evidence enough for the kind of joy and awe Batman must have felt when discovering and recognizing an ancient text. But even more telling is the note, in an enthusiastically exaggerated script, at the top of the page which describes the apparent age of this manuscript—a copy of Isidore’s *Etymology*. Batman’s

³⁶ See **Figure 32**.

exclamation that this “booke” is seven hundred and forty-one years old (with the math done in pencil!) reminds me of my own first experience with a medieval manuscript. After an overnight flight that saw me arrive in London at 5:00 AM, I managed to drop off my luggage and stagger, bleary-eyed, to the British Library reading room where the librarians just handed me a book over one thousand years old. Thankfully, I didn’t scrawl my excitement into the book itself, a copy of Ælfric’s *Grammar*, but my notes from that day do have far too many exclamation points to really be useful.

In Parker’s household and among his collaborators like Stephen Batman, the manuscripts they rescued were seen as more than just the essential preservers of the past, they were themselves monuments of beauty and worth—both in the words and the form in which those words were presented. Parker’s antiquarian and book collecting predecessors, particularly John Bale and John Leland, had been arguing for the rescue of manuscripts since the dissolution of the monasteries for many of the same reasons. In his published account of Leland’s scholarly travels, *The Laboryouse Journey 7 Serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees*, Bale printed Leland’s own account of his purpose in searching the monasteries and libraries of the country so “that the monumentes of auntyent wryters as wel of other nacyons as of this your owne provynce myghte be brought out of deadly darknesse to lyvelye light.”³⁷ In even stronger terms later, Leland described his goal, in relation to an Arthurian text, to “open

³⁷ John Leland, *The Newe Yearse Gift* in John Bale, ed., *The Laboryouse Journey & serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities*, (London: S. Mierdman, 1549): B.viii.r

this window, that the lyght shall be seane.....by the space of a whole thousand yeares stopped up, and the old glory of your renoumed Britaine to reflower through the worlde.”³⁸ This “reflowering” could only take place through the restoration and preservation of England’s most precious and individual resource—her books. As Bale describes them, they are “the great bewtie of our lande.”³⁹ Philip Schwyzer places Bale’s complaints on the destruction of the books of England in the context of Robert Aske’s lament of the destruction of the Abbeys that housed them.⁴⁰ Architectural and artistic beauty transformed Aske’s vision of the English landscape, but according to Schwyzer, Bale’s use of beauty echoes and critiques Aske’s. Ruins and landscapes are aesthetically pleasing, but are also transitory remnants of the past. In contrast, the names of those places fallen into disuse are beautiful “as a consequence of their being summoned to ‘lively memory’.”⁴¹ As Schwyzer argues, He does not speak of aesthetics or eloquence, but of the nostalgic longing for transforming the irrecoverable and incomprehensible past into a simulacrum of contemporary understanding. The ancient names of England and her lost books are beautiful to Bale “neither for the words on the page (which can be reproduced), nor for the long-vanished world they describe (which cannot), but rather for the perceived integration of those words and that world.”⁴² Bale’s antiquarian mindset,

³⁸ Bale, *Laborious Journey*, D.vii.v

³⁹ Bale, E.vii.v

⁴⁰ Philip Schwyzer, “The Beauties of the Land: Bale’s Books, Aske’s Abbeys, and the Aesthetics of Nationhood,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 99–125.

⁴¹ Schwyzer, “The Beauties of the Land,” 115.

⁴² Schwyzer, “The Beauties of the Land,” 121.

then, was one of imagination and longing for a nation and an ideal of that nation long disappeared. Could those texts, if recovered and reclaimed, eventually rebuild and restore the nation's sense of itself and its church? It is no surprise then that Parker sought out Bale as one of his earliest correspondents on manuscript acquisition.⁴³ Bale's recollection of the pursuit and recovery of so many manuscripts in the days after the dissolution in a 1560 letter to Parker is almost heartbreaking:

And as concernynge bookes of antiquite, not printed: when I was in Irelande ... I had great plenty of them, whom I obtained in tyme of the lamentable spoyle of the lybraryes of Englande, through much fryndeshypp, labour and expences. Some I founde in stacyoners and bokebyndeers store howses, some in grosers, sope sellers, taylers, and other occupiers shoppes, some in shyppes ready to be carried over the sea into Flaunders to be solde—for in those uncircumspecte and carelesse dayes, there was no quiyckar merchaundyce than lybrary bookes, and all to destructyon of learnynge and knowledge of thynges necessary in thys fall of antichriste to be knowne—but the devill is a knave, they saye—well onle conscience, with a fervent love to my Contrey moved me to save that myghte be saved.⁴⁴

Bale gave Parker this accounting of lost books in answer to Parker's request for information on the whereabouts of Bales then-dispersed library. Parker sent this request in response to a letter from Matthias Flacius Illyricus of Magdeburg. Illyricus' ecclesiastical history project needed documents of the English church, so his request for materials was forwarded on to Archbishop Parker. It is unclear how many, if any, manuscripts Parker eventually sent on to Illyricus, though there are a few manuscripts in the Parker library that contain brief glosses in

⁴³ Timothy Graham and Andrew G Watson, *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1998).

⁴⁴ Letter of 30 July, 1560 in Graham and Watson, 17.

German and it appears that Parker used his influence with printer John Day to publish in English an admonition written by Illyricus against the Councils of Trent.⁴⁵ Whether Parker sent some of these books on to Germany or not, it is clear that he made use of Bale's account to build his own library even before receiving official sanction by the Queen's Privy Council. Bale's letter, while thorough in its accounting of book collectors and collections, is full of passages lamenting the loss of his own books that he collected during the monastic dissolution. He is seemingly hopeful that Parker could somehow begin to recover them. Describing his former collection of annals and chronicles, Bale writes:

I was fully mynded ... also, to haue printed them in fayre volumes at Basyll, if I myghte haue gote them thydre. But good fortune fayled, to the excedynge great losse and blemish of thys whole realme. And sens I came home agayne into thys realme, my state hath bene so miserable...⁴⁶

And elsewhere:

All that I had of thys nombre, as in dede I had manye, are now disparsed, and I feare it, lyke vtterly to be destroyed, the more is the pytie.⁴⁷

Throughout the list, he underlines, marks, and glosses a number of the important works that once made up his own library. His sorrow at losing these books, not just for his own collection, but for the sake of the entire nation, is palpable. Though Bale would be unable to rebuild his

⁴⁵ For more on Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Matthew Parker as sixteenth century models of humanist scholarship, see Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History*, Rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997); Anthony Grafton, *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

⁴⁶ Graham and Watson, *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England*, 24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

library on his own, Parker (through his Latin secretary John Joscelyn) used Bale's list to begin developing this collection into his own library.⁴⁸ Bale's evident frustration at the dispersal of these manuscripts is not without reason. As Graham and Watson note in their introduction to an edition of this letter and two more manuscript lists by John Joscelyn, what is striking about this list of manuscripts is not simply who is present—mostly men associated with the court in London—but who is not. The great universities are rarely listed. Few landowners outside of the midlands and none to the west. Other notable libraries that were certainly known to Parker and Bale, like John Dee's, are also absent. Graham and Watson's introduction to their edition of these letters expresses the problem well:

the apparent helplessness of the archbishop and his entourage is rather extraordinary: here is one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, the former master of a Cambridge college, with assistants whom he could command, hard put to it to lay hands on texts of which some had been common throughout the country only twenty-five or thirty years before. ... Although the names of some of these turn-of-the-century donors were recorded at the time, the whereabouts of many of the books during the dangerous years of the mid-century when Parker and his entourage were searching for them remain as obscure today as they were then.⁴⁹

What Bale had and then lost, Parker's circle scoured the country to recover. As Wright noted in 1951 and Graham and Watson demonstrated, Joscelyn also consulted Bale's list of manuscripts

⁴⁸ Wright goes into great detail on how Parker used the list of private individuals given to him by Bale as some of the first stops for his men on their hunt for books. A 1568 letter of Parker's to the Privy Council quoted by Wright expresses his sense of urgency at this prospect: "If ye think this notion good, I am content to set some of my men in work; and if this opportunity be not taken in our time, it will not so well be done hereafter."

⁴⁹ Graham and Watson, *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England*, 14. Their summation of the owners and collectors mentioned (and not mentioned) in these lists is on 12-13.

heavily for his own research purposes. Joscelyn's list expanded the known number of manuscript owners, but was far from complete. Parker and Joscelyn turned to members of the church community for their search. Local bishops and priests would often send interesting or valuable books and manuscripts from their parish libraries to Parker for his research. The wide network described by Graham and Watson was notable in its involvement of religious leaders who were not also scholars of the past. Many could not recognize the antiquity of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript and often wrote to Parker requesting his aid in identifying the significance of their documents. What tied them to men like Parker, Batman, Bale, and Joscelyn, was their apparent reverence for the past.

John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, wrote a pair of letters to Parker describing an ancient Saxon book he found in Worcester which he hoped might be one of Ælfric's.⁵⁰ In describing the manuscript, he indicated his own lack of familiarity with the language and content, but noted that it seemed to be of Saxon character and must surely be of interest to Parker's project. In a second letter, he mentioned ransacking the poor libraries of his diocese for Saxon monuments, but lamented only finding two. Despite not being able to read a word of the text, Jewell recognized and held in reverence the value of such antique text. Perhaps his experience with Parker's printing of the *Testimonie* gave him the mindset to appreciate such documents, but it is also evident that the antiquarian mood of Parker's circle extended even to his far-

⁵⁰ These letters are now appended to CUL Ii.2.4.

flung acquaintances. Further, Parker's very impulse to restore and have "counterfeited in antiquity"⁵¹ the missing pieces to his collection also points towards, at the very least, an appreciation among his circle of the aura of certain types of manuscripts. Yet even Anglo-Saxon homiliaries, the very type of book most highly prized by Parker, were extensively damaged by his repairs and restorations.

Much has been written on how to understand Parker's manuscript practices within the context of his larger work on ecclesiastical reform and history. Bjorklund offers an overview of scholarship and any misconceptions within the scholarship on Parker's intellectual curiosity, his scholarly habits, his early career interest in church reform, and other qualities of his that had been overlooked in scholarship up until that point.⁵² Bjorklund convincingly paints a picture of Parker as a deeply engaged scholar of ecclesiastical reforms rather than a kind of antiquarian enthusiast. His manuscript scholarship, particularly regarding Old English, was a natural extension of his lengthy career as a church reformer—long before Queen Elizabeth made him her Archbishop. For Bjorklund, Parker's interventionist approach towards manuscripts tempts modern scholars to focus only on the documents themselves and not on his larger purposes. As she argues, "[Parker] collected the manuscripts in order to save them for posterity, to promote the study of Old English, and to make English history more accessible.

⁵¹ A reference to Parker's scribe, Lyly. John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne, eds., *Correspondence of Matthew Parker. Comprising Letters Written by and to Him from A.D. 1535, to His Death, A.D. 1575* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1853), 234.

⁵² Bjorklund, "Parker's Purposes Behind the Manuscripts," especially 219-222; 237-238.

But above all, he wished to promote his reform agenda, especially the marriage of clergy, the use of vernacular scriptures, and the rejection of transubstantiation.”⁵³ These were living documents for Parker and his circle. He and his scribes connected, in a very tangible way, with their medieval predecessors. By editing, cutting, re-purposing, annotating, collating, and rescuing an ever-growing body of medieval manuscripts, Parker was framing the outlines of what Emily Butler describes as a “textual community.”⁵⁴ Butler, as noted earlier, builds off of Bjorklund’s defense of Parker’s education and intellect by placing him within the context of other antiquarians and scholars of his time period. While this contemporary intellectual network adds an important layer of complexity to Parker’s work, it is the larger asynchronous textual community of Parker with his source manuscripts and especially the later medieval readers and annotators of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts like the scribe we know as the Tremulous Hand of Worcester that serves as his direct bridge to the medieval. As Butler writes, Parker and the later medieval annotators shared a “similar sense of remoteness of the language and script of the text” that required them to reclaim “the models of textuality found in the manuscripts they used.”⁵⁵ The diachronic nature of this textual community, for Butler, made manuscripts “the sole entryway [into the material] available to antiquarians.” Parker’s intellectual curiosity and scholarly background enabled him to be picky about which manuscripts to study and

⁵³ Ibid. 240.

⁵⁴ In Butler, “Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century,” and earlier in Butler, “Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England”.

⁵⁵ Butler, “Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century.” 150.

interact with more closely. Many of manuscripts containing annotations by the Tremulous Hand were acquired, viewed, studied, or similarly annotated by Parkerian scribes. Following the descriptions of Parker by Bjorklund and Butler, we can piece together a portrait of a serious scholar following a logical path from his early interest in ecclesiastical reformist topics to his search through the ancient English authorities for confirmation of his arguments, and to his engagement in an asynchronous dialogue with the textual remains of the past as what he believed to be the most viable way of gaining the understanding he sought.

Parkerian interactions with manuscripts affect modern scholarship in other ways. In his foundational article, “Old English Literature in its Most Immediate Context,” Fred Robinson describes an experience he had with visualizing the scale of a Cotton manuscript. While examining the manuscript, he had built a picture in his mind of the text block as surrounded by the small margins outlined by the leather binding of the Cottonian librarian.⁵⁶ Yet, a single sheet containing the copious marginal annotations of John Joscelyn, was folded over at the cropped edges of the rest of the document. Joscelyn’s annotations extended the size of that page by inches in each direction, and forced Cotton’s librarian to make a decision on how to preserve something of value beyond the borders of his intended binding. That one page reshaped Robinson’s understanding of the manuscript—its relative size, importance, and value as a document. The cropped space Robinson describes opened new potentials of textual

⁵⁶ Fred C. Robinson, “Old English Literature in its Most Immediate Context,” in *The Editing of Old English* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1994).

interaction for Parker and his scribes. Clean parchment could be used to restore damaged manuscripts, and extended margins could offer space for lexical or contextual annotations. In at least one case, as Graham has shown, the mostly empty margins of one manuscript could be used to replace the damaged margins of another.⁵⁷ The cropping of manuscripts to fit a new binding or a newly made miscellany was not unusual for either Parker or other manuscript collectors of the era, but it is worth noting that the interventionist approach to manuscript preservation practiced by Parker and his contemporaries was itself an act of intimate connection between scholar and material. What Emily Butler called as a “textual community” may also be described as a documentary community built through both the study and annotation of specific ancient texts by scholars of different eras and the layers of physical interactions created within those documents over the centuries.

Matthew Parker’s Scribes and a New Scribal *Habitus*

Whether in the scholarly salon of an early modern English Archbishop or in the dark scriptorium of a monastery, scribes do work. Fred Robinson’s collection of brief scribal notes at the end of manuscripts offers a glimpse of the effort behind their work. Some are in verse, others prose, but most of them are concerned with the physical effects writing has on the

⁵⁷ For a discussion on the use of a later medieval manuscript to repair the margins to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 12, see Graham, “Changing the Context of Medieval Manuscript Art: The Case of Matthew Parker.”

scribe's body.⁵⁸ “*God helpe minum handum,*”⁵⁹ writes the Anglo-Saxon scribe of Cotton MS Tiberius B. v. Umberto Eco, playing with this tradition, has Adso of Melk, the monkish narrator of *The Name of the Rose*, close the book with his own colophon: “It is cold in the scriptorium, and my thumb aches.”⁶⁰ Probably the most common, as noted by Robinson, is this brief and plaintive couplet: “*Scribere qui nescit, nullam putat esse laborem: / Tres digiti scribunt, totum corpusque laborat.*”⁶¹ Matthew Parker's scribes, following their exemplars in so many other ways, did not ignore this tradition either. On fol. 83v of CCCC 343, a fourteenth-century chronicle manuscript, a Parkerian scribe copies anew the original colophon: “*Explicit expliceat; scriptor ludere eat.*”⁶² Parker's scribe did not actually do any transcribing (other than the colophon) within that manuscript itself, so it may be more appropriate to take that brief complaint as commentary on the extensive scribal project of Matthew Parker's household as a whole.

In addition to transcriptions, letters, and other documents in their more comfortable early modern italic or secretary hand, Parker also asked his scribes to “counterfeit in antiquity” a body of medieval manuscripts in the archbishop's collection.⁶³ As this duplicated

⁵⁸ Except where noted, these colophons are quoted in Robinson, *The Editing of Old English*, 7-9.

⁵⁹ “God help my hands.”

⁶⁰ Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, trans. William Weaver, (San Diego: Harvest, 1994): 502.

⁶¹ “He who does not know how to write thinks it is no labor: three fingers write and the whole body works.”

⁶² “It is finished, let it be finished; let the scribe go out and play.”

⁶³ As Matthew Parker described the skillset of his master scribe, Lylle, in a 1565 letter to William Cecil. Bruce and Perowne, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, 234.

colophon perhaps hints, they re-embodied not only the shapes of medieval letterforms, illustrations, decorations, and page designs, but also the physical stress a medieval scribe or illuminator would have experienced. Parker's project of early modern transcriptions, then, required a renewing of scribal elements from their medieval exemplars both on the page and off. It is too easy, perhaps, to consider the transcription of a medieval text by an early modern scholar as an intellectual practice rather than a physical act. The corpus of Parkerian medieval transcriptions in varied facsimile or archaized scripts resists such an interpretation and offers an opportunity to imagine how an early modern scribe, utterly divorced from the monastic scribal culture that produced the source documents for his copies, reinterpreted and reinvented the craft of tenth or eleventh-century English scribes working in the house styles of Worcester, Canterbury, or Exeter while in the Lambeth household of a sixteenth-century Protestant Archbishop.

The craft of writing involves more than setting pen to parchment. Parker's early modern scribes were not only separated in time and cultural difference from their medieval counterparts, they were separated in practice. In ink composition, early modern scribes might have difficulty matching the color and texture of their occasionally more caustic iron gall or carbon-based inks with the inks of their sources. For colors especially, the difference between centuries could be striking—Parker's red ink enabled vivid rubrics and initials that outshone

even the originals, but his blue and green inks were more muddled and muted in tone.⁶⁴ In choice of substrate, Parker's scribes would occasionally match paper to a parchment manuscript or even repurpose and palimpsest other medieval manuscripts to provide supply sheets when their own clean sheets of parchment were unavailable. When they picked up the pen to write, they would have to adjust their mental and physical habits from their more rapid early modern secretary scripts to adopt a late Anglo-Saxon miniscule bookhand. Parker's scribes would have already been professionals and, perhaps, masters at their craft before they began. They had likely developed what Matthew Hussey has described as a scribal *habitus*—the muscle memory, body technique, and mental understanding of how to write in a specific and highly trained style. They may also have been comfortable with a set chancery hand or a form of italic in addition to the secretary script, but each unique hand would require a different type of mental and physical preparation before the scribe could begin. The somewhat unstructured nature, though, of Parker's group of scribes meant that they developed highly individualized forms of emulative Anglo-Saxon script. While this means that the overall look and feel of Parker's manuscript additions was far from consistent, it does make it possible for modern scholars to identify each scribe's contribution to the project.

This is not a new idea, but it is one that resists easy answers. Strype's 1711 biography of

⁶⁴ An example of this can be found in the Parkerian transcription of Matthew Paris in CCCC 56. The decorated initial on fol. 1r stands as a less vibrant imitation of the vibrant blue initials in a thirteenth century copy, CCCC 16ii.

Parker twice describes the work of a scribe named Lyly as the main hand involved in Parker's reproduction, while only specifically mentioning a few such repaired manuscripts.⁶⁵ Strype's brief accounts neither add new information outside of what could be found in Parker's letters nor do they contain detailed descriptions of Parkerian manuscripts that cannot also be found in Humfrey Wanley's 1705 catalogue.⁶⁶ Wanley, as the main source for Strype's entries on Parker's manuscripts, does not mention Lyly at all and tends to avoid giving more details than a simple note that Parker ordered the book to be completed. In the entry for N. 19 (now CCCC 449 [10]), Wanley writes that Parker "ordered to be elegantly completed" the missing early portions of the manuscript.⁶⁷ For S. 6 (CCCC 178 [6]), Wanley writes of the Parkerian addition on p. 31, "The final page of this Homily of the *Hexameron* was restored by a recent hand."⁶⁸ He

⁶⁵ John Strype, *Life and Acts of Archbishop Matthew Parker*, (London: John Wyat, 1711). One of these mentions is in a simple recap of the previously described letter from Parker to Cecil. The other falls within a description of Parker's household: "And he kept such in his family as could imitate any of the old characters admirably well. One of these was Lyly, an excellent writer, and that could counterfeit any antique writing. Him the Archbishop customarily used to make old books complete." (500) The manuscripts Strype mentions are now CUL li.4.6 and CCCC 449. (507, 511)

⁶⁶ Humfrey Wanley, *Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogues Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus*, (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1705). Strype often simply provides a quick summary translation of Wanley or duplicates entire portions of his entries. In describing Bodley 441, a Gospel Book completed by a Parkerian scribe, Strype writes that "whereas it was defective in several places, and many leaves gone, those defects are restored and supplied in a modern hand by the commandment of our Archbishop..." while Wanley's Latin reads "Mitto, quod pars prior & posterior Evang. D. Marci, pars posterior D. Lucae & D. Joannis per Neotericum quondam restituuntur, jubente (ut maxime probabile est) eodem D. Matth. Parkero..." On CCCC 449, Strype reprints Wanley's transcription of the annotation on the flyleaf before the restored text. Both he and Wanley omit a brief phrase, "enim scriptam," in the middle of ln 3.

⁶⁷ Wanley, *Catalogue*, 113. "Continet autem Ælfrici Grammaticam sive Excerpta ex Donato, cujus parte priori, usque ad capitulum de casu, casu quodam (ut ita dicam) infeliciter deperdita, illam eleganter suppleri jussit Reverendissimus Matthæus Parkerus..."

⁶⁸ Wanley, *Catalogue*, 120. "Ultima hujusce Homilia de Hexamero pagina recenti manu restituitur."

repeats the description for the initial page in CCCC 188 [7], but leaves the later additions in the same manuscript (pp. 317-324) unremarked upon. Interestingly, the phrase Wanley uses to describe these two additions, “*recenti manu*,” is the same description he applies to an Anglo-Saxon wordlist in CCCC 105.⁶⁹ He again uses this language to describe both the transcribed copy of Ælfric’s *Grammar* in CTC R.9.8 [14] and the repaired Prefaces to the *Grammar* in CTC R.9.17 [15].⁷⁰ For the two lengthy transcriptions in CCCC 111 [5], Wanley once again only notes that they were ordered to be completed by Parker.⁷¹ One instance where he does recognize a specific transcriber is in the collection of charter transcriptions of CCCC 111, but he misidentifies Robert Talbot as Henry Talbot and ignores both Joscelyn’s transcripts and the lone emulative transcription from earlier in the document.⁷² It is somewhat surprising that Wanley, himself an extremely talented facsimilist, did not take more of an interest in identifying the work of Parker’s scribes. Not until M. R. James’ catalogue of the manuscripts in Corpus Christi College do we find an effort to identify some Parkerian manuscripts with a specific scribe.

James sources Wanley for many of his descriptions while correcting him for others. He

⁶⁹ Wanley, *Catalogue*, 148. “*recenti manu scriptus, quo inter alia, continetur.*” This glossary, written in a large secretary hand, mainly contains legal terms used within the glossary later printed by Wheelock, though they appear to have been written in the sixteenth, not the seventeenth century.

⁷⁰ Wanley, *Catalogue*, 167. “*recenti manu scriptus...*” and “*Præfationes autem desideratæ recenti manu restituuntur, forte, curante Rev D. Matthæo Parkero Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo.*”

⁷¹ Wanley, *Catalogue*, 151.

⁷² Wanley, *Catalogue*, 150. James noted this error in his record. (243)

mentions Lyly twice—for CCCC 449 and CCCC 178, though not for any of the other sixteenth century additions where he tends to suggest that they were ordered by Parker or that they were supplied in a “Parkerian Hand.”⁷³ It is evident that his identification of Lyly is shaky. The James record for CCCC 449 actually cites a W. L’Isle, who studied Anglo-Saxon documents and reprinted some of Parker’s work in the 1620s and 30s, as the scribe. Recognizing that this could not have been the case, the description on *Parker on the Web* corrects the James entry to read W. Lyly, which is also unlikely, but perhaps closer to the mark. There is still much mystery about the identity of Parker’s main scribe, Lyly. The most likely candidate, right now, is Peter Lyly. He was the son of the famous grammarian and founder of St. John’s School, William Lyly, and perhaps the father of the poet and playwright John Lyly. His brother, George, was a much more notable churchman and it is likely through his contacts that Peter was awarded a Canon’s stall in Canterbury Cathedral, though he apparently never took his seat there. G. K. Hunter’s entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on John Lyly notes that although Peter never took his place at Canterbury, he did find work for Archbishop Parker as a “minor ecclesiastical functionary, a ‘registrar’.”⁷⁴ Hunter’s earlier book-length biography of John Lyly adds a few more details: he was a “notary public” in 1550 and most likely lived in Canterbury

⁷³ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1912): entry for 188.

⁷⁴ G. K. Hunter, “Lyly, John (1554-1606),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17251>

from 1562 to his death in 1569.⁷⁵ Here, Hunter does express doubts that this is the same Lyly who was Parker's skilled amanuensis, pointing to a footnote on the subject in Albert Feuillerat's 1910 biography of John Lyly.⁷⁶ Despite Hunter's doubts, Peter Lyly is an attractive candidate. His education, ties to Canterbury, family, and even some distant personal ties to William Cecil, who, as Hunter notes in the *DNB* entry, would have traveled with George Lyly "when he accompanied Cardinal Pole on his mission to England."⁷⁷ While this is not a direct confirmation—and it is doubtful that there ever will be one—this is at least enough of an established connection between Peter Lyly and the circles of Cecil and Parker for us to imagine that Cecil knew exactly who Parker was describing when he received a letter extolling the skills of his scribe, "Lyllye." Uncertainty aside, most present scholars at least tentatively identify Parker's scribe with this particular Peter Lyly. Graham, noting the difficulties in precisely identifying Lyly, adds to the record another document supporting his case—Lyly was the scribe to a document in 1559/60 concerning Parker's induction at Canterbury.⁷⁸ In an addition to the biography of Peter Lyly that I find most convincing, M. B. Parkes suggests, "It would seem that Peter Lyly ... was responsible for directing the work of at least the scribes in

⁷⁵ G. K. Hunter, *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962. 36-37.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Feuillerat, though, makes no claim either way about the father of John Lyly being Parker's scribe, though he seems to think it at least a possibility. He does not think that it will ever be resolved, but I am not sure this should be enough information on Lyly's identity to cause Hunter doubts.

⁷⁷ Hunter, "Lyly, John."

⁷⁸ Timothy Graham, "A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, The Exeter Book, and Cambridge University Library MS li. 2.11," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10, no. 4 (1994): 432. He cites Catherine Hall for discovering Corpus Christi College, Archives XLA.46.

Parker's employ for repairing books."⁷⁹ Where Parker might be best categorized as a director of research, Lyly seems to have overseen the process of aligning scribes with manuscript repairs.

As Patrick Conner has noted, the process of matching scribal hands within a single house is difficult enough within a shared space and time.⁸⁰ Changing one part of that formula makes the process much more complicated. To illustrate, Conner recalls two viable, but distinct approaches to dating the work of the two distinct scribes in *Beowulf*. David Dumville and Kevin Kiernan's disconnect on the dating is, in essence, one of space and time. A scribal hand typically matches another, more definitively dated hand, within the strict borders defined by date and location, but this does not account for the possibility of a skilled scribe employing an older, more established hand to match a document under repair. As Conner sums up their arguments, "Dumville argues that the scribe's efforts have to be closed up in a temporal shell, as it were, Kiernan would open them up to the broadest possible span of time."⁸¹ Scribes, in Kiernan's view, had the ability to recreate older hands when necessary to complete their own copies.⁸² For Conner, perhaps the most important governing principal for

⁷⁹ M. B. Parkes, "Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts," in *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: British Library, 1997), 124. Later, Parkes notes that a colleague of Lyly and the executor of his will, Reynier Wolfe, also collected medieval manuscripts and "printed editions of texts for Parker." (138n99)

⁸⁰ Conner, "On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands," 49.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁸² This is, in fact a specific duty of scribes as mentioned by Cassiodorus in the sixth-century *Institutiones*: "I pray, also that you who presume, nevertheless, to emend, make the letters you add so beautiful that they appear to have been written by the [original] scribes." (Book 1, Chapter XV.15). Taken to a logical conclusion, Kiernan's position would allow for the possibility of much later scribal additions to manuscripts. In a similar argument to the one Conner mentions, Kiernan takes the reverse role of a dating conservative, while Carl Berkhout argues for

matched scribal hands is the communal nature of the monastery. In a metaphor he returns to throughout the essay, Conner compares the act of writing in a scriptorium with that of joining in the choir for a performance of chant. The individual disappears into the monophonic melody where both dissonance and harmony are unwanted and imperfect.⁸³ Parker, through Lyly as his master scribe, was working with a context temporally separated from the environments that created the manuscripts he collected and in a series of places spatially separated by the distances inherent to early modern scholarship conducted through both letter-writing and in-person collaboration. Because of these challenges, Parker and Lyly oversaw a scriptorium more interested in the appearance and feel of authenticity than exact duplication. These scribes are all working through a set of scripts that can be readily identified as Parkerian, but contain distinct individual differences.

In developing their scripts, Parker's scribes had a wealth of material to choose from. While some documents appear to intentionally echo the letterforms and page arrangements of the source text, others seem to pull elements from their destination manuscripts.⁸⁴ Others still bring in elements from both or are entirely of the scribe's personal invention—the tall,

the possibility that Laurence Nowell may have touched up the damaged text on fol. 179 in the sixteenth century. For more, see Kiernan, "The *nathwylc* Scribe and the *nathwylc* Text of *Beowulf*," in *Poetry, Place, and Gender: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honor of Helen Damico*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Medieval Institute Publications, (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2009): 98-131, Accessed online via <http://www.uky.edu/~kiernan/Nathwylc>.

⁸³ Conner, "On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands," 49, 51, 54-56.

⁸⁴ See both Siân Echard, "Containing the Book: The Institutional Afterlives of Medieval Manuscripts," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, eds. Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015): 106-8 and Parkes, "Archaizing Hands," 124 for more examples.

fountain-shaped *s* found in CCCC 178, 188, CTC B.15.34 [13], and Hatton 38 [23], for example, occurs in neither the source nor destination manuscripts and appears to be a particular quirk of the scribe. Siân Echard, taking Emliy Butler's description of Parker's assistants as a "community of scribes," likens their practice to that of a particularly specialized medieval scribal house:

Just as medieval scribes developed and then chose from their own personal repertoire of hands, so too do their sixteenth-century descendants. Thus Parker's circle can be understood as a "community of scribes," linked in their practice to their medieval predecessors. In CCCC 178, for example, while the main text hand is an Anglo-Saxon script, the glosses are in a more contemporary hand; in the original, the glossing hand, while of course it is an Anglo-Saxon script, is less formal than the book hand. The sixteenth-century titles often added, by Parker himself and by those working with him, to the manuscripts in the archbishop's collection are, again, in a sense continuous with medieval scribal practice.⁸⁵

Each scribe, then, has a definite role to play in the crafting of a manuscript repair. When describing this early modern version of a medieval scriptorium, Echard is reminding modern scholars that we too often try to recreate in our minds the *original* document, if there can be such a thing, without considering the *current* manuscript. As she argues,

the distinctions made ... by the parentheses attached to the dating of the sixteenth-century portions of Parker's manuscripts suggest a separation between medieval and early modern that obscures the dynamic history of many medieval manuscripts. On both sides of the period divide, we encounter scribes, producers, and makers, all adding to the ongoing story of the objects with which they are involved.⁸⁶

I am reminded here of a comment made in Walter Skeat's edition of the Old English Gospel of

⁸⁵ Ibid., 108.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 108.

Mark where he describes the Parkerian manuscript Bodley 441 [22]. He writes that “it must be particularly noted that some of these must have been supplied from the Corpus MS. by Parker’s direction in imitation of the old writing, and are *valueless*.”⁸⁷ He writes this immediately before describing the relationship of the original Bodley manuscript to Corpus, concluding that they must have been copied from the same original. Why then are the Parkerian restorations valueless? That Parker’s editing of the Old English *Gospels* took place on a manuscript before being compiled into a printed edition does not diminish that his scribes behaved, in this instance, exactly as those of a medieval scriptorium would have. Further, it appears that Parker’s most proficient scribe is the one who completed the missing pages and added in the numerous rubrics. As this was a Gospel book, it makes sense that Parker would insist on his best craftsmen taking part in the document’s creation.⁸⁸ His actions here, out of sync with modern ideas of conservation, were consistent with those of his medieval exemplars. As I argue later in this chapter, Parker saw himself as the latest in a long line of Archbishops who have contributed to, as Echard calls it, the story of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. His additions and editions were deliberate steps in claiming his place in that conversation. These manuscripts are far from valueless. At least one goal of the handlist that makes up Chapter 3 of this dissertation is to demonstrate a different type of value for these transcription manuscripts

⁸⁷ Emphasis mine. Skeat, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1871): vii.

⁸⁸ For more on the story behind Bodley 441, see [22].

than Skeat may have had in mind.

The material reality of this early modern version of a scriptorium means that repairs and restorations did not often go as smoothly as in the case Bodley 441 or CCCC 178—even taking into account the removal of pages that necessitated the repairs to 178.⁸⁹ We have already seen the process of correcting page layout in CCCC 449, but there are many other instances that speak to the struggles of Parker’s scribes interpreting and re-enacting the past through their own manuscript interventions. A particularly striking example is not one of Parker’s Old English books, but a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth in CCCC 292. Here, the initial Parkerian scribe does seem to emulate the hand of the surviving manuscript, although the James catalogue’s description of it “imitating black letter print” is certainly reasonable—the initials on the first leaf are printed from a woodcut onto paper and pasted into the manuscript.⁹⁰ The combined effect of a printed initial with the skilled emulative gothic bookhand makes for a striking representative copy of Geoffrey’s *Historia*, although it is once again an interpretation of the feel of the medieval text rather than an attempt at facsimile. Parker’s scribe uses a version of gothic script from a much later date than would have been used in Geoffrey’s time. It is clear from some of the later pages that this copy was at least planned with care. Subheadings are clearly marked and space is left for the decorated initials to be filled in later, but that never happens. Instead, a second scribe—one whose version of a

⁸⁹ Echard provides a brief description of these repairs.

⁹⁰ James, *Catalogue*, 67. See also **Figure 6**.

Roman Humanist script looks very similar to that of the main scribe in CCCC 449—takes over. He leaves no spaces for initials and does not attempt to emulate the manuscript layout or style at all. The book's repair began with an effort to duplicate, if not the actuality of the original, a feel for the original's medieval quality. By the beginning of the second quire on fol. 9, even that aura had faded. The apparent disparity in skill levels and technique in this example raises questions about *how* the work in Parker's household was arranged and organized.

Keeping in mind many of the lessons regarding matched scripts from Conner, archaized scripts from Parkes, and the notion of a scribal community from Echard, I have attempted to reconstruct that "community of scribes." The anonymous account Strype published of Parker's household as "a kind of flourishing University of learned men," the relationships Parker cultivated with Cecil and even John Dee (both of whom had libraries and households that have been described as types of humanist salons), and the later Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries which seemed poised to continue his work in the library of Robert Cotton are all indications of the unique environment of learning present within Parker's own circle. Apart from Lyly, who were his scholar/scribes? It is difficult to say. Stephen Batman probably copied a number of Latin texts for Parker, but it does not appear that his Anglo-Saxon script was capable. John Joscelyn transcribed dozens of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and, with the assistance of John Parker, compiled the largest Anglo-Saxon dictionary until the mid-seventeenth century.⁹¹ Still,

⁹¹ Comparing Joscelyn's dictionary with that of Nowell and Lambarde, Timothy Graham writes, "Nowell's dictionary spans fols. 2r-182r of MS Selden Supra 63, with between thirty and forty entries on most leaves;

neither Joscelyn nor the younger Parker could be mistaken for a truly skilled calligrapher. Their hands are clear and precise, but do not attempt to embody the overall look and feel of a medieval manuscript.⁹² Further, it appears that Joscelyn worked with manuscripts to compile his dictionary that did not make their way into the acquaintance of Parker's circle, including many manuscripts that were later damaged or destroyed in the Cotton Library fire. His work, like that of Laurence Nowell, existed within a separate sphere of learning. Nowell was both an accomplished scholar of Old English and a skilled calligrapher. Most of his transcriptions were written in a somewhat hurried version of Anglo-Saxon script, but they still maintained the clear appearance of a medieval manuscript. He would add in decorative or enlarged capitals even within his most rushed transcriptions. His work, however, seems to have taken place adjacent to the Parker project, but not as a part of it. It is clear that Nowell shared resources with Parker, Joscelyn, and his protégé, William Lambarde, but it does not appear that Nowell

altogether it probably contains between 6,000 and 7,000 entries. Joscelyn's dictionary spans fols. 2r-304v of MS Titus A. xv and fols. 1r-308v of MS Titus A. xvi. The portions written by Joscelyn himself usually have between forty and fifty entries per leaf, while the portions written by John Parker usually have approximately thirty entries per leaf. Altogether the dictionary must have something over 20,000 entries." Timothy Graham, "The Beginnings of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker," in *Back to the Manuscripts: Papers from the symposium "The Integrated Approach to Manuscript Studies: A New Horizon" held at the Eighth General Meeting of the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies, Tokyo, December 1992*, Occasional Paper (Center for Mediaeval English Studies (Japan)) 1 (Tokyo: Centre for Medieval English Studies, 1997): 37.

⁹² I have included one possible exception to this rule in my handlist of manuscripts. CTC R.9.8 is a full transcription of Ælfric's *Grammar* which does not seem to match any of Parker's other known scribes. Though I have not done a full analysis of John Parker's entries in Joscelyn's dictionary, there are some similarities with his hand and the precise, but clearly italic-influenced hand behind the Old English transcription of CTC R.9.8. The extent of John Parker's contributions to his Father's manuscript project is a topic that requires further research. For a detailed analysis of the contributions of Parker and Joscelyn, see Graham, "John Joscelyn, Pioneer of Old English Lexicography."

made any transcriptions for the benefit of Parker's collection.⁹³ This leaves a series of mostly anonymous scribes who may or may not be named someday.

In looking at Parker's scribes, I developed a list of manuscripts that only included archaized transcriptions. Immediately, I had to make some exclusions—particularly the transcriptions of John Joscelyn and Robert Talbot and the annotations of Robert Recorde—the reasons for which I will delve into more deeply in the next chapter. Essentially, I wanted to put together a set of manuscripts governed by the scribal *habitus* of Parker's household. To accomplish this, I only included manuscripts and scribes that both attempted to emulate and master a form of Anglo-Saxon script and reconstructed the layout and holistic experience of a medieval manuscript page—spacing, initials, rubrics, line length, and substrate. The better facsimiles—those by my Scribe 1—tend to be a better match for all of these criteria. Ultimately, I believe that I have identified three distinct Parkerian scribes across fourteen manuscripts with a smaller sample of five manuscripts that I cannot yet definitively assign to any of them. In this latter case, I have erred on the side of caution. The text for CCCC 111 seems like a good fit for Scribe 1, the copies of Cnut's and Ædgar's Laws in CCCC 383 seem like they could represent two different states of Scribe 3's hand, and the main hand in CCCC 449 could possibly be a witness to an early effort by another one of the scribes, but I think it more prudent for this preliminary handlist to be cautious.

⁹³ More on Nowell in Chapter 3 of this project. See also Carl T. Berkhout, "Laurence Nowell (1530 – Ca. 1570)," and Rebecca Brackmann, *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England*.

Peter Lyly, Parker's master scribe, seems to be the candidate most suited for identification with Scribe 1 for a number of reasons. He has the largest page count, the most consistent and accomplished bookhand, his work appears in some of the most important texts, and he even seems to correct the work of other scribes.⁹⁴ In Conner's account of the four scribes behind the *Book of Kells*, he recognizes that Scribe B as the master scribe of the scriptorium for many of the same reasons.⁹⁵ According to Conner, Scribe B appeared throughout the text (only leaving *John* to the competent Scribe A), composed the elaborate and important canon tables, and worked on specific pages to complete or correct the work of the less accomplished Scribe C. As Conner intuitively, "Scribe B's work is clearly tied to special issues in production, from canon tables to keeping his eye on the production and its details."⁹⁶ In Conner's reading of the scribal environment that led to the writing of the *Book of Kells*, he identifies what amounts to a Master and overseer, a competent artisan, and two (probably younger) scribes who, according to Conner, do not "work outside clearly defined (and I suspect, clearly assigned) units of labor."⁹⁷ While we must be careful not to map onto an early modern library the scribal roles of a medieval monastery, it does appear to share some similarities with my breakdown of scribes in Parker's household.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ He was likely the corrector of the extra-long quire in CCCC 449.

⁹⁵ Conner, "On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands," 64-65.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 65.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 64.

⁹⁸ See Appendix A.

Lyly, as the master, is the name I give to Scribe 1. Scribe 3 is a competent and even elegant draftsman in his own right, though it does not seem as if he has the responsibility to repair especially important manuscripts aside from the opening leaf to Cotton MS Faustina A. IX. The slanted aspect to his hand, his perhaps too heavy use of ink (his texts are notably thicker and bolder than the other scribes), and his use of paper for the longest of his transcriptions may all be indications of his lower status in Parker's scriptorium. His competency, though, seems to place him as something of a journeyman scribe. He is certainly not a novice and he is trusted with some extensive transcriptions, but he is also not given the most important repairs. Unfortunately, without further study into Parker's scribes, it is not possible yet to identify him by name. The individual and unidentified scribes behind CCCC 111, 449a, CTC R.9.8, and CTC Add.C.198 [12] all display unique problems. It is telling that two of these manuscripts (CCCC 449 and CTC R.9.8) are copies of Ælfric's *Grammar*, a text long thought to have been essential for members of Parker's circle in learning Old English. Fittingly, these are the two least-practiced hands at an Anglo-Saxon script, possibly indicating a scribe's use of the *Grammar* to learn both the language and the script of the Anglo-Saxons.

Scribe 2 is unique. Looking at his body of work, he is responsible for the lowest page count of the scribes, but he seems to have a role in some of what Parker would have considered to be the most important manuscripts: Homilies by Ælfric. Hatton 38 [23], a Gospel book, is the lone exception. Further, the hand used in these transcriptions is idiosyncratic. It is upright and

precise, but contains some letterforms that are simply not replicated in the corpus of manuscripts he is copying in to or out of. My identification of this scribe as Matthew Parker himself comes from R. I. Page, who suggested that the insertions in CCCC 178 were possibly his.⁹⁹ Lucas and Graham have noted that the glosses may have been added at a later date and may not be done by the same hand who transcribed the body of the text.¹⁰⁰ Regardless, the transcriptions within these four documents are a distinct body of work from the majority of Parkerian transcriptions. Page tells us that Parker was an orderly man, Bjorklund reminds us that he was a scholar himself who spent his later years writing out old books and took a hands-on approach to the state of his library, and Butler emphasizes to us his deep and abiding interest in the homilies and works of Ælfric. He was also a busy man, heavily invested in the work of his church and faith. Given what we know of the man himself, if we could imagine a body of emulative Anglo-Saxon transcriptions designed to complete the most prized parts of his library collections, it would be nearly identical to the output of Scribe 2.

Returning briefly to my own experience as a Parkerian scribe, diachronically displaced from the material text, the two scriptoria, and the untold number of unique cultural elements in my sources, I consider both the difficulties and rewards in engaging the process of manuscript study through reproduction. The Parkerian scribes, in adapting to a new scribal *habitus*, were engaged in more than a project to complete the collection of an orderly

⁹⁹ R. I. Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books*, 98.

¹⁰⁰ Lucas, "A Testimonye of Verrye Ancient Tyme?"; Graham, "The Beginnings of Old English Studies."

Archbishop. Their efforts were born of research and of a desire to not only interact with a text, but to understand it. For the homilies, the grammars, and the Biblical texts, Parker's scribes turned their not inconsiderable calligraphical skill towards a new purpose. Copying and matching the hands of their source texts was not the goal, mastery seemed to be. Cheryl Jacobson, a contemporary scribe and professor at the University of Iowa Center for the Book, describes what she saw as the difference when making her own copy of an Anglo-Saxon text:

Perhaps I had mastered making a copy, but I know that I had not mastered the writing. Real mastery of the actual writing in the way a scribe would master the craft then or now was far from me. Mastery would require understanding the decisions the scribe made. Mastery involves a freedom from conscious thought of the process and an internalised habit of working ... I was not thinking about writing words as the original scribe was. I was not even focused on the letters so much as on individual strokes to mimic what he or she was doing.¹⁰¹

Jacobsen was my own teacher and scriptorium magistra during the workshop. Her experience copying a page from the *Exeter Book* is very similar to mine when copying a page—partially from the eleventh-century and partially from the sixteenth-century—from CUL li.4.6.¹⁰² Every stroke and letterform required thought and careful attention. The very moment I tried to write a word or read a line while writing was the moment that I would smudge the ink or misspell something or eyeskip a line from the source. The types of errors made by Parker's scribes were the types of errors we see from medieval scribes. They had moved beyond the drawn-out

¹⁰¹ Cheryl Jacobson, "A Modern Scribe Views Scribes of the Past," in *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox, vol. 23, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013), 89.

¹⁰² See **Figure 7** for an image of CUL li.4.6. **Figure 8** is my own reconstruction.

copying of text stroke by stroke (with the possible exception of the CCCC 449 scribe on fol. 42r—he was genuinely unpracticed). It is possible that Scribe 1, Lyly, had reached the level of mastery. His copies are remarkably accurate and skillfully made. They reflect his individual choices as a scribe and artisan. Yet even his work possesses a tension to it. There is a sense in reading his transcriptions that he is not quite sure what kind of *s* (short or long or long that dips below the baseline) he should include in a particular line. And the manuscript seems to breathe a sigh of relief when he can revert into a more comfortable hand, as the nearly joyful-seeming Latin *g* within his corrections to CCCC 449 attests.¹⁰³

Matthew Hussey describes a similar moment of tension release from a scribe constrained by an unfamiliar *habitus*. In Hussey's example, the scribe of Würzburg M.p.thf.79 struggles with his own body and mind to produce a Frankish uncial while occasionally lapsing (breathing) into a more Insular element. Giving a specific example from the text, Hussey turns to fol. 2r, where his scribe turns towards his more familiar half-uncial for the entirety of a single word: *ubicumque*. The wedged terminals, confident curves, and precise lettering of this particular word show not an untrained scribe struggling to learn his trade, but a well-trained and competent scribe attempting to break his own habits for the requirements of this text.¹⁰⁴

As Hussey describes this manuscript, “the signs of struggle in the script do not attest to a poor

¹⁰³ The curves to the *g* in *grando* on fol. 16v, ln. 5 are particularly expressive.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Hussey, “Anglo-Saxon Scribal Habitus and Frankish Aesthetics in an Early Uncial Manuscript,” in *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox, vol. 23, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013), 31.

performance, a meagre scriptorium, or a scribal failure, but rather the intense and concentrated effort to produce a book ... the troubled script represents a sustained and meaningful act.”¹⁰⁵ Parker’s scribes, engaged in meaningful and, above all, intentional acts, were working to not only preserve, but also recover. When I took part in the practice, I retrained my hand—accustomed either to scribbling illegibly or touch-typing on a keyboard—to learn a skill that was as temporally distant from me as it was for Parker’s scribes. There is a difference, though. I wanted to copy Parker’s scribes. They sought to master and join in the conversation with their models.

Through the production of a corpus of manuscripts, Parker and his circle of scribes and scholars developed a more complete interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon past. Parker attempted to replicate the experience for a wider audience through his creation of emulative typefaces and the printing of manuscripts. This practice continued to be the preferred method of printing Anglo-Saxon texts for the nearly the next two hundred and fifty years until the philologists of the mid-eighteenth-century began to debate its usefulness. Parker has, at times, been considered to be more of an ecclesiastical historian than an antiquarian. True, he didn’t wander around England, scouring the dusty corners for pieces of antiquity. His antiquities were words on the pages of manuscripts. Bale saw beauty in them, rating them higher than the ancient edifices of the English landscape. Parker sought to keep, complete, and restore those

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 33.

lost monuments and antiquities to the national conversation. In that sense, he was an antiquarian—a lover of old things. However, there is a more precise definition of antiquarian that better applies to Parker’s scholarship. While a classicist may use *antiquarius* to describe the Roman surveyist Varro,¹⁰⁶ a medievalist may see the word *antiquarius* as Cassiodorus did: a scribe. In particular, the *antiquarius* was the scribe charged with correcting and matching the pages from his scriptorium with the beauty of those of the distant past.¹⁰⁷ For Cassiodorus, this was the work of monastic life that brought him the most joy.¹⁰⁸ Cassiodorus was instructing his scribes in a literary environment not dissimilar to England’s after the monastic dissolution—buildings and books throughout the Italian peninsula were at risk. Fittingly, the other word for scribe that Cassiodorus uses here is *librarius*.¹⁰⁹ As a scribe, librarian, and antiquarian, Matthew Parker’s collection of manuscripts offers modern scholars the opportunity to view the dawn of medieval studies as an academic discipline from a new perspective.

¹⁰⁶ Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” 287–89.

¹⁰⁷ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. xv.15, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (1937): “*Precor etiam uos, qui tamen emendare praesumitis, ut superadiectas litteras ita pulcherrimas facere debeatis, ut potius ab antiquariis scriptae fuisse iudicentur.*” “I pray also that you who presume, nevertheless, to emend, make the letters you add so beautiful that they appear to have been written by the scribes.” Translation by James W. and Barbar Halporn (<http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/inst-trans.html>).

¹⁰⁸ *Institutiones*, I. xxx.01: “*Ego tamen fateor uotum meum, quod inter uos quaecumque possunt corporeo labore compleri, antiquariorum mihi studia, si tamen ueraciter scribant, non immerito forsitan plus placer...*” “Despite what can be accomplished by physical work, I have to admit that what pleases me most (not perhaps unjustifiably) is the work of the scribes if they write correctly.”

¹⁰⁹ *Institutiones*, I. xxx.01: “*Multa sunt quidem quae de tam insigni arte referantur, sed sufficit eos dici librarios, qui librae domini iustitiaeque deseruiunt.*” “Many things indeed can be said of this outstanding art, but it is enough to say that they are called scribes who serve the balance and justice of the Lord.”

Conclusion: The Future of Early Modern Old English Manuscript Culture

The manuscripts edited, preserved (destroyed?), and annotated by Matthew Parker's research institute were themselves a significant step in (and perhaps barrier to?) the scholarship of Old English, but they are not the most visible of his contributions. Parker's collaborative printing and publication of significant Anglo-Saxon texts was a process that cannot be easily separated from his work with manuscripts. In an apt summation of the over a century of Anglo-Saxon scholarship between Parker and the George Hickes, Martin Foys writes that "Parker put manuscripts in print. Hickes worked from manuscripts in print."¹¹⁰ Foys illustrates one of the paradoxes of Matthew Parker's project. He saw print as a way to fix the monuments of antiquity into a stable text and image. His imitative Anglo-Saxon typeface offered a means to simulate the appearance of a medieval manuscript, but the very act of printing a single, specific document precluded the type of manuscript interaction that so occupied Parker and his secretaries. Foys notes that Parker often used his manuscripts to develop the printed editions of his texts.¹¹¹ As Foys argues,

[Parker's] actions reflect the belief that the [print] medium more accurately articulated a textual reality only partially realized in medieval manuscripts. But many of Parker's alterations to the manuscript ... also reflect standard practices of medieval scriptoria, where, without the economic facility of print, written products were treated as ongoing, collaborative documents.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, 13.

¹¹¹ The merging of multiple manuscripts into Bodley 441 for it and CCC 140 to be used as a base text for the printing of the Anglo-Saxon *Gospels* with John Foxe are a particularly notable example of this process.

¹¹² Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, 11.

The evidence of collaborative scholarship and textual community ever-present in his manuscripts was essentially erased through the process of print. Though Parker worked closely with his printer John Day, depended heavily on the scholarly labor of his secretary John Joscelyn, and enjoyed the benefits of John Foxe's name and reputation, the printed Anglo-Saxon texts lost much of their authenticity as medieval objects when transplanted into a new medium. The varying hands, annotations, corrections, and stories present in the instability of a medieval manuscript disappeared into the typeset block of text.

Parker seemed to be aware of this problem. The printed colophon to Ælfric's *Sermo de Sacrificio de Paschae*, which Parker printed in *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*, reads: "This sermon is found in diuerse bookes of sermo(n)s written in the olde Englishe or Saxon tounge; whereof two bookes bee nowe in the handes of the most reuerend father the Archbishop of Caunterburye."¹¹³ Later, after printing two other letters of Ælfric, Parker adds in the names of religious leaders as witness to the printed text's relationship to the manuscript. The disclaimer ends with this comment: "these here underwritten upon diligent perusing, & comparing the same haue found by conference, that they are truelye put forth in Print without any adding, or withdrawing any thyng for the more faithfull reporting of the same, and therefore for the better credite hereof have subscribed their names."¹¹⁴ The signatories include both English archbishops, and a number of other bishops. Many more exist in a manuscript inserted into

¹¹³ Parker, *Testimonie*, H.iiiiv.

¹¹⁴ Parker, *Testimonie*, K.iiiir.

the British Library copy, Additional MS 18160, which must be the copy Parker's note mentions:

"With diuers other personages of honour and credite subscribyng their names, the recorde wherof remaines in the handes of the moste reuerend father Matthewe Archbishop of Canterbury."¹¹⁵ Including this expansive list of authoritative religious leaders as witnesses (though they probably knew very little, if any, Old English) and directing readers towards the original manuscripts in his library (though his readers likely knew very little, if any, Old English) were the choices Parker made to prop up any of the authenticity lost in the translation from manuscript to print. The disclaimers appear throughout the text, but are presented prominently as if they were a part of the larger text itself. Indeed, by printing the letter of witness from church leaders immediately after Ælfric's sermon and letters, Parker seems to be grouping it with the collection of smaller Old English documents at the end of the book—the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and an alphabet. This disclaimer fits within the *Testimonie* not as an interruption in Parker's presentation and apology for the Anglo-Saxon Church, but as a continuation. His voice and that of the Archbishop of York are joined together in the text just as the voices of Ælfric (who Parker may have believed to be an Archbishop of Canterbury)¹¹⁶ and Wulfstan (the Archbishop of York). Though the physical evidence of a textual community, which was evident in the manuscript tradition, is lost in the

¹¹⁵ Parker, *Testimonie*, K.iiii.v.

¹¹⁶ Parker, *Testimonie*, B.i.r: "Howbeit whether this Ælfricke, & Ælfricke Archb. of Caneterbury was but one, & the same man, I leaue it to other mens iudgement further to consider..."

transition to print, Parker reasserts his right to be a part of the centuries-long discourse regarding the ghostly presence in the Eucharist (and, as he mentions a few times in the prologue, priestly marriage) through a type of contemporary synod. The documents of faith following Parker's disclaimer are now printed with an interlinear translation instead of the facing-page translation of the sermon and letters. Visually, the old and modern Englishes are joined on the page—once again in direct conversation as they sometimes were in Parker's manuscript library.

Parker also uses the space of his first Anglo-Saxon printing to argue for the authority of his occasionally reconstructed texts. Should scholars wish to visit his library to check the reliability of the manuscript record behind the print edition, he may have recognized the possibility that these visitors would not only see Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the homilies, but that they would also see an occasional page or margin or textual note written in a modern hand. For Parker, his modern interpolations into the manuscripts were representative of his adjustments to the English church. These were also a part of what he saw as a kind of Archbishop's prerogative, given the changing doctrines of the English church. As he saw manuscripts adjusted after the conquest by Roman-Influenced church officials, he used his printings of Old English manuscripts as an opportunity to correct those wrongs. In the preface to *Testimonie*, he alludes to one such textual problem:

“There is yet a very auncient boke of Cannons of Worceter librarye, and is for the most parte all in Latyne, but yet intermingled in certayne places, euen thre or foure leaues

together with the olde Saxon tounge: and one place of this booke handleth thys matter of the sacrament: but a fewe lynes, wherin dyd consiste the chiefe poynte of the controuersie, be rased out by some reader...¹¹⁷

He later continues:

But in the Church of Exeter, these epistles be seene both in the Saxon tounge, and also in the Lattyne. By the which it shall be easie for any to restore agayne, not onely the sense of the place rased in Worceter Booke, but also the very same Lattyn words. And the words of these two epistles, so much as concerne the sacramentall bread & wyne, we here set immediatlye after the Sermon...¹¹⁸

Where he may not have had the ability to repair directly the erased letters in the Worcester book (he is clear that this is a book *in* Worcester and not his household), this printed edition of Ælfric's letters is finally able to set right an ancient damage. While *Testimonie* establishes the problem of textual tampering in the manuscript record and demonstrates at least one possible solution, Parker does not assign blame here. Similarly, he never makes a direct claim that the Ælfric of the sermon and letters is the same Ælfric who became Archbishop, but he does heavily imply that to be the case. In any event, his practice is to note the error or confusion, present his argument, and prepare to take things one step further in later printings. Enter John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. On Ælfric, Foxe notes two different accounts of Ælfric—Capgrave mentions that Ælfric was first Abbot of St. Albans and then appointed Archbishop while William of Malmesbury writes that Ælfric was first Bishop of Welles before Archbishop of Canterbury. After listing two possibilities where Ælfric's life story ends as Archbishop in each,

¹¹⁷ Parker, *Testimonie*, 5r.

¹¹⁸ Parker, *Testimonie*, 5v.

Foxe closes the biography paragraph with a half-hearted bit of skepticism: “So that Aelfricus was Archbyshop of Caunterbury, it is out of all ambiguitie. But whether Aelfricus, whiche was Abbot (of whom we do here entreat) were the same Archbyshop, or note, by this diuersitie of Capgraue & Malmesbery, it may be doubtfull.” Despite the disclaimer, Foxe makes the resounding claim for Ælfric’s authority as a former Archbishop. As for the missing passage, Foxe’s account first blames Lanfranc for the lack of Latin versions of the, who he claims destroyed the Latin accounts that disagreed with doctrine, but not (all) the Saxon ones because he “knew them not.” Regarding the specific missing passage mentioned by Parker, Foxe cites the example of Polydore Vergil, the Italian humanist historian, in his attack on Lanfranc. In a remarkable accusation, Foxe writes:

...by one Italian tricke of Polydore Virgill in our dayes, the propertie & doings of al other Italian papistes of elder tyme, may partly be conie.ed. For so I am informed by such, as preciselye will affirme it to be true, that when Polydore being licensed by the kyng to delve and searche all Libraries, had once accomplished his storye by the helpe of such books as hee had compiled out of Libraries: in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true factor for the popes owne toothe, he pyled his books together and set them all on a light fire.¹¹⁹

As Foxe continues in his polemic against Polydore Vergil, he makes the assertion that “by this one Italian Tricke of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected...” For Foxe, the idea that the Italian Lanfranc may have destroyed Latin books touching controversial arguments on the Eucharist finds support in the similar workings of Polydore Vergil. The epistle containing a

¹¹⁹ Foxe, *The Ecclesiasticall history containyng the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in euery kynges tyme in this Realme, especially in the Church of England principally to be noted*. 2nd Edition (London: John Day, 1570): 1304.

few lines erased in the Worcester copy mentioned by Parker becomes an example of intentional sabotage rather than the ravages of time. Parker hinted at the possibility, but Foxe polemicized it.

In this example, Parker is ultimately arguing for the primary role of manuscripts in the debates of church doctrine. Though he, himself, is printing polemical arguments for Church of England positions, he recognizes the importance of an unimpeachable manuscript record. These debates are ancient in nature and the most ancient and authentic authorities carry the most weight. He makes use of the new media of print to expand the reach of his arguments, but he depends on the solidity and aura of manuscript evidence. Parker's concern for the authenticity gap between his two great works—printed editions and his manuscript library—may have led him to overcorrect. In describing his decision to use the Anglo-Saxon letterforms for a printed edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred*, Parker argues that the very appearance of this old text might create in the reader some cultural memory of their lost tongue.¹²⁰ Justifying this decision, he writes: "Although they are in Latin [in the manuscript], we have taken care to have them punched in Saxon letters, mostly on account of the venerable antiquity of the exemplar itself."¹²¹ The decision Parker made to print Asser's Latin biography of Alfred into Saxon characters may have recalled the insular shapes of the early manuscript he cites, but

¹²⁰ The following quotes from Parker's preface to Asser's *Alfredi Regis Gestae*, edited and translated by Butler, "Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England," 185-197.

¹²¹ Butler, "Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England," 191. "Latina autem cum sint, Saxonice literis excudi curauimus, maxime ob venerandam ipsius archetype antiquitatem..." (185)

they do not carry the same set of meanings. Further, Parker's somewhat strange choice of type for this edition actually erects a barrier between text and reader. Not only does the reader have to navigate older, unfamiliar Latin, she has to do so through an alienating set of characters. But, for Parker, the beauty that arises from using the letterforms of Alfred to print a text about Alfred outweighs any more practical considerations. As he argues, "[the reader] will be able to turn your effort from Latin letters to Saxon ones, and from the copies of these letters (believe me!) you will get no ordinary satisfaction. And in examining old monuments, you will get unparalleled usefulness as well as satisfaction."¹²² He goes on to suggest that reading in the ancient character will inspire the reader to study more Anglo-Saxon texts and therefore begin to recover "the memory of that ancient and once familiar language,"¹²³ but it is clear that the aesthetics and iconography of the Anglo-Saxon letterforms are his most important consideration.¹²⁴ Recreating the words of the text in the image of the manuscript gives Parker an opportunity to, at least partially, relive his own meaningful experiences with manuscripts.

Ellen Spolsky offers a unique perspective on how Matthew Parker might have come to

¹²² Butler, "Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England," 195. "*literarumque priscarum gnarus iam extiteris, licebit a Latinis ad Saxonica studium conuertere, quorum ex scriptis (mihi crede) non mediocrem voluptatem adipiscere: & in veteribus monumentis perscrutandis incredibilem cum voluptate vtilitatem coniunges.*" (188)

¹²³ Butler, "Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England," 195. "*Quorum sanè lectio & veteris tibi linguæ, ac quondam domesticæ memoriam renouabit...*" (188)

¹²⁴ There is at least some evidence that Parker's efforts here were successful. See chap. 1, n25.

this understanding of a manuscript's text as both word and image.¹²⁵ Spolsky argues that an essential split in the English reformation was that between the words of Protestantism and the images and ceremony of Catholicism. The Protestant focus on a vernacular Bible and service offers a counter for the religious iconography that so dominated the popular religion of the later medieval eras. This requires a shift in thinking as drastic an internal event as the dissolution of the monasteries. Spolsky argues that "one way to think of the Protestant Reformation, thus, is as a massive onslaught on already-in-place (brain-instantiated) networks of understanding."¹²⁶ Reformers sought to replace imagery and ceremony with language, but did not recognize that these two viewpoints actually fed and rewarded different parts of the mind. The problem of redefining the Eucharist for English reformers was what Spolsky described as a cognitively hungry problem. She cites a particularly tortuous description of how the worshipper should approach the sacrament as an example of the difficulty textual arguments had in combating the type of traditional sensory experience described by Eamon Duffy's *The Voices of Morebath*.¹²⁷ Parker, in the preface to Asser, attempts to explain his choice of page design for *Testimonie* and its 1570 reprint within Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* as a solution to this problem of word and image, intellect and tradition. His argument against the bodily presence within the Eucharist suddenly has a visual aid in the form of type and page layout. By

¹²⁵ Spolsky, *Word vs Image*.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

printing the text of Ælfric's sermon in a facing page translation rather than an interlinear gloss, Parker ensures that at least half of an open book would include a block filled with the unfamiliar letterforms of an unknown language. In *Testimonie*, then, he presents the reader with a book that essentially replicates an illustrated devotional. The left side of the page is the text, and the right side is an image for contemplation. This result is even more noticeable in the 1570 printing of the sermon in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* where the sermon is printed first in Old English and then in translation. No facing page texts, just a three-page block of Old English letters and language in two columns. It is an intimidating passage within an intimidating book.

Parker's facsimile manuscripts exist alongside his emulative printed books. The extent of manuscript repair and restoration done after the first printed Old English text, and the attentive care given to both aspects of Parker's Old English project do not imply a specific hierarchy of importance—both projects were ongoing simultaneously. Much has been written about Parker's printed books, his types, and his polemics.¹²⁸ They are the most visible result of a scholarly enterprise that spanned decades, but they are not, perhaps, the most important to Parker's own sense of nostalgia. In fact, it could be seen that his printed editions of Old English in an Anglo-Saxon typeface are an attempt to recapture the feeling he described in the Preface to Asser: "unparalleled usefulness as well as satisfaction." Parker's play with text and image in

¹²⁸ See especially Lucas, "A Testimonie of Veye Ancient Tyme."

his manuscripts and printed books is a practice that lasted in Anglo-Saxon scholarship over following generations. Parker's partial facsimile transcriptions anticipate the scholarly practices of the seventeenth-century Anglo-Saxonists. The most closely related seventeenth-century antiquarian to Parker is the Cambridge University librarian, Saxonist, and Arabist: Abraham Wheelock.

By working from Parker's reconstructed homiliaries, Abraham Wheelock published what could be considered the first partial edition of Ælfric's homiletic sequence, though he published these various homilies as commentary pieces to chapters of Bede's *Historia*. To compile his material from Ælfric, Wheelock used six manuscripts, five of which were well-known to Parker, and three of which were at least partially reconstructed by Parker.¹²⁹ Wheelock added his own pen to the Parkerian textual community in many of these manuscripts. Of perhaps greatest interest, however, is the one manuscript Wheelock used for building his pseudo-edition of Ælfric that Parker did not know. CUL Gg.3.28 is an immense collection of Ælfric's homilies and other religious material that was likely compiled under the direction of Ælfric himself.¹³⁰ No other manuscript contains both full sequences of homilies and

¹²⁹ Wheelock referred to his manuscripts by his own naming system. In order of their appearance in his edition of Bede, they are: *Sermones* 51 MS. *Bibliotecae pub. Cantab* (CUL MS Ii.1.33); *Serm. Cathol. Veteris Ecclesiae Anglicanae* MS *Cantabr. Biblioth.* (CUL MS Gg.3.28); *Hom. 34* MS *Bibl. Publ.* (CUL MS Ii.4.6); *Sax. Hom. Trin. Coll.* (CTC B.15.34); and *Hom. Sax. Coll. Ben. Num. 7* (CCCC MS 419); and another containing the bilingual *Rule of Chrodegang* which he refers to as *MS Coll. Ben & Can. 48* (CCCC MS 191).

¹³⁰ For a recent account of this manuscript's relationship to Ælfric, see Robert K. Upchurch, "Shepherding the Shepherds in the Ways of Pastoral Care: Ælfric and Cambridge University Library MS Gg.3.28," in *Saints and Scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture in Honor of Hugh Magennis*, ed. Stuart McWilliams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012): 54-74.

the prefaces. Clearly such a manuscript would have been of great interest to Parker had he known of it, but the University Library did not acquire the manuscript until sometime between 1583 and the end of the century—too late to have been used for Parker’s work on Ælfric. Strictly in relation to manuscripts of Parkerian interest, the generally accepted Durham provenance of this manuscript fits. Very few Durham manuscripts were studied by members of Parker’s circle—the most notable exception being Durham, Cathedral Library MS A.IV.36 which Parker did not receive until 1568. Though CUL Gg.3.28 was not acquired by the Cambridge library until after the Parkerian manuscript project, its significance could not have been missed by later scholars like Wheelock and William L’Isle. Significantly, both of their hands appear within this manuscript.

There is, however, one story from this manuscript that offers a final perspective on how Parker’s manuscript research influenced future scholars of Old English. This is likely not a story that could be told if it were not for one of Abraham Wheelock’s personality quirks. His unwillingness to travel far from Cambridge was the source of much criticism from scholars of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but his travel restrictions allowed him to have an extremely detailed knowledge of manuscripts in and near Cambridge—particularly the manuscripts donated by Matthew Parker to his University Library and the library of Corpus Christi College. Wheelock inserted a series of flyleaves into Gg.3.28 to craft his own version of an emulative transcription, collating the Parkerian transcription of Ælfric’s *Assumption of the*

Virgin from the First Series with the version in this manuscript.¹³¹ He later printed a brief excerpt from this collation as a note appended to Book III, chapter 5 of Bede's *Historia*.

Wheelock's Parkerian-style insertion of this transcript into CUL Gg.3.28, in conjunction with his various word lists and glossaries inserted into many other manuscripts, adds another voice to the textual community unearthed by Matthew Parker. By printing these Ælfrician homilies alongside Bede's *Historia* in a newly crafted Anglo-Saxon typeface, Wheelock further builds on Parker's methodology. The context, however, has changed. Arguably because of the efforts of antiquarians like Parker, there is now a much larger possible audience of Old English readers. Unlike Parker's printed manuscripts, Wheelock's 1643 proto-edition immediately becomes a part of the intellectual conversation. The medium of print, rather than freezing a single moment from a growing manuscript-based discourse, offers a starting point for new avenues of research. Wheelock's 1644 edition adds a reprint of Lambarde and Nowell's *Archæionomia*, corrects some errors, and includes a legal glossary. The annotated copy of this edition in the British Library (698.m.6.C2) illustrates the vibrancy of this growing Saxonist community.¹³² One reader documented the variants between Wheelock's text of the Anglo-Saxon Bede and both the Corpus and Cotton manuscripts. As the first professor of Anglo-Saxon at either Cambridge or Oxford, Wheelock was in a unique position to define a new field of scholarship. While his efforts were neither perfect nor complete, it is worthwhile to note that he based his textual

¹³¹ See **Figure 9**.

¹³² This is also the copy of Wheelock's book preserved digitally on EEBO.

practices—in both manuscript and print—on models from Matthew Parker’s circle.

One goal of this dissertation is to provide a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts edited, restored, and transcribed by members of the Parker circle. This corpus of documents not only provided the foundation to Parker’s own publication program, but it also had a far-reaching impact on a significant moment in Anglo-Saxon scholarship over sixty years later. Other groupings of manuscripts could be made that tell similar stories. John Joscelyn’s transcriptions and lexicons, the multitude of recordings by Franciscus Junius, the elegant copies produced by Elizabeth and William Elstob, and the facsimiles of Humphrey Wanley would all be welcome additions to the study of early Anglo-Saxon scholarship. The handlist that comprises my next chapter hopes to move past the critical discussions of Parker’s manuscript conservation practices and to offer instead a consideration of how his interactions with manuscripts have influenced medieval scholarship over the last four hundred years.

Chapter 3: A Preliminary Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Emulative Anglo-Saxon Transcriptions (before 1600)

Introduction

This handlist is primarily comprised of documents written in the household of Elizabethan Archbishop Matthew Parker or by his contemporary, the antiquary Laurence Nowell. Antiquarians throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed their knowledge of Anglo-Saxon language and culture through the transcription and transmission of manuscripts. In the Tudor period, especially, some of these scholars attempted not only to copy and preserve the Anglo-Saxon texts they studied, but also to duplicate the form and feel of the document. The resulting transcription facsimiles are a significant record of Old English texts skillfully copied by early modern scribes for a wide range of purposes. Some fill in the missing pages in larger manuscripts. Others represent sole witnesses to now-lost originals. Still others are working documents, intended for future print publications or private study. The scribes would sometimes attempt to duplicate aspects of the scripts from their source or their destination manuscripts,¹ but would often complete their transcriptions in a scribal *habitus* of their own making.² Whether employing a hurried, untidy script or a careful, even elegant

¹ The most common of these transcriptions were repairs and restorations—Parker’s scribe copied the text out of a source manuscript and inserted into the damaged or incomplete manuscript. I refer to these as source and destination.

² For more on the idea of a scribal *habitus*, see Hussey, “Anglo-Saxon Scribal Habitus and Frankish Aesthetics in an Early Uncial Manuscript.”

bookhand, these sixteenth-century scribes crafted documents that reflect a continuity in scribal practices that deserves more attention.

This list is, by necessity, quite limited in scope. The most significant set of exclusions consists of transcriptions, annotations, word lists, and glossaries by Tudor antiquaries that do not attempt to imitate the form of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. This category includes a number of manuscripts by John Joscelyn, John Parker, Robert Talbot, William Lambarde, Robert Recorde, John Leland, and others. These antiquarian documents are also important records of Old English scholarship, but they only seek to reproduce or transform the content of a medieval manuscript, not its form and feel. Closer to the mark, but excluded on the basis of dating, are a number of seventeenth-century manuscripts, including the Old English transcriptions of the Dutch antiquary Franciscus Junius. His Anglo-Saxon transcribing hand is notable for its well-defined letterforms and consistent aspect, and it was even the base for a set of types he later donated to the press at Oxford.³ Junius rarely attempted to replicate the overall look and feel of a manuscript—often copying his texts out on paper of varying sizes without matching his transcripts to either his source or destination document. His papers are an invaluable record of scholarship on early Germanic languages, but cannot be included in this list. They simply reflect a different stage in the evolution of Anglo-Saxon manuscript

³ For more on Junius and his types, see Peter J. Lucas, “From Politics to Practicalities: Printing Anglo-Saxon in the Context of Seventeenth-Century Scholarship,” *The Library* 4 (2003): 28-48 and Lucas, “Junius, his Printers, and his Types: An Interim Report” in *Franciscus Junius F.F. and his Circle*, ed. By Rolf H. Bremmer Jr (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 177-197.

scholarship. The transcriptions of Humfrey Wanley (who used a method of duplication similar in scope and intent to that practiced by his contemporary Jean Mabillon) for George Hickes' *Thesaurus* are also particularly notable for their skill and craft. Aside from being well over a century later than the Parkerian documents, Wanley's method was to attempt nearly exact facsimiles of shorter portions of text. Rather than duplicating entire manuscripts, Wanley's reproductions were intended for woodcuts and copper plates and the medium of print and showcase his paleographical skills as much as his interest in copying out a text.⁴ Perhaps closest in spirit to Parkerian manuscript reproductions were those by William and Elizabeth Elstob.⁵ A more complete list, which would be a welcome study in its own right, might include all of these figures and more up until William Elstob's death in 1715.

I intend for this handlist to contain as much relevant information as possible for the scholar interested in the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon studies. This is not intended to be a complete description of the contents within each manuscript and is limited in its focus to the portions of each document which include transcriptions in an imitative Anglo-Saxon hand. Because of this narrow focus on the transcribed content of each manuscript, I also include relevant material to modern scholars: a reference to the original manuscript source by shelfmark, bibliographical references to current scholarship on each manuscript, at least one

⁴ Parkes, "Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts," 127.

⁵ For more on the Elstobs, see Timothy Graham, "William Elstob's Planned Edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws: A Remnant in the Takamiya Collection," *Poetica* 73 (2010): 109–41.

image of the document, and selected semi-diplomatic transcriptions with notes on any variants from the source. Each entry, then, will follow this outline:

1. Shelfmark
2. Scope of transcriptions: page and folio numbers
3. Specific text(s) transcribed
4. Scribe identification where possible
5. Notes on the paleography and codicology
6. Identification of source manuscript and relevant analogues
7. References to pre-modern editions or scholarship
8. References from modern scholarship on manuscript
9. Selected semi-diplomatic transcription with variant notes
10. Selected image to accompany transcription

These pieces of information are particularly useful when studying antiquarian transcriptions.

It can sometimes be difficult to recognize the difference between a Parkerian scribe's errors or intentional emendations. In some cases, their growing familiarity with the language and scripts of their sources led them to craft new readings, while in others their apparent lack of knowledge and experience led to errors in letter and word recognition. Having at least a small body of transcriptions and plates could prove a valuable reference to other scholars and students. Further, most studies on these manuscripts that include images and facsimile plates are often limited in scope—reproducing only a few manuscripts without showing the entire range of different antiquarian scripts. This collection of documents aims to be a more complete repository of the sixteenth-century Anglo-Saxon facsimiles related to Matthew Parker and his circle. C. E. Wright's 1951 examination of Matthew Parker's circle provides an

early, but excellent model for this type of overview.⁶ He registers the manuscripts associated with Parker's library, identifies the various scholars who had a part in collecting them, and even includes representative images of their italic and secretary hands. It's an invaluable resource that I hope to supplement with this image collection of Parkerian imitative transcribing hands.

On Identifying the Scribes

In a 1573 letter to Lord Burhley, William Cecil, the elderly Archbishop Parker boasted of the book artisans he employed: "I have within my house in wages, drawers and cutters, painters and limners, writers, and bookbinders."⁷ This was not an exaggeration. Untangling the web of Parker's scribes is difficult enough even before adding papers by Nowell and Lambarde to the confusion. Further, archaizing hands themselves offer numerous difficulties in identification. Parker's scribes varyingly—often with in the same document—attempted to match the form of their transcription to either the form of their source manuscript or their destination. Often, they would revert to their own individualized scribal *habitus*. Further, it is clear that Parker's scribes developed their skill at antique scripts over the decade or so that

⁶ Wright, "The Dispersal of the Monastic Librarys and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies."

⁷ Bruce and Perowne, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, 424–26.

marked this project, yet their acquired fluency heightened their individual differences. As

Malcolm Parkes describes it,

An archaizing hand, however, is not only a hybrid hand but an abnormal one. The duct appears to reflect a tension between the effort to control the pen required to achieve accuracy when reproducing an obsolete letter-form, and the rhythm required to achieve a satisfactory imitation of it. Where the duct of such a hand appears to be more fluent, the shapes of the letters are less accurate, and the scribe lapsed more easily into contemporary, parachronistic forms.⁸

It is these individual habits—a g with a closed or open bowl, descenders that stay straight or tail off, entry strokes or wedged serifs, frequency of tall and low s—that aid in my attempts to identify the scribes of these transcriptions.⁹ In Parker’s household, I believe that I have found at least three distinct scribal hands. Some manuscripts, either due to the small size of the sample or inexperience, may fall into unique categories or may be closer in relationship to one scribe or another. I have noted these examples where appropriate. One of the most extensive transcriptions, however, is the one I have the most trouble placing within a specific group. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 449 [10], a transcription of the first 41 folia of Ælfric’s *Grammar*, is so consistently inconsistent throughout that it resists easy classification. It is possible that this manuscript contains the efforts of a single scribe at two different points in his career as a transcriber. More likely, however, is the possibility that the majority of this

⁸ Parkes, “Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts.” 129.

⁹ For more on the problems with identifying matched and imitative hands, see Hussey, “Anglo-Saxon Scribal Habitus and Frankish Aesthetics in an Early Uncial Manuscript,” and Patrick Connor, “On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands.”

manuscript was done by a more novice scribe and a portion in the middle was corrected and further repaired by a more experienced master scribe.¹⁰

As for actually naming the scribes responsible for each document, I do not think it is completely possible at the present time and I am not convinced that it ultimately makes a significant impact on this study. I do tentatively attribute names to at least two of the scribes in this study, and those attributions do make for an interesting thought experiment on the nature of Parker's manuscript research project, but they do not affect my overall conclusions. The two most capable Anglo-Saxon scholars of this era, John Joscelyn and Laurence Nowell, transcribed their texts in very different ways. Joscelyn most often used an early modern italic script modified with Anglo-Saxon letterforms, while Nowell wrote in both an elegant, insular bookhand and his own hurried Anglo-Saxon script. The distinction between these two approaches continues with the practices of their closest collaborators and mentees, John Parker and William Lambarde. Yet the scribes in Parker's household, apart from Joscelyn, developed individualized Anglo-Saxon facsimile scripts according to the direction of Parker and his chief scribe, who can perhaps be identified as the registrar Peter Lyly. Possibly discovering that Parker himself was one of these scribes or unearthing exactly which manuscripts were copied by Lyly does not change a reading of Parker's overall approach to his manuscripts.

¹⁰ This manuscript is addressed in more detail both in Chapter 2 and in the entries for CCCC 449 later in this handlist.

That being said, having a name associated with different scribes can be useful as an organizing principle. In grouping these manuscripts by scribe, I make the assumption, perhaps overzealously, that the main Parkerian scribe—simply the person who used the most ink—must be Lyly. He is the only scribe Parker identifies by name and is also the most mysterious.¹¹ Part of this is due, I think to the early confusion of Lyly with William L’Isle by M.R. James and the often mistaken identification of Parker as a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.¹² L’Isle was a later member of the Society, which met in the library of Robert Cotton, and he reprinted Parker’s *Testimonie of Antiquitie* in 1623 and 1638, but he would have been only seven years old when Matthew Parker died in 1575. L’Isle could not have been one of his scribes, but his association with an antiquarian society, his interests in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and his publication of Parkerian material may have been on James’ mind when writing the catalogue entry for CCCC 449. Additionally, L’Isle has been misidentified as the scribe of other sixteenth-century imitative transcriptions now known to have been by Laurence Nowell in Canterbury Cathedral.¹³ Peter Lily, a son of St. Paul’s schoolmaster and grammarian William Lily and father to playwright John Lily, was a registrar for Archbishop

¹¹ As “Lyllye” in an oft-cited 1565 letter to Cecil: “which I was in mind to have caused Lyllye to have counterfeited in antiquity...” Bruce and Perowne, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, 234.

¹² On Parker’s mistaken inclusion the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, see Michael Stuckey, ““...this Society Tendeth...”: Elite Prosopography in Elizabethan Legal History,” *Prosopon: The Journal of Prosopography* 1 (2006): 4.

¹³ Carl Berkhout, “Laurence Nowell (1530–ca. 1570),” in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, volume 2: *Literature and Philology*, ed. Helen Damico (New York and London: Garland, 1998): 11. J. R. Hall fondly recalls Berkhout’s discovery here from a 1988 postcard: “Carl T. Berkhout: An Appreciation,” in *Old English Scholarship and Bibliography: Essays in Honor of Carl T. Berkhout*, Old English Newsletter Subsidia, vol. 32, ed. Jonathan Wilcox (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Western Michigan University, 2004): 9–10.

Parker until his death in 1569. Crankshaw and Gillespie, Echard, Graham, and Parkes,¹⁴ and others form the scholarly consensus that he is the best candidate for Parker's scribe, though there is still some doubt.¹⁵ Given his education and his connection to Parker, it seems that the mystery is as close to solved as we can expect it to be. In the interest of organization and my own fallible memory, I have assigned the name Lyly to the works of my Scribe 1.

Scribe 2 is both more complicated and more fascinating. His work includes brief additions to CCCC 178 [6], CCCC 188 [7], CTC B.15.34 [13], and Hatton 38 [23]. R. I. Page makes the claim that the scribe of the inserted sheets in CCCC 178 is Parker himself.¹⁶ M. R. James thought this page was "carefully written in Parker's time (very likely by Lyly)."¹⁷ Graham and Lucas have suggested that only the glosses may have been Parker's, observing differences in the ink color and quality between the glosses and the main text.¹⁸ They could have been added at a later date by a different hand or even the same hand. Still, Scribe 2 only appears in four manuscripts—three of which are Ælfrician homiliaries—and just fifteen pages of text. The script itself is very distinctive and "orderly," to borrow the term R. I. Page used to describe

¹⁴ David J. Crankshaw, Alexandra Gillespie, 'Parker, Matthew (1504–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21327>, accessed 4 July 2016], Graham, "The Beginnings of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker"; Parkes, "Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts."

¹⁵ Hunter, *John Lyly*, 36–37.

¹⁶ Page makes a fairly definite claim that the text in CCCC 178 is Parker's: "...his own script makes it clear—at any rate to me—that this is Parker himself." Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books*, 54 and 117, plate 57. For more on the identification of Parker as this scribe, see Chapter 2 and [6].

¹⁷ James, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 414–5

¹⁸ Graham, "The Beginnings of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker," 46n50; and Lucas, "A Testimonie of Veye Ancient Tyme?," 152–3.

Parker himself. If we were to imagine the output of Parker as that of the “director of research,”¹⁹ then it makes sense that he may not personally write as much as his main scribes, but what work he did would be highly focused on the items of most interest to him. Simply put, this imagined collection of materials would look nearly identical to Scribe 2’s. Finally, I turn towards Parker’s own description in a 1575 letter to Cecil of his final years spent toying “out my time, partly with copying books...”²⁰ With all of this in mind, I follow Page in suggesting that Scribe 2 may be Matthew Parker himself.

I take the grouping for Scribe 3 from Timothy Graham. His detailed examination of Leofric’s list of procurements in CCCC 101 (p. 447-450) makes a compelling case for the relationship between the transcript of Genesis earlier in CCCC 101, the copy of Leofric’s procurements for Exeter Cathedral out of the *Exeter Book* and that of Cnut’s laws in CCCC 383. I have no reason to doubt his conclusions, though I have added to this list the copy of *Bede’s Death Song* on p. 29 in CCCC 101 and the brief addition to Cotton Faustina A. ix. Now, as to actually identifying that scribe, I borrow another quote from R. I. Page: “I have not the slightest idea.”²¹ Few of Parker’s other scribes and secretaries apart from John Joscelyn or Stephen Batman are named. Joscelyn certainly had the linguistic capabilities and the interest in Exeter manuscripts to be a candidate, but he was apparently not a calligrapher. Stephen

¹⁹ Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books*, 92.

²⁰ Parker, *Correspondence*, 473-4.

²¹ Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books*, 54.

Batman attempted some Anglo-Saxon letterforms in at least one of his manuscripts, but they do not appear to be of the same quality or aspect as those in this group.²² The hurried aspect of the script and the combination of legal texts and an Exeter document could also indicate Laurence Nowell's involvement, though I do not believe that to be the case. I have included a few of Nowell's transcriptions in this handlist to compare with the Parkerian scribes, and there are just not enough similarities between them to make the connection. The most notable difference is in aspect. Nowell's script, especially on the long ascenders, tends to take on a reversed slant from the top left of his letters to the bottom right, while these slant in the opposite direction. Also, Nowell's lines are not as uniformly straight as those by this scribe. Nowell's transcripts tend to display a noticeable rising and falling across the page. These characteristics may also be simply indicators of his haste. Other known possibilities that cannot be completely discounted include Parker's son, John and Nowell's collaborator William Lambarde. There is, however, no compelling evidence to point towards a positive identification of either as Scribe 3.

Laurence Nowell's manuscripts are more readily identified. We know, for the most part, where his manuscripts have gone and who was responsible for them after his disappearance. Unfortunately, these are the least accessible manuscripts on my list. At least one is in a private collection and many of the others are not available either on microform, much less digitally. I

²² See **Figure 5** for an image of Stephen Batman's Anglo-Saxon alphabet.

depend, for the most part, on the work of Carl Berkhout and Rebecca Brackmann for their descriptions of his work and manuscripts. Where I have either seen the manuscript in person or found a surrogate, I have continued my practice of including an image and a transcription. Regardless, I offer what I can of Nowell's corpus primarily to provide a counterpoint to the methodology of scribes within Parker's circle. As Berkhout has shown, Nowell was likely the skilled artisan Parker referred to in his 1565 letter to Cecil.²³ It seems that his work was at least known to Parker, if not admired by him. His transcriptions are distinctly individual. Visibly, they often slope in the opposite direction of Parker's manuscripts and many of the original documents. They also showcase his own idiosyncratic system of expanding abbreviations or incorporating edited readings into the text. Nowell was not averse to amending his transcriptions as he worked, as scholars of the Anglo-Saxon laws have long lamented.²⁴ While normally reliable, Nowell's comfort with the language allowed him to treat these texts as living documents—one example from his dictionary changes *dun ælfa* from the Cleopatra Glossary into *Bergælfenne* in his own *Vocabularium*.²⁵ Not immediately recalling the meaning of *dun* as hill, he did not hesitate to substitute a synonym of his own devising. In Parker's circle, only

²³ Berkhout, "Laurence Nowell," 7

²⁴ For a review of the controversy surrounding Nowell and Lambarde's possible additions, see Patrick Wormald, "The Lambarde Problem: Eighty Years On," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately*, Eds. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997): 237-275.

²⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library Selden Supra MS 63.

Joscelyn had that level of competence (though he may have had more restraint). For Nowell, his imitative transcripts were also scholarly transcripts and proto-editions.

There are two manuscripts with possible Nowell transcripts that I have not chosen to include: Exeter Cathedral MS 3501, the *Exeter Book*, and Cotton MS Vitellius A. xv, the *Nowell Codex*. As Berkhout has argued, Nowell touched up some of the damaged portions in the first few folios of the *Exeter Book*.²⁶ These repairs, then, might showcase another, even more precise form of his Anglo-Saxon imitative hand, but they are not transcripts. Nowell copied over the faint, but still present, letters and words in the document. Is this an individual hand, a facsimile script, or a tracing? A similar point can be made about the even more contentious fol. 178rv (182rv) in the manuscript of *Beowulf*. Berkhout argues that Nowell was capable of duplicating the nearly invisible letterforms on this already damaged folio and that the few marginal notes he made on fol. 129r (131r) indicate his interest in the text.²⁷ This repair is quite different from that of the *Exeter Book* and his other transcripts and may just as likely belong to either the original or another medieval scribe. Once again, if he were indeed responsible for the repairs (which seems unlikely), he could have traced already-present letter forms. However, that seems both difficult to prove and impossible to categorize in this list of transcripts.

²⁶ Berkhout, "Laurence Nowell (1530 - Ca. 1570)," 13. See **Figure 10**.

²⁷ For more on this possibility, see Keirnan, "The *nathwylc* Scribe and the *nathwylc* Text of *Beowulf*."

Two transcriptions that I have included do not quite fit within the rest of the corpus. CTC R.9.8 [14] is a transcription of Ælfric's *Grammar* that appears to my eyes to be by John Parker, and thus a bit later than the others. Humfrey Wanley's catalogue description noticed John Parker's signature on the now missing first page. Some other Parkerian elements within the text—red crayon page numbers and margins—could be from either the younger Parker or his father. They were known to use similar methods. I've included the document as it does offer an interesting comparison to the rest of the works. The other, CTC Add.MS.c.198 [12], is a brief copy of the beginning of the *Textus Roffensis*. This manuscript was not known by the Parker circle before 1571 or so and was not used in Lambarde's *Archaionomia*. However, it does appear from annotations in Lambarde's notebooks and personal copies of the *Archaionomia*, that he knew the manuscript later and perhaps intended to include it within a later, never-realized edition. If this transcript is by Lambarde (who had a capable, if inconsistent Anglo-Saxon hand himself), it fits within the timeline of these other documents.²⁸ Perhaps even more fascinating is the possibility that this manuscript was once bound with a printed edition of the *Archaionomia* now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.²⁹ Keynes notes that Carl Berkhout has identified a relationship between this paper manuscript and the printed book, but was unclear about the nature of that relationship. Folger MS V.a.230 is best known as a manuscript

²⁸ Simon Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 18, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Study, SUNY Binghamton, 1992). Keynes dates this manuscript to the second half of the sixteenth century.

²⁹ Folger MS V.a.230.

containing one of the possible signatures of William Shakespeare, so I was unable to view it in person at the Folger and the full portfolio of research material on the manuscript is almost entirely focused on the dubious authenticity of the signature. A digital surrogate is available, however. This book contains two emulative Anglo-Saxon marginal notes to the *Archaionomia* in what appears to be a different hand than the *Roffensis* transcription, but there is at least one tantalizing connection: the damaged and missing portions of the first page to the CTC manuscript match almost exactly to the damaged and missing portions of the last page to the Folger book.

As an aid to the manuscripts in this collection, I have included a chart listing each of them, sorted both by shelfmark and my own scribal groupings alongside another chart comparing their respective alphabets.³⁰

A Note on Transcriptions

For each of these transcriptions, I have tried to identify how the scribes interacted with both their source and destination manuscripts—did they attempt to emulate the script of the manuscript they were repairing? Or the manuscript from which they were copying? As most of these transcriptions were used to supplement missing text in an extant manuscript, I try to keep the distinction clear between the source for the copy and the manuscript into which the

³⁰ See **Appendix A** and **Appendix B**.

copy was placed. My use of “source” and “destination” reflects this distinction. Where the relationship to a source is unclear or where other scholars have differed on manuscript relationships, I have tried to include multiple variants in my own brief transcriptions. As part of the difficulty in this project lies in evaluating the competence and familiarity of these scribes with Old English, I have maintained a few Anglo-Saxon letterforms in my transcriptions that are not typically used in modern editions: *þ* as an abbreviation for *þæt*, differences in usage between *æ* and *e*, and the specific markers used by scribes when splitting a word at the end of a line (=, ~, or a slanted =). My variant notes also include differences in spelling and abbreviations that are not typically noted or needed in most modern editions. When an early modern scribe silently expands the abbreviation of his medieval exemplar, uses a *ð* instead of a *þ*, swaps a *y* for an *i*, or inserts an abbreviation where none exists in the exemplar, it can help differentiate between a more knowledgeable scholar (like Nowell or Joscelyn) and a copyist unfamiliar with the language.

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 100a

Scope: Page 29, lines 19-21³¹

Text: Bede's Death Song

Scribe: Scribe 3.

Notes on the Script: The limited scope of the selection does make any sort of scribal identification difficult. There are, however, a few details in the scribe's letterforms that may indicate a relationship to the script used in CCCC 101 [3] and 383 [9].³² This scribe often uses an entry stroke from the left for *þ*, *h*, and *l*. His entry stroke for insular *g* begins just above and to the right of the curved crossbar. Also on the *g*, he begins his downstroke from the right end of the crossbar. This scribe also employs a relatively short ascender that turns to the right for *d* and *ð*. He often begins his *þ* quite low, leading to the possibility of confusing it with *wynn*. Finally, nearly all of his descenders tail off sharply to the left, with only the first *wynn* remaining relatively straight. In terms of mistakes, this scribe writes *r* instead of a terminal *s* on three occasions "*þancer*" in ln. 1, "*hir*" in ln. 2, and "*hir*" again in ln. 3. He does not make the same mistake with "*godes*" or "*yfeles*" in ln. 3. It is important to note that this is not necessarily a mistake on the part of Parker's scribe (although a more knowledgeable scribe might have

³¹ See plate at **Figure 11**.

³² Graham, "A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, The Exeter Book, and Cambridge University Library MS li. 2.11." Graham was the first to argue for a relationship between the two selections of Old English transcriptions in CCCC 101 and the more hurried legal transcription in CCCC 383

corrected the error himself), but an error that the scribe reproduces from his exemplar.

Finally, i is dotted, not accented.

Source Manuscript: M. R. James suggested that the transcription of Simeon of Durham which encompasses pages 1-126 in this manuscript is copied from CCCC MS 139.³³ However, the text in MS 139 is not actually the *Liber Dunelmensis*, but is instead the sole manuscript witness to the *Historia Regum*—a text often attributed to Simeon of Durham that does not contain the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* as is present in this transcription. This transcript of the *Epistola Cuthberti*, and *Bede's Death Song* within it, appears to come from a manuscript closely related to Dobbie's "Symeon group."³⁴ Durham, University Library Cosin V. II. 6 (D); London, British Library Cotton Faustina A. v (Fa); Oxford, Bodleian Library Fairfax 6 (Fx); Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 700 (Ld₂)³⁵; and York, Dean and Chapter Library, XVI.1.12 (Y). Of these listed manuscripts, only Fa might have been accessible to Parker or one of his scribes, but it was in the possession of Henry Savile until he gave it to Thomas Allen in 1589 where it remained until it joined the Cotton Library in 1621.³⁶ It does not appear that Parker knew of it. Further, none of these manuscripts show the typical evidence of use by John Joscelyn or any other Parkerian

³³ James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 1, 189.

³⁴ Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, New York: Columbia UP, 1942.

³⁵ A. I. Doyle has shown that both the Fx and Ld₂ manuscripts are sixteenth century transcriptions out of Cosin V. II. 6, possibly by the Durham historian William Claxton. A. I. Doyle, "William Claxton and the Durham Chronicles," in *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, eds. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite, (London: The British Library, 1997): 335-357.

³⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, 189-190

scribe and are thus unlikely to be the source for the transcriptions in CCCC 100. There are three additional Parkerian transcriptions of the text that need to be considered when discussing the source for the copy in volume 1 of CCCC 100. The first is in volume 2 of CCCC 100 [2]. Cambridge, Trinity College R.7.28 was known to Parker and was the source for the transcription of the *Annals of St Neots* surrounding the poem, but is a doubtful source for the copy. An additional pair of fourteenth-century manuscripts with sixteenth-century Parkerian transcriptions of the Old English poem survive in London, British Library Cotton Titus A. ii and CCCC 359. It may be possible that the same manuscript is the source for all four of these transcriptions, although for a number of reasons, the Titus transcription is a clear outlier.

There are two compelling possibilities for the source manuscript of Parker's copies. David Yerkes, examining what he and C. E. Wright believe to be Joscelyn's transcription in Cotton Titus A. ii, suggested a now-lost portion of Cotton Otho A. viii.³⁷ He notes that Thomas Smith's catalogue entry for Otho A. viii contains an entry for "De obitu Bedae Cuthberti, ejus discipuli epistola" which could plausibly contain an Old English version of *Bede's Death Song*. Yerkes adds that the version of Smith's catalogue in Oxford, Bodleian Library Gough London 54 contains a note by Humfrey Wanley identifying the hand of John Joscelyn in other portions of Otho A. viii. Evidence of Joscelyn's presence in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript makes this source plausible—at least for the transcript attributed to Joscelyn in Titus A. ii. However, there are

³⁷ David Yerkes, "Joscelyn's Text of *Bede's Death Song*," in *Notes and Queries* 31.1 (1984): 14-16.

some distinct differences between the text in Titus and the text(s) in CCCC 100.³⁸ Using Joscelyn's normally careful transcription as a substitute, we can probably rule out Otho A. viii as a source for Corpus manuscript(s), though not necessarily for Titus.³⁹

The final possibility is one that Yerkes did not include in his analysis of Joscelyn's transcript and was unknown to Dobbie: Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.36. This manuscript, given to Parker by its Robert Horne in 1568, contains the full text of Symeon of Durham's *Liber Dunelmensis* and a version of Bede's Death Song on fol. 25.⁴⁰ This is a thirteenth century copy of the Cosin manuscript, and it fits neatly within the "Symeon Group," so it may have also been the source for the second transcription of *Bede's Death Song* in vol. 2 of CCCC 100 and the copy in the margins of CCCC 359. The second CCCC 100 transcription, by a different scribe, should come from a transcription of the *Epistola Cuthberti* within a twelfth-century copy of *The Annals of St Neots* from Cambridge, Trinity College R.7.28 (as the rest of the Latin transcription does). However, the Trinity manuscript does not contain the Latin translation of

³⁸ I have included the Titus version in my notes on variants within the transcription—the differences are significant.

³⁹ Though the Titus manuscript is outside the scope of this paper, I do agree with Yerkes here. In addition to the discrepancies between Joscelyn's text and the other medieval mss, it does not agree with any of the Corpus transcripts either. The lost source in Otho A. viii is the best explanation.

⁴⁰ Lucas concurs with Offler and Doyle that this manuscript is the source for the transcriptions in CCCC 100. See A. Ian Doyle, "Bede's Death Song in Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.36," in *Durham University Journal*, 44 (1950-51): 22-28; Lucas, "A Testimonie of Veye Ancient Tyme? Some Manuscript Models for the Parkerian Anglo-Saxon Type-Designs," 147-188; Peter J. Lucas, "Scribal Imitation of Earlier Handwriting: 'Bastard Saxon' and Its Impact," in *Le Statut Du Scribeur Au Moyen Age: Actes Du XIIe Colloque Scientifique Du Comite International de Paleographie Latine (Cluny, 17-20 Juillet 1998)*, ed. Marie-Clotilde Hubert, Emmanuel Poulle, and Smith (Paris: Ecole des Chartres, 2000); H. S. Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham: An Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of Medieval History in the Applebey Lecture Theatre in 14 March 1958*, (Durham: University of Durham, 1958).

Bede's Death Song immediately following the Old English portion, though it is included in both transcriptions. On paleographical grounds, it is not written with the insular letterforms the Parkerian copyist used, making the *þancer/þances* mistake unlikely.⁴¹ This could not have come from CTC R.7.28, but from a manuscript either written in or copied from an Anglo-Saxon miniscule that itself either copies or originates the mistake. While Parkerian scribes did make numerous errors, it is unlikely that three different copyists would make the same mistakes in the same place within such a short poem. Their shared source must also contain it. Durham, Cathedral Library A.IV.36, a thirteenth century copy from the oldest manuscript in the “Symeon Group,” agrees with most of the readings, includes the Latin translation to the poem, and originates the “*þancer*” transcription error picked up by the Parkerian scribes. Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.36 must be the source for all three transcriptions.

Pre-Modern printed editions: Parker, *Aelfredi Regis Res Gestae* (1574)

Selected References: Dobbie (1942); Doyle (1998); Lucas (1997, 2000); Page (1993, 2003, 2006)

⁴¹ I have included a transcription of the text from CTC R.7.28 alongside my transcription of CCCC 100b.

*Transcription*⁴²: for þam⁴³ needfere⁴⁴ nenig⁴⁵ wyrþeð⁴⁶ wancer⁴⁷ / snottra⁴⁸. þonne him þearf sy.
 to gehig genne⁴⁹ ær⁵⁰ hir⁵¹ heonen gange⁵². hwæt⁵³ hir⁵⁴ gaste godes oððe⁵⁵ yfeles⁵⁶. æfter⁵⁷
 deaðe⁵⁸ heouen⁵⁹ demed wurðe⁶⁰. Quod⁶¹ / ita latina sonat...

⁴² See **Figure 11**. These notes show variants from Dobbie's edition of the West Saxon Version based on MS. Digby 211 (Dg). I also include specific references to any variants from Durham, Cathedral Library A. IV.36 (DCL), CCCC 100b (100b), CCCC 359 (359), Joscelyn's transcript in Titus A ii (Titus), and CTC R. 7. 28 (Tr₃). Following Dobbie's methods, I have also noted differences in *þ*, *ð*, and *th*, except for Joscelyn's transcript—he exclusively used *ð* in this and many of his other transcripts.

⁴³ (Tr₃) Forthā

⁴⁴ (Dg) nedfere

⁴⁵ (Dg) næni; (Tr₃) neni; (Titus) nænig

⁴⁶ (Tr₃) wyrtheth; (Titus) weorðeð

⁴⁷ (Dg) þances; (Tr₃) thances

⁴⁸ (Dg, Tr₃) snotera; (Titus) snotora

⁴⁹ (Dg, Tr₃) gehicgenne; (Titus) gehycgenne

⁵⁰ (Tr₃) ęr

⁵¹ (Dg, Tr₃, 100b, DCL) his

⁵² (Dg, Tr₃) heonengange; (100b) heouen gange

⁵³ (Tr₃) hwet

⁵⁴ (Dg, Tr₃, 100b, DCL) his

⁵⁵ (Dg) oþþe; (100b, DCL) oððe; (Tr₃) othe

⁵⁶ (Tr₃) yueles

⁵⁷ (Tr₃) efter

⁵⁸ (Dg) deaþe; (Tr₃) deathe

⁵⁹ (Dg) heonon; (359) heonen

⁶⁰ (Dg) weorþe; (Tr₃) weorthe

⁶¹ (Tr₃) Not present.

2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 100b

Scope: Page 280, lines 19-20 and bottom margin. Marked by signs in the margins.⁶²

Text: *Bede's Death Song*

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the script: As was the case with the first text from CCCC 100, the limited amount of text makes a full scribal identification difficult. However, many of the letterforms here share traits with the hand which I believe may have belonged to Parker's main scribe.⁶³ The aspect is upright, with straight descenders that end in points (which taper slightly towards the left). The *g*, distinctively for this scribe, tends to begin its downstroke close to the center of the crossbar (possibly indicating a lift of the pen). The *þ*, *h*, and tall *s* show not an entry stroke (as in the other example from CCCC 100), but a wedge. The *æ* digraph rises just above the midline with each *e* and utilizes the single chamber form of *a*. As in most Parkerian transcripts, *i* is dotted. Finally, the scribe ends the crossbar on his *ð* with an ending stroke both above and below the line, though his tendency does appear to be an upward stroke.

Source Manuscript: See the report from [1]. While the text surrounding this portion of *Bede's Death Song* within the *Epistola Cuthberti* is a transcription of *The Annals of St Neots* from CTC

R.7.28, the Anglo-Saxon text was not copied from that manuscript. A better candidate is again

⁶² See **Figure 12**.

⁶³ This hand appears to be present in about 79 pages of text across at least 7 manuscripts—significantly more than the next closest scribe.

Durham Cathedral Library MS A.IV.36. This scribe does not reproduce the exact same errors as the scribe for the first transcript—he reads the source correctly for both occurrences of “his” in ln. 2 and self-corrects “*heonen*” from the original manuscript into “*heouen*” on both occasions, where the first scribe only did it for the last occurrence. Further, he correctly substitutes the þ for wynn in “þancer,” though he retains the incorrect terminal *r*.

Pre-Modern printed editions: Parker, Matthew, ed., *Aelfredi Regis Res Gestae* (1574)

Selected References: Dobbie (1942); Doyle (1998); Lucas (1997); Page (1993, 2003, 2006)

Transcriptions: (CCCC 100b)⁶⁴ for þam neodfere nenig wyrþeð þancer snottra þonne him þearf sy / to gehig genne ær his⁶⁵ heouen⁶⁶ gange hwæt his⁶⁷ gaste godes oððe⁶⁸ yfeles æfter deaðe / [bottom margin] heouen⁶⁹ demed wurðe. quod ita latina sonat...⁷⁰

⁶⁴ See **Figure 12**. For this text, most variant notes would duplicate those present in [1] and DCL. As they seem to have been copied from the same source (or perhaps from each other), I will only note the few cases in which they diverge.

⁶⁵ (100a) hir

⁶⁶ (100a, DCL) heonen

⁶⁷ (100a) hir

⁶⁸ (100a) oððe

⁶⁹ (DCL) heonen

⁷⁰ The Latin version added here is written in a different hand from that of the main scribe who left two lines of space for the insertion of this poem by one of Parker’s skilled facsimilists. Two lines was clearly not enough, so the poem finishes on the bottom margin.

3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 101a

Scope: Pages 53-86 (54-5 blank)⁷¹

Text: (p. 53) Alcuin, Old English translation of *De scripturarum lectione* from *De Virtutibus et vitiis*; (pp. 55-57) Ælfric, Preface to *Genesis*; (pp. 58-84) Ælfric, *Genesis*, chapters 1-24.

Scribe: Scribe 3. This identification is perhaps complicated by a vague reference in a brief, unsigned note within a manuscript formerly belonging to John Henry Gurney. On fol. 269 of Gurney's MS XXI is the entry: "Ad Scripturarum lectionem Exhortatio"; in Anglo-Sax., from Bennett Coll. MS. 373⁷²." The note, possibly by Henry Spelman(?)⁷³, reads:

This is the preface to the translation of some parts of Genesis into Saxon by Alfric the Monk to Eathelweard Ealderman, which is sett forth—*ut puto*—by Mr. Lile—*quare*—but this preface he never saw, as himself told me at Bennett Colledge, August, 1628.⁷⁴

Other manuscripts from this collection have ended up in the British Library under the Egerton shelfmark, but I have been unable to locate this specific document. This note is initially confusing because of the similarity between the name Lile and that of Parker's scribe Lylye, the reference to CCCC 101, and the syntax which could indicate either a clear, handwritten transcription or a printed text. Most likely, this records a conversation between Henry

⁷¹ See **Figure 13**.

⁷² Now shelfmarked CCCC 101—the 373 listed here is from James' numbering system.

⁷³ Henry Spelman seems the most likely candidate here. The Report had recognized other documents within this collection as belonging to both him and Symonds D'Ewes and made sure to note any instances of D'Ewes' handwriting. Spelman was a noted Anglo-Saxonist and knew L'Isle well.

⁷⁴ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IX: The Manuscripts of The Duke of Beaufort, K. G., the Early of Donoughmore, and Others*, (London, 1891): 130-131. The manuscript in question is Gurney Misc. MS XXII, fols. 245-253.

Spelman and William L'Isle⁷⁵ about his 1623 printing of other Ælfrician material on Bible translations and has nothing at all to do with Parker's scribe. Locating and examining this manuscript would certainly help to clear up any remaining confusion on my part.⁷⁶

Notes on the script: Graham's description of this script and his comparisons between this selection and the later transcriptions in the manuscript are both thorough and precise.⁷⁷ He especially points out the script's sloping aspect and the "attacking" strokes or serifs on the upper *b*, *h*, *l*, *p*, and *g*. Another feature of the flat-topped insular *g* in this hand is the downstroke beginning at the right end and swooping left to an exaggerated open bowl. Further, most of the long descenders exhibit a slight tail towards the left—not as sharply defined as those in CCCC 100a, but still noticeable. All of these features make this hand especially distinct from the hand of Scribe 1 and suggest the possibility of adding CCCC 100a to Graham's family of CCCC 101a, 101b, and 383 [9]. Words split over a line break are marked by =.

Source Manuscript: CUL Ms. Ii.1.33: *De scripturarum lectione*, fols. 212v-213r; Ælfric, Preface to *Genesis* and *Genesis*, fols. 2r-24v. Aside from marginal notes on the beginnings and endings of

⁷⁵ L'Isle could not have been Parker's scribe, though he did later work with William Lambarde and John Parker.

⁷⁶ From what I can tell, most of the Gurney collection of manuscripts were sold at a Sotheby's auction on March 30-31, 1936. Some of these manuscripts were bought by the British Library, becoming Egerton MS 3137, 3138, 3139, and a few others. According to my email correspondence with Nicola Beech at the British Library, Misc. MS XXI was split into various sections before the auction and was sold to different dealers in a random order. Unfortunately, she could not find any reference to fols. 245-253, either by folio number or by content description. Her assumption is that as later transcripts of existing manuscripts, they were considered to be of little significance and not sold. A further email correspondence with the manuscripts coordinator of Sotheby's revealed that they do not have any detailed records from that far back and that the annotated catalogue at the British Library would be the best record. Where they are currently, or if they still exist, no one seems to know.

⁷⁷ Graham, "A Parkerian Transcript."

chapters and some lexical underlinings, there are no paratextual indications that CUL li.1.33 was the exemplar for this lengthy transcript. Cotton MS Vespasian D.IV was also known to Parker and contains both texts, but the readings in that manuscript do not match the transcription as closely as CUL.

Selected References: Bromwich (1962), Echard (2015), Graham (1994), Lucas (1997), Page (1987, 1993, 2003).

*Transcription (p. 55, ln 1-4):*⁷⁸ ⁷⁹Alfric⁸⁰ munuc gret æþelweard ealdorman eadmodlice. þubæd⁸¹ me leof þ ic sceolde þe / awænden of lædene on ænglis þa boc Genesis. þa þuhte me hefigtyme þe totipienne þaes. 7 þu / cwæde þa þ ic ne ðosfte⁸² namare awænden þær⁸³ bec butan to ysaace habrahames sunu / for þan þe⁸⁴ sum oðerman þe hæfde awænd⁸⁵ fram⁸⁶ ysaace þa boc oðende.

⁷⁸ See **Figure 13**. These notes track variants only with the source manuscript, CUL li. 1. 33.

⁷⁹ The original manuscript is signed, “Genesis in Englishe / Matthaueus Cantuar: dedit 1574”

⁸⁰ Ælfric; The capital A here is rubricated and has been cropped just above its midpoint. No marks are present that make this look like an Æ, and instead is more similar to the scribe’s capital A on the next page.

⁸¹ þu bæde

⁸² Parker’s scribe reproduces the original’s error in differentiating between a short s with descender and an r.

⁸³ þære

⁸⁴ forðanþe

⁸⁵ awend

⁸⁶ frā

4. Cambridge Corpus Christi College, 101b

Scope: Pages 447-450⁸⁷

Text: List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral

Scribe: Scribe 3

Notes on the Script: A more thorough description of the hand and its characteristics may be found in Graham (1994) and above in entry [3]. This selection does, however, offer some fascinating differences from the previous entry. As it includes both Old English and Latin text, the scribe would typically follow the convention of differentiating between the two languages in his script. Unlike the scribe of CCCC 449 [10] and [11], he does not shift aspect to a more upright Roman hand, but instead merely fits some Caroline letterforms into his dominant insular script. Most notable are an upright *s* with a flat foot on the baseline, the Caroline *g*, and the Latin abbreviations for *per* and *pro*. Also unlike the scribe from CCCC 449, he does not differentiate between the single and double-chambered *a*. Words split over a line break are marked by =.

Source manuscript: Graham offers a fascinating account of the source text, currently fols. 1r-2v in Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501, but formerly of CUL Ii.2.11. The tangled history of how this text was copied out of these pages, possibly after they had been pasted into the *Exeter Book*, makes for a fascinating story and tells us much about the network of scholars using Anglo-

⁸⁷ See **Figure 14**.

Saxon documents in the circles of Parker and Cecil.⁸⁸ It is possible that Parker's scribe may have copied this text from the University Library manuscript before it was removed from Parkers possession and added to the *Exeter Book* while it was in the possession of William Cecil in the 1560s. This would at least remove the necessity of Joscelyn or Nowell travelling to Exeter to paste in a set of new opening leaves. Joscelyn did make another transcript of this text into his own notebooks, but it was not written in any sort of archaizing hand.

Pre-modern printed editions: Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-1673).

Selected references: Graham (1994), Lucas (1997), Page (1981, 1993, 2003).

Transcription: (p. 450)⁸⁹ mid him silfu(m) on eallum þa(m) ding(u)m⁹⁰ þe he silfe⁹¹ dide mid /
goder ðeninge. on þ ge rad þ þa godes[r] ðeowas þe þer⁹² / binnan beoð æfre his sawle ge
munon mid heora ge / bedu(m). 7 mæsse sangu(m) to xpe. 7⁹³ sce petre. 7 to eallu(m) / þa(m)
halgu(m) þe þ halige minstre⁹⁴ is fore ge halgod. þ his / sawle beo gode þe an fengre. 7 se þe ðas
gyfu. 7 þisne / unnan wille gode 7 sce petre æt bredan. si him heofe = / narice æt broden. 7 si
he ecelice ge niðerod into helle wite.

⁸⁸ For a detailed account of this manuscript's history, see Graham, "A Parkerian Transcript."

⁸⁹ See **Figure 14**. These notes track variants only with the source manuscript, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501.

⁹⁰ ðingu(m)

⁹¹ silf

⁹² þær

⁹³ 7 to

⁹⁴ minster

5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 111

Scope: p. 137, lines 8-13, 15-20⁹⁵

Text: S 190 - Charter of A.D. 836 (Croft, Leics., Grant by Wiglaf, king of Mercia, to the minster at Hanbury, Worcs.)

Scribe: Unsorted Parkerian Scribe

Notes on the script: This scribe shares some characteristics with Scribe 1, but differs in too many cases to make a definite attribution. Much like with CCCC 449, this appears to be a scribe learning the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon script. He inconsistently uses both a single and double-chambered *a*. He more often than not writes the digraph *æ* as two characters. His flat-topped *g* often begins its downstroke at the right end and varies between leaving the bottom bowl open or closed. Some of these downstrokes do appear to begin close to the middle of the crossbar. His *d* is short and does not curl back to the right, but his *ð* has a very long and curling ascender. All of these inconsistencies would seem to be markers of inexperience. Because of this, any attribution would be uncertain. A scribe retraining his body and mind to write in a new script will understandably exhibit variations in his hand, but it is unclear that these variations would be as significant as those between this manuscript and others of Scribe 1. Like CCCC 449 and CTC R.9.8 [14], these inconsistencies may also point towards a larger group of Parkerian secretaries and scribes than can be readily identified.

⁹⁵ See **Figure 15**.

One particularly interesting error in this transcription is its placement in the manuscript—it is reversed. The Latin text of the charter begins on p. 138 (the verso of the following transcription) and continues into the endorsements on p. 137. Given that this transcript is later in date than the larger collection of charter transcripts by Robert Talbot bound with it, an arrangement error of this sort is perhaps unsurprising. The remaining question is whether this was bound with Talbot’s transcripts because they came from the same manuscript source or simply because they were all charters.

Source manuscript: Uncertain. *The Electronic Sawyer Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* suggests that the antiquarian transcripts of Talbot—which this charter is bound with—are from the “now-lost Abingdon single-sheets in possession of Dr George Owen.”⁹⁶ This attribution doesn’t quite fit, however, as this is not one of Talbot’s transcriptions. Of the four listed manuscript sources on the Sawyer catalogue, only Cotton Augustus ii.9 contains the Anglo-Saxon text copied by the Parkerian scribe. Without knowing exactly what was in the Abingdon single-sheets, it may be more likely to consider the source for this text to be Augustus ii.9.

Pre-modern printed editions: Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-1673); Hearne, *Hemingi*

Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis (1723).⁹⁷

⁹⁶ *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, King’s College London, 2016.
<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/manuscript/18.html>

⁹⁷ Neither of these books print the Old English addition to this charter.

*Transcription: (lines 8-13)*⁹⁸ Ðes finodam⁹⁹ waer¹⁰⁰ higeten¹⁰¹ aet wiglafe cyninge mid ðaem /
 tuentigum hida aet Iddeshale end ðaes londes finodam¹⁰² æt / habecaham¹⁰³ mid ðs¹⁰⁴ ten hida
 londe¹⁰⁵ æt felda bi weaduman¹⁰⁶ end / mucele esninge ðæt ten hida londe æt enoglea¹⁰⁷, hæb
 bæn heora dæg 7 æfter heora dæge a gefe mon ðæt land into dæne¹⁰⁸ hægastowe¹⁰⁹ / into¹¹⁰
 weogurnacestre.

⁹⁸ See **Figure 15**. These notes compare the text with the (edited?) version on *Electronic Sawyer*.

⁹⁹ friodom

¹⁰⁰ waes

¹⁰¹ bigeten

¹⁰² friodam

¹⁰³ Haeccaham

¹⁰⁴ ðy

¹⁰⁵ lond

¹⁰⁶ weoduman

¹⁰⁷ Croglea

¹⁰⁸ dære

¹⁰⁹ halgan stowe

¹¹⁰ not present

6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178

Scope: Pages 31-32¹¹¹

Text: Ælfric, *Hexameron* (end); Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, First Series, Fourth Sunday after Pentecost* (beginning)

Scribe: Scribe 2 (Matthew Parker)

Notes on the script: This is a very upright hand which R. I. Page has suggested belonged to Matthew Parker himself. I tend to agree with his assessment, while noting my usual caveats about identifying Parkerian scribes. This scribe is, by far, the most limited in output—perhaps the marker of a busy man like the archbishop. Further, his manuscripts (with only one exception) are all Ælfrician homilies. He also only contributes pages to manuscripts that also show clear use by Parker.¹¹²

As for the script, he exhibits what may be the single most distinctive letterform of this entire corpus of early modern transcripts: a tall *s* with an entry stroke symmetrical to the upper terminal and a straight descender. Parkes has described as resembling “a *y* with a vertical mainstroke.”¹¹³ The symmetrical, fountain-like entry and exit strokes are also present for his *f*. As for other distinctive features, he is the only scribe with a tendency to use accent marks rather than dots over the *i*. His *g* looks more like a late medieval *yogh* with its open loop

¹¹¹ See **Figure 16**.

¹¹² P. 291 in this manuscript includes one such note in his well-known ochre pencil: “*In hoc libro facilius discitur / Lingua saxonica.*”

¹¹³ Parkes, “Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts,” 124.

at the bottom of the descender and sharp angle from the right edge of the crossbar. He consistently writes *e* with a horizontal hairline and uses the single and double-chambered *a* interchangeably. Finally, he replicates glosses from the Tremulous Scribe of Worcester with some elements of an italic hand similar to others attributed to Parker—most prominently is a *g* that closes the upper loop with a flat bar.¹¹⁴

Source manuscript: Likely the portion of CCCC 178 which was removed and then placed into CCCC 162 (pp. 139-160). Page 139 in CCCC 162 pastes an Italic transcript of *Albini in genesim questions prefatio* over the final portion of the *Hexameron*, which now survives as an imitative transcript on page 31 in CCCC 178. Page 160 of CCCC 162 contains the beginning of the *Fourth Sunday after Pentecost* homily from CCCC 178, but does not transition into the rest of the homily. Part of this page was also once pasted over by another document, now bound at the end of this manuscript.¹¹⁵ This copy of the *Hexameron* on pp. 139-160 now in CCCC 162 was originally from Worcester, as it carries interlinear glosses by the Tremulous scribe. The rest of CCCC 162, however, was not from Worcester and does not contain the same heavy glosses.

Selected references: Bjorklund (2004), Echard (2015), Graham (1997), Lucas (1997), Page (1993).

¹¹⁴ Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books*, 125-7.

¹¹⁵ *Parker on the Web*, entry for MS 162 p. 160: “The pasted down leaf, from a late medieval document, was removed in 1970 and bound into the volume at the end as fol. v.”

*Transcription:*¹¹⁶ (p. 32, lines 4-9)¹¹⁷ E¹¹⁸ rant autem¹¹⁹ appropinquantes^{120 121} ei¹²² publicam / et
 peccatores¹²³ ut audirent illu(m)¹²⁴ et c^{125 126} / Ð¹²⁷ æt halige godspell us segð¹²⁸ þ gerefan
 ^publ[ic]am¹²⁹ 7 sinfulle ^pharisei¹³⁰ / men ge nealæhton þam hælende 7 woldonne his / lare
 geheran¹³¹. þa cedrodanne¹³² ^m²murabant ^ þa sunder halgan / 7 þa boceras ^scribe^ uide isre
 þeode ^gente^ ~~~~~ Forðam¹³³ /

¹¹⁶ See **Figure 16**. My notes will be from the text now found in CCCC 162, p. 160.

¹¹⁷ This scribe replicated the interlinear glosses placed into the original manuscript by the Tremulous Scribe of Worcester. I have indicated these with ^.

¹¹⁸ Parker's scribe uses a larger, but still identifiably Anglo-Saxon script for this Latin rubric. Unlike the source manuscript, the capital E is copied in red ink.

¹¹⁹ This and the rest of the Latin rubric are departures from the rest of the manuscripts which contain this homily. *Autem*, present here, is not present in any of the mss listed in Ker.

¹²⁰ adpropinquantes

¹²¹ Most of the other manuscripts include "ad hiesum" here, for "hierusalem?".

¹²² This transcription diverges from the Corpus manuscript here. Only Cotton Vitellius C V includes the next portion "publicam et peccatoru(m)"

¹²³ Many of the manuscripts, including both versions in CCCC 162 and Cotton Vitellius C V, contain variations "et reliqua" here.

¹²⁴ This phrase is not present in any of the surviving manuscripts.

¹²⁵ This final letter could be an incomplete misreading of the abbreviation rlq^u. in CCCC 162.

¹²⁶ As a final note on the Latin rubric, Parker and his scribes often did create new titles for even existing works within his manuscripts. It is reasonable to assume that Parker, who R. I. Page described as an "orderly man," would appreciate the simple elegance of this new title page. For more on Parker's title pages, see Echard, "Containing the Book."

¹²⁷ Parker follows the original with this capital in red ink. The one difference is that Parker rests this initial on line 1, while the original offsets it in the margin.

¹²⁸ segð.

¹²⁹ A gloss from the Tremulous Hand. Perhaps "publican"

¹³⁰ ph[a]risei

¹³¹ gehy^e^ran

¹³² ceoradan (the o here does look quite a bit like the very flat-topped d used in Parker's Anglo-Saxon typeface)

¹³³ The transcript matches up, line for line, with the original in CCCC 162. This not the typical Parkerian practice, but it makes sense for this selection. Parker was duplicating a specific section of text that he had removed from its original manuscript. He knew exactly how much text he needed to fit on the page, so he was able to include a larger, more descriptive title, and a transcript that works like a facsimile.

7. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 188

Scope: pages 1-2, 317-324 (parchment)¹³⁴

Text: (pp. 1-2) Ælfric(?), *Hexameron*; (p. 317) Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, First Series, St. Laurence*; (p. 318-324) Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, First Series, Assumption of the Virgin*

Scribe: Scribe 2 (Matthew Parker)

Notes on the script: This appears to be the same hand as in CCCC 178 [6]. We see here the same upright aspect, the very distinctive symmetrical tall *s*, accent marks over the *i*, and *yogh*-shaped *g*. Both single and double-chambered *a* are visible, although on pages 1-2, the double-chambered *a* is more prevalent, both alone and in the digraph for *æ*. Doubled *ð* uses two crossbars, and *ð* occasionally uses a crossbar that begins directly on the ascender. An entry stroke on the flat top for *t* and *g* comes in just from the right of the left edge. The same exaggerated and symmetrical approach stroke used in tall *s* also occasionally appears in *f*, which sometimes rises above the midline. Words split over a line break use an angled =.

Source manuscript: Of the three homilies that are partially copied by this hand, all three only appear together within this manuscript, so this scribe used at least two and probably three sources. Fortunately, each of these manuscripts is discoverable through both textual and paratextual evidence. The scribe followed and adapted the homily rubrics, large initials, and capitalization practices of the original sources, with the exception of glosses by the Tremulous

¹³⁴ See *Figure 18*, *Figure 20*, and *Figure 22*.

scribe. As in CCCC 178, two of these texts were copied from sources out of Worcester that contained his distinctive thirteenth-century glosses. Presumably, the difference in Parker's practice here is that CCCC 178 was itself a Worcester manuscript and any inserted pages should also show evidence of his glossing. With CCCC 188, that doesn't appear to have been a concern. One Parkerian tendency on transcription is still in evidence here. Each of these manuscripts can be traced back to its source through a vertical mark inserted at the key point in the source. In one case, the vertical line extends over two lines and may have caused the Parkerian scribe to omit nearly a full line of text. That said, with homily manuscripts, finding any single source for a transcription or printing is difficult. Parker used about fifteen Anglo-Saxon homiliaries and often had access to multiple versions of the same text.¹³⁵ While it is possible that he and his scribes checked readings against multiple copies, textual evidence tends to point towards a single source for each copy.

The transcription of the *Hexameron* on pages 1-2 comes from Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 115. This homily also appears in CCCC 178, which this scribe would have known. Members of Parker's circle did have access to two other manuscripts containing this homily. The badly damaged Cotton Otho B. x shows notes from Joscelyn on some of the other remaining homilies within it, but a number of readings differ between the Otho text and this

¹³⁵ On Parker's use of Homiliaries, see Butler, "Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century."; and Aaron J. Kleist, "Anglo-Saxon Homiliaries in Tudor and Stuart England," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. A. J. Kleist, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007): 445-92.

transcript. CCCC 301 also contains part of the text, but not the initial portion copied here. This leaves CCCC 178 and Hatton 115 as the best candidates. The scribe reproduces from both manuscripts the large capital O, the hierarchical rubricated title for “EXAMERON ANGLICE” and the majuscule opening line (though Hatton ends at SPELLE, this copy continues through WÆSÆDON). From the copying of the title, the Scribe appears to be using the Hatton Manuscript rather than CCCC 178, but there are enough textual similarities to continue reading through both. CCCC 178 and Hatton 115 are Worcester manuscripts with interlinear glosses by the Tremulous scribe, but the copyist in 188 does not reproduce them, again complicating a definite identification. Aside from the title, the most significant marker in favor of Hatton 115 is a vertical mark on fol. 2r at the end of the transcribed section of text. At this point, I have only seen a microfiche copy of the manuscript, so I cannot be absolutely certain that this mark is not an artifact of the reproduction. However, the placement of it in exactly the position matching the ending of this selection and its similarity to other marks in source manuscripts is enough to confidently identify Hatton 115 as the source.¹³⁶

The transcription that completes the homily on St. Laurence offers fewer difficulties. CCCC 198 is the clear source. It shows a transcription mark in Parker’s distinctive red crayon at the exact beginning of this transcript, and the readings within the text match it quite well.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ See *Figure 17*.

¹³⁷ See *Figure 19*.

This copy of the homily on the *Assumption* offers two interesting problems for the modern scholar: the surviving quality of the source manuscript and either an apparent transcription error or intentional emendation by the scribe at the end of the transcript. The source here, as Clemoes suggests, is BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.v, a homiliary that experienced damage in the Cotton library fire. Fortunately, the pages of this homily are relatively readable and my point of concern—the lines where a Parkerian scribe marked the moment of transition from transcript to the text in CCCC 188—are readable, for the most part. A few words begin to be cut off at the page margin, but this portion of the text is not in the top quarter of the manuscript page which experienced the most distortion. Like the other two examples, this source manuscript has a vertical line marking the exact word where the original text in CCCC 188 begins, so the Parkerian scribe should have a specific stopping point. By increasing the rate of abbreviations, running over his line margins, and including the catchword, “*haliga*,” it is clear that the scribe planned for p. 322, the final leaf of a quire, to complete his transcription and make an easy transition into the original manuscript. On the last page of the St. Laurence homily, he matched the layout of the destination manuscript almost exactly—25 long lines. For most of the *Assumption*, he used only 20 lines per page, until we get to the last sheet of his quire. Here, knowing that his text would be facing that of the original scribe, he tightened his spacing and left enough room again for 25 lines of text. Something, however went wrong in the transcription.

The mark in Vitellius C. v is not quite as well-defined as those in Hatton 115, Corpus 162, Corpus 198, or CUL Hh.1.10. Instead of a red crayon stroke that is only the height of one line, this one is made with a dark ink and extends over two lines.¹³⁸ The transcriber, when looking into the manuscript, would have seen a line drawn down from “stihð” to “halige.” Would he have thought that an instruction to stop after stihð and change the meaning of the text? Could the editing line have simply caused an eye-skip error? Or was the line added into the manuscript later by a Parkerian secretary—like Joscelyn, whose dark ink marks are prevalent throughout the manuscript—in order to show where the CCCC 188 copy is deficient?

My process for finding sources to the texts in this manuscript began with Page’s suggestion that Hatton 115 worked as a possible source for the *Hexameron* transcription, but that it wasn’t quite so simple.¹³⁹ His suggestion that some of the variant readings might be simple errors, but others could have been from additional documents piqued my interest and opened up the doors to other manuscripts that may have worked as a source. Ker’s Catalogue contains a table listing the sources of individual Ælfrician homilies and his index provides the locations of other homilies like the *Hexameron*. When crafting a table of every instance where these three homilies could be found, one item jumped off the page: CCCC 188 is the only manuscript that houses all three of these homilies. Further, only two other manuscripts placed

¹³⁸ See **Figure 21**.

¹³⁹ R.I. Page, “The Transcription of Old English Texts in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 7: Proceedings of the Seventh International Seminar Held at the Royal Library, Copenhagen 18th–19th April 2002* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003): 179–90.

the St. Laurence and Assumption homilies side-by-side. Emily Butler's recent study on Matthew Parker's "textual community" lists all of the homiliaries used or owned by Parker throughout his Old English reclamation project.¹⁴⁰ Placing her list alongside mine, I noticed that neither of those two manuscripts were Parkerian at the right time to be attractive candidates. That still left four manuscripts for the St. Laurence homily and three for the Assumption with only one overlap: Cotton MS Vitellius C. v.

Understanding that this manuscript was only used as a source for one and not both of the possible transcriptions in CCCC 188 and that this scribe also didn't reuse CCCC 178 for the *Hexameron* transcript can shed some light on the scribal practices of Parker's circle. Most interestingly is the increased possibility that the scribe is either not the same person as the reader or that the scribe copies his texts over an extended amount of time. It makes sense that a manuscript that is being copied for one transcript cannot be used as a source for a different copy. In fact, only two manuscripts, both of Ælfric's *Grammar*, seem to be re-used as sources for other manuscripts. BL Royal MS 15 B xxii and CUL Hh.1.10 both act as sources at least twice for other transcriptions. The interplay between Parker's scribes and his manuscripts implies an intricate network of collaborative scholarship. As more research is done on his household, the image of Parker as a kind of research lab director and his scribes as diligent postdocs begins to work just as well as that of Parker as the magister of a scriptorium. This image is only

¹⁴⁰ Butler, "Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century."

strengthened by the presence of John Joscelyn and Laurence Nowell as independent researchers sharing some resources while monopolizing others to work on their own projects. CCCC 188, in a way, exemplifies the complicated process of scholarship within this household. One eleventh-century manuscript, perhaps even written under the supervision and guidance of Ælfric himself at Eynsham, supplemented by variant readings from three manuscripts with decidedly different traditions. Hatton 115 is a post-conquest copy that survives as part of a larger collection of homilies from Worcester with thirteenth-century glosses. CCCC 198 was a nearly contemporary manuscript, written in a rougher hand that may not have originated in Worcester, but certainly ended up there as another object of study for the Tremulous Scribe. Cotton Vitellius C. v is a contemporary compilation of homilies written in a non-West Saxon dialect that later became associated with the apocryphal abbey of Tavistock nuns who may have kept knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language alive until the sixteenth century.¹⁴¹ All of them carried their individual stories and shared texts into the household of Matthew Parker, where they each offered something of what they were into the creation of a unique, composite document. This manuscript is, itself, a textual community six hundred years in the making.

¹⁴¹ This story on Tavistock has its origins in a later note added to CUL Ii.4.6. Timothy Graham has shared with me the source for the misreading behind this apocryphal tale: this note attributes the source of the manuscript to the *monistarum* of Tavistock (rather than *monistorum*).

Pre-modern printed editions: Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri V a venerabili Beda presbytero scripti* (1643-1644).¹⁴²

Selected references: Clemoes (1997), Ker (1957).

Transcription (p.2, lines 16-25)¹⁴³: Ðis is micel¹⁴⁴ eow mannum on mode to asmeagenne. 7 nan man / ne mag¹⁴⁵ on ðysum middan eared ful¹⁴⁶ fremedlice secgan / embe þone soðan god.¹⁴⁷
Gesceolon gehyran þeah sum þinge¹⁴⁸ / be him. þ ge on geleaf leaf[s]te eower lif¹⁴⁹ ne adreogan¹⁵⁰ gifge nan / andgit embe þ ne cunnon. 7 gifge naht nege hyrað embe / þone heofonlican god. Seð¹⁵¹ onðrim hadon¹⁵² soðlice æfre / rixað on anre god cundnysse an ælmihtig scyppend. Micel / is se feder¹⁵³ 7 micel is his wisdom. 7 micel is heora lufu loca (=) / ðunu georne þ þuswa swyðe nedwelige þ þuge don wille / þone sunu læssan þonne his leofa fæder is.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴² Wheelock collated versions of *Assumption of the Virgin* on a flyleaf in CUL GG.3.28. He later included a brief passage from this homily in his edition of the Old English Bede at the end of Book 3, Chapter 5 (172).

¹⁴³ See **Figure 17** and **Figure 18**. Variants noted from the text in Hatton 115.

¹⁴⁴ mycel

¹⁴⁵ mæg

¹⁴⁶ full

¹⁴⁷ god;

¹⁴⁸ þing

¹⁴⁹ lif(e)

¹⁵⁰ neadreogan

¹⁵¹ Seðe

¹⁵² hadun

¹⁵³ fæder

¹⁵⁴ *Figure 17*. A vertical line is inserted here immediately after “fæder is” and before the next word, “oððe.” It does not appear to be an artifact from the microfilm, but an intentional mark similar to that in CCCC 198 (see *Figure 19*). Viewing the original manuscript would make it clear.

(p. 317, lines 1-5)¹⁵⁵: ¹⁵⁶eala ðuy polite¹⁵⁷ hwider¹⁵⁸ thst¹⁵⁹ du¹⁶⁰ me gebundene mid scear wum¹⁶¹ /
 racenceagu(m) 7 he þere¹⁶² riht¹⁶³ spealt¹⁶⁴. Witodlice deci us egeslice awedde. / 7 bin non
 þreom dagum mid feond licere stemnes¹⁶⁵ in gallice hrymde / Ic halrige ðe laurentius. ablin
 hwet¹⁶⁶ hwega þera¹⁶⁷ tintregena¹⁶⁸ / hwæt þala asprang micel¹⁶⁹ heofung. 7 sarlice¹⁷⁰ wow¹⁷¹ on
 þam¹⁷² hame. 7

¹⁵⁵ See **Figure 19** and **Figure 20**. Variants taken from CCCC 198, fol. 349rv

¹⁵⁶ A vertical line in Parker's distinctive red chalk is inserted just before "eala".

¹⁵⁷ ypolite

¹⁵⁸ Page Break

¹⁵⁹ tihst

¹⁶⁰ ðu

¹⁶¹ scearpum

¹⁶² þær

¹⁶³ rihte

¹⁶⁴ swealt

¹⁶⁵ stæmnes

¹⁶⁶ hwæt

¹⁶⁷ þæra

¹⁶⁸ tin tre gæna

¹⁶⁹ mycel

¹⁷⁰ sarlic – with correction made by the Tremulous Hand, sar(e)lic

¹⁷¹ wop

¹⁷² þa(m)

(p. 322, lines 22-24)¹⁷³: iugað¹⁷⁴ hade. Micel swiþor is togelyfenme¹⁷⁵ þ he his modor mid /
 unasecgendlicere arwirðnysse on hisrice g(e) furðode. þa þa he wold¹⁷⁶ æfter / þere¹⁷⁷
 nienisenysse¹⁷⁸ on þisu(m) life her¹⁷⁹ g(e) hir su(m) beo(n).¹⁸⁰ Ðes symbol dege¹⁸¹ ofer stihð /
 halige¹⁸²

¹⁷³ See **Figure 21** and **Figure 22**. Variants taken (when visible) from Cotton Vitellius C. v, fol. 179r

¹⁷⁴ iugoð

¹⁷⁵ gelyfenne

¹⁷⁶ wolde

¹⁷⁷ þære

¹⁷⁸ meniscnysse

¹⁷⁹ hyre

¹⁸⁰ The scribe is running out of space here and adding many more abbreviations than are present in his source.

¹⁸¹ dæg

¹⁸² Here we have a line skip by the Parkerian scribe. Rather than continue the line and complete his transcript before halige on the next page, he leaves out nearly a full line of text.

8. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 302

Scope: pp. 233-242, paper¹⁸³

Text: Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, First Series, Feria III De Fide Catholica*

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the script: This text showcases the distinctive traits of Scribe 1 over the course of nine pages. There are a few elements here that are perhaps less refined than in some other transcripts. Descenders for *f*, short *s*, and *r* tend to turn slightly left rather than taper off as has been this scribe's typical practice. The round-backed ascender on *d* is of a longer length and more elevated angle than appears in Bodley 441. The *æ* digraph rises more noticeably above the midline, with the *e* loop beginning at the upper right shoulder of the single-chamber *a*. The cross-stroke on *ð* consistently turns up unlike in CCCC 449. Though a number of similarities also exist, the *g* consistently begins its downstroke in the middle of the flat top, *þ* and *ḥ* both use an entry serif, and *i* is consistently dotted just above and to the right of the minim. Words split across the line break are marked with =.

Source manuscript: This homily exists in at least partial form in thirteen other manuscripts. Many of them were also either owned or used by members of Parker's circle. A number of them also contain capitalization practices and readings similar to this transcript. Primarily due to these similarities, Clemoes suggested CTC B.15.34 as the source manuscript.¹⁸⁴ There are,

¹⁸³ See **Figure 23**.

¹⁸⁴ Peter Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, EETS (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997).

however, some minor differences between that text and this transcript that may indicate an alternate source, and there is a lack of paratextual evidence in CTC that is present in another manuscript,¹⁸⁵ CCCC 162.¹⁸⁶ Most notably, on page 35, just before the words “Seo Sunne,” there is a faint vertical pencil mark.¹⁸⁷ Other Parkerian manuscripts, as noted in the description for CCCC 188, show a similar insertion. Still, some of the variants between the Corpus MS and the transcript are even greater than those in Trinity.¹⁸⁸ Trinity also shows red-ink initials which the transcript’s rubricated capitals duplicates. So, despite the editing mark (or, in this case, reading mark?), CTC B.15.34 remains the best candidate for a source manuscript. Hatton 115, while used as a source for the *Hexameron* in CCCC 188, does not appear to have been consulted for this transcription.

Pre-modern printed editions: Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri V a venerabili Beda presbytero scripti* (1643-1644).¹⁸⁹

Selected references: Clemoes (1997)

¹⁸⁵ Some of these are also shared by CCCC 162 and others, like “licamanlice” twice for “licamlice” occur nowhere else in the corpus and are purely the fault of the scribe.

¹⁸⁶ For the most part, I follow Clemoes on the source manuscripts for these supply texts, but the transcription marker in CCCC 162 complicates that attribution. Was it intended to be the source, but the scribe found the passage in a different manuscript? Was it marked in place by a later reader?

¹⁸⁷ This is fairly unusual, though. The Parkerian editing marks are more often very noticeable red ochre crayon.

¹⁸⁸ “agennessa” on ln. 2 agrees with Trinity where Corpus shows “agynnyssa.” Further, the transcript follows Trinity in capitalizing “Þrida” where Corpus does not.

¹⁸⁹ Wheelock inserts a lengthy passage from this homily at the end of Book 1, Chapter 8 (41) and a complete version at the end of Book 5, Chapter 13 (420). He primarily used CUL MS Gg.3.28, but he collated that text with other mss from Cambridge, including this one.

*Transcription (p. 233, lines 1-5)*¹⁹⁰: Seo sunne þeofer us scynð¹⁹¹ is lichamanlice¹⁹² gesceaft / 7 hæfð
 swa þeah þreo agennessa¹⁹³ on hire.¹⁹⁴ An is / seo lichamanlice¹⁹⁵ edwist. þ is þære sunnan
 trendel / oðer is se leoma. oððe beorhtnes¹⁹⁶; æfre of þære sun (=) / nan. Seo ðeonlyht¹⁹⁷ ealne
 middaneard. Þridde is / seo hætu.

¹⁹⁰ See **Figure 23**. Due to the similarities with this text and the possible sources in CCCC 162 and CTC B.15.34, I will track variants with each.

¹⁹¹ (CCCC, CTC) scinð

¹⁹² (CCCC, CTC) lichamlic

¹⁹³ (CCCC) agynnyssa, (CTC) agen nessa

¹⁹⁴ (CCCC) hyre;

¹⁹⁵ (CCCC, CTC) lichamlice

¹⁹⁶ (CCCC) beorhtnyss

¹⁹⁷ (CCCC) þe onliht

9. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 383

Scope: fols. 1r-9v; 31r-37v (inserted quires of parchment)¹⁹⁸

Text: Laws of Edgar (II-III Edgar); Laws of Cnut (I-II Cnut)

Scribe: Scribe 3

Notes on the script: A hurried, but consistent imitative transcribing hand similar to that of CCCC

101. The scribe places the upper loop of the α on the upper right shoulder of a single-chambered a , occasionally carrying it above the midline. Descenders are often straight, but slanted which contributes to the overall slanting aspect of the hand. Insular g has a shortened and curved cross bar, and the exaggerated descender begins on the right edge. The ascender on δ is often quite long and curved. It occasionally crosses back over the descenders from the previous line. The ascender on d , in contrast, is much shorter. The dotted i typically appears just above or slightly to the right of the base. Words that continue over line breaks are marked with a faint, slanted =.

The hurried aspect of 1r-9v is exaggerated even further for the copy on 31r-37v. The scribe's pen nib is less sharply defined, leading to a sloppier appearance, as can be similarly observed in Cotton Faustina A. ix. Because of the slight shift in appearance between the two sections, it is possible that there are two scribes at work in this manuscript. The crossstrokes on β and δ show a more exaggerated curve than in the earlier section. The g has a slightly

¹⁹⁸ See *Figure 24* and *Figure 25*.

flatter top, though both do show a similar entry stroke, and the tironian *et* displays an inconsistent exit stroke—it occasionally tails off to the right as in the earlier section, but it often curls upwards to the left. Many of the descenders in this passage display a similar leftward hook to the novice scribe of CCCC 449. These two transcripts, then raise an interesting possibility of seeing a scribe at two different stages of his career. Most of the letterforms are consistent between these passages, and the few differences in how descenders are completed do not suggest a significant change in scribal habit. Instead, they seem to indicate a growing understanding of how the scribe may have initially felt antiquated descenders should end and how he came to later recognize they actually end. The exaggerated cross-strokes and hooked descenders are marks of decoration rather than script. The transcripts in CCCC 101 and those in the first selection of CCCC 383 have dropped many of the decorative elements and reflect a more practical idea of the script. I had thought initially to assign this transcript of Cnut to an unidentified scribe, but given that the similarities between this hand, CCCC 449, and Cotton Faustina A. ix are in the nature of the script and that the difference is primarily in decorative elements, it seems much more likely to group them under one scribe.

There is one additional point of interest regarding the second transcription. The scribe here is more concerned about duplicating the source manuscript's appearance than is typical among Parker's scribes. The two capitals and the hooked descenders both are evident in the source.

Source manuscript: Harley 55, 3v-4v; 5r-6v.¹⁹⁹ The scribe copies many of the capitals, including the Ð at the beginning of the first section covering the Laws of Edgar. For the portion on fols. 31r-37v, Laws of Cnut, the scribe actually wrote more than was necessary to fill in the missing content. The last few lines on 37r and all of 37v are crossed out by Parker's red ochre crayon. There is a transcription marker in Harley on fol. 6v indicating the beginning of the surviving document in CCCC 383, but the scribe continued his copying past that bracket-shaped mark to another red mark (perhaps a markup for printing?) in the margin at the top of the next page. The Parkerian transcriptions completing a manuscript used by Nowell and Lambarde in the preparation of *Archaionomia* give a clear indication of their collaborations.

Pre-modern printed editions: Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (1568).

¹⁹⁹ Lucas, Peter J., "Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 Laws," in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge I*, Volume 11, eds. Timothy Graham, Raymond J. S. Grant, Peter J. Lucas, and Elaine M. Treharne. ACMRS 2003.

*Transcription (fol. 2r, lines 1-5)*²⁰⁰: Ædgarr lage / Ðis is seo gerædnes þe eadgar cyng / mid his
 witena geþeahte gerædde gode / to lofe 7 him sylfum to tyne scype. 7 eallu(m) / his leodscype
 to þearfe. þ synt þon(ne) ærest / þ godes tyrican wn²⁰¹ æltes ryhtes wyrðe.

(fol. 32r, 2-7):²⁰² Ðis is seogerednes þe cnut cyning / ealles engla lands cyninge. 7 dena cyni(n)ge
 / 7 norþrigena cyninge, ge redde 7 his / witan gode to lofe. 7 him sylfu(m) to cyne / scipe 7 to
 þearfe rade swa hwæ ðer swa / man wille;

²⁰⁰ See **Figure 24**.

²⁰¹ syn æltes – sy are so closely joined that they appear to be a single *wynn*.

²⁰² See **Figure 25**.

10. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 449a

Scope: fols. 1-8v; 23v-41v; 42r (parchment)²⁰³

Text: Ælfric, *Grammar*

Scribe: Unidentified Parkerian Scribe. The original James record attributes this to “W. Lile,” though the current catalogue for Parker on the Web updates the spelling to “W. Lily.” William L’Isle did work on Parkerian manuscripts and he may have even made imitative transcriptions, but much too late to have been a part of this reconstruction.²⁰⁴ Peter Lyly was the Parkerian scribe James refers to—the use of W. as an initial here has only added to the confusion over Lyly’s identity over the years.

I once considered this an early effort of the Lyly scribe (Scribe 1). The presence of a second scribe for nearly two quires [11] (who probably was Lyly) is likely the source of my initial confusion. However, I remain unsatisfied by this attribution and think that it may be more prudent to leave this manuscript unattributed. There are perhaps too many

²⁰³ See **Figure 26**, **Figure 27**, and **Figure 28**.

²⁰⁴ Some transcriptions at Canterbury Cathedral initially attributed to L’Isle were later identified by Berkhout to have been done by Laurence Nowell instead. Part of this confusion, I feel, is tied to misconceptions of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and Matthew Parker’s place within it. Early accounts of this ad hoc society place it within Parker’s time, but it apparently didn’t begin meeting until well after Parker’s death. Some overlap between of early seventeenth-century Saxonists like L’Isle and late sixteenth-century Saxonists like William Lambarde did occur, but not until the early 1600s before King James ordered their meetings to disband. Scholars from the time of M. R. James may not have been clear on these details.

inconsistencies within the script and between the other Parkerian scribes to make a convincing case either way.²⁰⁵

Notes on the script: My description here focuses on the Anglo-Saxon portions of the text, though I do mention the occasional relevant Latin letterform. The aspect, for the most part, is upright with very little slant. The first 41 folia, minus the two quires of text inserted by another scribe, gradually become more consistent. My observations here come from the transcription below and fol. 41r which was probably the last portion of the text to be completed, while the section on fol. 42v and 42r were probably the earliest. Descenders are often straight or show a slight taper to the left. The scribe favors single-chambered *a* for the Anglo-Saxon character, but does occasionally slip up and use the two-chambered Caroline *a* he reserves for Latin. The *æ* does not usually rise above the midline and favors the single-chambered *a* and a curved single-stroke *e*. The *s* is either short with a straight or tapered descender or a sinuous version of the tall Caroline *s* that dips below the baseline without an obvious entry stroke. It appears to be formed by drawing the vertical portion with a tail before adding on the upper curve. It is a similar practice to the tall *s* in the Latin portions of the text. The *i* is dotted, but is

²⁰⁵ The tapered descenders, symmetrical *æ*, and curved *e* tend to match the scribe from CCCC 101 (Scribe 3), but the long *h*, sinuous long *s*, occasional very curved descenders, and tendency to both close the loop of *g* and bring its descender closer to the middle of the crossbar recall the scribe from CCCC 302 and Bodley 441 (Scribe 1). The inconsistency of script and style seems related to CCCC 111. There are also a number of similarities in aspect and letterforms (particularly the lower bowl of the *g* which occasionally crosses back over the downstroke) with another transcription of Ælfric's *Grammar* in CTC R.9.8.

unpredictable in its position throughout the word. The scribe does join *i* and *n* or *m* in a confusion of minims. Words continued over a line break are marked by a flat =.

The passage on fol. 42r is the most inconsistent and was probably the first portion to be completed.²⁰⁶ Descenders often show a distinct curve to the left, especially on *þ*. The scribe uses a double-chambered *a* much more frequently, even in *æ*. Many letterforms show a clear wobble, perhaps indicating the scribe's unfamiliarity with the script he was attempting to replicate. His *d* and *ð* have ascenders of inconsistent lengths and angles.

Source manuscript: BL Royal 15 B xxii, red chalk marks in the margin and text-block highlight the first transcribed line on 42r. Further, the scribe copies over the interlinear glosses present in Royal, but absent in the other copies of the *Grammar* accessible to Parker.

Pre-modern printed editions: Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659).

Selected references: Strype (1821)

²⁰⁶ See *Figure 28*.

*Transcription (fol. 4rv, lines 17-21, 1-3)*²⁰⁷: De Syllaba. / Syllaba is stæf gefeg. on anre orðunge geen
 (=) / dod. a domo ^fram²⁰⁸ huse^, her is se[a]. for anum²⁰⁹ stęf gefege / ab homine ^fram
 þammen^, here²¹⁰ is se.ab. anstæf gefeh hwilon / bið þ stæf gefeh. on anum²¹¹ stæf²¹². hwilon on
 twa(m) | swa swa we ær sædon. hwilon in þrym stafum. arx ^wig hus^, / hwilon on feower.
 pars ^dæl^, hwilon on fif stans ^standende^, hwilon / on six. styrps. styb oððe mægð.

²⁰⁷ See **Figure 26** and **Figure 27**. Variants taken from the source MS, BL Royal 15 B xxii

²⁰⁸ fra(m)

²⁰⁹ anu(m)

²¹⁰ her

²¹¹ anu(m)

²¹² stæfe

11. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 449b

Scope: 9r-23r²¹³

Text: Ælfric's *Grammar*

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the Script: This transcription appears to have been completed after the main transcription of CCCC 449, and may indicate a correction of the first scribe's work. Comprising nearly two full quires, this scribe appears to be recalibrating the amount of text per sheet in the document. The second quire contains an extra sheet inserted just before the final leaf. The main scribe returns on the verso of that insert and continues through the end of the document. Interestingly, it seems as if this second scribe (Lyly) attempts to blend his own script with the main scribe of the transcription. This is particularly noticeable after fol. 9r, which Lyly writes in his individualized script. After this folio, he adopts his fellow scribe's shepherd crook tall *s* and *f*—both containing an exaggerated upper curve and descender. Unlike the typical Carolingian *s* used by Lyly in the majority of his transcriptions, this modified version does not have a distinctive entry stroke on stem—it appears as if the hook is simply added on top of the stem as seamlessly as possible. The rest of the transcription maintains the distinctive elements of Lyly's personal script. Lyly has used this form of *s* before, CTC B.15.34 has a few good examples, but the frequency of its appearance in this transcript indicates that it

²¹³ See *Figure 29*.

has a specific purpose. It appears that he is attempting to blend this correction into the existing transcription, matching the script of his fellow scribe. It is not a perfect imitation, but it is a very good likeness.

Other than the tall *s*, there are no major changes to Lyly's script from CCCC 302. He still maintains the clear and distinctive upright aspect of his hand. The *g* is quite vertical, with a descender usually beginning in the middle of the cross bar and a round, closed bowl. There is clear spacing between letters and words—especially apparent with *m* and *n*. The upper right loop on *æ* rises just above the midline. Markers for nasal abbreviations are flat, not curved. Cross-strokes on *ð* and *þ* have a slight downwards tick on the end, this is especially noticeable when writing the word 'oððe.' A slanted = marks words split over line breaks.

Source Manuscript: BL Royal 15 B xxii

Pre-modern Printed Editions: Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659)

Selected References: Strype (1821)

*Transcription (lines 1-7)*²¹⁴: Æfter gecynde syndon twa cynn on na (-) / man masculinu(m). 7 femininu(m). werlic kynn / bið hic ^pes^ uir ^wer^. wiflic. hęc ^pis^ femina ^wif^. þas twa ^cynn^ synd / gecyndlice. on mannu(m) . 7 on nytenum . ii. Nu / is gecweden æft(er) cræfte gemane cynn. þ is æg (-) / þer gewerlic. gewiflic. hic ^pes^ & ^7^ hęc ^peos^ . diues ^welega^ . Ægþer.

²¹⁴ See **Figure 29**.

12. Cambridge, Trinity College, Additional C. 198

Scope: pp. 1-16 (paper)²¹⁵

Text: Laws of Æðelbirht (pp. 1-7), Laws of Hloðære and Eadric (pp. 7-10), Laws of Wihtræd (pp. 10-15); West Saxon Kings from Cedric to Æðelred, with descent of Cedric from Woden.

Scribe: Unknown, but must have been copied after 1570, as it was not known to either Lambarde or the Parker circle until then. Francis Tate made a transcript of the *Textus Roffensis* in 1589, now BL Cotton MS Julius C. II, but that MS contains a second copy of the law codes in this document, and it is unlikely that Tate made this copy as well. It is possible that Lambarde also transcribed it (either here or elsewhere), though we do not have a record of it except for his use of portions from the original in *Perambulation of Kent*. That these are all laws associated with kings of Kent may strengthen any possible connections to Lambarde. Additionally, Berkhout ties this transcript to a copy of Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, now Folger MS V.a.230.²¹⁶ There is a marginal note in Anglo-Saxon character on sig. c.2.r of that copy, though it appears to be more of an attempt to duplicate the typeface than an individual transcriber's hand. In many ways, that is similar to the scribe's practice here, as he attempts to copy the twelfth-century elements of the original manuscript. Keynes notes red-chalk underlinings which indicate at least some interaction with Parker or his circle.

²¹⁵ See **Figure 30**.

²¹⁶ A forthcoming article from Berkhout on this MS is referenced in Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 42n.

Notes on the script: An attempt to duplicate features of the twelfth-century script in the original manuscript. Descenders curve noticeably to the left, many letters display pointed serifs, *y* is often dotted and *i* is not, *a* is two-chambered except in the digraph *æ*, and *p* is differentiated from *wynn* by an angled foot on the descender. Some letters display a wobble in longer pen-strokes, indicating a lack of familiarity and comfort with the script.²¹⁷ The script's combination of pre-gothic sharpness and humanist curviness gives this transcript a very uneven appearance that nonetheless manages to evoke the feel of the original document.

Source manuscript: Rochester, Cathedral Library MS A.3.5, *Textus Roffensis*. This near-facsimile is a clear referent to *Roffensis*.

Pre-modern printed editions: The *Textus Roffensis* was not known by Nowell or Lambarde before the printing of the *Archaionomia* in 1568. Lambarde's marginalia to *Textus Roffensis* does suggest that he would have included it in a revision after 1573 (a note in his hand appears on fol. 167v). It was, however, used by Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent* (1576).

Selected references: Keynes (1992).

²¹⁷ See especially *l* in "gylde," ln. 4; *r* in "Preostes," ln. 5; *s* in "Diacones," ln. 5.

*Transcription (p. 3, lines 3-8)*²¹⁸: GODES FEOH 7 Cīricean. xii. / gylde. Biscopes feoh xi. gylde /
 Preostas feoh. ix. gylde. Diacones / feoh. vi. gylde. Cleroces feoh. ii. gylde. / Cīric frīþ. ii. gylde.
 Mæthfrīþ²¹⁹. ii. gylde / Gif cyning his leode to him gehateþ 7 heom / monþær yfel gedo. ii. bote
 7 cyninge. L.

²¹⁸ See **Figure 30**.

²¹⁹ The original, due to erasure, only reads “M[....]frīþ.” Only a stray mark remains. Lisi Oliver’s digital edition on *Early English Laws* uses Mæthfrīþ—a reconstruction based on Tate’s 1589 transcription. Was the text visible for an earlier transcript by a Parkerian scribe? Or was this also a later transcription based on Tate’s reading?

13. Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.34

Scope: p.433²²⁰

Text: Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, First Series, Dominica XI Post Pentecosten*

Scribe: Scribe 2 (Matthew Parker)

Notes on the script: The scribe once again presents a distinctive tall, symmetrical *s*, though he does use a slightly less exaggerated version for “*idelnyss*.”²²¹ The ascender on the *d* is long and angled, even crossing back over a neighboring *l* at one point.²²² Inconsistencies abound in this short transcript. The *i* appears accented, dotted, and undotted, and the *a* employs both single and double-chambered forms. The shortness of this piece and the number of inconsistencies within may imply an earlier attempt.

Source manuscript: This homily exists in eleven other manuscripts, many of which were either owned or consulted by members of Parker’s circle. However, CCCC 188 shows a faded vertical stroke in ink just before “*mid idelnyss*” on p. 304. The ink (or pencil? chalk?) used for this transcription marker matches the lining and ruling done on the supply sheet in CTC B.15.34. The readings between the two selections agree, except for two omissions by Parker: an eyeskip error between “*lorie*” and “*deað*” and an omission of the word “*fullum*” on ln. 4 after “*freced*”.

²²⁰ See **Figure 31**.

²²¹ ln.1

²²² wuldor, ln.6

The line skip explains the sourcing difficulty noted by Lucas and Wilcox in their description of the manuscript for ASMMF.²²³

Pre-modern printed editions: Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri V a venerabili Beda presbytero scripti* (1643-1644)

Selected references: Page (1993), Clemoes (1997)

Transcription (p. 433, lines 1-6)²²⁴: mid idelnyss usne lorie.²²⁵ Deað to forð siðe ge / ðreatað. þu ælmihtiga drihten ge mildsa us / synfullum. 7 urne forð sið swage fada. þ wege / bettum synnum. æfter þisum freced²²⁶ life þinum / halgum²²⁷ gefer læhte beon moton. Syðe lof and²²⁸ / wuldor onealra worulda woruld. AMEN / N

²²³ Peter J. Lucas and Jonathan Wilcox, “Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.34,” in *ASMMF 16: Manuscripts Relating to Dunstan, Ælfric, and Wulfstan; the “Eadwine Psalter” Group*, (Tempe: ACMRS, 2008).

²²⁴ See **Figure 31**. Variants from CCCC 188, p. 304-5

²²⁵ Eyeskip error here, scribe omits “7 we þonne to / wel dædum ge cyrran willan. þonne usse” before continuing onto “deað” on the next line.

²²⁶ Omits “fullum”

²²⁷ halgu(m)

²²⁸ 7

14. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.9.8

Scope: fols. 1-61v²²⁹

Text: Ælfric, *Grammar and Glossary*

Scribe: Unknown, although Wanley's catalogue entry notices a now-missing note signed by John Parker. The script appears similar to that employed by the younger Parker within his word lists and dictionary project conducted with John Joscelyn.²³⁰ That this manuscript appears to be later than the other transcripts also opens the possibility of John Parker's involvement.

Notes on the script: A blending of italic and insular forms, this script actually improves as an imitation as the manuscript progresses. The scribe's letterforms, spacing, and growing consistency indicate the development of an individualized hand. The inconsistency in presenting the Latin text as both an early modern italic and humanist roman hand is also striking—especially given that elements of the scribe's italic hand remain visible throughout. The single-chamber *a*, in particular, persists in both languages throughout the manuscript. Other notable letterforms include a *yogh* shaped *g*; *d* and *eth* show a long, curved ascender, and the scribe's tendency to favor a short *s* with a descender over the long *s*. Finally, the upright aspect of his Anglo-Saxon script stands in sharp contrast to the distinct slant of his italic.

²²⁹ See **Figure 32**.

²³⁰ For more on John Parker and John Joscelyn (including plates of their lexical transcriptions), see Graham, "John Joscelyn, Pioneer of Old English Lexicography."

Occasional variations in letter size and shape this early in the manuscript possibly indicate a scribe consciously trying to break the muscle memory of writing in a very different hand.²³¹

Source manuscript: Keynes describes CTC R.9.8 as a “script-facsimile” of BL Royal 15 B xxii.²³²

This manuscript is probably more deserving of that description than any of the others within this handlist.²³³ The transcription follows closely the Royal manuscript’s interlinear glosses, titles, rubrics, capitals, marginal notes, and later additions. It was written later than the transcript within the Royal manuscript, as the ending on fol. 61v meticulously duplicates the text on fol. 71r of the Royal manuscript, including the Parkerian “*finis*” in red chalk. These details make this one of the later transcripts within the entire Parkerian corpus and the only one to be (even partially) copied from another transcript.

Pre-modern printed editions: Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659).

Selected references: Keynes (1992).

²³¹ Note especially the differences of the *h* in “hwilon” in lines 28 and 29.

²³² Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*.

²³³ With the possible exception of CTC Add.c.198.

*Transcription (fol. 2v, lines 25-30)*²³⁴: De Syllaba / Syllaba. is stæf gefeg. onanre orðunge geendod. à domo ^fra(m) huse^, her isse / à for anum²³⁵ stæf gefeg²³⁶. ab homine ^fra(m) þam men. Her is se ab an stæf gefeh / hwilon bið þ stæf gefeh. on anum²³⁷ stæf²³⁸. hwilon on twa(m), swa swa we ær / sædon. hwilon on²³⁹ þrym stafum. arx ^wig hus^, hwilon on feower. pars ^dæl^, hwilon / on fif. stans ^standeade²⁴⁰^, hwilon on sixe²⁴¹. stryps. styb oððe mægð.

²³⁴ See **Figure 32**. Variant notes come from BL Royal MS 15 B xxii, fol. 7r.

²³⁵ anu(m)

²³⁶ gefege

²³⁷ anu(m)

²³⁸ stæfe

²³⁹ in

²⁴⁰ standende

²⁴¹ six

15. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.9.17

Scope: fol. 1r-2r on parchment.²⁴²

Text: Ælfric, Prefaces to *Grammar and Glossary*

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the script: An upright aspect, descenders are mostly straight with a slight taper to the left. The descender for insular *g* begins in the middle of the cross bar and predominantly shows a closed loop. The loop on *æ* rises just above the midline. An angled serif is added to the entry stroke for *þ*, *h*, and *b*. Tall *s* has a sinuous appearance both with and without the midline entry stroke. The dot on *i* usually appears just off the right shoulder, but occasionally wanders. The ascender on *d* is short and curved while *ð* is long and straight. The angle for *d* is quite sharp. Words split across the line break are marked with a faint and nearly flat =. Space at the end of a line is filled with ~. Nasal abbreviation marks are more often flat than curved.

Source manuscript: This could reasonably be either Royal 15 B xxii or CUL Hh.1.10—the two most complete copies of the *Grammar* accessible to Parker. Further, this particular scribe can be connected to each manuscript, as he used CUL to complete a missing portion from the Royal. Another complication is that the Old English Prefaces are relatively stable between these two manuscripts with only minor differences in spelling being noticeable. One of these spelling differences is the use of *y* instead of *i* for some words, but this is not usually a change in

²⁴² See **Figure 33**.

orthography that can be counted on as an indication for the source of a Parkerian transcription, as Parker's scribes seem to use them interchangeably. For example, this transcript agrees twice with CUL on ln. 11-12 by writing "*angynne*" and "*andgyte*" where Royal uses "*anginne*" and "*andgite*." However, on fol. 2v, ln. 15, the scribe agrees with Royal by writing "*7 hit bið*" where CUL is "*7 hit byð*." Other differences are limited to the addition or subtraction of an *e*—a variation that is also consistently inconsistent within Parkerian transcripts. There are no paratextual indicators in either possible source for this copy, although Royal does have a few unrelated red crayon underlinings. The best indicator comes from a comparison of the Latin prefaces. Where the transcriber writes "*libello possitis utræq(ue)*," the Royal manuscript reads "*libello potestis utramq(ue)*" and CUL a much closer "*libello possitis utraq(ue)*." Finally, in what is perhaps the most telling indicator, the scribe does not reproduce the Royal manuscript's incipits before the prefaces. Given the mounting evidence, it seems reasonable to claim CUL Hh.1.10 as the source for this transcript.²⁴³

Pre-modern printed editions: Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659).

Selected references: Zupitza (1880), Keynes (1993).

²⁴³ The manuscript description provided by Lucas and Wilcox in ASMMF 16 (37) agrees, adding a few other matching readings from the Latin preface and at least one from the Old English: "Ic bid nu on godes naman" on fol. 2v, where Royal writes "Ic bidde nu..." on fol. 6r.

Transcription (fol. 2r, lines 6-14)²⁴⁴: Ic Ælfric wolde þas lytlan boc awendan to engliscu(m) ge /
 reorde of þam stæf cræft þeis ge haten gramatica / syððan ic þa twa bec awende on hund
 eahtatigu(m) spellum. / for ðan ðe stæf cræft ys seo cæg þe þara boca and gyt un (=) / lycð. 7 ic
 þohte þ þeos boc mihte fremian iungum / cyldu(m). to angynne þæs cræftas oð þ hig to maran
 / andgyte becumon. Ælcum men gebyrað þe ænine~ / godne cræft hæfð. þ he þone do nytne
 oðru(m) mannum / 7 befæst þ pund þe him god befæste sumum oðrum / menn.

²⁴⁴ See **Figure 33**.

16. Cambridge, University Library, Ii.4.6

Scope: fols. 302, 304-05, 307, 309-10 on parchment.²⁴⁵ There are also smaller additions to complete lines on the margins of still extant pages.

Text: Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, Series 1, Feria III De dominica oratione*

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the script: Similar upright script to that in Bodley 441 and CTC R. 9. 17. The descender for insular *g* begins in the middle of the crossbar and tends to show a closed loop. The dot for *i* tends to rest on the upper right shoulder of the base. Ascenders for *d* are short and curved, while *ð* is long and straight. Most descenders are straight with a slight taper to the left, although some, especially on the top and bottom lines of text, display a more embellished curve to the left. Entry strokes on *p*, *h*, *l* and *b* are marked with a wedge-shaped serif. Words split over line-breaks are marked with a faint, nearly flat =. The scribe, as in CCCC 449 and the CCCC 12, completes letterforms across repair seams.²⁴⁶

Source manuscript: Clemoes notes CTC B.15.34 as the source. The text agrees very well with the transcription, but there are none of the transcription markings we have come to expect with Parker's manuscripts. There are underlinings in two locations and a marginal *signe de renvoi*, but neither corresponds with the missing text and may simply indicate Joscelyn's use for his lexicographical transcriptions. In this case, CCCC 178 makes for either a likely source text or an

²⁴⁵ See **Figure 34**.

²⁴⁶ Echard has identified many more of these instances. See Chap. 2.

example of Parker's reading practices. A horizontal line in red on p. 48 marks the first break in the CUL text before fol. 302r. No subsequent mark appears on p. 49 for the ending of that transcript portion before fol. 303r, but a pair of marks in red (horizontal in the margin and a vertical in the text block) appear on p. 50 to point out the transition to fol. 304r that occurs in CUL. Continuing the trend, a bracketing mark in red on p. 51 indicates the beginning of fol. 307r, a pair of marginal and text block indicators on p. 52 marks the transition back to the original manuscript on fol. 308r, and a final pair appears on p. 53 to mark the beginning of the final passages on fol. 309r. As is the case with the other homily transcriptions, these markings seem to be clear indicators of an exemplar's preparation for the copyist. That similar markings exist for the many of the source texts for Parkerian transcriptions clearly shows that this was standard practice for his Lambeth household. That these marks also appear in related manuscripts not used as the exemplar for a transcription also shows that this could also be considered a type of reading practice in Parker's household. In this case, it appears that CTC B.15.34 was the source of the CUL transcription through textual similarity, but a Parkerian reader did collate the missing portions of CUL Ii.4.6 with CCCC 178.

*Pre-modern printed editions: Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri V a venerabili Beda presbytero scripti* (1643-1644).²⁴⁷*

²⁴⁷ This specific text is not used as a Bede commentary, but Wheelock uses a number of homilies from this manuscript as a base text for his collation. His typical way of referring to CUL Ii. 4. 6 is a marginal note that reads "Hom. 34." The texts he does use are: *Dominica Prime Post Pentecosten* (Book 1, Chapter 17, p. 61); *In Dominica*

Selected references: Clemoes (1997), Graham (1998).

*Transcription (fol. 310r, lines 1-9)*²⁴⁸: ure geferena. on sumera²⁴⁹ earfoþnesse²⁵⁰. / ealla we sceolon
his yfel besargian 7 hogi (=) / an ymbe²⁵¹ ðabote²⁵². gif we hit gebetan magon / 7 on eallum
þingu(m)²⁵³ wesceolon healdan sibbe. / 7 annesse²⁵⁴ gif we willað habban þamicclan / geþingþe.
þ webeon godes bearn se þe on / heofonum²⁵⁵ is. onþære he rixað²⁵⁶ mid eal (=) / lum his
halgum on ealra worulda. wo (=) / ruld onecnese²⁵⁷. Amen.

Pentecosten de Gratia (Book 2, Chapter 19, p. 154); *Sabbati diem Santifices?* (Book 3, Chapter 27, p. 243); *De Oratione Moysi* (Book 4, Chapter 19, p. 309); *Dominica de Passione domini* (Book 5, Chapter 7, p. 395)

²⁴⁸ See **Figure 34**. Variants taken from CCCC 178, as the readings appear to match CTC B.15.34 more closely.

²⁴⁹ sumere

²⁵⁰ earfoðnyse (a gloss from the Tremulous scribe corrects the y to e)

²⁵¹ emb

²⁵² þa bote

²⁵³ þingam

²⁵⁴ annysse (a gloss from the Tremulous scribe correct the y to e)

²⁵⁵ heofenum

²⁵⁶ ricsað

²⁵⁷ Omitted in CCCC 178—clearest evidence that 178 was not the source.

17. London, British Library, Additional 43703

Scope: 268 fols.²⁵⁸

Text: Miscellaneous transcriptions of Anglo-Saxon material written in 1562, including two versions of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*; laws of Alfred, Ine, and Athelstan along with some other legal texts; *The Burghal Hidage*; leechdoms and charms; other shorter notes and transcripts. This is part of a British Library collection of Nowell's notebooks and transcriptions given to William Lambarde after Nowell's departure from England in 1568. Each of these texts is a kind of medievalist commonplace book. Nowell, for the most part, transcribes accurately, but he also will add in his own notes and emendations. In cases like the *Burghal Hidage* and some of the Leechdoms that do not appear within Bald's *Leechbook*, Nowell's transcript is our only witness to now lost manuscripts.

Scribe: Laurence Nowell

Notes on the script: Nowell's transcribing hand blends some humanist script elements with imitative Anglo-Saxon features. The slope of his script is unusual. His *þ*, *l*, and *wynn* tend to begin in the upper left and slant down to the right, while *s*, *h*, and *r* often slant to the left. This leads to a number of words that look and feel unbalanced.²⁵⁹ With letters and words slanting in opposite ways, his lines of text often show a tendency to waver up and down. Perhaps he simply writes without consistently lining his pages, but it is worth noting that uneven lines

²⁵⁸ See **Figure 35**.

²⁵⁹ see *þas* on line 22 and *þæs* on line 27 in *Figure 35*.

and inconsistent sloping letterforms could also be a marker of left-handed writing, though I have no other reason to believe Nowell to be left-handed.²⁶⁰ Unlike many of the Parkerian scribes, he neither dots nor accents *i*.²⁶¹ His *s* takes more of a rapid Caroline appearance. The *a* tends to be single chambered, while the *e* often takes a bold, horizontal crossstroke. In his informal script, he uses both a caroline and an exaggerated insular form of *e*—rising far above the midline as a kind of ligature.²⁶² This form of *e* also attaches itself to the digraph *æ* occasionally. He favors using *þ* over *ð*, but does not use it exclusively. His *g* begins the downstroke from the right end of its flat top and turns sharply to the left. Nowell marks word-splits across a line break with =.

Source manuscript: Most of these transcriptions come from Cotton MS Otho B. xi. The first *Chronicle* transcript, however, originated in Cotton MS Tiberius A. iii. Some introductory material to his Bede transcription comes from Bodleian, Laud Misc. 636.

Pre-modern printed editions: Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (1568).

Selected references: Flower (1935), Dobbie (1947), Berkhout (1998), Grant (1974, 1996)

²⁶⁰ On left-handed scribes, see Malcolm Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008): 62-3. Parkes observes a left-handed scribe in a fifteenth century manuscript: “The continuous variation in the alignment of the handwriting reveals his difficulty in maintaining a controlled horizontal movement starting from the left-hand margin of the page.” Berkhout is the authority on Nowell’s manuscripts and transcriptions, though Kiernan has also provided a brief overview of Nowell’s more patient bookhand in BL Henry Davis 59. Neither scholar has suggested that Nowell is left-handed, and I make no claims either. I leave this in only as speculation.

²⁶¹ See “pindis” and “firs” on line 24.

²⁶² See “metodes” in line 26.

*Transcription (fol. 146r, lines 20-27)*²⁶³: naht cuþe. Eft he cwæð seð mid hi(m) sprecend þæs /
 hwæþere þu meaht me singan cwæð he hwæt scealic / singan. C(wæ)þ he sing me fro(m) sceaft
 þa he þa þas 7 sware / onfeng þa ongan he sona singan in herenese godes scip (=) / pendes þa
 fers 7 þ ford þe he næfre gehyrde þara (=) / ende b[a]rdnesse. Ne sculon hergean heofonrices
 we (=) / ard metodes mihte. Ond his mod geþonc þeoroda wul (=) / dor fæder swa he wundra
 geþ hwæs ece drihten or / onsceald.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ See *Figure 35*.

²⁶⁴ catchword

18. London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix

Scope: fol. 1²⁶⁵

Text: Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies, Second Series, Dominica II Post Aepiphania Domini*

Scribe: Scribe 3²⁶⁶

Notes on the script: A rushed hand similar to that in CCCC 383 and CCCC 101. The attacking entry stroke Graham described in CCCC 101 is present here on *h*, *þ*, *l*, and *wynn*. The sloped aspect of the script as a whole is especially emphasized by the swooping descender on *g*. Descenders on *þ*, *þ̇*, and *wynn* tend to drift to the left. Most others remain straight. Tironian 7, however, turns to the right. This inconsistency is also noted by Graham when comparing the hand in CCCC 101 and 383. These are the most significant elements of Scribe 3 that are not also present in Scribe 2, making Parkes' suggestion that the scribe here is the same as that of CCCC 188 unlikely. Perhaps most telling is the lack of Scribe 2's distinctively exaggerated tall *s* with symmetrical serifs. This scribe exclusively uses a low *s* with descender. The low *f* also lacks the exaggerated entry stroke of Scribe 2. Unique to this transcript is the *ð*, which contains a nearly upright ascender. A few other notable items: *i* is dotted and occasionally joined to *n* and *m*, crosses on the *ð* and *þ* turn upwards, split words at line breaks are connected with both a single ~ and a faint =, and *æ* does not rise significantly above the midline.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ See **Figure 36**.

²⁶⁶ Parkes, "Archaizing Hands," 138n103. Parkes suggests that this is by the same scribe as in CCCC 188, though written much less carefully.

²⁶⁷ The ~ at the end of lines is another similarity to the scribe's practice in CCCC 101 and 383.

Source manuscript: CCCC 198. This text, like most of Ælfric's homilies, exists in multiple manuscripts owned or accessed by Parker. However, the presence of an editing mark on fol. 47v, faint and hidden by the bleed through of the recto's rubric on the same line, corresponds to the initial transcription. The scribe and editor did make a mistake. The editing mark tells the scribe to end after "*driht þa*," but upon later review (and using a now lighter shade of ink), the scribe adds "*þurh his mihte þ wæter*" to complete the line.

Pre-modern printed editions: Wheelock, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri V a venerabili Beda presbytero scripti* (1643-1644).

Selected references: Parkes (1997), Godden (1979, 2000).

*Transcription (fol. 1v, lines 1-10)*²⁶⁸: Iohannes se godspellere cwæð on ðære gods(=) / pelican race þ gyfta weron ge wordene on / anum tune þe is geciged chana onðam ~ / galileiscan eared. 7 þær wæs maria wæs / hælendes modor; Se hælend wæs eac ge / laðod toðam gyftu(m) 7 his learning cnihtas / samod. þagela(m)p hie þær þ ðær ateorode / winþa(m) gebeoru(m) 7 þæs hælender moder cwæð to hun hinabbað win leng. þa anowerde we / hælend.

²⁶⁸ See **Figure 36**.

19. London, British Library, Henry Davis 59

Scope: Bound codex, parchment²⁶⁹

Text: Laws of Alfred

Scribe: Laurence Nowell

Notes on the script: Nowell's very precise display script, with occasional use of "shell gold," blue, and red ink on capitals. For the Old English text on the verso pages, Nowell employs an upright and formal insular bookhand. He presents the Early Modern English translation in an assured italic script. Despite an obvious effort to adapt his scribal *habitus* to a more formal script, Nowell maintains a number of idiosyncratic letterforms. His *þ* is typically straight, but occasionally in what appears to be an overcompensation for his own tendencies, carries a slight sloping aspect from the upper right to bottom left. He has less success adapting other letters: *wynn*, *h*, and *l* all tend to display a left-to-right slant or vertical aspect, which again leads to some unbalanced word shapes.²⁷⁰ Despite carefully ruling and preparing these pages, there are still some slight wobbles that could again indicate a non-standard pen and paper angle. Other letterforms are consistent with their more hurried counterparts: the upper loop of his insular *e* (used interchangeably with a Caroline version) and *æ* are perhaps fainter and raised even higher above the midline and the downstroke of *g* begins at the right edge of the top bar. Also of note, especially for antiquarian transcribers, is the undotted *i*. Overall, this is a

²⁶⁹ See **Figure 37**.

²⁷⁰ See "awritan" in lines 2-3 and *wisan* in line 7.

beautiful hand and it fully displays both Nowell's skill as a calligrapher, but also his eye as a paleographer.

Source manuscript: This document may be more properly called a manuscript edition instead of a transcription. As Brackmann notes, Nowell copied and annotated the Laws of Alfred from Cotton Otho B. xi in BL Additional 43703, then added notes from other manuscripts to his copy in Canterbury Cathedral Lit.B.2. The resulting collation of manuscripts and sources became a kind of working document for his English translation—the Canterbury transcript, like Davis 59, exists only on the verso pages in the document.²⁷¹ Henry Davis 59, along with a similar edition of Ine's laws in a private collection, survives as a lasting and fitting culmination of Nowell's studies in Old English laws and language.

Pre-modern printed editions: Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (1568).

Selected references: Berkhout (1998), Brackman (2010, 2012)

*Transcription (p. 1)*²⁷²: IC ÆLFRED cyni(n)g / þæs togædere gegaderod 7 awri (=) / tan het monige þæra þe ure / forengan heoldan þa me lico (=) / don: 7 þa þe me ne licodon ic a (=) / wearp mid minra witenas geþe (=) / ahte: 7 on oþra wisan beþeod to / healdanne ; forþam ic ne dorst / gþrist læcan þæra minra awuht / feala on gewrit settan: for þa(m) / me wæs uncuþ hwæt þæs þa(m) li (=) / cian wold þe æfter us wæren ; / ac þe ic gemette awðer on Ines / dæge

²⁷¹ Rebecca Brackmann, "Laurence Nowell's Edition and Translation of the Laws of Alfred in London, British Library Henry Davis 59," *The Heroic Age* 14 (2010): <http://www.heroicage.org/issues/14/brackmann.php>.

²⁷² See **Figure 37**.

20. London, British Library, Royal 15 B xxii

Scope: fol. 71r on vellum²⁷³

Text: Ælfric, *Grammar and Glossary*

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the script: A distinctive upright script that appears more slanted than it really is because of the awkward pasting of this supply leaf to the existing manuscript. The ascender for *d* lays fairly flat here, though it does show a slight curve upward at a higher angle and longer length than the same letter in Bodley 441. Though the sample here is small, it is important to note that the flat-backed *d* is one of the most distinctive features of Parker's Anglo-Saxon type design. That one of his scribes begins to adapt his own script to the typeface may give an indication of the transcription's possibly later date. Most letterforms are quite consistent—the *g* begins its descender in the middle of the cross bar; long *s* takes on an English Caroline shape, but dips just below the baseline before the nearly vertical ascender with a hook to the right; the loop on *æ* begins slightly lower on the right-hand shoulder than other examples from this scribe, but still rises above the midline; and *a* is consistently single-chambered, except for its use in Latin words. The tall *f* that occurs twice in “*fabulē*” and “*fabulae*”, and a single tall *st* ligature in “*hystoria*” are the only other two separate Latin letterforms in this small sample.

²⁷³ See **Figure 38**.

Source manuscript: CUL Hh.1.10, the best candidate, contains a small vertical red mark in the text indicating the beginning of this selection and a larger red mark in the margin as a finding aid. While Doane is right to note the relationship between Royal 15 B xxii and CCCC 449—Royal served as a source manuscript for the lengthy copies in CCCC 449 and CTC R.9.8, and for the prefaces in CTC R.9.17—it does not appear that the Corpus manuscript served as the source text for this transcription.²⁷⁴ Not only does the transcriber duplicate the layout and most of the textual variants from the CUL MS, he also uses the same caudata *e* on *fabulē* while correspondingly using the expanded *fabulæ* earlier in the line. The Corpus manuscript uses a unique *æ* abbreviation in both instances. Other small details include the seemingly interchangeable *y* and *i* matching CUL more consistently than Corpus. One error in the transcription not sourced to either Corpus or CUL is the use of *eallu(m)* instead of *ealdu(m)* as is present in both CUL and Corpus.

Pre-modern printed editions: Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659)

Selected references: Graham (2000), Page (1993).

²⁷⁴ A. N. Doane, “London, British Library Royal 15 B. xxii,” in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Grammars, Handlist of Manuscript*, Volume 15, eds. A. N. Doane and Matthew T. Hussey. (Tempe: ACMRS, 2007).

*Transcription (fol. 71r, lines 1-13)*²⁷⁵: Se cræft is swa ameten þ þær ne mot beon wurðon an / stæf
ofer ge tel ac beoð ealle þa uers ge emnytte be anu(m) /XXIX. / ge tele. gif hit aht beon sceal.
Sume synd ge hatene fa (=) / bullae þ synd ydele spellunga. fabule synd þa laga þe men /
secgað ongean ge cynd. þ næfre nege wearð nege wur (=) / XXX. / ðan ne mæg. Su(m) þæra ys
gehaten hystoria. þ ys ge re (=) / cedniss. mid þæra mana writ 7 gerecð þa þing 7 þa (~) / dæda
þe wæron gedone on eallu(m) dagu(m) 7 us dirne wæron. / ON leden sprece mænigfealde /
getel ac on englisc nis man þæra ge wunelic buton þrin / anum. libra onleden ys wund on
englisc. fif penegas ge / macigað ænne scillinge. 7 xxx penega ænne manes. / finis

²⁷⁵ See **Figure 38**.

21. London, Westminster Abbey, 30

Scope: Entire (105 written pages)²⁷⁶

Text: Ælfric, *Grammar and Glossary*

Scribe: Laurence Nowell

Notes on the script: Nowell's more hurried transcribing hand. No significant differences from BL Add. 43703. The left to right slant of *þ*, *wynn*, and *h* remains a stark contrast to the right to left slant of tall *s*, *f*, and *l*. This again contributes to an unevenness across each line. Nowell alternately uses an insular *e* that rises above the midline and almost acts as a ligature alongside a more subdued Caroline form. Both forms make use of a prominent horizontal midstroke. While Nowell often omits or condenses the Latin portions of the text, he does occasionally transcribe them in an early modern italic script.²⁷⁷ Typically, however, the Latin words are not written with different letterforms.²⁷⁸

Source manuscript: According to Buckalew, who has written the definitive piece on both this transcript and an earlier partial set of extracts by John Leland, Nowell used a now-lost manuscript of the *Grammar and Glossary* for his exemplar.²⁷⁹ Buckalew notes that at least four copies of the *Grammar*—CCCC 449, CTC R.9.17, CUL Hh.1.10 (used to complete the missing

²⁷⁶ See **Figure 39**.

²⁷⁷ See "etc" in line 4.

²⁷⁸ See "homine" in line 11.

²⁷⁹ Ronald E. Buckalew, "Leland's Transcript of Ælfric's Glossary," *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978): 149–64; Buckalew, "Nowell, Lambard, and Leland: The Significance of Laurence Nowell's Transcript of Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary."

portions of Royal 15 B xxii), and BL Royal MS 15 B xxii (used to complete the missing portions of CCCC 449, CTC R.9.17, and as a base text for CTC R.9.8)—passed through the possession of Matthew Parker. CTC R.9.8 was probably transcribed too late for it to have been of any use to Nowell. None of these manuscripts, according to Buckalew, match readings within either Nowell's transcript or his extracts into his *Vocabularium* (Selden Supra 63), indicating that Westminster 30 and its source were Nowell's primary source for material from the *Grammar and Glossary* when he began his attempt to compile an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Buckalew notes that Nowell condensed his exemplar, often leaving out the Latin portions and even the entire Latin preface.²⁸⁰ This would, of course, complicate the process of identification. Buckalew's primary method of disentangling these manuscripts relies on text within Nowell's transcription that is omitted in extant medieval copies. On this basis, even relatively complete manuscripts like Royal 15 B xxii and CUL Hh.1.10 were deemed insufficient. Complicating this approach, however, is Nowell's own facility with Old English. Scholars since Flower and Sisam have argued that Nowell was, at the very least, competent enough to supplement readings of Anglo-Saxon texts with his own textual reconstructions from Latin originals, and Brackmann has shown that his translation of Alfred's laws into English demonstrated both ingenuity and linguistic familiarity.²⁸¹ Addressing Sisam's arguments that some of the unattested additions to

²⁸⁰ Buckalew, p. 23

²⁸¹ For an excellent overview of the controversies surrounding Nowell's transcriptions, see Carl Berkhout, "The Pedigree of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary," *English Language Notes* 23 (1985):15-26. For Brackmann's commentary on Henry Davis 59, see Brackmann, "Laurence Nowell's Edition and Translation of the Laws of Alfred."

Anglo-Saxon laws within Lambarde's *Archaionomia* were not from a corpus of lost manuscripts, as an earlier scholar suggested, but as the result of Nowell's translations of the *Quadripartitus* into "Elizabethan Anglo-Saxon," Patrick Wormald suggests a compromise that does indeed point towards Nowell as an editor and collator of multiple manuscripts (including some cobbled-together Anglo-Saxon glosses to the *Quadripartitus*), but also allows that he must have seen at least one, now-lost manuscript when crafting his edited transcriptions.²⁸² This picture of Nowell is one of a scholar who may not have been a master of Anglo-Saxon composition, but he was a competent editor, capable of reasonable emendations.

With this in mind, it must be noted that any evaluation of possible sources for Westminster MS 30 reliant on words and phrases within Nowell that were omitted from extant manuscripts must be handled with care. He may not have invented new readings out of whole cloth, but it was within both his capabilities and typical methods to collate multiple texts into a single transcription. Nowell's well-established practices of abridgement, collation, and emendation all play a part in making the identification of Nowell's source(s) more complex than it is with Parker's scribes. In this particular instance, though, the simplest and most likely correct solution is Buckalew's suggestion of a lost manuscript. As Wormald describes his conclusion to variant readings within the *Archaionomia*, "one might still hesitate to have recourse to such a *deus ex machina*," but this unsatisfying conclusion does, at least, give us a

²⁸² Wormald, "The Lambarde Problem."

fuller understanding of the extent of collaboration between Nowell and the Parker household.

While it often seems that manuscripts consulted by one party were available to the other, it is not always the case. For a text like Ælfric's *Grammar*, a relatively common document which served as something of a learning text for these scholars and was outside of the main subject interests of Parker himself, the probability that a manuscript known by one and not the others rises significantly. A similar claim might be made with manuscripts used by Joscelyn for his own lexicographical pursuits.

Pre-modern printed editions: Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659).

Selected references: Berkhout (1985), Brackmann (2010), Buckalew (1978, 1982)

*Transcription (p. 5, lines 9-16)*²⁸³: Syllaba. is stæf gefeg. on anre orðung geen (:) / dod. Adomo. fram huse. Her is se a for anu(m) / stæf gefege. Ab homine fram menn. et c. / Hwilon bið þ stæf gefeg on anu(m) stæfe hwilon on / twam. swa swa we ær sædon. Hwilon on þri[y]m / stafu(m). arx. wighus. Hwilon on feower. pars. dæl. / Hwilon on fif.stans. standende. Hwilon six. stirps / stybb opþe mægð.

²⁸³ See *Figure 39*.

22. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 441

Scope: fols. 56-62, 90, 131, 150, 192-4²⁸⁴

Text: *Old English Gospels* Mark 1-4:37, Mark 16:14-end, Luke 16:14-17:1, Luke 24:51-end, John 20:9-end.

Scribe: Scribe 1 (Peter Lyly)

Notes on the script: The Lyly scribe has made a few changes to his script for this copy. Primarily, he is beginning to use the form of *d* that appears within the Anglo-Saxon typeface developed by Parker and Day, a short, rounded back with a nearly flat ascender. As Lucas has shown, this typeface derived from Worcester manuscripts such as Junius 121 and Hatton 113/114.²⁸⁵ While this scribe doesn't consistently use this *d*, he does use it more often than in his other transcriptions. Otherwise, most characteristics are similar to his earlier documents. He tends to dot the *i*, just above and to the right of the stem, begin the closed-loop descender on *g* in the middle of the crossbar, and taper most other descenders off to the left. This tall *s* does occasionally appear to be a bit more curled and decorative on the upper loop. Perhaps working in a Biblical manuscript with rubricated capitals has inspired the scribe to write in a more ostentatious book hand. It is worth noting that there are other Parkerian annotations throughout the manuscript, often matching up passages from the Gospels with specific feast days. These annotations are also written in an imitative Anglo-Saxon script, likely from the

²⁸⁴ See **Figure 40**.

²⁸⁵ Lucas, "A Testimony of Verrye Ancient Tyme?."

same scribe, although the smaller script necessary for these additions invites a few changes.

On fol. 128r, the scribe uses a sinuous form of long *s* that does not include a Caroline entry stroke. The best example for an equivalent letterform by a Parkerian scribe may be found in CCCC 449 and CCCC 302.

Source manuscript: Ker suggests that at least one of the sixteenth-century marginal additions can only be from CUL Ii.2.11 and that this same manuscript was the source for the rubrics.²⁸⁶

Parkes, calling Bodley 441 “one of the more successful ‘counterfeittings’,” describes it as an “eclectic imitation” blending elements from both the exemplar manuscript’s elegant Exeter hand and the original Bodley 441 scribe.²⁸⁷ Liuzza, however, points towards CCCC 140 as the exemplar for the main text. They are all most likely correct—the rubrics, titles, and occasional additions appear to be inspired by the CUL manuscript and some of the editorial markings and unique readings seem to be copied out of Corpus. Fittingly, Parkes’ “eclectic imitation” description could be said of Bodley 441 as a whole. With verses numbered by Robert Talbot, rubrics and titles added by Parkerian scribes, annotations by John Joscelyn, and entire pages and quires inserted into the document, Bodley 441 is itself an eclectic mix of old and new. By transforming Bodley 441 into an imitation of CUL Ii.2.11, Parker’s scribes also affected the

²⁸⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, 376. According to Ker, the marginal note on fol. 24, ‘gehyre se ðe earen to gehyranne hæfð,’ only exists in CUL Ii.2.11.

²⁸⁷ Parkes, *Archaizing Hands*, 124. This, of course, assumes that CUL Ii.2.11 was the exemplar. However, it does not appear to be that simple. Any similarity to the Leofric School’s Exeter hand is, instead, part of the Lyly Scribe’s own individual script—which may have, of course, been inspired by his work on Exeter manuscripts.

larger manuscript tradition associated with this version of the Old English Gospels. As a manuscript untouched by early modern hands, Bodley 441 shared a textual tradition with Cotton Otho C. i, a formatting and style tradition with CCCC 140, and provided the source text to Royal MS 1 A xiv, which in turn became the exemplar to Hatton 38. By adding in the rubrics, titles, and certain readings from CUL Ii.2.11 alongside the missing texts of *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* from CCCC 140 to Bodley 441, the Parkerian scribes crafted a manuscript edition of the Gospels more representative of the book artistry and textual traditions of the Anglo-Saxons than the print edition of the Gospels they created from it.

Parkerian copy marks within CCCC 140 seem to have been used for more than just the transcripts in Bodley 441 (and possibly Hatton 38) and indicate a different editorial practice than is evident in the homily manuscripts. The marginal notae and vertical line break before “*hit*” on fol. 51r, ln.8 point towards the end of the transcription on fol. 62v, but are added in ink, contrary to the typical practice. The use of a marginal symbol as a note is also not evident in any of the other transcript exemplars as an indicator for transcription—instead, these are marks for the benefit of the printer.²⁸⁸ A faint red chalk bracket on fol. 70v, ln.22 does point towards the beginning of Mark 16:14, but not exactly where the transcriber begins on fol. 131.²⁸⁹ Further, another bracket appears before the capital on ln.14 that does not correspond

²⁸⁸ CCCC 178 does contain marginal lines in red chalk that point towards the texts copied into CUL Ii.4.6, but they are simple horizontal lines, not symbols.

²⁸⁹ The bracket is at “*Ða*,” not “*nehstan*,” as would have been more precise.

with the transcript. These brackets, and others like them throughout the manuscript, do correspond with new chapters, paragraphs, and subheadings in Foxe's printed edition (and many of the added rubrics in Bodley 441).²⁹⁰ A lack of any identifiable markings at Luke 16:14 on fol. 101r, Luke 24:51 on fol. 114r, or John 20:9 on fol. 145r complicates matters,²⁹¹ but it appears that the scribe may have depended on textual indicators to find his place rather than returning to CUL Ii.2.11.²⁹² Finally, the transcribed portions of the text do not include the same rubrics copied over into the rest of the manuscript. Taken all together, the added paratextual evidence within CCCC 140 points towards a more complex relationship between it, CUL Ii.2.11, and Bodley 441 during the preparation of the Parker/Joscelyn/Foxe printed edition than has been currently thought. My best guess at reconstructing the process behind restoring Bodley 441 and printing the Foxe edition is that the OE rubrics were added from CUL Ii.2.11 before a new transcription based on CCCC 140 supplied deficient passages.²⁹³ After the supply sheets were added, both Bodley 441 and CCCC 140 were consulted for the printing of Foxe's edition, although Bodley remained the base text.

²⁹⁰ Foxe, p.191.

²⁹¹ Though another marker, possibly for the Foxe's edition, appears on fol. 114r at ln.13 (Luke 24:48). This begins a new line on p.314 that may have helped the typesetter space out the remaining and diminishing text block at the end of the Book.

²⁹² On fol. 150r, ln.3, the reading more closely matches CCCC 140 as the CUL Ii.2.11 omits "mid" (Liuzza 156); and on fol. 192r, ln.13, the transcript gives "se hælend wæs" which agrees with CCCC 140, but not CUL Ii.2.11 which uses the word order "wæs se hælend." (Liuzza 200)

²⁹³ Although the title for Mark in the transcript and the (admittedly inconsistent) chapter and verse numbers may be influenced by their presence in CUL Ii.2.11.

Pre-modern printed editions: Foxe, *The Gospels of the Fower Euangelists*, 1571; Junius and Marshall, *Quatuor Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones per antiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglo-Saxonica* (1665).²⁹⁴

Selected references: Dekker (2000), Liuzza (1994), Ker (1957), and Parkes (1997).

*Transcription (f61r, lines 15-23)*²⁹⁵: Soplice he hæfð beelzebub 7 on deofla e(=) / aldre he deoful seocnessa ut adrifð. ^23^ 7 he / hi togædere geclypode 7 on bigspellu(m) him / to cwæð. Hu mæg Satanas Satanan ut adrifan. ^24^ 7 gif his rice on him sylfu(m) bið to dæled, hu mæg hit standan. ^25^ 7 gif þ hus ofer hit sylfe²⁹⁶ ys to dæled. hu mæg hit standan.²⁹⁷ ^26^ 7 / gif Satanas sinð ongenhine sylfne he bið / to dæled 7 he standan ne mæg ac hæfð ende.

²⁹⁴ Dekker, “Junius’ Old English Dictionary,” 323n61: Foxe’s edition primarily used Bodley 441, though it would be reasonable to assume that Parker’s scholars consulted CCCC 140 based on the red chalk markings that correspond to paratextual elements in the printed text. The edition by Junius and Marshall once again collated 441 with the printed text alongside readings from CCCC 140, CUL li.2.11, Hatton 38, and Auct.D.2.19, making this one of the best early examples of Textual criticism in Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

²⁹⁵ See **Figure 40**. The lone variant is from CCCC 140.

²⁹⁶ sylf

²⁹⁷ “ofer...standan” is omitted in CUL li.2.11

23. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 38

Scope: fol. 62rv²⁹⁸

Text: OE Gospels: Luke, 16:14-17:1

Scribe: Scribe 2 (Matthew Parker)

Notes on the script: Many of the distinctive characteristics of Scribe 2 are on display here. The symmetric, fountain-shaped *s*²⁹⁹ is here in both its tall and short forms. Further, the exaggerated entry stroke is even more prominent in the *f* than in some of his other transcripts. A new adaptation to the script is the shortened *ð*. Both the ascender and the crossbar appear to be smaller in proportion than in previous examples. It is possible that elements of his script are merging with those of the destination manuscript, a late twelfth or early thirteenth-century copy in a clear, upright proto-gothic hand similar to what Liuzza terms the “Christ Church style of s. xii/xiii.”³⁰⁰ This *ð*, the prevalence of a two-chambered *a*, and the occasional roman *s* make this transcript appear to be an example of scribal code-switching. The hand still maintains its individualized written accent, but it subtly adapts to its new surroundings in an attempt to belong—a kind of scribal code-switching.

Source manuscript: The presence of the Latin rubrics is another indicator that this scribe attempted to match this transcript to the destination text, but the layout of the page with a

²⁹⁸ See **Figure 41**.

²⁹⁹ Parkes describes this as “a distorted representation of insular *s* which extends above the level of the minim strokes and resembles a *y* with a vertical mainstroke.” (124)

³⁰⁰ Liuzza, xxxvi

skipped line and indentation for the rubric more closely resembles other Parkerian transcriptions.³⁰¹ Not present in this transcript are the OE rubrics copied into Bodley 441 from CUL li.2.11 and printed in Foxe's edition, but the Latin portions do indicate an origin in the CUL manuscript. Further, there are a number of variants here that are significant enough to be noted in Liuzza's edition as originating in CUL li.2.11.³⁰²

Pre-modern printed editions: Foxe, *The Gospels of the Fower Euangelists*, 1571; Junius and Marshall, *Quatuor Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglo-Saxonica*, 1665

Selected references: Ker (1957), Liuzza (1994), and Parkes (1997)

*Transcription (fol. 62v, lines 11-20)*³⁰³: ... ða cwæð³⁰⁴ he fæder ic bydde³⁰⁵ þe / þ þu sende hyne³⁰⁶ to mines fæder house³⁰⁷. ic hebbe³⁰⁸ / fif gebroðeru³⁰⁹ þ he cyðe heom³¹⁰ þ hige³¹¹ ne cumon / on þissa tintrege stowe. Ða sæd³¹² Abraham / hym³¹³. hig habbað moysen and witegan hig /

³⁰¹ Echard has shown this particular kind of mise-en-page as representative of Parkerian facsimiles. They do not necessarily recreate an original text, but they do convey an orderly interpretation of the medieval original.

³⁰² Some examples from 62r: "acunod" for "ascuniendlic" on ln. 5; "strannysse" for "strangnysse" on ln. 7, and "forwunded" for "forwundod" in CUL and "forwundon" in CCCC on ln. 16

³⁰³ See **Figure 41**. Variants here are from CCCC 140.

³⁰⁴ cwæð

³⁰⁵ bidde

³⁰⁶ hine

³⁰⁷ huse - Roman tall s, beginning on the baseline, here. This more closely represents the tall s in "scandala" from the rubric below.

³⁰⁸ hæbbe

³⁰⁹ gebroðru

³¹⁰ him

³¹¹ hig

³¹² sæde - Roman tall s here again.

³¹³ him

hlyston hym³¹⁴. Ða cw(æð)³¹⁵ he nese fæder Abraham ac / hig ðoð dæd bote gif wylc³¹⁶ of deað³¹⁷
 to hym³¹⁸ fearð / Ða cwæþ³¹⁹ he gif hig ne ge hyrað moysen and / þa witegen³²⁰ ne hig ne
 gelifað³²¹ þeah wylc of / deað³²² aras³²³.

³¹⁴ hi(m)

³¹⁵ A unique abbreviation for a Parkerian scribe here.

³¹⁶ hwylc

³¹⁷ deaðe

³¹⁸ hi(m)

³¹⁹ Possibly a correction from þ to ð? Or a conflation of the two?

³²⁰ witegan

³²¹ gelyfað

³²² deaðe

³²³ arise

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Chart of Parkerian Transcripts Arranged by Shelfmark and Scribe

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College

100a (p. 29)
 100b (p. 280)
 101a (pp. 53-84, 447-450)
 111 (p. 137)
 178 (pp. 31-32)
 188 (pp. 1-2, 317-324)
 302 (pp. 233-242)
 383a (fols. 1r-9v)
 383b (fols. 31r-37v)
 449a (fols. 1r-8v, 23v-42r) 53
 449b (fols. 9r-23r) 29

Cambridge, Trinity College

Additional C. 198 (fols. 1-8)
 B.15.34 (p. 433)
 R.9.8 (entire 63 fols.)
 R.9.17 (fols. 1r-2r)

Cambridge, University Library

li .4 .6 (fols. 302, 304-05, 307, 309-10)

London, British Library

Cotton Faustina A. IX (fol. 1r)
 Royal B. 15. xxii (fol. 71r)

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Bodley 441 (fols. 56-62, 90, 131, 150, 192-4 and other annotations throughout)
 Hatton 38 (fol. 62)

*Indicates a manuscript I have not viewed.

Scribe 1: Peter Lyly?

CCCC 100b (p. 280)
 CCCC 302
 CCCC 449b
 CTC R.9.17
 CUL li.4.6
 BL Royal 15 B xxii
 Bodley 441

Scribe 2: Matthew Parker?

CCCC 178
 CCCC 188
 CTC B.15.34
 Hatton 38

Scribe 3: Unidentified Scribe

CCCC 101
 CCCC 383
 CCCC 100a (p. 29)
 Cotton Faustina A. IX
































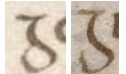










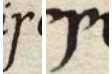































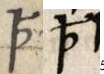





Unsorted (Probably Parkerian) Scribes

CCCC 111 (Single page, similar to Scribe 1?)
 CCCC 449a (Parkerian, a scribe in training?)
 CTC R.9.8 (John Parker? C.f. Wanley)
 CTC Add. C. 198 (Post-Parkerian? Lambarde?)

Laurence Nowell's Transcriptions

BL Add. 43703
 *BL Add. 43704
 BL Henry Davis 59
 Westminster 30
 *Cant. Cath. Lit. B. 2
 *Cant. Cath. Lit. E. 1
 *Cant. Cath. Lit. E. 2
 *Cotton Domitian A XVIII

Appendix B: Selected Alphabets of Individual Scribes¹

	Scribe 1 <i>BL Royal 15 B xxii</i>	Scribe 2 <i>CTC B.15.34</i>	Scribe 3 <i>CCCC 101</i>	Unknown <i>CCCC 449a</i>	Unknown <i>CTC R.9.8</i>	Nowell <i>Henry Davis 59</i>
a						
æ						
d						
e	 ²					
f						
g						
r						
s (short)		 ³				
s (tall)					n/a	
ð						
þ						
p						
7		 ⁴				
þ	 ⁵					 ⁶

¹ Alternate manuscript locations for specific letterforms indicated through footnotes.

² CCCC 302

³ CCCC 188

⁴ CCCC 178

⁵ CCCC 302

⁶ BL Additional MS 43703

Appendix C: Manuscript Images

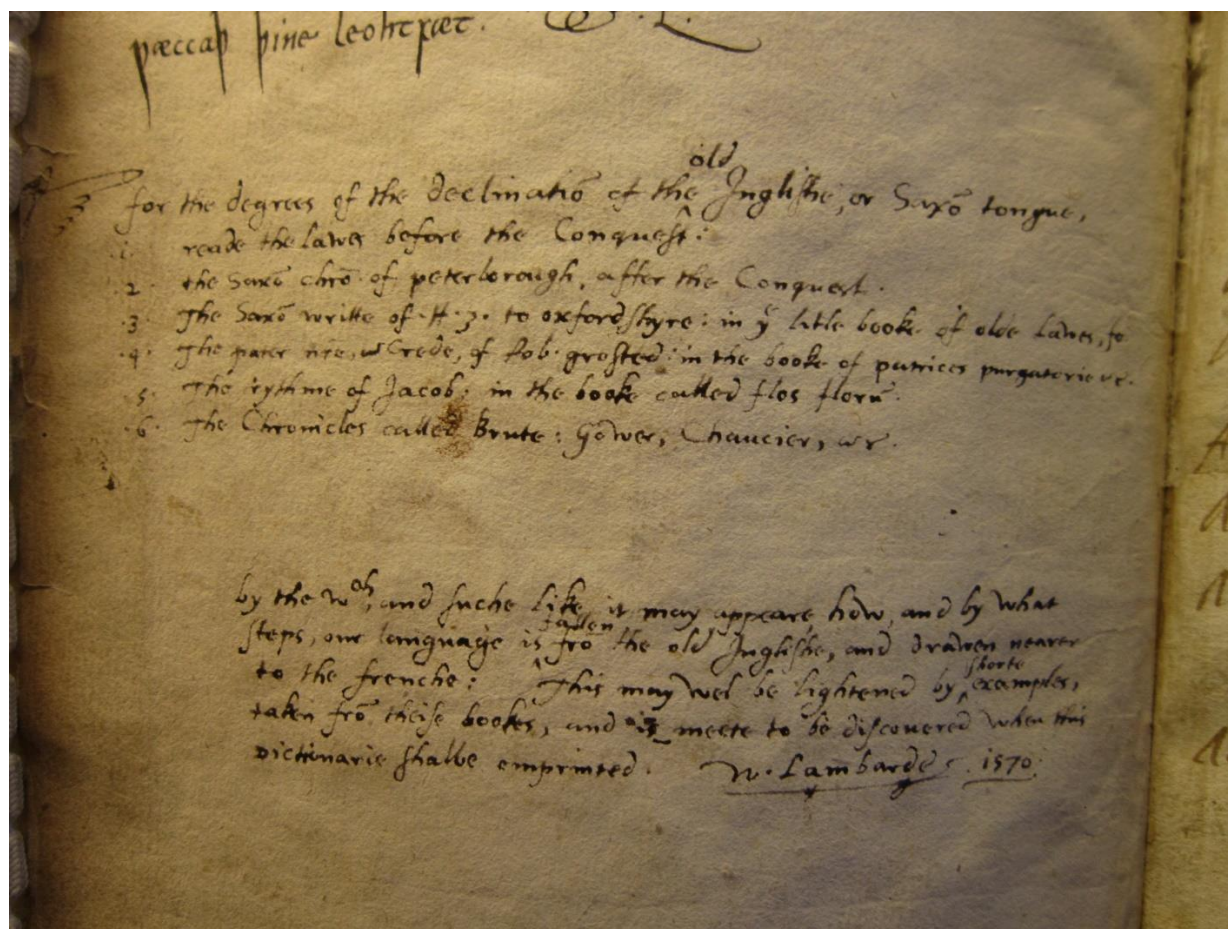


Figure 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Supra 63, fol. iv (Photo by Lauren Whitnah).¹

¹For the degrees of the declination of the old English, or Saxon tongue,

1. Reade the Lawes before the Conquest:
2. The Saxon chron. of peterborough, after the Conquest.
3. The Saxon writte of .H. 3. to oxfordshyre: in the little booke of olde Lawes, fo.
4. The pater noster, and Crede, of Rob. grosted: in the book of patrices purgatorie &c.
5. The rythme of Jacob: in the booke called flos florum.
6. The Chronicles called Brute: Gower, Chaucier, &c.

by the which, and suche like it may appeare, how, and by what steps, our language is fallen from the old English, and drawen nearer to the frenche: This may wel be lightened by shorte examples, taken from these books, and is meete to be discovered when this Dictionarie shalbe enprinted. W. Lambarde. 1570. (My transcription, abbreviations silently expanded and insertions lowered).

Elementa Sax. quæ à Lat. differunt.

ð f ƿ r ʀ p ý Ð ð þ ƿ ʝ
d f g r f t w y Th th th. that and

Regula Sax.

Ge, otiosum saepe est; non est ð, ñ, rð, nam etiam & verbis preponitur. *ge* & *ge* saepius ut cum & tum: ut, *ge* iare *ge* hysne, cum vitatum exemplo.

Nomina. *God*, Deus, *gōv*, bonus. *Gen.* utriusque in ei, *godeſ*, dei, boni: sed *Dat. nomin.* *Adjekt.* utriusque numeri *godum*, bono, bonis: *gode*, deo; *godum*, diis. *Accus.* *God*, Deum: sed *Accus.* *Adjekt.* sit à *Nom.* per additionem *ne*, ut *godne*, bonum. *Gen. plur.* in *a*, ut *goda*, decorum: sed *nominis Adjekt.* in *ra*, ut *godra*, bonorum, bonarum, -- *Accus.* in *al*, & saepe in *a*, ut *pag. i. lin. 19, 20.*

ealþa manna cƿiðar ʝ dæda.
veterum hominum dicta factaque.

Adjektiva sic comparantur, rihtwisa, rihtwisse, rihtwistra, iustus, a, um; *rihtwistere*, iustior & iustius; *rihtwistara*, *ste*, *ste*, iustissimus, *ma*, *mum*.

Sangere, cantor; *sangƿstre*, cantrix.

Patronymica: ut *Elesing*, Eleſides vel filius Eleſæ. *Vide* *plura pag. 5. l. 25.*

Gentilia in isle. ut *Romanisc*, Romanus; *Lundenisc*, Londonensis; *Cantabrigisc*, Cantabrigiensis.

Pronomina. *It*, Ego; *me*, *me*; *fram me*, à me; *we*, nos; *ure*, noster; *us*, nobis, nos.

Thu, Tu; *thin*, tuus, a, um, tibi; *the*, te; *eala thu*, ð tu; *ge*, vos; *eowor*, vester, a, um, vobis; *eow*, vos; *eala ge*, ð vos.

Hif, Sui; *him*, sibi; *hine*, & *hine* sibiſue, ſeſe.

He, Ille; *hiſ*, illius, suus; *him*, illi, illis; *hine*, illum; *hig*, illi, illæ, illos; *heora*, illorum, illarum. -- *heo*, illa; *hyre*, illius.

That, Illud; *thæf*, illius; *tham*, illi; *tha*, illa; *thæra*, illorum; *tham*, illis.

Thet, Ille; *thiſet*, istius; *thiſum*, isti, isto, istis; *thiſne*, istum; *thaſ*, isti, istos; *thiſſera*, istorum.

Thiſ, illa, & illud; *thiſen*, istius; ut in *maſc.*

Thet, theot, *thiſ*, hic, hæc, hoc; *thiſet* vel *thiſſere*, huius; *thiſum*, huic; *thiſne*, *thaſ*, *thiſ*, hunc, hanc, hoc; *thaſ*, hi, hæ, hæc.

He, ſeo, *thæt*, is, ea, id; *thæf*, ejus; *tham*, ei. *Plur.* *tha*, ea; *thæra*, eorum; *tham*, eis.

He ſpiſt, vel *ſe piſca*, ille ipſe; *heo ſpiſt*, vel *ſeo piſce*, ipſa.

Min, minre, *min*, meus, mea, meum.

Thin, tuus, tua, tuum; *thiſet*, tui.

Erne, ure, ure, noster, nostra, nostrum; *hwa*, *hwoſc*, *hwoſc*, quis, & qualis, &c. quæ, quod; *hwæf*, cujus; *hwam*, cui; *hwoſcne*, quem; *hwoſcun*, quæ, quibus. *hwæ hwa*, *hwæ hwoſc*, quicumque, quæcunque, quodcunque.

Verba Activa ſecund. perf. ſing. in aſt, eſt: tertia in th, d, de. Plur. in th, don, nunc in ath, &c.

Infinitivus deſinit in an, vel anne, ut geluſſan, amare; *to geluſſenne*, amandus; *Gerund. to luſſenne*, amandi; *luſſende*, amando; *to luſſende*, amandum.

Paſſiva à verbo Sum adjuvantur; ut It eom geluſod, Ego amor; *thu eart*, he is, *weſpnd*, *ge ſpnd*, *hig ſpnd*. *Eram*, *It wæp*, *thu wære*, *he wæp*, *we wæron*, *ge wæron*, *hig wæron*. *Ero*, *It beo*, *thu biſt*, *he biſt*, *we beoþ*, *ge beoþ*, *hig beoþ*. *Es eſto*, *ſi thu*, *ſi he*. *Eſſe*, *beon*.

Si tamen libri excuſi ab his paululum variant, ne te perturbet; modò ex iſtu adjuveris.

Verbis preponuntur nomina, aut pronomina expreſſe, It, thu, he, &c. Reliqua docebit facilis obſervatio.

Figure 2: Grammatical Note to Abraham Wheelock, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum, b2v.

sig. na be þære declinunge. Gif seo declinacio. þi is
 declinung. se al to sealdan hær ge hpylc dæl sig. þon brod
 alle þa seofon p nomina. þe nu embe spæcon.
 7 eac participia. þi synd dæl nymende ge cealde becpux
 namum. ac þi ne byð nan ge scead. þas mæn naman
 þe þe embe spæcad synd appellatua. þi synd ge ege ndlice.
 p prium nom. is agen nama. 7 appellatuu byð ælc
 oþer nama; hea synd þa naman. quis. hpa. unus. an.
 ullus. amg. nullus. nan. solus. ana. totus. eall. alius.
 oþer. oþer sum. alter. oþer. uter. heora oþer. Ðas naman
 synd mobilia: apendenlice. p tria genera. geond
 hreo cynn. Quis. hpa. is penlic had. Que. hpylc.
 is piflic. quod. hpylc. nys naphres cynnes. heora naphra
 genituu byð. Cuius. hpaes. oþer hpylces. 7 heora calpa
 datiuus. Cui. hpam. oþer hpylcum. quem uru laudas.
 hpylene þer he nase þu. A quo. t a qui. spā hpylcum.
 oþer spā hpa. Cuius. qui. hpylce. oþer þa. quoz. hpylcum.
 odde þana. quis t quibus. hpylcum. oþer þam. quos
 laudas hpylce he nase þu. odde þa. a quis. t a quibus spām
 hpylcū odde spām þam. Ðer nama hæfð tpy fealdne nomi:
 natuu, quis et qui se quibid anfealder teteles tmenig fealder
 qui uir se þer. qui uir þa þer t h i habbad. tpy fealdne abla:
 tiuu. spā spā peceþ sædon. Genetis feminini. quæ hpylc.
 cuius hpylcepe. cui. quam. a qua t a qui. et p tr. quæ
 hpylce. quarū hpylcepa. quis t quibus. quas. a quis. ut a quib:
 ac se quib: is t epumelicor. for þan þe quis. is þā oþrum gelic
 Genetis neutri. quod hpylc. t quid. odde þ. cuius þas. odde
 hpylces. cui. quod. a quo. t a qui. et p tr. q hpylce odde þa.
 quorū. quis t quib: quæ. a quis. t a quibus. Hit is eo
 p itene þi þas naman habbad. mislic and gic be þan þe hi
 terebbe beoð. Gif ic cpeðe quis hoc fecit. hpa dyde
 þis. þonbid requir. interrogatiuu þi is arigendlic

Figure 3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 449, fol. 42r.

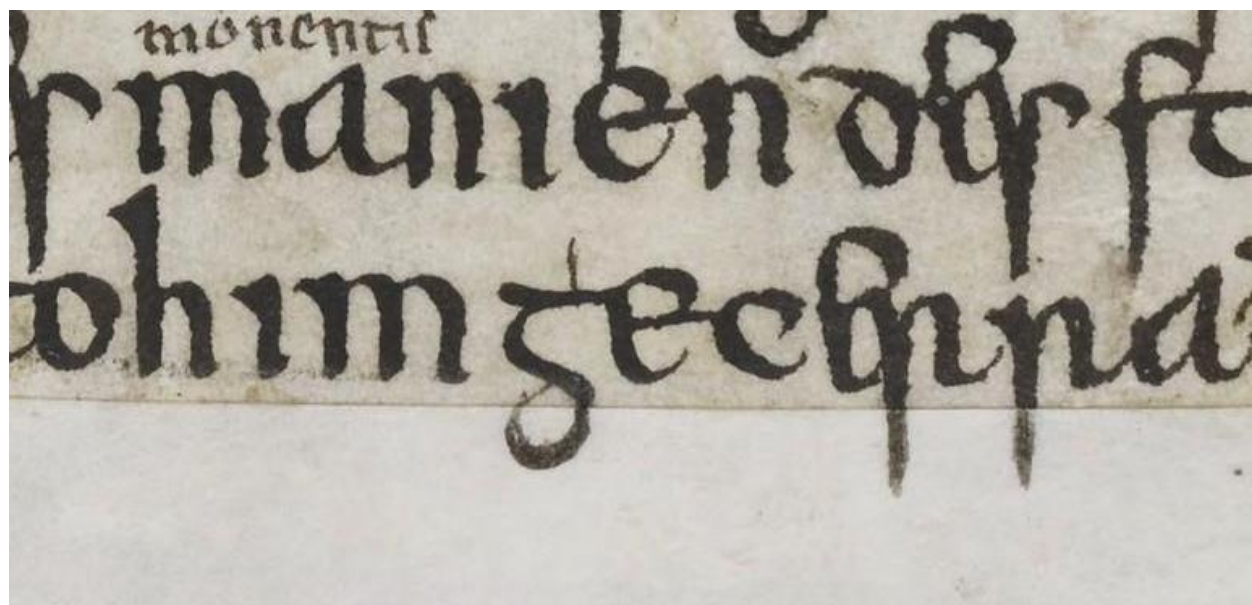


Figure 4: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 12, fol. 184v.

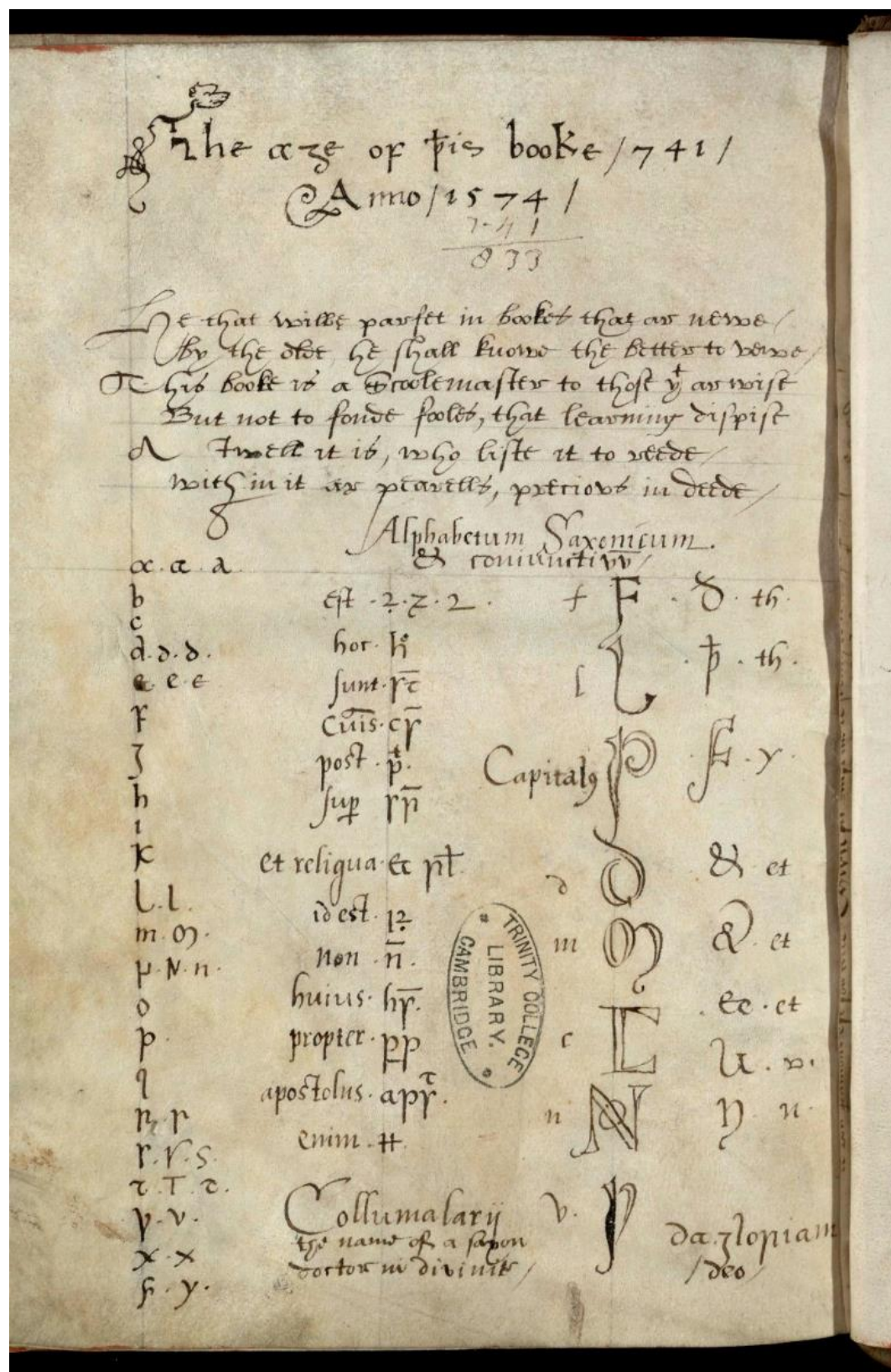


Figure 5: Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.33, fol. 145v. Stephen Batman's Colophon.

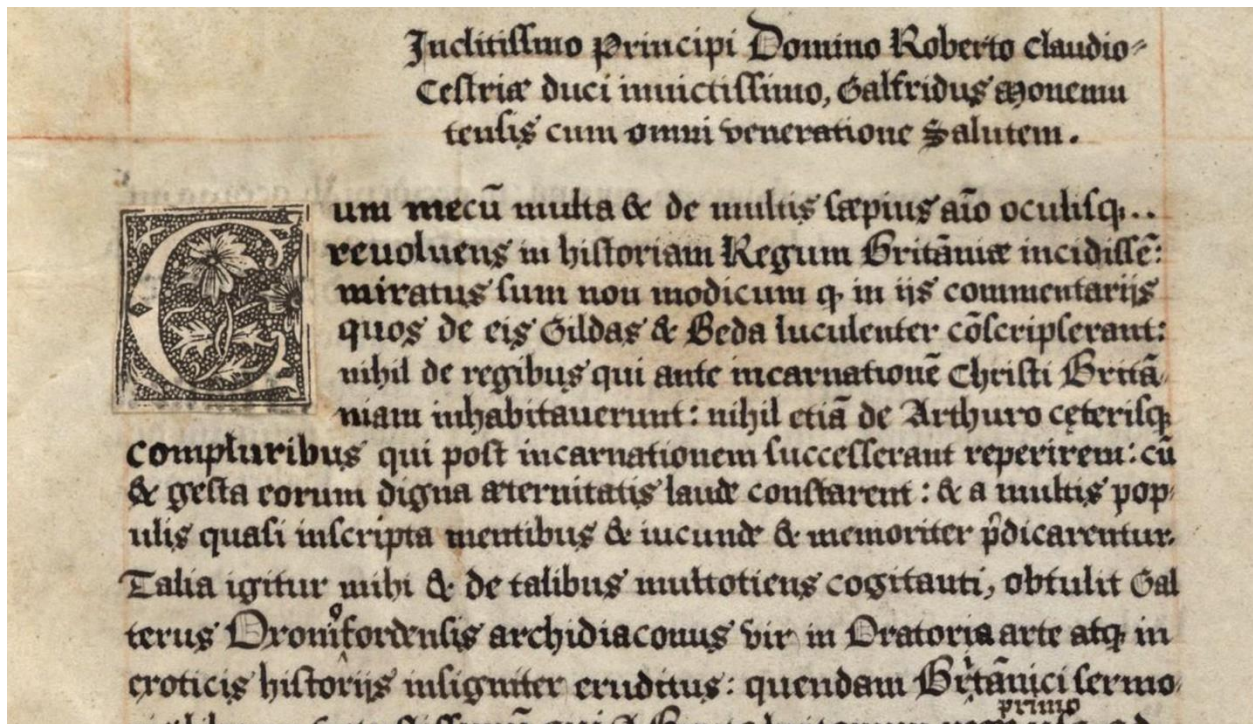


Figure 6: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 292, fol. 1r.

And swa he swýðor rýngað. swa he
 deofle gelyforabyð. Thine þonne
 god forlæt. The færd swa him deofol
 pirrad. swa swa to brocen fæp on se.
 þe swa færd swa hit fepind drefð.
 Se goda mann swa he swýðor afandod
 bið swa he nottrabid. 7 nean gode.
 oþþæt he mid fulre gedýngde. færd
 oþþurum life to þam ecan life. And
 se yfelas swa he of tof on þære fan
 dunge abryð. swa he for cudre bið.
 7 deofle nean. oþþæt he færd oþþurum
 life to þam ecan rice. gif he ær ge
 spican nolde þa hwile þe he mihte
 7 moste. Forði and biðað god of
 þæs yfelan mannes. 7 læt him fýrfe
 þe his mánadæda gesece. 7 his mod
 to gode gecýrpe. ær his ende gif he
 wile. Gif he þonne nele. þe he beo
 buton ælcere lādunge swiðe rihtlice

Figure 7: Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.4.6, fol. 306v.

And swa he spýð on rýngað. swa he
 deo fle geyld nabýð. Thine þonne
 god forlæt. The færd swa him dæd
 pýrð. swa swa to brocen reiponfæ.
 þer swa færd swa hita reipind dnyfð,
 Se gōða mann swa he rýð on a fān dōð
 bið swa he not trahid. In ear gode.
 oþæt he mid fulre geding de færd
 oþæt him lifre to þam ecan life. And
 se yfela swa he of to on þære fān
 dunge abryð. swa he for cudre bið.
 7 d eorle neap. oþæt he færd of him
 lifre to þam ecan life. Gif he ær ge
 spican nolde þa hpile þe he mihte
 7 moste. forðā and bið aþ god of
 þær yfelan mannes. 7 læt him fýrfe
 þæt he his mādæda gespice. 7 his mōd
 to gode gecýrre. ær his ende gif he
 pile. Gif he þonne nele. þæt he to
 bucon ælce peladunge spide rihtlice

Figure 8: My reconstruction of CUL ii.4.6, fol. 306v.

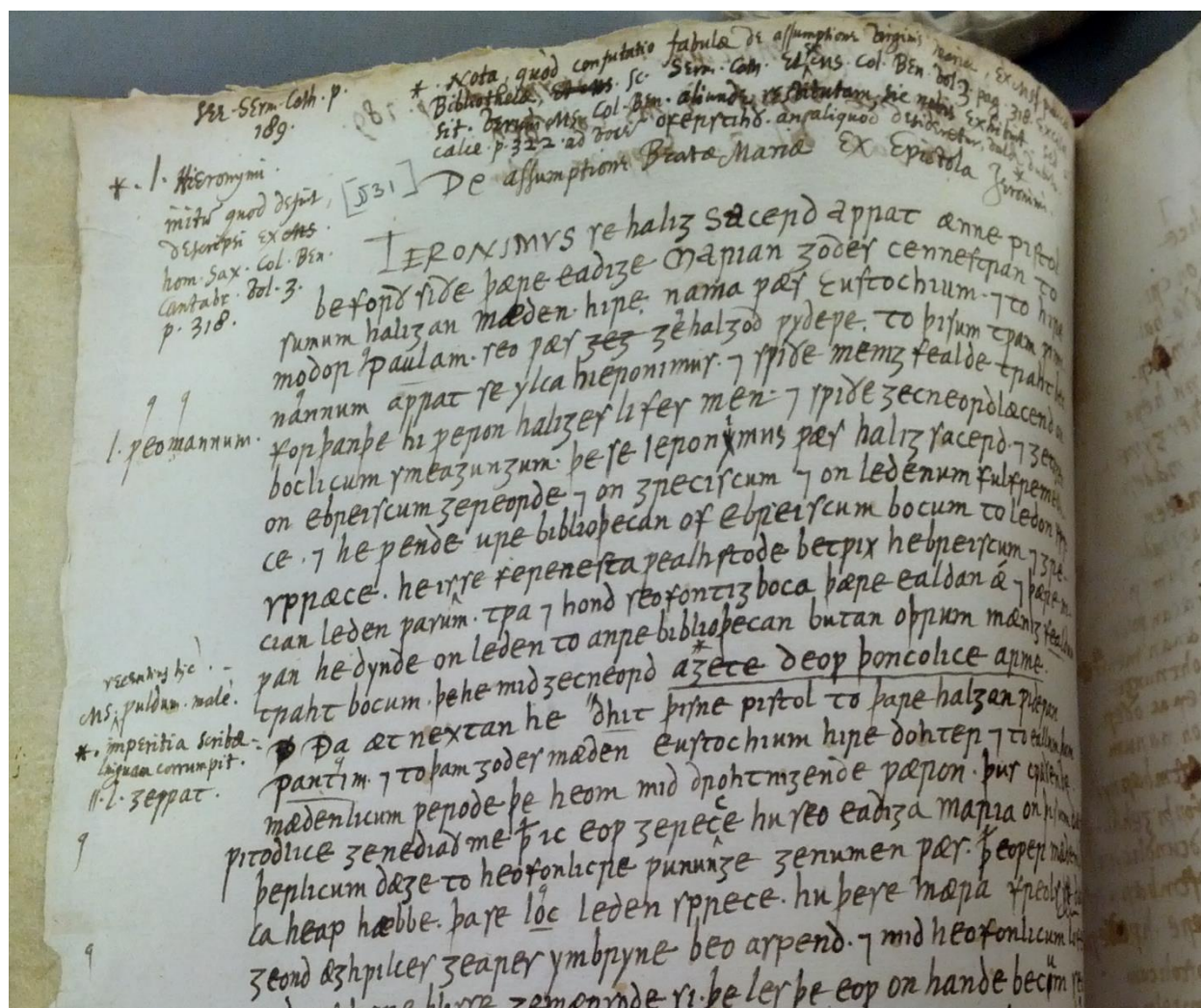


Figure 9: Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.3.28, flyleaf

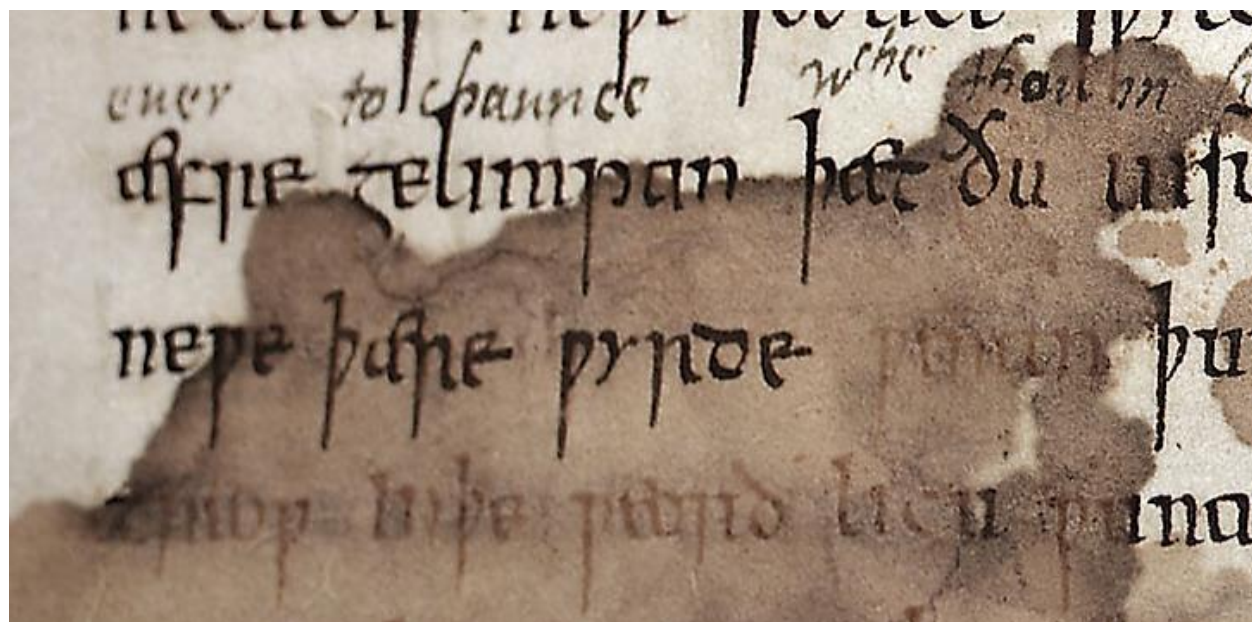


Figure 10: Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3501, fol. 9r.

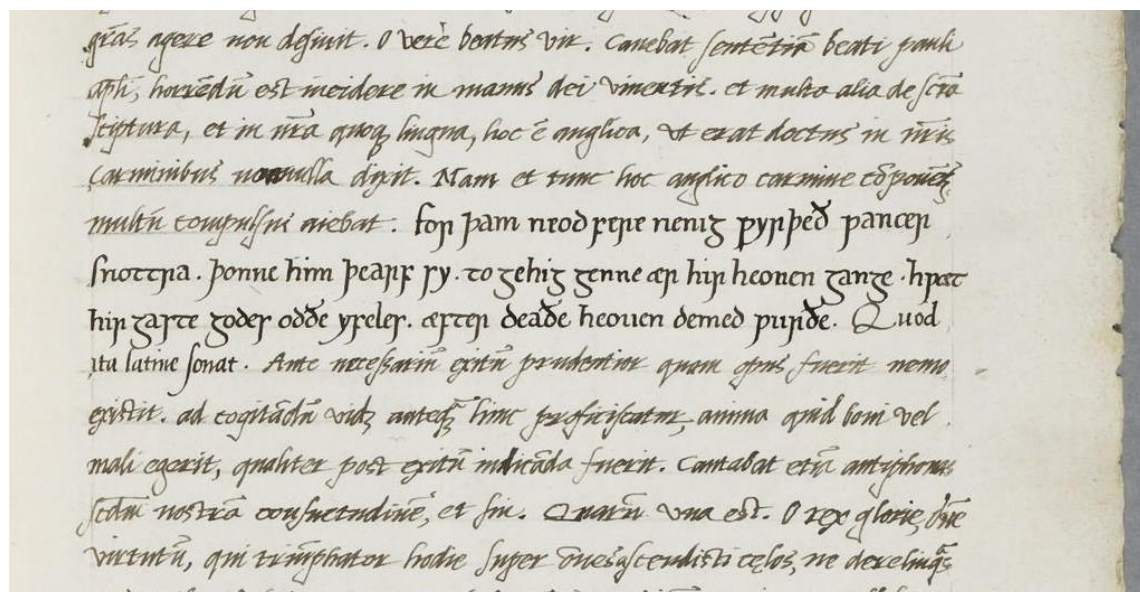


Figure 11: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 100, p. 29.

lingua, hoc est Anglica, ut erat doctissimus in multis carminibus dixit,
 forþam neodreie nenig pyrþed þanceþr noctra þonne him þearf þy
 togehu genne ær hir heouen tange hæt hir gaste godde yfelg æfter deaðe. &
 * Cantabat etiam antiphonas secundum mentem consuetudinem et sui, quarum
 una est, O rex glorie dñe virtutis qui triumphator hodie super omnes reles asce
 disti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum patris in nos
 spiritum veritatis. Alleluia, Et tunc venisset ad illud verbum, ne derelinquas
 nos orphanos, prorupit in lacrimas et multum fleuit, Et post horam re
 pite repetere quæ interhabuerat, et nos audientes limimus ad illo, Altera
 vice legimus, alteraploravimus, imo semper tunc fletu legimus, In tali la
 tuitia quinquagesimalibus diebus usque ad diem prefatum duravimus, Et ille multum
 gauderet, deoq; gratias agebat, quia sic meruisset infirmari. Referebat et
 sepe dicebat, flagellat dñs omnem filium quem recipit, et multa alia de
 sancta scriptura. Sententiam quoque sancti Ambrosii, Non sit virgo, ut me
 pondeat inter vos vivat, sed ut mori timeo, quia bonum deum habemus,
 In istis autem diebus duo opuscula multum memoria digna, exceptis lectio
 nibus quas accipimus ab eo, et tanta psalmorum, factus studebat, Evangelium
 heouen demed purde. Quod ita Latine sonat. Dñe interessandus existim
 prudentior q̃ opus fuerit, immo existit. ad cogitandum videlicet anteq̃ hunc
 proficiscatur aia quid boni vel mali egrit, qualid post exitum miranda fuerit, *

Figure 12: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 100, p. 280.

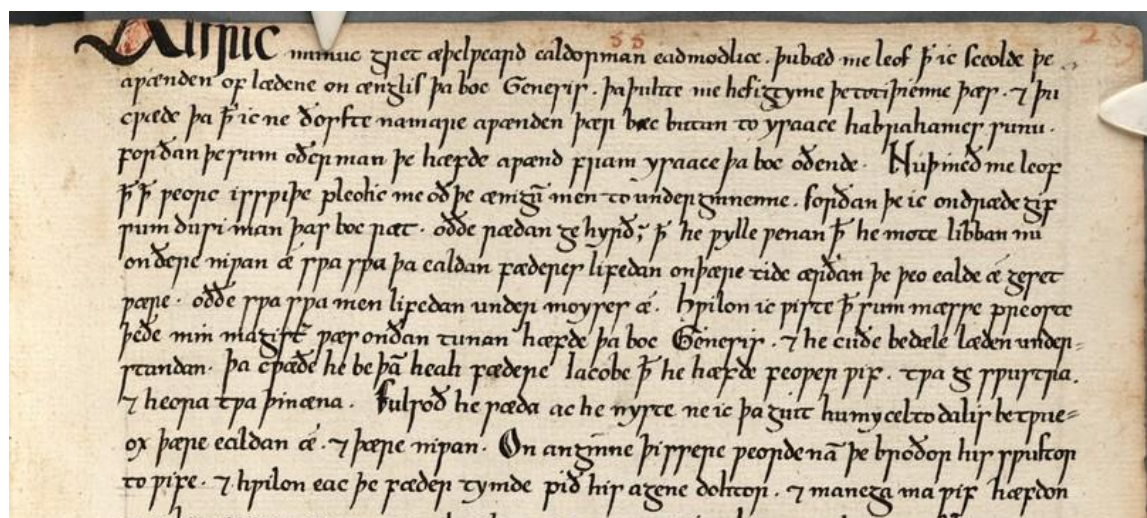


Figure 13: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 101, p. 55.

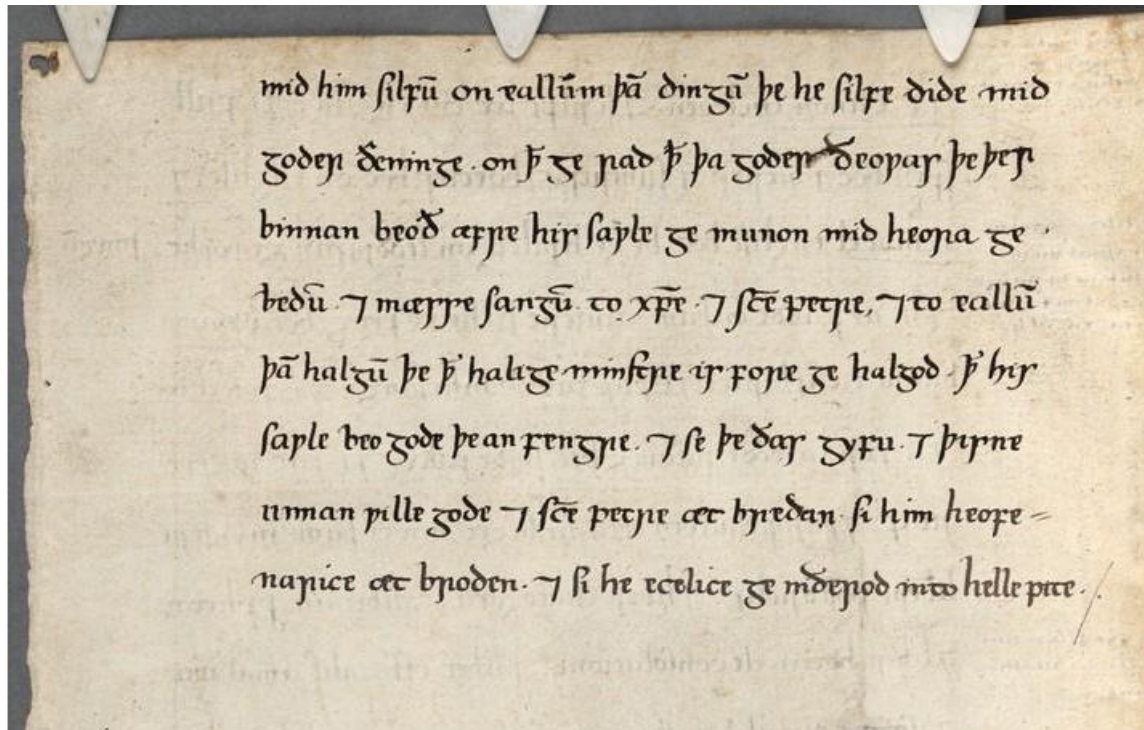


Figure 14: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 101, p. 450.

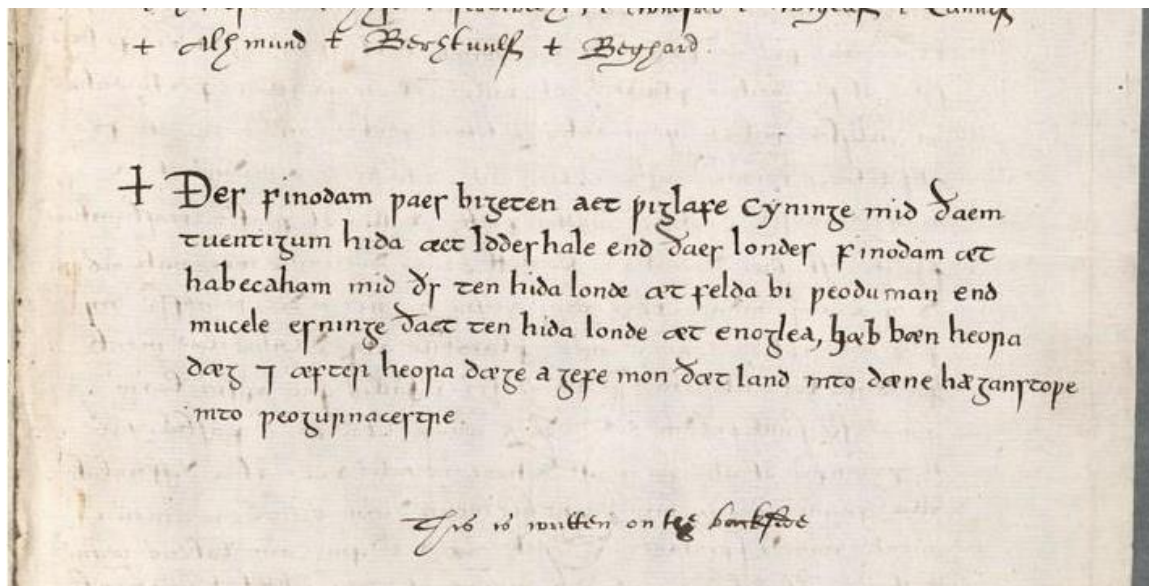


Figure 15: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 111, p. 137.

DŌMINICA QVARTA

POST FESTVM PENTECOST.

EVANGELIUM. LVCÆ XV.

Erant autem appropinquantēs ei publicam
et peccatores ut audirent illū et c.

Dæt halige godspell ur ^{publiani} ^{pharisei} sepefan 7 sinfulle
men ge nealæhton þam hælende 7 poldorne his
lape gehēpan. þa ^{inmurabant} cedroðanne þa sindeþ halzan
7 þa ^{sine} boceras ^{gente} uide ispe ^{vefæst} þeode forðam
þe se hælendende þenige þa sinfullan and hi mid
ge neopdode; þa se ðe se hælende þam iudeiscum
boceþum his big spell. Hpilc eoþen hefð hūðteontig
sceapa. and gif he forlyste an þea sceapa la hūne
forlet he þa nigon and hunde uigontige on ^{defesto} þeste

Figure 16: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178, p. 32.

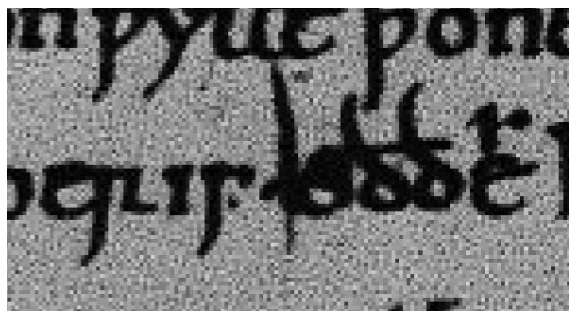


Figure 17: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 115, fol. 2r. (microfiche)

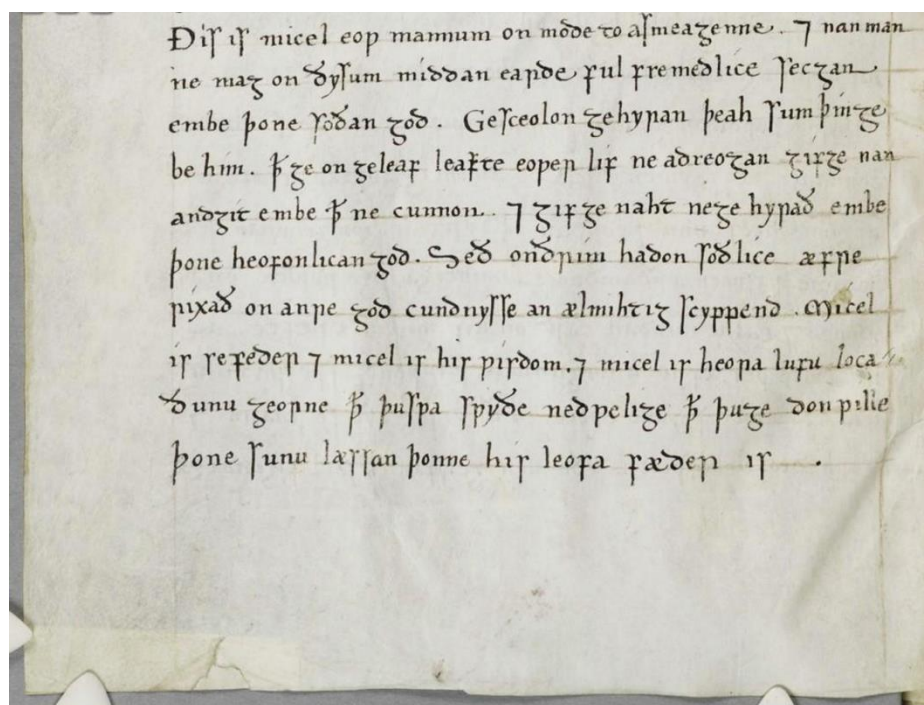


Figure 18: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188, p. 2.

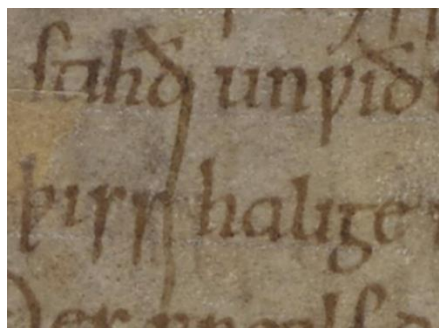


Figure 21: London, British Library Cotton MS Vitellius C. v, fol. 179r.

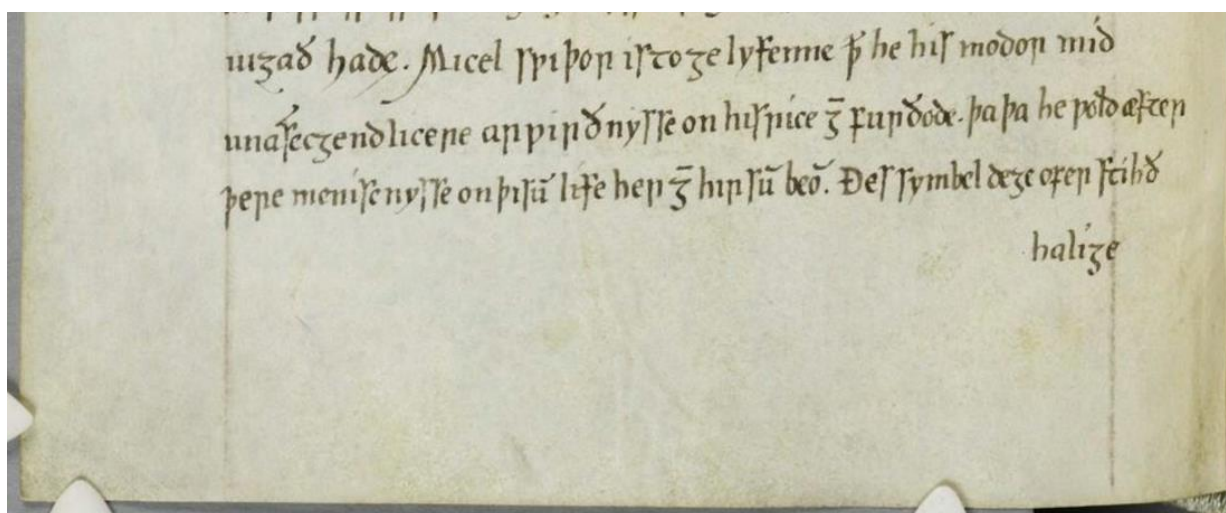


Figure 22: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188, p. 322.

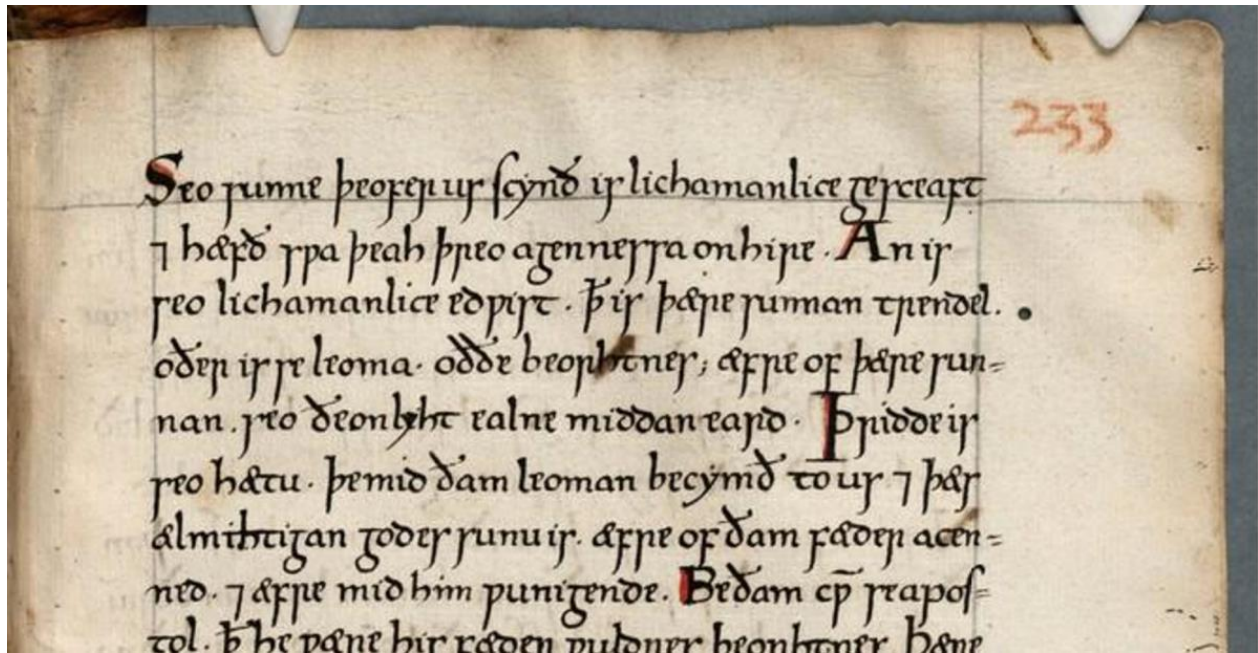


Figure 23: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 302, p. 233.

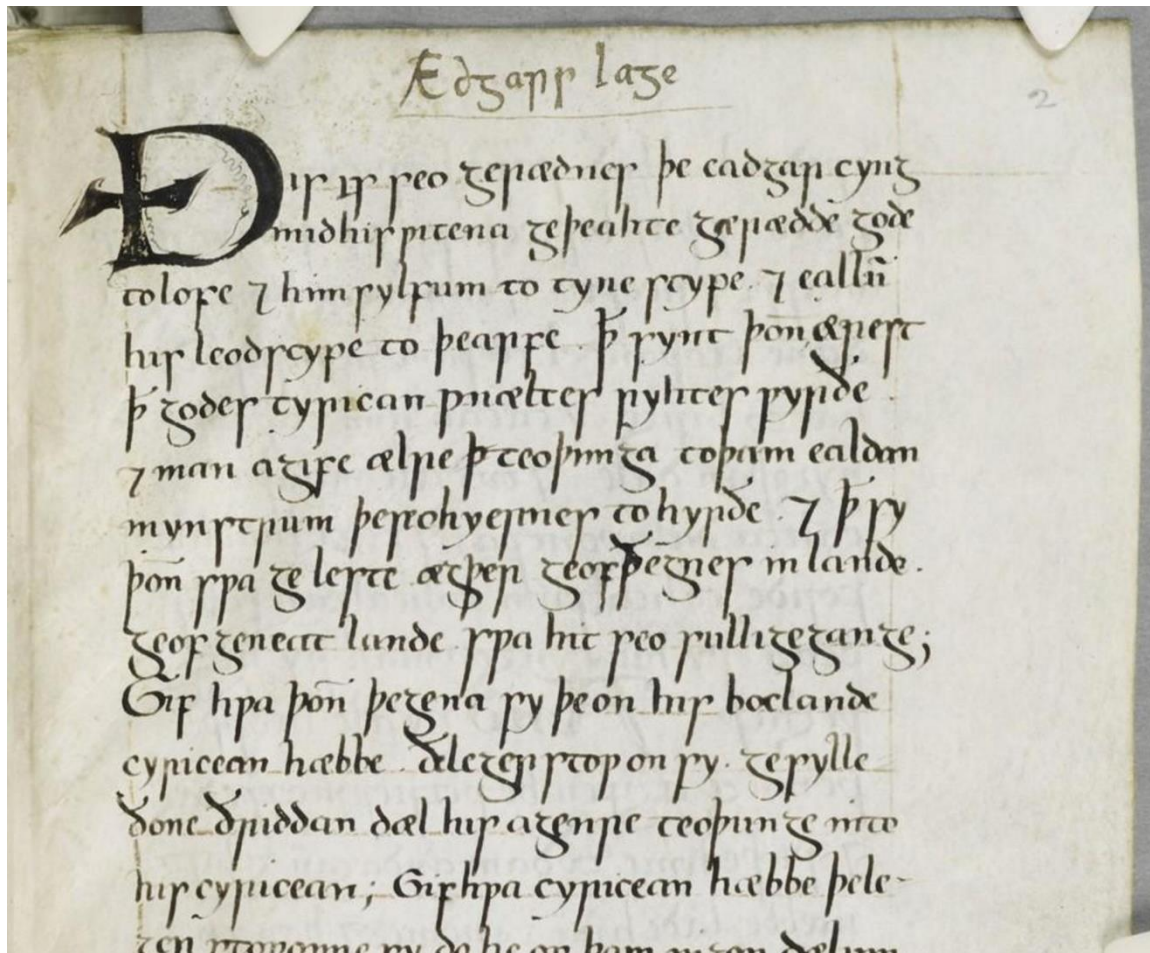


Figure 24: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383, fol. 2r.

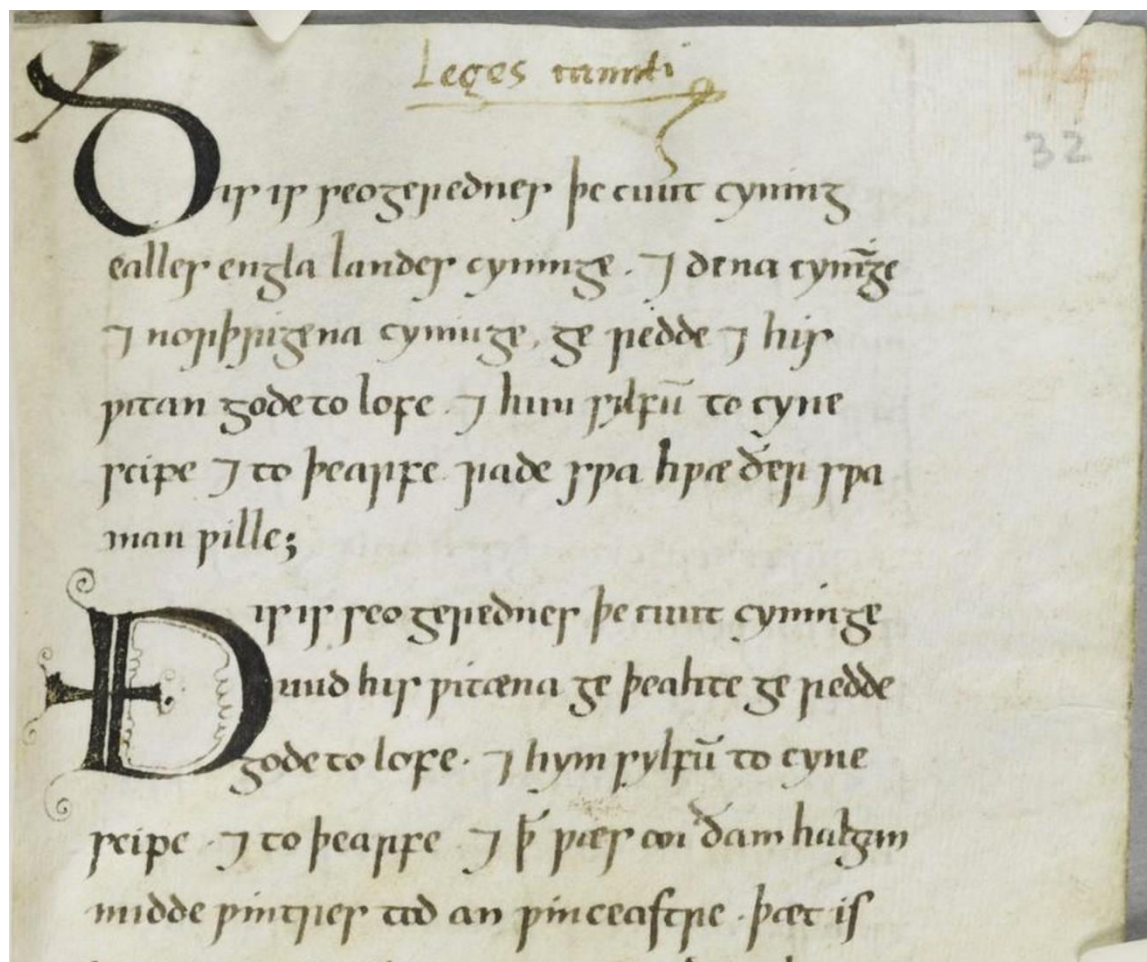


Figure 25: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383, fol. 32r.

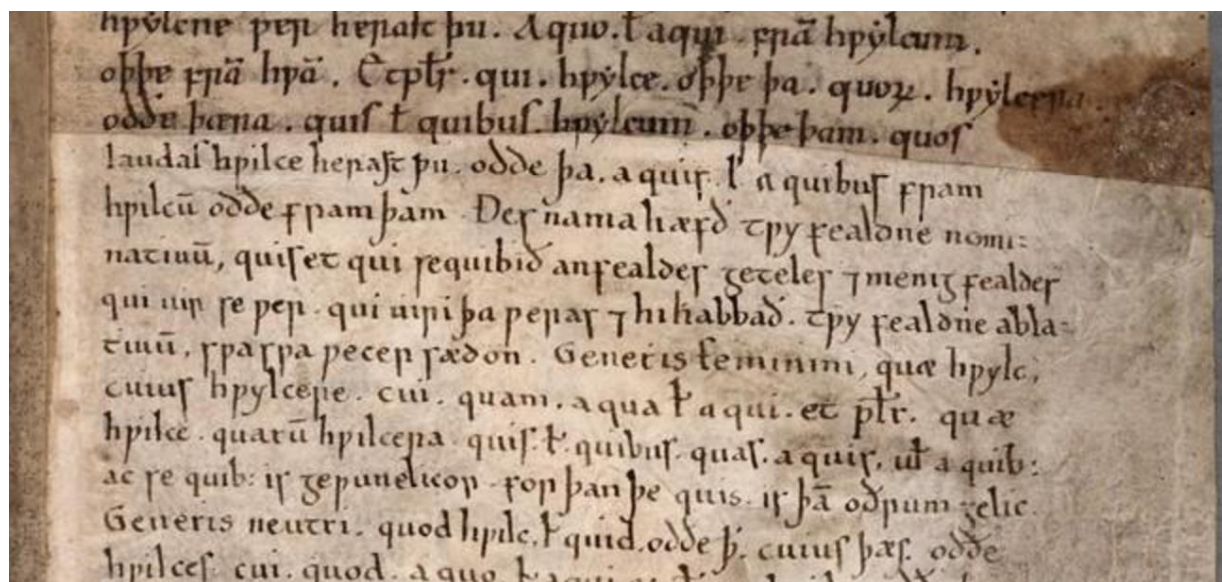


Figure 28: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 449, fol. 42r.

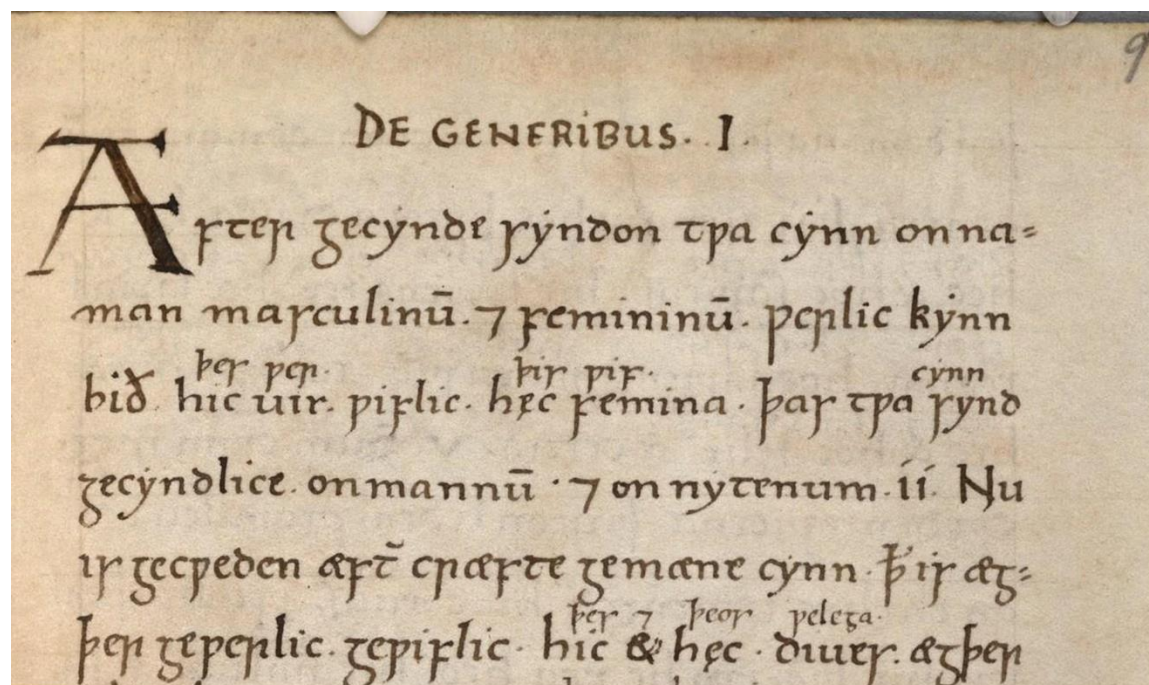


Figure 29: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 449, fol. 9r.

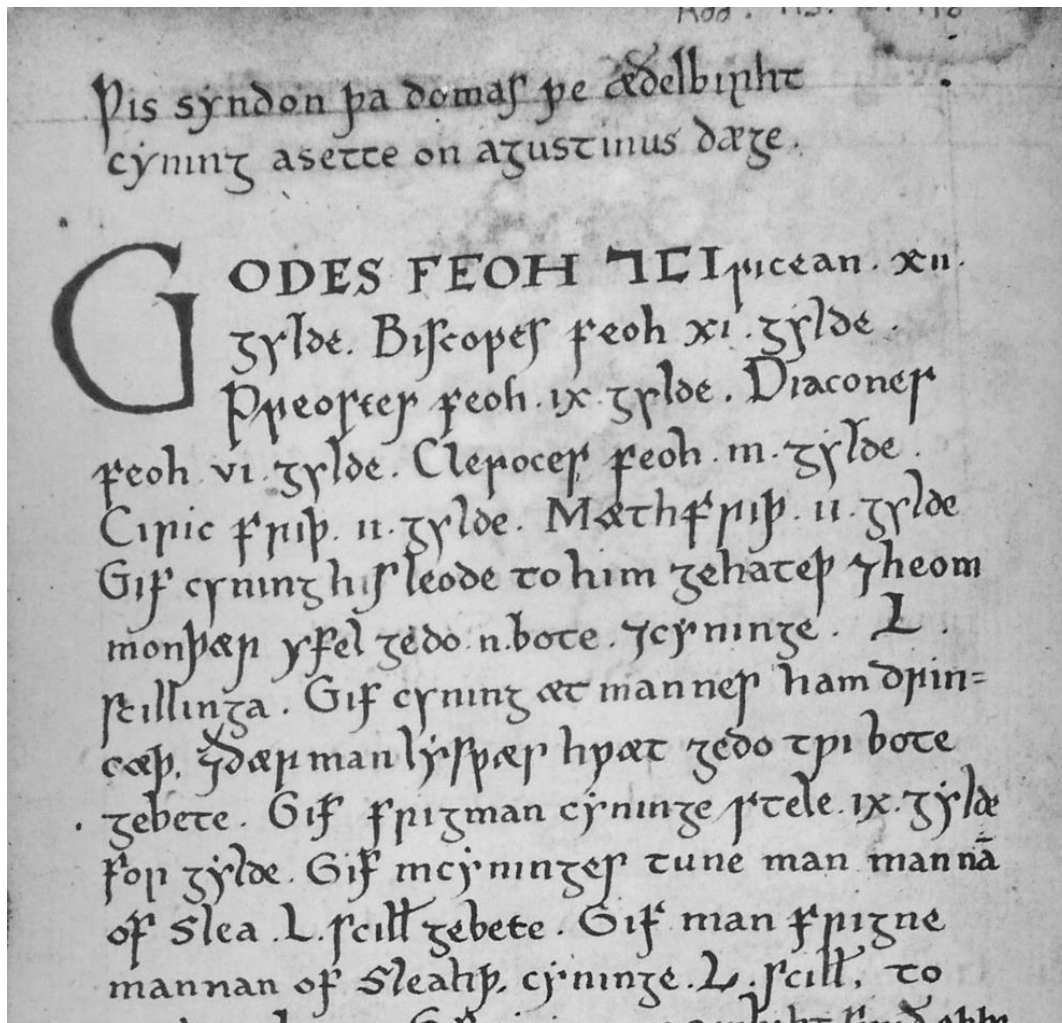


Figure 30: Cambridge, Trinity College MS Add.c.198, p.3.²

² Plate from Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Trinity College*, Pl. XXXII.

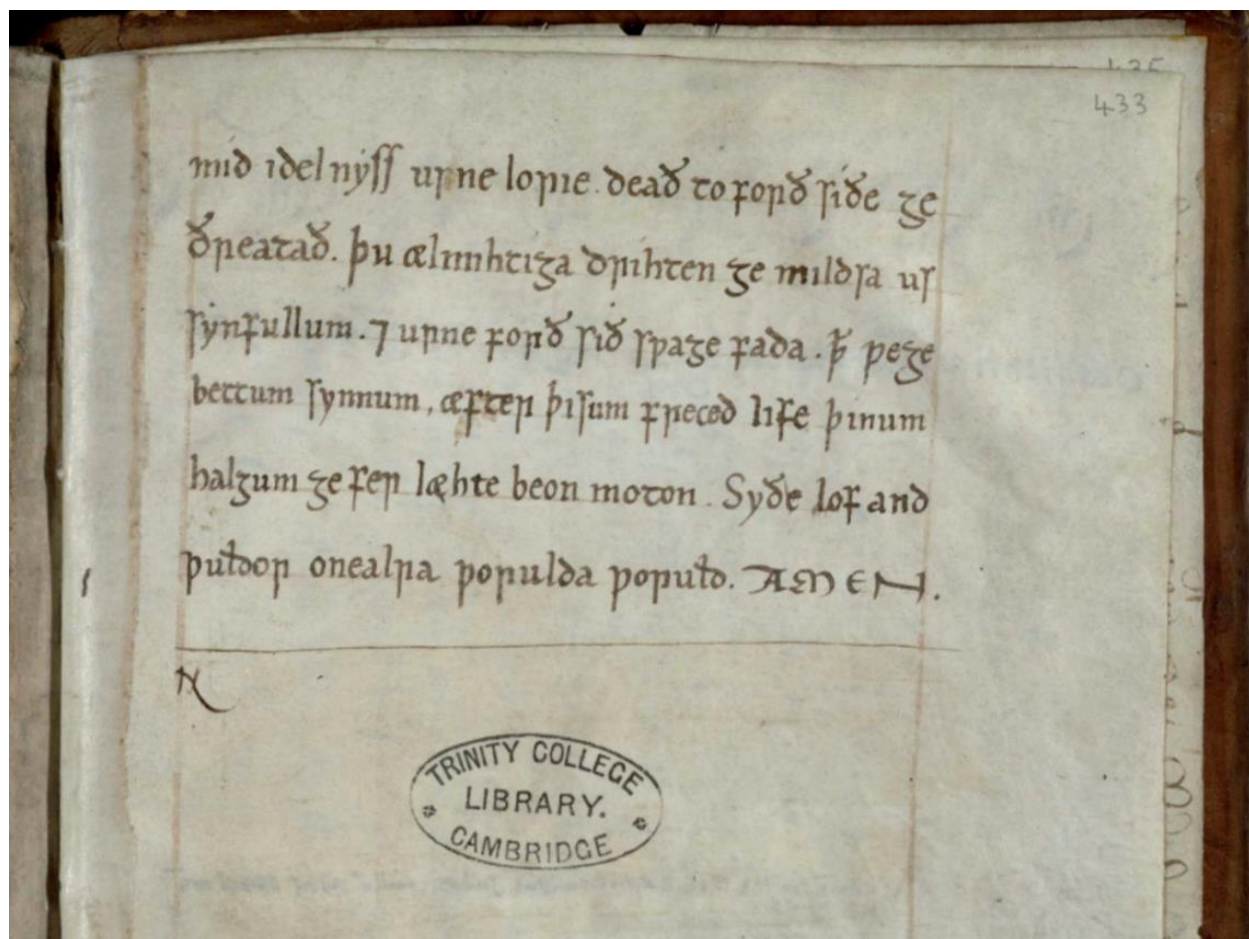


Figure 31: Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.34, p. 433.

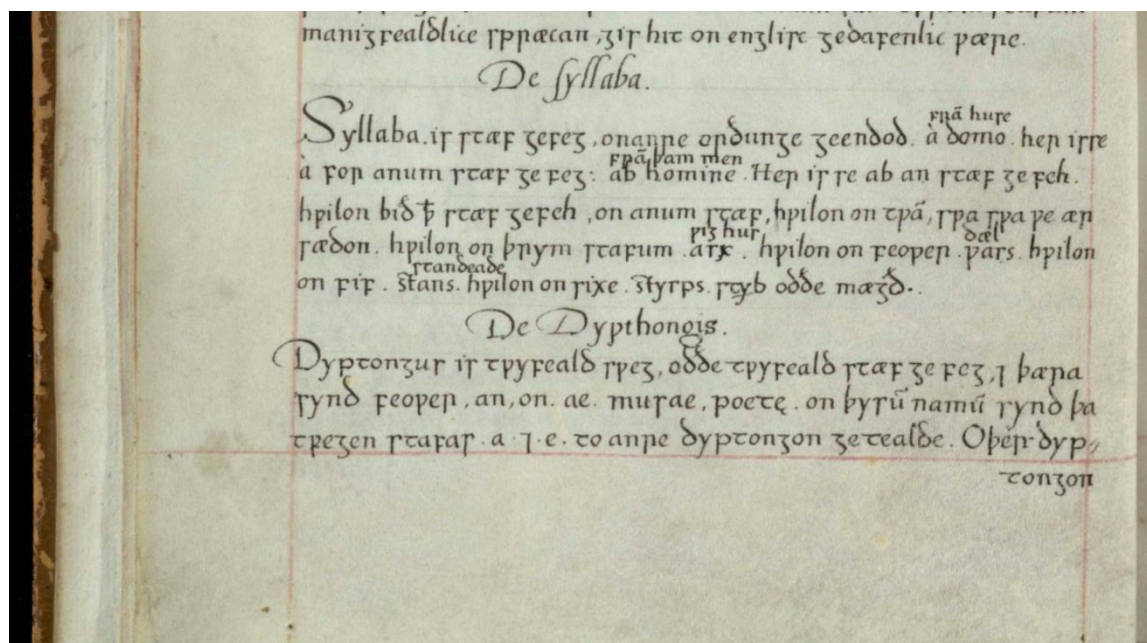


Figure 32: Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.9.8, fol. 2v.

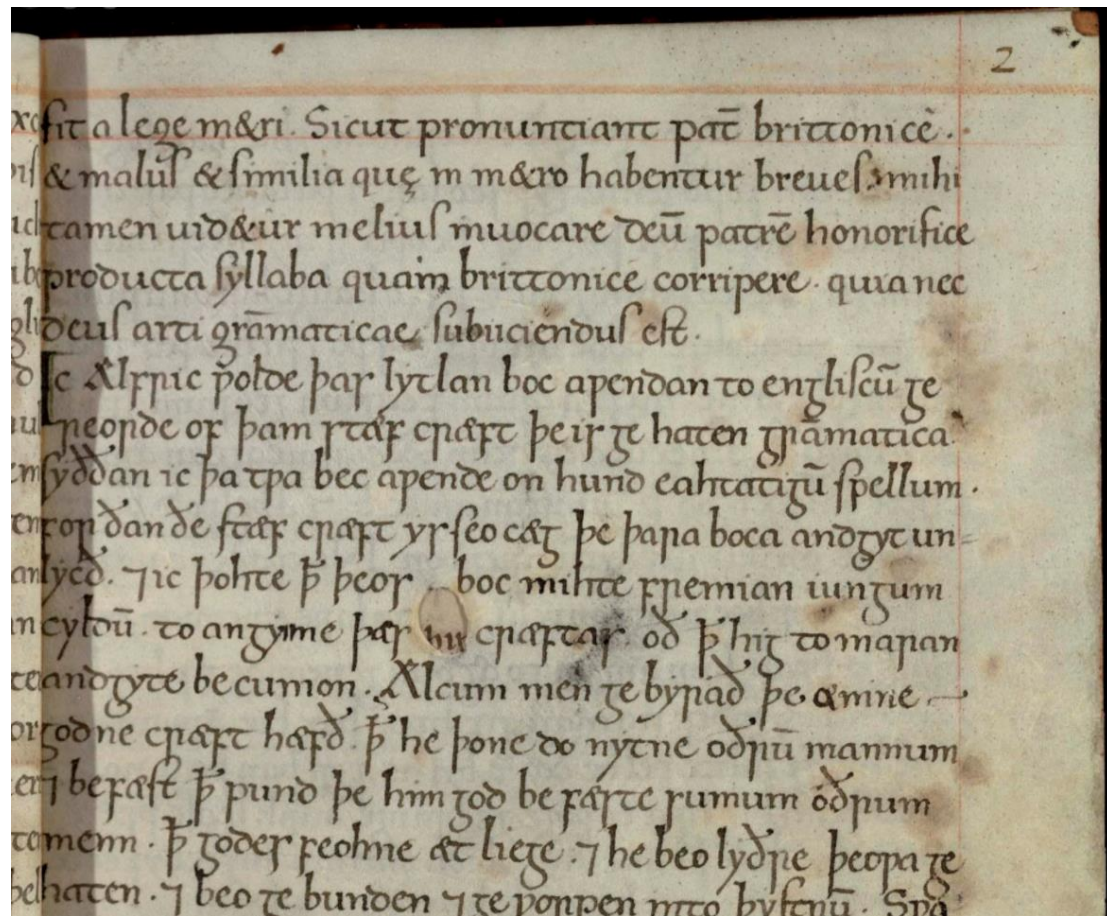


Figure 33: Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.9.17, fol. 2r.

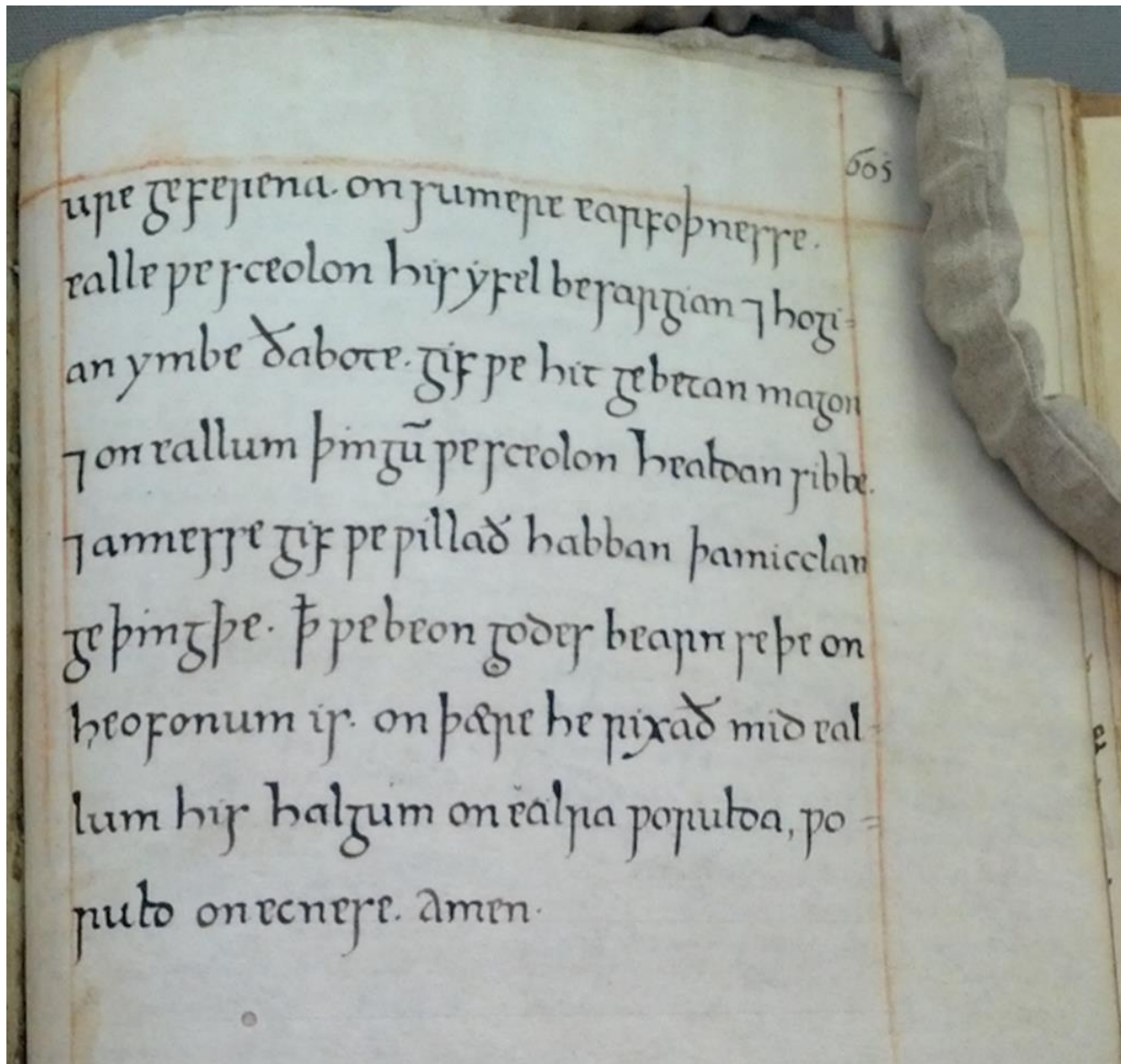


Figure 34: Cambridge, University Library MS II.4.6, fol. 310r (Photo by Scott Bevill).

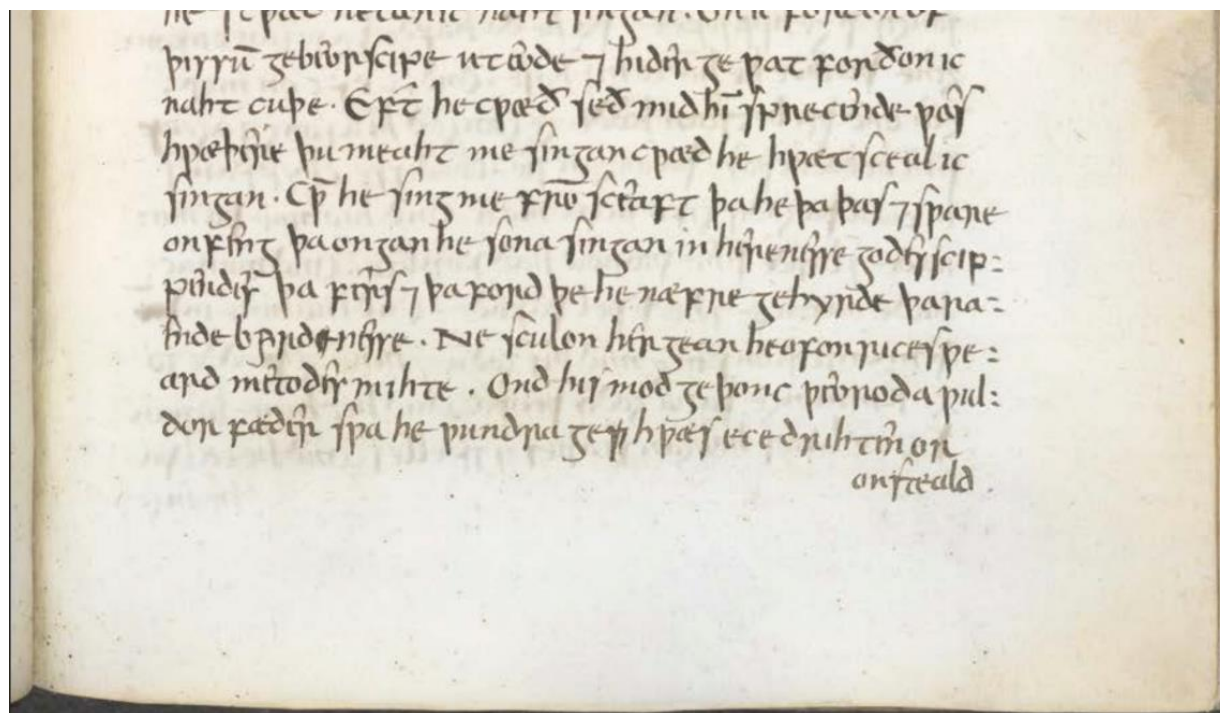


Figure 35: London, BL Additional MS. 43703, fol. 146r.

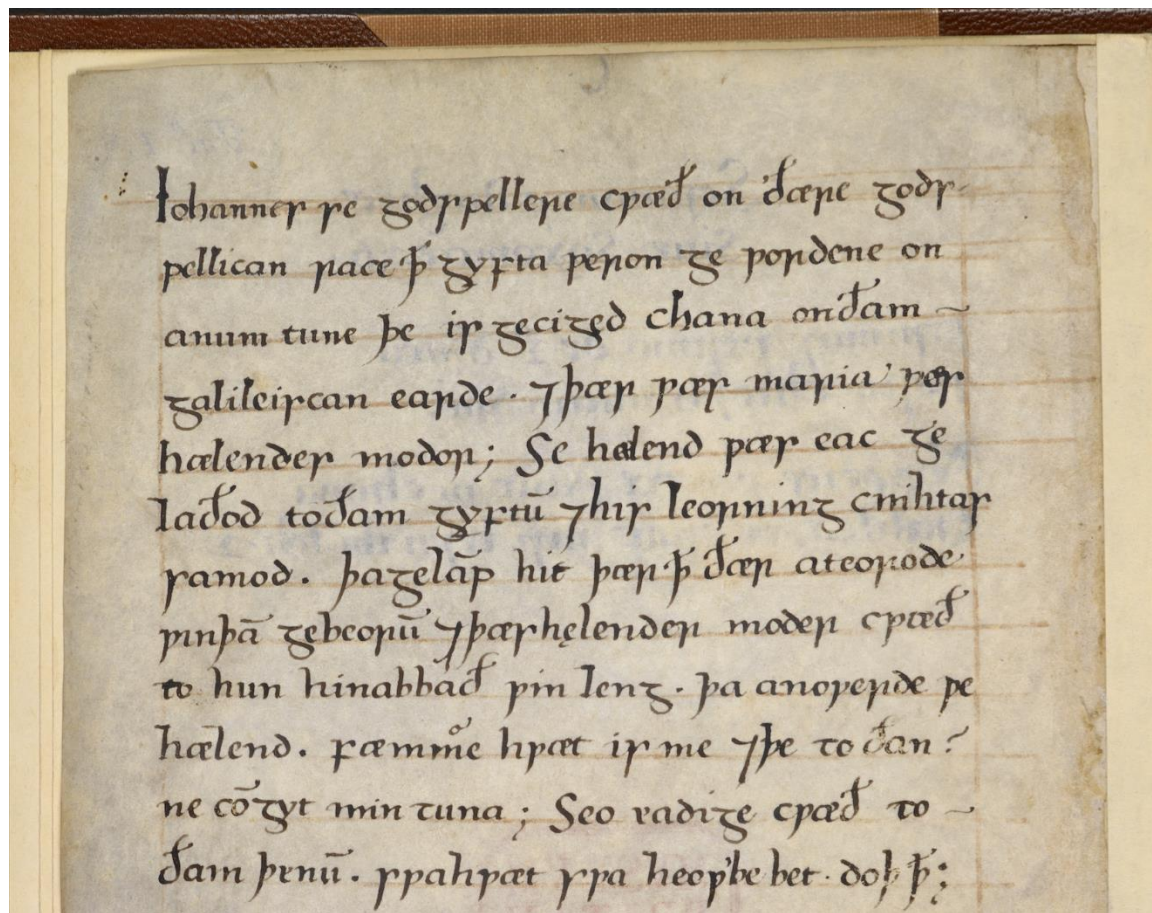


Figure 36: London, British Library Cotton MS Faustina A ix, fol. 1v.

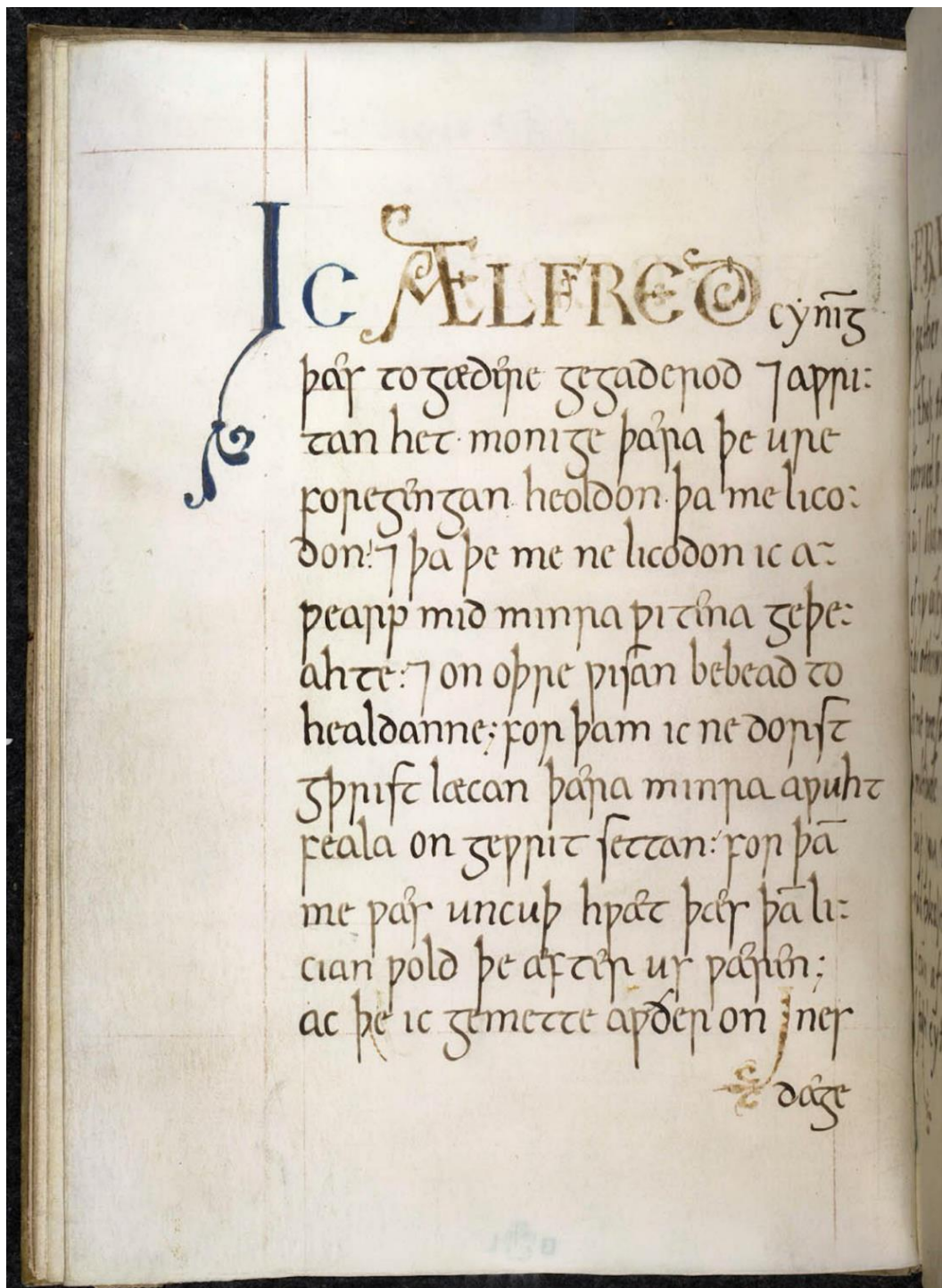


Figure 37: London, British Library Henry Davis MS 59, p. 1.

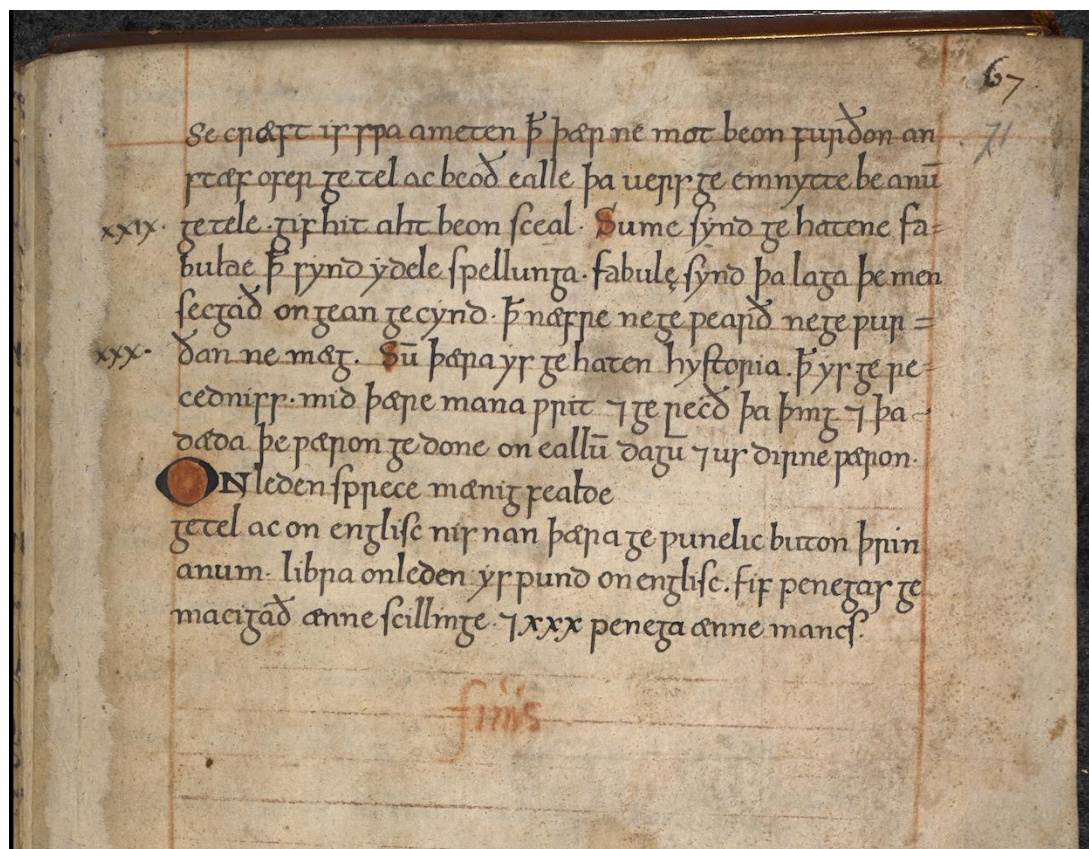


Figure 38: London, British Library Royal MS 15 B xxii, fol. 71r.

5
 pind to consonant. 3if hi bið to gide 3æ:
 fe ðe geſtæ oððe mid oðrum ſpeandlicū
 3if þu cpyhſt. index. þonne bið ſe. i. cōſonāc 7
 ſe. u. vocalis et c. þaſ cpygſc ſcaxay habbaþ maþuon
 mihtæ þonne þe hepe ſecgan willan. Eac þe
 mihton be eallū þam oþrum ꝥ ſcaxū menigfe:
 aldlicor ſprecan. 3if hit on engliſc geþaxen:
 lic wære.
 Syllaba. iſ ſcæfgefe. on anre onðung ſeen:
 doð. A domo. fram huſe. Her iſ ſe a for anū
 ſcæfgefe. Ab homine fram menn. et c.
 Hpilon bið ꝥ ſcæfgefe on anū ſcæpe hpilon on
 fram. ſpa ſpa þe ar ſædon. Hpilon on þrym
 ſcaxū. apx. pighuſ. Hpilon on fæper. par. dæl.
 Hpilon on fix. ſcans. ſcandende. Hpilon ſix. ſappſ
 feybl. oþþe mægd.
 Dyphthongus iſ cpyfald ſpe. oððe cpyfald
 ſcæfgefe. 7

Figure 39: Westminster Abbey MS 30, p. 5 (Microfilm).

he iherusalem cwædon.
Soþlice he hæfð beelzebub 7 on deofla ce-
 atore he deoful reocnesra ut adriþð. 7 he
 hi to gaderie ge clypode 7 on bigs þellū him
 to cwæð. **H**u mæg Satanar Satanar ut
 adriþan. 7 gif his rice on him sylfū bið to
 dæled, hu mæg hit standan. 7 gif þæt hys rice
 hit sylfe ys, to dæled. hu mæg hit standan. 7
 gif Satanar riht on genhime sylfne he bið
 to dæled 7 he standan ne mæg ac hæfð cride.
 7 **N**e mæg man þone stan on his alra, 7 his
 fætu be reafian 7 on his hys gan buton man

Figure 40: Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 441, fol. 61r. (Photo by Scott Bevill).

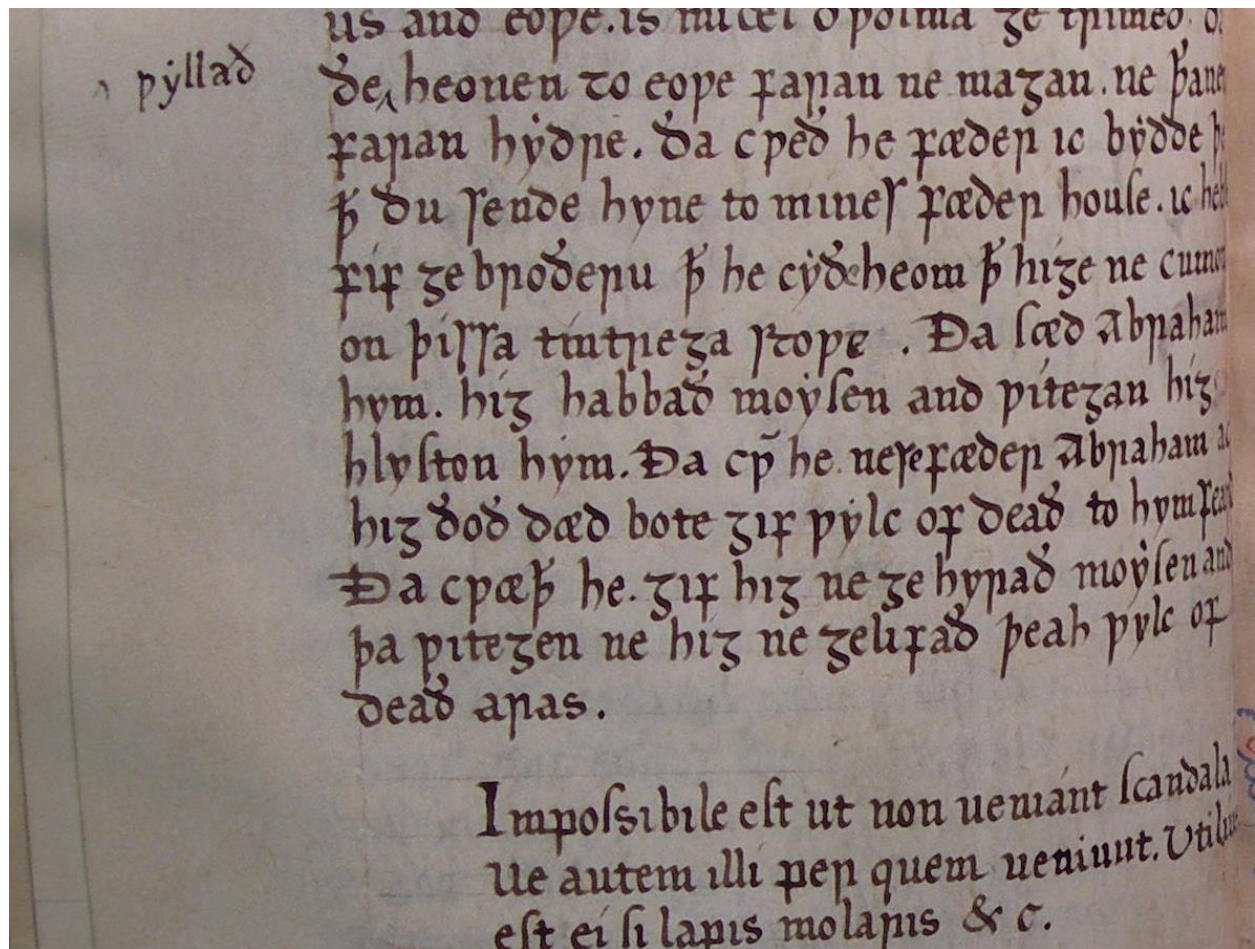


Figure 41: Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton MS 38, fol. 62v (Photo by Daniel Wakelin).

VITA

Scott Bevill was born in May 26, 1981 in Louisville, KY. He grew up in the upstate of South Carolina, and graduated from James F. Byrnes High School in 1999. Scott attended Clemson University from 1999 to 2004. He graduated with a double B. A. in English and Secondary Education with a minor in Film Studies: Screenwriting. After graduation, Scott joined the faculty of T. L. Hanna High School in Anderson, SC as an English teacher. At Hanna for three years, Scott taught students from ninth to twelfth grade in English Language Arts and Film. Following the 2006-2007 school year, Scott returned to Clemson University to earn his M.A. in English. Graduating from Clemson in August, 2009, Scott earned distinction on his oral comprehensive exams and submitted his thesis, “Goddess, King, and Grail: Aspects of Sovereignty within the Early Medieval Heroic Tradition of the British Isles.”

Having developed an interest in medieval literature while completing his Master’s degree at Clemson, Scott began his Ph.D. at the University of Tennessee with a focus on Old English in the fall of 2009. In 2011, Scott received the John C. Hodges Award for Exceptional Scholarship—the English department’s highest honor for graduate student scholarship in a given year for his essay, “Spenser’s Arthur and Milton’s Alfred: Rethinking Kingship and Identity in Early Modern England.” From that point onwards, Scott’s research interests became focused on the origins of medieval scholarship in early modern England. His research has been

supported by the UT Marco Institute's Anne Marie Van Hook Travel Fellowship for archival research in Holland and the UK, two residential fellowships at the Huntington Library in San Marino, CA, and as a fellow participating in an NEH Summer Institute at the University of Iowa Center for the Book. Scott defended his dissertation on November 1, 2016 and graduated in December.